

# GREEK INSCRIPTIONS HONORING PRYTANEIS

(PLATES 63–64)

**A**MONG the numerous inscriptions brought to light during the 1970 excavations of the Athenian Agora by the American School are six prytany documents which are published in this preliminary report.<sup>1</sup>

**9** (Plate 63). Upper left corner of a pedimental stele of Hymettian marble, with toothed left side, rough-picked back, and top, including moulded crown and pediment but not acroteria, preserved. Found on June 3, 1970, in a Byzantine wall north of the Athens-Peiraeus railway and just west of the Panathenaic Way (J 5).

Height, 0.30 m.; Width, 0.315 m. (stele only), 0.34 m. (with pediment); Thickness, 0.102 m. (stele only), 0.140 m. (with pediment).

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 7188.

## AIGEIS OR OINEIS

a. 184/3 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 50

ἐπὶ Πλεισταίνου ἄρχοντος [ἐπὶ τῆς <sup>Αἰγ</sup> <sub>Οἶν</sub> εἶδος πρώτης πρυτανεί]  
 ας ἦι Φιλοξενίδης Φιλοξ[ενίδου Ῥαμνούσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν]  
 Ἑκατομβαιῶνος δεκάτε[ι ὑστέραί, μιᾷ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτα]  
 νείας· ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πε[ιραιεῖ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Ἄρι]  
 5 στόμαχος Ἀριστάρχου Φ[λυεὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι·]  
 [Ξ]ενοκράτης Ξενοκράτ[ου Ἐλευσίνιος εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλου]  
 [σι]ν [οἶ] πρυτάνεις τῆς [<sup>Αἰγ</sup> <sub>Οἶν</sub> εἶδος ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ]  
 [τῶν ἐκ]κλησιῶν τῶι τ[ε] Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Προστατηρίωι καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέ]  
 [μιδι τεῖ] Βουλαίαι καὶ τ[οῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν· ἔθυσαν]  
 10 [δὲ καὶ τ]εῖ Μητρὶ τῶν Θε[ῶν καὶ -----<sup>ca. 25</sup>----- καὶ]  
 [τῶι δήμωι]· τῶι Ῥωμαί[ων ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν συμ]  
 [μάχων· ἔθν]σαν δ[ὲ καὶ -----]

*lacuna*

<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to thank the Field Director of the Agora Excavations, T. Leslie Shear, Jr., for permission to publish these inscriptions, and Dr. Stephen G. Miller for communicating the discovery of text No. 10, below. A number of valuable suggestions by Professor Sterling Dow are also gratefully acknowledged. This article continues the regular preliminary reports on Greek inscriptions and the texts are numbered in continuing series with the inscriptions published above, pp. 96-108, Nos. 1-3; pp. 256-259, No. 4-6; pp. 280-301, No. 7; pp. 302-307, No. 8.

This important text provides us at last with a firm date for the archonship of Pleistainos. His father, Sokles, and his deme, Kephale, have been known from the dedication of a statue of him (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3479) which his wife Pleistis and his daughter Sosinike had made to Dionysos sometime after his archonship (*ἄρχοντα γενόμενον*, *ibid.*, line 3); the text was dated by Kirchner *fin. s. II a.* The name Pleistainos (more precisely, the first three letters of the name, although the restoration of the remainder is reasonably certain) appears as archon in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1019, line 44, and, prior to the discovery of the present inscription, this text was virtually the only evidence for his date. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1019, a decree concerning the repair of objects belonging to the precinct of Asklepios, should be dated after 150 B.C., most probably to the year 138/7 when Leonides was priest (lines 13 and 42; see R. O. Hubbe, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 187-188, No. 9). However, as W. S. Ferguson pointed out (*A.J.P.*, LV, 1934, p. 331, note 40; the reference is cited by W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 194), the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1019 has only slight bearing on the date of this archon, inasmuch as the passage in question refers merely to the repair of an object dedicated in the archonship of Pleistainos (some of these objects are designated *τῶν ἀρχα[ίων ἀναθημάτων]*, line 35); the repair may have been some years subsequent to his occupancy of that office. *Faute de mieux* Dinsmoor (*loc. cit.*) tentatively suggested the year 141/0 for Pleistainos and the suggestion was adopted by W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. xxxi, and Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, p. 237. The year 141/0 was one of the few vacancies in the archon list of the second half of the second century B.C., though the secretary's deme, Boutadai (V in this period), was known in an inscription from which the archon's name was broken away (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 968, line 20).

The new text, however, reveals that the secretary in Pleistainos' year was Philoxenides, whose father, Philoxenides, deme, Rhamnous (X in this period), and date, 184/3, were already known (see *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 278, No. 74, lines 25-26, where the names of the archon and secretary may now be restored, and comment on line 2, below). The dedication of the epebes mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1019 did indeed antedate by a considerable number of years, i.e. nearly half a century, the repairs undertaken during the priesthood of Leonides of Phlya.

#### COMMENTARY

Line 1. In addition to the two occurrences mentioned in the preceding note, the archon Pleistainos also appears on a *ὄρος* stone (*Δελτ.*, XVII, 1961/62, pp. 215-216, No. 2). Only one other Athenian is known to have borne this name, viz. Pleistainos of Gargettos who is described *ιεροποιήσας* (?) *τὰ Ἑρωμαία* in 127/6 (*B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 439, No. 65, line 10). The spacing indicates that the name of the tribe in prytany was one of the shortest, viz. probably either Aigeis or Oineis (see also comment on line 7, below).

Line 2. The secretary for 184/3 is very probably to be identified with the councillor of Rhamnous who appears in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 100-105, No. 48, line 66, a text now dated *ca.* 190/89 B.C. (see pp. 313-315, No. 11, below for a new fragment belonging to this inscription and for a discussion of the date). He, or possibly his son, also served as councillor of Rhamnous during the archonship of Achaios, 166/5 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 136, No. 73, line 30 = *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 23, No. 19, line 30) and was father of Ariston in a list of epimeletai dated *ca.* 130 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1939, line 56 = *P.A.*, 14695).

Line 3. Since the date is in the first prytany and the first month of the year, the calendar equation is obvious and uninformative. For the calendrical nature of 184/3 see B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, pp. 181-182.

Line 5. The phi is clear and the spacing in the line requires the shortest of demotics, i.e. 5-6 letters, hence the restoration Φ[λυεὺς] although neither Aristomachos nor Aristarchos is otherwise known as a name in Phlya.<sup>2</sup>

Line 6. The speaker, Xenokrates, son of Xenokrates of Eleusis, sponsored two other decrees, one dated in the archonship of Eunikos, 169/8 (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 910, line 6 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 129-133, No. 71), the other in the archonship of Pelops, 165/4 (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 949, line 30). Xenokrates of Eleusis, treasurer in 135/4 (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 128, No. 26, lines 24-25, and p. 130), is probably a later member of the same family and other members may include two ephebes, *P.A.*, 11246 and 11247 (= *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2981 A, line 3 and 1011, col. IV, line 93).

Line 7. As in line 1 (see comment, above), the spacing requires the shortest of tribal names, viz. Aigeis or Oineis.

Line 10. The inclusion of the Mother of the Gods among the recipients of sacrifices performed by the prytaneis is unique. The syllogeis of the demos, however, made a dedication to her in the archonship of Hegesias, 324/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1257, line 1).

