

# AN EPHEBIC TEXT OF CA. 43/2 B.C.

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 and 1025

(PLATES 59-60)

THE text<sup>1</sup> here published consists of three parts: *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, Frag. *a*, E.M. 7608, lines 1-17 (Pl. 59); Frag. *b*, E.M. 7609, lines 17-43 (Pl. 59); Frag. *c*, E.M. 7610, lines 39-43, and *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1025, E.M. 5246, lines 39-53 (Pl. 60). Frag. *c*, E.M. 7610, consists of two stones which have been joined; the break comes between lines 39 and 40. Koehler's reading of the lower stone, as given in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, ended with line 45. This stone was separately published by Kirchner as *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1025, E.M. 5246, but he left the space occupied by lines 44-46, immediately above the captions of the two wreaths, blank. E.M. 7610 (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 *c*) and E.M. 5246 (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1025) were apparently joined after Kirchner's reading of the latter, since the squeeze in Princeton shows them joined. Later the stones became separated and were again joined by me in 1951. Frag. *c*, as here labelled, consists of these two joined stones. Fragments *a* and *c* preserve the left margin of the stone essentially intact, Frag. *b* the right margin. The spacing of the letters within the lines tends to be irregular. Pentelic marble, found near Panagia Pyrgiotissa and now in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens. Height of letters, 0.006 m. (Koehler); 0.007 m. (Kirchner).

*ca. a. 43/2 a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca. 53-69*

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*a* [πάσ]ας καὶ [τὰς λειτουργίας ἐλειούργησαν ἔθυσαν  
δὲ τὰ τε Προηρέσια καὶ μυστήρια]  
[κ]αὶ Διονύσι[α παραστήσαντες ὡς κάλλιστα θύματα·  
ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Διογενείοις ἐν τῷ]  
[τ]εμένει καὶ τὰ[ς ἄλλας θυσίας ἐπετέλεσαν τὰς

<sup>1</sup> The Director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, Greece, Dr. M. Mitsos, has kindly granted me permission to publish this new reading of *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 and 1025 and gave me generous assistance in my work on these inscriptions in Athens in 1951, for which I am grateful. It is a pleasure to record my deep indebtedness to B. D. Meritt for his great interest in and much help with the restoration of this inscription, and particularly for his reexamination of the stones in Athens. To him and to The Institute for Advanced Study, I wish to express my gratitude again for making it possible for me to work at the Institute and to use the unique facilities which are there available. As always, I have profited much from discussion of moot points with B. D. Meritt, Fordyce Mitchell and A. E. Raubitschek, who preëminently among others have freely given me the benefit of their criticism and advice. My work on this inscription and on other ephobic documents during the summers of 1963-64 has been made possible by generous grants from the Research Institute of the University of Texas, for which I am duly appreciative.

*Hesperia*, XXXIV, 4

- καθηκούσας ἀπάσας τοῖς θεοῖς]  
 [ὕ]πέρ τε τοῦ δῆ[μου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν  
 φίλων καὶ συμμάχων, ἀγγέλλοντες]  
 5 [κ]αὶ γεγονέναι ἐ[μ πᾶσιν τὰ ἱερά καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια·  
 ἐπόμπευσαν δὲ καὶ τῆι Ἄρτέμιδι]  
 τῆι Ἄγροτέραι ἐ[ν ὄπλοις, ἐποιήσαντο δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 ὑπαπάντησιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐν ὄπλοις]  
 [κ]αὶ προέπεμψαν α[ὐτὰ καὶ τὸν Ἰακχὸν ὡσαύτως·  
 ἤρασαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις τοὺς βούς· ἐπαί—]  
 δεύθησαν δὲ τῶι [κοσμητῆι πειθαρχοῦντες, νομίσαντες  
 αὐτὸν προνοήσασθαι ἑαυτῶν δι' ὃ]  
 λου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἴσ[ως δὲ καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν τὴν  
 πλείστην σπουδὴν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ποι—]  
 10 ούμενον καὶ προσέτ[ι πρὸς ἕνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εὐνοίαν  
 προσφερόμενον· ἐφ' οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖ]  
 [β]ουλόμενοι εὐχαρ[ιστεῖν αὐτῶι ἐστεφάνωσάν τε αὐτὸν  
 χρυσῶι στεφάνωι καὶ πα—]  
 [ρ]ακαλοῦσι τὴν [βουλὴν ἐπιχωρήσαι ἑαυτοῖς ποιήσασθαι  
 γραπτῆς εἰκόνας ἐν ὄπλοι]  
 ἀνάθεσιν ἐν [τῆι Ἀττάλου στοᾶι ? καὶ ἐπιγράψαι·  
 οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐν τῶι ἐπὶ]  
 Ἀπολήξειδο [s ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτῶι τὸν ἑαυτῶν κοσμητῆν  
 Σώστρατον Σωστράτου]  
 15 Ἀλαιέα ἀρ[ετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ δικαιοσύνης· τύχηι  
 ἀγαθῆι δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι]  
 ἐπιχωρ[ῆσαι τοῖς ἐφήβοις τὴν εἰκόνα Σωστράτου τοῦ  
 Σωστράτου Ἀλαιέως ποιῆ]σαι, b  
 ἵνα [τούτων συντελουμένων ἡ βουλὴ φαίνεται τὴν  
 καθήκουσαν πρόν]οιαν πο[ιοῦ—]  
 [μένη τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγωγῆς καὶ τιμῶσα τοὺς  
 ἀγαθο]ὺς τῶν ἀνδρ[ῶν.]

*vacat* 0.019 m.

- [Ἐπὶ --- ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς -----  
 π]ρυντανείας ἧι Ἄνα[---  
 20 [----- ἐγραμμάτευεν  
 Βοηδρομι?]ῶ[νο]ς δευτέραι μετ' εἰκά[δας]  
 [--- τῆς πρυντανείας· ἐκκλησία -----].  
 τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή[φι—]  
 [ζεν -----· ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι.]

*vacat ca.* 0.11 m. at end of line

- [----- εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐφηβεύσ[αντες  
 ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ἐπο[λή-]  
 [ξίδος ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ τῆς ἐφηβείας  
 χρόνου πεποί]ηται τὴν ἀναστροφὴν  
 25 [καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως πειθαρχοῦντες τῷ τε κοσμητῇ  
 καὶ τοῖς παιδευταῖς καὶ π[α-]  
 [ρεδρεύοντες ταῖς ἀκροάσεσι καὶ ταῖς τῶν ῥητόρων  
 καὶ γραμμα]τικῶν σχολαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖ[s]  
 [γυμνασίοις τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀναστροφὴν ποιούμενοι  
 ἐπι]μ[ε]μέληνται δὲ καὶ τῆς περ[ι]  
 [τὸ σῶμα γυμνασίας καὶ ἀσκήσεως πολυφροντίστως,  
 ἔτι δὲ] καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἵππικοῖς  
 [ἐμπειρίας καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις σπουδῆς φιλοτιμίας  
 καὶ φιλοπ]ονίας οὐδὲν ἐλλείποντε[s].  
 c 30 [ἀνέθηκαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ] τὸ ψ[ήφισμα ἐν Πτολεμαίωι  
 βυβλία ἕκα]τόν· ἐπετελέσαντο δὲ καὶ  
 [τὰς καθηκού]σας [τὰς ἄλλας θυσίας καὶ ἐκαλλιέρησαν  
 ἐμ πάσ]αις· ὅτι οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλή  
 [καὶ ὁ δῆμος] φαίνων[ται ἀποδεχόμενοι τὴν τῶν  
 ἐφήβ]ων ἀρετὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰ  
 [κάλλιστ]α φιλοτιμία[ν, τύχηι ἀγαθῆι δεδόχθαι τῆι  
 βου]λῆι καὶ τῷ δήμωι, ὅτι ἐπαι-  
 [νέσαι] τοὺς ἐφήβου[s τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἐπολήξιδος ἄρχοντος  
 καὶ] στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στ[ε-]  
 35 [φάν]ωι ἐφ' ἧι πεποίη[νται εὐταξίαι καὶ τῆι περὶ  
 τὰ κάλλιστα τ]ῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων σπουδῆ[ι]  
 [καὶ] ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέ[φανον Διονυσίων τραγωιδῶν  
 τῷ κα]ινῶι ἀγῶνι καὶ Παναθηνα[ί-]  
 [ων] καὶ Ἐλευσινίων ἐν [τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι, τῆς  
 δὲ ἀνα]γορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου  
 [ἐπι]μεληθῆναι τοὺς [σ]τ[ρατηγούς καὶ τὸν ταμίαν  
 τῶν στρατιω]τικῶν· ὅτι ἐπαινέσαι δὲ κα[ι]  
 [τοὺς πα]ιδεῦ[τας αὐτῶν Μητρόδωρον ----- Μν-]  
 ρρινούσιον καὶ Σίμων[α . . .]  
 40 [ . . . ]μιανού Τε[ιβράσιον καὶ -<sup>ca. 21-25</sup> -  
 Εὐπ]υρίδης (*sic*) καὶ Ἀντίοχον Ἡρακ[λεώ-]  
 την καὶ στεφα[νῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι  
 ἐφ'] ἧι πεποί(η)νται ἀναστρο[φῆι]  
 ἀναγράψαι [δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς

