

ATHENIAN CASUALTY LISTS

(PLATES 1-9)

ENOUGH new fragments of the official Athenian casualty lists of the fifth century have been uncovered in the excavations of the Agora to make it seem profitable to study all of these inscriptions as a group, particularly to determine the relationships among them and the extent to which the series, which covered at least 60 years, is being filled out.¹ Since, however, a complete study of the lists in all their ramifications is a work of some time, it seems best to put out immediately the unpublished fragments from the Agora and those in the Epigraphical Museum, all of which I hope and believe are included here. I have not attempted to include minor changes in readings which were obtained by an examination of already published stones, but I have discussed one of the latter (No. 13) because the new readings are of more-than-ordinary interest.

Fragments have been included even when they do not supply a complete name, because some of these show the existence of an unknown monument, others shed light on the form of those already known. At the end are placed several fifth-century pieces, the nature of which is unclear to me; some may be connected with casualty lists, but most seem to be lists of some other sort.

I have not attempted to give in the commentary the possible descendants of men whose names appear on the lists. The difficulty of such identification, even in a case where the dead were officials and their phyle is known (below, p. 48, note 56), is the best commentary on the dangers involved.

Throughout, the letter height given is that of a vertical upright, and measurements of the stoichedon pattern have been averaged out from the largest possible number of lines or letters in each direction.

1 (Plate 1). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in late fill on May 6, 1959, south of the Eleusion (U 21).

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.135 m.

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Height of letters: lines 1-6, 0.012 m.; line 7, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 6882.

ante med. saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

E[-----]
 E[-----]
 Νικ[-----]
 Αισχ[-----]
 5 Λυσ[-----]
 Εὐα[-----]
 Θρα[-----]
vacat 0.025 m.

The inscription is stoichedon, with a checker unit which measures 0.015 m. horizontally and 0.016 m. vertically, disregarding the last line, which was added in slightly larger letters. This is the bottom of a column; that to the left must have been shorter, to judge from the uninscribed space over 0.17 m. in width.

The lettering, with three-barred sigma, sloping alpha and nu, and pointed tailless rho, resembles closely that of *I.G.*, I², 928, thought to contain the names of those who fell at Drabeskos and elsewhere in the northern Aegean in 465 B.C. (cf. *A.T.L.*, III, p. 110). However, both the lettering and the spacing in lines 1-6 are slightly smaller than those of *I.G.*, I², 928, where the letters are 0.014 m. high and the checker pattern is 0.017 by 0.0175 m. Although the theta in line 7 of I 6882 does not have the deep drilling of those on the front of the Drabeskos list, it and the other letters of line 7 have exact parallels on the side of the latter.² It is of course possible that they are part of the same monument, but it is more likely that we have here a fragment of a roughly contemporary list.

2 (Plate 1). Five fragments of Pentelic marble, which seem to belong to the same monument, if not to the same stele, have been given the Inventory Number I 953 *a-e*. One of these, *b*, was published by Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, no. 18, p. 169 = *S.E.G.*, X, 409. The others are as follows:

a. Found on June 6, 1933, in a Turkish wall above the center of South Stoa II (M 15). Rough-picked back preserved: otherwise broken.

Height, 0.315 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.185 m.

Height of letters: 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 953 *a*.

ante med. saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----.]s
 [-----.]s

² Frag. *a*, Col. B, lines 41-43; cf. Pl. 1. Lines 45 to 53 seem to have been inscribed in a different hand, to judge from the upsilons and rhos.

[-----]ες
 [-----]υ υ
 5 [-----]ος
 [-----]υ υ
 [-----]υ υ
 [-----.]υ υ
 [-----.]ς
 10 [-----..]ς

c. Found on June 24, 1957, during the demolition of the Excavation House south of the western end of South Stoa II (K 16). Rough-picked back preserved; otherwise broken.

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.180 m.

Height of letters: 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 953 c.

ante med. saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Εὐ[-----]
 Δεχσανδρί[δες]
 Καλλίνομο[ς]
 Πραχσίνικ[ος]
 5 Βόλαρχος
 Δόκιμος
 Ἀγασικρ[άτες]
 Ἀριστο[-----]
 Θεο[-----]
 10 ^[-----]

This fragment was described by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 157, with a photograph on Plate 45, a. The identification suggested there (and Picture Book, No. 9, *Lamps of the Athenian Agora*, Nos. 7-12) of the Agasikrates in line 7 with the Agasik(r)ates—kalos of Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 19, no. 7, is attractive; the name also occurs in Imbros in the fourth century (*P.A.* 104 a). Praxinikos (line 4) is new at Athens.

d. Found on Feb. 7, 1958, in the debris of the Excavation House south of the western end of South Stoa II (K 16). Broken all around.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters: 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 953 d.

ante med. saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[---.]ο[---]
 [---.]λα[---]
 [---]ανο[---]
 [---]μολ[---]

e. Found on March 11, 1958, in the debris of the Excavation House south of the western end of South Stoa II (K 16). Rough-picked back preserved; otherwise broken.

Height, 0.45 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.19 m.

Height of letters: 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 953 *e.*

ante med. saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----...]ς
 [-----.]^{v v}
 [-----.]ος
 [-----.]λῆς
 5 [-----.]^{v v}
 [-----]νδρος
 [-----]σχ[ρ]ος
 [-----]ιτος
 [-----]τες
 10 [-----]ίδες
 [-----]δες
 [-----]κλῆ[ς]
 [-----]ος

The name in line 7 is probably Kallaischros, which would give the number of letters in the line, but the stone is so battered at that point that the reading is far from certain.

These fragments are in a stoichedon pattern which measures *ca.* 0.022 m. vertically by 0.018 m. horizontally. There are often irregularities, particularly at the ends of lines; cf. *a* and *e*, lines 8-10. The size of this pattern alone seems enough to prevent the suggested association of these pieces with *I.G.*, I², 933,⁸ where the checker unit is 0.0165 m. vertically by 0.016 m. horizontally. Furthermore, the latter has pointed, tailed rhos, whereas in I 953 that letter is rounded and tailless.

Despite some slight variations in the thickness of the fragments, the lettering and the spacing indicate that they are from the same monument. Not enough is left

⁸ Thompson, *loc. cit.*

on *a* to make its inclusion certain, but its vertical unit is the same as the others and the spreading at the ends of names can be paralleled on other pieces. Since no edges are preserved, it is impossible to determine whether all the fragments were from a single stele or parts of different stones which made up a single monument. The differences in thickness may indicate the latter, although the greatest variation is only 0.010 m., between *c* and *e*. On the other hand, the fact that all the pieces were found on a modern level in the same general area would indicate that they came from one block cut up for building material. The top of *b* and the bottom of *c* each has a straight cut which crosses the letters at the same angle. It is hardly likely that this is a coincidence; rather it makes it almost certain that these two pieces came from the same stele. This must have been a large stone, containing at least four columns and over a meter wide. For *b* seems to be the top of a column, with 0.08 m. vacant above the first name, and in order to get the cut at the bottom of *c* in line with that at the top of *b* and still have its first name no higher on the stone than that of *b*, it is necessary to place *c* 0.30 m. to the left of *b*. This would leave one column between them and, since *c* is not the left edge of the stone, there must have been another column to its left.

3 (Plate 2). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on November 25, 1933, during alterations to a house in the southern part of the Agora (K 16).

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 1207.

This piece joins onto the bottom of *I.G.*, I², 851 (E.M. 10235), of which the measurements are as follows: height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness (original), 0.185 m. The stone is broken all around except for the original rough-picked back. The inscription is stoichedon, with a unit measuring 0.024 m. horizontally and 0.028 m. vertically. I give below the combined text.

ca. med. saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[...⁶...]ος
 [...⁵...]ιον
 [Δι]δύμαρχ[ος]
 [Φ]ιλιστίδ[ες]
 5 ηαλ[.]οβάδ[ες]
 Φαιδρία[ς]
 Ὀρνεονι[---]
 Καλλια[---]
 Φιλέσιο[ς]
 10 [...]λον
 [...]ιδρ[---]

The inscription has all the appearances of a public casualty list; in spite of the three-barred sigma and minor variations in the size of its lettering and spacing, it resembles closely *I.G.*, I², 942, and related pieces (cf. below, No. 5). It appears to have contained a list of allies, since three of the determinable names seem to be non-Athenian: Didymarchos (line 3), Orneonios or Orneonides (line 7), and whatever stood in line 5.⁴

The combination of three-barred sigma and slanting nu with a form of phi which first appears in the second tribute-quota list (453/2), but does not become common until the seventh (448/7), seems to place this fragment close to the middle of the fifth century.

4 (Plate 2). Agora I 5901, published by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 37, pp. 45-46 (= *S.E.G.*, X, no. 412),⁵ is clearly from the same monument as *I.G.*, I², 959; lettering, spacing, and marble are the same. There is no physical join.

The text published in the *Corpus* does not make it clear that *I.G.*, I², 959, is stoichedon only from line 3 on. The letters of line 2 are not only out of the pattern but also are slightly larger than those of lines 3-8. It, rather than line 1, would seem to be part of the name of a phyle. The $-\nu\tau-$ of line 1 would then be part of the general heading, e.g., $---\epsilon] \nu \tau [\delta\iota \text{ πολέμοι} ---$.

5 (Plates 2, 3). Fragment of Pentelic marble, now in the Epigraphical Museum; place of discovery unknown. The rough-picked back is preserved. On the left is a sunken border which tapers in slightly towards the top.⁶ This is 0.014 m. deep and 0.025 m. wide at line 3. There is no trace of a finished surface on the left side. The furthest projection there, near the back of the fragment, extends 0.032 m. from the right edge of the channel.

Height, 0.31 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.185 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.017 m.

Inv. No. E. M. 12883.

This piece joins the left side of the lower of the two contiguous fragments, E. M. 13344, published by W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, no. 13, pp. 14-15.⁷ I give below the combined texts.

⁴ It seems impossible to recover the fourth letter. There is, however, no question but that the fifth and sixth are OB, which eliminate Hiller's suggestion, Haliphrades, which was adopted by H. Pope, *Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions*, New York, 1935, p. 90.

⁵ This was previously published as *I.G.*, I², 941, from Pittakys' copy.

⁶ For this type of border, cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 59, note 34; he is obviously right in explaining that its purpose was to give the appearance of individual stelai tapering upwards to a row of stones set up touching one another. See Fig. 1.

⁷ These pieces, which were in the Mosque near the Roman Market when published by Peek, were examined in the spring of 1961 by M. F. McGregor and R. Stroud, one inside the Tower of

	<i>ca. med. saec. V a.</i>		ΣΤΟΙΧ.
	[<i>ηπ</i>]ποθοντίς		
	[. . .]όδοτος		
	Col. I		Col. II
	[.]λεος		Κλεαίνετος
	[.]ας		Ἄριστογένεος
5	[.]εος		Ἡερόνυμος
	[.] ^ο ο	20	Στ[. .]ερ
	[Κε]φις[ό]δορος		Θε[οργέ]γες
	[Μ]ύρμεχος		Με[-----]
	Περίανδρος		Δυσι[-----]
10	Ἄνετορίδες		Εὐ[-----]
	Αἰσχίνες	25	Κλ[-----]
	Οἰνίλος		Ε[-----]
	Χσενο[-----]		
	Εὐχσ[-----]		
15	Μενι[-----]		
	[.]αρ[-----]		

The inscription is stoichedon, with a pattern measuring 0.025 m. horizontally and 0.027 m. vertically; however, there are some irregularities, particularly at the ends of the names in Col. I.

Line 2: Peek restores the name, presumably that of a general, as Herodotos. However, this does not occur in Athens until the third century (*I.G.*, II², 2440, line 4), and by that time Menodotos and Zenodotos were also common and would be just as likely here. The earliest occurrence I can find of an Athenian name which would fit the space is that of Pythodotos, archon in 343/2. There is a Delodotos in an early casualty list, *I.G.*, I², 933, line 13, but he is a Keian.

Line 3: Peek reads ρος, but the epsilon seems certain. The letter before it could be an iota as well as a lambda, but I can find no name which ends with -ieos.

Line 17: Kleainetos is cut *in rasura*, with the probable, but not certain, exception of the final sigma.

Line 23: Peek reads *ηυσι* --. The first two letters are crowded into one stoichos, and the first is much eroded, but there seem to be traces of the lower bar of a lambda.

I.G., I², 942 (E. M. 10279) is certainly part of the same monument; it has the same lettering, spacing, original thickness, and sunken border (Pl. 2). This fragment has the left side preserved with anathyrosis, and the channel, which is narrower than

the Winds, the other outside. They are now in the Epigraphical Museum. The following commentary on details of the text and the physical characteristics of the stone owes much to McGregor and Stroud, for whose expert help I am very grateful.

that on the other pieces, measures 0.018 m. in width at line 3, 0.016 m. at line 6. This gives the rate of decrease in the channel's width as about 0.002 m. every 3 lines. This is paralleled in the channel on the right side of the combined pieces; at line 17 the width is 0.027 m., at line 20 it is 0.025 m., although it should be noted that above line 2 the angle straightens out so that the width at line 1 is still 0.027 m. The channel on the left of E. M. 12883 is preserved to a width of 0.025 m. opposite line 9, but a projection of the stone near the back extends 0.032 m. from the channel's right edge. This is at a point three lines below the spot where the preserved channel on the right measures 0.025 m. On the necessary assumption that the channels on both sides would be about the same width at the same height on the stone, and keeping in mind that there is no trace of an original edge on the left side of E. M. 12883 (Pl. 3, c), one must conclude that the channel on the left of the latter was complete and not, as all others known, really half a channel split by a joint. It must have been cut up the center of a stone to separate the casualties of two different phylai and to give the impression that each had its own tapered stele.⁸

The evidence from this combination of fragments gives a clear picture of the whole monument. This must have consisted of five stelai set up side by side, as is shown by the anathyrosis on the right side and the cutting for the T-clamp in the top (Pl. 3, b, a). Each stone contained the casualties of two phylai and these were set off by sunken channels, which would alternately be at the joints and in the center of the stone. These channels ran up to the moulding which crowned the top of the whole monument (Fig. 1).⁹ Hippothontis takes up a width of 0.542 m., so each stele must have been *ca.* 1.09 m. wide. The height of the monument must have been about 1.30 m.; this may be computed from the number of lines which could be included in the distance necessary for the sunken channel to taper off to nothing at the bottom.¹⁰ Since the channel's width diminishes about 0.002 m. every three lines and it is 0.025 m. wide at a point opposite the fourth name, there should be about 38 more lines below. Thus if both columns were filled there would have been 85 casualties from Hippothontis and a maximum for the year of 850 from all ten phylai. It is hardly

⁸ H. A. Thompson has suggested as a parallel the false joints in the poros masonry in the north wall of the Nike Apteros bastion. There alternate courses of headers and stretchers were used down to a point where the living rock made it necessary to use all stretchers. But then, in alternating courses, false joints were cut to make one stretcher look like two headers.

⁹ R. Stroud has kindly examined the upper right corner of the stone and reports as follows: "The surface of both the moulding and the inscribed face is broken just at the crucial point *but* a tiny piece of the top of the channel is preserved in the top left corner at exactly the level where the moulding would have crossed. This is a clear indication that the moulding did run across the channel, or, more exactly, that the channel extended only as high as the moulding."

¹⁰ Since there are no examples of this type of channel on a complete stele, it is only an assumption, but a necessary one, that they would taper off completely and regularly. Cf. the posts of the fence of the Eponymous heroes, where a similar effect is obtained by a narrow v-shaped cutting up the center; Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

possible, however, that all of the stelai were full. A conservative estimate of the losses would be about two-thirds of the maximum, or 550; the actual figure could have been lower, but it probably rested between this and 850.¹¹ Total casualties within this range are quite considerable for one campaigning season.

To judge from the hand, the stone was inscribed about the middle of the fifth century. The upsilon is slightly curved, the nu is slanting, and the phi has a slightly projecting upright. In fact, except for the use of four bars in the sigma instead of three, the lettering resembles very closely that of *I.G.*, I², 851 (above, No. 3). These may well have been by the same stonecutter, who was just changing over, as the four-barred sigmas several times have an upper stroke slanting too vertically, giving the impression that they were made as the beginning of a sigma of the older style (cf. Col. I, lines 8, 10, 14, and *I.G.*, I², 942, line 2).

Of Athenian campaigns near mid-century which would have produced at least 550 casualties, we know of only three: Egypt, Kypros, and Koroneia. Of these Egypt is least likely epigraphically,¹² and almost impossible historically. The minimum losses in Egypt were 80 ships with most of their complements, around 15,000 men.¹³ The percentage which was Athenian is very uncertain; there are too many unknown quantities in any attempts to work this out,¹⁴ but it is clearly very unlikely, if not

¹¹ There are only two stelai which were parts of larger monuments and in a condition to permit us to see to what extent they were filled. E. M. 13190 (E. Mastrokostas, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1955, pp. 180-202), which is complete, contains five columns representing the losses of two and one-half phylai; it is only about one-third full, having 132 names out of a possible 375. The other, *I.G.*, I², 950, apparently was cut off a bit at the top, so that it is impossible to tell whether its first two columns represent one or two phylai, while the third and last column is a complementary list with all the phylai within it. As we have it, the stone would have contained 203 names out of a possible 252, or about 80%. The norm must lie somewhere between these two, but just where it is impossible to say.

