LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES IN ATTICA, PART V

(Plate 69)

In this article are discussed two inscription fragments that probably derive from the same series of Attic lease records that was discussed in earlier articles in this journal.¹

To judge from the script, these two fragments should be dated at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., that is, about 30 to 50 years later than the other records in this series. Slight differences in letter forms and in the method of abbreviating certain words suggest that these two fragments derive from different levels on the stele or even, perhaps, from two stelai of the same date. I have numbered them as Stele 6, fragments a and b, continuing from the earlier series.²

STELE 6: PROPERTIES LEASED IN BEHALF OF UNKNOWN DEITIES

Two fragments of pale, bluish marble, probably Hymettian, found at different times and places. There is no join between the two fragments.

¹ M. B. Walbank, “Leases of Sacred Properties in Athens,” Parts I–IV, Hesperia 52, 1983, pp. 100–135 (Part I: Stele 1, 343/2 B.C.); 177–199 (Part II: Stelai 2 and 3, ca. 333/2 B.C.); 200–206 (Part III: Stelai 4 and 5, ca. 333/2 B.C.); 207–231 (Part IV). References to these stelai are given thus in this article: “Stele 1, Column Ia, lines 2–3,” and so on.

² Whether or not the earlier series was continued on a decennial basis, we do not know: no evidence of this survives. I suggested earlier (see Walbank, pp. 216, note 74 and 230, note 131) that the series of land sales known as the Rationes Centesimarum might be the result of a decision by the State to dispose of these properties at the time of the third decennial revision of the system, rather than to continue leasing them out. If I am correct in regarding the present group of lease records as a continuation of the earlier series, my speculations regarding the origins of the Rationes Centesimarum must be abandoned or, at least, modified.
Fragment a is of unknown provenance, from some time before 1873. It is broken all around, but the back is preserved.

P.H. 0.260 m.; p.W. 0.155 m.; Th. 0.110 m.
H. of letters 0.004–0.005 m.; non-stochedon, with a vertical checker of 0.009 m.
Epigraphical Museum inv. no. E.M. 8015

Fragment b was found on the surface on April 15, 1939, near the Mycenaean Wall on the north slope of the Akropolis (V 24). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.071 m.; p.W. 0.062 m.; p.Th. 0.059 m.
H. of letters 0.004–0.005 m.; non-stochedon, with a vertical checker of 0.009 m.

Agora Museum inv. no. I 5775

fin. s. IV–init. s. III a.  NON-SΤΟΙΧ. 70–75?

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a.  [-------------: Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ Κ[νυσόγραψε τεμένη], πρῶτον τέμενος ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθό]-
[όσατο -------------: Ἀλκτ: μια: [-------------: ἐγ:]
[-------------: ἕγ: Ἔστσασύντον τέμενος ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσατ]-
5  [-------------: ἕγ: -------------] Διονυσιάδ[ον: ἐγ: -------------: τρίτον τέμεν]-
[νος ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσατ]ο Ἡρακλέηδῆς[ -------------: μια: -------------]
[-------------: ἕγ:] Καλλιάδης Αἰ[-------------: τέταρτον τέμενος ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσα]-
[το -------------: Κ] λεύς: Ἀγγελ: μια: Αἰ[-------------: ἐγ: -------------]
[-------------: ἕγ: -------------] γείτων Θεσσόμπου: Α[-------------: ἐγ: -------------]
10  [-------------: πέμπτον τέμενος Θεᾶ[-------------: ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσατο -------------]
[μια: -------------: Αἰγ: [-------------: ἐγ: Δω[-------------: ἐγ: -------------]
[-------------: ἕγ: -------------] Ἀιγιλι: ἐν Κυνο[ἀργεί?] -------------: ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσ]-
[ατο -------------: οἰκ: μια: Χαρίδη[μια: -------------: ἐγ: -------------]
15  [-------------: ἕγ: -------------] ἔπι τίμου: Φρεαρ: [ἐν?: -------------] ὃ πρότερ]-
[ρον ἐμισθώσατο -------------: ἐγ Μυρρι: μια: Δ[-------------: ἐγ: -------------]
[-------------: -------------: ἐς τέμενος ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσατο -------------]
[μια: -------------: μαχος Ἐδ[ον]: -------------: ἐγ: -------------]

lacuna

b.  [-------------: ἐγ: -------------]
20  [-------------: οτου[-------------: μια: Λγ[-------------: -------------]
[-------------: Αἰγιλι: [-------------: -------------]
[-------------: ἐπι το[-------------: -------------]
[-------------: ον: Φρε[αρ: -------------]
EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

