GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE MONOGRAPHS are published by the editors of GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE STUDIES as supplements to the quarterly journal. For the list of those currently in print and of GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE SCHOLARLY AIDS, see the inside back cover.

Communications to the editors may be addressed to the Senior Editor, KENT J. RIGSBY, Box 4715 Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina 27706, U.S.A. Orders for purchase and for subscription should be placed with the Circulation Manager, *GRBS*, at the same address.

GREEK·ROMAN·AND·BYZANTINE·MONOGRAPHS

NUMBER 10
Price $16.50; *to subscribers* $13.20

GREEK·ROMAN·AND BYZANTINE·MONOGRAPHS

NUMBER 10

Photograph: Edmond J. Morrissey

STERLING DOW
VIRO BONO DISCENDI PERITO
ANNUM OCTOGESIMUM FORTITER INEUNTI

STUDIES PRESENTED TO STERLING DOW

ON HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

Organizing Committee

Alan L. Boegehold
William M. Calder III
John McK. Camp II
William T. Loomis
Kent J. Rigsby
Leslie Threatte, Jr
Stephen V. Tracy
John S. Traill

DUKE UNIVERSITY · DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

1984

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Contents

STERLING DOW becomes eighty on 19 November 1983. In honor of that event and in appreciation for his enormously beneficial influence on our lives, his friends and former students dedicate this volume of articles to him. As a teacher of undergraduates, he has kindled in many who went on to other fields a lifelong enthusiasm for the Greek achievement. Graduate students he has taught more by example than precept, sharing with them the excitement of discovering a new fact, or of gleaning new insights by looking at a familiar fact with a fresh eye, preferably in Greek sunlight! With all students and colleagues, he has been patient, endlessly available, and remarkably shrewd in matching the scholar with the right topic—who can deny that the credit for much of our best work belongs to the man whose pinpointed suggestion first started us on our way? And then there have been the lighter moments, coffee at the University Restaurant, weekly Classics lunches at the Union, teas in Loring Hall, cocktails at Brattle Street, late evenings sipping retsina in Crete, and hilarious but effective negotiations with Greek bus drivers. Above all, there has been the lifelong encouragement of our lives and sponsorship of our careers, tempered with appropriate criticism. We rejoice in your excellent health, S.D., and look forward to many more years of your companionship.

William T. Loomis

Preface

STERLING DOW was born November 19, 1903, in Portland, Maine. After three years at Kennebunk High School he completed the final year of his secondary education at the Phillips Exeter Academy. He entered Harvard University in the fall of 1921, completing the A.B. degree there in 1925. There followed a very important year in Cambridge, England, where he was Fiske Scholar at Trinity College. He completed the M.A. degree at Harvard University in 1928 and the Ph.D. there in 1936.

In 1931 Elizabeth Sanderson Flagg of Andover, Massachusetts, and Sterling Dow were married. The Dows have a son, a daughter, and five grandchildren. All have retained a lifelong interest in the region of their birth.

Shortly after their marriage the Dows departed for Europe. After a summer in Germany they traveled to Stamboul on the Orient Express, and they reached Athens in the fall of 1931. There in the spring of that same year had begun the excavations of the Athenian Agora under the direction of T. Leslie Shear, Sr. Although he did not himself conduct any of the excavations—he did excavate at Corinth for one season—the young Sterling Dow had the opportunity to be in Athens during the early years of the Agora excavations, when so many interesting discoveries were being made. It was at this time that his associations began with Homer Thompson, Eugene Vanderpool, James Oliver, Lucinda Talcott, Dorothy Burr (Thompson), Lucy Shoe (Meritt), Virginia Grace, Alison Frantz, and others. He thus belonged from the beginning to that group of scholars working on the publication of the finds of these excavations which was to be an important part of a distinguished generation of American archaeologists, historians, and φιλόλογοι who were to remain in contact throughout their careers. These years in Athens were also the beginning of Professor Dow's association with the American School of Classical Studies, an institution to which he continues to make lasting contributions and which he has encouraged so many of his students to attend. His principal teachers in Athens were Rhys Carpenter, Humfrey Payne, Richard Stillwell, and, at Corinth, Burt Hodge Hill. He perfected during this period the art of making squeezes of inscriptions, and his refinements in technique have subsequently been passed on to his students. He worked especially on the inscriptions concerned with the Prytaneis of ancient Athens, and his researches included the discovery of the *kleroterion*. The stay in Athens was to last five years, and when he returned to Harvard in 1936 he had not only completed the doctorate and his first book, but he had assembled a large collection of squeezes and notes. Many of these notes, which he gives freely to students, have provided inspiration and material for a lifetime of research.

The imposing list of Sterling Dow's publications spans a period of more than fifty years, and it continues to grow. His fundamental and still indispensable study of the

Prytaneis of ancient Athens appeared as the first supplement to *Hesperia* in 1937. It was based on years of careful research in Athens, the sort of painstaking examination of the actual inscriptions which he continually urges his students to conduct. His interest in Greek history and inscriptions had been encouraged by William Scott Ferguson, his chief mentor at Harvard, and it has continued since. In Athens he also met Johannes Kirchner, the senior German epigrapher who edited the *editio minor* of the post-Eukleidean texts in the *Inscriptiones graecae*, and the two men traveled all over Attica in connection with Kirchner's work on the last fascicle of this publication, which contains the grave monuments. They also collaborated on the article "Inschriften vom attischen Lande," which appeared in the *Athenische Mitteilungen* for 1937. Professor Dow was later to do work of great importance on the history of Greece during the Bronze Age, and he continues to have a great interest in the history of writing and in the writings of Homer, especially their relation to the history of the Aegean. His deduction that the Linear B tablets were in an early form of Greek anticipated their decipherment by Ventris (acknowledged on p.24 of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*). His many reviews testify to his service to scholarly journals. He was also responsible for the founding of *Archaeology* and assisted in the founding of *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*. To these and other periodicals he has often been of service as a member of the editorial board. But above all it is the breadth of Sterling Dow's scholarly interests which a perusal of the bibliography shows. There is in fact scarcely any aspect of Greece, from remote times until the present day, which does not fascinate Sterling Dow.

The return to Harvard in 1936 began a long period of teaching at that university which continued until 1970. It was interrupted only by wartime service with the O.S.S. (spent in Washington and Cairo—in Egypt he also founded the American Research Center) and by grants or visiting professorships spent elsewhere. He became John E. Hudson Professor of Archaeology in Harvard University in 1949. Entrance to emeritus status at Harvard in 1970 did not bring his teaching career to a close: he was Distinguished Professor of Greek Civilization and History at Boston College in 1970–1977 and Blegen Distinguished Professor of Classics at Vassar College in 1978.

A third generation of Dow students is already well advanced. It is not easy to characterize the 'Dow student', and probably impossible to give a comprehensive list. It is natural to remember first those whose dissertations he directed at Harvard, those graduates of the famous seminars in Greek Epigraphy who were frequent and welcome visitors to Widener 690. Most of these spent some time in Greece at Professor Dow's urging, usually at the American School of Classical Studies. The list of his Harvard Ph.D. students is long, although not yet complete, but it would fail to take into account numerous students who completed doctorates at other universities who are nevertheless in some sense Dow students because they received so much help on their dissertations from him. Professor Dow's frequent visits to Greece provided opportunities for fruitful meetings with many students, and others met him at his weekly luncheons at Harvard or had known him earlier as Harvard undergraduates. Completion of the doctorate has never meant cessation of consultations, as his efforts on behalf of his students continue

thereafter. He is always most generous with advice and encouragement about research and always ready to write yet another letter in support of his younger colleagues. Another group of his students are the far larger number of undergraduates he taught, both at Harvard and at Boston College. Sterling Dow introduced many undergraduates to Beginning Greek and to Greek History. Of these some later pursued studies in Classics or allied fields, but the majority went out into the world in a wide variety of the professions, carrying with them some idea of the importance of Greek civilization. The office in Widener 690 is also a place to which many of the Greek nationals studying at Harvard are welcomed, and Professor Dow has always done much to make these Greeks of today feel at home in a foreign environment. In all his students he develops an interest in Greece, both ancient and modern, an interest in going there to study its culture at firsthand.

As teacher and friend Sterling Dow has a peculiar talent for encouraging the young to develop themselves. He knows how to listen to and to draw out younger minds, giving the right encouragement or advice just when it is needed. He is also an indefatigable organizer of groups, of luncheon meetings or, at Athens, of gatherings after tea to hear informal lectures with discussions afterwards. He knows how to get people together in a fruitful way but also in happy surroundings. His own fine wit and his capabilities as a raconteur never fail to add much laughter to any gathering of which he is a part.

Sterling Dow's honors are too numerous to permit more than a very selective list here. He is a past president of the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Classical League, and the Classical Association of New England. He is an Honorary Life Member of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in London, and the Honorable American Secretary for that organization and for the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, also in London. He is an Honorary Member of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Berlin. He was a Guggenheim Fellow on three separate occasions (1934–1935, 1959–1960, 1966–1967) and has been a member of the advisory board of the Guggenheim Foundation. He was Sather Professor of Classical Literature at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1964 and Annual Professor of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens in 1966–1967. The University of California, Berkeley, has awarded him the LL.D. degree.

The eightieth birthday of this remarkable and distinguished man is a joyous occasion. All of us, students, colleagues, and friends, join in extending to Sterling Dow the most cordial of greetings. We gladly recognize his great influence on us as scholars and teachers and thank him for providing us an outstanding example for emulation.

Acknowledgement

The Organizing Committee would like to thank all the generous individuals whose contributions made the publication of this volume possible. We express our gratitude also to William H. Willis and especially to Kent J. Rigsby for their kindness and generosity in doing so much to further this project. Thanks are also due to James Andrews, E. J. Morrissey, Elizabeth Pritchett, and Louise P. Smith. We extend our thanks also to Elizabeth Dow, involved in this project from the beginning, for her constant help and encouragement, without which its realization would not have been possible.

STERLING DOW

OCTOGESIMA NATALICIA CELEBRANTI
OMNIA FAUSTA FELICIA PRECANTUR
DISCIPULI COLLEGAE AMICI

The Department of Classical Art, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The Department of Education, The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America

The Department of the Classics, Harvard University

Dean Donald J. White, on behalf of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Boston College

The Department of Classics, The University of California, Berkeley

The Department of Classics, The Ohio State University

Mr and Mrs Samuel Adshead
Joseph Alsop
Darrell A. Amyx
Milton V. Anastos
John K. Anderson
Dr and Mrs W. French Anderson
O. Kimball Armayor
Ernst Badian
Beryl Barr-Sharrar
Barbara Bell
Emmett L. Bennett
Charles Rowan Beye, in memory of Ted Doyle
William R. and Jane Biers
Judith Binder
Peter H. von Blanckenhagen
Alan L. and Julie Boegehold
Ladislaus J. Bolchazy
Larissa Bonfante
Terrence A. Boring
Bernard V. Bothmer
Cedric and Patricia N. Boulter
John H. Brougham
Frank E. Brown
Truesdell S. Brown
William J. Bryant
F. Jackson Bryce, Jr
Eugene W. Bushala
William M. Calder III
John McK. Camp II
Harry J. Carroll, Jr†
Kevin Carroll
Catherine J. Castner
Mortimer Chambers
Alston H. Chase
Paul A. Clement

Daniel K. Clift
Kevin Clinton
Frederick M. Combellack
Steele Commager
W. R. Connor
Guy L. Cooper III
Jean Demos
William Bell Dinsmoor, Jr
Elizabeth Flagg Dow
Glanville Downey
Thomas Drew-Bear
Barbara T. Drushell
Gloria Duclos
Lowell and Susan Edmunds
C. W. J. Eliot
Kathleen O. Elliott
Dr Laurence B. and Alice Whiting Ellis
DeCoursey Fales, Jr
J. Rufus Fears
Louis H. Feldman
Clive Foss
Alison Frantz
Edward French
Michael Gagarin
Tudor Gardiner
Daniel and Helen Geagan
Demetrius J. Georgacas
Elsa Peterson Gibson
David Gill, S.J.
George Goold
Arthur E. and Joyce Gordon
Virginia R. Grace
J. Walter Graham
John Grant
Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr
David F. Grose
Erich S. Gruen
Christian Habicht
Mason Hammond
G. M. A. Hanfmann
Hardy Hansen
Daniel Harmon
Robert F. Healey, S.J.
Albert Henrichs
Kevin Herbert
John W. Howard, S.J.
Richard H. Howland
Denison Bingham Hull
George Huxley
Archbishop Iakovos
Henry R. and Sara A. Immerwahr
Philip E. Isett
Boromir Jordan
Elias Kapetanopoulos
John J. Keaney
Frederick F. Kempner
George A. Kennedy
John J. Kerr, Jr
Prof. and Mrs G. N. Knauer
Bernard Knox
Dennis M. Kratz
John H. Kroll
Mabel L. Lang
Phyllis Williams Lehmann

Hunter Lewis
Jerzy Linderski
Charlotte R. Long
William T. Loomis
Albert B. and Mary Louise Carlson Lord
John Patrick Lynch
Marian H. McAllister
Marsh McCall
James R. McCredie
John McDiarmid
William A. McDonald
William L. MacDonald
Pierre and Theodora MacKay
Paul MacKendrick
Hugh McLean
Wallace McLeod
Ramsay MacMullen
Mary Ann Fitz-Hugh Mace
A. Lily Macrakis
Paul Manolis
Thomas R. Martin
Frederick R. Matson
Jon Mikalson
Stella Grobel Miller
Stephen G. Miller
Fordyce Mitchel
David Gordon Mitten
Edmond J. Morrissey
Charles E. Murgia
Blaise Nagy
Gregory Nagy
Vincent P. O'Brien
Al. N. Oikonomides
David W. Packard
Robert A. Padgug
Martha Holman Paull
Frederic Peachy
Lionel Pearson
Ann Perkins
John Perlin
Dia M. L. Philippides
John and Mary Zelia Philippides
Henry Phillips
Joanne H. Phillips
Leon Pomerance
Edith Porada
H. David Potter
Robert L. Pounder
W. Kendrick and Elizabeth Dow Pritchett
Gerald M. Quinn
Leo Raditza
Harald A. T. Reiche
Linda Collins Reilly
Robert and Joan Renehan
Kent J. Rigsby
Henry S. and Rebecca C. W. Robinson
Carl Roebuck
Carl Ruck
L. Hugh Sackett
Margaret A. Schatkin
Robert O. Schlaifer
Robert Scranton
Michèle S. Simon

Dennis N. Skiotis
Evelyn Lord Smithson
Frank M. Snowden, Jr
Doreen Canaday Spitzer
Richard S. Stewart
Zeph Stewart
Richard Stillwell† and Celia R. Stillwell
H. Lloyd Stow
Ronald S. Stroud
Gerald Sullivan
Robert Dale Sweeney
Carol G. Thomas
Homer A. and Dorothy B. Thompson
Margaret Thompson
Margaret MacVeagh Thorne
Stuart E. Thorne
Leslie Threatte, Jr
Stephen V. Tracy and June W. Allison
John and Terry-Ellen Traill
Albert H. Travis
Charles S. Tuckerman
Frieda S. Upson
Lloyd B. Urdahl
Eugene Vanderpool
Cornelius C. Vermeule III
Emily Vermeule
Spyros Vryonis
Stephen V. F. Waite
Paul Wallace
Francis R. and Mary Walton
William Whallon
Donald White
Charles K. Williams II
George Huntston Williams
William H. Willis
James R. Wiseman
Leonard Woodbury
A. Geoffrey Woodhead
William F. Wyatt, Jr

We record here the names of deceased students and younger scholarly associates:

Edwin J. Doyle
Capt. William Feaster
Dorothy Rounds
James C. Rubright
Robert L. Stroock
Constantine G. Yavis

Bibliography of Sterling Dow through 1983

RESEARCH

1930

"A Red-Figured Lekythos with the Καλός-Name Φαίνιππος." *HSCP* Vol. 41, pages 63–72.

1933

"Notes on Three Decrees of B.C. 306/5." *AJA* Vol. 37, No. 3, pages 412–16.

"The List of *Archontes*, *I.G.*² II 1706." *Hesperia* Vol. 2, No. 3, pages 418–46.

"The Decree of the Athenian Garrisons Honoring Theophrastos, *I.G.*² II 1303" (with William Scott Ferguson). *Hesperia* Vol. 2, No. 3, pages 447–49.

"New Readings in the Archon Lists *I.G.*² II 1713 and 1716." *AJA* Vol. 37, No. 4, pages 578–88.

1934

"The Lists of Athenian *Archontes*." *Hesperia* Vol. 3, No. 2, pages 140–90.

Report on the exploration of the bed of the Ilissos River made by Richard P. Breaden and Sterling Dow, in Elizabeth Pierce Blegen, "News Items from Athens." *AJA* Vol. 38, No. 3, pages 469–70.

Review of William Scott Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*. *CP* Vol. 29, No. 2, pages 152–55.

1935

"Greek Inscriptions: Monumental Stele Honoring Ephebes; Monument to the Athletic Victor Menodoros." *Hesperia* Vol. 4, No. 1, pages 71–90.

"Addendum to *Hesperia*, III (1934), no. 17." *Hesperia* Vol. 4, No. 1, page 91.

Report on an investigation of the Hymettan quarries, in Elizabeth Pierce Blegen, "News Items from Athens." *AJA* Vol. 39, No. 2, page 268.

1936

"Panathenaic Amphorae from the Hellenistic Period." *Hesperia* Vol. 5, No. 1, pages 50–58.

"New Kinds of Evidence for Dating Polyeuktos." *AJA* Vol. 40, No. 1, pages 57–70.

Review of Johannes Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*. *AJA* Vol. 40, No. 1, pages 174–76.

1937

Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors, with an appendix on the Athenian Allotment Machine (*Hesperia* Suppl. 1). iv + 259 pages, 104 photographic illustrations.

"Athenian Decrees of 216–212 B.C." *HSCP* Vol. 48, pages 105–26.

"Chryseis: A Study of the Evidence in Regard to the Mother of Philip V" (with Charles Farwell Edson, Jr). *HSCP* Vol. 48, pages 127–80.

"The Egyptian Cults in Athens." *HThR* Vol. 30, No. 4, pages 183–232.

1938

"Inschriften vom attischen Lande" (with Johannes Kirchner). *AthMitt* Vol. 62 (1937), pages 1–12.

Summary of 1936 Ph.D. thesis *Athenian Inscriptions in the Official Lettering of 230–200 B.C.* Harvard University, *Summaries of Theses, 1936*, pages 182–83.

Review of Johannes Kirchner, *Inscriptiones Graecae* II 3.i², *Dedicationes, Tituli Honorarii, Tituli Sacri*. *AJP* Vol. 59, No. 3, pages 357–60.

Review of Benjamin Dean Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*. *AJA* Vol. 42, No. 4, pages 601–03.

1939

"Aristotle, the Kleroteria, and the Courts." *HSCP* Vol. 50, pages 1–34.

Review of David Moore Robinson and James Walter Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus* VIII *The Hellenic House*; and David Moore Robinson and Paul Augustus Clement, *Excavations at Olynthus* IX *The Chalcidic Mint*. *AHR* Vol. 44, No. 3, pages 580–81.

Review of Arnold Wycombe Gomme, *Essays in Greek History and Literature*. *CP* Vol. 34, No. 2, pages 150–57.

1940

"The First Enneëteric Delian Pythaïs, *IG* II² 2336." *HSCP* Vol. 51 (volume for William Scott Ferguson), pages 111–24.

"Kleroterion." Pauly-Wissowa *RE* Suppl. Vol. 7, columns 322–28.

Review of R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*. *AJP* Vol. 61, No. 1, pages 121–22.

1941

"Greek Inscriptions: The Athenian Law Code of 411–401 B.C." *Hesperia* Vol. 10, No. 1, pages 31–37.

"A Family of Sculptors from Tyre." *Hesperia* Vol. 10, No. 4, pages 351–60.

"Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists, III." *TAPA* Vol. 72, pages 70–84.

Review of William Bell Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries*. *AJA* Vol. 45, No. 1, pages 145–46.

Review of Robert Lorentz Scranton, *Greek Walls*. *CW* Vol. 35, No. 9, pages 104–07.

Review of Benjamin Dean Meritt, Henry Theodore Wade-Gery, and Malcolm F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* I. *AJA* Vol. 45, No. 4, pages 640–43.

1942

"Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists. I." *CP* Vol. 37, No. 4, pages 371–84.

"Corinthiaca: I, The Month Phoinikaios." *AJA* Vol. 46, No. 1, pages 69–72.

"Corinthiaca: II, A List of Names under Rubrics; III, Various Inscriptions of the Greek Period; IV, The Decrees; V, The Paucity of Inscriptions from Ante-146 B.C." *HSCP* Vol. 53, pages 89–119.

"Two Families of Athenian Physicians." *BullHistMedicine* Vol. 12, No. 1, pages 18–26.

"The Aigaleos-Parnes Wall." *Hesperia* Vol. 11, No. 2, pages 193–211.

"A Leader of the Anti-Roman Party in Athens in 88 B.C." *CP* Vol. 37, No. 3, pages 311–14.

Review of Benjamin Dean Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*. *CP* Vol. 37, No. 3, pages 323–28.

Review of D. A. Amyx, *An Amphora with a Price Inscription in the Hearst Collection at San Simeon*. *AJA* Vol. 46, No. 3, pages 451–52.

Review of David Moore Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus* Part X *Metal and Miscellaneous Finds*. *AHR* Vol. 47, No. 4, page 824.

Review of Carl Angus Roebuck, *A History of Messenia from 369 to 146 B.C.* *AJA* Vol. 46, No. 4, page 584.

1943

"Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists. II." *CP* Vol. 38, No. 1, pages 20–27.

"Demetrios of Phaleron and His Lawgiving" (with Albert H. Travis). *Hesperia* Vol. 12, No. 1, pages 144–65.

Review of John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*. *CW* Vol. 36, No. 11, pages 127–30.

Review of William Kendrick Pritchett and Benjamin Dean Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*. *CP* Vol. 38, No. 2, pages 146–48.

Review of David Moore Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus* Part XI *Necrolynthia: A Study in Greek Burial Customs and Anthropology*. *AHR* Vol. 48, No. 2, pages 303–05.

1944

"The Guardians, Socrates, and Board 'in Prytaneion.'" *CW* Vol. 37 No. 11, pages 130–32.

"The Foot of Sarapis, I. Primary Documents." (with Frieda S. Upson). *Hesperia* Vol. 13, No. 1, pages 58–77.

"Spacing, etc., in *Hesperia* 11 (1942), Pp. 282–287, No. 55" (Appendix 3 to William Scott Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones"). *HThR* Vol. 37, No. 2, pages 135–36.

"A Fragment of a Colossal Acrolithic Statue in the Conservatori." *AJA* Vol. 48, No. 3, pages 240–50.

Review of Gladys R. Davidson and Dorothy Burr Thompson, *Small Objects from the Pnyx*. *AHR* Vol. 50, No. 1, page 163.

Review of William Kendrick Pritchett, *The Five Attic Tribes after Kleisthenes*. *AHR* Vol. 50, No. 1, pages 163–64.

1945

Review of *Corinth, Results of Excavations* Vol. I Part II, Richard Stillwell, *Architecture*; Vol. VII Part I, Saul S. Weinberg, *Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery*; Vol. XI, Charles H. Morgan II, *Byzantine Pottery*. *AHR* Vol. 50, No. 2, pages 310–12.

1947

Review of Robert Cohen, *La Grèce et l'Hellénisation du monde antique*, 2nd ed. *AJP* Vol. 68, No. 1, pages 98–100.

1949

"Archons of the Period after Sulla." *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 8), pages 116–25.

"Names, Theophoric Personal (Greek)." *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, page 597.

1950

"Archaeological Indexes: A Review Article." *AJA* Vol. 54, No. 1, pages 41–57.

Foreword to "Homer: The Epics and Their Period, a Symposium." *AJA* Vol. 54, No. 3, page 161.

Review of David Moore Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus* Part XIII *Vases Found in 1934 and 1938*. *AHR* Vol. 56, No. 1, page 171.

Review of Constantine G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*. *AJA* Vol. 54, No. 4, pages 436–39.

1951

"Corinthiaca: VI, The Latin Elegiacs of ca. 101 B.C.; VII, Greek Elegiacs of the Roman Empire." *HSCP* Vol. 60 (*A. S. Pease septuagenario*), pages 81–100.

"A New Copy of a Forged Celtiberian Plate." *Archaeology* Vol. 4, No. 4, pages 193–98.

"*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*: Classical Studies at the Mid-Century. A Review Article" ("The *OCD* as a Whole" and "Greek Articles" by S. Dow, "Latin Articles" by Arthur Stanley Pease). *CW* Vol. 44, No. 15, pages 225–54.

Review of Robert Cohen, *La Grèce et l'Hellénisation du monde antique*, 3rd ed. *AJP* Vol. 72, No. 1, page 104.

Review of Hermann Bengtson, *Einführung in die alte Geschichte*. *AHR* Vol. 56, No. 4, pages 850–51.

Review of Felix Jacoby, *Atthis: the Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens*. *CJ* Vol. 46, No. 8, pages 414–16.

1952

"Greek Numerals." *AJA* Vol. 56, No. 1, pages 21–23.

Review [more detailed] of Hermann Bengtson, *Einführung in die alte Geschichte*. *AJP* Vol. 73, No. 3, pages 323–25.

1953

"Athenians Real, Dubious, and Non-existent." In George E. Mylonas and Doris Raymond, edd., *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* Vol. II, pages 358–62.

Review of Kurt von Fritz and Ernst Kapp, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens and Related Texts*. *AJP* Vol. 74, No. 1, pages 100–04.

Review of David M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus* Part XIV *Terracottas, Lamps, and Coins Found in 1934 and 1938*. *AHR* Vol. 58, No. 3, pages 586–87.

Review of James Hayes, *The Roman Letter* (with J. P. Elder). *Speculum* Vol. 28, No. 2, pages 396–99.

1954

"Minoan Writing" (incorporating bibliographies, annals of discoveries and publications, reviews of eleven books, studies of individual texts, and seven essays on 'Minoan literacy'). *AJA* Vol. 58, No. 2, pages 77–129 [reprinted in Bobbs-Merrill, Series in European History, No. E-58].

Review of Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*, 2nd ed. *AJA* Vol. 58, No. 2, pages 155–57.

"The Bibliography of Classical Studies (J. A. Nairn's *Classical Hand-List*, 3rd ed.). A Review Article." *CW* Vol. 48, No. 1, pages 1–8.

Review of Arthur H. Cole, Hedwig Schleiffer, and Ruth Crandall, *Index to Economic History Essays in Festschriften, 1900–1950*. *CB* Vol. 31, No. 4, page 47.

1956

"The Classical Authors Since 1900: Platnauer's *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship*" (with ten others). *CW* Vol. 49, No. 9, pages 113–28, and Vol. 49, No. 11, pages 145–60 (S. Dow, who was editor, wrote the Introduction, pages 113–16, and the review of the sections on Homer, pages 116–19).

"Greek Abbreviations" (section 348), "Numerical Notation" (section 348A), "The Athenian Civil Month" (section 350d). In Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 2nd ed. revised by Gordon M. Messing, pages 104–04b, 722.

1957

"Lakhares, a Rare Athenian Name." *CP* Vol. 52, No. 2, pages 106–07.

"Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*: Chronological List of Editions and Printings of Greek." (Mimeographed).

1958

"Mycenaean Arithmetic and Numeration." *CP* Vol. 53, No. 1, pages 32–34.

"ΟΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΟΝ." *HSCP* Vol. 63, pages 423–36.

1959

"The Law Codes of Athens." *ProcMassHistSoc* Vol. 71, pages 3–36 [reprinted in Bobbs-Merrill, Series in European History, No. E–60].

"The Term 'Mycenaean.'" *La Parola del Passato* Vol. 14, pages 161–65.

Review of R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* III *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*. *AJP* Vol. 80, No. 2, pages 198–204.

Review of Lionel Casson, *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times*. *AHR* Vol. 64, No. 4, pages 983–84.

Review of M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed. *AJP* Vol. 80, No. 4, pages 436–40.

1960

"The Athenian Calendar of Sacrifices: The Chronology of Nikomakhos' Second Term." *Historia* Vol. 9, No. 3, pages 270–93.

"The Athenian *Ephêboi*; Other Staffs, and the Staff of the *Diogeneion*." *TAPA* Vol. 91, pages 381–409.

"The Greeks in the Bronze Age." In *XI^e Congrès international des sciences historiques, Rapports* Vol. II, pages 1–34 [reprinted in Bobbs-Merrill, Series in European History, No. E–59, and as article XI in Geoffrey S. Kirk, *The Language and Background of Homer* (1965); for Supplement see under 1962].

"The Greek Inscription from Qasr Burqu': Readings," in Henry Field, "North Arabian Desert Archaeological Survey, 1925–1950." *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology* Vol. 45, No. 2, pages 161–63.

"A Greek Passage Erroneously Identified" and "A Greek Passage Correctly Assigned." *CW* Vol. 53, No. 9, pages 285–86, and Vol. 54, No. 1, pages 19–20.

"The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire: Rostovtzeff's Classic after Thirty-Three Years." *AHR* Vol. 65, No. 3, pages 544–53.

Review of T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*. *AJP* Vol. 81, No. 4, pages 422–34.

1961

"The Walls Inscribed with Nikomakhos' Law Code." *Hesperia* Vol. 30, No. 1, pages 58–73.

"The 'Axon', *Inscriptiones Graecae* I² 2." *AJA* Vol. 65, No. 4, pages 349–56.

"Thucydides and the Number of Acharnian *Hoplitai*." *TAPA* Vol. 92, pages 66–80; summary in *CW* Vol. 55, No. 2, page 82.

Review of Albert Bates Lord, *The Singer of Tales*. *CW* Vol. 54, No. 4, page 127.

Review of Lilian H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. *CW* Vol. 55, No. 3, page 88.

1962

"The Parties Who Honoured Paulina in Aspendos." *JHS* Vol. 82, pages 142–44.

"The Purported Decree of Themistokles: Stele and Inscription" (with notes on the text by Michael H. Jameson). *AJA* Vol. 66, No. 4, pages 353–68.

"Bibliography of the Purported Themistokles Inscription from Troizen." *CW* Vol. 55, No. 4, pages 105–08.

Supplement to "The Greeks in the Bronze Age" (see under 1960). *Actes du Congrès*, 75.

Review of Denys L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*. *AJP* Vol. 83, No. 1, pages 90–97.

Review of Chester G. Starr, *The Origins of Greek Civilization, 1100–650 B.C.* *AHR* Vol. 67, No. 2, pages 381–82.

Review of R. F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals*. *CW* Vol. 56, No. 3, page 72.

1963

"The Athenian Anagrapheis." *HSCP* Vol. 67, pages 37–54.

"Three Athenian Decrees: Method in the Restoration of Preambles." *HSCP* Vol. 67, pages 55–75.

"The Athenian Honors for Aristonikos of Karystos, 'Alexander's Σφαιριστής.'" *HSCP* Vol. 67, pages 77–92.

"The Attic Demes Oa and Oe." *AJP* Vol. 84, No. 2, pages 166–81.

"Dikasts' Bronze Pinakia." *BCH* Vol. 87, No. 2, pages 653–87.

"Alphabetized Inscriptions from Smyrna in Bowdoin and Leyden." *AJA* Vol. 67, No. 3, pages 257–68.

"The Preambles of Athenian Decrees Containing Lists of Symproedroi." *Hesperia* Vol. 32, No. 4, pages 335–65.

Review of Homer A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavation and Museum*, 2nd ed. revised. *CW* Vol. 56, No. 7, page 216.

"Homerica" (a review essay on Alan J. B. Wace and Frank H. Stubbings, edd., *A Companion to Homer*, and Geoffrey S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*). *CW* Vol. 56, No. 9, pages 285–86.

1965

Fifty Years of Sathers: The Sather Professorship of Classical Literature in the University of California, Berkeley, 1913/4–1963/4. x + 70 pages, frontispiece + 14 plates.

A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis (Harvard Theological Studies 21) (with Robert F. Healey, S.J.). vi + 58 pages, 3 plates.

"The Greater Demarkhia of Erkhia." *BCH* Vol. 89, No. 1, pages 180–213.

"The Greek Cult Table" (with David H. Gill, S.J.). *AJA* Vol. 69, No. 2, pages 103–14.

"The Statue of Damaskenos at the American School in Athens" (with Cornelius C. Vermeule III). *Hesperia* Vol. 34, No. 4, pages 273–97.

1966

"Greek and Roman History Jointly" and "Greece to 30 B.C." In D. R. Peirce *et al.*, edd., *A Select Bibliography of History*, 3rd ed., pages 9–11, 12–25.

"Note" introducing John Stewart Traill's "Bouleutic List of 304/3 B.C." *Hesperia* Vol. 35, No. 3, page 205.

1967

"The *Iliad* Read Continuously." *CJ* Vol. 63, No. 1, pages 14–16.

"Peculiarities in a Rhamnousian Inscription" (with Paul Traywick). *Glotta* Vol. 45, No. 3/4, pages 195–202.

"Ekphantos." *Glotta* Vol. 45, No. 3/4, pages 202–21.

"The Minoan Thalassocracy." *ProcMassHistSoc* Vol. 79, pages 3–32.

Review of Albin Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*. *AHR* Vol. 72, No. 2, pages 535–36.

Review of John Harvey Kent, *Corinth: Results of Excavations* VIII Part 3 *The Inscriptions, 1926–1950*. *AHR* Vol. 72, No. 4, pages 1359–60.

Review of J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*. *The Social Studies* Vol. 58, No. 4, pages 172–73.

1968

"Six Athenian Sacrificial Calendars." *BCH* Vol. 92, No. 1, pages 170–86.

"The *Ephemeris*, and Dates of Discovery Given by Pittakes." *AJA* Vol. 72, No. 2, pages 154–56.

"Latin Calligraphy at Hawara: P. Hawara 24." *JRS* Vol. 58, pages 60–70.

"Literacy: The Palace Bureaucracies, The Dark Age, Homer." In *A Land Called Crete: A Symposium in Memory of Harriet Boyd Hawes* (Smith College Studies in History Vol. 45), pages 107–47.

"Greece, The Early Period: 'Geographical Factors', 'The Minoan Civilization', 'The Greek Mainland in the Bronze Age', 'The Mycenaean Age', 'The Dark Age', 'The Greek Polis', 'Epic Poetry', 'The Greek Renascence'," and revision of the rest of the chapter. In William Leonard Langer, compiler and editor, *An Encyclopedia of World History*, pages 58–61.

1969

Conventions in Editing. A Suggested Reformulation of the Leiden System (Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Scholarly Aids 2). vi + 37 pages, 1 plate.

"Some Athenians in Aristophanes." *AJA* Vol. 73, No. 2, pages 234–35.

"*Documents*, *Decipherment*, *Nestor*, and *Bibliographie*" (review article). *AJA* Vol. 73, No. 3, pages 362–67.

1970

"*Attische Feste*, the Epidauria, and the Arkhon." *RhM* Vol. 113, No. 4, pages 273–76.

"Names, Theophoric Personal (Greek)." *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed., pages 721–22.

1971

"Literacy in Minoan and Mycenaean Lands." *Cambridge Ancient History* 2nd ed., Vol. II, Ch. xiii, preliminary separate publication.

1972

"Andrews of Cornell." *Cornell Alumni News* Vol. 75, No. 5, pages 12–24 and front cover.

1973

"Literacy in Minoan and Mycenaean Lands." In I. E. S. Edwards *et al.*, edd., *Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd ed. revised (see under 1971), Vol. II, pages 582–608.

"Harpocrates." *AJA* Vol. 77, No. 2, page 212.

1974

"The Volumes of *Arkhaiologike Ephemeris* in Honor of Georgios P. Oikonomos." *AJA* Vol. 78, No. 3, pages 294–95.

Review of Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. *AHR* Vol. 79, No. 3, pages 763–65.

1975

"The Study of Lettering." In Stephen V. Tracy, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 15), pages xiii–xxiii.

Review of Robert Alain De Laix, *Probouleusis at Athens: A Study of Political Decision-Making*. *AHR* Vol. 80, No. 4, page 1304.

1976

"Companionable Associates in the Athenian Government." In Larissa Bonfante and Helga von Heintze, edd., with the collaboration of Carla Lord, *Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities. In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel*, pages 69–84.

Review of E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World*. *AmerClassRev* Vol. 3, No. 2 (1973), page 95.

1978

"The Classical Connection: Vassar and Greek Archaeology." *The Syllabus* (Vassar College) 7 December 1978, pages 6–7.

Review of William A. McDonald and George A. Rapp, Jr, edd., *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition. Reconstructing a Bronze Age Regional Environment*. *CW* Vol. 71, No. 6, pages 398–400.

Review of Demetrius J. Georgacas and William A. McDonald, *Place Names of Southwest Peloponnesus*. *CW* Vol. 71, No. 6, pages 401–03.

1979

A Century of Humane Archaeology. Published for the Centennial of the Archaeological Institute of America, 28 December 1979. 90 pages.

"Athletic Agones in Roman Athens Honoring Tykhe Poleos." *AJP* Vol. 100, No. 1 (TEKMHPION, in Honor of James Henry Oliver), pages 31–44.

"Thrasyphon Hierokleidou Xypetaion." *GRBS* Vol. 20, No. 4, pages 331–45.

1980

"A Century of Humane Archaeology" [the first of the three parts of the 1979 publication, with several excisions, and with matter, including illustrations, added by the editor]. *Archaeology* Vol. 33, No. 3, pages 45–51.

Review of Friedrich Solmsen, *Isis among the Greeks and Romans*. *Religious Studies Review* Vol. 6, page 231A.

1982

"Healing Deities on Pentelikon." *Phoenix* Vol. 36, No. 4, pages 313–28.

1983

"Catalogi Generis Incerti, *IG* II² 2364–2489: a Check-List." *The Ancient World* Vol. 8, Nos. 3 and 4, pages 95–106.

GENERAL

World of Knowledge

"The Number One Democracy" (broadcast by WNAC, Jan. 1939). *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* Vol. 41 (24 Feb. 1939), pages 603–05.

"A Map of Reality," speech at induction of new members, Cum Laude Society, Brooks School (North Andover, Mass.), 22 Apr. 1955. *The Archbishop* (Brooks School) Vol. 18, No. 3 (1955), pages 11–14; report, 28–29.

"The Production of Large Works of Scholarship in the USA and Abroad," Guggenheim Foundation, conference 14 Nov. 1957, report, Exhibit "D." 5 pages (mimeographed), plus list of suggested projects (typed).

"A Life of the Mind in College and After." *Radcliffe Quarterly* Vol. 42 (Feb. 1958), pages 6–10.

Review of Constance W. Holden, *Hellas* (drawings, and passages from drama), Boston 1969. *Boston Traveler*, 16 Nov. 1969 (garbled).

"The Life of Discovery." *Bridge* (Boston College) Oct./Nov. 1973, pages 2–9.

"Education." *The Syllabus* (Vassar College) Vol. 1, No. 5 (5 Oct. 1978), pages 2–3.

"Aspects of Living / Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," speech at the dinner of the Noble Society and the Headmaster's Associates, Noble and Greenough School, Tavern Club, Boston, 24 Apr. 1982. Mimeographed (copyright).

Value and Promotion of Greek and Latin

"Greek after the War." *CW* Vol. 38, No. 9 (11 Dec. 1944), pages 69–71.

"Archaeology for the Teacher." *CJ* Vol. 42, No. 1 (Oct. 1946), pages 7–8.

The Classics in Radcliffe College. Pamphlet, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass., 1946. 13 pages plus 4 plates (unsigned).

"The Classics in College" (adapted, with permission, from the foregoing). *CJ* Vol. 42, No. 4 (Jan. 1947), pages 223–28.

Why Study Latin in College? The Answers of (Non-Classical) *College Teachers to the Student in School*; edited, with others. Mimeographed, *ca* 1949. Printed, ed. 2, 1952. Four printings. 10 pages.

Why Study Latin in School? Answers from 84 College Presidents, Deans, Executives to the Student in School; edited, with others. Boston, 1952. 6000 copies. viii + 32 pages.

Review of the foregoing. *CJ* Vol. 48, No. 4 (Jan. 1953), pages 148–50.
A second review of the same. *CB* Vol. 29, No. 4 (Feb. 1953), page 47.

"Latin among the Administrators." *CW* Vol. 46, No. 9 (16 Feb. 1953), page 136.

"Greek in the Schools in New England" (with John H. Brougham and Norris M. Getty). *CJ* Vol. 51, No. 5 (Feb. 1956: the St Paul's number), pages 242–44.

"Defeat and Response" (concluding speech at the First New England Latin Workshop, Tufts College, 21 July 1955). *CJ* Vol. 51, No. 5 (Feb. 1956: the St Paul's number), pages 245–56.

Classroom Teaching

"Notetaking." *Harvard Crimson*, Fall 1930. *Radcliffe Daily*, 5 and 6 Dec. 1930.

"Dormitory Advisor Urges Freshmen to Give Themselves the Acid Test before Deciding on Their Field of Concentration." *Harvard Crimson* Vol. 99, No. 34 (20 Mar. 1931), pages 1, 4.

"Questionnaires for Students." *CJ* Vol. 46, No. 7 (Apr. 1951), pages 350–53.

"Some Student Opinions." *CJ* Vol. 46, No. 8 (May 1951), pages 404–08.

"The 'Critico-Interpretive Teacher.'" *CW* Vol. 49, No. 1 (1955), pages 5–8.

"Can Scholars Teach?" In symposium, Philadelphia, 10 Mar. 1955, and Washington, D.C., 11 Mar. 1955. Part is quoted by President W. K. Jordan, *Radcliffe Renews*, 1955.

"To Learn How Much Your Students Know." *CJ* Vol. 53, No. 2 (Nov. 1957), pages 59–60.

"An Automated Lecture." *CB* Vol. 44, No. 1 (Nov. 1967), pages 4–6.

"Sterling Dow, Reflections in His Last Year at BC." Evan S. Marshall, *The Heights* (Boston College), 31 Jan. 1977, page 8.

Letter "For the Present and the Future," in honor of the Editor's, Delmer M. Goode's, 100th issue. *Improving College and University Teaching* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Winter 1978), page 4.

Publication

Journals

American Journal of Archaeology: various alterations carried out by Glanville Downey and John Franklin Daniel, eds., and by S. Dow, 1946–1948.

Archaeology: "Archaeology" (introducing the new journal). Vol. 1, No. 1 (Mar. 1948), pages 5–6.

Collections, Symposia, etc.

Collected, and with others edited, two volumes in honor of William Scott Ferguson: *HSCP* Vol. 51 (1940), bibliography of W. S. Ferguson, essays by his Ph.D. students, memoir of Robert Louis Stroock, by Bernard Bandler, pages 305–09, and "Notes on History and Value," by R. L. Stroock; and *HSCP* Suppl. 1, *Athenian Studies* (1940), essays by others.

Collected essays (24 articles and 1 review) for symposium, "Homer: The Epics and Their Period." *AJA* Vol. 52 (1948), pages 1–198 (with 11 plates), 291–98, 311–20, 336–40 (with 5 plates). Vol. 54, No. 3 (July 1950), pages 161–222. S. Dow wrote the Foreword, *AJA* Vol. 54, No. 3 (July 1950), page 161.

Arranged symposium, "St. Paul and the Ancient World," and contributed paper (with W. M. Calder III), "St. Paul and Athens." Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of New England, St. Paul's School, Concord, N.H., 6 Apr. 1956—the 100th anniversary of the founding of the school. Classical Association of New England, *Annual Bulletin*, Fifty-first (Worcester, Mass., 1956), page 12. (These essays have not been published.)

As Guest Editor, collected essays for the fiftieth anniversary of the Classical Association of New England, including essays on George Grote, this year, 1956, being the one hundreth anniversary of the completion of his *History of Greece* (Vol. 12). *CJ* Vol. 51, No. 5 (Feb. 1956), pages 194–220. Elizabeth Flagg Dow wrote on Mrs Grote, pages 211–19; S. Dow wrote the introductory "Editorial," pages 195–96, and a bibliographical note on Grote's *History*, page 220.

Arranged for the financing and editing of Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, ed. 2 (1957). S. Dow wrote three sections (see Research bibliography under 1957).

Symposium on Homer, with G. L. Huxley and A. B. Lord. Excerpts on phonograph record published by Radcliffe College.

Festschriften

Edited, with others, essays in honor of William Scott Ferguson. 2 vols. *HSCP* 1940 (see *supra*).

"An Index of Classical Festschriften." *AJA* Vol. 56, No. 3 (1952), inside back cover (unsigned). *CW* Vol. 46, No. 6 (12 Jan. 1953), page 84 (with list of related indexes). *Gnomon* Vol. 25, No. 8 (1953), page 560.

"Festschriften" (with Dorothy Rounds). *Harvard Library Bulletin* Vol. 8, No. 3 (Autumn 1954), pages 283–98. (Summary: *Gnomon* Vol. 27, No. 1 [1955], page 64.)

"*Raison d'être* for [detached miscellaneous] Festschriften?" *CB* Vol. 31, No. 3 (Jan. 1955), page 35 (brief letter).

In Dorothy Rounds (compiler) *et al.*, *Articles on Antiquity in Festschriften* [through 1954]: *An Index*, Cambridge, Mass., 1962: front matter, including "Detailed Explanation of the Index" (pages i–xx), "Editor's Note on the History of the Present Index," "How to Cite Festschriften," and "The Past and Future of the Festschrift" (549–60).

"Festschriften." *Gnomon* Vol. 34, No. 7 (1962), pages 734–35.

"Impressions of Classical Festschriften." *CW* Vol. 56, No. 5 (Feb. 1963), pages 134–35.

"A Sequel to the Index of Festschriften." *Gnomon* Vol. 38, No. 8 (1966), pages 847–48.

See the Research bibliography under 1954, review of A. H. Cole *et al.*, *Index to Economic History Essays in Festschriften, 1900–50*. Additional list, Dorothy Rounds, *Journal of Economic History* Vol. 15, No. 1 (1955), pages 109–11.

Conventions in Editing

"Notes for Readers and for Librarians" on *HSCP*. *HSCP* Vol. 60, pages 305–06.

"Uniform Style" (effort to secure it in periodicals). *AJA* Vol. 56, No. 2 (Apr. 1952), pages 113–18. *CW* Vol. 45, No. 7 (14 Jan. 1952), page 102.

Conventions in Editing (see the Research bibliography under 1969).

Presentation of Visual Evidence

In Dorothy Thompson, compiler, Archaeological Institute of America: *A Catalogue of Visual Aids for Egypt, etc.; Greece, Rome; Pre-Colonial America*. Distributed by the American Classical League, Oxford, Ohio 1949. Foreword by S. Dow, page v.

Textbooks

Illustrations, with captions, in Alston Hurd Chase and Henry Phillips, *New Introduction to Greek*. Cambridge, Mass., 1949; revised and increased for ed. 3, 1961.

"Illustrations in Textbooks." *Journal of General Education* Vol. 5, No. 2 (Jan. 1951), pages 101–15, with the 8 plates and captions from Chase-Phillips.

Exhibitions

Fifth Century Greece: A Didactic Exhibition, by S. Dow, G. M. A. Hanfmann, J. Sweeney. Fogg Art Museum, Dec. 1950–Feb. 1951. 38 exhibits; captions (pages 1–26) by S. Dow. Mimeographed catalogue, containing captions, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, pages 1–27.

Athens in the World of the Fifth Century: An Exhibition of Facts and Ideas, Oct. 1951–Feb. 1952. 83 exhibits; list of owners near end (16 lent by S. Dow); captions by S. Dow (38), B. Emmons, G. M. A. Hanfmann, R. H. Randall. Mimeographed catalogue containing captions (not paged), Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 1951.

"Athens in the World of the Fifth Century: An Exhibition of Facts and Ideas / Athènes au V^{e} Siècle: une Exposition de Faits et d'Idées." *Museum: Revue Trimestrielle Publiée par l'UNESCO* Vol. 6 (1953), pages 105–15.

Assisted with exhibition, wrote four captions, *The Archaeological Institute of America*. Widener Library, 26 Dec. 1954–15 Feb. 1955. See note in *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* 1955.

Assisted with design of the *Athens Gallery*, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1962.

The Olympic Games and Greek Athletic Art: An exhibition designed to unite ideas and images. Bapst Library, Boston College, Fall 1972.

"Bapst Holds Exhibit of Greek Athletic Art." *Thursday Reporter* (Boston College) Vol. 2, No. 1 (21 Sept. 1972), page 6.

Classical Athens: An Exhibition of Facts and Ideas. Bapst Library, Boston College, *ca* 1973.

The Blegens and Vassar in Archaeology. Vassar Library, Autumn through 20 Nov. 1978.

Indexing

See "Archaeological Indexes: A Review Article." *AJA* Vol. 54 (1950), pages 41–57.

On format of entries and procedure in general, see models in Dorothy Rounds, *Index of Articles on Antiquity in Festschriften*.

Administration

Teachers of Classics in New England

"Effort for the Classics" (account of the Teachers of Classics in New England). *Classical Outlook* Vol. 31, No. 2 (Nov. 1953), pages 14–15.

Description of the organization. *CW* Vol. 48, No. 16 (16 May 1955), 217–18 (unsigned).

Classical Association of New England

(Third and fourth items *supra* under Collections, etc.)

Archaeological Institute of America

Report of the President (also edited the *Bulletin*):

Bulletin Vol. 37 (Oct. 1946), pages 5–19.

Bulletin Vol. 38 (Oct. 1947), pages 7–28.

Bulletin Vol. 39 (Oct. 1948), pages 5–22.

American School of Classical Studies in Athens

Report of the Annual Professor for 1966/7. ASCSA, 86th Annual Report (1966–1967), pages 53–55.

American Research Center in Egypt

Founding

Archaeology Vol. 1, No. 3 (Autumn 1948), pages 136–45. *Archaeology* Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer 1950), pages 120–21 (unsigned). *AJA* Vol. 54, No. 3 (July 1950), back cover (unsigned). *Near East Bulletin* Autumn, 1950. *ARCE Annual Meeting*, Boston 1981, pages 10–19 (reprint of *Archaeology* 1, *supra*).

Letter from Egypt. American Research Center in Egypt, Inc. *Newsletter* No. 38 (Apr. 1960), pages 12–17.

Various

"How Harvard Stands." Harvard Class of 1925, *Two Bits*: Vol. 2, No. 1 (Feb. 1950): Part I pages 3–4; Vol. 2, No. 2 (Apr. 1950): Part II pages 7, 10.

"A Note from Harvard." *Classical Outlook* Vol. 28, No. 5 (Feb. 1951), page 52B.

Review of Abraham Flexner, *Funds and Foundations: Their Policies Past and Present*. *Archaeology* Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring 1953), pages 56–58.

"Minoan Archives" (with a paragraph on Champlin Burrage). *Harvard Library Bulletin* Vol. 8 (1954), page 389.

"Life Memberships." American Council of Learned Societies, *Newsletter* Vol. 6, No. 4 (Winter 1955), pages 3–17.

Report of the Emerson Scholar, Cambridge Historical Society Publications Vol. 36: *Proceedings for the Years 1957 and 1958* (Cambridge 1959), pages 126–30.

Arranged for publication and wrote introductory "Note" for Walter A. Schumann, *Index of Passages Cited in Herbert Weir Smyth, Greek Grammar* (GRB Scholarly Aids 1 [1961]). (For ed. 2 of Smyth, see Research bibliography under 1956.)

Design of front cover of the examination bluebooks used in Harvard University. Copied in other universities.

Individual Scholars

Thomas Whittemore. Leaflet with reproduction of autograph and of a pen drawing of T. W. by Henri Matisse. Byzantine Institute (Boston), Nov. 1950.

See Research entries *supra*:

1965 The (*ca* 50) Sather Lecturers, 1913/4–1963/4.

1972 "Andrews of Cornell": Eugene Plumb Andrews, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, others.

1973 "The Life of Discovery": Heinrich Schliemann, Sir Arthur Evans, Carl William Blegen, Milman Parry, Rhys Carpenter, Michael Ventris, others.

1978 Vassar and Greek Archaeology: Elizabeth Denny Pierce Blegen, Ida Thallon Hill, Bert Hodge Hill, Carl William Blegen, Philip Haldane Davis, others. On the exhibition see *supra* under Exhibitions.

1979 "A Century of Humane Archaeology": Dedicatory note on Sir John Beazley; sections on and mentions of 85 others ('Persons and Studies', pages 72–90; these pages enlarge on and supplement mentions earlier).

Obituaries and Notices

George Henry Chase. Classical Association of New England, *47th Annual Bulletin* (Boston 1952), pages 9–10.

William Scott Ferguson. *AJA* Vol. 58, No. 4 (1954), pages 333–34; *AHR* Vol. 60, No. 1 (1954), page 253; *Gnomon* Vol. 27, No. 1 (1955), pages 60–61.

Johannes Kirchner. *AJA* Vol. 56, No. 1 (Jan. 1952), pages 127–28.

Alice Elizabeth Kober. *AJA* Vol. 58, No. 2 (Apr. 1954), pages 153–54; bibliography, pages 83–84.

Dorothy Rounds. *CJ* Vol. 74, No. 1 (Oct.-Nov. 1978), page 80.

Vincent Maria Scramuzza. *AJA* Vol. 61, No. 2 (Apr. 1957), page 189; *AHR* Vol. 62, No. 3 (Apr. 1957), page 801 (not signed); *Gnomon* Vol. 29, No. 2 (Apr. 1957), page 240.

Verse

Christmas Poem, Tavern Club, Boston 1968.

Christmas Poem, Tavern Club, Boston 1982.

Autobiography

Harvard Class of 1925, Twenty-fifth Anniversary Report (Cambridge 1950), pages 273–79.

Harvard Class of 1925, Fiftieth Anniversary Report (Cambridge 1975), pages 174–77.

Students

We list here the students who completed the Doctorate under Sterling Dow's direction:

Katherine Miller Adshead
Charles Rowan Beye
Alan. L. Boegehold
Harry J. Carroll, Jr†
Kevin K. Carroll
Mortimer H. Chambers
Edwin J. Doyle†
Thomas Drew-Bear
Barbara Turzinski Drushell
Elsa Peterson Gibson
David H. Gill, S.J.
John R. Grant
Hardy Hansen
Robert F. Healey, S.J.
Philip E. Isett
John J. Keaney
John H. Kroll
Paul L. MacKendrick
Wallace E. McLeod
Jon D. Mikalson
John C. Montegu, S.J.
Edmond J. Morrissey
Blaise J. Nagy
Robert A. Padgug
Gerald M. Quinn
Livio C. Stecchini
Leslie Threatte, Jr
Stephen V. Tracy
John S. Traill
Joseph P. Traywick

SEG XXVII 261 and the History of the *Euthyna*

Katherine Adshead

ARISTOTLE IN THE *POLITICS* has much to say on the accountability of office-holders. Machinery for the auditing of accounts is, he says, indispensable to the functioning of the polis (1322b8–13), while the involvement of the *demos* in this procedure is one of the hallmarks of a democracy (1298a10–11). In one passage, indeed, speaking of Mantinea (1318b) he seems to imply that public involvement in the *euthyna*, the audit in a democracy, is in and of itself sufficient to establish the democratic character of a state, thus making popular participation in elections of secondary importance.[1] Solon's claim to have founded a democracy in Athens rests equally on his institution of popular elections and of popular involvement in the *euthynai*, *τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν*, a pairing often repeated.[2] Aristotle's discussion of the *euthyna*, as the reference to Mantinea shows, is not limited to Athens. When in 1281b33–1282a22 he discusses the validity of the people's judgment in pronouncing on the record of officials, it is with the general competence of *τὸ πλῆθος* that he is concerned.[3] Thus for Aristotle democracy and the *euthyna* go hand in hand, and, if we accept his equation, the presence of the institution may conveniently be used for determining in later times the survival of a democratic element, for instance under Roman rule.[4]

Hitherto, however, our knowledge of the *euthyna* has been limited effectively to Athens.[5] "Näher bekannt ist das Verfahren nur in Athen," commented Busolt,[6] and Boerner wrote in a similar vein, "Der Modus der Rechenschaftsablage lässt sich, von Athen abgesehen, nirgends genauer verfolgen."[7] The discovery of the gymnasiarchal law of Beroea, *SEG* XXVII 261,[8] it is suggested, goes some way towards remedying this deficiency, and this important inscription ("cette fameuse loi," the Roberts called it)[9]

[1] *ἔτι δὲ τὸ κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ ἑλέσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν ἀναπληροῖ τὴν ἔνδειαν εἴ τι φιλοτιμίας ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ παρ' ἐνίοις δήμοις, κἂν μὴ μετέχωσι τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀλλά τινες αἱρετοὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐκ πάντων, ὥσπερ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ, τοῦ δὲ βουλεύεσθαι κύριοι ὦσιν, ἱκανῶς ἔχει τοῖς πολλοῖς.* I take *βουλεύεσθαι* to include *εὐθύνειν*, or Aristotle's argument does not hold.

[2] 1274a16–18; *cf.* 1281b33 *αἱ ἀρχαιρεσίαι καὶ αἱ εὔθυναι*, 1282a26 *αἱ εὔθυναι καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀρχῶν αἱρέσεις.*

[3] For a recent study see R. Mulgan, *Aristotle's Political Theory* (Oxford 1977).

[4] See now P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque* (Paris 1976) 207–09, "La politique comme 'trustee.'"

[5] See D. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (London 1978), and now J. T. Roberts, *Accountability in Athenian Government* (Madison 1982). For a further bibliography see M. Piérart, "Les EYTHYNOI athéniens," *AntCl* 40 (1971) 526 n.2.

[6] G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* I (Munich 1920) 472.

[7] Boerner, *RE* 6 (1907) 1515 *s.v.* "Εὔθυνα."

[8] On the discovery of the inscription, see J. M. R. Cormack, "The Gymnasiarchal Law of Beroea," *Ancient Macedonia* 2 (1977) 139–50.

[9] J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1978, 274.

can be made to cast light on what went on before and after the date of the inscription, that is, the period 167–148 B.C.

The Gymnasiarchal Law of Beroea. In this inscription the city of Beroea in Macedon codifies and systematizes the office of gymnasiarch, because, it says, all other officials in Beroea hold office by law and because in other cities gymnasiarchs are so appointed (A.5–9):

> ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀρχαὶ πᾶσαι
> κατὰ νόμον ἄρχουσιν καὶ ἐν αἷς πόλεσιν γυμνάσια
> ἔστιν καὶ ἄλειμμα συνέστηκεν οἱ γυμνασιαρχι-
> κοὶ νόμοι κεῖνται ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις, καλῶς ἔχει καὶ πα-
> ρ' ἡμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ συντελεσθῆναι.

The gymnasiarch is to be annually elected, to hold office constitutionally, to be subject to audit (A.14–15): τῶν αἱρουμένων ἀεὶ γυμνασιάρχων κατὰ νόμον ἀρχόντων καὶ ὑπευθύνων ὄντων. The details of the *euthyna* are spelled out thus:

B.87–97:

> κυριευέτω δὲ ὁ γυμνασίαρχος
> [τ]ῶν προσόδων τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν τοῖς νέοις καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἀναλισκέτω, ὅταν
> δὲ
> [ἐ]ξέλθῃ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὸ πλῆθος τῆς προσόδου καὶ εἴ τι ἐκ τῶν ζημιῶν ἢ εὐθυ-
> νῶν εἰ-
> [σ]επράχθη[ι] καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτων ἀναλωθὲν ἀναγράψας εἰς σανίδα ἐκθέτω ἐν τῶι
> γυμνασί-
> [ω]ι ἐν μηνὶ Δίωι τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἔτους, τοῖς δὲ ἐξετασταῖς τῆς πόλεως κατὰ
> τετράμη-
> [ν]ον ἀπιδιδότω καὶ ἐξέστω, ἐάν τινες βούλωνται, μετὰ τούτων συνεγλογίζεσθαι
> [α]ὐτόν. τὸ δὲ περιὸν τῆς προσόδου ἀποδιδότω τῶι μεθ' αὐτὸν γυμνασιάρχηι ἐν
> ἡμέραις
> [τ]ριάκοντα, ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπολυθῆι. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι τοὺς
> λόγους ἢ τὰ
> [π]εριόντα καθ' ἃ γέγραπται, ἀποτινέτω τοῖς νέοις δραχμὰς χιλίας καὶ πραξάτω
> αὐτὸν ὁ
> [π]ολιτικὸς πρά<κ>τωρ παραγραψάντων τῶν ἐξεταστῶν καὶ ὁμοίως τὸν λόγον
> ἀποδότω καὶ
> [τ]ὰ περιόντα.

The gymnasiarch is to have control of the funds available for the young men and to meet expenses from them, and, when he steps down from office, he is to inscribe the amount in the fund, any fine or penalty collected, and his expenditure therefrom upon a board which he shall display in the Gymnasium in the month Dios of the new year. He shall render account to the city *exetastai* quarterly and it shall be permitted, if any so wish, to participate with the *exetastai* in the computation of this. He is to deposit the balance of the fund with his successor as gymnasiarch within thirty days of his stepping down from office. If he does not produce accounts or the balance in accordance with the regulations, let him pay over a thousand drachmas to the young men, and the *politikos praktor* is to exact the fine from him upon the indictment of the *exetastai* and nonetheless he must produce his account and the balance.

B.107–09:

> εὐθυνέτω δὲ τὸν γυμνασίαρχον ὁ βουλόμενος, ὅταν ἐξέλθῃ αὐτῶι ὁ
> [ἐ]νιαυτός, ἐμ μησὶν εἴκοσι τέσσαρσιν, αἱ δὲ περὶ τούτων κρίσεις γινέσθωσαν
> ἐπὶ τῶν καθηκόν-
> των δικαστηρίων.

Let any who wish conduct an audit of the gymnasiarch's conduct, when his year is up, within a period of twenty-four months and, let any verdicts arising out of these matters be handed down in the appropriate courts of law.

Ath. Pol. 48.3–5 and 54.2. It is instructive to observe the close similarity between the procedure described in *SEG* XXVII 261 and that of Athens in the fourth century as described by Aristotle (*Ath.Pol.* 48.3–5 and 54.2).[10]

First, in B.91 of the gymnasiarchal law, τοῖς δὲ ἐξετασταῖς τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τετράμηνον ἀποδιδότω I take to involve the concurrent scrutiny of accounts quarterly, prior to the final rendition, and a comparison may be made with *Ath. Pol.* 48.3 where the council selects by lot ten *logistai* to maintain a continuing scrutiny of accounts, prytany by prytany. The point of comparison is, of course, the concurrence of the official's year and the scrutiny; the institutions involved are clearly far apart. It is noteworthy that in Beroea anyone who wishes may participate (συνεγλογίζεσθαι) in the reckoning.

More striking, however, is the similarity that the *euthyna* in each instance involved two stages. In Athens (*Ath.Pol.* 54.2) ten *logistai* and ten *synegoroi* are appointed to receive the accounts of magistrates at the conclusion of their terms of office. They, as financial officers, must bring the ex-official before the courts either to receive his discharge or to stand trial if an irregularity has been detected. The categories of offence, penalties incurred, and dates of settlement are then listed, the offences being, as M. Piérart has plausibly shown, purely monetary ones. There then ensues, according to *Ath. Pol.* 48.4, a second phase when the ten *euthynoi*, each with two *paredroi*, sit by the statue of their tribal hero during market hours every day for three (or possibly thirty) days to hear further complaints, relating presumably to non-monetary offences. These, if found to have substance, the *euthynos* will refer to deme court or *dikasterion* according to their seriousness.

In Beroea, the outgoing gymnasiarch must publish his accounts in the gymnasium in the month Dios of the new year, and must present the balance of the fund he has administered to his successor within thirty days, or else he shall be liable to a fine of a thousand drachmas levied by the πολιτικὸς πράκτωρ at the request of the *exetastai*, the equivalent of the Athenian *logistai*. There is however a second phase in the audit, given in a separate place (B.106–09), which provides for a further period of twenty-four

[10] Piérart (*supra* n.5) gives an excellent account of the *euthyna* procedure in Athens before and after 401/0.

months, during which time complaints may go on being made and which will be settled if necessary before the appropriate courts.

The *Ath. Pol.* procedure, as Piérart has shown, results from making a separate process out of what began in the fifth century as an auxiliary activity by the *logistai*. Thus there came into being the two audits, the first by the *logistai*, the second by the *euthynoi*, whereas Andocides (1.77–79) shows the *euthynoi* to have been the sole competent authorities before 401/0. Piérart interpreted the direction of these events as a reduction in the rôle of the *euthynoi*, one which would also entail some reduction in the public's participation. M. H. Hansen,[11] too, has drawn attention to the erosion of the *euthyna* process almost from the outset because of the *ekklesia*'s preference for *eisangeliai*, immediate impeachment, over the slower but more certain mandatory audit. A comparison of the *euthynai* in the Athens of the *Ath. Pol.* and the Beroea of *SEG* XXVII 261 suggests that the institution had greater vitality and support in Greece than the conclusions of these two scholars indicate. It is remarkable that at Beroea the public's rôle is more, not less, prominent.

Late-second-century Ephebic Inscriptions. The Beroea inscription also contributes to our understanding of the circumstances in which the *euthyna* disappeared at Athens either at the turn of the second and first centuries B.C. or with the régime imposed by Sulla.[12] It seems to me still possible to believe, with Ferguson,[13] that 101/0 is the moment when the audit was discarded. He concluded from *IG* II² 1028[14] that at that time it was replaced with an ἀπόδειξις καὶ ἀπολογισμὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, which involved neither the examination of accounts nor a judicial discharge but was more in the nature of the formal presentation of a report.[15] Little of the 'oligarchic revolution' of 103/2 has survived criticism: in view of Aristotle's emphasis on the *euthyna* as essential to democracy, it is interesting to find that it was the first institution of the *patrios politeia* to have been discarded.

[11] *Eisangelia. The Sovereignty of the People's Court* (Odense 1975).

[12] D. J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 12 [1967]) and *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 106–07.

[13] W. S. Ferguson, "The Oligarchic Revolution at Athens of the Year 103/2 B.C.," *Klio* 4 (1905) 1–17.

[14] Ferguson argued for the abolition of the *euthyna* from the fact of its appearance in *IG* II² 1006 (106/5) and its omission from *IG* II² 1028 (101/0), both otherwise similar decrees. In the latter, the point where the *euthyna*-formula would most naturally occur (93) is marked instead by an exceptionally long (0.145 m.) uninscribed space. S. V. Tracy, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 15 [1975]) 44, explains the blank as due to lack of space, suggesting that the reader would supply for himself the words of the missing formula. Yet Tracy also shows (95–97) that this mason liked to leave gaps for the better articulation of a text and moreover that ὅπως ἂν οὖν (which is how the line continues) is one of the phrases often prefaced by a blank. I prefer an explanation in terms of deliberate paragraphing, even politically nuanced paragraphing for the *vacat* in question. The *euthyna* is also omitted in Agora I 286: see O. W. Reinmuth, "The Ephebic Inscription Athenian Agora I 286," *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 220–39 (dated 127/6)—though might it not be read into line 89? In any case, Ferguson's point is not just the absence of all reference to a *euthyna* but its replacement by an ἀπολογισμός before the council, and this is surely an innovation in *IG* II² 1028.

[15] Reinmuth (*supra* n.14) 227. See also O. W. Reinmuth, "An Ephebic Text of *ca.* 43/2 B.C.," *Hesperia* 34 (1965) 263.

However, what recent analyses of this era's politics[16] have really indicated is that the constitutional bases of the democracy were not so much overturned as rendered meaningless. Badian has pointed out that where the archonship was a crushing financial burden, the small number of candidates available made the question of sortition or election immaterial.[17] Tracy's re-examination of *IG* II² 2336 may be taken in the same direction. "*IG* II² 2336 reflects a system in which people paid for the privilege of holding office instead of *being* paid,"[18] he writes, before examining the particular fund-raising crisis that the entries for 100/99 to 97/6 B.C. seem to disclose. I would suggest that it is this *irrelevance* of the traditional machinery, rather than a *coup d'état* or ideological battle, that lies behind the disappearance, if it is accepted, of the *euthyna* in 101/0.

For *IG* II² 1028, where the expected formula καὶ ἔδωκεν τὰς εὐθύνας has been omitted, is one of a group of ephebic decrees from the late second century in which both ephebes and their *kosmetes* are honoured by the city. Along with *IG* II² 1006, 1008, 1011, it belongs to a period when the *ephebeia* was growing rapidly both in numbers and in activities and in public profile. "L'éphébie devient une institution d'apparat et de luxe," writes Chr. Pélékides,[19] and these honorific decrees speak of a world of "Jünglinge aus wohlhabenden Familien" where the *kosmetes* must indeed be "ein angesehener und begüterter Mann," in Nilsson's words.[20] No one of modest means could attempt to carry off the position. The citations extol the *kosmetes*' increasing largesse: one, then two, silver *phialai*, the repair of a catapult, of a circuit wall, eventually the year-long provision of oil, always a heavy burden on the gymnasia. Thus, it is no accident that it is precisely in *IG* II² 1028, with its reference to the ἐλαιοθεσία—among other benefactions—that the εὔθυνα is first replaced by the bouleutic ἀπολογισμός. At this point, the ἀρχή has become, definitively, a λειτουργία: where neither public nor corporate monies can seriously be supposed to have been embezzled, the point of a judicial audit instantly disappears.

This transformation had not yet overtaken the office of gymnasiarch in Beroea at the time the gymnasiarchal law was inscribed. The gymnasiarch, it is clear, had control of sizable funds, probably both corporate and public (A.30, B.88); on the other hand, he is not *obliged* to spend much himself, torch-race, oil, and Hermaia festival being clearly provided for from other sources. He can levy fines extensively and supervises the sale of the γλοῖος,[21] the used oil. In short, there is ample opportunity for embezzlement, and accordingly the need for the *euthyna* remains.

[16] E. Badian, "Rome, Athens and Mithridates," *AJAH* 1 (1976) 105–28; S. V. Tracy, "Athens in 100 B.C.," *HSCP* 83 (1979) 213–35.

[17] Badian (*supra* n.16) 127 n.49.

[18] Tracy (*supra* n.16) 219.

[19] *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (Paris 1962) 197, with 198–99 for a discussion of the points raised in n.14 *supra*.

[20] M. P. Nilsson, *Die hellenistische Schule* (Munich 1955) 54.

[21] See now J. and L. Robert (*supra* n.9) p.434.

But Beroea was of course not Athens. Its modest scale and limited numbers meant operations were still within the budget of the community. Athens would soon grow beyond that, and the first casualty, as we have seen, would be the ancient and persistently democratic institution of the *euthyna*. Delorme[22] wrote of the gymnasium: "Le développement de nos institutions n'a donc pas été sans influence sur la constitution des cités." He was referring to the creation of new institutions: but he might also have spoken of the forms of government that were thereby lost.

In conclusion, *SEG* XXVII 261, which may be *compared* with *Ath. Pol.* 48 and 54 and *contrasted* with the ephebic inscriptions of the late second century B.C., offers fresh insight into the various modalities of the *euthyna* and the context in which it disappeared in Athens.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY, CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND

[22] J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris 1960) 353. For a comparable institution see C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (Oxford 1947) 149, on the 'residencia'.

Repeated Similes in the Homeric Poems

Charles Rowan Beye

IN THE ELEVENTH BOOK of the *Iliad*, in the battle which begins with Agamemnon's *aristeia*, the Achaian chieftains are wounded and beaten back until Ajax fights alone. When he too is forced back, the poet compares him to a lion

> whom the country men and their dogs have
> driven out of the cattle pen,
> who won't let him get at the fat of the cattle,
> and they watch all night. And the lion tries to
> move right in at all that meat, with no luck. Arrows
> come thick and fast from these daring men
> and their burning torches frighten him, hungry as he is;
> dawn comes, he goes away, heart full of regret (548–55).[1]

The simile reappears in the seventeenth book (657–64) during the fight over Patroklos' body, when Ajax tells Menelaos to withdraw to find Antilochos who can take the news of Patroklos' death to Achilles. As Menelaos goes he is compared to the same reluctant lion, in almost the same words (17.657 is a variation of 11.548, 17.658 reflects 11.549, and 17.659–64 = 11.550–55). The simile here is, however, not altogether apt since Menelaos goes freely, if reluctantly, at Ajax's request. There is no superior strength forcing him.

My attempt in these pages will be to account for the presence of this inept simile. I discount the notion that this is an interpolation, on the theory that any interpolator is intent upon improvement. This simile is awkward in its place and improves nothing. I am furthermore working on the theory that this poem was put together more or less continuously, that its poet did not have the time or the means to go back and forth over a manuscript so as to make deliberated adjustments or connections.[2]

While brief comparisons are often repeated in the two Homeric poems, there are very few extended similes that are repeated: two in the *Odyssey*[3] and six in the *Iliad*. Precise or nearly precise repetition in a work where the style displays repetition through *variation* seems striking. Similes cannot be compared to an exactly repeated phrase like "rosy-fingered Dawn sprang from the bed of Tithonos to bring light to mortals"; nor,

[1] Athetized by Zenodotos, however, in the first instance because of the immediately following simile comparing Ajax to a donkey (556–61). See the interesting discussion *ad loc.* by the scholiast of the *Venetus* MS. (A; Erbse III 285).

[2] R. Lattimore, "Composition of the *History* of Herodotos," *CP* 53 (1958) 9–19, effectively demonstrates the great difficulty for an early author of moving through a written text to add or subtract anything.

[3] One of the two occurs in a characteristically *verbatim* repetition of direct speech (4.335ff = 17.126ff), hence is not relevant to this discussion.

again, can they be compared to the formalized repetitions of the typical scenes. There are hundreds of similes in the poems and only these few are exactly repeated. That seems significant.

The significance seems still greater when one considers the obviously, and in some way intended, parallel contexts of some of these similes. The simile comparing Agamemnon's tears to "dark spring water which down from steep rock too sheer even for goats trickles black" (9.14–15) is one of them. It appears as Agamemnon ponders in his despair what to do for the failing Achaian cause, and is repeated (16.3–4) when the tearful Patroklos returns to petition Achilles to enter the battle. The Achaians are beset with imminent disaster in both instances and a petition is addressed to Achilles, which he refuses in the first instance and partially accepts in the second, sending his surrogate out to certain death, thus prefiguring his own shortly thereafter.

In the ninth book Achilles is asked three times and three times he refuses. As we can observe from the folk tales of many cultures, there is a certain fatal turn of events connected with the triad—in the *Iliad* itself, for instance, Patroklos charging the Trojan walls three times. So it is that at the close of the ninth book the poet has poised himself for the folkloric turn from three to four. But the poet of the *Iliad* is telling a vast and complicated story. He seems to mean to hold his tale together by laying out the narration on a grid of story structures, and this is one. So we wait for this particular dénouement, the move from three to four in Achilles' response to supplication. At the same time the poet prepares his audience for Patroklos as the eventual fourth supplicator with Phoinix's account of the obdurate Meleager who denies three times the entreaties, first, of the leading Aitolian political figures, second, of his father and family, third, of his friends, and then in the fatal fourth turn yields to the supplication of his wife. Kakrides offers parallels of the basic story from other cultures,[4] noting that the poet of the *Iliad* advances the friends in the conventional order of entreaty and leaves the wife last. The poet seems to make some connection in this way between Meleager's wife and Patroklos.[5] Achilles' alter ego will be destroyed when he yields to Patroklos. Phoinix says as much when he tells how Meleager yielded to his wife too late, when it won him nothing.

At the beginning of the sixteenth book the poet returns to the narrative of the fatal refusals he had inaugurated with Agamemnon's tears at the beginning of the ninth. The progression from Agamemnon to Patroklos is in this sense as immediate as that from the Aitolian elders to Meleager's wife. The intervening action, or the illogicality of Achilles' continuing bitterness at Agamemnon's arrogance, are only surface to the underlying logic of the move from the third to the fourth request. The repeated simile is the iceberg tip of that underlying structure. Those who are uneasy at this dismissal of what seems to be a real contradiction in Achilles' refusal to remember Agamemnon's attempts at amends[6] should consider how often *structures* inform the Homeric narrative,

[4] J. Th. Kakrides, *Homeric Researches* (Lund 1949) 18ff.

[5] G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaians* (Baltimore 1979) 102–08, has the most recent discussion.

[6] As is D. L. Page with his customary compelling rhetoric in an appendix to *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley 1959) 308–15.

much more dynamically than any psychological nexus seems to do. The most striking example is the scene (*Od.* 19.570ff) when Penelope, who has every reason to be most optimistic, calls for the contest of the bow. Critics either decry the improbability[7] or save the surface by assuming that she has identified Odysseus.[8] Instead, the overwhelming logic of the story structure dictates events: husband in the nick of time,[9] hero in disguise, hero as underdog, woman as object of desire, circle of suitors. Nothing *but* the contest could come next. We have had this rehearsed for us at Scheria when the seeming underdog Odysseus triumphs over the young men who are meant to be swains for the hand of Nausikaa.

Another significantly repeated simile occurs in this Scheria scene (6.232–34 = 23.159–61). When Odysseus has washed the brine from his body he steps out clothed in the borrowed garments, and Athene, who plays Fairy Godmother in this charming scene to Odysseus' Cinderella and Nausikaa's Prince, transforms him into a considerably handsomer fellow. The poet likens the transformation to a master craftsman's adding a golden overlay to silver. Later in the poem, after Odysseus has killed the suitors, he goes to wash off the blood and grime. Then as he emerges Athene once again transforms him, and the same simile is used to describe the act. It has been suggested that the poet means to recall us consciously to the scene when Odysseus and Nausikaa first met.[10] The notion seems crude. Should we and Odysseus confront his long-sought spouse with the memory of a desirable and desiring girl in our minds? More likely the repeated simile is part of an ensemble of events which has to do with the wooing of the princess. The *Odyssey* poet is clearly intrigued with repetitions. One thinks of the arrival scenes, or the disguised Odysseus' false autobiographies, or the Circe/Calypso/Penelope replication. The repetition of this simile brings out the erotic undertones in the present moment which had been so much on the surface in the beach encounter between the naked hero and the eager, nubile princess. As Odysseus confronts Penelope, the unlikely underdog has won the princess and he is being transformed. He washes off the filth as he washed off the brine. Penelope awaits him. Nausikaa had steeled herself, alone on the beach, awaiting his advance. Now Penelope shields herself with her emphatic disbelief.

[7] D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford 1955) 123–24; L. Allione, *Telemacho e Penelope nell' Odissea* (Torino 1963) 63ff.

[8] P. W. Harsh, "Penelope and Odysseus in Odyssey XIX," *AJP* 71 (1950) 1–21; A. Amory, "The Reunion of Penelope and Odysseus," in C. H. Taylor, *Essays on the Odyssey: Selected Modern Criticism* (Bloomington 1963) 100–21. See most recently J. Russo, "Interview and Aftermath: Dream, Fantasy and Intuition in *Odyssey* 19 and 20," *AJP* 103 (1982) 4–18, which is a convincing psychological interpretation of Penelope's behavior. Yet Penelope is not an actual person whose motives and inner feelings we can analyze; she is surface. The *Odyssey* is not really like those nineteenth-century novels which invite that sort of analysis because their authors are being deliberately psychological in the portraiture. Homer is not Henry James, Penelope is not Isabel Archer.

[9] W. J. Woodhouse, *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey* (Oxford 1930) 224ff, has a good discussion of these techniques.

[10] *E.g.* T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London 1958) 236; C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1968) 279, makes the same suggestion about the simile at 9.14–15 and 16.3–4.

The *Iliad*'s most celebrated simile is also repeated. In the first instance, Paris, who is leaving Helen to return to battle, is compared to

> a horse from the stable, sated at the trough,
> who snaps his halter, rushes out on the plain, stamping hoof,
> accustomed to wash in the fairflowing river,
> proud, head held high, mane flowing
> spread on shoulders, he knows he's splendid;
> swiftly his legs take him out and onto the pasture
> with the other horses (6.506–11).

This is a remarkably precise statement of Paris' mood and attitude as he emerges from an amorous encounter with Helen. He is a proud and beautiful man, the typical narcissistic lover. The simile is remarkable because every element *exactly* fits the moment,[11] whereas generally the Homeric simile is fit to a theme and then to a context.[12] This simile fits so perfectly into the narrative that one easily remembers it even over the thousands of intervening lines.

The simile reappears in the fifteenth book (263–68) when Hektor is animated by Apollo to re-enter the battle. Hektor, who has been struck down by Ajax, lies on the ground spitting blood, and when he finally recovers enough to sit up, he is directly encouraged by the god. The comparison is specifically apt in the image of the freed horse only as it describes Hektor freed of his disabilities and in the idea of the horse rejoining the others in the meadow. The disparity in contextual relevance makes the repetition troublesome. As Leaf says,[13] "How a single 'Homer' could have thus repeated his own best passages, careless of their appropriateness, is for the defenders of the unity of the *Iliad* to say." One would dismiss Leaf easily, knowing what we do of oral poetic practice, if it were not for the fact that the repetitions with which we have just dealt show so much significance. Ordinarily the poet might easily use again—or 'recreate' is perhaps the better expression—a passage and we would be wrong to make anything of it. But perhaps this is different. Let us consider this repetition as part of a larger pattern with which the poet is dealing. Here we can talk in terms of repetition of a narrative structure: the return to battle. Certain kinds of similes seem to be fit to certain narrative junctures.[14] So it is that here we have in both cases the entry of the hero into battle. But we may look for more precise correspondences to see if the second passage may be in some way a restatement of the first, as we have seen in the two other repeated similes discussed. Paris' re-entry into battle seems at first glance only to precede the duel between Ajax and Hektor, but it is more connected than that. The poet of the *Iliad* begins with a series of scenes which give to the vast structure of the entire poem the long-range view of commencement. These are the Catalogue, the

[11] C. R. Beye, *The Iliad, the Odyssey and the Epic Tradition* (Garden City 1966) 27.
[12] W. C. Scott, *The Oral Nature of the Homeric Simile* (Leiden 1974) 93–95.
[13] W. Leaf, *The Iliad*² II (London 1902) 122.
[14] Scott (*supra* n.12) 38.

Teikhoskopia, and the *Epipolesis*. Because the *Teikhoskopia* is a scene from the princess-suitors-contest story, the poet naturally introduces the duel between Menelaos and Paris. Further on, however, consistent with the immediate story of Achilles' wrath, he arranges a second duel which, like Diomedes' *aristeia* in the fifth book, indicates both the nature of heroic action which Achilles is denying and what is going on in battle with Achilles absent. This is the duel between Hektor and Ajax, which establishes Hektor as the principal defender of his city, which follows from the Trojan scene that precedes it, and which has its outcome in the fatal encounter, not unlike a duel, in the twenty-second book. At this point the poet has introduced his audience to all the circumstances of his story, but he has yet to bring in the one underlying detail of motive which animates the antipathy between the Trojans and the Achaians. That is, of course, Paris' refusal to give up Helen, which is described after the duel. It is a refusal calculated to follow such a duel. One might have wanted it to be the duel between husband and lover, but these two are fighting for Helen the possession, not Helen the sexual partner. Here Helen is a variation on Briseis. The poet of the *Iliad* is very skillfully weaving together the past history of the Trojan War and the contemporary story of Achilles' wrath, and he leans upon his narrative structure often for support. This is one of the occasions.

Paris' refusal, then, is of utmost importance. The poet needs to dignify it and to improve the stature of Paris, who might in any case be upstaged at this moment by Hektor and Ajax. Hence the long and evocative simile that accompanies his entry into battle.

We can find in the fifteenth book a similar important turning point which makes the reappearance of this particular simile wholly satisfying. Hektor, once encouraged by Apollo, returns to the battle and, surpassing even himself on previous occasions, brings the fight close in to the Achaian encampment so that at last he lays hands upon one of the ships. His furious dash is the very provocation that leads Patroklos to beseech Achilles, which in turn leads to the resolution of this narrative. It is the self-same simile which is used to describe the entry into battle of the two major Trojan figures, and to mark the entry of each as fundamental to the story of Achilles and of the Trojan War. Paris upon the occasion of the first appearance of the simile opens up the plot, Hektor at its second appearance acts to invoke the resolution.

We come now to our own resolution, that is, our explanation of the inept second occurrence of the simile first mentioned in this paper. In the eleventh book, as the battle waxes and the Achaians are wounded, the poet employs similes that anticipate the confrontation in our simile, namely, an animal pitted against men and dogs. There are huntsmen driving hounds against a boar or lion (292); there is a boar closed in by hounds and young men (413); there are hounds feeding on a stag's corpse until a lion comes to frighten them off (474). As the Achaian chieftains fall off, wounded, Ajax stands alone to hold the Achaian position. At this point (510ff) Nestor is told to withdraw with the wounded medicine man, Machaon. Immediately thereafter an attack is launched upon Ajax, at which point our simile appears for the first time, and it in turn

is immediately followed by the very famous simile comparing Ajax to a stubborn donkey in a wheatfield. Moments later the poet reminds us (597ff) that Nestor has set off with Machaon. It is this that Achilles notices, as the poet tells us, and the reason why he sends Patroklos out. Thus at this moment the poet lays the groundwork for the events culminating in Patroklos' death and Achilles' subsequent misery and madness.

In the seventeenth book where the simile appears for the second time the poet again anticipates it with similar images. There are dogs and huntsmen impotent before a lion (62), dogs and men driving off a lion (109), a mother lion protecting her young from hunters in the forest (133), and a wild boar fighting off dogs and young men (282). Again Ajax seems to predominate in the fighting. The battle see-saws and neither side seems to be getting the advantage. At this point Ajax decides to send Menelaos to inform Achilles, and he is compared to the lion at bay who withdraws at dawn. The cumulative sense of the preceding similes might have occasioned the repetition of this simile, to be sure. But more to the point, there seem to be certain precise features which recall to us the moment in the eleventh book. Ajax is predominant. A fellow Achaian is told to withdraw for an act other than fighting. The withdrawal is bound up with Achilles gaining information. That is the level of word association, as psychologists employ the term.[15] One may even notice that the simile under discussion is in both instances closely followed by a second that relates to the same person as the first, Ajax in book eleven, Menelaos in seventeen. It is likely, however, that these similarities derive from deeper narrative resonances.

In the eleventh book, when Achilles notices Nestor withdrawing, he sends Patroklos to learn and to report back to him. It is this act that causes the chain of events that leads to Patroklos' death. Here in the seventeenth book Menelaos withdraws from the battle so that Achilles can indeed get the final report of something begun so long ago in the action of the eleventh. One might say that this is a rather grand example of ring composition. The simile in its second appearance does not function well, it in fact blunts the sense of the passage, surely something no narrator wishes to do. It is obedient, however, to other narrative values. These are the architectonic strategies by which the poet determines the shape of his story.