¹² As far as I know, the earliest four-barred sigma and phi with projecting bar in official inscriptions in the Attic alphabet occur in the second of the tribute-quota lists, inscribed in 452. This would have been less than two years after the inscription of the casualties in Egypt, but these forms seem to have been isolated exceptions. They do not become standard until List VII (447), and even then there is a reversion to the three-barred sigma in List VIII.

¹³ This is accepting the loss of 40 ships mentioned by Ktesias (*F. G. H.*, III c, no. 688, frag. 14) and most of the 50-ship reinforcement (Thucydides, I, 110, 4); cf. W. Wallace, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII, 1936, pp. 252-260, and Gomme, *Commentary*, I, p. 322.

¹⁴ First, there is no indication of what percentage of ships was Athenian. One would expect over 50%; the editors of *A. T. L.* (III, p. 242) conclude that the original assessment was about evenly divided between ships and money, and the process of conversion had already started before 460. Gomme, *Commentary*, I, pp. 285-286, would have a great majority of ships in this early period Athenian. Second, it is unknown what percentage of rowers on Athenian ships were citizens. There was a good number of mercenaries by 431 (cf. *A. T. L.*, III, pp. 251-252, and Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 418, note 2, against G. Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of his Age*, I², Oxford, 1948, p. 310) but the percentage of these would likely have been much smaller in the earlier period when more allied cities were still supplying ships. Plutarch, *Cimon*, XI, 2, says that Kimon made the Athenians serve in turn, and both Perikles (Thucydides, I, 143, 1) and the "Old Oligarch" (I, 19-20) speak of the naval skill and experience of the citizens.

impossible, that it would have been less than 4%. Yet this would have to have been the case to get them all on the monument under consideration, even if all the stelai were completely filled.¹⁵ Of the casualties incurred during Kimon's expedition to Kypros in 450, we know next to nothing. In a campaign which involved at least one siege and battles on both land and sea,¹⁶ they could well have reached the level of 550 to 850.¹⁷ In Tolmides' expedition into Boiotia, which culminated in the defeat at Koroneia, there were 1000 Athenian hoplites, all of whom were killed or captured (Thucydides, I, 113). There is no indication of the percentage killed, but 55 to 85% would seem high. However, if Koroneia took place in the spring of 446, as the editors of *A.T.L.* have argued convincingly (III, pp. 174 and 178, note 65), there would certainly have been other casualties in a campaigning season which included the revolts of Megara and Euboa and the subjugation of the latter.¹⁸ A list of from 550 to 850 would seem reasonable for that year.

Three blocks of Pentelic marble (Figs. 1, 2; Pl. 3, d-g), which formed the top course of the base of the funeral monument in the year of Koroneia have been found, with an eight-line epigram upon them.¹⁹ From the markings and discoloration on the

¹⁵ It is assumed here that all Athenian citizens, including thetes who served as rowers, would be listed under their phylai; on the other hand, cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 48, note 102: "Only the hoplites ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου are counted here, because it may be assumed that only they were mentioned in the casualty lists." There is no room here for a full discussion. I can only say that it is inconceivable to me that a heading stating Ἀθηναίων ἠοῖδε ἀπέθανον (*I. G.*, I², 943) could be put over a list from which the thetes were excluded. The final official list could have been drawn up from the *lexiarchika grammateia* just as well as from the catalogue.

¹⁶ Thucydides, I, 112, 2-4. Diodoros, XII, 3, adds a siege of Marion to that of Kition and says both were successful. He also tells of the death of the general, Anaxikrates, but places it, with the land battle, in Kilikia; this may indicate that Anaxikrates really died in the Eurymedon campaign. No faith can be put in Isokrates' statement, in a passage where he is exaggerating the losses of the fifth century (*De Pace*, 86), that the Athenian loss was 150 ships; this is ten more than Thucydides says took part in the battle.

¹⁷ Agora I 2608, a list of allies in the Ionian script, has been plausibly identified by Meritt as a casualty list of either Kypros or Eurymedon; *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 114, pp. 65-66. The differences in lettering and spacing between this and the monument under discussion are not pertinent to the dating of either, since the allies were undoubtedly listed on a separate monument, as were the Argives who died at Tanagra.

¹⁸ Thucydides, I, 114, 1, specifically mentions the destruction of part of the Athenian garrison by the Megarians.

¹⁹ N. Kyparissis and W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 142-146. The stones are now in the Epigraphical Museum with the numbers 12746, *a* and *b*, and 12747. The identification seems certain. The script, of a transitional character, fits the time well (Pl. 3, e), and in the discussion of the epigram the consensus has been that it is most appropriate to Koroneia; cf. Peek, *Hermes*, LXVIII, 1933, pp. 353-356; *Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, pp. 252-256; C. M. Bowra, *C.Q.*, XXXII, 1938, pp. 80-88; A. Cameron, *Harv. Theo. Rev.*, XXXIII, 1940, pp. 97-130; K. Reinhardt, *Hermes*, LXXIII, 1938, pp. 234-239. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, Ἀρχαῖαι Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἐπιγραφαί, Athens, 1946, pp. 98-105, maintains that the epigram is Euripidean and would be most suitable to the Sicilian Expedition, and on pp. 101, note 1, and 103, note 1, he quotes Hiller and Kirchner as agreeing with this view. But in assigning the base to 412 he fails to take into account the evidence

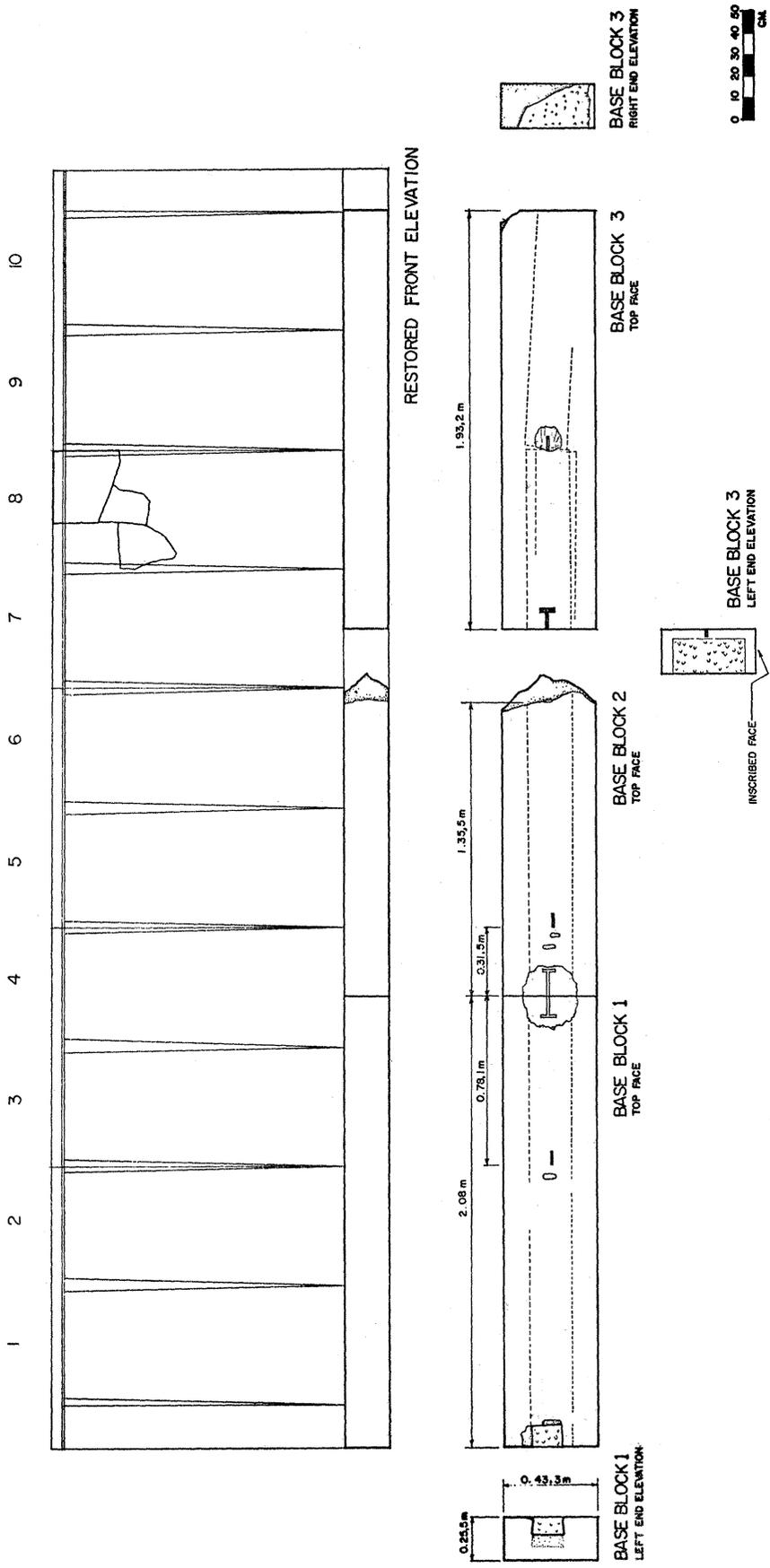


Fig. 1. Proposed Reconstruction of No. 5.

upper surface, it seems clear that the row of stelai set upon it were 0.185-0.190 m. thick. Furthermore, the dowels and pry-holes indicate that there were five stelai;²⁰ of these the first from the left had a width of 1.317 m.; the second, 1.092 m.; the third, *ca.* 1.085 m.;²¹ the fourth is uncertain because of the break in the stone; the fifth, 1.099 m. Undoubtedly this last was originally wider, matching that on the other end. This is indicated not only by the placing of the epigram, which begins 0.22 m. from the left end while running to the present right end of the whole base, but also by the very rough anathyrosis on the right end (Pl. 3, d) that is quite different from the original working on the left end of the same stone, which was fitted to the next block of the base. This leads one to conclude that the right end of both stele and base were at some later time removed when a new monument was crowded in. Such an operation would also account for the slight displacement of the first stele at the right as indicated by its track (Fig. 1; Pl. 3, d).²²

The pry-holes indicate that the stelai were set up from right to left. That on the left end was fastened by means of a tenon at its back left corner which fitted into a mortice cut into the base (Fig. 2; Pl. 3, e, f);²³ undoubtedly a similar system was

of the lettering, particularly the tailed rho, which he admits (p. 104) Hiller says stands in the way of such an interpretation. It does not help to move *I.G.*, I², 527, down to 413 and then quote it as a parallel; for the latter, see Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, no. 132, pp. 141-144. Recently H. B. Mattingly, in his attempt to discredit the generally accepted criteria for dating by letter forms, has suggested that the epigram would fit better the battle of Delion; cf. *Historia*, XII, 1963, pp. 261-262. At first glance his arguments connecting Amphiaraos with the hero who fulfilled his own oracle seem attractive, but we must keep in mind that we have much more information about the 420's than the 440's and about Amphiaraos than the other possibilities. Decisive against Mattingly's identification is the fact that Thucydides (IV, 101, 2) gives the Athenian losses at Delion as almost 1,000, not including the light-armed, whereas the maximum number of names possible on the lists is 850; cf. above, p. 23.

²⁰ Not four, as Kyparissis and Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 142, who speak of three dowels, each holding one side of two stelai. It is true that only three are preserved, but since those on E. M. 12746, *a* and *b*, are *ca.* 1.10 m. apart, and the one on 12747 is *ca.* 1.10 m. from the right edge, it seems clear that there must have been another in the missing 0.20-0.25 m. on the right end of 12746 *b*. There are at the break traces of a pry-hole, which would normally be just to the left of the dowel.

²¹ Because of the break in the stone, this measurement can be taken only from the pry-hole.

²² This displacement must have come early in antiquity, as there is no trace of what must have been the stele's original straight position. It seems likely that later in antiquity this stele was removed while the others still stood. This is indicated by the facts that the dowel was chiseled out, whereas the others were left, and that the sill in this area is worn by traffic, whereas elsewhere it is quite fresh. At the time of the removal the second stele from the right was wrenched slightly askew. There are visible there both the original straight track and the slanting later one. The description and interpretation of the marks on the base owe much to the acute observation of H. A. Thompson, Mrs. Rebecca Robinson, and C. K. Williams.

²³ It seems strange that there were not four sides to the cutting to hold the tenon more securely, but this appears to be the original end of the stone. Furthermore, directly under the mortice cutting the surface of the base shows signs of having been additionally worked in connection with the tenon after the latter had been put into place (Pl. 3, f). The unpolished finish on the end indicates that it was not meant to be seen. The monument must have been erected very close to an earlier one in the public cemetery along the road to the Academy.

used on the right. Apparently the extra 0.22 m. in width on each of the end stelai was uninscribed, since the cut on the right and the beginning of the epigram on the

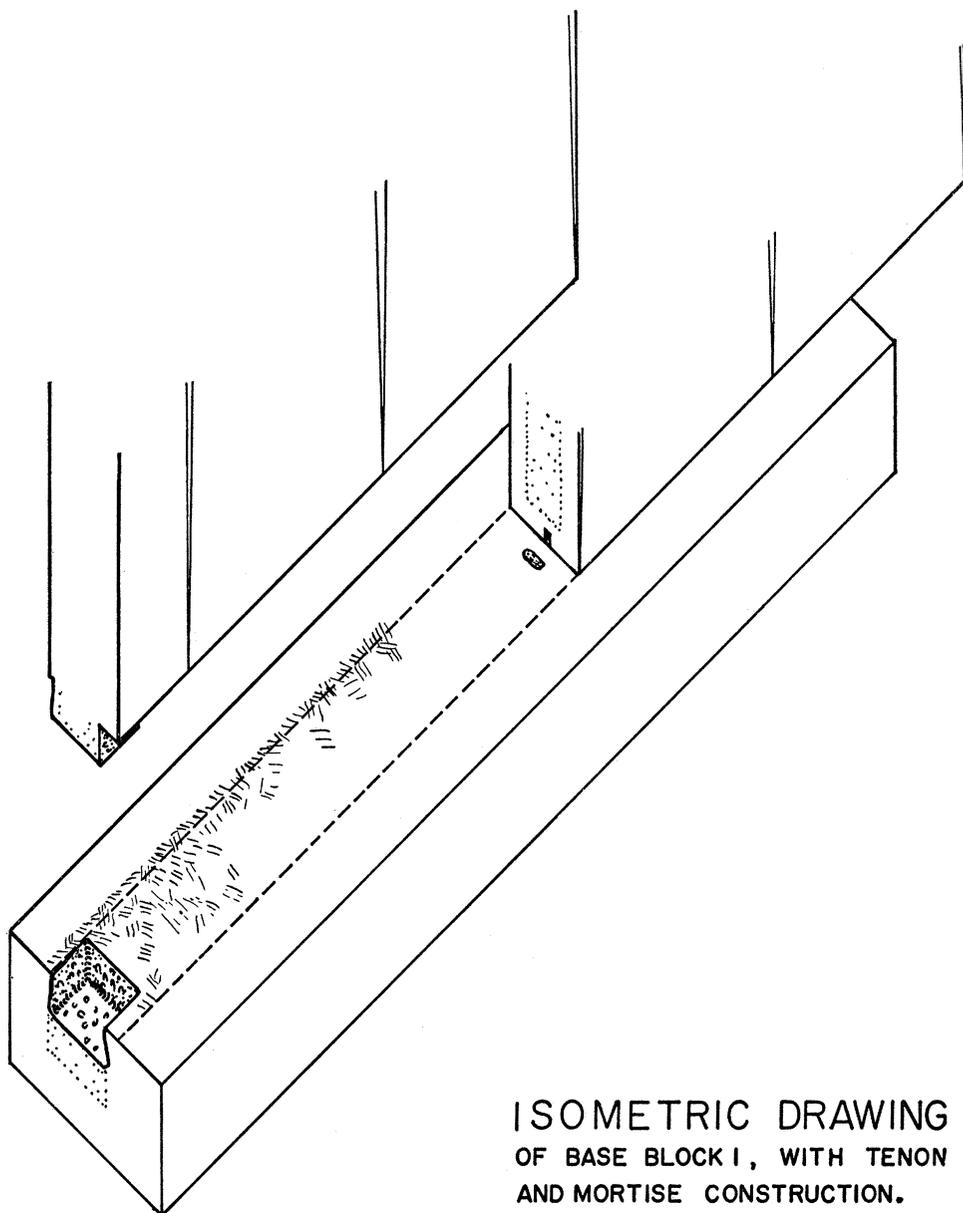


FIG. 2. Left End of No. 5.

left are at points which leave, for the two phylai on each stone, the same space as that on the three interior stelai. Just how this uninscribed space was treated is, of course,

uncertain; it seems most likely, however, that it was set off from the names by a channel, giving the effect of a post enframing the lists (Fig. 1).

