

LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES IN ATTICA, PART III

(PLATE 48)

TO THE THREE, or more, stelai discussed in Parts I and II of this series,¹ there should be added two small fragments that were found years ago in the excavations of the Athenian Agora.² These seem to belong to the same group as Stelai 2 and 3, but differ from each other and from Stelai 2 and 3 in marble type and in other respects, so that they should be attributed to separate stelai of about the same date. I have therefore numbered these two fragments Stelai 4 and 5, respectively.

After the text and commentary of these two fragments, which make up Part III, Part IV (pp. 207–231 below) will be devoted to an analysis of the contents of all five stelai and to a discussion of their historical and social significance.

STELE 4: PROPERTIES LEASED IN BEHALF OF UNKNOWN DEITIES

(Pl. 48:a)

THE TEXT

A fragment of pale, bluish gray Hymettian marble, found on March 6, 1937 in a Turkish wall, at Agora Grid Location K 9. The smooth-dressed left side is preserved, with a left margin of 0.009 m. in line 4 and 0.018 m. in lines 3 and 5–10. This fragment is a mere flake, broken away from the face of the stele along the lines of foliation, which are parallel to the face.

P.H. 0.108 m.; p.W. 0.116 m.; p.Th. 0.025 m.

H. of letters 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0096 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0094 m.

Agora Museum Inv. No. I 4569

ca. a. 338–326 a.

COLUMN I

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25)

[.³.]ϐ [.²⁰.]
[.².]αρ: | [.¹⁸.]-
τος Ἐτεα [.¹⁷.]

¹ For the first two articles in this series, see M. B. Walbank, "Leases of Sacred Properties in Attica, Part I," *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 100–135, and "Leases of Sacred Properties in Attica, Part II," *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 177–199. Abbreviations employed here are those listed in footnote 1 of Part I (p. 100).

² I am grateful to Professor H. A. Thompson, Director Emeritus of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and to Professor B. D. Meritt for assigning these fragments, among others, to me for study and publication. As ever, I acknowledge the assistance, advice, and encouragement afforded to me by Dr. D. M. Lewis. I am grateful, too, to Dr. M. K. Langdon for his comments and help.

Παρὰ ΘΑΛΛΑ[.¹⁷.]-
 5 δε, μισθω: Ι[.¹⁵.]
 ωνος Μυρρι[νο: . . .⁶. . . : ἐγγυ:]
 Με[ι]δ[ι]ας [. . .]υδ[.¹⁴.]
 [.]ΟΕΠΕΛΕΙ[.]ΑΣ [.¹⁴.]
 10 Φαληροῖ α[.¹⁵. Μ]-
 ύος Φαλ[η:¹⁶.]
 [.]ηυ[.²¹.]

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

This fragment preserves part of the first column of leases. Because of the similarity of its letter forms to those of Stelai 2 and 3, rather than to those of Stele 1, I have dated it to about the same time as Stelai 2 and 3. The marble type, however, is slightly different from that of Stele 3, so that I consider it to derive from a different stele. The line length I have assumed to be the same as that of Stelai 2 and 3, and the mason has followed the same practice here as is followed in Stelai 2 and 3, of beginning the first line of each lease one letter to the left of the remaining lines. Parts of three leases are preserved.

Column I

Line 2: A vertical stroke is preserved, rather to the left of center, so that this letter will not be iota but some such letter as gamma or pi: there does not seem to be any trace of a horizontal, either at the bottom or at the middle of the stoichos, so that letters such as beta, epsilon, and eta may be eliminated. In fact, the colon before this letter stroke indicates that we have here the beginning of a rent rubric. Thus, some multiple of five must be restored, probably 50 or 500. Room must be left in this line also for the restoration [: ἐγγυ:].

Line 3: The left foot of alpha survives at the right edge. This will be part of a patronymic, rather than of a demotic: the name might be either Ἐτεῖ[ρχου] or Ἐτεῖ[νδρου]. After the demotic there will probably be an unscripted space, as happens in Stele 2 in particular.