Line 11. More noteworthy than the preceding citation is this reference, apparently the earliest direct mention on an Athenian inscription,<sup>3</sup> to the Romans. Such a reference at this time, however, is hardly a complete surprise, for by 184/3 Rome was already deeply entrenched in Greece and her *alliance*<sup>4</sup> with Athens had seen service on several occasions, for example in their common opposition to Philip V of Macedon and in the Athenian mediation between the powerful and opportunistic Rome and the disillusioned and resentful Aetolia. Of the Greek states, Athens was an

<sup>2</sup> Line 14 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 336, fragment *b* requires a longer demotic than that of Phlya.

<sup>3</sup> The Kephisodoros decree of 196/5 (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 419-428, No. 15) does not directly mention the Romans, but it is certainly concerned with them (A. H. McDonald and F. W. Walbank, *J.R.S.*, XXVII, 1937, pp. 180-207). Later in the century references to the Romans, especially as allies and recipients of sacrifices, are more common (e.g. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1000, lines 10-14).

<sup>4</sup> The present text strengthens the contention of S. Dow that after 200 B.C. Athens entered formally into an alliance (*συνμαχία* or *societas*) with Rome; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 9 with footnote 5, and McDonald and Walbank, *op. cit.*, p. 200.



[-----]	[ <sup>3</sup> A]γρυλείς	30
[-----]	[ <sup>ca. 4-5</sup> ]αρχ[--]	
[-----]	20 [-----]	
[-----]	[vacat]	
[vacat]		

This fragment does not appear to join or belong with any other of the numerous (now approaching five hundred) prytany documents already extant. The closest parallel seems to be *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 184-185, No. 35, which belongs to the same phyle and the same period but not to the same text. The formulae in lines 3-8 indicate a line having between 51 and 56 letters; such length of line suggests in turn a register with five columns, the two columns preserved being columns IV and V. The style of lettering, the quotas, and, most important, the prosopography (see following commentary) require a date early in the second century before Christ, a period in which Erechtheis had nine demes. The fifty prytaneis and nine demotics of Erechtheis would probably have been arranged here with twelve lines in the first four columns and eleven in the fifth.

#### COMMENTARY

Line 4. The flautist, Neokles, son of Asklepiades of Berenikidai, was active between *ca.* 203/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 912 = *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 59-61, No. 14; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 915 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 89-91, No. 40; cf. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 14-16, No. 6, and XXVI, 1957, pp. 243-246, No. 96) and a little before 178/7 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 914 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 116-117, No. 60).

Line 10. Of the Erechtheid demes to which this line might belong, the name Hieronymos is known only in Kephisia, as secretary in the archonship of Eunikos, 169/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 910, line 2 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 129, No. 71, line 2; and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 18, No. 18, lines 3-4, cf. V, 1936, p. 429, No. 17).

Lines 11-24. The association of Menemachos in line 24 with Lamptrai indicates that the whole of column IV, with the exception of the first line, belonged to this deme, i.e. thirteen representatives in all, if our arrangement of the register is correct. Prior to 307/6 B.C. the two sections of Lamptrai together had fourteen bouleutai (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, No. 43, and XXX, 1961, p. 31). With the transfer of the five representatives of Upper Lamptrai to Antigonis, the quota of Lower (or Coastal) Lamptrai was increased from nine to ten representatives (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 44-46, No. 9), a figure retained during the brief first period of the thirteen phylai, i.e. 223/2-200 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 913 and *Hesperia*, XXX, p. 219, No. 15). After 200 B.C., however, the system of fixed quotas generally broke down and it is perhaps only a coincidence that the figure of thirteen here agrees with the representation of Lamptrai on an inscription dated *ca.* 40-30 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1757; for the date see

*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 174, No. 106); on a text from A.D. 96/7 its total complement was only eight prytaneis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759).

Line 22. Meleagros of Antiochis who was recorded on the casualty list of 409 B.C. is the only other Athenian known with this name (*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 39, No. 8, I, line 10 = *S.E.G.*, X, 424, p. 148, line 14; for the date see *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, p. 55; for the phyle see *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 240).

Line 23. Philarchos also is a rare name for an Athenian. Indeed, there appears to be no other occurrence of it in Athens, although it is known on Delos (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 14 and 287, A, line 149) and in Eretria (*I.G.*, XII, 9, No. 241, line 24).

Line 24. This prytanis is probably to be identified with Menemachos, son of Menestratos of Lamprai, who was secretary in 193/2 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 31, No. 4, lines 1-2; cf. W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. 112, lines 12-14 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 886, line 2). Athenodoros, son of Menemachos of Lamprai, who appears on a columnar grave shaft belonging to the second century B.C., is probably a son (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6640 = *P.A.*, 273).

Lines 25-29. Anagyrous regularly had six bouleutai in the period of the original ten phylai (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, No. 43; XXX, 1961, p. 31; XXXVI, 1967, p. 225, No. 34) and eight in each of the two succeeding periods (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 46, No. 9; XXXV, 1966, p. 226; XXX, 1961, p. 219, No. 15; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 913). That it has only two representatives here (lines 25-26) is a further indication that this text belongs after 200 B.C. when the system of fixed regular quotas had broken down. The representation of Kedoi, one prytanis (line 27), argues the same conclusion, for it had two councillors annually until the time of the creation of Attalis (*ibid.*).

Lines 26-27. Nestos and Demophon are both known from a contribution their father Sophon made for them and for his wife Nikopolis in the archonship of Hermogenes, 183/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> 2332, lines 106-109 = *P.A.*, 10655 and 3695). The name Demophon is known once earlier in Anagyrous (*Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, p. 225, No. 34, line 4).

Line 29. Philotheros of Kedoi was councillor again in 193/2 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 97, No. 47, line 76, which joins *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 920 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 126, No. 67; for the association of the two fragments and the date, see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 17-19, No. 17). This is another example of a demesman serving his second possible tenureship on the council.

**11** (Plate 63). Small fragments of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides and at the back, found on June 29, 1970, north of the Athens-Peiraeus railway and east of the Panathenaic Way in a road strosis belonging to the first quarter of the first century before Christ (N 6). It was immediately joined to the upper left part of I 2965 which had been found on May 6, 1935, built into a Byzantine wall north of the Tholos (H 11), and which was published by S. Dow (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 100-105,

No. 48). Another fragment, I 432, found on February 8, 1933, in a modern house wall west of the Library of Pantainos (Q 14-15), was published by B. D. Meritt (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 12-13, No. 16) and joined to the larger piece of I 2965 by S. Dow (*loc. cit.*), but it forms no join with the smaller fragment published here.

New Fragment: Height, 0.133 m.; Width, 0.112 m.; Thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.006 m.

## AIANTIS

*ca. a.* 190/89 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 66

For lines 1-39 and 61 ff. see *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 102-103, No. 48.

- 40 [ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς] πρυτάνεις [τῆς Αἴαν]τίδος καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κα[τὰ τὸν νό]  
[μον εὐσεβ]είας ἔνεκεν τῆ[ς πρὸς τ]οὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν [καὶ τὸν δῆ]  
[μον τὸν Ἄθ]ηναίων· ἀναγρ[άψαι δὲ] τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρ[υτανείαν]  
[ἐν στήλει] λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶι πρυτανικῶι· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλ[ης καὶ τὴν]  
[ἀνάθεσιν] μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τε[ῖ] διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα
- 45 [Μαραθῶνι]οι Θεότιμος Θεοδώ 56 Ζηνόθεμις Ἴππίας Ζην[---]  
[Ἄριστομέ]γης Φίλων κτλ κτλ κτλ  
*lacuna* Ἐρμίας  
7 lines Ἄριστιππος
- [Ῥαμνούσιοι] Σῶσος Δημητρί 60
- 55 [-----] κτλ.