τὴν αὐ]τὴν στήλην, ἵνα τούτω[ν συν-]  
 [τ]ελουμένων [ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνονται τιμῶντες  
 τοὺς τ]ῶν ἀπὸ τῆε (sic) πρώτης ἡλ[ικίας]  
 τῶν νέων ἐπι[διδόντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα  
 τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ γίνονται]  
 45 καὶ ἕτεροι ζη[λωταὶ τῶν ὁμοίων - - - - -  
 - - - - -]  
 [- - -]βαλλο[- - - - -]  
 [ἡ] βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος 52 οἱ ἔφ[ηβοι]  
 τὸν κοσμητῆν τὸν κ[οσμητῆν]  
 in corona oliginea reliquiae coronae oligineae  
 Σώστρατον  
 50 [Σωσ]τράτου  
 [Ἄλ]αί[α]

Line 13: For the place of erection *ca.* 15 letter spaces are available. The customary (and perhaps obligatory) place was ἐν ἀγοραῖ (e.g. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, 73; 1009, 55; 1011, 30), although copies of decrees and replicas of statues could also be erected elsewhere ἐν ἄστει οὐδ' ἀ[ν εὐκαιρον ἦν] (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, 38). Exceptionally in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 (79/8), the epheboi requested permission to erect a statue of their kosmetes ἐν [τῶν] ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἱερῶν because of his *arete* toward Demeter and Kore. In this year the epheboi celebrated the Sylleia (line 57)<sup>2</sup> and possibly the erection of the statue of the kosmetes in Eleusis was in reality to serve as a memorial of Sulla's initiation into the Mysteries there (καὶ μνηθεῖς, Plutarch, *Sulla*, 26), since no unusual connection of the kosmetes or of the activities of the epheboi with Eleusis is indicated in this year. Possibly ἐν τῆν Ἀττάλου στοᾶν should be restored here. But one might compare *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, 24 where the epheboi are recorded as contributing 70 drachmas for a phiale to those who were appointed to make an offering to the Mother of the Gods "according to the decree" and added "another (phiale)" to be placed ἐν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἱερῶν, as justification for supplying that location here.

Lines 14-16: Name and patronymic are supplied from lines 49-50. The restoration of line 16 I owe to Meritt. Σώστρατος Σωστράτου Ἀλαιεύς was doubtless the brother of Κλ[έ]αρχος Σωστράτο[ν], ephebos *init. s. I a.*, the date given for *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2327, 7; and their father was doubtless the pythaist *pais* in 128/7 (*F. de D.*, III, 2, No. 12, Col. 4, 10), since no other ephebos of that name occurs in this period and officials of the ephebia were commonly heads of "ephebic families." The mint magistrate of 143/2 may be an ancestor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A. E. Raubitschek, "Sylleia," *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, Princeton, N. J., 1951, p. 56, actually the Theseia, re-named Sylleia.

<sup>3</sup> Margaret Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, Numismatic Studies 10, Text, New York, 1961, p. 254. Hereafter this book will be referred to as Thompson.

Line 16: The perfect *ἐπικεχωρήσθαι* is the usual form in the decree of the Boule which grants the request, both in ephebic inscriptions (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, 95; 1009, 57, perfect imperative restored by Kumanudis; 1011, 50; 1039, 40; 1041, 3, restored by Koehler; 1043, 36-37) and also in the prytany inscriptions. The erection of a gilded *εἰκῶν ἐν ὄπλῳ* of the tamias of the prytaneis was an innovation which began *ca.* 80 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1050, 6-7; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, No. 97). The perfect infinitive is read in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1050, 10; 1049, 12; supplied by Koehler in 1048, 17 and by Lattermann in 1070, 16, which last is dated *paullō ante a.* 19/20 *p.* In the request itself, as I have restored in line 12, the aorist infinitive is regularly found *παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπιχωρήσαι*, in both kinds of inscriptions.

Lines 39-40: The name of *Μητρόδωρος Μυρρινούσιος*, the hoplomachos in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041, 31, was restored here by Kirchner. *M. Μητροδώρου M.*, ephebos in the archonship of Sosikrates in 111/110 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2983, 8; *P.A.*, 10152) may have been the grandfather of the hoplomachos. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041, 31, the hoplomachos is the third of four paidutai. Since two of the three inscriptions which name only four instructors (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041, *ca.* 45/4, 1040, *ca.* 43/2, and 1042, *ca.* 41/0) place the paidotribes first, the man from Myrrhinous in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 must have filled that post, and, if identical with the hoplomachos of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041, must have been advanced to that position, which adds confirmation to the dating of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 later than 1041.

The name *Σίμων[α . . . . .]μιανού Τε[ιθράσιον]*, especially the patronymic, must be regarded as uncertain.

Line 46: This is a perplexing line. Meritt, who had repeatedly examined it, working from the squeeze, was certain that there was a *vacat* on either side of the word or words represented by the letter-remains immediately below –ΤΕΡΟΙΖ– of the preceding line. This could only mean that the letter-remains in line 46 were part of a caption, but he had no solution. If not part of the decree, the line might contain the caption *οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀπολήξιδος ἄρχοντος*, as it appears exceptionally in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, 69, above the wreaths for the kosmetes rather than immediately above the roster of epheboi. But this is otherwise unparalleled and the letter-remains cannot be incorporated into it. In a transcription made from the stone in Athens in 1951 I read the line, . . . . . ΘΑΛΛΘΥ . . Σ . . Τ . . Ξ . . In re-working this locus with photograph and squeeze, I found that the photograph lends some support to these readings, although I am now convinced that the first letter is not a small theta, but rather the large lower loop of a beta. While the squeeze shows no evidence whatsoever of letter-remains on the far left or far right of the line, the photograph made in 1951 does show traces which are not inconsistent with these readings, particularly the horizontal cross-stroke of the tau. From the analogous lines of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1042, 4-5; 1039, 13; and 1043, 16, I should like to restore:

45 καὶ [ἔ]τεροι ζη[λωταὶ τῶν ὄμ]οίων [φιλοτίμως  
καὶ μεγαλομερῶς ἀναστρεφόμε]—  
[νοι ἐπι]βαλλο[ύσης αὐτοῖς τιμῆς.]