In my restorations I have assumed that any lease that drew down a rent of less than 600 drachmai required a single guarantor, that any lease between 600 and 1,200 drachmai required two guarantors, and so on. Thus, the lease of line 11, which involves a rent of 1,270 drachmai, will have had three guarantors. Tenants and guarantors are named with patronymics and abbreviated demotics, so that each name is likely to have occupied between 15 and 25 letter spaces; moreover, the lease descriptions apparently involve, perhaps in every instance, the full names of previous tenants (see, for instance, lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 13, and 16): thus, the minimum line length will have been about 70 to 75 letters.

Line 1: Before the preserved kappa of a nearly vertical stroke is preserved. The stone breaks diagonally across this from the left, so that it might be iota or, less likely, part of a nu or eta. I restore tentatively [ε]ρι Κ[νυοσαριγει] -- -- , by analogy with a rubric found in the earlier series of lease records. But other restorations are possible: for instance, [ο|οκα|ναδε] or some other topographical reference.

Line 6: The omicron preserved at the left edge could be the end of a verb, as I have restored in this line, or else it could be a neuter singular of a relative pronoun: in the latter case, one might restore δ᾽ Ηρακλείδης καθέρωσεν, or some other such clause. The manner in which, however, each lease description seems to end with a man’s name suggests that each lease was identified by the name of the previous tenant: thus, in this line, too, I have restored a formula which identifies Herakleides as the previous tenant.

Line 7: J. Kirchner identified this man as the Priest of Asklepios of 262/1 b.c., and dated this document accordingly around the middle of the 3rd century. The letters AI that follow the name Kalliades, however, do not belong to the beginning of a demotic (Α[ι]ι[Λι]ι[ε][ι]ς), as Kirchner restored in this line and which was the basis for his identification, but must be the beginning of a patronymic. The system of punctuation employed throughout this document requires that a colon be inscribed before each demotic, whereas patronyms always follow forenames without punctuation. Thus, this man is Kalliades son of AI[-- --], not Kalliades Aiglieus, and the date must be settled on the basis of letter forms alone, unless some other assured identification can be achieved.

Line 10: Before the tau there is preserved a slightly downward slanting horizontal stroke, which I interpret as part of a pi. A rho is not impossible but, in my view, is less likely. I have therefore restored [πιμ]πτον.
rather than [τέρα]ρον. All the properties listed in lines 1–10 seem to be parts of a series, temene or temene and associated features, that are owned by a single deity. I have tentatively identified this deity as Herakles in Kynosarges, thus establishing a possible link with the leases of 343/2 B.C.10

Line 12: U. Koehler restored ἐν Κυνοσορ[ὰργεὶ].11 This restoration has influenced my restoration of line 1, but, of course, other restorations of line 12 are possible: for instance, ἐν Κυνοσο[olicitudai]. If Kynosoura is accepted as the site of the property of line 12, rather than Kynosarges, we should then be looking at a property on the island of Salamis, where, in fact, we do know that sacred properties were leased out around the middle of the 4th century.12

Line 18: After theta a vertical stroke is preserved at the right edge. Previous editors have read this as an iota and have restored the patronymic Ἐθῆ[ov], but a slight possibility exists that this letter stroke is not an iota but, rather, the vertical of an epsilon: thus, the restoration Εθῆ[ov] should not be ruled out.

Line 20: The right side of omicron is preserved in the abraded area at the left edge. The letters surviving here must be the end of a patronymic or, less likely, part of a topographical reference.

Line 23: The left side of omicron survives. Some sort of topographical reference is probably involved or else a description of some feature associated with this leasehold property.

Line 24: The upper left corner of epsilon is preserved.