Line 4: What word is concealed by the letters ΘΑΛΛΑ, I do not know; one might restore παρὰ θάλα[μον], or παρὰ θάλα[τταν], but the absence of an article in each case is disturbing. Another possibility is the adjective παραθαλά[ττιος], its gender depending upon the noun that it qualifies. That this may be the best solution is suggested by the topographical reference in line 9, part of the following lease: quite clearly, the third lease recorded upon this stone is situated in Phaleron, a deme lying beside the sea. Of course, it cannot be stated definitely that the leases upon this stone are related to each other geographically, but the absence in the second lease of any ownership formula suggests that it and the first lease are related by owner. There is no good reason, either, for restoring an ownership formula in line 8 at the beginning of the third lease. Thus, these three leases are likely to represent the property of a single deity, very likely all in the same geographical area.

Line 7: The upper horizontal of epsilon is partly preserved. The first letter of the patronymic will be any of alpha, epsilon, kappa, lambda, or tau.

Line 8: The surface of the stone has perished to the left of the first visible letter, which appears to be omicron; a new lease rubric should begin here, however. The feet of a triangular letter survive after the second epsilon of this line. At the right edge the apex of a triangular letter is preserved, followed by the upper diagonal of sigma.

Line 9: The right foot of lambda, the top of iota, and the apex of alpha survive. The locative $\Phi\alpha\lambda\eta\rho\acute{o}\iota$ is virtually certain here, providing the geographical context of this lease, as, probably, of the other two leases recorded upon this stone: [$\mu\iota\sigma\theta\omega$:] should therefore be restored toward the end of this line, leaving sufficient space, however, for the name and the beginning of the patronymic of the renter. It is possible, in fact, that the apparent alpha at the right edge is a mu, although its apex seems to be central, rather than to left of center in the stoichos.

Line 10: Although it is quite possible that the first three letters in this line are the end of a name in the nominative, and that the letters $\Phi\Lambda\Lambda$ which follow them are the beginning of a patronymic, the existence of *PA* 10514, Μῦς Φαληρεύς , in the later 4th century, that is, at the approximate date of this inscription, makes the restoration [$\text{M}|\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\text{ος Φαλ}[\eta<\rho\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma>]$] highly attractive, indeed preferable to any other.

Line 11: The tops of these letters are preserved.

NOMINA SACRA AND TOPOGRAPHY

No divine names are preserved on this fragment. Indeed, there is no clear trace of an ownership formula anywhere on the stone, and it is for this reason that I think it likely that all three properties have the same, unknown owner. The only clue is provided by the locative in line 9: we should seek a deity whose shrine lies in Phaleron or who owns property there. Phaleron held sanctuaries of several deities: Athena Skiras and Zeus,³ Demeter,⁴ Apollo Delios,⁵ as well as the putative tomb of Mousaios,⁶ the altars of the Agnostoi Theoi and of the Sons of Theseus,⁷ the cult of the Hero Phaleros,⁸ and the herōa of Nausitheos and Phaiax.⁹ It is tempting, however, to see in these leases the renewal of those of *Stele 1*, *Column III e*, and to attribute all these properties to the Goddess Artemis [*Brauronia?*].

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Line 2: [-----]αρ. A renter. The demotic may be either [$\text{Ἰκ}|\text{αρ}<\text{ιεύς}>$] or [$\text{Χολ}|\text{αρ}<\text{γεύς}>$], or, less likely, [$\text{Ἀχ}|\text{αρ}<\text{νεύς}>$] or [$\text{Φρε}|\acute{\alpha}\rho<\text{ριος}>$].¹⁰

Line 3: [---]τος Ἐτεά[υδρου] (or Ἐτεά[ρχου]). The guarantor of a lease. If the patronymic is Ἐτεά[υδρου], the guarantor may be a member of the same family as *PA* 15502, $\text{Χαρμαντίδης Χαιρεστράτου Παιανιεύς}$: the names Chairestratos, Charmantides, and

³ Pausanias, 1.1.4 (associated with the Hero Skiros? See also Pausanias, 1.36.4).