This restoration accounts for the letter-remains which are visible, is consistent with the letter-remains which I seem to see in the photograph on either side of them, and calls for no innovation which is inconsistent with the texts which are closely analogous to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040.

The inscription in all likelihood consisted originally of three decrees followed by the roster of epheboi. The preserved portion yields the final lines of a decree of the Boule which granted the epheboi permission to honor the kosmetes with a gold crown and a statue, lines 1-18. The next decree is the conventional decree of the Boule and the Demos which honors the epheboi with praise and with wreaths, lines 19-53. Another decree, about which more below, doubtless preceded these two.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040-1025 and eight other texts<sup>4</sup> are dated ἐπὶ Ἀπολήξιδος ἄρχοντος. *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 61 is fixed in the period assigned to it by Graindor, because the Apolexis of that document was contemporaneous with the Delphian archon for the second time, Antigenes, whose archonship incontestably falls in that period. About the Apolexis of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, Graindor wrote (*op. cit.*, p. 37, note 1),—“... il est fort possible qu'il faille identifier avec notre Apolèxis, l'archonte homonyme connu par les textes *I.G.*, II-III<sup>2</sup>, 1040 et 1048. D'après Koehler (*IG*, II, 487), les caractères de 1040 indiquent la second moitié du I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.-C. plutôt que la première.” What Koehler actually wrote, however, was,—“Archontem Apolexidem qui ad partem priorem saeculi primi pertinet habuimus supra tit. 479 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040), recentioris aetatis fuit Ἀπόληξις ἐξ Οἴου, quem Neubauer *Cur. epigr.* p. 9 circa annum 20 a. Ch., Dittenberger *C.I.A.* III ad n. 106 circa initia aerae Christianae archontem fuisse volunt. Decretum de honoribus Socratis Cephisiensis (this is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 182, No. 113), si rationem scripturae sequeris ad

<sup>4</sup> They are, with the dates assigned them by the scholars who studied them:

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048, Koehler (*ad* II, 487), first half of the first century B.C., and earlier than 1041 and 1042 (45/4? and 41/0 respectively); Kirchner, following W. Kolbe, *Die attischen Archonten von 293/2-31/0 v. Chr.*, Berlin, 1908, 148-150, 47/6-43/2; Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 183, No. 113, ca. 45-20 B.C.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1063, 6, Kirchner, *post* 48/7.

*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, Paris, 1911, No. 61, M. G. Colin (p. 68), between 26 and 11 B.C.; G. Daux, *Chronologie delphique*, Paris, 1934, p. 75, N20, “vers 20/19”; P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes Athéniens sous l'empire*, Brussels, 1920, p. 37, No. 6, 25/4-18/7.

Ἐλευσινιακά, I, Athens, 1932, I. Threpsiades, 20/19-1 B.C. Threpsiades gives complete citation of the previous datings of the archon Apolexis, p. 227, note 1.

Agora I 4913, G. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 246, No. 97, 21/0 (with some misgivings). *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2876, 2, [— — — eis τὸν ἐπὶ Ἀπολήξιδος ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνέθηκεν, Kirchner, 25/4-18/7. Agora I 877, S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 185, No. 115, 25/4-18/7? *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3505, 6, Kirchner, 8/7-1 B.C.

alteram potius quam ad priorem saeculi primi partem referendum esse dixeris." That is, according to Koehler, the Apolexis in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 is to be placed in the first half, the Apolexis of the prytany decree, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048, in the second half of the first century B.C. Graindor wrongly applied to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 what Koehler had written about *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048. The error is perpetuated in Threpsiades' Ἐλευσινιακά, I, p. 227, note 1: "ὁ Köhler IG, II 487 (Ἀπολήξειδα ἄρχοντα θέτει) εἰς τὸ δεύτερον ἡμισυ τοῦ 1 π. χ. αἰ."

Seven years later Graindor argued that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 could be moved from the age of Caesar to the Augustan era because 1) its decrees were passed by a democratic government, 2) the government at Athens had an aristocratic character up to 48/7 (from the time of Sulla on to the battle of Pharsalos) and again under Anthony, beginning 38/7, with an intervening period of popular control, 3) we know only two archons by the name Apolexis in the Augustan period, i.e., Apolexis without further designation, who is firmly fixed between 25/4 and 18/7 and Ἀπόληξις Φιλοκράτους ἐξ Οἴου, who is also definitely placed between 8/7 and 1 B.C., and 4) we do not possess proof of an homonymous archon between 48/7 and 38/7.<sup>5</sup> His added argument that some further designation such as ὁ μετὰ followed by the name of his predecessor would doubtless have been added to distinguish him according to the usage in Attic documents is weakened by the fact that the various archons named Diokles are in fact not always set apart in this way, although the demotic is added in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706, 99 and in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1343, 19, and the patronymic occurs for the archon Diokles in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1939, 1 and in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1716 as restored by Dow in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 117.<sup>6</sup>

Graindor's suggestion that the archon Apolexis in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 was identical with the archon Apolexis of 25/4-18/7 was widely accepted, although not without occasional misgivings. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, pp. 286, 293 puts his date in 20/19; Daux, *Chronologie delphique*, p. 75, placed him "vers 20/19." The discovery of the tribal secretary's name, Μητροφάνης Διονυσίου Ἀθμονεύς, in the archonship of the Apolexis in the inscription from Eleusis which Threpsiades dated 20/19 to 1 B.C. (Ἐλευσινιακά, I, 1934, pp. 225 ff.) led Notopoulos to date Apolexis in 21/0 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 6, 123) since "The position of the secretary's tribe Attalis (XII) definitely places this archon in 21/0." In his re-study of this inscription (*Mélanges Bidez*, Brussels, 1934, II, p. 822) P. Roussel preferred Graindor's dating rather than a fixed year, since our knowledge of the secretaries and the intercalary years of the first century is so meager. He pointed out that a secretary from Attalis would equally well fit the year 49/8, but that Δημοχάρης ὁ μετὰ Δημήτριον already occupied that year. Dow also allowed considerable

<sup>5</sup> Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, Cairo, 1927, pp. 95, 101-02; Appian, *Mithr.*, 39; *Bell. Civ.*, II, 88; Dio, XXXVIII and XXXIX, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Meritt has drawn my attention to another parallel picked at random, that of the archon Anaxikrates of 279/8 who is not distinguished from the homonymous archon of 307/6, 28 years earlier.

latitude in placing the Apolexis who dates *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 and 1048, whom he assumed to be identical (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 183, No. 113), *ca.* 45-20 B.C. He states, "At this writing (1937) it is impossible to decide whether there was an Apolexis of *ca.* 45 B.C., and whether 113 should be dated in that period. It is amply clear, however, that 113 belongs after 97 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1050, *ca.* 80 B.C.) and 101 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1049, 57/6), and probably before 116 (Agora I 807, *ca.* 20 B.C.)." Stamires published a prytany decree dated in the archonship of Apolexis (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 246, No. 97, 3). He excluded as extremely unlikely an identification with the archon of 8/7-1 B.C., Ἀπόληξις Φιλοκράτους ἐξ Οἴου, and cited Graindor's suggestion that there was only one archon Apolexis whose name occurs without qualification before the archon of 25/4-18/7. Stamires concluded, "Notopoulos, on the basis of the tribal cycle of secretaries, fixes the date (of the Apolexis of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040) at 21/0 B.C.<sup>7</sup> Though I feel less confidence than Notopoulos, I have accepted his date" (*op. cit.*, p. 249).