The striking similarity of the number, width, and thickness of the stelai which were set upon the Koroneia base with those which may be reconstructed from the fragments discussed above almost forces their identification; this is further strengthened by the fact that the year of Koroneia is one of two which would have the best claim to the list even without the base. The epigram is in a different hand from that of the casualties, but this is no hindrance to such an identification. The two scripts could certainly be contemporary,²⁴ and it is very likely that they would have been inscribed at different times.²⁵ Therefore it seems that E.M. 12883 and the two contiguous pieces, containing the casualties of the eighth phyle, Hippothontis, are from the right half of the fourth stele of the monument set up for the dead of 446. *I.G.*, I², 942, could be from the left edge of any of four stones.

6 (Plate 4). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken above, at the left, and below. Much worn and eroded on all sides, with a cutting for a doorpost in the face. Part of the smooth right side is preserved, but it is beveled off into the back, which seems original.

Height, 0.42 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters: lines 1-4 and 7-19, 0.011 m.; line 5, 0.013 m.; line 6, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. E. M. 5578.

saec. V *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

 [Δ]εμοτ[----]
 Εὐνοστ[----]
 Χαιρέα[ς]
 Χερπυ[----]
 5 Τιμοχ[άρες]

²⁴ In the epigram the phi is much flatter than in the list, which is a later trait, but the rho has a tail, which would be expected earlier. The slightly-curved epsilon is the same on both, and the other letters are very similar, with the two exceptions noted above. Both hands seem to belong to the transitional period; cf. Kyparissis and Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 145. Perhaps the best parallel is the heading of the fourth tribute-quota list, in 450, where both types of rho occur.

²⁵ The only example on which we can compare an epigram with a list is *I.G.*, I², 943, and there the case is different in that both are inscribed on the stele. The epigram has a different appearance from the main body of the inscription, but it seems to be the same as lines 15, 18, 19, 35, 36, 67, and 76. R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1938, p. 65, note, calls this "an inferior later hand." W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 535, objects to this and explains the difference as the result of the stonemason's filling in, after the stele had been erected, spaces which he had left vacant. This might explain the deeper cutting of the epigram, but the rounder phi, both there and in lines 15 and 36, seems to indicate a different hand.

vacat 0.015 m.
 Ἀντιοχ[ίδος]
 [..]σ̣ερκ[---]
 Ἀριστίον
 Εὐδ[ε]μος
 10 Φιλοργ[ίδ]ε̣ς
 [.....]ος
 Ν[...]ο[...]ν
 [.....]^[----]
 [..]δ[.]ογ
 15 Τιμοσθ[ένε]ς
 Μνεσίμα[χος]
 Τίμον
 Δ[ιό]δορος
 [.....]ε̣ς

The condition of the stone makes reading difficult. In line 4 the first letter appears to be chi and the fourth pi; in the latter space the stone is gouged, but the right-hand vertical stroke seems to remain. However, I can find no name beginning with this combination of letters, nor does it help to substitute the other possibilities, mu or epsilon, for the chi. I do not believe that the first letter can be tau. Philourgides, in line 10, is new at Athens, but there are examples of Philourgos (*P.A.* 14758-14761).

The inscription is in a stoichedon pattern measuring *ca.* 0.016 m. both horizontally and vertically; there are no other examples of this among the casualty lists. Although the condition of the stone makes difficult any analysis of letter-forms, the rhos clearly have a disproportionately larger top than those of any other list.

7 (Plate 4). *a.* Fragment of Pentelic marble found on April 16, 1952, in a marble pile south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (P 16). Inscribed face and smooth right side preserved, broken elsewhere.

Height, 0.195 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.143 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 6514.

saec. V *a.*

[-----]ίδο[s]
 [-----]άνε̣ς

b. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on May 25, 1936, in a marble pile near the Temple of Ares (L 8). Inscribed face and part of rough-picked left side preserved, apparently the central band of anathyrosis. Broken elsewhere, including the front left edge.

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.092 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters: line 1, 0.017 m.; lines 2-3, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4193.

saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Ε Ι [-----]
 Χ σ [-----]
 Α ε [-----]

In line 1 the bottom of the upright shows that the second letter was iota, tau, or upsilon.

c. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on Feb. 7, 1936, on the surface south of the Temple of Ares (K 9). Broken all around.

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.062 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 3333.

saec. V a.

[-----]ο [-----]
 [----- ί]δ ο [ς]

These three little fragments, although they give nothing approaching a complete name, are published for the light which they shed on three apparently related pieces in the Epigraphical Museum (Pl. 4). *I.G.*, I², 958 (E.M. 10277), 965 (E.M. 10278), and 966 (E.M. 10234), all share certain characteristics. Relatively few names were listed under headings of phylai, several of which appear in the same column; each phyle must have been represented on one monument several times, as is the case on *I.G.*, I², 943, where the casualties are divided on the basis of where they fell. The names are inscribed in letters of different size; on *I.G.*, I², 958, the uprights measure both 0.017 and 0.015 m.; on *I.G.*, I², 966, they are 0.017 and 0.020 m.; on *I.G.*, I², 965, 0.017 and 0.011 m. There are also differences in spacing, sometimes even among letters of the same size; the best example of this is *I.G.*, I², 958, where, of the lines with the smaller letters (3-5 and 11), the first three are in one pattern, the last in another. On the same stone lines 1 and 2 are more widely spaced than 6-10 although the letters are of the same size. The reason for the smaller letters seems clearly to be that the headings and some of the names were inscribed before all of the casualties were in and at times not enough space was left. On *I.G.*, I², 965, the names are crowded as much as possible and even then one had to be written in vertically along the side. At first glance *I.G.*, I², 966, seems to contradict this interpretation, in that lines 1 and 2 are smaller than 3-5, even though there is a space of 0.08 m. left un-inscribed above the name of the phyle in line 3. However, the problem here is really why lines 3-5 are bigger

than the norm; one can only guess that, since they are of the last phyle, Antiochis, too much space had been left and the larger letters were an attempt to fill it in.²⁶ This crowding again recalls *I.G.*, I², 943, as does the adding of names. But there are also differences between that stele and this group of fragments. In the latter the hand is much more steady and regular, and the letters of different sizes are still of the same shape and give no impression of having been added by a different stonecutter or after the stele had been erected, as is the case with *I.G.*, I², 943.²⁷ Furthermore, it is hardly possible that, as in *I.G.*, I², 943, the columns had phyle I, Erechtheis, at the top; *I.G.*, I², 958, which contains names of phylai VIII to X, must have been well up on the stele since its sunken sloping channel measures 0.025 m. in width.²⁸

It is because of the variety of size and spacing of the letters, as well as the fact that each has some of what appears to be the normal height (0.017 m.), that I have associated the Agora fragments with those in the Epigraphical Museum. In fragment *c* the ΔO of line 2 have the same size and spacing as the letters in lines 6-10 and 12-13 of *I.G.*, I², 958. The remains of the O in the line above are not in line vertically, which is natural in these pieces. In fact, if line 11 of *I.G.*, I², 958, were continued on to the right as Kephisodotos (or -doros), the final O would fall in exactly this position over the ΔO at the end of the Antiochidos in line 12. Fragment *c* may even belong here, as the weathering of the O is similar to that at the ends of lines 3, 5, 6, and 7 of *I.G.*, I², 958.

In fragment *b* the horizontal spacing is the same as that of line 2 of *I.G.*, I², 958, and the vertical spacing is that of lines 2-5 of the same stone. The letters of both sizes seem the same, except that the chi of fragment *b* is smaller. One other difference is that in the latter the same horizontal spacing is used for the letters of both sizes. There is no parallel for this in other fragments, but it is the converse of what we do have, different spacing with the same sized letters. Other indications that *b* belongs to this group are the side roughened for anathyrosis and the fact that the first letters begin 0.085 m. from the left edge. This can best be explained by assuming that *b* came from low on one of a group of multiple stelai with the slanting sunken channels on the sides.²⁹ On such a stele an attempt was made to keep the left edge of a column straight;³⁰ therefore the distance between the first letter of a name and the edge of

²⁶ Cf. *I.G.*, I², 943, line 69, where the name is inscribed in letters larger than the headings of phylai. There is no apparent reason, since the space to be filled is the same as that which held two names of regular size for the phyle above and only one each for the preceding four.

²⁷ See above, p. 29, note 25.

²⁸ Cf. above, p. 21, note 6, for the purpose of such a channel.

²⁹ Unfortunately the stone is broken so that the edge which would have contained the channel and the smooth band of the anathyrosis is missing; cf. Plate 4.

³⁰ This is shown by E.M. 12883 and *I.G.*, I², 942. In line 3 of the former the name begins 0.009 m. from the channel; lower down at line 3 of the latter, the distance is 0.016 m. Cf. above, No. 5.

the stele was determined by the greatest width of the channel (more than 0.025 m. on *I.G.*, I², 958, at a place which certainly was not the top), plus one letter space (*ca.* 0.030 m.) for the projecting letter of the name of the phyle, plus the distance the first heading began from the channel. It is of course impossible to reckon this exactly, since we do not know how wide the channel could be. However, a total of 0.085 m., as we have on *b*, does not seem excessive.

In fragment *a* the letters of both lines seem to be of the size normal to these stelai. The spacing of what is almost certainly a heading for a phyle in line 1 is wider than any found in the other fragments; it probably represents an attempt to spread out one of the shorter names. The spacing of line 2 is the same as that of *I.G.*, I², 966, line 2.

In spite of the many similarities among these fragments, there are also differences, particularly in their physical characteristics, which force one to the conclusion that at least three different monuments are represented. The question is complicated by the fact that three of the pieces, *I.G.*, I², 958, 965, and *b*, have anathyrosis or a sunken border,³¹ indicating that they were parts of monuments containing more than one stele. Both *a* and *I.G.*, I², 966, have preserved smooth right sides, but on the latter enough is left to indicate that it was cut with an upwards taper, which could be to offset the effect of a channel on the other side. These two fragments, however, make it clear that there were at least two different monuments, since *a*, although broken at the back, has a thickness of 0.143 m., whereas the original thickness of *I.G.*, I², 966, is only 0.138 m. Since all of the other pieces are broken at the back with a thickness less than *I.G.*, I², 966, there is no criterion in this to help with their identification.

Differences in the depth, and perhaps the angle, of the sunken borders show that *I.G.*, I², 958 and 965, do not belong to the same monument.³² Furthermore, there is an indication in line 8 that *I.G.*, I², 965, can belong with neither 966 nor fragment *a*. The $-\text{I}\Sigma$ there has been interpreted as the end of a name either of a person or a place.³³ But now that we know that the name of a phyle could be inscribed in the nominative as well as the genitive (cf. above, No. 5), it seems most reasonable to interpret this as the ending of such a nominative. In all other cases where there is a crowding of names, in these fragments and in *I.G.*, I², 943, the lower limit of the space is set by the name of the next phyle.

Thus we have in these fragments at least three monuments. *I.G.*, I², 966, and *a*

³¹ *I.G.*, I², 965, has both; probably the other two did also. The front edge of *b* is broken away; cf. above, p. 32, note 29. On *I.G.*, I², 958, which has the border, the side is cut away except for a smooth band next to the face; this is 0.020 m. wide, the same width as the smooth part of the anathyrosis on *I.G.*, I², 965. There is an example of chiselling away the side below the smooth band on E.M. 10259 (*I.G.*, I², 964 C); cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 83.

³² In *I.G.*, I², 965, the channel is 0.005 m. deep and loses 0.003 m. in width in a distance of 0.14 m.; in 958 the depth is 0.012 m. and the width diminishes 0.001 m. in a distance of 0.055 m.

³³ Cf. Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 216.

represent two, each with the name of the phyle in the genitive. *I.G.*, I², 958, and *c* could go with either of these.³⁴ *I.G.*, I², 965, stands apart because of the heading in the nominative. Fragment *b* could be associated with any one of these, since it alone has no part of a phyle's name.

The similarity of arrangement and lettering indicates that these stelai fall closely together in time. The constant recurrence of headings for phylai and the monumental size of the letters would indicate a period when no large number of Athenians were falling in one battle, but rather a relatively small number in several places each year.³⁵ The use of multiple stelai in such a situation seems paradoxical; it is hard to see why the size of the letters was not cut down and regularized. There is a parallel for the use of large letters on such a monument in the list usually attributed to the first year of the Peloponnesian War, although the letters all seem to be of the same size.³⁶ Since certain similarities with *I.G.*, I², 943, usually dated *ca.* 440, have also been pointed out, it is tempting to assign these pieces to the intervening period. We really know so little of the details of Athenian military activity in the 430's that there can be no certainty, but this seems to be the most likely time for light and scattered casualties. Another possibility might be the time between the Peace of Nikias and the Sicilian Expedition.

8 (Plate 4). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides.

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. E. M. 2492.

saec. V a.

[----]χστ[---]

[----.]έας

vacat 0.02 m.

[----]οϚ[----]

This fragment was recognized by A. E. Raubitschek as belonging with *I.G.*, I², 944, and Agora I 3181; cf. *S.E.G.*, X, 514: "*tertium fragm.* EM 2492 *add. id.*"

³⁴ J. Hondius, *Novae Inscriptiones Atticae*, Leiden, 1925, p. 120, connected 958 and 966. This is quite possible, with the proviso that they should be recognized as parts of two stelai of the same monument.

³⁵ There is no parallel between these pieces and *I.G.*, I², 950 and 954, both of which have one column in which a comparatively small number of names are listed under their phylai. These are both the final column on the right end of a large monument which had casualties in great numbers by column. *I.G.*, I², 958 and 965, on the other hand, show headings within columns which were not even on the last stele.

³⁶ *I.G.*, I², 944, plus *S.E.G.*, X, 415; cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 25-27. Both fragments have topographical rubrics but no names of phylai; there may be part of one of the latter on an unpublished piece, E.M. 2492 (below, No. 8.)

[Raubitschek] *necdum ed.*" It has the same lettering and spacing and is of the same white marble as the others.

For 0.015 m. above the chi of line 1 there is an uninscribed space; it is of such a shape that any letter should show except mu or pi. It is very unlikely that the line was vacant. What appears in the photograph as possibly the end of a chi or a kappa to the left of the epsilon in line 2 seems to be rather a weathered spot on the stone, too shallow to be part of a letter.

Lines 1 and 2 are in a stoichedon pattern measuring 0.021 m. horizontally and 0.025 m. vertically. This is not only the same as that of *I.G.*, I², 944, and Agora I 3181, but also of Agora I 6523, published by Meritt in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, no. 1, pp. 340-341 = *S.E.G.*, XII, 72. It is highly probable that the latter piece belongs to the same monument; the "rather marked difference in the letter *sigma*" which led Meritt to disassociate it is evident when it is contrasted with I 3181 and lines 6 and 8 of *I.G.*, I², 944, but not with lines 2 and 4 of the same stone.

In line 3 the omicron or theta and the tip of a left upright are not in the stoichedon pattern. Because of this and the vacant space above it is tempting to see here a heading for a phyle. If this is so, it most likely was Kekropidos; the $-\chi\sigma\iota-$ of line 1 almost certainly were the third to sixth letters of a name beginning with AP or EP, and if the name of the phyle extended part of one letter-space to the left of the margin, the remains on the stone would represent the fifth and sixth letters, $-\omicron\pi-$. Such a deviation from the pattern is unexampled in the other pieces of the monument, where several rubrics are preserved, although none of them phyletic. On *I.G.*, I², 944, line 5, and *S.E.G.*, XII, 72, line 1, they are extended one letter-space to the left of the margin; on *S.E.G.*, XII, 72, lines 2 and 3, and *I.G.*, I², 944, line 3 (if Wilhelm's restoration of $\epsilon\nu$ 'Αλόπει is correct), they are parallel to the margin. In the face of such diversity, a fourth method is hardly surprising.³⁷

9 (Plate 5). Six fragments of Pentelic marble, three of which join; apparently all are part of the same column.

a. Found on March 4, 1936, in a modern context northeast of the Odeion (N 8). Broken on all sides.

³⁷ Gomme, *Commentary*, II, pp. 86 and 101-102, objects to Wilhelm's restoration of *I.G.*, I², 944, line 3, because the heading would be in line with the margin, while in line 5 it is set out one space, and he is very doubtful that *S.E.G.*, X, 415, belongs with *I.G.*, I², 944, because its headings are indented, "producing a quite different effect." His conclusion that "arguments from letter-forms can clearly be too closely pressed" may be true enough, but the identification of these fragments depends not just upon letter-forms, but also upon the spacing and the marble itself. Arguments based upon attributing to the stonecutter an aesthetic sense similar to our own can be even more dangerous. It is perhaps well that we have on the same stone all three columns of *I.G.*, I², 950, for in Cols. I and II the headings are in line with the margin, while in Col. III they project one space. In *I.G.*, I², 928, line 32, $\epsilon\pi\iota$ Συγείοι is in the regular pattern, while in line 35 $\epsilon\nu$ Καρδίαι projects.

Height, 0.132 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.063 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 3694.

b. Found Feb. 5, 1935, in the wall of a modern house near the center of the Agora (N 10). Possibly a bit of the rough-picked back preserved; otherwise broken.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.165 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 2378 *a.*

c. Two joining fragments found Feb. 6 and March 11, 1935, in a modern context near the center of the Agora (N 9). Broken on all sides.

Height, 0.514 m.; width, 0.083 m.; thickness, 0.102 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 2378 *b.*

d. Found on Sept. 17, 1934, in a wall of a modern house near the center of the Agora (N 9). Broken on all sides, but joins the lower right side of I 2378 *b.*

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 2124.

e. Found on Feb. 11, 1935, at the modern level near the center of the Agora (N 9). Broken on all sides.