The narrative of the *Iliad* is always elusive. The poet of the *Iliad*, one senses, is trying something very ambitious. Comparisons with early epic poetry from other cultures suggest this. And while it is natural to marvel over the way in which the poet of the *Odyssey* achieves maximum meaning with the most economical and taut plot lines, one will notice along with Aristotle that the *Iliad* is a brilliant *panoramic* feat. Tolstoy is confronted with many of the same problems in *War and Peace*, no doubt because he was inspired to do so by the example of the *Iliad*. The line of the *Iliad* story is hard to get at because the surface narrative is so diffuse. Perhaps the way to read the *Iliad* is to look at the structures that lie beneath the surface and give up seeking organic motivation for a good deal of what appears in the story. The structures will have a logic of their own.

[15] Similarly M. N. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition* (Berkeley 1974) 1–63, talks about creation by analogy.

Present-day reaction to the Parry-Lord orthodoxy moves one to speculate on the poet's conscious repetition of the simile. We can never know, of course. New Criticism is the better mode for treating ancient literature, since almost invariably all we have is the text. Yet the curious may find a hint in the two other instances of repetition that have so far been ignored in these pages. These are 5.860ff = 14.148ff and 13.389ff = 16.482ff. The remarkable fact is that they are innocuous in theme, bland in their place; indeed, the latter of the two compares a falling hero to a falling tree, a complete cliché. Their repetition seems to come from inadvertence, nothing else. They suggest a poet who has a vast repertory of formulae, clichés, and stock devices of narrative, who has the technical skill to put together line after line of narrative out of these materials, mechanically but vigorously. When set beside the repeated similes under discussion they immediately point up the extraordinary richness of association in these others. And yet they also demonstrate that repetition need have no significance, can be no more than a reflex twitch. We are left then with the definite impression of a poet who deliberately and knowingly chooses to repeat certain similes, who invests the contexts of their repetition with parallels and similarities which betoken his architectural rigor.

One would hope that such an observation would be attractive to all Homerists, neither conceding too much to an individual poet and author of the very *Iliad* we read nor denying to any one creator the personal control and craftsmanship we generally associate with the making of poetry. The nineteenth-century dispute over authorship has drained too much strength from the honest criticism of the poems, and still does. The present-day concern over whether there is enough of an individual poet behind each line is to flirt too much with the intentional fallacy. Finally we have the text and our reading of it, nothing more.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

The West Pediment of the Parthenon: Poseidon

Judith Binder

THE INTERPRETATION of the action argued here operates within the framework of the following summary, accepted as essentially right because it makes sense without resorting to the expedients of ignoring any part of the sculpture or of inserting imaginary sculpture. The artist (see *Figures* 1–2)

> decided to show the moment when the two contenders, Athena and Poseidon, after storming towards each other in their chariots, one from each side, have leapt down (the horses, meanwhile, rear up as the drivers rein them in with all their strength) and hastened to the centre of the composition to take possession of the land. Athena's gift of the olive tree was already lost when Carrey drew the pediment, but it was represented growing in the very centre, while Poseidon used his trident to create the spring. Both gods are shown recoiling from each other. Immediately behind them are the pairs of horses drawing their chariots, tightly reined in and rearing. Behind them are the divine messengers, ... Hermes, attending Athena, ... Iris, attending Poseidon. Next ... are the figures of the charioteers, both female. In Poseidon's case it is certainly his wife Amphitrite ... Athena's charioteer is lost but the most likely candidate is Nike. Of the remaining figures in the corners of the pediment, Cecrops can be identified on the left. His presence is essential, as he was the umpire. It is therefore probable that the other figures, male and female, in this corner are his kin, the Attic heroes, and the figures in the right-hand corner of the pediment are likely to be members of the same circle.[1]

Because we cannot see the sculpture as it was in 432 B.C. when its meaning was crystal clear, we have difficulties in understanding the composition as a whole, the exact nature of the central action, and the connexions between the sculpture on the pediment and the written accounts of the contest between Athena and Poseidon. The testimonia for the contest have never been completely collected, never been studied in chronological order, and the differing lines of tradition have never been disentangled. Exegetes of the west pediment tend to cite testimonia with all the discrimination of farmyard hens pecking at kernels.

The questions that have elicited the most wildly varying answers are: Why are the chariots there? Why are Hermes and Iris present? What does Athena's pose mean? What is Poseidon doing? What moment in the contest is depicted? Why does Athena the victor remain in her half of the pediment while Poseidon dominates the centre and impinges on Athena's side? How are the olive tree and salt sea to be understood? Why are figures on both sides unconcerned with the central action?[2]

[1] Frank Brommer, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* (London 1979) 47–48.
[2] *Cf.* Frank Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel* (Mainz 1963) 160.

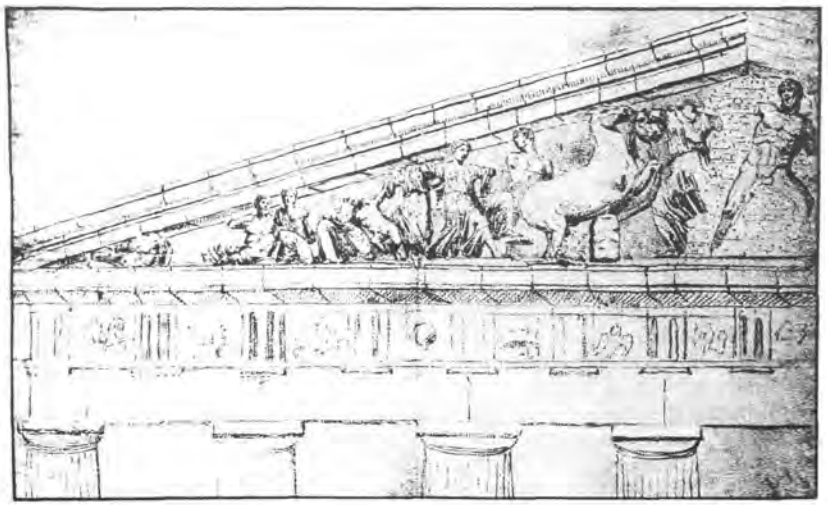


Figure 1

These questions form amongst themselves a tight weave; this paper tries to weave the answers together as follows: the two chariots have just landed on the Acropolis in a race with the Acropolis as goal. The god who reached the Acropolis first was to win the contest. Athena has just leapt off her chariot a split second ahead of Poseidon. As she sets foot on the Acropolis she conjures up the first olive tree as a sign of taking possession. Athena looks to see what Poseidon is doing as she starts running towards Kekrops (see *Figure* 3). Poseidon is in the act of driving his trident into the rock, causing the salt spring to gush forth as a sign of taking possession. As he does this he beholds the olive tree materializing. Kekrops is the only one to witness the outcome of the contest. The other figures are either unaware of the central event or are in the act of turning their heads to see what is happening. Athena runs towards Kekrops to hear his decision as judge. The whole is designed to picture Athens as dear to the gods in two ways: because Athena and Poseidon strove for the honour of becoming the guardian divinity of the place and because an Athenian mortal, Kekrops, was chosen to judge the contest between the gods.

In the *Panathenaicus*, finished in 339 B.C., Isocrates gave examples of pretexts for going to war and cited the case of Eumolpos, who claimed that Athens rightfully belonged to him, Eumolpos the son of Poseidon, rather than to Erechtheus, because Poseidon took possession before Athena did (193). The way in which the rivalry be-

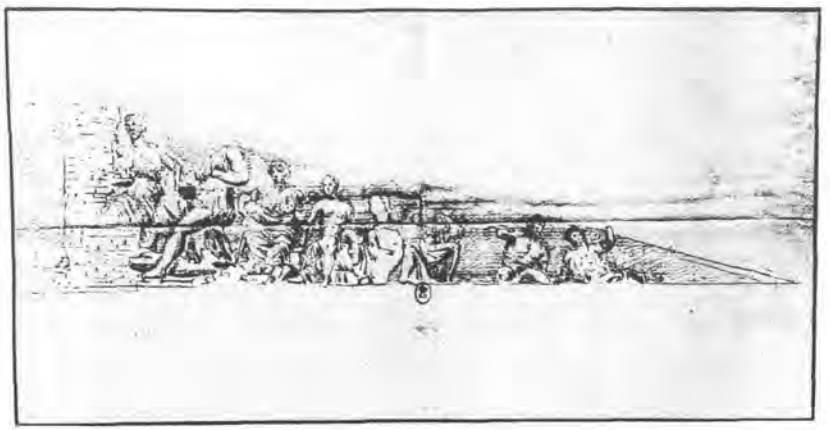


Figure 2

tween Poseidon and Athena was mirrored in the conflict between Eumolpos and Erechtheus had already been distinctively elaborated by Euripides in his *Erechtheus*, performed in the 420's when plans for constructing the Erechtheion at the site of the tokens, the olive tree and salt spring, had been completed.[3] Isocrates' allusions would have been pointless unless the Athenians of his day took it for granted that winning the contest depended on taking possession first.

A scholion to Aristides' *Panathenaicus* explicitly states that the contest between Poseidon and Athena was to be settled by priority: the god who first displayed something on the spot was to be the supreme god of the country.[4]

Apollodoros knew the tradition that the guardian deity of the Acropolis was to be the one who first got there: "Cecrops ... was the first king of Attica ... In his time, they say, the gods resolved to take possession of the cities in which each of them should receive his own peculiar worship. So Poseidon was the first one that came to Attica, and with a blow of his trident on the middle of the Acropolis, he produced a sea which they now called Erechtheis. After him came Athena, and, having called on Cecrops to witness her act of taking possession, she planted an olive tree which is still

[3] *Nova Fragmenta Euripidea*, ed. Colin Austin (Berlin 1968), 27.45ff, 39.90ff.

[4] Schol. Aristides *Panath.* 106.11. Ludolf Stephani meant to include this scholion in his collection of testimonia on the contest (*CRPétersb* 1872, 64–74); he published the text of the scholion to 106.15 under a reference to 106.11; the latter dropped out and was forgotten.

Figure 3

shown in the Pandrosium."[5] In what follows Poseidon loses the contest because he had no witness to prove that he came first.[6]

Thus there are three testimonia preserving a tradition that priority rather than the value of the tokens determined the victory. Other testimonia do attest that the value of the tokens is what counted; this view is taken for granted today. Which is the better thing, olive tree or salt spring? In the literary testimonia the criterion of priority appears much earlier than the criterion of value; the first well-dated reference to the contest judged on the value of the tokens is in Ovid (*Met.* 6.70ff). Three features of the composition of the west pediment make coherent good sense if victory belonged to the god who got there first and make little or no sense if the contest was judged according to the value of the tokens.

[5] *Bibl.* 3.14.1, transl. J. G. Frazer (LCL).

[6] Eugen Petersen, *Kunst des Phidias* (Berlin 1973) 159, observes that Apollodoros leads one to expect that Poseidon was defeated because he could not prove his priority. A wrong manuscript reading led Petersen to decide that it was, after all, the value of the tokens, not priority, which was decisive.

If the contest was to be judged on the value of the tokens, both tokens must appear on the scene so that all may see the competing gifts central to the legend. E. Buschor, for example, explains that "Die beiden Götter haben ihre Wagen verlassen, um alsbald ihre Wunder zu wirken; Poseidon hat den Dreizack in den Fels gestossen und das Meerwasser heraussprudeln lassen, aber vor dem grösseren Wunder, das seine Partnerin mit der Lanze dem Burgfelsen entlockt, prallt er geblendet zurück, so wie auch die Gespanne vor den wunderbaren Göttertaten aufbäumen. Wunder über Wunder, Staunen über Staunen, Schrecken über Schrecken—das ist diese grosse Mittelgruppe . . . "[7]

Much has been written to show how the salt sea was represented on the pediment. The place for it would be directly under the downward-driving trident of Poseidon, not under his chariot nor under the charioteer as has been suggested. An olive tree at the vortex of the action must be matched by a salt spring at the vortex of the action, not by a sea creature off to one side. Symbols work if they cohere. No fragment has been identified as water. It was not there. The proof lies in Poseidon's struggle; his every muscle is taut, his whole body is tensed, his feet are wide apart to secure a firm stance against shock (see *Figure* 3). If Poseidon had already created the salt spring, then he must be straining to tug his trident out of the rock. No defender of the salt spring has ever faced the consequences.

When one takes speed to be the decisive factor, then one is entitled to say that Pheidias chose the one possible moment to make victory visible: the second in which the olive tree had materialized while Poseidon summoned up his strength to rive the rock. This fits in with the earliest testimonium for the contest. No source, written or pictorial, is earlier than Herodotos 8.55 where the olive tree and salt spring are termed *μαρτύρια*. *μαρτύριον* in Herodotos means evidence providing proof of something. There is nothing in Herodotos' language to indicate that he saw the olive tree and salt spring as competing gifts, as signs of a "Streit göttlicher Wunderkraft." They are there as evidence that Athena and Poseidon once contended for the honour of becoming the supreme guardian deity of Athens, a thought the Athenians treasured.

Nearly six centuries later Pausanias was shown the olive tree and the salt sea and the trident marks (1.26.5, 27.2). The guides showed them as the *μαρτύρια* and Pausanias mentions the word twice; the sea water and the mark of a trident on the rock are *μαρτύρια* and the olive tree is Athena's *μαρτύριον*. The guides stuck to Herodotos' term, but Pausanias simply did not appreciate the myth. He commented on the salt sea, "this is no great marvel," because he knew of other inland salt seas. Pausanias went out of his way to remark about the olive tree that "they" have nothing else to say about it except that it was the *μαρτύριον* for Athena in the contest. Pausanias sounds as if he were disappointed, as if he had expected something more exciting. He missed the point of the tokens as Ovid and Plutarch (*Them.* 19) had before him. In the *Menexenus* (237c) Socrates cites the contest as proof that Attica is dear to the gods; *μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ἡμῶν τῷ λόγῳ ἡ τῶν ἀμφισβητησάντων περὶ αὐτὴν θεῶν ἔρις τε καὶ κρίσις*. The verb *μαρτυρεῖ* links this passage to the *μαρτύρια* in Herodotos 8.55.

[7] *Phidias der Mensch* (Munich 1948) 40–41.

In the composition a second current of excitement swirls around Kekrops.[8] His daughter has flung her arm about his shoulder. As she was startled into sudden motion her chiton slipped down and she has not troubled to put it right as does leisurely Artemis in the east frieze. The child is pulling Figure F towards Kekrops. Figure A was turning around to look towards the centre, but perhaps also to ask Kekrops exactly what had happened, since the contest will have been over before he has turned all the way.[9] Kekrops has a special position in the pediment. He alone watches the central event. He himself is a centre of attention. Because the sculptor has placed Kekrops seated on the ground, his torso and head fill the height of the pediment and thus attain large-scale, godlike dimensions. Hermes from thigh to neck is 1.15 m. high while Kekrops from seat to neck is 1.27 m. high.

In seeking the reason for Kekrops' prominence we turn again to Attic authors and find that Kekrops judged the contest. In the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon (3.5.10) Socrates tells the son of Pericles that one can stir the longing for *arete* by reminding men that their ancestors were great. The son of Pericles answers, "you mean the judgment of the gods, for which they chose Kekrops because of his *arete*." *Arete* is hardly needed for a decision that an olive tree is more valuable than a salt spring. But if the criterion was priority rather than the value of the tokens, then the gods needed a mortal whom they could unqualifiedly trust as witness to a photo finish; for this *arete* is required. The famous passage of the *Menexenos*, quoted by Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Dem.* 28), reveals how the Athenians felt about this. There we are told that Athens is beloved of the gods. The proof lies in the myth of the contest of Athena and Poseidon, in the fact of the contest itself and in the way it was decided, an Athenian king trusted by the gods to judge them.

Athena is in running position; her speed causes her drapery to cling to her leg and to swirl back in deep folds, more agitated than those of the running goddess of the east pediment. Scholars have believed that there is no motivation for Athena running, hence she cannot be running; and they have variously interpreted her pose as a gesture of triumph, as recoil from Poseidon, or hostility to him. To take Athena's pose in the most matter-of-fact way possible, she is running towards Kekrops because her victory does not count until he gives the word.

In Hellenistic times the myth was watered down. Confusion arose between a trial in a lawcourt and a decision in a contest. In a court of law judges or jurors heard the evidence in a case and made decisions. In a contest the judge must be on hand in order to witness the event being judged. Ovid transferred the judgment to the Areopagus; Apollodoros and later authors thought of the contest in terms of a trial where the function of witness is distinct from that of judge and where the decision may depend on voting. In the later versions of the myth where the people of Athens vote and in later representations which show Nike drawing votes from an urn in the presence of Athena and

[8] Brommer (*supra* n.2) pls. 80, 85–86.
[9] Brommer (*supra* n.2) pl. 81.

Poseidon, the contest has been removed from the milieu of the Panathenaic Games to that of a lawcourt.

Chariots have their place in a contest where victory depends on speed. The chariots puzzled E. Langlotz, who wrote, "Selbst nach den Giebelecken zu prallen die Körper diagonal aufeinander, zunächst die effektvoll sich bäumenden Rosse, bei denen die Frage unausweichlich ist, warum sie an so sichtbarer Stelle in den Giebel gesetzt sind, warum sie die streitenden Götter fast überrennen, da die Wagen nur dienstbar bereitstehen sollten, um die Götter wieder in den Olymp zu fahren."[10] Michaelis wrote: "nach homerischer Weise sind, wie in den Ostmetopen, den Streitern ihre Wagen in den Kampf gefolgt."[11] H. A. Thompson notes that the motivation for the chariots is weak.[12]

In thinking of the contest we may recall that the Parthenon frieze presents the Panathenaic procession on the anniversary of Athena's birthday, the subject of the east pediment. The prize for victory in the Panathenaic chariot race was one hundred and forty amphoras filled with prize olive oil which came from the *moriai*, descendants of the olive trees planted by Athena as a sign of taking possession of the country. The horses which raced Athena and Poseidon to Athens were participants in the event, more tightly drawn into the composition than the horses in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

Fragments of at least sixteen red-figured oinochoai of a special shape were found in a deposit on the northwest slope of the Acropolis about seven metres east of the Klepsydra.[13] On two of them the Panathenaic Athena is shown on the neck. Where the representation on the body is preserved it is either Athena mounting a chariot or, in one case, coming over the sea in a chariot with leaping dolphins and waves below. Hermes is often present. The vases are dated to *ca* 410 B.C. Athena is not fully armed in the chariot scenes; she is not on her way to fight the Giants. No explanation has been offered other than that these oinochoai were in some way connected with the celebration of the Panathenaia. These vases are not, to be sure, evidence for the iconography of the west pediment, but it may well be that they depict Athena's race to the Acropolis.

There is no literary, epigraphical, or archaeological evidence to indicate that the cult of Poseidon existed on the Acropolis before the battle of Salamis.[14] The earliest evidence is a perirrhanterion dedicated to Poseidon Erechtheus, dating from 460–450 B.C.[15] The first priest of Poseidon on the Acropolis was Lykomedes, the great-grandfather of Lykourgos (Plut. *Mor.* 843E). The Parthenon west pediment is the first repre-

[10] *Phidiasprobleme* (Frankfurt am Main 1947) 53.
[11] A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* (Leipzig 1871) 183.
[12] *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 263.
[13] Richard Green, "A New Oinochoe Series from the Acropolis North Slope," *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 82–94 pls. 28–32.
[14] The source for all statements about the founding of the cult of Poseidon on the Acropolis is a lecture delivered by Lilian H. Jeffery in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1976.
[15] A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* no. 384.

sentation of the contest between Poseidon and Athena;[16] L. Jeffery has suggested that the pediment celebrates the founding of the cult of Poseidon on the Acropolis around 475 B.C. This suggestion is supported by results of research carried out by A. Shapiro, who has shown that in literature and in vase painting directly after 480 B.C. Poseidon suddenly emerges as Theseus' father, his second father. Before 480 there is but one possible allusion to Poseidon as Theseus' father, the Panaitian cup of *ca* 500, but Poseidon is not present in this underwater scene and Athena is the central figure. In the decade 480–470 there is an amazing concentration on Poseidon the father of Theseus. Shapiro concludes, "kinship with Poseidon clearly symbolizes Athens' new naval supremacy as head of the Delian League."[17] More than that, the victory at Salamis accounts for the fact that Theseus acquired a second father overnight, as it were, and for the founding of the cult of Poseidon on the Acropolis in the second quarter of the fifth century. It accounts also for the creation of the legend of the contest between Athena and Poseidon with Poseidon dominating the first representation of the contest on the west pediment, because, as Aristides wrote, after the contest "Poseidon withdrew; he did not, however, end his loving care. His and her subsequent behavior afforded no less evidence of the attention and honor which the Athenians enjoyed from both. For she granted to the city superiority in wisdom, while he granted superiority in naval battles . . . indeed I think beyond any who at any time or place have fought and won battles at sea."[18]

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES, ATHENS

[16] Brommer (*supra* n.2) 158.
[17] A. Shapiro, *AA* 1982, 291–97.
[18] *Panath.* 39, tr. J. H. Oliver, *The Civilizing Power* (*TAPhS* 58.1 [1968]) 50.

Many Letters: Aristophanes *Plutus* 1166–67

Alan L. Boegehold

IN 422 B.C., when Philokleon, Aristophanes' obsessed juror, gets up in the morning, he knows in what court he will sit, so long as he arrives on time (*Wasps* 240, 303–05). From this and a few other details, students of the ancient Athenian constitution reconstruct a system wherein all the six thousand or so heliasts (or dikasts, as they came to be known later) were individually assigned to particular courts for periods of time that may have been as long as a year. The court could be seated in the Odeion or in a building designated by the title of whatever magistrate officiated there, *e.g. thesmothetes*, archon.[1] There may also have been structures designed from the start to be *dikasteria*—the Heliaia,[2] for instance, and one called the Kainon.

Thirty years or so later, the general body of dikasts was divided into ten sections, and these sections were labelled by letters from *alpha* to *kappa*. Each was supposed to have five hundred or more dikasts enrolled (although sometimes the total was short of the desired number) and single sections were assigned entire to single courts for one day only. A further important innovation was that the assignment was effected by lot, and the Athenians had a machine (*kleroterion*) to do the allotting. Dikastic panels continued to sit in buildings that were not court houses—the Odeion and the Stoa Poikile, for instance.[3]

Fifty years or so later again, a complex system had evolved whereby each court-day dikasts were allotted by fives in one sortition and assigned one by one to particular courts in another. Allotments also determined the letters (from *lambda* on) that would designate various courts each day and officiating magistrates as well. Court buildings by this time may have been built, designed, and situated as *dikasteria*. In any case, the buildings that were used had to be close enough to one another for a fence or barrier to segregate them in a coherent group from everything else that went on in the Agora.[4]

In the present essay, I review allusions and references in comedy from which we infer Athenian practices in the second of the three phases sketched above. The main lines of interpretation are not in dispute, but a review of the evidence is desirable be-

[1] See D. M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes Wasps* (Oxford 1971) *ad* 303–05, 1108; A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* II (Oxford 1971) 239–41.
[2] See recently M. H. Hansen, "The Athenian Heliaia from Solon to Aristotle," *Class&Med* 33 (1981–82) 9–47.
[3] See Harrison (*supra* n.1) 239–41; J. H. Kroll, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1972) 5–7, 91–98; R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* III *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton 1957) 145–49. A riddle propounded by Euboulos fr.107.21–25 Kock may add evidence that there was allotment also of dikasts within sections. How exactly this was done is not clear, nor is the date of Euboulos' play. See Kroll 6.
[4] Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 63–66, with S. Dow, "Aristotle, the Kleroteria, and Courts," *HSCP* 50 (1939) 1–34, and P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian* Athenaion Politeia (Oxford 1981) 701–35.

cause there are still details that can be clarified, and there has not been such a review since Sterling Dow's identification of the *kleroterion*. There is also a question concerning chronology. Historians cite 403/2 as the year in which Athenians changed from the procedures of Philokleon's day to those we find in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*.[5] There are indications, however, that point rather to a time not far from 410/409.

To take up the question of date first, 403/2, the archonship of Eukleides at Athens, is a recognized turning point. A new constitution goes into effect. Consequently, when constitutional or procedural changes make their appearance first in the early fourth century, a historian is understandably tempted to think of such changes as having originated with the new constitution.[6] But some important innovations preceded that constitution by six or seven years. Furthermore, while there is no necessary or suggestive connection between the first allotment of dikastic sections to *dikasteria* and the constitution of 403/2, consider the relevance of the following events and innovations, all recorded as happening sometime near 410/409.

In 410 Athenians had just restored a democratic form of government after an experiment the year before with oligarchy, an experiment that aroused—we can assume—passionate and continuous debate. Aware more than ever of governmental procedures and their effects on people's lives, Athenians established a board of *anagrapheis* to publish the city's laws.[7] At some time between 409 and 405, they established a central archive for dependable storage and easy access to state papers.[8] In 410/409 *bouleutai* began to be seated by allotment,[9] an innovation very much in the spirit of the allotment of dikasts to courts, and in 409 Anytos bribed a whole dikastic panel, a scandalous provocation that could by itself have prompted reform.[10] One purpose of the new practice of allotting dikasts should have been to frustrate hope of such improper manipulations.

It is noteworthy also that Aristophanes used the word *kleroterion* in his *Geras*, a play assigned recently—although not unanimously—to 410 B.C.[11] If we accept the relevant dates as precise, then the *kleroterion* was an item of public knowledge before Anytos bribed a *dikasterion*. In that case we may suppose that the *kleroterion* was designed

[5] The plays are dated respectively 392 (T. Gelzer, *RE* Suppl. 12 [1971] 1406 *s.v.* "Aristophanes 12"; R. G. Ussher, *Aristophanes Ecclesiazusae* [Oxford 1973] xx–xxv) and 388 (Gelzer 1412).

[6] See *e.g.* G. Colin, "Les sept derniers chapitres de l'Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία," *REG* 30 (1917) 82–85; H. Hommel, *Heliaia* (*Philologus* Suppl. 19 [1927]) 133–35; Harrison (*supra* n.1) 239–41.

[7] See S. Dow, "The Law Codes of Athens," *ProcMassHistSoc* 71 (1959) 3–36; "The Athenian Calendar of Sacrifices: The Chronology of Nikomakhos' Second Term," *Historia* 9 (1960) 270–93; "The Walls Inscribed with Nikomakhos' Law Code," *Hesperia* 30 (1961) 58–73; D. M. MacDowell, *Andocides On the Mysteries* (Oxford 1962) 194–99.

[8] See A. L. Boegehold, "The Establishment of a Central Archive at Athens," *AJA* 76 (1972) 28–29, with MacDowell's discussion (*supra* n.7: 4–5 with n.9) of the date of Andokides' *De reditu*.

[9] Philoch. *FGrHist* 328F140: φησὶ γὰρ Φιλόχορος ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου "καὶ ἡ βουλὴ κατὰ γράμμα τότε πρῶτον ἐκαθέζετο· καὶ ἔτι νῦν ὀμνῦσιν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καθεδεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ γράμματι ᾧ ἂν λάχωσιν."

[10] Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 27.5 with Rhodes (*supra* n.4) 343–44.

[11] See G. M. J. Sticking, *Mnemosyne* IV.17 (1964) 158–61, approved by T. Gelzer (*supra* n.5) 1410, 1416–17. C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta* (Berlin 1973) 27, while inclined to assign the crucial fragment, *P.Flor.* II 112, to the *Gerytades* rather than the *Geras*, concludes, "nihil certi affirmari potest."

and used first in bouleutic allotments. Then a short time afterwards, its usefulness in dikastic procedures was recognized and employed.

To turn now to practices adumbrated in comedy, Praxagora describes her new order to her husband Blepyros (Ar. *Eccl.* 681–86): "I shall set up the *kleroteria* in the Agora. I'll stand them by the statue of Harmodios and allot everyone, until the man allotted goes off happily knowing in what letter he dines. And the herald will announce that the men from *beta* go to dine at the King's Stoa, and *theta* to the stoa next to it, and the men from *kappa* to the stoa *alphitopolis*:"

> τὰ δὲ κληρωτήρια ποῖ τρέψεις; PR: εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καταθήσω·
> κᾆτα στήσασα παρ' Ἁρμοδίῳ κληρώσω πάντας, ἕως ἂν
> εἰδὼς ὁ λαχὼν ἀπίῃ χαίρων ἐν ὁποίῳ γράμματι δειπνεῖ·
> καὶ κηρύξει τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βῆτ' ἐπὶ τὴν στοιὰν ἀκολουθεῖν
> τὴν βασίλειον δειπνήσοντας· τὸ δὲ θῆτ' ἐς τὴν παρὰ ταύτην,
> τοὺς δ' ἐκ τοῦ κάππ' ἐς τὴν στοιὰν χωρεῖν τὴν ἀλφιτόπωλιν.

Aristotle (*Ath.Pol.* 63), describing procedure in his own day, has a dikast belonging to only one section, his identity *qua* dikast established by a boxwood plaque (πινάκιον δικαστικόν) that carried his name, father's name, demotic, and, in a conspicuous place, his section letter. It has long been generally agreed that the *beta*, *theta*, and *kappa* of Praxagora's manifesto represent by metonymy dikastic sections.[12] They are being allotted here entire to particular buildings, presumably buildings that Athenians knew were often used for court trials.[13]

Blepyros (687–88) now asks about people who will be excluded: the letter by which one dines will not be pulled out, and everyone will drive such a person away. A circumstantial detail in Aristotle's description of later procedure may help elucidate ὅτῳ δὲ τὸ γράμμα μὴ 'ξελκυσθῇ καθ' ὃ δειπνήσει. Aristotle has a would-be dikast allotted or rejected for service by *kleroterion*. His *pinakion* is one of five, all of which have been inserted in slots in a horizontal row. When a white ball validates a row, the owners of the five *pinakia* in that row will serve as jurors that day; their *pinakia* are accordingly pulled out of their slots to be passed on to the next stage of the day's business. When, however, a black ball invalidates a horizontal row, these five *pinakia* are not pulled out of their slots; they stay in place until the whole allotment is completed.[14] Now apparently what is happening in the allotment that Blepyros uses as his pattern is that whole sections are being allotted to determine whether or not they will judge that day. Letters representing these sections are somehow inserted into *kleroteria*, and when a section is disqualified, its letter is not pulled out. Would-be dikasts who belong to that section are therefore disappointed.

Karion (*Plut.* 277–78), exchanging insults with the Chorus-leader, says, "Your letter has been allotted to judge in the grave. Go. Charon is handing out the token":

[12] See S. Bruck, *Philologus* 54 (1895) 65, and Kroll (*supra* n.3) 36–38.

[13] See H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens* (Princeton 1972) 102.

[14] See *Ath.Pol.* 65.3 with S. Dow (*supra* n.4) 29–30.

ἐν τῇ σορῷ νυνὶ λαχὸν τὸ γράμμα σου δικάζειν,
σὺ δ' οὐ βαδίζεις; ὁ δὲ Χάρων τὸ ξύμβολον δίδωσιν.

He seems to be alluding to the same pattern. A section (*gramma*) is allotted as a whole to a particular place. The token was a bronze coin-like piece that may have been used to seat dikasts by chance.[15]

If sections were assigned entire to courts by means of allotment, some sections on some days were rejected by allotment. They did not judge at all, and their members were correspondingly disappointed. With this in mind, consider *Plutus* 1166–67. "No wonder all the men who judge a lot are anxious to be enrolled in many letters":

οὐκ ἐτὸς ἅπαντες οἱ δικάζοντες θαμὰ
σπεύδουσιν ἐν πολλοῖς γεγράφθαι γράμμασιν.

If ἐν πολλοῖς γεγράφθαι γράμμασιν means to be enrolled in many dikastic sections (*i.e.*, the same metonymy as in *Plut.* 277 and *Eccl.* 683–86), how is the allusion to be interpreted?

It is relevant to note first that Athens lost many citizens in the Peloponnesian War, perhaps as many as a quarter of the whole citizen body at the time of the Sicilian disaster. She had also lost her tributary allies whose legal business, carried to Athens, contributed to the volume of litigation there. There had also been two oligarchic revolutions, one of which, that of 411, especially stimulated scrutiny of old laws and procedures. Suppose the procedure that Aristophanes burlesques in *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus* was promulgated *ca* 409. Athenians in planning a revised system looked to the past to estimate what volume of legal business they could expect at Athens in coming years. They assumed there would be, as in the past, more candidates than places for dikastic service. They might then have devised some such system as the following:

Citizens who want to become dikasts are assigned to dikastic sections labelled A to K. The assignment is by allotment, one citizen to one section only. There are now (let us say for the sake of this example) only five thousand citizens who want to present themselves daily, as against six thousand (*Ath.Pol.* 24.3) in earlier years. Most of these citizens appear in the morning on a court day.[16] An allotment is performed to determine which sections will be assigned to what courts. At first there is enough legal business for eight to ten courts every day, and so most sections are allotted to work each court day. But if in time it turns out that over and over again only two or three or four courts are needed, the result is that on many days six to eight dikastic sections are disqualified. If there are fewer citizens at Athens and fewer litigants from among the allies, it follows that fewer dikastic panels will sit over the course of a year.

There are also fewer candidates to be dikasts, and when fewer than five hundred per section appear in the morning to be allotted, the Athenians find themselves in a

[15] A. L. Boegehold, "Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* 65,2: The 'Official Token,'" *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 393–401.

[16] M. H. Hansen, "How Often Did the Athenian *Dikasteria* Meet?" *GRBS* 20 (1979) 243–46, reckons between 150 and 200 days in a year of 354 days.

paradoxical situation. For at the first allotment of the day, by rejecting whole sections they disqualify a large number of candidates from their total sum. For instance, if they reject five sections, they disqualify roughly 2500 candidates (if sections are about full) from a total whose sum may not have been even as much as 5000. They may then find that the five sections that have been allotted to work have none of them a full five hundred members. Since most dikastic panels were supposed to consist of 501 jurors, it was obviously desirable, if not absolutely necessary, to fill out the membership of allotted but deficient sections.[17]

Plutus 1166–67 may give a clue to what happened next. Some Athenians enrolled themselves in many sections, and this multiple registration brought sections up to a fictitious full strength, *i.e.* each to a number of names that equaled or perhaps exceeded five hundred. By means of this adjustment, citizens were spared the frustration of being rejected by allotment and yet at the same time seeing panels functioning short of the requisite number of dikasts. A man enrolled in four sections could perhaps expect to work most court days.

It would be satisfying to know whether the practice of multiple registration was duly legislated and enacted or rather was an improvisation that would-be dikasts devised, and officials tolerated, so long as it seemed to work. Max Fränkel argues that *Plutus* 1166–67 is evidence for a sort of waiver or variance sanctioned by the government.[18] Pressing the adverb θαμά and construing it with σπεύδουσιν, he argues that the dikasts arrange for their multiple registrations "zu Haufen" and that such registrations are therefore legitimate. Otherwise there would be complaints from others, who although they do not want to be registered fraudulently in more than one section, at the same time do not want their own chances of earning the triobol lessened. Besides, detection of malefactors is inevitable on a number of counts. Those responsible for lists notice if many men from the same deme show up with the same name and the same father's name. Or if one man uses different names, someone in that small community, where people know one another personally, will recognize a face that appears once too often under different names. And finally, if a man should be enrolled in two different sections, both of which happen on a single day to be allotted for service, "dann war er aber unrettbar verloren," because his fellow dikasts would denounce him in whichever of the two sections he failed to appear.

Fränkel's argumentation is based on three assumptions, each with a weakness. First, in assuming that dikasts are fewer because of losses in war, he does not address a reasonable attendant assumption, namely that of a corresponding reduction in the

[17] *IG* II² 1641 shows a section of 499 dikasts rendering a valid judgment. See *infra* 28f. Harrison (*supra* n.1) 47 n.2 offers a convenient summary of the varying sizes of dikastic panels.

[18] *Die attischen Geschworenengerichte* (Berlin 1877) 97–98. Fränkel's interpretation, now well over one hundred years old, has not, so far as I know, been opposed in any systematic way. Indeed his conclusion is often simply stated without qualification. See *e.g.* J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren* I (Leipzig 1906) 144–45 n.33; G. Busolt/H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* II (Munich 1926) 1157 with n.1; R. Bonner and G. Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle* I (Chicago 1932) 367; Harrison (*supra* n.1) 241.

volume of legal business.[19] If fewer male adults produce fewer dikasts, they also produce a smaller volume of court cases. Second, he imagines an Athens where officials do not take bribes, and needy people do not tolerate small ruses by which equally needy friends and relations eke out their livelihoods. If we postulate the opposite, an Athens whose officials are sometimes lax or venal and where poor people make working alliances among themselves, other interpretations of Aristophanes' lines become plausible as well—among them Schoemann's "commonly practiced trick."[20] Fränkel's third assumption is that Aristophanes notes without overtones or comic distortion an odd detail of administrative procedure. It is a surprising supposition in any case, but here consider the context in which the lines are uttered. Hermes has been inventing names for himself in order to get a post in a rich man's house. The atmosphere is one of *poneria*, the little man scrambling to get a slice of the pie. Hermes hits upon the right title, the one that will get him his post. "How good it is to have a lot of names. No wonder men who judge a lot are eager to be enrolled in many sections." The conjunction of "many names" and "many sections" surely points to tricks of some kind.

Now to the point of *Ecclesiazusae* 682, εἰδὼς ὁ λαχὼν ἀπίῃ χαίρων ἐν ὁποίῳ γράμματι δειπνεῖ. A man who is enrolled in many sections sometimes does not know in what letter he will judge until the allotment of many sections to courts has been completed. Consequently when Praxagora says "until the allotted man goes off happily knowing in what section he dines," she may be reminding Athenians of dikasts who are enrolled in many sections. Each such dikast has days when he learns only after various eliminations in which of his sections he will judge.

Plutus 972 presents a slightly different allusion. Chremylos asks an old lady if she was drinking in her letter without having been allotted: ἀλλ' οὐ λαχοῦσ' ἔπινες ἐν τῷ γράμματι; ἔπινες is a surprise for ἔκρινες, as πίνειν is a surprise for δείπνειν at *Knights* 535, and comic substitution is the real point in both instances. The joke, however, seems to assume an acquaintance with the dikastic sections and their allotment, unless 'letter' means 'seating place' here.[21]

One of Fränkel's suppositions calls for further comment. He says that if a dikast found himself allotted to judge in two or more sections on the same day, he could obviously be in one only. But his fellow dikasts on the panel(s) from which he is necessarily absent then surely denounce him. Note, however, the results of a trial recorded in an inscription from the mid-fourth century (*IG* II² 1641). At a trial held in the Stoa Poikile, one hundred dikasts voted to convict, three hundred and ninety-nine to acquit. In other words, the official record of a *res judicata* tells of 499 votes instead of the

[19] *Cf.* T. Thalheim, *RE* 5 (1903) 567 *s.v.* Δικασταί.

[20] "Häufig geübten Betrug," N. G. Schoemann, *De sortitione iudicum apud Athenienses* (Greifswald 1820) 212. M. H. Hansen, "Misthos for Magistrates in Classical Athens," *SymbOslo* 54 (1979) 8–9, discusses a scholiast's interpretation of μὴ διχόθεν μισθοφορεῖν at Dem. 24.123. The scholiast says that sometimes dikasts would contrive to be paid twice the same day, being paid by one official as though having judged in the Heliaia, by another as though having judged in the Trigonon. The scholiast seems to me to have a notion of the same circumstances that provoked *Plut.* 1166–67.

[21] See *supra* n.15.

expected 501. A full tally therefore is not necessary, and a full count of dikasts is *a fortiori* likewise not necessary. There would perhaps then be no cause to denounce a man if absent from a session to which he had been allotted.

To conclude, Athenians may have begun to allot dikasts to courts as early as 409. If, in designing a new procedure, they relied on past experience, past numbers, and the expectation of a comparable volume of court cases in coming years, what else were they to do? And when it turned out that eligible dikasts were too few and volume of court cases too low for the system as designed to function efficiently, a makeshift remedy, tolerated if not sanctioned by the city, was at hand. Someone—surely an immediate beneficiary of the system, someone who needed his dikastic pay—improvised as seemed necessary. Aristophanes with a smile signalled the adaptation at *Plutus* 1166–67.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

Gold for Bronze: *Iliad* 6.232–36

William M. Calder III

A PERENNIAL PUZZLE in Homer is *Iliad* 6.232–36, where Glaukos and Diomedes exchange gifts. Lang, Leaf, and Myers render:

> So spake the twain, and leaping from their cars clasp each the other by his hand, and pledged their faith. But now Zeus son of Kronos took from Glaukos his wits, in that he made exchange with Diomedes Tydeus' son of golden armour for bronze, the price of five score oxen for the price of nine.

By Plato (*Symp.* 219A) and often later[1] χρύσεα χαλκείων[2] had become an elegant reference to an unfair bargain. Aristotle (*Eth.Nic.* 1136b9–14) defends Diomedes by arguing that Glaukos cannot suffer injustice because he has given away his own: "for giving rests with oneself, suffering injustice does not—there has to be another person who acts unjustly" (Rackham). The view is reflected by the scholiast to *Iliad* 6.230 (II 171.88–89 Erbse) "naïvely this, not from shameful gain." Polemic; for some critics argued:[3] "die Berufung des Diomedes auf die Gastfreundschaft war nur ein übler Trick, mit dem Diomedes den Glaukos aus schmutziger Gewinnsucht übertolpelte." A desperate solution survives in the scholiast to *Iliad* 6.234 (171.96–97 Erbse): τὸ δὲ ἐξέλετο ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπερηύξησε τῇ φολοτιμίᾳ ὡς τὸ "γέρας ἔξελον." The suggestion became famous because Alexander Pope adopted it in his English version. Pope writes:[4]

> The Words in the Original are ἐξέλετο φρένας, which may equally be interpreted, *he took away his Sense*, or *he elevated his Mind*. The former being a Reflection upon *Glaucus*'s Prudence, for making so unequal an Exchange, the latter a Praise of the Magnanimity and Generosity which induced him to it. *Porphyry* contends for its being understood in the last way, and *Eustathius*, Monsieur and Madam *Dacier* are of the same Opinion. Notwithstanding it is certain that *Homer* uses the same Words in the contrary Sense in the seventeenth Iliad, V. 470 and in the nineteenth, V. 137. And it is an obvious Remark, that the Interpretation of *Porphyry* as much dishonours *Diomed* who proposed this Exchange, as it does Honour to *Glaucus* for consenting to it. However I have followed it, if not as the juster, as the most heroic Sense, and as it has the nobler Air in Poetry.

[1] I have noted Ael. *VH* 4.5 (65.9 Dilts); Arist. *Eth.Nic.* 1136b9–14; Heliodorus 7.10.5, 9.2.1; Manetho *Apotelesm.* 5.22; Plut. *Mor.* 1063F; Psellus *Scripta minora* 69.5; Them. 11.151B (I 227.13 Downey/Norman); Aul. Gell. *NA* 2.23.7; Cic. *Att.* 6.1.22; Hor. *Sat.* 1.7.16–18; Mart. 9.94.3–4; Pliny *Ep.* 5.2.2; Pliny *HN* 33.3.7. For Glaucus as a popular figure of stupidity among the Romans see E. Muret, "Glaucus: Étude d'étymologique romane," *Mélanges Nicole* (Geneva 1905) 379–89.

[2] The genitive is a variety of the genitive of value or price: Kühner/Gerth I 378.

[3] See Marta Maftei, *Antike Diskussionen über die Episode von Glaukos und Diomedes im VI. Buch der Ilias* (Meisenheim am Glan 1976) 52–53. At 52 she writes: "Aber die Rüstung des Glaukos war hundert Rinder wert, die des Diomedes nur sieben." For 'sieben' read 'neun'.

[4] See *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. Maynard Mack *et al.*, VII: *The Iliad of Homer, Books I–IX* (New Haven 1967) 340. I owe the reference to E. C. Kopff.

Modern opinion is equally unsatisfactory. Nineteenth-century critics sought a humorous explanation. Ameis observes:[5]

> die Höhe der Situation, wie sie in 234 bis 236 erscheint, wird nicht durch eine subjektiv gestaltete Wertbestimmung und schwache psychologische Redeweise, *sondern durch die objektive Kraft einer stehenden Formel in humoristischem Tone* am schönsten zur sinnlichen Erscheinung gebracht.

Wilamowitz saw a political barb aimed wittily at a Lycian ruling class descended from Glaukos and attested at Hdt. 1.147:[6]

> Mich dünkt es wahrscheinlich, dass auch der vielen anstössige Schluss der Geschichte eine politische Spitze hat. Glaukos war so von Blindheit geschlagen, dass er auf einen Waffentausch einging, obwohl seine Waffen zehnmal [*sic*] mehr wert waren als die des Diomedes. Das wäre sehr witzig, wenn die Glaukiaden sich auf eine societas leonina mit den Tydiden (oder auch nur mit Hellenen) eingelassen hatten. Ob den Witz der Dichter selbst (wie ich dem Augenschein glaube) oder ein späterer Rhapsode gemacht hat, ist ziemlich einerlei.

Influenced presumably by Ameis, Walter Leaf in his standard commentary secured the humorous explanation for English-speaking peoples:[7]

> This almost burlesque ending to one of the most delightful episodes in Homer has greatly exercised critics ... We seem ... to have an outbreak of conscious and deliberate humour, which is only so far isolated that it appears among men and not, as elsewhere, among gods.

In a famous article Ben Edwin Perry stressed the contrast of Glaukos, hero and simpleton, and found a splendid example of the poet "viewing things separately":[8]

> He [Homer] contemplates in succession two very different aspects of the same act, the second of which is mentioned solely for its own interest and in spite of the fact that for us it is artistically incongruous with the first.

Harry L. Levy in a variation of Perry sees a clash between the traditions of nobility and peasantry. Of *Iliad* 6.232–36 he writes:[9] "I now prefer to see the crass materialism of the remark as the persistence of the little tradition in the face of the great."

A growing tendency in modern criticism, to see Glaukos as a coward who sought to buy off Diomedes and thus save his skin, was adumbrated by Horace's *pigrior* (*Sat.* 1.7.17). J. D. Craig argues that Glaukos understood he was no match for Diomedes and with a sigh of relief bought him off:[10]

[5] K. F. Ameis and C. Hentze, *Anhang zu Homers Ilias*[2] II (Leipzig 1882) 153.
[6] Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916) 305.
[7] Walter Leaf, *The Iliad*[2] I (London 1900) 275 *ad* 6.236.
[8] Ben Edwin Perry, "The Early Greek Capacity for Viewing Things Separately," *TAPA* 68 (1937) 404–05.
[9] Harry L. Levy, "The Odyssean Suitors and the Host-Guest Relationship," *TAPA* 94 (1963) 148. Compare C. G. Heyne *ad Iliad* 6.234 (cited by Ameis/Hentze [*supra* n.5] 152–53): "poeta iudicium suum apponit ex sensu hominum de pretio, nullo cum respectu ad animi generosi notionem in dando munere."
[10] J. D. Craig, "ΧΡΥΣΕΑ ΧΑΛΚΕΙΩΝ," *CR* N.S. 17 (1967) 244.

> ... he [Glaukos] was conscious of his inferiority in the presence of the overbearing Diomede. It was no time for 'the nicely calculated less or more'. He was heartily glad to part from his new friend, even at the price of 'gold for bronze, a hundred oxen's worth for the value of nine'.

P. Walcot with reservations approves Craig while endorsing Levy. For his armor Glaukos with peasant shrewdness gets bronze and "a gift infinitely more precious, his own life."[11] M. M. Willcock's inclusion of the cowardly Glaukos in his *Companion* has bequeathed this view to the masses.[12]

Humor (Ameis/Hentze, Leaf), mocking reference to a forgotten quarrel (Wilamowitz), blindness to the incongruity (Perry, Levy), all require that the poet could not work the famous tale satisfactorily into his narrative. Craig-Walcot-Willcock's view that, although the poet never says so, Glaukos really feared Diomedes attributes cowardice to the hero and beautifully exemplifies Waldock's 'documentary fallacy'.[13] So does Moses I. Finley's remark:[14] "The poet's editorial comment, so rare for him, reflects the magnitude of Glaucus's mistake in judgement." Finley's "mistake in judgement" means that Glaukos could have refused Diomedes' offer to swap, an impossibility.

I should propose looking at the puzzle from a quite different point of view, the rôle of the gift in primitive society. Finley rightly observes:[15]

> It may be stated as a flat rule of both primitive and archaic society that no one ever gave anything, whether goods or services or honours, without proper recompense, real or wishful, immediate or years away, to himself or to his kin. The act of giving was, therefore, in an essential sense always the first half of a reciprocal action, the other half of which was a counter-gift.

The Czech scholar, Jan Bažant, in his study of Athenians' use of vases as capital in premonetary society, writes:[16]

> A mythical leader could not maintain his authority if he did not prove his superiority, his wealth, by giving gifts. With the giving of a gift that took everyone's breath away he convinced the others of his wealth, which was the guarantee not only of material but also of spiritual privileges. By gift-giving, an individual obtained a more advantageous place in the social hierarchy; accepting a gift which he could not repay was an admission of his subordinate position.

Both Finley and Bažant base their statements on the pioneer study of Marcel Mauss, published in 1923/4.[17] Mauss formulated his theory from observation of contemporary

[11] P. Walcot, "ΧΡΥΣΕΑ ΧΑΛΚΕΙΩΝ. A Further Comment," *CR* N.S. 19 (1969) 12–13.
[12] Malcolm M. Willcock, *A Companion to the Iliad* (Chicago 1976) 68–69 *ad Il.* 6.150–211.
[13] A. J. A. Waldock, *Sophocles the Dramatist* (Cambridge 1951) 11–24; *cf.* R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *Gnomon* 25 (1953) 350.
[14] M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*[2] (Harmondsworth 1979) 65–66.
[15] Finley (*supra* n.14) 64.
[16] Jan Bažant, *Studies on the Use and Decoration of Athenian Vases* (Prague 1981) 9–10.
[17] See Marcel Mauss, "Essai sur le don: forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques," *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Paris 1950) 143–279. For an English version see Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and*

primitives and then found survivals of these principles in ancient law and economy, *e.g.*, *nexum* in Roman law.[18] Oddly neither Bažant, Finley, nor Mauss apply the principle of potlatch, as anthropologists after Mauss call it, to Glaukos or Diomedes. I wonder whether the solution of gold for bronze does not lie here. Diomedes, after hearing the glorious lineage and noble attainments of Glaukos, whom momentarily he had thought a god (*Il.* 6.128–29), admits by his offer of the unequal exchange Glaukos' superiority. That is precisely the opposite of Craig-Walcot's view that Glaukos concedes his cowardice. The parallel, therefore, becomes Achilles' refusal in *Iliad* 9 of the gifts proffered by Agamemnon. Achilles, who could never meet them, unlike Diomedes, refuses them and remains the superior of Agamemnon. Contrarily, when Priam accepts Achilles' greater gift, the body of the slain Hector, he concedes Achilles' superiority.

But how to explain 'the poet's editorial comment'? Here to the chagrin of New Critics I must go out of the poem. The old theory that the *Iliad*, like an onion, could have later accretions peeled away and leave the *Ur-Ilias* on the Wrath of Achilles has been discarded. A better metaphor is a lump of dough with Mycenaean raisins unevenly distributed. M. P. Nilsson writes:[19]

> The Homeric poems contain elements from widely differing ages. The most bewildering fact is, however, that the Mycenaean elements are not distributed according to the age of the strata in the poems. The graphic description of Hector's body-shield is found in the sixth book of the Iliad and that of Nestor's cup in the eleventh and that of Hector's spear in the sixth and eighth; all these books are reasonably thought to be late. And the description of the boars' tusks helmet is found in the Doloneia which is a notorious addition ... Thanks to the epic technique and tradition, elements from the earliest time belong to the epic stock expressions and typical descriptions and may thus be embedded in the very latest strata. These elements cannot be reached by literary analysis, they are recognized by the fact of their belonging to an older stage of civilization, as is especially apparent in the archaeological instances quoted.

The swap of gold for bronze, I should suggest, is just such a Mycenaean raisin preserved in Geometric dough. *Iliad* 6.234–36 are as 'late' as the 'linear B tablet' (6.168), a fuzzy memory of something never seen.[20] We have recollection of Mauss' Indo-European potlatch. But the Geometric poet no longer understood the custom.[21] D. B. Munro remarked of *Iliad* 6.232–36:[22] "Any strange thought was attributed to the agency of some god." The thought was strange and Monro was right.[23]

THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies, tr. Ian Cunnison (Glencoe 1954). The original publication appeared in *L'Année sociologique* II.1 (1923/24) 30–186, which I have not seen.

[18] See Mauss, "Survivances de ces principes dans les droits anciens et les économies anciennes," in *Sociologie et anthropologie* (*supra* n.17) 228–34. For a recent attempt to apply Mauss' view of the gift to Greek mythology see Joseph Falaky Nagy, "The Deceptive Gift in Greek Mythology," *Arethusa* 14 (1981) 191–204.

[19] M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London 1933) 159 and 211.

[20] A typically Geometric intrusion, the Dionysos-Lycourgos encounter, is nearby (6.132–41). R. Peppermüller, "Die Glaukos-Diomedes-Szene der Ilias: Spuren vorhomerischen Dichtung," *WS* 75 (1962) 5–21, argues that the Bellerophon story reflects an historical fact of the second half of the second millenium B.C. that is, for utterly different reasons, an archaic survival here. The alleged representation of the Glaukos-Diomedes scene of the Gołuchów blackfigured lekythos is in fact simply "a genre painting with hoplites and archers," see K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen 1967) 251 no. 4.

[21] Mauss himself earlier suggested that the Greeks of the Homeric poems no longer understood potlatch: see *REG* 34 (1921) 390–91 and Bažant (*supra* n.16) 10.

[22] D. B. Munro, *Homer Iliad Books I–XII*[2] (Oxford 1899) *ad loc.*

[23] I am indebted to the rigorous criticism of my colleague, E. Christian Kopff, for the improvement of this paper.

Water and the Pelargikon

John McK. Camp II

THE PELARGIKON REMAINS one of the enduring problems of Athenian topography.[1] Despite numerous literary and epigraphical references to it, little can be said to be understood with certainty about its location, extent, date, or even name.[2] Part of the problem stems from the ancient testimonia themselves, for it is clear that the term was applied both to the early fortifications of the citadel (Hdt. 6.137, Paus. 1.28.3), and also to a separate area, distinct from the Acropolis itself. Thucydides (2.17) records that the Pelargikon lay *ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν* and that it was inhabited by squatters during the Peloponnesian War, in defiance of an oracle. The area is contrasted with the Acropolis and Eleusinion, both of which could be closed off; the Pelargikon could not and was accordingly occupied.[3] Similarly, *IG* I³ 78.54–57 refers to the Pelargikon as a well-defined separate entity: the Basileus is ordered to mark off the sanctuaries in the Pelargikon with boundary stones; no further altars are to be established without permission of the council and people; and no quarrying of stone or removal of earth and stones is to be permitted.[4]

The question of the extent and location of the area (see *Figure* 1) depends in large part on one's interpretation of its intended purpose. The most commonly held view is that the Pelargikon was built in the Mycenaean period to serve a dual function: to bolster the vulnerable defences at the west end of the Acropolis and to bring a secure water supply within the circuit of the fortifications.[5] As such, the Pelargikon is paralleled at two other Bronze Age sites, Mycenae and Tiryns. At Mycenae an additional fortification wall was built at the northeast end of the citadel, enclosing a surprisingly small area

[1] One of Sterling Dow's great tactics as a scholar has been the approach to old problems from a single, unusual viewpoint. I have tried herein to examine an old problem of Athenian topography from such an angle, in the hope that it would yield even a small fraction of the rich results which have so often been the product of S. Dow's imaginative scholarship and teaching.

[2] For the fullest recent discussion, along with all the testimonia and earlier bibliography: S. Iakovides, 'Η Μυκηναϊκὴ 'Ακρόπολις τῶν 'Αθηνῶν (Athens 1962) 179–99 and 231–35. More recently: L. Beschi, *Annuario* 29/30 (1967–68) 390–97, and J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Athens* (London 1971) 52, 55, 56, 91, 93, and 127. I am greatly indebted to Prof. E. L. Smithson for advice and many hours of stimulating discussion of the problems associated with the Pelargikon.

[3] *οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τά τε ἐρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρῷα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ 'Ελευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν. τό τε Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καί τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον ὡς "τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον," ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξῳκήθη.*

[4] *τὸν δὲ βασ[ι]λέα horίσαι τὰ hιερὰ τὰ ἐν τ[ô]ι Πελαργικôι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὲ ἐνhιδρύεσθαι βομὸς ἐν τôι Πελαργικôι ἄνευ τêς βολêς καὶ τô δέμο· μεδὲ τὸς λίθος τέμνεν ἐκ τô [Π]ελαργικô, μεδὲ γễν ἔχσάγεν μεδὲ λίθος.* The date given in *IG* I³ is *ca* 422 B.C. For a date in the 430's, perhaps bringing it into closer association with Thucydides' account, see now M. Cavanaugh, *Eleusis and Athens: Documents in Finance, Religion, and Politics in the Second Half of the 5th Century B.C.* (Diss.Cornell 1980) 101–39.

[5] See Iakovides (*supra* n.2) 179–81 for a summary of earlier views.

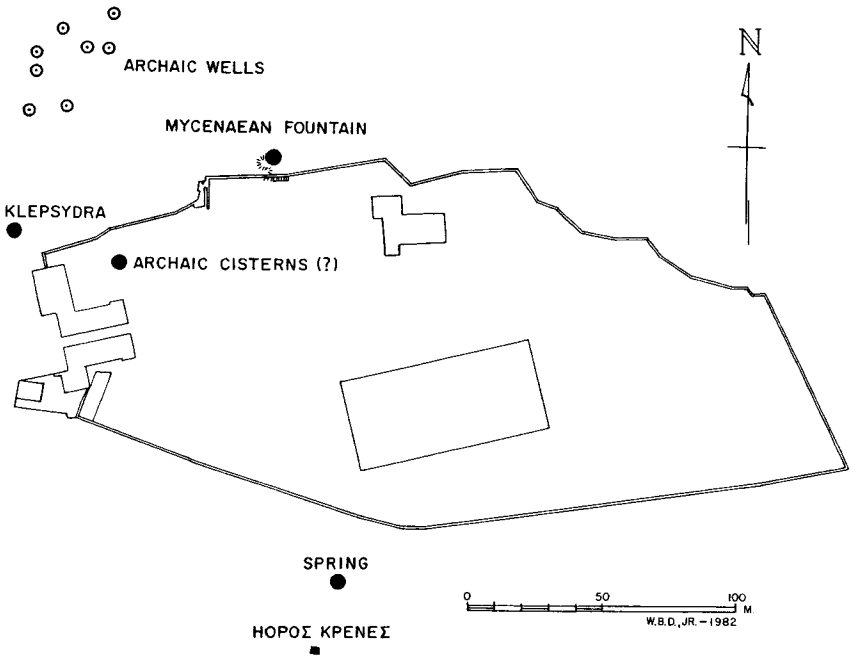


Figure 1

but protecting the entrance to a stairway leading down to a secret cistern.[6] At Tiryns extensive fortifications were added to enclose the lower northern plateau, at the same time providing access to two subterranean galleries which led through the walls down to an underground spring.[7] Recent work by L. Beschi on the topography of the south slopes of the Acropolis has shown that the Pelargikon swung around the south side, as far east as the Asklepieion, far enough to have included a natural spring which was fitted out in the Archaic period as a fountain house.[8] On the other hand, Kratinos and Lucian both associate the Pelargikon with the cave of Pan on the northwest slopes of the Acropolis, where it presumably will have included the sources of the Klepsydra spring.[9]

[6] G. Karo, "Die Perseia von Mykenai," *AJA* 38 (1934) 123–27 pls. XII and XIII.

[7] N. Verdelis, *Deltion* 18 (1963) B 66–73 pls. 85–88.

[8] Beschi (*supra* n.2) 390–97. His restoration of the Telemachos stele and relief (*IG* II² 4960–61), concerning the foundation of the Asklepieion, shows a stork (πελαργός) in a tree, clearly a pictorial reference to the Pelargikon. For the Asklepieion see Travlos (*supra* n.2) 127–37 and for the spring 138–42. The area around the spring was defined by a boundary stone (*IG* I² 874, *hόρος κρένες*), presumably to be associated with the provisions of *IG* I³ 78 and indicating its inclusion within the Pelargikon: J. Travlos, *ArchEph* 1939–41, 48ff. The letter-forms of the stone seem to me to permit a date almost anywhere in the second half of the fifth century.

[9] Kratinos fr.321 Kock and Lucian *Bis acc.* 9. For the location of the cave of Pan, above the Klepsydra: Travlos (*supra* n.2) 417–21.

In his monumental work on the Mycenaean Acropolis S. Iakovides reported cuttings for a wall running along the edge of a natural terrace which lies in front of the caves high up on the northwest slopes.[10] He took this to be the circuit wall of the Pelargikon and argued that its function was purely defensive, designed to deprive a besieging army of that strategic ledge halfway up the Acropolis rock. In his detailed refutation of the various arguments advanced for a more extensive Pelargikon, Iakovides took note of the problem of water supply and argued that the Mycenaean fountain found by O. Broneer was analogous in purpose to the systems of Mycenae and Tiryns, and there can be little doubt that it was intended to be.[11] Iakovides contended therefore that the Pelargikon need not have included any water supply, as this would have been superfluous. It is not clear, however, whether or not the fountain ever fulfilled its intended function. The stairway, with its elaborate and precarious construction of timber, collapsed soon after its completion; Broneer dated its construction to the second half of the thirteenth century B.C. (LH IIIB) and its collapse and abandonment to the end of the same century (early LH IIIC), a span of no more than a generation. Its abandonment presumably left the citadel bereft of a secure water supply once again. If this is so, then another source will have been necessary. Two large pits were found under the Classical paved court of the Klepsydra fountain. They were sunk into the bedrock and lay side by side, the larger measuring 2.75 m. by 2.05 m. by 1.60 m. deep.[12] Their size and location suggest that they were collection reservoirs, designed to tap the waters of the Klepsydra spring. Pottery found at the bottom of the cuttings has been dated to the late Mycenaean period (LH IIIC1–2), some forty to fifty years after the abandonment of the Mycenaean stairway. It seems possible, therefore, that the fountain represents an initial attempt to secure water, and that it was replaced by the Klepsydra cuttings. Unlike the fountain, the cuttings were not readily accessible from the top of the Acropolis and at the same time were all too accessible from below. They would, accordingly, have to be brought within the defensive outworks of the citadel. In short, after the collapse of the Mycenaean fountain a second source of water continued to be exploited, perhaps providing evidence not only for the extent of the Pelargikon but also its date. In LH IIIB the fountain precluded the need for additional fortifications—at least in terms of water supply. By early LH IIIC, however, after the stairway had collapsed, supplementary walls will have been essential in order to bring the Klepsydra spring within the fortified limits of the Acropolis.

Other hydraulic installations can be brought to bear on the problem of the extent of the Pelargikon, as well as the state of its circuit wall in later times. In addition to

[10] Iakovides (*supra* n.2) 189–99.

[11] The fountain takes the form of a monumental stairway of eight flights, leading down some forty meters from the top of the Acropolis to a spring hidden deep under the north slope. O. Broneer, "A Mycenaean Fountain on the Athenian Acropolis," *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 317–433.

[12] The smaller could not be fully excavated. For the cuttings see *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 7 pl. 7; *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 207 and 223; S. Immerwahr, *The Athenian Agora* XIII *The Neolithic and Bronze Ages* (Princeton 1971) 112 and 261–62; and, most recently, E. L. Smithson, "The Prehistoric Klepsydra: Some Notes," *Hesperia* Suppl. 20 (1982) 141–54. I am indebted to J. Rutter for his views on the chronology, based on his examination of the material from both the fountain and the cuttings in 1974.

twenty Neolithic wells and five Middle Helladic wells in the immediate vicinity of the Klepsydra, there is a cluster of eight wells of the Archaic period. Although precision is not possible, all eight seem to have a similar history, with a use and abandonment confined to the sixth century B.C.[13] After a gap of some five hundred years, during which not a single well was dug in the area, eight wells suddenly appear, all roughly contemporary, and all go out of use near the end of the sixth century. No explanation for this unusual group of wells has ever been given.

A possible explanation would be to associate the wells with the Peisistratids. There are two known occasions during the tyranny that might be relevant. When Peisistratos first came to power his bodyguard seized and held the Acropolis, which henceforth became his headquarters (Hdt. 1.59, Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 14.1). Wells might have been sunk in the vicinity for this occupation. A second occasion is of even greater interest. In 510 B.C., as a result of continual urging from Delphi, the Spartans under Kleomenes besieged Hippias in an attempt to remove him from Athens. Three ancient sources refer to this incident, and the location given for the siege is of particular interest. Herodotos (5.64–65) writes that the tyrant was besieged *ἐν τῷ Πελαργικῷ τείχεϊ*. Aristotle (*Ath.Pol.* 19.5–6) says that Kleomenes shut up Hippias *εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος*. And the Marmor Parium (*FGrHist* 239.A45) records that the Athenians expelled Hippias *ἐκ τ[οῦ Π]ελασγικοῦ τείχους*. In point of fact, there is not a single direct reference to the Acropolis, though it should be noted that in other similar passages both Herodotos and Aristotle use the word 'Acropolis' when they mean the citadel.[14] Thus, while these references concerning Hippias may refer to the circuit wall of the citadel, it seems more likely that they refer in fact to the walls of the Pelargikon, implying control of the defensive outworks as well as of the Acropolis itself. Of particular interest in this regard is the passage in Herodotos: the siege would surely have failed, for the defenders were well-supplied with food and water (*καὶ οὐδέν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξεῖλον τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην ἐπενόεον ποιήσασθαι, οἵ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὖ παρεσκευάδατο*). It is hard to imagine a reliable and sufficient source of water on the barren rock of the upper citadel, and it seems entirely possible that the supply referred to came from the eight wells tapping the Klepsydra spring.[15]

[13] The wells are T24:3, T24:5, T25:2, U23:2, U24:1, U25:2, V23:1, and V24:2. The date of abandonment is not entirely clear. The excavator, A. W. Parsons, writing during the War (*Hesperia* 12 [1943] 207) thought that they stayed in use until the 470's, when the construction of the Klepsydra fountain house rendered them superfluous. This association with the Klepsydra would explain why no further wells were sunk in the area until Byzantine times; it does not, however, explain the contemporaneous appearance of eight wells after a hiatus of half a millennium. More recently B. Sparkes and L. Talcott in their analysis of Athenian black-glazed pottery dated the abandonments to the end of the sixth century: *Agora* XII.2 *Black and Plain Pottery* (Princeton 1970) 383–99 (deposit summaries).

[14] Hdt. 1.59 (on Peisistratos), *οὗτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*; 5.71 (on Kylon, *ca* 632 B.C.), *καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη*; 5.72 (on Kleomenes and Isagoras, 508/7), *ὅ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*. Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 14.1 (Peisistratos), *κατέσχε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*; 19.6 (expulsion of Peisistratids), *παρέδωκαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*; 20.3 (Kleomenes), *οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κλεομένην καὶ Ἰσαγόραν κατέφυγον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*.

[15] A lack of sufficient water has been a factor in several other unsuccessful defences of the Acropolis: Kylon *ca* 632 B.C. (Thuc. 1.126.9–10, *πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον σίτου τε καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ*); Aristion in 86 (App. *Mith.* 6.39, *λιμῷ καὶ δίψει πιεσθέντας*; Plut. *Sull.* 14.7, *καὶ χρόνον ἐγκαρτερήσας συχνὸν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείρισε δίψει πιεσθείς*); in 1821/2 (S. Trikoupis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως* [London 1853] I 209, 212, II 248, 251; G. Finlay, *A History of Greece* VI [Oxford 1877] 283). Two archaic cisterns have been reported at the northwest edge of the Acropolis: W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*[2] (Munich 1931) 246; J. H. Middleton, *JHS* 20 Suppl. 3 (1900) 3 no. 30 pls. I, IV; J. A. Bundgaard, *The Excavations of the Athenian Acropolis, 1882–1890* (Copenhagen 1974) pls. 11, 4, 14. The uncertainty of supply and the unsuitability of such water for drinking makes it unlikely that these cisterns served as the main source of water for those on the Acropolis. Indeed, their very identification as cisterns needs reexamination; the earliest known cisterns in the lower city of Athens date to the fourth century B.C. Note also that in 1821/2 the Turks relied not on their cisterns on the Acropolis but on the spring along the south slopes, protected by the supplementary fortification wall known as the Serpentzé. When they were driven up onto the Acropolis proper and cut off from this supply they were forced to surrender.

In short, it can be argued that the appearance of the eight wells and perhaps their abandonment should be explained in terms of the tenure and known activities of the tyrants of Athens. If this suggestion is accepted then we have further evidence for the extent of the Pelargikon to the northwest of the Acropolis and we have reason to believe that in the sixth century at least it was still protected by a viable defensive circuit wall.

The wall may not have survived for long. It does not figure in Herodotos' account of the siege of the Acropolis in 480;[16] perhaps the wall had already been dismantled to discourage further attempts to occupy it militarily. If not, two other incidents associated with the Persian occupation may have led to its demolition. Herodotos (9.13) refers to the complete and deliberate destruction of the walls of Athens after the capture of the city, and it may well be that whatever remained of the Pelargikon was included in this devastation.[17] Alternatively, it may be that the Athenians themselves used the wall as a quarry for building material for the hastily-constructed post-Persian circuit (Thuc. 1.93.1–2). Either possibility would, of course, explain the two fifth-century references (*supra* nn.3 and 4), in which the Pelargikon is seen as an area all too accessible to outsiders.

In conclusion, L. Beschi's work on the topography of the south slopes of the Acropolis and a comparison with the citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns have made it increasingly likely that one of the major functions of the Pelargikon was to ensure a secure water supply for the citadel. The collapse of the Mycenaean fountain and the continued use of the Klepsydra cuttings may perhaps be used to date the Pelargikon to the early years of the twelfth century B.C., while the eight archaic wells suggest its use by the Peisistratids in the sixth century, before it ceased to function as a viable fortified area in the fifth.

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES, ATHENS

[16] 8.51–53. The traditional view that the Persians ascended the Acropolis at the northwest must now be reconsidered in light of the inscription found and edited by G. Dontas, *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 48–63, which locates the Aglaurion—and hence the Persian ascent—far to the east.

[17] No trace of the original wall has ever been reported. The archaic circuit wall around the lower city has similarly vanished: E. Vanderpool, ΦΟΡΟΣ, *Tribute to B. D. Meritt* (Locust Valley 1974) 156–60.

Themistocles and the Piraeus

Mortimer Chambers

ONE THEMISTOCLES was eponymous archon of Athens in 493/2, as we learn from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (6.34.1); and nearly all historians accept that this was the great strategist and politician, the son of Neocles. Canonical opinion also holds that the Athenians began to fortify the Piraeus during this same year, at the suggestion of Themistocles the archon.[1] But the scholar whom we now honor has always taught us that canonical opinion need not be right. I wish to survey the history of this problem and to support a conclusion that some others have already stated.

I

The Canonical View. Those who think Themistocles sponsored the fortification of the Piraeus while archon offer as their main testimony the famous sentence in Thucydides, 1.93.3. The historian there states that Themistocles urged his countrymen, probably in spring 478,[2] to complete the project: "This work had been begun previously, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἧς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε." The syntax of this clause requires us to construe κατ' ἐνιαυτόν with ἦρξε and to translate, "during the period of the office that he held κατ' ἐνιαυτόν." Many of those who support the canonical view believe that κατ' ἐνιαυτόν means 'lasting one year'. If this meaning is right, then Thucydides *can* mean the eponymous archonship. He might, theoretically, have some other office 'lasting one year' in mind, but this possibility has received little attention.[3]

The Perception of Forbes. W. H. Forbes briefly questioned the canonical view, in one of the "Notes on Grammar" at the back of his edition of Thucydides I.[4] He perceived and pointed out the stumbling-block, *viz.* that κατ' ἐνιαυτόν means 'year by year, every year', not 'for the period of a year'. But he went on to infer that there was some corruption in the text, "for Themistocles cannot really be said, because the archonship was an annual office [*i.e.* an office held for a year], to have held it 'annually'

[1] That such is the canonical view requires no vast documentation. See *e.g.* Georg Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*[2] II (Gotha 1895) 642: "Er setzte es in seinem Archontenjahre durch, dass die Athener ... einen befestigten Hafen anzulegen begannen ... " One could greatly extend a list of those who think likewise.

[2] The date is later than the capture of Sestos by the Athenians and some allies (Thuc. 1.89.2, late 479?) and earlier than Pausanias' departure for the campaign of 478 (1.94.1, before midsummer 478?).

[3] Yet R. J. Lenardon, *The Saga of Themistocles* (London 1978) 231 n.128, said that "Thucydides may refer to Themistocles' archonship, generalship, or some other office, or more generally to the period of his earlier political dominance." For this he was criticized by A. J. Podlecki, *JHS* 100 (1980) 253, who upheld the orthodox view (though offering the ambiguous translation "annual magistracy": does that mean lasting a year, or held year by year?).

[4] *Thucydides, Book I* II (Oxford 1895) 155.

[*i.e.* year by year]." That is, Forbes did not recognize that Thucydides may not refer to the archonship at all, and that the text is perfectly in order. Nonetheless, he did see the problem; but his brief allusion to it in this obscure place made no impact.

It is probably unnecessary to parade examples showing that κατ' ἐνιαυτόν does actually mean 'year by year'. This meaning is the only possible one at Thucydides 2.13.3, where the historian makes Pericles tell the Athenians that they receive 600 talents of *phoros*, as a rule, κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, year by year.[5] At 2.24.2 Thucydides varies the form to κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον, and here the meaning is equally unambiguous. He also offers several examples of καθ' ἡμέραν, 'day by day, daily', *e.g.* 2.37.2 τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων; one might compare this with Aristophanes' κατὰ μῆνα καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν πλέον πλέον τἀργύριον ἀεὶ γίγνεται.[6] This constant usage of κατά with periods of time in the accusative points to the meaning at 5.18.10 and 5.23.4, where Thucydides quotes treaties that allow for their renewal κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, year by year. If the writer of the treaties had meant that they could be renewed 'for a year', he might well have used the normal idiom for a prospective period, εἰς (or ἐπὶ) ἐνιαυτόν. Since there is no example in Thucydides, or any other that I know, where κατὰ + a period of time in the accusative undeniably means '*for* a (day, month, year)', we are justified in applying the often-exampled meaning to κατ' ἐνιαυτόν at 1.93.3: "during the period of the office that he held year by year." Had Thucydides wanted to say " . . . that he held for a year," he would probably have used his normal word, simply ἐνιαυτόν, 'for a year', as at 7.28.3, 7.48.5.

II

The Views of Gomme and Fornara. Fifty years after Forbes, A. W. Gomme published the first volume of his commentary on Thucydides (Oxford 1945). If Forbes's work was not widely read, there seems little reason for the observations of Gomme to remain overlooked or unanswered. He did not refer to Forbes, but he too saw that the canonical view will not do, and precisely because the meaning of κατ' ἐνιαυτόν will not allow it (261–62):

> It is quite possible that by ἡ ἀρχὴ ἦν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε Thucydides meant not the eponymous archonship but an office held 'year by year', not 'for a year', e.g. that of ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν νεωρίων . . .

But the tentative manner in which Gomme gave his opinion robbed it of force. Moreover, he was at least partly suggesting that the archon of 493/2 might have been not the famous Themistocles but another man of the same name.[7] It has always seemed easy to decline to follow Gomme in this latter suggestion, and perhaps for this reason many readers neglected his observations about the meaning of κατ' ἐνιαυτόν.

In 1971 C. W. Fornara again drew attention to the likelihood that κατ' ἐνιαυτόν means 'year by year'.[8] He collected examples from Herodotus, Thucydides, Andocides, and Lysias, and observed that no scholar had produced a passage that refuted this interpretation. Fornara's article, unlike Gomme's note, has at least provoked discussion; the responses are instructive. Raphael Sealey accepted the Gomme-Fornara view,[9] but M. E. White dismissed it in a footnote, without argument;[10] so did A. J. Podlecki.[11] Although the latter did not deal with the meaning of κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, he did refer to two ancient texts:

(1) Thucydides uses "an *almost* identical expression to designate the archonship at 6.54.6" (italics mine). Now at 6.54.6 Thucydides says that the younger Pisistratus, among others, held τὴν ἐνιαύσιον [-ίαν **ABEFM**] Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχήν, which denotes the eponymous archonship just as clearly as does Πυθοδώρου . . . ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις at 2.2.1. But ἐνιαύσιος, 'lasting for a year', does not mean the same as κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, 'year by year': just as ἡμερήσιος, ἡμεραῖος, and ἡμέριος can all mean 'lasting for a day' but never mean the same as καθ' ἡμέραν, 'day by day'.

(2) "Compare the Parian Marble, *FGrHist* 239, Ep. 32, cited by Plommer, CR, n.s. 19 [1969], 129." H. Plommer did indeed cite the Marmor Parium as providing a verbal parallel to Thucydides' words (though on another subject entirely) and thus proving that the historian means the eponymous archonship at 1.93.3. The Marmor gives us (in A32) the words ἀφ' οὗ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἦρξεν ὁ ἄρχων, ἔτη HHHHΔΔ. Relying on the well-attested meaning of κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, I submit that this means, "From the time when the archon began to hold office[12] year by year, there are 420 years" (*sc.* down to the time when the Marmor was inscribed). The implied contrast is evidently with the period when there was no such arrangement, *i.e.* when Athens was ruled by hereditary kings. Comparison of this passage with 1.93.3 is, however, desirable: in both passages the verb ἦρξε(ν) is used, with κατ' ἐνιαυτόν modifying it adverbially.

An even more informative notice concerning this year appears in Eusebius' *Chronicle* (I 190 Schoene). Unlike the Marmor, Eusebius accepted the tradition that there were decennial archons in Athens. Under the last of these, Eryxias, Eusebius notes: ἐπὶ τούτου ἔδοξεν αἱρεῖσθαι ἄρχοντα κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ πρῶτος ἡγήσατο ἐνιαύσιος ἄρχων Κρέων . . . μεθ' ὃν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος εἷς τις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦρχεν, "Under him, they

[5] Whether this figure is accurate and what Thucydides means by *phoros* are questions outside our scope.

[6] *Nub.* 1287–88. For examples of καθ' ἡμέραν, 'day by day', in Thucydides, see 1.2.2, 2.38.1, 2.43.1, 2.85.4, 3.37.2, 6.60.2, 6.63.2, 7.8.1, 7.50.3. See also LSJ *s.v.* ἡμέρα III. Compare also καθ' ἕνα, 'one by one, one at a time', and so on; the adjectives καθημέριος, καθημερινός, and the nouns ἡ καθημερεία, 'daily business', and ὁ καθημεροθύτης, 'priest who offers daily sacrifice'. For κατὰ ἔτος, 'every year', see Thuc. 4.53.2.

[7] Gomme argued a little more strongly for this idea in *AJP* 65 (1944) 323 with n.13 = *More Essays in Greek History and Literature* (Oxford 1962) 21.

[8] *Historia* 20 (1971) 534–40.

[9] *A History of the Greek City States* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1976) 185.

[10] *Polis and Imperium, Studies . . . Edward Togo Salmon* (Toronto 1974) 93 n.8: 1.93.3 refers "explicitly to the eponymous archonship, *pace* C. W. Fornara."

[11] *The Life of Themistocles* (Montreal/London 1975) 196 n.7: "In spite of the arguments of A. W. Gomme . . . and C. W. Fornara . . . it is clear that Thucydides meant the annual, and probably also the eponymous, archonship . . . "

[12] The aorist is 'ingressive': see Kühner/Gerth I 155–56.

decided to elect an archon year by year [instead of every ten years]; and the first one who governed as archon for a year was Kreon ... after him, one man served as archon among them every year." This is, I believe, an elegant example of the difference between κατ' ἐνιαυτόν and ἐνιαύσιος.

There have been, however, two independent challenges to the Gomme-Fornara interpretation, by D. M. Lewis and W. W. Dickie.[13] Lewis points to Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 54.7, where *hieropoioi* are mentioned as τοὺς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καλουμένους, and to *IG* I³ 375.6–7, where a payment is made to the *hιεροποιοῖς κατ'* [ἐ]νιαυτόν. He holds that the sense must be 'those who hold office for a year'; but he goes on, "I do not dispute that, in origin, there may have been an understood αἱρεθέντες," as in *Ath. Pol.* 3.4, θεσμοθέται δὲ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ἠρέθησαν, ἤδη κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν αἱρουμένων τὰς ἀρχάς. One agrees; and, if this is so, the expression at 54.7 originally meant 'those who are chosen year by year', evidently used to distinguish these *hieropoioi* from others;[14] and οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν is verbal shorthand that does not change the meaning of κατ' ἐνιαυτόν.

Following Lewis's lead, we might look at *Ath. Pol.* 30.2, the constitution "for the future." Admittedly, interpretation of this document is difficult, largely because of the abrupt style of the writer, whoever he was. He orders that those above thirty shall βουλεύειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. By 'those above thirty' the writer probably means 'those of the 5000 above thirty';[15] they are to supply the members of the *boule*, year by year, and no one outside this group is to be eligible for the *boule*. The writer does not specifically say that *all* members of the 5000 above thirty are to serve at the same time, but neither does he restrict service to only a portion of those above thirty; so I follow von Fritz/Kapp and Andrewes[16] in assuming that he means all. At 30.5, the same writer wants the official who puts questions to the vote to be chosen καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, "every day by lot" (so the version of von Fritz/Kapp). Moreover, when the writer *does* want to say 'for the period of a year' he uses one of the normal idioms, εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν βουλεύειν (30.3).[17]

Both Lewis and Dickie point out that the noun ἀρχή, or some form of the corresponding verb ἄρχειν, often occurs with the dative Ἀθηναίοις (without the article: Dickie) in contexts where writers refer to the eponymous archon.[18] Since Thucydides uses this combination at 1.93.3, they conclude that here he *must* refer to the archonship. It is true that ἀρχή/ἄρχειν + Ἀθηναίοις, alone, would normally be understood as referring to the archon. But consider the passages where Thucydides does refer to this official:

[13] *Historia* 22 (1973) 757–59 (two separate notes).

[14] For discussion of the various kinds of Athenian *hieropoioi*, see G. Busolt/H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* II (Munich 1926) 1101; U. Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen* (Stuttgart 1936) 68; M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* 21 (1980) 159f, 163f.

[15] So K. von Fritz and E. Kapp, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens* (New York 1950) 101.

[16] In A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* V (Oxford 1981) 219.

[17] If examples of this usage are needed, see LSJ *s.v.* εἰς II.2 (copious instances from Homer onward); *cf. s.v.* ἐπί C.II.1.

[18] For some other examples see H. T. Wade-Gery, *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford 1958) 176.

2.2.1, Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις (perfectly clear and normal). 6.54.6, καὶ ἄλλοι τε αὐτῶν ἦρξαν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχὴν κτλ. Note that Thucydides could have written simply ... ἦρξαν τὴν Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχήν, which would have meant "they held the eponymous archonship." Why, then, did he add the word ἐνιαύσιον, which appears to be wholly redundant and is not found in any of the examples of ἀρχή/ἄρχειν + Ἀθηναίοις collected by the scholars cited *supra*?[19] The same question arises concerning 1.93.3. Since Thucydides could have written ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἧς Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε and been understood to refer to the eponymous archonship, why did he trouble to add κατ' ἐνιαυτόν—which, as we have seen, has a different meaning from ἐνιαύσιος? Must we not suspect that he added these words, and thus varied from the usual style, in order to warn us that this ἀρχή was indeed *not* the well-known eponymous archonship? Moreover, if he did mean the eponymous archonship and wanted to make this doubly clear, why should he write κατ' ἐνιαυτόν and take the risk of allowing his reader to interpret this, in the light of other examples (*e.g.* 2.13.3), as 'year by year'? Why not avoid any possible ambiguity by using the language of 6.54.6 and some form of the words ἐνιαύσιος ἀρχή?

Dickie also objects that Thucydides ought to have used the imperfect, ἦρχε, not the aorist, if he meant that Themistocles held an office year by year. The choice of tenses that Greek authors made does not always lend itself to the strict formulation of rules by modern readers; this is especially true of Thucydides, who strove for *variatio*.[20] But, to follow the pluperfect ὑπῆρκτο, I can see no objection to the aorist ἦρξε, which seems to round off the narrative and place it all in the completed past ("the office that he once held year by year"); I agree that the imperfect would also be appropriate. Dickie offers another subtle point of syntax. He finds (unlike Lewis) "little doubt that κατ' ἐνιαυτόν does mean 'yearly,'" but he suggests that we have here an instance of the attraction of the attribute κατ' ἐνιαυτόν of the antecedent ἀρχή into the relative clause, where it becomes the attribute of the relative (ἧς). He then reconstructs the sentence into this order: ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχῆς ἧς ἦρξε. He thus obtains the phrase τῆς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχῆς.[21] He then asserts without more ado that this has the same meaning as τὴν ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχήν (6.54.6).

This analysis seems to present three difficulties. First, κατ' ἐνιαυτόν in the original sentence is not an attribute of the antecedent, ἀρχή, but modifies the *verb*, ἦρξε. Second, in Dickie's reconstructed sentence the last two words, ἧς ἦρξε, have no function (according to his theory) and need not have been written; but in the original sentence they are needed, for Thucydides wants to say (in my view) that Themistocles held an office in a certain way, κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. Third, why should we think that the prepositional phrase will have a different meaning if it modifies a noun from the one it has when it

[19] He did so, I suppose, for the sake of Thucydidean precision.

[20] Note, for example, 1.105 διαφθείρουσι καὶ ἐκράτησαν, 6.57.3 ἔτυπτον καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν αὐτόν.

[21] B. Jowett, in his translation of Thucydides with notes (Oxford 1881), expresses Dickie's interpretation more concisely: "κατ' ἐνιαυτόν in meaning qualifies ἀρχῆς, 'the yearly office which he held.'"

modifies a verb? Compare, for example, Thucydides 3.37.2 *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀδεές*, "our day-to-day security," or Sophocles *OC* 1364 *τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον*, "my day-to-day sustenance." A *κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχή* (accepting for the moment Dickie's syntactical rearrangement) would be an office held year by year, while an *ἐνιαύσιος ἀρχή* (as at 6.54.6) remains an office held for a year.[22] It is *de facto* true that, if Themistocles held an office year by year, he held it 'for a year' on each occasion, but that hardly establishes the semantic equivalence of the two descriptions.

To be objective, and out of respect for their author, one ought to note the suggestions of E. F. Poppo. He had already accepted, in his *editio maxima*,[23] that Thucydides meant the eponymous archonship, but only in his shorter edition (Gotha 1843) did he discuss *κατ' ἐνιαυτόν*. Here he made two suggestions but committed himself to neither one. The first was to accept the unhelpful interpretation of the scholiast.[24] The second was to thrust into the sentence an understood <*οὔσης*>, giving the sentence this structure: ... *ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οὔσης, ἧς Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε*. The office, now described as *κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οὖσα* by this rewriting, Poppo described as *annua*.[25] This has the disadvantage, in my opinion, of wrenching *κατ' ἐνιαυτόν* away from the verb *ἦρξε*. But, more than that, one cannot help feeling that Poppo, having already made up his mind in 1831 that this office had to be the archonship, was looking for a way to manipulate the Greek in order to make this interpretation possible, rather than allow the observable usage of *κατ' ἐνιαυτόν* to play its natural rôle and guide him to the meaning. If this was to be Thucydides' way of telling us for sure that he refers to the eponymous archonship, it is far from ideally clear; and the interpretation seems to rely on special pleading.