⁴ Pausanias, x.35.2. In the same passage Pausanias also mentions a temple of Hera ἐπὶ ὁδῷ τῇ Φαληρικῇ; both were damaged by the Persians and still half burned in Pausanias' time, and it is not clear whether their cults persisted through the Classical era.

⁵ *IG* I², 310 (= I³, 383 C), lines 218–219.

⁶ Diogenes Laertius, 1.3.

⁷ Pausanias, 1.1.4.

⁸ Pausanias, 1.1.4.

⁹ Plutarch, *Theseus* 17 (= Philochoros, *FrGH* I, fr. 391).

¹⁰ The usual abbreviations for Ikarieus and Cholargeus are, respectively, Ἰκαρ (*IG* II², 1951, line 195) and Χολαρ (*Stele 1*, *Column II e*, line 4, for instance). Acharneus and Phrearrhios each have several abbreviations: Ἀχαρν (*Stele 1*, *Column II f*, line 3; perhaps also, Ἀχα: see *Stele 2 A*, *Column II b*, line 39) and Ἀχαρ (*IG* II², 1629, line 943) for Ἀχαρνεύς; Φρεαρ (*IG* II², 1631, lines 576–577) and Φρεαρρι (*IG* II², 1618, line a 25) for Φρεάρριος. Thus, I believe, the abbreviation employed here makes either Ikarieus or Cholargeus the more likely.

Eteandros occur in this family during the 4th century B.C.¹¹ The guarantor might, in fact, be [Χαιρέστρα]τος, but, if this be the case, he is an unknown member of this family. The name Etearchos, however, also occurs during the 4th century, in the deme Agryle,¹² so that it is impossible to suggest that either name, Eteandros or Etearchos, is the more likely.

Lines 5–6: [I.¹⁵]ωνος Μυρρι[νο<ύσιος>], a renter. The patronymic might be [Μεῖδ]ωνος, in which case the renter could be the son of a councillor of Pandionis for 336/5.¹³ Another possible restoration of the patronymic is [Λάμπ]ωνος, in which case the renter could be a descendant of [---]ος Λάνπωνος (Μυρρινούσιος), a councillor of Pandionis ca. 390–375 B.C.¹⁴

Line 7: Με[ι]δ[ί]ας [.]υδ[-----ca. 14-----], the guarantor of a lease.¹⁵ It is tempting to see in this guarantor a relative of the renter of line 5: in such a case, the patronymic of line 5 would be restored as [Μεῖδ]ωνος.

Line 10: [----- Μ]ύος Φαλ[η<ρεύς>], a renter. His father is almost certainly PA 10514, a contractor of public works at Eleusis in 327/6.¹⁶

STELE 5. PROPERTIES LEASED IN BEHALF OF UNKNOWN DEITIES

(Pl. 48:b)

THE TEXT

A fragment of bluish white, micaceous Pentelic marble, found on May 8, 1934 in a Byzantine context at Agora Grid Location M 23. The smooth-dressed top is preserved, now heavily weathered. Parts of two columns of inscription are preserved, Column II slightly lower than Column I: the intercolumnar space is 0.003 m.

P.H. 0.122 m.; p.W. 0.106 m.; p.Th. 0.032 m.

H. of letters 0.005 m.; stochedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.0090 × 0.0090 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 1977

ca. a. 338–326 a.

COLUMN I	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24? (25)	COLUMN II	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24? (25)
[. ²¹]	μετο	᾿Αγρ[. ²²]-	
[. ¹⁷]	τεὺς ᾿Ετ[.]	υλ[. ²²]	
[. ¹⁶]	ἐ]γγυη υυυ	ἐγ[γυη: ¹⁸]-	

¹¹ See also *APF*, pp. 573–574.

¹² *PA* 5214: late 4th century B.C.

¹³ *Agora* XV, no. 42, line 175: this man is probably Μεῖδων ᾿Επιτέλους Μυρρινούσιος.

¹⁴ *Agora* XV, no. 10, line 27.