The findspots of the three fragments which compose this text form, *per se*, an interesting commentary on the later history of the prytany monuments. The largest piece was found nearest the original setting, i. e. the prytanikon,<sup>7</sup> the medium-sized piece travelled to the southeast corner of the Agora, and the smallest fragment travelled an equal distance almost to the northern extremity of the Market Square. The context of the last piece, i.e. the new fragment, indicates that the monument as a whole stood only about a hundred years, undoubtedly being destroyed, as were so many other prytany documents, in the sack of Athens by Sulla. As one would expect from these circumstances, the writing is clear and well preserved.

This text should be dated after *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 96-100, No. 47, in which Euthymachos is mentioned as ὑπογραμματεὺς (see S. Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 104). *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 96-100, No. 47 and p. 126, No. 67 were joined and dated to the archonship of Hippias, 193/2, by B. D. Meritt (for the join see *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 17-19, No. 17; for the date of Hippias see *T.A.P.A.*, XCV, 1964, pp. 238-240).

<sup>7</sup> For the location of the prytanikon, E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 470-475; also H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Athenian Agora*, in press.

## COMMENTARY

Line 54. The exact position of the demotic is uncertain since the quotas of representation in this period were no longer fixed. Until the creation of Ptolemais in 224/3,<sup>8</sup> Marathon had ten representatives on the Council and Rhamnous had eight (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 14, and XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 479-480, with comment on p. 472), but with the transfer of Aphidna to the Egyptian phyle, their quotas were increased to thirteen and twelve bouleutai respectively (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 71-73, No. 28; this text was dated to 223/2 by W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 117, and such a dating required, in turn, the assignment of the whole first column, twelve prytaneis, to Rhamnous).

Line 56. The new fragment gives us the first name of this councillor and immediately suggests his identification with Theotimos, son of Theodoros of Rhamnous, who was general during Diokles' archonship, 215/4 ('Αρχ. Έφ., 1953, pp. 126-129, No. I; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, pp. 69-75, and J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, p. 209, No. 19, lines 3 and 21), and sponsor of a decree by the Amphiarists which has been dated to the end of the third century before Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1322, lines 1 and 37 = Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-146, No. 34). The same name has been proposed as a restoration in line 23 of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 681, an ephebic inscription belonging to the archonship of Polyeuktos, 249/8 (Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, p. 100, note 2), and if the restoration is correct, it follows that Theotimos was about seventy-seven years of age during his councillorship. Other members of this well known family are given in the stemma by Pouilloux (*op. cit.*, p. 163, No. 61).

Line 58. Hermias was thesmothetes during Hermogenes' archonship, 183/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2332, line 124 = *P.A.*, 5109).

**12** (Plate 64). Herm shaft of Pentelic marble, broken across neck at top and tenon at bottom, removed on August 10, 1970, from the foundations of a late Roman circular building (J 5). The tenon measured originally *ca.* 0.18 m. by 0.22 m. The back is rough picked, as is a band 0.02-0.04 m. along the four edges, but the other surfaces are smooth. On the left and right sides arm sockets are preserved and on the front, in low relief, the membrum virile. The face, left (No. **13**, below), and right (No. **14**, below) sides were inscribed, each by a different hand.

Height, 0.645 m. : width, 0.268 m. ; thickness, 0.229 m.

*On the Obverse*

Height of letters, 0.012 m. (lines 1-2), 0.008 m. (lines 3-9), 0.005 m. (lines 10-31).

Inv. No. I 7179.

<sup>8</sup> The date of the creation of Ptolemais has been discussed most recently by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 441.

## LEONTIS

*init. saec. III p.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ  
κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς  
βουλῆς τῶν Φ̄ αἰτησαμένων  
τῶν πρυτάνεων τῆς Λεοντί
- 5 δος φυλῆς τὸν ἡρεσιώνην Δωρό  
θεον Ἑρακλείδου Χολλείδην ἀνέστη  
σαν ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Πιομ. Ἑγίου Φαληρέως  
στρατηγούντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας  
Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρκεσιδήμου Ἐλεου
- 10 σίου  
*vacat ca. 0.03 m.*
- ἐπώνυμος  
Μάρ̄ Διονυσόδωρος  
Φλ Δημήτριος  
Εὐφραντίδης )
- 15 Νυμφόδοτος Εὐφραντίδου  
Κλ Μινουκιανός  
Προκλειανὸς Εἰσάρχου  
Αἴλ̄ Ἀλκίδαμος  
Κλ Θεμίσιων
- 20 Ἑρμαῖος Σπένδοντ(ος)  
Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ καὶ Σπέ(νδων)  
Στά̄ Δῶρος  
Στά̄ Μαρκιανός  
Κάρπος )
- 25 Χαρίτων Κάρπου  
Πάμφιλος Θεοδώρ(ου)  
Ἀγαθόστρατος )  
Μάξιμος Ἰαναρίου  
Σωτᾶς Διονυσίου
- 30 Τειμόθεος Ζωσίμου  
Σωκράτης Σφ[...ο]ν  
*lacuna*

*phallos*

It is not uncommon for several sides of a herm to be inscribed with lists of prytaneis, e.g. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1781-1784, 1824-1828, and *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, Nos. 15-17.

Generally, as in the first example, the inscriptions on the same herm are closely related in date; there are, however, a number of cases, including the second example above and the texts below, in which a considerable interval of time between the inscribing of the successive faces is clearly discernible.

The lettering on the left and right sides of the herm published here is of the *archaizing* variety, with straight strokes in epsilon and sigma (note, however, the lunate forms in lines 19, 20, and 21 of No. 13), the classical omega, etc., whereas the lettering on the front belongs to the natural development of rounded forms with lunate sigma and epsilon, curved strokes in mu, the cursive form of omega, and ligatures in lines 20 and 26.<sup>9</sup>

The phonology also of these texts is typical of the Late Roman period, for example: substitution of epsilon-iota for long iota in lines 8 and 30 of No. 12, in lines 7, 8, 10, 29, and 32 of No. 13, and in lines 8, 10, 25, and 31 or No. 14;<sup>10</sup> substitution of epsilon for alpha-iota in line 9 of No. 12 and in line 20 of No. 13;<sup>11</sup> epsilon for eta in the name Asklepiades (line 27 of No. 13);<sup>12</sup> and the indifferent spelling of the heading, ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΤΧΗ in Nos. 12 and 13, but ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΤΧΗ in No. 14.<sup>13</sup>

#### COMMENTARY

Line 5. The word *ὁ ἡρεσιώνης* is new to our knowledge of Greek. Other occurrences, however, may now be recognized in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1825, line 71, which has hitherto been misinterpreted as a person's name, and also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3680, lines 11-12, where the restoration [στρ]ώνην never was really very satisfactory.<sup>14</sup> All three of these sources, including the text published here, are prytany inscriptions dating from a period of less than twenty-five years in the early third century after Christ and in each case the *ἡρεσιώνης* belongs to the phyle honored in the same inscription.<sup>15</sup> The

<sup>9</sup> On the ligatures, Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, I, p. 408, II, p. 514. A close parallel to the lettering of No. 12 is provided by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3680, an inscription which shares other associations with the text published here (see comment on line 5).