III

The Influence of Hellanicus. Finally, a massive nail has recently been driven into the coffin of the canonical view by A. A. Mosshammer, whose work I must briefly summarize as part of the history of our problem.[26] He returns to the notices in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, which Fornara also discussed. In the Armenian version there is a notice at

[22] Even *ἐνιαύσιος* has its ambiguities. In Thucydides it always means 'lasting for a year' (4.117.1, 5.1.1, 5.15.2, 6.54.6), but LSJ show that the word can mean 'occurring once a year' (*e.g.* Hdt. 4.180.2) and 'one year old' (Hom. *Od.* 16.454). In this it resembles 'annual': compare "What is your annual income?" with "July 4 is an annual holiday."

[23] Leipzig 1821–1840: Part III vol. 1 (1831) 481–83.

[24] Who glosses *κατ' ἐνιαυτόν* with *κατά τινα ἐνιαυτόν*, by which he may have meant 'in (or: for) a certain year', thus telling us that Themistocles was archon, but only once.

[25] Both Poppo's suggestions are retained through the third edition by J. M. Stahl (Leipzig 1886). Poppo's second suggestion lies behind the note of C. D. Morris in his edition of Book 1 (Boston 1887), who glosses *κατ' ἐνιαυτόν* with *κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οὔσης* = *ἐνιαυσίας* (the same equivalence assumed by Dickie); and it is approved by J. G. Sheppard and L. Evans, *Notes on Thucydides* (London/New York 1889) 103: a little reluctantly, for they recognize that *κατ' ἐνιαυτόν* "according to analogy, should mean *year by year, yearly*."

[26] *Hermes* 103 (1975) 222–34.

Olympiad 71.1 (496/5) that is translated, "the Piraeus was fortified by Themistocles." Since errors of 3–4 years are common in the transmitted versions of the *Chronicle*, we may assume that Eusebius placed this notice under 493/2. Second, in the version of Hieronymus there is an entry under Olympiad 75 (480/477), *Athenienses Piraeum muro vallant*. Although there is no mention here of Themistocles, we may guess that the notice refers to the completion of the work, which was resumed in 479/8. Mosshammer shows that Eusebius wrote both notices. This constatation seems, at first, powerful support for the orthodox view: Themistocles began the fortification in 493/2 and it was finished *ca* 478/7.

Mosshammer also shows, however, that Eusebius' sources included material influenced by Apollodorus, who worked out his chronological schemes through the liberal use of reckoning by generations and by the date of a person's *akme*; further, that Apollodorus placed Themistocles' *akme*, or fortieth birthday, in 493/2. This was an obvious inference from the archon list, where Themistocles appeared under that year. Even more, Apollodorus recorded other matter about Themistocles that Thucydides had been concerned to contradict.[27] When Apollodorus stated that Themistocles began the fortification of the Piraeus while he was archon, he was probably drawing on an Atthidographic source that rests ultimately on Hellanicus. When Hellanicus came to Themistocles' year in writing his *Atthis*, he inferred, from Themistocles' known connection with the fortification of the Piraeus, that the statesman had begun work on the harbor in that same year, 493/2. In due course Thucydides corrected this story, even as he disagreed with Hellanicus on other matters.[28] He quietly added a note pointing out that Themistocles' position, when he organized the work on the Piraeus, was not the eponymous archonship. Rather, it was another post, one that he held year by year.

IV

The Activity of Themistocles. Thucydides does not give us a date for the office that Themistocles held, only a warning that it was not the eponymous archonship. Still, there has always been a wish to discover something that Themistocles achieved in his archonship: he must have done something, and anything we can find delivers that great boon to the historian, an event with a known date attached. If it was Hellanicus who first tried to fill out the year 493/2, he was not the last.[29] Yet there is not a single act of Themistocles that we can securely date to his archonship. Not even Plutarch had any-

[27] The story that he reached Persia in time for a dramatically appropriate meeting with Xerxes (denied, Thuc. 1.137.3); his alleged suicide (denied, 1.138.4).

[28] Thucydides found Hellanicus' treatment of the Pentekontaetia unsatisfactory (1.97.2). Above all, he criticized the views of "others," non-Athenians, about the fall of the Pisistratid house—surely Hellanicus: F. Jacoby, *Atthis* (Oxford 1949) 159.

[29] The classic attempt to group as many events as possible around the archon Themistocles is by Wade-Gery (*supra* n.18) 171–79 (*BSA* 37 [1936/7, publ. 1940] 263–70). For cautious reactions, see E. Badian, *Antichthon* 5 (1971) 7–9; F. J. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles* (Princeton 1980) 73–78.

thing available in the biographic tradition; he does not say that Themistocles was archon. Several scholars, including especially F. J. Frost, have suggested that the archonship was an office that a rising young politician would hold, but that real political influence resided in ex-archons within the Areopagus—*consulares*, as it were.[30] As E. Badian has also said, "That the biographic tradition did not pick the office up and embroider it shows its relative unimportance and the absurdity of trying to build up his tenure of it into a historic occasion with conspicuous activity on his part."[31]

If this is so, we can better understand the famous and frank statement of Herodotus, another writer who does not even say that Themistocles was ever eponymous archon: that, when Themistocles gave his favorable interpretation of the 'double oracle' of 480 about the 'wooden walls', he had "recently come forward into the ranks of prominent men" (7.143.1). What had he done, recently, to achieve this status? Surely the answer is to be found in connection with his naval policy, begun in 483/2 after the discovery of new veins of silver at Maroneia (Hdt. 7.144.1, Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 22.7). Part of Themistocles' policy was the remarkable act of literally talking ten drachmas per man out of the pockets of Athenian citizens, with which he built a fleet of triremes. Was not another part the beginning of fortifying the Piraeus, a harbor that would keep this new fleet safe?

Themistocles directed this program of fortification, starting in 483/2, while holding some office. Perhaps, as Gomme suggests, it was that of *ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν νεωρίων*. We cannot be sure about the precise title of the office (perhaps it embraced the direction of the ship-building program as well). It may have been an extraordinary one, and we need not wait until we have more information about Athenian government in the 480's before we accept that he held an office of some kind. The work lasted longer than a year, and Themistocles was re-elected or re-appointed to this post, thus holding it *κατ' ἐνιαυτόν*. If the views to which I have tried to give renewed currency are sound, it is time to remove from our textbooks and encyclopedias the statement that he began the fortification of the Piraeus as eponymous archon—a statement that, as Thucydides tried to warn us, was in error.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

[30] Frost, *CSCA* 1 (1968) 114–15; R. Sealey, *Historia* 9 (1960) 177 = *Essays in Greek Politics* (New York 1967) 20.
[31] Badian (*supra* n.29) 7 n.19.

Eleusinian Treasures in the Late Fifth and Early Fourth Centuries

Kevin Clinton

IN THEIR ACCOUNT-INVENTORY of 408/7 (*IG* I² 313–314 = I³ 386–387) the *epistatai* of Eleusis list Eleusinian assets on the Acropolis, in the City Eleusinion, and at Eleusis. The assets at Eleusis consist of: (1) under no rubric, precious objects and money, (2) dedications (*ἀναθέματα*), and (3) under various rubrics, building materials and other items. The purpose of the present article is to discuss the history, after 408/7, of the first group, the precious objects and money stored at Eleusis. In *IG* I² 313.39–59 this list appears as follows:

[Ἐλευσῖνι]·
40 [φιάλαι . . . .[10] . . . . ΔΔΙ]
[ΤΤΧΧ τ ---------- ΔΓΠ]
[ΗΗΗΗΔΔ ---------- σον]
[κύλιχς χρυσῆ σταθμόν]
44 [ΗΓ κύλιχς ἀργυρᾶ σταθμόν]
[ΙΙ χρυσὶς : Ι : σταθμὸν ταύτες]
Η[. . . .Δ οἰνοχόε ἀργυρᾶ σταθμόν]
ΗΗ. .ΔΔ[Δ οἰνοχόε ἀργυρᾶ σταθμόν]
48 ΔΔΔΔϟϟϟ χ[ρυσίο στατῆρες Δαρεικοί]
ϟ Κυζ[ικενός]
ἔκτα[ι Φοκαΐδες]
ΗΗΗΓ⊦⊦Ι χρυσὶς [ἀσέμο συμμείκτο σταθμόν]
52 σφραγῖδες λ[ίθιναι---]
σφραγῖδες λίθι[ναι : . Ι]
ΓΙ *hυ*ποδερὶς χρυσῆ *h*ἑλκοϙ[α]
κόθονες χαλκοῖ· ΓΠ
56 ἀργύριον ἄσεμον
Ⅎ⊦⊦⊦⊦ καὶ χσενικὸν *h*ομῶ
ἀργύριον ἐπίσεμον
ΤΗΓΔΔΔΔΓ⊦⊦Ι

The beginnings and ends of lines 40–42 are preserved in 314.47–49. Several restorations have been proposed, none of which is entirely satisfactory:

(1) W. Sardemann:[1]

φιάλ[αι χρυσόμφαλοι] ΔΔΙ
ΤΤΧΧ τ[ούτον ἐμ πλινθείοις] ΔΓΙΙ
ΗΗΗΗΔΔ [θυμιατέριον ἐπίχρυ]σον

A. M. Woodward pointed out, among other things, that a weight of 14,000 drachmas is too heavy for 17 phialai, which should average about 100 drachmas apiece, and a weight of 420 drachmas is too light for a thymiaterion.[2]

(2) Woodward:

φιαλ[ῶν ἀριθμὸς ΗΔΔ]ΔΔΙ
ΤΤΧΧ τ[ούτον ἡαργυραῖ ΗΔΔ]ΔΓΙΙ
ΗΗΗΗΔΔ [σταθμόν· τῶν δὲ ΙΙΙΙ χρυ]σῶν

While the weights now make sense, the style of each restoration (except the word τ[ούτον]) is alien to this document. In addition, we may justifiably wonder why it was necessary to go to the expense of engraving the total number of phialai, since with the separate numbers of silver and gold phialai given, the total is a superfluous and unnecessary piece of information. Compare 313.90 where we are given the total number of blocks for the krepis and only the number of *one* subcategory of krepis blocks (those that are eight feet long): κρεπιδιαίος: [ΔΠ τούτον ὀκ]τόπος Ι. In this case the total is significant.

(3) D. M. Lewis:[3]

φιάλ[αι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔ]ΔΔΙ
ΤΤΧΧ τ[ούτον ....[8].... ΗΔΔ]ΔΓΙΙ
ΗΗΗΗΔΔ [σταθμὸν φιαλῶν ἡαπα]σῶν

The second line will have contained an adjective such as πτιλοταί. The marginal figures are to be regarded as a single continuous weight. The style in the first two lines of Lewis's restoration is unobjectionable; in the third, it could be argued that φιαλῶν ἡαπασῶν was used because of the ambiguity that might now arise if the normal τούτον were used. However, there is no reason why the weight should appear on two lines: everywhere else in this document, when a figure could not be accommodated in the margin, it was simply allowed to continue into the body of the column (*cf.* 313.13, 59, 145, etc.).

(4) W. E. Thompson,[4] who erroneously refers to these phialai as dedications (the dedications are listed not here but in lines 60ff), restores τ[ούτον οὐχ ἡγιεῖς ΔΔ]ΔΓΙΙ, and follows Lewis otherwise.

An entry in this document normally has the following form: (1) the name of the item is given in the nominative case (sometimes accusative), followed by (2) number, (3) σταθμόν if appropriate (followed by τούτον, τούτο, or ταύτες if space is available).

[1] *Eleusinische Übergabeurkunden aus dem V. Jahrhundert* (Diss.Marburg 1914) 16–17.
[2] "A Transfer from Eleusis," *BSA* 70 (1975) 183–88.
[3] *Apud* Woodward (*supra* n.2) 186. (In *IG* I³ 387.46 Lewis reads a dotted *alpha* at the end of the line; I find no trace of this on the stone.)
[4] "Phialai from Eleusis," *ZPE* 40 (1980) 211–12.

The weight is normally indicated in the margin to the left; but if it is too large to fit in the left margin, it appears on a separate line. More rarely the item is written in the genitive (*e.g.* 313.35, 131, 181; 314.58), but in that case σταθμόν usually does not appear: it appears only with the word χρυσίο, *cf.* χρυσίο σταθμόν (313.181), perhaps there for emphasis. Thus if σταθμόν occurred in the lines that we are discussing, it should, according to normal usage, come *after* the name and number of the item. In other words, for the sense that Woodward wants to restore we should normally expect either:

47 ΤΤΧΧ φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔΔΓΙΙ
ΗΗΗΗΔΔ φιάλαι χρυσαῖ ΙΙΙΙ

or:

47 φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔΔΓΙΙ
ΤΤΧΧ σταθμὸν τούτον
φιάλαι χρυσαῖ ΙΙΙΙ
ΗΗΗΔΔ σταθμὸν τούτον

For the meaning that Lewis wants we should expect:

47 φιάλ[αι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔ]ΔΔΙ
ΤΤΧΧΗΗΗΔΔ
τ[ούτον ..... ΗΔΔ]ΔΓΙΙ

or:

47 φιάλ[αι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔ]ΔΔΙ
σταθμὸν τούτον
ΤΤΧΧΗΗΗΔΔ
τ[ούτον ..... ΗΔΔ]ΔΓΙΙ

Marginal numerals occurring in two lines would lead the reader of *this* document to think of two weights rather than one, and he certainly would not expect the weight of an item to start on a line *preceding* the word σταθμόν. Therefore, although Lewis's restoration does the least violence to the style of this document, it seems best to lay it aside and analyze what is preserved of these lines with an eye to making restorations more in accord with the form of this inscription.

The traces that I read on the stone are as follows:

47 vvvvvvv φιά[.....[13½].....]ΔΔΙ
ΤΤΧΧvvv τ[.....[16].....]ΔΓΙΙ
ΗΗΗΗΔΙ [v.....[17].....]σον

In 47 the position of the first *delta* is irregular; it begins a half-space to the left of the edge of the *stoichos*; thus it appears a half-space before the *delta* below it, in 48. In the left margin of 49 there is room for one vacant space, as indicated, or another figure.

In line 47, on the basis of the pattern elsewhere in this document, we should expect an item whose weight was not given, as in 313.55. The restoration φιά[λαι χαλκαῖ then suggests itself as a possibility, since the weight of bronze phialai would not have

been considered important. We can also imagine, as a possibility, *unweighed* silver phialai; or perhaps in 47 simply the total number of phialai was stated, with the numbers and weights of *some* of the types (silver, gold, etc.) following in the lines below, as in 313.90 for krepis blocks. In the next line (48) it is extremely unlikely that σταθμόν appeared. Here we expect the name of an item in the nominative or genitive; its weight, TTXX, is listed in the left margin. If 47 listed the total number of phialai, then TTXX would, as Woodward saw, be right for *ca* 137 silver phialai. In neither this line nor the next do we expect a definite article, since no other item in the entire inventory has one (articles are used mainly with places and, in 313.64 and 134, sources).

Thus the most likely restoration seems to be:

47 φιά[λαι σύμπασαι H𐅄]ΔΔΙ or φιά[λαι τοῖν θεοῖν H𐅄]ΔΔΙ
TTXX τ[ούτον ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔΔ]ΔΓΙΙ

The average weight of a silver phiale here would be 95 drachmas, an acceptable figure. If the above is correct, another object follows in 49, probably gold phialai:

ΗΗΗΗΔ⊢ [ν χρυσαῖ: ΙΙΙ: σταθμὸν χρυ]σôν

Restoration of four gold phialai is also possible. These restorations on the whole seem to me to conform to the document better than those previously proposed. τούτον refers to φιά[λαι. Then follow the silver ones, number and weight, and the gold ones, number and weight. χρυ]σôν was substituted for τού]τον perhaps because it was felt that another τούτον would be confusing, since each τούτον would have a different antecedent. By the same reasoning, in 48 the additional phrase σταθμὸν τούτον would be less desirable than σταθμὸν ἀργυρôν, but if σταθμὸν ἀργυρôν had been engraved, it would have required an additional line; and σταθμόν by itself, had it been added in 48, would have brought this column awkwardly close to the next one (with no space between the final *nu* of σταθμόν and the initial *chi* of χσύλα in the line above). Evidently neither course was felt to be worth the effort.

The main reason for restoring silver phialai is that Eleusinian silver phialai recur in later documents of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods. It was Woodward (*supra* n.2) who pointed out their presence in *IG* II² 1375 (plus new fragments, edited by R. Stroud, *Hesperia* 41 [1972] 422–23 no. 52), which is an inventory of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods for 400/399. Here much depends on the restoration of lines 19–20 (in Woodward's new text). Kirchner printed [. . . . . ¹² . . . . . .]ινοθ[. . . . ¹⁰ . . . .] in 20; Woodward printed an *epsilon* after the *theta*. The stone, which I have examined, has a horizontal stroke at the top of this *stoichos*; a dotted *epsilon* must be read, but *epsilon* is, in sense, certain. Woodward restored, with a question mark: ἐκ / τô ἱερô τô 'Ελευσ]ινόθε[ν. The new fragments published by Stroud preserve the end of a list of phialai, of uncertain number; but line 8 (in Woodward's text) might be read: ἀρι]θμὸς συ[μπασῶν ΗΔΔΔΔΓΙΙ],[5] *i.e.* the same number that I restored in *IG* I² 314.48. In line 10 Lewis

[5] Woodward (*supra* n.2) suggested ἀρι]θμὸς σύ[μπασῶν φιαλῶν . .], which leaves room for only 15, 20, 60, or 150 phialai.

points out that χρυσ]ίς can be restored. This clearly is a list of Eleusinian treasures. It is not the Hekatompedon, Parthenon, or Opisthodomos list for this year, as Woodward realized, but a 'supplementary' list. Thompson was of the opinion that *IG* II² 1375 indicated that in 400/399 Eleusinian items were being stored in the Hekatompedon, but we have no grounds for being sure that they were stored in the Hekatompedon in this year. Of course several years later 120 Eleusinian phialai and other treasures were indeed stored in the Hekatompedon in the custody of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods (*IG* II² 1400, etc.); these other treasures will be discussed below. (Why there are 120 phialai in the Hekatompedon lists and not 147 is not immediately clear.)

Our fullest list of Eleusinian objects in the Hekatompedon is preserved in *IG* II² 1401 (394/3 according to West and Woodward)[6] and 1400 (390/389). Of these two documents, I present here, edited from photographs, the texts of the sections that follow the list of Eleusinian phialai (and I include some new restorations made from a comparison of the two documents with each other and *IG* I² 313–314).

IG II² 1401.19–28

394/3 *a*. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 76

[θμόν Χ. . . . .Γ⊢⊢⊢ . . τοῖν θεοῖν χρυσὶς κονδυλωτή, σταθμὸν [𐅄ΔΔΔ⊢⊢ · οἰνοχόη ἀργυ[ρᾶ σταθμὸν Η]
20 [. . . .Γ⊢⊢⊢ · οἰνοχόη ἀργυρᾶ σταθμὸν ΗΗΗ𐅄ΔΔΓ⊢⊢⊢⊢ · κύλιξ ἀργ]υρᾶ σταθμὸν ΗΓ, κύλιξ χρυσῆ σ[ταθμὸν]
[ΗΓ· ὑποδερὶς τοῖν θεοῖν ἄστατος· φιάλαι χρυσαῖ, δεύτερος ῥ]υμὸς φιάλαι τρε̂ς χρυσαῖ σταθμὸ[ν . .]
[. . . . . .⁴⁰. . . . . ἐγραμμά]τευε ἀνέθηκεν· 'Αρτέμιδος Βραυρων[ί]-
[ας χρυσίδες φιάλαι τρε̂ς σταθμὸν τούτων 𐅄 . .⊢⊢⊢Ι· 'Αθηναίας] χρυσίδες τρε̂ς καὶ κονδυλωτὸν ἓν ἃ
24 [Στέφανος Λαμπτρεὺς ἀνέθηκεν, σταθμὸν τούτων 𐅅ΗΔΔΔΔΓ⊢⊢⊢]⊢, πίναξ ἀργυρôς, σταθμὸν: Χ𐅅ΔΔΔΔ⊢⊢
[⊢ΙΙΙ· χερνιβεῖον ἀργυρôν. . . . .¹¹. . . . .σταθμὸν Χ𐅅· 'Αρτέμιδος] Βραυρωνίας χρυσῆ θριπήδεστος ἅλ-
[υσιν ἔχοσα χρυσῆν, ἣν ἀνέθηκε Κάλλιον 'Αριστοκλέους γυνή, στα]θμόν: ⊢⊢Ι· ἐξαγίστο χρυ[σ]ίο συμμείκ-
[το ἀσήμο σταθμὸν 𐅅ΗΔ⊢⊢⊢⊢ΙΙΙ· ὑπαργύρο χρυσίο σταθμὸν Γ⊢ · χρ]υσίο Δαρεικοὶ τοῖν θεοῖν ⟆⟆⟆⟆ ⟅⟅⟅ ·Κ-
28 [υζικηνός, ἕκται Φωκαΐδες τρε̂ς· τάδε ἐκ τô 'Ανακίο· φιάλαι ἀρ]γυραῖ κτλ.

IG II² 1400.36–44

390/389 *a*. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 91

36 Γ⊢⊢⊢ τοῖν θεοῖν χρυσὶς κονδυλωτή, σταθμὸν 𐅄ΔΔΔΔ⊢⊢ · οἰν[οχόη ἀργυρᾶ σταθμὸν Η. . . .Γ⊢⊢⊢v, οἰνοχόη ἀργυρᾶ σταθμ]-
[ό]ν ΗΗΗ𐅄ΔΔΓ⊢⊢⊢⊢ · κύλιξ ἀργυρᾶ [σ]ταθμὸν ΗΓ, κύλιξ χρυσῆ στα[θμὸν ΗΓ· . . . . .²⁰. . . . . · ὑποδερὶς τοῖν θεοῖν ἄσ]-

[6] "Studies in Attic Treasure-Records," *JHS* 58 (1938) 69–89.

[ταт]ος· φιάλαι χρυσαῖ· δεύτερος ῥυμός, φιάλαι τρε̑ς σταθμọ̀[ν .... ⁴³ .... ἐ]-
[γ]ραμμάτευεν, ἀνέθηκεν· ἄγει ἡ ὑπάργυρος Η⊦ ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ Ị̣Ị̣Ị̣· Ἀρτέμι[δος Βραυρωνίας χρυσίδες φιάλαι πέντε σταθμὸν τούτων]
40 [𐅅ΗΗ𐅄Δ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ Ι·] Ἀθηναίας χρυσίδες τρε̑ς καὶ κονδυλωτόν, Στέ[φανος Λαμπτρεὺς ἀνέθηκεν, σταθμὸν τούτων 𐅅ΗΔΔΔΔΓ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ ·]
[πίναξ] ἀργυρο̑ς σταθμὸν Χ𐅅ΔΔΔΔ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ ΙΙΙ· χερνιβει̑ον ἀργυρο̑[ν..... 12 .....σταθμὸν Χ𐅅· Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας χρυση̑]
[θ]ριπήδεστος ἄλυσιν ἔχοσα χρυση̑ν, ἣν ἀνέθηκεγ Κάλλιον [Ἀριστοκλέος γυνή, σταθμὸν ⊦ ⊦ Ι· ἐξαγίστο χρυσίο συμμείκ]-
[το] ἀσήμο σταθμὸν [𐅅]ΗΔ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ Ị̣ΙΙ· ὑπαργύρο [χ]ρυσίο σταθμὸν Γ[⊦ · χρυσίο Δαρεικοὶ τοῖν θεοῖν ⚲⚲⚲⚲ ϟϟϟ · Κυζικηνός· ......]
44 [...]ες· ἕκται Φωκαίδες τρε̑ς· τάδε ἐκ το̑ Ἀνακίο· φιάλαι κτλ.

Commentary to *IG* II² 1401 and 1400

1401.19: Some anomaly occurred at the beginning of this line: space for four letters of the restoration demanded by 1400 seems to be missing; or perhaps *τούτων* is missing (as here), two spaces being vacant.

1401.19–20: In *IG* I² 313.46–47 (= 314.53–54 = 316.4–5) two silver oinochoai are listed together, and we should consider whether they can both be restored here as well (like the silver and gold kylikes that follow). From comparison with *IG* I² 316.4–5, we can restore *IG* I² 313.46–47 (according to my reading of the stones) as follows:

46 Η[....Δv *οἰνοχόε ἀργυρα̑ σταθμόν*]
ΗΗΗ̣𐅄ΔΔ[Δ *οἰνοχόε ἀργυρα̑ σταθμόν*]

If we restore 1401.19–20 *οἰνοχόη ἀργυ[ρα̑ σταθμὸν* Η /....Γ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ · *οἰνοχόη ἀργυρα̑ σταθμὸν* ΗΗΗ𐅄ΔΔΓ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ · *κύλιξ ἀργ]υρα̑ κτλ.*, 1400.36–37 receives the same restoration (36 will have one extra space), with the beginning of 37 reading: [ο]ν̣ ΗΗΗ𐅄ΔΔ[Γ]⊦ ⊦ ⊦ ⊦. The same figure occurs in 1445.10, *οἰ]νοχόη ἀργυρα̑ ἱερὰ Δήμητρο[ς* .... 25 .... *ἔχ]οσα, σταθμὸν* ΗΗΗ𐅄ΔΔ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ ⊦, and makes it highly probable that it is a question of the same item; and reinforces my view that the letter in the *stoichos* of 1400.37 is to be read as Ṇ and not as Ḥ as in *IG* (traces visible in the photograph also support a dotted *nu*; L. L. Threatte kindly inspected the stone and reports that *eta* is most unlikely, and *nu* is quite possible). The oinochoe has lost a drachma in weight between *IG* I² 313.13 and II² 1400.20 (and we must suppose a similar loss of one or two drachmas for the other oinochoe), either because of wear or simply because a different scale was used in weighing it. Such small discrepancies are not uncommon.[7] The *χρυσίς* in 1400.19 apparently gained 4 obols over the weight listed in I² 313.45.

1401.21: I² 314.50 reads ΗΓ[.....*κύλιχς χρυσε̑ σταθμό*]*ν*; so *at least* Ḥ̣Γ̣ must be restored at the beginning of line 21. The restoration of the rest of this line is somewhat baffling. In *IG* II² 1400.38]*ος* could be the end of *ῥυμ*]*ός*, but in 1401.21, then, practically the only restoration possible would be *φιάλαι χρυσαῖ, πρω̑τος ῥυμὸς φιάλαι χρυσαῖ κτλ.*, which seems hardly satisfactory. In 1400.38]*ος* may be the end of the name of a god or a dedication. It is possible that the *πρω̑τος ῥυμός* (unexpressed in 1400) held the items in 1401.19–20 (1400.36–37); if so, it is conceivable that the two vacant spaces that occur in my text of 1401.19 should be removed in favor of: [*θμὸν* Χ....Γ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ · *πρω̑τος ῥυμὸς χρυσὶς κτλ.* (Before this entry in 1400 a new entry of a length of

[7] *Cf.* A. M. Woodward, *JHS* 51 (1931) 140 n.2, 144 n.8a; J. Tréheux, *Études sur les inventaires attiques* (Paris 1965) 73; H. Lehner, *Über die athenischen Schatzverzeichnisse* (Diss.Bonn 1890) 24.

twenty spaces was added, sometime after 394/3.) Woodward (*supra* n.7) 159 suggested *κυλιχνὶς λιθίνη τοῖν θεοῖν ἄστατ]ος* (cf. *IG* II² 1447.21 and 1448 as restored by Woodward). More appropriate, however, is *ὑποδερὶς τοῖν θεοῖν ἄστατ]ος*, for a *hυποδερὶς χρυσε̑* appears in I² 313.54, weighing 5 drachmas 1 obol, and other items from 313.40–50 appear here. This restoration can be made also in *IG* II² 1403, as edited by Tréheux (*supra* n.7) 75, in the form *ὑποδερὶς χρυση̑ ἄστατος* (or *ἄσταθμος* with a 46-space line). The following is the text that I suggest for *IG* II² 1403.1–3, including the restoration suggested above in the commentary to 1401.19–20:

[*θμ*]*ὸν τα̣[ύ]τ[ης* ⁝Ḥ....Γ⊦ ⊦ ⊦̣⁝ *οἰνοχόη ἀργυρα̑, σταθμὸν ταύτης*]
ΗΗΗ𐅄ΔΔΓ⊦ ⊦ ⊦ [⊦̣⁝ *κύλιξ ἀργυρα̑, σταθμὸν ταύτης*: ΗΓ: *κύλιξ χρυ*]-
ση̑, σταθμὸν τ[αύτης⁝ Ḥ̣Γ̣⁝ *ὑποδερὶς χρυση̑ ἄστατος*⁝ *ἐξαγίστο*]

1401.23–26: See Woodward (*supra* n.7) 143–45.

1401.27 and 1400.43: For the figure of 6 drachmas see *IG* II² 1403.6 as edited by J. Tréheux (*supra* n.7) 75: *IG* II² 1403 belongs with 1388.

1401.28: Again, one naturally looks to I² 313–314 for Eleusinian items to fill the space here. It can be exactly filled by Κ[*υζικηνός, ἕκται Φωκαΐδες τρε̑ς, τάδε κτλ.*]. *Φωκαΐδες τρε̑ς* occur also in 1400.44. If we restore *Κυζικηνός* at the end of 1400.43, there is a lacuna of 6 spaces at the end of 43 and 3 spaces at the beginning of 44, which contained either a new object, a dittography, or perhaps *Κυζικηνὸς τοῖν θεοῖν*] *ἐς*. In any case the spacing, plus the final *kappa* in line 27, lends probability to the restoration *Κυζικηνός*.

Thus by the year 390/389 the majority of the precious items listed in *IG* I² 313–314 as kept at Eleusis in 408/7 had been transferred to the Hekatompedon. The items that seem not to have been transferred had, interestingly, the least value. They are (313.52–55) sealstones[8] and seven bronze *κώθονες*.[9] It would be consistent with this picture, then, to interpret the golden phialai in *IG* II² 1401.21 as Eleusinian as well, since they are among the more valuable objects that appeared in the Eleusis list in *IG* I² 313. Whether also *χρύσιον σύμμεικτον ἄσημον* was transferred is hard to say. Of silver money, on the other hand, we know only that 25 counterfeit drachmas went from Eleusis to the Hekatompedon (1401.39, etc.), but these counterfeit coins do not appear as such in *IG* I² 313–314.

More than one transfer took place: first, by the year 398/7, the silver phialai, chrysis, oinochoai, kylikes, and [necklace] were transferred (*IG* II² 1388 + 1403, etc.). By 394, the gold phialai and the other objects were transferred (*IG* II² 1401).

It would be interesting to know why the transfers took place. The *dedications* at Eleusis in 408/7 were not affected, but only the precious objects that were listed with the money. In the case of Eleusis, therefore, it was a transfer of capital. Nearly all the *dedications* at Eleusis in 407 B.C. are, we find, still at Eleusis in 332 B.C. (*IG* II² 1544). We may illustrate this by comparing the descriptions of the items:

IG I² 313.60ff (*ἀναθέματα*)	*IG* II² 1544
πρὸς το̑ι τοίχοι hόρμος χρυσο̑ς ἀκύλον: ΔΓΙ	*ἄκυλοι* ΔΓΙ (line 11)
πλάστρα χρυσα̑ τὸ δεμόσιον ἀνέθεκεν	*πλάστρα χρυσα̑* (line 11)

[8] *σφραγῖδες λίθιναι* ΙΙΙΙ, however, would fill the lacuna in *IG* II² 1400.37.
[9] Six bronze *κώθονες* appear in *IG* II² 1542.18 and 1544.54 (where the number is restored).

[φιάλε ἀργυ]ρᾶ, χρυσόμφαλος [Σαλαμινοκ]λῆς ἀνέθεκε	φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ χρυσόμφα[λος πρὸς τῶι τοίχωι ἀνακειμένηνν] (29f, my restoration; *cf.* 1542.2f)
[δακτύλιος χρ]υσῶς: σταθμὸν τούτο Ḣ Ḣ Ḣ	Possibly one of the gold δακτύλιοι δύο κατεαγότες (17–18), but there are other possibilities
[σφραγιδίο δ]ύο χρυσίοι δεδεμένο	25–26: *cf.* 1542.12, σφραγῖδε ἰάσπιδε χρυσίωι δεδεμέ[νω
[. . . .?. . . .]κῆ Πίστος ἀνέθεκε	Not identifiable

We can only speculate on the reason for the transfer of Eleusinian assets to the Hekatompedon in the first decade of the fourth century. In doing so we should first consider some interesting facts. (1) In 403 when Eleusis was controlled by the Thirty, the sanctuary was administered by the Eumolpidai and Kerykes (*Ath.Pol.* 39.2): the *epistatai* of Eleusis had no rôle. (2) No fourth-century inventories or accounts of any sort have been found at Eleusis that can certainly be dated before 356 (the year of *IG* II² 1541). The first Eleusinian *epistatai* who appear in fourth-century documents (or for that matter any document after 408/7) belong, apparently, to the year 360/359 or thereabouts (1541.5). (3) When Leptines of Koile turned over objects to the Eleusinian sanctuary in 363/2 he gave them not to the *epistatai* but to the Treasurers of the Other Gods (1541.5). We may attempt a single hypothesis to explain all these facts: From *ca* 406 to *ca* 360 the ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν did not exist; down to *ca* 360 the ταμίαι, therefore, were in charge of the financial administration of the Eleusinian sanctuary (first the ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, and from 385/4 the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν). Another hypothesis, less drastic and therefore for now preferable, is that the *tamiai* were in overall charge of the financial administration, but that the *epistatai*, as subordinates, continued to be in charge of many of the various operations that had to be carried out from day to day, including, when necessary, financial activities (*e.g.* paying contractors). This is a hypothesis—others are possible—and of course it must be tested by future discoveries.

Following this hypothesis we may speculate that toward the end of the Peloponnesian War the capital assets *at Eleusis* (but not the dedications) were taken from Eleusis and placed on the Acropolis under the control of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods, perhaps originally for the purpose of safekeeping. What happened to the Eleusinian assets that in 408/7 had been on the *Acropolis* and in the *City Eleusinion* we do not know. Perhaps they were felt to be safe where they were, and did not need to be moved; they do not reappear in preserved documents.

But once the assets from Eleusis had been transferred to the Acropolis and were in the hands of the Treasurers, they remained there, labeled τοῖν θεοῖν (and soon placed in the Hekatompedon with objects from other sanctuaries), and apparently were never returned to Eleusis. Perhaps eventually they were converted to other objects. By 375 B.C. (*IG* II² 1445.31–34) some of the phialai have disappeared. We do not know what

happened to them; in any case, they seem not to have been returned to the Eleusinian sanctuary. It is possible that the five Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ὑδρίαι ἀργυραῖ weighing 4679 drachmas 2 obols that appear in inventories of Treasurers of Athena after 385 (*IG* II² 1412.24, 1424a.241–45*bis*, 1425.186–91, etc.) were made from the missing phialai, but our information is too scanty to allow a certain conclusion.

Much remains unclear, but now we can at least say the following about the Eleusinian finances of this period. In 408/7 capital assets of the Eleusinian sanctuary were stored in three places: (1) at Eleusis, (2) on the Acropolis, and (3) in the City Eleusinion. (Dedications, ἀναθήματα, were kept only at Eleusis.) Perhaps, in accordance with the hypothesis given above, as early as 406 the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods were put in charge of Eleusinian finances. If this hypothesis and date are correct, we may link to this event the removal of the capital assets from Eleusis to the Acropolis. The move may have been made out of concern for their safety at Eleusis, and perhaps also to make them more accessible in case it became desirable to melt them down to help the war effort. The new list that resulted for the Eleusinian capital assets may have been issued by the Treasurers annually for several years; *IG* II² 1375 (with Woodward [*supra* n.2]) seems to be an example of this annual, (exclusively) Eleusinian list for the year 400/399: the number of phialai there, as mentioned above, may be identical to the number reported in 408/7 (*IG* I² 313–314). Slightly later, in 398/7, we find some of the Eleusinian capital assets from the 408/7 list (the two oinochoai and the two kylikes and probably at least the phialai as well) recorded together with objects belonging to many other gods that were kept in the Hekatompedon; this *traditio* was also issued by the Treasurers (*IG* II² 1388 + additional fragments).[10] Additional Eleusinian assets, again from the Eleusinian list of 408/7, appear in the Hekatompedon *traditio* of 394/3 (*IG* II² 1401); the only objects from 408/7 that do not appear in the *traditio* of 394/3 are the least valuable. It seems, then, that two transfers took place: the first was from the Eleusinian *epistatai* to the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods (in physical terms, from Eleusis to the Acropolis); the second transfer took place, in stages, from this new group of Eleusinian assets (assembled on the Acropolis) to the

[10] See *supra* 57. As far as our documentation goes, Eleusinian sacred property remained in the hands of Eleusinian officials at least down to the end of the official year 408/7 (*IG* I² 314). There is no evidence that any money or property of the Eleusinian goddesses was under the control of the *tamiai* of the Other Gods before this time; Eleusis seems not to have been substantially affected by the organization of a treasury of the Other Gods called for by the decree of Callias, *IG* I² 91; *cf.* Tullia Linders, *The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and their Functions* (Meisenheim am Glan 1975), esp. 35–38. W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1932) 94 n.2, however, argued that in 408/7 and earlier the *tamiai* of the Other Gods and the *epistatai* of Eleusis had overlapping jurisdiction. His main argument rests on the appearance of a loan from the sanctuary of the Mother in Agrai to the *tamiai* of the Other Gods in *IG* I² 324.96 and on receipts from the Mysteries in Agrai recorded by the *epistatai* of Eleusis in *IG* I² 313. But these two matters do not indicate shared jurisdiction. The *epistatai* did not administer the sanctuary of the Mother at Agrai; they merely received money deriving from the Lesser Mysteries that were held there, money that was probably collected by the Eleusinian priests, according to an old practice (see *IG* I² 6 = I³ 6C, and my *The Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* [TAPhS 64.3 (1974)] 10–13). In addition, the fact that *IG* I² 313–314 shows the *epistatai* keeping some Eleusinian assets on the Acropolis in an unstated location, and entirely *under their own control*, is hardly evidence for shared jurisdiction.

Hekatompedon store of assets and dedications derived from many sanctuaries. These Eleusinian assets were apparently never returned to Eleusis. (The *dedications* at Eleusis, however, were left there.) We could call them a 'permanent loan' to the Acropolis. Their Eleusinian origin was carefully noted in the *traditiones* kept by the Treasurers.

In addition, it seems reasonable to conclude that objects *at Eleusis*, liquid assets and dedications, were not used to finance the war. It is hard to concur with Ferguson's view that in 406 "the *kosmos* and sacrificial vessels of Demeter and Kore ... were gathered in, so far as they were not assembled already, and melted down."[11] Whether Eleusinian assets stored *on the Acropolis* and *in the City Eleusinion* were so gathered in is a more difficult question: the only evidence we have is that these assets were occasionally lent to the Treasurers of Athena (*e.g. IG* I² 313.174–83, 314.14–17), and we are surely on safe ground in concluding that up to that time funds were transferred *only* in the form of loans. At any rate, shortly thereafter valuables stored *at Eleusis* were transferred (probably) to the Acropolis and put in the care of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods, (evidently) as a 'permanent loan'. It might be tempting to think that, in addition to these valuables, the *money* stored at Eleusis (coined and uncoined gold and silver, *IG* I² 313.51, 56–59) was also transferred as a 'permanent loan'. This seems a bit unlikely, inasmuch as such a careful accounting was kept of the valuable objects that *were* transferred, first to the *tamiai*, then, in stages, to the Hekatompedon; but we have no mention of the *money* (listed in 313.51, 56–59) in the lists where these valuables appear. And the valuable objects that were transferred included some coins of a special character: 43 Daric staters, one Cyzicene stater, and three Phocaean sixths. In view of the care that was taken in handing down these Eleusinian objects, which included coins, and maintaining their Eleusinian identity, I would be inclined to think, although it cannot be definitely proved, that the same care was extended to the other coined and uncoined gold and silver that was still stored at Eleusis in 407. Therefore it seems better to assume, until we have strong evidence to the contrary, that this money was afterwards used, along with the other Eleusinian money kept on the Acropolis in 407 by the *epistatai* of Eleusis, specifically for the operation and maintenance of the sanctuary at Eleusis, although now it may have been subject to the administration of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods.[12]

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

[11] Ferguson (*supra* n.10) 93. In a footnote (n.2), however, he concedes that hard evidence is lacking. We must also keep in mind that it is not clear which items in *IG* I² 313, if any, are *kosmos* and sacrificial vessels of Demeter and Kore.

[12] I am grateful to Maureen B. Cavanaugh for the opportunity to discuss some of these problems in connection with her work *Eleusis and Athens: Documents in Finance, Religion, and Politics in the Second Half of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Diss.Cornell 1980), which will soon be published. The reader is referred to her edition of *IG* I² 313–314 and commentary. I am also very grateful to Dr Dina Peppa-Delmousou, Director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, for sending me photographs of *IG* II² 1400 and 1401.

Three Inscriptions from Asia Minor

Thomas Drew-Bear

I. A Ghost-word at Maeonia

AN EPITAPH from the village of Ayazören, located on an ancient site named Iaza just south of the river in the Middle Hermos Valley northeast of Sardis, has recently been published by P. Herrmann as follows:[1]

Ἔτους τη', μη(νὸς) Γορπιαίου ζ'. A.D. 223/4
Αὐρ. Νεικίας ὁ δυστυχὴς ἔστ[η]-
[σ]εν μνήμην τῷ ὑῷ μου σὺ[ν]
Κλ. Εὐτυχιανῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐ[ρ.]
Νεικία στρατιώτῃ ἱππικαλης
συνβίωσις· στηρηθεὶς τῶν
συσστρατιωτῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θ[α]-
νὼν ὧδε ἐτέθην εἰς τὰ ἐμ[ά].

The site of Iaza is attributed by Herrmann vaguely to the "regio inter vicos Gölde et Menye et Hermum fluvium sita"; but C. Naour has demonstrated that the ancient settlement at Iaza formed part of the territory of the city of Maeonia.[2] Concerning the word which will interest us here, Herrmann explains that "vox ἱππικαλης (si recte ita distinxi; possis et de ἱππῖ καλῆς cogitare) nova, quae utique cum equitatu coniugenda esse videtur ... [3] ἱππικάλης συνβίωσις iuncturam genetivi casus esse suspicor voce συνβίωσις iam in modum linguae neograecae flexa."[4] Thus Aurelius Nicias was "a soldier of the ἱππικαλης association, deprived of his comrades."

Quite apart from the problem posed by the first word, what precisely is the meaning of the second clause? It will be preferable to remove the stop inserted by the editor before the participle in line 6: in reality Nicias was "deprived of the company of his

[1] *TAM* V.1 474 (the stone had been brought from Ayazören to the museum at Manisa, where Herrmann copied and photographed it in 1966). Above the inscription is a relief representing a rider whose horse is walking towards the right. The text is reproduced in *Bull.épigr.* 1982, 343, without commentary.

[2] *ZPE* 44 (1981) 36–38. This fascicle of *TAM* is entitled *Tituli Lydiae*, although the region concerned did not in fact form part of Lydia proper, but rather constituted the southern portion of Mysia Abbaitis (see provisionally Naour 12 with n.5).

[3] Herrmann compares *TAM* V.1 338, a votive text known only from a copy made by W. Zschimmer in 1878 at Gölde, site of the town of Kollyda, engraved "sub anaglypho equitis": θεῷ Ὁσίῳ καὶ Δη[κ]αίῳ] Αὐρ. Παπας στρατ[ιώτ]ης εἱππεὺς κατα[..π]αρασταθέντος τ[οῦ Π]ρίμου Ἀττικῷ ἀπε[..θ]εὶς στήλην εὐχα[ριστ]ῶν ἀνέθηκα, where J. Keil conjectured κατά[φρ(ακτος)]. This parallel seems however hardly illuminating, especially since Herrmann comments himself *ad loc.*: "*vv.* 3–6 non intellexi."

[4] Herrmann cites an inscription from the territory of Saittai, to the north of Maeonia (*TAM* V.1 167), ἐξ ἰδίας προερέσις, which had been correctly interpreted as a genitive by K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien* (Leipzig 1898) 23.

comrades," (τῆς) συνβιώσις (by iotacism for συνβιώσης, 'vulgar' genitive singular feminine for συνβιώσεως)[5] στερηθεὶς τῶν συσστρατιωτῶν. The participle στερηθείς[6] governs not the genitive συσστρατιωτῶν but the genitive συνβιώσις. Naturally the adjective καλῆς is to be disengaged from the ghost-word *ἱππικαλης, for its function is to emphasize the fine quality of the comradeship that Nicias had enjoyed. The remaining element ἱππι- is nothing other than the word for 'horseman', ἱππεύς, in the dative case with the spelling -ι for -ει, not a mason's error but rather an indication of the way in which these vowels were actually pronounced by the author of this text.[7]

The inscription from the territory of Maeonia is therefore to be read and interpreted: Αὐ[ρ]. Νεικίᾳ στρατιώτῃ ἱππῖ· καλῆς συνβιώσις στερηθεὶς τῶν συσστρατιωτῶν κτλ. Since Nicias lived amidst his comrades and died at Ephesus, we may conclude that his troop was doubtless stationed in that city, and our document thus becomes interesting evidence for the existence of an auxiliary force quartered at Ephesus, seat of the proconsul of Asia.

The eradication of our ghost-word points to a deficiency in this new fascicle of *TAM*: the absence of an Index Verborum. It is not reasonable that a volume with 825 texts (in addition to those added by the editor at a late stage and designated by a letter *a*, *b*, *c* added to the number of the preceding text) should appear devoid of a key to the *Sermo Graecus*, in all its wealth and variety,[8] especially since one of the main benefits of a topographically arranged corpus is to make available for study the specifically local characteristics of vocabulary[9] and institutions.[10] "Index est anima corporis" wrote

[5] Several papyrological attestations of this phenomenon—πράσις (for πράσιος: A.D. 42), τῆς βεβεώσης (A.D. 47), τῆς πόλις (*ca* A.D. 346)—are collected by F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* II (Milan 1981) 75, unfortunately under the heading: "The nom. -ις is also sometimes used for the gen.," although these forms were surely not considered as nominatives by the authors of the texts cited. A better explanation had already been given by A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* (London 1897) 122: in words such as ὄψις, τάξις, πράξις, etc., the terminal vowel *iota* was identified, as a result of iotacism, with the terminal *eta* of the first declension: "feminines first dropped their final -ς (which was the characteristic sign of the masculine) and then changed -ι to -η," thus giving ἡ ὄψη, τάξη, πράξη, etc.

[6] Not στηρηθείς, as is printed in *TAM*: this 'barbarism', not easy to explain phonetically, must be attributed not to the stone-mason but to the modern editor, as a glance at the photograph on Herrmann's plate XIX will confirm.

[7] For another example of the same phenomenon see line 10 of a verse oracle of Apollo at Miletus published by P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 1 (1971) 291ff: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ αἶσαν ἑλεῖν γεράων φθάσεν Ἀφρογενείης, as explained by Th. Drew-Bear and W. Lebek, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 70: "the second word must be understood as a variant orthography, due to iotacism, of ἐπεί: 'it was necessary that a woman with the blood of noble ancestors should receive the priestly honor, but after she had already obtained her full share of the gifts of Aphrodite.'"

[8] *Cf.* the remarks of L. Robert, *RevPhil* III.48 (1974) 191: "la série des *IG* ... s'est distinguée par la qualité des index ... (qui) contenaient tous les mots ... avec leur contexte immédiat ... Cela formait peu à peu la base d'une étude de vocabulaire, selon les régions ... Depuis lors, G. Klaffenbach, dans ses trois volumes d'inscriptions de la Grèce continentale de l'Ouest, a continué cette pratique avec conscience et succès ... Ce qui importe ... c'est de mettre les inscriptions à la disposition de tout helléniste qui étudie la langue grecque et spécialement son vocabulaire et son style ... Tout fascicule de Corpus est un enrichissement de ce point de vue; aussi l'éditeur a-t-il l'obligation de permettre l'utilisation de ce trésor par des index complets."

[9] It is true that this aspect has often been neglected in editions of texts from this region, perhaps because the latter has been erroneously amalgamated with 'Lydia' and its specific geographical and cultural characteristics thus lost from sight. *Cf.* for example C. Naour (*supra* n.2) 20 on a formula used in funerary imprecations in southern Mysia Abbaitis: "les épitaphes avec προσ- ou παραμαρτάνειν constituent un groupe géographiquement bien déterminé, dont l'existence mérite d'être soulignée, car elle n'a jamais été mise en valeur auparavant. Ce caractère spécifiquement local n'est pas relevé par Herrmann, Petzl, Bakir-Barthel et Müller, qui tous se bornent à dire que les verbes en cause sont courants dans la région, alors que l'essentiel est précisément qu'ils n'apparaissent pas ailleurs." The absence of an Index Verborum in *TAM* V.1 does nothing to facilitate further studies of this type. I can cite a new attestation of the verb that has appeared in this volume, 590, copied by Herrmann in the territory of Maeonia (without photograph): ὃς ἂν δένδρει [πρ]οσαμάρτῃ, κεχολωμένον ("ΙΞΧΟΛΛΛCΝC e lapide descripsi") ἓξι τ[ὸ]ν θ<ε>ό[ν] ("ΥΛΟ descripsi"), but there is no way to determine whether there are others, short of reading through the entire volume once again for each separate item of vocabulary. Two other instances now in *ZPE* 47 (1982) 113–14.

[10] For example the peculiar religious vocabulary of the confessions of sin inscribed upon stone, an extraordinary characteristic of this region which moreover links it closely with certain parts of Phrygia (I shall publish elsewhere new documents of this type). These texts are now scattered among the epitaphs and dedications of the present Corpus, without even a bare list of the confession inscriptions, which would have been of value to historians of religion.

[11] Cited by G. Pfohl in the volume of indices to *SEG* XI–XX. In his preface (viii) Herrmann does indeed promise that he will compose indices: "totum opus denique absolutum," *i.e.* after the appearance of all the other fascicles of Volume V, which is planned to include the totality of the inscriptions of 'Lydia'. None of the other volumes of Greek inscriptions in the *TAM*, of which the first fascicle (Western Lycia) appeared in 1920, has been completed to date.

[12] The names are given in their barest form, without patronyms, a method which makes it difficult for the reader to locate a particular individual among the 45 Ἑρμογένης, for example, or the 80 Ἀπολλώνιος, 36 Τρόφιμος, 42 Ἀλέξανδρος, etc. This problem is aggravated by the absence of an Index Verborum, which in many cases leaves the Index Nominum as the sole means of finding a particular text. Herrmann did not follow the excellent method adopted by L. and J. Robert in *La Carie* II (Paris 1954), who give in their Index Nominum not only patronyms but also papponyms, so that the reader can distinguish at once *e.g.* among the various Ἀπολλώνιος; M. Guarducci had already employed the same system in her *Inscriptiones Creticae*, and C. Edson used it again recently in his *IG* X.2.

[13] Aside from the example set by *TAM* III.1 (Termessos), with its long indices composed, after the death of the editor R. Heberdey, by J. Keil and Ad. Wilhelm who did not disdain to expend time and effort on this task (*cf.* page vi of Wilhelm's preface: "non sine labore"), each volume of G. Mihailov's *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae* includes a separate and very detailed index, although a general index of the whole Corpus is planned in a final volume (*cf. IG Bulg.* I² p.9); likewise the second and third volumes of L. Moretti's *IG UrbRom* have each a detailed index (covering volumes I–III), and each of the corpora of A. and E. Bernand has its own fine index.

[14] Surely this is one of the reasons behind the principle laid down by J. and L. Robert in their *Bulletin épigraphique* (cited by the Institut F. Courby in their *Index du Bulletin épigraphique* III [Paris 1975] 3): "l'index doit être fait par l'auteur de l'ouvrage."

[15] *Études anatoliennes* (Paris 1937) 102ff with pl. II.2.

Scaliger:[11] the rapid *Index Nominum*[12] and two pages of supplementary indices represent a regrettable departure from the standard set by other recent corpora.[13] Certainly it would have cost the editor additional effort to compose an index for this fascicle; but the benefit thus gained would have profited not only the users of *TAM*, each in his own sphere, but also perhaps the editor himself:[14] for when the moment came to register in his index ἱππικαλης, would not this have afforded the occasion for a δεύτερος πλοῦς?

II. Policemen in the Cayster Valley

A bas-relief from the village of Büyükkale (Büyük Kadife), site of the Βωνειτῶν κατοικία in the Cayster Valley northeast of Ephesus, was first published by L. Robert.[15]

It represents a rider facing three standing men, one of whom (the nearest to the rider) salutes the latter with raised right hand; as described by Robert, they are "vêtus d'une tunique, et ceints d'une large ceinture; il semble que tous trois portent un baudrier, qui retient une courte épée, et un très petit bouclier ovale; ils tiennent un bâton recourbé, comme un pedum de berger; le premier porte en outre un instrument ou une arme droite." Robert identifies the relief as depicting three police agents, *diogmitae*, with their chief the παραφύλαξ, and indeed he introduces his publication of this document as follows: "un παραφύλαξ est figuré sur un bas-relief du Musée de Smyrne. Haut., 36 cm. Larg., 47 cm. Epais., 10 cm. Hauteur des lettres, en haut: env. 12 mm.; en bas, env. 20 mm."

Since the editor thus gives two figures for letter-height, the reader learns that the relief in question carries also an inscription, which is divided into two lines—but Robert nowhere transcribes the text of either line, and makes no further allusion to the inscription at all. The bottom line can be easily read from his published photograph: παραφύλαξ Ἥρων, which gives us the name of the rider who was the chief of this police patrol. The name Ἥρων, however, appears neither in the text nor in the index of proper names of Robert's *Études anatoliennes*, although this occurrence is interesting because of the rarity of the name in Asia Minor.[16] In general it is relatively uncommon outside Egypt: there are several attestations at Athens,[17] and sporadic occurrences, for example, at Aegina,[18] Aegosthena,[19] Argos,[20] in Thessaly,[21] at Thessalonike,[22] at Tarrha in Crete,[23] on Samothrace,[24] etc.[25] On the shores of the Black Sea the name is attested at Dionysoupolis[26] and the Ionian cities Panticapaeum[27] and Phanagoria.[28] At Ostia M. Αὐρήλιος Ἥρων νεωκόρος τοῦ ἐν Πόρτῳ Σαράπιδος made a dedication to Διὶ Ἡλίῳ

[16] On an epitaph at Telmessos, *TAM* II.1 47, a woman honors τὸν υἱὸν αὐτ[ῆ]ς Ἥρωνα, but the reading is uncertain, to judge from the facsimile. At the end of a badly damaged rock-cut metrical epitaph at Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos, J. Keil and Ad. Wilhelm suggested Ἥρ[ω]ν τ' ὁ [ἀδελ]φός, *MAMA* III 8.

[17] In ephebic lists of the second century A.D., a gymnasiarch, *IG* II² 2037.21, and an ephebe of the tribe Leontis, 2067.59; again under the Roman Empire, 2776.198; towards the end of the Hellenistic period, D. W. Bradeen, *The Athenian Agora* XVII *The Funerary Monuments* 444, Ἐλέν[η] Ἥρωνο[ς] Γαλάτισσ[α] γυ[νή]. An orator: Suidas *s.n.*

[18] *IG* IV 1589, the example chosen by F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (Halle 1917) 193; and IV 10 (a dedication of the Hellenistic period).

[19] An ephebe Ἥρω[ν] Ἡροδώρου, *IG* VII 209; another Heron in VII 213: both towards the end of the third century B.C.

[20] *IG* IV 648, Ἀτείμητε (on this name see T. Drew-Bear, *REA* 82 [1980] 181) Ἥρων[ος] χρηστὲ χαῖρε.

[21] On an act of manumission at Lamia, *IG* IX.2 72.6.

[22] *IG* X.2 321 (second century A.D.).

[23] *I.Cret.* II xxix 7 with *SEG* XIV 577*b*.

[24] P. M. Fraser, *Samothrace* II.1 (New York 1960) no. 60, an initiate of the Roman period (it escaped Fraser that this text had already been published in *IG* XII Suppl. 346, an edition absent from his lemma and from his concordance on 157).

[25] Uncertain attestations at Troezen, F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* (Heidelberg 1959) 32*B*.16; and at Carthaea on Ceos, *IG* XII.5 1060 ("litterae V ineuntis a. Chr. n. saeculi").

[26] *IG Bulg.* I² 31, Χρύσιππος Ἡ[ρω]νος, in a fragmentary list of names of the Roman period.

[27] *CIRB* 583, Ἀρίτη θυγάτηρ Ἥρωνος ("second century A.D.").

[28] *CIRB* 1086, Παρασείων [υἱὲ] Ἡ[ρω]νος (*IosPE* II 366, Φί[λω]νος, but see p.310; "second century A.D.").

μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς;[29] with this temple-warden of the Egyptian deity compare M. Οὔλπιος Ἥρων Ἀλεξανδρεύς whose epitaph was found at Rome.[30] It is no accident that we find this name borne at Rome by a citizen of Alexandria,[31] for the sole region in the Greek-speaking world where the name was common is Egypt.[32] It occurs for instance in the Delta[33] and is well attested epigraphically in the Fayum,[34] where the god Heron was widely worshipped:[35] despite the doubts of W. Dittenberger (*ad OGIS* 740), it seems true that this name was directly theophoric in Egypt, whatever the nature of the homonymous divinity,[36] for this is the best explanation of its diffusion in that country, where it occurs *e.g.* at Hermoupolis (*SEG* XVIII 679), Antaeoupolis, Abydos,[37] Thebes,[38] and in Upper Egypt,[39] to cite only epigraphical attestations, which

[29] L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (Berlin 1969) 556 (*IG* XIV 914).

[30] *IG UrbRom* II.2 858. The name is also well attested among the Latin inscriptions of Rome: *CIL* VI 21314, T. Porcius Heron erected a tomb *T. Porcio Heronti filio*; 28267, *P. Aelius Heron*; 13127, *M. Aurel. Heron*; 24040, *M. Aurelius Aug. lib. Heron*; *cf.* 29002, *Publicia Heronis*.

[31] Among the literary attestations of the name collected in Pape-Benseler *Wörterbuch s.n.* are several persons from Alexandria (for a doctor see *Pros. Ptol.* VI no. 16607, and for a mathematician *PLRE* II 552), where the name is attested epigraphically by an epitaph of the Christian period: G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Cairo 1907) 28.

[32] Very numerous instances appear in the papyri: see Preisigke *Namenbuch* 125 and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum* (Milan 1971) 128–29. Among the examples cited are Ἥρων ὁ καὶ Ἡρᾶς, as well as Ἥρων ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλᾶς and Ἥρων ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης: in some of these instances (as in Greece: *cf. supra* n.19) the name is surely a shortened version of theophoric anthroponyms derived from the divinities Hera or Herakles (*cf.* O. Masson, *RevPhil* III.48 [1974] 89), and not connected directly with the divinity Heron worshipped in Egypt (see *infra*). It is interesting to note in this context that among all the ecclesiastical personnages registered by R. Scheiffer in his index of the *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* IV.3.1 (Berlin 1974), the only man bearing this name is an Egyptian, *Heron episc. Thennesi* (in Augustamnica I). Likewise the only Heron registered by L. Moretti, "Olympionikai," *AttiLincei* 8.2 (1957) 168, is a citizen of Alexandria (victor in A.D. 185). When Lucian sought a suitable name for the steersman of his great freighter from Egypt blown off course to the Piraeus, he called him Heron (*Nav.* 6).

[33] *SEG* XIV 864, 877, XX 531, 565, 606 (epitaphs at Terenuthis). For a Christian attestation in the northern Sinai see *SEG* XXVIII 1459.

[34] Among the weavers of Theadelphia, E. Bernand, *IG Fayoum* II 122 (dated to A.D. 109), and three times at Narmouthis, III 167 (restoration of a building under Domitian by Σαταβοῦς Ἥρωνος), 181, 192 (graffiti in a temple).

[35] He had a temple at Magdola, just to the south of Narmouthis, which has been excavated: see *IG Fayoum* III p.48.

[36] Hellenized form of a native Egyptian divinity (Horus rather than a hypothetical 'Thom') or imported Thracian rider-god named *Heron* in Latin, ordinarily Ἥρως in Greek outside Egypt (*cf. I.Ephesos* VII.1 3132 with references) and Ἥρων in the latter country: see the discussion by M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* II (Paris 1950) 959–74, and the bibliography summarized in *IG Fayoum* II p.19. Although J. R. Rübsam, *Götter und Kulte im Faijum* (Bonn 1974) 190, states that "alle Belege für den thrakischen Reitergott aus der ptolemäischen Zeit stammen," the god is in fact well attested under the Roman Empire, and his worship was surely not an "Orientalischer Kult" as it is classified *passim* by Rübsam, who ranks Heron with the Syrian Atargatis.

[37] P. Perdrizet and G. Lefebvre, *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos* (Nancy 1919) 27; 605; 257, 275; 268, 277, 477, 479 (the last four graffiti, and perhaps also the two preceding, emanate from the same person).

[38] J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes à Thèbes* I (Cairo 1920) 952, 1190, 1615.

[39] Here the name occurs in two proscynemas at Silsile (*CIG* III 4850 and *IGR* I 1278), on another in the temple of Mandoulis at Talmis (*CIG* III 5061) beyond the First Cataract, and even farther south, near the limit of the Dodekaschoinos, on a proscynema in the temple of Thoth at Pselkis (*CIG* III 5084, Ἡρακλῆς ὁ καὶ Ἥρων Ἥρωνος υἱός). To the epigraphical examples of this name from Egypt may be added the

are in striking contrast to the sparse distribution of the name elsewhere.[40] It might therefore have been worthwhile to mention in the text of the *editio princeps* the occurrence of this name on our relief from the Cayster Valley.

In fact the inscription on this relief was transcribed for the first time by R. Meriç, R. Merkelbach, J. Nollé, and S. Şahin, who give the following text (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3222):

(a) oben neben dem Reiter]. η . ρα σανδ. . .
(b) darunter παραφύλαξ Ἥρων

Their commentary reads in full: "zu (a)]χη oder]μη." These editors considered therefore that the first line of the inscription is not complete at left.

Although this transcription does not resolve the difficulty presented by line 1, it has at least the merit of raising the problem, which was passed over in silence by the first editor. The bas-relief is still kept at the Smyrna Museum where it was studied by Robert, and where I made a new photograph (PLATE 1).[41] Inspection of the photograph, and of the monument itself, confirms that the relief was surrounded on all four sides by a raised border, narrower at the top and sides than on the bottom; whereas the second line of the inscription was carved upon this raised border, the first line was cut, owing to lack of space upon the border, in the field upon which are placed the figures in relief. Hence this line began just to the right of the raised border, not on the border itself, and the first letter preserved is also the first letter of the inscription. Once this is recognized, it becomes possible to recover the original text:

Μητρᾶ$^{vac.}$ς Ἀνδρήα

The genitive of the patronym, of which the nominative is Ἀνδρίας (written with *eta* here due to iotacism) or perhaps rather[42] Ἀνδρέας (with *eta* here replacing *epsilon* before a back vowel),[43] a genitive in -α and not in -ου, has a form that is common for names in -ας of whatever origin.[44]

The hypocoristic Μητρᾶς occurs also on another inscription from the Βωνειτῶν κατοικία.[45] Unlike Heron, it is abundantly attested in the western coastal regions of

epitaph at Marseille (precise provenience unknown) of Ἥρωνος θυγάτηρ, πολυπενθὴς Ἀρτεμιδώρα: E. Bernand, *I. métriques de l'Égypte* 58 ("basse époque impériale").

[40] The collection of attestations here, which is by no means intended to be exhaustive, at least makes it evident that the name Ἥρων does not partake of "la fréquence très spéciale des noms en Ἡρ à Mégare et dans les colonies mégariennes" discussed by Robert in N. Fıratlı, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Paris 1964) 164.

[41] It is a pleasure to thank Mr Fikret Tek, Director of the Smyrna Museum, for permission to photograph this document.

[42] It is not at all certain whether the author of this text would himself have distinguished between the two forms of this name.

[43] For this phenomenon see Gignac (*supra* n.5) I (Milan 1976) 245, with numerous examples *e.g.* of the form ἐννήα for ἐννέα. Several epigraphical attestations of *eta* for *epsilon* may be found in G. Laminger-Pascher, "Index grammaticus zu den griechischen Inschriften Kilikiens und Isauriens I," *SitzWien* 284.3 (1973) 15, and see 57 for the genitive Ἀνδρέα, four times more common at Korykos and Tarsos than Ἀνδρέου.

[44] It will suffice here to refer to Gignac (*supra* n.5) II 13–14, with many examples, among which precisely several attestations of the genitive Ἀνδρέα.

[45] E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* I (Mainz 1977) 420 with pl. 69 (*I.Ephesos* VII.1 3241): [Μ]ητρᾶς [Θε]οδώρου.

Asia Minor,[46] for example at Ephesus,[47] Priene,[48] Miletus,[49] the region of Teos (*SEG* XXVII 728), Smyrna,[50] Temnos,[51] Erythrai, Clazomenae, and Leukai,[52] Chios,[53] etc.[54] Outside Asia Minor there is a group of attestations among the ephebes of Athens[55] and another group at Rome,[56] as well as sporadic occurrences elsewhere.[57] On our relief, Metras son of Andreas is doubtless the man standing in front of the horse mounted by the παραφύλαξ Heron.

III. Herakles προκαθηγεμών at Attouda?

A. R. R. Sheppard has recently published an inscription from the archaeological depot at Hisar Köy, site of Attouda, a city located to the west of Laodikeia on the Lykos, just north of the Baba Dağ, in the *conventus* of Kibyra. Sheppard's text reads as follows:[58]

[Καρμίνιος Κλαυδ] ιανὸς ὁ στεφανη [φόρος. . . . .]
[. . . . . στεφανη] φόρος καὶ ἀρχιερε [ὺς τῆς Ἀσίας τοῦ]
[ἐν Ἐφέσω ναοῦ ἰ] [ε]ρεὺς τοῦ Προκα[θ] [ηγεμόνος Ἡρακ]-
[λέους κ(αὶ) τοῦ Καθη] γεμόνος Διονύ[σο] [υ ἀνέστησεν].

[46] In the interior of the peninsula the name becomes rarer. There are attestations *e.g.* at Magnesia Sipylos (*SNG von Aulock*, *Ionien* 3004, under Alexander Severus); Nakrason (*Bull.épigr.* 1970, 512); Thyatira (J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *DenkschrWien* 54 [1911] no. 67); southern Mysia Abbaitis (where the name is frequent); etc. For the feminine Μήτρα, attested on a text found between Vetissos and Lake Tatta, see L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964) 304.

[47] *I.Ephesos* V 1450 (an Ἀρτέμων Μητρᾶδος in the Hellenistic period), 1452, 1640 and 1641 (two epitaphs, one with the genitive Μητρᾶ); *IG* II² 2332.45 (Μητρᾶς Ἐφέσιος in the second century B.C.); etc. Also on coins of the city: the example chosen by Bechtel (*supra* n.18) 317.

[48] The name occurs seven times among the graffiti in the gymnasium (*I.Priene* 313 texts 179 and 514–19), again on a column fragment from the 'Isisterrasse' (324), and in a list of names (144.15, "schwerlich vor dem I. Jahrh. v. Chr.").

[49] *IG* II² 9772, epitaph ('aetat. Rom.') of Μητρᾶς Μητροδώρου Μειλήσιος.

[50] *CIG* III 3142.16; *I.Smyrna* I 304 ("smyrnäische Herkunft unsicher").

[51] Keil and von Premerstein, *DenkschrWien* 53.2 (1908) no. 202.

[52] R. Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen* 217; *I.Erythrai* I 22.112, II 201.29.

[53] Pape-Benseler *Wörterbuch s.n.* (from Athenaeus).

[54] For the Doric form Ματρᾶς see Robert (*supra* n.40) 172.

[55] *IG* II² 1998.17 ("fin. s. I p."), 2020.98 and 2180.4 (second century A.D.), 2245.194 (third century).

[56] *CIL* VI 18833, *C. Fyrmius Metras* (father and son); 26770, *T. Statilius Metra*; 28498, *Cn. Venuleiu( ) Metra*; 28875, *M. Aurelius Aug. lib. Metras.*

[57] For instance at Demetrias (*IG* IX.2 1117), Thebes (*IG* VII 2443), Gerasa (statue dedicated by Μητρᾶς Μητρᾶ in the second century A.D., C. B. Welles in *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis* [New Haven 1938] 419 no. 122), etc. This name is as rare in Egypt as Heron is frequent.

[58] *AnatStud* 31 (1981) 25–26 no. 6. On the first inscription published in this article, a dedication by Εὔφραστος Καίσαρος δοῦλος from Sebaste, see Drew-Bear and Naour, "Divinités de Phrygie" (to appear in *ANRW* II 18.1), commentary on text no. 15. On the last inscription in this article, M. Αὐρ. Ἀττικὸς Ἀλέξανδρος νεικήσας Ὀλύμπια ἄνδρων πανκράτιον, Sheppard comments that the obscurity of the honorand "perhaps makes it more likely that he won his victory in one of the local Olympics of Asia, rather than at Olympia itself. Hierapolis, Ephesus, and Smyrna all held Olympic Games during the imperial age." But an inscription of Attouda itself, found at Hisar Köy and republished in *MAMA* VI 81, reads Ὀ[λύμ]πια Ἡράκλεια Ἀδράστηα, surely referring to the same Olympia.

He explains that "the name restored in line 1 is the obvious choice among the known citizens of Attuda, given the offices mentioned. This restoration then suggested that the original form of the text was a row of three adjoining blocks of the same size."

But precisely the offices mentioned (in Sheppard's restoration) cause problems. In lines 1/2 he suggests, to fill the lacuna, "fortasse δὶς καὶ δι']/[αἰῶνος]," but the formula thus obtained is peculiar if only because of the otiose repetition of the title, not to mention other reasons. The editor asserts that this Carminius Claudianus was Chief Priest of the Province of Asia, and claims that "this text is the first clear epigraphic evidence for his holding provincial office"; however it must be pointed out that this 'evidence' is entirely restored by the editor himself (at 2/3). It will not be necessary to examine here the prosopographical discussion based on this foundation, although it should be mentioned that in an article unknown to Sheppard, A. D. Macro has sought to demonstrate, by means of a correction to an inscription of Aphrodisias, that M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus, to whom Sheppard attributes the present text, was in fact Chief Priest of Asia.[59]

The same person, according to the restoration adopted by Sheppard, was also priest of Herakles Prokathegemon. This mention of Herakles, however, has again been completely restored by the modern editor, for not a single letter of his name exists on the stone. In defence of this restoration the editor comments that "this cult is known from the city of Heraclea-on-Salbace, *MAMA* VI.105.3–4." The inscription in question[60] is the epitaph of a ἱερέως [δ]ιὰ βίου τοῦ προκα[θ]ηγεμόνος Ἡρακλέ[ο]υς—a natural epithet for Herakles at Herakleia, since he was the eponymous god of that city, but for this very reason a surprising epithet for Herakles at Attouda, where the chief divinity was apparently the Mother Adrastos.[61] Moreover, the coexistence in a single city of two divinities, one Προκαθηγεμών and the other simply Καθηγεμών, seems to constitute an improbable hypothesis.

Are all these restorations necessary? As we have seen, each of them creates its own problem. These superfluous complications can be avoided if we refuse to follow Sheppard in postulating the existence of an adjoining block of the same size at each side of the present text. It is more economical to consider that our inscription was simply carved on a single block, and to write:

ιανὸς ὁ στεφανη-
φόρος καὶ ἀρχιε-
ρεὺς τοῦ Προκαθ[η]-
γεμόνος Διονύσ[ου].

The murky photograph published by the editor on his pl. III does not confirm the existence on the stone of the two letters printed in his edition at the end of line 2, nor is it

[59] "A Confirmed Asiarch," *AJP* 100 (1979) 94–98 (registered by the *Bull.épigr.* 1980, 472).

[60] Better cited as L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* II 94. Sheppard does refer to this edition elsewhere in his commentary, but for the god Dionysos Kathegemon, who is nowhere mentioned by the inscription at Herakleia.

[61] See *MAMA* VI p.29 and *La Carie* II p.166.

necessary to restore *epsilon* at the beginning of line 3, whereas *theta* seems visible at the end of the same line. The text adopted here preserves syllabic word-division. Since Sheppard himself states that this inscription is carved on a "small fragment of white marble ... above the text is a larger rough area," we may conclude that the beginning of the text was originally cut on the same block above the first preserved line, perhaps on a projecting moulding that was subsequently hammered down. The real interest of this document is the information it provides that Dionysos was the divinity προκαθηγεμών of Attouda.[62]

C.N.R.S., INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE
LYON

[62] At Akmonia in central Phrygia was found a votive inscription for Διονύσῳ Καθηγεμόνι erected by οἱ μύσται τοῦ ἱεροῦ α' θι[άσ]ου: W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* I.2 (Oxford 1897) 644 no. 546; *MAMA* VI 239. A dedication by οἱ μύσται to Διονύσῳ Καθηγεμόνι, found within the territory of Sebaste, is published elsewhere, with commentary on the epithet, by Drew-Bear and Naour (*supra* n.58) no.12.

BAS-RELIEF FROM THE CAYSTER VALLEY

Thucydides on Monosandalism (3.22.2)

Lowell Edmunds

IN 428/7 B.C., two hundred and twelve members of the garrison in Plataea, including most of the Athenians, made a daring escape across the Spartan blockading wall to freedom. Thucydides' description, amongst many other concrete details, includes the statement that the escape party were light-armed and had only their left foot shod, "in order not to slip in the mud" (3.22.2). Commentators on Thucydides have never found fault with his explanation of this peculiar fashion, but those who have studied monosandalism in the history of ancient art and religion have never believed him.[1]

Thucydides' explanation meets immediately with a common-sense objection. If one unshod foot gave better traction in mud, why did they not bare both feet (*cf.* Xen. *Lac.* 2.3)? A survey of the other cases of ancient monosandalism suggests another sort of explanation, one that Thucydides must have known and preferred to ignore. I shall list the other cases here (L = left foot unshod, R = right foot unshod, U = foot unspecified).

a. Dionysus (fresco in Villa of Mysteries, Pompeii):[2] R
b. Hermes (Artem. 4.63 = Suda *s.v.* μονοκρήπιδι; statue):[3] U (Artem.), R (statue)
c. Jason (principally Pind. *Pyth.* 4.73–96, Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3F105, Ap. Rhod. 1.5–11, Lycoph. *Alex.* 1310, Apollod. 1.9.16, coins of Larissa):[4] L
d. Perseus (inference from Artem. 4.63, *cf.* Hdt. 2.91.3): U
e. the Thracian Lycurgus, king of the Edoni (*Anth.Plan.* 4.127 = *Anth.Pal.* 16.127; Ovid *Ib.* 345–46): U

[1] Walther Amelung, "Di alcune sculture antiche e di un rito del culto delle divinità sotteranee," *Diss PontAcc* II.9 (1907) 115–35 (hereafter 'Amelung') at 124: "una ragione che non si capisce per dir il vero." J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[3] II *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (New York 1935) 311. Angelo Brelich, "Les Monosandales," *NClio* 7–9 (1955–57) 469–84 at 473. (V. K. Lambrinoudakes, Μητροτραφής [Athens 1971] 23–27, discusses Brelich's article.) P. Lévêque and P. Vidal-Naquet, "Epaminondas pythagorien ou le problème tactique de la droite et la gauche," *Historia* 9 (1960) 294–308 at 297–99. (See the more recent form of this article in P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir: Formes de pensée et formes de société* [Paris 1981].) Also Deonna (*infra* n.16). W. Kroll, "Unum exuta pedem—ein volkskundlicher Seitensprung," *Glotta* 25 (1936) 155, vacillates between earlier agreement with Amelung and present doubt about the religious significance of monosandalism.

[2] It might be argued that the artist intended to represent Dionysus not as a monosandalos but rather in a state of erotic abandon. I find it impossible, however, to believe that the monosandalism of Dionysus in the fresco and that of the unidentified figure on the Dionysiac Derveni krater (f) are unrelated.

[3] S. Reinach, *Antiquités nationales: description raisonée du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye* II (Paris 1894) 64 and fig. 48.

[4] C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*[2] (London 1955) 89 and pl. XII.10–11; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*[2] (Oxford 1911) 197–98.

f. unidentified figure on Derveni krater:[5] R
g. (?) unnamed Athenian hero (Poll. 7.87): U
h. youth undergoing purification (hydria: Warsaw 142290 [ex Czartoryski 55]):[6] R
i. Dido (Verg. *Aen.* 4.517–20):[7] U
j. the Aetolians (Eur. *Meleager* fr.530 N², schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.133c, Arist. *ap.* Macrob. 5.18 = fr.74 Rose): L (Eur.), R (Arist.).
k. the Hernici (Verg. *Aen.* 7.689–90, Macrob. 5.18): L
l. various statues:
   1. initiate from the altar:[8] R
   2. initiate from the altar:[9] L
   3. Barberini suppliant:[10] L
   4. two reliefs from funerary stelae:[11] L
   5. youth at Dumbarton Oaks:[12] R
m. three burials in the ancient cemetery at Vitsa in Epirus: L (2), R (1)[13]

Monosandalism, which is attributed to gods (a–b), heroes (c–d), a legendary king (e), peoples (j–k), and persons engaged in rituals (h–i, l.1–2), belongs to the realm of religion or magic.[14]

[5] Definitive monograph: Eugenia Youris, *The Derveni Krater* (Athens 1978). For interpretation of the monosandalic figure, see Beryl Barr-Sharrar, "Towards an Interpretation of the Dionysiac Frieze on the Derveni Krater," *Cahiers d'archéologie romande* 17 (1979) 57.

[6] *CVA* Poland I (Gołuchów: Czartoryski Museum); Beazley, *ARV*² 571. J. de Witte, following Lenormant, identifies the youth as Theseus: "L'expiation ou la purification de Thésée," *GazArch* 9 (1884) 352–53 and pls. 44–46; A. Rumpf, *Die Religion der Griechen* (Leipzig 1928) no. 173, as a bridegroom. The vase is discussed apropos of the Διὸς κώδιον by A. B. Cook, *Zeus* I (Cambridge 1914) 423–24 and fig. 305, and in Dar.-Sag 2.265 and fig. 2450; apropos of purification in Dar.-Sag. 3.1410 and fig. 4686. *Cf.* Kroll (*supra* n.1) 154, who, apparently on the basis of correspondence with Beazley, doubts that it is the Διὸς κώδιον. *Cf.* also the discussion in *CVA*.

[7] *Cf.* Medea in Ovid *Met.* 7.183. On the interpretation see Kroll (*supra* n.1) 156 and Brelich (*supra* n.1) 476–77. Does *pedem* mean literally one foot, or did Dido have both feet bare? The places cited by F. Bömer on Ovid *Fast.* 3.257 and 5.432 suggest both feet bare, as Kroll thought.

[8] In translating μυηθεὶς ἀφ' ἑστίας roughly as "initiate from the altar," I am following the interpretation of L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* III (Oxford 1907) 164. For the statue see Amelung, and K. Esdaile, "ὁ ἀφ' ἑστίας," *JHS* (1909) 1–5 and pl. 1. *Cf.* the statue of such a boy, of which the feet are unfortunately missing, in the Museum of Eleusis: G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 202–03 and fig. 80. E. B. Harrison, "New Sculpture from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 388, refers to two fragments belonging to the monosandalos type.

[9] In Amelung, and Esdaile (*supra* n.8).

[10] In Amelung. J. Dörig, "Kalamis-Studien," *JdI* 80 (1965) 143–66, identifies the suppliant as Alcmene.

[11] In Amelung.

[12] G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1956) 32ff no. 17 and pl. 14.

[13] These burials will be published by Mrs Julia Vokotopoulou. She writes me (Sept. 15, 1982) that two are certainly male; that she found one bronze button on the lower part of the tibia; that it was the left in two cases; that the graves date from the fifth century B.C.

[14] For Frazer (*supra* n.1) monosandalism comes under the heading of the magical virtue of binding or unbinding. For a modern analogue to the monosandalism of the initiate, see the passage in Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (II.2.3) on Pierre's initiation into the Brotherhood of Freemasons: "Pierre took off his coat, waistcoat, and left boot, according to the Rhetor's instructions. The Mason opened his shirt over the left side of his chest, and stooping down, pulled up the left leg of his trousers to above the knee. Pierre hastily began taking off his right boot also and was about to tuck up the other trouser leg to save this stranger the trouble, but the Mason told him this was not necessary and gave him a slipper for his left foot" (tr. R. Edmonds). I append a suggestive Arabic example of monosandalism sent me by Richard Ingber. "The poet's chief function was to compose satire (*hijá*) against the tribal enemy ... Arab tribesmen thought of the *hijá* concretely, as a weapon which rival poets hurled at each other as they would hurl spears; and indeed a man at whom the *hijá* was directed might dodge, just as he would try to dodge a spear, by ducking and twisting and dancing aside. The poet-satirist led his warriors into battle, uttering his wild imprecations, *shod with only one sandal*, his hair anointed on one side only, his mantle hanging loose" (my emphasis): Robert C. Elliott, *The Power of Satire* (Princeton 1960) 15.

The monosandalism of the Aetolians and of the Hernici (j–k) might seem to be of a different sort, and in fact Euripides explains that the Aetolians fight with the left foot unshod "in order to have their knee nimble" (j).[15] Is Euripides' military explanation right? Aristotle's correction, which appeared, Macrobius tells us, in "the second book on poets," is instructive. Aristotle, like Euripides, assumed a practical, military purpose, and, on this assumption, was able to correct Euripides: not the left foot unshod, but the right foot, because the right foot leads in combat and the left is more stationary. In other words, consistency with the assumption of a practical purpose required that the right foot be the one that was unshod. Aristotle's correction of Euripides is surely logical, but logic is its only merit.[16] In the "second book on poets," Aristotle did not introduce any new evidence concerning the Aetolians but only showed that there was inconsistency in Euripides between the explanation ("in order to have their knee nimble") and the fact (the left foot unshod). Aristotle happened to accept the explanation but not the fact. Nothing, however, prevents one from assuming that Euripides was accurate in the fact but wrong in the explanation. One could even go so far as to suggest that, if Aristotle's criticism of Euripides is valid—if, that is, Euripides has misunderstood the military significance of the difference between left and right—then Euripides' explanation is indeed wrong, and he is merely rationalizing the Aetolian custom for reasons of his own.[17]

With Aristotle's comment on Euripides, all the supposed ancient evidence for a practical, military application of monosandalism disappears.[18] The impression conveyed by the citations in footnotes on Thucydides 3.22.2, which suggest 'plenty of evidence', is misleading. We are left with nothing but faith in Thucydides. He must have known the reason for the monosandalism of the escape party. Indeed, how could he not have known? Or, to put the question in another way, is there any reason to believe that he

[15] So A. W. Gomme, following Arnold, understands Thuc. 3.22.2 (*Historical Commentary on Thucydides, ad loc.*).

[16] W. Deonna, "Μονοκρήπιδες," *RHR* 12 (1935) 55: "c'est une erreur, que lui suggère son trop grand désir de logique." I have referred to an assumption on Aristotle's part. I should like to stress that I refer to the portion of his statement in which he explains the custom. The first part of his statement, in which he simply describes the custom, may of course be based on independent knowledge of the custom. But nothing suggests that his explanation is based on anything but logic, and it is likely to be incorrect. Prof. Leslie Threatte has relayed to me the observation of Dr John Camp that in scenes of combat on Greek vases, usually the left foot leads. (Compare the statue of Zeus or Poseidon from Artemisium.) Euripides, then, would be correct with respect to the fact, as suggested here.

[17] So Lambrinoudakes (*supra* n.1) 263.

[18] Compare the monosandalism of Christian military saints as represented in art, where it is apparently used simply as an emblem, "an attribute of the hero who is engaged in a perilous undertaking": P. A. Underwood, "The Frescoes in the Kariye Camii," *DOP* 13 (1959) 196.

would substitute a practical for a religious or superstitious explanation? The answer to this form of the question is yes. At 5.70 Thucydides says that at the battle of Mantinea there were many flute-players in the Spartan ranks, "not for any religious reason, but in order that they might attack in an even line in step with the rhythm and that their formation might not be broken." Since Thucydides had Spartan informants (5.26.5), this passage might seem to be one of several in which he comments on Spartan matters for non-Spartans[19]—it might seem to be the inside story. But the only other fifth-century evidence for the Spartan military flute suggests, as one might have expected, that for the Spartans the custom was in the nature of a pious observance. Epicharmus said that Athena played on the flute the 'martial strain' for the Dioscuri and, as a result, the Spartans advance against their enemies to the sound of the flute (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.127 = *CGF* fr.75). Certainly to non-Spartans the custom was known as a religious one. The Spartans were the most pious of men (Hdt. 5.63.2), and it was known, for example, that the Spartan king sacrificed to the Muses before battle (Plut. *Lyc.* 21.3–4, Paus. 3.17.5). In fact, Thucydides' "not for any religious reason" shows what the usual understanding of the custom was. Thucydides has thus, in a context that shows a generally rationalizing explanation of hoplite warfare,[20] rationalized the Spartan military flute, and in such a way that its religious character is completely denied. It seems, to judge by this example, that if Thucydides could find a rationalizing explanation, any other sort of explanation was excluded.[21] This is the sort of logic that has been applied to the monosandalism of the escape party.

It was open to Thucydides to deal with monosandalism in this way, because the practice would have had no single fixed religious significance in Athens. The 'initiate from the altar' went to the Mysteries wearing one sandal, but other, mythical cases of monosandalism were known to the Athenians, and it may be that they had never heard of its use in a military context except by foreigners living on the fringes of the civilized world. Presumably there were many who had never reflected on the significance of monosandalism at all, just as there were (*e.g.* Hes. *Op.* 780–81) and still are[22] those who plant crops in accordance with the phases of the moon without caring whether it is rational—because, perhaps, of weather patterns—or merely superstitious to do so. With respect to this distinction between the rational and the superstitious (or religious), there

[19] For a list of these places see R. T. Ridley, "Exegesis and Audience in Thucydides," *Hermes* 109 (1981) 31–34.

[20] See Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet (*supra* n.1).