Height, 0.295 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 2424.

saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] ∪ | O [-]

[-----] ονίδ[εσ]

[-----] λίον

[-----] νθος

5 [-----] κλέεσ

lacuna

[-----] ∪ ∪

[-----] θι [-----]

[-----.] εσ

[-----.] το [-]

10 [-----.] τε [-]

[-----.] ∪ ∪

[-----.] ^ [-----]

lacuna

15 [-----.]τρ[----]
 [-----.]ς
 [-----.]λες
 [-----.]έον
 [-----.]τρα[----]
 [-----.]κος
 [-----]
 20 [-----.]οδ[----]
 [-----.]ας
 [-----.]αντ[----]
 [-----]κλêς
 [-----.]ρατ[----]
 25 [-----.]νίδ[ες]
 [-----]πίδε[ς]
 [-----.]δε[ς]
 [-----.]ε[.]δ[--]
 [-----.]ρ[----]
 30 [-----...] ^{v v} ?
 [-----...] ^{v v} ?
 [-----...]δες

lacuna

35 [.....¹¹.....]ς
 [.....¹¹.....] ^{v v}
 [τοχσόται βάρβα]ροι
 [.....¹¹.....] ^{v v}
 [.....¹⁰.....]ος
vacat 0.03 m.

These fragments are in a stoichedon pattern which measures 0.022 m. horizontally and 0.025 m. vertically; the only exception is Frag. *e*, which is the same vertically, but in line 35 each letter space is only 0.015 m. However, the distance from the edge of the omicron to the right edge of the sigma in line 37 is 0.022 m.; this and the absence of any letters in the 0.010 m. to the left of the sigma in line 33 and the alpha in line 35 indicate that the horizontal pattern was kept that far. The crowding at the end of line 35 probably occurred because of its great length; it most likely read *τοχσόται βάρβαροι*. This would mean that there were twelve letters to the left of the preserved alpha. But since the heading was most likely extended one space into the margin at the left, the sigmas in lines 33 and 37 would be the ends of names of twelve letters.

That these pieces are from the same monument is clear not only from the spacing but also from the large well-cut lettering, which resembles that of *I.G.*, I², 944, and related pieces (cf. above, No. 8). That they were from the same column seems likely from the fact that they all contain the ends of names and all were found in a modern context in the same general area; this would indicate that they came from a single piece of stone which was broken up for building material at a late date.

10 (Plate 5). Fragment of Pentelic marble, taken from the Tower of the Winds in 1961 and accessioned in the epigraphical collection from the Agora in the Stoa of Attalos.⁸⁸ The smooth right side is preserved for 0.085 m. back from the face. Behind this there is a rough-picked surface cut down 0.017 m.; this seems to be later work, since it is too deep for an anathyrosis dressing and the smoothness of the band toward the front indicates that it was an original surface, meant to be seen.

Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.285 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.

Height of letters: 0.012 and 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 6964.

ca. 430 *a.*

Col. I

[-----.]ς
 [-----]ριος
 [-----.]ον
 [-----.]σος

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Col. II

vacat 0.03 m.

5 Αιγείδος

Κόμον

vacat 0.03 m.

Πανδιονίδος

Θεμισθιος

Πειθαγόρας

10 Εὐφίλετος

Κροῖσος

vacat 0.02 m.

All but the headings are in a stoichedon pattern which measures 0.014 m. horizontally by 0.020 m. vertically. None of the names are new at Athens, although Peithagoras seems to occur only in *I.G.*, II², 1951, line 381.⁸⁹

This fragment seems quite clearly to come from the same monument as Agora I 4168 (B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, no. 7, pp. 93-94 = *S.E.G.*, X, 418). On both pieces the letters of the names have the same size and spacing; note particularly

⁸⁸ I wish to express my appreciation to the late I. Threpsiades for permission to publish this fragment and to M. F. McGregor and R. Stroud for their help.

⁸⁹ This Kroisos of Pandionis probably has no connection with his namesake, the Anavyssos kouros, which was found in an area which, after 508, belonged to the phyle Antiochis; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXXIX, 1955, p. 208.

the tall, narrow epsilon. Although the letters of the headings on the new fragment are slightly larger than those of Oineidos in line 4 of I 4168, they match perfectly those of lines 2 and 3.

The new piece comes from the right side of the stele and gives the width of a column as 0.195 m.; this in turn sheds further light on I 4168 and the whole monument. In line 1 Meritt suggested restoring [Ἀθηναίων ἠ]οῖδ[ε ἀπέθανον]. When the space required for this heading is worked out, using a distance of 0.062 m. between letters, as between the preserved omicron, iota, and delta, and 0.018 or 0.013 m. for the width of the various letters, it comes to 1.56 m., which is just 8 columns. If the first word of the heading, Ἀθηναίων, is left off, the space required is 0.975 m., or 5 columns. Furthermore, if lines 2 and 3 of I 4168 be restored [ἐν . . .] δι καὶ [περὶ | τὴν Πελ]οπόννη[σον], they would cover just 2 columns. It seems clear, therefore, that this monument resembled *I.G.*, I², 943, to the extent that casualties were listed under their phylai, the names of which were repeated at least three times under different geographical headings. It is impossible to determine whether the stone had five or eight columns in all; either width would be possible for a stele which was more than 0.22 m. thick. In either case, I 6964 contains part of the last column (V or VIII), which must have included all of the phylai, since the second and third are preserved on the right edge. I 4168 contains the geographical heading for Columns I and II or IV and V and the beginning of the second of these. The appearance of Oineis, the sixth phyle, at the top here indicates that there were enough casualties in this group to take up two columns. The area in which these men fell is still not clear. Since the losses are divided geographically, the unknown place in line 2 must have been somewhere in or near the Peloponnese where the majority fell during one naval expedition. Elis, which comes to mind immediately (cf. *Thuc.*, II, 25), is one letter too short,⁴⁰ and there is no record of Athenian action in Phokis during the period 430-423, to which Meritt very plausibly assigns the monument.

11 (Plate 6). Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on May 4, 1936, in a modern wall in the northeast corner of the Agora (P 7). Broken all around.

Height, 0.251 m.; width, 0.144 m.; thickness, 0.186 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 4127.

⁴⁰ There is a possibility that Elis might have been written with a rough breathing; the Eleians themselves were using a digamma at the time; cf. *Inscr. v. Ol.*, 260 and 271. However, this is made unlikely by the fact that there is no aspirate in the Athenian copy of the treaty with Mantinea and Elis in 420/19; *I.G.*, I², 86, line 7.

<i>saec. V a.</i>		ΣΤΟΙΧ.
Col. I		Col. II
	[----- . .]ov	
	[----- .]s	
	[-----]ππος	
	[-----]ομος	
5	[----- .]χος	
	[----- .]τος	
	[----- . .]ς	
	[----- . . .]s	Α[-----]
	[----- . . .]s	Μ[-----]
10	[-----]s	
	[-----]s	

This inscription has a stoichedon pattern measuring 0.021 m. vertically and 0.015 m. horizontally. In this and in its lettering it is the same as *I.G.*, I², 968 (E. M. 1837) and 963 (E. M. 10258). Although there is no join among the three fragments, they seem certainly to be from the same monument. The difference in thickness of the pieces is no hindrance to this identification. *I.G.*, I², 963, is 0.195 m. thick and the back, though very rough and uneven, seems original. Agora I 4127 is 0.186 m. thick with no trace of an original back. *I.G.*, I², 968, has a smooth flat back which at first glance seems original, but it can hardly be so, since it slopes too greatly in relation to the front. At the top of the fragment the thickness is 0.125 m.; at the bottom it is 0.135 m., i.e., it loses 0.01 m. in a distance of only 0.20 m.⁴¹

Hondius (*op. cit.*, p. 118) suggested that *I.G.*, I², 960 (E. M. 10264) and 961 (E. M. 10263), might also be connected with 963 and 968. There seems to be little doubt but that *I.G.*, I², 960, should be. The letters and the horizontal spacing are the same. The vertical spacing averages 0.022 m. instead of 0.021 m.; the explanation for this slight difference may lie in the fact that this is the foot of a column.⁴² The stone is *ca.* 0.19 m. thick and the preserved section of the back is much worn, but there seem to be traces of some broad gouging and deep picking which resemble the back of *I.G.*, I², 963.

There is some doubt as to whether *I.G.*, I², 961, belongs with the others. The letters seem slightly smaller; even in their heavily-weathered condition the uprights measure between 0.011 and 0.012 m. The stoichedon pattern is 0.022 m. vertically

⁴¹ Cf. Hondius, *op. cit.*, p. 118: “. . . *sed moneo nostrum fragmentum [I.G., I², 968] a tergo mutilatum esse.*”

⁴² Lines 10-12 cannot be taken into account in this reckoning, as they were added later in a much inferior irregular hand. They can hardly have been inscribed by the same stonecutter, as Hondius implies (*loc. cit.*).

by 0.013 m. horizontally. That such a difference in horizontal spacing is possible within the same monument is made clear by the variations in *S.E.G.*, X, 424, although there we are certainly dealing with a monument which consisted of several stelai.⁴³ There is not enough left of the edge of any of the pieces under discussion here to indicate whether such was the case with them or not.

12 (Plate 6). When B. D. Meritt published Agora I 888 *a* & *b* (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, no. 20, pp. 171-174 = *S.E.G.*, X, 425), he recognized by the spacing and lettering that they should be associated with *I.G.*, I², 956 (E. M. 10268); he naturally assumed that the vacant space at the bottom of Col. II of the latter indicated the bottom of a column and therefore placed the new fragments above. However, when an attempt was made to join the fragments, primarily in the hope that the beginnings of some of the names in Col. II of *I.G.*, I², 956, might prove to belong to those whose endings are on I 888 *b*, it was discovered that *I.G.*, I², 956, joined onto the top of I 888 *a*. The stones lock into place, and the distance from line 20 of *I.G.*, I², 956, to the tau at the top of Col. II of I 888 *a* is just that required for two lines. A bit of a left upright can be seen above the tau, indicating that only one line was left vacant. This must mean that the inscription was arranged in the same manner as *I.G.*, I², 949, where the headings of phylai are of the same size and in the same pattern as the names but are set off by a vacant line above. Therefore the first line of Col. II of I 888 *a*, above the tau, must have been such a heading; to judge from the bit of a letter remaining, it must have been Pandionis, Kekropis, or Hippothontis.

13 (Plate 7). An examination of *I.G.*, I², 950, now in the Louvre,⁴⁴ indicated that several corrections were necessary in the text published in the *Corpus*, which at times ignores the strict stoichedon order of the inscription. The text of W. Froehner, *Inscr. Louvre*, no. 113, is much more careful in this respect.

a. The heading in line 67 is [χ]σένου. Although the correct spacing is given in *C.I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 906, and by Froehner, *loc. cit.*, repeated in *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 47, the text in *I.G.*, I², leaves out a letter space.⁴⁵ Moreover, lines 65 and 66 seem to have been left vacant to set off the rubric; this is paralleled in Col. II, where there is nothing in lines 136-137 above the heading το[χσ]όται [β]άμβαροι, the correct reading of which has been given by Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 340, note 1.

⁴³ Cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 37-39; *I.G.*, I², 954, and Agora I 1008 *c* have a horizontal spacing of 0.011 m.; the other fragments of the monument have 0.012 m.

⁴⁴ I wish to thank M. Jean Charbonneaux and his assistants for their kindness and cooperation.

⁴⁵ The emendation [τοχσόται ἀ]σ[τ]οί suggested by H. Pope, *Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions*, New York, 1935, pp. 79-80 (= *S.E.G.*, X, 422), was based on the spacing in the *Corpus* and of course must be given up. Furthermore, her suggestion, *op. cit.*, p. 80, note 51, that the inscription was put up by the phyle Erechtheis whose members fill the first two columns can hardly be accepted in view of the fact that the stone has anathyrosis on the left side, showing it to have been the right end of a larger monument.

- b. In line 68, read $\Delta[\iota]\acute{\omicron}[\delta]o\pi o\varsigma$.
- c. At the very top of Col. II, opposite the first line of Col. I, is a name beginning in $\Phi\rho o-$. The name between this and line 75 seems to have been deliberately erased.
- d. In line 95, the upsilon is in the second space and the name should be read $[\Lambda]v\sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$. Froehner, *loc. cit.*, has the correct spacing.
- e. In line 97, the *Corpus* again has an extra letter-space; the line reads $E\upsilon[. .]\alpha[. .]o\varsigma$.
- f. In line 99, the name is $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, not $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$; Froehner, *loc. cit.*, has $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha[\delta\epsilon]s$.
- g. In line 110, read $\Sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ for $\Theta\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$.

14 (Plate 7). Two fragments from the Agora, I 5065 (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, no. 2, pp. 341-342 = *S.E.G.*, XII, 73) and I 4031 (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, no. 16, p. 243 = *S.E.G.*, XIV, 20) have been associated by B. D. Meritt with *I.G.*, I², 951 and 952, because of their spacing and lettering. Another, I 5013 (*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 116, p. 67), is also the same.

It is impossible to determine with certainty whether *I.G.*, I², 951 and 952, belong to the same monument, as has often been suggested.⁴⁶ The stones are slightly different in width and thickness, 951 measuring 0.49 x 0.10 m., 952 0.51 x 0.11 m. The marble of 952 is much whiter and the picking on the backs of the two is slightly different. The only striking difference in the lettering is the phi, which on 951 consists of two small circles on each side of the upright. None of these minor differences preclude their being two stelai of the same monument, as is suggested by the similarity of spacing and arrangement. 952 has anathyrosis on both sides; 951 has it on the left and possibly on the right, which is too worn for certainty.

However that may be, it is possible from a comparison of the stones themselves to associate the Agora fragments more closely. I 5013 and I 4031 have coloring and weathering very similar to that of *I.G.*, I², 951, and I 5013 has the same distinctive phi. Both almost certainly come from the bottom of that same stele, I 4031 directly under col. I, I 5013 under col. II. Since 951 has been set in plaster on a cement base, it is impossible to test the join, but the line of break at the bottom left is the same as that of the top of I 4031 and the final sigma of line 40 falls into place as the last letter of *Hebdomias* in line 2 of I 4031. Again, on the right the break is the same as that of I 5013, and the alignment of the edge and the letters shows that *Kriton* of line 1 falls just below line 74 of 951. I give below the text where the fragments come together, starting from lines 33 and 73 of 951. These are on the same level; the text in the *Corpus* has the whole of Col. II too low by one line.

⁴⁶ Cf. Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 219; Hiller, commentary *ad loc.*; Hondius, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

Col. I	Col. II
33 Τιμόδεμο[ς]	73 Κα[-----]
Ναύτες τριέ[ρ]αρχ.	Δ[. .]ο[----]
Τίμαρχος	[Κρ]ίτον
Ἐγέμαχος	[Νι]κοφῶν
Κύδιππος	[. .]μον
Χαρίδεμος	[. . . .]ίνες
[Ν]ικ[όδ]εμος	[Κεφι]σογέ[νες]
[h]εβδομ[ία]ς	[. . . .χ]άρες
[Φι]λίνος	-----
[Α]ίσχύλος	
[Δ]εινίας	
[Μ]οιρίας	
Χαροπίδες	
[Δ]εμοκλῆς	
[.]ο[----]	

Agora I 5065 has the normal phi and the same coloring and thickness as *I.G.*, I², 952. It is certainly from the same monument, and possibly it was the bottom of the same stele. Col. II of *I.G.*, I², 952, seems to be the foot of a column, but it is conceivable that a space of more than four lines⁴⁷ could have been left between the Athenian names and the rubric which we have in Col. II of I 5065.

15 (Plate 8). Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on August 21, 1959, in a modern fill in the area of the Eleusinion (V 20).⁴⁸ Broken at the left and below. Picked back, top with cutting for T-clamp, and right edge with anathyrosis preserved. The smooth bands at both the front and back edges of the latter measure *ca.* 0.036 m.

Height, 0.37 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters; line 1, 0.025 m.; line 2, 0.015 m.; lines 3 ff., 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 6959.

saec. V *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. from line 3.

[ἌθENAÍON HOÍDE] ἀπ[έθAνον ἐν -----]

10 Λεοντίδος

⁴⁷ In the *Corpus* the alignment of the columns of *I.G.*, I², 952 is off; the final name in Col. II, line 58, is opposite line 28, not 27. Furthermore, the broken letter given as line 32 is part of line 31.

⁴⁸ The discovery was noted by H. A. Thompson in *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 365, where the number is given erroneously as I 6955. A photograph appeared in *The Athenian Citizen*, Picture Book No. 4, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1960, no. 32.

