

FIFTH-CENTURY HOROI ON AIGINA

A REEVALUATION

ABSTRACT

In this article, the author reexamines the 14 known horos inscriptions from Aigina in connection with the discovery of four new horoi, published here for the first time. These additional horoi lend new support to the arguments—debated by many scholars—for the date (431–404 B.C.), occasion (Athenian occupation of Aigina during the Peloponnesian War), authorship (Athenian), and purpose (markers of agricultural estates) of the Aiginetan horoi. The article presents a fresh view of Athenian motivations for the introduction of agricultural *temene* dedicated to the gods on Aigina and in other conquered territories during the Athenian Empire.

INTRODUCTION

Fourteen ancient boundary inscriptions, each including the word ὄρος (horos), are currently registered in the epigraphic corpora as having been found at various locations on the island of Aigina (Fig. 1, Table 1).¹ These horoi (1–14) have never been discussed as a group.² The date and authorship of these inscriptions, as well as their meaning and purpose, are a matter of debate.³ Beyond dispute are the horoi's Attic dialect and script,⁴ and their Aiginetan provenance. In this intriguing confluence of facts lies

1. A detailed discussion of the findspots of the horoi is presented below.

I would like to thank Merle Langdon, Robert Parker, Molly Richardson, Ron Stroud, and Thomas Figueira, as well as the anonymous reviewers of *Hesperia*, for their helpful feedback at different stages in the preparation of this article. Thanks are also due to the former director of the 2nd Ephorate (now the 29th Ephorate) of Classical Antiquities, George Steinhauer, for granting me permission to carry out

this work, and to the epimelete of Aigina, Helen Papastavrou, for her assistance. All illustrations and translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

2. Horoi 2, 12, and 13 are not included in *IG IV*; Barron (1983) did not discuss 1 (mistaking it for 2), 13, or 14; the editors of *IG I³* considered 1 and 2 to possibly be the same horos (see comment on 1481), and missed 13 and 14. Subsequently, most scholars relied on Barron 1983 and *IG I³* and were not aware of omissions; Smarczyk

(1990) included 13, but not 1 and 14, in his study.

3. Furtwängler 1906, vol. 1, p. 6; *IG IV* 29–38; Welter 1954, col. 35; Barron 1983; Mattingly 1996, p. 7; Smarczyk 1990, pp. 109–129; Figueira 1991, pp. 115–120; Hornblower 1992, p. 183; Parker 1996, pp. 144–145; Osborne 2000, p. 110; Mylonopoulos 2003, pp. 49–52.

4. *IG IV*, p. 10; Barron 1983, p. 10; *IG I³* 1481–1490.

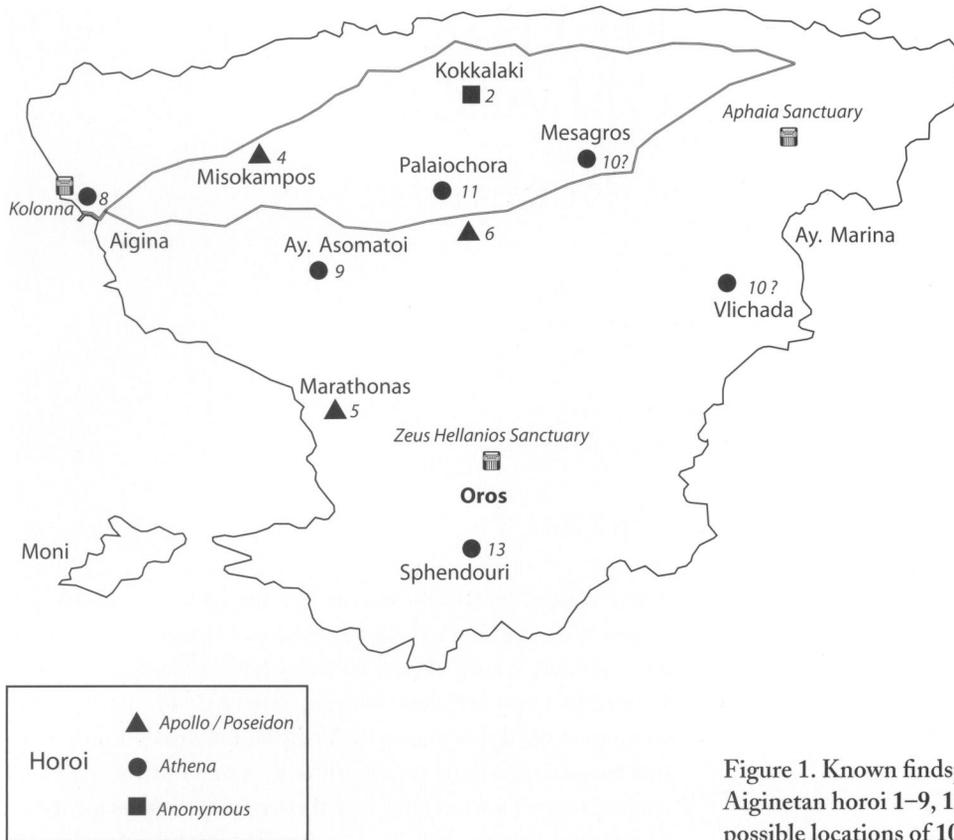


Figure 1. Known findspots of Aiginetan horoi 1–9, 12, and 13, and possible locations of 10. H. Walda

the main interest of the Aiginetan horoi for historians of ancient Greece. The present reevaluation is called for by recent developments in the field of 5th-century Attic epigraphy and new epigraphic and archaeological findings on Aigina, including four newly discovered horoi, 15–18 (Table 1). Study of these new examples supports the original interpretation of the Aiginetan horoi proposed by Adolf Furtwängler in 1906, namely, that the horoi were installed by Athenians during their occupation of the island in 431–404 B.C. to mark the bounds of newly created agricultural *temene*. The present study also offers a new perspective on Athenian motivations for introducing *temene* on Aigina, as well as in other foreign territories, during the Athenian Empire.

Athenian horoi used to mark the bounds of *temene* have been identified in several other locations besides Aigina,⁵ but Aigina's case is of special historical interest. To appreciate the depth of intrigue presented by Attic boundary markers on Aigina, one must recall the history of relations between the two states. During the Archaic and Classical periods, Athens and Aigina were at times rivals, and at times outright enemies on the economic, political, and ideological fronts: they represented different ethnic identities (Ionic and Doric, respectively) and different political systems (democracy and oligarchy), and they competed for marine trading routes, naval power, and influence in the Panhellenic arena.⁶ The rivalry between the two states was particularly acute due to their geographic position: as neighbors in the Saronic Gulf, they had to share navigational space. In this regard, Aigina's advantageous position—in the middle of the Saronic Gulf opposite Piraeus, the main harbor of Athens—enabled the Aiginetans to obstruct the flow

5. *IG I³* 1491–1499, and 1502, discussed below.

6. For bibliography on relations between Athens and Aigina, see Kehne 1998, pp. 48–49; and Figueira 1981, 1991, 1993, with references to earlier bibliography, to which should be added De Ste. Croix 2004 (although written in 1965 or 1966, this paper was published only in 2004); Jennings 1988.

TABLE 1. CATALOGUE OF AIGINETAN HOROI

<i>Horos</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>IG IV</i> ²	<i>IG I</i> ³	<i>Barron 1983</i>	<i>IG IV</i>
1	ἄρορος τεμένοος	802	—	—	37
2	ἄρορος τεμένοος	803	1481	1	—
3	ἄρορος τεμένο[ς]	804	1482	2	38
4	ἄρορος τεμένοος Ἀπόλλων- [ο]ς Ποσει- δῶνος	798	1483	4	33
5	ἄρορος τεμένοος Ἀπόλλωνος Ποσειδῶνος	799	1484	3	34
6	ἄρορος τεμένο[ς] Ἀπόλλων- [ο]ς Ποσει- δῶνος	800	1485	5	35
7	[ἄρορος τεμένοος] Ἀπόλλ[ων]- [ο]ς Ποσει- δῶνος	801	1485 <i>bis</i>	6	36
8	ἄρορος τεμένοος Ἀθναίαις	792	1486	7	29
9	ἄρορος τεμένοος Ἀθναίαις	793	1487	10	30
10	ἄρορος τεμένοος Ἀθναίαις	794	1488	11	31
11	ἄρορο[ς] τεμένοος Ἀθναίαις	796	1489	8	32
12	ἄρορος τεμένοος Ἀθναίαις	797	1490	9	—
13	[ἄ]ρορος τεμένοος Ἀθναίαις	795	—	—	—
14	ῶρορος	1074	—	—	1592
15	ῶρορος				
16	ῶρορος				
17	ῶρορος				
18	ῶρορος				

The texts of horoi 1–14 are cited from *IG IV*² (2007). For ease of reference, the horos numbers in *IG I*³ (fasc. 2, 1994), Barron 1983, and *IG IV* (1902) are also supplied.

of traffic to Athens at will, leading the Athenians to regard the island as “an eyesore of Piraeus.”⁷ This situation became increasingly intolerable for the Athenians as they came to rely more and more, especially in the course of the 5th century B.C., on the supply of grain and other necessities of life from overseas.⁸ Given the persistent animosity between the two states, the presence on Aigina of Attic horoi, presumptive signs of land ownership, raises two questions: when and how could the Athenians have come to manage properties in the territory of their bitter enemy?

The only known time when the Athenians had a free hand in the management of Aiginetan territorial affairs was the period of the Peloponnesian War. According to Thucydides (2.27), the Aiginetan population was removed from Aigina in the summer of 431, and Athenian settlers were sent in their place shortly afterward (οὐ πολλῶ).⁹ The first scholars to publish the horoi connected their presence on Aigina with the activities of Athenian settlers during the occupation of the island in 431–404 B.C.¹⁰ This interpretation prevailed until 1983, when it was challenged on epigraphic grounds by John Barron, who argued for the need to move the dates of the inscriptions back to the 450s because some Aiginetan horoi use three-barred sigmas and tailed rhos.¹¹ This redating of the Aiginetan horoi on epigraphic grounds prompted the invention of questionable scenarios to explain Athenian interference in Aiginetan territorial affairs prior to the arrival of Athenian settlers on the island.¹² The epigraphic principles that Barron used to support his dating of the Aiginetan horoi have since been challenged, and many epigraphists now agree that they cannot be sustained.¹³ The date of the Aiginetan horoi and the related questions concerning the horoi’s purpose and meaning are therefore due for reexamination.

7. A famous remark attributed to Perikles (Plut. *Per.* 8.7), and alternatively to Demades (Ath. 3.99d): τὸ τὴν Αἴγινα ὡς λήμην τοῦ Πειραιέως ἀφελεῖν κελεύσαι. On this phrase, see further Amit 1973, p. 36. On Periklean actions against Aigina, see Figueira 1991, pp. 111–113.

8. Hopper (1979, pp. 71–92, esp. p. 73 with reference to Hdt. 7.147) suggests that Aigina was in control of trade from the Pontus after 494/3 B.C.

9. Thuc. 2.27: Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῶ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπικαλέσαντες οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι. καὶ τὴν Αἴγινα ἀσφαλέστερον αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκουσ ἔχειν. καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς οἰκήτορας. “During the summer the Athenians also expelled the Aiginetans with their wives and children from Aigina, on the ground of their having been the chief agents in bringing the

war upon them. Besides, Aigina lies so near the Peloponnese, that it seemed safer to send colonists of their own to hold it, and shortly afterwards the settlers were sent out” (trans. R. Crawley, London 1993).

10. This was the original explanation offered by Furtwängler (1906, vol. 1, p. 6) and *IG IV* 29–39; followed by Welter (1954, col. 35) and Mattingly (1996, p. 7), and restated by Smarczyk (1990, pp. 118–119).

11. In spite of the reservations expressed by Mattingly (1996, pp. 6–7; the relevant chapter was originally published in 1961) on the soundness of using letter forms as a sure indication of dates, Barron (1983) followed the dating principles for the 5th-century Attic inscriptions outlined in Meiggs 1966 and Walbank 1978, the so-called orthodox view that holds that the three-barred sigma and the tailed rho disappeared from the securely dated Attic public inscriptions by 446/5 and 438/7 B.C., respectively. Figueira (1991,

pp. 115–120) and Amit (1973, pp. 47–48) accepted Barron’s dating.

12. Amit 1973, p. 48; Barron 1983; Figueira 1991, pp. 115–120; 1998, p. 437.

13. On the use of the three-barred sigma in late-5th-century Attic inscriptions, see Chambers, Gallucci, and Spanos 1990; Chambers 1992–1993, 1993, 1994; Figueira 1998, p. 442, n. 41; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000; Matthaiou 2004; Stroud 2006, pp. 34–35. For criticism of Chambers’s dating of *IG I³* 11, the so-called Egesta Decree, to 418/7 B.C., see Henry 1992, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2001; Lewis 1993. Certainly, Figueira’s (1998, pp. 431–465) warning against an automatic downdating to the 420s or 410s of all the inscriptions that show a three-barred sigma is well taken: each epigraphic text in question needs to be assessed individually. On the unreliability of dating inscriptions on the basis of letter forms alone, see Mattingly 1996 and 1999, supported by Vickers 1996; Kallet 1997; Trevett 1999.

AIGINETAN HOROI 1–14

Of the 14 Aiginetan horoi currently registered in the epigraphic corpora, 12 (1–12) are inscriptions on marble stelae, and two (13, 14) are rupestral. Marble is not found on Aigina and was imported from elsewhere. Different kinds of marble were used for horoi 1–12. The marble of some horoi has been identified as of “island” origin, while that used for the others is described in *IG IV*² only with respect to color.¹⁴ The variety of marbles used for the horoi may be explained by the supposition that their makers employed whatever samples of marble they could find in the local masons’ shops on Aigina.¹⁵

As illustrated in Table 2, the Aiginetan horoi display a wide variety of forms for many letters, and especially for the letters sigma and rho.¹⁶ Barron used the differences in letter forms to place the Aiginetan horoi in a hypothetical chronological sequence, ranging from the 450s to the 440s B.C.: 2–7, ca. 455; 8, 11–12, either ca. 455 or ca. 445; and 9–10, ca. 445. Yet Barron’s diagnostic letters, the three-barred sigma and the tailed rho, which appear in some Aiginetan horoi, cannot serve as secure indicators of *post quem non* dates—446/5 B.C. and 438/7 B.C., respectively.¹⁷ The form of rho or sigma cannot be a legitimate criterion for dating any Aiginetan horos more precisely than ca. 450–410. Therefore, we must abandon not only the specific dating, but also the chronological sequence proposed by Barron for the inscribing of the Aiginetan horoi; while his chronology is theoretically possible, it cannot be defended on the basis of letter forms. One of the implications of the recent revision of dating principles for Attic epigraphy of the 5th century B.C. is that instead of an abrupt shift from the use of one type of letter form to another (e.g., three-barred to four-barred sigma, tailed to untailed rho) in the period between 445 and 439 B.C., we should envision the simultaneous use of alternative forms in the entire period between ca. 445 and ca. 403 B.C., even in the Athenian state inscriptions.¹⁸ If a date after 431 is epigraphically possible for the Aiginetan horoi, then the most economical explanation for the origin of the horoi—namely, the Athenian occupation of the island—needs to be considered and evaluated anew.

Besides the variations in the Attic forms of certain letters that appear on horoi 1–12, two other epigraphic issues must be addressed. The first is the use of Ionic letters, in particular on 4–6, and their dating. The second is the dual inscription of horoi 4–6: the words *horos temenos* were

14. Horoi made of island marble: 2–5, 8–10; horoi made of white marble: 6, 11; horoi made of blue marble: 1, 12.

15. Thus, the origin of the marble used for the Aiginetan horoi need not indicate the origin of the stoneworkers.

16. An autopsy was not possible for all of the horoi: 1 is not visible at present because of the way it is built into a modern structure (see *IG IV*² 802); 6 and 7 are lost; and the rupestral 13 and 14 could not be located because of

insufficient detail in the description of their provenance.

17. For the debate over dating, see the bibliography in n. 13 and the following recent treatments of key inscriptions: for Athens and the Egesta Decree, see Matthaïou 2004; for the Standards Decree, see Hatzopoulos 2000–2003 and Figueira 1998, pp. 442–448. In a recent study of patrons of Athenian votive monuments, Keesling (2005, p. 412 with table 1) compared

the use of four-barred sigma in Ionic, Attic, and mixed Attic-Ionic dedications and concluded that before 450 B.C., “for both the letter cutters of dedicatory inscriptions and the patrons of dedications, the use of four-barred sigma was not considered inconsistent with the native Attic alphabet.”