[21] Certainly Thucydides' tendency is to prefer the rationalistic interpretation of natural phenomena. Consider, for example, his understanding of eclipses at 4.52.1 and 7.50.4, which show us how to read 1.23.3, where Thucydides has been thought to be making some connection between natural disasters and war. At 4.52.1 he also mentions an earthquake. Since the eclipse is there explained naturalistically, it is hard to believe, *pace* Gomme, that Thucydides had any other sort of explanation for the earthquake. Again, this suggests an implication for 1.23.3, a passage which may even be polemical against Herodotus 6.98.2. Thucydides' understanding of earthquakes should be contrasted with, for example, the Spartans' at 6.95.1. *Cf.* Gomme on Thucydides' passing mention of earthquakes at 3.87.4: "the brevity with which they are referred to suggests that he is dismissing a popular view."

[22] See "Planting by the Moon," *The Old Farmer's Almanac Gardener's Companion* 1 (1979) 72–73.

are many customs that are indeterminate, and one can imagine that, for many people, monosandalism was of this sort.

The Athenians who escaped from Plataea received the order to remove the right sandal but did not, one assumes, receive an explanation of the order. The fact that the seer Theainetos, apparently another Amphiaraus in his combination of skills (*cf.* Pind. *Ol.* 6.17), was one of the two leaders of the escape party suggests that the order had some superstitious purpose, but it would have meant different things to different men. Therefore, when they reached Athens, Thucydides would have received different accounts of this detail of the escape. In suppressing the superstitious or religious explanation, he is not, then, flying in the face of everyone's belief concerning monosandalism. There was no single established belief. Furthermore, since conflicting reports were usual (1.22.3), Thucydides would always have to suppress what some informants believed to be the truth. In 3.22.2 he is following the rationalistic bent detectable elsewhere in the Plataea episode. For example, in the narrative of the Theban occupation of Plataea, he does not mention that it took place in the *hieromenia*. This detail emerges only in the speeches of the Plataeans and Thebans (3.56.2, 65.1).[23] Elsewhere, of course, Thucydides takes account of the rôle of religious belief in the Peloponnesian War,[24] and it may be that the Plataea episode, which was later tailored to fit a certain conception of the war as a whole,[25] represents a stage of writing in which Thucydides still thought that religion was one of the things that could be taken for granted or corrected where necessary.

This is not the time for another discussion of the old problem of Thucydides' religious belief or non-belief.[26] I have only wanted to set this observation on 3.22.2 against the background of a rationalism that was never weak and was especially strong in the Plataea episode.[27]

BOSTON COLLEGE

[23] As was pointed out by Prof. Ernst Badian in a lecture "The Plataea Incident (Historical Introduction)," at a seminar on this incident held at the meeting of the American Philological Association in December 1977.

[24] See the survey by Leo Strauss, "Preliminary Observations on the Gods in Thucydides' Work," *Interpretation* 4 (1974) 1–16.

[25] Gomme *ad* 2.19.1; O. Lendle, "Die Auseinandersetzung des Thukydides mit Hellanikos," *Hermes* 92 (1964) 129–43. But see now H. R. Rawlings III, *The Structure of Thucydides' History* (Princeton 1981) 3–57.

[26] Taken up again by S. I. Oost, "Thucydides and the Irrational: Sundry Passages," *CP* 70 (1975) 186–96.

[27] See also 2.77.6 and Gomme *ad loc.*

Anomalous Imperial Inscriptions of the Walls of Constantinople

Clive Foss

TO HONOR STERLING DOW, my teacher, mentor, and friend for more than two decades, is a privilege. To thank him for his unfailing encouragement, guidance, and good advice (even if it was not always followed) is a pleasure. But to produce something worthy of the standards which he has set seems almost an impossibility. I have chosen as a subject one which might appear at first far removed in space and time from the work of Professor Dow, but which is in many ways appropriate. This study treats the inscriptions of a capital, not at all like Athens, but one whose inhabitants might have considered themselves spiritual, if not physical, descendants of the Athenians. Following the precepts of Professor Dow not to take even the most obvious-seeming facts for granted, it examines some very well-known inscriptions. And, finally, the topic owes much to his inspiration. My first contact with the ancient and Byzantine world came as a result of a Norton Fellowship at the American School in Athens, for which Professor Dow kindly sponsored me, and my first work in epigraphy consisted in studying and photographing an inscription on the Golden Gate of Constantinople, whose bronze letters had disappeared to leave only the holes for their attachments behind. It may well seem, in the language of these late inscriptions, that Professor Dow *βραχεῖαν ἀμοιβὴν τῶν πόνων ἐδέξατο*, but let the pages which follow be accepted as a sincere tribute to a great and inspiring teacher.

Among the Greek inscriptions of the late antique and Byzantine periods—ages which stretch over a millennium from the end of the third to the middle of the fifteenth century—there are not any better known or, it would seem, more securely dated than those that adorn the walls of Constantinople. In particular, those that bear the name of a reigning emperor seem by their very nature to offer no problems of attribution or chronology. Yet they form the subject of the present study, for many of them in fact do present ambiguities, some quite unexpected. I propose here to consider these anomalous inscriptions in the hope of suggesting some resolutions or, equally often, to point out the difficulties or to note some significance which has been overlooked.

This study forms a prelude to a more detailed consideration of the land walls of Constantinople, in which chronological questions will be central and an effort will be made to identify and date the various styles of masonry used in the work.[1] Since the inscriptions are the prime evidence for dating the walls, their own dates need to be

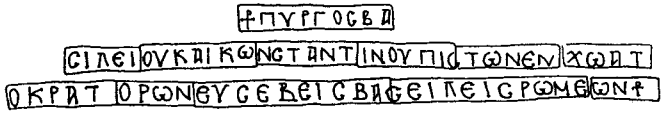
[1] In C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Studies in Byzantine Fortifications* (Pretoria, forthcoming). For much helpful advice on what follows, I am indebted to Professors Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko.

established. In most of the cases discussed here, the differing styles of masonry are of no help in determining a chronology independent of the inscriptions, or even in suggesting an approximate date for the towers that bear inscriptions. This results from the conservative attitude of the builders, who for more than six centuries and over most of the four-mile circuit followed the style of the original walls of Theodosius II. Although this original work can be distinguished without much difficulty from the various stages of reconstruction, the latter are strikingly similar among themselves.[2] The walls, then, cannot date the inscriptions, but depend on them for their own chronology. There are two exceptions to this. In later periods, beginning in the eleventh century, distinctive styles emerge which themselves provide evidence for dating. Similarly, the northernmost part of the circuit, built in the ninth century, is constructed in a notably different masonry. Of the inscriptions to be considered, however, only one is in such a distinctive section of wall. The inscriptions in question will be discussed according to the names of the emperors, in the order in which they appear on the walls, beginning at the southern point.

I. Basil and Constantine

Two inscriptions name this pair of emperors. They have generally been identified as the famous Basil II, the Slayer of the Bulgars, who reigned with his obscure brother Constantine VIII from 976 to 1025, and the work which the inscriptions indicate has naturally been associated with the earthquakes of 986 and 987, known to have destroyed several towers of the walls (*Landmauer* 5). Another possibility also exists. Basil I shared the throne with his eldest son Constantine, who predeceased him and thus never ruled in his own name, from 868 to 877; as co-rulers they struck an abundant series of coins.[3] No texts of their reign mention damage to the walls, but Basil I was a great builder, especially in the capital, and extensive work on the walls, notably those along the sea and the Golden Horn, was carried out by his immediate predecessors. There is no *a priori* reason to assign an inscription which mentions this pair of emperors to either the first or the second of the names. Closer inspection, however, suggests that grounds may exist for a more definite attribution.

1. Inscription no. 1 on tower 1, at the junction of the land and sea walls:[4]



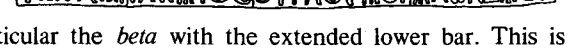
[2] B. Meyer-Plath and A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel* (Berlin 1943: hereafter *Landmauer*) 22–26.

[3] Strictly speaking, Basil's younger son Leo, who later became the emperor Leo VI, was associated with his father and brother as co-emperor from 870, but the abundance of coinage of Basil and Constantine alone indicates that official recognition of Leo may have been somehow limited during his brother's lifetime: see P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* III (Washington 1973) 481.

[4] Towers and inscriptions are numbered according to *Landmauer*, from which the drawings here reproduced, unless otherwise noted, are taken.

†Πύργος Βα-
σιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου πιστῶν ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ α(ὐ)τ-
οκρατόρων· εὐσεβεῖς βασιλεῖς Ῥωμέων †

The lettering of this inscription is clear, with neat oval letters among which *beta*, *epsilon*, *kappa*, *upsilon*, *chi*, and *omega* have distinctive shapes. The general appearance and collocation of the letters, and in particular the distinctive shapes noted, are strongly reminiscent of the numerous inscriptions of Theophilus (829–842), some of which name his father Michael II, and some his son Michael III, the colleague and predecessor of Basil I. The inscriptions of Theophilus are in a consistent style, of which no. 64 from the northern end of the land walls may serve as an example:[5]



Note in particular the *beta* with the extended lower bar. This is characteristic of the Dark Ages, and appears regularly in seals and inscriptions of the seventh through the ninth centuries, but is not found later.[6] Such evidence would thus associate inscription **1**, and therefore the repair to the tower, with Basil I, and enable the work to be seen as the continuation of the extensive rebuilding of the sea walls by Theophilus and Michael III.

2. Inscription no. 23 on tower 36:

† Πύργος Βασηλείου κ(αὶ) Κωνσταντίνου ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ αὐτοκρατώρον

The letters of this inscription are less rounded and more crowded together than those of **1** and the general impression is quite distinct, but the shape of individual letters is in most cases similar: note particularly *beta*, *epsilon*, and *omega*, as well as *kappa* and *chi*, which have distinctive serifs on the top. Here, however, the lower bar of *beta* is barely extended and *omega*, although it features the same crossbar as in the previous inscription, is really made in two parts. Such variations might raise some doubt about the relative dates of the inscriptions, and make it difficult to demonstrate that they are contemporary. When, however, the present inscription is compared with the long verse inscription of Michael III and his uncle Bardas on the sea walls, datable to 856–865, a striking resemblance may be seen:[7]

[5] The different styles of drawings in *Landmauer* tend to exaggerate the divergences between these two inscriptions. A future volume by C. Mango and I. Ševčenko on dated Byzantine inscriptions will provide excellent photographs of these texts and many others.

[6] On this peculiar form of *beta* see C. Foss, "Historical Note on the Church at Sige," in H. Buchwald, *The Church of the Archangels in Sige Near Mudanya* (Vienna 1969) 67, and the vast number of examples in the volumes of G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Basel 1972), which show its frequency in this period. It seems first to appear in the late sixth century: see I. Ševčenko, "The Inscription of Justin II's Time on the Mevlevihane (Rhegion) Gate at Istanbul," *ZRVI* 12 (1970) 3; and "Inscription Commemorating Sissinios, 'Curator' of Tzurulon (A.D. 813)," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 567 n.1, for further examples.

[7] Reproduced here from A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: the Walls of a City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London 1899), plate facing p.184.

The distinctive letters of the two inscriptions are virtually identical, and moreover the same rather elaborate *alpha* appears in both. There seems no reason not to associate these two in chronology, and to consider **2** as another document of Basil I, the immediate successor of Michael III. The differences between it and **1** may thus be taken as variations due probably to different hands of a period when close consistency was rarely attained.

3. Inscription no. 6 on tower 5:

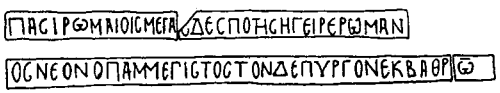
καὶ Κωνσ[ταντίνος ---]

This inscription has been restored to add the name of Leo and thus to associate it with the large group to be considered below (section III). Its clear oval lettering, however, is far closer to that of Theophilus, and suggests rather that the name of Basil should be restored. It may therefore, by analogy with inscription **1**, be assigned to Basil I.

II. Romanus

Four emperors of this name reigned in Constantinople, all within a century and a half: Romanus I Lecapenus (920–944), Romanus II (959–963), Romanus III Argyrus (1028–1034), and Romanus IV Diogenes (1068–1071). Of these, only the last may be excluded from the present discussion, as inscriptions of his reign are usually in the more cursive script which was then coming into vogue (*e.g. MAMA* IV 149). There is no general ground for distinguishing inscriptions of the others.

1. Inscription no. 4 on tower 4:

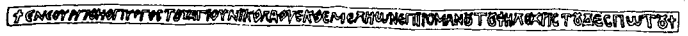


Πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις μέγας δεσπότης ἤγειρε Ῥωμανὸς νέον ὁ παμμέγιστος τόνδε πύργον ἐκ βάθρω(ν).

Here the lettering is less oval but still rounded, and some distinctive forms, for example *omega*, resemble those already considered. In other cases, however, extra serifs have been added, notably to *kappa* and *rho*. Such characteristics, although they might argue for a date in the tenth rather than the eleventh century, can hardly suffice to distinguish the work of the first two Romani, who were virtual contemporaries. In this case, most unusually, a piece of literary evidence suggests a date. The present inscription seems to be in some kind of verse, perhaps, as the editor A. M. Schneider remarks, the remains of iambic trimeters. The emperor is qualified as παμμέγιστος, an

epithet which in the bombast of the time might appear a mere banality. It is in fact quite unusual and seems only once to have been applied to an emperor. Theodosius the Deacon, a writer of the mid-tenth century whose mediocrity has earned him obscurity, composed a long poem in 1039 iambic trimeters to celebrate the reconquest of Crete from the Arabs in 961. He refers to the reigning emperor as παμμέγιστε Ῥωμανέ, using what may have been an honorific given on the occasion of the victory.[8] Since the title is rare and here refers to an emperor named Romanus, and since the inscription seems to have been based on verses, it is reasonable to attribute the inscription and tower to Romanus II.

2. Inscription no. 65 on the bastion of Leo V at the northern end of the land walls:



† Ἐνεουργίθη ὁ πύργος τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου ἐκ θεμελήων ἐπὶ Ῥομανοῦ τοῦ φηλοχρίστου δεσπώτου †

In this, the letters are narrower and more crowded, their shapes somewhat simpler and more angular. The most distinctive are the virtually diamond-shaped *omega* and *theta*, and *iota* with diaeresis. These provide no date in themselves but suggest that this inscription is not contemporary with the preceding. Here, a masonry technique may be of relevance for dating. The tower that bears this inscription is constructed of small limestone blocks, mostly spoils, with bands of brick and occasional extra courses of brick among the stones. Such extra brick courses become a regular feature of masonry in the Comnene period (1081–1185). They therefore suggest a late date, so that this inscription may be assigned to Romanus III, who reigned in the eleventh century.

III. Leo and Constantine

By far the greatest number of anomalous inscriptions bear the names of either Leo III and Constantine V (720–741), Leo IV and Constantine VI (776–780), or Leo V and his son Constantine (813–820). Since Leo III is known to have made extensive repairs to the walls after the devastating earthquake of October 740, the following inscriptions have all been attributed to him.[9] Leo, however, died in the following June, and thus may not have been able to complete the repairs which could have been continued by his son Constantine V. No texts, on the other hand, mention any repairs to the Theodosian walls by Leo IV or Leo V. The inscriptions fall into two groups, those in marble and those with letters of brick; the former may be considered first.

1–3. Inscriptions no. 7 on tower 7, no. 18 on tower 34, and no. 24 on tower 37. All bore the same text, but only that of no. 24 has survived, the rest being known from early copies:

[8] Theodosius *De expugnatione Cretae* 3.186, 4.137: Bonn corpus (1828) and, with introduction and commentary, N. M. Panagiotakis, Θεοδόσιος ὁ Διάκονος καὶ τὸ ποίημα αὐτοῦ "Ἅλωσις τῆς Κρήτης" (Heraklion 1960).

[9] *Landmauer* 5; van Millingen (*supra* n.7) 96–100.

† Λέων σὺν Κωνσταντίνῳ σκηπτοῦχοι τόνδε ἤγειραν πύργον τῶν βάθρων συμπτωθέντα †

The surviving example is inscribed on a marble band with raised letters. The letters themselves are distinctive and include, among many notable features, the *beta* with long lower bar discussed *supra*; but they could not be expected to differ substantially from those of a generation later.[10] Since the later inscriptions are written in a different material, using pieces of brick, which naturally affects the forms of the letters, detailed analysis and comparison would be of little value. An inscription from another set of walls, however, provides a relevant parallel. The fortifications of Nicaea were severely damaged by an Arab attack in 727 and rebuilt by Leo III. The inscription commemorating the work names Leo together with his son Constantine and removes any ambiguity by associating with them the name of the *curopalates* Artavasdus, a major figure of the time who briefly assumed supreme power in 742/3.[11] The inscription of Nicaea is written on a marble block with raised letters and contains phrases that are clearly derived from a poem, including traces of iambic trimeters. The lettering is quite similar, though not identical, to that of the inscription of Constantinople. These resemblances leave little doubt that the present inscription is the work of Leo III and Constantine V. The language of the inscription confirms the attribution by speaking of towers which had collapsed, presumably in the earthquake of 740. Since the three inscriptions are widely separated along the southern part of the wall, they may also give an indication of the extent of damage at the time.

4. Inscription no. 29b on tower 45:

† Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη Λέοντος καὶ Κωνσταντίνου
τῶν θεοφυλάκτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν
καὶ Ἰρίνης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης ἡμῶν αὐγούστης.

This seems to offer two possibilities: Constantine V married an empress Irene in 732; their son Leo IV married the more famous Irene, who became the mother of Constantine VI. In the first case, as has already been pointed out by Meyer-Plath and Schneider, the name of Maria, the wife of Leo III and therefore senior empress, would be expected in an inscription naming her daughter-in-law along with the emperors.[12] Its absence shows that the rulers named are Leo IV, Constantine VI, and Irene, whose title Augusta appears on the coins which she struck jointly with her son.[13]

The second, larger group of inscriptions has letters of brick:

[10] Inscription no. 24 has the added and entirely unexpected peculiarity of being written with accents: see the illustration in *Landmauer*. Although this would seem highly inappropriate to a document of the eighth century, no combination of Leos and Constantines can bring the inscription down to a period when accents were in common use.

[11] A. M. Schneider and W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea)* (Berlin 1938) 49 no. 29.

[12] P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI* (Munich 1978) 91 n.336 (= II 477).

[13] Grierson (*supra* n.3) 337–39.

5, 6. Inscriptions no. 12 on tower 18 and no. 16 on tower 25:

Λέοντος καὶ Κωνσταντίνου μεγάλων βασιλέων καὶ αὐτοκρατόρων πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη.[14]

7, 8. Inscriptions no. 29 on tower 45 and no. 32 on tower 48:

Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη Λέοντος καὶ Κωνσταντίνου μεγάλων βασιλέων.

9. Inscription no. 39 on tower 56:

Λέων καὶ Κ[ωνσταντῖνος . . . ἐ]ν θεῷ νικ[ηφόροι?---]

10–12. Inscriptions no. 13 on tower 19, no. 31 on tower 47, no. 38 on tower 55: fragmentary versions of one of the above.

These are all connected by their use of brick letters, and of the similar formulae which employ acclamations and the title μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς. At first sight there is no basis for identifying these emperors with one rather than another pair of homonyms, although perhaps the use of brick rather than marble might suggest a different period from **1–3**.[15] More substantial evidence comes from the presence of **7** on the same tower as **4**, which, as already noted, belongs to Leo IV and Constantine VI. Inscription **4** is inscribed on a block inserted low on the southeast corner of the tower in a place which shows no indication of repair. It may thus be considered as part of the original construction of the tower and contemporary with **7**. In that case inscription **8**, which uses the same titulature, may probably also be attributed to Leo IV.

A different kind of evidence suggests a solution for some of the others. Inscriptions **5** and **6** are expressed in an acclamation that wishes "many years" to the emperors. Although such epigraphical acclamations are not uncommon for earlier periods, with several known from the time of Heraclius (610–641), there is no continuous sequence of them to help determine which Leo is here named.[16] Similar acclamations, however, appear on another series of official documents, the coins. On these, the Latin equivalent *multos annos* first appears in the reign of Justinian II (705–711) and continues into the time of Leo III, after which it disappears.[17] Since the inscriptions of the walls are official documents in the same sense as the coins, the parallel may be considered valid, and inscriptions **5** and **6** assigned to Leo III and Constantine V. As for **9** and the fragments **10–12**, no solution seems evident, and they may be considered as belonging either to Leo IV or Leo V.

IV. Constantine

Although this was by far the most common name of Byzantine emperors, very few inscriptions name a Constantine alone, and of them only two cases pose a problem. The

[14] In this and the following examples, I have ignored minor variants and incorporated restorations which may be considered certain.

[15] Note the example of the walls of Salonica, where such letters appear as early as the fifth and as late as the twelfth century: J. M. Speiser, "Les inscriptions de Thessalonique," *TravMem* 5 (1973) 151f no. 3 (fifth century), 165f nos. 15 and 16 (A.D. 1167).

[16] See the examples of the early seventh century from Smyrna and Ephesus in H. Gregoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* I (Paris 1922) nos. 79, 114.

[17] Grierson (*supra* n.3) 177.

first of these, no. 36 on tower 50, will be discussed by Professors Mango and Sĕvčenko in a volume dealing with dated Byzantine inscriptions, and need not be considered here. For the second, a solution which I proposed some years ago may be appropriately repeated and discussed.

1. Inscription no. 40 on tower 57; brick letters:

[---Νικᾷ] ἡ τ̣[ύ]χη Κωνσταντίνου Πορφυρογεννήτου μεγάλο[υ] βασιλ[έως].

I have restored the first three words (Meyer-Plath/Schneider print [IC XC νικ]ᾷ †) according to the surviving traces and analogy with III.7–8 above, which are also in brick and use the same imperial title.[18] At first sight, this appears to refer to the famous Porphyrogenitus, Constantine VII, who reigned from 913 to 959. There is, however, another possibility. Constantine VI, like his more famous namesake, was also born in the purple room of the palace and was therefore entitled to be styled Porphyrogenitus.[19] The present inscription would be far more suitable for him than for his illustrious successor. In style and titulature, it is closely associated with the inscriptions of Leo IV and Constantine VI, which are also written with brick letters and use the title *μέγας βασιλεύς*.

It would seem a reasonable conclusion that this inscription refers to Constantine VI and provides, incidentally, the earliest official example of the use of the title Porphyrogenitus. On the other hand, a serious objection may be raised in that many emperors were born in the purple, but few so qualified themselves. In the most famous case, Constantine VII used the title to stress his legitimacy after being dominated by the usurper Romanus I and his family. Similar explanations may be found for other uses of the title, at least before the Comnene period.[20] It would seem that no such reason existed for Constantine VI, the scion of a long-established dynasty, to stress his legitimacy. Here again, the coins provide some evidence, though in this case not free of ambiguity. The earliest issues of Constantine VI show him on the obverse with his mother Irene, but the reverse shows the whole dynasty, with figures of Leo III, Constantine V, and Leo IV.[21] In this, Constantine was following the example of his father Leo IV, who similarly portrayed himself on the obverse with his son, and showed his own father and grandfather on the reverse. These coins would seem to indicate a desire on the part of the respective emperors to stress their adhesion to a dynasty and thus their legitimacy, but whether this was extended into an official adoption of the title Porphyrogenitus cannot be determined. Furthermore, the use of brick letters is not sufficient to establish the connection between the present inscription and III.7 and **8**, since the inscriptions on the walls of Salonica show that such letters were in use over a long period, as late as the twelfth century.[22] For the moment, then, the identification of this Constantine may be left open.

[18] Restoration first proposed by Foss (*supra* n.6) 65.
[19] Theophanes 472 de Boor. For the title Porphyrogenitus see Foss (*supra* n.6) 64 n.2 and 65 n.3.
[20] Grierson (*supra* n.3) 180.
[21] Grierson (*supra* n.3) 340f.
[22] See *supra* n.15.

2. Inscription no. 15 on tower 24. This inscription, long lost, survives in two quite different copies, one of which names Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the other Constantine Palaeologus. Since it is described as having brick letters, which would not be appropriate to the fifteenth century, it was probably another inscription of Constantine VI or VII. Lacking an established text or any illustration, however, nothing further can be determined.

V. Isaac Angelus.

1. Inscription no. 68 on tower no. 13 of the walls of the Blachernae:

†Προστάξει αὐτοκράτορος Ἀγγέλου Ἰσαακίου,
πύργος ἐκ παραστάσεως ΔΙΜΕΝΗ βασιλείου ἔτει ЯΧ9Ε

This presents none of the problems so far considered. It clearly bears the name of Isaac Angelus, and even the date 1187. It stands on a tower in a section of walls built by Manuel Comnenus and his successors, so that there can be no doubt about its chronology or the identification of the emperor. Instead, this inscription raises a different kind of question, of some importance in analysing the chronology of the walls. It stands in what has seemed to be an odd location, about halfway up the external face of the tower, well to the right of centre, between, but not adjacent to, two bands of brick. It is set amid masonry which contains an irregular alternation of brick and stone, punctuated by bands of brick.[23] This position has raised the generally accepted possibility that the inscription is reused and that therefore the tower is not of Isaac at all.[24] To determine the likelihood of this, the practice of locating imperial inscriptions on the walls of Constantinople may be investigated through the following examples:[25]

Tower 1 inscription no. 1 (Basil I and Constantine): marble band along two outer sides of the pentagonal tower, directly above a brick band near the top of the tower.
Tower 4 no. 4 (Romanus II): marble band directly above a brick band near the top of the south and southwest sides of the tower; in part between two brick bands.
Towers 18 no. 12, 19 no. 13, 25 no. 16, 45 no. 29a, 47 no. 31, 48 no. 32, 55 no. 38, 56 no. 39, 57 no. 40, all inscriptions in brick letters of Leo IV and Constantine VI except the last, which is of Constantine VI alone. These are all placed high on the west face of the towers.
Tower 36 no. 23 (Basil and Constantine): marble band high on the western face, above a brick band from which it is separated by two courses of stone.
Tower 37 no. 24 (Leo III and Constantine V): marble band, above and adjacent to the second brick band from the top of the tower.
Tower 40 no. 26 (Justinian II): marble block inserted in the south face, about two metres above the ground.
Tower 45 no. 29b (Leo IV, Constantine VI, and Irene): marble block directly above a brick band, at the southwest corner of the tower, about two metres above the ground.

[23] For this style and its dating see C. Foss, "The Defences of Asia Minor against the Turks," in *Byzantium and Islam*, ed. N. Vaporis (Brookline 1982) 171–81.
[24] Van Millingen (*supra* n.7) 143–46; *Landmauer ad loc.*
[25] Inscriptions of gates or of the outer wall have not been included, since they might be expected to follow different practices.

Tower 46, no. 30 (Justinian II): three marble blocks, about 2.5 metres above the ground.

Tower B15 no. 62 (Theophilus): letters of marble inserted in the brick superstructure of the tower, about 3/4 of the distance to the top.

Southwest tower of the bastion of Leo V, no. 64 (Michael II and Theophilus): marble band on the outer face, at about mid-height directly above a brick band.

Northwest tower of the bastion of Leo V, no. 65 (Romanus III): marble band near the top of the outer face, above a brick band.

Tower 93 of the sea walls: a marble block naming Manuel Comnenus inserted into the third brick course from the ground, at a height of about three metres on the south-east side of the tower.

Sea walls in general: the numerous inscriptions of Theophilus with his father or son are usually placed high on the outer face of a tower, often directly above a brick band. Since the construction of these walls is irregular, however, the relation with the brick bands varies considerably.

From this a few general practices may be determined. The most obvious is that the inscriptions were set in prominent places where they would be clearly visible to those outside the city. This is true of all the brick inscriptions and of most of those on marble bands. They are set high on the towers, far above the top of the lower outer wall, and are usually placed directly above a band of brick, as if this gave them emphasis. The inscriptions are normally well centred on the outer face of the wall, an arrangement especially evident on the sea walls. Those on marble blocks, however, tend to be placed much closer to the ground, where their smaller letters could be easily read. Since, at this level, the outer wall made them invisible from outside, it was apparently not felt necessary to place them on the outer face of a tower. One inscription forms an exception: no. 93 of the sea walls, of Manuel Comnenus, is inserted into a brick course at a low level on the outer face of the tower; it is, incidentally, the closest in date to Isaac Angelus. Clearly, general practice required inscriptions with large letters to be put high on a tower so that they would be visible from outside at a distance, while those with small letters were set lower where they could be read. Aesthetic considerations apparently determined the varying association with the brick courses.

The inscription of Isaac Angelus is written with relatively small, rather cursive letters. Its position at middle height, therefore, is logical, although its eccentric position remains an abnormality. There is thus no compelling reason to regard it as a spoil. The tower that it adorns may therefore be assigned to the late twelfth century, a date that would accord well with its style of construction.

VI. Julian the Apostate.

An epigram once inscribed on the Gate of Eugenius, near the entry to the Golden Horn, is preserved only in the *Greek Anthology* (9.689):

Οὗτος Ἰουλιανὸς λαοσσόα τείχεα πήξας,
στῆσε τρόπαιον, ἐῆς σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίης,
σφάζειν ἀντιβίους ἐχθροὺς ἀπάνευθε μενοινῶν,
ἢ πόλεως προπάροιθ' ἐκκροτέειν πολέμους.

This epigram does not raise such problems as the other inscriptions, but I include it here because its significance seems not to have been noted. Certainly, it seems peculiar that an inscription describing the works of an emperor should refer to him merely as οὗτος without any indication of his position. In such an epigram, at least some archaising term like ἄναξ might be expected. This suggests, at first sight, that the verses might have been set up by one of the prefects of the city named Julian: bearers of this name held office in the reigns of Zeno, Anastasius, Justinian, and Justin II. All are known from epigrams commemorating their work in the capital.[26] As Louis Robert has brilliantly shown, the language of these epigrams is constant throughout late antiquity, so that such a text as this could as well date from the sixth as the fourth century.[27] The prefect of the city, however, was a civil official who did not command troops and who would certainly not be defeating barbarians far from the capital which he governed. However odd the language, it seems indeed to refer to the emperor Julian.

The inscription has attracted little notice and seems not to appear in works on Julian. It is in fact the sole record of his repair or rebuilding of the walls of Constantinople, an enterprise which probably formed part of his reconstruction of the cities in Thrace and of the frontier fortresses (Amm. Marc. 22.7.7). More significantly, it appears to be the oldest inscription of the walls of the capital, the only one surviving from the original walls of Constantine before the great expansion and rebuilding of Theodosius II. Furthermore, if the mediaeval compiler of this part of the *Greek Anthology* was recording inscriptions which he had himself seen, the text would indicate that part of the walls of Constantine was still standing and in use in the later Middle Ages. In any case, it seems worth rescuing from oblivion.

BOSTON

[26] See *Anth.Pal.* 9.779, 803, 804; 16.63, 69, 70, 71. Van Millingen (*supra* n.7) 227 had attributed the text to Julian, prefect under Zeno, but A. M. Schneider, "Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel," *NachrGöttingen* 1950, 96, rejected the prefect in favour of the emperor. C. Mango, "The Byzantine Inscriptions of Constantinople: A Bibliographical Survey," *AJA* 55 (1951) 57 n.2, accepts the attribution to the emperor Julian.

[27] L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV (Paris 1948) 108–10.

New Finds at the Phokikon

Edward French

IN THE EXAMINATION[1] of the site of the Phokikon[2] during the summer of 1965, additional limestone blocks with channel cuttings for the seats of the meeting hall, together with foundation blocks and nine more archaic tombstones, were found. Eight of the inscribed stones were taken to the Chaeronea Museum by Mr Eugene Vanderpool on October 20, in collaboration with the then Epimeletria of Boeotia, Mrs Stasinopoulou-Touloupa, and with the aid of the Chaeronea guard, Mr P. Tzathas. Their invoice numbers are cited below. The grooved stones, the new building stones, and one headstone (because of its size) remain in the fields where they were found.

The site lies six kilometers due east of the Cleft Way in a field beside the path connecting Davlia with Keresi, a large valley on the Levadeia-Delphi highway (by kilometer post 136). There is a fort on the ridge to the southwest at the narrow entrance to the Phokikon area from Keresi, and a spring at the northwest end of the valley. The Platanias River runs to the east of the site, and it is likely that many of the stones used for our inscriptions were taken from the riverbed, chosen because the water had made them more or less smooth and flat on one side. Many more inscriptions and building block fragments are doubtless tucked in amongst the stone walls surrounding the fields in the Phokikon Valley.

Channel Blocks and Building Fragments

A. Limestone stele base with cutting on reverse (PLATE 2A)

A substantial limestone block with both ends and both major surfaces preserved. There is anathyrosis on the end shown. The edge around the cutting is surfaced on the part now furthest from the ground, but it was left rough on the other side. Stele cutting on opposite face. L. 0.945 m., w. 0.54, th. 0.42; channel 0.215, depth 0.045. This stone was found and published in *Hesperia* 1963 as no. 4 (pl. 61d). It had not been unearthed completely and turned over at that time. The stele cutting was uppermost and the stone was deep set in the ground. It remains on one edge now in the field near the center.

When this supposed stele base was turned, we found that it was an end channel block for the seats of the Phokikon, as described in Pausanias and as reported in *Hesperia* at 218–19 and fig. 3 in connection with blocks one and two. Pausanias (10.5.1–3)

[1] I am indebted to Sterling Dow for his unflagging interest in the Phokikon and his encouragement over the years to continue its exploration and to publish our finds.

[2] A detailed description of the site, its surroundings, and the classical references, with note of other modern explorations, was published in *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 213–25.

tells of a large building with seats or steps and pillars along the length and three statues at the end where there were no seats or pillars. While there may be seats on neither end, Pausanias does not say more than that the statues occupied one end. The seating could then be in the form of a U and we have here one end of the seat foundation blocks preserved. The stele cutting might well be from an earlier use.

B. Limestone block with channel (PLATE 2B)

A fragment of a limestone block with channel. Not preserved to upper end, but lower corner and end are preserved. Lifting boss visible and also T clamp in groove at corner. Surfaces heavily weathered. W. 0.56 m., th. 0.20, width of channel 0.215. Found and published as no. 2 in *Hesperia* 1963 and pl. 61b but the corner of the groove was then unexposed.

We have here the opposite corner to block no. 1 of the 1963 article which, to facilitate comparison, I illustrate here (PLATE 2C). We now possess two corners and one end of a supposed U-shaped seating arrangement. There may, of course, have been a second row of seats and so further blocks for the seats. The thin stone behind this block as shown in the plate was doubtless once part of the same block. Their combined thickness (0.42 m.) is in the range of the other channel blocks. The block width and channel width in all three cases are very close, although none is smooth surfaced (within the channel). The thickness and the overall length of each block vary somewhat.

C. Limestone building block with lifting boss (PLATE 2D)

A building block of good limestone, preserved on front edge and two ends. Anathyrosis on both ends. Broken on edge opposite the boss. Upper surface worked but not finished to smooth surface. L. 0.93 m., w. 0.70, th. 0.35. Found in Phokikon field, July 1965, now rolled to stone pile in southeast corner with the stone inscribed ΕΠΙ (*Hesperia* 1963, no. 7).

This excellent block illustrates the quality of stone used, and of workmanship, for the building we are considering. Although other stones may lie beneath the present ground surface, it is likely that most of the blocks similar to this have been re-used elsewhere, as suggested below, or broken up in the clearing of the field. Its dimensions are in harmony with the other major stones found.

D. Limestone building block with pry hole (PLATE 3A)

A large limestone block with front edge, most of left end, and a portion of the right end preserved. Weathering has taken away most of the sharp detail of this stone. Anathyrosis is nevertheless apparent on both ends. L. 1.06 m., w. 0.57, th. 0.30. Observed on first trip, and now, as then, used as a lunch table near the spring to which it was taken, perhaps a good many years ago. There is no lifting boss on this block, but there is a pry hole, more common to the blocks from the Sanctuary Hill above the spring area than to those found at the Phokikon field itself.

E. Limestone building block (PLATE 3C)

Fragment of a large limestone block with two edges and surface preserved. Anathyrosis apparent on near edge. Badly weathered and not preserved in full length. L. 0.67 m., w. 0.68, th. 0.28. Found in group of plane trees by irrigation channel leading from the spring, in July 1965.

This block illustrates the ease with which stones have been removed from the site. Perhaps it was re-used by the mill near the spring, along with the luncheon table shown above. It is now waiting, well hidden from the casual passerby, for its return to the Phokikon.

New Inscriptions

The nine headstones described here are similar to those published earlier.[3] The importance of the fourteen archaic inscriptions found thus far at the Phokikon is related to the meagre supply of Phokian archaic inscriptions to date and especially of inscriptions found in Phokis as distinct from those found at Delphi and thought to be Phokian. These fourteen stones add to our basic resource material and give promise of a still greater contribution in the future.

The primary purpose of our discussion will be to note the characteristic letter forms of the inscriptions and to restore names where possible. Identification of any of these names with similar names mentioned in other sources is most unlikely, even when they occur close by. Only Θεότιμος (*Hesperia* 1964, no. 1) and Δαφναῖος (**6** *infra*) occur elsewhere in Phokis. Μνασίξενος (**1** *infra*), Θεότιμος, and Δαφναῖος occur on inscriptions found in Boeotia. The other names do not, but little may be deduced from that fact except to say that those names are not presently known beyond Phokis. A better case may be made for the restoration of Ξένων (**7** *infra*), which is found often in Phokis.

Reference will be made frequently to two excellent studies for epigraphy in Phokis, to which interested readers are referred. In the prosopography of Phokis in his doctoral dissertation at Jena, Friedrich Schober[4] gives us an invaluable list of the 1207 occurrences of Phokian names found up to his time. This slim treasure deserves thorough review by those interested in the story of Phokis. Names included in Schober were at least known in the surrounding area. Most of the Phokikon names are not attested in Schober and are thus new to Phokian prosopography. Miss L. H. Jeffery[5] provides us the basic work on archaic letter forms. Our studies offer new occurrences but confirm, rather than correct, her conclusions. We shall refer often to her most useful charts of Boeotian and Phokian letter forms known at the time of her study.

1. A large piece of limestone, with no worked edge preserved and with no surface treated. Although the stone is broken at the right edge, the full name seems preserved. The left edge is not newly broken and the final letter fits comfortably. The letters are poor and of irregular height. The inscription is retrograde. H. 0.55 m., w. 0.68, th.

[3] Two archaic inscriptions from the site were published in *Hesperia* 1963. Three more of the same type were published in *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 84–85. I am grateful to Professor S. Marinatos for his gracious permission to study and publish the stones and other finds described in this article.

[4] *Phokis* (Crossen on the Oder 1924) 86–114.

[5] *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 89–103.

0.115; height of ϟ 0.095. Found 28 July, 1965, face down and in use as a paving block before the shrine Hagios Ioannes which stands opposite the site. Chaeronea Museum inv. no. 837. PLATE 3B.

Μνασίχσενος 

The use of χς as ξ has not been found in other archaic script from Phokis, but is known in archaic writing from neighboring Boeotia. A long stroke on the left (when in normal order) followed by short strokes to complete the *mu* and *nu* is normal for the time and area. At the Phokikon, however, this practice occurs only here although there are eleven occurrences of *mu* and *nu* from the site.

The name Μνασίξενος is not mentioned in Schober, but Μνασικράτης occurs, as does Μενέξενος. The first part of the name, Μνασι-, is found fifteen times, and the ending -ξενος is common.

2. A small piece of local field stone, perhaps not recently broken on (unworked) upper edge, but clearly broken at both sides and on bottom surface. Neither face has been treated. H. 0.19 m., w. 0.30–0.33, th. 0.135; letter height 0.045. Found 6 July, 1965, in the north wall of Dellios' field. Chaeronea Museum inv. no. 838. PLATE 3D.

[Ἐ]πὶ Στρα[---] 

Of fourteen archaic inscriptions found to date at this site, ἐπί begins four, *viz.* the present example, **4** and **9** *infra*, and *Hesperia* 1963, no. 7, and has been restored in one other, *Hesperia* 1964, no. 2. In only two cases, Δορκίλος (*Hesperia* 1963, no. 6) and Δρύμα (**3** *infra*), is it possible to rule out the use of ἐπί as a preposition on the Phokikon headstones. Although Schober does list seventeen occurrences of Phokian names beginning with Ἐπι- (out of the 1207 names he lists), it seems more reasonable in our five instances where ἐπί may be restored or read to assume that ἐπί was intended as a preposition before the name. Such use is common in Boeotia and there are many examples at the Museum in Thebes. Schober does not in any case record any occurrence of an Ἐπισ- name connected to Phokis. Στρα- might be filled in as Στράταγος, Στρατόλαος, or Στράτων. But none of these may be restored with assurance in this instance and those three examples are not from Daulis.

Notice should be made of the added tail on the *rho*. All three blocks with a *rho* from our site have the extra tail. Jeffery (99) notes this as normal in Phokis. This is the first three-bar *sigma* to be found in or from Phokis.

3. An irregular piece of field stone, clearly broken on the left and right edges, but not recently broken on top or bottom. The reverse is smoother than the face. Letter height on this stone varies considerably. A stippling method was employed in the letters here and on **5**. Letters on the twelve other stones were apparently cut as evenly as the stone

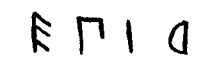
allowed. H. 0.26 m., w. 0.40, th. 0.09; vertical stroke on *rho* 0.10. Found 29 July, 1965, in south wall of Dellios' field. Chaeronea Museum inv. no. 839. PLATE 4A.

Δρύμα 

Three things are of interest on this stone. If we have the whole name it would be feminine. That is rare, although not unknown. The name on no other stone found as yet at the Phokikon is clearly feminine. Second, the *upsilon* has no ∨ as is found elsewhere in Phokis. The right-hand stroke extends out from the perpendicular main bar. This form of *upsilon*, not previously found in Phokis, does occur in Boeotia (Jeffery 89). Third, the crossbar of the *alpha* declines from left to right. At the Phokikon, all four cross strokes in the other *alpha*'s that may be read descend from right to left. Both forms of the *alpha* are found in Phokian script.

Neither this name nor any similar name is listed by Schober.

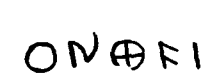
4. A large limestone block, perhaps preserved at lower left-hand edge, but with all other edges broken, and with no surface treatment on face or obverse. H. 0.32 m., w. 0.50, th. 0.07; letter height 0.06. Found 28 July, 1965, face down near **1** in paving before the shrine next to the west side of the field. Chaeronea Museum inv. no. 840. PLATE 4B.

Ἐπὶ Φ[---] 

The right-hand edge bisects the *phi*, but the vertical stroke is clear enough. If we use the same reasoning here as with **2**, ἐπί becomes the preposition and we have only the first letter of the name preserved. Although we may hardly identify the name from one letter, there are three names beginning with *phi*, Φειδίας, Φιλόνικος, and Φίλων, listed by Schober as from Daulis.

It is characteristic of the letter *epsilon* as found at the Phokikon that it leans to the right, that the bars point downward, and that the bottom bar starts above the base of the vertical stroke. The right hasta of each letter *pi* is short. That of *phi* is confined within the circle, normal to Phokis.

5. A small, irregular piece of field stone, of poor quality, not treated on any surface. It is clearly broken on the left, bottom, and right. Letters, as the stone now is, are on the lower edge of the piece. H. 0.23 m., w. 0.32, th. 0.15; letter height (of O) 0.037. Found 27 July, 1965, in the south wall of Dellios' field. Chaeronea Museum inv. no. 841. PLATE 4C.

[---]ονθει[---] 

The breaks, both on the left and on the right, make a reasonable reconstruction difficult. In Schober, names with -ον- occur (Κλεόνικος) but are infrequent. Names

containing -θε- are rarer still (Τιμόθεος, Δωρόθεος), but names with -θει- have not been found, nor, of course, with -ονθει-. Even if we take -ον- as part of a preceding word, no name listed by Schober begins Θει-. We seem, here, to have a name new to Phokis.

Theta made as a circle with inner cross is found elsewhere in Phokis and on an inscription found in October 1963 at the Phokikon (*Hesperia* 1964, no. 2).

6. A small, unworked piece of field stone, broken on three sides and a bit at the top left. H. 0.21–24 m., w. 0.37–0.43, th. 0.19; letter height 0.055. Found 25 July, 1965, in the north wall of the Phokikon field, perhaps recently removed (some fresh earth) from the field by Dellios. Chaeronea Museum inv. no. 842. PLATE 4D.

Δαφν[---]

Schober lists a Δαφναῖος who was a *hieromnemon* of the Phokians (*FD* III.4 358). He does not list a Δάφνη, and feminine names are rare. Δρύμα (**3** *supra*) is an apparent exception.

These forms of *delta*, *alpha*, and *phi*, are common to Phokis. The leaning *nu* with curved vertical strokes is usual in Phokikon inscriptions. Although we have what appears to be both the beginning of a name and of this inscription, the break at the left-hand edge leaves both conclusions in doubt.

7. A small section of field stone, not recently broken on top or on the right edge, but badly broken on the left edge. No surface treatment. H. 0.27 m., w. (at the letter area) 0.165, th. 0.032; letter height 0.031. Found in the east wall of the Phokikon field, 29 July, 1965. Chaeronea Museum inv. no. 843. PLATE 5A.

[Ξέ]νον

The letters run along the upper edge of the face. We probably have the end of the name. Schober lists only three names, Ἀνασίφορον, Ἐπαφρόδειτον, and Ξένιχον, ending in -ον. An -ων ending is quite common, of course, Τείμων, Σωτίων, Γνώτων, all from Daulis. As Jeffery lists no occurrence in Phokis or Boeotia of an *omega* in archaic script, we may reasonably ask if the *omicron* here is not *omega*. Only one name connected with Phokis ends in -νων, Ξένων. Schober records fourteen occurrences of Ξένω (4) or Ξένων (10), none from Daulis. We may have here the headstone of the first Ξένων recorded in this area.

8. A small piece of fieldstone, similar to 7, broken on the face and right-hand edge, but perhaps the left-hand edge is as when first used. The lettering occurs along the break at the upper edge; the writing is retrograde. No surface treatment. H. 0.14 m., w. 0.31, th. 0.034. Found in the east wall of the Phokikon field, 29 July, 1965. Chaeronea Museum inv. no. 844. PLATE 5B.

[---]ον

The inscribed edge, as well as the top, has been broken for some time.

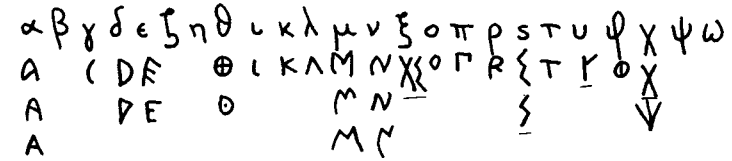
9. A substantial, untreated field stone of poor quality, broken at the top edge and at the right end. H. 0.265–0.495 m., w. 1.045, th. 0.26; letter height of E 0.085, of A 0.105. Found 26 July, 1965, on the border of the third field to the north of the Phokikon, owned by the χωροφύλαξ. Too large to move, it remains where found for the casual passerby to study. Δορκίλος (*Hesperia* 1963, no. 6) was found near this place. PLATE 5C.

Ἐπὶ Δαμιχ[---]

We assume that the ἐπί is, as discussed above, a preposition. There is in any case no name in Schober either beginning with Ἐπιδαμ- or Δαμ-. If we read the final letter as the early form of *chi* (*psi* is written φς in early script) with the left stroke clearly joining the vertical bar at the base of the letter, then the question is whether the *chi* is to be taken as itself, or as χς, *i.e.* ξ. The latter would agree with Μνασίχσενος (**1**). The name might then be Δαμίξενος, an ending quite common in Phokian names, *e.g.* Ἐπίξενος, Καλλίξενος, and noted frequently in Schober. The use of *chi* as itself is not common, but does occur. We find Οἴνιχος, Μειλίχιον, Ξένιχον. Thus we might read Δάμιχος. The closest parallel along this line is Σάμιχος, which is found at Ambryssos, not very far from the Phokikon.

Epsilon here is for the first time made with horizontal bars. *Alpha* is more nearly in the later form we know, and there is no curve to the vertical lines of the *mu*, as occurs elsewhere. Although the surface of the stone is not as flat as others have been, the letters, while following the surface irregularities, are carefully and precisely made. *Delta* is similar in upper curve and lower straight return to the *delta* of Δορκίλος, and these two stones contain the best workmanship of all the stones found at the Phokikon. They may well be the latest archaic letter forms discovered thus far.

Let us bring together all the archaic letter forms found to date. Letters appear in descending order of frequency; underscored forms are not listed in Jeffery.



We now have significant finds from two major periods for the area centered upon the field of the Phokikon. From the archaic period, perhaps 550–500 B.C., we have fourteen headstone fragments, which account for all but three of the inscriptions from that period found in Phokis, and which shed new light upon the first steps in the writing of this area. Perhaps from this same period, we have building stones, and ceramic and bronze fragments from the Sanctuary area above the spring where the hero Archegetes was honored. We hope to discuss at another time the temple foundation recently uncovered and the altar area, together with sculptured marble fragments that seem to confirm our initial suppositions about that area. We also have growing evidence of the details of a fifth-century B.C. meeting place, which in some form was seen by Pausanias when he went by many years later, and an inscription (*Hesperia* 1963, no. 5) that reflects this extended period when the Phokikon was a political center.

It is reasonable to assume that such an attractive area, with abundant water close by, was inhabited steadily over a prolonged time and that future exploration will reveal more of the story of the Phokikon Valley and its people.

IPSWICH, MASSACHUSETTS

A.

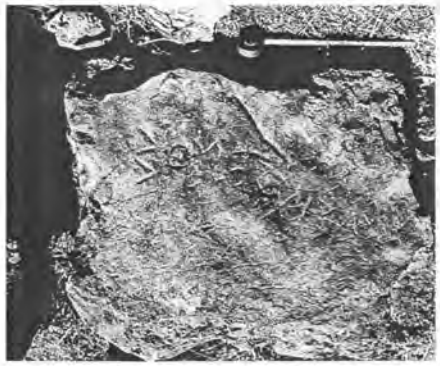
B.

C.

D.

BLOCKS FROM THE PHOKIKON

A.



B.

C.

D.

BLOCKS AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PHOKIKON

A.

B.

C.

D.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PHOKIKON

A.

B.

C.

Periodos Teleia

Daniel J. Geagan

AN EXPRESSION which occurs only one other time[1] among the texts honouring athletes of the Greco-Roman world is now found on a monument from the Athenian Agora. This new text is inscribed on a piece of a base made up of three joining fragments of Pentelic marble. The largest fragment (I 3470) was found in February 1936 among marbles brought in from the Stoa of Attalos, a small chip (I 3634) on 22 February 1936 in the wall of a modern well in the north end of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos (P 8), and a moderate-sized fragment (I 6444) on 19 February 1952 in a marble pile in the southeastern part of the Market Square.[2] It would appear likely that the stone was broken up somewhere near the eastern edge of the Agora, possibly in the area of the Stoa of Attalos. The stone as joined preserves portions of the left side and of the inscribed face, both neatly picked with a toothed chisel, of the roughly picked top, and of the coarsely smoothed base. The back and right side are broken away completely. The preserved left side flares outward toward its forward edge; remains of a boss are preserved on it. The composite dimensions are: h. 0.295 m., w. 0.54, th. 0.17; letter height (lines 1–3 and the first four letters of 4) 0.021–0.023, (the remainder of line 4 and line 5) 0.025, (line 6) 0.012–0.013. PLATE 6.

Saec. III *p.* *ca* 24

[Σεπτί]μιος Αὐ[ρ]ήλιος Σ[. . .ca.?. . .]
['Αλε]ξανδρε[ὺς] νεικήσα[ς Πανελλή]-
νια ἀνδρῶ[ν σ]τάδιον κα[ὶ Παναθή]-
4 ναια περίοδον τελε[ίαν . .ca.5. .]
ξυστάρχη[ς---]
υπολλ[---]
vacat

Line 1, final *sigma*: the vertical and upper horizontal bars. Line 2, *xi*: the end of the lowest horizontal bar. Line 3, final *alpha*: the lower portion of the rising leg. Line 4, dotted *nu*: most of the initial vertical bar; the upper portions of the remaining letters.

After the first four letters of line 4 the lettering increases in size, the letters for their size become more crowded, and the interlineations are contracted. The shapes of

[1] In an inscription from Rome, *IG UrbRom* I 244, περιόδου τελείου ἀνδρῶν ἐν τοῖς σκάμμασιν.

[2] In 1975 John McK. Camp confirmed that I 3470 joined I 6440; he had the fragments joined and supplied a photograph and description. In 1979 John S. Traill confirmed that I 3634 joined between and below the two fragments. I am grateful to both for their assistance. Data for the joinings were gathered in 1970 under a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies; in 1975 under a Canada Council Grant; and in 1980 under a Sabbatical Leave Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

the letters also change. The increase in letter size probably served to signal the more significant achievements of the runner Septimius Aurelius S[---]; they may also be later additions to bring the text up to date when he was named *xystarches*.

The names of two festivals are preserved only partially at the beginning of lines 3 and 4. The format of the text does not allow space for the names of cities in which the festivals occurred; we may assume that they were Athenian. After Hadrianic times four major international festivals were celebrated in the city, the Panathenaia, the Panhellenia, the Olympeia, and the Hadriania. The names of either the Hadriania or the Panhellenia might be restored in lines 2/3; the estimated length of line supports the latter. There can be little doubt that lines 3/4 named the Panathenaia.

The agonistic *periodos* included four festivals: the Olympic at Olympia, the Pythian at Delphi, the Isthmian at the Corinthian Isthmus, and the Nemean traditionally at Nemea. A competitor victorious in each and all of the four was entitled to call himself a *periodonikes*. Unless there were exceptions to this practise, why would two competitors want to boast that their *periodos* was *teleia* (or *teleios* in the case of the document from Rome)?

The definition of *periodonikes* is complicated by the fact that some competitors were handicapped in aspiring to the title. First, citizens of Elis were forbidden to compete at Isthmia; second, thymelic or musical contests were not part of the Olympic festival; third, certain festivals may have been in abeyance during some periods of time. Because there are no known Elian *periodonikai*,[3] discussion must remain theoretical. But numerous victors in musical or thymelic contests boast that they were *periodonikai*, and it has been suggested that they were permitted the honour on the basis of a curtailed *periodos*.[4] It has been argued that during the years of the devastation of Corinth (146–46 B.C.) no Isthmian celebrations occurred. A glance at the documents shows that both competitors who boasted of completing the "entire *periodos*" were hindered by none of these handicaps: neither was an Elian, both were athletes, and all four festivals were functioning during their active careers. Their boasts cannot be related to the overcoming of one of the handicaps; these boasts make sense, then, only if there were exceptions to the strict definition of the *periodos*.

L. Moretti has pointed out the cases of three contestants who bear the title *periodonikes*; for each a catalogue of victories also is preserved, and in each case the name of one of the four periodic contests is missing from the catalogue.[5] Each of these contestants was able to boast a total of at least four victories at periodic festivals because of multiple victories in one or more. Moretti suggests that a substitution might have been permitted when there was the extra victory. This is an attractive hypothesis and may account for one possible mechanism for completing an incomplete *periodos*. More to the point of this paper is the possibility of an incomplete *periodos*.

[3] As recognized by R. Knab, *Die Periodoniken* (Diss.Giessen 1934) 9. Addenda to Knab's catalogue (16–47) can be found in L. Moretti, "Note sugli antichi Periodonikai," *Athenaeum* 32 (1954) 115–16.
[4] Moretti (*supra* n.3) 117; see also L. Robert, *RevPhil* III.4 (1930) 53–55.
[5] Moretti (*supra* n.3) 117–20.

Of the three cases cited by Moretti, one was a flautist; he could equally have fallen under the second handicap and might have been entitled *periodonikes* as the result of a curtailed *periodos*. A second was victorious during the period 146–46 B.C., when the city of Corinth lay in ruins; the Isthmia is notable as the festival missing in the catalogue. This has led S. Dow[6] to conclude that the Isthmian festival was in abeyance while Corinth ceased to exist as a city. During this period the *periodos* would have been reduced to the three remaining festivals. The third case[7] however involves an athlete whose catalogue lacks a victory at Delphi; he was subject to none of the known handicaps. His *periodos* was incomplete.

If the title *periodonikes* could be awarded for less than the full *periodos*, does it remain necessary to postulate exceptional practises for competitors subject to the handicaps cited above? There is no need to postulate an interruption in the Isthmian festival; musical and thymelic competitors may have earned their titles under the same conditions as athletes; and the lack of Elian *periodonikai* may have been the result merely of the quality of Elian competitors.

Septimius Aurelius S[---] was sufficiently held in honour that the emperor appointed him *xystarches*, presumably at Athens, where he presided over the athletes gathered for the games.[8]

McMaster University

[6] *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 80; see also L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Rome 1953) 133–34.
[7] Moretti (*supra* n.6) 198–206 no. 71.
[8] H. W. Pleket, "Some Aspects of the History of the Athletic Guilds," *ZPE* 10 (1973) 219–20. See L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale* (Paris 1966) 81–82.

INSCRIPTION FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

The αἴγαγρος and Synonyms: A Study in Greek Etymology

Demetrius J. Georgacas

As is well known to diachronic linguists dealing with the history of the Greek language, certain peripheral (but not only peripheral) areas of Greek have preserved for us age-old forms, meanings, and uses of words that attest and demonstrate the uninterrupted tradition of Greek speech. These are the dialects of Pontos, Cappadocia (early Pontic Farasha), Livisi, etc. in Asia Minor, of Cyprus and the Dodecanese, Chios, Ikaria, Lemnos, etc., Crete, the Cyclades, Euboea, Athens, Megara, Aegina, the Ionian Islands, Chimara, and South Italy (Salento, Calabria).

The existence of an uninterrupted tradition in Greek linguistic history is confirmed and verified by the living dialects in the Greek speech territories. After Koraïs it was our great master Georgios Hatzidakis who collected such evidence in over half a century of active investigation (1880–1930's); then Nikolaos Andriotis in his *Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten* (Vienna 1974) listed and interpreted some 6718 entries, and the present writer collected numerous such data in a recent book.[1] On a similar subject an Anglophone philologist and linguist, G. P. Shipp, published the work *Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary*.[2] This work may persuade scholars in classics, ancient history, and other studies to pay more attention to the reality of the surviving tradition in Modern Greek which, curiously enough, was often considered the result of the intellectual identification or empathy of the Greeks of today with the ancient Greeks.

The vitality of this Greek linguistic tradition is manifest in the matter of the present discussion, the study of a dozen terms designating a certain animal, the *wild goat*. My inquiry into these terms was stimulated by first-hand information on one of them still in use on the island of Ikaria, where the natives still hunt the wild goat for its tasty flesh and its skin. When I turned for information and interpretation of the Ikarian term to the brilliant study on the Ikarian dialect by Georgios Hatzidakis,[3] I realized what I should have guessed, that this particular item could not have come to his attention during the two short weeks he spent, in the company of the historian George I. Zolotas, touring the island, with all the attendant inconveniences in the summer of 1892, when the island was still under Turkish occupation. In the course of my investigation into the

[1] D. J. Georgacas, *A Graeco-Slavic Controversial Problem Reexamined: The* -ΙΤΣ- *Suffixes in Byzantine, Medieval, and Modern Greek* (PragAkAth 47 [1982]).

[2] Sydney 1979; see the review by J.-L. Perpillou, *RevPhil* III.56 (1982) 118–20.

[3] "Περὶ τῆς Ἰκαρίας διαλέκτου," Εἰκοσιπενταετηρὶς τῆς καθηγεσίας Κωνσταντίνου Σ. Κόντου (Athens 1893) 33–88 = Μεσαωνικὰ καὶ νέα ἑλληνικά II (1907) 396–460.

Ikarian term for wild goat, I was led to the consideration of other names for this animal and thus to this paper.

It is not always possible to ascertain precisely what species of animal is meant by references to wild goats in the ancient and mediaeval literature or by latter-day travelers, and attempts to distinguish local populations have resulted in a plethora of taxonomical designations. In Greece today there are two basic types of wild goat.[4] One is the goat-antelope *Rupicapra rupicapra*, the chamois, found in the mountains, from 1500 m. up, of northern Greece. Relatively small groups still live in Karadzova, Voras, Peristeri, in the mountains west of Siatista, Olympos, Grammos, Metsovo, west of Kastoria, Smolikas, Mitsikeli, and in the area of Samarina. Probably there still are some on Giona, Oite, the southernmost end of Pindos or Vardousia Mountains (on their highest peaks), and Velouchi (Mt Tymphrestos). In Modern Greek this animal is called ἀγριόγιδα (and ἀγριογίδα), ἀγριογίδι, and ἀγριόγιδο.[5] The other type is the true goat *Capra hircus aegagrus*, found principally in Crete, Antimelos, Giura, and Samothrace, and well known as αἴγαγρος or as ἀγριοκάτσικο (and female ἀγριοκατσίκα)[6] and as ἀγρίμι (in Crete) or ἀγρίμι τοῦ βουνοῦ,[7] Pontic ἀγρ̣κάτζικον[8] (in Oinoë), and σανvάδα (Crete), and ρασκόν (Ikaria). This is a somewhat smaller relative of the *C. hircus aegagrus* of Asia Minor and the Middle East which is called *pasang* or *bezoar*. For want of a distinctive established term in English we shall use *aegagrus* for this type, whether from always wild stock or mixed with domestic goats (*Capra hircus*) which have reverted to a wild state. Some of the references to wild goats may also have meant the ibex, *Capra ibex*, which does not now exist in Greece. The general term *wild goat* will be used when it is not useful or not possible to distinguish species.

As we shall see, most of the words for wild goat are either compounds of a word for 'wild' and that for 'goat' (αἴξ or its derivatives) or an adjective 'wild' substantivized 'wild animal' and specialized 'wild goat'. As a preface to the body of this paper, there follow some remarks on very ancient occurrences of ἄγρια 'wild (creatures)' and αἶξ 'goat' and on the mediaeval αἶγα and derivatives.

1. *τὰ ἄγρια.* A Mycenaean word involves an old concept: KN C 7064 *akirija* for ἄγρια, describing goats of both sexes, perhaps as τὰ ἄγρια, neut. plur., presumably to designate 'wild creatures'.[9] Wild creatures (τὰ ἄγρια), various quadruped mammals, continue to be designated as ἄγρια in classical Greek,[10] as their counterparts 'tame or domesticated ones' are called τιθασά and ἥμερα; *cf.* Mod. Gr. ἡμερόγιδα (antonym to ἀγριόγιδα). For the significance of this semantic phenomenon *cf. infra* on ἀγρίμι and ἀγρινόν.

2. *αἶξ in Mycenaean.* Jean-Louis Perpillou in 1972 published a paper[11] on the Greek name of the 'goat' αἶξ and the Armenian *ayc* and *aits*.[12] These had long been connected as probable loans derived from the same source. Since the Hesychius gloss δίζα· αἶξ Λάκωνες has been discarded, for the connection of δίζα with Old High German *ziga*, Mod. Ger. *Ziege*, offered by Fick and repeated by K. Latte, is impossible to defend phonetically,[13] the suggestion by Perpillou to read **αἶζα· αἶξ Λάκωνες* is corroborated by the facts. First, δίζα is nothing but a ghost-form ("fantôme"). Then, other names of animals suffixed with *-yă* offer good parallels: Gr. νῆσσα (from **νᾱτ-yă*), Gr. κίσσα (from κικυă). So Gr. αἰγ-: Gr. αἶζα ← **αἰγ-yă*, and in compounds Gr. αἰγ-ῐ-; related is Armenian *ayc-* ← *ayci-* ← **aig-y-* in the instrumental case *ayciw*. The form **aig-yə₂* with the thematic *-i-* is that of the most ancient compounds of the name for 'goat' in Greek: Homeric αἰγί-βοτος 'browsed by goats', then αἰγί-πους 'goat-footed' (Hdt.), etc.[14] Indeed, the most ancient attestations of *aig-i-* are the Mycenaean adjective *aidzā* 'goat's' from *aigyā* (for which classical Gr. αἴγειος is to be compared) in *a₃za* (PY Ub 1318), *i.e.* nom. sing. fem.,[15] and the Mycenaean compound *a₃-ki-pa-ta* (KN Fh 346; PY Ae 108 [=PY 321], 264, 489), with the αἰγ-ι-[16] of αἶξ, presumable nom. and dat. sing. *aigip(s)tās, -āi* 'goat-herd', *i.e.* αἰγιπάστᾱς (?).[17]

[4] See Ch. Chatzisarantos and A. Kanellis, "Ἀγριόγιδα καὶ ἀγριοκάτσικα τῆς Ἑλλάδος," Τὸ Βουνό 1955, 142–64: *Rupicapra rupicapra* (6–11), for which they use the Mod. Gr. names ἀγριόγιδο or ἀγρίμι, and *Capra hircus aegagrus Erxleben* (11–24), labeled αἴγαγρος or ἀγριοκάτσικο. Their assignment of the Greek names to one species or the other is an arbitrary one, attempting only to put some order in a confused situation ("σύγχυσις," as they say). In their later publication, "Τὰ θηλαστικὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος," Τὸ Βουνό 230 (1963) 6–21, they use the same names, adding also the Greek learned names Ἀντιλόπη ἡ αἴγαγρος (15 no. 69, *Rupicapra rupicapra*) and Αἶξ ἡ αἴγαγρος (15 no. 70, *Capra hircus aegagrus*). Kanellis in Τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θηλαστικῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Ἡ Φύσις 21 [1980]) 10, calls *R.r.* (no. 70) ἀγριόγιδο and *C.h.ae.* (no. 69) ἀγριοκάτσικο.

[5] Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς τῆς τε κοινῶς ὁμιλουμένης καὶ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων (hereafter *Historical Lexicon* or ΙΛ) 1 (1933) 195. No distinction is made between *Capra hircus aegagrus* and *Rupicapra rupicapra*.

[6] ΙΛ 1.200a; E. K. Platakis, "Δημώδη ὀνόματα ζώων Κρήτης," Κρητολογία 10–11 (1980) 44: *Capra aegagrus cretica* Schinz.

[7] On ἀγρίμι see Πανώρια 3.164; Ἐρωτόκριτος 2.645, 700, and pp.417f, 479; E. Kriaras, Τὸ λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας *1100–1669* 1 (Thessaloniki 1969) 58; ΙΛ 1.190. *Cf.* E. K. Platakis, "Τὸ ἀγρίμι καὶ οἱ ἀγριμολόοι στὸ δημοτικὸ τραγούδι τῆς Κρήτης," Ἀμάλθεια 28 (1976) 163–84, and (*supra* n.6) 44.

[8] A. A. Papadopoulos, Λεξικὸν τῆς Ποντικῆς διαλέκτου I (Athens 1958) 18 *s.v.* ἀγρκάτζικον. The second component of this name is, contrary to Papadopoulos' κατζίκα, of course the neuter τὸ κατζικόν/κατσικόν.

[9] M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*[2] (Cambridge 1973) 529.

[10] The ρασκά in Ikaria are called also τὰ ἄγρια; see A. I. Poulianos, Λαογραφικὰ Ἰκαρίας 2 (1976–77) 283; ἄγρια (or ἄρκα) in Cyprus versus ἥμερα: P. Xioutas, Κυπριακὴ λαογραφία τῶν ζώων (Nicosia 1978) 4.

[11] "Notules laconiennes," *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 67 (1972) 109–28, in which is included a section "Autour d'un nom de la chèvre," 115–22.

[12] *Cf.* E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I 57 n.5, 347 n.5.

[13] Illyric component of Doric: H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch s.v.* δίζα, with references to K. Latte, *Hesychii Lexicon* I (Copenhagen 1953) *s.v.*, and A. v. Blumenthal, *Hesych-studien* (Stuttgart 1930) 7f; R. Schmitt-Brandt, "Albanologische Forschungen," *Kratylos* 13 (1968) 3 (δίζα· αἶξ is already taken into account from Alb. *dhizë* 'Zicklein' with Cabej: this now [1968] outdated). The IE *āĝ-* 'Ziegenbock, Ziege' represented by OIndic *ajá-ḥ* 'Ziegenbock', *ajā* 'Ziege', Middle-Pers. *azak*, NPers. *azg* 'Ziege', Lith. *ožỹs* 'Ziegenbock', *ožkà* 'Ziege', OPruss. *wosee* 'Ziege', and Alb. *dhî* 'Ziege': J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I (1959) 6–7. The word αἶξ which is related to *aiĝ-* 'Ziege' is considered an oriental cultural term: Pokorny I 13.

[14] Perpillou (*supra* n.11) 118–120.

[15] Ventris and Chadwick (*supra* n.9) 537 (glossary).

[16] With instrumental in *-i*: αἰγί-βοτος, αἰγί-λιψ, δαιτι-κλυτός, δουρί-κτητος, Χειρί-σοφος; the composition *-i-* appears with substantive stems such as αἰγι-πόδης (*Hymn.Hom.*), Attic αἰγι-κορεῖς, αἰγίπους (Hdt.), etc. See Schwyzer I 446–48, 450.

[17] See Schwyzer I 526.

3. *αἶγα*. Passing over the classical Greek *αἴξ*, we may mention mediaeval Greek *αἶγα αἴξ*[18] and the typonym *ἡ Αἶγα* in Patmos (A.D. 1259)[19] and then look at the Late Koine words as reflected in Modern Greek and its dialects:

αἶγα /éγa/ ἡ, Antikythera, Crete[20] (Avdú, Apokóronas), Ikaria (with plur. *αἶγες*, acc. plur. *τὰς αἶγας*), Imbros, Lemnos (beside *κατσίκα*) (Plaka), Chios (Phyta), Skyros, Peloponnesus (Messenia), Tsakonia (*αἶγα* is no longer said in Melana, having been replaced by *γίδα*),[21] Naxos, Dodecanesian dialects (Karpathos, Kos, Syme, Rhodes, etc.), *κατσίκα* beside *αἶγα* in Chios and Karpathos.

[*ἡ*] *γ-αἶγα /γéγa/* Epirus (Kókkinos), Crete.

αἶα /éa/ ἡ, Pontic (dialect of Sandá), Chios, Ikaria (beside *éγa*), Rhodes, etc.; Rhodes: *τὴν αἶαμ μου* (from *τὴν αἶγαν μου*), *τὴν αἶαν, τὴν ἴαν, τὴν ἰγιά, τὴν ἴαμ μου*; plur. *οἱ αἶς*, acc. plur. *στὲς αἶς*.[22]

αἶγια /éγa/ Cyprus, Rhodes, Elymbos (of Karpathos), etc.; *cf.* Cyprian *ἡ αἰγιούα* '*μικρόσωμη αἶγα*', *αἰγιόμαντρα, τὸ αἰγιόκοπρον*.

αἶγες /éγes/ nom. plur.: *ἔσει τριάντα αἶγες* (spelled *αἶγες* and also *αἶγιες* in the phrase *αἶγες τ' ἄϊ Μάμα* [=*τ' ἀγρινά*, *cf. infra* 110], gen. plur. *τῶν αἰγιῶν*, all in Cyprus), *ἕνα κοπάδι ἀπὸ αἶγες καὶ πρόβατα* (Epirus), *οἱ αἶγες* (in a folksong in Chios); acc. plur. *τὲς αἶγες* (Rhodes).

τὰς αἶγας /tas éγas/ acc. plur. Ikaria (see *supra s.v. αἶγα*).

ègа in Bova (South Italy).

The synonyms, arising in the middle ages, for this term *αἶγα* are *γίδα* (derivative of *γίδιν* ← *αἰγίδιον*) and *κατσίκα* 'goat' (in Chios [Chalkiús, Nénita, Volissós] and Karpathos);[23] *τὸ κατζικόν* 'goat' and *τὰ κατζικά* 'goats' Rhodes;[24] *ἡ ἴτσα* and *τσίτσα* 'goat' (Chios, Ikaria), *ἴτσα* 'goat' (Apulia); *τὰ γιτσικά* 'goats' (Crete).[25]

Psichari finds similarities between Anc. Gr. and Mod. Gr.: as anc. *αἶγες*, fem. plur., as collective means a 'herd of goats' (since the milch goats are kept alive longer than the others, they constitute the nucleus of the herd), so is Mod. Gr. *τὰ γίδια* a 'herd of goats', comprising both female and male (the latter being *ὁ τράγος, τὸ τραγί*). He also offers the steps of changes between Pherecrates (*fl.* 430 B.C.) *αἰγίδιον* 'kid' and Mod. Greek in the neuter derivative: *αἰγίδιον, αἰγίδιν* Pontic (Kerasous, Nikopolis, Tripolis), *αἰγίδι* in Epirus (Kokkinos), *αἰγίδ'* Pontic (Kotyora, Trapezous, Chaldia), *αἰίδ'* Pontic (Kotyora, Sanda, Chaldia, Kars), *γίδιν, γίδι*;[26] South Italy Greek *γίδι*, plur. *γίδια*;[27] in Karpathos *τὸ αἰί, τὸ γί*, or *τὸ ἴ* with plur. *τὰ ἴδια*; derivative of *αἰγίδιον* is also *αἰδέα* f. 'goat skin' (from *αἰγιδέα* or rather *αἰγιδαία* in Karpathos).[28]

The linguistic discussion of the following Greek names is the chief subject of this study: (1–2) *ἄγριος αἴξ, ἀγριόαιξ*; (3) *αἴγαγρος*; (4) *ἀγριμαῖον* → *ἀγρίμαιον, ἀγρίμιν*; (5–6) *ἀγρινόν* and *γαρνό*; (7–8) *σαννάς* (Mod. Cretan *σαννάδα*, etc.), *ὑννάς*; (9) *ὀρεσκῷον* and **ρεσκόν* (*κατσίκιν*), *ρασκόν*, etc.; (10) *ἀγριοαιγίδιον*; (11) *ἀγριοκάτσικον*; (12) *κρικρί*.

1–2. *ἄγριος αἴξ, ἀγριόαιξ*

In Homer *αἴξ ἄγριος* is 'wild goat', probably the aegagrus: *Il.* 4.105f *ἐσύλα τόξον ἐΰξοον ἰξάλου αἰγὸς ἀγρίου*;[29] *Od.* 14.50 *ἐστόρεσεν δ' ἐπὶ δέρμα ἰονθάδος ἀγρίου αἰγός* "and thereupon he spread the skin of a shaggy wild goat"; 9.155 *ὧρσαν ... αἶγας ὀρεσκῴους, ἵνα δειπνήσειαν ἑταῖροι* "roused ... mountain goats [*cf. ρασκὰ τοῦ βουνοῦ* of today], that my comrades might make their meal"; 17.294f *τὸν δὲ πάροιθεν ἀγίνεσκον νέοι ἄνδρες αἶγας ἐπ' ἀγροτέρας*[30] *ἠδὲ πρόκας ἠδὲ λαγωούς*, "in days past the young men used to take (the hound) to hunt wild goats and deer and hares"; *Il.* 3.23ff *ὥς τε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας, εὑρὼν ἢ ἔλαφον κεραὸν ἢ ἄγριον αἶγα πεινάων*, "then even as a lion is glad when he lighteth on a great carcass, having found a horned stag or a wild goat when he is hungry."[31] Hesychius has the gloss *ἄγριον*

[18] *Corpus glossariorum latinorum* III (1892: hereafter *CGL*) 293.30. *αἶγα*: *Iatrosophion*, ed. I. Oikonomou-Agorastou (Thessaloniki 1982) 86 n.11, 96 n.21, 97 n.23.

[19] F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana collecta* VI (1890) 200.

[20] In Crete there are dialectal compounded nouns with *αἶγα* in the form *-γα* (*-ογα*), which are of unique importance in showing how firmly rooted are the compounded members of the words: *ἀνεμόγα, βροντόγα* (from *γροντόγα* ← *γροντόαιγα*), *'γγαλόγα* (from *γγαλόαιγα*: ΙΛ 4.221) from *ἔγγαλη αἶγα, γεροντόγα* (*γεροντόαιγα* [Kasos] ΙΛ 5.14), *γρόγα* (from *γερόαιγα*) (*Φορτουνᾶτος*), *γροντόγα* (*Φορτουνᾶτος*), *κακόγα* from *κακόαιγα* (syn. *ἀνεμόγα*), *κλεφτόγα, μαρταρόγα, ματσαρόγα* (and *ματσαρά*), *νταραντόγα, παλιοστειρόγα, παντερόγα* and *μπαντερόγα, ρυφόγα* (from *ἐριφόαιγα*), *στειρόγα* (from *στειρόαιγα*), *φουριαρόγα* (from *φουριάρα αἶγα*), *χαϊνόγα* and *χαϊναρά*, *ψιμόγα* (syn. *ὀψιμόαιγα*), *ψοφόγα* (syn. *ἀνεμόγα*). See the listing of these compounds by Platakis (*supra* n.6) 46, and *passim* 43–123. *Cf.* Cyprian *γιαρρόαιγα* or *γιαρρόγια* 'old goat'.

[21] A. Kostakis (informant, in Pernot, *Introduction à l'étude du dialecte tsakonien* [Paris 1934] 311) declines the noun as follows: *a yídа*, gen. *ta yidé*, acc. *tan eyída*, plur. *i yídе* and *i eyídе*, *tur eyídе*.

[22] Ch. I. Papachristodoulou, *Λεξικογραφικὰ καὶ λαογραφικὰ Ρόδου* (*Λαογραφία* 7 [Athens 1969]) 161.

[23] Middle Gr. *κατσίκα* (*ἡ*) is a derivative of *κατσικόν* ← **αἰγικατσικόν*: Georgacas (*supra* n.1) 147 no. 4.

[24] Miklosich and Müller (*supra* n.19) 335.

[25] Georgacas (*supra* n.1) 152 nn.1 and 3.

[26] J. Psichari, "La chèvre chez Homère, chez les Attiques et chez grecs modernes," *Quelques travaux de linguistique, de philologie et de littérature helléniques* I (Paris 1930) 1202–05.

[27] G. Rohlfs, *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae Inferioris* (Tübingen 1964) 16 *s.v. αἰγίδιον*.

[28] M. G. Michaïlidis, *Λαογραφικὰ σύμμεικτα* II (1934) 106, 109, 110, 112 (all about *αἰί*); *τὸ γί* or *τὸ ἴ* (Elymbos), *τὸ ἴ* (Karpathos) 98; *αἰδέα* 'skin of the goat' (Elymbos) and 'goatskin used as a container for water, wine and oil' (117).

[29] The epithet *ἴξαλος* may mean 'bounding, leaping', as the scholiast to the *Iliad* explains and we read in Hesychius: *ἰξάλου· πηδητικοῦ, ὀξέος· ... δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ὀξέως ἀλλομένου*. I would link *ἰτσαλούρι* 'goat' recorded by A. Karanastasis ("Γλωσσικὴ ὕλη ἐκ τῶν ἑλληνοφώνων κατοίκων τῶν χωρίων Στερνατίας καὶ Κοριλιάνο τῆς Ἀπουλίας τῆς Κάτω Ἰταλίας" [1964], ΙΛ archives MS. 836 p.8) with *ἴξαλος*: *i.e.*, *ἰτσαλούρι* would be derivative with suffix *-ούριν* from *ἴξαλος* substantivized and probably the diminutive **ἰξάλιν* with change of *ks* → *ts*, to which *ἴτσα* (from *αἰγίτσα*; not from *αἰγιδίτσα* as Karanastasis suggests) has contributed. Parallels are substantivized nouns like *ἀγρίμι, ἀγριμικό*, etc. With the notion 'the springing goat', *ὁ ἴξαλος* and *τὸ ἰξάλιν* are naturally understood.

[30] For *ἄγριος* 'wild' the poetic adj. is *ἀγρότερος* (derivative of *ἀγρός*) with the synonym *ὀρεινός* 'mountainous' having the poetic *ὀρέστερος* (stem *ὀρεσ-*: *ὀρέσ-τερος*, of *ὄρος*) as synonym. Thus, *αἶγας ἐπ' ἀγροτέρας* '(to hunt) wild goats' (*Od.* 17.295), while in Theocritus 8.58 it means game: *δένδρεσι μὲν χειμὼν φοβερὸν κακόν, ὕδασι δ' αὐχμός, ὄρνισιν δ' ὕσπλαγξ, ἀγροτέροις δὲ λίνα, ἀνδρὶ δὲ παρθενικᾶς ἀπαλᾶς πόθος*, "Dread plague to trees is tempest, drought to the waters, the springe to birds, and *nets to game*; and to man desire for a tender maiden" (so Gow, I 72–73, II 180). The adj. *ἄγραυλος*, 'dwelling in the fields', has as antonym *ὀρέσ-τερος*; Gow notes (II 455) on *ἀγροτεράων* at Theoc. 25.135 that "*ἄγραυλος* and *ἀγρότερος* are apparently synonyms."

[31] Psichari (*supra* n.26) 1191–1240 (a fine piece of detailed research and discussion, written in 1921), gives *ὁ* and *ἡ αἴξ* and offers the distinction between sing. masc. *ἄγριος αἴξ* and (1199) "une *ἄγριον αἶγα* sûrement féminin" (*Il.* 3.24; in *Eth.Nic.* 3.10.7, merely an allusion to Homeric lines, and 7.7.1, allusion to information given by Hdt. 2.42), masc. *πίονος αἰγός* (*Il.* 9.207, *ἐν δ' ἄρα νῶτον ἔθηκ' ὄϊός καὶ πίονος αἰγός*), but plur. fem. *αἶγες ... ἄγριαι* (*Od.* 9.118–19: *ἔν δ' αἶγες ἀπειρέσιαι γεγάασιν ἄγριαι* "therein innumerable wild goats live").

αἶγα· αἴγαγρον from Apollonius Sophista (*ca* 100 A.D.), and this is of course the Homeric phrase (*Il.* 3.24).

The term *ἡ ἀγριώαιξ 'wild goat' occurs in Middle Greek only in the form ἀγριόαιγας (acc. plur.) or, as the MS. has it accented, ἀγριοαίγας. The passage of Rhetorius Astrologus (active *ca* A.D. 500) Περὶ ἐκλείψεως κρίσις is as follows: εἰ δέ ἐστι τὸ ζῴδιον ἀνεμῶδες, γίνεται ἡ βλάβη ἐν τοῖς πετεινοῖς. εἰ δὲ ἐν θηριώδεσι, γίνεται ἐν τοῖς ἀγριμίοις ἤτοι <εἰς> ἐλάφους, ἀγριόαιγας. εἰ δέ ἐστιν ὑδατῶδες, γίνεται ἡ βλάβη ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσι καὶ ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι τὰς διατροφὰς ποιοῦνται.[32] Concerning τοῖς ἀγριμίοις,[33] it should be noted that τὰ ἀγρίμια in the sense 'deer' (ἔλαφοι) occurs perhaps as early as A.D. 500, while the same word also had the meaning 'wild goats' (ἀγριοαῖγες). It seems that ἤτοι ἐλάφους, ἀγριόαιγας (Boll's emendation εἰς is not needed) may be a gloss[34] which crept into the text; and the use of accusative rather than dative in a gloss at this late date would not be remarkable. The term ἀγρίμια for 'deer' is still in use in Crete today, where it signifies, in addition and primarily, 'wild goats'. The last matter to be discussed is the accent. Boll's ἀγριόαιγας should be rejected in favor of the MS. ἀγριοαίγας.[35] The nom. sing. form ἀγριόαιξ is fictitious, made up for the dictionary. In view of Middle Greek ἡ αἶγα[36] (or αἴγα, the distinction between circumflex and acute being meaningless), the nom. sing. might well have been ἀγριοαίγα (derivative of αἶγα), to which the acc. plur. would have been ἀγριοαίγας, even for Rhetorius, the more so if this is a later gloss.

3. αἴγαγρος

The term αἴγαγρος is of learned origin and serves as the species name in the Greek scientific taxonomy Ἀντιλόπη ἡ αἴγαγρος (*Rupicapra rupicapra*) and Αἴξ ἡ αἴγαγρος (*Capra hircus aegagrus*). In general it is used of any wild goat but more specifically of the aegagrus.[37] Thus, the κρητικὸς αἴγαγρος and the δέρμα αἰγάγρου 'chamois leather' (syn. σαμουά).[38] The learned αἴγαγρος was revived from the Koine ὁ and ἡ αἴγαγρος in the same sense: Babrius (II A.D.) 102.8; Oppian (III A.D.) *Cyneg.* 1.71.

Like σύαγρος equal to σῦς ἄγριος, there were formed αἴγαγρος 'wild goat', βόαγρος 'wild bull' for βοῦς ἄγριος, ἵππαγρος 'wild horse' for ἵππος ἄγριος, ὄναγρος m. 'wild ass' for ὄνος ἄγριος, etc.[39] As Middle Gr. ἀγριοαίγας (acc. plur. [see *supra*]), so must αἴγαγρον (acc. sing.) have originated from αἶγα ἄγριον with adjustment of the ending of the compound (-αγρος in αἴγαγρος for ἄγριος in αἶξ ἄγριος, as σύαγρος for σῦς ἄγριος by the replacement of -ιος by -ος).

The flesh of the αἴγαγρος is called τὸ αἰγάγριον in the *Edict. Diocl.* 4.45 (A.D. 301): δορκείου ἤτοι αἰγαγρείου ἢ κεμαδίου = Lat. *dorci sibe* [=*sive*] *caprae vel dammae* 'meat (of the young) of the roe-deer', *cf.* αἰγάγρειον *capriolina caro*.[40] Basil of Caesarea (†379) states that in Pontos there were in his time ἀγέλαι αἰγῶν ἀγρίων (Migne, *PG* 32.277). In the *Vita* of St Theoctiste it is said that there were in Paros αἴγαγροι,[41] hunted by hunters coming from Euboea. Hunting of goats was attested in many places and, especially, about Lycia by Eustathius of Thessalonica (774.58, *cf.* also 450.17).[42]

4. τὸ ἀγριμαῖον → ἀγρίμαιον → ἀγρίμιον → ἀγρίμιν → ἀγρίμι

The Middle Greek ἀγρίμι(ν),[43] commonly ἀγρίμι in Modern Greek, was originally 'wild beast'.[44] It came to designate the aegagrus, the ἀγρίμι *par excellence*. For example: Διήγησις παιδιόφραστος [or πεζόφραστος] 32.1045, ὁ φιδοροῦφος ἔλαφος ὁμοῦ σὺν τὸ ἀγρίμι; Erotokritos 2.645, ἀγρίμια, λάφια καὶ λαγοὺς ἤφερνεν εἰς τὸ σπίτι; in a song from Crete, ἀγρίμια κι ἀγριμάκια μου, λάφια μου μερωμένα, ... νὰ φὰς ἀπὸ λαγοῦ μερί κι ἀπ' ἀγριμιοῦ τὴ μέση.[45] The Cretan ἀγρίμι (the aegagrus, now called also κρικρί) occurs in West Crete (Mt Ida and Λευκὰ Ὄρη) and in Antimelos. The same ἀγρίμι for aegagrus (with ἀγριμάκι the 'young ἀγρίμι') occurs in the Dodecanese (Kalymnos, Karpathos). The ἀγριμότραος in Crete is for 'male ἀγρίμι' as opposed to the female σαννάδα. The same sense (aegagrus) is found in the following compounds from Crete: ἀγριμοκέρα adj. 'having horns similar to those of the aegagrus', ἀγριμοκόκκαλα, ἀγριμοκυνηγός and ἀγριμολόγος 'hunter of aegagri', ἀγριμονερό 'spring where aegagri drink'.[46]

The Middle Greek ἀγρίμιν (also dialectal in Livisi, Pontic, and Chios [Kardamyla]) is a new form based on the plural form ἀγρίμια /a*g*rímya/, which developed from ἀγρί-

[32] F. Boll, *CCAG* VII 225 (from *Vat.gr.* 191 f.239).