An examination of the content, structure and form of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040-1025 in relation to the other ephebic inscriptions from 162/1 through the first century B.C. will show, I believe, that it is necessary to date it, and the archon Apolexis whose name appears without further designation in its dating formula, prior to 38/7, and that this text is to be dated in the "open" year, 43/2.

In character, structure and form, the ephebic inscriptions of the period mentioned fall into two distinct categories which I shall call Series A and Series B. Series A comprises *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 503-504, No. 16 (162/1); Agora I 286, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 228-232 (127/6); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006 (123/2); 1008 (118/7); 1009 (116/5); 1011 (106/5); 1028 (101/0); 1029 (96/5) and 1030 (*post* 94/3).<sup>8</sup>

The inscriptions of Series A contain normally two decrees, both passed by the Boule and the Demos, one praising the epheboi and their instructors and awarding a crown of gold to the former and a wreath of thallos to the latter, beginning with the formula, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεινὸς ἄρχοντος. . . . The other decree awards praise and a crown of gold to the kosmetes and is introduced by the formula, ὁ δεῖνα, genitive of the patronymic, demotic, χειροτονηθεὶς κοσμητῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους εἰς τὰ

<sup>7</sup> This Apolexis dates *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2997, 3; 3505, 5 and *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 63.

<sup>8</sup> Other inscriptions relating to the epheboi of this period are: *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 23 (138/7) which, of course, gives only the names of the epheboi who formed the escort of the Pythais of that year; so too, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 25 (106/5), but it records, in addition, the names of eight paidutai who accompanied the epheboi. The number of posts was doubtless the conventional seven. We may assume two incumbents in one post as was the case in 123/2 when we find two hyperetai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, 46) or an assistant to one of them, like the hypophlomachos listed as the eighth didaskalos in the Delphic document, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 24, 14, whose title and name, however, are lacking in the Athenian inscription of that year, 128/7 (Agora I 286, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 228-232). *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 26 (98/7) also records the names of the seven instructors of that year, in addition to the names of the ephebic contingent that went to Delphi. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1031 (90-80 B.C.) preserves only names of epheboi, except for three, all Xenoi.

ἐπὶ τοῦ δέϊνος ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτόν. . . . The strategoi and the tamias<sup>9</sup> of military funds are charged with the proclamation of the wreaths. To this basic structure a third type of decree was added, appearing for the first time in extant documents in the year 127/6. Two almost identical decrees are found in Agora I 286 (*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 228-232), decrees III and IV, lines 101-127 and in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011 (106/5), decrees IV and V, lines 63-78. Both begin ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ κοσμητής, and report the sacrifices which the kosmetes and the epheboi have offered ἐφ' ὑγείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων. The decree is a vote τὰ ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι ἃ ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ κοσμητής γεγονέναι and to praise him and the epheboi and award them a wreath of kittos or of thallos for this service to the state. A decree of this kind does not appear in the complete inscriptions, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, 1008, 1009 and 1028. Whether it was included in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1029 and 1030 cannot be determined, since these texts preserve only the general decree praising the epheboi and the instructors, although *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1029 preserves a few letters of the first line of a second decree which is doubtless the decree honoring the kosmetes.

This third type of decree was apparently modelled after the decrees honoring others who had merited praise for their sacrifices in behalf of the well-being and safety of the state and particularly the decrees honoring the prytaneis. The formula developed from περὶ ὧν λεγουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 84, No. 15 of 285/4; cf. περὶ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ ἱερεὺς, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 689, 19 of 262/1) to the formula customarily found later, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσι. The early prytany decrees state that the sacrifices were made ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου only, but this phrase was expanded by degrees to include παῖδες, γυναῖκες, φίλοι and σύμμαχοι. It is noteworthy that the full formula appears first in the prytany decree of 155/4 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 148, No. 84). In ca. 80/79? (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 165, No. 97) and in 57/6 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 170, No. 101) only the Boule and the Demos are mentioned.<sup>10</sup>

The ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ κοσμητής decree appears, then, in ephebic inscriptions in 127/6 and later with essentially the formulae of the first of the early prytany decrees. In both a wreath of thallos (kittos in the ephebic decree, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011) is awarded those who are honored.

An occasional decree of a fourth kind is sometimes found in the inscriptions of Series A, a decree which honors the epheboi for their conduct at Salamis, but appar-

<sup>9</sup> In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, 95 (cf. line 43); 1008, 70 (cf. line 37); 1009, 54 (cf. line 19); 1028, 102 (cf. line 50), the crown for the kosmetes is proclaimed by the strategoi alone.

<sup>10</sup> Other documents from the middle of the second century B.C. onward use the expanded formula, e. g. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1000, 10 (*post medium s. II a.*); 1054, 19-20 (*ca. 100/99*); 992 (*s. II a.*); 990, 6 (*med. s. II a.*), including of course the ephebic inscriptions already mentioned. See Dow's discussion in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 9-11, in which he rightly points out that the addition of σύμμαχοι and φίλοι is not a random insertion, but accurately reflects Athens' relations with other states at the time.

ently only when the Salaminians had passed a decree praising them, for which a crown is also awarded them and the kosmetes. The crown was proclaimed at the games in Salamis by the strategos (presumably  $\delta\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\alpha\ \delta\omicron\pi\lambda\alpha$ ) and the epimeletai in Agora I 286, 136 (the kind of crown is not specified); by the archon (of Salamis), the general, and the epimeletai in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, 83, and by the epimeletai alone in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, 59. In the latter two decrees, a crown of gold was awarded.

The inscriptions of Series B, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 (79/8), 1041 (*ca.* 45/4), 1040-1025 (archon Apolexis, whom I place *ca.* 43/2), 1042 (*ca.* 41/0) and 1043 (39/8), are structurally alike. There are three decrees, the old general decree which honors the epheboi and their instructors, the  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\ \delta\omega\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \delta\ \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$  decree, and a third of quite distinctive form and formulae which will be discussed below. Speaking generally, they are shorter and more compact than the decrees of Series A, especially the decree honoring the epheboi. Either the activities of the epheboi were more circumscribed than before, or, what is more likely, they were not recounted at length.

The decrees of Series B are of two kinds. The first of the series, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, and the last, 1043, clearly show that they were passed under the aristocratic regimes established at Athens by Sulla and Anthony respectively. As Kirchner pointed out (*ad I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039), the first decree of that inscription is dated by the strategos  $\delta\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\alpha\ \delta\omicron\pi\lambda\alpha$  and also by the archon eponymos. The kosmetes is praised, but he is not awarded a crown, and the instructors are not even named. The proclamation of the crowns is made not by the tamias of the military treasury and the strategoi as before, but by the strategos and the herald of the Council of the Areopagus. The epheboi had offered sacrifices at games named in honor of Sulla. Two sons of Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia (favorably known from the correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell and Purser, *The Correspondence of Cicero*, Dublin and London, 1914, III, pp. xxiii f.) appear in the roster of Sypalletioi with  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\rho\omega\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$  as an appellative (Frag.  $b^1 + c^1 + p$ , line 5). Perhaps it is significant, too, that the decree honoring the epheboi is the last of the three decrees on the stone.

Equally clearly, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040-1025, 1041 and 1042 give evidence that they originated in a period when a popular government was in control at Athens. The oligarchic regime which Sulla had instituted by his confirmation of the constitution of 103/2 following his return from Asia in 84/3 was still in power in 79/8 and apparently continued in control until the re-establishment of democracy by Caesar in 48/7 after the battle of Pharsalos. After this date and shortly before the visit of Anthony in Athens in 39/8, Athens enjoyed a democratic constitution and it is within this period that the three inscriptions must be dated. The decrees were again passed by the Boule and the Demos; the strategoi and the tamias of the military treasury were again responsible for the proclamation of the crowns; and in all other respects, save one, the decrees show the structure and form of those of Series A. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 is dated by the archon Polycharmos (*ca.* 45/4) and 1042 by the archon Nikandros (*ca.* 41/0).