18. Cf. Tsigirioti-Drakotou 2000, p. 98; and see n. 45, below (on the date and contents of the decree of Archinos), and Keesling 2005, p. 411, n. 63.

TABLE 2. LETTER FORMS OF THE AIGINETAN HOROI

Letter	2	3	4.1-2	4.3-5	5.1-2	5.3-4	8	9	10	11	12	15	16	17	18
H (aspirate)	H	H	H		H		?	H	H	H	?				
Omicron	⁵⁰ ⊙	¹⁰⁰ ⊙	¹⁰⁰ ⊙		⁷⁵ ⊙		¹⁰⁰ ⊙	⁵⁰ ⊙	⁵⁰ ⊙	⁵⁰ ⊙	⁷⁵ ⊙	⁷⁵ ⊙	⁵⁰ ⊙	⁵⁰ ⊙	⁵⁰ ⊙
Rho	Ɑ	Ɑ	Ɑ		Ɑ		Ɑ	Ɑ	Ɑ	Ɑ	—	Ɑ	Ɑ	Ɑ	Ɑ
Sigma	Σ	Σ	Σ		Σ		Σ	Σ	Σ	—	—	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ
Epsilon	Ε	Ε	Ε		Ε		Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε				
Mu	Μ	Μ	Μ		Μ		Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ				
Nu	Ν	Ν	Ν		Ν		Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν				

NAMES OF DEITIES

Alpha				Α		Α	Α	Α	Α	Α	—				
Pi				Π		Π									
Omega				Ω		Ω									
Nu				Ν		Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν				
Sigma				Σ		Σ	—	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ				
Epsilon				Ε		Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε				
Theta							¹⁰⁰ ⊙	⁵⁰ ⊙	⁵⁰ ⊙	⁵⁰ ⊙	⁷⁵ ⊙				

Only letters with characteristic forms are included here. Delta, lambda, and tau are omitted because they show no variation.

Conventions: Continuous lines show strokes preserved on the stones and reflect the proportions of a letter in relation to other letters in the same inscription. Dotted lines show restorations of letters that are certain. A dash indicates the place where a letter was originally inscribed, but is not visible now due to damage or erosion. Omicron and theta: numbers in the upper left corner indicate the size of the letter in percentage points relative to other letters in the same inscription; e.g., on horos 2, the omicron is half the size of the other letters.

inscribed earlier and in Attic script, while the names of deities (Apollo/Poseidon) were inscribed subsequently using some Ionic letters, for example, omega.¹⁹ It must be noted, however, that in spite of the use of Ionic letters, which Barron explains as the work of an Ionian cutter, the dialect remains Attic, as Barron also observes: Ποσειδῶνος appears instead of the uncontracted Ποσειδέωνος.²⁰ Smarczyk allowed a date after 431 B.C. as part of the Athenian trend toward using the Ionic alphabet in the late 5th century.²¹ Figueira postulated the presence of Ionian residents on Aigina and their participation in the dedication of temene to Apollo/Poseidon there.²²

We can, however, explain the presence of Ionic features in the inscriptions written in Attic dialect without postulating that Ionians formed a distinct group with a religious interest in allotting temene to Apollo/Poseidon on Aigina. In studying inscribed dedications from the Athenian Acropolis, Keesling observed that by ca. 450 B.C., there are examples of inscriptions executed by Ionian letter cutters but commissioned by Athenian patrons, in which we can see “an attempt by the craftsmen who carved the inscriptions to mediate between their own training in Ionic spelling and the wishes of Athenian dedicators. Instances of corrections from Ionic into Attic spelling support this interpretation.”²³ The circumstances of the production of horoi 4–6 on Aigina after 431 may have been similar: the initial carving (lines 1–2) may have been done by an Athenian cutter, and at a later stage, when the names of the deities were added, an Ionian letter cutter at hand was called upon to do the cutting for an Athenian patron and, while following the Athenian spelling, he lapsed into the use of the Ionic alphabet. Ionian masons or letter cutters may have come from Athens along with the Athenian settlers, or perhaps they were residents of Aigina who had been allowed to remain after the expulsion of the Aiginetans in 431. On the basis of the observations presented above, we must conclude that horoi 1–12 cannot be dated any more precisely on the

19. The addition, by different hands, of names of deities to the original words *horos temenos* can be verified only for 4 and 5, as 6 and 7 are lost. Not only the names of the two deities on 4 and 5 (the execution of omegas is notable: leaning to the right on 4 and to the left on 5), but each of the two original lines (*horos temenos*) as well were cut by different hands. Thus, at least four individuals would have worked on the inscriptions of 4 and 5. At the same time, the hand that inscribed the first two lines of 4 (a horos of Apollo/Poseidon) is very similar to the hand that inscribed the anonymous 3. This similarity led Barron (1983, p. 10) to hypothesize that the earlier precinct of Apollo/Poseidon was marked by anonymous horoi, and the addition of deities’

names to these horoi was necessitated by the later introduction of a cultic precinct of Athena nearby. That hypothesis does not explain, however, the uncanny similarity between the hands that inscribed Athena’s horoi 9 and 11 and the one that cut an anonymous horos 2. If we understand temene as agricultural estates, both the diversity of hands at work and the addition of gods’ names to anonymous horoi can be attributed to administrative and accounting reasons: the original allocation of agricultural temene to the gods may have in some cases left the identity of the divine owners of estates unspecified, but a clarification could have become necessary later when it came to collecting the rent and accounting for the leases of properties. The anon-

ymous and named horoi could also be contemporaneous if the same agricultural estate was demarcated by some horoi bearing the full formula, and others the abbreviated formula.

20. Barron (1983, pp. 4–5) found the forms of sigma, nu, alpha, and omicron on 5 to be suspiciously un-Attic, while the presence of omega is a positively Ionic feature. He thus concluded that lines 3–4 of 5 “should be regarded as Ionian work of this [ca. 450 B.C.] period.”

21. Smarczyk 1990, pp. 112–113. Barron (1983, p. 5) pointed out that the shape of omega was typical of the mid-5th century B.C. See also n. 17, above.

22. Figueira 1991, pp. 115–120; 1998, p. 437.

23. Keesling 2005, p. 413.

basis of letter forms (both Attic and Ionic) than to a range between ca. 450 and 403 B.C.²⁴

Rupestral horos 13, marking a temenos of Athena, was seen by Furtwängler near the church of Ayios Ioannis in the village of Sphendouri, in the south of Aigina (see Fig. 1).²⁵ Later, Hermann Thiersch observed the inscription in situ, describing it as written on a large flat slab of trachyte,²⁶ and he gave a more precise description of its location.²⁷ The text, as provided by Thiersch, is identical to that of 8–10. My attempts to rediscover this rupestral inscription were not successful, and since no photograph survives, an evaluation of its letter forms was not possible; however, the reported location (Sphendouri) of 13 provides a link between 1–12, 14, and the recently discovered rupestral horoi 15–18, which are presented below.

Horos 14, a rupestral inscription from the area of the Oros, was listed in *IG IV* among the *dubitanda*,²⁸ because it was suspected of being a modern graffito inscribed for the sake of a linguistic joke.²⁹ But the discovery of 15–18 in the same area no longer warrants such skepticism. *IG IV* gives the text of 14 as ΟΡΟΣ, and its location as “to the north of the mountain called Oros, close to the village Πρεντούρι.”³⁰ Since in the early 20th century there was not a village of this name, or indeed any village at all, on the northern slope of the Oros, while there was and is a village of Sphendouri to the south, it is clear that a mistake has been made in the description of the horos’s location. Horos 14 must have been in the vicinity of, or perhaps at least in sight of, the village of Sphendouri, and therefore belongs with the series of horoi 15–18 also found in that area.³¹

24. The earliest use of a four-barred sigma in a securely dated Attic inscription is attested in 445 B.C. (Walbank 1978, pp. 39–41), but Keesling (2005, p. 412, table 1) lists earlier cases on dedications from Athens. The latest use of a three-barred sigma is less certain: suggested dates are 418/7 (Chambers, Gallucci, and Spanos 1990), and 411 (Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000). The decree of Archinos is, however, the most secure terminus, since after its passing (403 B.C.) the letter cutters would have been conscious of the requirement and not simply the option of using the Ionic alphabet. Cf. similar arguments by Lalonde (2006a, p. 89) on the dating of horos B (*IG I*³ 1055 B) from the Hill of the Nymphs in Athens.

25. Furtwängler 1906, vol. 1, p. 6 (= Smarczyk 1990, p. 109, n. 168; *SEG* XLII 252 and 84): “Ich habe im Frühjahr 1905 zusammen mit Dr. L. Curtius eine gleichlautende Inschrift, die Grenzbezeichnung eines Temenos der Athena, auf gewachsenem Felsen in einem abgelegenen kleinen engen Tale der Südspitze der Insel, südlich von Sphendouri,

also in der denkbar weitesten Entfernung von Tempel wie Stadt aufgefunden. Diese Inschrift ist merkwürdigerweise bisher von niemand bemerkt worden, obwohl sie niemals verdeckt war.”

26. Trachyte is an igneous rock, a relative of andesite. Chemical analysis is necessary to identify each. “Trachyte” and “andesite” are the terms used alternatively by nonspecialists to describe stone originating from the central and southern parts of Aigina. German-language publications prefer to use the term “trachyte,” while English-language publications use “andesite” (see, e.g., the quotation from Thiersch in n. 27, below; *IG IV*² 795; Washington 1894–1895; Runnels 1981).

27. The topographic description is taken from an unpublished manuscript by Thiersch (n.d.). I owe my knowledge of the reference to the kindness of Hans R. Goette, who provided me with the following passage from his personal copy of the manuscript (chap. 24, p. 179): “bisichtigte ich die Stelle auf dem Bergsattel östlich des Dorfes Sphendouri bei der Ag. Joannis-Kapelle.

Auf dem rechten Ufer des Rhevmas auf dem Grundstück Xerospileia steht in den terrassenartig aufgebauten Feldern auf großer, flach liegender gewachsener Trachytplatte die von Furtwängler im Frühjahr 1905 festgestellte Inschrift: HOROS | TEMENOS | ATHENAIAS. Diese Grenzinschrift ist besonders wichtig, weil sie in diesem Falle ganz unmöglich verschleppt sein kann, hier aber ebenso unmöglich ein Athenatempel in der Nähe gestanden haben kann.”

28. This is probably the reason why this inscription has never, as far as I know, been discussed in scholarly literature.

29. The joke presumably would be in the double entendre of a label ὄρος (mountain) on this particular mountain, itself called Mount ὄρος.

30. *IG IV* 1592: *In saxo sito a monte ὄρος dicto ad septentriones prope vicum Πρεντούρι*.

31. It is possible that 14 is the same horos as 15, as *IG IV*² 1074 suggests, but the archives of *IG* do not preserve the photograph of 14, and

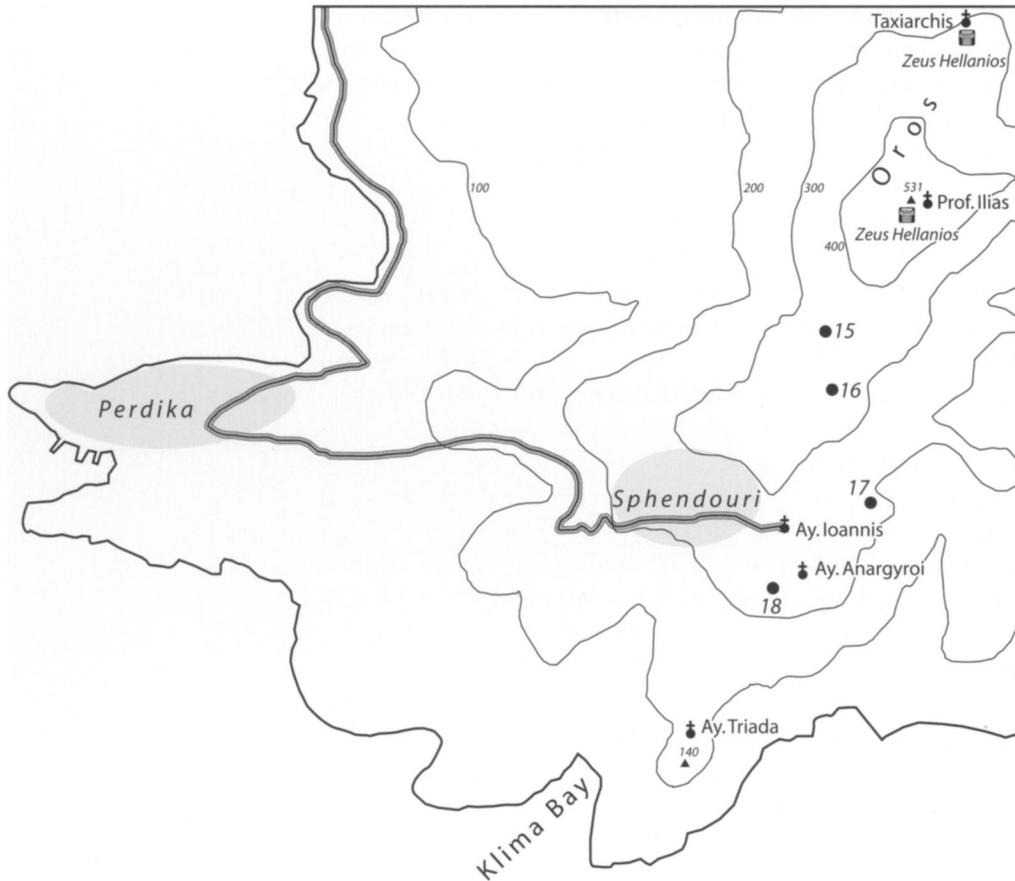


Figure 2. Locations of horoi 15–18 in the area of Sphendouri, south Aigina. H. Walda

AIGINETAN HOROI 15–18

In the course of field walks on Aigina during 1998–1999, while searching for 13 in particular, I discovered four new rupestal horoi near the village of Sphendouri,³² in exactly the same area where Furtwängler reported finding 13, and where it is likely that 14 also originates. Horoi 15–18 are located within a radius of about 500 m from the church of Ayios Ioannis, at the eastern edge of the village of Sphendouri (Fig. 2).³³ Horoi 15–17 follow the edge of a mountain saddle (north and northeast of the church of Ayios Ioannis) that drops into a ravine on its eastern side, while 18 sits at the southern foot of the peak of Ayioi Anargyroi (290 masl), which rises immediately southeast of the church of Ayios Ioannis.³⁴ There is a clear

so the proposition cannot be tested. The description in *IG IV*² 1074 is based on the information about 15–18 that I provided to *IG*, but I do not think that there is sufficient evidence to subsume 14 within the series 15–18. Because the topographic description in *IG IV* 1592 (14) was garbled, precluding a comparison with the findspots of 15–18, and because we must allow for the possibil-

ity that other horoi besides 15–18 exist or existed in the same area, we must therefore continue to count 14 as a separate entity.

32. Horoi 15–18 were discovered on field walks connected with my dissertation research on the cults of ancient Aigina (Polinskaya 2001).

33. More precisely, the church, with its adjacent cemetery, is situated right

outside the village of Sphendouri, at the end of a dirt road that leads through the village up to its eastern edge, where the scenery turns to rocky and mostly terraced slopes traversed by pathways used by occasional hikers and shepherds.

34. My numeration of the horoi is from north to south.

line of sight from **15** to **16**, and from **16** to **17**, but the view of **18** is blocked from the other three horoi by the peak of Ayioi Anargyroi. The distance from one horos to another varies from ca. 150 to 350 m as the crow flies, and the horoi are located at different elevations.³⁵

CATALOGUE

15 Horos Fig. 3

Located northeast of Sphendouri, at N 37° 41.734', E 23° 29.461'; altitude 375 masl. Cut on the almost vertical southwest face of a boulder rising ca. 1.5 m above ground.³⁶

L.H. of initial omicron 0.13; rho 0.16; second omicron 0.1; sigma 0.15 m.

ΟΡΟΣ

Direction of writing: north to south.

16 Horos Fig. 4

Located northeast of Sphendouri at N 37° 41.577', E 23° 29.465'; altitude 364 masl. Cut on the horizontal rough top of a rocky boulder (about 1.8 m in height), one in a cluster at the edge of a precipitous drop.³⁷

L.H. of initial omicron 0.09; rho 0.14; second omicron 0.09; sigma 0.09 m.

ΟΡΟΣ

Direction of writing: north to south.

17 Horos Fig. 5

Located east of Sphendouri at N 37° 41.299', E 23° 29.613'; altitude 235 masl. Cut on a flat horizontal bedrock face.

L.H. of initial omicron 0.1; rho 0.2; second omicron 0.09; sigma 0.19 m.

ΟΡΟΣ

Direction of writing: north to south.