<sup>10</sup> K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup>, p. 49, section 26.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19, section 7c.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39, section 9.

<sup>14</sup> See, e. g., the criticism of L. Robert, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1969, p. 24. In line 11 of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3680 the Princeton squeeze appears to show traces of two hastae, which could belong to eta, in the space immediately following the nu of Σφήτιον. After this article was in proof a fourth occurrence of this word was noted in *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 48, No. 69, lines 6-7.

<sup>15</sup> The men honored probably were benefactors of their phylai, distinguished, of course, from the eponymoi. Aurelius Epiktetos of Athmonon in Attalis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1825, lines 72-73) in all likelihood belongs to the family of the ephebes Epiktetos, and Elpinikos and the prytaneis Eirenaios and Sympheron (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2024, line 24, of 112/3; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1794, lines 47 and 48, of 180/1; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2094, line 27, of ca. 166/7). Athenion, son of a homonymous father, of the deme Sphettos in Akamantis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3680, lines 10-11 dated 200/1, 201/2, 203/4 or 204/5 by Notopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 35) is probably related to Athenion, son of Epigonos, who appears as a

contexts suggest that the word designates an office,<sup>16</sup> and the obvious relationship would appear to be with ἡ εἰρεσιώνη, which is known also with the spelling εἰρυσιώνη.<sup>17</sup> The substitution of eta for epsilon-iota need cause no difficulty; <sup>18</sup> witness, for example, the Late Roman spelling of the demotic Eiresidai,<sup>19</sup> which appears with initial eta in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1774, line 39, 1775, line 65, and 1821, line 10, to cite only those occurrences which are closest at hand. But ἡ εἰρεσιώνη has a long and well established history, with examples attested as early as the fifth century before Christ <sup>20</sup> and mythological and cult connections which imply, unquestionably, a much earlier and more primitive origin.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, ἡ εἰρεσιώνη has the well known meaning, at least by classical times, of the olive or laurel branch, which, after being wound with wool and hung with fruits, was dedicated to Apollo by boys in the festivals of the Thargelia and Pyanopsia.<sup>22</sup> It is difficult, however, to see an obvious connection with the tribal official ὁ ἡρεσιώνης on the three Late Roman prytany lists.<sup>23</sup>

Line 7. There were two archons, father and son, named Pompeius Hegias of Phaleron; both appear in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3687, where the second (lines 28-29) is designated νε(ώτερος). Graindor suggested a date *pas avant la fin du règne de Marc-Aurèle*

prytanis in the same text (line 20), and also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1820 (line 23), which dates from the beginning of the third century after Christ, and who was ephebe in 189/90 (*I.G.*, 2119, line 58). Another Athenion of Sphetos is known from an ephebic list of 221/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2226, line 2; for the date see J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 46). Dorotheos, son of Herakleides of Cholleidai (lines 5-6), may be a nephew of Euphrosynos Dorotheou, ephebe in 163/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2086, line 75). There is, however, no other evidence for the social or economic status of these officials.

<sup>16</sup> The closest parallel to the phraseology in this section of the new inscription is provided by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1817, lines 2-7 (dated *shortly before* 220/1 by Notopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 37), but there the official honored, Aelius Euphrosynos of Pallene, is clearly designated as ἐπιστάτης and ἐρὸς γέρον (cf. J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia, Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, 1941, pp. 6, 125, No. 29).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*<sup>9</sup>, s.v.

<sup>18</sup> Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, p. 47. If ἡρεσιώνης is, in fact, an alternate spelling for \*εἰρεσιώνης it would perhaps be more accurate to spell the former with iota subscript, ἡρεσιώνης.

<sup>19</sup> Eiresidai, which may be cognate with ἡ εἰρεσιώνη and perhaps also with ὁ ἡρεσιώνης, was a city deme of Akamantis. Its general location is known from a passage in Diogenes Laertios (III, 41), which records Plato's will, and a clue to its more precise location may be given by the findspot of a grave stone belonging to one of its demesmen, reported in *Πρακτικά*, 1963, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Liddell and Scott, *op. cit.*, s.v. εἰρεσιώνη and εἰρυσιώνη. Of the examples cited in these two references I have found no instance where (ὁ) \*εἰρεσιώνης fits the context more naturally than (ἡ) εἰρεσιώνη. It is perhaps unfair to employ MS readings in this connection, but they offer no support for the form (ὁ) ἡρεσιώνης, or even for the form (ὁ) \*εἰρεσιώνης. ἡ εἰρεσιώνη is probably a derivative of εἶπος (cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, II, E-K, pp. 323-324), but E. Boisacq (*Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, s.v. εἰρεσιώνη) and H. Frisk (*Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. εἰρεσιώνη), are more cautious.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *R.E.*, s.v. Εἰρεσιώνη and L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 198-201, s.v. "Pyanopsia."

<sup>22</sup> Above, notes 20 and 21 for references.

<sup>23</sup> His office may have been a priesthood related to the festivals of the Thargelia and Pyanopsia, but that still leaves the connection with the prytaneis unexplained.

for the father's archonship and *début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle ou plus tard* for the son's (*Chronologie des archontes athéniens*, p. 184, No. 137, and pp. 225-226, No. 166). These dates were revised by J. A. Notopoulos to 178/9 or 179/80 for Hegias I and ca. 226 for Hegias II (*op. cit.*, pp. 29-30, 39), but his dating, in the case of the latter, was based on the mistaken association of Hegias the Younger with the archon Munatius Themison (see below, pp. 322-323).<sup>24</sup> The prosopography, especially line 12 (see commentary), indicates that either the archonship of Pompeius the Elder must be redated to after A.D. 184/5 or, more probably, this inscription belongs to the archonship of Pompeius the Younger, and hence, should be dated to the beginning of the third century after Christ.<sup>25</sup>

Lines 9-10. The name Dionysios may now be restored in a catalogue of the gens of Kerykes dated about A.D. 200 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2340, line 11) and the man identified with the hoplite general in this inscription. His brother undoubtedly was the prominent Athenian Philotimos who appears in the same catalogue (line 6) and earlier served in succession as epebe in 169/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2097, lines 26-29, 86), herald of the boule and demos in 180/1 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1794, line 34), and archon in 185/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2111/12, lines 5-6). He was also hoplite general, probably sometime between 180 and 190, although the precise date is not known (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 181-182, No. 86).

Line 12. Marcius Dionysodoros of Cholleidai was epebe and gymnasiarchos in 173/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2103, lines 17 and 91; dated by Notopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28, 53), an identification which provides, presumably, a *terminus post quem* of 184/5 for the present text. The same man was later antikosmetes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2113, line 8, dated 190/1 or 191/2 by Notopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 53) and kosmetes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2201, line 4, dated 208/9 by Notopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 33) in the same year in which his son, also named Marcius Dionysodoros, was agonothetes of the Eleusinian Antinoeia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2201, lines 49-50).

Line 17. There is no other Athenian occurrence of the name Procleianus, spelled with epsilon-iota, and only three occurrences spelled with iota alone. The substitution of epsilon-iota is much more common for long iota than for short iota, but the latter does occur, at least in the Late Roman period (Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, p. 49, section 27, with note 360). The father of the prytanis may be identified with Eisarchos, son of Amph(ias) of Oion, who was epebe in 155/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2068, line 85), and kosmetes in either 181/2 or 184/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2110, line 2, restored; the date is by Notopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 30).