Koehler and Kirchner agreed in considering the three inscriptions a group which dated from the period of popular government shortly after 48/7.

The only reason Graindor had for suggesting that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 be taken from this period of democratic government and for placing it in the period of popular control in the Age of Augustus was that by doing so, we avoid two archons with the same name, who, in his opinion, should be distinguished by some further identifying designation with the name of one of them, but who in fact are not so distinguished. But the Attic usage which he invokes is honored in the breach, as we have already shown. The structure and form of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 conform in every detail with the two inscriptions dated in the period of democratic government at Athens after 48/7 and before 39/8.

The last extant ephebic inscription before the beginning of the Imperial Period (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043) originated, as has been mentioned, under an oligarchic government in 39/8, the year after Anthony's visit to Athens. As in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, the decrees were passed by the Boule alone (lines 4, 10, 36 and 52); the proclamation of the wreaths was to be made by the strategos and the herald of the Council of the Areopagus. The epheboi participated ἐν τοῖς Ἀντωνιήοις τοῖς Πανα[θηναικοῖς Ἀντω]νίου θεοῦ νέου Διονύσο[ν ---, lines 22-23.<sup>11</sup>

A striking innovation of the Series B inscriptions is the fact that the kosmetes is not honored by a separate decree introduced by ἐπειδὴ ὁ δέινα χειροτονηθεὶς κοσμητῆς κ.τ.λ. The Boule and the Demos do not vote to honor him with praise and with a crown. Instead, the epheboi (in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1042, 12, accompanied by their fathers), after gaining an audience with the Boule, request their permission to honor him by the erection of his statue. The opening formula is ἐπειδὴ πρόσδοτον ποιησάμενοι οἱ ἔφηβοι (or οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες) . . . πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐμφανίζουσι, showing that the kosmetes has carried out his duties well and faithfully. The formula continues ἐφ' οἷς (διὰ ταῦτα or διό in the corresponding prytany decrees) καὶ αὐτοὶ βουλόμενοι εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῷ ἔστεφάνωσαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ παρακαλοῦσι τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιχωρήσαι ἑαυτοῖς . . . The expenditure involved was presumably borne by the epheboi and not as before by the military treasury.<sup>12</sup> This decree is preceded by the ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ κοσμητῆς decree and is followed by the general decree praising the epheboi and the instructors. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 and 1041 do not preserve the upper part of the stone, so that only a part of the second decree and all of the third appear in them.

This change of structure and the introduction of new formulae are paralleled in

<sup>11</sup> Raubitschek, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, p. 148, suggests that one may also restore Πανα[θηναίους], which would mean that the Panathenaic Games of 39/8 were called by Anthony's name rather than that special games had been instituted in his honor.

<sup>12</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, 14, 34-35 (decree of the Boule); 1040, 11-12, 15 (decree of the Boule); 1041, 2-3 (decree of the Boule and the Demos?); 1042 *b*, 12 (decree of the Boule?); cf. lines 27-29 which seem to indicate the participation of the Demos, [ἐπιχωρήσαι] [τ]ὸν δῆμον αὐτοῖς αἰ[τησάμενοις ---]; 1043, 15, 17, 36 (decree of the Boule).

the prytany decrees of the first century B.C. The latest document of this kind from the pre-Sullan period has the customary structure, two decrees, one, with the opening formula *ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις . . .*, the second, *ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις . . . ἐπαινέσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἀποφαίνουσιν τῷ βουλευί τὸν ταμίαν κ.τ.λ.* (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 25, No. 12, lines 44-46 of 95/4). The post-Sullan documents have only one decree. The full formula runs *Ἐπειδὴ πρόσδοτον ποιησάμενοι οἱ πρυτάνεις . . . καὶ οἱ ἀείσιτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δέλτος ἄρχοντος ἐπαινέσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἀποφαίνουσι τῇ βουλῇ τὸν ταμίαν . . . τὰς θυσίας τεθυκένας . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων . . . παρακαλοῦσι τὴν βουλήν ἐπιχωρήσαι κ.τ.λ.*<sup>13</sup>

It should be noted, however, that in the post-Sullan decree the *ἐπειδὴ* clause is not the "whereas" clause of a decree initiated by the Boule, but the basis of a request addressed to the Boule which results in a decree of that body, *διὰ ταῦτα* (or *διό*) *παρακαλοῦσι*, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1049, 6 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 170, No. 101, 57/6; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1050, 5-6 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 165, No. 97, ca. 80/79. The request is to honor the *tamias*, except in one case,<sup>14</sup> with the erection of a statue as in the corresponding ephebic texts. The cost is again apparently at the expense of the petitioners and not of the military treasury.

The formulae of these prytany and ephebic decrees are found in the decrees which take action on information given or on a request addressed to the Boule. Thus we find *ὑπὲρ ὧν τὴν πρόσδοτον πεποιήται ὁ ἱερεὺς* as early as 222/1 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 839, 15), *ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς . . . πρόσδοτον ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ἀπήγγελλεν . . .* in ca.

<sup>13</sup> The formulae of the prytany decrees in the period after 80/79 show some variation, sometimes by the omission of the phrase *πρόσδοτον ποιησάμενοι* and the participles *ἐπαινέσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες* in the *ἐπειδὴ* clause, and by the omission or shortening of the phrase *ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου κ. τ. λ.*, but the essential framework is the same. In chronological sequence they are: *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 165, No. 97, ca. 80/79. The text dated ca. 100 B.C. by Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 226, No. 54, should perhaps be placed next and dated "post 80/79?" because of *διὰ ταῦτα* in line 2 and the reading in line 4, [--- ἀνάθ]εσιν ἐν ὄπλω[ι ---]. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, No. 13, ca. 80 B.C.; Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 25, 74/3-63/2, excluding 64/3; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 170, No. 101 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1049, 57/6; *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 56, No. 14, ca. 50-40 B.C.; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 182, No. 113 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048, ca. 45/4-20/19; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 181, No. 111, ca. 40/39-20/19; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 182, No. 112, ca. third quarter s. I a.; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 183, No. 114, ca. 30/29-20/19(?); *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 185, No. 115, 25/4-18/7(?); *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 246, No. 97, Face A; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 186, No. 116, ca. 20/19; *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, 34, No. 41, s. I a/p.

<sup>14</sup> The one instance in which the prytaneis do not propose to erect a statue for their treasurer is found in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 186, No. 116. Here instead, their petition ends rather lamely with the request that *τὴν βουλήν τὴν προσήκουσαν ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν*. Another example of this phrase may be concealed in the puzzling text dated in the year of the archon Apolexis, ca. 21/0, which G. Stamires published in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 246, No. 97, Face A, lines 13-14. For the preserved reading, [-----]ν ποιήσασθαι ἐν[-----], Stamires considered the restoration of this phrase, but rejected it: "An interpretation of *ποιήσασθαι* as referring to the concern (*πρόνοια*) of the Council for honors to the treasurer seems rather not in place" (p. 248). But he is dissatisfied with the reversed order of the infinitive and its object and agrees that his omission of the phrase *ἐν ὄπλω ἐπιχρῶσθαι* is "quite without parallel."

165/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 950, 5-7), and the same phraseology in 140/39 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 971, 11-12) but with the verb *ἐμφανίζει*. The turn of phrase is commonly found in the first century B.C., not only in the ephobic and prytany decrees, but in other texts as well, as may be seen by referring to *I.G.*, II-III<sup>2</sup>, Pars. IV, Fasc. I, p. 59, *s.v.* *πρόσδος*.