18 Horos Figs. 6, 7

Located southeast of Sphendouri at N 37° 41.105', E 23° 29.275'; altitude 255 masl. Cut on a loose flat slab resembling a table top, measuring approximately 1×1.5 m, found resting horizontally on two smaller rocks.³⁸

L.H. of initial omicron 0.1; rho 0.2; second omicron 0.1; sigma 0.18 m.

ΟΡΟΣ

Direction of writing: north to south.

35. All coordinates and elevations were measured using a Garmin GPS 12 receiver. Horoi **15** (375 masl) and **16** (364 masl) are atop a relatively level area that stretches from the south foot of the Oros to the edge of the next drop, where **16** is located. A drop in altitude of about 130 m from a cluster of rocks marked by **16**, down a precipitous southward slope, produces the next mountain saddle, which stretches to the foot of Ayioi Anargyroi, rising at its southern end. **17** is located at an

altitude of 235 masl (northeast of the peak of Ayioi Anargyroi). **18** is 20 m higher than **17**, but on the southwest side of the peak of Ayioi Anargyroi.

36. The inscription is easy to see in the raking light of the setting sun.

37. From the cluster of rocks, the mountainside drops down several hundred meters on the east-northeast. One needs to climb atop nearby boulders to spot this horos. I have to thank the local goatherd who lives at Sphendouri for showing this horos to me.

38. Theoretically, this slab is movable, but its large size and weight would make such an enterprise very difficult. At the same time, the position of the slab is somewhat precarious: it looks as if it had been deliberately set up at the top of the slope that runs down south and southwest from Ayioi Anargyroi, from which point one has a view of the mountain saddle below, with a church of Ayia Triada at its southern end (Fig. 7).



Figure 3 (*above, left*). Horos 15



Figure 4 (*above, right*). Horos 16



Figure 5. Horos 17



Figure 6. Horos 18



Figure 7. Horos 18, with the church of Ayia Triada in the far distance

DIALECT, SCRIPT, LETTER FORMS, AND DATING

The letter forms of 15–18 are consistent with the Attic script, but the Aiginetan script cannot be ruled out.³⁹ Also, the word “horos” does not present any opportunity for a display of dialectal differences. The script and the word itself, therefore, do not help in identifying the provenance of the authors of the inscriptions with certainty. No boundary markers inscribed with the word “horos” are known from Archaic or Early Classical Aigina,⁴⁰ and it is impossible to determine whether the Aiginetans were in the habit of marking boundaries with inscriptions. Rupestral horoi at Sphendouri, situated in relative proximity to each other, must have marked a boundary or boundaries, but we have no information about any state administrative divisions on Aigina in the Archaic or Classical periods, or any private practice of marking the boundaries of estates or other properties. At the same time, Athenians are well known for their extensive use of writing, including rupestral writing, to mark boundaries.⁴¹

Each of horoi 15–18 consists of four letters: omicron, rho, omicron, sigma. The size of the letters on all four inscriptions is close: 0.09–0.13 m for the diameter of omicron, and 0.14–0.2 m for the vertical of rho, while sigma ranges in height between 0.09 and 0.19 m. The letters of 15, 17, and 18 are deeply and carefully cut.⁴² All omicrons are aligned with the

39. *LSAG*², pp. 109–110. The Aiginetan and the Attic scripts are close in origin, and the four letters of the word “horos” are not among those that distinguish the two alphabets. The Aiginetan script of the Classical period is not well attested: we have very few examples of indisputable Aiginetan inscriptions from this period, and it is therefore difficult to assess any possible developments of the local script in the Classical period from the known

Archaic forms (see Polinskaya 2002, p. 402, n. 5; p. 403, n. 9; for new examples, see *IG IV*² 756–758, 788, 789, 792).

40. The text of *IG IV*² 790 is tentatively restored by the editor as *ἡ[όρος τεμέν]ος*, but allows other possibilities, e.g., a personal name, in which case the stone might be a grave marker. If the word “temenos” had been used, the Doric of Aigina would require the uncontracted form *temeneos*, thus for-

bidding a neat arrangement of three letters on each side of the stone.

41. See Ober 1995, pp. 114–123 (summary of debate and bibliography on rupestral horoi in Attica); and subsequently Schiller 1996, pp. 351–389 (appendix B: “Catalogue of Rupestral Horoi of Attica”); Langdon 1999; Lalonde 2006a, 2006b.

42. Perhaps the rough surface on which 16 was written is to be blamed for its less-than-neat appearance. The

tops of rho and sigma. All sigmas are four-barred, with splayed bars. Both the close similarity between the individual letter forms of 15–18 and the overall appearance of the four inscriptions suggest that they were cut by one hand, presumably on one occasion.

The *H* for aspirate is absent in 15–18, but this allows a broad range of dates. In addition, the use of *H* for aspirate in Attic inscriptions often depends on the type of epigraphic text,⁴³ whereby boundary markers display a conventional retention of *H* for aspirate even in conjunction with the Ionic script.⁴⁴ The absence or presence of *H* for aspirate as it concerns horoi is literally a borderline case in terms of dating: it is a convention to place the border at exactly 400 B.C., but a realistic temporal framework for any change, unless it was instituted by a decree,⁴⁵ must be measured in decades rather than years.⁴⁶ Although Attic horoi without *H* for aspirate are conventionally dated no earlier than 400 B.C., there are several certain cases in the late 5th century.⁴⁷ Among the latter, most significant for us are two Athenian horoi of Athena's estates on Samos, dated 439–405 B.C.⁴⁸

The omicrons on horoi 15–18 vary in size from half to three-quarters the size of the rho and sigma, and while they are not a firm indicator, they are perhaps suggestive of a date in the middle of the 5th century or later.⁴⁹ All rhos are round looped and display long verticals, features consistent with a date in the Classical period. The four-barred sigma with splayed bars, generally dated in the Classical period,⁵⁰ appears on each of the four horoi. Altogether, the letter forms of 15–18 allow a date roughly from the mid-5th to the mid-4th century B.C.

choice of the imperfect surface suggests that a rather precise location was an important criterion for the maker of the horos and that the inscription's existence was more important than its visibility.

43. As Threatte (1980, p. 494) notes, after 450 B.C. "occasional omission of *H* = [h] is certainly not unusual in state decrees," and "a few texts, chiefly state decrees, consistently avoid *H* = [h], although they are otherwise entirely in Attic script."

44. Threatte 1980, p. 24.

45. The 4th-century historian Theopompus of Chios testified (*FGrH* 115 F155) that a decree proposed by Archinos in the archonship of Euklides (403/2 B.C.) instituted the use of the Ionic alphabet in official Athenian inscriptions, but sporadic use of the Ionic alphabet predates this decree; see Woodhead 1992, pp. 18–19. On the introduction of the Ionic script to Athens, see now Keesling 2005, pp. 408–414, and n. 71 with references to earlier bibliography.

46. It is a matter of convention among Attic epigraphists today to date the absence of *H* for aspirate after

400 B.C. E.g., Lalonde in *Agora XIX*, following Meritt's first editions, consistently dates to the 4th century B.C. those horoi from the Athenian Agora that do not display *H* for aspirate; the only exceptions are his H68 (I 2170) and H69 (I 2528), dated "*fin. saec. V vel init. IV a.*" In *IG II²*, several horoi that look like ours (absent *H* for aspirate, and a four-barred sigma with splayed bars) are not assigned a specific date (2516, 2526, 2551, 2612), while one, 2511, is dated in the 4th century B.C. In dating Athenian horoi in the public domain, Ritchie (1985, p. 91) follows an *a priori* approach, assuming that the absence of an aspirate indicates a date after 400 B.C., e.g., his catalogue item TA17 (Keramikos Museum I 405; *SEG XXI* 651). If we look outside Attica, there is, e.g., a rock-cut horos inscription (without *H* for aspirate) from the southern Argolid that "marks the boundary between the territories of Hermion and Philanoreia (Fournoi) in the Classical period," for which a very broad date is estimated: "sometime within cent. VI–IV B.C." (Runnels and Munn 1994, pp. 531–532, no. E15). Woodhead

(1992, p. 18) notes the use of the Ionic alphabet in Athens "during the Archidamian war and with some frequency in the period of the restored democracy between 410 and 404." Thus, the absence of *H* for aspirate (as is typical for the Ionic alphabet) on the Aiginetan horoi may also be consistent with this late-5th-century trend in Athens, rather than indicative of a date after 400.

47. *IG I³* 1132, 1135, 1136.

48. *IG I³* 1494 (= Barron 1964, pp. 36–37, no. 3) and *IG I³* 1495 (= Barron 1964, pp. 36–37, no. 4).

49. Wallbank (1978, pp. 40–41) advised that the full-size omicron disappeared from Attic inscriptions by 460 B.C., and an omicron a third of the size of other letters does not appear until 445 B.C., but these observations do not provide *termini ante quem* or *post quem* for omicrons that are less than full size.

50. Woodhead (1992, p. 64) notes that the splayed bars of sigma become horizontal "during the third and second centuries." Langdon (1999, p. 492) takes the splaying of bars in sigma as a sign of a pre-4th-century date.

HOROI OF TEMENE ON AIGINA: MARKERS OF AGRICULTURAL ESTATES

The 18 known Aiginetan horoi constitute a related though not homogeneous group. Horoi 1–12, in spite of the variety of letter forms used on them, constitute a cohesive subgroup because of the physical and linguistic characteristics that they share: these horoi appear on marble stelae; they are all explicitly labeled as horoi of temene; and they all bear distinct features of the Attic script and dialect. The rupestral horoi 14–18 also constitute a distinct subgroup in that they share the same text, lettering, manner of inscribing, and especially location. The rupestral horos of Athena (13) bridges the two subgroups because it bears the same text as 8–12, while its rupestral nature and its location align it with 14–18.⁵¹ This overlap between the subgroups that include all Aiginetan horoi suggests that a common historical reason and a common function may underlie their inscription. Because the letter forms on the Aiginetan horoi indicate only a broad range of possible dates, from the mid-5th to the mid-4th century B.C. (the lower limit for 14–18), and cannot pinpoint a specific historical moment for their inscription, we must turn to other forms of historical evidence for answers. Before proceeding with this inquiry, however, I must establish what the word “temenos” means in the context of the Aiginetan horoi.

The controversy over the meaning of “temenos” on horoi 1–13 must be put to rest. The basic meaning of the term is “a landed estate or precinct consecrated to a deity,” but an estate belonging to a deity could be put to two uses: agricultural or cultic.⁵² I thus employ the terms “agricultural estate” and “cultic precinct” to distinguish between these two uses of religious property. For the purposes of this study, the former term will denote the landed estate of a deity used exclusively for agricultural purposes, while the latter will denote a landed estate used for rituals of worship. Harland’s and Welter’s opinion that the appearance of the term “temenos” on the Aiginetan horoi signified a “cultic precinct” was prevalent for many decades and still finds adherents.⁵³ Most recent scholars, however, agree with Furtwängler and favor interpreting the term as “agricultural estate,” but justifications for this interpretation are rarely given.⁵⁴ In the following pages, I defend the agricultural interpretation by considering the geographical distribution of the horoi, and the topography and archaeology of the areas where the horoi were found.

DISTRIBUTION OF HOROI 1–14

The Aiginetan horoi were found so far apart from each other and at such geographically distinct locations on Aigina that any possibility that a subset of them may have originally circumscribed a continuous landed domain has to be ruled out. While horoi 13 and 14 can safely be regarded as having been found in situ because they were inscribed on bedrock, 1–12 cannot be considered as such, and it is extremely improbable that such a wide scattering of the horoi as we find on Aigina could have been the result of dispersal from only one or two locations. It is more likely that, although not in situ, the stones would have been incorporated into later structures in the vicinity of the locations where they were originally positioned.

51. See the physical description of 13, nn. 25 and 27, above.

52. On “temenos” as agricultural estate, see Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, p. 182.

53. Harland 1925, p. 47; Welter 1954, cols. 35–36, followed by Amit 1973, p. 48; Barron 1983, p. 6; Figueira 1991, pp. 115–118; Mylonopoulos 2003, pp. 51–52.

54. See Furtwängler 1906, vol. 1, p. 6; Smarczyk 1990, pp. 70–71; Hornblower 1992, p. 183; Parker 1996, pp. 144–145; Osborne 2000, p. 110.

The findspots of four out of six horoi of Athena on Aigina are known (8, 9, 11, 13; see Fig. 1).⁵⁵ Three (8, 9, 11) were found along the modern (and probably ancient) road from Kolonna to Aphaia, at intervals of roughly 2–3 km,⁵⁶ while 13 was found south of the Oros. Horos 10 probably comes from the east coast, south of the bay of Ayia Marina (Fig. 1).⁵⁷ We also know the findspots of three out of four horoi of Apollo/Poseidon—in the northwest (4), the southwest (5), and the center (6) of the island⁵⁸—and the location of one anonymous horos (2).⁵⁹ Already in 1906, Furtwängler saw the scattered findspots of the Athena horoi as an indication that “Athena offenbar an den verschiedenen Punkten der Insel ihr von den attischen Kleruchen zugeteilte Grundstücke besass.”⁶⁰ The discovery of the horos of Athena at Sphendouri (13) was for Furtwängler the final proof of his theory. Indeed, only if the temene of the gods were multiple agricultural estates rather than a single cultic precinct could we explain such a wide scattering of the horoi across the territory of the island. The findspots of the horoi therefore negate the possibility that they defined a single temenos for Athena and another for Apollo/Poseidon in Aigina town or elsewhere, a conclusion that Barron would surely have also reached had he been aware of 13 or considered the findspots of the horoi.⁶¹

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE FINDSPOTS

Apart from 8, a horos of Athena in Aigina town,⁶² all other horoi whose findspots are known come from areas that have been used since antiquity for agricultural production (see Fig. 1). The primary distribution of the horoi is in the northern half of the island, which consists of a coastal plain in the northwest, still densely settled and developed today, and the inland valleys at Palaiochora and Mesagros. Horos 10, as mentioned above, may

55. *IG IV 30* reported 9 as found in situ, in a vineyard at Ayioi Asomatoi, standing upright propped up by small rocks. We cannot, however, rely on these circumstances of discovery as positive indicators of the original placement of the horos, some 2,400 years prior. The fact that the block was propped up by other rocks indicates that it was a loose piece, and therefore easily movable. The designation “in situ” in this case only serves to underscore the contrast between the situation of 9 and incontrovertible cases of secondary use, when an ancient stone block was reused in later construction, as was the case with many Aiginetan horoi, e.g., 1, 5, 6, 10, and 11.

56. Horos 8 comes from the harbor of Aigina town, and is the closest to the ancient city; 9 is from the village of Ayioi Asomatoi, about 3 km east of Aigina town; and 11 is about 4.5 km east of town, at Palaiochora. Horos 12

is of unknown provenance, but may also have come from Palaiochora (see discussion in *IG IV*² 797).

57. Horos 10 is either from the village of Mesagros, about 7 km east of Aigina town, or from the village of Vlichada, about 2 km south of the sanctuary of Aphaia, at the south end of the bay of Ayia Marina. The possibility that 9 and 10 may have been engraved by the same hand (see n. 76, below) is not decisive for preferring the area of Mesagros as the location of 10. The area of Vlichada, south of Ayia Marina, is marked as an ancient settlement on the map that Thiersch created (in Furtwängler 1906, vol. 2, foldout pl.) on the basis of information derived from small excavations and field walks conducted by German archaeologists on Aigina in the first decade of the 20th century.

58. Horos 4 comes from Misokampos, 1 km northeast of Kolonna; 5 from

the village of Marathonas, about 4 km south of Aigina town on the west coast; and 6 from Palaiochora, 4.5 km east of Aigina town.

59. Horos 2 was found near Kokkalaki, which is shown on Thiersch's map (see n. 57) as an area stretching from the northern coast of Aigina at Souvala southward to the northern foot of Dragonera.

60. Furtwängler 1906, vol. 1, p. 6.

61. Barron (1983, p. 6) translated temenos as “sacred estate,” and assumed that 2 and 3 (anonymous) along with 4–7 (Apollo/Poseidon) circumscribed the same temenos, although the divine names on 4–6 were inscribed later. According to Barron (1983, p. 10), 8–12 outlined a separate temenos, that of Athena, located in Ayioi Asomatoi, the provenance of 9.