NOMINA SACRA AND TOPOGRAPHY

Fragment a

Line 1: [Ἡρακλέους ἐ]ν Κ[υνοσορὰργεῖ]? The owner of five temene (at Kynosarges?), of another at Thea[---], of another property at Kynosarges(?), and, perhaps, of one other property at an unknown location, possibly Kynosarges also. The restorations depend upon Koehler’s restoration of ἐν Κυνοσο[ὰργεῖ] in line 12, but this might just as easily be restored as ἐν Κυνοσο[ὔραπα] (i.e., on the island of Salamis). If the divinity of line 1 is Herakles in Kynosarges, this series of temene might be identified with a similar series from 343/2 B.C., the property of Herakles in Kynosarges.13

Line 10: Θεκα[---]. The location of a temenos that belongs to the same divinity as he of lines 1ff. The tenant and one of his guarantors come from the deme of Aigilia, so that there is a faint chance that this property is located in, or near, that deme, whose site is in southwestern Attica.14

Line 14: [---]ε[ωσ. The owner of a temenos, whose location is unknown. There is a faint chance that the tenant is from the deme of Lamprai. Possible candidates for this deity’s name are as follows: Aigeus, Apollo Agyieus, Erithaseus(?), or Kerkyoneus, Dionysos Eleuthereus or Auloneus, Eurytheus, Erechtheus, Kyrcheus, Nemesis, Oineus, Perseus, Prometheus, Theseus, and Zeus Sounieus.15 None seems a stronger candidate than

10 See footnote 5 above.
11 IG II, 852.
12 See Stele 1, Column IIIc, line 5, and IG II2, 1590a.
13 See footnote 5 above.
14 For its location, see Truill, Map 1.
any other, but, if the owner of the properties listed in lines 1–14 is Herakles in Kynosarges, it is tempting to seek some deity who is linked with Herakles, such as Eurystheus.16 In the earlier lease records, however, leases are recorded by divine owner, rather than by area,17 so that it is probably better to assume that there was no connection between the divinity of lines 1–14 and he (or she) of line 14.

Tenants, or former tenants, whose demotics are certain come from Aigilia, Angele, Halai, Halimous, Myrrhinous, and, possibly, Lamptrai. Guarantors are from Aigilia (one, perhaps three), Marathon (? or Phyleus?), Phrearrhioi, and, possibly, Sphettos. Thus, there seems to be a weighting, amongst the tenants, at least, towards the southwestern part of Attica.18

Fragment b

No divine names are preserved on this fragment, and the only topographical reference (line 23) is too fragmentary to admit of restoration. One tenant comes from Phrearrhioi, and the guarantor of another is from Aigilia. Thus, again, there is an apparent weighting towards the southwestern part of Attica.19

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Line 2: Ἀλαυς. Former tenant.

Line 3: Ἑστιάος Λυ[---]. Guarantor. He could be PA 5203, father of Μηνόδωτος Σφηττίος (PA 10113) and ancestor to Ἑστιάος Ἑστιάου Σφηττίουs (PA 5204).20

Line 4: [Ἀλι]<μού<σιος>. Former tenant.

Line 4: Γύψων[ν ---] (or Γύψων[νίδης]?). Tenant. Perhaps a descendant of Φιλῶν Γύψωνον[s] Φλυεύς,21 or from the same family as Ξενοκράτης Γύψωνίδου Μαραθώνιον,22 in which case the restoration is more likely to be Γύσων[νίδου]: this would also provide a link with the earlier series of leases.23 If the name is Gniphon, this man may be a relative of Γύσων Προκλέος[ν ---], the guarantor of a lease ca. 333/2 B.C.24

Line 5: Διονυσοδόροπ[ου ---]. Father of a guarantor (or, perhaps, the guarantor himself). The name is a common one, but it is perhaps worth commenting that the name occurs in 343/2 B.C. in the persons of a guarantor of a lease and of a tenant.25