¹⁵ The patronymic could be any one of [E]ῦδ[ημίδης], [E]ῦδ[ημος], [K]υδ[εῖδης], [K]υδ[ήνωρ], [K]υδ[ίας], [K]υδ[ικλής], [K]υδ[ίμαχος], [K]ῦδ[ίμος], [K]ῦδ[ίπιπος], [Λ]ῦδ[ος] or [T]υδ[εύς]. All these names are attested at Athens in and around the 4th century B.C.

¹⁶ *IG* II², 1673, line 6.

	[..... ¹⁵ Φα]ληρεῖς υ	ἐ[..... ²³]-
5	[..... ¹⁸]ται χησ[.]	Φ[..... ²⁴]
	[..... ¹⁷]αγγέλου	-----
	[..... ¹⁷]ίδης υυυ	
	[..... ¹⁷]ος υυυυ	
	[..... ¹⁷]οπω[.]ιον υ	
10	[..... ¹⁷]τος υυυυ	
	[..... ¹⁷]νους [. ³ .]	

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

The peculiar terminology, and, in particular, the mason's habit of beginning the first line of each entry one space to the left, suggests that here, too, we may have a series of leases of sacred properties, rather than a *poletai* record. It is, however, quite unlike any other fragment of this series so far discussed in that the mason leaves unscribed spaces, not merely at the end of each completed lease but also at the ends of lines within each record. This may be merely idiosyncratic, or it may be that the drafter of this text preferred to observe syllabic divisions throughout.

Column I

Line 1: The right foot and apex of mu survive, a little too far to the right, I believe, to be a lambda.

Line 11: If syllabic division is being observed here, the three spaces to right of sigma will have been unscribed.

Column II

Line 1: Only the bottom of a left vertical survives in the third stoichos: thus, gamma is as valid a reading as rho. One might restore an ownership rubric here, such as Ἄγρ[οτέρας], but I doubt whether Artemis Agrotera would have been referred to in such a document as this by her cult name alone.¹⁷ Thus, it is probably better to read this as part of a property description, restoring, perhaps, the word ἄγρ[ός] (or ἄγρ[οί]), meaning "tilled land" or "field", or else some form of the adjective ἄγριος.¹⁸

Line 5: The upper left curve of phi is preserved, somewhat smaller in diameter than is the curve of omicron; part of the top of the vertical of phi may also be preserved on the break.

NOMINA SACRA AND TOPOGRAPHY

So little is preserved that, apart from my conjecture regarding line 1 of Column II, no useful discussion of the topography or the owners of these properties can be held. In Column I it appears that one guarantor may be a demesman of Phaleron: this, however, is not a secure indicator of topography, in the absence of other, corroboratory evidence.

¹⁷ See, for instance, Stele 1, Columns II and III.

¹⁸ *LSJ*², s.v. ἄγρός, ἄγριος. D. M. Lewis (*per ep.*) prefers the locative Ἄγρ[υληῆσι].

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Here, too, very little useful information can be attempted.

Column I

Line 2: [---]τῆς ἑτ[-----], the renter of a property. There are several names beginning ἑτ[---], found in Athens during the 4th century:¹⁹ thus, there is little point in attempting to identify this man and his father.

Line 4: [.!5. Φα]ληρέως, the guarantor of a lease. I doubt whether any attempt should be made to link this guarantor with the renter of Stele 4, lines 9–10.

Line 6: [-----]αγγέλου [---], the renter of a property. Angelos might be a name in its own right (although not, so far, attested at Athens), but it is much more likely that we have here a compound name, such as Euangelos.²⁰ No very obvious candidate comes to mind, however, for the father of the renter.

Lines 7–8: [---]ίδης [.!8.]ος, the guarantor of a lease. It is probable that these lines contain the name, patronymic, and demotic of one individual only. With short names, however, it might be possible to restore the names of two guarantors (in which case, the rent would be in excess of 600 dr.), with the second name in line 8. If this were so, [---]ίδης would be a demotic, not a name.

Line 10: [----]τος, probably the renter of a property.