Line 18. Aelius Alkidamos of Cholleidai and his brother Aelius Themistokles,

<sup>24</sup> The archon list of Notopoulos (*op. cit.*, p. 32) appears to allow little room for the addition of Hegias II in the period immediately following A.D. 200 and his table must consequently be reorganized, but in view of the uncertainty concerning the precise date of several of the archons from the early third century I make no attempt here to reorganize this list.

<sup>25</sup> One Hegias of Phaleron, probably Hegias the Elder, was *παιανιστής* ca. 166-185 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2481, line 11; for the date, J. H. Oliver, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXI, 1940, p. 305).

probably the father and uncle respectively of this prytanis, were ephebes during the year of Syllas' archonship (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2051, lines 23 and 24; the archonship has been dated between 147/8 and 149/50 by J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 85). In the same year their father, i.e. the grandfather of this prytanis, also named Alkidamos, was kosmetes and the occasion was marked by a dedication which the two ephebes made to Zeus Soter (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3011). P. Aelius Alkidamos of Cholleidai, hoplite general in the early third century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4949)<sup>26</sup> and son of the ephebe, should be identified with the prytanis here.

Line 19. One Claudius Themison was ephebe of Leontis in 165/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2090, line 74).

Line 20. Hermaios, son of Spondon of Phrearrhioi, was ephebe *ca.* 150-160 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2066, line 11) and councillor *ca.* 170 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 55, No. 42, line 18). The father appears on another list, probably of prytaneis, which belongs shortly before the middle of the century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1760, line 2), but see following note.

Line 21. The Spondon mentioned in this line is probably the son of the prytanis in line 20 and may be identified with Spondon of Phrearrhioi who was sophronistes in 207/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2199, line 53, dated by Notopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35, 53). It should be noted that the left stroke of the pi extends down from the crossbar only half the distance of the right stroke and the epsilon is written as a superscript letter, but the patronymic in the preceding line assures the correct reading here. This irregularity, like that of the ligature of the last two letters in line 20, was caused by the prior carving here of the phallos in low relief.

Line 22. The prytanis reappears *ca.* 209/10 as sophronistes in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2203, line 11, where the demotic should now read Παι[οῦ(ἰδης)].

Line 23. Staius Marcianus of Paionidai, ephebic thesmothetes *ca.* 209/10 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2203, line 49), is probably the son of this prytanis.

Line 24. This prytanis may be identified with: (1) Karpos, son of Karpos of Halimous, councillor about 170 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 55, No. 42, line 21), or (2) the son of this councillor, or (3) the son of Karpos Karpodorou, ephebe of Leontis in 161/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2085, line 41), but the relationship between the councillor of *circa* 170 and the ephebe of 161/2 is by no means clear.<sup>27</sup>

Line 25. Chariton is very probably a brother of Karpos in line 24 and must obviously be related both to the two sons of Karpodoros, Karpos and Chariton, who served as ephebes in 161/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2085, lines 40 and 41), and to the prytanis, Karpos Karpou, of *circa* 170 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 55, No. 42, line 21), but the stemma of the family is uncertain (see comment on line 24, above).

Line 27. Agathostratos, who served Halimous on the Council about 170 (*Hes-*

<sup>26</sup> Th. Chr. Sarikakis dates this text *ca.* 212/3-222/3 (*The Hoplite General in Athens*, p. 39).

<sup>27</sup> Error appears to be ruled out, for the date of *Hesperia*, III, 1934, No. 42 seems sure and there is no parallel for a patronymic sign representing anything other than a homonymous father.

*peria*, III, 1934, p. 55, No. 42, line 22), may be identified with the father of the councillor here.

Line 28. Eisodoros, son of Janarius of Eupyridai, ephebe in 169/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2097, line 67), is probably a brother of Maximus.

Line 29. The son of this prytanis may be identified with Dionysios, son of Sotas of Oion, ephebe in 192/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2130, line 20).

**13** (Plate 64). *On the left side* (see No. **12** above).

Height of letters, 0.010 m. (lines 1-10), 0.006-0.008 m. (lines 11-34).

Inv. No. I 7179.

## HIPPOTHONTIS

*ca. a. 226 p.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ  
 ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μ Μουν  
 Θεμισωνος Ἀζηνιέως  
 στρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα  
 5 Λ Φλ Φιλοστράτου Στειριέως  
 οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἴπποθωντί  
 δος φυλῆς τιμήσαντες αὐτοῦ(ς)  
 καὶ τοὺς ἀισείτους ἀνέγραψαν  
 ἐπὶ ὠνυμοῦ Ἀριστοκλείδης  
 10 Φιλιστείδου Πειραιεύς  
 Κλ Μάρων  
 Κλ Ἐλενος  
 Ἀρχέλαος )  
 Ἐρέν Σώσανδρος  
 15 Μάγνος Ἡρακλείδου  
 Εἰρηναῖος )  
 Θρασύβουλος Κλεοφώντος  
 Ἡράκλειτος Εὐμένους  
 Ἐπαφρόδιτος )  
 20 Πολύενος Σιτοῦ  
 Ἐράτων Εὐμένους  
 Πείθων Κάρπου  
 Ἴούν Λύσανδρος  
 Δομίτ Τρόφιμος  
 25 Θεοδόσιος Ἀττάλου  
 Παράμονος Ἑρμείου  
 Κλ Ἀσκληπιάδες

Ἄπολλώνιος Σωσιβίου  
 Νεικόμαχος Ἀπολλωνίου  
 30 Ἀμέθυστος Ζωτικῶ  
 Ξύστος Πρωτογένους  
 Νεικόστρατος Ἀμφείονος  
 Σωτήριχος [-<sup>ca.</sup> 6 -]  
 Διονύσιος [- - - - -]  
*lacuna*

Prior to the discovery of the present inscription the archon Munatius Themison was attested only once, on the Sarapion monument (see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 91-122, and W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, pp. 343-345). Two other texts, in which no archon's name has been preserved, were assigned to his year by J. Notopoulos, viz. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1831, and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, No. 44.<sup>28</sup> The hoplite general on both of these texts, however, is Pom. Hegias of Phaleron, whereas the new Agora inscription shows that Themison's hoplite general was in fact L. Fl. Philostratos of Steiria.<sup>29</sup>

Obviously *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1831 and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, No. 44 must be restored with some other archon. One possible solution is to assign both texts to the year of Munatius Vopiscus.<sup>30</sup> The latter text, accordingly, might be restored as follows:<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 39. Allowing the restoration of Themison in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1831, which belongs to the right side of the herm, it is still not clear to me why Notopoulos should date him *after* Arabianos, the archon of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1830 which was inscribed on the *lower* obverse. Presumably *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1829, on the upper obverse, would have been the first text cut; beyond this, however, without the rediscovery of the stone, we cannot determine which text was next inscribed. It may be that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1830 was cut long after *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1831, as the restorations suggested here would require; cf. the analogy of the texts *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1781-1784. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1785-1787 form an analogy to the contrary, but here the text on the upper obverse, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1785, was obviously an irregular addition to the monument; cf. Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 281, a reference cited by Kirchner.)

<sup>29</sup> In any case, Notopoulos' date for Hegias was too late. His archonship belonged to the early third century (see above, pp. 318-319) and his hoplite generalship probably was not far separated in date.