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16 See Solders, AK, pp. 75–76.
17 For instance, see Stele 1, Column IIe, and Stele 2, Face A.
18 For the locations of these demes, see Traill, Map 1.
19 For the locations of these demes, see Traill, Map 1.
20 See also PA 5205 and 13929.
21 PA 14339 = APF, p. 537.
22 Stele 2, Face A, Column II, lines 26–27.
23 Xenokrates son of Gniphonides guaranteed a lease ca. 333/2 B.C. (see Stele 2, Face A, Column II, line 26).
24 PA 3055; see Stele 3, Face B, line 11. The name occurs also in Thorai and in Pallene, at a much earlier date (see Agora XV, no. 22, line 7 and no. 44, line 40).
25 Stele 1, Column Ie, lines 19–20 (guarantor) and Column If, lines 4–5 (tenant).
Line 6: Ἡρακλείδης[s ——]. Former tenant (?) or dedicator?). If he is a former tenant, a possible candidate could be Ἡρακλείδης[σ Eρνθραῖος; this man served as trierarch in 306/5 or 305/4 B.C. and might have had metic status earlier on.26 If so, one might restore as follows: Ἡρακλείδης[σ Eρνθραῖος (or, more likely, a patronymic): ἐν ——: οἶκ<ων>]. The name is not, however, an uncommon one in the later 4th or earlier 3rd century.27

Line 7: Καλλιάδης Α[— ——]. Guarantor. The demotic may well be Αὐγιλιέος, but it is unlikely that this man is PA 7784, the Priest of Asklepios in 260/59 B.C.28 He might, however, be an ancestor of the priest. The name is a common one, and there are too many possibilities for there to be any point in attempting to restore the name of the father.

Line 8: [- — —κ]λέος: Ἀγγελ<ῆθεν>. Father of a former tenant. Possibly Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἀγγελῆθεν (PA 1855) or his son.29 There are, however, other candidates from Aigility whose names end in -κλῆς.30

Line 8: 'Ἀν[— — ——]. Tenant.

Line 9:[— — ——]γείτων Θεσπόμπου: Α[— ——]. Guarantor. If these leases are located in the deme of Aigility, this man might be an ancestor of Θεσπόμπος Αὐγιλ<ές> (PA 7025); his father might be that Theopompus who appears in a list of phyletai of Antiochis late in the 4th century B.C.31 Several other demes begin with the letter Α, so that our guarantor’s father might, instead, be Θεσπόμπος Ἀντιγένος <ν Αχερδούσιος>, a councillor of Hippothontis in 303/2 B.C.32 There are several possible restorations of the guarantor’s name, none of them a stronger candidate than any other.33


Line 11: Δω[— — —]. Guarantor.


Line 13: [- — — — οἶκ<ῶν>. Former tenant. The formula indicates that this man was a metic.

Line 13: Χαρίδης[μος ——] (or Χαριδη[μίδης]?). Tenant. He might be Χαρίδημος Σατόρον Λακιάδης (PA 15372 or 15385), or Χαρίδημος Ἀγγυλεύς, councillor of Erechtheus in 289/8 B.C.34 or else Χαριδημίδης Εὐνυμμεύς, councillor of Oiniceps in 304/3 B.C.35

26 For his career, see APF, p. 586, C 4.
27 See, for instance, PA 6457 (Alopeke), 6459 (Acharnai?), and PAN, p. 88 (Anagyrous), as well as others of this name whose demotics are unknown.
28 See footnote 8 above.
29 PA 11212: Ξένοκλῆς or Ἀριστοκλῆς.
30 For instance, Δικτάρης Διοκτῆθεν Ἀγγελῆθεν might be an ancestor of this man (PA 4009 = 4010; see APF, pp. 156–157); another possibility is PA 14532, Φιλοκλῆς father of Ἐπικράτης (PA 4869: the demotic is unknown, but the phyle is Kekrops) and ancestor to Προκλείδης (PA 14532); in this case, another possible restoration of the name of the tenant’s patronymic might be προκλῆος. So far, however, no one of this name is attested for Aigility.
31 PA 7021, without demotic.
32 Agora XV, no. 62, line 246.
33 For instance, Διο[γείτων (Alopeke), Θεο[γείτων (Aphidna), Θου[γείτων (Alopeke), and Φιλο[γείτων (Aphidna and Acharnai).
34 Agora XV, no. 86, line 80.
35 Agora XV, no. 61, line 167.
Line 14: [---]τίμου: Ψρεάρ<ως>. Father of a guarantor. He might be, for instance, [Ἄρξετίμους, ancestor to PA 2434, but there are other possible restorations of this name, although not, so far, attested for this deme.