	[.....] ^{v v}		Θέορος
	[.....] ^{v v}		ἄρχον
	[..... ^s] s		τῶ ναυτικῶ
	[.....] τος		Πασιφῶν
	[.....] ^{v v}	15	ἄρχον
5	[.....] γος		τῶ ναυτικῶ
	[.....] s		Ἀμφίλοχος
	[.....] ἴδες		ταχσίαρχος
	[.....] s		Πύθον
	[.....] μος	20	ταχσίαρχος
	[.....] ^{v v}		Νικόμαχος
	[.....] ^{v v}		τρίεραρχος
	[.....] ^{v v}		Κεφισοφῶν
	[.....] ^{v v}	25	τρίεραρχος
	[.....] ^{v v}		Λυσανίας
			τρίεραρχος
			Εὐθύμαχος
		30	Εὐανδρος
			Φ[.] νέας
			[Ἐπ]ικλῆς
			[Βίος]τος

The last two names of Col. II and the width of Col. I are determined from Agora I 1008 *b*, onto the top of which this fragment joins, as was first noted by E. Vanderpool. Therefore this is a part of the monument (*S.E.G.*, X, 424) published by Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, no. 10, pp. 82-91, and Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 8, pp. 37-48. I shall follow their listing and refer to it as Frag. M.⁴⁹ Raubitschek assigned the list to the last stages of the Sicilian expedition and in *S.E.G.*, X, 424, it is attributed to 413 and presented as consisting of eight or nine stelai. However, the new fragment forces a reconsideration of both the size and the date of the monument.

The appearance of the heading, Leontidos, on Fragment M eliminates as part of the monument Frag. L, a three column list of the same phyle known only from a copy made by Sir George Wheler. At the same time Frag. K must also be eliminated. This is a similar list of Pandionis which obviously belongs with Frag. L; in fact, from Wheler's inclusion of them both under the same number (XXXIV) with the remark,

⁴⁹ Of the other fragments, A-H are identified and described by Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-85; I-L by Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-47.

“sex ordinibus sequentia nomina insculpuntur,” one would assume that they were on the same stele.⁵⁰

With Frags. K and L goes all indication that any phyle's casualties took up three columns. In fact, Leontis' having only one column, as is indicated by the inscription of the complete phyletic name over it, creates the supposition that all the phylai had but one.⁵¹ Raubitschek interpreted Frag. J as showing that there a phyletic name must have covered two columns, but this must be reconsidered in the light of Frag. M. In the first place, it now becomes clear that lines 4, 6, 8, and 10 are the ends of titles, taxiarchos or trierarchos, alternating with names;⁵² thus the sigma in each case is the tenth letter. Now in Frag. M the seventh letter, delta, of Leontidos is over the tenth letter of the list proper; in Frag. J the omicron is in that place. Therefore, a name one letter shorter than Leontidos, that is, Aigeidos or Oineidos, would just fit over the column in Frag. J.⁵³ Thus, in this case too, it appears that there was only one column per phyle. Another indication that this may have been the case throughout is that Leontis, the fourth phyle, falls at the right-hand edge of a stele, of which the normal width would seem to be four columns.⁵⁴ Against this may be cited the fact

⁵⁰ If Fragments K and L are taken as two stelai of three columns each, it is natural to associate them with the only other example of this arrangement, *I.G.*, I², 929, the list of Erechtheis in 460. There seems to be some confirmation of this connection in the fact that of nine names quoted by J. Spon as coming from two fragments of Pandionis and Leontis, the first six occur on *I.G.*, I², 929, the seventh and eighth on Frag. K, the ninth on Frag. L (cf. Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 43, where the passage is quoted). However, Wheeler, who in one case, at least (cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 375-377), took care to distinguish three- from four-barred sigmas, used the four-barred in copying Frags. K and L. This may rule against associating them with the early *I.G.*, I², 929. Although no list with six columns is known, there is one with five (*I.G.*, I², 955), which is wide enough to hold six with letters the size of those of *S.E.G.*, X, 424.

⁵¹ There are very few examples in which there are definitely more than one column for a phyle; in all of them (*I.G.*, I², 929; 940; above, No. 5; E. M. 13190) the heading is extended across all the names. Only the latter, published by E. Mastrokostas, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1955, pp. 180-202, is well enough preserved to show that all the phylai would presumably have the same number of columns whether the space was needed in all cases or not. There the last two columns contain only 42 names, which could easily have been put in only one.

⁵² In line 8 the tips of the chi are visible, and in line 6 the letter could be chi as well as pi; cf. Plate 8.

⁵³ To reckon this another way, the width of the column on Frag. J can be figured at *ca.* 0.183 m. (or 15 letter spaces), since the word trierarchos takes up, on Frag. M, 0.122 m., and on Frag. J the distance from the end of that word to the beginning of the second column, represented by the O at the extreme right, is 0.061 m. Then, from the Δ of the heading of Frag. J to the beginning of the next column, it is *ca.* 0.093 m., leaving about 0.09 m. to the left edge of the column. On Frag. M 0.09 m. to the left of the Δ of Leontidos falls at the beginning of the E, so that a name one letter shorter would just fill the space of 0.09 m.

⁵⁴ With four columns, averaging about 0.180 m. each, the stelai would be *ca.* 0.72 m. wide, which gives a ratio to their thickness, 0.15 m., of a little over 4½ to 1, which was suggested as the norm by S. Dow, *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1942, p. 324. This coincidence cannot be pressed however, since this canon of proportions does not seem to fit well many of the monumental stelai

that the first column of Frag. A, which is certainly the first of the monument (cf. Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 83), is inscribed to the very bottom of the stone. This has, since Brueckner (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 214-215), been taken to mean that the names of Erechtheis ran over into the second column, which is uninscribed for about 0.28 m. from the bottom. However, the crowding of names right down to the base could be explained just as well, or perhaps better, as indicating that all had to be fitted into one column. If Col. II were also of Erechtheis, one should expect the names to be evened off, as is done in the only parallel case, E. M. 13190. Finally, it should be noted that in Col. I of Frag. M there is no indication of the ending of the title of taxiarchos or trierarchos, which might be expected on the analogy of Col. II and of Frag. J. However, it certainly is not necessary to assume that each phyle suffered the same loss of these officials, and there could have been two above the break in the stone in Col. I of Frag. M.

There may be further confirmation that Leontis was in the fourth column of the monument in the large heading which must have run across the whole top. In the much weathered portion of the stone above the delta of Leontidos there seem to be traces of a pi, with its upright *ca.* 0.032 m. from the nearest point of the alpha. These could well be part of the heading Ἀθηναίων ἠοῖδε ἀπέθανον ἐν In this case the letter to the left of the alpha would have been an epsilon, of which there is no trace on the stone; but if the spacing from the alpha to the pi is normal, the lower part of such an epsilon would have been in the area chipped away *ca.* 0.033 m. from the alpha. To figure the exact space needed for such a heading is impossible, of course, since undoubtedly there was no attempt to have each letter take up the same space, but rather to have the distance between them roughly the same. This is the case with Leontidos in line 2, and even there some irregularity is apparent. However, if the heading is figured using the widths of the known letters (A = 0.025 m.; E = 0.015 m.) and a distance of 0.032 m. between, the ἀπ- of ἀπέθανον would fall over the fourth column⁵⁵ and, further on, the Ε of ἐν would come over the sixth. Since it has been shown above that Frag. J, with the large Ε preserved, must have contained one of the phylai with a short name, Aigeis (II) or Oineis (VI), it now appears almost certain that it was the latter.

Therefore it seems most likely that there was but one column for each phyle and that the monument consisted of three stelai of four columns each. Of the two extra columns, one contained an additional list in which were all the phylai, as shown by

of the fifth century; cf. *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 201-202. The Attic Stelai, which are roughly contemporary with the list under discussion (cf. Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42), have a proportion of about 1 : 9 : 13.

⁵⁵ By this reckoning the pi should be *ca.* 0.675 m. from the left edge of the stele. Actually it appears to be *ca.* 0.665 m., since it is *ca.* 0.05 m. from the right edge of the stone, which can be figured from the column-widths to have been *ca.* 0.715 m. This difference of only 0.010 m. can easily be explained by minor variations in the spacing or the widths of letters.

Frag. H, and the other probably had a list of foreigners. This last may well be represented by Frag. I, which, as Raubitschek pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 41), has some names that sound un-Athenian. Because of differences in the width of columns, the presence of anathyrosis on several fragments, and some variation in horizontal spacing, it is possible to assign most of the pieces approximately to their place in the monument. The fact that Col. II of Frag. M has a width of only 14 letter spaces forces changes in the arrangement suggested by Meritt; Frag. C, with a column of 15 letter spaces, cannot go below Frag. M on the first stele and must belong on the second. The following seems the most likely reconstruction of the monument.

First Stele

Col. I, Erechtheis. Width of 15 letter-spaces. Frag. A, Col. I.

Col. II, Aigeis. Width unknown. Frag. A, Col. II.

Col. III, Pandionis. Width of 14 letter-spaces. Frags. M, Col. I, and B, Col. I.

Col. IV, Leontis. Width of 14 letter-spaces. Frags. M, Col. II; B, Col. II; and G.

Second Stele

Col. V, Akamantis. Width of 16 letter-spaces. Frag. E, Col. I. (Frag. E must belong to the second rather than the third stele because of the difference in horizontal spacing between its Col. II and Frags. I and H, one of whose columns must have been the second on the third stele.)

Col. VI, Oineis. Width of 15 letter-spaces. Frags. J, Col. I; E, Col. II; and F(?)

Col. VII, Kekropis. Width of 14 letter-spaces. Frags. C, Col. I, and D. (There is no physical join between Frags. C and D, although the form of the break on both seems to indicate that they may belong in the position shown in the photograph in Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 84. I leave them together with some hesitation, since a similar situation proved misleading in the case of Frags. B and C.)

Col. VIII, Hippothontis. Width of 15 letter-spaces. Frag. C, Col. II.

Third Stele

Col. IX, Aiantis. Width uncertain. No fragments assigned.

Col. X, Antiochis. Width uncertain. Frag. I, Col. I.

Col. XI, Foreigners (?). Width of 15 letter-spaces. Frags. I, Col. II, and H, Col. I.

Col. XII, Athenians listed by all phylai. Width uncertain. Frag. H, Col. II. (It is possible that Frag. H was in Cols. X and XI, Frag. I in XI and XII. I have placed them as above because several of the names in Frag. H, Col. I, are not common at Athens, although only two, Archines and Thrasydemos, are unknown there.)

Both the names and the titles on Frag. M. force a change in the dating of the

monument. The first two casualties listed are Theoros and Pasiphon, called by a hitherto unknown title, ἄρχον τῶ ναυτικῶ. They are followed by two taxiarchs and four trierarchs. We have no certain contemporary references to those in the latter two categories,⁵⁶ but it seems possible to identify both of the first two men, who held what was obviously a very important position, ranking ahead of the taxiarchs. Pasiphon was not a common name; there are only four examples known at Athens (*P.A.* 11666-11668 and Sundwall, p. 141), one of whom, Pasiphon Phrearrhios, of the phyle Leontis, was one of the generals in Samos to whom a payment was made on the last day of the ninth prytany in the archonship of Glaukippos, 410/09 B.C.⁵⁷ He also appears as secretary of the boule on a decree concerning the cult of Bendis (*S.E.G.*, X, 64) which has been convincingly dated to 413/2.⁵⁸ There can hardly be any doubt but that he is the man listed here, which gives the *terminus post quem* for the monument. Theoros is a more common name, with at least 12 examples at Athens, but again one of these (*P.A.* 7223) is known to have been a public figure in the last quarter of the fifth century. He was the man lampooned by Aristophanes as a flatterer of Kleon and the Demos.⁵⁹ Although he is last mentioned in the *Wasps* in 422, it would

⁵⁶ Since these men were wealthy holders of important positions and since we know their phyle, I give here later Athenians of the same name and phyle, some of whom are undoubtedly descendants:

Amphilochos. None known.

Python. P. ex Oiou, *P.A.*, 12477, s. IV a.

P. Sounieus, *P.A.* 12478, *med. s.* IV a.

P. Eupyrides, *I.G.*, II², 2461, line 102, s. I a.

Nikomachos. N. Sounieus, *P.A.* 10962, *ante med. s.* IV a.

N. Leukonoieus, *P.A.* 10955, s. IV a.

N. Phrearrhios, *I.G.*, II², 7727, s. II a.

N. Eupyrides, *P.A.* 10946, s. I a.

Kephisophon. K. Phrearrhios, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 264, line 16; *ca.* 338/7 a.

Lysanias. L. Halimousios, *P.A.* 9305, grand-nephew *med. s.* IV a.

L. Deiradiotes, *P.A.* 9309 and *I.G.*, II², 2818, line 6; son *med. s.* IV a.

L. Phrearrhios, *P.A.* 9328, *ante med. s.* IV a.

L. Hybades, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 33, line 250; *ante med. s.* IV a.

L. Potamios, *P.A.* 9320, *med. s.* IV a.

L. Sounieus, *P.A.* 9323, *med. s.* IV a.

L. Eupyrides, *I.G.*, II², 1700, line 85; 335/4 a.

L. Pelex, *P.A.* 9319, s. III a.

Sophilos. S. Cholleides, *P.A.* 12822, son s. IV a.

S. Leukonoieus, *I.G.* II², 6727, son s. IV a.

S. Leontidos, *I.G.*, II², 2410, line 5, son *ca.* 300 a.

It is possible, of course, that the first two entries under Lysanias and Sophilos represent the men on Frag. M, but the numbers in the list above should show how dangerous such identification is.

⁵⁷ *I.G.*, I², 304 a, line 35; there is an improved text in Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, Ann Arbor, 1932, pp. 94-96.

⁵⁸ J. Bingen, "Le Décret SEG X 64 (Le Pirée, 413/2 ?)," *Rev. Belge*, XXXVII, 1959, pp. 31-44, following a suggestion of Raubitschek in *S.E.G.* X, p. 41.

⁵⁹ *Acharnians*, 134-173; *Equites*, 608; *Clouds*, 400; *Wasps*, 42-47, 418, 599, 1236-1242.

not be surprising to find him holding an important position in the Decelean War. We do not know his phyle,⁶⁰ but I suggest that he is most likely the "archon of the fleet" on Frag. M.

The most likely interpretation of the title, ἄρχον τῶ ναυτικῶ, tends to support this identification of Theoros. It is hardly possible that this could be the equivalent of *strategos* on an official list, or of *nauarchos*, which appears to be an official title of some subordinate officers when they are mentioned in Xenophon's account of the battle of Arginousai.⁶¹ Of course it is possible that "archon of the fleet" was a title given to another grade of subordinate officer or to those with a temporary command.⁶² It is far more likely, however, in the last decade of the fifth century, to have been applied to those elected by the fleet in Samos to command them. These are referred to in our sources as *strategoï*,⁶³ and they undoubtedly called themselves by that name. After the reconciliation of the fleet and the *demos*, each group continued to choose its own board of generals down to the election of Alkibiades and Thrasyboulos in Athens in 407.⁶⁴ It seems most likely that it was the fleet's commanders who were referred to as οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐς Σάμοι in *I.G.*, I², 304 a, lines 35-36,⁶⁵ for the money

⁶⁰ There are two known Theoroi of Leontis who could well be his grandsons: Theoros, son of Mnesistratos of Leukonoe, on a grave monument in the last half of the fourth century (*P.A.* 7228), and Theoros Potamios (*P.A.* 7229), whose son appears in a list *ca.* 300.

⁶¹ *Hellenika*, I, 6, 29; 7, 30. Cf. also the decree quoted in Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 73. There seems to be a definite distinction there between the generals and the nauarch, despite E. Kiessling, *P. W.*, *R.E.*, XVI, 2, Col. 1890, *s.v.* Nauarchos; he does not quote or discuss the two passages of Xenophon.

⁶² It may be that some such special position was held by Theramenes and Thrasyboulos immediately after Arginousai, since they are mentioned first and by name in each reference to this occasion; Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 6, 35; 7, 5; 7, 31. It is more likely, however, that this is the result of their prominence in the sequel. Little faith can be put in Diodoros' statement, XIII, 98, 3, that Theramenes was given a special command before the battle.

⁶³ Cf. e.g., Thucydides, VIII, 76, 2; Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 1, 22.

⁶⁴ Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 4, 10-12, is very clear that this was Alkibiades' first election in Athens: cf. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 2, Berlin, 1931, pp. 321-322.

⁶⁵ The general there at the end of line 35 whose name begins with E was probably the Eumachos mentioned by Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 1, 22, as being left by Alkibiades with Theramenes to collect tolls at the Bosporos in the preceding fall. The name would certainly fit; Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 96, puts three dots after the E in line 35 and four at the beginning of line 36, but only two in line 35 would do as well as this non-stoichedon inscription. In fact, on the stone (cf. the drawing in *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, plate VI) the E of line 35 comes almost directly under the X of line 34, which must have been followed by only OI; these would take up less space than just two letters, YM, below. Beloch, *op. cit.*, p. 267, puts this Eumachos among the generals elected by the fleet, but gives no reason for so doing. A variant reading, Euboulos, which would fit the inscription quite as well, is accepted by Kirchner, *P.A.* 5342, and *P. W.*, *R.E.*, VI, 1, col. 875; Hiller, *I.G.*, I², p. 297; A. Krause, *Attische Strategenlisten*, Weimar, 1914, p. 13. However, I can find no editor of a critical edition who prefers this reading, except Sauppe, since before Dindorf. It is usually ignored; cf. the editions of C. Hude, Teubner, 1930; E. Marchant, Oxford, 1900.

involved was the product of the navy's collections and never left Samos.⁶⁶ In this case the qualifying phrase, ἐς Σάμοι, would have made it clear, in the shortest form, just who they were. However, as an official designation in Athens on a casualty list it would hardly do. Technically such men could not be called just *strategoï*. The title, "archon of the fleet," is vague enough, yet quite imposing. If this interpretation is correct, it is not surprising to find the democratic Theoros in this office; we do not know the politics of Pasiphon, but this may be an indication.