Line 11: [----]νου, probably a guarantor of a lease.

The mason's habit of leaving empty spaces after words at the ends of lines makes it particularly difficult to decide whether in lines 10 and 11 we have parts of names, of patronymics, or of demotics. No useful purpose is served, however, in attempting to identify these names, nor those of Column II.

The shortness of the lease rubric in line 1 of Column I suggests that this may be the continuation of a series, either from another column upon the same face of the stele, or, perhaps more likely, from the lost (obverse?) face of the stele.²¹ If the first word of Column II is part of a property description, rather than of an ownership formula, Column II will continue the listing of properties from the bottom of Column I, where the owner of these properties would have been named (unless, of course, all the properties listed upon this stele have the same owner, in which case, the name of this owner might have appeared in a heading on the obverse face, now lost).²²

¹⁹ See *PA* 5210–5219: ἑτέανδρος, ἑτέαρχος, ἑτεοκλήης, and ἑτεοχάρης, all attested in the 4th century B.C. ἑταιρίων should probably be discounted, since this name is not found at Athens before the 1st century B.C.

²⁰ Εὐάγγελος (*PA* 5220–5229), Θεάγγελος (*PA* 6599–6607), and Πυθάγγελος (*PA* 12335–12336) all occur during the 4th century, as well as during other centuries.

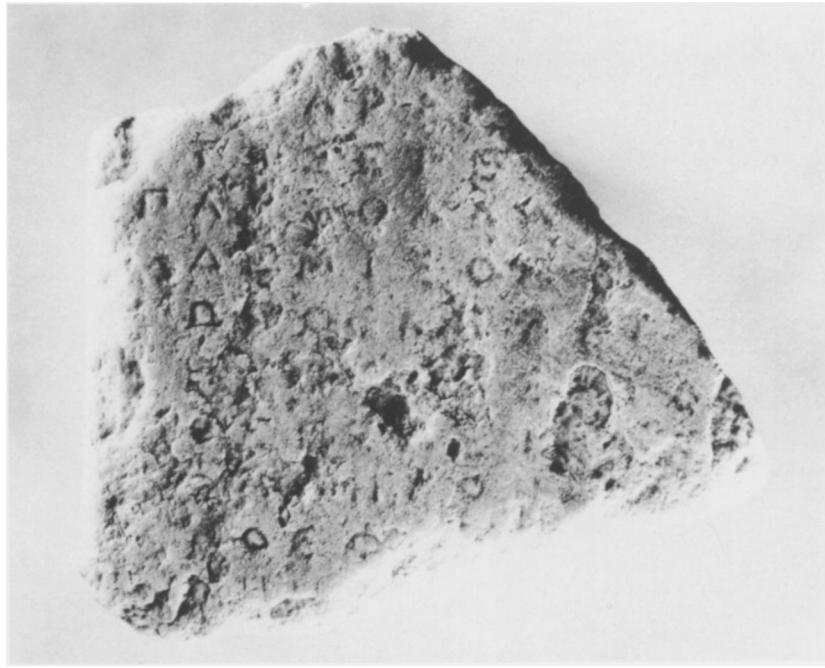
²¹ For this practice, see, for instance, Stele 2.

²² One example, of course, is Stele 2, if the heading of Face A, line 1, is, indeed, an ownership formula. Another example is *IG* II², 2493, line 2: this, together with new fragments recently discussed by M. H. Jameson ("The Leasing of Land at Rhamnous," *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX, *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography*, Princeton 1982, pp. 66–74), is a series of regulations for a lease, headed by an ownership formula (line 2) in which the goddess whose property is to be leased is named.

The five or more stelai whose texts I have discussed in Parts I, II, and III of this series seem to form a coherent system of leases of sacred properties. The leasing agent is the State itself, and I believe that this system was subject to decennial revision(s). I shall discuss the leases as a whole, together with their historical and social significance, in Part IV of this series of articles.

MICHAEL B. WALBANK

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Department of Classics
2500 University Drive N.W.
Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4
Canada



a. Stele 4: I 4569



b. Stele 5: I 1977