Dow has commented on this and other "peculiarities" of *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 186, No. 116, the most striking of which is that the prytaneis are mentioned first in the enumeration of those on whose behalf the sacrifices had been offered, taking precedence even over the Boule and the Demos! The Boule did indeed vote that they be praised, but did not award them a crown. The proposer of the decree is named, contrary to the practice in other post-Sullan decrees of this kind. The aeisitōi are not mentioned.

But except for the unique prominence given the prytaneis, the peculiarities listed are apparently the result of the conflation of the two customary prytany decrees of the pre-Sullan period into one decree with the inclusion of features of both and with the introduction of new formulae. The orator of both decrees is regularly named in the pre-Sullan documents and, as Dow has pointed out, in the one decree of A.D. 120. The prytaneis are always praised and awarded a crown in the pre-Sullan period. Failure to mention the aeisitōi is duplicated in the decree of 57/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 170, No. 101). The restoration of the word in other texts may be questioned. Dow concluded that the peculiarities ". . . are an attempt to combine the old 'first' and 'second' decrees: the document is deliberately archaistic in form . . ." But the merger of the old first and second decrees into one is not a feature of this text alone; it is characteristic of all prytany decrees of the period. The formulae are not archaistic, but are repeated in all prytany decrees of this time. Furthermore, the essential forms and formulae of the prytany decrees have their counterpart in the distinctive ephobic decree which, beginning *ca.* 79/8, superseded the old decree which praised the kosmetes.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040-1025, then, exhibits the new structure and form of ephobic inscriptions which were introduced in some year after the last inscription of Series A, *post* 94/3. It seems very likely that this was done under the oligarchic regime instituted by Sulla in 84/3. Furthermore, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040-1025 shows close affiliation with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 and 1042, dated *ca.* 45/4 and *ca.* 41/0 respectively, which did originate in the period of democratic government in Athens beginning after Pharsalos and continuing until shortly before the visit of Anthony to Athens in 39/8. Do we have any further reason to refer this inscription (and the archon Apolexis) to this period of popular control rather than to the period when democratic institutions again prevailed under Augustus after the battle of Actium?

I think we do. The inscriptions of Series A (127/6-*post* 94/3) consistently show that the ephobic staff consisted of seven instructors, those of Series B equally consistently name only four instructors; that is, all but the last of the series, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043

(39/8), from which we learn that the staff was reduced to three instructors. The first inscription of Series B (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, 79/8) does not name the instructors at all; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 (*ca.* 45/4) names, in the sequence in which I give them, the paidotribes, the grammateus (?), the hoplomachos and a fourth whose function is not specified; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040-1025 (archon Apolexis) lists four instructors but does not give their titles; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1042 (*ca.* 41/0) names the paidotribes, the grammateus, a third unspecified instructor and the hoplomachos. Koehler thought (*ad I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039) that more than four paidotribes were named in 1040, and that, in consequence, it should be dated earlier than 1041 and 1042. The re-reading herewith presented clearly demonstrated that only four names could have been engraved on the stone.

Of the seven instructors regularly mentioned in Series A, paidotribes, hoplomachos, akontistes, toxotes, aphetes (katapaltaphetes), grammateus and hyperetes, only the paidotribes, hoplomachos and grammateus are attested in the documents of later years. A hypopaidotribes, however, appears for the first time about 79/8,<sup>15</sup> and was thereafter a regular member of the staff until our records cease, and he is doubtless the fourth instructor in the Series B inscriptions. In the document which he published, Raubitschek restored his ethnic Ἀλεξανδρῆ[ως], but calls the reading and the restoration doubtful, "since foreigners are almost entirely absent from the lists of ephebic officials at Athens" (page 53). There is no reason for doubt on that account since in Agora I 286, 137 (*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 228-232) we find two of the most important posts, that of paidotribes and that of hoplomachos, filled by foreigners as early as 127/6. A foreigner served as the tamias of the epheboi in the middle of the first century B.C. and was honored with a crown (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 177, No. 44), and in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040-1025 one of four instructors is from Herakleia.

The reduction of the staff by almost half may have been connected with a drop in enrolment, but that does not seem to have been the primary cause.<sup>16</sup> The three instructors who were dropped, the akontistes, the toxotes and the aphetes, do not re-appear again throughout the remainder of the institution's existence. The hyperetes, to be sure, occurs again, but not under that designation; his work is cared for by an *epi Diogeneiou*, a *thyroros*, a *lentiarios* or a *kapsarios*.

The cause is rather to be sought in the reorganization of the ephebia, by which it periodically adjusted itself to the changing needs and demands of the city and the

<sup>15</sup> Raubitschek, "Sylleia," p. 51. The hypopaidotribes appears also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2995, 6-7 (*ca.* 38/7); 2993, 6 (55/4); 2996, 8-9 (26/5-17/6); 2997, 10-11 (*paullo post* 8/7), and in the texts of the Imperial Period regularly down to the latest ephebic text, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 71, No. 37, 45 (*ca.* 265/6).

<sup>16</sup> For Series A the figures are: Agora I 286, 107; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, 81; 1008, 140; 1009, 179; 1011, 139; 1028, 38. For Series B, only two inscriptions from the periods of aristocratic control under Sulla and Anthony, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 and 1043, preserve the roster, the former of 109 epheboi, the latter of 119, over half (62) of whom were foreigners and some 15 others were labelled, "Athenaioi," very likely "new citizens."

world which it served and which was one of the reasons for its continued vitality over so long a span of time. At this period there was no need for an institution to train citizen soldiers. The time for that was past. In this re-organization, the ephebia was permanently, if not absolutely, demilitarized. The military specialties of archery, javelin throwing and the use of the catapult were dropped. Room was made for the expansion of other aspects of its program. The addition of an assistant to the paidotribes indicates that more attention was paid to gymnastics and athletics. For the time, however, the scope of instruction was restricted. It seems, too, that an attempt was made to keep the institution small and confine its benefits to fewer epheboi than before.

Under the aristocratic regime established by Sulla, the ephebia made a change in its internal organization and embarked upon a new policy. Its staff was sharply reduced by eliminating the major part of its military training. Its policy henceforward was to put increasing emphasis upon the training of a limited and select number in gymnastics and in sports and upon their participation in the intellectual, religious and social aspects of life in Athens. While these features had not been absent in the earlier ephebia (indeed they were beginning to assume an ever larger place in its program in the period 127/6 to 94/3), they were now officially put in primary rather than secondary place.

These changes were retained by the democratic government under Caesar and by the oligarchic government in the time of Anthony's ascendancy in the East. The change is reflected in the structure of the inscriptions, in the changing character of the three decrees and specifically in the creation of the new decree which altered the arrangements for honoring the kosmetes. The Boule does not pass a decree in his honor, but the epheboi request permission of the Boule to honor him not only with a wreath as before but with a statue and at their own expense and not by provision of funds from the state. The new decree and the new procedure is *mutatis mutandis* paralleled by the new single prytany decree and the method by which the tamias of the prytaneis was honored in post-Sullan times.

While it conforms in other respects to the pattern of Series B, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043 (39/8) shows that the staff was further reduced to three and that the Attic epheboi accounted for only a fraction of the total enrolment. Of the 119 epheboi, over half (62) were foreigners and some 11 to 15 were designated Ἀθηναῖοι, doubtless also foreigners who had been granted Athenian citizenship. The grammateus displaced the paidotribes in first place in the list of instructors and the decreased emphasis upon military instruction was perhaps underlined by the relegation of the hoplomachos to last position. It is the only full text extant between 38/7 and the reign of Tiberius.