<sup>30</sup> J. H. Oliver's date for Vopiscus, 187/8 (*Harv. Th. Rev.*, XLIII, 1950, p. 234) may be slightly preferable to Notopoulos' (*op. cit.*, pp. 28-29), but not for the reason implied in Oliver's table, viz. that the date allows more consistent careers to the daduch Aelius and the sacred herald Herennius, for the hierophant in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1789 was not Julius but rather Nummius. (The stone has been lost, but the transcripts of Gell and Pittakys, as K. M. Clinton has pointed out to me *per litt.*, demand a name one letter longer than Julius; Nummius, moreover, is consistent with the letters and traces of the transcripts.) *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1789, accordingly, should be dated 204/5, following *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1790, in which Nummius, Pompeius, and Nummius Hierokeryx were also hierophant, daduch, and sacred herald respectively. As well as providing a more consistent career for Nummius Hierokeryx, the removal of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1789 to 204/5 leaves, at least for the present, both 174/5 and 187/8 free for the archonship of Vopiscus. This man, who was also herald of the boule and demos in the archonship of Demonstratos of Marathon (184/5 according to Notopoulos, or *ca.* 181 according to Oliver; *loc. cit.*), reappears as hoplite general in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1801 which must now be dated

[ἐπὶ ἄρ]χοντος Μ[ουνατίου Ουόπισκου Ἀζῆ]  
 [νιέ]ως στρατηγο[ύντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλεί]  
 [τ]ας Πδμ Ἡγία Φ[αληρέως . ἴ πρυτανείας]  
 [οί] πρυτάνεις τῆς [— — — — — φυλῆς]  
 5 [τε]μῆσαντες [αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀισείτους ἀνέ]  
 [γρα]ψαν vacat

The archonship of Munatius Themison has been dated primarily from his identification with the homonymous ephebe who during his year served as gymnasiarch, ephebic archon, agonothetes, and synstremmarchos *circa* 209/10 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2203, lines 31-34, 70-71, and 77).<sup>32</sup> Other evidence supporting a date in the 220's for this archonship has been cited by Oliver (*T.A.P.A.*, LXXI, 1940, pp. 306-311), Pritchett, and Notopoulos (*loc. cit.*). The commentaries on Nos. 13 and 14, which follow, offer several additional items of prosopography to confirm this dating. It must be admitted, however, that there are a considerable number of other items of prosopography, also presented in the commentaries, which could be interpreted to support a date about one generation earlier and hence could suggest that the ephebe Themison was in fact the son of the archon. It is with some reservation, therefore, that we keep Notopoulos' date of *ca.* A.D. 226 for Themison's archonship.

### COMMENTARY

Line 5. One Philostratos of Steiria appears as hoplite general in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1803, an inscription which Raubitschek has shown must be dated *ca.* 215-220.<sup>33</sup> Themison

*ca.* 215-220 (A. E. Raubitschek, *Γέρας Ἀγωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου*, Athens, 1953, p. 250); hence, a dating of 187/8 for Vopiscus' archonship has the virtue of shortening slightly an already long career.

<sup>31</sup> The line division here differs slightly from the *editio princeps*. A restoration of the corresponding section of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1831 could only be *exempli gratia* and I do not provide a text. I add, in caution, that the assignment of both these inscriptions to the archonship of Vopiscus must be regarded as only tentative. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, No. 44 could well belong to some as yet unknown archon whose name began with the common letter mu and whose demotic ended in the most common termination, -εως. It is not even certain which Hegias is referred to here as hoplite general, and Hegias I held the office twice (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3687, line 24). The hoplite general on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1831, however, is probably Hegias I, since he is not designated νεώτερος). The probability of one or both of these texts being correctly assigned to Vopiscus' year is increased somewhat if we dispose of one of Hegias' generalships by following Sarikakis' suggestion in restoring his name in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1777, lines 3-4 (*op. cit.*, p. 59).

<sup>32</sup> The date is from Notopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>33</sup> *Loc. cit.* To Raubitschek's strong argument (which he credits to a suggestion of Stamires), we may add that if, with Notopoulos (*op. cit.*, Table I), we date this text 192/3 or 193/4, we allow for the hierophant Claudius of Acharnai an almost impossibly short career between Julius, who was still hierophant in 192/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792; for the date, J. H. Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 174-177), and Nummius, who was already hierophant *ca.* 194 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1806; date by Notopoulos, *loc. cit.*), whereas there is ample time for Claudius after 209/10. The foremost objection to the lowering of the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1803 comes from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2109, which mentions a brother of the

nicely fits the space allotted for the archon's names in the first line of that text and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1803 can reasonably be assigned to the same year as the prytany list published here. The first four lines of the *Corpus* text, accordingly, may be restored as follows:

[ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Θεμίσωνος στρα]  
 [τηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τοῦ]ς ὄπ[λείτας]  
 [Δ Φλα Φι]λοστράτου Στει[ριέ]  
 [ως . ' π]ρυτανείας οἱ πρυτά  
 [νεις] κτλ

J. H. Oliver had, in fact, already suggested the restoration of Philostratos' nomen as Φλά(βιος) (allowing one space for the initial of his praenomen) on the basis of an Agora inscription published as *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 51, No. 13, although that text cannot be contemporary with the prytany list published here (nor, if our restoration be correct, with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1803, as suggested by Oliver)<sup>34</sup> since (1) the Flavius Philostratos in that text is described as νε(ώτερος) and (2) the spacing suggests that the archon's name was longer than Themison. Philostratos the Younger, hoplite general in the *Hesperia* text, thus probably belongs about the middle of the third century after Christ and may be identified with the archon of 254/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2245).<sup>35</sup>

More important, however, the appearance on the new Agora list of L. Flavius Philostratos in the prominent position of hoplite general during the 220's immediately invites identification with the famous biographer of the sophists, a man who is known to have resided in Athens at this time and is designated Athenian on an inscription at Olympia (*Inschr. von Olympia*, 476 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 878).<sup>36</sup> That the famous literary figure, Flavius Philostratos, should have held one of the most prestigious offices in the Athenian state, an office which after all was much concerned with the supervision of education,<sup>37</sup> is not at all surprising; indeed, considering our knowledge of

hierophant Claudius of Acharnai and has been dated by Notopoulos to the same year as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2127, i.e. 194/5 (*op. cit.*, pp. 30-31), but both Notopoulos' restoration of the archon's name on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2109 and his association of this text with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2127 are open to question.

<sup>34</sup> The lettering at the beginning of line 4 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1803 would have to be crowded to allow the restoration of both a numeral for the prytany and the ligature NE as proposed by Oliver (*op. cit.*, p. 52); the numeral alone, as restored here, renders a more natural spacing.

<sup>35</sup> For the date L. Moretti, *Iscrizione agonistiche greche, Studi Pubblicati dall' Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica*, XII, 1953, pp. 202-203, a reference cited by H. A. Thompson, *J.R.S.*, XLIX, 1959, p. 66, note 28.