62. This horos, although found near the harbor, may have been brought in from a nearby field.

have come from Mesagros in the north, or alternatively from Vlichada,⁶³ a valley formed by a seasonal stream that cuts through a mountain ridge to Aigina's east coast at a point south of the bay of Ayia Marina. It is a distinct wedge of agricultural land in an otherwise rocky landscape. A similar landscape, a wedge of agricultural land adjacent to the western coast and formed by alluviation at the mouth of a seasonal stream that cleaved through the rocky coastal ridge, marks the findspot of 5, in the bay of Marathonas. Thus, the findspots of the Aiginetan horoi, while scattered across the island, consistently fall within areas suited to agriculture. Horoi are generally absent from the central and southern parts of the island, which are occupied by mountains of volcanic origin that are little susceptible to erosion; they are less suited to agriculture today, just as they were in antiquity.⁶⁴ Instead, these areas have traditionally been the foci of the production of andesite millstones.⁶⁵

Indeed, the topography and archaeology of the area of Sphendouri, where the rupestral horos of Athena (13) and horoi 14–18 were found, tend to confirm that temene marked by the Aiginetan horoi were agricultural estates.⁶⁶ These horoi define an area that was suited to agriculture, and the archaeological remains nearby suggest premodern, and probably ancient, farming activities. In addition, the volcanic geology of southern Aigina where Sphendouri lies ensured that little change occurred in the topographic and ecological conditions of that part of the island in the last four or five millennia; thus, land that is cultivable today would have been cultivable when the Athenians took possession of Aigina. Horoi 15–18, near Sphendouri, define an area (see Fig. 2) that consists of a mountain saddle with wide tiers of land stretching north to south, overshadowed on the north and west by a precipitous terraced slope (with 15 and 16 at the top), flanked on the east by another terraced slope (marked with 17) that descends into a ravine, and marked on the south by a peak with a chapel of Ayioi Anargyroi at its top, and a church of Ayios Ioannis at its northern foot.⁶⁷ All around the church of Ayios Ioannis, near which Furtwängler and Thiersch located horos 13, are extensive remains of numerous rectangular enclosures built with local andesite stone. The area has been identified by Thiersch and Faraklas as an ancient settlement.⁶⁸

63. See n. 57, above.

64. Cf. Washington 1894–1895, vol. 2:8, pp. 793–801.

65. Runnels 1981, pp. 225–232.

66. Only a general surface investigation of the area in the vicinity of Ayios Ioannis of Sphendouri has been conducted so far. I hope to conduct a more thorough study of the archaeological remains in this area in the future.

67. On agricultural terraces on Methana, see Mee and Forbes 1997, pp. 27–28, nn. 80, 81; they cite an opinion that the terraces are of Classical date (James, Mee, and Taylor 1994,

p. 412) and provide references to Lohmann (1992, p. 51), Rackham and Moody (1992, p. 129), and Wells, Runnels, and Zangger (1990, pp. 227–228) as proponents of the view that agricultural terraces existed in Classical times and perhaps earlier. Foxhall (2007, pp. 61–68) cautions against that notion. Isager and Skydsgaard (1992, pp. 81–82) stress that our sources do not provide an unambiguous ancient Greek term that could designate agricultural terraces, but they uphold the notion that such terraces were in use and were built with a care and precision that allowed some of them to

survive until the present time.

68. The site is marked on Thiersch's foldout map in Furtwängler 1906, vol. 2; in Faraklas 1980, it is site no. 43 (marked on the map, p. 24, fig. 11). Faraklas (p. 58) reported seeing ancient architectural blocks built into the church of Ayios Ioannis and potsherds of the "Classical and Roman periods, as well as other potsherds, perhaps but not certain, of the Archaic and Hellenistic periods." It must be added that prehistoric potsherds are also visible on the surface, including unmistakable Mycenaean pieces.

The architectural remains at Ayios Ioannis should probably be grouped together with those ca. 150 m to the east, on the eastward extension of the mountain saddle marked by horos 17.⁶⁹ These remains also include rectangular enclosures, as well as one circular enclosure and one figure-eight-shaped stone structure. There are also the very weathered remains of two circular threshing floors, outlined with upright stones. The presence of threshing floors indicates agricultural activity at the site, namely the growing and processing of grain. A large water cistern (probably ancient, although it was likely enlarged in modern times)⁷⁰ lies ca. 100 m southwest of the enclosures and threshing floors, near the church of Ayios Ioannis.

How old are these remains? The enclosures and threshing floors are certainly premodern, but their precise age is difficult to determine. Surface finds around the structures include fragments of flat red- and brown-glossed roof tiles and black-glaze pottery datable to the Classical period. The tiles indicate that there were one or more roofed structures at the site. It is possible that the physical remains of ancient habitation and agricultural activities at the site (which are generally difficult to date) should be associated with the surface finds of Classical pottery, but this cannot be validated without excavation. The least that can be concluded from the archaeological remains is that the site was deemed suitable for cultivation sometime in the premodern period.

Nevertheless, in a landscape that has not seen much change since prehistoric times, similar to that of neighboring Methana, such signs of premodern agricultural activity may serve as reliable indicators of long-term trends extending back for centuries and even millennia. The relative shortage of cultivable land on Aigina, where the greater portion of the island is occupied by mountains of volcanic origin, must have exerted a powerful pressure on its inhabitants already in antiquity. Many mountain slopes in the west, south, and east of the island are densely terraced today, a method that has been recognized since antiquity as a strategy for maximizing the amount of land available for cultivation.⁷¹ Thus, the hypothesis of an agricultural temenos in this area is supported by the area's suitability for agriculture and the archaeological evidence for its use in premodern times. Moreover, the surface finds of tiles would be consistent with the presence of a farmstead there in the Classical period.

Evidence for a second possible farmstead lies in a mountain saddle south of horos 18. The southernmost of the horoi at Sphendouri, 18 is located on the southwest side of the peak of Ayioi Anargyroi, near 15–17, but out of sight. It looks down and south to a mountain saddle with similar topography and similar—albeit more impressive—architectural remains. Like the area between 16 and 17, the southern slope of the peak of Ayioi Anargyroi is terraced all the way down from the point marked by 18. At the bottom it turns into a mountain saddle with a series of strips of land divided by low walls, while the overall area is lined on the east and west by massive rubble walls made of field boulders.

This area also seems to have been an ancient farmstead. At the southern end of the saddle, at the foot of another hill, stands the modern church of Ayia Triada (in the far distance in Fig. 7), built sometime in the middle of the 20th century.⁷² Two massive andesite blocks (ca. 1.5 × 0.7 × 0.65 m)

69. A couple dozen meters up the slope, west of 17.

70. This cistern is built up with layers of worked stone on its northern side, in a manner similar to the construction of a lower cistern at the festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios on the northern side of the Oros (cf. Goette 2001, p. 348).

71. See n. 67, above.

72. Thiersch records neither the ancient remains nor the church on his map in Furtwängler 1906, vol. 2.

showing signs of previous architectural use are built into the western wall of the church and line the doorway on either side.⁷³ The peribolos wall of the church partially overlays a larger circuit of walls, suggesting that the site had experienced several phases of construction and reuse, but it is impossible to date the walls on the basis of visual inspection. The earlier walls that underlie the modern peribolos extend east beyond the perimeter of the church and display dressed upright blocks, flat paving blocks, and a well-preserved section of a double-sided wall.

Numerous fragments of flat brown- and black-glossed roof tiles of the Classical period are scattered around the perimeter of the church. There are also fragments of black-glaze pottery, including the base of a black-glaze skyphos datable to the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.⁷⁴ Finally, fragments of a large mortar, along with one fragment of a hopper mill, a type that first appears in the late 5th century B.C.,⁷⁵ are found next to the church. There are water sources at the site: three watering holes are located within 5–15 m of the church, at the foot of the hill. The roof tiles, potsherds, and fragmentary hopper mill, as well as the lay of the land and nearby sources of water, suggest that Ayia Triada was probably the site of an ancient farmstead in the Classical period, and possibly earlier and/or later as well. The architectural remains are difficult to date, but they would be consistent with farm buildings of a Classical date.

Thus, the archaeological remains at Sphendouri, near the church of Ayios Ioannis, and south of Sphendouri, near the church of Ayia Triada, indicate that there were probably at least two separate farms in the area in the Classical period. It is very likely that the rupestal horoi demarcated the territory of one or both of them. Perhaps horoi 13–18 belonged to a single estate, and only one horos (13) carried the full text, while the rest simply marked the perimeter of the estate. I noted above that the rupestal horos of Athena (13) from Sphendouri bears the same inscription as horoi 8–12, from other parts of the island, and therefore belongs to the same subgroup; its location in an area suited to cultivation may serve as further corroboration of the thesis that all the known temene marked by the Aiginetan horoi were agricultural.

One last observation may be offered in support of the agricultural interpretation of the word “temenos” on the Aiginetan horoi. The wide variety of letter forms used on the horoi suggests that the inscriptions were engraved by different hands, but not necessarily at different times.⁷⁶

73. The passageway created by the massive blocks is wider than the present doorway, and the gap between the modern doorjamb and the stone block on the right side of the door had to be filled with bricks. This suggests that the position of the massive blocks represents an architectural stage earlier than the construction of the modern church. There is a lengthwise groove on one of the blocks and a large socket on the other, features that may reflect an earlier use, since they serve no function in the blocks' present structural use.

74. The skyphos base is glazed inside and out, but is unglazed on the bottom, except for a brownish ring along the circumference: Th. of walls ca. 0.006–0.008; Diam. 0.078 m. Cf. *Agora* XII.2, pl. 16, no. 346 (P 17165, ca. 420 B.C.), no. 347 (P 23823, 420–400 B.C.), no. 348 (P 24151, ca. 400 B.C.). The vessel is not later than the end of the 5th century: the straight wall meets the base at a sharp angle, and no inward curve in the lower part of the body is apparent, as is typical of 4th-century skyphoi (see *Agora* XII.1, p. 85).

75. For parallels and illustrations of hopper mills, see Curtis 2001, pp. 282–286, fig. 20, pl. 21 (hopper rubbers from Olynthos).

76. Cf. Barron (1983, pp. 4, 9), who suggested, apparently on the basis of the general appearance of the inscriptions, that 3 (anonymous) and the first two lines of 5 (Apollo/Poseidon) were “plainly by the same hand,” and that the two horoi of Athena, 9 and 10, were also “clearly by the same hand,” although a different hand from the one responsible for 3 and 5.

As I noted earlier, the second half of the 5th century B.C. seems to have been characterized by the simultaneous use of variant letter forms in Athenian inscriptions.⁷⁷ Thus, the variety of letter forms on the Aiginetan horoi could reflect the personal preferences of several individuals involved in cutting the horoi and choosing from the repertoire of current forms.⁷⁸ This could easily have happened if a number of people were simultaneously charged with the marking of agricultural estates on Aigina and given the responsibility of inscribing the horoi and setting them up in different parts of the island.

THE PURPOSE OF THE ATHENIAN TEMENE ON AIGINA

Neither Thucydides, who is our main source for relations between Athens and Aigina during the Pentakontaetia and the Peloponnesian War, nor any other ancient author provides explicit information on the Athenian establishment of temene on Aigina at any point in history. If the temene marked agricultural estates, as argued in the preceding section, then they must have been erected during a historical moment when Aiginetans were stripped of the right to manage land resources in their territory, or when they willingly allowed Athenians to appropriate their land, or permitted the limited use of their territory for a special purpose. Each scenario implies that it would have been the initiative of the Athenians to create and delineate the temene.⁷⁹ The period between 457 and 404 B.C. was the period of direct Athenian involvement in Aiginetan political affairs. Sometime after 457 B.C., after being defeated at sea and besieged by the Athenians,⁸⁰ Aigina was forced to give up its fleet, demolish its fortifications, and agree to the payment of tribute in the future.⁸¹ Aigina appears in the Athenian tribute quota lists in 454–449 B.C., then disappears for several years, reappearing in 444 to continue payments until 432, when only a partial payment was made.⁸²

At what point between 457 and 404 B.C., the years of Athenian involvement in Aigina, were the temene established? It was between 431 and 404 B.C., according to Furtwängler, but between 455 and 445, according to

77. See p. 235 and n. 18, above.

78. Cf. observations made by Tsirigoti-Drakotou (2000, p. 107) and Keesling (2005, pp. 408–414).

79. So Meiggs 1972, pp. 295–298; Barron 1983, p. 10. Smarczyk (1990, p. 77) arrives at the same conclusions with regard to other locations where temene of Attic gods were introduced. Figueira (1991, pp. 115–120) denies that the Athenian state took the initiative and credits individuals (returning Aiginetan exiles and Ionians residing on Aigina) with establishing the temene.

80. Thucydides (1.105.2) describes

the outbreak of hostilities, the naval defeat, and the laying of the siege. Cf. Hornblower 2004, p. 222.

81. Thuc. 1.108.4: ὁμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Αἰγινῆται μετὰ ταῦτα [after the battles of Tanagra, Oenophyta, and the finishing of the Long Walls] τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον.

82. *ATL* I, pp. 218–219; III, pp. 38, 57, 303. As Barron (1983, p. 12) notes, Aigina “is the only state of her district to be recorded as paying in 449 and absent in 447 and 446; and in all districts together this is a rare pattern of

record. Here are grounds for suspecting that Aigina was disaffected and resisted the reimposition of tribute after the Peace of Kallias. The compromise of her reincorporation in the alliance, but as autonomous, appears to have been enshrined in the Thirty Years’ Peace of 446 (Thuc. 1.67.2, cf. 1.139.1, 1.140.3); and that is reflected in her return to the lists.” Barron therefore speculates that shortly after 446, a temenos of Athena may have been expanded on Aigina, leading to the addition of two new horoi (9 and 10) that appear to Barron to be slightly later than 8, 11, and 12.

Barron.⁸³ The dates proposed by Furtwängler and Barron imply alternative scenarios: the former scenario envisions that a portion of the overall volume of land appropriated in 431 was dedicated as *temene*; the latter presumes that Athenians conducted some isolated confiscations of land on Aigina, without any general confiscation, and dedicated these estates to the gods. Neither Thucydides (1.105.2) nor any other source reports any confiscation of land on Aigina subsequent to its defeat in 457.⁸⁴ For the period of the Athenian occupation of Aigina in 431–404 B.C., however, we have definite evidence of land distributions to Athenians.⁸⁵ To determine whether Furtwängler's or Barron's scenario is more plausible, we need to further probe the Athenian principles that guided land allotments to the gods, especially in conjunction with land confiscations and general allocations of land.

THE ATHENIAN PRACTICE OF ALLOTTING TEMENE IN CONQUERED TERRITORIES

The only securely dated case of land allotments to the gods by Athenians outside of Attica is the distribution of confiscated land on Lesbos in 427, following the suppression of the revolt. In reference to this event, Thucydides (3.50) states:

The Athenians also demolished the walls of the Mytilenians, and took possession of their ships. Afterward, they did not impose a tribute upon the Lesbians, but making 3,000 allotments of land [*kleroi*], except in the land of the Methymnians, they set aside 300 as sacred to the gods; to the rest they sent out their own cleruchs chosen by lot. With these, the Lesbians arranged a payment of two minae per year for each allotment, and cultivated the land themselves.⁸⁶

Another instance (of uncertain date)⁸⁷ of the dedication of landed estates (here actually called *temene*) by Athenians in a conquered territory is described by Aelian (*VH* 6.1): “The Athenians overpowered the Chalkideans and divided their land, the area called Hippobotos, into 2,000 lots, and they dedicated *temene* to Athena in the place called Lelantos. The remaining [land] they leased, according to the stelae erected in front of

83. Furtwängler 1906, vol. 1, p. 6; Barron 1983, pp. 9–10.

84. Figueira (1991, p. 116) also notes this fact.

85. Plut. *Per.* 34.2 (κληρουχίας ἔγραφεν. Αἰγινήτας γὰρ ἐξελάσας ἅπαντας, διένειμε τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναίων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν); Diod. Sic. 12.44.2 (ἐκ δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν οἰκῆτορας ἐκπέμψαντες κατεκληρούχησαν τὴν τε Αἰγίναν καὶ τὴν χώραν); Strabo 8.6.16 [C 375–376] (κατεκληρούχησαν τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι).

86. καὶ Μυτιληναίων τεῖχη καθεῖλον καὶ ναῦς παρέλαβον. ὕστερον δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐκ ἔταξαν Λεσβίοις, κλήρους δὲ ποιήσαντες τῆς γῆς πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων τρισχιλίους, τριακοσίους μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροὺς ἐξεῖλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους σφῶν αὐτῶν κληρούχους τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπέπεμψαν. οἷς ἀργύριον Λέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἐκάστου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύο μνᾶς φέρειν αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν. The Lesbians with whom the Athenians make an arrangement about the cultivation of the land

are presumably the *demos* that was spared in the executions of the leaders of the rebellion: Gomme (1956, pp. 327–328) envisions Athenian cleruchs as absentee owners; Hornblower (1991, p. 440) sees them as a “garrison of resident hoplites”; Cartwright (1997, p. 148) allows for a garrison that derives its livelihood from the rent of *kleroi*.