The closest affiliations of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040-1025 are with the decrees originating under a popular regime, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 and 1042. On the basis of the lettering and because of the assumption that it named more than four instructors, which by my

reading is shown to be unwarranted, Koehler felt that it was the earliest of the three and suggested a date in the first half of the first century B.C. Kirchner placed the three decrees *post* 48/7. Finally, it must be dated in a period in which there were four and not three instructors on the ephebic staff.

A lost ephebic list (dated *ca.* 40/39) which is known only from the notes of Boeckh (the transcriber and the provenience are unknown) records the names of three instructors in wreaths below the end of two columns of names (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1961). The names of the paidotribes, the grammateus and a third instructor, whose office is not preserved above his wreath, are given within wreaths. The same number of instructors are listed in the same sequence as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043. Very likely the third is the hoplomachos, but the title must be restored in this inscription as it was also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043. The remains of the name, ΜΙ --- ΝΙΚ --- Μ --- (assuming the possibility that the vertical stroke after the first mu was part of an eta), as well as the date of the inscription, strongly suggests an identification with Metrodoros Myrrhinosios, the hoplomachos in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 (*ca.* 45/4), whose name I have also restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040-1025, 39 to accompany the demotic [Μυ]ρρινούσιου of the instructor there listed first.

That a fourth instructor appeared on this stone is unlikely. Boeckh noted that although it was broken on the top and on the sides, the lower part was *integra*. In any case, the extant portion was the end of the roster since immediately below the names from Attalis in Col. I and of Hippothontis in Col. II, without any *vacat* or caption (but note editor's indication of a *vitium lapidis* above the first foreigner's name) the names of foreigners and their ethnics are inscribed, and immediately below these are the three wreaths. The observation of Pélékidis (page 190, note 3)<sup>17</sup> that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1961 is in form an analogue of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043 is borne out not only by the fact that there is no caption for the *Xenoi* in either inscription, nor a *vacat* between their names and those of the Athenians (except for the *vacat* in the first column of names in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043, 101), but more significantly still, by the fact that they list only three instructors and those in the same sequence.

Stamires has convincingly marshalled the evidence to show that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1961, dates from the same year as two other ephebic texts, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1965 and 3730, and he places them between 52/1 and 40/39 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 251-252).<sup>18</sup> The

<sup>17</sup> In his listing of this inscription, C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique*, Paris, 1962, p. 184, No. 14, indicates that an x number of foreigners were inscribed. But the list is complete; 27 names can be counted. He first (p. 190) states that the caption *Xenoi* is lacking in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043; then a few lines lower he writes that it is missing in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1961 also; but he believes that no conclusions can be drawn from this fact (conclusions apparently regarding the question whether foreigners constituted a separate group within the ephebia).

<sup>18</sup> That *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1965 + 3730 concerns the epheboi of the same year as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1961, I accept as demonstrated fact. The problem of its relationship to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1961 and its character is another matter. The "mixture" of Athenian and foreign epheboi which Stamires sees in both (page 252,

date can now be fixed more definitely on the basis of the appearance of only three instructors as *paullo post* 39/8. Raubitschek had discovered that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1965 and 3730 are parts of the same stone and had joined the squeezes at Princeton. Two problems emerge for present consideration. The paidotribes who is honored with a crown in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3730 is Meniskos of Kolone, while the name of the paidotribes in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1961 is reported as reading 'Α ---. Stamires suggested that an error should be attributed to the transcriber and that one should perhaps restore <M>[εἰσίκον Κολωνῆθεν]. Another possible solution, but without a parallel known to me, would be to suggest that one paidotribes was appointed to succeed another deceased or dropped predecessor in the course of the year.

In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1965-3730 the synepheboi honor with crowns, in addition to the paidotribes, two gymnasiarchoi and a tamias, who was none other than an Ἀπόληξις ἐξ Οἴου. Kirchner dated *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1965 " *fin. s. I a.*," since he thought, as Dow did later (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 189), that this Apolexis was the archon of 8/7-1 B.C., who in this year was serving as tamias, perhaps of the military treasury. The conclusion of Stamires (p. 252), "I recognize the persons crowned (in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1965-3730) not as officials of the state, but as epheboi," is definitely proved to be correct, however, not only by the fact that by his re-reading of the name of one of the honored gymnasiarchoi in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1965, 26-27 he made it all but certain that the gymnasiarchos is an ephebos whose name occurs in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1961 and that Raubitschek has done the same for the other gymnasiarchos, showing that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3730 belongs with 1965, but by further decisive confirmation, specifically relating to the tamias for whose ephebic status he adduced no evidence. For in *Hesperia*, IV, 1933, p. 177, No. 43, which also dates from the middle of the first century B.C., the tamias who was honored with a crown by his synepheboi in precisely similar fashion as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1965-3730, was a foreigner, Herakleitos Herakleitou of Alexandria. He, of course, could not have been the tamias of the military, or any other state treasury, and must have been a foreign ephebos who served as ephebic treasurer.

The archon Apolexis of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 + 1025 must be distinguished from 1) the archon Apolexis who is dated 21/0 and who was archon contemporaneously with Antigones, archon of Delphi, in the XXI-XXII priestship,<sup>19</sup> and 2) the archon Apolexis, son of Philokrates of Oion, who was in office in the same year as the Delphic archon Xenagoras in the XXIII priestship, 8/7-1 B.C.<sup>20</sup>

note 69) does not in actuality exist. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1965, nine names appear in Col. I; the first seven (except for the name in line 1 which cannot be read in its entirety) are foreigners, each with its ethnic; the last two have demotics, Leukonoëus and Kepheisēus. Only the beginnings of the names in Col. II can be read. But in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1961 there is no such mixture. In both columns names of the foreigners with their ethnics are inscribed without a break immediately after the names of the Athenians with patronymics and demotics. This is precisely the arrangement which is found in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043.

<sup>19</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 61, 1-2; Ἐλευσινιακά, I, p. 223, 1-2; *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 246, No. 97, 3; Suppl. I, p. 185, No. 115, 2; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2876, 2.

<sup>20</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 63, 1-2; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2997, 3-4.

The date of the third Apolexis, whose name appears without patronymic or demotic, as does the name of the first Apolexis, can be fixed within narrow limits by several considerations. First, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 + 1025, which is dated by him, originated in a year when a popular regime was in power in Athens. A pre-Sullan date is excluded by the fact that the staff consisted of four instructors instead of seven. From the first listing of instructors until the latest extant inscription of Series A (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1030 of *post* 94/3), seven instructors are named. Secondly, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 + 1025 is in structure and formulae like *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 and 1042, both dated in *ca.* 45/4 and *ca.* 41/0 respectively, and like them names four instructors. The ephebic inscription dating from a period of aristocratic control at the time of Anthony's visit to Athens shows that the number of paideutai had been reduced from four to three (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043, dated 37/6). The change was perhaps made at the time of Sulla's domination of Athens, although the one inscription from that time, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039 (79/8) unfortunately makes no mention of instructors at all.

Thirdly, the inscription cannot be dated from the period of democratic control of Athens under Augustus both because three instructors constituted the staff after 37/6 and because the archon Apolexis of that period is designated by the patronymic and demotic.

There is left the period of democratic control in the time of Julius Caesar, between 48/7 and 39/8. The inscription must be placed in this period by reason of its parallelism with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 and 1042 and its listing of four instructors. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040 + 1025 must then be dated between *ca.* 45/4 and *ca.* 41/0, the firm dates of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 and 1042, and perhaps in the "open" year 43/2.