[33] For this see *infra* 107f. Also see ἀγριμαῖον *ferina*, *CGL* II 217.18; *cf.* G. Heraeus, *Index*, *CGL* VII 443, ἀγριμαῖον *ferina*. *Cf.* τὰ ἀγριμαῖα 'game' (II B.C., II A.D.), LSJ *s.v.*

[34] This suggestion came from L. Threatte.

[35] Boll in his apparatus to line 9: "ἀγριοαίγας cod. compositum novum videtur."

[36] *CGL* III 293.30; see Georgacas (*supra* n.1) 150 n.1.

[37] Chatzisarantos and Kanellis (*supra* n.4: 1963) 15 no. 70; *cf.* Kanellis (*supra* n.4: 1980) nos. 69 *Capra hircus*, *ibex*, and 70 *Rupicapra rupicapra*, ἀγρώγιδο; D. N. Papagiannopoulos, "αἴγαγρος," Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία 2.378c–79a (in Greece the αἴγαγροι are found on Parnassos, Tymphrestos [Veloúchi], and some islands of the Aegean); the most common way of hunting αἴγαγροι is tracking (παγανιά); Germanos, "αἴγαγρος," Ἐλευθερουδάκη Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Λεξικόν [hereafter ΕΕΛ] 1 (1927) 446a–b; A. S. Zacharis, "Ἡ πανίς, ἡ χλωρίς, τὰ δάση," Ἡράκλειον καὶ ὁ νομός του (Irakleion 1966) 57–66: *Capra hircus aegagrus m. creticus*, this αἴγαγρος ὁ κρητικός, commonly ἀγρίμι, is found in its natural habitat in τὸ Φαράγγι τῆς Σαμαριᾶς or τὸν Φάραγγα (in Samaria-Ayía Rouméli, in the eparchia of Sfakia), now called ὁ Ἐθνικὸς Δρυμός; *cf.* E. K. Platakis, Σπήλαια καὶ ἄλλαι καρστικαὶ μορφαί II (Irakleion 1975) 254. On the subject of the "Ἐθνικὸς Δρυμὸς εἰς Σαμαριάν," see in newspaper *Vima* (Rethymnon) 3 Feb. 1962. (The name Σαμαριά was explained by G. Hatzidakis, Γλωσσολογικαὶ ἔρευναι I [1934] 354, from Σὰ Μαριά ← Ὁσία Μαρία.) According to calculations of the inhabitants, there live within the Ἐθνικὸς Δρυμός about three hundred individual animals (ἀγρίμια) and outside of it about seven hundred; see S. G. Spanakis, Κρήτη II, Δυτικὴ Κρήτη 332.

[38] See D. J. Georgacas, "A Modern Greek-English Dictionary," 671 *s.v.* αἴγαγρος (in typescript).

[39] E. Risch, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 61.86; Schwyzer I 439 with n.3; G. Hatzidakis, Ἀκαδημεικὰ ἀναγνώσματα I (Athens 1924) 200, 347; II (1930) 339, 346. These terms have been set in relation with ἄγρα, etc., by folk etymology; see P. Chantraine, *Études sur le vocabulaire grec* (Paris 1956) 45 n.2.

[40] *Diokletians Preisedikt*, ed. S. Lauffer (Berlin 1971) 109, 224.

[41] Th. Ioannou, Μνημεῖα ἁγιολογικά (Venice 1884) 9.

[42] *Cf.* Ph. Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός V (Athens 1952) 417.

[43] Kriaras (*supra* n.7) 58. *Cf.* Koukoules (*supra* n.42).

[44] τὸ ἀγρίμι(ν) is 'the wild animal' in Rhodes: Papachristodoulou (*supra* n.22) 73.

[45] Styl. E. Papadakis, "Κρήτη, γεωγραφία," ΕΕΛ 8 (1930) 181a.

[46] Panos Kalogerikos, ΕΕΛ 1.167b; Pierre Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grèce* ... (Paris 1554) ff. 4^{r}–16^{r}, mentions it too (1547).

μαια (sing. *ἀγρίμαιον*), when the latter underwent shift of the accent from *ἀγριμαῖον* to indicate clearly that the adjective *ἀγριμαῖον* had become an appellative *ἀγρίμαιον*.[47] In Ptolemy VIII (II B.C.) and in a papyrus[48] we have the *ἀγριμαῖον* 'wild animal, game, venison' (Mod. Gr. syn. *θήραμα*, *κυνήγι*, *ἀγριομερινό*, *ἀγρίμι*) and Middle Greek *ἀγριμαῖον* was 'wild animal'.[49] The form *ἀγρίμαιον* (pronounced */agrímeon/*) underwent synizesis of *eo* and *ea* to *yo* and *ya* (yodization) respectively in Middle Greek, so the new form *agrimyon* and *agrímya* resulted.[50] The form *τὸ ἀγρίμιν* is also implicit in the phrase *ἐν τοῖς ἀγριμίοις ca* A.D. 500 (see *supra* 106).

The Middle Greek *ἀγριμικόν*[51] and Mod. Greek *ἀγριμικό* n. occurs in the Peloponnesus (Laconia, Mani), Zakynthos, and in Northern Greece (in Macedonia Kozani, in Thrace Arkadioupolis; ΙΛ 1.190a); it does not designate specifically the wild goat, as N. Andriotis thought,[52] but refers to any wild mammal: *τὰ ἀγριμικὰ στὸ ὀρμάν'* (in the forest: Arkadioupolis); in a song from Mani, *σκιάζομαι γιὰ τ' ἀγριμικό*. In any case, the adj. *ἀγριμικός* 'of an *ἀγρίμι*' in Crete refers to the aegagrus, the example *ἀγριμικὸ λουρί* meaning 'strip of aegagrus skin' (ΙΛ 1.190a).

E. Platakis lists some nineteen toponyms, including names of caves, which are compounds of *ἀγρίμι* with *νερό*, *χωράφι*, etc.[53]

[47] ΙΛ 1.190a *s.v. ἀγρίμι 2β*.

[48] *FGrHist* 234F9, *πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀγριμαίων ἔγκειται πεπονημένα ... γένη* (with the sense *θήραμα*, *κρέας ἀγρίων ζώων*); *P.Lond.* III 1159.73 (II A.D.): delivery *ὀρνίθων καὶ ἀγριμαίων*. The technical and late term *τὰ ἀγριμαῖα* is connected with *ἀγρός*, *ἄγριος*, as well as the noun *ἄγρα* (*cf.* also *ἀναγρία* f., 'period during which hunting is prohibited'); *cf.* Chantraine (*supra* n.39) 59 with n.1.

[49] Middle Greek (unaccented) *ἀγριμαιον ferina*: in *CGL* II 217.18; is it *ἀγρίμαιον* or *ἀγριμαῖον*? The term *ferina* is the 'flesh of wild animals as food, game, venison'. See *supra* n.33.

[50] Since *ἀγρίμιν* from the previous stage *ἀγρίμαιον* and this from *ἀγριμαῖον* might be considered problematic, it should be pointed out that such is the way that adjectives in *-μαῖος* developed within Koine Greek. Examples: *ἀγελμαῖος* 'belonging to the herd' (Macarius Aegypt., *ca* 390); *ἐνεχυριμαῖον* (*ἐνέχυρον*) 'pledge, security'; *ἐντολιμαῖον* (*γράμμα*) 'power of attorney'; *εὑρεσιμαῖος* 'found', whence adj. *βρεσιμαιώς* and *πρᾶμα βρεσιμό* (deriv. of *εὑρέσιμος*; *cf.* neut. noun *εὑρέσιμον* 'trovatura' [Germano 301 ed. H. Pernot]); *θνησιμαῖον* 'carcass of an animal' (LXX); *κλεψιμαῖος* 'stolen' (LXX; *P.Lond.* II 422.3; *cf.* Mod. Gr. *τὰ κλεψιμαῖα* [A. Petsalis] and *κλεψιμιά* [Makrygiannis], adj. *κλεψίμιος* [*e.g. κλεψίμιο κρέας*] and noun *τὰ κλεψίμια* [Kazantzakis], and noun *τὸ κλεψιμιό* 'theft'); *κλοπιμαῖος* 'stolen' (Lucian etc.), and syn. of preceding; *λαθριμαῖος* 'clandestine, secret'; *νεκριμαῖος* (LXX; noun *τὸ νεκριμαῖον*); *ριζιμός* 'rooted' (Cornaros *Ἐρωτόκριτος* 2.2361 *χαράκι ριζιμό*, 4.703 *χαράκια ριζιμιά*) ← *ριζιμαῖος* (Const. Porph. *Admin.Imp.* [written before A.D. 953] 9.27, *μέσον δὲ αὐτοῦ πέτραι εἰσὶ ριζιμαῖαι ὑψηλαὶ νησίων δίκην ἀποφαινόμεναι*; Praktikon [A.D. 1073], *καὶ ριζιμαία πέτρα μεγάλη ἵσταται λεγομένη Καλὴ πέτρα*; Praktikon [A.D. 1301]; etc.); *τραχηλιμαῖος* 'of the neck'; *τυχιμαῖος* 'accidental' (Eusebius, †339); *ψοφίμι* from *ψοφίμο* (Kythera) ← **ψοφίμαιον* ← **ψοφιμαῖον*; *θρασίμι* from *θρασίμιν* ← *θρασίμαιον* ← **θρασιμαῖον*; *ζωντίμι* ← *ζωντίμιν* ← *ζωντίμον* (Du Cange, Somavera) from *ζωντίμαιον* ← **ζωντιμαῖον*. On the basis of the plur. *ἀγρίμα*, the new form *ἀγρίμιν* originated in analogy to *-ια* plur.: *-ιν* sing. in parallel examples such as *ἀπίδια*: *ἀπίδιν*, *δακτύλια*: *δακτύλιν*, *κεφάλια*: *κεφάλιν*, etc. *Cf.* G. Hatzidakis, *Ἀθηνᾶ* 22 (1910) 240f = *Glotta* 3 (1912) 209f. *Cf.* also Shipp (*supra* n.2) 30 *s.v. ἀγριμαῖος*.

[51] Kriaras (*supra* n.7) 58.

[52] N. Andriotis, "Ἐτυμολογικά," Λεξικογραφικὸν Δελτίον 2 (1940) 147.

[53] *Ἀγριμά* (*τά*), *Ἀγριμερό* (*τό*), *Ἀγριμοκέρατο* (*τό*), *Ἀγριμοκεφάλι* and *Ἀγριμοκέφαλο* (*τό*) and *Ἀγριμοκεφάλα* (*ἡ*), *Ἀγριμόκουρτα* (*ἡ*), *Ἀγριμολαί* (*ἡ*), *Ἀγριμολάκκια* (*τά*), *Ἀγριμολιάδες* (*οἱ*), *Ἀγριμονερό* (*τό*) and *Ἀγριμόνερα* (*τά*), *Ἀγριμοπήγαδο* (*τό*), *Ἀγριμόπορος* (*ὁ*), *τσῆ Ἀγριμοῦς τὸ ρυάκι*, *Ἀγριμοχώραφο* (*τό*), *Ἀγριμοχώραφα* (*τά*); and as names of caves: *Ἀγριμοκεφάλι* (*τό*), *Ἀγριμόνερο* (*τό*), *τοῦ Ἀγριμονεροῦ ὁ σπήλιος*. Platakis (*supra* n.7) 165–68.

5–6. *ἀγρινόν* Cyprian and *γαρνό* Cappadocian (Farashotic)

The Cyprian term *ἀγρινόν* never did signify a 'kind of wild goat', as stated in the *Historical Lexicon*.[54] Actually, it was Georgios Frangoudis[55] who told us in 1890 that "*τινὲς μούσμωνες εὑρίσκονται εἰσέτι ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῦ Ὀλύμπου* (in Cyprus), *καλούμενοι ἀγρινά*." Then, *ἀγρινόν τό*, '*ἀγρίου προβάτου εἶδός τι*', is explained by A. Sakellarios[56] as signifying 'wild ram' or 'wild sheep' (*κλιάρος* [for *κριάρος*] is used for the male and *κουέλλα* for the female). G. Loukas gives still more explicit information about *ἀγρινόν*: the animal moufflon *Caprovis musimo*, in Greek *μούσμων*, is '*εἶδος κριοῦ μὲ τρίχας αἰγός*', wild sheep (syn. *ἀγρίμι*);[57] *cf.* P. Gennadios: *ἀγρινό*, *τὸ ἄγριον πρόβατον*, *Ovis cyprius* or *Caprovis musimo*.[58]

This wild sheep, related to the Asiatic *μουφλόν*, is the *κυπριακὸν μουφλόν* and, within the island of Cyprus, is called *ἀγρινόν*. It lives in the forested areas of the mountain range of the northwest part of the island, and especially on the Troodos (highest peak 2140 m.). It is a handsome animal with large horns and a body length of 0.70 m. In 1930 its numbers were estimated at about 250 to 300,[59] but in the 1950's it had been reduced to a very rare species.[60] The animal is now protected by measures to prevent its extinction on the island.[61]

We are told more by Paul Xioutas in his recent book.[62] The Cyprian wild sheep, *Ovis ammon orientalis* (Cyprus variety),[63] according to the expert Dr J. L. van Haaften (1970), is a "species of capra of Mt Troodos," first defined by Dr J. Sibthorp, who visited Cyprus in 1787. Even earlier Wilhelm von Boldeusele, who visited Cyprus in 1333, wrote, "There are in the mountains of Cyprus wild sheep with hair like that of goats ... " D. Possot, who visited the island in 1533, wrote of the *ἀγρινά*, "One finds here plenty of wild sheep, which have the hair of a deer and run in the country like wild animals."[64]

[54] ΙΛ 1.191a, with a reference also to *ἀγροπρόβατον* (Pontic), 1.216a.

[55] *Κύπρις, ἡ Κύπρος τῆς σήμερον* (Athens 1890) 40.

[56] *Τὰ Κυπριακά* II (Athens 1891) 429: *ἡ Ὀρεινὴ ἔν' γεμάτη ἀπὸ ἀγρινά, τὸ κρικάς των ἔν' ἄσπρον σὰν τὸ παμπάκιν.*

[57] Georgios Loukas (1843–1925), *Γλωσσάριον Γεωργίου Λουκᾶ*, ed. Theophano D. Kypri (Nicosia 1979), 12 *s.v. ἀγρινόν*. *Cf.* also *ἀγρινὸν* moufflon (A. Kyriakidis, *Λεξικὸν ἑλληνοαγγλικόν*[2] [Athens 1909] 893) and *ἀγρινόν brebis sauvage* (É. Legrand, *Ἑλληνογαλλικὸν λεξικόν* [Paris 1882] *s.v.*). In figurative senses, *ἀγρινόν* means (a) unsociable person, and (b) inexperienced individual (syn. *ἄπειρος*, *ξυπασμένος*): *cf.* Loukas.

[58] P. Gennadios, "*Γεωργικὸν γλωσσάριον*," ΙΛ archives MS. p.3.

[59] S. Chatzidakis, "*πρόβατον* (*ζωολ.*)," ΕΕΛ 10 (1930) 892b. As *πρόβατον ὁ ὀφίων* it is designated in ΕΕΛ *Συμπλήρωμα* 1.461.

[60] "*Κύπρος* (*χλωρὶς καὶ πανίς*)," ΕΕΛ 8 (1930) 311b.

[61] There are items of information on the Cyprus *ἀγρινά* written by the Cypriot foresters E. D. Michaelidis and Dem. Michaelidis in the magazine *Δασικοὶ Θησαυροί* 1968, by R. M. Serapheim in 1970, and by Anthimos Panaretos, *Λαογραφικὰ Κύπρου Ἀνάλεκτα* (*Παγκύπριος Ἕνωσις Γεωπόνων*) 41–44. This information was supplied by Dr Kyriakos Hadjioannou.

[62] *Supra* n.10: 162–68.

[63] *Cf. Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (1976) 1476 *s.v.* "mouflon" (this being from Fr. *mouflon*).

[64] In C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria* (Nicosia 1969) 16 and 63.

Xioutas rejects out of hand the misconceived idea that *τὸ ἀγρινόν* is related to *χίμαιρα* and has any connection with evil animals (*δαιμονικά*).[65] In any case, *τὸ ἀγρινόν* is definitely a pan-Cyprian word for the wild sheep.[66]

According to a tradition published by P. Xioutas in 1945 and reproduced in his recent book,[67] the Cyprian *ἀγρινά* are *οἱ αἶγες* (spelled even *αἴγιες* because of the gen. plur. form *τῶν αἰγῶν*) *τ' ἅι-Μάμα* (*ὁ ἅις Μάμας* is the patron saint of Morfou, while *ἡ ἐκκλησιὰ τοῦ ἅγιου Μάμαντου* is the patron in *Βαρελαῖοι* in Euboea).[68] Because of this relation of the agriná to Saint Mamas, the unrelenting hunters avoid hunting the agriná on September 2, the saint's feast day.

The main characteristics of the agrinón are its keen sense of smell, its speed and agility, its rutting, its meat, etc. The most famed hunters of agriná of the last half-century are from the main villages around Mt Troodos and the Paphos forest (Kambos, Tsakistra, Panaya, Statos, Mylikourin, Platres, and Kakopetria). The spoor (*μαλαγή*, Cypr. *μαλαή*) is easily followed. The hunters, mindful of the animal's extremely sharp sense of smell, are careful to approach from downwind, using suitable techniques and methods to take their quarry. A herd consists of between three and fifteen animals. The gestation period is five months. The meat is sweet as sugar, whether *ὀφτόν* 'roasted' or as noun 'roasted meat', or pan cooked or *παστόν* (*ἀπόχτιν*) 'cured or sun-dried meat'; the flesh is tasty until the animal reaches the age of four years, when it becomes tough. The *ἀγρινά* live to between fifteen and twenty years.

Finally, there are a number of derivatives of *ἀγρινόν* listed by Xioutas: names of the domestic goat *ἡ ἀγριναί*[69] (from *ἀγριναία*), *ἡ ἀγρινιδκιά* (from *ἀγρινιδαία*), *ὁ ἀγρινιάς* (from *ἀγρινίας, sc. τράγος*), and *τὸ ἀγρινέτιν* 'young agrinón', on the ground that the goat resembles a *μικρὸν ἀγρινόν*;[70] there is also *ἀγρινομαλλούρα* f., because its hair is somewhat similar to that of the agrinón. There may be added the compound *ἀγρινοπαρδαλομίταινα* (ΙΛ 1.191b), meaning 'goat of a gray color, mottled (*παρδαλόχρωμη, παρδαλή*), and with small ears'. Xioutas (14) also adds the detail that *ἀπόχτιν*[71] 'cured and sun-dried meat' (*τὸ παστόν*), was formerly meat of agrinón in Cyprus (Kambos, Panagia, Tsakistra, and elsewhere).[72]

The noun *ἀγρινόν* was derived from the fuller expression *ἀγρινὸν ζῷον* or *πρόβατον*. The adj. *ἀγρινός* can be explained as extended from *ἄγριος* with the suffix *-(ι)νός*, possibly under the impact of *ὀρεινός* 'of the mountains, mountainous', this used beside its synonym *ὄρειος* (*cf. ὄρεια ζῷα* in Aristotle). There follows another find that leads us to *ἀγρινόν*.[73]

The Farasha term *τὸ γαρνό*, occurring in the Antitaurus, designated a kind of aegagrus, so *e.g. σκότ'σαν ἕνα γαρνὸ καὶ μοίρασάν* do, and *πηάγαμ' 'ς σοῦ γαρνοῦ τὸ 'νέγκωσμα* 'hunting', Mod. Gr. *κυνήγι*.[74] I certainly approve the explanation of *τὸ γαρνό* from *τὸ ἀγρινόν*, for these reasons: (a) Cyprian and Cappadocian have vocabulary in common and grammatical parallels, and (b) the metathesis of the vowel *ἀγρ'νό* to *γαρνό* (*ἀγρ-* to *γαρ-*) is not only possible but is also attested in a parallel in Pontic, with which Farasha (as an archaic Cappadocian dialect) has close ties, as R. M. Dawkins has demonstrated.

Apart from *γαρνό* from *ἀγρινόν*, there is the Pontic *ὁ γαρκός* 'bull' (Kerasous) and *τὸ γαρκόν* 'bull' (syn. *ταῦρος, ταυρί*), as in Amisos, Imera, Kromni, Chaldia, etc.;[75] this word is from Koine *ἀγρικός, ἀγρικόν* 'wild animal' and the adjective *ἀγρικός* 'wild', the latter still attested in the Kerkyra speech area today.[76] This enticing explanation of *γαρκός*, nonetheless, seems to have a flaw: is a bull called 'wild'? We know of *βοῦς ἄγριος* for the 'buffalo' (Arist. *HA* 499a4), but cattle are animals 'dwelling in the fields'; indeed *τὰ ζά* in the area of Trapezous

[65] Xioutas (*supra* n.10) 168. That uncalled-for idea was expressed in Nicosia by G. Kourmoulis, "Ἐπιβώσεις τῆς ἀρχαίας χιμαίρας ἐν Κύπρῳ," *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Α' Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου 1969* (Leukosia 1973) 199–203. Kourmoulis' argumentation is a useless attempt to connect the wild sheep of Cyprus with the Homeric chimaera, offering ideas but no evidence from the well-known fauna of the island and no scholarly documentation (no reference accompanies his discussion of more than four pages). First, he tries empirically to determine without information from any native zoologists whether the animal is a goat or a sheep and he reaches a 'chimaeric' conclusion: "Τὸ *ἀγρινὸν λοιπὸν εἶναι ἓν σατανικὸν ζῷον, τὸ ὁποῖον δὲν εἶναι οὔτε αἴξ οὔτε πρόβατον, εἶναι δηλαδὴ μία χίμαιρα*" (202), which the Cyprians, who have eaten the flesh of *ἀγρινόν*, could have told him, while he was still in Cyprus in 1969. Then, his connecting *ἀμαιμάκετος* 'raging' with the nonexistent **μαιμάχομαι* with his assumed reduplication from *μάχομαι*, is unsupported by any facts (linking as he does *ἀμαιμάκετος* with *μάχομαι*, which was done by poets and rhapsodes with *ἄμαχος*; this is certainly a folk etymology!); the initial *ἀ-* in *ἀμαιμάκετος* may be intensive or pleonastic. On the other hand, compare *μαιμάω* 'tremble with ardor' and *μαιμάσσω* (LXX, etc.), *μαῖμαξ* adj. '*ταραχώδης*' (Hesych.), and perhaps *μαίμακος* 'violent' (tragedy), not having the *-χ-* of *μάχομαι*, *μαιμάκτης* 'boisterous, stormy' (epithet of Zeus), Μαιμακτήρ name of a month in Phocaea, gods *μαιμακτῆρες* (inscr. Mytilene), the month Μαιμακτηριών (derived from *τὰ *Μαιμακτήρια*), etc. See LSJ on these words; Frisk (*supra* n.13) II 159f *s.v. μαιμάω*; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* I (Paris 1968) 69b and III (1974) 658a.

[66] Kyriakos Hadjioannou, in letter dated 9 Sept. 1981.

[67] *Supra* n.10: 163–65.

[68] See Tasos Zappas, *Εὐβοϊκά* II (Athens 1978) 144.

[69] See K. Hadjioannou, *Τὰ ἐν Διασπορᾷ* I (1969) 6. *Cf.* Cyprian *ἡ φασσαί, σταχτέ, μαλλέ, βυζέ, φωτέ*, in Ikarian *ἡ ἐλαί, μερσινέ, μυρτέ*, in West Crete *οἱ ἐλαῖς, οἱ καρές, ἡ βαρέ, ἡ πλατέ*, in Avlonari of Euboea *οἱ ἐλαῖς, οἱ καρές, οἱ μουρές*, etc., so also *οἱ φτελές* from *ἡ φτελέα* (Du Cange).

[70] Hadjioannou, *Τὰ ἐν Διασπορᾷ* II (1979) 101–03.

[71] On Middle Gr. *ἀπόκτιν* (Const. Porphyrog., *Cerim.* 1.464) and Mod. Gr. *ἀπόφτι* (Syros), *ἀπόχτιν* (Cyprus), *ἀπόχτι* (Cyclades, Chios, Ikaria, Dodecanese, Crete, etc.), *πόχτι*, etc.: ΙΛ 3.622f. The word is from *ἀπόφτιν* ← **ἀπόπτιον*, deriv. of *ἄποπτος* (: *ὀπτός* with *ὀφτός* in Crete '*ξηρός*'; *cf.* Cypr. *ἀπόχτιν* '*παστὸν κρέας*'). *Cf.* G. Hatzidakis, *Ἀθηνᾶ* 22 (1910) 207f = Γλωσσολογικαὶ ἔρευναι I 550.

[72] Xioutas refers to X. Farmakidis, *Κυπριακὴ λαογραφία* (Limassol 1968) 117, and to others. Kythraia: ΙΛ archives MS. 994 p.84.

[73] Note *Orac.Sib.* 7.79 (p.137 Geffcken); *cf.* G. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon s.v. ἀγρινός*. The word is found in E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (on the basis of Friedlieb's edition of 1852), but is omitted in C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago 1944) 268. It obviously was dropped with good reason. The passage is corrupt: *†ἀγρίηνα πετεινά†* MSS. ΦΨ: *ἀγριηνὰ πετεινά, ἀγρίην σὺ πέλειαν* Geffcken, *ἀργῆτα πέλειαν* Wilamowitz; and the word *ὄρνιν* is mentioned in verse 81 as *πετεινά* is in the above passage. It appears that the late Koine adj. (II/III A.D.) in the passage *†ἀγρίηνα πετεινά* has suffered and undergone deformation beyond repair. It should be added that the prooemium derives, according to Geffcken, probably from the sixth century A.D. (The reader should also be reminded that Hesychius' entry *ἀγρηνόν* 'net' and *ἀγρηνά· δίκτυα* and *ἀγρηνόν· <ἔνδυμα> δικτυοειδές*, etc., are irrelevant and therefore have no place in our discussion.) *ἀγριηνά* has no substance as a real word and should be eliminated as such from the lexica.

[74] ΙΛ 4.255a; *cf.* Andriotis (*supra* n.52) 146f, also his *Τὸ γλωσσικὸ ἰδίωμα τῶν Φαράσων* (Athens 1948) 54, and *Lexicon* 67, 62 *ἀγριηνός*.

[75] Papadopoulos (*supra* n.8) 217; ΙΛ 4.2 (1980) 251a–b. The hard-working author of the Pontic lexicon, one of the top experts in the field of the Pontic language, incorrectly marked *γαρκός -ον* as borrowed from an unnamed foreign language. I may add a few references here about *γαρκόν* n. in Adisa (in the area of the *μονὴ τῆς Παναγίας Γουμερᾶς*): P. Melanophrydis, *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου* 20 (1955) 87; *γαρκόν* in Imera: A. Fostiropoulos, *ΑρχΠοντ* 14 (1949) 187; *γαρκόν* in Liverá (mediaeval *Δουβερά*) six hours south of Trapezous: Chr. Myridis, *ΑρχΠοντ* 13 (1948) 138.

[76] Andriotis, *Lexikon* 67, 63. The information about the survival of *ἀγρικός* 'wild' in the Kerkyra speech probably comes from Dr D. Krekoukias, who had collected materials from the Kerkyra area. What we need is illuminating samples of that speech containing *ἀγρικός*.

are *ἀγελάδες καὶ βόδια*.[77] Now *ἄγροικος* 'dwelling in the fields' is opposed to *ὄρειος* 'living in the mountains': *cf. ἄγροικα ζῷα vs ὄρεια ζῷα* (Arist. *HA* 488b2), and postmediaeval *βουβάλι . . . ἄγροικο ἀπ' τὰ μουντάνια* (Foscolos, *Φορτουνᾶτος* 2.43, 3.152); *cf.* ΙΛ 1.230 *s.v. ἀγροῖκος*. *ἀγροῖκος* is also 'dwelling in the country'. I suggest that *ἀγροικός*, instead of *ἄγροικος*, was so accented by analogy to the nearly synonymous *ὀρεινός*, producing the scheme: *ἀγροικὸν ζῷον vs ὀρεινὸν ζῷον*; *ἄγροικον ζῷον vs ὄρειον ζῷον*.[78]

Our general conclusion is that Farasha *γαρνό* 'wild goat or aegagrus', living in the mountains of Farasha, and Cypriot *ἀγρινόν* 'wild sheep', living likewise in the mountains of Cyprus, are both derived from *τὸ ἀγρινόν*, a derivative of *ἄγριος* with the suff. *-νός*.[79] This is one of the dialectal features that tied Cypriot and Cappadocian Greek together before the communication of Asia Minor and Cyprus was cut off by the encroachments of the Turks during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

7–8. *σαννάς, ὑννάς*

Aristotle *HA* 9.6.1 mentions *τὰς αἶγας τὰς ἀγρίας* in connection with Crete. The ancient one-word definition was *ἡ σαννάς*, *i.e.* the female aegagrus. In Modern Greek the same name occurs in the form *σαννάδα* f., in Crete and specifically in Sfakia; *cf.* the proverb *Ὅπου πηδήση ἡ σαννάδα, πηδᾶ καὶ τὸ σανναδάκι*.[80] The male is *ἀγριμότραος*, the female being *σαννάδα*. There are neuter *σανναδάκι* 'young aegagrus' (syn. *ἀγριμάκι*) and compound *τὸ στειροσάνναδο* 'τὸ στεῖρο σαννάδι', plur. *τὰ στειροσάνναδα*: *μὲ τ' ἀγριμάκια βόσκουμου, μὲ τσοὶ λαγοὺς ὀρχειούμου καὶ μὲ τὰ στειροσάνναδα ἔβγαινα στὴ Μαδάρα*, and *μὲ τὰ στειροσάνναδα ἔκανα κουλουμούντρια* (this last word meaning 'somersault', *κυβιστίνδα*, compound of *κῶλος* and *μοῦτρα* 'face').[81] The compound *στειροσάνναδο* reveals the existence of the neuter *τὸ σαννάδι* (← *σαννάδιον*), not so far attested, for this compound, in accordance with Greek practice in compounds of determinative adjective plus noun, leaves no alternative with

[77] Myridis (*supra* n.75) 138.

[78] On mediaeval *ἀγροικός* with the first sense '*ἄγριος, ἀτίθασος*' (*Digenes Akrites* 4.1061 Mavrogordato: *καὶ εἰς ὀλίγον διάστημα τῆς χαίτης τε κρατήσας, ὄπισθεν τὸν ἀγροικὸν καὶ μέγαν*) beside *ἄγρικος* see Kriaras (*supra* n.7) 69f. Hatzidakis (*supra* n.3) 127 had suggested interference of adjectives in *-ικός*. B. Favis, "*σαβούρρα-σάβουρρος*," *Ἀθηνᾶ* 51 (1941) 116, thinks that, since the oxytone *ἀγροικός* was used elsewhere and specifically in Pontic and South Italy Greek (see Bova *agrikò* and *agrićí* f. 'wild'), it presupposes this accentuation in *-ός* to have been very early (Pontic has preserved Middle Greek elements but also a number of ancient Ionic ones; the Greek dialects of South Italy, on the other hand, continue the language of the Greek colonists). According to G. Rohlfs (*supra* n.27) 11, *ἀγροῖκος* 'rural' underwent shift of its accent to *ἀγροικός* (and so, on a papyrus, *ἀγροικός*, III A.D.) under the influence of the numerous adjectives in *-ικός*; he may be right. The form *ἀγροικός*, recorded in Epirus and Kerkyra, is probably the same form *ἀγρικός*, given for Kerkyra by Andriotis, *Lexikon* 67, 63; *cf.* ΙΛ 1.230.

[79] *Cf.* Georgacas (*supra* n.1) 70, 87, 109, 110.

[80] *σαννάδα*: A. Giannarakis, *Ἄσματα Κρητικά* (Leipzig 1876) 366; P. G. Vlastos, *Ὁ γάμος ἐν Κρήτῃ* (Athens 1893) 145; A. I. Kriaris, *Τὸ παιδὶ στὴ δημοτικὴ ποίηση τῆς Κρήτης* (Athens 1977) 72; Idom. Papagrigorakis, "*Ἀπὸ τὸ κρητικὸ γλωσσικὸ ἰδίωμα*," *Κρητικὴ Ἑστία* 78, 28; G. E. Pangalos, *Περὶ τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ἰδιώματος τῆς Κρήτης* III 371, IV 507; Platakis (*supra* n.6) 10. Proverb: Aristides K. Kriaris, *Πλήρης συλλογὴ Κρητικῶν ἀσμάτων καὶ Κρητικῶν παροιμιῶν* (Athens 1920) 410 and 260: *τὸ σανναδάκι 'τὸ μικρὸ τῆς σαννάδας'*; A. I. Kriaris, *Το παιδὶ* 72; Pangalos IV 510.

[81] Platakis (*supra* n.7) 170, 2 lines 3–4; 171, 2 B lines 5–6.

regard to its second component *-σάνναδο* but the form *σαννάδιον* n. (with plur. *σαννάδια*).[82] Finally, we record here the Cretan toponym *τῆς Σαννάδας τὸ βιγλάκι*.[83]

The noun *σαννάς* f. occurs in Hesychius: *σαννάδας· τὰς ἀγρίας αἶγας*. The editor of Hesychius, M. Schmidt, observes: "Talia non temptanda esse docebant pariliter exeuntia *ἀμνάδες, μηκάδες, ἰονθάδες, ὑννάδες, νιβάδες, ἐνοιάδες, κατοιάδες, ἐπιμηλάδες* . . . "[84] *Cf. infra* on *ὑννάς*. Important, however, is the fact that apart from Hesychius the word *σαννάς* f. is directly attested in a scholiast to Hipponax X.1 (Diehl³), preserved in a papyrus of the second century A.D.:

[κύ]-
[ρι]ον ὄνομα ὁ Σάννος ᾧ λοιδορ[εῖται, ὃ ἔνι]-
[οι] πεποιῆσθαί φασιν παρὰ τὴ[ν σαννά]-
[δα]. Κρ[ῆτ]ας δὲ τὰς ἀγρίας αἶγας λέγειν σαν-
[νάδας παρίστη]σιν Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς
[Ἀντίγονον κα]ὶ Ἀδαῖον· τὰς δὲ αἶγας ἐπὶ
[--- σανν]οπλήκτους εἶναι . . .[85]

The first mention *τὴ[ν σαννάδα]* was suggested by Snell, but the second is certainly *σαν[νάδας παρίστη]σιν Πολέμων* because of the preceding context, *Κρ[ῆτ]ας δὲ τὰς ἀγρίας αἶγας λέγειν* . . . *Κρῆτας* was read by Latte (38) and Diehl and *σαννάδας* by Lobel.

The LSJ *Supplement* (1968) states (132a): "<*σαννάδας*> probably in *Sch. Hipponax* X.1 Diehl³." It is true, since the word *σαννάδας· τὰς ἀγρίας αἶγας* appears already in Hesychius. But neither Diehl himself nor those who worked on the third edition of the *Anthologia* (1952) ever saw the article by Hatzidakis in *Glotta* 12 (1923) 148f, and hence were unaware of the survival of the word *σαννάς* f. in modern Cretan, which both verifies Hesychius' gloss and renders certain the scholiast's *λέγειν σαν[νάδας παρίστη]σιν Πολέμων* (the periegetes and historian, *floruit* 210–170 B.C.). The treasure of modern Greek dialects, which have transmitted to us a tremendous number of vocabulary items from both ancient and Koine Greek, should no longer be ignored by classicists and linguists.

Both Frisk and Chantraine took into account the data of the surviving lexical items in modern Cretan, referring to the article by Hatzidakis in *Glotta* 12, which is apparently unknown to Andriotis, who, although he refers to Cretan *σαννάδα* for ancient *σάννας* m., makes no reference to Hatzidakis. Recently see Shipp (*supra* n.2) 491.

[82] *σαννάδι, σανναδάκι, στειροσάνναδο*: Platakis (*supra* n.6) 103; Giannarakis (*supra* n.80) 161, 370; A. K. Kriaris (*supra* n.80) 260, 302; I. I. Papagrigorakis, *Τὰ Κρητικὰ ῥιζίτικα τραγούδια* I (Chania 1956–57) 163.

[83] Platakis (*supra* n.7) 167: a place of *Νίβρυτος* of *Καινούργιο*.

[84] G. Hatzidakis, "*Σαννάς = ἀγρία αἶξ*," *Glotta* 12 (1923) 148f = *Γλωσσολογικαὶ ἔρευναι* I 443f, stimulated by what he found in the passages (*supra*) in Kriaris' collection of songs and proverbs, succeeded in linking modern Cretan *σαννάδα* with the Hesychius gloss.

[85] *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2176, with Kurt Latte, "De Hipponactis Epodo," *Philologus* 97 (1948) 37–47; E. Diehl, *Anthologia lyrica graeca*³ III (Leipzig 1952) 116; see now Olivier Masson, *Les fragments du poète Hipponax* (Paris 1962) 85. *Cf.* also Walter de Sousa Medeiros, *Hipponax. Hipónax de Éfeso* I (Coimbra 1961) 171–74.

See Frisk (*supra* n.13) *s.v.* σάννας (nickname and personal name for 'μωρός'), but it is not to be accented σαννᾶς, as Frisk suggests (*re* Cratinos fr.337 Kock).[86] Frisk lists the anthroponyms: Σάννος (Hipponax), also at Delphi (III B.C.), a patronymic of a Milesian woman in Attica, a Σάνος (epigraphically) in Crete; σάννας is a very rare word and Σαννᾶς m. is attested in Colophon (end IV B.C.),[87] Σάννιος, Σαννίων, Σάνναιος, Σαννυρίων (Hesych. σάννορος,[88] perhaps σάννυρος μωρός [Rhinthon 23] for Σάννυρος), Σαννώ f. (V/IV B.C.), nickname Σαννίδωρος, and Hesychius cited above (as a formal patronymic derived from *σάννος or similar). Frisk explains these words as from the stem σαν- of the verb σαίνω with expressive-hypocoristic gemination of -ν- and thinks the names to have been formed, at least in part, with relation to σάννιον· αἰδοῖον, *i.e.*, the word for the *membrum virile* (in place of κέρκιον, *i.e.* 'tail', as in Eupolis; *cf.* Hesych. *s.v.* σάννιον, also *s.v.* σαννιόπληκτος· αἰδοιόπληκτος); σαννίων 'fool, simpleton' (Arr. *Epict.Diss.* 3.22.83).

Chantraine (*supra* n.65) 984 *s.v.* σαίνω gives the same data with more exact references and cautiously declares the etymology of the words σάννος etc. to be "unknown." As for Indo-European connections suggested by J. Pokorny[89] with *tw-*: *twēn*: *twenós*, etc., I join Chantraine in rejecting these, for there is no convincing evidence supporting such an assumption. As to Lat. *sanna* f. 'mocking or scornful grimace, sneer' (Pers. 1.62, 5.91; Juv. 6.306) and *sannio* (*-onis*) m. 'one who makes grotesque faces, a buffoon, a clown, jester' (Cic. *De or.* 2.251, *Fam.* 9.16.10), there is consensus since Walde/Hofmann[90] that Latin *sanna* is a loanword from Gr. σάννας and *sannio* is from σαννίων. On the semantic side, Hatzidakis has shown that the senses 'wild' and 'raving, frenzied' are related in the case of σαννάς 'wild goat' from σάννος in the Mod. Gr. examples τρελὸ ἄλογο 'wild horse' or τρελὸ μουλάρι 'wild mule' in the semantic variation 'silly, foolish' versus 'wild' (syn. ἔξαλλος, μαινόμενος).

Another term for 'wild goat' is the Hesychian gloss ὑννάς· αἴξ ἀγρία, and this is also etymologically confirmed by the ensuing gloss in Hesychius, ὑννή· αἴξ. Here then we do have a parallel formation: ὑννάς derivative of ὑννή as σαννάς (f.) is derived from *σάννος (m.) or the like. The form ὑννάδες[91] is plural of ὑννάς.

[86] Pamela M. Clark, "Cratinus frag. 337 Kock," *CR* 69 (1955) 245f. Eustathius 1669.46, τὸ μωρὸν οἴδαμεν σάνναν καλεῖσθαι ὡς ἀπό τινος κυρίου ὀνόματος [from a proper name]· καὶ παράγεται Κρατῖνος κωμῳδῶν τοιοῦτον τὸν Θεοδοτίδην σάνναν. Theodotides had once as choregus employed a chorusmaster named Σαννίων, who was nearly disqualified from holding that post. Sannion is said in the *Vita* of Aeschines (7) to have picked up Aeschines after the fall on stage which ended his career as an actor (this incident cannot have occurred before 370 B.C. and must have been at least a plausible invention). Sannion lived in the first part of the fourth century, as Clark concludes. Theodotides (who employed him) must also have been a contemporary of the younger Cratinos (flourished probably *ca* mid-IV). Clark's conclusion is that fr.337 is from a work of the younger Cratinos, written shortly after the Sannion incident (of *ca* 370), described at Dem. 21.59.

[87] See Masson (*supra* n.85) 165f.

[88] σάννορος 'μωρός', Rhinthon 23 *CGF*: J. Whatmough in Conway/Whatmough/Johnson, *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* II (London 1933) 430. The word σαννίων originally meant 'he who is marked by the *membrum virile*' (= σάννιον in Hesych.); *cf.* Sonny, *Archiv für latein. Lexikographie*, ed. Wölfflin, X 378.

[89] Pokorny (*supra* n.13) 1080ff, especially 1082–83.

[90] *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*[3] II 475 *s.v. sannio*; *cf.* Frisk *s.v.* σάννας, Chantraine *s.v.* σαίνω. *Cf.* Hatzidakis (*supra* n.84); P. G. W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1980) 1689. There are further: verb *sannari* 'to ridicule with grotesque faces' (grammarians) and deriv. *sannator* (Nonius Marcellus, early IV A.D.); *cf.* Walde/Hofmann *s.v. sannio*. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*[3] (Heidelberg 1935) 692 no. 8392: *subsannare* 'verhöhnen, spotten' has continuators in Provençal *soanar* and Span. *sosañár*.

[91] See Hatzidakis (*supra* n.84).

9. ὀρεσκῷος and ρασκόν

The 'mountain-bred, wild' ὀρεσκῷος, -ῷον has as its first component ὀρεσ- 'elevation' (*cf.* ὄρος) and its second κοι- (in κεῖ-ται 'lies', *κοί-μᾱ, κοῖ-τος m., κοί-τη 'camp, encampment', κοι-μάω) in -κῷιος (:-kōy-os): Φῆρες ὀρεσκῷοι (of the Centaurs) *Il.* 1.268; Κένταυροι ὀρεσκῷοι Hes. fr.209.5 M.–W.; αἶγας ὀρεσκῴους 'mountain goats' *Od.* 9.155; Hesych. ὀρεσκῴοισιν· ὀρεσιοίκοις ἢ ὀρεσικοίτοις, from Apollonius Sophista (I/II A.D.), *Lexicon Homericum* 122.17 Bekker; ὀρεσκόος Archil. fr.278 West; Aesch. *Sept.* 532; Eur. *Hipp.* 1276 (lyr.), *Cyc.* 247.[92]

I have myself documented with the help of native speakers in Ikaria (Agios Kerykos)[93] the term in the adjective form ρασκός -ή -όν (syn. βουνήσιος, figurative ἀγριωπός), and Poulianos cites the neuter adj. in ρασκὸν κατσίκιν ὀφτό.[94] As a noun, τὸ ρασκόν and plur. τὰ ρασκά are also documented.

While residing in Agios Kerykos in 1981, I observed a handwritten advertisement in the town square inviting people to a celebration on August 15, the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary: "κουζίνα μὲ ρασκὰ τοῦ βουνοῦ," *i.e.*, the main item on the menu was ρασκὰ τοῦ βουνοῦ, wherein the tautology is obvious for the etymologist but not for the non-etymologist (βουνόν is 'mountain' in Ikarian; Ikaria's entire mountain range is called ὁ Ἀθέρας, highest elevation 981 m., areas called εἰς τὰς Βαθὲς Ράχας and τὰς κάτω Ράχας and ὁ Χριστὸς τῶν Ραχῶν).[95] In Ikaria the aegagri are called τὰ ρασκά and ρασκὸν κατσίκιν in phrases such as: τὰ ρασκὰ εἶναι ἀμολυτὰ στὰ βουνὰ τῆς Νικαριᾶς, στὸν Ἀθέρα κόπασε νὰ φάμεν, ἔχω ρασκὸν κατσίκιν ὀφτὸ καὶ κρασὶν ἀγγιστάρι (ἀγγιστάρι adj. being the first wine drafted from the κρασοβυτίνα).[96] Semantically and in usage there is no tautology because τὰ ρασκά means 'ἀγριοκάτσικα' and the addition τοῦ βουνοῦ is justified because the etymology of τὰ ρασκά is not obvious.

Since my informants in Ikaria agreed on the form τὰ ρασκά and τὸ ρασκὸν κατσίκιν and these forms were verified by the testimony of A. Poulianos, I had to resort to testing the source or sources of the material deriving from the archives of the *Historical Lexicon*. Dr Christopher Charalambakis at my request looked again at the archive files and verified the material there, which proved to contain errors: a card gives τὰ ρασκά 'τὰ ἄγρια, τὰ ξαγριωμένα' and τὰ ρασκὰ πρόβατα 'τὰ ἐξαγριωμένα' (written by the hand of Dem. Loukopoulos; but it is not about ρασκὰ πρόβατα, only about 'wild goats'); Konst. Myrianthopoulos, Ἰκαρικά 1938 MS. 598 p.11: τὰ ἐν ἀγρίᾳ καταστάσει καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη διαιτώμενα ζῷα, αἶγες καὶ τράγοι, τὰ λεγόμενα πο-

[92] The same component ὀρεσ- is found in: ὀρέσκιος -ον 'lying on mountains, mountain-bred, wild', of Dionysus *Anth.Pal.* 9.524.16; ὀρεσκεύω 'to live on mountains', Nic. *Ther.* 413; ὀρέσ-βιος -ον 'living on mountains', Oppian *Cyn.* 3.345; ὀρεσίβιος, Eustathius *ad Dionys. Perieg.* 322; Hesych. ὀρεσίοικος -ον 'ὀρείοικος' (gloss on ὀρεσκῴοισιν· ὀρεσιοίκοις ἢ ὀρεσικοίτοις); αἴξ ὀρεσσινόμος 'feeding goat', Hes. *Scut.* 407, *cf. Od.* 9.155 αἶγας ὀρεσκῴους; ὀρεσιδίαιτος 'dwelling on mountains' (Chalkis, III A.D.) LSJ Suppl.; ὀρείοικος 'mountain-dwelling', schol. Eur. *Or.* 1621, *Phoen.* 683; ὀρεσίτροφος 'mountain-bred, mountain-fed', epithet of the lion, *Il.* 12.299, *Od.* 6.130, etc.; ὀρέστερος· ἄγριος (*Il.* 22.93) versus ἀγρότερος.

[93] Mrs Marika Kourouvani is my direct source.

[94] Poulianos (*supra* n.10) 288.

[95] The Ἀθέρας, the whole mountain of Ikaria is well wooded, forested with arbutus and ἀσταρακιές, κοτσαγρέλλια, κοτσοπρίνια, λεπρίνια: "Οὔλος ὁ Ἀθέρας εἶναι ξαπολυσώνας": Poulianos (*supra* n.10) 283, 290, 297.

[96] Poulianos (*supra* n.10) 288. In Crete likewise starting μ' ὀφτὸ ἀγρίμι: Platakis (*supra* n.7) 75, 10 line 10, and 176 line 10.

νηρὰ καὶ ρασκά (ὀρεσκῷα); and on p.375: *ρασκά: τὸ ὀρεσκῷον* and *ὀρεσκῷα τοῦ Ὁμήρου*. Finally, Stavros Katsouleas, one of the editors of the *Historical Lexicon*, in his mission to collect lexical material in Ikaria, specifically in the villages around Christos (immediately SW of Agios Kerykos) and in Karkinagri (on the lower part of the Ἀκρωτήριο Πάπας between Ἑλληνικό and Διαπόρι), verified the use of the form *τὸ ρασκό(ν)*.[97]

The term *ρασκόν* (plur. *ρασκά*) is in fact commonly used in Ikaria, and the area of the villages of Karkinagri (Ἅγιος Ἰσίδωρος, Πλατάνι, Κουμαρό, Καλοῦ, Παρακλάδι, Σπάρτη, Τραπάλα, Σαρακήνικο, Μουγγραί, Ἐλαίς, Κάμπος, Χωστή, Πινάκι) and Manganiti (Κακὰ Ραφίδια, Καλογέρου, Ρυάκα, Δάσος Ρουσιᾶ) and other areas may contain *ρασκά*. In the estimate of Ioacheim Kephalos (residing in Xylosyrtis, SW of Agios Kerykos), the Raches area (*οἱ βαθὲς Ράχες* or *ἡ περιφέρεια τῶν Ραχῶν*) may well contain some 1000 *ρασκά*. However, he identifies these not as true *ρασκά* but as *κοπαδήσια κατσίκια*;[98] herdsmen put the herds of goats out to graze.[99]

In Ikaria *τὸ ρασκόν, ἀγρίμιν, ἀγριοκάτσικον* are synonyms. Poulianos speaks of these animals as *τὸ ρασκόν* (288), *τὸ ρασκό* (293), plur. *τὰ ρασκά* (283, 288, 290), *τὸ ρασκὸ κατσίκιν* (284), *ἕναρ ρασκὸγ κατσίκιν* (359), *ρασκὸν κατσίκιν* (284, 285, 288), *τὰ ρασκὰ κατσίκια* (283, 284, 290).

The genuine form *τὸ ρασκόν* is the modern survivor of the ancient form *τὸ ὀρεσκῷον* and resulted from accumulated linguistic changes, as these were effected in the native speech of the Ikarian people through the centuries. In *ὀρεσκῷον* versus *ρασκόν* it was the consonants *ρ* and *σκ* that remained intact while the vowels underwent the change of *-ρε-* to *-ρα-*, and the ending *-ῷον* underwent contraction into *-όν*. The two entities (*ὀρεσκῷον/ρασκόν*) are genetically identical in that the modern form evolved from the ancient through a chain of vowel changes. From the Anc. Gr. *τὸ ὀρεσκῷον αἰγίδιον* (*cf.* *αἶγας ὀρεσκῴους*, *Od.* 9.155) to Mod. Gr. *τὸ *ρεσκόν/ρασκόν* (documented) we have these evolutionary stages to observe:

(1) substantivized *τὸ ὀρεσκῷον* (plur. *τὰ ὀρεσκῷα*) (in the case of *ρασκὸν κατσίκιν*, *ρασκόν* is still an adj.);

(2) vowel contraction of *oo* or *ωο* or *ωω* to */o/*, *i.e.* to isochronic */o/* in the late Koine and Middle Greek: *τὸ ὀρεσκῷον* or *ὀρεσκόον* became *τὸ *ὀρεσκόν*, gen. *τῶν ὀρεσκῴων* → *τῶν *ὀρεσκῶν* (at that time adjacent *oo* etc. were contracted into one *-o-* without other change);[100]

[97] The form **ρεσκό(ν)* is unattested.

[98] Kephalos informs me through the medium of another informant, Panayotis Kourouvanis (Agios Kerykos).

[99] As we are informed, and expressly told by Poulianos (*supra* n.10) 294.

[100] The learned word *τὸ ζῷον* has assumed its modern form, shrunk into the dialectal form *τὸ ζόν* (through contraction *ζῶον* → *ζόν*), whence the common Mod. Gr. form *τὸ ζό* appeared, whereupon the plur. *τὰ ζά* was built by analogy of the model *ἀγαθό/ἀγαθά*, *καλό/καλά*, etc. Thus we have, in addition, the following dialectal forms:

Tsakonian: *τὰ ζά*

Pontic: *τὸ ζῶγιον* (Kerasous), *τὸ ζῶγον* (Chaldia), common dial. *τὸ ζῶν* (better *ζόν*) and *ζό* (Ophis, Semeni), plur. *τὰ ζά* (in Trapezous designating *ἀγελάδες καὶ βόδια*), *e.g.* *ἀλατίζω τὰ ζά* (Papadopoulos [*supra* n.8] *s.v.*)

Bova: *ẓò* (*ẓó*), plur. *ta ẓòa* 'the goats' (Rohlfs [*supra* n.27] *s.v.* *ζῶον*)

Chios: *τὸ ζό* 'beast', *ζό* Germano, Père Aléxis (= Somavera), but dialectally today: *τὸ ζζό*, plur. *τὰ ζζά*, and in certain villages *ta ndzá* (Pernot, *Études de linguistique néo-hellénique* III [1946] 406)

Ikaria: *τὸ ζό* (and *ζόν*) and *τὰ ζά* (Poulianos [*supra* n.10] 283–336 *passim*)

(3) aphaeresis of the initial *ὀ-* in *ὀρεσκόν* in the juncture of *τὸ ὀρεσκόν* → *τὸ 'ρεσκόν* or *τ' ὀρεσκόν*, wherein it is also a matter of two adjacent *o*'s, as in (2). The aphaeresis of initial vowels in Greek words is commonplace: on a papyrus (*P.Lond.* II 391, *cf.* LSJ) there occurs *βιλίσκος* for *ὀβελίσκος*;

(4) assimilation of the middle vowel *-ε-* to *-α-* of the preceding and following syllable in the syntagmatic phrase *τὰ *ρεσκά /tareská/* into the phrase *τὰ ρασκά /taraská/*; and, subsequently, generalization in the noun's inflection to *τὸ ρασκόν* (sing. nom. and acc.) and gen. plur. *τῶν ρασκῶν* (in place of *τῶν *ρεσκῶν*). For the assimilation *ε+α* → *α+α* for **ρεσκά* → *ρασκά* I may advance the example *ἡ προξενεία* (deriv. of *προξενεύω*) → *προξενειά* → **προξανειά /proksanyá/* and then, further, *πραξονειά* f. 'marriage arrangement through a third party's mediation'[101] (common Mod. Gr. *τὰ προξενειά*).

A note on a unique term *ὁ ἀρασκός*, "*εἶδος τι σκιούρων, ὑπὸ τῶν κατοίκων ὀνομαζόμενον, διαιτώμενον ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιφέρον βλάβην εἰς τοὺς καρπούς.*"[102] The word was perhaps for *Mus agrestis*, field-mouse (*μῦς ἀρουραῖος* 'rustic mouse'). However, it is difficult to reconcile the meaning of 'squirrel' with that of 'field mouse'. Nevertheless, there are semantic changes of this kind, owing to misunderstandings on the part of the informant(s). The noun *ἀρασκός* is "*ποντικός, ὄχι μεγάλος, μὲ φουντωτὴ οὐρά*" (adds Dr Polemis). The *ἀρασκός* could be from the adj. *ρασκός* 'living on mountains' and derived from *ὀρεσκῷος* (*idem*) and *ρασκός* would be 'wild', *i.e.* living away from houses; in other words, from *ὀρεσκῷος* would be basically *ρασκὸς ποντικός* → *ἀρασκός* used as a noun in Andros.

10. *ἀγριοαιγίδιον*

The Middle Greek noun *ἀγριοαιγίδιον* has survived in Pontic Greek in various forms:

ἀγραίγιδον /agréyiðon/ Kerasous, Kotyora (Melanophrydis [*supra* n.75] 48);

ἀγραίδον Kerasous, Trapezous, Chaldia, Sandá, and Adisa (Papadopoulos [*supra* n.8] 16);

ἀγραίδο Seméni, Kotyora;

ἀγραίδον Chaldia (Papadopoulos [*supra* n.8] 16) and diminutive of the latter;

ἀγραιδόπον 'young wild goat' Chaldia and Sandá.

In parts of Greece there occur in addition these forms:

ἀγριογίδιν 'wild young goat': *λαβὼν ἀγριογιδίου ὀστέον καὶ κλῆμα*;[103]

Lesbos: *τὸ ζό* (so in the novelists Str. Myrivilis and Elias Venezis), plur. *τὰ ζά* with a gen. sing. (*τὸ μουκανητὸ*) *τοῦ ζοῦ* (Venezis, Ὠκεανός[2] [Athens 1956] 118)

Rhodes: *τὸ ζό* and *ζόν* as well as *ἀζόν* (Papachristodoulou [*supra* n.22] 129)

Crete: *τὸ ζό, τ' ὀζό*, plur. *τὰ ζά, τὰ ὀζά; τὰ πρόβεια ζά, τὰ ζὰ τοῦ καρποῦ, τὰ ἀρσενικὰ ζά, τὰ θηλυκὰ ζά*: S. Xanthoudidis, "Ποιμενικὰ Κρήτης," Λεξικογραφικὸν Ἀρχεῖον 5 (1920) 269, 318, 319

Cyprus: *ζωντόβολον* 'goat' or 'sheep': L. Makhairas, *Chronicle*, ed. R. M. Dawkins (Oxford 1932) 524.18 (see II 252b)

The solution is at hand then concerning Anc. Gr. *ὀρεσκῷον/ὀρεσκόον*; as noun *τὸ ζῷον* → *ζόν* so *ὀρεσκῶν* → *ὀρεσκόν*, whose parallel plurals are *ζά* and *ὀρεσκά* → **ρεσκά*.

[101] Papachristodoulou (*supra* n.22) 129.

[102] Dem. P. Paschalis, Τὸ *ψάρευμα καὶ τὸ κυνήγιον εἰς τὴν νῆσον* Ἄνδρον: Ἀνδριακὸν ἡμερολόγιον (Athens 1925) 40; *cf.* *ἀρασκός* in ΙΛ 3.21a: '*ἀγνώστου ἐτύμου*' with the meaning '*μῦς ἀρουραῖος*'. (I am indebted to Dr Demetrios Polemis for making this observation about *ἀρασκός*.)

[103] *Iatrosophion*, ed. I. Oikonomou-Agorastou (Thessaloniki 1982) 98 n.1.

ἀγριαιγίδι East Roumelia;
ἀπ' ἀγριογίδι γάλα Arcadia (*Λαογραφία* V 160), *γάλα ἀπ' ἀγριογίδι* Epirus (Dodoni);
ἀγρουγίδ' /*aγruγíð*/ Macedonia, Sterea (Aetolia);
ἀγριογίδια Epirus (Krystallis);
ἀγρουγίδι /*aγruγíðī*/ Macedonia, Sterea,[104] *ἀγρουγίδ'* Sterea (Karpenisi);
ἀγριόγιδο Μεγάλη Μαντίνεια Ἀβίας;[105]
ἀγριόῦ'δου Sterea (Aetolia, Phthiotis, and Phokis),[106] plur. *τ' ἀγριόῦ'δα* Epirus (Koukouli) [*ῦ* = *y*];
ἀγρῳόϊδου n. Epirus (Zagori [G. Anagnostopoulos]), *ἀγρόι̯δου* (plur. *ἀγρόι̯δα*) Thessaly (Sykamnia), and plur. Thessaly (Tsaritsani);
ἀγριόγιδα f. (Somavera [1709]; Epirus, Macedonia [Katafygi (they are hunted on Olympos)], Voïon; Thessaly), syn. *ἀγριοκάτζικα* f. (Somavera), Anth. Gazis (Vienna 1835–37) *ἀγριόγιδα* (syn. *ἀγριοκάτσικο*);
ἀγριογίδα f. (Geras. Vlachos, 1659) and in many parts of Greece (ΙΛ 1.195a).

The Middle Greek *ἀγριοαιγίδιον* is a diminutive of mediaeval Gr. *ἀγριοαίγα* (see *supra* 106) as *αἰγίδιον* is a dimin. of *αἴξ*.

11. *ἀγριοκάτσικον*

The term *ἀγριοκάτσικον*/*ἀγριοκάτσικο* is found in Rhodes[107] and Kos (Kardámaina), *ἀγριοκάτσικο* beside *ἀγρουκάτσ'κου* (and plur. *ἀγρουκάτσ'κα*, Macedonia [Karperí of Serres]) and, in addition, in Pontic Greek *ἀγρ̥οκάτζικον* (Oinoë),[108] *i.e.*, in the two archaic dialects. The form occurring in Somavera (1709) *ἀγριοκάτζικον* has as syn. *ἀγραίγιδον*, syn. *ἀγριόγιδο*.

The wild goat is represented as follows in dialectal modern Greek: in Bithynia (Pistikochoria) *ἀγριουκάτσ̃'κου* /*aγryukátšku*/; in Sterea (Phthiotis and Phokis) *ἀγριγιουκάτσ'κου* /*aγriyukátsku*/; in Thessaly (Kakopetri) *ἀγριουκάτσ'κου* /*aγryukátsku*/.[109] This tells us that *κατσίκιν* is not a late loanword in these dialects but an old one, *i.e.* a

[104] The form *ἀγρογίδι* (in the northern parlance *ἀγρουγίδι*) is still compounded of *ἄγριος*, for this has also the form *ἄγρος*; *cf.* Pontic *ἄγρ̥ος* [ọ like Ger. ö] and *ἄγρες*, also Pontic *ἄγρος*, *e.g.* *ἄγρον κατζίν*, *ἄγρον πρόσωπον*), northern parlance *ἄγρους* (from *ἄγρος*) Lesbos, Macedonia, Thessaly: ΙΛ 1.217 *s.v.* *ἄγριος*.

[105] The forms *ἀγριόγιδο* and plur. *τὰ ἀγριόγιδα* 'wild goat' are given also by Psichari (*supra* n.26) 120b.

[106] ΙΛ 1.195b *s.v.* *ἀγριογίδι*. In a folksong there is a line *ἀπ' ἀγρουγίδι γάλα, γάλα ἀπ' ἄγριου γίδι* (Deskati in Macedonia), *τ' ἀγρογιδιοῦ τὸ γάλα* (Epirus), *ἀπ' ἀγριόι̯δου γάλα* (Sterea [Kolaka]), in Epirus *ἀγρογιδήσιο γάλα* (synonymous with *αἰγάγρειον γάλα*). *Τὰ ἀγριόγιδα* live in Samothrace and in the Vardousia Mts (Tymphrestos); *cf.* K. Stavropoulos, *Κεκρυμμένος θησαυρός* p.25.

[107] In Rhodes the word *αἴγαγρος* is unknown; the term *ἀγρίμι* is used for any wild animal that pastures free on the mountains and is difficult to catch, *e.g.* horse, mule, donkey, bull (or cow), etc. *ἀγριοκάτσικα* is the term for the *κατσίκια* that leave the fold, live on the mountains, and are caught with difficulty. Many that fled from a certain fold are named *ξεκοψοῦες* (*κατσίκες*), from *ξεκοψού* f. (*ξεκόβω* 'flee from the herd'). Nowadays such goats hardly exist, for goat breeding is virtually non-existent in Rhodes (this information of 20 Dec. 1982 came to me from the Rhodian author Christodoulos I. Papachristodoulou). See also Papachristodoulou (*supra* n.22) 161.

[108] Papadopoulos (*supra* n.8) 18.

[109] This material is in addition to one recorded in ΙΛ 1 *s.v.* *ἀγριοκάτσικο*.

Byzantine Greek one. In fact, the second member of the compounds is *τὸ κατζικόν* and the plur. *τὰ κατζικά* (actually pronounced *katsikón*, plur. *katsikâ*) in a document from Rhodes of the year 1493. I explained these forms from earlier **γικατσικόν* ← *αἰγικατσικόν*, this being a derivative of *αἰγικάκιν*/*γικάτσιν* (: *αἰγικόν* 'goat'). Another good parallel to *τὰ κατσικά* is the Cretan synonym *τὰ γιτσικά*, from *τὰ αἰγιτσικά* (deriv. of *αἰγίτσιν* 'goat').[110]

12. *κρικρί* for '*ἀγρίμι*'

In West Crete and in the area of the gorge of Samaria in the region of the *Λευκὰ Ὄρη* with perpendicular walls up to 800 m. high, there live authentic aegagri (Mod. Gr. *ἀγρίμια*). On the islet *Δῖα* across from Irakleio there is an installation in which wild goats, now called *κρικρί*, have been bred;[111] these are not necessarily genuine *ἀγρίμια*, for they have been cross-bred with domesticated *αἶγες* (or *κατσίκες*). According to Mr Stergios G. Spanakis (by letter of 30 March 1982), the noun *κρικρί* is an incomprehensible, meaningless post-World War II creation. In fact, there is no word *κρικρί* for the animal *ἀγρίμι*.

Professor Stylianos Alexiou (letter of 8 April 1982) suggests that the name *κρικρί* came into being from *ἀγρίμι* when, in 1950,[112] the residents of Chania presented an *ἀγρίμι* as a gift to then President Harry Truman and, *ἀγρίμι* being hard for Americans to pronounce, *κρικρί* resulted. I had surmised that *ἀγρίμι*, pronounced by today's Cretans as *γρί* /*γrí*/ in place of (*ἀ*)*γρί*(*μι*),[113] was reduplicated as *γριγρί* /*γriγrí*/ and this ended somehow or other in its present form *κρικρί* /*krikrí*/. Journalistic reporting rapidly spread the word as an appellative, referring to the species, mainly in the usage of non-Cretans. In other words, *krikrí* was originally a jocular creation in the jargon of the Americans who had heard this new name for aegagrus.[114]

To sum up, this assemblage of twelve terms designating 'wild goat', all but *σαννάς*/*ὑννάς* of demonstrable Greek origin, is of special interest in that it shows that for a single wild animal Greek vocabulary is richly documented in texts, ancient, mediaeval, and modern, as well as in the oral tradition surviving to the present. Whereas *ὑννάς* f., perhaps from an original **hυννάς* in place of *σαννάς*, has not survived, *σαννάς* did survive in Cretan *σαννάδα* (f.) and derivatives, along with the term *ἀγρίμι* and *ἀγριμότραος* for the male and the recent *κρικρί*, a post-World War II creation, probably

[110] See Georgacas (*supra* n.1) 148 note, *cf.* also 270. I do not repeat all the details here.

[111] Georgios I. Varelas, *Τουριστικὸς ὁδηγὸς γιὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα* (Athens 1961) I 450, II 320, 367.

[112] Ch. Chatzisarantos, *Description of Cretan agrimis, one of the world's rarest creatures* (Press release ECA Mission to Greece No. 700 [1950]). An ill-considered action was the shipping of the *κρικρί* abroad, a most unfortunate treatment of this proud animal, the most characteristic representative of Cretan fauna; *cf.* Platakis (*supra* n.7) 161.

[113] See Ventris and Chadwick (*supra* n.9) 301, the *agrimi* goat; 302, the semi-domesticated *agrimi* may have been kept in enclosures to ensure a regular supply of horns; the *agrimi* carcasses would also provide meat (*Od.* 9.155).

[114] The exclamation *κρίο*! (for *κριός*) *κρί*! *κρί*! addressed to the leading ram (Pangalos [*supra* n.80] VI 425) has nothing to do with *κρικρί* (for *ἀγρίμι*).

from *γρί* reduplicated of *ἀγρίμι*. The term *γαρνό* is Cappadocian only, and its cognate *ἀγρινόν* Cyprian only (the latter however being not a goat but a sheep). The terms *ἀγριόγιδο* (*ἀγριογίδα*, etc.), *ἀγριοκάτσικο*, and *ἀγρίμι* have been widely diffused within Greece. Finally, *τὸ ρασκόν* is Ikarian only, but probably does (or did) occur on other islands of the Aegean as well.[115]

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

[115] I am indebted to colleagues for help in securing and/or checking some material for me: Peter Topping (Dumbarton Oaks), Edward Bassett (Univ. of Chicago), L. Zgusta (Univ. of Illinois), John Kazazis (Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington), Ant. Kanellis (Univ. of Thessaloniki), Leslie Threatte (American School of Classical Studies, Athens), Elefth. Platakis (editor of *Kretologia*; Vrachasi), Christophoros Charalambakis (*Historical Lexicon*; Univ. of Crete), Demetrios Krekoukias (Director of the *Historical Lexicon*). I am likewise greatly obliged to Edmund Berry, Demetrios Moutsos, Kyriakos Hadjioannou, and Leslie Threatte for reading an earlier draft of this paper and for giving me their observations.

A Memorial of Early Death

Elsa Gibson

THE EPITAPH which I publish here is apparently from Phrygia and apparently dates from the second century A.D. I am honored to present this publication to Professor Sterling Dow.

White marble stele, or rather, properly, a plaque, apparently complete; h. 0.69 m., w. 0.46, th. 0.055; letter height approximately 0.02. In Uşak Museum; bought by the museum director from an antiquities dealer in Denizli. Not seen by me. PLATE 7. I have edited this text from the photograph and copy made by Thomas Drew-Bear in 1973.[1] It is a pleasure to thank Mr Drew-Bear, who graciously entrusted to me this inscription to publish, and to thank the late Hikmet Gürçay, then Director General of Antiquities and Museums, and Savaş Savcı, then Director of the Uşak Museum, for their authorization and aid given to Mr Drew-Bear. I also wish to acknowledge the aid of Mr Drew-Bear, Roger Bagnall, and Donald McCabe in the preparation of the commentary.

ΟΥ
Ἰούνιος καὶ Αμια{α} ἐτείμησεν
Σωσθένην τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱὸν
μνήμης ἕνεκεν. μητρὸς ἐόν-
4 τα νέον με τὸν ἄθλιον ἥρπα-
σε δαίμων, ν μητρὸς ἀπὸ σ-
πλάνχνων καὶ πατρός. ἄστα-
τοι ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ βροτῶν ἰς ἄ-
8 δηλα βλέπουσαι. οὐκ ἔτι
γὰρ γενόμην νύνφιος ἀλλὰ
νέκυς. πενθαλέους ἔλιπον
θαλάμους καὶ δάκρυα μητρὶ
12 δυστηνῷ, πάσαις ἐλπίσι
ψευσαμέναις.
ἔτ(ους) σλθ' μηνὸς πρώτου A.D. 154/5
ζήσας ἔτη εἴκοσι τελευτᾷ.
vacat

Junios and Amia honored Sosthenes, their son, for the sake of (his) memory.
Me, wretched, a daimon snatched from my mother in my youth, from my mother's womb and from my father ---. Uncertain are the hopes of mortals, which

[1] A squeeze was not made, as readings were not in doubt, and therefore I do not know how much the individual letters vary in height. That they do vary is apparent from the photograph.

look to those things that cannot be known. For I did not yet become a bridegroom, but a corpse. Grieving marriage chambers I left behind, and tears for my unhappy mother, all hopes cheated.

In the year 239, the first month, having lived 20 years, he dies.

Sigma: C, 5, Σ (but the first *sigma* in this line is lunate). *Omega*: Ω; 2 (only the first *omega*) and 5, ω. *Upsilon*: ϒ, ⋁; 12, 13, 15, Y. In line 1, the verb should be plural.

At each corner of the face of the stone is a small circle, approximately 0.04 m. in diameter, with a little depression in the center. These are apparently intended to represent flat metal plates which would hold four nails in position, as if our plaque was to be affixed to a wall. The letters OY in the upper left-hand corner indicate that the mason started the inscription (ΙΟΥ-) here first, by mistake. More seems to have been carved, too, then erased; but I cannot from the photograph be sure of the extent of the erasure or even if there is one. As for the name Αμια{α}, the mason seems to have first carved AMMA, then to rectify his error transformed M into IA, but of course he was left with an extra A. The name Amia is very common in this part of Asia Minor in imperial times, along with other names based on familiar, household names for mother and father, and names formed from sobriquets.[2] As a non-Greek name, Amia is written without accent or breathing.

The epitaph consists of a six-verse poem in elegiacs, preceded and followed by biographical information in prose. The poem begins in the second half of line 3 on the stone and continues through line 13. The lines of the inscription do not accord with the verses of the poem. For convenience in discussing the poem, I print it here in verse form.

Μητρὸς ἐόντα νέον με τὸν ἄθλιον ἥρπασε δαίμων,
μητρὸς ἀπὸ σπλάνχνων καὶ πατρός – ◡ ◡ –.
ἄστατοι ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ βροτῶν ἰς ἄδηλα βλέπουσαι.
οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ γενόμην νύνφιος ἀλλὰ νέκυς.
πενθαλέους ἔλιπον θαλάμους καὶ δάκρυα μητρὶ
δυστηνῷ, πάσαις ἐλπίσι ψευσαμέναις.

Verses 1 and 2. Note that the same word artfully begins each verse.

Verse 2. At the beginning of the verse, the phrase "from the womb of my mother" is hyperbole: the young man was twenty years old when he died. The end of this verse was never carved, nor is there any space for it. The missing metrical pattern, – ◡ ◡ –, is identical to that which begins the next verse (ἄστατοι ἐλπ-). Perhaps the writer was confused by the metrical identity and in place of the correct phrase wrote the one that was to follow it. The missing phrase might have been καὶ γενεῆς, for which suggestion I thank Thomas Drew-Bear and Donald McCabe.

Verse 3. This hexameter line expresses a complete thought, and may have been taken from a work of literature, but I have not been able to find its source. More probably, it comes from a handbook of sentiments suitable for use in epitaphs. The first word, ἄστατος, appears in philosophical literature (not surprisingly) from Epicurus to Diogenes of Oenoanda (second century A.D.), according to LSJ, and seems to become popular for epitaphs in the Empire.[3] The first five verses of the poem may all have been taken from such a handbook, for each expresses a complete thought. Verse 5 has been made to extend over into verse 6, and, to complete this last verse, a phrase has been added, itself evidently taken from a model, but altered (see *infra*). Note that εἰς in verse 3 is written ἰς and is scanned short. The spelling reproduces the actual pronunciation, the result of iotacism.

[2] See L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-mineure gréco-romaine* I (Paris 1963) 348, and L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964) 55–66, esp. 56.

Verses 4–6. These verses are best considered as a unit because of the sentiments expressed, although, as mentioned above, verses 4 and 5 each express a complete thought. In the ancient world, as now, a normal life-span was felt to extend through marriage, the birth of one's children and even grandchildren, and the death of one's parents. Death before all these events is certainly premature, and in epitaphs the unfulfilled expectations are stressed. Hopes are blighted: the word ἐλπίς comes naturally in these epitaphs, as here twice (verses 3 and 6). Sosthenes died even before marriage, apparently shortly before, and the pathos of his dying so very early is dwelt upon for most of the poem. Emphasized too is the fact that Sosthenes died before his parents: the repetition of μητρός at the beginning of verses 1 and 2, and the hyperbole "from my mother's womb" in verse 2. His precise age is stated, as commonly in cases of premature death or old age, in order to emphasize the pathos of a very short life or the length of an extraordinarily long one; but the practice is of course not restricted to these categories.[4] In verse 4, note the alliteration νύνφιος . . . νέκυς. In verse 6, one would expect the dative singular ψευσαμένῃ, and this participle normally governs the genitive in this construction (see LSJ *s.v.*); moreover, final *iota* in the preceding word should be long by position. The author of this poem unskillfully adapted a model.

Date. The provenience of the stone is not known, only the town (Denizli) where it is said to have been bought. Modern Denizli is situated just a few miles from ancient Laodiceia on the Lycus, which used an era beginning probably towards the end of the reign of Domitian. There is only one dated inscription of Laodiceia.[5] Most of the province of Asia, however, used the Sullan era, beginning with the year 85/4 B.C. The latter era would place our epitaph in 154/5 A.D., the Laodiceian in about 330, if it continued in use this long.

For our inscription, a second-century rather than a fourth-century date is strongly suggested by the quality of the poem, the spelling, and the letter forms;[6] the names are

[3] W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschr.* I 789.5 and 2035.6 (Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 699 and 502), from Rome and Thebes in Greece respectively; the inscription from Rome is most recently published by L. Moretti, *IG UrbRom* III 1162.

[4] See for all these points the excellent book of E. Griessmair, *Das Motiv der Mors Immatura in den griechischen metrischen Grabinschriften* (Innsbruck 1966) 30–77; on specification of ages, 15–16.

[5] L. Robert, in *Laodicée du Lycos: Le nymphée* (Quebec 1969) 261–63 no. 3, with discussion of the era.

[6] The forms themselves, and their variations, are not surprising. Letter forms in Asia Minor vary greatly, not only in quality, but also in the actual forms. While there is a general trend towards lunate letters

possible at this time too.[7] Therefore, I assume that our epitaph is not from Laodiceia but from another place, which used the Sullan era. Its date will then translate to 154/5. The practice of numbering months is attested throughout the region.

MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY

throughout imperial times, these appear much earlier in the epitaphs and dedications of poorer people. Finer documents of the second century do not as a rule have lunate letters, but in a rather rough inscription from northeastern Lydia, dated to 171/2, all the letters are lunate (J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *DenkschrWien* 53.2 [1908] no. 172). Some inscriptions even of the first century have lunate letters (Keil and von Premerstein no. 83, and *DenkschrWien* 54.2 [1911] no. 170; *MAMA* VII 486; P. Herrmann, *DenkschrWien* 80 [1962] no. 34). Both square and lunate *epsilon* and *sigma* are used in another epitaph from Lydia, dated to 117/8 (F. Gschnitzer and J. Keil, *AnzWien* 18 [1956] no. 11). Lunate letters appear in an inscription of Motella in southern Phrygia, dated to 136/7 (*MAMA* IV 309); an inscription from nearby Bekilli, in the Çal Ovası, dated to 139/140 (*MAMA* IV 314); and one from Eumeneia, dated to 144/5 (T. Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Phrygie* [Zutphen 1978] 93 no. 28). In an inscription of the same year as ours, from northeastern Lydia, square *sigma* and lunate *omega* are used (Herrmann no. 5); in an inscription from the same region of just the year before, square *sigma* but 'formal' *omega*, Ω (Herrmann no. 10).

[7] Amia and related names (see *supra* 122) are not uncommon in the mid-second century. That Amia's husband has a Latin name is of interest. Latin names are relatively infrequent in Phrygia, where Greek names predominate (there are relatively few native names). Persons bearing Latin names do not form a group apart. An Amia was the wife of one Marcus at Eumeneia, in the epitaph of 144/5 cited in the previous note. The precisely dated inscriptions of northern and northeastern Lydia furnish abundant first- and second- century attestations of the name Amia and variants: Keil and von Premerstein (*supra* n.6: 1908) nos. 149, 150 (with Apphias), 158, 159, 160, 163 (with Tatias), 169, 172 (with Tatas), 187; (1911) nos. 158, 172, 183 (with Apphias and variants), 252; Herrmann (*supra* n.6) nos. 53, 55, 56.

INSCRIPTION FROM PHRYGIA

Two Decisions: *Iliad* 11.401–22 and *Agamemnon* 192–230

David Gill, S.J.

ODYSSEUS IS FACED with the choice either of running away or of standing and fighting against heavy odds (*Il.* 11.401–22). For Agamemnon it is a choice between sacrificing his daughter and abandoning the expedition against Troy (Aesch. *Ag.* 192–230). The descriptions of how the two characters arrive at their decisions are remarkably similar in structure. My purpose here—without trying to address all questions raised by either passage—is to examine in detail parallels between the two and to suggest ways in which they illuminate each other.[1]

In each instance there are six steps to the description: (1) a statement of the difficult situation in which the hero finds himself; (2) his reaction to the situation; (3) the alternatives as he sees them; (4) a question which he asks himself; (5) the motive(s) for choosing as he eventually does; and (6) a transition to action and the carrying out of the decision.

[1] I know of no discussion of these two passages in relation to each other. There is none, for example, in A. Sideras, *Aeschylus Homericus* (Hypomnemata 31 [1971]). The most recent treatment of Agamemnon's decision is that of Mark Edwards in *CSCA* 10 (1977) 17–38. He provides a good overview of previous opinions (since 1961) and studies the *Agamemnon* passage in the light of other decision scenes in Aeschylus. There is no comparable recent study of Odysseus' decision; but *Iliad* 11.401ff comes in for frequent mention in general discussions of decision-making and moral responsibility in Homer. The view represented by B. Snell, Ch. Voigt, and H. Fraenkel that there are no personal decisions in Homer seems to have been fairly generally abandoned; and this passage is one of the best arguments against it. For bibliography and some of the objections against the earlier view, see E. L. Harrison, "Notes on Homeric Psychology," *Phoenix* 14 (1960) 79–80. For reasons which will become apparent I essentially agree with Harrison and E. R. Dodds when he says (*The Greeks and the Irrational* [Berkeley 1951] 20 n.31), "And it seems a little artificial to deny that what is described in passages like *Il.* 11.403ff or *Od.* 5.355ff is in effect a reasoned decision taken after consideration of possible alternatives." For a similar view and more literature see A. Lesky, *History of Greek Literature*[2] (New York 1966) 71–73. *Cf.* H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley 1971) 9: "The pattern of right decision, it has long been recognized, is provided by a passage in Bk. XI. Odysseus is cut off and surrounded by the enemy; for a moment he considers flight, but in the end decides to stay and fight it out ... For a moment the person facing the alternatives weighs them in his mind; then he remembers the knowledge of the principles of right behavior on such an occasion which he possesses, and this memory determines his course of action. A wrong decision ... occurs when the decider's passions prevent his *thymos* from functioning correctly." A. W. H. Adkins, *From the Many to the One* (Ithaca 1970) 24, suggests that the Homeric model for decision-making is that of a "spectral balance into which the reasons on one side or the other are poured until at length, after due consideration, the balance goes down by itself and action ensues." Of the moment of decision and the transition from decision to action he says (47), "The agent may feel the utmost doubt and anxiety over the identity of the more advantageous course of action in a crisis; but so soon as an answer to the problem presents itself, the identification of the course of action as the most *agathon* available in the circumstances carries with it a desire for its fulfillment, and bridges the gap between thought and action. For a variety of reasons we have seen that the personality has little core: it is not surprising that the emphasis should be on the 'balance' during the period before action; and the nature of the goal, in addition to the psychological structure, does not encourage the idea of decision at the moment of action." There are three other passages, all in the last half of the *Iliad*, where the full formula for describing decisions is used. These are discussed *infra* n.2.

The Aeschylus passage is fuller in some respects, but with one slight variation it follows the same basic pattern as the Homeric up until the final step.

Iliad 11.401–12

οἰώθη δ' Ὀδυσεὺς δουρικλυτός, οὐδέ τις αὐτῷ
Ἀργείων παρέμεινεν, ἐπεὶ φόβος ἔλλαβε πάντας·
ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·
"ὤ μοι ἐγώ, τί πάθω; μέγα μὲν κακὸν αἴ κε φέβωμαι
πληθὺν ταρβήσας· τὸ δὲ ῥίγιον, αἴ κεν ἁλώω
μοῦνος· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Δαναοὺς ἐφόβησε Κρονίων.
ἀλλὰ τί ἦ μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός;
οἶδα γὰρ ὅττι κακοὶ μὲν ἀποίχονται πολέμοιο,
ὅς δέ κ' ἀριστεύῃσι μάχῃ ἔνι, τὸν δὲ μάλα χρεὼ
ἑστάμεναι κρατερῶς, ἤ τ' ἔβλητ' ἤ τ' ἔβαλ' ἄλλον."
εἶος ὃ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρώων στίχες ἤλυθον ἀσπιστάων.

(1) *The situation*. Diomedes has been wounded and has withdrawn from the battle as have all the other Greek warriors (401–02):

> Spear-famed Odysseus was left alone, nor did any one
> of the Argives remain beside him, since fear gripped all.

(2) *The reaction*. Odysseus recognizes his predicament, is distressed by it, and begins to think it over. All of this is expressed in the formulaic line 403, "Disturbed then, he spoke to his great-hearted *thumos*."

(3) *Statement of alternatives*. Odysseus sees two possible courses of action, both involving difficulties, which he briefly notes in the form of balanced conditions, μέν ... δέ ... (404–06):

> What is to become of me? It is a great evil if I flee
> in fear of their numbers. But it is more frightening if I am caught
> alone. Cronion has scared away the other Danaans.

(4) *The question*. He asks himself in the formulaic line 407, "But why does (did) my dear *thumos* discuss these things?" The emphatic ἀλλά, the following context, and the parallels indicate that this is to be understood as a rhetorical question. The statement of the alternatives has shown Odysseus what he must do. He has made his choice and now he gives his motives.

(5) *The motive* (408–10):

> For I know that cowards withdraw from war;
> but one who is brave in battle must indeed
> make a strong stand, whether he is struck or strikes another.

There is to his mind no alternative. Odysseus says that he *knows* that he *must* fight. To do otherwise would be to play the coward. In stating the motive he goes back over the two possible responses and spells out the implications of each. (He is now explaining why he had to choose as he did.) To choose alternative (a) would be cowardly. One who wishes to be brave in battle must choose (b) regardless of the consequences. Odysseus has given his reasons against (a) and in favor of (b).

(6) *Transition to action*. Odysseus' soliloquy ends and the poet resumes with the formulaic line 411, followed by a description of the Trojan attack (412ff):

> While he was turning these things over in his mind and heart,
> then the ranks of the armored Trojans advanced against him ...

The Trojans surround Odysseus like a pack of hounds (412–20) and he fights back, wounding and killing various of them (420ff).

Nowhere does Homer state explicitly that Odysseus has made a decision or that he has chosen this or that alternative for this or that reason or that "this seemed better to him," as happens in some of the parallels.[2] Nonetheless, all the elements of a decision are present: Odysseus recognizes his situation; he sees clearly what courses of action are open to him, and he freely decides for one of them for reasons which seem to him to be persuasive. In addition, as the description unfolds it becomes obvious in the telling which alternative he will take and for what reason.

Steps (4) and (5) taken together mark the moment of decision. Odysseus says in effect, "Why do I even ask, for I know what a brave man must (ought to) do in the circumstances." What we feel to be missing, perhaps, is some clear summary statement that would provide a bridge between the resolve and its carrying out, something such as: "Therefore, I will stand and fight" or "And so, it seemed better to him to stand and fight." The parallels indicate that Homer could have added this latter, but apparently he felt no need to do so here. Instead, he makes his transition with the phrase "While he was turning these things over ... then the Trojans attacked ... " (411ff). What is missing here—and what I think is clearly intended from the context—is something like: "And that is what made him act: it was the Trojan attack that triggered the carrying out of what Odysseus had already resolved to do, namely fight."