87. *ATL* III, pp. 294–295, argues for 446 B.C., during the cleruchy of Tolmides.

the Royal Stoa, which bear the memoranda of the leases.⁸⁸ Thus, at both Mytilene and Chalkis, Athenians dedicated multiple temene to Athena and other gods, which were clearly agricultural estates.

In each of these two episodes, the Athenian dedication of agricultural estates to the gods followed the defeat of a state and a large-scale appropriation of land on which agricultural estates were simultaneously established for mortals and gods. In both cases, the gods received a portion (on Lesbos, a tenth)⁸⁹ of the total number of estates created. There is further evidence to suggest that the dedication of agricultural temene to the gods was for Athenians a typical step in the allocation of land resources in conquered territories. A lease record from Athens, dated ca. 430–410 B.C., refers to the leasing of temene on Euboeia, at Chalkis and Eretria.⁹⁰ This was most likely a record of a public lease of the sacred properties rented to Athenians, presumably cleruchs, on Euboeia.⁹¹ The maintenance of these records, at least in the 4th century, was in the purview of the Archon Basileus.⁹² Another lease record from Athens, dated to 387/6, indisputably sets up provisions for the leasing to cleruchs of the land allotted to the gods on the island of Lemnos.⁹³ Thus, both textual and epigraphic evidence suggests that the practice of allotting agricultural estates to the gods went hand in hand with the general distribution of appropriated land in a conquered territory, and that it was a standard Athenian practice during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.⁹⁴

The most common use of agricultural temene was to lease them, and to deposit the rental income in the treasuries of the respective deities. The monies could then be used to finance religious festivals in their honor. Various deities besides Athena were allotted agricultural estates outside

88. Αθηναῖοι κρατήσαντες Χαλκιδέων κατεκληρούχησαν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν ἐς δισχιλίους κλήρους, τὴν Ἰππόβοτον καλουμένην χώραν, τεμένη δὲ ἀνήκαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν τῷ Ληλάντῳ ὀνομαζομένῳ τόπῳ, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ἐμίσθωσαν κατὰ τὰς στήλας τὰς πρὸς τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ ἐστηκυίας, αἴπερ οὖν τὰ τῶν μισθώσεων ὑπομνήματα εἶχον. Horster (2004, p. 71), perhaps keeping in mind the dedication of Lekythos as a temenos by Brasidas (Thuc. 4.113, 4.116), thinks of Lelantos as a walled city, which was as a whole dedicated to Athena. Aelian's text, however, speaks of temene (in the plural) situated in the "place called Lelantos." These temene therefore have to be understood as agricultural estates. A horos that may have marked one of those temene of Athena survives: *IG I³ 1502 (= IG XII 9.934)*, [T]έμενος | [A]θηναίης dated "post a. 446?" *Prope vicum Δούκος in regione Πει. Tabula vel oros marmoris albi, quae tegebat puteum, nunc autem in ima parte putei inaedificata non iam videri potest.* Aelian's detail

about the inscribing of the leases on stelae should be considered alongside Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 47.4 (see n. 92, below).

89. Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, pp. 173–174: "It seems that the share connected with the gods was often one-tenth, and that in fact they were to have a tenth of one's profit, be it war or peace." See *ATL* III, p. 337, for the well-known formula of confiscation: "He shall be disfranchised and his money shall become state property and the Goddess shall take a tenth" (Ἄτιμος ἔστω καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημοσία ἔστω καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον).

90. *Agora* XIX, p. 171, L2 (two fragments: [a] EM 6752, from the western slope of the Acropolis, and [b] *Agora* I 4068).

91. Whether these temene are identical to those mentioned by Aelian (see n. 88, above) is impossible to ascertain.

92. Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 47.4, which states that leases of sacred estates were recorded on whitened boards (γραμμὰ τεῖα λελευκωμένα). Perhaps whitened

boards are the same as the stelae mentioned by Aelian, or they had different purposes, or both were used for the inscribing of leases, but at different times.

93. Four fragments of the lease were found on the Athenian Acropolis and one in the Agora; the archon's name is fully preserved in line 1. See *Agora* XIX, p. 172, L3 (five fragments: [a] EM 6916, [b] EM 6904, [c] EM 6905, [d] EM 12964, [e] *Agora* I 5588). The semantic distinction between *apoikia* and cleruchy in reference to Athenian settlements abroad had mostly disappeared in the 4th century (Figueira 1991, pp. 45–48).

94. Schiller (1996, pp. 144–147) argues that confiscated land in cleruchies became part of Athenian public domain, to be divided and distributed to cleruchs, or that it was leased to the locals, with the proceeds going to the Athenian public treasury or treasuries of the Athenian gods.

Attica and derived income from them.⁹⁵ In addition to financing the cults, treasuries of the gods could serve as banks, accumulating surpluses of cash that the state could utilize in the form of loans. In the second half of the 5th century B.C., Athenians used the treasuries of numerous deities in this way, often financing whole military campaigns from such funds.⁹⁶

What exactly happened with respect to the Athenian temene on Aigina is not clear. Were the temene products of isolated targeted confiscations, or were they the result of a single large-scale land confiscation, whereby some estates were dedicated to the gods and some distributed to individual Athenians? The same questions can be asked about the Athenian temene on Samos, Kos, and Euboa (Chalkis), where the only pieces of evidence for Athenian land confiscations are the horoi of Athena the Ruler of Athenians, and the horoi of Ion and the Eponymous Heroes.⁹⁷ These horoi, for the same reasons as those on Aigina, allow a broad range of dates,⁹⁸ and together they show remarkable similarities to the Aiginetan horoi, both with regard to individual letter forms and the range of variants.⁹⁹ In addition, they too were inscribed by several individuals, dedicated to several deities, and most certainly used to mark agricultural estates, not cultic precincts.¹⁰⁰ The similarities between the Athenian horoi on Aigina, Samos, Kos, and Euboa raise the possibility that similar, while not necessarily identical, circumstances prompted their installation.¹⁰¹

95. Cf. Thuc. 3.50 (the Athenians dedicate temene at Mytilene τοῖς θεοῖς), as well as epigraphic records of loans of money from the treasuries of οἱ ἄλλοι θεοί: in the 430s and 420s, Athenians regularly borrowed money (at great interest) from the treasuries of various gods in Athens in order to finance their wars (e.g., ML 72, dated to 426/5 and 423/2 B.C.).

96. See n. 95, above, and *ATL* III, pp. 326–345; Samons 2000, pp. 28–83.

97. *IG I³* 1491–1499, 1502.

98. For the dating of the Aiginetan horoi, see pp. 235–238, 242–243, above. Three Samian horoi of Athena—*IG I³* 1492, 1493, 1493*bis*—(with three-barred sigma and tailed rho) are dated in *IG I³* to 450–440(?) B.C., and two others—1494, 1495 (with four-barred sigma and untailed rho)—to 439–405 B.C. Different dates are proposed for the five horoi in spite of the fact that they bear identical texts. The identical layout in four lines on *IG I³* 1492 and 1493, and a different layout in five lines for horoi *IG I³* 1494 and 1495, as well as a third layout in three lines on 1493*bis*, suggest that different hands were at work, not that they were made at different times or on different occa-

sions. Also on Samos, a horos of Ion (*IG I³* 1496) with three-barred sigma is dated to 450–440 B.C., while the horoi of the Eponymous Heroes, *IG I³* 1497 and 1498, with three-barred sigma, and 1499 (letter forms uncertain) are dated ca. 439–425 B.C. The horos *Athenas Athenon medeouses* from Kos, *IG I³* 1491, with four-barred sigma and rounded untailed rho, is dated ca. 425–405 B.C.; for the Samian group as a whole, Meiggs (1972, p. 298) sides with Barron (1964) in favor of 454–440 B.C., and Samons (2000, p. 45, n. 79) argues for a date before 445.

99. Individual horoi show consistency in the use of specific letter forms for sigma and rho, but nu and epsilon show a great variety of forms even within a single text: e.g., *IG I³* 1496 and 1497 each use three different forms of nu, and *IG I³* 1498, in which nu appears five times, uses four different forms. Epsilon also appears in different forms on the same inscriptions (*IG I³* 1493*bis*, 1497).

100. Hornblower and Greenstock 1984, p. 145; Hornblower 1992, p. 183: temene are “expropriated property” that “might be leased out to individual Athenians” (after 440 B.C., i.e.,

after the suppression of the revolt on Samos).

101. In Barron’s reconstruction (1964, 1983), neither the horoi from Aigina nor those from Samos, Kos, and Euboa are connected to the establishment of Athenian settlements in these locations, but Barron thinks of them as horoi of cultic precincts, not agricultural estates. We have no evidence that Athenians ever sent settlers to Samos, nor that Samos ever paid tribute, but they may have done something similar there to what they did on Lesbos: confiscating (on a much smaller scale than on Lesbos) and dividing the land, and in effect giving the divided land back to the Samians to use, while at the same time deriving income from rent for themselves and for Athenian gods (see also n. 86, above). The Athenian horoi would then derive from such agricultural temene there. Cf. Meiggs 1972, pp. 295, 298. Perhaps the monies listed in the treasuries of Athena for the 420s and 410s as being “from the Samians” (*ATL* III, p. 334) are to be associated with the income derived from the leasing of temene of the Athenian gods on Samos.

THE ATHENIAN RATIONALE FOR ALLOTING TEMENE IN CONQUERED TERRITORIES

To answer the question of whether the temene on Aigina were linked to isolated seizures of land or were the result of a single large-scale confiscation on the island, it is necessary to consider the principles that guided the Athenian establishment of temene on foreign soil. In this section, I argue that a dedication of temene as an isolated act not accompanied by a general confiscation of land on Aigina would have contradicted the typical Athenian rationale for allotting agricultural estates to the gods in conquered territories. Athenian dedications of temene in foreign territories have commonly been seen as a form of punishment, or as political sanctions, or as acts of interference in local affairs intended to serve as constant reminders of Athenian domination over the local population.¹⁰² But the scholarly focus on the effects wrought by the establishment of temene upon local communities has drawn attention away from the Athenian gods to whom the temene were dedicated. I contend that the gods were the primary target of the Athenians' actions, and that the effect on the subjugated local populations was incidental. The dedication of temene in conquered territories was first and foremost an expression of Athenians' religious consciousness: a self-interested action aimed at keeping the Athenians in good standing with the same gods that were credited with insuring their success.

It was a general axiom of ancient Greek religious thinking that any form of prosperity had to be attributed to the gods, and that the fruits of prosperity consequently had to be shared with the gods; the divine portion often took the form of *aparche* or *dekate*.¹⁰³ The role of Athens as the leader of the Delian League and later of the Athenian alliance meant that the city enjoyed a steady profit from the overseas territories under its control. This profit accrued to Athens in two main forms, cash and land, and it was the Athenians' religious duty to share their profits with the gods as a way of acknowledging their vital role in human success.

It appears that the form of the profit determined how Athenians shared it with the gods. When profit reached Athens in the form of monetary tribute, Athenians dedicated a portion, the *aparche* (= 1/60 of the *phoros*), to Athena Polias and deposited it in the city's treasury; when profit accrued to Athens in the form of real property, Athenians gave a portion of the appropriated land to the gods as temene. The two models of fulfilling religious obligations may have been alternatives, if not mutually exclusive.¹⁰⁴ Athenian allies and Athenian apoikists, both of whom tilled their own land and hence controlled its produce, were obliged to acknowledge the gods by sharing the produce in the form of *aparche*. Both allies and apoikists also had the responsibility of sending a cow and a panoply to Athena Polias and a phallus to the Dionysia (cf. the Decree of Brea, ML 49), as well as, in the case of allies, first fruits to the Eleusinian goddesses (ML 73).¹⁰⁵

When land was dedicated to the gods as temene, a different line of reasoning was applied. The obligation to share a profit with the gods was, in the case of appropriated land, fulfilled by the allocation of the source of income—namely, the land—rather than of the income itself, whether agricultural produce or cash. The overall bulk of appropriated land was

102. See Barron 1964; Meiggs 1972, pp. 291–305.

103. On the general principle, see Burkert 1985, pp. 66–75; Rudhardt 1992, pp. 198, 219–222, 224–230; Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, p. 170, with reference to Xen. *Symp.* 4.49, where Hermogenes succinctly formulates the principle of religious duty to the gods with regard to profit acquired from any human activity: “I always restore to them part of what they give me” (ὄν τε διδῶσιν ἀεὶ ἀν παρέχομαι). Regarding the *aparche* and *dekate*, Isager and Skydsgaard (1992, p. 170) stress “that it was part of, or at least represented part of, something greater; and that this part was offered so as to show one's gratitude at having received the whole. . . . Therefore, it often happens that *dekate* ('a tenth') is used synonymously with *aparche*.” See also Horster 2004, p. 71.

104. This is illustrated by the case of Lesbos in 427 B.C. (Thuc. 3.50), where the confiscation of land and the allotment of temene to the gods is an alternative to the imposition of tribute.

105. These religious obligations may not have been imposed on the allies until the middle of the 5th century B.C. (ML 40, Regulations for Erythrai). In the 420s (ML 73), first fruits donated to the Eleusinian goddesses consisted of 1/600 of the barley harvest and 1/1200 of the wheat harvest.

divided between gods and people, and henceforward, the profits of mortals' land belonged to the mortals, and the profits of temene belonged to the gods. Viewed as the fulfillment of religious obligations by Athenians rather than as a sanction against the subjected locals, the dedication of temene can thus be seen as a way of sharing state profits with the gods. Whether Athenians were dealing with land acquired through conquest and appropriation, or with land confiscated from private individuals, their typical procedure was to divide and share the profit between the people and the gods.¹⁰⁶ Thus, an isolated confiscation of agricultural land in a foreign territory for the purpose of dedicating the entire parcel—and not simply a portion—to the gods does not square well with the principles that seem to have governed Athenian practice.¹⁰⁷ We therefore have another reason to doubt the scenario advocated by Barron and Figueira, which dates the Athenian temene on Aigina to ca. 457 B.C. and hence presupposes that the dedication of temene (undertaken in two stages, according to Barron) was not accompanied by a general confiscation of land.

THE DATE OF THE ATHENIAN TEMENE ON AIGINA

A close analysis of the evidence for Athenian-Aiginetan relations in the period between 457 and 404 B.C. confirms our contention that the dedication of temene would have taken place after the appropriation of the whole island and the arrival of Athenian settlers. Thucydides (2.27) states that Aigina was occupied by the Athenians in 431.¹⁰⁸ The exile of the Aiginetans at that time enacted one of the four measures that Athenians usually took against a defeated enemy. The other measures—the demolition of city walls and the confiscation of the fleet, and the imposition of the terms of the alliance (including the assessment of tribute)—had been applied to Aigina after its earlier defeat, in 457. As observed above, after a successful conquest, Athenians shared the profits with their patron gods either in the form of *aparche* from tribute or in the form of landed estates. We know that Aigina was a tributary state in 454–449 and again in 444–432.¹⁰⁹ As a nominal ally, it may have had to contribute the regular gifts for the festivals of Athena, Dionysos, and the Eleusinian deities.¹¹⁰

The question that concerns us here is whether the temene were established at this time or later. It would appear that from the Athenian point of view, the payment of tribute by the Aiginetans, from which *aparche* was taken, along with their presumed contribution of gifts to the Athenian deities, would have been a sufficient fulfillment of the Athenians' religious obligations deriving from their control of Aigina. The situation must have changed dramatically in 431. No longer a tribute-paying state, Aigina was now an Athenian territorial holding. As the social and political relationship between Athens and Aigina cardinally changed at this point, so the formula of Athenian religious duties had to change.

Our task of demonstrating that land distributions on Aigina took place in a customary fashion after 431 would be made easier if we had clear evidence that at this time Aigina became either a cleruchy or an apoikia, two common types of Athenian overseas settlements.¹¹¹ All the evidence, on the contrary, points to the fact that the Athenian settlement on Aigina

106. Horster 2004, pp. 70–91.

107. Such confiscation should be distinguished from the private acquisition of land (through gift or purchase) and its subsequent dedication as a temenos (e.g., Xenophon to Artemis, *An.* 5.3.4–13), or an *ex voto* dedication (cf. Brasidas's dedication of Lekythos, Thuc. 4.113 and 4.116).

108. We have no detailed information about the removal of the Aiginetans from the island and their arrival at Thyrea, the asylum area that the Spartans provided for the exiles; nor do we know much about their life in exile (see Figueira 1993, pp. 293–310).