Such an interpretation of the title does not necessarily mean that it could not have been used after Alkibiades' election in 407. Men who had been commanding parts of the fleet for four years would go on doing so, even though some of their fellows became *strategoï* proper. If there is any change indicated, it must have come after Notion when in early April, 406, Konon was sent out to replace Alkibiades in the command at Samos.⁶⁷ But even then experienced commanders would continue to be used; this seems to be implied in the account of Konon's plundering expeditions soon after he took over the command.⁶⁸ Therefore, this title, whatever interpretation of it is accepted, gives no definite *terminus ante quem* for the monument; it does seem, however, that the later one gets after 407, the less likely it is that it would have been used.

The Attic lettering of the monument makes it clear that it was inscribed before 403. Therefore it contained the casualties of one of the years from 409 to 404 inclusive. That these were war-years, not archon-years, seems beyond question,⁶⁹ although if Jacoby's suggestion⁷⁰ that the public burial took place on the fifth of

⁶⁶ Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 39-40; *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 365-366.

⁶⁷ Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 5, 18; in I, 4, 10, it is specified that Konon was "one of those from home." For the dating, see Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, pp. 126-127, where it is shown that Konon is referred to in *I.G.*, I², 304 b, lines 69-70.

⁶⁸ Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 5, 18-20, gives the impression that Konon, arriving at Samos and finding the fleet dejected, immediately filled as many ships as possible and, to revive the spirit, sent them out plundering, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν. This can hardly mean the members of the new board who would not take office for three months after Konon's departure. Beloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-252, has shown that Xenophon's account of the reaction after Notion merely means that Alkibiades and probably some of his friends were not re-elected. This is too often taken as a clean break, with the election of a new board of generals. However, Konon and Aristokrates, at least, were hold-overs (cf. Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 4, 10 and 21), and probably Perikles as well (cf. Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 113). Nor were all who had been generals of the fleet repudiated. Thrasyllus had begun thus (Thucydides, VIII, 76, 2), although he may have been elected in Athens in 410 (so Beloch, *op. cit.*, p. 322). Aristokrates had been general in Samos in 410/09 but had been elected along with Alkibiades in the city in 407. And one would suspect that Leon and Diomedon, of whom nothing is heard after they took a leading part in saving the democracy as generals in Samos in 411, continued in that capacity with the fleet.

⁶⁹ For the latest statement on the problem, see F. Jacoby, "Patrios Nomos: State Burial in Athens and the Public Cemetery in the Kerameikos," *J.H.S.*, LXIV, 1944, p. 37, note 1.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 56-66; the case is convincingly presented, although Jacoby himself admits that

Boedromion (from the second week in September to the second week of October) is true, it introduces an element of uncertainty into any attempt to determine what casualties fell in one year in a period when some fighting was done throughout the fall and winter.⁷¹ Now if the reconstruction of the monument suggested above is correct in its general outlines, it would have contained between 900 and 1400 names. Such a large range of conjecture is necessary because we know neither the height of the columns nor to what extent they were filled.⁷² It is not easy, however, to find between 409 and 404 a year in which the casualties can be definitely determined to have been within this range. One of the major difficulties is the nature of our two main sources, Xenophon and Diodoros. Not only are they confused chronologically,⁷³ especially the latter, but what Beloch (*op. cit.*, p. 249) calls the *memoirenhafter Charakter* of Xenophon's account leaves one with the impression that he learns nothing of much that went on. It can be assumed that we know of the major battles, and if it were certain that the casualties of the first ten columns of the monument were the result of one engagement, identification would be easier. Although this impression might be given by the existence of an extra column in which the headings of phylai are repeated with but few casualties (Frag. H), the presence on Frag. M of two taxiarchs tells heavily against it; these must have died in two different archon-years. Therefore one must assume that the major portion of the monument contained composite casualties, although probably from one theater of the war. Nor does the presence of taxiarchs necessarily mean that there was land action, for at Arginousai, at least, they commanded ships.⁷⁴ A further difficulty is that, even when losses are given for a naval battle, it is impossible to determine what percentage of them were Athenians, although at times during the Deceleian War it must have been difficult for Athens to obtain mercenaries.⁷⁵

Of the possible years for the monument, 404 may be eliminated immediately, for there can be no certainty. Gomme, *Commentary*, II, pp. 100-102, objects but does not specify how much later in the year he believes the ceremony to have taken place.

⁷¹ Cf. Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 2, 16.

⁷² Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 48, figured about 130 lines to a column; this would seem to be about the maximum, as the stele would be *ca.* 1.55 m. tall. Even then one must figure at least ten fewer names than lines per column to account for unfilled columns or lines used for titles; there are 22 lines vacant at the foot of Col. II and in Col. IV there are only eight names in the first eighteen lines. At the other extreme, if one reckons only 100 lines to a column, which would make the stele *ca.* 1.25 m. high, and subtracts over 20 lines per column not used for names, both distinct possibilities, there would be only about 900 names.

⁷³ I accept throughout for these years the chronology defended by Beloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-254; he has argued convincingly against the "early" chronology, best exemplified by Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, 2, Gotha, 1904, p. 1529, note 1. He has also been confirmed by later epigraphical studies; cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45.

⁷⁴ Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 6, 29 and 35; 7, 30.

⁷⁵ Cf. Gomme, *Commentary*, I, p. 418, note 2. For the assumption that Athenian rowers would be included in the lists, see above, p. 25, note 15.

the war was over in the spring,⁷⁶ with not enough fighting to produce anywhere near the required number of casualties. 405 and 406 seem impossible for the opposite reason, that there were too many casualties to fit on the monument. Although neither Xenophon nor Diodoros gives the losses for Aigospotamoi, the former states that most of the crews were captured and that all Athenian prisoners were executed,⁷⁷ and Plutarch, who seems to be following Theophrastos, sets the number at 3000.⁷⁸ Even if this figure is thought to be exaggerated, there are still the casualties of the actual battle to be counted in; it is hardly possible that the total could be as low as 1400.⁷⁹ Again for 406 we have no actual numbers, but at Arginousai alone the Athenians lost 25 ships with most of the men and this is one battle in which we know that a good portion of the rowers were Athenian.⁸⁰ Of total casualties of about 4000, much more than a third must have been Athenian.⁸¹ Besides this, in the same year must have been recorded the casualties of Notion and Mytilene; although we are told that most of the men were able to escape to shore in those battles, the loss of 55 ships must have entailed a considerable number of casualties.⁸² Finally, even though the losses were

⁷⁶ Plutarch, *Lysander*, XV, 1, dates the capitulation on the 16th of Mounichion.

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 1, 28-32. Diodoros, XIII, 106, 6-7, says that most of the soldiers escaped and mentions only the death of the general Philokles.

⁷⁸ *Alcibiades*, XXXVII, 4; *Lysander*, XIII, 1; in the latter passage Plutarch quotes Theophrastos concerning the death of Philokles. Pausanias, IX, 32, 9, gives the number of Athenians executed as 4000.

⁷⁹ It seems inconceivable that men executed immediately after the battle would not be counted as casualties; therefore the only ways a low figure can be upheld are by accepting Diodoros' statement that most escaped, or by assuming that only those *ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου* would have been listed. Mastrokostas, *op. cit.*, 197-198, takes the latter for granted, but cf. above, p. 25, note 15. He also takes 3000 as the total of all prisoners, including a great majority of non-Athenians. But in *Lysander*, XIII, 1, Plutarch is specific that they were Athenians; this must have been the case, since a fleet of 180 ships, of which relatively few escaped (cf. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, 2, p. 1621, note 1), would have contained about 36,000 men.

⁸⁰ Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 6, 24, says all of military age, both slave and free, including many knights. One can hardly guess at the percentage of slaves; *I.G.*, II², 1951, a fragmentary inscription which lists at least 180 slaves in the crews of several triremes is of little help. It has, since Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.*, VIII, 1883, p. 179, often been associated with Arginousai, but this is very doubtful. Its form precludes its being an official casualty list. Pope, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23, places it in 411, but it may well belong to the fourth century. When the slaves who fought at Arginousai were freed and granted the rights of Plataians is uncertain; since the scholiast to Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 694, quotes Hellanikos as telling of this while discussing the events of the archonship of Antigenes, 407/6, it might be argued that such a promise was made before the battle. It is, in that case, a fine point as to whether those slaves killed would be on the casualty lists, as were the Plataians in Sicily (Pausanias, I, 29, 12).

⁸¹ Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 1596, sets the casualties at about 2000, since he thinks that only the twelve ships of *Hellenika*, I, 7, 30, were lost with most of the men. However, in I, 6, 34, Xenophon is quite specific that there were 25. Most of the fighting took place on the wings, where the Athenians were; the allies in the center could have lost little; cf. Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 1595, note 6.

⁸² Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 5, 14; 6, 17; 6, 23.

not too great for the monument, it could hardly be assigned to this year, as we know that the general from the phyle Leontis, Archestratos Phrearrhios, died in Mytilene, presumably in battle,⁸³ yet he does not appear on the list. A further point against such an identification is that at Arginousai none of the taxiarchs seems to have been killed,⁸⁴ whereas there are two on Frag. M.

In 407 we hear of no action which seems capable of producing over 900 casualties. In the spring Thrasyboulos campaigned in Thrace and Alkibiades collected money in Karia, but the latter spent the summer in Athens and only after the Mysteries made a brief attack on Andros.⁸⁵ Such minor campaigns could certainly produce casualties, but they would have to be continuous to amount to considerable numbers. 408 seems to have been taken up by the siege and capture of Kalchedon and Byzantion. Neither of our accounts give any figures on the casualties;⁸⁶ their narratives do not indicate heavy losses, and since neither city had to be stormed it is unlikely that they were as numerous as those on our monument.

Xenophon's narrative of 409 is completely taken up by an account of Thrasyllus' expedition to Ionia, in which the historian himself almost certainly took part.⁸⁷ It was a failure; at Ephesos about 400 Athenians were killed,⁸⁸ and there were minor casualties elsewhere. Diodoros' account of the year adds little information except for the Megarians' seizure of Nisaia and their defeat by an invading Athenian force.⁸⁹ Nothing is known of the activities of Alkibiades or the rest of the fleet during that

⁸³ Lysias, XXI, 8; it is not certain that Archestratos died in battle. The defendant, who claimed to have the best-sailing trireme of the fleet, desired by all the generals, merely says that Erasinides took it over when Archestratos died (*ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ*). This could mean a natural death, of course, but it is the same phrase and construction used in XXXII, 7, of Diodotos, who was killed in battle at Ephesos in 409. We do not know whether all who died on a campaign were put on the lists or only battle-casualties. Presumably it was the former; even if not, for the ordinary soldier it probably would have been difficult to differentiate, but perhaps not for a general.

⁸⁴ In Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 6, 35, "some of the taxiarchs" are said to have been sent with Theramenes and Thrasyboulos to pick up the shipwrecked, but in I, 7, 30, where the 47 ships sent are enumerated, they include "the ten of the taxiarchs."

⁸⁵ Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 4, 8-23.

⁸⁶ Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 3, 1-22; Diodoros, XIII, 66-67.

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, I, 2, 1-13. In I, 2, 5, Xenophon tells of the capture of one Athenian and the death of seven in a skirmish in which the cavalry, his service, took part. But the knights must have gone home after the failure at Ephesos, as we hear little of Thrasyllus after he started north, still in June (cf. below, note 93), except for his capture of some Syracusans, who were sent to Athens where Xenophon could have learned of them.

⁸⁸ Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 2, 9; 100 were hoplites, 300 were of the marines, cavalry, and peltasts, probably mostly the latter, who were sailors armed for this service before they sailed. It seems safe to assume that those chosen for this duty would have been Athenian citizens; Xenophon calls them *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*.

⁸⁹ XIII, 64-65. The attack on Pylos, which Diodoros puts in this year, is of no concern here, as its garrison was Messenian; cf. Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 2, 18.

year.⁹⁰ They were at Sestos when Thrasyllus arrived at the Hellespont, and we can guess that they probably had spent the summer raiding, most likely in the land of their favorite victim, Pharnabazos. The rebuilt Peloponnesian fleet presumably was still at Antandros.⁹¹ The Syracusans, however, had sailed out and were at Ephesos, only to be caught by Thrasyllus as they tried to sail back north. It seems quite possible that there could have been some naval fighting in the Hellespont.

It is clearly impossible to determine with any exactness the casualties for this year, but they could well have been over 900. The total for Thrasyllus' whole expedition would have been about 500. At Megara there was probably not too great a loss among victorious hoplites. If the monument represents this year, those who fell there are undoubtedly the men listed in Col. XII under headings of separate phylai. There are only four from Antiochis; one cannot judge the others from this, but the total does not really matter, as the victims of this engagement would have used a whole column even if they did not fill it. If this column does contain those who fell at Megara, it would explain the existence of such a special listing by phylai alongside of what appears to be a large composite list. The major portion of the monument would then contain the combined casualties of action in Ionia and the Hellespont, from which it would be quite natural to separate an expedition into the Megarid. That this was the case seems likely, and there may be a further indication that this was so in the fact that if the large heading, the first half of which was discussed above, was continued as *ἐν τῇ Ἰονίᾳ καὶ τῇ Μεγαρίδι*, it would fit well across the three stelai.⁹² To accept this interpretation we should have to assign, at the least, 300 casualties to the fleet for the year. This does not seem excessive; the crews of two triremes cut off while raiding, plus the normal loss of a few men here and there, would add up to well over this. I think we should suppose some activity by the fleet; Xenophon's silence is obviously caused by a preoccupation with events in which he took part. Even though there was no heavy naval action in the year, the presence of eight trierarchs on the surviving pieces can easily be explained, for Thrasyllus disembarked all his men at Ephesos, and the trierarchs would have been in the group which lost 300 men. The taxiarch for 410/09 could have died in this battle, which must have taken place in June;⁹³ his

⁹⁰ Diodoros, XIII, 64, 2-4, speaks as if in this year Alkibiades set up the guard at the Hellespont, sent Thrasyboulos to Thrace, and himself sailed against Pharnabazos. According to Xenophon, these events happened respectively in 410, the spring of 407, and the winter of 409/8.

⁹¹ After the rebuilding, they are not mentioned until 408; Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 3, 17.

⁹² When the same measurements are used as above (p. 46), the whole inscription adds up to *ca.* 2.11 m., whereas the three stelai were about 2.16 m. wide. The difference is negligible. Another possibility for the heading would be *ἐν τῇ Ἰονίᾳ καὶ τῷ ἠελλεσπόντῳ*, with a sub-heading for Megara. In this case the length would be about 2.29 m., which is 0.13 m. longer than the stones. This might still be possible with some crowding.

⁹³ Thrasyllus raided Lydia, *ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου* (Xenophon, *op. cit.*, I, 2, 4), in the archonship of Glaukippos (Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Introduction to Lysias, XXXII); this must have been in May 409. The battle was seventeen days later, or possibly less. Xenophon says seventeen days

successor was probably already with the expedition. Of the archons of the fleet, Theoros could have been with Thrasylos, who stopped off at Samos, but of Pasiphon we know only that he was in Samos toward the end of May.

The year 409, then, is the most likely date for the monument. The next two years cannot be ruled out, but they would force the assumption of many more unrecorded casualties. The difficulties in finding a year into which this list would fit neatly will of course raise doubts as to the reconstruction of the monument presented above.⁹⁴ But if that is wrong, it errs in making the list too small. Containing the pieces which we have now, it could not have been any smaller, and any different arrangement must assume that it had even more names. This would leave as choices only the years of Arginousai and Aigospotamoi. The former is almost certainly eliminated for reasons other than the number of casualties.⁹⁵ To assume the monument was for Aigospotamoi presents many problems: the presence of two taxiarchs together on the list, greater difficulty in explaining the title, "archon of the fleet," the absence of more trierarchs, who must have made up a good number of the Athenian prisoners. Most of all there is the difficulty in picturing the fragments we have as part of a monument which would have had to be at least twice as large as that reconstructed above. It can hardly be assumed that the other phylai had two or three columns when the only two of which we can be sure have only one. The only other possibility is that a large number of sailors were listed *en masse* without reference to their phylai, but there is no example of this procedure.⁹⁶ In the face of these difficulties, it seems much more reasonable to assume the casualties among the fleet in 409 and to assign the monument to that year.

16 (Plate 6). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on July 28, 1959, in a marble dump southeast of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Q 18). Broken all around except for the top, toward the left edge of which is a cutting for a T-clamp 0.016 m. deep; the head is 0.055 m. long, the shank more than 0.09 m. Also in the top at the present back and right edge there is a slot for a lewis, 0.08 m. deep,

μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολήν, and it is not clear whether this refers to the raid into Lydia just mentioned or to the whole invasion of Asia, which had started several days before.