There is of course one sense in which Odysseus did not really have a choice. Given who he was and what he wanted to be, he did have to fight. But it is not a question of physical compulsion. The Trojans did not come and surround him *before* he had made

[2] The parallels in the *Iliad* occur at 17.90–107, 21.550–72, 22.98–131. All three follow the same pattern as 11.401ff for the first four steps: (1) description of the situation; (2) the ὀχθήσας formula; (3) two alternatives expressed as conditions; (4) the rhetorical question, "But why does my dear *thumos* ... " In the next step the pattern differs from that of 11.401ff. After the rhetorical question each of the parallels introduces a reason for not choosing the second of the two alternatives mentioned in step (3); the first alternative is not mentioned. Then they all bring up a third possibility, which is the one that is actually adopted. In two of the three it is explicitly stated by the speaker that this third alternative is preferable (17.105, 22.129). In the third (21.550–72), where Agenor decides to fight Achilles, alternative (c), rather than running either with the rest of the Trojans or by himself toward Ida, alternatives (a) and (b), the poet implicitly announces the decision in the transitional lines 571–72, "With these words he gathered himself and waited for Achilles, and his mighty heart was eager for battle and for war." The transition to action in 17.106–07 is the same as that in 11.411–12 except for the final word. In 22.131 it is a combination of the elements of the other two: "Thus he pondered as he waited, and Achilles drew near him."

up his mind for himself. He was not forced to fight by the fact that he was hemmed in before he could decide for himself to fight. That was his own prior internal decision. On the other hand, the Trojans are a necessary external element in the situation. If they had not surrounded Odysseus he would not have had to carry out his resolution. They do surround him and trap him, it is true; and Homer also elaborates this aspect of the situation through the use of the simile of the wild boar and the hounds. Odysseus does have to fight—but he also *wants* to. As in all such situations, there are both internal and external aspects. Homer does justice to both without needing, or perhaps even knowing how, to explain the relation between them.

For Odysseus, then, the choice is between giving in to fear and running the risk of death by staying and fighting. He overcomes his fear (emotion) by a (rational) consideration of the consequences of giving in to it. To flee in face of danger would go against his values. (It makes no difference that they are everyone else's values too.) His response is a combination of reason and what Aristotle would call *thumos*, *i.e.* 'spirit' or 'mettle'. In other words, his action is one that would satisfy the philosopher's definition of courage in the strict sense (*Eth.Nic.* 3.6–9). Granted, therefore, that Odysseus does not spend much time agonizing over what he ought to do, and that once he does make up his mind he has no time to hesitate because by then he is surrounded by raging Trojans; granted too that he nowhere says in so many words "I have decided what to do": still Homer's description of the whole process seems to me to be perfectly true to life and readily comprehensible. Odysseus makes a good choice—though not an easy one—after due consideration of the consequences.

Aeschylus' description of Agamemnon's decision to sacrifice Iphigeneia parallels the Homeric description almost step for step. The similarities between the two are significant enough, I think, to support the conclusion that the Homeric model influenced Aeschylus at least indirectly. There are also interesting differences.

Agamemnon 192–230

πνοαὶ δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι
κακόσχολοι, νήστιδες, δύσορμοι,
βροτῶν ἄλαι,
ναῶν <τε> καὶ πεισμάτων ἀφειδεῖς,
παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθεῖσαι
τρίβῳ κατέξαινον ἄνθος Ἀργεί-
ων· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πικροῦ
χείματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ
βριθύτερον πρόμοισιν
μάντις ἔκλαγξεν προφέρων
Ἄρτεμιν, ὥστε χθόνα βά-
κτροις ἐπικρούσαντας Ἀτρεί-
δας δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν·
ἄναξ δ' ὁ πρέσβυς τόδ' εἶπε φωνῶν·
"βαρεῖα μὲν κὴρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι,

βαρεῖα δ', εἰ
τέκνον δαΐξω, δόμων ἄγαλμα,
μιαίνων παρθενοσφάγοισιν
ῥείθροις πατρῴους χέρας πέλας βω-
μοῦ. τί τῶνδ' ἄνευ κακῶν;
πῶς λιπόναυς γένωμαι
ξυμμαχίας ἁμαρτών;
πανσανέμου γὰρ θυσίας
παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ὀρ-
γᾷ περιοργῷ σ<φ'> ἐπιθυ-
μεῖν θέμις. εὖ γὰρ εἴη."
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδυ λέπαδνον
φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν
ἄναγνον, ἀνίερον, τόθεν
τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνω·
βροτοὺς θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις
τάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων.
ἔτλα δ' οὖν θυτὴρ γενέ-
σθαι θυγατρός, γυναικοποί-
νων πολέμων ἀρωγάν
καὶ προτέλεια ναῶν.
λιτὰς δὲ καὶ κληδόνας πατρῴους
παρ' οὐδὲν αἰῶνα παρθένειον <τ'>
ἔθεντο φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς.

Steps (1) to (5) of the two descriptions are almost exactly parallel, except for a greater richness of detail in the *Agamemnon* passage.

(1) *The situation.* The Achaean fleet is held at Aulis by contrary winds (184–98), and the prophet Calchas announces the solution, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia (198–202).

(2) *The reaction.* The Atreidai see their problem, are distressed, and indicate as much by their actions (202–05):

> . . . so that the sons of Atreus
> struck the ground with their staves
> and could not keep from weeping;
> and the elder of the two then spoke and said . . .

Agamemnon apparently does not speak to himself as Odysseus did, but neither does he speak to anyone else in particular. What is being described, that is, is not a debate with someone else but a process of personal reflection, even if it is done aloud.

(3) *Statement of alternatives.* Agamemnon sees two possibilities, both of which he names as harsh. He states them in the form of balanced conditions, μέν . . . δέ . . . (206–11):

> A harsh fate if I disobey,
> and harsh too if

I kill my child, treasure of my house,
defiling with a slaughtered maiden's
blood her father's hands near the
altar. Which of these is free from evils?

Here the horror of the second alternative (b) is spelled out in more detail, and Aeschylus adds a brief summary (211) which makes explicit the difficulty of the choice. But the general structure is the same as in *Iliad* 11.404–06.

(4) *The question* (212–13):

How am I to become a deserter
and lose my alliance?

Most recent commentators agree that the question is to be taken as rhetorical. As soon as Agamemnon states the alternatives he sees which of the two he will choose. This corresponds to what we have seen above about Odysseus. Here too the question is followed immediately by a consideration of the motive, introduced by γάρ. (There is one difference in structure, though not in overall effect, which I shall discuss presently.)

(5) *The motive* (214–17):

For it is right and lawful
to desire with a passion
a sacrifice to stop the wind
and a maiden's blood.
May it turn out well!

There are several questions here. In what sense could it be *themis* to desire the sacrifice? Who desires it: Agamemnon (so Edwards, Wilamowitz)? The Greek chieftains (so Lloyd-Jones, Page)? Both (Fraenkel)? What does it mean to say that it is right to desire it "with a passion"? One thing alone is certain: Aeschylus has not made his meaning abundantly clear here. The answers are not crucial to the immediate discussion. It does seem to me, however, that *prima facie* it is the chieftains, who have been called from all over Greece and kept waiting by the contrary wind, who are the ones most likely to "desire with a passion" to get going. They are the ones who can most plausibly be said to have a "lawful right" in the matter, especially in view of Agamemnon's express desire not to desert them and give up the expedition (212–13).

As in the *Iliad* passage, steps (4) and (5) are to be taken together. The rhetorical question and the statement of motive mark the moment of choice, even though there is no fully explicit statement to that effect. Aeschylus' addition of εὖ γὰρ εἴη in 217 makes it clear that the choice has been made. E. Fraenkel[3] quotes Hermann to the effect that γάρ indicates that the sense to be supplied is something like: "Since I cannot avoid sacrificing her, I pray that the whole thing will somehow turn out well." If we can argue back to the *Iliad* passage, then we have a confirmation of what was said about the moment of decision there. Fraenkel goes on to say: "It is a very delicate touch that Agamemnon should speak first of the grounds and justification of his resolve and then of the result that he

[3] *Aeschylus Agamemnon* II (Oxford 1950) 126–27.

hopes will follow from it, and in between leaves out 'I am determined to sacrifice her'. He cannot bring himself to utter the fatal words." Arguing this time *forward* from the *Iliad* passage, we should surely reject this suggestion. If Aeschylus was following the Homeric parallel it would not have occurred to him to have Agamemnon say "I am determined to sacrifice her." Hence the omission has in itself no significance at all.

What difference there is between the two passages lies in the arrangement of the elements. Odysseus asks the rhetorical question (4), *then* he states his reasons for rejecting alternative (a) and accepting (b). Agamemnon asks the quesion and, *in doing so*, gives his reason for rejecting alternative (a). He then states his motive for accepting (b). The same elements, therefore, are present in both passages. In *Agamemnon* the arrangement is slightly different and the moment of decision is more clearly marked by the addition of εὖ γὰρ εἴη.

(6) *Transition to action.* At this point, when the poet (the chorus) returns in his own voice, Aeschylus' description becomes more complex. He seems to feel the need for further explanation of how Agamemnon moves from resolution to action. Still, though the content will differ, the form continues to follow the Homeric model in interesting ways (218–23):

When he put on the yoke-strap of necessity,
breathing the impious turning of mind,
unholy, sacrilegious, *from then on*
he shifted to thinking the unthinkable.
For delusion makes men bold—wretched,
shameful-counseling delusion, bringer of woes.

The form "when . . . from then on . . . " is reminiscent of *Iliad* 11.411ff "while . . . then . . . " There too it follows directly after the statement of motive. Homer, as we have seen, uses the form to move to action by way of an updated description of the external situation. Aeschylus apparently is not quite ready for that. Instead, he first repeats Agamemnon's decision, this time from the point of view of an outside observer, the chorus. In doing so, he also follows the structure of the previous description in 202–17. Then he adds a clear statement that the decision has been made (224–27), after which he moves back to the external situation (228ff). This structure has not been noticed before, I believe. Let us look more closely at it.

On the first point I am agreeing with Edwards to the extent that I believe that in 218–23 the chorus is repeating in other words—rather than adding anything to—the previous description of Agamemnon's thoughts and decision. The yoke-strap of necessity refers not to "the necessity of choosing one particular option, but *the necessity of making a choice between the two terrible alternatives.*"[4] Edwards does not say so, but the

[4] Edwards (*supra* n.1) 26–27. That is, once Agamemnon accepted the necessity of choosing and actually chose to take his daughter's life rather than give up the expedition, "then Infatuation . . . seizes him; she emboldens him with the recklessness (*thrasunei*), not to make the decision—that has already been done—but to carry out the sacrifice" (27). Edwards compares the "necessity" here with that of *Suppliants* 438–39, where the king *must* choose between two difficult alternatives—rather than with *Suppliants* 478–79, where the king *must* choose for the Danaids in order to avoid the wrath of Zeus (Lesky's interpretation).

structural parallelism between the descriptions in 206–17 and in 218–23 tends to support his thesis. "When he put on the yoke-strap ... " (218–20) corresponds to the facing of alternatives in 206–11. The words "Then he shifted ... " (220–21) parallel the decision implied in the question of 212–13. And, finally, "For delusion ... " (222–23) gives the reason for choosing the alternative that he did choose, as in 214–17. In both instances, then, we find the pattern: need to decide/decision/reason for decision. In the first case (206–17) the structure is very close to the Homeric. In the second (218–23) there is a mix of Homeric structural elements. It begins as if to continue the pattern "when ... then ... " but then shifts out of that into a repetition of the pattern of need to decide/decision/reason for decision.

Now Aeschylus, unlike Homer, explicitly announces the fact of the decision; and, at the same time, by way of summary he calls the deed and its motives by their real names (224–27):

> And so he dared to become the sacrificer
> of his daughter, to support
> the war to avenge a woman
> and to be an offering for the fleet.

This summary continues the parallelism of 218–27 with 206–17 in so far as the explicit announcement of the decision here matches the implicit one in 217 (εὖ γὰρ εἴη).[5] The parallels between the two sections can be summarized as follows:

	206–217	218–227
(1) *The need to decide*	"A harsh fate if I disobey, and harsh too if I kill my child" (206–11)	When he put on the yoke-strap of necessity (218–220)
(2) *The Decision*	"How am I to become a deserter and fail (lose) my alliance?" (212–13)	(from) then he shifted to thinking the unthinkable (220–21)
(3) *The reason for the decision*	"For it is right and lawful to desire with a passion a sacrifice to stop the wind and a maiden's blood" (214–16)	"For delusion makes men bold ... " (222–23)
(4) *Summary*	"May it turn out well" (217)	And so he dared to become the sacrificer of his daughter (224–27)

There is one more parallel. Before the sacrifice actually begins, Aeschylus adds a last detail (228–30):

> Her prayers and cries to her father
> and her tender maiden's years
> the war-loving chieftains ignored.

[5] Note too how the sounds in 224–27 echo those of 214–17: θυσίας παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ... ἐπιθυμεῖν θέμις (214–17) is picked up by θυτὴρ γενέσθαι θυγατρὸς ... (224–25), and πανσανέμου ... παρθενίου ... περιωργῶς (214–17) by γυναικοποίνων πολέμων ... προτέλεια (225–27).

Why introduce the attitude of the chieftains at this point? Even though Agamemnon's decision has been made and described from two different points of view, there is still another element, *viz.* the pressure from the army to get under way. Whatever we are to think of Agamemnon's freedom of choice or the rôle of delusion and the rest of it, Aeschylus seems not to want us to forget the fact that the choice was conditioned also in some part by external pressure, at least negatively in the sense that the chieftains did nothing to prevent it here. (And perhaps positively, if my interpretation of 212–17 above is correct.) In any case, the point to be made here is that with mention of the external situation we are back parallel with the *Iliad* passage where the vivid description of the attacking Trojans comes between Odysseus' decision and its carrying out.

What follows is a schematic view of the parallels between the two passages. In the *Agamemnon* column I have bracketed the portions for which there are no parallels in the *Iliad* passage.

	Iliad 11.401–22	*Agamemnon* 192–230
(1) *Situation*	Spear-famed Odysseus was left alone ... (401–402)	Contrary winds at Aulis (184–98) and the demand for the sacrifice (198–202)
(2) *Reaction*	Disturbed then, he spoke to his great-hearted *thumos*: (403)	so that the sons of Atreus struck the ground with their staves (202–05)
(3) *Alternatives*	"It is a great evil if I flee ... But it is more frightening if I am caught alone" (404–06)	"A harsh fate if I disobey, and harsh too if I kill my child ... [Which of these is without evils?]" (206–11)
(4) *Question*	"But why does my dear *thumos* discuss these things?" (407)	"How am I to become a deserter and fail (lose) my alliance?" (212–13)
(5) *Motives*	"*For* I know that cowards withdraw from war; but one who is brave in battle must indeed make a strong stand ... " (408–10)	"*For* it is right and lawful to desire with a passion a sacrifice ... [May it turn out well.]" (214–17)
(6) *Transition to Action*	*While* he was turning these things over in his mind and his *thumos*, *then* the ranks of the armored Trojans ... (411ff)	*When* he put on the yoke-strap of necessity ... *from then on* he shifted to thinking the unthinkable ... (218–23)
		[Repetition of decision from point of view of the chorus (218–23) and summary (224–27). Then, before the carrying out of the decision, reference to the pressure from the chieftains:]
	then the ranks of the armored Trojans ... (412ff)	Her prayers and cries ... the war-loving chieftains ignored (228–30)

Conclusions

The Homeric pattern for describing a decision in a difficult situation seems clearly to be the model for Aeschylus in *Agamemnon* 192–230. *Iliad* 11.401–22 is the closest but not the only parallel; the same basic pattern is also present in three other places in the late books of the *Iliad* (17.90–107, 21.550–72, 22.98–133). The assumption that Aeschylus is influenced by Homer here prompts the following observations on the *Agamemnon* passage:

(1) Edwards[6] calls it a "brilliant stroke" on Aeschylus' part when he has the chorus report Agamemnon's own words in 206–17. Brilliant or not, the idea was apparently not original.

(2) As pointed out above, the fact that Agamemnon does not explicitly announce that he has determined to perform the sacrifice ("a very delicate touch," according to Fraenkel) also turns out to be an element suggested by the tradition.

(3) Taken together the two passages support the assumption that the (rhetorical) question and the statement of motives together mark the moment of decision. This is made a bit clearer in *Agamemnon* by the addition of εὖ γὰρ εἴη in line 217.

(4) In both cases there are external physical as well as internal psychological/moral factors that influence the decision (the on-rushing Trojans and the angry, impatient Greek chieftains). Aeschylus as well as Homer has trouble explaining the relationship between the two sets of factors.

(5) Comparison with Homer serves to highlight how much more self-conscious Aeschylus is about what he is doing. His summaries as he goes along (211, 217, 225–27) work as an outline or running commentary on the decision-making process. He also reviews the decision from another point of view, though in the same form (218–27).

(6) For all the formal similarities in the descriptions it remains true that the decisions themselves are quite different in content. Odysseus' choice between facing either mortal danger or disgrace is far less drastic than Agamemnon's dilemma where no acceptable outcome is possible no matter how he chooses.

BOSTON COLLEGE

[6] Edwards (*supra* n.1) 24.

A Gennetic Sacrifice List in the Athenian State Calendar

Robert Fisher Healey, S.J.

IT IS GENERALLY ASSUMED by scholars of ancient Greek religion that most, if not all, of the ancient cults and ancestral sacrifices, τὰ πάτρια, of the later communities belonged originally to the great clan-families, the *gene*, from whom they were, at different times and under different circumstances, acquired and made public by the state.[1] Thus Nilsson: "the Greek cults were to a very great extent originally hereditary: they were the property of the *gens*."[2] This is believed to be especially true in the case of Athens, where even in the time of the democracy the great priesthoods remained in the hands of the old clan-families.[3] However, as Aristotle remarks about Cleisthenes, the state saw to it "that private cults should be reduced in number and conducted at common centers,"[4] for, to quote Nilsson again, "democracy ... took over or broke down the old family cults and transformed in a democratic spirit the old cult organization which had rested on the family."[5]

Such activity by the Athenian state to weld together the various groups in the newly democratic community and to extend ancient religious sanction to the new democratic installations is easily understandable. Moreover, a specific and pertinent case can be observed as late as 403–399 B.C., the period of restored democracy, in the codification of the state calendar of sacrifices, whose *anagrapheis*, in the person of one Nikomakhos, are attacked by Lysias for neglecting old and adding new sacrifices.[6]

Thus, such activity with regard to cult on the part of Cleisthenes and later democratic leaders is not only an expectation but in fact directly attested. What is perhaps surprising, however, is that we have no proof of it—or rather, to anticipate the conclusion of this paper, have not yet recognized such—in the epigraphical record. In particular

[1] The present article represents a partial reworking of my *Eleusinian Sacrifices in the Athenian State Code* (Diss.Harvard 1961; abstract in *HSCP* 66 [1962] 256–59), written under the direction of Professor Sterling Dow, whose keen and long-abiding interest in the sacred calendars is attested by his numerous articles on the subject. I am indebted on the present occasion for assistance and encouragement to Professor Blaise Nagy and for expert typing to Pearl Jolicoeur, both of Holy Cross.

[2] M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*[2] (New York 1952) 126; in *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*[3] I (Munich 1967) 709 he states: "In Attika, von dem wir die reichhaltigsten Nachrichten haben, lag ein grosser Teil der Kulte mit altertümlichen Riten in den Händen der alten Geschlechter"; *cf.* J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin 1889) 1–2, "Aus derselben gentilicischen Wurzel hat aber auch die Religion ihre Lebenskraft gesogen" (cited hereafter by authors' names).

[3] Nilsson, *Geschichte* 709, supplies a partial list, and Töpffer 19–20 affirms, "die Bekleidung der hohen athenischen Staatspriesterthümer bis in die spätesten Zeiten aufs strengste mit der Zugehörigkeit zu bestimmten, allein dazu befugten Geschlechtern verknüpft geblieben ist."

[4] *Pol.* 1319b, τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ κοινά. Töpffer 7, commenting on the passage, says "Diese Worte enthalten das politische Programm des Kleisthenes."

[5] Nilsson, *History* 246.

[6] Lysias 30. S. Dow gives a thorough account of Nikomakhos' activity and the grounds for Lysias' charge in *Historia* 9 (1960) 270–93. See also K. Clinton, *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 (1982) 27–37.

we do not possess an independent calendar or list of sacrifices of any of the old (pre-Cleisthenic) *gene*, although we do have such for local Attic demes or groups of demes.[7] The calendar of sacrifices of the Salaminioi of 363/2 is not really an exception, since the *genos* is an anomalous and perhaps late one.[8] Yet, in view of the extremely conservative nature of the Athenians in religious practice, we should have expected such evidence to have survived in some shape or form in the later abundant epigraphical material.[9]

It is the contention of the present paper that just such a list of sacrifices does exist in a later inscription, and not merely that of a random *genos*, but of the chief priestly clan-family of the Athenian religious hierarchy, the Eumolpidai, one of whose members served as the hereditary *hierophantes* of the Mysteries.[10] The inscription which contains it, among many other items of Athenian cult, is perhaps not as well known as it should be; Dow says of it "the inscription as a whole, among the thousands that stood in Athens, was the most precious and the most exciting of them all."[11] It is none other than the state calendar of sacrifices itself, a considerable part of the revised law code of Solon, executed by Nikomachos in 410–399 B.C.

The largest fragment of this calendar[12] contains three columns of entries, listing deities, victims, and occasional rubrical material, with prices inserted in the left-hand margin, carefully arranged and indented under rubrics dealing with month, day, and source of legislation.[13] The entries of column iii, those in question here, run to the right-hand edge of the stone, which has been broken off unevenly, with consequent loss of final letters in some cases; they can be restored with near certainty from the context. The first fifteen lines contain eleven complete and separate entries and form a unit, as is indicated both by the concluding rubric and *paragraphos* or dividing line extending from the left-hand margin and running beneath the first few letters of the final line.[14] A

[7] Dow assembles these with full bibliographies and descriptions in "Six Athenian Sacrificial Calendars," *BCH* 92 (1968) 170–86, to which should now be added a newly discovered calendar from Thorikos, now housed in the Getty Museum, Malibu, California, for which see G. Duntz, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 243–64, and G. Daux, *BCH* 101 (1981) 463–70.

[8] For a comprehensive study of this calendar see W. S. Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion" *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 1–76. Ferguson discusses the anomalies in the constitution of the *genos* or *gene*. He argues that the *genos* "*may* have existed prior to its organization in the two branches known to us, which is either Kleisthenian or post-Kleisthenian" (15, italics mine), but surely it cannot have long predated the final incorporation of Salamis into Athenian territory between 510 and 508/7. In no case is it as old as that of the Eumolpidai.

[9] S. Dow, *ProcMassHistSoc* 71 (1959) 55, states, "Inherently conservative, while usually ready to make practical changes, the Athenians were most conservative in the least practical sphere—religion"; Nilsson, *History* 247, "In matters pertaining to the cult, even more than in other matters, the Athenians showed the moderation for which they were famous."

[10] For an extensive discussion of the Eumolpidai *cf.* Töpffer 24–80. For the fact that this *genos* supplied the *hierophantes* see Hesykhios *s.v.* Εὐμολπίδαι· οὕτως οἱ ἀπὸ Εὐμόλπου ἐκαλοῦντο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροφαντήσαντος.

[11] Dow (*supra* n.9) 5.

[12] J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 5–23 (with a photograph at 20) is the first publication of the fragment; F. Sokolowski, *LSCG Suppl.* 9–10 with commentary, is also valuable. A. Körte, "Eleusinisches," *Glotta* 25 (1936) 134–42 discusses column iii.

[13] Dow (*supra* n.9) 13–21 discusses these rubrics and their arrangement.

[14] The text is based on notes of S. Dow incorporated in Healey (*supra* n.1) Appendix 2; I have also consulted the stone itself in the Agora Museum and worked with squeezes of it. The *apometra* to the priestess, which follows, is omitted here because of the *paragraphos*, clearly distinguishable but not accidental, after the concluding rubric mentioning the Eumolpidai and before the entry to the priestess, not a member of the *genos*. For this reason I cannot agree with the proposed restoration of K. Clinton, *TAPhS* 74.3 (1974) 70, which would associate her with the *patria* of the *genos*. The priestess was doubtless present at the Eleusinia, as were others, for instance the group sacrificing the second series of sacrifices following, and was given a generous *apometra* by the state, but she had nothing to do with their ancestral sacrifice list.

second series of sacrifices on the same occasion, partially preserved below but headed by a new source rubric, need not concern us here.

ΔΗ Η	Θέμιδι οἷς
ΔΓ	Διὶ Ἑρκείωι ο[ἷς]
ΔΗ Η	Δήμητρι οἷς
	Φερρεφάττη[ι]
ΔΓΗ Η	κριός
ΔΓ	Εὐμόλπωι ο[ἷς]
ΔΓ	Μελίχωι ἢ[ρωι οἷς]
ΔΓ	Ἀρχηγέτη[ι οἷς]
ΔΓ	Πολυξέν[ωι οἷς]
	Θρεπτῶι [κριὸς]
ΔΓΗ Η	κριτός
ΔΓ	Διόκλω[ι οἷς]
ΔΓ	Κελεῶι [οἷς]
	Εὐμολπ[ίδαι]
	ταῦτα [θύοσιν]

Throughout the calendar the festivals are not named and must be deduced from the pertinent rubrics. In the case of the first series of sacrifices in column iii these rubrics are missing; they must have stood originally in the no longer extant bottom lines of column ii. Nevertheless, the festival can be determined first from the fact that the content is heavily, if not exclusively, Eleusinian, second that the sacrifices are explicitly prescribed to be sacrificed by the Eumolpidai, and finally that this column, as well as the second one, stands directly under a larger rubric in a heading marked off from the columns proper by a deep groove, which indicates that the entries below it are trieteric, to be sacrificed biennially. Hence they belong to the Ἐλευσίνια, the Eleusinian Games, a major *agon* celebrated on Metageitnion 12 both as a penteteric and a trieteric festival.[15]

The sacrifices for the festival commence with a ewe[16] offered to Themis (the goddess' name is given without an epithet). It cannot be determined whether this is the

[15] For the Eleusinia see L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 91–92. In my dissertation (*supra* n.1) I had argued for Metageitnion 12 as the probable date for the festival; welcome confirmation has since come in the entry in the deme calendar of Erkhia (*BCH* 87 [1963] 603–34) of an offering to Demeter in the City Eleusinion on precisely the twelfth of that month (col. B.1–5).

[16] Throughout the calendar male victims are offered to gods, female to goddesses, thus complying with the rule reported by Arnobius (7.19) in the fourth century A.D.: *dis feminis feminas, mares maribus hostias immolare*. There is a difference in cost for each.

actual beginning of this particular series of sacrifices, as the bottom half of column ii is lost. Although there is no known connection of this goddess with Eleusis and its deities, nonetheless a reason why she might properly head this list, so carefully arranged as to details of preference and placement, can be supplied. Themis, the ancient earth goddess, was the personification of ancient social and religious custom, and, as such, the proper protectress of the ancient sacred law of which the Eumolpidai were *exegetai*,[17] *i.e.*, the patroness of the unwritten law and custom of *phyle* and *genos*. Festugière calls her "symbole de la justice de clan" and "la Thémis ancestrale."[18] As such she is closely related to the θεμιστοπόλοι βασιλεῖς of Eleusis, who figure so prominently in this list and are so labelled in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (473).

The second entry, a ram, is made to Zeus Herkeios. Again there is no direct or exclusive connection of this deity with the Eumolpidai, but the reason for his inclusion early in their sacrifice list is easy to discover. Zeus with this epithet, a transparent one meaning literally 'of the fence', was primarily and originally the protector of the courtyard that stood outside the typical Greek house, and was the object of one of the oldest cults in Greek religion (*cf. Od.* 22.334–35). Sophocles uses his name by metonomy to designate the whole family (*Ant.* 487, a play in which the issue involves the conflict between the new man-made laws of the state and the older religious and familial traditions). Furthermore, in the context of civic life in Athens, the possession of a family altar of Zeus Herkeios became a criterion of Athenian citizenship.[19] He was also the special patron of the *genos* and the *gennetai*.[20] Accordingly, his inclusion in the sacrificial list of one of the oldest and most sacred of the *gene* is hardly surprising. With Themis he makes a proper prelude to the particular deities of the *genos* of the Eumolpidai.

In due order these divinities appear, first the deities proper and then the heroes. Demeter, the chief deity and tutelary goddess of Eleusis, as abundant inscriptions and votive reliefs as well as the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* attest,[21] is listed first as the senior deity. She is followed immediately by her daughter Persephone, under the peculiar Attic form of Pherrephatta, and with an exceptional and more costly victim, a specially chosen ram costing 17 *drakhmai*, doubtless because the Eleusinia were conceived of as funeral games for Demophon and celebrated after the harvest, when the earth was dead and Persephone in her underworld kingdom.[22]

[17] Töpffer 68–76 discusses the rôle of the Eumolpidai as *exegetai*, 'expounders'; see also F. Jacoby, *Atthis* (Oxford 1949) 8ff, 26ff, and J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders* (Baltimore 1950).

[18] A. J. Festugière, *Histoire générale des religions* II (Paris 1948) 107–09.

[19] Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 55.3, repeated in Poll. 8.85.

[20] Dem. 57.67; *cf.* Töpffer 6–7.

[21] *Cf.* the splendid edition *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* by N. J. Richardson (Oxford 1974) and its abundant commentary.

[22] That the Eleusinia took place after the harvest we learn from schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.150b; that they were in honor of Demophon may be concluded from Demeter's prophecy in the *Hymn* (263–67) and the statement of Hesykhios *s.v.* βαλλητύς: ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνῃσιν ἐπὶ Δημοφῶντι τοῦ Κελεοῦ ἀγομένη, which may reasonably be connected with the games.

The remaining entries are made to heroes[23] of Eleusis, seven in number, mostly coinciding with the list of the θεμιστοπόλοι βασιλεῖς, twice given (153–55 and 473–75) in the *Hymn*. There are slight differences, however, which may or may not be significant. Eumolpos, the eponymous ancestor of the *genos* of the Eumolpidai, as well as the first *hierophantes*, although he does not occupy this prominent place in either list of the *Hymn*, naturally comes first in any list of sacrifices of the *genos*. Three of the other six ancestral kings of Eleusis, Polyxenos (number 4 in the sacrifice list), Diokles (6), and Keleos (7), are also found with slight variation[24] in the two lists supplied by the *Hymn*, while two of the kings from the *Hymn* are missing (it may not be without significance that one of these, Dolikhos, is also missing from the second list in the *Hymn*).

The sixth entry in the sacrificial list of this section of the calendar is to Melikhos 'the hero', obviously so labelled to distinguish him from Zeus Meilikhios, a well-known deity, who had an altar on the Eleusinian side of the Kephisos (Paus. 1.37.4). What we have here is probably not the name of a hero otherwise unknown in the myth and cult of Eleusis, but a cult name or hieronym[25] swallowing up the real name of the hero in his function or attitude as 'the mild, gracious one', 'the one who is invoked with propitiatory offerings', *i.e.* originally a chthonic figure connected in some way in the worship of Eleusis with Aidoneus or Plouton, the ravisher and husband of Persephone. For various reasons, I would suggest as the most likely candidate Eubouleus,[26] originally a cult name of the chthonic Zeus, but at Eleusis an independent deity or hero worshipped in the Eleusinian circle, and identified (at least in the later Orphic versions of the story) with the swineherd who fell into the chasm made by Plouton as he carried off Persephone.

The following entry to Arkhegetes is also a case of a cult name or epithet substituted for the proper name of some figure of the Eleusinian traditions. It is a common epithet of gods and heroes, generally associated with founders of cities,[27] and may

[23] A glance through the contents of the sacred calendars will reveal many more heroes than deities proper honored with sacrifices. Töpffer 20 says, "Dieser [Gentilgottesdienst] gilt in erster Linie dem heroisirten Ahnen, der in keinem Geschlechte fehlte." *Cf.* also A. D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes," *HThR* 37 (1944) 141–74 [*Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* II 575–602].

[24] Thus in both versions in the *Hymn* Triptolemos (on whose absence from the calendar see *infra*) and Diokles come first, then in the first list Polyxenos, who is omitted in the second, followed by Eumolpos, in fourth and third place respectively; Dolikhos, the final entry in the first list, is also missing in the second, replaced by Keleos, who is missing from the first list, doubtless because in the story he is not yet dead. The first list is longer by one name.

[25] Hieronyms were a special feature at Eleusis, where even the *hierophantes* often bore one. *Cf.* Töpffer 29: "Diesen significanten, auf die Sitte der Hieronymie anspielenden Wendungen liegen offenbar uralte, mysteriose Cultgebräuche zu Grunde." Countless heroes who possessed cults have lost their proper names to be replaced by those of functions or attributes.

[26] The reasons are too lengthy to detail here; he is prominently seen in the Eleusinian circle, and easily assimilable with Zeus Boulaios, who has chthonic associations, under both this epithet and that of Meilikhios, and with Plouton, with whom he is connected in the legend.

[27] *Cf.* Pind. *Ol.* 7.78 and Paus. 10.4.101 for this well-known fact. O. Jessen, *RE* 2 (1896) 441–44 *s.v.* Ἀχηγέτης, says, "Jede Stadt hatte wohl ihren heroischen Archegeten, dessen Grabmahl gewöhnlich auf dem Markte stand."

perhaps be connected with Hippothoon, the eponymous hero of the Attic *phyle* Hippothontis to which Eleusis belonged, and whose tomb there was a place of hero worship (Paus. 1.38.4). Another possibility would be Eleusis or Eleusinos, the mythical founder of the deme of Eleusis.[28]

The last entry to be considered is to Threptos 'the nursling', 'the foster child', to whom a special offering of a chosen and more costly ram is made. This again is a case of a cult epithet concealing a proper name. To identify him with Triptolemos, a prominent Eleusinian figure, present in both lists of the *Hymn* and otherwise absent from this list, as Oliver and Körte do,[29] is tempting. There is more reason, however, to identify him with Demophon, the son of Keleos and the nursling of Demeter in the *Hymn*,[30] in whose honor the Eleusinia themselves were held,[31] doubtless the reason for supplying him with a more expensive victim on this occasion. Triptolemos, and even Dolikhos, the eponym of the long distance race of the games, the latter named in only one version of the list in the *Hymn* (155), may well be present in another context, *viz.* the second series of sacrifices, which follows immediately below, and so excised from the Eumolpidai list by Nikomakhos as superfluous or redundant—a concrete example of old sacrifices omitted by him, as charged by Lysias 30, but that is another story.

The series of sacrifices of the calendar is closed by a final entry, not that of a victim, but rather of a supplementary collective rubric informing us that the above list was sacrificed by the *genos* of the Eumolpidai: in itself a conclusive indication that what we have here is in fact the sacrificial list of this prominent *genos* for this particular festival, taken over and included in the general calendar of sacrifices of Athens, albeit somewhat modified, and extended and made more democratic by the addition of new sacrifices (the reason for the second series below) and with the victims paid for by the state. Indeed, the whole list of the calendar could be read as a neat rubric: from their ancestral law (Themis) the *genos* (Zeus Herkeios) of the Eumolpidai (the final rubric) sacrifices to its special deities (Demeter and Persephone) and its hero kings and ancestors (the remaining figures).

Doubtless the same list, with minute changes in order, cost of victims, and other details, would be sacrificed by the *genos* of the Eumolpidai on other Eleusinian occasions as well. In any case, the list is old and important (though occupying a small portion of Nikomakhos' calendar and on a subordinate, *i.e.*, trieteric occasion). Still, as Dow remarks, apropos of the conservative nature of the calendar as a whole: "Their [the Athenians'] cult law would echo in later ages the cult aspects of events in their

[28] Harp. *s.v.* Ἐλευσίνια and Paus. 1.38.7.

[29] Oliver (*supra* n.12) 26 and Körte (*supra* n.12) 137ff.

[30] In the *Hymn* Demophon is the nursling of Demeter, and although the word θρεπτός itself is not used to describe him, other forms of the root are: *e.g.* θρέψω (227), ἔτρεφεν (235), παῖδα δέ μοι τρέφε τόνδε (219). Moreover, the important lines εἰ τόν γ' ἐκθρέψαιο ... τόσα κέν τοι ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοίη are used twice (166–68 and 221–23), and Demeter explicitly calls herself his nurse, τιθήνης (227). For a different view of this identification and of other details from the calendar entry for the Eleusinia see K. Clinton, *AJP* 100 (1979) 1–12.

[31] *Cf. supra* n.22.

remote past and would thus preserve, if only we could obtain and interpret it, chapter after chapter of the history of Athenian institutions, unknowable in any way, from the most ancient times on down."[32]

COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS

[32] Dow (*supra* n.9) 5.

The Inscription as an Art Form in the Mixed Genre of the Grave Stele: An Example in New York

Kevin Herbert

IN HIS EXCELLENT introductory work on Greek epigraphy A. G. Woodhead devotes a chapter to the place of inscriptions in Greek art, a topic which he believes offers many opportunities for further study by epigraphists and art historians.[1] This rôle of inscriptions as monuments has long been emphasized by Sterling Dow, and a representative example of his interest is the detailed and enlightening study of alphabetized texts from Smyrna.[2] Therein he notes that in giving attention to textual matters one should not overlook the archaeological aspects of monuments in instances where the physical details may be helpful, especially in understanding fragmentary inscriptions.[3] To extend this position further, it may be stated that the facts of the aesthetic appeal of lettering styles, developing and changing from the Archaic to the Roman periods, of the appropriate structuring of the text on the monumental surface, and of the interrelations of text, relief sculpture, and architectural ornament all indicate that certain aspects of epigraphy are art forms worthy of serious attention. In the Archaic period vase-painters began to use letters for decorative purposes, and a variety of interesting examples survive.[4] When inscriptions began to be incised on stone monuments, however, the cutter or his supervisor then had to solve the problems of the relationship and integration of the lettering to the larger work and its surfaces. In most instances these concerns were ignored, but an early successful response is to be found in the dedication of Iphidike on a Pentelic marble column from the Athenian acropolis.[5] In this case the neatly-shaped Archaic letters were carefully cut on the difficult concave surfaces of two flutings of the column, and moreover the lines of unequal length were placed so as to

[1] *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*[2] (Cambridge 1981) 86–93. I am indebted to Professor Woodhead for a kind and informative personal communication, dated 9 May 1982, on the problems involved in a paper of this sort. Perhaps it will also be useful at the outset to note that the thrust of this inquiry is not the same as that in Christoph W. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram: Greek Memorials from the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Mainz 1970), who seeks correlations between the sculptures and verse epitaphs on the monuments. Neither does it aim to study the hand of a mason, as is so completely done by S. V. Tracy in *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 15 [1975]), though such a scrutiny might later occur with the collection of sufficient evidence.

[2] S. Dow, "Alphabetized Inscriptions from Smyrna in Bowdoin and Leyden," *AJA* 67 (1963) 257–68, pls. 51–52. The present writer assisted in the preparation of that study.

[3] Dow (*supra* n.2) 257–58. For another example of Dow's consideration of the whole monument, see his *Conventions in Editing. A Suggested Reformulation of the Leiden System* (Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Scholarly Aids 2 [1969]) 32–37, a study of *IG* II² 1989.

[4] Margherita Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* I (Rome 1967) 447–50, especially a Rhodian lekythos (fig. 230) with lettering, other motifs, and animals, and a cup from Boeotia (fig. 232) with the alphabet displayed in two lines on each side.

[5] J. Kirchner/G. Klaffenbach, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*[2] (Berlin 1948) no. 14 pl. 6 (*IG* I² 487).

end nearly together. As a result the regularly shaped letter forms, the use of the channels as frames for the dedication, and the primitive attempt at a balanced placement of the lines all combine to achieve a pleasing and memorable visual effect.

In the development of fifth-century Athens the rôle of the inscription on both public and private monuments greatly expanded, and by the last decade of the period and the early fourth century epigraphic art reached a peak of refinement that would never be surpassed in the Greek experience. This period saw the full flowering of the graphic art itself and also a dynamic interaction of inscribed word, sculptured figure, and architectural design that set standards on which the Romans later would build. The perfect example of a work of a purely documentary type is the much-cited Athenian decree in honor of Oeniades, of 408/7 B.C., which presents its text of handsome, standardized letters rank upon rank in *stoichedon* deployment.[6] As an example of the combined genre employing inscription, relief sculpture, and architectural features, this paper will examine a fragment of a grave monument of a young woman, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and formerly in the Lansdowne Collection.[7]

A cursory examination of this Pentelic fragment (PLATE 8) reveals its superiority in every detail: the well-proportioned pediment and prominent epistyle, both with moldings; the veiled head of the girl in high relief and three-quarter view, and with the impersonal treatment of the lovely features creating a mood of distancing; and the carefully designed and finely cut letters of the inscription itself.[8] In its original condition the figure of the girl was standing, to judge from the attitude of the head and its proximity to the lower border of the epistyle. Two figures probably stood before her, an adult on the far left and a child in the middle.[9] Although they are now missing, the scene was framed by antae which together with the superstructure created the illusion that this was the entry to a tomb. The well-known Hegeso monument in the National Museum, Athens, is a good example of the type in its original condition, though in that instance the main figure is seated.[10]

On the basis of the surviving features of this fragment, it is fair to note that in its original state the inscription played a very important aesthetic as well as informational function. The surviving letters indicate the girl was the daughter of [---]*omenes*, and, in estimating the original width of the epistyle by extrapolation from the closure of the pedimental angles, there appear to have been some nine letters before what is now the

[6] Kirchner/Klaffenbach no. 41 pl. 18 (*IG* I² 118, I³ 110).

[7] Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. 30.11.3. See *IG* II 4294 and G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of the Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 1954) 52 no. 78 pl. LXIII.

[8] The fragment measures as follows: h. 0.682 m., w. 0.52, th. 0.135; letters 0.025; epistyle 0.075. Moldings are cyma recta in form.

[9] For another possible composition see the stele of Ameinocleia: K. Friis Johansen, *De Attische Gravrelieffer* (Copenhagen 1949) 20–21 fig. 7. In this work a slave-girl kneels before her mistress to fit a sandal to her foot. Opposite Ameinocleia and directly behind the slave is the standing figure of her father, Andromenes.

[10] R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture* (London 1957) 62–63 no. 185. Note the much greater space between the head of the seated girl in the Hegeso stele in comparison with that in the present monument, an indication that in this instance the figure is standing.

first *omicron*.[11] The width of the fragment is 0.52 m., and therefore this writer calculates that the total original width, including antae and side finials, was approximately 1.138 m. Furthermore, if width was 75 percent of height, which is the approximate proportion of such monuments,[12] the original height to the epistyle was about 1.516 m. All in all this was a private monument impressive in scale and design, and the inscription on the epistyle stood at eye level or slightly higher for most visitors to it. What they saw was a text of superbly designed letters carefully centered, spaced, and cut, and occupying a dominant position as a feature of the stele.

As the surface for the inscription, the epistyle presented the text directly to the eye while also integrating it with the stele as a whole, and its centrality required the wording to be brief in order to avoid a sense of clutter. Only name, parent, and relationship were given here, but this simple, spare statement befits the tenor of the monument, or what is left of it for us to judge. Another aspect of the epistyle to be noted is its height, which is conspicuous in relation to the triangular space above it and therefore further dramatizes the inscription. Moreover, its surface is smooth in contrast to the rough finish of the recessed ground areas above and below it, and this prominent horizontal space is framed and highlighted through the chiaroscuro created by the molding and cornice above and the deeply recessed ground below. The excellence of this design feature of light and shadow can best be appreciated by a comparison with the same area of the Hegeso monument. On the architrave or epistyle of the latter there is no such framing device but rather an indentation near its bottom, which is much less effective in serving to highlight the inscription.[13]

The letters on our fragment were cut without dependence on incised guidelines, but the precision of the work indicates that text and guidelines first were chalked on the stele before the cutting began. Spacing of the letters was based on a module approximate in length to the distance between the centers of letter-widths, and only in the space between the second *omicron* and *sigma* does this standard miss the mark. The positioning of the inscription gives the lettering the central third of the epistyle surface, an area 0.025 m. high, and this exactitude together with the careful spacing of letters is most pleasing to the eye. Only *theta* among the surviving letters fails to touch the imaginary lower line in this arrangement. In regard to the actual inscribing, the straight strokes of the letters were stem-cut, but the round forms of *omicron* and *theta* and gently curving branches of *upsilon* were cut freehand with a sharply pointed stylus. Especially elegant are the *sigma*, the *upsilon*, and the *gamma*. The long top and bottom strokes of *sigma* are compressed because of the restraints of the imaginary guidelines;

[11] Richter (*supra* n.7) 52 offers the reading [Ἀριστω Αὐτ]ομένος, but acknowledges that there are many other possibilities. The ending -νος in the paternal name is the regular genitive form until the mid-fourth century, when it becomes -νους; see L. Threatte, *Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I (Berlin 1980) 247, 256.

[12] This is based on the analysis of eight stelai of late *saec.* V to *saec.* IV. The epistyle and the space above, if present, were not included in the measurements. The following monuments were analyzed: Lullies and Hirmer (*supra* n.10) pls. 185, 191, 192, 196, 218, and 219; G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*³ (New Haven 1949) figs. 217 and 306.

[13] Lullies and Hirmer (*supra* n.10) no. 185.

the gentle curves of the upper part of *upsilon* are visually more attractive than straight strokes; and the proportions of *gamma* are right, the horizontal stroke being four-fifths that of the vertical. Yet amid all this evidence of craftsmanship one note of fallibility intrudes, for the second *omicron* incorrectly was given the point of *theta*, an error which then could be only partially erased.

In dating this fragment on the basis of the sculpture Richter notes that the drapery is similar to that on the Athena Nike parapet, about 410 B.C.[14] The disciplined letter-forms support an estimate within the period 410–390. For example, on the Athenian decree for the Samians of 403/2 the large letters of the first four lines offer comparative evidence in the forms of *alpha*, *epsilon*, *nu*, and *upsilon*, although the upper and lower strokes of *sigma* are less restrained than the form on our fragment.[15] And the relatively well-cut letters of the grave monument of Dexileos, 394/3, show similar forms of *alpha*, *gamma*, *epsilon*, *mu*, and especially *upsilon*, which also displays the elegant curving upper elements of the letter on our monument. Here also, however, the upper and lower strokes of *sigma* flare up and down too sharply for a close comparison with our *sigma*.[16] It may be concluded that what remains of the original line on our fragment compares favorably to contemporary Attic inscriptions of high quality by virtue of its consistency, symmetry, and refinement of letter-forms. But the reasons for this excellence are also to be found in the mutual influences of the three artistic genres: inscription, sculpture, and architecture.

In the first instance it is obvious that the designer of this monument purposefully intended the broad epistyle as a showcase for the inscription. To the psychological effect of being set at eye level there was added the subtle enhancement of the chiaroscuro. Very likely this unknown craftsman had been involved in the construction of public works in the city and Attica during the last decade or two of the fifth century, or at least he had studied these structures and had absorbed their lessons of proportion and rational integration of every feature. Of the sculptor, whether he and the designer were the same person, there is less to say because so little of his work remains before us. His skill and confidence are revealed in this impassive face and veiled, inclined head of the girl who in a moment must withdraw to the deeper shadows of the tomb. Finally, the very excellence of the design and relief demanded a corresponding achievement in the lettering, and the cutter's work in this case amply matched these standards. The placement of the line, the spacing of the letters, and the distinction of individual forms such as *sigma* with outer strokes neatly compressed, *upsilon* with elegant upper curves, and *epsilon* with disciplined horizontals, all give evidence of his care and talents.

How is this mastery to be explained? On the one hand, from the middle to the end of the fifth century epigraphic practice developed as a result of the publication of the tribute lists and other public documents in which the masons solved such problems as letter design, arrangement of introductory headings, organization of data-blocks, the

[14] Richter (*supra* n.7) 52.
[15] Kirchner/Klaffenbach no. 43 pl. 19 (*IG* II² 1, I³ 127).
[16] Kirchner/Klaffenbach no. 46 pl. 21 (*IG* II² 6217).

transition to the Ionian alphabet, and placement on works of increasingly sophisticated design and reliefs.[17] On the other, the type of funerary stele with figures in high relief in a scene framed by antae and a pedimental structure had become popular by the last decade of the century, and within its conventions the crossing element of the epistyle above or the base below offered ideal space for an inscribed statement.[18] Yet too many of the texts on these monuments fail to be visually attractive because of overcrowding of lines or letters, indifferent workmanship, and a lack of planning beforehand.[19] In the present instance, however, the cutter plainly met the challenge with his own detailed preparations and execution of the text.

There remains space in this brief study to mention only two monuments which approximate the high standards of the fragment in the Metropolitan Museum. A broken stele in the St Louis Art Museum (PLATE 9A) has the name of a young woman, Kallistrate, carefully incised on a high epistyle and centered over her head.[20] The letters are large, carefully and deeply cut, and there seem to be traces of paint in the channels. The girl holds a necklace of shells or husks in both hands as she looks down to the right. Her head and the drapery of her garments are superbly rendered in high relief, and this style as well as the letter-forms indicate a date about 400 B.C. One jarring note intrudes, however, for at some later date the name Kallisthenes Paianieus was cut on the geison in light and poorly shaped letters. Because the girl's name was a common one, this appears to have been her father trying to insure her correct identification.

From the mid-fourth century, there is another pedimental fragment of a grave monument in the Metropolitan Museum with an inscription to Sostrate daughter of Thymokles of the deme Prasiai (PLATE 9B).[21] Here the complete pediment and epistyle are preserved, but nothing else, and a brief inspection leaves no doubt that this inscription and the lost sculpture once formed a stele in the best tradition of this mixed genre. The letters are not cut with the authority of the other two works examined herein, and

[17] *Cf.* Kirchner/Klaffenbach no. 33 pl. 14 (*IG* I² 195, I³ 263), no. 34 pl. 15 (*IG* I² 205, I³ 272), no. 35 pl. 13 (*IG* I² 54, I³ 49), no. 36 pl. 16 (*IG* I² 59, I³ 65), no. 41 pl. 18 (*IG* I² 118, I³ 110), no. 43 pl. 19 (*IG* II² 1, I³ 127), and no. 45 pl. 20 (*IG* II² 1392). The main thrust of S. Dow's study (*supra* n.2) is on a similar problem, the organization of name-lists in the later age of the Empire.

[18] For a brief survey of the development of the Attic grave stele, see G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*⁴ (London 1965) figs. 72–73, for the early period; 100–02, 129, for the period 530–450 B.C.; and 165, 166, 216, 217, for later *saec.* V–*saec.* IV.

[19] Kirchner/Klaffenbach no. 40 pl. 17 (*IG* II² 10650), the stele of Ampharete, has two lines on the epistyle, the second of which has crowded lettering at the end for want of space. Lullies and Hirmer (*supra* n.10) 61 no. 182, the tombstone relief of Chairedemos and Lyceas, has the names of the youths on a very narrow moulding at the top which is too small and out of scale with the whole monument. Lastly, Richter (*supra* n.7) 59–60 no. 88 pls. LXX.c–d, LXXII, the sepulchral lekythos of Aristomache, shows poorly cut names of a family group. The marble lekythos with sculptured figures was an ill-conceived imitation of the white-ground lekythos and probably was designed to avoid the costs of the larger monumental stele.

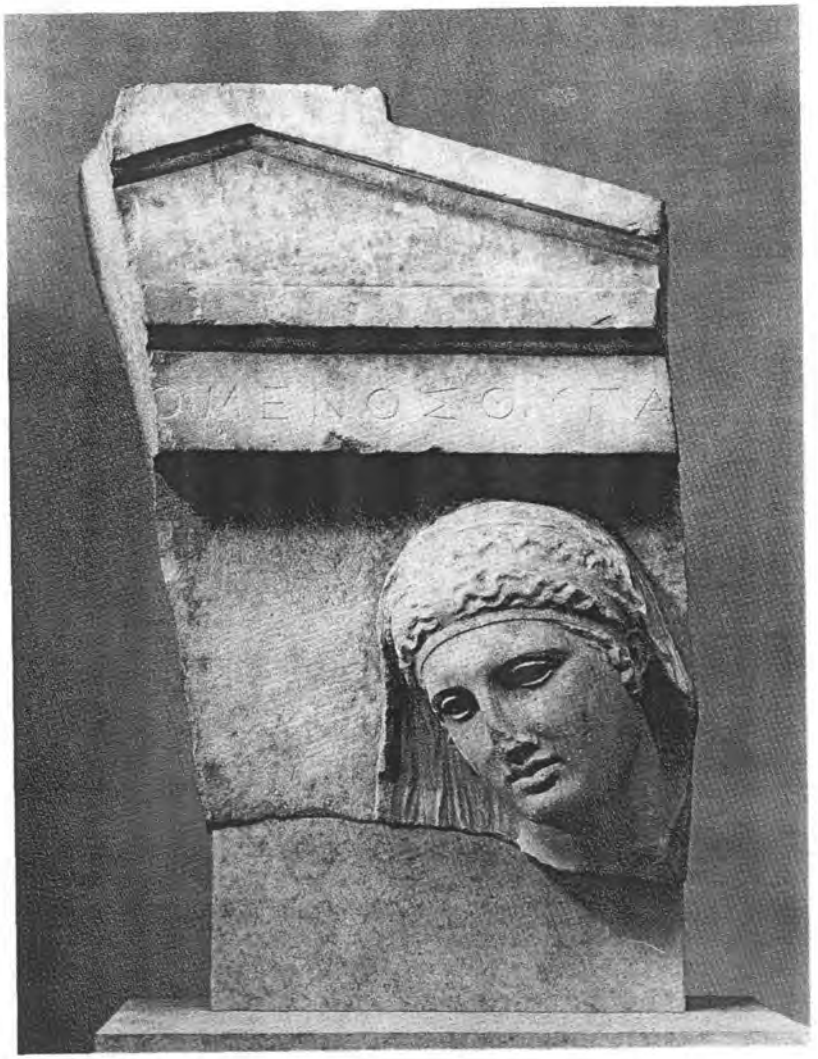
[20] St Louis Art Museum inv. no. 19–4:33. See *IG* II² 7061a and *City Art Museum Handbook* (St Louis 1936) 12. The centering of the name over the head derives from the tradition followed on painted pottery. The same method is followed in the Ampharete monument (*IG* II² 10650); see Kirchner/Klaffenbach no. 40 pl. 17. In both these instances the cutter has remained bound to another artistic convention and has ignored the aesthetic imperatives of the new mixed genre. Here indeed is evidence of the tenacity of tradition, even when it is wholly irrelevant.

[21] Richter (*supra* n.7) no. 84 pl. LXVIII.e.

omega is especially problematic, but the overall impression is one of careful craftsmanship.

In conclusion, it would seem desirable to continue the search for monuments such as these, in which were combined the best of design, artistic, and inscriptional features. Excellence in one aspect engendered excellence in another, and in a very real sense the finely incised words on such a stele, whether of the Classical, Hellenistic, or Graeco-Roman periods, are in form and often in content one of its most attractive and memorable facets.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST LOUIS



ATTIC GRAVE MONUMENT

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK

Courtesy, Fletcher Fund, 1930

A. ATTIC GRAVE MONUMENT

ST LOUIS ART MUSEUM

B. ATTIC GRAVE MONUMENT

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK

Courtesy, Rogers Fund, 1911

Teos in Pindar

George Huxley

νεόπολίς εἰμι· ματρὸς
δὲ ματέρ' ἐμᾶς ἔτεκον ἔμπαν
πολεμίῳ πυρὶ πλαγεῖ-
σαν.

PROFESSOR DOW has throughout his life of scholarship been constantly alert to connexions between history and poetry. Therefore in offering to him this short study in a historically significant passage of Pindar's *Paean* for the Abderites (fr.52b.28–31 Snell/Maehler) I am confident that the topic is appropriate to the volume honouring him; moreover this is an opportunity to thank him and Mrs Dow for many happy conversations at Brattle Street a quarter of a century ago, when his humane spirit helped me to understand that historical criticism and poetical interpretation are complementary, not competing, tasks of scholars.

There are three problems in the words quoted above. First, what is the mother of the mother? Secondly, how can a grandchild be said to bring forth the grandmother? Thirdly, where and when was the mother of the mother burned? These questions are interconnected, and we shall take them in turn.

(1) The notion that the mother of the mother is Athens, the metropolis of Teos, the metropolis of Abdera, is due to the first editors of the papyrus, Grenfell and Hunt.[1] Their explanation was widely accepted—and it has persisted. For example, Sir Maurice Bowra claimed that a *terminus post quem* for the poem was "provided by the reference to the burning of Athens by the Persians in 480."[2] More recently, L. and J. Robert have stated that "dans le péan des Abdéritains écrit par Pindare (*Péan*, II, 28 sqq.), Athènes est pour Abdère 'la mère de ma mère' (Athènes–Téos–Abdère)."[3] The interpretation thus presupposes that the speaker is the city of Abdera, which was then νεόπολις, a recent foundation. But, as S. L. Radt insisted,[4] the speaker's mother in choral poetry would usually be his own city. Thus in *Isthmian* 1.1 "my mother" is Theba, the polis of the speaker, and in *Olympian* 6.84 ματρομάτωρ ἐμά is Metopa mother of Theba. So we can infer that if here in the Abderite *Paean* the mother of the chorus-leader is the city of Abdera, "the mother of my mother" is Teos, not Athens. A second reason for rejecting a connexion with Athens here is the fact that the primary tradition concerning the foundation of Teos ascribes the initial *ktisis* to Athamas, a descendant of

[1] *P.Oxy.* V 841, commentary p.83.
[2] *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 411.
[3] "Une Inscription grecque de Téos en Ionie. L'Union de Téos et de Kyrbissos," *JSav* 1976, 153–235, at 213 n.238.
[4] *Pindars Zweiter und Sechster Paian* (Amsterdam 1958) 37.

Athamas of Orchomenos in Boiotia.[5] Indeed Anakreon of Teos called his city Ἀθαμαντίς (fr.118 Page). But since the speaker or singer is not personified Abdera but an Abderite who regards Abdera as his mother, there is no reason to assume "the mother of my mother" to be Orchomenos. We conclude accordingly, with Radt,[6] that the maternal grandmother is the metropolis of Abdera—Teos.

(2) The seeming difficulty in the grandchild bringing forth the grandmother prompted attempts to emend ἔτεκον. Emendations began with Grenfell and Hunt, who printed ἔ<πιδ>ον. Among other attempts to expel ἔτεκον D. S. Robertson's ἔρεφον is noteworthy.[7] An early supporter of ἔτεκον was H. Jurenka, who supposed that Teians had assisted in the refortification of Athens after the retreat of the Persians.[8] But there was never any reason to think that Abderites were prominent in the rebuilding of the walls, and we have already shown that Pindar is not referring to Athens in these lines. ἔτεκον has to be explained, not expelled.

If Teos, the metropolis of Abdera, was also brought forth by Abdera, then at some time settlers went from Abdera to Teos. In this way, unusually in the Greek world but not paradoxically, the two cities became mutually metropolitan. That after the foundation of Abdera some of the Abderites went back to Teos is clear from Herodotos. He states that the Teians left Teos when Harpagos took their wall with an earthwork; they sailed to Thrace and founded there the city of Abdera, where formerly Timesios of Klazomenai had settled before being driven out by Thracians. Timesios, says Herodotos, received honours from the Abderites, whom he calls "the Teians in Abdera" (1.168). Teos, however, did not remain permanently empty of Teians. At the battle of Lade Teians contributed seventeen ships to the Ionian fleet (Hdt. 6.8.1); since there is no sign that the crews were Teians from Abdera, we can infer that Teos had been resettled from Abdera at some time before the outbreak of the Ionian revolt. The inference is supported by Strabo's statement (644) that some of the Teians "later" returned after the founding of Abdera, and it receives some confirmation from the continuous series of Teian silver coins of the late sixth and early fifth century.[9] Teos, then, may not have been deserted for long by its Ionian inhabitants after the Persian capture,[10] but since there had been an abandonment followed by resettlement, Abdera the daughter city was formally in the position of a metropolis, once the polis of the Teians had been reinstalled in Teos. (Herodotos himself suggests that the desertion of Teos may not have lasted long: he states that the Teians acted similarly, παραπλήσια, to the Phokaians; and since more than half the Phokaians soon violated their oath and returned to Phokaia, some Teians may have returned to Teos not long after the flight from the Persians [1.165.3 and 168]).

[5] Paus. 7.3.6. See also Pherekydes *FGrHist* 3F102 and Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τέως, and the discussion of the toponym Airai in L. and J. Robert (*supra* n.3) 167.
[6] Radt (*supra* n.4) 38.
[7] *PCPhS* Lent 1927, 1.
[8] *Philologus* N.F. 25 (1912) 173–210, at 188–89, with reference to Thuc. 1.90.3 and Diod. 11.40.1.
[9] J. M. Balcer, "The Early Silver Coinage of Teos," *SNR* 47 (1968) 5–50, esp. 9–10.
[10] It is to be hoped that the Turkish excavations at Teos conducted by Professor Baki Öğün and his colleagues will help to show how long Teos was deserted.

Thus the connexions between Abdera and Teos were close in the time of Pindar. How close they were we can see from the new fragment of the *Dirae Teiae* recently, and excellently, published by P. Herrmann, though he does not mention Pindar.[11] In the oath against rebellion and other wrongdoing (a.10–24) equal authority is assigned to the totality or to a majority of citizens in both Teos and Abdera. In b.7–9 there is a reference to expulsion from Teos, Abdera, and the land of the Teians—with the implication that the land of the Teians includes the territory of the Abderites: two centuries later, in the inscription concerning relations between Teos and Kyrbissos, the matter is made more explicit, possibly as a result of a constitutional change—the text refers to exile from Teos, Abdera, the land of the Teians, and the land of the Abderites.[12] The new fragment of the *Dirae* also shows that Teos and Abdera both had festivals called Anthesteria, Herakleia, and Dia (the last being known in Abdera as Ζηνὸς ἑορτῆι, d.10–11); the three were known at Teos from the old fragment of the *Dirae*[13] but are now attested for Abdera also. In the old fragment the mention of conspiracy against the Teians with either Greeks or non-Greeks can now be seen also to apply to both Teos and Abdera, and the expression ἢ π[ρὸς] Ἕλληνας ἢ πρὸς βαρβάρους (b.25–26) shows that the legislators had other non-Greeks besides the Persians in mind; the use of βαρβάρους instead of Μήδους takes account of Abdera, where, as we learn from Pindar, the citizens had been engaged in war with the Paionians.[14]

Since Abdera was the begetter of Teos, and Teians in Teos had tight constitutional links with Teians in Abdera, there is no undue obscurity in the poet's use of ἔτεκον. The scholiast had read ἔτεκον in his text of the *Paean*, and since Abdera had refounded Teos, Radt's supplement to the scholium at line 29 ἔκτισαν οἱ Ἀ[βδηρῖται Τέῳ is almost certainly correct.[15] It is clear that there is no obligation to accept the supplement of Grenfell and Hunt here: ἔκτισαν οἱ Ἀ[θηναῖοι Τέω.

(3) Our third question has to do with the fire that struck the grandmother. The foregoing argument showed that the "mother of my mother" is Teos refounded from Abdera. When, then, was refounded Teos burned? Since Teos took part in the Ionian revolt against Persia, we can look for evidence that the city was burned in punishment after the defeat at Lade. It is Herodotos again who provides the most pertinent testimony (6.32). He reports that after the defeat and the destruction of Miletos, the Persians, as they had threatened, took the Ionian cities, castrated the most handsome youths, and sent the fairest maidens to the Great King. Then they burnt the cities, sanctuaries and all. Thus, Herodotos remarks, the Ionians were enslaved for the third time, once by the Lydians and then twice by the Persians. There is no sign that Teos escaped the terrible punishment; the words of Herodotos are exactly matched by Pin-

[11] *Chiron* 11 (1981) 1–30. Herrmann (6) proposes a date between 480 and 450, with a preference for the later part of the period.
[12] L. and J. Robert (*supra* n.3) 155, lines 23–25. *Cf.* Herrmann (*supra* n.11) 28 n.85.
[13] Meiggs/Lewis 30B.32–34.
[14] *Paean* 2, fr.52b.61–65 Snell/Maehler.
[15] Radt (*supra* n.4) 39, on schol. *Paean* 2.29: τὴν τεκ[ ]/ Περσῶν ηνι[ ]/ ἔκτισαν οἱ Α[.

dar's ἔμπαν πολεμίῳ πυρὶ πλαγεῖσαν. Thereafter the Teians of Teos needed yet more help from their kin in Abdera; Pindar may well refer to succour given soon after the destruction (31–34):

εἰ δέ τις ἀρκέων φίλοις
ἐχθροῖσι τραχὺς ὑπαντιάζει,
μόχθος ἡσυχίαν φέρει
καιρῷ καταβαίνων.

Pindar's allusion to the destruction of Teos and her sanctuaries after the failure of the Ionian revolt in 494 B.C. provides a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the poem. There is no clear *terminus ante*. When the *Paean* was composed the Abderites were about to engage in what they hoped would be their final war against their enemies.[16] Wilamowitz thought that Thracian power could not have been as menacing as Pindar suggests at any time after the Athenian defeat of Thasos,[17] but his argument should not be pressed: shortly before the fall of Thasos Thracians had won a mighty victory over an Athenian expedition at Drabeskos in Edonia (Thuc. 1.100.3). For a long time after the withdrawal of Xerxes from Europe a Persian garrison held out in Doriskos (Hdt. 7.106.2); so Persians as well as Thracians may for many years have been a threat to Abdera and its territory. It is best to admit that we have no secure *terminus ante quem* for Pindar's *Paean*. But whatever its date may be, the poem attests that Pindar's patrons, the Teians of Abdera, had told him much about the history of their city and about its constitutional ties with Teos, their grandmother and their offspring.[18]

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST

[16] 104–06: Ἄβδ]ηρε, καὶ στ[ρατὸν] ἱππ̣οχάρμαν [σᾷ] βί̣ᾳ̣ πολέ[μ]ῳ τελευ[ταί]ῳ προβι[β]άζοις.
[17] *Pindaros*[2] (Berlin 1922) 320.
[18] I thank Professor Luigi Lehnus of Milan for a helpful conversation.

On the Protection of Sacred Groves

Borimir Jordan and John Perlin

THE SACRED LAWS of Greece, to which Sterling Dow has devoted much scholarly attention, contain, as is well known, rules and regulations safeguarding the inviolability and general well-being of ancient pagan sanctuaries. Among them are provisions for the protection of the groves which often stood on the grounds belonging to sacred precincts. Sokolowski[1] has detected an early reference to such a law in the *Homeric Hymn* to Pythian Apollo (229–38):

> And you went further still, Apollo, and came to Onchestus, Poseidon's bright grove. There the new-broken colt, distressed with drawing the trim chariot, gets spirit again, and the skilled driver springs from his car and goes on his way. Then the horses for a while rattle the empty car, being rid of guidance; and if they break the chariot in the woody grove, men look after the horses, but tilt the chariot and leave it there; *for this was the divine law (hosie) from the very first.*

According to Sokolowski, the law was aimed at protecting the grove in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos in Boeotia. His conclusions, which are in the main correct, may be summed up as follows.

Chariots and other vehicles drawn by animals were not allowed to enter sacred groves. Upon approaching the wooded precinct visitors must descend from their vehicles and enter the sanctuary on foot. The vehicle was left in an open space especially created for that purpose adjacent to the grove.[2] The purpose of the procedure was to regulate traffic within the sanctuary and thus prevent damage to its vegetation from chariots and carts and from the draft animals pulling them. As Sokolowski says, "it was the constant concern of the religious and state authorities to preserve trees, bushes and lawns around temples. The destruction of greenery, the grazing, stationing, and quartering of animals on sacred ground was rigorously prohibited."[3] The presence, incidentally, of such 'parking lots' near sanctuaries may explain why troops on the march sometimes chose to halt there. The large, open, and level space was suitable for pitching an overnight camp. In 413, Diitrephes, for example, conducting the 1300 Thracian

[1] F. Sokolowski, "On the Episode of Onchestus in the Homeric *Hymn* to Apollo," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 376–80.
[2] The evidence for such spaces (χωρία) is laid out by Sokolowski (*supra* n.1) 379.
[3] Sokolowski (*supra* n.1) 378.

peltasts to their homeland, spent the night near the temple of Hermes at Mykalessos (Thuc. 7.29).

Sokolowski does not stress sufficiently an important legal aspect of the precautionary measure at Onchestos to which the hymn alludes. It is self-evident that the damage that the sacred law detected by Sokolowski seeks to prevent is accidental and therefore purely unintentional. It may not be a coincidence that a hint of an early law concerning involuntary damage to a precinct's grove is found in a *Homeric Hymn*. Precisely the *Homeric Hymns* give an early and clear expression of the belief that forests and single trees must not be felled because they are the dwelling places of semi-divine beings. The tree cult and the personification of trees which lie at the back of this belief are probably much older (*cf.* names for nymphs such as Meliai, Dryads, Dendritides), but the consequences for man of the conception equating the lives of trees and nymphs are first stated in the *Homeric Hymn* to Aphrodite (256–72): the mountain nymphs inhabit the great and holy mountain; at their birth pines and tall oaks spring up with them upon the earth and flourish in the mountains. Men call them holy places of the immortals and do not lop them with the axe. But when death is near at hand, first these lovely trees wither where they stand, and the bark shrivels away about them, and the twigs fall down, and at last the life of the nymph and that of the tree leave the light of the sun together.

The conception remained alive throughout antiquity. Pausanias in the second century A.D. repeats the belief that nymphs were born from trees, and Plutarch that their lives are coterminous with that of the trees.[4] It was also reflected in living myth. There is, for instance, the story of Erysichthon, a wood-cutter who refused to spare a tree sacred to Demeter, even though the tree nymph implored him, and was punished with insatiable hunger by the goddess. The opposite story was also told about Rhoikos, who was rewarded by the nymph for saving a tree.[5]

In view of such religious beliefs about living trees and forests it is not surprising to find in many sacred laws from the fifth century onward regulations for the protection of the timber in sacred groves that are at first sight similar to the early law discerned by Sokolowski. Upon closer inspection, however, we find that there is a difference. All the later regulations are intended to curb the deliberate and premeditated depredation of the groves. This too is self-evident, since one does not normally cut down a tree accidentally.

A law of the later fifth century from Paros (Sokolowski, *LSCG* 111) prohibits all cutting of trees in a sacred grove except as required for the sanctuary's own buildings. The *neokoros* is sworn to report violations to the governing board of *theoroi*. Another

[4] Paus. 10.32.9; Plut. *Mor.* 757E quoting Pindar (fr.165) in support.

[5] Hes. fr.43 M.-W., Charon of Lampsacus *FGrHist* 262F12, Callim. *Del.* 24ff, and especially Ov. *Met.* 8.738–878. *Cf.* Hom. *Od.* 10.350, schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.478. Kallimachos too expresses the belief in the identity of nymphs and trees, *Del.* 84–85. The subject is discussed at some length by N. Chloros, "Forstwissenschaftliche Leistungen der Altgriechen," *Forstwissenschaftliches Centralblatt* 5 (1885) 15–23. See also A. Henrichs, "Thou Shalt Not Kill A Tree; Greek, Manichaean and Indian Tales," *BASP* 16 (1979) 85–108. For the continuity of such beliefs among the people see M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Folk Religion* (New York 1961) 18ff.

piece of sacred legislation from third-century Gortyn expressly permits the collection of dry firewood, but forbids cutting trees for ship-building (*LSCG* 148).

Of particular interest are two decrees from Kos aimed at preserving what seems an extensive wood of cypresses. They were published a considerable time apart, but are clearly complementary to each other.[6] These texts warrant a somewhat fuller discussion:

A

Αἴ τίς κα τάμνηι τὰς κυπαρίσσος τὰς ἐν τῶι τεμένει ἢ τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τεμένεος ἢ φέρηι τὰ ξύλα ἐκ τοῦ τεμένεος τὰ κυπαρίσσινα, χιλίας δραχμὰς ἀποτεισάτω καὶ τὸ ἱαρὸν ἀσεβείτω, αἴ κα μὴ ἐκκλησίαι δόξει ἐς δαμόσιον ἔργον· φαινόντω δὲ τοὶ ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ τεμένεος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ χ[ρηίζ]ων ἐς τὰν ἐκ[κ]λ̣ησίαν κατ[ὰ τὸν ἰα]-
[ρὸν νόμον καὶ τ]ὸν μασ[τρικόν].

If anyone cuts down the cypress trees inside the precinct or those outside the precinct, or takes the cypress wood out of the precinct, he is to be fined 1000 drachmai and is to be guilty of impiety against the temple. (These rules apply) unless the assembly decides (that the logging was carried out) for public work. The superintendents of the precinct and anyone of the others who wishes to do so are to denounce (violators) to the assembly according to the sacred law and the law of the public examiners.

B

Φίλιστος Αἰσχίνα εἶπε· ὅπως
διαφυλάσσηται τὸ τέμενος
τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Κυπαρισσίου καὶ τ[οῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ] καὶ μηδεὶ[ς τάμνηι τὰς κυπ]αρίσσο[ς]
[τὰς ἔντοσθε το]ῦ περιεχομέ-
[νο]υ τόπου [ὑπ]ὸ τῶν ὅρων τοῦ
τεμένευς· [π]ροστάτας μηδεὶς προτιθέτω μηδὲ ἐπιψαφ[ι]-
ζέτω μηδὲ γνώμαν μηδεὶς
ἀγορ[ευ]έτ[ω ὡ]ς δεῖ καταχρῆ[σθαι]
τοῦ [κυπαρισσίνο]υ ξύ[λου· μηδὲ]
ἐξέστω [--- αἴ κα μὴ]
ἐκκλησίαι [δόξηι καταχρῆσθαι]
εἴς τι τῶν ἱε[ρῶν ἔργων καὶ ὅσσον]

[6] *LSCG* 150 A and B. On the changes within the sanctuary and the different dates of the two decrees see Sokolowski's commentary p.251 and R. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos* (AbhBerl 1928.6) 32–33.

16 ἐπὶ ταῖ ἐκκλη[σίαι ἐπικυρωθῆι]
ἀνακαθαίρεν [τὸ τέμενος καὶ κυ]-
παρίσσος εἰς ὕ[λαν ἐμφυτεύεν κα]-
τὰ δένδρος· μ[ηδὲ --- αἰ κά τις]
20 προθῆι[---]

Philistos son of Aeschines moved: In order that the precinct of Apollo Kyparissios and of Asklepios may be preserved, and in order that no one may cut down the cypress trees which are inside the area contained by the boundaries of the precinct: no president is to propose for debate or put to the vote any motion, nor is any individual to express an opinion, to the effect that the cypress wood be used up (for timber). Nor is it to be allowed . . . unless the assembly so decrees to use up (the wood) for any sacred work . . . in the assembly . . . clear away . . . cypress trees . . ., tree . . .

In A, from the outgoing fifth century, the sanctuary is not named. Infractions of the order not to cut the trees "inside and outside the precinct" carry the exceedingly high penalty of 1000 drachmai. In addition, offenders are officially declared guilty of sacrilege. Years later, sometime in the fourth century, there have been some changes (B). The sanctuary now belongs to two deities. The second decree begins on a note of urgency: "in order that the sanctuary may be preserved . . . " The boundaries of the precinct are now defined with greater precision, and some restrictive clauses have been added.

Although proof positive for it is lacking, the following reconstruction suggests itself with a good chance of being right. During the intervening years the pressure upon the timber resources of the grove had increased. In an effort to provide greater protection for the *entire* cypress wood, the boundaries of the sanctuary (*horoi*) were widened so as to give sacred status to the trees both "in the *temenos*" and "outside the *temenos*," and this somewhat vague formulation was now replaced with the more precise description "the cypresses inside the area contained by the boundary of the *temenos*." At the same time, as an additional religious deterrent to illegal logging, Apollo, the ancient resident deity of the precinct, appears with the byname *Kyparissios* and with a companion, Asklepios.[7] The large fine of 1000 drachmai of the first decree continued in force. However, the lawful logging of the cypress trees for "public work" (A.7) had also increased to the point, apparently, of threatening the preservation of the grove. The legal exploitation of the timber is therefore also circumscribed with a drastic measure: the president of the assembly is forbidden even to bring to debate or to a vote the question of further logging, while individual members cannot rise to discuss a proposal to this effect. Finally, the assembly evidently intends to allow logging for sacred purposes only, and no longer for public works as in the first decree.

It is obvious that the regulations in these decrees have more to do with a practical than a genuinely religious aim—the preservation of the trees. The obvious question that arises—why was this necessary?—has an equally obvious answer: the general deforestation of most of Greece, or more precisely, the disappearance of accessible timber from the plains and the surrounding low hills whence it could be transported at an affordable

[7] See Herzog (*supra* n.6).

price. The obverse of this was scarcity and the consequent great rise in prices, especially for good construction timber.[8] As a result, the timber stands in the three sanctuaries just discussed were in danger of deliberate and illegal exploitation on a large and systematic scale; there can be no question of a casual removal of some branches here or a log there. As the inscriptions show, the groves were in danger of being raided for major projects such as construction and ship-building.

Let us test the thesis of deforestation for other parts of Greece. A fifth-century law from Akraiphia in Boeotia possibly forbids the gathering of wood in a grove around a sepulchre, and certainly the tearing of leaves from laurel trees (*LSCG Suppl.* 36). At Tamynai in Euboea during the fourth century the fine for cutting trees and removing the trunks from the sanctuary was 100 drachmai (*LSCG* 91.9–11).

The scarcity of timber in Attica is revealed by a number of inscriptions. A decree of the mid-fourth century concerning the Thesmophorion in the Piraeus prohibits the collection of wood on its property. As the wood in question here is firewood, the prohibition may well be directed against any attempts by the poorer people of the harbor town to provide themselves with free fuel. Transgressors are to be punished according to "the old laws on the books."[9] Especially illuminating is a law protecting the trees in the sanctuary of Apollo Erithaseos (*LSCG* 37, fourth century). Like the two decrees from Kos, the entire document is concerned with the preservation of the grove. The provisions are detailed and specific. It is forbidden to cut timber and to export it from the precinct. The collection of branches, whether green or dry, is also prohibited, as is the gathering of dry leaves. Since sanctuaries had a need of small firewood (φρύγανα)[10] for sacrifices, etc., the regulation may intend to protect the sanctuary's own supply of this commodity. The penalties are smaller than on Kos where lack of native timber would make importation necessary, but they are sizeable enough: fifty drachmai for a free man and fifty lashes for a slave. Again as at Kos, the involvement here too not only of the religious but also of the civil authorities is striking and indicative of the great concern for the safety of the grove's timber. In addition to the fines and penalties, the priest must hand over slaves caught in the act to the council of five hundred and to the assembly, and he must also report the owners' names to them. The names of free offenders are likewise to be reported to the same bodies.

A similar penalty of fifty drachmai and 100 lashes was in force at the oracular shrine of Apollo Koropaios on the Pagasitic Gulf in Magnesia around 100 B.C. (*LSCG* 84.14ff). On Samos the breach of comprehensive regulations safeguarding the vegeta-

[8] There are brief treatments of deforestation in Greece in A. Jardé, *Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris 1925) 98–102; P. Guiraud, *La propriété foncière en Grèce* (Paris 1893) 503–06; K. Sklawunos, "Über die Holzversorgung Griechenlands im Altertum," *Forstwissenschaftliches Centralblatt* 52 (1930) 268–74. T. R. Glover, *The Challenge of the Greek* (Cambridge/New York 1942), has an excellent general chapter on "The Greeks and the Forest," 29–50. The authors intend to present a comprehensive and systematic study of deforestation and the rise of wood prices in a forthcoming book. For the high price of wood see W. Heitland, *Agricola* (Cambridge 1921) 107, 111.

[9] *LSCG* 36.17–21. The shortage and high price of firewood become apparent from Lysias' speech *On the Olive Stump*. The defendant finds it necessary to defend himself against the charge that he has taken out one (!) stump for the sake of petty profit (Lys. 7.17).

[10] *E.g. IG* I³ 246.8–9; *LSCG* 28.3, 8; *Syll.*³ 1027.10–15.

tion in the Heraion was punishable by a fine of 100 drachmai, possibly for every tree (*LSCG Suppl.* 81.1–11, first century A.D.). Compare with this *IG* II² 2499.14–18 (307/6 B.C.), where the lessee of grounds belonging to the precinct of Egretes undertakes to return the property with exactly the same number of trees (probably fruit trees) at the expiration of the lease or make restitution.[11]

The selections presented so far should suffice as a general overview; the discussion at hand could be extended almost at will to cover similar laws from Argos, Andania, Crete, Cyrene, and other places.[12] It should be stressed that the random character of the geographical and chronological distribution of this evidence may mask a threat to the groves' timber that was actually greater and far more widespread. Other facts tend to bear this out. The grove of the Poseidonion at Onchestus, with which this investigation began, is a case in point. At the time of the epic poets Onchestus was a place of lush vegetation with a grove of trees; four different sources affirm this.[13] In the Augustan era, however, Onchestos was bare. Strabo (9.2.33) says: "Onchestos is situated on a height, is bare of trees, and has a sacred precinct which is also bare of trees." One might add, too, that the timber in such groves was not only exploited for the peaceful uses which the sacred laws occasionally mention; the groves also suffered in war.

During the Persian invasions, some sanctuaries barely escaped destruction by military action (Hdt. 8.36–39, 9.65). They were not always so fortunate in the savage fighting of the Peloponnesian war. In 424/3 the Athenians cut down the vegetation in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delion to build fortifications (Thuc. 4.90, *cf.* 3.70, 6.99). Lysias, in his speech *On the Olive Stump*, describes the devastation in Attica during the same war. Both hostile and friendly troops plundered the countryside, destroying and uprooting sacred olives. The land which had had many plots "thick with private and sacred olive trees" before the invasions now "has become bare."[14] At the end of the third century B.C. Philip V cut down the entire grove of the Nikephorion at Pergamum (Plb. 16.1.6, 18.6.4). When Sulla invaded Attica in 86 B.C. he plundered the timber both in the grove of Akademos and in the Lyceum for his siege engines (Plut. *Sull.* 12). In 32 B.C. D. Turullius built ships with wood cut in the sanctuary of Asklepios on Kos (Cass. Dio 51.8.3). This list, too, could be continued at some length.

While it is certain that many sacred groves were destroyed in time of war, we can only guess at the efficacy of sacred legislation in controlling their exploitation in time of peace. In the second century A.D. Pausanias saw and described in some detail at least twelve groves.[15] Some of them clearly still had large stands of trees. In the case of the

[11] Leases of public property with timber on it and logging rights of the lessee are discussed by Ad. Wilhelm, "Die Pachturkunden der Klytiden," *JOAI* 28 (1933–35) 197–221.

[12] *Cf. LSCG* 57 (Argos, date unknown); *Syll.*³ 736.78ff (Andania, 92 B.C.); *LSCG Suppl.* 115A.8–10 (Cyrene, fourth century B.C.); *I.Cret.* III iv 9.81f (Itanos on Crete, 139 B.C.); *IG* XIV 645.I.128f (Heraclea in South Italy); Paus. 2.28.7 (the Hyrnethium near Epidaurus). Additonal references are given by Wilhelm (*supra* n.11) 209.

[13] Hom. *Il.* 2.506; Hes. fr.219 M.-W.; *Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 230, 235; *Hymn.Hom.Merc.* 186–90.

[14] Lys. 7.6–7; *cf.* the reference to "many burnt stumps" at 7.24.

[15] Paus. 1.21.7, 2.11.3, 2.11.4, 2.13.3, 2.27.1, 2.36.8, 3.26.5, 4.31.3, 5.10.1, 7.5.10, 7.22.1, 7.27.3. *Cf.* Strabo 8.3.12: "the whole tract [in the lowland at the mouth of the Alpheus] is full of shrines of Artemis, Aphrodite, and the nymphs, in flowery groves, *due mainly to the abundance of water* . . . "

others, we cannot be sure of the extent to which the groves had been diminished, after the manner of Onchestos. We must, of course, also allow for natural and planned reforestation, although the evidence for the latter is slight.[16]

Much of the legislation for the protection of sacred groves comes from the fourth century, when the deforestation of Greece had evidently begun to accelerate. This development was perceived and its consequences clearly understood by Plato and Aristotle. Plato deplores the disappearance of Attica's forests and describes the woodless state of Crete.[17] This awareness on the part of the two philosophers explains the presence in their theoretical political writings of some passages the purpose of which might not be immediately clear and might even strike the reader as somewhat odd.

Plato requires the country wardens (ἀγρονόμοι) of his Cretan city to ensure the collection of water flowing off high ground, so as to give even the driest spots copious supplies of water. Fountains and rivers must be beautified by planting trees around them. Here Plato appears to have understood that plants hold in the watershed while at the same time they keep the water clear and unmuddied. Groves and sacred precincts must have a perennial flow of water directed by irrigation to the very temples of the gods (*Leg.* 761). In defining an ideal territory for a state, Aristotle also had timber on his mind, or rather the lack of it. His recommendations are perhaps more practical than Plato's. The central city should be located in such a way that food supplies and timber for building and for other similar industries can be easily conveyed to it (*Pol.* 1327a). But Aristotle also realized that perhaps the only hope of staving off the complete deforestation of the land lay with the protective power of religion. He therefore recommended that throughout its countryside an ideal state should have numerous holy precincts, which, as he must have known,[18] included sacred groves and sacred laws to protect them: "the general system we have described should also be applied to the countryside. There too the various magistrates called forest wardens (ὑλωροί) and country wardens (ἀγρονόμοι) should have guard-houses and common tables in connection with their duties. And the countryside should be studded with sanctuaries, some to be dedicated to gods and some to heroes" (1331b).

Nothing could show more clearly than this one word of Aristotle's, ὑλωροί, literally 'those who watch over the trees of the forest', that the danger had now been seen and the alarm sounded.[19]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

[16] For one possible but isolated example see *LSCG* 84.4–8.

[17] *Critias* 111C, *Leg.* 705C.

[18] *Cf.* Lys. 7.25: the Areopagos itself has supervisory powers over the sacred olive trees in Attica, which it exercises through its own special commissioners. W. R. M. Lamb, *Lysias* (London 1957) 144, has the following comment: "The strict attention given to the matter may be connected with a well-founded belief that in the dry soil of Attica, trees of any kind were of value to the community."

[19] The authors would like to thank R. Renehan for criticism of this paper.

A Narrative Pattern in Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia*

John J. Keaney

I HAVE PREVIOUSLY ARGUED that the *Ath. Pol.* is informed by a teleological structural pattern which describes the progression of Athenian government toward radical democracy and *pari passu* the gradually increasing power of the *demos*.[1] There is more to be said, from a related approach, for the phrase describing that progression, *δημοτικωτέρα πολιτεία*, connects it with another pattern.

The impetus toward democracy is due especially to the activities of three popular leaders—Solon,[2] Cleisthenes, and Pericles—and a thematic connection between the three is effected by Aristotle's restriction of the phrase to their activity and its results: *τούτων δὲ γενομένων δημοτικωτέρα πολὺ τῆς Σόλωνος ἐγένετο ἡ πολιτεία* (22.1); *ἡ Κλεισθένους, δημοτικωτέρα τῆς Σόλωνος* (41.2); *Περικλέους, καὶ πρῶτον εὐδοκιμήσαντος . . . δημοτικωτέραν ἔτι συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν* (27.1). The first sentences of 22 and 27 contain the phrase, and these introduce summary accounts of Cleisthenes and Pericles. With the former, the focus is on his legislation, especially the law on ostracism (22.2), the application of which by the people is the dominant theme of the rest of the chapter. With Pericles, the focus is on the claim that he *μάλιστα προύτρεψεν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν* (27.1). In 22 the action of a leader is followed by separate actions of the people (22.2 *τὸν ὅρκον ἐποίησαν . . . τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ᾑροῦντο*; 22.3 *ἐχρήσαντο τῷ νόμῳ*; 22.5 *ἐκυάμευσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας*). In 27.2 there are not individual actions, but there is a collective policy made by the *demos*, which *προῃρεῖτο τὴν πόλιν διοικεῖν αὐτός*.[3]

There is another parallel between the two chapters. The first application of the law of ostracism is marked with a psychological motivation: *μετὰ τὴν νίκην, θαρροῦντος ἤδη τοῦ δήμου* (22.3). Pericles turned the city *ἐπὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν ἐξ ἧς συνέβη θαρρήσαντας τοὺς πολλοὺς ἅπασαν τὴν πολιτείαν μᾶλλον ἄγειν εἰς αὑτούς* (27.1). With the first use of *θαρρεῖν*, I suggest, Aristotle begins a narrative pattern. To elucidate this, it will be best to work backwards.