109. See n. 82, above.

110. See n. 105, above.

111. Cf. *IG* I³ 237.8–9: ταῖς ἀποικίας καὶ κληροχίαις.

during the Peloponnesian War was a special case. In some other cases, where the territory of a whole island came under Athenian control—for example, Lesbos in 427—not all of the population was removed. Aigina was different in that both the entire population of the island was removed and the whole territory became an Athenian possession.¹¹² That Aigina was a special case can be gleaned from the fact that Thucydides carefully avoided the terms *klerouchoi* and *apoikoi* in reference to Athenian settlers on Aigina. Instead he called them *epoikoi* and *oiketores*. The latter term is neutral, and the former must be deliberate, as a scholion to Thuc. 2.27.1 explains: “*apoikoi* are those sent to settle in uninhabited places, while *epoikoi* are those sent to settle in poleis that already exist.”¹¹³ Since a “colony might be sent to the land either partially or wholly dispossessed,”¹¹⁴ and in 431 Aigina was wholly dispossessed, the new settlers were by this definition apoikists, but since they were sent to a place that had been previously inhabited by a political community, they, according to the scholion, were properly called by Thucydides *epoikoi*.

If not in name, it might appear that Aigina would have been an *apoi-
kia* in essence, for it was definitely not a *klerouchia*: a cleruchy “always implied the continued existence of the original city-state to whose territory it was sent,”¹¹⁵ but no political community remained on Aigina when Athenian settlers arrived there. Besides using the neutral term *oiketores*, as well as the technically correct term *epoikoi*, Thucydides also called the Athenian settlers simply “Aiginetans” (5.74.3). This appellation, when used with reference to the military duties of Athenian settlers on Aigina, could be taken as further evidence of the apoikist status of the residents, since cleruchs usually were listed as “Athenians,”¹¹⁶ but the description is likely to have been applied in the sense of residency, not in terms of status. The use of the geographic name was appropriate, since Athenians were presumably the sole inhabitants of the island at the time, although the population may have included a few metics, either resident on Aigina before the occupation and allowed to remain, or brought along by the Athenians. In either case, however, Thucydides was prompted to distinguish

112. Skyros was another island that was stripped of its population (of Dolo-
pian pirates) and settled (οικίζω is the
verb used by Thuc. 1.98.2 and Plut.
Cim. 8) by Athenians. As an Athenian
settlement, it never paid tribute, but its
political status as part of the Athenian
domain (τὸ ἀρχαῖον) was not clarified
until the Peace of Antalkidas (Xen.
Hell. 5.1.31). Thus, the political and
ideological implications of the depopu-
lation and subsequent occupation of
Aigina and Skyros are not comparable.
Cf. also *ATL* III, p. 286.

113. ἄποικοι μὲν οἱ ἐρήμους τόπους
πεμπόμενοι οἰκῆσαι, ἐποικοὶ δὲ οἱ
πόλεις, ὥσπερ νῦν. The use of οἱ πόλεις
here is clearly spatial, not social: we

could render the last phrase as “places
that have been previously inhabited.”
The implied continuity is that of place
of habitation, not of community. There
is no reason, therefore, to interpret *epoi-
koi* as “additional settlers,” and certainly
not as “subsequent reinforcements,” as
Figueira (1991, pp. 7–39) argues. The
latter meaning may apply only in some
specific cases, as an additional shade to
the otherwise ever-present meaning of
“a new settler in a previously inhab-
ited place.”

114. *ATL* III, p. 289. *ATL* III,
p. 285: “We take it as certain that *apoi-
koi* and *epoikoi* are the same, differing
only in meaning as do our words ‘emi-
grant’ and ‘immigrant,’ and reflecting

merely the point of view from which
the writer envisaged the process of
colonization: either from the mother
city or to the new location. . . . Al-
though the Athenian *apoikos* (e.g., to
Amphipolis) remained an Athenian by
blood, there was no *ius sanguinis* which
kept him politically an Athenian, and
indeed he had no Athenian political
rights. The Athenian *klerouchos*, on the
other hand (e.g., at Lesbos), was an
Athenian by blood, but he kept enroll-
ment in his deme and had political
rights and duties like those of Athe-
nians who lived in Athens.”

115. *ATL* III, p. 289.

116. See Amit 1973, p. 53.

the traditional Aiginetans from the Athenian occupants of Aigina by referring to the latter as “Aiginetans who held Aigina at that time [τότε, i.e., during the Peloponnesian War]” (7.57.2).

In most senses, then, the Athenian presence on Aigina during the Peloponnesian War can be understood as an *apoikia*, and yet it appears that it was not a typical one. How the Athenian settlers on Aigina were socially organized is unclear, but apparently they did not form a new political community distinct from Athens. The expression used by Thucydides (5.74.2) is telling: in the battle of Mantinea, in 418 B.C., the casualties of Athenians and Athenian residents on Aigina are listed together (καὶ Ἀθηναίων ξὺν Αἰγινήταις διακόσιοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἄμφοτεροί), emphasizing that although geographically distinct, they belong to one civic group. Residents of Aigina such as Ariston, the father of Plato, and the comic playwright Aristophanes were from the Athenian upper classes and apparently did not trade in their Athenian franchise for apoikist status.¹¹⁷ Thus, in political terms, Aigina appears to have been an extension of Attica.¹¹⁸

Territorially as well, it would appear from Thucydides 5.56 that Aigina was considered part of the Athenian territorial domain. For example, in 419, the Argives complained that the Athenians allowed an enemy fleet to pass by their territory, that is, Aigina, which was a violation of an article of a previous agreement (the Athens-Argos-Elis-Mantinea alliance, Thuc. 5.47.5).¹¹⁹ Indeed, the island’s physical proximity to Athens seems to have virtually precluded a typical apoikic territorial status for Aigina.¹²⁰ Both Figueira and Amit, although differing on the status of Athenians on Aigina, agree that in a practical political and territorial sense, Aigina was essentially an extension of Attica.¹²¹ The northeastern corner of Aigina, being the closest to Attica, was perhaps of particular importance for communication between the two coasts, and may have been an attractive settlement area for the Athenians who, no doubt, would have been interested in close interactions with Attica. For example, Aristophanes (in *Wasps* 121–124, staged in 422) regards a trip to Aigina for a healing session at

117. For testimonia and discussion, see Figueira 1991, pp. 57–62 (Ariston), 79–93 (Aristophanes), and 94–101 (other colonists).

118. I cannot agree with Figueira (1991, pp. 32–33) when he interprets the existence of sanctuary inventories, (e.g., *IG IV² 787*) as a sign that the Athenians took over the existing cults and that “Aigina was not destroyed as a polis so much as that the Aiginetans themselves were replaced within a continuing polity.” The Aiginetan polity could continue only if the Athenian settlers chose to preserve the traditional Aiginetan social structure, including their forms of government and administration. We have no evidence that they did so, and it is hard to imagine that they could, considering the decades of ideological and political confronta-

tion between the two states that preceded the Peloponnesian War. The Athenians surely came to Aigina with their own institutions, social principles, and administrative procedures. In this sense, it was a case of the Athenian polity powerfully extending itself into a neighboring geographic area, the island of Aigina, and not of Athenian settlers coming to adopt and embrace the preexisting political framework of their long-term rival.

119. Cf. Schiller 1996, pp. 399–400.

120. Athenians sent *apoikiai* in the 5th century B.C. predominantly to far-away places (the North Aegean islands, the Chersonesos peninsula, Thrace, Sicily) in order to establish an Athenian foothold in areas of strategic importance, or to secure trade routes for grain, metals, and timber (see, e.g.,

Finley 1978, p. 120). Some *apoikiai* (e.g., on Euboia, Skyros, and Melos) were not as far away from Attica as others (e.g., those on Sicily), but also not in the same immediate vicinity as Aigina. The proximity of Aigina to Athens, plus the fact that political alliances in the area of the Saronic Gulf were long established and clearly defined, meant that a typical colony would have no purpose on Aigina.

121. Figueira 1991, p. 67: “Aegina is so close to Athens [that it is] effectively nearer by sea than many places in the interior of Attica”; Amit 1973, p. 53: “The Athenian settlers in Aegina were so near Attica that, for so long as Athens retained control of the sea, they were practically at home, and were not in any serious danger.”

the Asklepieion as a short overnight affair. A probable resident of Aigina himself, the playwright would have traveled to Athens at frequent intervals to attend to social and theatrical affairs. The northeastern corner of the island, especially the coastal area, contained, at least at the beginning of the 20th century, numerous remains of ancient structures, including towers.¹²² Some of these structures, and in particular the towers, would have been of great use to Athenian settlers concerned with the security and control of the coastline, and may have even been built by them, but could alternatively date to the Hellenistic or Roman periods.

Considering that Aigina would scarcely be attractive as a cleruchy given its limited agricultural resources,¹²³ nor would it be an obvious candidate for an *apoikia* given its proximity to Attica, a certain reluctance may have been present in the Athenian decision to possess Aigina. In fact, although the exile of the Aiginetan population was carried out immediately at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, the decision to resettle Aigina had to be further justified as a security issue. The military concerns were so strong that Athenians had no other option but to repopulate the island.¹²⁴

All the attributes of Aigina made its political and territorial status as an Athenian holding a special case. Be that as it may, the repopulation of Aigina meant that an island-wide allocation of real property had to take place with the arrival of Athenian settlers, as all textual sources after Thucydides indicate by their choice of cleruchic terminology.¹²⁵ Specific historical examples from Lesbos and Euboea confirm that the “sharing” of state profits with the gods was the principle that guided the allotment of Athenian *temene* to the gods in conquered territories. Whatever happened on Aigina before 431, the principle of sharing certainly had to be applied after Aigina fell into the hands of the Athenians in that year. At that point, Athenians would have been compelled to acknowledge the role of the gods in their acquisition of Aigina and to share with them the profits of the newly acquired property; hence *temene* had to be allocated to the gods in conjunction with the general allocation of estates to the Athenian settlers.

122. Thiersch’s map (in Furtwängler 1906, vol. 2) shows three towers, now gone, at the northeastern extremity of the island along the coast: near Rapana, Nisida, and Pyrgaki. These coastal towers may have been used by the island residents at various points in history to observe and control traffic in a strategically important place: the straits of the Saronic Gulf between Aigina and the coast of Attica. Besides the towers in this area, Thiersch indicates dense population clusters, walls, and perhaps quarries (marked with crosshatching). He also indicates two more towers on Aigina: one, still standing, in the center of the island at Bourdehti (perhaps of Archaic date; see Goette 2001, pp. 340–341); and

another, barely visible now, at Cape Pyrgos, east of the bay of Klima. The latter is in a strategically important location in the south: perfect for observing the marine approaches to Attica from the Peloponnese and the Aegean, and perhaps capable of controlling the anchorage at the bay of Klima.

123. It was not agriculture that made an independent Aigina powerful, but rather the island’s extensive overseas trade and commerce.

124. See n. 9, above. As stated earlier (n. 113), however, there is no need to understand the Aiginetan *epoikoi* as “reinforcements” or to look for a preceding contingent that would have greeted the arrivals of 431 B.C.

125. See n. 85, above.

DIVINE OWNERS OF THE ATHENIAN TEMENE ON AIGINA

The identity of the deities to whom Athenians dedicated temene on Aigina is as much a matter of debate as the date of their establishment. The preceding analysis has shown that the temene dedicated by Athenians on Aigina were agricultural. I have also argued that the dedication of agricultural temene was a typical Athenian practice in conquered territories and was associated with a general or mass confiscation of land; thus, it is reasonable to infer that the same process occurred on Aigina after its occupation in 431. In accordance with this pattern, the owners of the Athenian temene on Aigina must have been Athenian deities. Some have suggested, however, that Aiginetan deities, or a combination of Aiginetan and foreign deities, were the owners of the temene, and these opinions require comment.

ATHENA

There is virtually no doubt that the temene of Athena on Aigina were those of Athena Polias, who probably always had to be included among the divine beneficiaries of Athenian acquisitions of real property abroad. The opinion that an Aiginetan Athena was the owner of the temene is based on the absence from the Aiginetan horoi of the epithet Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσης, which is present, for example, on the Samian horoi.¹²⁶ Perhaps the key difference between the situation on Aigina and those on Samos, Kos, and Chalkis is that after 431, Aigina was emptied of its local population, and for the Athenian settlers to use the epithet Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσης in their own territory would have been superfluous.¹²⁷ In addition, we may note that the evidence for the existence of a local cult of Athena on Aigina (*IG IV*² 755 and *Hdt.* 3.59.3–4) is inconclusive.¹²⁸ What is more important, however, is that the Athenians' need to acknowledge their own Athena and to allocate agricultural temene to her would have been entirely unrelated to the presence or absence of a local cult of Athena on Aigina. However the Athenians may have chosen to treat local cults, they still owed traditional homage to their own gods.

126. Welter 1954, col. 35: "Das Fehlen der näheren Bestimmung Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσης auf den aiginetischen Grenzsteinen bedeutet, dass sie zum Besitz der lokalen Athena gehören." Smarczyk (1990, p. 125) holds the same opinion.

127. Also, once the Aiginetans were expelled, there would have been no need for propaganda. The epithet μεδεούσα has a peculiar force in the context of these inscriptions, implying that while Athenians rule Samians, Koans, and Chalkideans, Athena in turn rules Athenians.

128. An inscribed stone perirrhanterion reported by Welter (1954, col. 35 = *IG IV*² 755) from the oral communica-

tion of L. Curtius need not indicate the presence of a sanctuary of Athena: the dedication could have been made in the sanctuary of another deity. *SEG XLII* 253 describes the inscription as a dedication, as it is normal for perirrhanteria to be dedicated. References to the same inscription: Welter 1949, p. 151; Thiersch n.d. (see n. 27, above), p. 182, n. 3; Schäfer 1992, p. 30, n. 9. The testimony of Herodotos (3.59.3–4: ἔκτω δὲ ἔτεϊ Αἰγινῆται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίη νικήσαντες ἠνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἔχουσέων τὰς πῶρας ἠκρωτηρίασαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ) is the only textual reference to a sanctuary of Athena on Aigina, and

it seemed suspect already to Furtwängler (1906, vol. 1, p. 6), who accepted a hypothesis of Kurz that the word *Athenaias* in Herodotos was a scribal emendation of an unfamiliar *Aphaias*. This hypothesis is worth considering, as the dedication of prows of ships to Aphaia, who among her other functions was the patroness of sailors, would make good sense. Among the evidence for the marine role of Aphaia are models of ships: Aphaia T 19–25, T 140, and T 328. Further discussion of the evidence pertaining to the possible cult of Athena on Aigina is to be found in my monograph on Aiginetan cults (now in preparation).

APOLLO/POSEIDON

The identities of Apollo and Poseidon on the Aiginetan horoi 4–7 pose a complicated question, which perhaps cannot be fully answered on the basis of the available evidence.¹²⁹ The sequence of divine names in the text is probably to be understood as *asyndeton*, but its purpose is not immediately clear.¹³⁰ We may look for a pairing of the two deities among the Athenian, or the Panhellenic and Panionian, or the Aiginetan cults, but it is nowhere attested in Archaic or Classical times.¹³¹ To be sure, Poseidon and Apollo were worshipped both on Aigina and at Athens, but in separate cults. Welter's suggestion of a joint Apollo-Poseidon cult on Aigina has no evidentiary support beyond the pairing of their names on these horoi.¹³²

Figueira suggested a hybrid joint cult of the Aiginetan Apollo (worshipped at Kolonna) and Poseidon of Sounion.¹³³ This scenario, which requires a non-Athenian initiative¹³⁴ and a date before 431 B.C., as well as an unparalleled wedding of cults from two different locations, has to be ruled out. Smarczyk envisioned a more nuanced scenario whereby the Athenian settlers coming to Aigina in 431 B.C. took over the maintenance of the local Aiginetan cults while introducing their own customs of worship and dedicating new *temene*, perhaps agricultural, to these

129. When referring to the Aiginetan horoi that mention Apollo and Poseidon, I have rendered the deities' names in English as Apollo/Poseidon because the exact nature of the relationship between the two names and deities in the context of these horoi is not clear. Most scholars assume that we should restore a conjunction "and" between the deities' names, and this is the most likely possibility; at the same time, the coupling of the two in cult on Aigina is not attested, and we should not close the door on other possibilities by indiscriminately interpolating an "and."

130. Other examples of such *asyndeta* include altar C in the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods on Delos, inscribed ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΔΙΟΣ ΗΡΑΣ (*IDelos* 2471) and dated to the early 3rd century B.C. But the family triad of Zeus, Hera, and Athena is readily understood, unlike the coupling of Apollo and Poseidon. An Apollo Poseidon (as, e.g., Artemis Hekate, Zeus Asklepios, or Artemis Iphigenia) is also theoretically possible, but unprecedented.