Line 15: ἐγ Μυρρυ<νώτης>. Former tenant.

Line 15: Δ[---]. Tenant.

Line 17: [---]μαχος Εὐθύ[ου] (or Εὐθύ[του]?). Tenant? He might be Εὐθύμαχος E[---] (PA 5634), or, more likely, a descendant; or else Εὐθύμαχος Εὐθέτου Λαμππτρεὺς (PA 5637). If the father’s name is Euthios, there could be a link with the archon of 283/2 B.C., if it is Euthias, he could be the opponent of Hypereides (PA 5479), or the son of Δαινίας Ἀλαιεύς (PA 5482). He might also be the tenant of a leasehold property of ca. 333/2 B.C., Εὐθίας Φα[. . . . .]. in which case we should have another possible link with the earlier series of leases. 

Line 20: [---]ὁτου [---]. Father of a guarantor?

Line 21: Αγ[---]. Tenant.


The leases recorded upon these two fragments are of properties belonging to at least two different deities: those of fragment a may be a series of temene owned by Herakles in Kynosarges, although not all, apparently, located in Kynosarges itself (lines 1–12); if so, a link may be established with the lease records of 343/2 B.C., in which a similar series of temene owned by Herakles in Kynosarges is leased out. The same deity owns one, perhaps two more properties, one of them apparently in Kynosarges (lines 12–17). Another, as yet unknown, deity owns yet another temenos, at some unknown location (lines 17–19). The second fragment records the lease of two or three properties whose owner(s) and locations are unknown.

The tenants include both Athenians and metics; as in the earlier series, few, if any, of the tenants and of their guarantors are identifiable as prominent in Athenian public life: one possible exception may be the former tenant of the property listed in lines 6ff., who might be that Herakleides of Erythrai who served as an Athenian trierarch late in the 4th century, but this identification is merely tentative.

If I am correct in restoring in the rubrics of the lease descriptions records of earlier tenancies, these lease records will clearly represent the continuation of some earlier series of similar records; there is, however, a gap of 30 to 50 years between this series and that of 343/2 and ca. 333/2 B.C. Thus, there is little likelihood that tenants or guarantors from the earlier series will be found here also, even under the rubric “former tenant”. The absence of any record of such leases between ca. 333/2 B.C. and the date of the present series may be

36 PA 5493; for the date, see B. D. Meritt, op. cit. (footnote 8 above), p. 173.
37 Stele 2, Face A, Column II, lines 3–4.
38 See footnote 5 above.
39 See footnote 26 above.
40 Possible family links may exist in the cases of the incoming tenant of line 4 (see footnotes 21–24 above), the guarantor of line 5 (footnote 25 above), and the incoming tenant (?) of line 17 (footnotes 36 and 37 above). No family links, however tentative, can be established in the case of “former tenants".
merely an accident of preservation, or else it may reflect the political disturbances of the Macedonian Era: indeed, the care that is apparently taken in this series to identify former tenants may be an indication that the record had become confused as a consequence of political uncertainties. The new series may be a re-affirmation, rather than a regular decennial revision, of the system initiated in 343/2 B.C.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{41} The findspot of fragment \textit{b} and, perhaps also, that of fragment \textit{a} suggest that the stele is likely to have been set up on the Akropolis, rather than in the Agora, whereas I have suggested that the stele of 343/2 and some, at least, of the stelai of \textit{ca.} 333/2 B.C. were set up beside the Stoa Basileios in the Agora (see \textit{Hesperia} 52, 1983, p. 226, note 119). This in itself suggests that the system adopted during the Lykourgan era had been modified, such modification perhaps taking away from the Archon Basileus the responsibility for the encoding of such leases. It also suggests that the deity most closely involved may have been Athena in one of her guises, although it should be borne in mind that Stele 1, despite the fact that what survives of its heading identifies the property owner as Athena Polias (line 3), contains records of the property of several other deities.
MICHAEL B. WALBANK: LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES IN ATTICA, PART V