<sup>36</sup> For a recent study of the family of the Philostratoi see G. W. Bowersock, *The Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, pp. 2-7, with references to earlier works in the bibliography, pp. 127-131. The identification of the archon Philostratos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2245) with the family of the philosopher was first made by K. Münscher, *Philologus*, Suppl. X, 1905/7, pp. 490-491, 515; cf. K. Friedrich, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, XXX, 1909, pp. 1117-1118, and *I.G.*, XII, 8, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> On the duties of the hoplite general see Th. Chr. Sarikakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-21, and D. J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution After Sulla, Hesperia*, Suppl. XII, pp. 21-31. As is to be

the close relationship between literature and politics in this period, his tenure of this position is rather to be expected.<sup>38</sup>

Lines 9-10. One Aristokleides of Peiraeus appears in a list of *prominent men* dated *ca.* 175-185 (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 75, No. 38, line 3; the text was republished with an additional fragment as *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 283-285, No. 12 = *S.E.G.*, XVIII, 61); the patronymic of this text could be restored Φ[ιλιστιίδου], which would have to be crowded somewhat, but would still seem preferable to Θ[έωνος?], which is unknown in Peiraeus and is too short for the spacing in any case, but the man cannot naturally be identified with the eponymous in our list, if the dating of the respective inscriptions is correct. Our Aristokleides would, of course, belong to the same family, as would also the following three men named Philisteides: (1) one who was ephebe in 192/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2130, lines 48 and 52) and may be father of our eponymous; another (2), who was father of the ephebe just mentioned and himself ephebe in 163/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2088, line 17) and was archon, if Notopoulos' date is correct,<sup>39</sup> in 194/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2109 and 2127), and finally (3), a third Philisteides, who was archon in the same year, 163/4, in which his son (2) was ephebe (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2086 and 2087). A new fragment of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2340, a catalogue of the gens of Kerykes dated to the beginning of the third century after Christ (see *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, pp. 359-360 = *S.E.G.*, XII, 140), lists one [Ἀρι]στοκλ[— —] in the roster of Hippothontis (line 21); if he does belong to Peiraeus his name should probably be restored as Aristokleides; he may be either our eponymous or the Aristokleides in the *Hesperia* catalogue of prominent men.

Line 11. An ancestor of this prytanis is probably Claudius Maron of Azenia who was councillor near the middle of the second century after Christ (*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 60, No. 15, line 18, dated by the original editor, A. E. Raubitschek, 152/3 or 153/4 but by J. A. Notopoulos, in *A.J.P.*, LXV, 1944, p. 165, 138/9-150/1).

Line 14. Herennius Sosandros of Azenia, a thesmothetes in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2916 (dated by Kirchner about the middle of the second century of this era), was undoubtedly an ancestor of the present prytanis. Indeed, the thesmothetes is probably to be identified with the representative of Azenia who appears in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 77, No. 39, line 15, which I read, from the Princeton squeeze, as Ἐρέννιος Ξ[ώ]σανδ[ρος].

Line 16. One Eirenaios of Azenia, son of a homonymous father, was ephebe

expected, the writings of Philostratos himself show an intimate knowledge of the office of hoplite general, e.g. *Vit. Soph.*, I, 23; and, on the importance of the position, *ibid.*, II, 20.

<sup>38</sup> G. W. Bowersock, *op. cit.*, especially, p. 1, "..... literary men ..... never enjoyed more public renown," and F. Solmsen, *R.E.*, 20.1, *s.v.* "Philostratos 10," especially col. 138, "..... erhielt er von seiner Stadt ..... wahrscheinlich auch Ämter ....."

<sup>39</sup> Above, pp. 323-324, note 33.

about 160 (line 31 of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2081, which joins *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2254, cf. *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1950/1, p. 20, No. 4). Our prytanis may be a son, or even a grandson, of the ephebe.

Line 20. The same name may be recognized in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1808, line 18, where the original editor, Graindor (*B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 296, No. 72), read the first letter of the patronymic as dotted theta, which could easily be confused with lunate sigma. The date assigned to the new Agora list, however, makes identification with our prytanis unlikely, though both men are undoubtedly closely related. The patronymic is otherwise unknown in Athens and rare elsewhere (Pape-Benseler, *Griechische Eigennamen*, cite one Sitas, king in Thrace, from Dio Cassius, LI, 23).

Line 21. Eraton, son of Eumenes, may be identified with the prytanis of the same name who served on the council at the beginning of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1819, line 21). If he is also identified, as seems probable, with the like-named ephebe of 169/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2097, line 217), he would have been about 77 years of age when he served his second attested councillorship.

Lines 22 and 24. These prytaneis also served on the council at the beginning of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1819, lines 7 and 14).

Line 25. One Theodosios, son of Attalos of Peiraeus, was ephebe in 154/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2067, line 144). Another Attalos of Peiraeus, probably of the same family, served as ephebe in 173/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2103, line 133) and our prytanis may have been his son.

Line 29. Neikomachos, son of Apollonios, should be identified with the like-named ephebe of Hippothontis who appears in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2136, line 23 (this text joins *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2159 and 2160, cf. *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, pp. 352-355 = *S.E.G.*, XII, 123), an inscription Kirchner has dated to the end of the second century after Christ.

Line 30. Zotikos, son of Amethystos, probably father of the present councillor, was listed among the *epengraphoi* of about 166/7 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2094, line 108).

Line 31. Aurelius Xystos, son of Protogenes of Peiraeus, was sophronistes in 212/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2208, line 13).

**14** (Plate 64). *On the right side* (see No. **12** above).

Height of letters, 0.012 m. (line 1), 0.010 m. (line 2), 0.009 m. (lines 3-20), 0.007-0.008 m. (lines 21-34).

Inv. No. I 7179.

### ANTIOCHIS

ca. a. 226 p.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

ἀγαθῆ τύχη  
ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μ Μου  
Θεμισωνος Ἀζηνιέως  
στρατηγούδντος ἐπὶ τὰ

- 5 ὄπλα  $\overline{\Lambda}$   $\overline{\Phi\lambda}$  Φιλοστρά  
του Στειριέως οἱ πρυ  
τάνεις τῆς Ἀντιοχί  
δος φυλῆς τειμήσαν  
τες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς
- 10 αἰσιέτους ἀνέγραψα[ν]  
ἐπώνυμος  $\overline{Αἰ}$  Κορνήλιος  
 $\overline{Αἰλ}$  Κορνήλιος  
 $\overline{Αἰλ}$  Ἰσόχρυσος  
 $\overline{Αἰλ}$  Ἀπολλώνιος
- 15  $\overline{Αἰλ}$  Θάλης  
 $\overline{Αἰλ}$  Διονύσιος  
 $\overline{Αἰλ}$  Ἀντιφῶν  
 $\overline{Αἰλ}$  Ἀρτέμων  
 $\overline{Αἰλ}$  Φίδιμος
- 20  $\overline{Αὺρ}$  Μάρκος  
 $\overline{Αἰλ}$  Σωσίβιος  
ἱερεὺς Ἀριστοφῶν  
Βάθυλλος Ἀριστοφῶντος  
Εὔκαρπος )
- 25 Ἐκτικὸς Τείμωνος  
Ἐπάγαθος Ἐκτικοῦ  
Εὐήμερος Ἀσκληπιάδου  
Ἀρτέμων Ἐπικτήτου  
Ἀλέξανδρος )
- 30 Θεόδωρος )  
Δομνεῖνος Θεοδώρου  
Κάλλων Πρώτου  
*Iacuna*

The style of lettering on this text is similar to that on No. **13**,<sup>40</sup> but the hand is distinctly different. The strokes here are lighter, rounder (e.g. the bars at the top and bottom of sigma curve slightly), and more irregular than in the preceding text.

#### COMMENTARY

Lines 2-6. On the date, the archon, and the hoplite-general, see No. **13**, above, pp. 322-325.