131. In Attica, the inscribed votive base or column of Apollo (*SEG* L 208) of unknown date in the citadel at Sounion (discussed in Goette 2000, p. 52, n. 308) does not constitute evidence

for a sanctuary and cult of Apollo there. It simply testifies to the fact that, as is expected, many deities were worshipped in the deme of Sounion (see Goette 2000, pp. 51–55, 106–108). To my knowledge, only in Sparta may Karneios Oiketes (= Apollo) and Poseidon (Domatites) have been related, as they seem to have shared a hereditary priestess (*IG* V [1] 497 = *CIG* 1446), but the evidence is of Roman date. It is noteworthy, however, that the only other instance of the cultic epithet Domatites is from Aigina, and it is attributed to Apollo, also titled Oikistes (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5.44). I investigate these data further in my monograph on Aiginetan cults (in preparation).

132. Welter (1954, cols. 40–43) hypothesized a 5th-century joint cult of Apollo and Poseidon on the Kolonna hill on the basis of the horoi. At the same time, he postulated, relying on mythological accounts (Paus. 2.33.2, 10.5.6), that Poseidon's cult at Kolonna was older than Apollo's, and he associated an apsidal structure with deposits of Protogeometric skyphoi and amphoras in the immediate vicinity of the Classical temple with the early cult of Poseidon (see also Welter 1925, p. 319; 1938, p. 52; 1949, p. 151). There is no

positive evidence for such an association. Smarczyk (1990, p. 128, n. 216) and Felten (2001, p. 128) are too hasty in accepting Welter's hypothesis, as well as in giving the weight of material evidence to mythological accounts.

133. Figueira (1991, p. 118) postulates a special group of Aiginetans who could be behind a hybrid Athenian/Aiginetan Apollo-Poseidon cult: the representatives of the Aiginetan *damos* who fled from Aigina in the early 5th century (ca. 490–480 B.C.) and were given refuge in Athens, somewhere near Sounion (Hdt. 6.90). Presumably, they could have come back to Aigina after 457 and become the founders of a new *temenos* of the Aiginetan Apollo and the Sounian Poseidon.

134. Figueira (1991, p. 119), stressing the Ionic features of some Apollo/Poseidon horoi and the "variety of lettering and layout," postulates, in addition to returning Aiginetan exiles, the initiative of Ionian residents on Aigina, "individuals rather than the Athenian or Aiginetan states." While some Ionian residents on Aigina may have been hired to carve the inscriptions, the commission had to be Athenian (see n. 23, above).

gods.¹³⁵ But there are no parallels to support the proposition that Athenians either enthusiastically embraced or endeavored to take over the ritual activity of the local cults in a conquered territory.

Concerning the notion of Athenian gods as owners of the Aiginetan temene marked by the Athenian horoi, Barron's suggestion that Apollo was Delios, the patron of the Delian League, is plausible, because his cult continued to be important for Athenians even after the treasury of the Delian League was moved to Athens, and Athena became the new patroness of the League.¹³⁶ The other candidate proposed by Barron, Poseidon Helikonios, is less likely to be the owner of the Aiginetan temene, as he was apparently never of great consequence at Athens.¹³⁷

When seeking to identify the probable owners of the Aiginetan temene, we should be guided by the consideration that the temene were agricultural and were allotted to Athenian gods on Aigina with a view to the income they would produce for those gods. Thus, the gods of the temene must have been property-owning gods with cults and treasuries in Attica. The income from the rent of the temene had to be directed to an existing treasury. In the accounts of loans from the Athenian treasuries of the gods for the years 426/5 and 423/2, numerous cults are listed, among them Poseidon of Sounion (ML 72.62, 83), Apollo Zosterios (ML 72.67), Apollo with epithet not preserved (ML 72.68, 72, 89), and Poseidon of Kalaureia (ML 72.74).¹³⁸ These are cults of Apollo and Poseidon known to have possessed treasuries in the period under consideration, and theoretically any two of them could have been the owners of the Aiginetan temene. While Poseidon was widely worshipped in his various hypostases by Athenian demes, phratries, and other groups, at the state level it was Poseidon Erechtheus who was worshipped on the Acropolis.¹³⁹ Both Poseidon, in his role as the father of Theseus,¹⁴⁰ and Apollo, as patron of the Delian League, were especially prominent in Athenian ideological discourse and visual arts during the second half of the 5th century B.C.¹⁴¹

135. Smarczyk 1990, pp. 118–119 (temene of Athena), 123–124 (temene of Apollo/Poseidon). His is the latest interpretation of horoi 2–13. Considering these horoi as part of his monographic study of the religious policies and political propaganda of Athens during the time of the Delian and Athenian alliances, Smarczyk, unlike Barron and Figueira, took into consideration 13, and acknowledged Furtwängler's point about the multiple and scattered findspots of the horoi.

136. Hornblower 1992, pp. 182–184; Shapiro 1996. Poseidon was also worshipped on Delos: an altar to Poseidon Nauklarios (*IDélos* 2483) in the Agora of Theophrastos (*Guide de Délos* 2005, site 49) and perhaps inside the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods—an altar shared with Aphrodite and Hermes. While Apollo and Poseidon were

both worshipped on Delos, there is no evidence that they were celebrated in common festivals or worshipped together in any other way there.

137. On Poseidon Helikonios, see Farnell 1907, pp. 10–11, 29–33; Prinz 1979, pp. 343–345. Kleidemos (*FGrH* 323F) mentions a sanctuary of Helikonios in Agrai, but seems to imply an etiological connection with the name of the local hill, Helikon, and so perhaps no relationship to the Ionian cult, but the opposite is also possible, i.e., that the cult gave its name to the hill.

138. Incidentally, Andreyev (1974, p. 45) observes that Apollo, Athena, and especially Poseidon were among the Athenian deities who were the last to receive grants of agricultural temene in Attica, behind Herakles, Dionysos, and Demeter and Kore.

139. On the priests of Poseidon Erechtheus, see Parker 1996, pp. 290–294.

140. Parker 1996, pp. 169–170: “As a son of Poseidon he [i.e., Theseus] could become a symbol of Athenian heroism by sea as well as by land and it was with a great sacrifice at Rhion to him and his father (duly commemorated by an inscription at Delphi) that Phormio's fleet celebrated its victories in the Corinthian gulf in 429.”

141. Mills (1997, p. 38) notes that Theseus's meeting with “his sea-god father expresses Athenian claims to power by sea, and in the early years of the Delian League, the emphasis on Theseus's divine paternity is revealing. By identifying with the national hero, every Athenian could have a share in the protection of Poseidon, whose relationship with Theseus must have

Apollo Delios, the original patron of the Delian League who continued to be highly visible in Athenian religious activities, owned a sanctuary in Attica, and hence his treasury could certainly have been the destination for Aiginetan profits.¹⁴²

Around 430–429 B.C., soon after Athenian settlers took possession of Aigina, both Apollo and Poseidon received special attention from the Athenians. A new sanctuary was apparently dedicated to Apollo Delios at Phaleron ca. 430.¹⁴³ In 429 the Athenian admiral Phormio achieved a great victory over the Peloponnesian fleet in the Corinthian Gulf, and a captured ship was dedicated to Poseidon on the spot of the victory (at Poseidon's sanctuary at Rhion), perhaps accompanied by a sacrifice to Poseidon and Theseus. In addition, the Athenians made a dedication of armor and prows of ships to Apollo at Delphi in commemoration of Phormio's victory.¹⁴⁴ The possibility of a direct connection between these historical events and the allotment of real property on Aigina to Apollo and Poseidon at about the same time (430–429 B.C.) is remote, but the singular attention (apparent from this evidence) given to the two deities by the Athenians at the time could have informed the choice of the deities to whom the Aiginetan properties were allocated.

In sum, as attested owners of cults, and also in most cases of treasuries in Athens, Poseidon Erechtheus, or Sounios, or Kalaureios, and Apollo Delios, or less likely, Zosterios, are all possible candidates for the owners of the Aiginetan temene. The evidence collected so far points to separate cults of Apollo and Poseidon. We have to acknowledge, however, that if two deities were designated as co-owners of the Aiginetan temene, they probably had to share an income from common property: unless their income was meant to be deposited in a common treasury, there would be little reason to dedicate temene to two deities at once, rather than dedicating some to Apollo and some to Poseidon.¹⁴⁵ Since we are not aware of a common cult or treasury of Apollo and Poseidon in Athens (or elsewhere), the pairing of the two gods on the Aiginetan horoi remains puzzling.

seemed especially credible after the miraculous success of 480, and the choice of this scene [Theseus's visit to the underwater palace of Poseidon] as a decoration of the wall of the Theseion is highly significant." In addition, on the Parthenon frieze, Poseidon and Apollo (figures E38 and E39) are seated next to each other, engaged in conversation (Neils 2001, pp. 161–164, fig. 86). I thank Chryssanthi Papadopoulou for bringing this detail to my attention. The placement of the two deities next to each other must have had a special significance in the symbolic message of the frieze.

142. In 429/8 B.C., Apollo Delios had a sanctuary in Phaleron, whose accounts were in the hands of the Treasurers of the Other Gods (*IG I³* 383, lines 153–154). On *IG I³* 130 as

possible evidence for Apollo Delios at Phaleron, see Lewis 1960. On Apollo Delios in Athens, see also the discussion in Parker 1996, pp. 149–154.

143. See n. 142, above.

144. Pausanias (10.11.6) reports seeing inscribed dedications of bronze shields and prows of ships at the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi, which he attributes to Phormio's victory in 429, and so Parker (1996, p. 70, n. 59) takes it as "prima facie evidence for Athenian access to Delphi in 429"; cf. Thuc. 2.83–92. The inscription on the top step of the Athenian Stoa at Delphi dated to 479(?) (ML 25) cannot be the one that Pausanias describes, for the latter was, according to Pausanias, on the votive gifts themselves: τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. That Athenians would have continued to use the

Stoa of the Archaic period in Classical times should not be surprising. On the shrine of Poseidon at Rhion, see Strabo 8.2.3 [C 336].

145. Perhaps a depository in the opisthodomos of the Athena temple on the Athenian Acropolis, where the revenues of the Other Gods were collected by the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν after 434/3 (*IG I³* 52), could have been such a common treasury, but the accounts of these Treasurers (e.g., *IG I³* 383, 429/8) show that although housed together, the property of individual gods was kept distinct within them (Linders 1975, p. 35). In the extant fragments of these accounts, there is no evidence of any joint property of Apollo and Poseidon (see also n. 142, above).

ATHENIAN MOTIVES FOR THE ALLOTMENT OF TEMENE ON AIGINA

In contrast to Furtwängler's original theory, all subsequent explanations offered for the presence of Athenian horoi on Aigina have presumed that the primary function of the temene was cultic. Welter envisaged Athenian cleruchs dedicating cultic precincts to the Aiginetan deities.¹⁴⁶ In 1964, Barron cited Athenian "religious propaganda" prior to 431 B.C. as a motive for the creation of cultic precincts for the gods of the Delian League/Athenian alliance on Aigina.¹⁴⁷ More recently, however, Barron has avoided that formula and suggested instead that the dedication of land [to the gods] "would be a natural sequel to conquest," referring to the Athenian defeat of the Aiginetans in 457 B.C.¹⁴⁸ Figueira postulated "Atticizing cults" of local initiative, promoted by Aiginetan exiles returning from Attica and by Ionian residents on Aigina.¹⁴⁹ Smarczyk proposed that agricultural estates were consecrated, in conjunction with local preexisting sanctuaries, by Athenian cleruchs who wished to maintain the preexisting cults while adding elements of worship from the Athenian tradition.¹⁵⁰

The models that invoke Athenian religious propaganda, Atticizing cults, or the maintenance of a syncretized cult, although they appreciate in varying degrees the interdependence of political, economic, and religious motives in the actions of the Athenians,¹⁵¹ have to be dismissed because they are predicated on the use of the temene as cultic precincts or on their use in conjunction with preexisting ritual worship on the island. This claim is not supported by the accumulated evidence. The only explanation that is supported by the evidence is that articulated in 1906 by Furtwängler, namely, that the temene of the gods marked by the Aiginetan horoi represented nothing more than land grants associated with the Athenian occupation of Aigina after 431 B.C.¹⁵² It should be stressed, however, that for Athenians this act was informed by a religious rationale and purpose.

The religious rationale behind the dedication of temene in the land of a defeated subject-state is perhaps best illustrated by the case of Mytilene, where 300 lots (a tenth of the overall number of lots created) were dedicated to unspecified Athenian gods (τοῖς θεοῖς). The gods were included in the distribution of property that came into Athenian hands as a result of conquest. The mathematical principle involved in the apportionment illustrates the Athenian (and perhaps Panhellenic) notion of a fair division of spoils between mortals and divinities. Even though we do not know how many temene altogether were established on Aigina by the Athenians,¹⁵³

146. Welter 1954, cols. 35–36 (see n. 126, above).

147. Barron 1964, pp. 44–45. Figueira (1991, p. 116) objects: "Humiliating rituals of subordination played out in a minor way on Aigina would not impress the Greek world in general with the magnificence of Athens. One may believe that the Athenians took pleasure in gratuitous exercises of power, but such imprudent imperialism was generally out of keeping with imperial policy."

148. Barron 1983, p. 10.

149. Figueira 1991, pp. 115–120.

150. Smarczyk 1990, p. 119. Thucydides (4.98.2), however, testifies that Athenians held that the conquerors were not to make changes to preexisting forms of worship at sanctuaries in conquered lands.

151. For Figueira (1991, p. 116) and Smarczyk (1990, p. 112), religious considerations are the reason to question Barron's proposition that there were Athenian cults on Aigina before the

physical arrival of the Athenians. Both found it hard to imagine that the Aiginetans would have been willing to accept an imposition of nonnative cults in their territory.

152. Furtwängler 1906, vol. 1, p. 6.

153. As we do not know the total number of *kleroi* created on Aigina, we cannot calculate what percentage were temene of the gods. Also, the surviving horoi most likely do not include all the horoi that were erected; some must surely have disappeared over time.

we can still recognize the same religious rationale behind their actions: a need to share with the gods the fruits of victory.

Thus, among the Athenians' motives for dedicating *temene* on Aigina after 431 B.C., first and foremost was the fulfillment of their religious obligations toward their Athenian gods, stemming from the acknowledgment of the role of the divine in human success. In the Greek mind, expressions of gratitude were necessarily bound up with a related concern to avert the gods' potential jealousy over human good fortune. The two notions together underlie the logic of such ritual acts as prayers and votive dedications.¹⁵⁴ Thus, sharing with the gods a portion of the material signs of success—whether in the form of military spoils, first fruits, or special gifts—always served as a precautionary measure to guarantee that the gods would not be jealous of present or future human successes. So it was, too, with the acquisition of land as a result of conquest: a portion had to be given to the gods.¹⁵⁵ As Aigina was a new territorial acquisition for Athens in 431, the distribution of land to Athenians had to include deities as beneficiaries.

A useful side-effect to the religious purpose of allocating *temene* to the gods in conquered territories could have been the strengthening of Athenian rights to the confiscated land from which *temene* were cut. By making a gift of land to the Athenian gods in foreign territories, the dedicants made the gods accomplices in the possession of appropriated land. Because reverence for the gods and what belonged to them was an unwritten law of international conduct in the Greek world,¹⁵⁶ a Greek could not violate a sanctuary, a parcel of sacred land, or a sacred object without being conscious of the possibility of divine retribution.¹⁵⁷ May we not consider the establishment of *temene* of the gods in occupied territories as an especially secure way of appropriating land from the local population? The local inhabitants would be wary of claiming that land back for secular use even if they resumed political control of their territory.

We may thus view the practice of allotting real property to the Athenian gods in newly subjected areas as a way of marking that land as Athenian. Perhaps the underlying notion was that Athenian land was that which the Athenian gods possess and consequently protect: gods of the state are those that own land within it. Incidentally, this made the gods landowners in Attica, a status that was reserved only for citizens. By endowing Athenian gods with real property in conquered lands, Athenians thereby legitimized their own ownership of those lands. After instituting gods as owners in foreign lands, Athenians could then act as righteous defenders of the divinities' property. Thus, the confiscation of land in foreign territories may have implied that the Athenian gods were primary owners, and Athenian citizens the co-owners, rather than the other way around.

A second motive for the establishment of *temene* on Aigina cannot be overlooked: namely, the financial advantage gained by the Athenians in the propagation of leasable agricultural estates of the gods in conquered territories, especially in the time of the Peloponnesian War. Athenians relied on the treasuries of their gods for the monies necessary to support their war efforts, and the creation of fresh sources of revenue through the leasing of newly established sacred properties could help replenish the treasuries of the gods, providing for the repayment of old loans, as well as enabling new ones.