⁹⁴ I have considered the possibility that this was not a casualty list at all. However, in all that we know of its form it resembles such a monument; in the arrangement by phylai, in the use of names without demotic or patronymic, in the addition of official titles. If it were, say, a monument to men honored for saving the democracy in Samos in 411, could it possibly have been erected in a form which would have reminded everyone of a casualty list?

⁹⁵ See above, pp. 52-53.

⁹⁶ *I.G.*, I², 950, is sometimes taken this way; cf. Hiller's commentary *ad loc.*; "*columnis duabus prioribus nautae cum trierarchis (3. 42) enumerati erant.*" However, the top of the stone is missing, and the appearance of trierarchs in the middle of a column is now paralleled in E.M. 13190, where the columns are set up by phylai.

0.09+ m. long, and 0.015+ m. wide. The inscribed face was crowned by a moulding 0.11 m. high, of which only a narrow fillet remains at the bottom.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.33 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.

Height of letters; line 1, 0.030 m.; lines 2-3, 0.024 m.

Inv. No. I 6953.

post saec. V a.

[O]ἴνε[ίδος]
[Στρ]ατηγός
[.....]τ[---]

The three lines are not stoichedon. The tau in line 3 is out of alignment with the letters of line 2, although it seems to be of the same size and the space between it and the tip of a letter to its right is the same (0.011 m.) as that between the gamma and the eta of line 2.

In spite of its Ionic letters, this battered fragment is clearly from a row of stelai which can hardly be anything but lists of casualties by phylai on the fifth century model. The cutting for the clamp shows that the stone is broken near its left edge and makes the emendations in lines 1 and 2 almost obligatory. For Oineis, the sixth phyle, to come at the left edge of a stone in such a row, each phyle must have had its own stele or there must have been four large stelai, each with five columns representing two and one-half phylai.⁹⁷ By reckoning the distance necessary for the name in line 1, where the spacing seems quite regular,⁹⁸ the width required for one phyle can be determined as *ca.* 0.60 m.; therefore each stone would have either that width or one of *ca.* 1.50 m. Although there is no casualty list which can definitely be stated to have been so wide,⁹⁹ it is far more likely that the latter was the case, for the thickness of the stone can be figured as *ca.* 0.25 m. from the cutting for the lewis, which must have been in the center from front to back. Thus it appears that we have here a piece of a large monument of at least four stelai on which the casualties of each phyle were listed in two columns; each of these would be *ca.* 0.30 m. wide, which would take 11 or 12 letters of the size of those in lines 2 and 3. It is not absolutely certain that the latter represent the size of those of all the names; they may be larger because a general is involved.

⁹⁷ This was the case with E.M. 13190 and *I.G.*, I², 955, although in that monument there was a fifth stele which must have contained supplementary lists; cf. E. Mastrokostas, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1955, pp. 180-202. Such a possibility cannot be excluded in the monument under consideration.

⁹⁸ The tip of the letter to the left of the nu is 0.055 m. from its left upright, the same distance as the epsilon from its right side.

⁹⁹ The widest completely preserved stele is *I.G.*, I², 955, which measures 1.034 m. The widest on the Koroneia base (above, No. 5) was 1.317 m. The stele which contained Agora I 6964 and 4168 (above, No. 10) may have been 1.56 m., but the number of columns is not certain.

The use of Ionic lettering in casualty lists of citizens by phylai can hardly belong before 403,¹⁰⁰ so we have here a deliberate imitation in the monumental style of the fifth-century memorials. After the Peloponnesian War we know of few occasions when enough Athenians fell to demand a monument of this size. There is extant a piece of the list for 394 (*I.G.*, II², 5221), the year of the Korinthian War which probably had the most casualties, with its battles at Koroneia and Korinth; this consisted of only one stele. Mantinea is a remote possibility; we do not know just how many Athenians were present or fell, but the accounts of the battle do not seem to indicate that they, on the left wing, were heavily involved.¹⁰¹ By far the most likely occasion for this monument was Chaironeia. The casualties there, about a thousand, were buried at public expense in the old manner.¹⁰² The monument under discussion could hold a thousand names, even of letters the size of those in lines 2 and 3, if its height was a little over 2 m., which is not unreasonable considering the thickness, *ca.* 0.25 m. Although we hear of no generals falling at Chaironeia, the appearance of one on the list would not be surprising in view of the fact that we know the names of only three who were there; there must have been several more on an expedition *πανδημεί*.¹⁰³ A fragment of the epigram on the base on which stood the monument for Chaironeia is preserved, and although the letters are somewhat smaller (0.018 m.) than those of I 6953, their shapes are very similar.¹⁰⁴ Finally, this grave is mentioned by Pausanias in that part of his description of the public cemetery which includes mostly the mass-graves of the fifth century (I, 29, 11). The implication is that these men were buried among the old heroes, undoubtedly in a grave of the same type. I believe that here can be seen the influence of Demosthenes and his admiration for the golden days of the fifth century.¹⁰⁵ It may not be too fanciful to suggest that this monument for Chaironeia was deliberately modelled on that representing the

¹⁰⁰ The two known fifth-century fragments in this script show by the nature of the names that they are of Ionic allies; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, no. 114, pp. 65-66, and *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, no. 19, pp. 169-171 = *S. E. G.*, X, 416.

¹⁰¹ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, VII, 5; Diodoros, XV, 84.

¹⁰² Cf. Lykourgos, *Adv. Leocratem*, 142; Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 264 and 285; Diodoros, XVI, 86, 5; Pausanias, VII, 10, 5. Even though the *Epitaphios* attributed to Demosthenes is probably not his, the section on the phylai and their heroes (27-31), unparalleled elsewhere, would be most appropriate at a ceremony before a monument on which these were arranged in order.

¹⁰³ Diodoros, XVI, 85, 2, speaks of *στρατηγούς . . . τοὺς περὶ Χάρητρα καὶ Λυσικλέα*. . . . Both of the latter survived, Lysikles to face trial for his part in the battle (XVI, 88). Of the others we know only of Stratokles, mentioned by Aischines, III, 143, and said by Polyainos, IV, 2,2, to have lead the Athenians too far forward when they seemed to be winning the early part of the battle. He may even have been killed and listed on this fragment, as there was a Stratokles Lakiades, of Oineis (*P.A.* 12941), in this period; his son and grandsons set up a dedication at the end of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 4611).

¹⁰⁴ *I.G.*, II², 5226; the similarity is apparent in the angles of the sigmas and the shorter center stroke of the epsilons.

¹⁰⁵ There is no room here for a full discussion of Pausanias' description of the public cemetery, but it may be pointed out that in the section describing fifth-century polyandria (I, 29, 9-14), there

earlier defeat in Boiotia at Koroneia (above, No. 5), and it may even have been the one which was crowded in against the latter sometime in antiquity.

The following pieces may possibly be parts of casualty lists, but probably are not; they are published in the hope that others may be able to explain them more satisfactorily.

17 (Plate 8). *a.* Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on March 21, 1936, in a late context north of the central part of South Stoa II (L 14). Part of the rough-picked bottom preserved; otherwise broken all around.

Height, 0.07 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.057 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 3842 *a.*

ante med. saec. V a.

[--?--]φιλο[--?--]
vacat 0.045 m.

b. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on March 26, 1936, in a late wall near the center of South Stoa II (L 15). Part of rough-picked bottom preserved; otherwise broken all around.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 3842 *b.*

ante med. saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[.....] ^{v v}
[.....] ^{v v}
[.....] ^s
[Εὐφρό]συννο[ς]
5 [.....]εϛ:Θο[----]
[.....]:Χσϛ[----]
vacat 0.035 m.

For the name in line 4, cf. *P.A.* 6120-6123. The only other possibility I can find is Sophrosynos, occurring in Sicily; *I.G.*, XIV, 2393, no. 470.

are three other intrusions beside Chaironeia. Two of these, the men who died in the Lamian War and those who drove out the Macedonian garrison in the third century, could well have been buried with the heroes of old because they died fighting for the city's freedom. The third intrusion was supposedly the grave of those who died helping the Romans, probably a very late fiction. None of the above could have been on the monument under discussion, as only 200 fell at Lamia (Pausanias, VII, 10, 5) and 13 in the third century (Pausanias, I, 29, 14).

c. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on March 13, 1936, in late fill near the center of South Stoa II (L 15). Broken all around.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.014 m.

Inv No. I 3769.

ante med. saec. V a.

[-----]ο[-]
 [-----]το[-]
 [-----]άδες
 [-----] v v
 5 [-----]σος
vacat ca. 0.030 m.

In line 5 the first letter could possibly be a pointed rho, but more likely it is a misshapen sigma, such as occurs in line 3 of Frag. *b*; the tip of the upper stroke seems to show above to the right.

These three fragments, of similar marble and found in the same level of the same area, seem to be part of an early list of names. I have not tried to put the texts together, as there is no physical join and their relationship is not clear. Line 1 of Frag. *a* and line 6 of Frag. *b* are at the same distance from the bottom; the former was probably part of the name to the left of the latter, but it could have been part of a patronymic, Xenophilos, to the right, or even have belonged to another column. Because of the break, one cannot tell whether the omicron of Frag. *a* was followed by another letter or not.

The type of list is made unclear by its inconsistency. Frag. *c* seems to contain the ends of names inscribed by themselves and could well be from a casualty list; for an example of similar unevenness at the ends of names, cf. above, No. 5. Frag. *b* appears to start off in the same way, although one cannot be sure that lines 1 and 2 were inscribed or that lines 3 and 4 were not patronymics, which we seem to have in lines 5 and 6. At least such appears to be the most obvious explanation of the punctuation, indicating two words there, but it is difficult to account for the change of method. The second word in line 6 may have been *χσένος*, which would be natural on a casualty list; in that case the Θο- of line 5 could be an ethnic, but the inscription is too early for it to be Thourios, and I can find no other beginning thus.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, it is difficult to see why an ethnic should be used in one line, followed by the generic *xenos* in the next. It is barely possible that here we have a case where two extra names were fitted in beside short ones, as in *I.G.*, I², 933, line 55, and 943, line 76. The vacant

¹⁰⁶ For an ethnic in a list, cf. *I.G.*, I², 933, line 13. The demotics Thorikos or Thoraieus are hardly possible here, as there is no deme beginning with the *χσ*- of line 6.

space below is against this, unless we assume that they were inscribed after the stele was set on its base.¹⁰⁷

18 (Plate 8). Fragment of Pentelic marble, found April 2, 1936, in modern fill north of the Hephaisteion (D 5). Broken on all sides.

Height, 0.150 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.

Height of letters: line 1, *ca.* 0.021 m.; lines 2-5, 0.012-0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 3923.

ante med. saec. V a.

vacat 0.040 m.

[----] κκ [----]
 [----] ενο [----]
 [----] μετ [----]
 [----] στα [----]
 5 [----] νο [----]

Despite the larger letters in line 1 and some irregularity in the alignment of the letters at the left edge, the first four lines are stoichedon, with a very wide horizontal spacing of *ca.* 0.032 m.; the vertical is *ca.* 0.020 m. The letters in line 5 are out of the pattern, placed in the spaces between those above.

This strange spacing suggests that this may possibly be part of a heading for a casualty list, such as that in *S.E.G.*, X, 418 (Agora I 4168), or perhaps even more likely, part of four lines of poetry. In either case it is possible that line 5 could have been [*hoίδε ἀπέθα*]νο[*ν ἐν* ---]. However, this phrase of a heading would normally be above the names on a list, but the vacant space at the top indicates that such was hardly the case here.¹⁰⁸

19 (Plate 9). Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on Jan. 24, 1938, in a modern wall south of the Agora (N 20). Broken on all sides. There is a rectangular cutting in the lower left corner which must be the result of re-use.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.015-0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 5200.

¹⁰⁷ Such seems to have been the case with the two examples noted in the text. In *I.G.*, I², 943, line 76, the name is cut deeper than the others and is very crowded; in 933, line 55, the letters are smaller, particularly the omicron, which is uniform on the rest of the stone. This militates against Pope's suggestion, *op. cit.*, p. 78, that the second name preserved there, instead of being Ἀριστίο[ν], was a genitive of Aristios (rather Aristias), indicating that Nikon, the first name in the line, was that of a slave.

¹⁰⁸ In *S.E.G.*, X, 418, there is 0.022 m. between the heading and the moulding; in *I.G.*, I², 943, there is no space at all.

saec. V a.

[-----]χ[-----]
 [-----]ι:ι'Αρ[-----]
 [-----]ετ[-----]
 [-----]ισ[-----]
 5 [-----]αλ[-----]
 [-----.]ν[-----]

Lines 3-6 are in a stoichedon pattern which measures *ca.* 0.025 m. horizontally and 0.021 m. vertically. Lines 1 and 2 were probably in a pattern with the same measurements, but the letters were set over half a space.

The change of spacing and the punctuation in line 2 suggest a heading. There is no indication that lines 3-6 are part of a casualty list except the well-cut monumental lettering. However, no known list has this spacing nor the variation in the length of the uprights (rho and iota measure 0.017 m.; epsilon, tau, and lambda, 0.015 m.).

20 (Plate 9). Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on July 12, 1937, in laying electric cable in Herakleion Street, between Erysichthon and Demophon Streets, west of the Agora. Smooth right side preserved; otherwise broken.

Height, 0.177 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 5008.

saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----.]αιο
 [-----.]επιδο
 [-----.]εσ
 [-----.]ν ν
 5 [-----.]ροσ
 [-----.]ν ν
 [-----]ς
 [-----]ς
 [-----.]ν ν
 10 [-----.]ς
 [-----.]εσ
 [-----.]ν
 [-----.]οσ

Except for the crowding in line 2, the inscription is stoichedon, with a pattern measuring 0.012 m. horizontally and 0.014 m. vertically. It is obviously a fifth-century name-list, but its type is uncertain, as lines 1 and 2 seem to be patronymics, which do not appear in the following lines.

This piece resembles very closely in the size and the shape of its lettering and in its very white marble *I.G.*, I², 853 (E.M. 2523; Plate 9). The horizontal spacing of the two is also the same, and they could belong to the same stele, although the vertical spacing of *I.G.*, I², 853 is slightly larger, *ca.* 0.016. The correct reading of the latter is as follows:

-----	Φορ[-----]
[-----]ε[ς]	Ἐργο[-----]
[-----]ᵛ	[Μ]ένυλ[λος]
-----	[. .]ο[.]ι[] [-----]

21 (Plate 9). Fragment of Pentelic marble found on May 23, 1936, in late fill west of the Church of the Holy Apostles (N 16). Broken on all sides.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.04 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 4183.

saec. V a. (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	[-----]	ᵛ ᵛ
	[-----]	ᵛ ᵛ
	[-----]	ᵛ ᵛ
	[-----]	τος
5	[-----]	ᵛ ᵛ
	[-----]	ᵛ ᵛ
	[-----]	ς
	[-----]	ς
	[-----]	ᵛ ᵛ
10	[-----]	ᵛ ᵛ

The stoichedon pattern measures 0.012 m. horizontally and 0.013 m. vertically.

The lack of any characteristic letters makes it impossible to prove that this piece belongs to the fifth century, but it is very similar to the monument attributed above (No. **15**) to 409. It could conceivably be part of that, as the letters are the same size and the horizontal spacing is similar. However, the vertical spacing is greater here than that of any of the fragments of No. **15**, where it averages 0.0122 m. Moreover, against the identification is a difference in the letter sigma and a lack of the heavy weathering common to the other pieces. Since that monument was composed of several stelai, none of these arguments can be decisive, but it seems more likely that this, if it is of the fifth century, is part of another list of the later years of the Decelean War.