<sup>40</sup> Above, comment on p. 317.

Lines 11-12. It is unlikely that the same man is listed both as eponymous and prytanis,<sup>41</sup> but rather that two men, father and son, served on the council in the same year. They are undoubtedly related to Aelius Cornelius of Pallene, ephebe in 154/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2067, lines 165 and 211), and one of them may be identified with Pu(blius) Aelius Cornelius, who was a distinguished ephebe in 192/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2130, lines 48, 54, and 82).

Line 13. Aelius Isochrysos of Pallene was antikosmetes in 192/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2130, line 4), prytanis in 221/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1783, line 10), and hoplite general in 222/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1825 and 1826). This is another instance of the repeated holding of a councillorship.<sup>42</sup>

Lines 11-19 and 21. Lists of Aurelii are, of course, well known especially after the general enfranchisement of Caracalla,<sup>43</sup> and substantial lists of other Roman gentilicia do occur,<sup>44</sup> but this is the largest group of Aelii I have been able to discover on an Athenian inscription.<sup>45</sup> It was common, however, on prytany lists to group together members of the same family, and the arrangement here, where several prytaneis obviously are kindred, may have been intended only as a compliment to the eponymous, Aelius Cornelius.

Line 14. This prytanis should, in all likelihood, be identified with Aelius Apollonios of Pallene, eponymous in the early third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1817, lines 20-21; the text was dated by Notopoulos shortly before 220/1). The like-named ephebe of 154/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2067, lines 166, 213) undoubtedly belongs to the same family.

Line 15. Aelius Thales of Pallene, an earlier member of this prytanis' family, also was ephebe in 154/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2067, line 167).

Line 18. Aelius Artemon may be identified with the homonymous ephebe of Semachidai who served in 205/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2193, lines 14, 22, 133, and 2196, line 6).

Line 19. This prytanis is probably a son of Pu(blius) Aelius Pheidimos of Pallene, basileus in 192/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2130, lines 58 and 88).

Line 23. The prytanis here is probably son of the priest Aristophon in line 22. One Aelius Bathyllos, perhaps an ancestor, was councillor for Antiochis in 169/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1781, line 20).

<sup>41</sup> A. E. Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.

<sup>42</sup> There are instances attested in this period where the same man served as councillor three or even more times; D. J. Geagan, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>43</sup> E. g. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2208, 2217, 2218, 2242, 2243; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 69-70, No. 35. For the Aurelii in general and the controversy involving their mention in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1824 and 1825 see A. E. Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 245, note 1, and D. J. Geagan, *op. cit.*, p. 102, with the references cited in note 81.

<sup>44</sup> E. g. eight Claudii are listed one after the other in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2113, lines 44-51.

<sup>45</sup> Four Aelii appear together in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1764, lines 36-39. The Roman emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus bore, either from birth or by adoption, the Aelian name, and two of these, Hadrian and Commodus, were even Athenian citizens (J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 346-349), but their phyle was Hadrianis and neither has any connection with Antiochis.

Line 26. Epagathos, son of Ektikos of Eroiadai, was ephebe in an inscription dated *ca.* 190-200 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2123, line 27). The prytanis in the preceding line was his father.

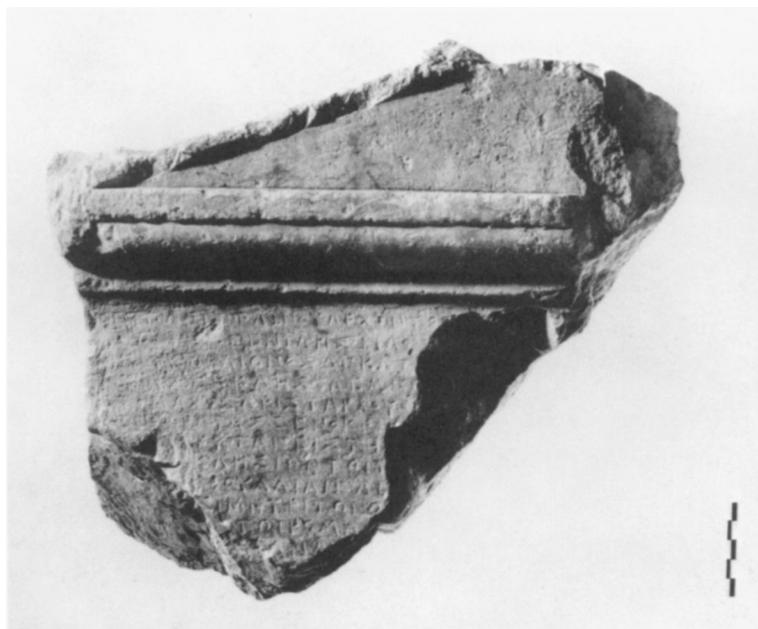
Line 27. Euhemeros, son of Asklepiades, was ephebe for Antiochis in 207/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2199, line 138) and very probably a descendant of the like-named *epengraphos* in 155/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2068, line 223). Of the demes belonging to Antiochis, Euhemeros is known only in Eroiadai, on an inscription dated by Kirchner to the second century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4521a, line 5); he is probably a relative of this prytanis.

Line 31. Neither the name Domneinos nor the more regular form Domninos is otherwise known in Athens.

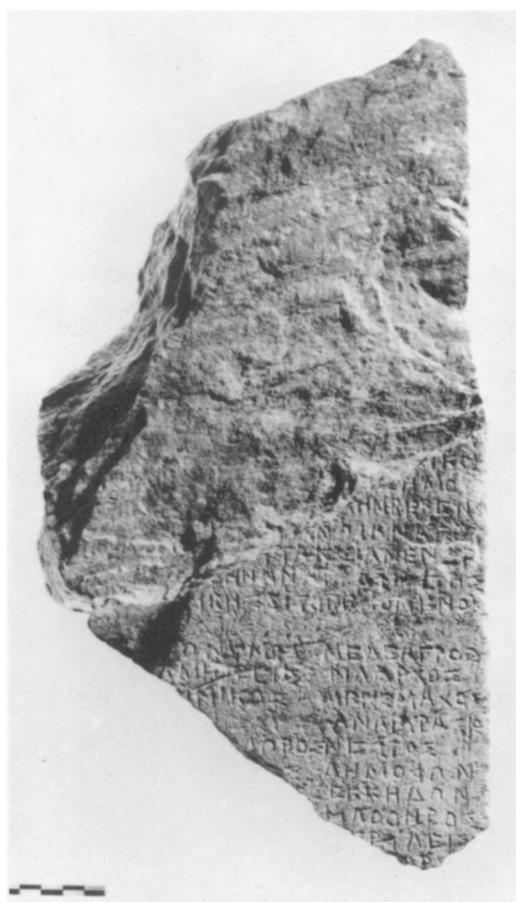
Line 32. Pallene is the only Antiochid deme in which the name Kallon appears, first in 183/2 B.C. as father of Sosibios (*P.A.*, 8239), and much later, about 170 after Christ, as father of the ephebe Theophilos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2097, line 238). The name Protos, which is even rarer than Kallon, occurs also in Pallene, again as father of an ephebe, Agathemeros, who served during the archonship of Philoteimos, 185/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2111/2, line 14). Our prytanis probably belongs to the same family as the men listed on these ephebic inscriptions, although the precise relationship is uncertain.

JOHN S. TRAILL

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON



No. 9.



No. 10.



No. 11.