When Aristotle described the transition from the régime of the Four Hundred to that of the Five Thousand, he mentioned only one of a complex series of events in the period: *ἡττηθέντες δὲ τῇ περὶ Ἐρετρίαν ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀποστάσης ὅλης πλὴν Ὠρεοῦ, χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ μάλιστα τῶν προγεγενημένων*

[1] "The Structure of Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia*," *HSCP* 67 (1963) 116–41. For formal patterns of organization in the work, *cf.* Keaney, "Ring Composition in Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia*," *AJP* 90 (1969) 406–23, and P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian* Athenaion Politeia (Oxford 1981) 44–49.

[2] The phrase is not applied explicitly to Solon, but a view of his *πολιτεία* as *δημοτική* is implicit in the comparatives of 22.1 and 41.2. *Cf.* Aristotle's discussion of *τὰ δημοτικά/δημοτικώτατα* at 9–10.1.

[3] The *demos* did not have the power to take such initiative in the period directly after Solon's reforms.

(πλείω γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἢ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐτύγχανον ὠφελούμενοι), κατέλυσαν τοὺς τετρακοσίους κτλ. (33.1). The details and language of this comment are taken from Thucydides.[4] But Thucydides recounted other events which led up to the deposition of the Four Hundred, and about these Aristotle is silent. One asks why. Two answers are easy. The first is that the scale of the *Ath. Pol.* did not allow so detailed and lengthy an account as that of Thucydides. Second, the naval defeat off Eretria was singled out because it was the last in the series of events which led up to the deposition and may fairly be said to have precipitated it (although by itself it cannot be said to have caused it). There is some truth in both these answers, but a third suggestion may be made. It is that the naval defeat—and only that—was mentioned because it forms part of an ironic[5] pattern in the *Ath. Pol.* according to which the *demos* took political initiative and acquired political power in periods of military, especially naval, supremacy[6] and, conversely, lost control of political affairs after suffering military defeats.

As noted above, the pattern begins when the Athenians νικήσαντες τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ... θαρροῦντος ἤδη τοῦ δήμου, τότε πρῶτον ἐχρήσαντο τῷ νόμῳ τῷ περὶ τὸν ὀστρακισμόν (22.3); continues when they τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἡγεμονίαν λαβεῖν (23.2) and when θαρρούσης ἤδη τῆς πόλεως Aristeides συνεβούλευεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας (24.1); and reaches its climax when Pericles προύτρεψεν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, ἐξ ἧς συνέβη θαρρήσαντας τοὺς πολλοὺς ἅπασαν τὴν πολιτείαν μᾶλλον ἄγειν εἰς αὑτούς (27.1). A reverse pattern begins at 29.1: μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ γενομένην συμφορὰν[7] ... ἠναγκάσθησαν κινήσαντες τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστῆσαι τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν; the next stage is represented by τῇ περὶ Ἐρετρίαν ναυμαχίᾳ, after which κατέλυσαν τοὺς τετρακοσίους καὶ τὰ πράγματα παρέδωκαν τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις (33.1); and the final stage is represented by a combination of Arginusae (γενομένης τῆς ἐν Ἀργινούσαις ναυμαχίας, 34.1) and Aegospotami, when ἠτύχησαν τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίαν, ἐξ ἧς συνέβη κύριον γενόμενον τῆς πόλεως Λύσανδρον καταστῆσαι τοὺς τριάκοντα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ... καταπλαγεὶς ὁ δῆμος ἠναγκάσθη χειροτονεῖν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν (34.2–3).[8]

In addition to the verbal repetition of θαρρεῖν in the first group and ναυμαχία in the second, Aristotle ties together the two sides of the pattern in various ways. Each side ends with a repetition of the same phrase, ἐξ ἧς συνέβη (27.1, 34.2). There is at least a rough symmetry between the two sides:

[4] *Cf.* Rhodes (*supra* n.1) 411–12.

[5] Compare Aristotle's reference to Isocrates' (*Phil.* 61, *De pac.* 101) τὴν ἀρχὴν τῇ πόλει ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν κακῶν, *Rh.* 1412b6–7.

[6] *Cf. Pol.* 1304a22–24, πάλιν ὁ ναυτικὸς ὄχλος γενόμενος αἴτιος τῆς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα νίκης καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἰσχυροτέραν ἐποίησεν; 1274a12–14, τῆς ναυαρχίας [ναυμαχίας **H**] γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς αἴτιος γενόμενος ἐφρονηματίσθη; 1341a30, μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἔργων.

[7] συμφορά is used also of the loss of Euboea (33.1) and collectively of the defeats suffered by Athens in the war (40.2, quoted *infra*).

[8] The phrase is almost an oxymoron and underscores the irony of the situation. χειροτονεῖν is used in the historical part of the *Ath. Pol.* only here, but is used eighteen times in the systematic part as descriptive of regular democratic process. The passage is adapted from the pro-Theramenean source used by Aristotle and Diod. 14.3.7.

(1) ostracism	(1) Sicily
(2) hegemony	(2) Eretria
(3) Pericles	(3) Arginusae/Aegospotami

The second stage of each side is linked by verbal repetition: ἐπολιτεύθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι καλῶς καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιρούς (23.2); δοκοῦσι δὲ καλῶς πολιτευθῆναι κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιρούς (33.2). General praise of this kind is quite rare in the *Ath. Pol.*,[9] and it is significant that one further instance (40.2, discussed *infra*) of this vocabulary is to be linked to these passages. The final stages of each side result in diametrically opposed forms of government: the first is radical democracy (27.2); the second is imposed upon the *demos*, an oligarchy (34.3) which became a tyranny (41.2).

I hazard the further suggestion that this pattern is not only ironic but tragic. I do not make too much of this, for the indications are slight, but they are there, at least with reference to the ethical and structural aspects of tragedy. The first element of this is the quasi-personification of the *demos* in the passage from 27 just quoted: the *demos* is pictured as making a moral choice (προῃρεῖτο, ἑκών, ἄκων—the first two words occur only here in the *Ath. Pol.*).[10] This choice is balanced by the compulsion later applied to the *demos* (34.3, quoted *supra*, and 29.1 ἠναγκάσθησαν κινήσαντες τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστῆσαι τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν). A second element is that the pattern of reversal contains a περιπέτεια (ἡ εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον τῶν πραττομένων μεταβολή, *Poet.* 1452a22–23). A third element is that the pattern involves a kind of ἀναγνώρισις. When the Athenians, deceived by Cleophon, rejected peace overtures, οὐ χρησάμενοι δὲ καλῶς τότε τοῖς πράγμασι, μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ... ἠτύχησαν τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίαν (34.1–2). The words γιγνώσκειν ('realize'), ἁμαρτία, and ἀτυχεῖν are used only here. It is further to be noted that the *anagnorisis* coincides with the *peripeteia*, a type of recognition called καλλίστη by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1452a32–33).

The pattern began with internal political activity (ostracism) and moved to foreign policy and misadventure. The dénouement (if I may use the term) of the Athenian political drama takes place in the context of internal and external affairs. This is the reconciliation of the Athenian political factions in 404 and the repayment to Sparta of the debt contracted by the Thirty: οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς περὶ τῶν προτέρων αἰτίας ἐξήλειψαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἃ οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔλαβον, ἀπέδοσαν κοινῇ κτλ. (40.3). Aristotle introduced this passage with a comment (40.2) the language of which is deliberately evocative of preceding chapters: ἀλλὰ δοκοῦσιν κάλλιστα δὴ καὶ πολιτικώτατα ἁπάντων καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ χρήσασθαι ταῖς προγεγενημέναις συμφοραῖς.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

[9] *Cf.* also 40.2, where Aristotle justifies the *demos'* arrogation of the judicial prerogatives of the *boule*.

[10] *Cf.* also 41.2, ἁπάντων γὰρ αὐτὸς αὑτὸν πεποίηκεν ὁ δῆμος κύριον.

More Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates

John H. Kroll

IN THE DECADE since the publication of *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates*,[1] the corpus of extant pinakia has continued to grow. A. G. Liaglouras has reported the discovery of a new pinakion from a grave on Salamis.[2] Four small fragments have been found in the current excavations in the Athenian Agora.[3] And the right half of a reused Class III or IV pinakion has come to light in the recent German excavations in the Aphaia sanctuary on Aegina.[4] In addition, seven other pinakia and fragments that were recovered many years ago have lately become available for study and are published here. Six of them were located in the early 1970's by Mrs Evi Touloupa, then Ephor in the National Museum in Athens, during a reorganization of the bronzes in the museum storerooms. The other was brought to my attention by Dr R. H. W. Stichel, a former staff member of the Kerameikos Excavations, who happened on it, too, while going through old material in storage. Save for **1**, which was inadequately noted in 1900, all are unpublished.[5]

Because of their numerous reuses, the completely preserved **1** and **5** prove to be two of the most remarkable pinakia on record. **5** is only the second pinakion known to have been inscribed for as many as six successive owners (the other is *ABAP* 96). **1** is the first pinakion ever with evidence of having been inscribed for as many as seven owners. It is altogether appropriate that these two exceptional specimens should appear

[1] J. H. Kroll, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1972: hereafter *ABAP*). Reviewed by W. M. Calder III, *American Classical Review* 3 (1973) 194; J. J. Keaney, *CW* 67 (1974) 312–13; H. Mattingly, *JHS* 95 (1975) 244–45; J. Pečirka, *Eirene* 13 (1975) 138–39; J. Pouilloux, *RevPhil* III.48 (1974) 111–13; P. J. Rhodes, *CR* N.S. 26 (1976) 139–40; J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1973, 51–54; P. Roesch, *REA* 76 (1974) 173–74; R. K. Sinclair, *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 273–74; B. Virgilio, *RivFC* 103 (1975) 119–20. B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Councillors: The Athenian Agora* XV (Princeton 1974: hereafter *Agora* XV) p.384 (*cf.* 42.261) correct the reading of *ABAP* 39b to Δίπολις Κρωπίδ(ης). *ABAP* 66 is republished by D. Skliardi in the report of his excavation in which the pinakion was found, *ArchEph* 1975, 102–03 pl. 38; the two pinakia in the Kanellopoulos Collection (*ABAP* 6 and 49) are republished by J.-Y. Empereur, *BCH* 105 (1981) 553–54; and C. Brixhe, *Le Dialecte grec de Pamphylie* (Paris 1976) 301–03 no. 178 pl. 48, has republished one of the two allotment plates from Pamphylia (*ABAP* pp.258, 269). The bronze allotment plates from Hellenistic Rhodes (*ABAP* pp.268–69) are collected and discussed by P. M. Fraser, "Notes on Two Rhodian Institutions," *BSA* 67 (1972) 119–24 pl. 35; those from Kyme and Pitane (*ABAP* p.269) by H. Engelmann, *I.Kyme* 84–88.

[2] *Deltion* 27 (1972) Chronika 179–80: a whole pinakion (as is clear from the recorded dimensions, 10.7 × 2.0 × 0.3 cm.), inscribed Ἐπιγένης Κολλυτεύς. Now in the Salamis Museum.

[3] Inventory nos. B 1397, B 1485, B 1800, and B 1844. Publication will appear in the *Agora* volume devoted to the Athenian lawcourts.

[4] The demotic of the final owner, [Ἀν]τιφῶν [Ἐλ]ευσί(νιος), confirms that the pinakion is Athenian. Information about the piece was generously communicated to me by Dr M. Maass, who with D. Williams will be publishing it with the other bronze and epigraphical finds from the Aphaia excavations. It is now the second or third Athenian pinakion fragment to have been found outside of Attica, see *ABAP* 7 (from Olynthos) and 183 (which may or may not be Athenian, from Halieis).

[5] For their help and permission to publish the objects, I warmly thank Mrs Touloupa and the Director of the Kerameikos Excavations, Dr Ursula Knigge. The drawings were prepared by Deena Berg.

in honor of the scholar and esteemed teacher who not only resolved how pinakia functioned in automated Athenian allotments but whose seminal "Dikasts' Bronze Pinakia," *BCH* 87 (1963) 653–87, was the first study to recognize that reinscribing was in fact a normal characteristic of these objects. In these and other essential respects, all subsequent work on the pinakia will continue to rest on the foundations laid by Professor Dow.

The pinakia below are listed, according to the scheme followed in *ABAP*, by the typological classification of their original inscriptional and seal format. All have been cleaned to bare, brownish metal.

1. PLATE 10A. National Museum, Bronze no. 13034. Excavated from a cemetery on the Ilissos. "Funde," *AthMitt* 25 (1900) 453–54 (transcription of the last name only); whence *PA* Addendum no. 1457a and *ABAP* 157. Complete, having been mended from seven pieces. The original 2.0 cm. width and 0.20 thickness are preserved at the right end; to judge from other pinakia, the original length was 11–12 cm. Erasure by hammering has distended the length to 15.0, increased the width to 3.0 at the middle, and reduced the thickness at the middle to 0.05. The carrying-hole at the right was not drilled until after the first use or uses (see *ABAP* pp.23–24).

Seven or more uses:

a:	[?-------]		Ⓣ	Class I
			[O]	
b:	[?---] Ἀχαρ(νεύς)		Ⓣ	
c:	?	[------] /ịP̱[. . . *ca* 8 . . .]Λ	Ⓣ	
d:	B?	[------] Ἁμ̣α̣ξ̣α̣(ντεύς)	Ⓣ	Class VI?
e:	Z?	[------] Εὐπυρίδης	Ⓣ	Class VI
f:	E	Καλ[---] Ποτάμ̣(ιος)	Ⓣ	Class VI
g:	I	Ἀπολλόδωρος Χολλείδ̣(ης) Φι(---?)	Ⓣ	Class VI

Seals. The die of the circular T(riobol) seal (facing owl within ethnic $\overset{\text{A}}{\text{E}}$ [Θ] and olive spray of two pairs of leaves on the preserved left branch) is new. The seal was carefully positioned at the right edge and remained unerased through all uses. In contrast, the secondary O(wl-in-square) seal (owl standing right, ethnic [AΘE]) was hastily stamped on its side at a tilt and was intact only for the first use: the demotic of the second owner was inscribed into it, causing it to be partially erased with the erasure of the demotic. In all respects such treatment of the seals is regular (see *ABAP* pp.13, 41–47).

Section-letters. Erasure has obliterated all evidence of the original section-letter, which was stamped in relief in an incuse square or rectangle and (as regularly on Class I and II pinakia) continued for one or more reuses of the pinakion. During the later uses the section-letters were inscribed and changed with each owner's name. Traces of at least four such inscribed letters are visible: a heavily erased *beta*, two less erased horizontals that seem to belong to a *zeta* that was subsequently converted into an *epsilon*, and the final, bold *iota*. I leave two diagonals shown in the drawing unaccounted for.

This is the sole pinakion from Classes I and II that has received an inscribed section-letter in any use. The fact that it had a minimum of four such letters, each one inscribed at a large scale after the typical Class VI format (*ABAP* p.12) implies that, although the triobol seal at the right was never erased, the latest uses nevertheless belong to the stampless Class VI period. The pinakion therefore has good parallels in *ABAP* 61, 81, 96, and 105, all first issued as Class IV or V pinakia with the dikastic triobol seal but ultimately reused as stampless Class VI pinakia. The present piece differs only in the circumstance that it was initially issued somewhat earlier.

Texts a and b. A typical Class I inscription with *nomen*, interpunct, and abbreviated demotic in one line must be restored to go with the owl-in-square seal. Text *b*, inscribed partially over the seal, continues the early format of a one-line text. For two other early pinakia with a second text in one line, see *ABAP* 7 and 10.

Texts c–f. A minimum of four inscriptions between text *b* and the name of the final owner is required by the superimposed traces of four erased letters at the left of line 1 and in the first two letter-spaces at the left of line 2. The traces in line 2 give two certain demotics and one probable, and the degree of erasure gives their sequence. In line 1 the penultimate name began Καλ-. Otherwise, because of the scramble of partially erased letters at the left and the right, and because heavy erasure and corrosion of the metal have destroyed almost all traces at the middle of the line, it is futile to apportion letters to specific texts. It is not even clear which terminal letters at the middle complete the name of the penultimate owner; Καλ[λιά]δης, Καλ[α]ί̣δης, and Καλ[λία]ς are all possible. One of the names from text *c*, *d*, or *e* included a patronymic ending -θεο(υ).

Text g. Apollodoros Boethou Cholleides, *prytanis ca* A.D. 50 (*Agora* XV 272.13), is a possible descendant.

2. PLATE 10B. National Museum, Bronze no. 10703a. Left end. Length 1.19 cm., width 2.0, thickness 0.13 at the left to 0.10 along the break at the right.

Two or more uses:

a:	[?---] Ⓖ [---]	Class III
b:	E: ΠΙỊ[---] A[---]	Class VI

A faint but unmistakable profile of the creature's head is all that remains of the G(orgoneion) seal in the lower left corner. Since the seal has been subjected to erasure, we may be sure that the letters of text *b* are not from the original inscription.

3. PLATE 10C. National Museum, Bronze no. 10707. Right end. Length 4.3 cm., width 2.2, thickness 0.15 at the right to 0.10 at the break at the left.

Three or more uses:

a: [---] Ⓖ Class III or IV
[---]ΑΣ
b: [---]ονης Class VI
[---]
c: [---]ς Class VI
[---]

The G(orgoneion) seal is of a recognizably Class III–IV type, with bushy hair, sunken eyes, and a relatively narrow chin. As indicated by the erasure striations at the right, the seal was partially erased before the inscribing of text *b*.

4. PLATE 10D. National Museum, Bronze no. 10703b. Left end. Length 1.8 cm., width 2.0, thickness 0.12 at left to 0.08 at the break at the right.

Two or more uses:

a: [? ---] Class IV
Ⓣ [---]
b: E O[---]
Ⓣ? [---]

The T(riobol) seal and letters of the last text are quite faint, owing to the poor preservation of the surface and to the possibility that the pinakion may have broken and been discarded while being erased (as were *ABAP* 9 and 76). The original stamped section-letter was erased by hammering, which opened a slight crack in the upper edge of the fragment.

5. PLATE 11A. National Museum, Bronze no. 12454. From a limestone grave at Phaleron, neighborhood of Vasiliki. Whole, except for a piece that broke from the middle of the upper edge before the last name was inscribed. Length 11.1 cm.; original 2.1 cm. width and 0.20 thickness preserved at the ends; width distended to 2.25 and thickness reduced to 0.10 by erasure in the middle.

Six uses:

a: E Χαρίας Ⓖ Class V
Ⓣ Λακιά̣(δης) D (carrying-hole)
b: E [....ca 10....] Ⓖ Inscribed in imitation
Ⓣ [..ca 6..] D of Class V lettering
c: E [...ca 7...]ος Ⓖ
Ⓣ [---] D
d: E [.ca 5.]ος [...]Ο?[---] Ⓖ
Ⓣ [---] D

e: E Σάτ[υρ]ος [.]ΑΝΑΜΑΧΟΣ? Ⓖ
Ⓣ Ἀχαρνεύς
f: Z Φιλοκράτης Ⓖ
Ⓣ Τρινεμε(εύς) [A]

Seals are of the standard Class V type (*ABAP* p.178): T(riobol) seal with H [Θ], G(orgoneion) seal, and D(ouble-bodied owl) seal with [A] A. The last, which was stamped on its side with the head of the owl pointing in the 4 o'clock position, has almost disappeared through erasure and was inscribed into by letters of the last two texts. The two other seals were preserved through all uses. Even the small notches in each end of the pinakion were carefully cut to avoid encroaching at the left on the triobol seal and stamped *epsilon* section-letter and at the right on the gorgoneion seal. The notches were apparently cut after the first use to fit nails for anchoring the pinakion to a workbench during erasure (*ABAP* p.23).

Section-letters. Although an original stamped section-letter is known to have been retained through as many as three uses on a number of Class IV and V pinakia (*ABAP* 63, 68, 81, 84, 104, 108), this is the first extant pinakion with the stamped letter preserved for a total of five uses. The size and placement of the inscribed *zeta* section-letter of the last use respect the triobol seal below and show that this use too fell before the stampless Class VI period. Thus, unless the chronological deductions developed in *ABAP* pp.62–68 are wildly mistaken, the six uses of the pinakion are all to be dated between the mid 360's and *ca* 350, allowing an average of only two or three years per use and strengthening the already impressive evidence that the turnover of dikastic pinakia was essentially annual in principle (*ABAP* pp.72–74).

Text a. For the restoration of the name from the characteristic placement of pierced holes at the terminations of letters and in the loop of the *rho* of line 1, see *ABAP* pp. 28–29 Table I (Class V alphabet). Two partially punched holes in line 1, one from the crossbar of the second *alpha*, the other from the middle angle of the *sigma*, survived erasure and confirm the reconstruction as drawn.

Text b. The only certain remains of this text, which was inscribed in imitation of Class V lettering (*ABAP* p.31), are a number of shallowly punched serifs from the terminations of letters. Some of the strokes joining these dot-like serifs, for instance the diagonal at the left of line 2, may also be partially erased remnants of text *b*. In other cases, *e.g.* in the *nu* of line 1 text *e*, the strokes that originally joined the dots have disappeared but came to be replaced by strokes from a subsequent inscription.

Texts c and d are attested near the middle of line 1 by the -ος terminations of two names. One of the terminal *sigma*'s, which reconnected the pierced holes remaining from the *sigma* of text *a*, cannot be attributed to text *b*, because the latter continued two letter-spaces to the right. There being no way of meaningfully apportioning the random erased strokes in line 2 among texts *b*, *c*, and *d*, I have not recorded these traces except in the second drawing.

Text e. The remains of the patronymic suggest [Φ]αναμάχο(υ), a possible but unattested spelling for Φανομάχου. L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I (Berlin

1980) 130 no. 6.03, and 389, cites a few instances of *alpha* replacing *omicron* by assimilation; but the phenomenon was uncommon. Another solution, though hardly more compelling, is to read [Φ]*ανομάχο(υ)* by reversing the sequence of the faint *omicron* (?) attributed above to text *d* and the bold Λ that is recorded above in text *e*, even though the Λ has every appearance of being later. It is possible, thirdly, that some of the other letters I have tentatively attributed to the patronymic of *e* may in fact belong to one or more of the earlier texts. In view of these several possibilities, the patronymic is best left unrestored.

Text f. The final owner, with whom the pinakion was buried sometime near the middle of the fourth century, was probably the grandfather of Φιλοκρ[άτης] (Τριναμεεύς), councillor in 281/0 (*Agora* XV 72.97).

6. PLATE 11B. Kerameikos Excavations. Half of a pinakion, presumed to be a stray find from the older excavations. Being a fragment, it was almost certainly not found in a tomb. Length 4.7 cm., width 2.1, thickness 0.10 at preserved end to 0.05 at break.

Three or more uses:

SIDE A

a: Κλεομ[έδων] Class VI
Λαμπ[τρεύς]

SIDE B

b: [---] Class VI
[---]

c: [---] Δορκέ(ως) Class VI
[---ε]ύς ⊢

Text a. The section-letter must have been recorded on the missing right half of the plate, as in text *c* and other Class VI pinakia (*e.g. ABAP* 126–127). Kleomedon is the most common Athenian name in *Kleom-* and the only one known from Lamptrai: *PA* and J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B. C.* (Oxford 1971) no. 8587, Kleomedon Diogeitonos Lamptreus, trierarch in probably 341/0, again before 334/3, and again in 324/3. Since he was thus active during the time of Class VI pinakia, identification with the owner of the pinakion is probable.

Texts b and c. An earlier inscription on side B is evidenced by the erasure striations beneath the letters of the final text. The name Δορκεύς is attested from only two Athenian demes: *PA* no. 4534, Dorkeus Dekeleieus, father of a treasurer of 376/5 (*IG* II² 1410.6, 1411.4); and no. 4535, Dorkeus Teithrasios, father of a prytanis of 256/5 (*Agora* XV 85.23). Because of the exceptional rarity of the name and the termination of the demotic in -εύς, it is possible that the last owner of the pinakion was a descendant of the treasurer from Dekeleia.

7. PLATE 11C. National Museum, Bronze no. 17056η. Fragment broken at both ends. Length 2.35 cm., width 2.2, thickness 0.10–0.12.

Three or more uses:

SIDE A

a: [---]E[---] Unclassified
[---]ΞΙΣ[---]

b: [---]API[---]
[---]ΛΙΞΙ[---]

SIDE B

c: [---]ιας: Ι[---] Class VI
[---]ιος

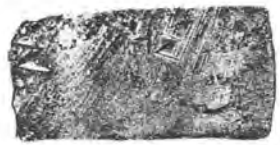
Several fine holes in Side A are either random pittings in the surface or punched serifs left over from a text (earlier than text *a*) inscribed in imitation of Class V lettering. If the latter, the pinakion would initially have belonged to one of the dikastic classes with a stamped triobol seal.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN

A.

B.

D.



C.

A.

B.

C.

ATHENIAN BRONZE ALLOTMENT PLATES

Hipparchos' Wall in the Academy at Athens: A Closer Look at the Tradition

John Patrick Lynch

THE ACADEMY is firmly embedded in the mythology of early Athens, with sources suggesting that it became a public area before the Trojan War and after Theseus' unification of Attica; but the Academy does not enter the realm of historical time until the sixth century B.C., when it becomes associated with the son of Peisistratos and brother of the tyrant Hippias, Hipparchos, who—we are told—forced the Athenians to pay a large tribute for a wall to enclose the Academy.[1] It is the Byzantine lexicon known as the *Suda* (tenth century), expressly drawing its information from the tradition of Greek proverb writers (*paroimiographoi*), which provides the connection between the Academy and the earliest datable historical period (*cf. infra* Testimonia A.1). Topographers, archaeologists, and historians have regularly—and seemingly without question—used the *Suda* entry as evidence in discussing the early history of the Academy and even in identifying archaeological remains.[2] No one, of course, would deny that proverbs, whenever collected, may be based on actual events and sometimes contain genuine historical information, even about the very remote past. But is this such a proverb? The question needs to be asked. In honor of Sterling Dow, who has never been one to allow himself or his students the uncritical use of sources, I should like to offer a small piece of historical detective work concerning the tradition of Hipparchos' wall around the Academy.

As the proverb is recorded in the collections of two *paroimiographoi*, Hipparchos' wall was said to have been built not "around the Academy" but more enigmatically "along the Pythia" (*παρὰ τὴν Πυθίαν*, Testimonia A.3 and 4). These two collections—that of Gregory of Cyprus (thirteenth century) and that of Apostolios (fifteenth century)—are notably later than the *Suda* and perhaps for that reason have been disregarded as less weighty evidence. But that is a dangerous way of deciding between textual variants. Except for the significant difference in locating Hipparchos' wall, the reports of the *Suda* and the two *paroimiographoi* are worded almost identically and offer the same interpretation of the proverb ('the wall of Hipparchos' = a lavishly expensive

[1] This essay is a *parergon* to a larger study of the Academy through classical antiquity. For the Academy's association with early Athenian mythology see Plut. *Thes.* 32. According to Demosthenes (24.114), Solon was supposed to have established the death penalty for those who stole clothes from the Academy or other gymnasia, but laws attributed to Solon are notoriously suspect and it is doubtful that gymnasia existed at Athens in Solon's time.

[2] See for example J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York 1970) 42. Ph. Stavropoullos, *Praktika* 1958, 11–12, and 1959, 8–10, identified a wall uncovered in the Academy area as 'Hipparchos' Wall', and this identification is often repeated in the subsequent literature about the Academy.

public works project). All three would appear to be drawing on the same source. But what is the relationship between the two discrepant readings, "around the Academy" *vs* "along the Pythia"? No testimonia connect the Academy with anything Pythian, which makes it unlikely that 'Pythia' is the equivalent of 'Academy' in any sense.

The problem is further complicated by the fact that another slightly different version of the proverb is given by an anonymous *paroimiographos* whose collection survives in the fifteenth-century *Codex Bodleianus* (Testimonia A.2). The Bodleian codex agrees with the *Suda* in connecting Hipparchos' wall with the Academy. It also provides a more complex version of the story behind 'Hipparchos' wall' than does the *Suda*, Gregory of Cyprus, or Apostolios. Not only are the circumstances of Hipparchos' project reported in more detail, but there is an added twist provided about the meaning of the proverb: 'Hipparchos' wall' refers not just to any governmental extravagance but more specifically to projects for which much money is collected but little is given in return. According to this version, Hipparchos was not just lavish in wasting the taxpayers' money; having bled them of monies by delaying construction, he failed to complete the project.

Can anything be made of the conflicting evidence contained in the tradition of Greek proverb writers? It is obviously unsafe ground for close textual interpretation, especially since the texts need to be re-edited and the textual tradition has been little studied since the nineteenth century.[3] Nevertheless, there is little doubt that 'Hipparchos' wall' was an old Greek proverbial expression, and it is within reason to suppose that the proverb had some historical basis in the career of Hipparchos. But does the *Codex Bodleianus* help to confirm a connection between the proverb and the Academy in the sixth-century B.C.? The problem is in part to decide whether the *Codex Bodleianus* represents an amplified form of the original proverb or the other three versions are a simplification of the version reported more fully in the *Codex Bodleianus*. There would appear to be little in the language of the versions or in the vexed textual history of the proverbs to inform such a decision.[4]

[3] See the helpful general orientation to the problems of using Greek proverbs in W. M. Edwards and R. Browning, *OCD*[2] 784 *s.v.* "Paroemiographers." The critical studies by L. Cohn and O. Crusius cited there have been reprinted, together with other nineteenth-century scholarship on Greek proverbs, as a *Supplementum* to the *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (Hildesheim 1961). The principles and controversies underlying the editing and the interpretation of the manuscript tradition are so intricate that I hesitate to construct any weight-bearing argument based on the *Corpus* or the *Supplementum*.

[4] O. Crusius, *Analecta critica ad paroemiographos graecos* (Leipzig 1883) 136 (reprinted in the *Supplementum*), interprets the fuller version of the proverb given in the *Codex Bodleianus* to be primary, originating in Demon's Alexandrian collection *On Proverbs*; the versions in the *Suda* and Gregory of Cyprus he considers to be summaries of the original entry. But it seems to me that an argument could be made just as easily the other way—for a later elaboration and explication of a cryptic entry in an original source (perhaps Demon). The *Suda* entry would then be based on the original brief version, but it adopted for clarity the variant 'Academy' for 'Pythia' from the later version. The fact that the *Codex Bodleianus* version is alphabetized under I for Ἱππάρχου rather than τό, as the other three versions are, *may* lend some support to this way of sorting out the texts: such an arrangement suggests a later refinement of the ordering principles. It may also be significant that in Zenobios' pre-alphabetic arrangement (first century A.D., epitomizing a collection of the first century B.C.), the proverb about Hipparchos' wall was listed under τό, not I: see M. E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque* (Paris 1868) 360 no. 13.

To approach the problem from a somewhat less treacherous angle, it is difficult to understand how the reading 'Academy' in the proverb tradition could have been corrupted to 'Pythia'. On the principle of *lectio difficilior* it is much more likely that the corruption—if a corruption did occur—would have gone the other way: a writer in the proverb tradition, either the writer of the *Suda* entry himself or his source, might have encountered the phrase παρὰ τὴν Πυθίαν, which is genuinely puzzling, and changed it to the more intelligible περὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν so that the force of the proverb would not be lost through an obscure topographical reference. Reading 'Academy' would be an obvious way of clearing up the obscurity, since the Academy was one of the most enduringly famous places in Athens. Unlike the earliest collectors of proverbs such as Aristotle and other associates of the Peripatos, the later writers in the proverb tradition were less interested in the precise historical circumstances illuminated by proverbs than in the rhetorical point.[5] If this interpretation of the testimony concerning Hipparchos' wall is correct, the proverb tradition (and perhaps also the historical situation behind it) will account for a sixth-century enclosure begun by the tyrant Hipparchos and probably left in an incomplete state; but the original proverb did not locate Hipparchos' building project in the Academy but somewhere else in Athens—somewhere associated with the 'Pythia'.

It might be added in support of this view that no ancient traveller or other source implies that the Academy was an enclosed area, and the fact that the terms 'Kerameikos' and 'Academy' were confused or used almost interchangeably in antiquity suggests that there was no clear-cut demarcating wall to distinguish one area from the other.[6] The existence of an archaic boundary-stone reading *hóros tês hekadémeias* gives additional evidence that the Academy was, like the Agora, an open area in the sixth century B.C.: although the area around the boundary-stone was not fully excavated at the time of its discovery, enough clearing of the find-spot was done to make certain that no wall encompassing the whole Academy stood in the vicinity.[7]

Other such arguments might be made, but one might object that they add up to little more than an extended argument *ex silentio*. Fortunately, the proverb tradition itself provides some more impressive support for the view that Hipparchos' wall was said originally to have been "along the Pythia," not "around the Academy." Another widely reported and variously interpreted proverb concerning sixth-century Athens gives some illuminating context to the proverb about Hipparchos' wall. This other

[5] See the discussion of Edwards and Browning (*supra* n.3).

[6] No ancient source ever mentions a deme affiliation in connection with the Academy. Like the Agora and Kerameikos, which are non-deme names and not associated with any particular deme, the Academy may have been neutral ground under the charge of the *demos* at large; *cf.* R. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* III (Princeton 1957) 221–22, where the evidence for interchangeability of 'Kerameikos' and 'Akademeia' is also discussed.

[7] The boundary stone was discovered *in situ* accidentally during construction by the electric power company. See O. Alexandris, *AAA* 1 (1968) 101–07. There are two photographs of the stone in its immediate context in J. Travlos (*supra* n.2) 47 pls. 56–57; no evidence of a wall was discovered. The boundary stone was found near the juncture of Haimon and Tripolis streets (see the map at Travlos 318 pl. 417 no. 180); it has been removed to shelter at Hadrian's library.

proverb was, in literal translation, "It was better to defecate in the Pythion," which seems to have meant roughly "You (one) might as well have defecated on the Pythion"; six versions of the proverb as it comes down in the collections of various *paroimiographoi* are brought together as Testimonia B, the earliest of which can be traced back to the first century B.C.

The relationship between this proverb tradition concerning Peisistratos' construction of a temple in the Pythion and the proverb tradition concerning Hipparchos' wall does not seem to have been noticed previously. In both instances the proverbs reveal unpopular tyrannical construction resulting in heavy taxation of the people; there are even some striking parallels extending to the language of the two proverbs as recorded in various sources of the tradition.[8] The two proverbs in fact seem to be in series and to represent a sequence of events: Peisistratos' building of the Pythion led to the protest of urinating and defecating on the Pythion; his son Hipparchos, therefore, had an expensive and equally unpopular wall constructed to prevent this form of protest. The mysterious 'Pythia' in the proverb tradition would therefore be a synecdoche for the whole plot of land in which the Pythion temple was built, as is suggested by one report of this related proverb which states that Peisistratos built "the temple in the Pythia" (*τὸν ἐν Πυθίᾳ ναόν*, B.4). The exact meaning of 'Pythia' in both proverb traditions remains mysterious, but it is possible that it refers to an oracle associated with the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, perhaps the very oracle which the Peisistratids used to generate some of the non-Delphic prophesies with which their rule was associated.[9]

Whether these two proverb traditions testify to genuine historical circumstance in sixth-century Athens or rather were both part of a later *damnatio memoriae* of the tyrannical age is an important question that must be left open. But this much can now be said with some degree of certainty. Since Hipparchos' proverbial wall was *not* originally located in the Academy but in the Pythia by the proverb tradition, we cannot infer from it anything about the early history of the Academy as an area. The proverb's point of reference must be moved over to the opposite side of the city, outside the eastern wall of Athens in the sixth century B.C., immediately south of the area where Peisistratos' most notorious building project, the Olympieion, was undertaken.[10]

[8] Compare A.1 and 4 with B.1, *ᾠκοδόμησε . . . πολλὰ ἀναγκάσας ἀναλῶσαι.*

[9] On the association between oracles and Peisistratid rule see Hdt. 5.90 with W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* II (Oxford 1928) 344. There may also be a hidden reference to this Athenian oracle in the topographically controversial statement of Strabo locating the altar of Zeus Astrapaios, from which Pythaistai read omens, *ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου* (9.2.11). The wall meant here may be not the city-wall but Hipparchos' wall surrounding the Pythion, which may have been confused with the city-wall. At any rate, the solution of placing this altar with its attendant Pythaistai on the north slope of the Acropolis seems contrived; *cf.* R. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton 1978) 177, in opposition to the view accepted by Travlos (*supra* n.2) 9. On urination as a form of disrespect to Apolline sanctuaries, see D. M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes Wasps* (Oxford 1971) 184–86 *ad* 389–94. It is possible that the Aristophanic passage and some verses in Juvenal (1.128–31, 6.309–10) contain oblique references to the proverb traditions that this essay is attempting to connect.

[10] On the general topography of the Pythion (and therefore of the 'Pythia'), see Travlos (*supra* n.2) 100–01 and fig. 219, 169 no. 189, and, more cautiously about its precise location, Wycherley (*supra* n.9) 167–68.

TESTIMONIA A: THE WALL OF HIPPARCHOS: THE ACADEMY IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

1. *τὸ Ἱππάρχου τειχίον· Ἵππαρχος ὁ Πεισιστράτου περὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν τεῖχος ᾠκοδόμησε, πολλὰ ἀναγκάσας ἀναλῶσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ δαπανηρῶν πραγμάτων ἡ παροιμία εἴρηται* (*Suda* T 733 Adler, tenth century).

> The wall of Hipparchos: Hipparchos, the son of Peisistratos, built a wall *around the Academy*, compelling the Athenians to incur considerable expenses. From this comes the proverb, referring to lavish projects.

2. *Ἱππάρχου τειχίον· οὗτος περὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν παραβαλομένοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τέλος ἐπέθηκεν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτοῦ παρεῖλκε, βουλόμενος πολλὰ ἐκλέγειν τὰ τέλη. ὅθεν ἐπὶ τῶν πολλὰ ἀναλώματα δεχομένων, ἀτελῶν δὲ μενόντων, εἴρηται ἡ παροιμία* (*Codex Bodleianus* in *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Th. Gaisford, 60 no. 511; fifteenth century).

> Hipparchos' wall: This man imposed a tax on the Athenians for making an extension wall *around the Academy*, and for a long time he protracted its construction, wishing to collect many taxes. From this comes the proverb, referring to things that receive great expenditures but remain incomplete.

3. *τὸ Ἱππάρχου τειχίον· Ἵππαρχος ὁ Πεισιστράτου παρὰ τὴν Πυθίαν τεῖχος ᾠκοδόμησε, πολλὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἰς τἀναλώματα ἀναγκάσας* (Gregory of Cyprus 3.81, in *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin I 374; thirteenth century).

> The wall of Hipparchos: Hipparchos, the son of Peisistratos, built a wall *along the Pythia*, compelling the Athenians to considerable expenditures.

4. *τὸ Ἱππάρχου τειχίον· ἐπὶ τῶν δαπανηρῶν πραγμάτων. Ἵππαρχος γὰρ ὁ Πεισιστράτου παρὰ τὴν Πυθίαν τεῖχος ᾠκοδόμησε, πολλὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναγκάσας ἀναλῶσαι* (Apostolios 17.8 in Leutsch/Sch. II 688; fifteenth century).

> The wall of Hipparchos: In reference to lavish projects. For Hipparchos, the son of Peisistratos, built a wall *along the Pythia*, compelling the Athenians to incur considerable expenses.

TESTIMONIA B: PEISISTRATOS AND THE PYTHION

1. *ἐπὶ Πυθίῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ἀποπατῆσαι· τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Πυθίου ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ Πεισίστρατος, πολλὰ τοὺς πολίτας ἀναγκάσας ἀναλῶσαι· μισοῦντες οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτὸν προσούρουν καὶ ἐπάτουν συνεχῶς πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἐρχόμενοι. τηρήσας οὖν ὁ Πεισίστρατος καὶ λαβών τινα, πάνυ κακῶς ἐκόλασεν. ὅθεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴ ποτε ἑώρων τινὰ κακούμενον, τῇ παροιμίᾳ ἐχρῶντο* (Zenobios' *Epitome* [first century A.D.] of Tarrhaios' and Didymos' proverbs [first century B.C.], ed. Miller [*supra* n.4] 367).

> Better to have defecated in the Pythion: Peisistratos built the temple of Pythios, forcing the citizens to spend a lot. Therefore the Athenians, hating it, used to go to the temple constantly and urinate and defecate on it. As a result, Peisistratos had it guarded, and captured someone, whom he very severely punished. Hence the Athenians, if ever they saw someone suffering badly, used the proverb.

2. *ἐν Πυθίῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ἀποπατῆσαι· οἷον κινδυνεῦσαι. καταφρονούντων γάρ τινων Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῷ τεμένει αὐτοῦ ἀποπατούντων Πεισίστρατος ἔγραψε νόμον, τὸν ἁλόντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ θνήσκειν. καταγελώντων δὲ τοῦ γράμματος καὶ πλειόνων μᾶλλον τοῦτο ποιούντων ἔστησε*

φύλακας. ληφθέντος δέ τινος ἐκέλευσε δήσαντας αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν μαστιγοῦν, κηρύσσοντας· ὅδ' ἀνὴρ κολασθεὶς ἀποθανεῖται, ὅτι ὀλιγωρεῖ τοῦ γράμματος. κτανθέντος δέ, οὕτω ἐνέδυ τὸ γενόμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστε ἔτι νῦν τοὺς κακοπαθοῦντας ἢ τιμωρίαις ἐνεχομένους διά τινα αὐτῶν πλημμέλειαν ἐπιλέγειν ἐν Πυθίῳ κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτὸν ἀποπατῆσαι (*Suda* E 1428).

> Better to have defecated in the Pythion: That is, to run a risk. Since some people were scorning Apollo and were defecating in his sanctuary, Peisistratos passed a law that anyone caught at this be punished with death. Since they laughed at this legislation and even more people were doing this, he posted guards. When someone was caught, he ordered the guards to tie and whip him beside the road, with the following proclamation: "This man will be punished and will die for slighting the law." When he was killed, the event so affected the Athenians that even now they apply the proverb to those who suffer harm or are constrained by penalties because of some transgression: "He might as well have defecated in the Pythion."

3. ἐν Πυθίῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ἀποπατῆσαι· Πεισίστρατος ᾠκοδόμει τὸν ἐν Πυθίῳ ναόν· τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων παριόντων καὶ μισούντων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς δεκάτης εἰσφορᾷ (εἰσέφερον γὰρ ἅπαντες δεκάτην τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γινομένων), οὐδὲν ἐχόντων ποιεῖν, ἐνίους προσουρεῖν καὶ πλησίον ἀφοδεύειν τοῦ περιφράγματος, ὥστε διοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐργαζομένους. ἔγραψε γοῦν ὁ Πεισίστρατος ὡς ἐάν τις ἁλῷ θακεύων ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἑαυτὸν αἰτιάσεται. τῶν δὲ οὐ παυομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγελώντων τοῦ πράγματος καὶ πλειόνων ταῦτα ποιούντων, φύλακας κατέστησε. ληφθέντος δέ τινος οὐ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀλλὰ τῶν μετοίκων ἐκέλευσε δήσαντος αὐτὸν μαστιγοῦν, κηρύσσοντας· ἀποθανεῖται ὃς κατολιγωρεῖ τοῦ γράμματος. τοὺς γοῦν κακοπαθοῦντας διά τινα πλημμέλειαν ἔλεγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· Κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ ἀποπατῆσαι (*Codex Bodleianus*, Gaisford 46 no. 407 = Leutsch/Sch. I 406–07).

> Better to have defecated in the Pythion: Peisistratos was building the temple in the Pythion. The Athenians used to pass by and feel hatred for the temple because of the ten-percent tax (for they all were paying ten percent of the income on their property); having no recourse, some used to urinate and leave piles near the enclosure to annoy the workmen. Peisistratos therefore passed a law that if anyone was caught relieving himself in Apollo's sanctuary, he would be punished. Since they did not stop but mocked the whole business by doing these things even more, he posted guards. When someone was caught (not one of the citizens but a metic) and bound, he ordered him whipped, with the proclamation, "Death to the one who slights the law." The Athenians therefore used to say this of those suffering harm because of some transgression, "They might as well have defecated in the Pythion."

4. ἐν Πυθίοι χέσαι, ἢ ἐν Πυθίοι ἀποπατῆσαι· Πεισίστρατος τὸν ἐν Πυθίᾳ ναὸν οἰκοδομῶν, τῶν μισούντων αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν τυραννίδα προσαποπατούντων ἐκεῖ καὶ προσουρούντων, προσέγραψε λέγων· ἑαυτὸν αἰτιάσεται ὁ ἔτι προσασχημονήσας. καταφρονουμένου δὲ τοῦ γράμματος, καταλαβὼν μέτοικον ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας μαστιγώσας πρὸ τοῦ τεμένους ἀνεῖλεν. ἐλήφθη δὲ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν τιμωρίας μεγάλας ὑφισταμένων καὶ κακοπαθούντων (*Coislin.* 177, in Gaisford 137–38 no. 190; fourteenth century).

> To soil or defecate in the Pythion: When Peisistratos was building *the temple in the Pythia* and people were hating him for his tyrannical rule, they used to defecate and urinate there, causing him to pass a law that "anyone who continues such unseemly behavior will be punished." When the law was scorned, he arrested a metic and had him whipped for many days in front of the temple. The proverb was applied to those who have to withstand great penalties or suffer harm.

5. ἐν Πυθίου χέσαι· οἷον κινδυνεῦσαι. Πεισίστρατος γὰρ ὁ τύραννος ποιῶν νεών, εὑρών τινα ἀποπατοῦντα μέτοικον, ἀπήγαγε· προσέγραψε γὰρ μηδένα ἀποπατῆσαι (Apostolios 7.17, in Leutsch/Sch. II 400).

> To soil in Pythian Apollo's sanctuary: That is, to run a risk. For Peisistratos the tyrant, when he discovered a metic defecating on the temple he was building, had him arrested, for he passed a law forbidding such action.

6. ἐν Πυθίῳ χέσαι· Πεισίστρατος ᾠκοδόμει τὸν ἐν Πυθίῳ ναόν· τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων παριόντων καὶ μισούντων αὐτὸν . . . , οὐδὲν ἐχόντων ποιεῖν, ἐνίους προσουρεῖν τῷ περιφράγματι καὶ πλησίον ἀφοδεύειν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, ὥστε διοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐργαζομένους (Hesychios *s.v.*; fifth century).

> To soil in the Pythion: Peisistratos was building the temple in the Pythion. The Athenians used to pass by and hate it, but having no recourse, some used to urinate on the enclosure and leave piles near the construction to annoy the workmen.

COWELL COLLEGE, THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ

The 'Lantern of Demosthenes' and Lysikrates, Son of Lysitheides, of Kikynna

James R. McCredie

THE CHOREGIC MONUMENT of Lysikrates is one of the best preserved of Athenian monuments and one of the most familiar, owing to the record made by Stuart and Revett and the attention paid to it by early travelers.[1] Nonetheless, though it is regularly cited in discussions of fourth-century Athenian architecture because of its firm date and its architectural innovations, including the use of exterior Corinthian columns and the combination of frieze and dentils in the entablature, it has never been thoroughly studied, and its relation to contemporary Athenian architecture remains vague. An explanation of its stylistic pecularities in the light of Athenian politics may be of interest to Sterling Dow, whose own work has been devoted to the removal of vagueness.

The history of the monument's construction has been put on a firm footing by Heinrich Bauer, who has shown that although there were changes during construction, the monument was completed in essentially the form that we know it from Stuart and Revett's publication. Its pecularities belong to the original project. Both in general form and in detail, the monument stands outside the general development of Athenian Classical building. Undoubtedly the architect of such a structure enjoyed a freedom in choice of forms not permitted the architect of a functional building, even, perhaps licence to engage in modest frivolity, yet his design should reflect an intention to which his choices respond, and the stylistic connections of the monument's unusual forms may provide an insight into that intention.

The use of a podium was surely suggested, as Stella Miller has remarked, by the desirability of raising the monument to a prominent position among its fellows along the street of the tripods. It differs in intent, therefore, from the similarly raised order of the Erechtheum, which responds to problems caused by the uneven and encumbered site. The relation of the podium to the round monument is, however, notable. The podium is crowned by a strongly projecting cornice, and it is with the outer edge of this cornice that the lowest step is aligned, so that the two lower steps of the round monu-

[1] For the monument, see, still, J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* I (London 1762) 27–36. J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London 1971) 348–51, provides a useful summary and short bibliography. Recent investigations are reported by H. Bauer, "Lysikratesdenkmal, Baubestand und Rekonstruktion," *AthMitt* 92 (1977) 197–227. For its identification as the 'Lantern of Demosthenes', see, for convenience, L. and R. Matton, *Athènes et ses monuments du XVII^e siècle à nos jours* (Athens 1963) 141–44. The present explanation of the monument occurred to the writer while he was lecturing on Classical and Hellenistic architecture at the Institute of Fine Arts in 1981 and 1982; he thanks his students for their criticism and encouragement.

ment appear to lack the support of the solid rectangle of the podium. In that respect, the structure resembles the similarly unsupported interior decorative order of the Philippeion at Olympia, where, as Dr Miller has noted, it seems to reflect Macedonian taste.[2]

Details of the order are similarly unusual. The column base, whose upper member is a drooping ovolo rather than the canonical half-round torus, is very rare, but it can be paralleled at Delos in the anta base of the naiskos attached to the Stoa of Philip II, a building which, again, reflects Macedonian taste, but at a later date.[3] The use of Corinthian columns as an exterior order is next paralleled in the Propylon of Ptolemy II at Samothrace, a building of Macedonian style and patronage.[4] The combination of frieze and dentils in the entablature follows two buildings, the Propylon of the Temenos in Samothrace and the Philippeion at Olympia, both apparently constructed for Philip II, and both, I shall argue elsewhere, attempts to create a style recognizable as Macedonian.[5] The scale-tiles carved on the monolithic roof are paralleled in actual tiling only on the Rotunda of Arsinoe II in Samothrace, again a building of Macedonian taste.[6] And the elaborate vegetation of the finial may be compared to that popular in Macedonian mosaic and painting.

A striking feature of the Monument of Lysiskrates are the screen-walls that close the intercolumniations, darker in color than the rest of the superstructure, and crowned by white plaques upon which tripods are carved in relief. The impression that the tripods stand in an open space atop the screen is paralleled in the façade of the Great Tomb at Lefkadia, where the painted figures likewise stand on the moulding of the screen walls, an illusionistic conception that is characteristic of Macedonian taste.[7]

Other features of the monument are less easy to parallel. The moulded stylobate, the decoratively fluted columns, and the extra moulding at the base of the cornice all remain, to my knowledge, virtually unique. Yet they, too, correspond to Macedonian taste and to the Macedonian view of architecture as decorative rather than structural.[8]

That the Monument of Lysikrates thus shares characteristics of Macedonian architecture is, I believe, sure. The explanation of this fact is debatable. It is equally possible

[2] S. Grobel Miller, "The Philippeion and Macedonian Hellenistic Architecture," *AthMitt* 88 (1973) 214–17.

[3] For the base see L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1936) 149 pl. 67.8. For Macedonian characteristics of the Stoa of Philip see S. Grobel (Miller), *Hellenistic Macedonian Architecture: Its Style and Painted Ornamentation* (Diss. Bryn Mawr 1970) 207–12.

[4] Pending publication of the Propylon of Ptolemy II by A. K. Frazer, see K. Lehmann, *Samothrace, A Guide to the Excavations and Museum*[4] (Locust Valley 1975) 88–89, 98 fig. 45.

[5] For the Propylon of the Temenos see P. W. Lehmann, *The Temenos*, *Samothrace* 5 (Princeton 1982). For the Philippeion, A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Munich 1972) 128–33.

[6] Pending publication of the Rotunda of Arsinoe II by S. M. Shaw, G. Roux, and others, see J. W. Kurtich and J. R. McCredie, "The Roofs of the Rotunda of Arsinoe II in Samothrace," *AJA* 86 (1982) 273–74.

[7] For the tomb at Lefkadia see Ph. M. Petsas, Ὁ Τάφος τῶν Λευκαδιῶν (Athens 1966) pl. A'.

[8] For the character of Macedonian architecture see S. G. Miller, "Macedonian Tombs: Their Architecture and Architectural Decoration," *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Studies in the History of Art 10 [Washington 1982]) 153–69.

to argue that the connection represents the influence of this unique monument on the formation of a Macedonian style, a new and rapidly developing style of monumental building in the north, and that that style was the inspiration of the monument itself. The paucity of Macedonian monuments makes the chronological place of the parallels less compelling than it might otherwise be. If there were a motive for Lysikrates to have chosen to build his monument in a recognizably Macedonian style, the priority of that style might be reasonably inferred.

Lysikrates himself is a rather shadowy character on the scene of Athenian politics. Besides his victory as *choregos* in 335/4 B.C., which was the occasion for the erection of the monument, we know only of his service as trierarch a decade later and of his activities as a landowner. More, however, is known of his father Lysitheides, a respected man of substance. Particularly interesting is the fact that he was one of the first students of Isokrates and apparently a lifelong friend, associated with his group, to judge from both friendly and hostile testimony.[9] Although one cannot be sure that these associations would have carried over to the next generation, they form at least some basis for the hypothesis that Lysikrates too belonged to the circle that favored Philip and thereafter Alexander.

The monument belongs to that confused time when Athenian policy vacillated, in the wake first of the defeat at Chaironeia and second of the destruction of Thebes, between defiance of Macedonia and accommodation with her.[10] If Lysikrates belonged to those who urged the latter course, in opposition to Demosthenes, as is suggested by the associations of his father, the choice of a recognizably Macedonian style for his monument is understandable. Under these circumstances, the title acquired by the monument in later times, 'Lantern of Demosthenes', though appropriate in chronology, could not, in terms of politics, have been further from the truth.

THE INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

[9] For Lysikrates and Lysitheides see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971) 356–57 no. 9461. For Lysitheides' association with Isokrates see Isoc. 15.93, [Dem.] 52.14–15.

[10] For the events of 335/4 see Arr. *Anab.* 1.10; Diod. 17.15; Plut. *Alex.* 13, *Dem.* 23, *Phoc.* 17.

The Minnesota Messenia Survey: A Look Back

William A. McDonald

WHEN A DIRECTOR is fully occupied in a long-term program of surface survey, there is not much time to ponder whether the planned procedures are turning out to be adequate in actual field situations. And when the data-gathering phase has ended (not necessarily at a neatly pre-arranged point) and the analysis has been completed and published, it is natural to feel a bit protective about the results. Yet re-examination can be salutary in promoting personal humility and may also place a project in clearer perspective for interested colleagues.[1]

A brief review of the Minnesota Messenia Expedition (MME) should be appropriate here, since Sterling Dow spent part of the summer of 1963 as a co-worker. With the instinct of a proper historian, he wanted to observe at first hand an operation with the ambitious aim of "reconstructing a Bronze Age regional environment" (subtitle of the final publication).[2] By that time we had assembled a team of a dozen experts in various related disciplines, had defined the extent of the region to be surveyed, and had adopted a fully diachronic approach in the search for evidence on the ancient settlement patterns. Our strategy, therefore, did include the three major components that John Cherry[3] has recently listed as "integral to the survey process": collection of multi-period data, regional scope, and interdisciplinary teamwork. But it was not ever thus.

It is taken for granted nowadays that the field techniques and subsequent analytical procedures of any archaeological survey should be carefully planned in advance and that only after this indispensable first stage should one seek permits and funds and staff. But in 1953 Greek surveys were much more casual, and in Messenia a sudden new opportunity seemed to overshadow all other considerations. Although the decipherment and exegesis of the Pylos Linear B tablets was in its infancy, there were already exciting hints about the political organization of the kingdom toward the end of the thirteenth century B.C. It was clear that there had been a subsidiary capital in the so-called Further Province and that, within the two major divisions, a good many named towns (or districts) had served as collection and distribution centers in a complex intra-kingdom

[1] I have enjoyed frequent discussions along these lines with Joan Carothers, whose Ph.D. dissertation depends in part on MME data. She read a draft of this paper and made helpful suggestions about content and bibliography.

[2] W. A. McDonald and G. Rapp, Jr, eds., *Minnesota Messenia Expedition: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Regional Environment* (Minneapolis 1972).

[3] Professor Rupp has kindly allowed me to read and refer here to a pre-publication draft of Cherry's excellent critique of the reports, to be included in D. W. Rupp and D. Keller, *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area* (forthcoming in the B.A.R. International Series).

economic system. In the hope that further archaeological discoveries could be integrated with the emerging documentary evidence, Professor Carl Blegen suggested that I continue with the kind of survey that had led to the identification of the palace site, fanning out from the capital in ever-widening arcs and searching in particular for the location of towns contemporary with the tablets.

So MME's initial 'strategy' was extremely modest—a search party of one, an undefined area, concentration on population distribution in a specific period (LH IIIB), practically no assured funding, and collegial attitudes ranging from cooperation to apathy to obstructionism. There were then no models for large-scale systematic surface surveys in Greece or (so far as I know) in closely comparable physical environments. Ambitious team projects had been launched in the Middle East and particularly in the western hemisphere; but topography, climate, preservation, and other important factors dictated field methods there that are often quite inappropriate to circum-Mediterranean regions like Messenia.

The most frequent criticism of the MME survey, that we concentrated on locating the 'big' sites of a single period,[4] can now be seen in fairer context. Special local conditions such as documentary evidence may dictate modifications in general theoretical prescriptions. Messenia and Crete are inevitably in a special category, since only there (in Greek lands) is there a basis for an attempt to correlate a 'late prehistoric' landscape with evidence from contemporary documents. For example, decisions about the boundaries of the region to be searched can scarcely be made without reference to territorial hints in the documents. In this 'literate' context, Robert Adams' work in the Euphrates basin and that of W. T. Sandars and his colleagues in the basin of Mexico are relevant models.[5]

By 1958 Richard Hope Simpson's presence had doubled the MME work force and his experience in previous survey more than doubled its efficiency. I am puzzled by increasingly common (and sometimes critical) references to the 'Hope Simpson method'. At least in the Messenia survey, field strategies were not imposed by one collaborator but were gradually evolved by joint experience and discussion. Early in our collaboration we adopted two major principles that depended not so much on accepted theory as on increasing familiarity with the Messenian countryside. The one was that while survey archaeologists may have a legitimate special interest in a particular period (in our case the Bronze Age, and especially its latest phase), they are obligated to record impartially all evidence that they discover for habitation distribution in all ancient periods. Secondly, it is not enough simply to search for the remains of ancient settlements; one

[4] See in particular the prevailing tone in J. Bintliff, ed., *Mycenaean Geography* (Cambridge 1977), and in Bintliff's published dissertation *Natural Environment and Human Settlement in Prehistoric Greece* (B.A.R. Suppl. Ser. 28 [1977]).

[5] R. Adams, *Heartland of Cities: Surveys of Settlement and Land Use in the Central Plain of the Euphrates* (Chicago 1981); W. T. Sandars, J. R. Parsons, and R. S. Santley, *The Basin of Mexico: Ecological Processes in the Cultural Evolution of a Civilization* (Academic Press 1979). Redman (*infra* n.6) 379 speaks of Adams' "three-pronged approach to the past," *i.e.*, concern for environmental variables, reliance on texts, and settlement survey.

must also search for explanations of emerging patterns of population distribution and be alert for evidence of site functions.

This broadened concept of our goals clearly required collaboration in the field with experts who might help with inferences about evolving patterns of social and political structure and with the reconstruction of past climate, soils, vegetation, land use, and other environmental variables. One of the first of these specialists was George Rapp, Jr, who has since developed a long-term interest in geoarchaeology. He became associate director of the project and was invaluable in recruiting skilled scientific colleagues.

The 1972 publication sets out, in the main, what we were able to accomplish along these lines from 1960 until the final campaign in 1968. The book has become much more widely known than we expected; and commendation (at least implied) has far outweighed criticism. We ourselves scarcely looked on the results as definitive, and the passage of time has led to some further doubts. What I want to discuss here are a few major questions of methodology. Some originate from our own second thoughts or from observations by outsiders about our work; others are prompted by reports from an increasingly impressive number of survey teams working in Greece and elsewhere and by innumerable theoretical articles.[6]

Perhaps most central is the respective rôle and merit of extensive and intensive survey. With a defined region of some 3800 sq. km. and a search force limited to a maximum of four or five (more often two), we believed that extensive coverage and continuing special concern for the spatial configuration of settlements associated with the palace should be our basic strategy. I do not regret or apologize for that decision. Even in those terms, we pointed out that there are sectors of the region that (for various reasons) were examined more and less carefully. Closer uniformity in extensive coverage would therefore be a top priority for further work in Messenia.

I have no doubt, however, that in a second phase intensive coverage of selected sectors within the region should be *the* key component. There can be no question that close inspection (how close is still debatable) will reveal additional valuable evidence of human use in such a favorable environment. But confident generalizations about the striking results that are regularly produced by this procedure seem to me to be more risky. Will intensive survey really multiply the number of known sites many times over? The question turns in part on how 'sites' are defined. We may have been too much influenced by the modern situation in Messenia where (at least until recently) country people have chosen to live in fairly large groups. This deeply ingrained social

[6] I list here a few representative articles which (with their references—149 items in one case!) should serve to put interested readers in touch with this burgeoning sub-discipline of archaeology: R. C. Dunnell, "Americanist Archaeological Literature, 1981," *AJA* 86 (1982) 515–17; C. L. Redman, "Archaeological Survey and the Study of Mesopotamian Urban Systems," *JFA* 9 (1982) 375–82; S. Dyson, "Annual Review of Old World Archaeology," *AmerAnth* 47 (1982) 87–98; S. Plog *et al.*, "Decision Making in Modern Surveys," in M. B. Shiffer, ed., *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* (Academic Press 1978) 383–421; A. J. Ammerman and M. W. Feldman, "Replicated Collection of Site Surfaces," *AmerAnth* 43 (1978) 734–40; A. Kirkby and M. J. Kirkby, "Geomorphic Processes and the Surface Survey of Archaeological Sites in Semi-Arid Areas," in D. A. Davidson and M. L. Shackley, eds., *Geoarchaeology: Earth Science and the Past* (Boulder 1976) 229–53.

instinct is presumably inherited from distant and not-so-distant fears of war, brigandage, piracy, and related violence to which isolated households are particularly vulnerable. One wonders, therefore, how many of the very limited scatters of artifacts discovered by intensive search are witness to the one-time presence of temporary field houses/storage buildings or of activities like stone knapping, butchering and tanning, pottery making, and metallurgy. There are plausible reasons why such crafts would sometimes have been carried on quite far outside the permanent villages and towns. If this is so, this kind of information is an extremely valuable supplement to what can be learned from the actual settlements; but it can scarcely be included in the same frame of reference.

I am also troubled by a common assumption that goes far beyond the relative frequency of 'big' versus 'small' sites. The results of intensive survey elsewhere (and not exclusively in the Greek orbit) are apparently relied on to apply to whole regions like Messenia, where there has been extensive survey only. Yet, if there is one reasonably safe generalization that might be applicable to Greece as a whole, it is that patterns of human adaptation in regions and in sectors within regions cannot be assumed to be uniform. Most normative statements along these lines in the theoretical literature seem to depend on broad patterns detected over much less varied landscapes. The complex mix of Greek topography, soils, water supply, and micro-climate, however, has always presented the inhabitants with widely differing problems of local adaptation.

While the general reliability of sophisticated sampling techniques is now well established, the margin of error in archaeological situations of this sort would appear to increase drastically.[7] In the case of Messenia, topography is so heterogeneous that, unless the sample selected for intensive survey is almost prohibitively large, a very complicated strategy involving small scattered sectors will be necessary to produce a sample from which reliable generalizations can be derived for the region as a whole. Considerations of this sort probably influenced Cherry's recommendation that those planning intensive survey use a sizable number of relatively small sample sectors and that three criteria govern their selection, *viz.*, known site density, environmental differentiation, and an "element of randomness."[8] Perhaps no better compromise is possible, but it should be noted that two of these three factors depend on considerable previous familiarity with a region, akin to extensive survey with all of its alleged and real uncertainties.

There are equally troublesome problems with either type of survey after a site has been located. How reliable are inferences based on surface evidence alone about its size, function(s), and occupation history? The MME data, for instance, depend on a single visit (almost always in summer), on a relatively unsystematic (though careful) collection of diagnostic potsherds (only occasionally were other types of artifacts re-

[7] See, for example, D. H. Thomas, "The Awful Truth About Statistics in Archeology," *AmerAnth* 43 (1978) 231–44; R. G. Chenhall, "A Rationale for Archeological Sampling," in J. Mueller, ed., *Sampling in Archeology* (Tucson 1975) 3–25.

[8] See Cherry (*supra* n.3).

covered), and on an estimate of the area strewn with such material. Assuming that these procedures are reasonably typical of extensive surveys, there is no need to stress the possibility of error and distortion. But current attempts to systematize and formalize on-site study and to establish normative inferences based on the results, while laudable and necessary, are themselves by no means free of pitfalls. For instance, field workers may not be sufficiently alert or informed to note available evidence for natural deposition and erosion or cultural processes like re-use. A few Messenian examples will illustrate the point.

Some theorists claim that there is a direct relation between density of surface scatter and duration of occupation. Yet I have revisited a few of our sites, sometimes at different seasons from the original inspection, and found that locations where we had originally recorded the occurrence of sherds as 'thick' showed only a 'thin' cover—or *vice versa*. There are, of course, numerous factors that may individually or collectively explain such discrepancies, and until or unless formulae can be devised to take them into account, the applicability of plausible norms to specific sites cannot be accepted uncritically.

Again, some theorists insist (quite reasonably, it would seem) that, in the case of multi-phase sites, pottery from later phases will be progressively better represented on the surface. Yet at two of the three Messenia sites where I have dug, the reverse proved to be true. In the one case (Kaphirio) we had collected only Late Bronze sherds on the acropolis, and later test trenching showed that there was no habitation debris below them; but trenches on the slope produced later (Dark Age) material. In this case, intensive cultivation (viticulture) and consequent severe erosion on the hilltop had left only the record of the earlier habitation phase there and had buried the evidence of the later phase. Again, on the surface of the Nichoria ridge only sherds of the Middle and Late Bronze Age were originally noted, whereas test trenching and systematic excavation proved that there had been considerable later occupation in the Dark Age and even in mediaeval times.

Somewhat to our embarrassment, the Nichoria example illustrates still another obvious pitfall in surface survey. It is predictable that searchers will often fail to identify worn and undecorated sherds dating fom periods that are poorly known in general or with which they themselves are less familiar. When one reflects that most of the necessarily numerous participants in intensive surveys cannot be thoroughly trained pottery experts, omissions and distortions in diagnosis are likely to be a significant source of error. Indeed, it could be argued that, particularly in less known regions, results from surface survey would be more dependable if it *followed*, rather than preceded, test trenching and/or systematic excavation of selected sites.

Another claim in the theoretical literature is that an apparent very steep rise in number of settlements may be partly or wholly due to progressive loss of information. That is, in the case of multi-phase sites, there is likely to be a more or less predictable drop in surface evidence for earlier occupation phases, resulting in an accumulating overall under-estimate of the occurrence of earlier *versus* later occupation in a region.

This phenomenon, if it applies generally to Messenian sites, would certainly call for a review of our estimate that there was a striking overall population increase from Early to Late Bronze Age. But, in our experience, re-used (and therefore disturbed) Bronze Age sites are likely to yield at least a few diagnostic surface pieces that will be sufficient to document earlier occupation. Stronger confirmation for the proposed principle might be claimed in the case of several heavily populated mediaeval centers in Messenia (*e.g.*, Koroni, Methoni, Andhrousa). Persistent search revealed no evidence for prehistoric use of these strategic locations, although what we have learned of the overall pattern makes us virtually certain that they could not have been ignored. Similarly, a significant number of ancient sites must be so overlaid by debris from modern use that only accident or deliberate excavation can reveal proof of their antiquity.

I trust that the preceding caveats have not given the impression that I am generally skeptical about the merits of the more recent refinements in methodology. It is clear that there were weaknesses in the MME field methods and analytical strategies, and these flaws inevitably impart provisional quality to some of the results. A second, more flexible, multi-stage Messenian project that profits from our experience and borrows useful features from other models could (and should) be organized to check the earlier results and correlate them with new evidence. There is now a far more sophisticated awareness of likely errors and biases in surface survey, and useful techniques have been evolved to identify and mitigate them.

Of course, a new level of dependability is attainable if it is possible to penetrate even minimally below the surface. We found at Nichoria that electromagnetic sensing, augering, and even the use of a back-hoe (in one very carefully controlled situation) were very helpful stages between surface search and intensive excavation. With the collaboration of local archaeologists (a most desirable goal for many reasons), test trenching of selected sites might form a third stage, still short of full-scale excavation. Although test trenching also has its limitations, it can provide a useful and fairly rapid check on surface indications.

Some survey archaeologists suggest that by simply scraping the site surface one may obtain a more representative collection. Perhaps they are right; but scraping the surface inevitably reminds one of the homely, agriculturally-derived metaphor 'scratching the surface'. Perhaps we should admit that this is about all that can fairly be expected of a surface survey, no matter how sophisticated its techniques eventually become.

Yet all archaeologists have to deal with scrappy and incomplete data; and surface survey is the only viable approach to the retrieval of solid evidence about important aspects of the human past. It is fortunate that, in these times of financial stringency and environmental concerns, surface survey is firmly established in archaeological field work as a relatively inexpensive and non-destructive alternative to excavation. The future of this new specialty is bright. In our own and some other countries surface survey is playing a vital rôle in the struggle to identify and conserve threatened cultural resources. There can be little doubt that the trend will intensify and expand. We have

here a badly needed opportunity to prove to skeptics that our discipline has a useful part to play in addressing current concerns. The challenge is to pool resources and experience effectively so as to insure that the surviving evidence is promptly and properly recorded and published. The equally important task of analysis and integration with what is known from other sources about past human experience is perhaps not quite so urgent.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

An Aristocratic Reformer: Kleisthenes and After

Paul MacKendrick

I

ATHENS' TYRANTS, the Peisistratids, were expelled not by a liberty-loving people but by an émigré aristocracy under the Alkmaionid Kleisthenes, supported by an alien army.[1] Of Kleisthenes we know only that he was the son of Megakles and the much-wooed Agariste, spent part of his youth in exile, was archon in 525/4, and initiated his reforms, after vicissitudes, in 508/7. Pausanias, about A.D. 150,[2] saw his tomb on the Academy Road, near the tomb of the Gephyraioi Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the tyrant-slayers.

Also anti-Peisistratid was Alkibiades, great-grandfather of the notorious Alkibiades,[3] but the clans soon lapsed into what Grote calls "local feuds, artfully fomented by individual ambition."[4] The Philaids, led by Miltiades' relative Isagoras, apparently hated the Alkmaionids more than they did constitutional government. In the ensuing power-struggle Isagoras and Kleisthenes both used their political adherents (ἑταιρεῖαι).[5] With help of this sort Isagoras was elected archon for 508/7. But Kleisthenes, who seemed to some aristocrats a traitor to his class, won over the *demos* by promising them political privilege, and Isagoras, who had friends in Sparta, got help from King Kleomenes, who had two years before helped the Alkmaionids expel Hippias. The Spartans revived that old canard, the Alkmaionid curse (Hdt. 5.72, Thuc. 1.126.12), and the Lykomid Myron, fellow-clansman of Themistokles, moved exile against the Alkmaionids. Kleisthenes went into exile, and Kleomenes again invaded Attica; with his support Isagoras exiled 700 families. But when Kleomenes tried to install Isagoras as leader of a narrow oligarchy of 500, the *demos* rebelled, besieged Kleomenes on the Akropolis, and forced him to leave Attica under truce. The enraged Athenians razed his collaborators' houses, confiscated their property, and condemned Isagoras to death *in absentia*. It was a time to try men's souls. But at least Kleisthenes could now return and fulfill to the *demos* his promise of full citizenship and experience of day-to-day administration. In pro-Kleo-

[1] For Kleisthenes in general: J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971: hereafter *APF*) 9688 VI; for the exile, Hdt. 1.60.4; archonship, Meiggs/Lewis 6; date of reforms, *Ath.Pol.* 21 with P. J. Rhodes, *Commentary on the Aristotelian* Athenaion Politeia (Oxford 1981: hereafter 'Rhodes') 240.

[2] 1.29.5. For the date, R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton 1978) 90, an inference from Pausanias' not mentioning additions to Agrippa's Odeion made after A.D. 150.

[3] *APF* 600 III, citing Isoc. 16.26.

[4] *History of Greece* IV (New York 1868) 306. The reference is to geographical factions, of Coast, Mountain, and Plain, but these will have included *gennetai*.

[5] *Ath.Pol.* 20.1 from Hdt. 5.66.2. M. Ostwald, *Nomos and the Beginnings of Athenian Democracy* (Oxford 1969) 143, sensibly suggests that Isagoras won in "a dynastic struggle for power in which each protagonist had the support of his followers (ἑταῖροι)."

menean Chalcis Kleisthenes settled 2000 Athenian cleruchs, who gained land without losing citizenship. Since Chalcis was for Kleomenes, her inveterate enemy Eretria was for Kleisthenes. The gravestone of an Athenian aristocrat who died in Eretria, perhaps in the fighting over establishing the cleruchy in 506/5, reads Χαιρίον Ἀθεναῖος Εὐπατριδὸν ἐνθάδε κεῖτα(ι). He was possibly related to Alkibiades' family.[6] Though the handbooks[7] have some justification for describing Kleisthenes as the second founder of the democracy, aristocrats were important in Athenian politics for at least another century. Plutarch, more appositely, says that the conservative Philaid Kimon, a generation later, tried to revive the aristocracy of Kleisthenes' day.[8] Kleisthenes did indeed give the *demos* more power, but without entirely abrogating aristocratic—especially Alkmaionid—prerogative. He left hereditary priesthoods untouched, and the *demos* still voted for aristocrats: an Alkmaion was archon in 507/6, and a Philaid, Akestorides, in 504/3.

Kleisthenes' reforms combined electoral geometry with finesse. He aimed to curb the aristocracy, not to destroy its political power. His method was an ingenious regrouping of the Athenian demes. We know the names of about 139 of them.[9] Among them, names with patronymic endings, identical with clan-names, show aristocracy still powerful locally: Boutadai, Cholleidai, Epieikidai, Kothokidai, Lakiadai, Paionidai, Perithoidai, Philaidai, Semachidai, Skambonidai, Thymatidai. He intended by his *trittyes* system to bring together for common action in Athens a number of groups from all over Attica, without community of local interest. But in fact in three *phylai* the coastal and inland *trittyes* were contiguous,[10] so that local loyalties survived, and apparently did not worry Kleisthenes: the point of his elaborate electoral geometry must rather have been to have the City represented in all the *phylai*. Now most noble families belonged to city demes, and perhaps had town houses,[11] while keeping their land and influence in rural Attica, which they may have dated from their membership in the king's council after Theseus' *synoikismos*.[12] Megakles, Kleisthenes, and most of the Alkmaionidai, Aristeides 'the Just' (a Keryx), Euryptolemos cousin to Perikles, Thoukydides son of Melesias (Perikles' conservative rival) were all registered in a city deme, Alopeke, though they may also have had country houses.[13] All the following aristocrats were registered in town demes: Leobotes son of Alkmaion; the rich Kerykes Kallias and

[6] *IG* XII.9 296; *cf.* A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1949) 364; *APF* 600 IV.

[7] J. B. Bury and R. Meiggs, *History of Greece*[4] (London 1975) 137. Rhodes 261, on *Ath.Pol.* 22.1, issues a *caveat*: "At the time of Cleisthenes the word δημοκρατία had probably not been coined, and the slogan with which he campaigned was probably ἰσονομία." See Ostwald (*supra* n.5) 137–60.

[8] He tried τὴν ἐπὶ Κλεισθένους ἐγείρειν ἀριστοκρατίαν: *Cim.* 15. On Kimon, *APF* 293–312. P. Lévèque and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Clisthène l'Athénien* (Paris 1964), argue that Kleisthenes tried to replace religious by secular elements. See *infra* n.26.

[9] J. S. Traill, *Hesperia* Suppl. 14 (1974) maps 1–3.

[10] D. W. Bradeen, "The Trittyes in Cleisthenes' Reforms," *TAPA* 86 (1955) 22–30.

[11] A. W. Gomme, *Population of Ancient Athens* (Oxford 1933) 37, 39 n.4.

[12] H. T. Wade-Gery, "Eupatridai, Archons, and Areopagus," *CQ* 25 (1931) 8.

[13] Thuc. 2.65.2. See the drawings of the Dema and Vari houses in Wycherley (*supra* n.2) 247 nos. 3–4.

Hipponikos from Agryle; Thucydides the historian, a Philaid, from Halimous; Glaukon and Leagros from Kerameis; Hipparchos son of Charmos, a Peisistratid, and Plato's family (Medontid on his mother's side) from Kollytos; the orator Andokides (a Keryx?) from Kydathenaion; the Philaids Miltiades and Kimon from Lakiadai; Alkibiades (Salaminios?) from Skambonidai;[14] Perikles (Alkmaionid through his mother) from Cholargos. Now the demes in which Alkmaionids are known to have resided were placed by Kleisthenes in different *phylai*; likewise the Philaids, and later the Eumolpids, belonged to at least ten demes and several *phylai*; seven members of the *genos* Brytidai were registered in five or six different *phylai*.[15] This distribution could channel the power of the clans to Kleisthenes' advantage: the more *phylai* aristocratic clansmen were in, the wider their political influence, which he might take advantage of. On hostile clansmen he could keep a check in the elections and the *ekklesia*. Residing in or near the city, the pro-Kleisthenean clansmen could better influence the *boule* and the *ekklesia*. Non-Alkmaionids may have distrusted Kleisthenes, but he needed able men for key posts in his new government.[16] So, integrated into Kleisthenes' system, they led the democracy—or *isonomia*—on the whole ably, for another century, instead of intriguing against it.

Kleisthenes' ten new *phylai* were named after heroes (*eponymoi*) chosen by the Alkmaionids' faithful ally, the Delphic oracle.[17] The names with asterisks belonged to the old Attic kings: Erechtheis*, Aigeis*, Pandionis*, Leontis, Akamantis*, Oeneis, Kekropis*, Hippothontis, Aiantis, Antiochis. The *eponymoi* had priests, and statues in the Agora to rival Peisistratos' altar to the Twelve Gods. Did these new priesthoods break the power of the old aristocratic hereditary ones? Probably not, for sometimes the priest of the *eponymos* does not come from the *phyle* that he serves:[18] a reasonable inference is that such priests might be aristocratic clansmen continuing to fulfill their hereditary cult duties.

Kleisthenes' new *boule* of 500 was too big to do efficient work: it was subdivided into ten committees (prytanies). We may see here Kleisthenes' sense of *noblesse oblige* operating to give more citizens experience in government, but, service in the *boule* being unpaid, it is a reasonable inference that it was the rich who served.[19] The new civil calendar of ten equal periods, set up to match the prytanies' term, was perhaps a revolutionary symbol, like the new French calendar of 1789, but the aristocratic clansmen celebrated according to the old lunar calendar the old cults whose hereditary priesthoods Kleisthenes allowed to survive. Since aristocrats went into the Areopagos from

[14] Stemma, *APF* Table I.

[15] Alkmaionids, *APF* Table I; Philaids, J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin 1887) 279–82; Eumolpids, 55–61; Brytidai, 308.

[16] See Bradeen (*supra* n.10) 30

[17] *Ath.Pol.* 21.6 with Rhodes 259–60.

[18] Nine of the 27 priests of the *eponymoi* listed in B. D. Meritt/J. S. Traill, *Athenian Agora* XV pp.12–13, do not come from the *phyle* they serve. Of these the family of Thrasippos of Gargettos (Kirchner, *PA* 7294–95) included men prominent enough to have been a Cretan proxenos and a winner in the Thesea.

[19] Bradeen (*supra* n.10) 29. P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972) 4–6, is properly cautious, but states, "a certain amount of bias toward the rich must have been inevitable."

the archonship, that body remained a clan stronghold, although it *may* have lost prestige through the association with the Peisistratids of archons from that period.[20]

Kleisthenes made good his promises to his partisans by enfranchising many metics and slaves.[21] In order that they might not suffer in status, the official nomenclature of an Athenian now consisted only of his name and demotic, with no clue to presence or absence of pedigree. But, to avoid confusion, patronymics were soon added, enabling pedigrees to be recognized. And Kleisthenes did not feel obliged to open the archonship to the two lowest property classes: they were not eligible even when archons began to be appointed by lot (487/6).[22] And the new board of ten generals was not democratically chosen by lot, but elected. These had the right to convene the *ekklesia*, and supplied throughout the fifth century an opportunity for aristocrats to display their competence: it was as a general that Perikles led Athens in her Golden Age.[23]

Aristotle attributes to Kleisthenes another innovation, ostracism, which was not used, so far as we know, until 487. It was first intended to discourage would-be tyrants, and later used to decide between political opponents. If the device went unused for twenty years, it is a tribute either to the self-restraint or to the solid political organization of the aristocrats against whom it might have been directed. The first victim was Hipparchos son of Charmos, a Peisistratid.[24] Thereafter it became an instrument of factional warfare. Among its aristocratic victims were Perikles' father Xanthippos, Aristeides 'the Just', and Perikles' enemy Thoukydides son of Melesias. Sherds with Perikles' name on them have been found, but he was never ostracized.[25]

Kleisthenes followed Peisistratos' aristocratic—and tyrannical—tradition in being a great builder. He contributed to building Apollo's temple at Delphi. In Athens he built a new bouleuterion for his new *boule*. In plan it resembles the Peisistratid telesterion at Eleusis:[26] perhaps this religious plan for a secular building was a challenge by this idiosyncratic aristocrat to the hieratic supremacy of the Eumolpids and Kerykes, the Eleusinian priestly clans.

[20] G. De Sanctis, *Atthis*[2] (Turin 1912) 353, thought this, and C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford 1952) 116, notes that since 546 all Areopagites were Peisistratid nominees and that by 520 all must have been pro-Peisistratid. But Kleisthenes was archon in 525/4 (Meiggs/Lewis 6c) and would hardly diminish the authority of a body of which he himself was a member. "The landed gentry of Athens were left by Cleisthenes in control of ... the important judicial functions vested in the Areopagus" (Hignett 156 and n.5).

[21] *Ath.Pol.* 21.4 with Rhodes 254–56; Arist. *Pol.* 1275b34–39.

[22] *Ath.Pol.* 22.5 with Rhodes 272–74.

[23] C. W. Fornara, *Historia* Einzelschr. 16 (1971) 40–71, provides a list. For Perikles see G. F. Hill, R. Meiggs, A. Andrewes, *Sources for Greek History*[2] (Oxford 1951) 401–03.

[24] *Ath.Pol.* 22.3–4 with Rhodes 267–72, who finds the 20-year gap plausible, as does O. W. Reinmuth, *Kleine Pauly* 4 (1972) 376 *s.v.* "Ostrakismos." A. E. Raubitschek, *AJA* 55 (1951) 221, thinks it was instituted after Marathon by the *aged* Kleisthenes. A. R. Burn, *Pelican History of Greece* (Harmondsworth 1966) 164, ingeniously suggests that the act remained dormant because people had begun to think Hipparchos might be useful for appeasement. Hignett (*supra* n.20) 159–66 and de Sanctis (*supra* n.20) 370–71 find the gap incredible.

[25] Rhodes 271 lists those ostracized in the 470's and after. E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," in *Lectures ... L. T. Semple* II (Norman 1973), gives a useful illustrated sample of numerous finds of ostraka from the Agora and Kerameikos.

[26] Delphi: Paus. 10.5.13; Hdt. 1.50, 2.180; *Ath.Pol.* 19.4 with Rhodes 236. Eleusis: G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) pl. 32. Bouleuterion: *Agora Guide* (1976) Fig. 6; Rhodes (*supra* n.19) 300 plan B.

For Kleisthenes, though an aristocrat, was a reformer, his reforms "a woven texture of tradition and innovation."[27] Tradition retained for the *gene* their hereditary priesthoods, and the innately conservative Athenian *demos* still elected aristocrats to office long after it had the power to do otherwise. The innovation lay in teaching the Athenian nobles respect for a constitution, the inculcation of what Grote called "constitutional morality,"[28] the combination of freedom and self-imposed restraint which gives to political aristocracy the best qualities of enlightened democracy, and *vice versa*. Kleisthenes did not remove aristocratic rivalries, but he made them work constitutionally. His reforms worked so well that Athens had no aristocratic tyranny for nearly a century, and that one was short-lived. The new constitution evoked, according to Herodotus (5.78), from both the *gene* and the *demos* that enthusiastic patriotism which enabled them to cooperate in 490 and 480 in the victories of Marathon and Salamis.

II

The dominant figures of the next twenty years are all aristocrats: the Lykomid Themistokles (archon 493/2), the Philaid Miltiades (general 490), and the Keryx Aristeides (archon 489/8). Other aristocratic archons were the Peisistratid Hipparchos (archon 496/5, ostracized 487), and Aristeides' kinsman the Keryx Phainippos (archon 490/489). But the *gene* had their bad moments, too, in these years. Ostracism reduced their ranks. Kleisthenes' nephew, the Alkmaionid Megakles (IV), was ostracized in 486; Alkibiades the Elder (a Salaminios), *perhaps* twice, once in 485, again in 460; Perikles' father Xanthippos (Alkmaionid in the female line, himself perhaps a Bouzyges) in 484; Aristeides in 482.[29] Behind this list lies a fascinating and complicated history of political faction. Factions in 510 to 480 B.C. did not of course behave like modern political parties, and a *genos* as idiosyncratic as the Alkmaionids did not always act monolithically. Yet Athens needed a policy, and the great aristocrats initiated policy.

One policy (499 B.C.) was aid to the Ionian Revolt. The Athenians voted to send twenty ships (Hdt. 5.99). The instigators of this move could hardly have been the anti-Alkmaionid conservative aristocrats, who were leaderless: Isagoras in exile, Miltiades in the Chersonese; those in Athens were there on sufferance, and the rest were pro-Persian. Sending ships must have been an Alkmaionid move,[30] though we cannot name the mover: Kleisthenes in 499 was either dead or discredited. The other Alkmaionids

[27] D. M. Lewis, "Cleisthenes and Athens," *Historia* 12 (1963) 22.