154. Versnel 1981; see esp. Van Straten 1981.

155. See n. 103, above.

156. Thuc. 4.97.2, 4.98.2.

157. Athenians revealed this concern in their treatment of the land of Oropos granted to them by Philip in 338 B.C., a portion of which was sacred to the hero Amphiaraos (Hyp. *Euxenippus* 14–17).

Finally, the establishment of temene on Aigina may have reflected Athenian strategic concerns during the Peloponnesian War. The distribution of temene, roughly indicated by the findspots of the horoi, shows a wide coverage of Aigina, and is linked to agriculturally productive areas. But the placement of a temenos of Athena near Sphendouri, where the soil is rocky, suggests a possible strategic purpose: to establish settlers in areas from which marine traffic in the Saronic Gulf could be observed, or in locations that could serve as beachheads and bases of operations for the Peloponnesians. Thucydides (2.27) is explicit about the Athenian concern to maintain a presence on Aigina so that the Spartans would not land on the island and use it as a base.¹⁵⁸ The presence of coastal towers in the northeast and especially in the south of the island (directly on the coast down from the area marked by 13–18) accords well with this hypothesis.¹⁵⁹

CONCLUSIONS

I have argued above that the Aiginetan temene marked by Athenian horoi 1–13 were agricultural estates that would have been allotted as part of a general distribution of land to Athenian settlers following the expulsion of the indigenous residents and the occupation of Aigina by Athenians in 431 B.C. The temene were dedicated to the Athenian deities in fulfillment of the religious obligations that the Athenians had to honor in consequence of their acquisition of Aigina. The Athenian allocation of agricultural estates on Aigina to the Athenian gods was in accordance with the historically attested practice of the Athenians in dealing with state profits derived from the conquest and exploitation of overseas resources, which in turn reflects the principle that such income must be shared between humans and their divine patrons. Thus, the Athenian treatment of the occupied Aiginetan land complied with a standard procedure, even though the status of Aigina as a territorial holding of Athens and the political status of the Athenian community on the island during the time of the Peloponnesian War escape standard classification.

For two and a half decades, then, rather than being the “eyesore of Piraeus,” Aigina provided the Athenians not only with a place of healing at the local sanctuary of Asklepios, but also with some measure of military security, by denying a base of operations to the Peloponnesian fleet, and by providing Athenians with an opportunity to fulfill their religious obligations and increase their financial gain, acquired through the leases of temene.¹⁶⁰ While failing in so many other places in the attempt to hold their empire together, on Aigina the Athenians found the only certain formula of success for undercutting Aiginetan power once and for all: the transfer of the local population, with its subsequent near-annihilation in exile (Thuc. 4.56.2–57.5), and the physical occupation of Aiginetan territory. After the Peloponnesian War, Aigina would never again rise to the level of its Archaic glory as an economic or military powerhouse of Greece.¹⁶¹

158. See n. 9, above. Another indication of the strategic value of Aigina is that the Athenians considered bringing Epidauros into the Argive alliance, so that they could send aid to Argos directly via the Aigina–Epidauros route rather than by sailing around Cape Scyllaion (Thuc. 5.53). Cf. *ATL* III, p. 320.

159. See n. 122, above.

160. See n. 7, above, on the “eyesore of Piraeus,” and Ar. *Vesp.* 121–124 for the Athenian use of the Asklepieion on Aigina.

161. See Polinskaya 2002, p. 405, n. 20.

REFERENCES

- Agora* = *The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Princeton
- XII = B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C.*, 1970.
- XIX = G. V. Lalonde, M. K. Langdon, and M. B. Walbank, *Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Lands*, 1991.
- Amit, M. 1973. *Great and Small Poleis: A Study in the Relations between the Great Powers and the Small Cities in Ancient Greece*, Brussels.
- Andreyev, V. N. 1974. "Some Aspects of Agrarian Conditions in Attica in the Fifth to Third Centuries B.C.," *Eirene* 12, pp. 5–46.
- ATL* = *The Athenian Tribute Lists*
- I = B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists I*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939.
- III = B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists III*, Princeton 1950.
- Barron, J. P. 1964. "Religious Propaganda of the Delian League," *JHS* 84, pp. 35–48.
- . 1983. "The Fifth-Century Horoi of Aegina," *JHS* 103, pp. 1–12.
- Burkert, W. 1985. *Greek Religion*, trans. J. Raffan, Cambridge, Mass.
- Cartwright, D. 1997. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides: A Companion to Rex Warner's Penguin Translation*, Ann Arbor.
- Chambers, M. H. 1992–1993. "Photographic Enhancement and a Greek Inscription," *CJ* 88, pp. 25–31.
- . 1993. "The Archon's Name in the Athens-Egesta Alliance (*IG I³ 11*)," *ZPE* 98, pp. 171–174.
- . 1994. "Reading Illegible Greek Inscriptions: Athens and Egesta," *Thetis: Mannheimer Beiträge zur klassischen Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns* 1, pp. 49–52.
- Chambers, M. H., R. Gallucci, and P. Spanos. 1990. "Athens' Alliance with Egesta in the Year of Antiphon," in *Acta of the University of New England International Seminar on Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, ed. I. Worthington, Bonn, pp. 38–63 [= *ZPE* 83, pp. 38–63].
- Curtis, R. I. 2001. *Ancient Food Technology*, Leiden.
- De Ste. Croix, G. E. M. 2004. "But What about Aegina?" in *Athenian Democratic Origins and Other Essays*, ed. D. Harvey and R. Parker, Oxford, pp. 371–420.
- Faraklas, N. 1980. "Ἀρχαία Αἴγινα: Ἡ ἀνθρώπινη κατοίκηση" (diss. Univ. of Athens).
- Farnell, L. R. 1907. *The Cults of the Greek States* 4, Oxford.
- Felten, F. 2001. "Kulte in Aigina-Kolonna," in *Zona archeologica: Festschrift für Hans Peter Isler zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. S. Buzzi et al., Bonn, pp. 127–134.
- Figueira, T. J. 1981. *Aegina: Society and Politics*, New York.
- . 1991. *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization*, Baltimore.
- . 1993. *Excursions in Epicoric History: Aiginetan Essays*, Lanham, Md.
- . 1998. *The Power of Money: Coinage and Politics in the Athenian Empire*, Philadelphia.
- Finley, M. I. 1978. "The Fifth-Century Athenian Empire: A Balance-Sheet," in *Imperialism in the Ancient World: The Cambridge University Research Seminar in Ancient History*, ed. P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker, Cambridge, pp. 103–126.
- Foxhall, L. 2007. *Olive Cultivation in Ancient Greece: Seeking the Ancient Economy*, Oxford.
- Furtwängler, A. 1906. *Aegina: Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, 2 vols., Munich.
- Goette, H. R. 2000. *Ο αξιόλογος δήμος Σούνιον: Landeskundliche Studien in Südost-Attika* (Internationale Archäologie 59), Rahden.
- . 2001. *Athens, Attica, and the Megarid: An Archaeological Guide*, rev. ed., London.

- Gomme, A. W. 1956. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides 2*, Oxford.
- Harland, J. P. 1925. *Prehistoric Aigina: A History of the Island in the Bronze Age*, Paris.
- Hatzopoulos, M. 2000–2003. “Νέο απότμημα από την Άφυτι του αττικού ψηφίσματος περί νομίσματος, σταθμών και μέτρων,” *Horos* 14–16, pp. 31–43.
- Henry, A. 1992. “Through a Laser Beam Darkly: Space Age Technology and the Egesta Decree (IG I³ 11),” *ZPE* 91, pp. 137–146.
- . 1993. “Athens and Egesta,” *Ancient History Bulletin* 7, pp. 49–53.
- . 1995. “Pour encourager les autres: Athens and Egesta encore,” *CQ* 45, pp. 237–240.
- . 1998. “The Sigma Enigma,” *ZPE* 120, pp. 45–48.
- . 2001. “The Sigma Stigma,” *ZPE* 137, pp. 93–105.
- Hopper, R. J. 1979. *Trade and Industry in Classical Greece*, London.
- Hornblower, S. 1991. *A Commentary on Thucydides 1*, Oxford.
- . 1992. “The Religious Dimension to the Peloponnesian War, or What Thucydides Does Not Tell Us,” *HSCP* 94, pp. 169–197.
- . 2004. *Thucydides and Pindar: Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry*, Oxford.
- Hornblower, S., and M. C. Greenstock, eds. 1984. *The Athenian Empire* (LACTOR 1), 3rd ed., London.
- Horster, M. 2004. *Landbesitz griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*, Berlin.
- Isager, S., and J. E. Skydsgaard. 1992. *Ancient Greek Agriculture: An Introduction*, London.
- James, P. A., C. B. Mee, and G. J. Taylor. 1994. “Soil Erosion and the Archaeological Landscape of Methana, Greece,” *JFA* 21, pp. 395–416.
- Jennings, J. E. 1988. “Aeginetan Trade, 650–457 B.C.: A Re-Examination” (diss. Univ. of Illinois at Chicago).
- Kallet, L. 1997. Rev. of Mattingly 1996, in *Phoenix* 51, pp. 419–420.
- Keesling, C. M. 2005. “Patrons of Athenian Votive Monuments of the Archaic and Classical Periods: Three Studies,” *Hesperia* 74, pp. 395–426.
- Kehne, P. 1998. *Studienbibliographie zur griechischen Geschichte in klassischer Zeit (500–404 v. Chr.): Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Beziehungen zwischen Athen und Ägina*, Hannover.
- Kerameikos I = W. Kraiker, *Die Nekropolen des 12. bis 10. Jahrhunderts* (Kerameikos I), Berlin 1939.
- Lalonde, G. V. 2006a. *Horos Dios: An Athenian Shrine and Cult of Zeus* (Monumenta graeca et romana 11), Leiden.
- . 2006b. “IG I³ 1055 B and the Boundary of Melete and Kollytos,” *Hesperia* 75, pp. 83–119.
- Langdon, M. K. 1999. “Hymettiana III: The Boundary Markers of Alepovouni,” *Hesperia* 68, pp. 481–508.
- Lewis, D. M. 1960. “Apollo Delios,” *BSA* 55, pp. 190–194.
- . 1993. Rev. of I. Worthington, ed., *Acta of the University of New England International Seminar on Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, in *CR* 43, pp. 460–461.
- Linders, T. 1975. *The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and Their Functions* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 62), Meisenheim.
- Lohmann, H. 1992. “Agriculture and Country Life in Classical Attica,” in *Agriculture in Ancient Greece. Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 16–17 May 1990*, ed. B. Wells, Stockholm, pp. 29–57.
- LSAG² = L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and Its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.*, rev. ed., with a supplement by A. W. Johnston, Oxford 1990.
- Matthaiou, A. 2004. “Περί της IG I³ 11,” in *Αττικάί επιγραφαί: Πρακτικά Συμποσίου εις μνήμην Adolf Wilhelm (1864–1950)*, ed. A. Matthaiou, Athens, pp. 99–122.
- Mattingly, H. 1996. *The Athenian Empire Restored: Epigraphic and Historical Studies*, Ann Arbor.
- . 1999. “What Are the Right Dating Criteria for Fifth-Century Attic Texts?” *ZPE* 126, pp. 117–122.
- Mee, C., and H. Forbes, eds. 1997. *A Rough and Rocky Place: The Landscape and Settlement History of the*

- Methana Peninsula, Greece: Results of the Methana Survey Project, Sponsored by the British School at Athens and the University of Liverpool*, Liverpool.
- Meiggs, R. 1966. "The Dating of Fifth-Century Attic Inscriptions," *JHS* 86, pp. 86–98.
- . 1972. *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford.
- Mills, S. 1997. *Theseus, Tragedy, and the Athenian Empire*, Oxford.
- ML = R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, eds., *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, rev. ed., Oxford 1988.
- Mylonopoulos, J. 2003. *Πελοπόννησος οικητήριον Ποσειδώνος/Heiligtümer und Kulte des Poseidon auf der Peloponnes (Kernos Suppl. 13)*, Liège.
- Neils, J. 2001. *The Parthenon Frieze*, Cambridge.
- Ober, J. 1995. "Greek Horoi: Artificial Texts and the Contingency of Meaning," in *Methods in the Mediterranean: Historical and Archaeological Views on Texts and Archaeology (Mnemosyne Suppl. 135)*, ed. D. B. Small, Leiden, pp. 91–123.
- Osborne, R., ed. 2000. *The Athenian Empire (LACTOR 1)*, 4th ed., London.
- Parker, R. 1996. *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford.
- Polinskaya, I. 2001. "Defining Local Religious Systems in Ancient Greece: The Case Study of the Aiginetan Pantheon" (diss. Stanford Univ.).
- . 2002. "A New Inscribed Funerary Monument from Aigina," *Hesperia* 71, pp. 399–413.
- Prinz, F. 1979. *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie (Zetemata 72)*, Munich.
- Rackham, O., and J. A. Moody. 1992. "Terraces," in *Agriculture in Ancient Greece. Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 16–17 May, 1990*, ed. B. Wells, Stockholm, pp. 123–130.
- Ritchie, C. E., Jr. 1985. "The Athenian Boundary Stones of Public Domain" (diss. Univ. of Colorado).
- Rudhardt, J. 1992. *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique*, 2nd ed., Paris.
- Runnels, C. N. 1981. "A Diachronic Study and Economic Analysis of Millstones from the Argolid, Greece" (diss. Indiana Univ.).
- Runnels, C. N., and M. H. Munn. 1994. "Appendix A: A Register of Sites," in M. H. Jameson, C. N. Runnels, and T. H. van Andel, *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day*, Stanford, pp. 415–538.
- Samons, L. J. 2000. *Empire of the Owl: Athenian Imperial Finance*, Stuttgart.
- Schäfer, T. 1992. "Aegina: Aphaia-Tempel XV: Becken und Ständer aus Marmor und Kalkstein," *AA* 30, pp. 7–37.
- Schiller, A. K. 1996. "Political Territoriality of the Classical Athenians, 508–338 B.C." (diss. Univ. of Wisconsin).
- Shapiro, A. H. 1996. "Athena, Apollo, and the Religious Propaganda of the Athenian Empire," in *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1993*, ed. P. Hellström and B. Alroth, Uppsala, pp. 101–113.
- Smarczyk, B. 1990. *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik und politischen Propaganda Athens im Delisch-Attischen Seebund (Quellen und Forschungen zur antiken Welt 5)*, Munich.
- Stroud, R. 2006. *The Athenian Empire on Stone: David M. Lewis Memorial Lecture, Oxford, 2006*, Athens.
- Thiersch, H. [n.d.] "Äginetische Studien," unpublished manuscript, Archives of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich.
- Threatte, L. 1980. *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions 1: Phonology*, Berlin.
- Trevett, J. 1999. Rev. of Mattingly 1996, in *JHS* 119, pp. 205–206.
- Tsirigoti-Drakotou, I. 2000. "Νέα στήλη πεσόντων από το Δημόσιον Σήμα: Μια πρώτη παρουσίαση," *ArchDelt* 55 A', pp. 87–112.
- Van Straten, F. 1981. "Gifts for the Gods," in Versnel 1981, pp. 65–151.
- Versnel, H. S. 1981. *Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World (Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 2)*, Leiden.
- Vickers, M. 1996. "Fifth Century Chronology and the Coinage Decree," *JHS* 116, pp. 171–174.
- Walbank, M. B. 1978. *Athenian Proxenes of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Toronto.
- Washington, H. S. 1894–1895. "A Petrographical Sketch of Aegina and Methana, Parts I–III," *The Journal of Geology* 2:8 (1894), pp. 789–813; 3:1 (1895), pp. 21–46; 3:2 (1895), pp. 138–168.
- Wells, B., C. Runnels, and E. Zangger. 1990. "The Berbati-Limnes Archaeological Survey: The 1988 Season," *OpAth* 18, pp. 207–238.
- Welter, G. 1925. "Forschungen auf Ägina," *AA* 1925, pp. 1–12, 317–321.
- . 1938. *Aigina*, Berlin.
- . 1949. "Αρχαιολογικά και ιστορικά μελέται 1–60," *Πολέμων* 4, pp. 141–153.
- . 1954. "Aeginetica XXV–XXXVI," *AA* 1954, cols. 28–48.
- Woodhead, A. G. 1992. *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., Norman, Okla.

Irene Polinskaya

KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

STRAND

LONDON WC2R 2LS

UNITED KINGDOM

irene.polinskaya@kcl.ac.uk