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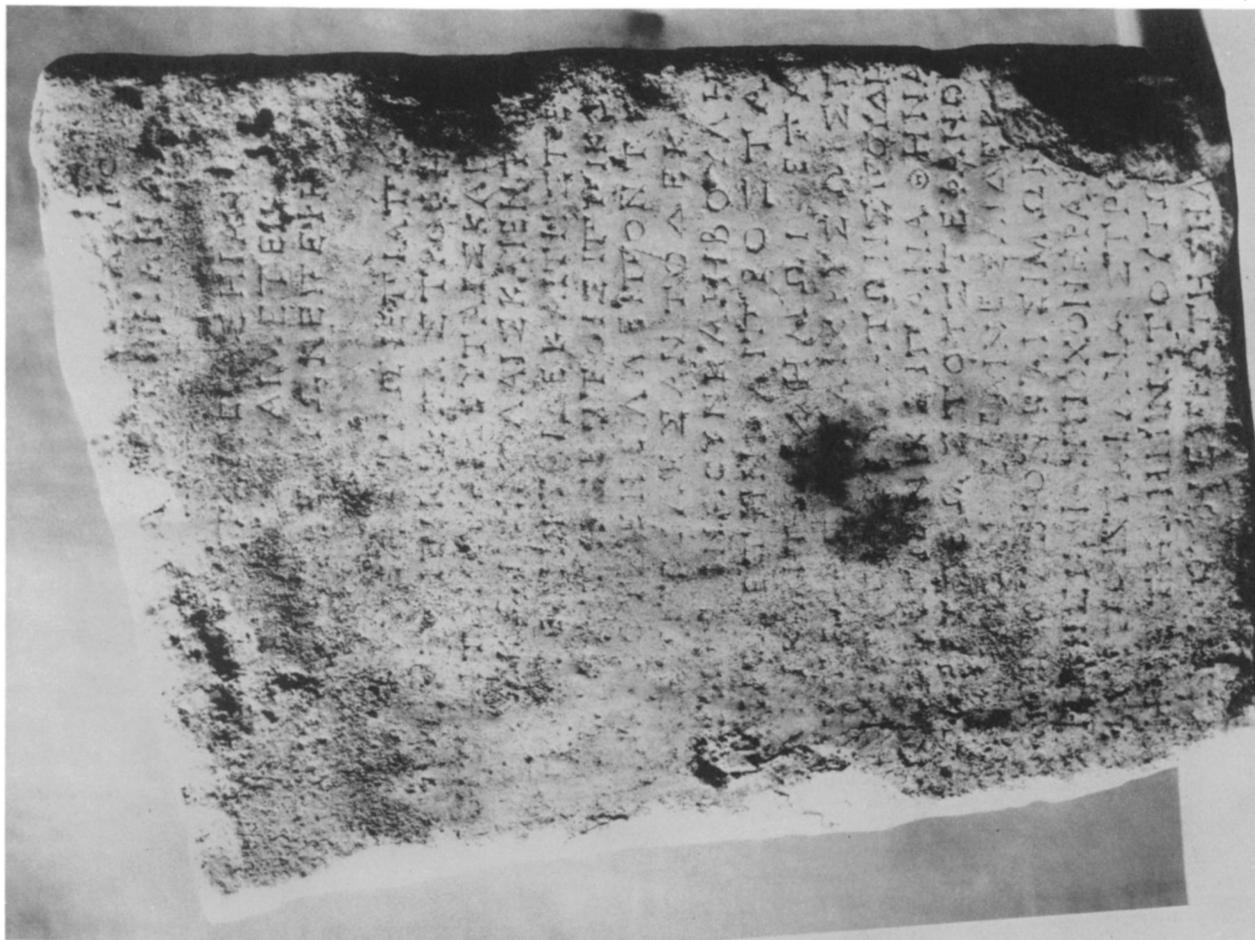
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<sup>21</sup> Three instructors appear also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1961, which Stamires dated *inter* 52/1-40/39. This inscription must now be dated *post* 37/6.

<sup>22</sup> Apolexis, archon of *ca.* 43/2, is doubtless also the archon Apolexis of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1063, 6; 1048 and *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 182, No. 113, 2-3.

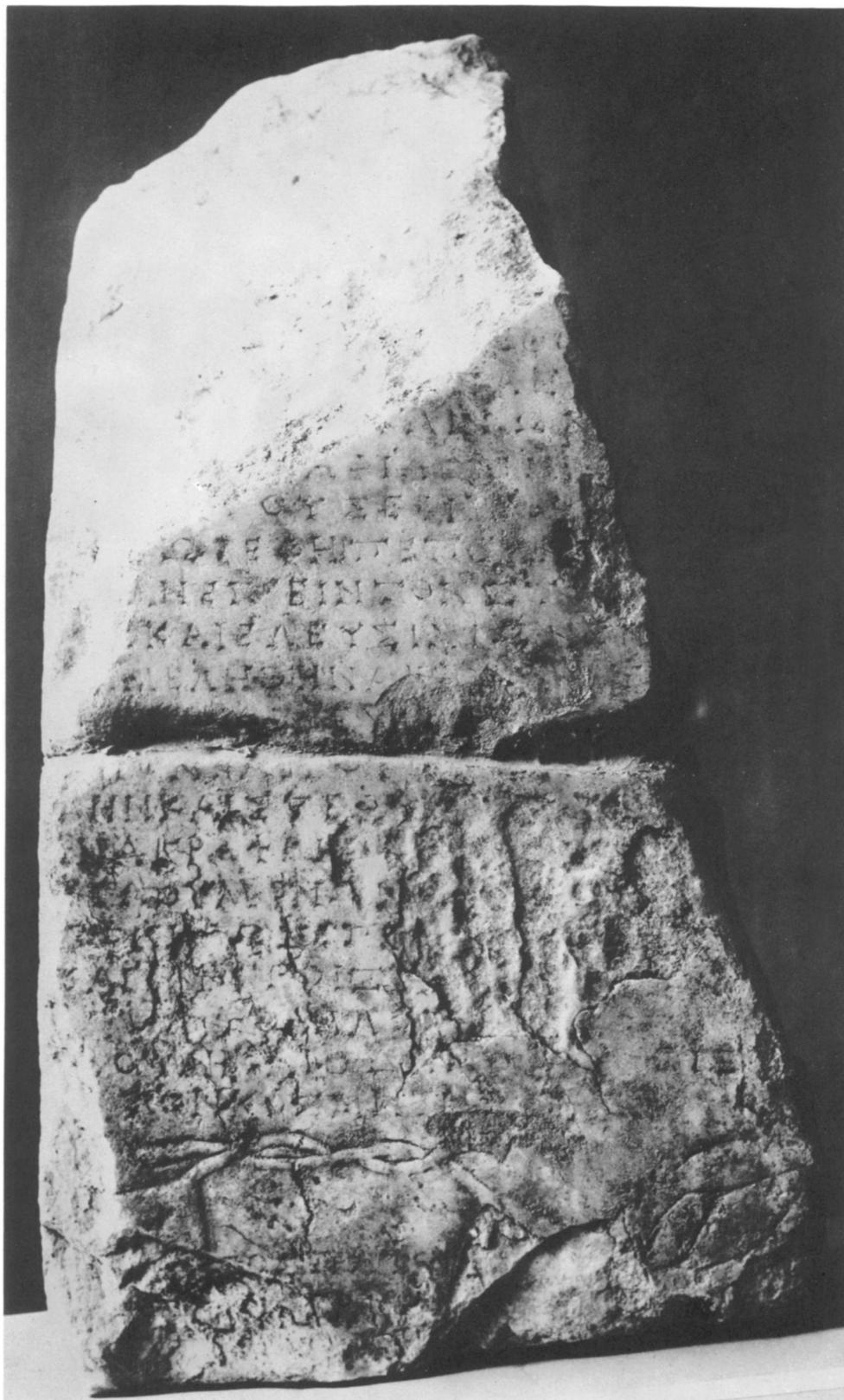


I. G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, Fragment *a*



I. G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, Fragment *b*

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I. G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, Fragment *c* and I. G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1025.

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