DONALD W. BRADEEN



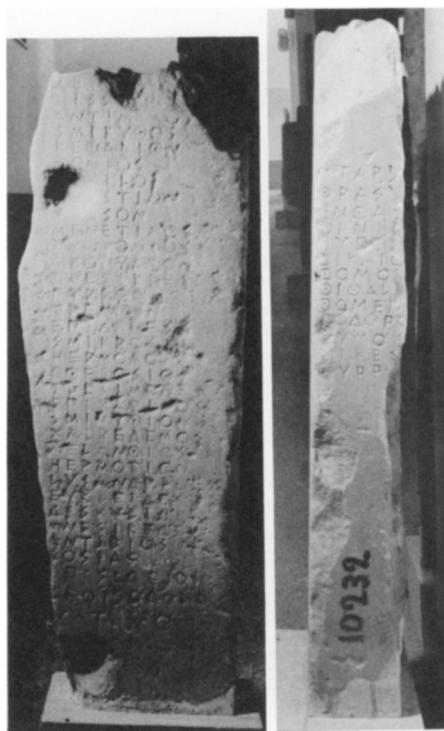
No. 1, Inv. No. I 6882



No. 2 a



No. 2 b



No. 1, I.G., I², 928 a



No. 2 e



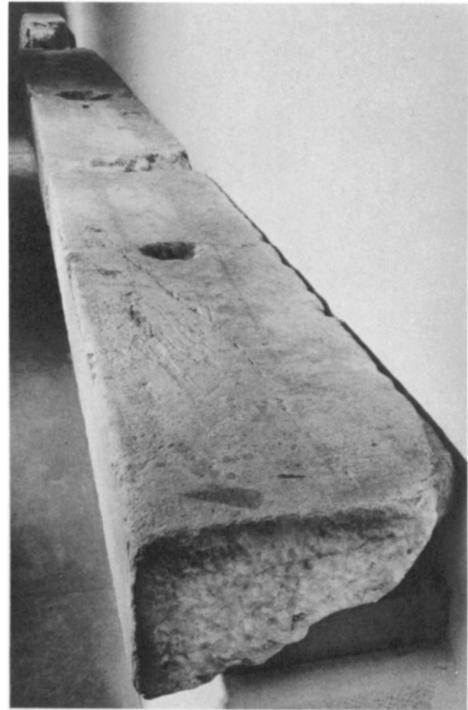
No. 2 d



No. 2 c



a. No. 5, Top



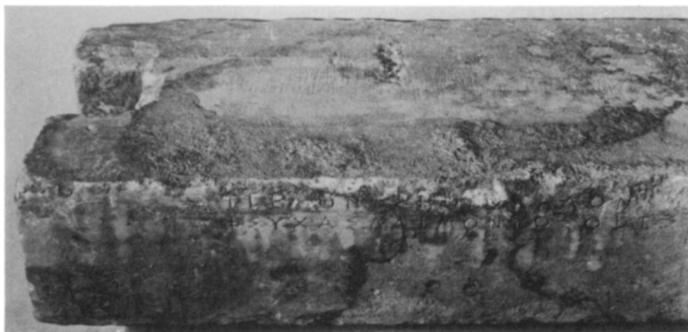
d. Base of No. 5, Top



b. No. 5, Right Side



c. No. 5, Left Side of E.M. 12883



e. Base of No. 5, Left end with Inscription



f. Base of No. 5, Left end



g. Base of No. 5

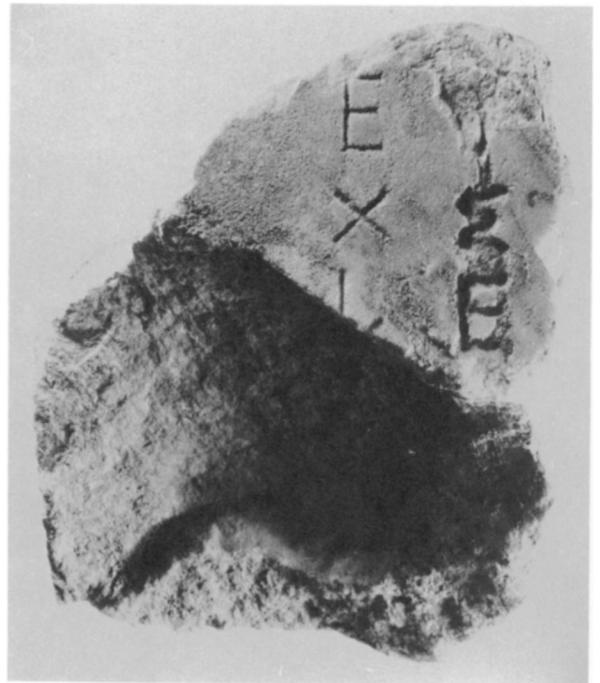
PLATE 4



No. 6



No. 8



No. 7 b



No. 7 a



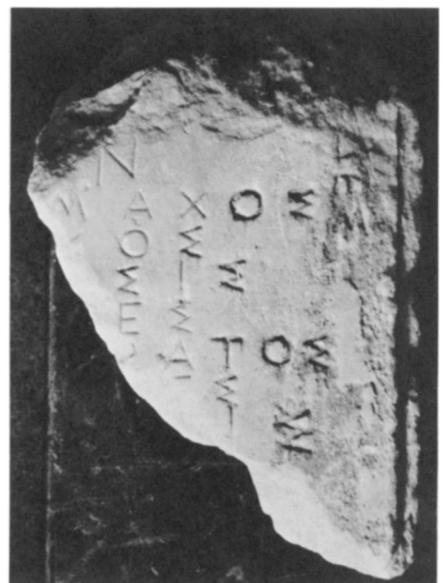
No. 7 c



I.G., I2, 966



I.G., I2, 958



I.G., I2, 965



No. 9 *a*



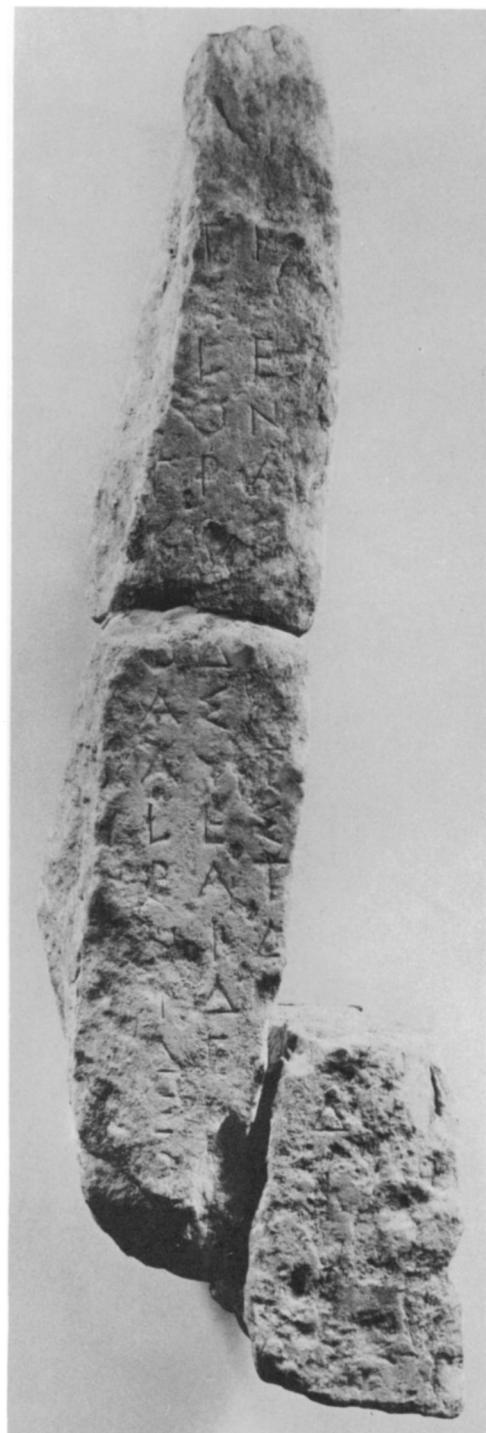
No. 9 *b*



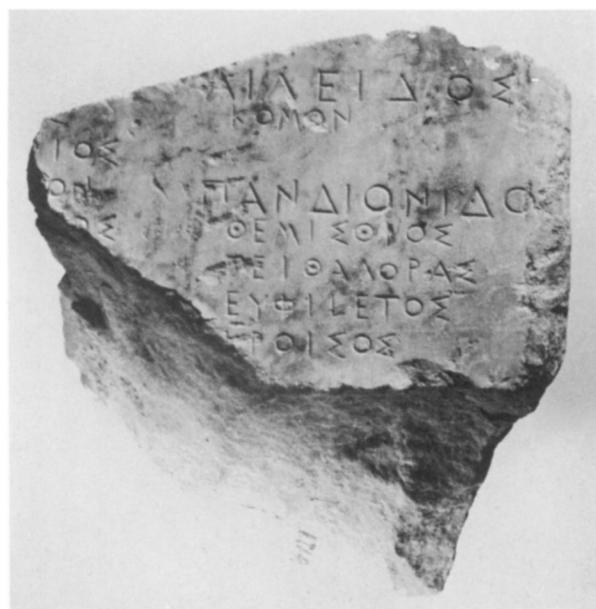
No. 9, *e*



No. 10, Inv. No. I 4168



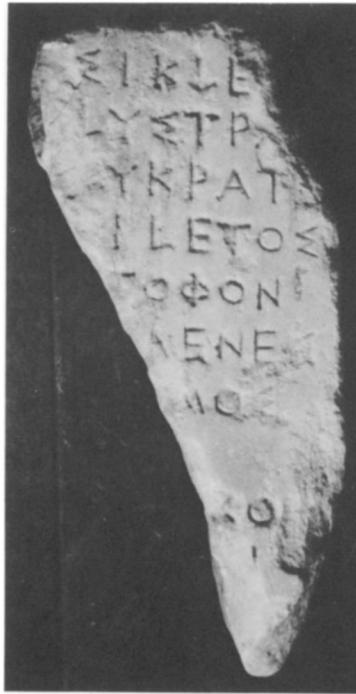
No. 9, *c, d*



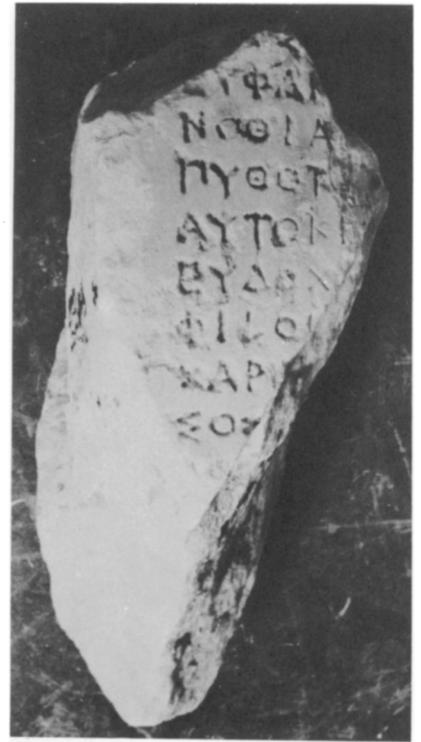
No. 10, Inv. No. I 6964



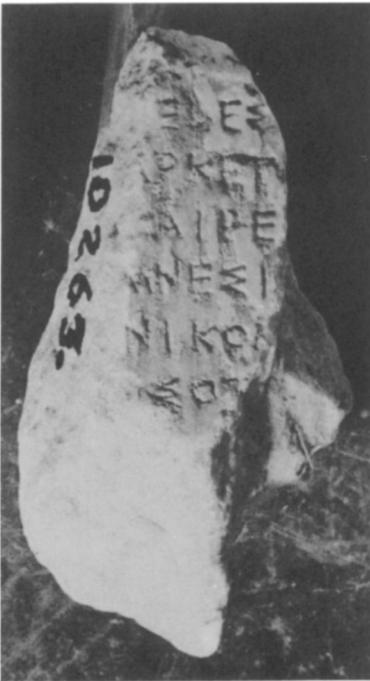
No. 11, Inv. No. I 4127



No. 11, I.G., I², 968



No. 11, I.G., I², 963



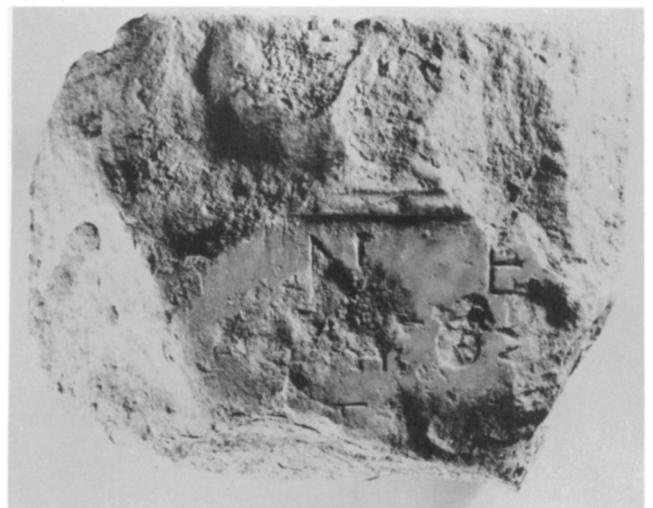
I.G., I², 961



No. 11, I.G., I², 960



No. 12



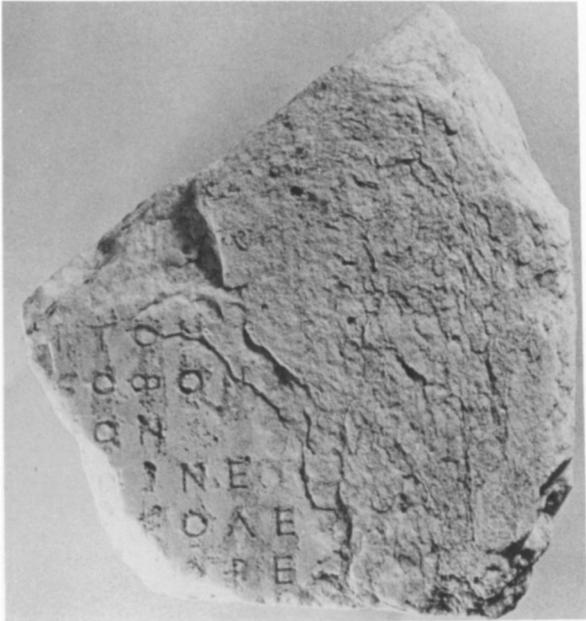
No. 16



No. 13



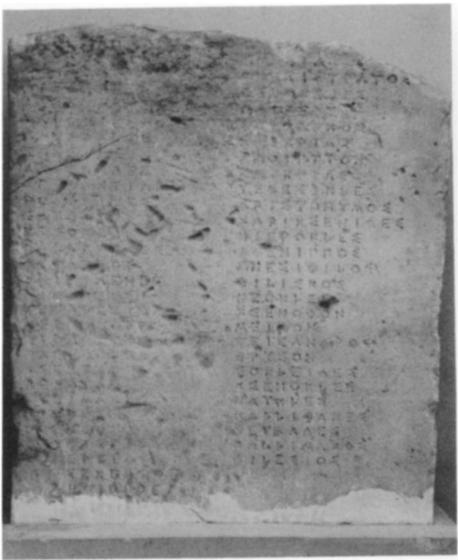
No. 14, Inv. No. I 4031



No. 14, Inv. No. I 5013



No. 14, Inv. No. 5065



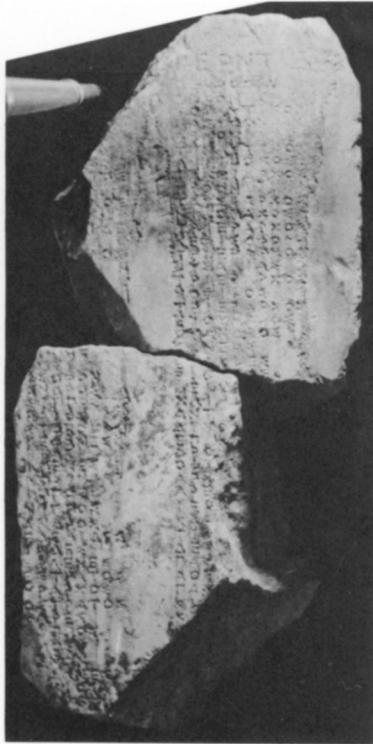
No. 14, I.G., I², 952



No. 14, I.G., I², 951



No. 15, Fragment M



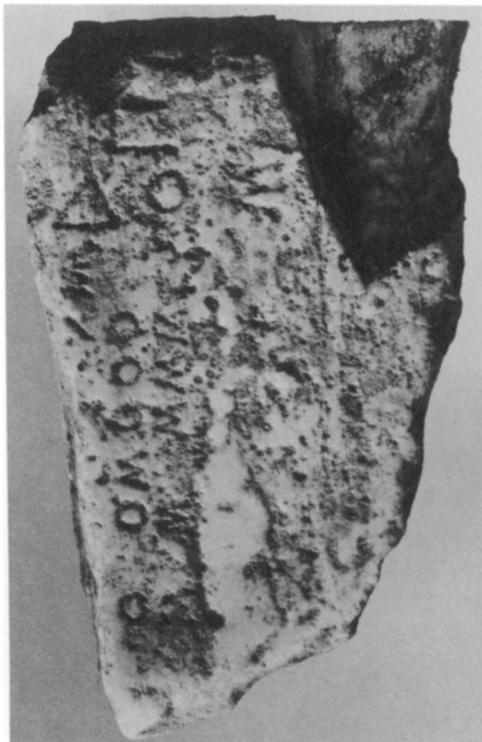
No. 15, Fragments M and B



No. 17 a



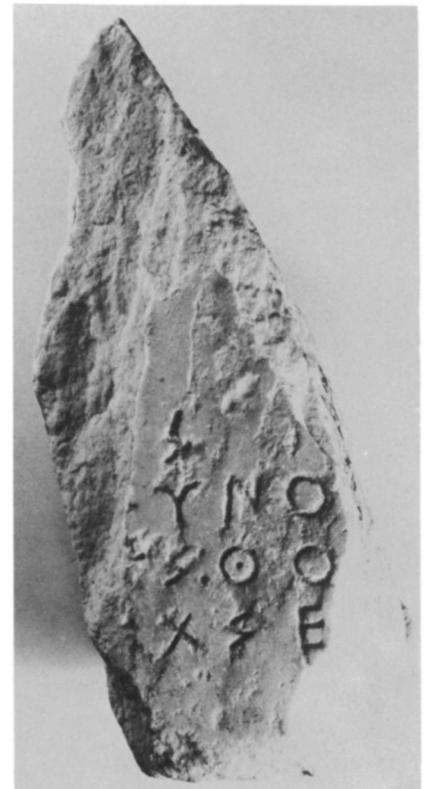
No. 17 c



No. 15, Fragment J



No. 18



No. 17 b