[28] Grote (*supra* n.4) 154.

[29] Megakles: *Ath.Pol.* 22.5 with Rhodes 274–75. Alkibiades: Davies, *APF* 600 V, doubts two ostracisms (the evidence for them is Lysias 14.39, [Andoc.] 4.34; the case for 460: Vanderpool [*supra* n.25] 24). Xanthippos: *Ath.Pol.* 22.6 with Rhodes 276. Aristeides: *Ath.Pol.* 22.7 with Rhodes 280.

[30] M. F. McGregor, "The Pro-Persian Party at Athens from 510 to 480 B.C.," *HSCP* Suppl. 1 (1940) 82.

active in this generation were Kleisthenes' son Megakles; Kleisthenes' nephew Eurypotolemos (the Philaid Kimon's father-in-law); Peisianax (the builder of the Stoa Poikile), the latter two anti-Persian;[31] another Megakles (IV), also Kleisthenes' nephew, who won the Pythian chariot-race (ostracized 486); and a new entry, Kallixenos son of Aristaichmos of Xypete,[32] named as Alkmaionid, and a traitor,[33] on an ostrakon of 482. The reference to treachery may be evidence that the allegation about the Marathon shield-signal had currency this early. The Athenians helped the Ionians burn the satrapal capital Sardis, but thereafter suffered reverses and withdrew the expeditionary force. If the original initiative was Alkmaionid, it was ironic that the city that suffered had been the capital of Kroisos, who had allegedly helped found the Alkmaionid fortunes.[34]

In 496/5 Hipparchos son of Charmos, a Peisistratid, was archon. This is surprising: perhaps the Athenians wanted to cut their losses. The Ionian enterprise having failed, it was expedient to conciliate the Persians by electing as chief magistrate a relative of Hippias, now at the Persian court.

III

The Alkmaionids had recently risen to power by conciliating the *demos* (προστεταιρίζεσθαι, Hdt. 6.66). Now appears a new figure who beat them at their own game: the Lykomid Themistokles, son of Neokles of Phrearrhioi (archon 493/2). He was popular: nearly all the ancient sources, aristocratic in bias, are hostile to him.[35] The exception is Thucydides (1.138.3), also an aristocrat, but fair to Themistokles as having made possible the policy, based on sea-power, of the historian's hero Perikles. That Themistokles planned from the beginning the development of Athenian sea-power is clear from the fortification, in his archonship, of the Peiraieus to supplant Phaleron as the port of Athens. It was probably then that the Athenians fined the tragic poet Phrynichos for reviving unhappy memories in his *Capture of Miletus*. The fine must have discredited the Alkmaionids held responsible for the Ionian failure. Apparently the poet bore Themistokles no ill-will: the latter sponsored another of Phrynichos' plays in 476.

[31] Stemma, *APF* Table I. On Peisianax: *APF* pp.377–78.

[32] G. A. Stamires and E. Vanderpool, "Kallixenos the Alkmaionid," *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 376–90; *APF* p.376. 251 sherds bearing his name have been found: Vanderpool (*supra* n.25) figs. 2, 27, 29, 36, 45, 46.

[33] Vanderpool (*supra* n.25) fig. 49.

[34] Hdt. 6.125. The Anavysos kouros, of 530–520 (C. M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* [Cambridge 1975] 175), found in a cemetery in the deme Anaphlyste (Athens, National Museum 3851), is inscribed "Kroisos" on the base, and may represent an Alkmaionid: *APF* 9688 IV. Other Kroisoi: *IG* I³ 475.67, 255–56 (possibly Athenian); 476.12–13, 22–23, 122–23 (Erechtheum accounts, presumably not Athenian); *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 38 no. 10 of *ca* 430 (presumably Athenian: casualty list).

[35] Burn (*supra* n.24) 282 speaks of the "all-pervading hostile tradition." Themistokles' *genos* had bias to the left: *APF* p.212. Alleged venality: Hdt. 8.5; Plut. *Them.* 7.5–7, 19.1 (Bauer's 1884 edition, magisterially updated by F. J. Frost [Chicago 1967]). Disowned by his father: Plut. *Them.* 2.8. Uncouth (poor lyre-player): 2.7. Carried prostitutes in his chariot at Olympia: Idomeneus, *FGrHist* 338F4. Shrine to Artemis politically motivated: Plut. *Them.* 22.2–3. His son Kleophantos good-for-nothing: Pl. *Meno* 93D.

Also in 493/2 Miltiades returned from the Chersonese, driven out by Persian military successes. The Alkmaionids, to regain prestige, tried him for tyrannical behavior. But he was popular for having won Lemnos for Athens. Themistokles joined the Philaids in Miltiades' defense and got him off.[36] He may have regretted it later, envying Miltiades his victory at Marathon.

Marathon was won in an old-fashioned way, with hoplites. Miltiades, descendant of the conservative aristocrats of the Plain of two generations before, was just the man to earn such a victory, though Themistokles and Aristeides were generals in the same year. After the battle his popularity was at its height, partly at the expense of the Alkmaionids, who allegedly flashed shield-signals to the Persians during the battle. But since Persian victory would have entailed Hippias' return, and Alkmaionid exile, the Alkmaionid 'treachery' at Marathon is usually rejected as an invention,[37] perhaps of as early as 484/3 (see *supra* n.32).

Victorious and popular, Miltiades demanded and obtained a subsidy for a second expedition, probably to Thrace, since he promised gold as an incentive. Success would have served both himself and the state, regaining the Chersonese kingdom. But he was miserably defeated off Paros, and returned wounded and disgraced. The Alkmaionids tried him (489/8) for deceiving the people: the prosecutor was Perikles' father Xanthippos, whose wife was an Alkmaionid. Miltiades was fined fifty talents; he died of gangrene before he could pay. His son Kimon assumed the obligation.

The archon of that year was Aristeides 'the Just', an allegedly poor[38] but honest relative of the rich Kerykes; Kallias son of Hipponikos, the richest Athenian of his time, was his cousin. The sources exalt Aristeides as they vilify Themistokles; he became the conservative saint, famous for incorruptibility. This reputation, however much deserved, stems from conservative sources bent upon canonizing him as "honest, conservative, and hoplite against the deceitful, radical sailor" Themistokles.[39]

Xanthippos renewed Alkmaionid popularity,[40] but it did not last, and in this the hand of Themistokles may be discerned. The weapon was ostracism. The first victim was Hipparchos son of Charmos, who as a Peisistratid was fair game for any faction. But then Themistokles became more vindictive. In 486 the ostraka exiled the Alkmaionid leader Megakles son of Hippokrates. Nothing daunted, Megakles proceeded to win the chariot-race celebrated in Pindar's *Seventh Pythian*. In this year the appointment of archons by lot began, an innovation calculated to win popular favor. In 485 may have fallen the first ostracism of Alkibiades the Elder, erstwhile friend of Kleisthenes; in 484 or the year following (Raubitschek), Themistokles got rid of Xanthippos: a metrical ostrakon connects this ostracism with the Alkmaionid curse. In 482 Aristeides, once

[36] *APF* 8429 VIIIB; *PA* 10212.

[37] Hdt. 6.121–24 with W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* II (Oxford 1928) 361–62.

[38] *APF* 1695. Davies doubts the poverty: Aristeides was rich enough to be archon, and perhaps *choregos*. Gomme, *OCD*² 110 *s.v.* "Aristides," supposes that he died poor, but had been rich earlier.

[39] Gomme, *OCD*¹ (1949) *s.v.* "Aristides"; *Ath.Pol.* 22.7 with Rhodes 280, 23.3 with 292–94, 28.2 with 348–49.

[40] *PA* 11169. Victory at Mykale: Hdt. 9.96ff; Sestos: 9.120.

Kleisthenes' friend, was ostracized, and two other Alkmaionids were candidates for ostracism: Kallixenos, and Hippokrates son of Alkmaionides, whose name occurs on 97 sherds.[41] Themistokles now had a free field.

In the year of Aristeides' ostracism the Laureion silver mines had an increased yield. Themistokles persuaded the *demos* to use it, not for a bonus, but to build up a navy. Thus three years later the Athenians could stand off the Persian armada at Artemision and defeat it at Salamis.[42] At Artemision, according to his enemies, Themistokles accepted a thirty-talent 'retainer' from the Euboians as protection-money, of which he allegedly distributed eight to his co-captains and kept the rest.[43] Two aristocrats distinguished themselves at Artemision: Kleinias, father of the notorious Alkibiades, and Lykomedes son of Aischraios of Phlya, one of the few known Lykomids besides Themistokles: he dedicated a Persian galley's figurehead at the clan-shrine in Phlya.[44] Themistokles is the father of the naval power which upheld the Athenian Empire under Perikles. In 481/0 he declared an amnesty: the exiles returned, and Aristeides and Xanthippos cooperated loyally with him at Salamis and after.

Themistokles was an aristocrat, and aristocrats are stereotyped as god-fearing.[45] Themistokles—not alone among aristocrats (we recall Kleisthenes)—manipulated the Delphic oracle to his own ends, interpreting its reference to 'wooden walls' to mean not the old Akropolis palisade (the conservative view) but the stout bulwarks of the galleys. He persuaded the Athenians to abandon city and farmstead—anathema to *gennetai* with country estates—and concentrate on a sea battle. The purported decree of Themistokles, found in Troizen in 1959, gives some plausible details of a master plan, involving evacuation and disposition of ships. The decree has been condemned by some as a forgery, and indeed its style is fourth-century, but the acceptable parts vindicate Thucydides' claim for Themistokles as the wisest, most far-sighted statesman of his time.[46]

[41] Hipparchos: *APF* 11793 IX; *Ath.Pol.* 22.3–4 with Rhodes 268. Megakles: *APF* 9688 X; *Ath.Pol.* 22.5 with Rhodes 274–75. Alkibiades the Elder: see *supra* n.29. Xanthippos: *APF* 11811 II; *Ath.Pol.* 22.6 with Rhodes 276–77; A. E. Raubitschek, *Historia* 8 (1959) 128; Vanderpool (*supra* n.25) 9 and fig. 20. Aristeides: *APF* 1695; *Ath.Pol.* 22.7 with Rhodes 280–81. Kallixenos: see *supra* n.32. Hippokrates: *APF* 9688 III; Vanderpool (*supra* n.25) 20–21, figs. 39, 40.

[42] *Ath.Pol.* 22.7 with Rhodes 278–80.

[43] Hdt. 8.4.2–5.3 with How and Wells (*supra* n.37) 236–37; Plut. *Them.* 7.5. C. Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford 1963) 35 and 191, describes the story as "inherently impossible" and "rightly rejected."

[44] Hdt. 8.11.2; Plut. *Them.* 15.3; *APF* 9238 with stemma.

[45] Töpffer (*supra* n.15) *passim*, but especially his introduction, 1–23.

[46] Latest text of Themistokles decree, with literature: Meiggs/Lewis 23; see also *SEG* XXII 274. Earlier bibliography: S. Dow, *CW* 55 (1962) 105–08. The following provisions are independently attested (a plausible but not absolutely cogent guarantee of genuineness): recall exiles (*Ath.Pol.* 22.8 with Rhodes 281: "need not be doubted"); mobilize fleet (Hdt. 8.42); women and children to Troizen, the old to Salamis (8.41). Notable foes of authenticity are C. Habicht, *Hermes* 89 (1961) 1–35; Hignett (*supra* n.43) 458–68; A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (London 1962) 364–77; and on the whole Meiggs (*supra* n.7) 529–30. Among stylistic elements criticized are avoidance of hiatus, use of the term *akropolis*, and the *tria nomina*. The most eloquent defenders of genuineness are the discoverer M. Jameson, *Historia* 12 (1963) 385–404, and B. D. Meritt, *Lectures ... L. T. Semple* I (Princeton 1967) 119–32. V. Ehrenberg, *Solon to Socrates* (London/New York 1968) 152 and nn.58–59, believes the question of authenticity or forgery is wrongly put: it is neither verbatim nor invented. It was true to folk-memory, a morale-builder. J. Papastavrou, "Themistokles," *Erträge der Forschung* 92 (Darmstadt 1978) 78, holds that Themistokles deliberately tricked the Persians into thinking Greek morale was bad.

Herodotus ends his history, and we end this paper, with 479/8. Xanthippos was archon and admiral at Mykale, off the Anatolian coast, where victory gave the Greeks that supremacy which his son would exploit in the interests of Empire. This victory may[47] have been the subject of Phrynichos' *Phoinissai*, which Themistokles sponsored in 476. Xanthippos then sailed to the Chersonese and forced the Persians out of Sestos. He also took as booty the cables of Xerxes' bridge, which in accord with Alkmaionid tradition he dedicated at Delphi in the Athenian Stoa. The entente among aristocrats made Aristeides general at Plataia (fought on the same day as Mykale), where, with Spartan help, his military victory was as great as Themistokles' naval one at Salamis. Olympiodoros, keen captain of 300 picked men at Plataia, bears a name found on a red-figure *kalos*-vase of 500–450: he probably belongs to the *genos* of Lampon, an expounder of sacred law in Perikles' time; the *genos* may be Eumolpid.[48]

Despite the victory at Salamis, the Persians had devastated Athens and Attica. Themistokles saw that Athens' walls must be rebuilt. Sparta, jealous of her primacy, objected. Themistokles, sent with Aristeides on an embassy to Sparta, procrastinated until the new walls were a *fait accompli*. He thus established himself as a builder in the aristocratic tradition, but his attitude toward more conventional aristocrats remained cavalier: as stopgaps in the rebuilding, some handsome blocks of relief sculpture showing members of the Athenian *jeunesse dorée* at play were used. Perhaps to the same building period belongs the plan of the Pnyx ascribed by Plutarch to Themistokles, with the *bema* built to face the sea whence Athens' supremacy arose. Excavation at Themistokles' private shrine of Artemis Aristoboule, built after Salamis near his house in Melite, has produced sherds of Themistoklean date.[49]

IV

Athens now emerged as the head of an alliance to counterbalance Sparta's. It involved contributions of ships or money. Aristeides assessed the money amounts, based on the estimated resources of the member states. No one complained of inequity; if his reputation as 'the Just' was already well-founded, this assessment made it even more secure.[50] Athenian aristocrats, often ambitious, were often prompted by short-run considerations to immoral action: to balance against the shady dealings of a Kleisthenes,

[47] F. Marx, "Der Tragiker Phrynichos," *RhM* N.F. 77 (1928) 337–60.

[48] Hdt. 9.21–23. Beazley, *ARV*² 25 no. 1, 316 no. 4; 1598, 1604, 1699. *PA* 8995–96, 11389; Töpffer (*supra* n.15) 70.

[49] Reliefs from wall: Robertson (*supra* n.34) 276–77; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York 1971) pls. 401–03. Pnyx: Travlos 466. Artemis: Travlos 121–23. Burn (*supra* n.46) 281–82 notes that the shrine was self-aggrandizing and ingeniously guesses that the original of the famous Ostia bust came from here.

[50] Aristeides' assessment: *Ath.Pol.* 23.3 with Rhodes 294. R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972) 42, warns against putting much faith in later moralizing stories about Aristeides.

a Themistokles, or an Alkibiades we have the probity of a Solon, an Aristeides, or a Perikles.

In the generation since the tyrants were expelled, the *gene* show, under the new constitution, a praiseworthy capacity to put Athens first and selfish 'gentile' considerations second. Themistokles built up the navy and won at Salamis. Between the Alkmaionids and the pro-tyrant faction there was real enmity, exploited, with the conservative aristocrats acquiescing, to help the Ionians and fight the Persians, so that when Herodotus calls Athens "the savior of Greece" (7.139) we can almost, for 'Athens', read 'Alkmaionids'. And Alkmaionid maneuvers to expel the Peisistratids benefited the conservative aristocracy, which could now regain its lands. The Alkmaionids in this period had no friends except among the *demos*, and when Themistokles appropriated these supporters the Alkmaionids were the victims of the very ostracism which one of their own had invented. Because Kleomenes had deserted them for Isagoras, they were anti-Spartan. Because Hippias had exiled them, they were anti-tyrant. Because Isagoras was a conservative aristocrat, they were anti-conservative-aristocrat. And because a Persian victory would entail Hippias' return, they were anti-Persian. But all this negativity, motivated by self-preservation, worked to preserve Kleisthenes' constitution, which treated the *demos* fairly, yet took aristocratic leadership for granted. In sum, the *gene* between 510 and 478 proved, on the whole, large-minded, and aristocracy continued to nearly the end of the century.[51]

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

[51] An earlier version of this paper was delivered as a Martin Classical Lecture at Oberlin College in October 1966. Whatever is of value in it is due to the inspiration of Professor Dow.

The Bow and the Axes

W. McLeod

THE STORY BY NOW has a familiar ring. The hero, missing in action and presumed dead, comes home unheralded to find his servantry corrupted, his livestock depleted, his son's life threatened, his wife's virtue besieged—all at the hands of a gang of villains who have moved in and taken over. When he has spied out the land, he discloses his identity, slaughters the interlopers, wins back his wife, and reasserts his primacy. So runs Homer's variant of a well-known folktale, the Homecoming Husband.[1] Into the climax of this story the poet has engrafted a totally distinct folktale, the Archery Contest.[2] The version in the *Odyssey* has long drawn the attention of students. Over the bow and axes buckets of ink have been spilt, reams of paper blotted.[3] Let me offer my own blottings and spillings as a meed of honour to Sterling Dow, who first set me to ponder these things.

Homer is plain in his words and style, and simple in his ideas. He seems to strive for immediate intelligibility, and not even obscure glosses and *hapax eiremena* can interfere. Only occasionally is his intent hard to divine, and even then one may wish to look closely at his words, rather than simply dismissing them as 'poetic'. Fortunately such perplexities usually fall into patterns, and as we seek to understand them there are certain ground rules, whether we choose to call them axioms or mere prejudices. First, Homer is in some sense a traditional poet, drawing on distinct epochs (from early Mycenaean to orientalizing) and diverse sources (folktale, fiction, saga, to use Rhys Carpenter's phrase). Second, although he is easily mistaken for an historian, his picture of society need not reflect either the dramatic date or the poet's date; rather, he says

[1] Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale* (Helsinki 1961) no. 974.

[2] Gabriel Germain, *Genèse de l'Odyssée* (Paris 1954) 11–54.

[3] *E.g.*, H. Balfour, "The Archer's Bow in the Homeric Poems: An Attempted Diagnosis," *JRAI* 51 (1921) 289–309; J. Bérard, "Le concours de l'arc dans l'Odyssée," *REG* 68 (1955) 1–11; P. Brain and D. D. Skinner, "Odysseus and the Axes: Homeric Ballistics Reconstructed," *G&R* 25 (1978) 55–58; W. Burkert, "Von Amenophis II. zur Bogenprobe des Odysseus," *GrazBeitr* 1 (1973) 69–78; É. Delebecque, "Le Jeu de l'arc de l'Odyssée," in *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels 1975) 56–67; A. D. Fraser, "The Suitors' Competition in Archery," *CW* 26 (1932–33) 25–29; H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950) 335; J. L. Myres, "The Axes Yet Again," *CR* 62 (1948) 113; D. L. Page, "A Problem in Homer's Odyssey: The Arrow and the Axes," Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν II.14 (1963–64) 541–62, reprinted, with minor alterations, in *Folktales in Homer's Odyssey* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1973) 93–113; L. G. Pocock, "The Arrow and the Axe-heads in the *Odyssey*," *AJP* 82 (1961) 346–57; H. J. Rose, "Odysseus' Bow and the Scolytidae," *CP* 29 (1934) 343–44; A. Sacconi, "Un Problema di Interpretazione Omerica: La Freccia e le Asce nel Libro XXI dell' Odissea," in her *Problemi omerici alla luce dei ritrovamenti archeologici* (Rome 1971) 1–50; A. Shewan, "The Bow of Odysseus," *CP* 31 (1936) 168; W. B. Stanford, "A Reconsideration of the Problem of the Axes in *Odyssey* XXI," *CR* 63 (1949) 3–6; H. W. Stubbs, "The Axes Again," *CR* 62 (1948) 12–13; these works are cited by author's name alone. The following abbreviations are used in addition to the conventional ones: *JSAA* = *Journal of the Society of Archer-Antiquaries*; *TTS* = *Tut'ankhamun's Tomb Series*.

what his audience was prepared to *accept* about the heroic age. (This should be called 'Dow's canon', for he was teaching it twenty-five years ago.) Third, while the poems no doubt contain historical material, there is no way of recognizing what is grounded in fact and what is not, without recourse to 'adequate contemporary testimony', that is, the archaeological record.[4] Fourth, from time to time the poet illogically mingles details from different eras—is Pandarus' arrowhead an *iron* bodkin of the Dark Ages (*Il.* 4.123) or a Mycenaean *barbed* bronze arrowplate (4.151)?—and conflates variant versions—is the Cyclops solitary (*Od.* 9.189) or communal (9.399)? Fifth, on rare occasions he transmits to us some detail which he has inherited from the past without understanding (the chariot from which one *dismounts* for serious combat, *Il.* 16.426–27, is a distorted reflection of the massed chariotry of the Bronze Age). Sixth, he freely alters details of older stories for his own purposes—is Agamemnon slaughtered in the bath (Aesch. *Ag.* 1540) or at the banquet (*Od.* 11.419)?—and says what is appropriate to the immediate context, without regard to the rest of the poem—does Thetis live with Nereus (*Il.* 18.36) or Peleus (18.441)? So much for the rules. After we have applied them and formulated our solution, it will be wise to check it against Homer's words, and ask whether the evidence may not lend itself to some simpler explanation.

The Bow. We begin with the bow. One may object that a bow is a bow—one lops off a branch, trims it down, attaches a cord, and there it is. That is the 'self' bow, at home practically all over the world. But it does not square with the *Odyssey*. The suitors are trying to string the bow, and after the first of them has failed, the ringleader tells a servant to light a fire (no doubt at the central hearth), and bring in a great round lump of tallow (στέαρ), "so that we young men, warming the bow and anointing it with fat (ἀλοιφῇ) may make trial of it" (21.176–80). Admittedly a wooden stave *does* become more pliable if heated. But why the disconcerting melted tallow? It would make the weapon impermeable, but *that* hardly suits the occasion. Perhaps it was merely a medium for applying heat. In any event, the whole process is alien. Warming the bow does not belong to archery in our tradition. If the poem is to make sense, the self bow fails us.[5]

Warming the stave *is* however a recognized part of bow-care in some societies. For example, a manual on archery composed in 1368 for the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt by Ṭaybugha l-Ashrafi l-Baklamishi l-Yunani ('the Greek') provides directions for bracing: "Where one limb of a bow is weaker than the other, the stronger of the two should be heated over a gentle fire. If no fire is available, the archer should put his hand around it and briskly rub it up and down for a time until it gets warm." Nor is Ṭaybugha an isolated eccentric. The same advice was offered by the Turkish master bowman Muṣṭafa

[4] Shall we call this 'Grote's law'? See *History of Greece* I (New York 1881) 257.

[5] Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus* (1545: reprinted Wakefield 1968) 159, says that *in icy weather* wooden bows are to be warmed and rubbed, to prevent the inherent moisture from freezing. On the effect of temperature on wooden bow-weights see also T. Donelson, *Archery* 16 (October 1944) 18, and F. M. Thomas, *Archery* 17 (January 1945) 13–15 (not seen; both articles are summarised by F. Lake and H. Wright, *A Bibliography of Archery* [Manchester 1974] 98, 283).

Kani in 1847, and the English champion Ingo Simon in 1954.[6] They all refer not to the wooden bow but to the 'composite', laminated from wood, sinew, and horn—the weapon of the Near East for 3500 years.[7] Here, surely, is the answer.

Once we see the truth, welcome confirmations crowd in. (1) Like all composites Odysseus' bow includes horn (κέρας, 21.395). (2) Composites are invariably 'reflexed'; that is, the direction in which the arms point after stringing is the opposite to that which they assume when unstrung. Odysseus' bow is "bent back" (παλίντονος, 21.11, 59); it has to be "drawn back" to string (ἀνέλκω, 128, 150). (3) In ancient composites from Egypt the horn is sometimes devoured by insects—probably a species of carpet beetle.[8] When Odysseus sets hands on the bow he turns it "in all directions, testing it on this side and that, lest grubs (ἶπες) might be eating the horn" (394–95). (4) To string a composite wants a combination of strength and skill. The suitors fail but Odysseus, who has the knack, does it "effortlessly" (ἄτερ σπουδῆς, 409), without rising from his chair. (5) His weapon, like the Scythian composite, is kept in a bow-case (γωρυτός, 54). (6) Composites are particularly liable to damp, and Odysseus does not take his on the long sea-voyage to Troy (38–40). The inescapable conclusion, that the bow of Odysseus is composite, was drawn by Henry Balfour in a classic study which has won almost universal acceptance; it will suffice to refer to Lorimer 290–98.

Here and there the old fancy lingers on, that Odysseus' bow, like that of Pandarus (*Il.* 4.105–11), was made of two goat-horns fastened together at the grip. Such a weapon could never have been drawn. Homer has unwittingly passed on a factual detail gone awry: the bow which *contains* horn has become the bow *made* of horn. Those who champion this literal interpretation (most recently Delebecque, who even offers diagrams) have clearly never met a goat or tested its horn for flexibility.

Its Provenience. Odysseus' bow has a pedigree (21.13–41). The former owner was Eurytus of Oechalia, Apollo's rival (8.224–28) and, according to some, Heracles' tutor in archery (Theoc. *Id.* 24.108). Oechalia was variously located, but Homer sets it in Thessaly (*Il.* 2.730). Are we to conclude that Odysseus' bow is Greek and quite likely Thessalian? That cannot be. The composite was never at home in ancient Greece, and was hardly seen there until about 530 B.C.[9] Despite Homer's words the origin of Odysseus' weapon must be sought elsewhere.

Ancient vase-painters unthinkingly equip Odysseus with the double-curved Scythian bow, which is found for example on the well-known Attic red-figured skyphos by the Penelope painter. Again, Balfour casually illustrates his magisterial article with pictures

[6] J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson, *Saracen Archery* (London 1970) 94; Ṭaybugha was presumably "a Turkish slave imported from Greece and manumitted on conversion to Islam" (xxxvi); N. A. Faris and R. P. Elmer, *Arab Archery* (Princeton 1945) 158; P. E. Klopsteg, *Turkish Archery and the Composite Bow* (Evanston 1947) 89, 121–22; J. Hein, *Islam* 15 (1926) 56–57; I. Simon, *British Archer* 5 (1953–54) 45.

[7] See in the first place Henry Balfour, "On the Structure and Affinities of the Composite Bow," *JRAI* 19 (1889–90) 220–46.

[8] *Anthrenus* sp.; *AJA* 66 (1962) 18 n.39.

[9] Not the standard view; but see *Phoenix* 22 (1968) 180; *JSAA* 11 (1968) 30–31. On archers in classical Greece see *Greek Heritage* 1.3 (1964) 105–08; *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 2 n.2, 4 n.11; *HSCP* 71 (1966) 330.

of ancient Scythian bows. Inevitably more recent students, following these leads, have explicitly identified Odysseus' bow as Scythian.[10] This creates a problem, for "it cannot be shown that the Scythian bow was known in Greece before the sixth century."[11] Either the description or (a *reductio ad absurdum*) the whole poem must be that late!

The dilemma vanishes once we recollect that the composite bow evolved in the Eurasian heartland through a series of stages, each in turn being carried to the marginal regions.[12] Earlier than the Scythian variety is the 'angular' type portrayed in Egyptian, Hittite, and Assyrian art from 1600 to 600 B.C. Some forty actual specimens survive from ancient Egypt (see *TTS* 3 for references). Its presence in Homer would forestall the distressing anachronism. Our text offers a scintilla of encouragement. Odysseus' bow is once called ἀγκύλος (21.264) and twice καμπύλος (21.359, 362). Both adjectives usually mean 'curved', but they could equally well mean 'angular' (*cf.* ἀγκάλη, ἄγκοινα, ἀγκύλη, καμπή, καμπτήρ, κάμπτω), and the latter in fact does so on occasion. In early literature the plough, with its frame of crotches and forks, is several times called καμπύλ' ἄροτρα.[13] Again, Democritus says that the atoms which cause an acid savour are not round (περιφερής) but angular (γωνιοειδὴς καὶ καμπύλος).[14] Moreover, the central portion or handgrip of the bow is called πῆχυς (21.419), which elsewhere, we are told, can mean 'elbow'.[15]

Archaeology, then, with a possible assist from philology, suggests that Odysseus' bow was an angular composite, of a type best known from Imperial Egypt.[16]

The Arrows. Odysseus' arrows had a notch at the butt-end to receive the string (γλυφίδες, 21.419; or two intersecting notches, *CR* N.S. 14 [1964] 140–41). The head was of bronze (χαλκοβαρής, 423) and pointed (if that is the meaning of πικρός, 22.8). We may choose to imagine that the shaft was of reed (δόναξ, like that of Alexander, *Il.* 11.584) and fletched with feathers (πτερόεις, like that of Pandarus, *Il.* 4.117), but we are not told so. In short, the arrows were indistinguishable from those of the ancient Cretans (Plin. *HN* 16.65.161; *JSAA* 11 [1968] 30–31), Persians (Hdt. 7.61.1; *AJA* 64 [1960] 371 n.3), Egyptians (*TTS* 4.19–21), and doubtless many more.

A few years ago Anna Sacconi revived an old conjecture and surmised that the coffer (ὄγκιον, 21.61) held not axes—the usual view—but arrows.[17] They would then be barbed (ὄγκοι, *Il.* 4.151, 214). In Sacconi's judgment, Penelope's quiverful of arrows (21.59–60) will not suffice for the trial—the attendants must bring more in a box. A triumph, surely, of etymology over common sense. Homer says that a single shot will take the prize. An ὄγκιον need no more contain arrows than a λοφεῖον need contain

[10] *E.g.*, W. B. Stanford, *The Odyssey of Homer*² II (London 1962) 357.
[11] Raphael Sealey, *REG* 70 (1957) 341.
[12] F. E. Brown, *SemKond* 9 (1937) 3–9.
[13] *Hymn.Hom.Cer.* 308, Solon 13.48 West, *cf.* Hes. *Op.* 427.
[14] DK 68A129; J. B. McDiarmid, *AJP* 80 (1959) 60–61.
[15] Ludwig Doederlein, *Homerisches Glossarium* I (1850) 33–34; R. J. Cunliffe, *Lexicon of Homeric Dialect* (London 1924) *s.v.* I.a, citing *Il.* 21.166.
[16] *AJA* 62 (1958) 401, *HSCP* 71 (1966) 330.
[17] Sacconi 33–35, noted with apparent favour by Page² 135.

helmet-crests (Ar. *Nub.* 751), a γλωσσόκομον tongues (*Ev.Joh.* 12.6), or a pillbox pills. There is no reason to go beyond Homer's explicit statement, nor to imagine that the arrows were barbed.

How many arrows the quiver held we do not know. If we are guided by reality, they must be few enough that the vanes were protected from crushing or stripping. Thirty-five to forty is a conventional norm without being prescriptive.[18] Before joining battle, Odysseus poured them out at his feet (22.3–4), like the mediaeval English bowman.

The Axes. The second part of the test is described as "shooting through the axes, twelve in all" (21.76). What kind of axe does the poet have in mind? Of all the answers that have been given, only four are at once historically possible and logically intelligible (*Greek Heritage* 1.3 [1964] 105).

(1) Minoan double axes with the handles removed, the blades set in the ground, and the helving holes aligned. The insurmountable obstacle is the height, for the target will be bare inches above floor-level. Various palliatives have been devised, none with any conviction: a split-level megaron (Pocock), axes with their blades driven into posts,[19] monstrous specimens like the freak axes from Nirou Khani (Late Minoan I), four feet from edge to edge.[20]

(2) Double axes placed head downwards, handles vertical, with suspension-rings aligned at the proximal end. This interpretation finds a formidable champion in Sir Denys Page. As evidence he can cite only three bronze miniatures and a Boeotian potsherd, none of them earlier than the seventh century. They are all clearly votive offerings, but Page persists in calling them 'cult axes', a much broader term. A cult axe (whatever that may be) might conceivably be found in Odysseus' palace, but hardly a votive. Several years ago Brain and Skinner took up Page's suggestion and "proved" empirically that the shot was possible using rings four inches in diameter.[21] Four inches is a good size for a target, but preposterous for a ring at the end of an implement-handle. Despite Sir Denys's authority no one will take it that the words "through the axes" could bear the meaning "through the rings," in Greek any more than in English.

(3) Axes with perforated blades. Various candidates have been nominated, none better than the 'spectacles' axe, which has a semicircular blade pierced by two round holes. It was current in Late Bronze Age Syria, and many specimens (gold, silver, and electrum, as well as bronze) came from the Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos. The tomb at Vaphio in Laconia (Late Helladic IIA) yielded another, similar in shape but not

[18] Egyptian, *TTS* 4.17; Mycenaean, H. Schliemann, *Mycenae* (New York 1880) 271; Byzantine, Leo VI *Problemata* 12.7.
[19] Samuel Butler, *The Authoress of the Odyssey* (1897: reprinted Chicago 1967) 153–54; Bérard.
[20] Stanford. The first answer was usual in antiquity, and has been the most common in this century; see also Delebecque (single axes), and F. H. Stubbings in Wace and Stubbings, *Companion to Homer* (London 1962) 534–35.
[21] First proposed by Blinkenberg in 1904; more recently, Page; Brain and Skinner. Sir Denys tendentiously attempts to trace this solution back to Pope's translation (1726) and to the *Etymologicum Magnum*—both of which however refer simply to rings, and not rings-on-axes.

identical. This solution is open to fewer objections than the others.[22] There is however one decisive impediment, if the scene is to be at all realistic. The apertures, one inch in diameter or at most two, are too small. According to the greatest bow-hunter of the twentieth century, Howard Hill, "When an arrow leaves a bow, it doesn't travel in a perfectly straight position until it's about 60 or 70 feet away. For the first 40 to 60 feet before it straightens out, its feather end is swaying from side to side and needs plenty of room to pass through ... without touching ... I say a man needs a 15-inch diameter hole ... to shoot through for the first 50 feet. If he doesn't have it, he won't get an arrow through it one in six times."[23] In fact, this objection would seem to rule out *any* literal interpretation of Odysseus' prize-shot.

(4) Nevertheless, as Gabriel Germain noted in 1954, there *have* been archer-kings who shot through axes, or what looked like axes. In Egypt the pharaohs of the New Kingdom posed as sportsmen and regularly proclaimed their talents. One exploit, shooting at copper ingots, is ascribed to Tuthmosis III (reigned 1504–1450 B.C.), Amenophis II (1450–1425), Tuthmosis IV (1425–1417), Ay (1352–1348), and Ramesses II (1304–1237).[24] Amenophis II went so far as to boast: "There was not one ... who could draw his bow ... He entered into his northern garden and found that there had been set up for him four targets of Asiatic copper of one palm in their thickness, with twenty cubits between one post and its fellow ... He grasped his bow and gripped four arrows at the same time. So he rode northward, shooting at them ... His arrows had come out on the back thereof while he was attacking another post. It was really a deed which had never been done nor heard of by report: shooting at a target of copper an arrow which came out of it and dropped to the ground."[25] The target was the ox-hide-shaped ingot familiar in the Aegean basin, which looks not unlike the head of a double axe.[26]

We need hardly believe that pharaoh could pierce three inches of solid metal (*AJA* 66 [1962] 15; *TTS* 3.37). All we need note is the motif. In some way Homer (or his sources) met the story of the king whose bow no one could string, and who shot through a sequence of double axes. He possibly misunderstood it and certainly transmuted it. From other tales, or from his own sense of realism, he added incongruous details: the axes are not copper but iron (19.587, etc.; perhaps 'treasure' iron); they were set up δρυόχους ὥς (19.574), that is, "aligned by eye."[27] When Odysseus shot his arrow, οὐκ ἤμβροτε (= ἔτυχε) ... πρώτης στειλειῆς (21.421–22)—the helving hole of double axes, the ring-tipped handle of votives, or the thong-hole of perforated axe-heads? (Since Denys Page professes to find difficulties in the two genitives of these

[22] Perforated axes were first suggested by Caylus in 1781, and the 'spectacles' axe by Belger in 1890; more recently Fraser, Myres.

[23] Quoted in Lou Hochman, *The Complete Archery Book* (New York 1957) 44.

[24] References collected, *AJA* 66 (1962) 13–15; *TTS* 3.37; dates *exempli gratia* from *CAH* II³.

[25] Tr. John A. Wilson, in James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*³ (Princeton 1969) 244.

[26] Germain (*supra* n.2) 14 n.6. Independently proposed to me in 1960 by J. B. McDiarmid; *AJA* 66 (1962) 14 n.17; *Greek Heritage* 1.3 (1964) 105. Argued fully and cogently by Burkert. On ox-hide ingots see H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (Oxford 1964) 266–72.

[27] Stanford 4, Bérard 6, Pocock 349–50, Page 544–45.

lines, let us note that they are simply an example of 'corrective apposition', or 'the whole and the part', like *Il.* 15.76, 17.697, *Od.* 4.831, 5.344–45; see also Burkert 69 n.3.)

Where Were the Axes Set? Odysseus' palace, with its *megaron*, *prodomos*, and *aule*, reflects the Mycenaean house-plan.[28] We may now ask where the axes were set up for the contest. The easy first reaction is in the hall, and that has been the usual answer.[29] A few students have noted that the hall would be dark, smoky, and crowded—hardly ideal for shooting an arrow—and prefer the courtyard.[30] Stanford (3) offers what seems to be a decisive refutation, and we must look at his arguments. In the first place, he says, Monro's objections (on 21.120ff) must be answered: "The question is surely settled ... by the procedure described ... The Suitors were to try in turn, according to the order in which they sat ... Each was to go to the threshold, make his effort with the bow, and return to his seat. Moreover, it is while this is proceeding that Ulysses goes out and reveals himself to Eumaeus and the neat-herd, unseen by any of the company ... And when Antinous proposes to leave the axes standing till the next day, it is because no one will come to the μέγαρον and take them up (l. 262)." To clinch the matter, Stanford notes, the phrase ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν (19.573, *cf.* 21.4), which describes where the axes were erected, would "hardly be used ... as an exact synonym" for ἐν αὐλῇ.

It seems persuasive until we examine our text. The original intent, to be sure, was that each competitor should come forward to the threshold for his effort. Telemachus and Leodes actually make their attempts there (21.124, 149). After Leodes' failure the plan is changed, and a fire is kindled at the central hearth (181). Thereafter each suitor in turn warms the bow, even Eurymachus, the last of them (245–46). With attention focused on these activities, Odysseus could easily slip out unnoticed. So far as 262 is concerned, the phrase "into the hall of Odysseus" recurs at 18.24, *not* signifying "into the actual *megaron*," but as a synonym for "to the front door" (πρόθυρον, 18.10), "in front of the tall doors on the polished threshold" (18.32–33). And, despite Stanford's confident assertion, "in the halls" *is* used to mean "in the courtyard." It is where the suitors flay goats and singe swine (2.299–300), where Penelope keeps her geese (19.540, 552), where horses are stabled (21.30), and where the corpses are stacked after the carnage (24.187). There is, after all, no decisive obstacle to having the axes set up in the courtyard.

Conclusion. The picture of Odysseus as bowman seems to be a part of the tradition, not simply restricted to the *toxou thesis*. He travels far afield in quest of arrow-venom (1.260–62). He vaunts his skill to the Phaeacians (8.215–18). He carries a bow on Goat Island (9.156) and on Aeaea (10.261–62). He measures distances by the bowshot

[28] This need have no implications for date, since the type survived into Hellenistic times as the *prostas-oecus* house; see J. Walter Graham, *Phoenix* 20 (1966) 6.

[29] Fraser, Lorimer, Pocock, Stanford.

[30] First proposed by Scotland in 1887; more recently, Bérard, Delebecque, Myres, Stubbs; also N. C. Wyeth's illustration to accompany G. H. Palmer's translation (Cambridge [Mass.] 1929) at 276.

(12.83–84, 102), and compares Polyphemus' door-stone to the lid of an arrow-case (9.314). His idiosyncrasy even provides a name for his son: Telemachus, 'he who fights from afar'. Presumably this archer-hero predates the eclipse of the bow in Greece; that is, he goes back to Mycenaean times.[31]

His bow is composite and angular; his arrow is totally undifferentiated. Both might well be Egyptian in origin and Mycenaean in date, but there are other possibilities. The 'axes' are metal ingots of the late Bronze Age. The particular prize-shot is securely tied to Egypt of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, but it has been spliced (with slight incongruity) into an older folktale that evolved among the ancestors of the Indo-European-speaking peoples (Page 556–57). Common sense must decide whether the axes were set up in the courtyard or the hall, for the text does not tell us.

Our appreciation of Homer is not tied to archaeological relics. Yet the temptation is strong, without subscribing to the documentary fallacy, to try to visualize the material objects mentioned in the poems. If past experience is a reliable guide, we approach the truth not by a sudden leap but by a series of progressive approximations. May we venture to hope that these few musings in honour of Sterling Dow have brought us a step closer?[32]

VICTORIA COLLEGE, TORONTO

[31] J. A. K. Thomson, *Studies in the Odyssey* (Oxford 1914) 170–71.

[32] The writer is grateful to S. Dow (of course), R. E. Fantham, J. B. McDiarmid, and L. E. Woodbury for bibliographical references. He also wishes to thank J. J. Balatinecz (Faculty of Forestry, University of Toronto) and Ursula M. Franklin (Department of Metallurgy and Materials Science, University of Toronto), who discussed with him the effects of heating and greasing various materials; and June Hewitt, who deftly converted manuscript into print-out.

Comparative Economic Values in the *Iliad*: The Oxen-Worth

A. Lily Macrakis

THE QUESTION of comparative economic values in the *Iliad*[1] has not generally attracted the attention of scholars.[2] Nevertheless, the few data one can assemble are sufficient to suggest important conclusions about the trustworthiness of Homer as an historical source. In support of this contention we set out to assemble economic evidence from the *Iliad*, especially Book 23, accepting the material at face value and thus disregarding suspicions of possible interpolation.[3]

It has been evident to students of Homer and the Homeric period that the ox was used as *the* measure of value. Yet some scholars have mistakenly considered the ox as a medium of exchange; rather, it is used as the unit (or standard) of value with reference to which prices are indicated or values estimated,[4] very much like the 'numéraire' introduced into nineteenth-century economic theory by Walras.[5] Nevertheless, for purposes of accounting, the ox-unit can be replaced by the talent-unit in the estimation of values, since Ridgeway and others[6] have proved conclusively that the ratio of the value of an ox to that of a talent was one-to-one, *i.e.* that the Homeric talent was the equiv-

[1] This material was originally prepared as a paper for one of Professor Dow's seminars at Harvard University. I take this opportunity to publish it now in this volume honoring his eightieth birthday.

[2] A. M. Andreades gives a lengthy bibliography on Homeric economic life, *A History of Greek Public Finance* I (Cambridge [Mass.] 1933) 3–7. Also good bibliography in R. Cohen, *La Grèce et l'hellénisation du monde antique* (Paris 1948) 32–34.

[3] R. C. Jebb, *Homer, An Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey* (Glasgow 1887) 157–71, considers the Games as one of the 'Great Interpolations', while W. Leaf, *The Iliad* II 380–81, rejects only some passages.

[4] βοὸς ἄξιος (*Il.* 23.885), τεσσαράβοιος (23.705), ἐννεάβοιος (6.236), δυωδεκάβοιος (23.702), ἑκατόμβοιος (2.449, 6.236). In this connection it may be worth noting that Pliny (*HN* 33.3.6–7) was correct in assuming that the oxen were a measure of value while not precluding other interchanges in barter without specific reference to their oxen-worth. He reads in Homer (*Il.* 6.472) that goods were exchanged by barter (*permutabantur inter sese*) during the days of Troy: *coriis boum ... ferro captivisque*. But the Diomedes-Glaucus exchange of *Il.* 6.236 supports his assertion that *pecore aestimationes rerum ita fecit ut C boum arma aurea permutasse Glaucum diceret cum Diomedis armis VIIII boum* (= he reckoned the value of goods [in cattle]). It is a much-repeated example but not always correctly interpreted. For example, Adam Smith interprets the same passage as "The armour of Diomedes, cost only nine oxen; but that of Glaucus cost an hundred oxen," while in fact it was an exchange of armours estimated to cost the equivalent of 9 and 100 oxen respectively, as is discussed later in the present study: *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London 1937) 23. Also see M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*[2] (New York 1978) 67.

[5] L. Walras, *Éléments d'économie politique pure* (Lausanne 1874) 77 (tr. Jaffe, *Elements of Pure Economics* [London 1954]). Walras selected one commodity to serve as 'numéraire' while prices of all other commodities were expressed in relation to it.

[6] W. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* (Cambridge 1892) 133; C. F. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage Before the Persian Invasion* (Cambridge 1924). This opinion is not accepted by all scholars, but the text supports it (see *Il.* 23.750, where an ox is given as a second prize while half a talent is given as a third prize; *cf.* discussion *infra*).

alent of an ox. Incidentally, it must be stressed that the Homeric talent did not represent a monetary unit or a measure of value. The talent at the time was only an amount of gold weighing about 8–9 grams.[7] Having accepted then the unit 'ox-talent' we may now proceed with the enumeration of the prices given in Homer:

ARTICLE	PRICE IN OXEN (= talents)
Unused cauldron (*Il.* 23.885)	1
Skilled female slave (23.705)	4
Suit of bronze armor (6.236)	9
Large tripod (23.703)	12
Suit of golden armor (6.236)	100
Captive prince (21.79)	100
Golden tassels (2.449)	100

This list does not include the two passages where values are given as an assessment of an indemnity and recompense rather than as indications of prices. The first of these occurs in the celebrated scene on the shield of Akhilles (18.495–508) where the sum of two talents is to be given as compensation for a dikast or an indemnity for a murder.[8] The other (11.244–45) deals with the dowry given by Iphidamas at his marriage: 100 oxen and 1000 sheep and goats, for a total value of 200 talents, given that the ratio of the value of an ox to that of a sheep or goat was 10 to 1.

In reference to this list there are three questions requiring an answer: (a) are the values accurate or are they exaggerated; (b) are the prices fixed or not; and (c) if prices were variable, what factors determined their valuation? These questions may be partially answered after a closer examination of the text. It should be noticed that the values of four of the seven articles are stated with precision by the poet in both narrative and descriptive passages. This fact may be of some importance, as the narrator may be expected to be more objective than some hero who, boasting, overvalues his belongings. More specifically we may remark: (1) For the first object, the λέβητ' ἄπυρον (23.885), the price of a talent seems not unreasonable, since it is described neither as καλός nor as τέσσαρα μέτρα κεχανδότα as is a cauldron worth more than two talents.[9] (2) In the case of the celebrated exchange of arms between Glaukos and Diomedes, where—to the great surprise of the poet—Glaukos gives "gold value for bronze, a hundred oxen-worth for nine" (6.236), the prices are again given with exactitude. Here the ratio is not 100 to 10, a whole number, but 100 to 9, a very unusual ratio. Moreover, a number-system on the base of nine is not as common as one on ten or twelve.[10]

[7] Ridgeway (*supra* n.6) 117; also R. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age* (New York 1915) 289.

[8] For fuller details and bibliography on this much-discussed passage see G. Glotz, *La solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce* (Paris 1904) 115ff; A. Steinwenter, *Die Streitbeendigung durch Urteil, Schiedsspruch und Vergleich nach griechischem Recht* (MünchBeitr 8 [1925]) 34–38.

[9] The fourth prize of the chariot race was two golden talents (23.267–69). Therefore the value of the third prize could not have been less than that. For the differentiation of values see *infra*.

[10] An indication that the poet wants to give the precise ratio of gold to bronze is the arrangement and density of his verse to enable him to squeeze in his ἐννεαβοίων: χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων.

Does this not make the valuation of the bronze armor look all the more accurate? The passage has an additional interest because it has the poet reckoning value in oxen-worth and in metals, further differentiating quality (gold *vs* bronze) and quantity (100 : 9). (3) Our last articles priced by the poet are the one hundred tassels on the aegis of Athena (2.449). To judge from a similar specimen found in Mycenae,[11] the whole description of the aegis as well as of the tassels is quite accurate. The one hundred tassels of the aegis are "by no means an excessive number."[12]

While we have found no reason to believe that the poet exaggerates or falsifies the 'value' of these objects, it is hard to speak with the same assurance about the three remaining examples:

(1) The great tripod set by Akhilles as first prize in the wrestling contest (23.702–03) is not directly valued by the poet but only roughly reckoned by the Akhaioi. The phrase δυωδεκάβοιον ἐνὶ σφίσι τῖον Ἀχαιοί should be cause for caution to those who wish to posit fixity of prices. Yet we cannot preclude the possibility that a tripod could be highly ornamented and more elaborate than a standard tripod, and therefore more costly.

(2) This skepticism is justified in view of the subsequent lines of the text, where the value of a skilled female slave is given (704–05). Here again the Akhaians rate her at just four oxen: τίον δέ ἑ τεσσαράβοιον. Both passages are equally vague, implying a rather casual estimate. The case of the slave's price is further complicated by the mention of a much higher price for the purchase of Euryklea, the slave of Laertes (*Od.* 1.430–31). In both instances the women are skilled. Was it the probable difference in age and beauty that played a part in this divergence of prices? Were slaves cheaper in the plain of Troy? This, however, is the only reference to such a low price. Perhaps we must recognize that in fact the prices of female slaves were quite variable and depended on different circumstances or even on considerations of supply and demand.

Two other references to women slaves in the *Iliad* certainly indicate, however, that a higher value was normal. At 8.290–91 Agamemnon promises Teukros a tripod *or* two horses and a chariot *or* a woman. The context suggests that these are equivalent alternatives. If we suppose, for the moment, that the woman was valued at four talents, then we are left with the conclusion that two horses together with a chariot could cost the same. If this were the case, each horse would have been valued at less than two talents , and a mare, the second prize in the chariot races (23.265), would be worth less than the fourth prize of that same race (23.269)—two talents! Moreover, the mare paid as θωή in place of military service (23.297) would not have been called an "onerous price" (13.669) had it represented the value of only two oxen. There is also the evidence of 23.703, where a tripod is valued at twelve talents. In short, the woman promised to Teukros could not have been valued at less than ten to twelve talents, whether compared with the tripod or the two horses and chariot. In the second reference to a slave (22.164), a tripod and a woman are once more mentioned as alternative prizes given during funeral games, and both are considered μέγα ἄεθλον.

[11] H. Schliemann, *Mycenae* (New York 1880) 304 fig. 461. W. Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert* (Leipzig 1887) 207–09.

[12] Leaf (*supra* n.3) 181.

Must we then suppose that the value of a slave was usually related to the choices and preferences of the purchaser and accept that it is risky to determine a mean value, especially when this mean value has to be taken over quite disparate numbers? Probably so. Yet despite this ambiguity about the value of slaves, enough data remain to allow further investigation.

(3) Our last example of a relative value occurs in a dialogue between Lykaon and Akhilles (21.79–80): Lykaon reveals that he had been taken captive and sold as a slave by Akhilles for the equivalent of one *ἑκατόμβοιον*. Then he adds that his ransom would be three times as much: *νῦν δὲ λύμην τρὶς τόσσα πορών*. Was that the fixed price for the purchase of a prince? Surely there can have been no 'fixed' price for princes—logic is against it. Would not Agamemnon have been more costly than Menelaos? In any case, this is only a relative value, since it does not really represent one hundred oxen or their equivalent in talents, but a silver mixing bowl (23.741) perhaps guessed at one hundred oxen-worth by Lykaon.

Summarizing our remarks we may conclude that in general (a) the numbers given by Homer in his valuation of goods and human beings are quite convincing; (b) the text does not contain exaggerations or contradictions regarding the prices; and (c) the prices may have been on the whole fixed but could have varied according to supply and demand for some of the goods (*cf.* the high price of wine in 7.473–75). This is all that can be stated with confidence regarding the relevant passages in the *Iliad*.

With some caution we may, nevertheless, proceed a bit further and make some conjectures based on combinations. There are two instances in book 23 (750–51, 855–58) where it seems each lower prize is half the value of the higher one. For example, ten axes were given for placing first in archery but ten half-axes for second.[13] Again, one ox (= 1 talent) is given to the runner-up in the foot-race while half a talent is given to the one placing third. If we make the assumption that this differentiation of values holds for all prizes, one can extrapolate a second list of probable values for the five prizes given in the chariot race (23.262–70). We take our cue from the value of the fourth-place prize (269), two talents of gold (at 8–9 grams per talent):

PRIZE		PROBABLE VALUES (in talents)
1st:	skilled woman and 1 tripod (22 measures)	16 (?)
2nd:	mare *κυέουσα*	8 (?)
3rd:	1 unfired cauldron (4 measures)	4 (?)
4th:	2 talents worth of gold	2
5th:	1 unfired jar	1 (?)

The conjectured values of the objects in this list accord reasonably well with the tendency of those in our first list. Admittedly the list reveals a few more prices, such as

[13] Generally one axe is equal to one talent. For axes used as currency, Seltman (*supra* n.6) 14 and 112; M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenean Religion*[2] (Lund 1950) 219ff.

those of a mare, a jar, a cauldron; if accepted as accurate, these prices could be used to estimate the value of the gifts promised by Agamemnon to Akhilles (9.263ff). But this would carry a simple hypothesis too far. Yet, to reach some positive conclusions regarding the relative values in the *Iliad*, it becomes both inevitable and necessary to form some conjectures by comparing the various passages that contain explicit or implied values. For the study of comparative values is constrained by a number of factors. Archaeological excavations have not as yet brought to light any tablets providing a catalogue of objects with their talents or oxen-worth, and later literary references are vague (*e.g.* in Hesiod). Since these limitations are unlikely to be overcome for the present, it seems wiser to base our conclusions on the text alone. It is of considerable importance that the *Iliad* does not contain any serious contradictions in the matter of our inquiry.

After a close examination of the data given by Homer, it is legitimate to conclude that not only is he consistent throughout the epic (thus providing one more argument against the separatists!), but in addition he provides reasonable and conservative figures in his estimate of the value of different objects. It is this conservatism that encourages confidence in the general worth of his testimony about economic values.

REGIS COLLEGE

Religion and the Plague in Athens, 431–423 B.C.

Jon D. Mikalson

THE GREAT PLAGUE which killed and maimed so many Athenians broke out in early summer of 430 and continued in full force for two years, until the summer of 428. After a brief and partial remission (διοκωχή) it resumed in early winter 427 and raged until the winter of 426. It held Athens in its grip for almost five full years (Thuc. 2.47, 3.87). Not less than 4400 hoplites, 300 cavalrymen, and an indeterminable number of others perished (3.87). Plutarch in his life of Perikles (36) allows us a glimpse of the severity of losses in this "indeterminable number." Perikles, we are told, lost to the plague not only his sister and his two sons but also most of his relatives and friends, all before his own death from the same cause in autumn 429. Nothing, according to Thucydides (3.87), brought more harm to the δύναμις of the Athenians. Thucydides (6.26.2) and apparently others (6.12.1) thought Athens did not fully recover from it until *ca* 415.

The nature of the disease has been extensively studied,[1] but, to borrow a phrase often heard from Sterling Dow, "there is still work to be done" on Thucydides' description of the effects of the plague on the social and religious life of the Athenians. I wish first to offer some comments on the religious elements of Thucydides' description and secondly to present, in annalistic form, what Dow might consider 'hard evidence' to confirm, modify, or expand Thucydides' account.

After an extensive description of the physical symptoms of the plague (2.47–50) Thucydides details how the abundance of corpses led to disregard of traditional burial practices. This was, of course, ἀνομία, and in 2.53 he proposes to discuss the beginning of ἀνομία in other areas (πρῶτόν τε ἦρξε καὶ ἐς τἆλλα τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλέον ἀνομίας τὸ νόσημα). Here he treats, quite separately, breakdowns of a moral, religious, and legal character. The moral breakdown was apparent in more open striving for immediate hedonistic satisfaction, in the lack of desire to persevere in τὸ δόξαν καλόν, and in a perversion of moral terminology. Thucydides then introduces together the religious and legal breakdowns—"no fear of gods or law of men was deterring them"—but in a μέν ... δέ construction he treats each separately: men decided (μέν) that being pious or impious made no difference because they saw that all perished equally, and (δέ) everyone expected to die before he paid legal penalties for his crimes. The distinction between the moral, legal, and religious elements should be noted because, in the popular

[1] The three leading candidates for the epidemic are measles, typhus, and smallpox. See D. Page, *CQ* N.S. 3 (1953) 97–119; W. MacArthur, *CQ* N.S. 4 (1954) 171–74; A. Parry, *BICS* 16 (1969) 106–18; and R. and M. Littman, *TAPA* 100 (1969) 261–75.

religion of the period, much of morality and ethics lay outside of religious sanctions. Hedonistic satisfaction, abandoning τὸ καλόν, and escaping legal punishments for most crimes were no concern of religion at the popular level, nor does Thucydides treat them as though they were.[2]

If we are to trust Thucydides' account, the plague struck directly at the core of fundamental popular religious beliefs concerning care of the dead, cult, and piety. The most gripping sections of his narrative describe how relatives, overwhelmed by the evil, grew weary of (and presumably discontinued) lamentations for the dead. Corpses lay strewn about the sanctuaries,[3] and desperate mourners preempted others' funeral pyres or simply dumped their dead on already burning pyres. In classical Greek society funerals and the continuing cult of the dead, the so-called 'traditional rites', were fundamental to maintaining the sense of continuity of the family,[4] and Thucydides no doubt chose to emphasize the nearly total disruption of these practices because it best reflects the depth of the breakdown of the social fabric and of religious practices. Proper care of the dead, both in the funeral and in the periodic offerings at the tomb, was one of the major areas in which, in popular belief, piety and impiety were involved.[5]

In cult the severest blow must have been that the established gods apparently did not heed their devotees' prayers. "All the supplications at the sanctuaries and all inquiries at the oracles and such things were of no help, and finally the people gave them up, overcome by the evil" (2.47.4). In the grip of a plague the usual procedure, no doubt from well before Homer's time down to the end of paganism, was to employ divination and, following the instructions received, to supplicate the appropriate god.[6] But for the Athenians the procedure did not work,[7] and the duration much more than the intensity of the plague caused them to despair of any help from their gods.[8] They learned, after

[2] See my *Athenian Popular Religion*, forthcoming from the University of North Carolina Press.

[3] Thucydides adds, with emphasis, that these dead had died in the sanctuaries (αὐτοῦ ἀποθνησκόντων). He thus makes explicit that two separate but closely related religious taboos were violated: people died in the sanctuaries and corpses were left there. *Cf.* 1.126.11–12, 1.134.3, and 3.81.5 and 104. On these taboos see L. Moulinier, *Le Pur et l'impur dans la pensée des Grecs* (Paris 1952) 205–12.

[4] Though not, of course, in the manner argued by Fustel de Coulanges in *The Ancient City*. See S. C. Humphreys, *JHS* 100 (1980) 96–126.

[5] See my study (*supra* n.2).

[6] The familiar example is *Iliad* 1.43–474. The many plague-occasioned requests in Delphic literature suggest how common the procedure was. See J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley 1978) oracles no. Q1, 3, 65, 72, 79, 82, 84, 94, 107, 126, 133, 161, 164, 174, 190, 200, 229, and L19, 35, 42, 44, 45, 64, 72, 88, 92, 98, 126, 133, 134, 140, 145, 157, 159, and 173.

[7] The residents of Cleonai fared better. Suffering from the same plague they inquired at Delphi and were told to sacrifice a goat to the rising sun. They did this, found relief, and dedicated a bronze goat to Apollo at Delphi (Paus. 10.11.15). The Athenians of the second century A.D. apparently thought that Apollo had similarly helped their ancestors during the plague, for they associated Calamis' statue of Apollo Alexikakos with the event (Paus. 1.3.4). Calamis, however, sculpted in the first half of the fifth century (P. Orlandini in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica* 4 [Rome 1961] 291–94, *cf.* B. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* [Princeton 1970] 87), and thus Pausanias' account falls under grave suspicion (H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* II [Oxford 1956] 55).

[8] One should avoid the widespread tendency to 'date' the plague to 430/429. It was, I think, primarily the duration of the plague which caused the social upheavals, and this can be understood only if we make explicit that the plague lasted from very late 431/0 until mid 426/5.

some years of bitter and highly personal experience, that their gods would not or could not help. They simply 'gave up' on the gods. To judge from Thucydides, their society as a whole reached a depth of religious despair unparalleled in the records of ancient Greek civilization.

And, finally, "no fear of gods was restraining men because, when they saw all men perishing equally, they decided that being pious or not all came to the same" (2.53). The plague thus affected not only traditional burial practices or trust in certain gods, but, according to Thucydides, shook what must be the foundation of any religious system, the acknowledged desirability of living a pious life.

Some evidence, though not abundant, indicates that the situation in Athens during the whole five years of the plague was not as desperate as Thucydides' description might incline us to imagine. The state continued to make dedications to the gods after military victories and there is no indication that major festivals were suspended. In some of these years the City Dionysia and the Lenaia were certainly celebrated. The evidence for this, together with that of the dedications, will be presented *infra* in an annalistic account of the plague years.

Thucydides makes the neglect of the dead and the abandonment of proper funeral rites the centerpiece of his description, and here we have some evidence that such neglect was not the case for all classes all the time. The several funerals which Perikles attended in the early years of the plague (Plut. *Per.* 36) were all evidently held in the traditional manner. Prominent tombs were erected for Perikles (died 429) and Phormio (died *ca* 428) (Paus. 1.29.3). The state was able, in the winter of 430/429, to provide a tomb for Melesandros, the commander of the unsuccessful expedition against Lycia (Thuc. 2.69, Paus. 1.29.7–8). But this is, interestingly, the last tomb of the war-dead of which we have a record until 424/3. These dedications, festivals, and traditional funerals should make us wary of assuming that the appalling conditions described by Thucydides prevailed throughout all the plague years. Thucydides may well have chosen to focus his description on the very worst weeks or months of the five years of suffering.

What follows is a commentary, year-by-year, on what evidence we have for religious acts and attitudes for the years during the plague and immediately following. I have included only evidence which can be precisely dated because I am interested chiefly in the states and changes of religious feeling during the seven-year period, and evidence of uncertain date (*e.g.* Euripides' *Andromache*, commonly dated 424 ± 6 years)[9] contributes little. Similarly, evidence which scholars only assume to reflect the plague and its aftermath must be excluded. Two prime examples are Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannos*, which most date to the plague years because of the description of the pestilence in Thebes,[10] and the decree of Diopeithes, which Gomme[11] would date in 430 (two years later than the accepted date) in large part because, he claims, it reflects

[9] See the discussion of D. L. Page in *Greek Poetry and Life* (Oxford 1936) 223–29.

[10] See on the date B. Knox, *AJP* 77 (1956) 133–47, who argues for 425, and Rick M. Newton, *GRBS* 21 (1980) 5–22, who argues for 429.

[11] A. W. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides* II (Oxford 1956) 187.

"superstitions excited by the terrors of the pestilence." To include such evidence here would prejudge the situation and result in circular arguments.

430/429

The plague broke out in the early summer of 430, and its initial attack must have been very virulent,[12] because within a few months, *i.e.* mid to late summer of 430, it had become one of the major issues in the attack on and successful prosecution of Perikles (Thuc. 2.59–65, Plut. *Per.* 34.3, Diod. 12.45.4). Thucydides has Perikles show full awareness of the sufferings of the populace (ταῖς κατ' οἶκον κακοπραγίαις ἐκπεπληγμένοι, 2.60.4; τοῖς παροῦσι πόνοις βαρυνόμενοι, 2.64.6), and the plague's effect on moral character: "What happens suddenly and unexpectedly and contrary to all reason enslaves (δουλοῖ) the mind, and this has happened to you, especially because of the plague" (2.61.3). It was a convention of Athenian popular religion that disease, death, and most other things considered bad were attributed not to a specific deity but to a nameless, formless, and cultless δαίμων.[13] Perikles follows precisely this convention in his famous exhortation to his fellow citizens: φέρειν δὲ χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως (2.64.2).

It would hardly seem a coincidence that after the outbreak of the plague the first Athenian target in the Peloponnese was Epidauros, the site of Asclepius' major sanctuary. The Athenians hoped to take it (Thuc. 2.56.4) but were unsuccessful. There were no doubt significant military and political objectives as well,[14] but access to or control of the leading healing deity of the period must have been in the Athenians' minds. Similarly the memory of the plague was no doubt one reason why the Athenians, at their first opportunity, imported Asclepius' cult from Epidauros to Athens (*IG* II² 4960) in 420.

429/8

In this year the Athenians, after Phormio's stunning victory in the Corinthian Gulf, erected a trophy and dedicated a ship to Poseidon at Rhion (Thuc. 2.84.4). Part of this was surely the sacrifice to Theseus and Poseidon at Rhion recorded by Pausanias (10.11.6). In celebration of the same victories the Athenians dedicated at Delphi, in their already existing stoa,[15] captured figure-heads of ships and bronze shields. These the Athenians sent as first-fruit offerings from their sea-battles with the Eleans, Lacedaimonians, Sicyonians, Megarians, Pellenians of Achaea, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Corinthians. This same year, presumably in spring 428,[16] nearly two years after the plague first broke out, Euripides produced *Hippolytus* and won first prize (*Hipp.* hypoth. II). *Hippolytus* and its success may reflect a despair among the Athenians that their gods would ever heed prayers for relief: whatever we make of Hippolytus and Phaedra, the deities Artemis and Aphrodite are represented as remarkably and—to judge by other Greek literature—unusually unresponsive to human miseries and prayers.

[12] Nearly one-quarter of all hoplite losses to the plague occurred among Hagnon's troops during the forty days they besieged Poteideia late this summer (Thuc. 2.58.2–3).

[13] See my *Athenian Popular Religion* (*supra* n.2).

[14] See Gomme (*supra* n.11) 163.

[15] Pausanias is apparently confused on the date of this stoa (10.11.6). See J. G. Frazier, *Pausanias' Description of Greece* (London 1898) *ad loc.* and Meiggs/Lewis 25.

[16] In early Elaphebolion if for the City Dionysia.

428/7–427/6

The effects of the plague were again strongly felt in Athens in the early summer of 428. Thucydides (3.3.1) stresses that the Athenians were suffering from it at this time, and the Mytilenians, in urging the Lacedaimonians to help them in their revolt, went so far as to claim that the Athenians had been virtually destroyed by the plague and by their expenditures for the war (νόσῳ τε γὰρ ἐφθάραται Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ χρημάτων δαπάνῃ, 3.13.3). The Mytilenians were, of course, sorely mistaken, and, to their misfortune, the remission of the plague began that very summer.

In response to the revolt the Athenians initially planned to attack the Mytilenians while they were outside the city celebrating a *heorte* of Apollo Maloeis. On the face of it the plan appears sacrilegious, but neither Thucydides nor the Mytilenians make any such complaint. But, needless to say, Apollo of Delos or of Delphi would hardly have condoned any such attack on worshippers at an Apolline *heorte*. The following summer (427) Mytilene surrendered, and presumably to this time dates the spear butt which the Athenians dedicated to the Dioscuroi as spoils "from the Lesbians" (*Hesperia* 47 [1978] 192–95). Significant parcels (and hence revenues) from the newly acquired lands on Lesbos were set aside τοῖς θεοῖς (3.50.2).[17] These successes and the resultant religious dedications occurred during the remission of the plague. Early in the winter of 427/6 the pestilence returned in full force.

426/5

The plague ended, finally, in the winter of 426/5. Aristophanes' *Acharnians* was produced at the Lenaia this same winter, and it is noteworthy that nowhere amidst the catalogue of ills caused by the continuing war is the plague mentioned. During this winter the Athenians undertook, κατὰ χρησμόν δή τινα (Thuc. 3.104.1), the purification of Delos by removing all tombs from the island and by forbidding death and childbirth there. The Athenians also reinstituted the Delia as a major international festival for the Ionian peoples. Diodorus (12.58.6–7), unlike Thucydides, associates the purification of Delos directly with attempts to end the plague: οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς νόσου τὰς αἰτίας τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀνέπεμπον. διὸ καὶ κατά τινα χρησμὸν ἐκάθαραν τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον ... Thucydides also mentions "some oracle," but does not give the occasion for requesting it. Diodorus' account is not improbable in itself, but seems less likely in view of Thucydides' express statement that Athenians found oracles useless in combatting the plague (2.47.4). If an oracle had bidden the Athenians to end the plague by purifying Delos, and if, as is clear, the plague ended the

[17] It may have been a similar 'sacred' parcel of land which the Athenians, at approximately this time, made arrangements to have protected in the region of Colophon: *IG* I² 59, I³ 65.

same winter they completed the purification, Thucydides could hardly claim that oracles were of no help against the plague. The source of the oracle could not have been Delos, which had no oracle. Delphi, of which one usually thinks in such a context, is unlikely because many Athenians, at least at the beginning of the plague, strongly suspected that Pythian Apollo was supporting the Lacedaimonians (Thuc. 2.54.4). It is also improbable that the Athenians were asking or thought they were receiving help from Apollo when in 428 they formulated the plan to attack his devotees in a *heorte*. In his claim that the Athenians purified Delos in an attempt to end the plague Diodorus either had a source independent of Thucydides (perhaps Ephorus) or he is arguing *post hoc igitur propter hoc*.[18] The correct explanation may rather be that the Athenians purified Delos, re-established the Delia, and eventually built a temple of Apollo there (425/4) all in an attempt to make the Apollo cult which they controlled into a worthy rival, on the international level, to the pro-Lacedaimonian Delphic cult.[19]

The purification of Delos and the reinstitution of the Delia are just two indications of increased Athenian interest in religious matters. In the same winter (426/5) Demosthenes, after the battle of Idomenai, dedicated 300 panoplies "in the Attic sanctuaries" (Thuc. 3.114.1). The state also erected, to celebrate a string of recent victories, a statue of Athena Nike and two golden Nikai.[20]

425/4

In the early spring of 425 the Athenians began their expedition against Pylos and in early August concluded it with the brilliant capture of 292 Spartans on Sphacteria.[21] The Athenians dedicated the captured shields, and Pausanias, centuries later, saw them in the Stoa Poikile.[22] According to Pausanias (4.36.6) the Athenians also erected a bronze Nike on the Acropolis εἰς μνήμην τῶν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ. This Nike and those dedicated in 426/5 are supporting indications of intense interest in the Athena Nike cult. Construction of the Athena Nike temple may have begun this very year,[23] and in the parabasis of the *Knights*, which was produced in the Lenaia (Jan./Feb.) in 424 (*cf.* hypoth. I), Aristophanes expresses what was no doubt the popular sentiment towards Athena and her attendant Nike (581–90):

[18] The same reasoning that led Gomme (*supra* n.11) 414 to claim that the purification of Delos was "presumably thanksgiving for the cessation of the pestilence."

[19] *Cf.* F. Schachermeyr, *Religionspolitik und Religiosität bei Perikles* (Wien 1968) 21–22. For a different interpretation, cautiously expressed, see G. Daux in *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson* (*HSCP* Suppl. 1 [1940]) 46–48.

[20] *IG* I² 368, 369 (I³ 468, 469); *IG* II² 403. On the later history of these and the other golden Nikai, many of which were melted down to provide funds in 407/6, see P. Foucart, *BCH* 12 (1888) 283–93; H. Thompson in *Athenian Studies* (*supra* n.19) 199–210; and F. Jacoby on *FGrHist* 323aF26 and 328F141.

[21] On the chronology see Gomme (*supra* n.11) III 487–88.

[22] 1.15.4. One of these captured shields, inscribed Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμ[ον]ίων ἐκ [Πύ]λο, has been discovered in the Agora (*Hesperia* 6 [1937] 346–48).

[23] Many scholars (see Meiggs/Lewis 44) think the Athena Nike temple had been planned since *ca* 450, but there are some reasons (see *e.g.* A. L. Boegehold in *Classical Studies Presented to B. E. Perry* [Urbana 1969] 175–80 and H. B. Mattingly, *Historia* 10 [1961] 169–71) to date the planning much closer to the construction.

Ὦ πολιοῦχε Παλλάς, ὦ
τῆς ἱερωτάτης ἁπα-
σῶν πολέμῳ τε καὶ ποιη-
ταῖς δυνάμει θ' ὑπερφερού-
σης μεδέουσα χώρας,
δεῦρ' ἀφικοῦ λαβοῦσα τὴν
ἐν στρατιαῖς τε καὶ μάχαις
ἡμετέραν ξυνεργὸν
Νίκην, ἣ χορικῶν ἐστιν ἑταίρα
τοῖς τ' ἐχθροῖσι μεθ' ἡμῶν στασιάζει.

This heartfelt invocation of Athena and Nike may be the first indication in literature which we can confidently associate with the revival of religious feeling after the plague years.

The beginning of construction of the Athena Nike temple also heralds an outburst of state construction or rebuilding of sacred structures. The *temenos* wall of Poseidon's sanctuary at Sounion, the temple of Apollo Delios at Delos, and the improvement and remodeling of the theaters of Dionysos in Athens and at Thorikos were all undertaken this year or shortly thereafter.[24] This ambitious building and remodeling of sanctuaries must be viewed, to some degree, as a reaffirmation of dedication to the traditional cults and deities. The building program begun in this year continued vigorously, and by 421 or shortly afterwards it included such major projects as the Rheitoi bridge, the Erechtheum, the Asklepieion, the stoa complex of the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, the propylon and stoa at Poseidon's sanctuary at Sounion, and the completion of the Hephaistion.[25]

This extensive building program, begun in 425, must be regarded as a commitment by the state, *i.e.* by the people whose will was expressed through the *ekklesia* in these matters, to raise to new levels of grandeur the traditional cult sites. The religious despair of the plague was past, and, interestingly, it seems to have resulted in all the greater devotion to major state cults in the years immediately following.

A similar response to the horrors of the plague may be seen in the reestablishment of one old and abandoned tradition. Sumptuary laws had forbidden the erection of sculptured gravestones since *ca* 510–480, but such gravestones first reappear in Athens, we are told, "about the time of the beginning of the Peloponnesian War."[26] The dating

[24] Sounion: R. L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1941) 177. Delos: W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (New York 1950) 183–84, and I. M. Shear, *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 407. Theater of Dionysos: Dinsmoor in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* I (St Louis 1951) 314–30, and M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*² (Princeton 1961) 60. Theater at Thorikos: T. Hackens, *Thorikos* III (Brussels 1965) 74–96. For discussion and additional bibliography on these and other buildings mentioned see J. S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.* (Groningen 1970).

[25] Rheitoi bridge: *IG* I² 81 (I³ 79). Erechtheum: G. P. Stevens and J. M. Paton, *The Erechtheum* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1927) 452–56, and Dinsmoor, *Architecture* (*supra* n.24) 188. Asklepieion: *IG* II² 4960. Brauron: G. Daux, *BCH* 83 (1959) 596. Hephaistion: Ch. H. Morgan, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 221–35 and 32 (1963) 91–108.

[26] For discussion and bibliography of these gravestones see Humphreys (*supra* n.4) 112–21.

of these new gravestones is based on artistic style and there is no internal evidence to give precise dates. I suspect that the desire for greater elaboration of gravesites arose, in part, from the unavoidable but heart-rending neglect of the dead during the worst times of the plague. If so, this may have been the same type of compensatory reaction which led the Athenians to rebuild and remodel their sanctuaries. This would all indicate that the earliest of these sculptured gravestones should be dated to *ca* 425/4 B.C.

424/3

Events and literature of this year suggest that, despite renewed interest in the traditional cults and care of the dead, the despair and loss of faith during the plague may have significantly affected Athenian religious attitudes. The Athenians' occupation, destruction, and desecration of Apollo's sanctuary of Delion in winter 424/3 (Thuc. 4.89–101) recall their willingness to attack the Mytilenians at a *heorte* of Apollo Maloeis in the summer of 428. It contrasts sharply with their apparent devotion in purifying the island of Delos (from which Delion received its name) and the reinstitution of the Delia in 426/5. This flagrant disregard of the Apollo cult suggests that either the Athenians had a very short memory or else they did *not* credit Apollo with assistance in ending the pestilence in the winter of 426/5. The Boiotians surely attributed their eventual success over the Athenians at Delion in part to the god's defense of his own sanctuary (*cf.* Thuc. 4.92.7) and therefore used the spoils of victory to adorn temples and, appropriately, to establish a *panegyris*, the Delia, in honor of Apollo (Diod. 12.70.5).

Gomme claims that Thucydides introduced the speeches and lengthy narrative of the incident at Delion because he believed "that the Boiotians' refusal to allow the Athenians to collect their dead was another evil resulting from war . . . , an abandonment of one of the recognized, and humane, usages of Greece."[27] Much the same might be said of the Athenian desecration of the sanctuary and of the specious, sophistic arguments by which they defended their action. In this affair the Athenians had shown a total and calculated disregard of Greek religious conventions.[28]

It is in this context that, some four months later, in the City Dionysia of 423 (*Nub.* hypoth. II), Aristophanes produced the first (now lost) version of the *Clouds*. This is not the place to review in detail what we know of the play from its second, surviving version, but to note that there pervades the play an antithesis between new, sophistic argumentation and conventional religious and moral beliefs. It is just this antithesis that Thucydides (4.98) brings to the fore when the Athenians attempt to justify their sacrilegious acts at Delion. In the *Clouds* the Aristophanic Socrates assumes a superiority over the traditional gods with much the same logic that the Athenians reveal in the sophistic and almost hybristic arguments by which they defend their desecration of Apollo's sanctuary.

[27] Gomme (*supra* n.11) III 571.
[28] Contrast the Persian Datis' famed piety towards Delion in 490 (Hdt. 6.118, Paus. 10.28.6).

And, finally, the nearly 1000 Athenians who fell at Delion received a public tomb (Paus. 1.29.13). This is the first state burial of which we have record since that of Melesandros in 430/429.[29]

Scholars tend to view Athenian religion as being influenced primarily by intellectual and literary movements. If we are to believe Thucydides, however, the plague and its aftermath, more than the circulation of any writings or the voicing of any theory, must have deeply affected the religious beliefs of the greatest number of Athenians. We have no reason to doubt the accuracy of Thucydides' description of the plague's effects on religion. Our only qualification would be that his description most likely concerns only the worst weeks or months of the plague (probably the late summer of 430). The situation, apparently, was not as bad for the whole five years as Thucydides might lead us to think.

Apart from occasional state victory dedications, there does seem to be a dearth of religious activity in Athens in the years 430/429 to 426/5. Immediately after this there is not only a renewal but a new high level of interest in such projects as the purification of Delos, the enhancement of the Athena Nike cult, the remodeling and rebuilding of numerous sanctuaries, and the revival of elaborate, sculptured gravestones. This is more than a simple illustration of the famed Athenian resiliency in the face of misfortune (Thuc. 1.70ff). It was no doubt in part a result of the recent military success in Pylos and of increased monies available from the tribute paid by allied states. But, following as it does directly on five years of plague and religious despair, this revival may also be viewed as an assertion of rededication to state cults and to the care of the dead. The new religious feeling in Athens was highly nationalistic and self-centered—even more so, I suspect, than was usual in Greek city-states. It was also, so soon after the plague, remarkably self-assured.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

[29] We would expect to hear more of state burials during the years 430/429 to 424/3 because Thucydides (2.34.7) says that public funerals for the dead, like that at which Perikles spoke, were held "through all the war."

The *Peplotheke*: What Was It?

Blaise Nagy

THE INSCRIPTION. Except as a tool in refining the chronology of fourth-century Athens, *IG* II² 1462 has gone largely unnoticed.[1]. Included among the *Traditiones Quaestorum Minervae et Reliquorum Deorum*, the inscription had been published by Koehler as *IG* II 715. Kirchner's *editio minor* does not advance the readings, and no subsequent editions have appeared.

The stone, damaged on all sides, was discovered on the Acropolis—the exact provenance is not recorded—and is now EM 7886. Letters are visible in 28 lines and are arranged in *stoichedon* fashion (40). Kirchner's text follows:

[. . . .]10[. . . .]ντη[---]
[. . . .]10[. . . .]οντο[---]
[. . . .]9[. . . .]εων χα[---]
[. . . .]9[. . . .]χαλκο[---]
[. . . .]9[. . . .]ον κεφ[αλ---]
[. . . .]9[. . . .] καὶ πο[---]
[. . . ἀριστ]ερὰ χεί[ρ ---]
[. . . .]8[. . . .]μη μικρά[---]
[. . . . . ο]ὐκ ἔχων οὐ[δέ ---]
[. . . . . λ]εβήτιον ο[---]
[. . . ὠμο]βόϊνα παντ[οδαπά---]
[. . . . .]της πεπλοθ[ήκη ---]
[. . . .θ]ήκην χαλινο[---]
[. . . . .]ἥλοι καὶ σιδ[ηρ---]
[. .σιδ]ηροῦς εἷς· ἀσ[πιδ---τάδε]
[προσπ]αρέδοσαν ταμ[ίαι οἱ ἐπὶ Λυκίσκου ἄρχοντος]
[ταμία]ις τοῖς ἐπὶ Πυ[θοδότου . . . . . 17 . . . . .]
[. . . . .]ΗΗΔΔΠ καὶ ΕΛ[. . . . . 22 . . . . . τάδ]-
[ε προσ]παρέδοσαν [ταμίαι οἱ ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου ἄρχο]-
[ντος Φ]ιλοκλῆς κα[ὶ συνάρχοντες ταμίαις τοῖς ἐπὶ]
[Λυσιμ]αχίδου· σ[Ι/. . . . . 19 . . . . . τάδε προσ]-
[παρέδ]οσαν ταμ[ίαι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος ταμίαις]
[τοῖς] ἐπὶ Κηφισ[οφῶντος . . . . . 21 . . . . .]
[. .ἀσ]πίδας χα[λκᾶς ---]
[. . . .] Ἀργολι[κ---]
[. . . .] Πλαται[ϊκ---]

[1] Kretschmer/Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch* 86, list πεπλοθήκη from line 12. So too LSJ *s.v.*

[. . . .] τῶν στ[---]
28 [. . . . .] σπι[---]

The dates of the *arkhontes* whose names are read or restored in lines 16–23 place *IG* II² 1462 in the second half of the fourth century B.C. In these same lines, it is clear that the inventories of the *tamiai* provide at least some of the subject matter for the inscription (*cf.* 16, 22). Koehler is more precise, suggesting that "Res, quae in hac traditione enumerantur, in armamentario (ἐν τῇ Χαλκοθήκῃ) servatae fuisse videntur."

The Khalkotheke. So far as we can determine, the Khalkotheke was a kind of 'armory' on the Acropolis for the storage of weapons of war (shields, spears, etc.) and a variety of votive offerings.[2] Koehler's identification of *IG* II² 1462 as a Khalkotheke list was probably based on references to the ἥλοι καὶ σίδ[ηρ---] in 14, or to the [ἀσ]πίδας χα[λκᾶς] in 24, items not unlike those enumerated in other inventories of the 'armory' (*e.g. IG* II² 1438). Such inventories, we now know, were carried out under great care and supervision. *IG* II² 120, from 353/2 B.C. (*cf. BCH* 80 [1956] 468–69), contains a decree in which the regulations for an audit of the Khalkotheke are set forth. *Inter alia*, the contents of the building were inspected at the time of the audit by the entire *boule*, and by the *strategoi*, *hipparkhoi*, *phylarkhoi*, and *taxiarkhoi*, of the year in question *and* of the nine preceding years (lines 3–11). Together with the *tamiai*, these officials were to gather on the Acropolis for this audit and were required to have the results published on a stele (line 14).

If indeed *IG* II² 1462 were just such a stele, then what is one to make of πεπλοθ[ήκη] in line 12? The word—apparently a *hapax*, rendered as 'wardrobe' in LSJ—is not, as it might at first seem, out of context. Another fourth-century inventory of the Khalkotheke, *IG* II² 1469, lists a ἱμάτ[ιον] (124), χιτωνίσκοι (125), a [κεκ]ρύφαλος, 'hair net' (125–26), a σπαθίς (131), and other votive offerings of clothing, dedicated perhaps at one time to Artemis Brauronia. Accordingly, is the *peplotheke* of *IG* II² 1462 merely a repository for such items of clothing, a great variety of which could end up as temple offerings?[3]

Meanings of peplos. In Homer, *peplos* can mean a variety of vestments: the war chariots of Lykaon (*Il.* 5.194) are covered with *peploi*, and the funeral urn of Hektor (*Il.* 24.796) is wrapped in a *peplos*. Still, when used to refer to an article of clothing, *peplos* always means the large, rectangular robe worn only by women.[4] More importantly for us, the use of the word *peplos* is regularized to the extent that it invariably describes the normal—but not the combat—dress of Athena.

[2] The remains of the Khalkotheke were discovered west of the Parthenon during the excavations of Kavvadias and Kawerau. Dörpfeld promptly identified it as the Khalkotheke, *AthMitt* 14 (1899) 304–13, and the identification has not been challenged since. Subsequent excavations by the American School showed a foundation wall dating *ca* 450 with overall dimensions of 42.83 × 16.2 m. *Cf.* G. P. Stevens, "The Setting of the Parthenon," *Hesperia* Suppl. 3 (1940) 7–19. Strangely, the building is not mentioned by Pausanias. See also W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (Berlin 1931) 245 n.3.

[3] See the Greek index in W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge 1902).

[4] See E. B. Abrahams, *Greek Dress* (London 1908) 15–38; F. Studniczka, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht* (Vienna 1886) 135ff.

In later Greek poetry, the meaning of *peplos* in reference to clothes loses *nearly* all precision. In the plays of Euripides, for example, *peplos* is merely a general term for all types of garments: both men and women (*Hec.* 1154, *IT* 799) can wear the *peplos*; even the Kyklops has one (*Cyc.* 327). The word can also mean a 'veil' for either sex: Orestes (*IT* 312) hides his face in one, and Polyxena (*Hec.* 432) does likewise. In brief, "Bei der Tragikern *peplos peploma* nichts mehr ist, als die allgemeine poetische Bezeichnung für Gewand."[5] However, the consistency of calling Athena's mythological dress *peplos* is maintained in both tragedy and comedy, and—significantly—is extended to the historical *peplos* as well. The latter, of course, is the hieratic garment that was presented yearly or quadrennially at the climax to the Panathenaia. Nine months were spent on its production, from the Khalkeia to the Panathenaia, and much care went into its manufacture, but especially into the designs that were embroidered on the fabric.[6] References to this historical *peplos* occur in Euripides (*Hec.* 468, *IT* 222), in Strattis (fr.30 K.), and in Aristophanes (*Eq.* 566, 1180, *Av.* 827). In the last passage, Aristophanes makes the practice of weaving a *peplos* the crucial element in the life of a city. And so, while discussing plans for the new polis, Euelpides asks Peisthetairos: τῷ ξανοῦμεν τὸν πέπλον; There is no need here, or in any of the other *loci*, for any sort of elaboration on the meaning of *peplos*. All Athenians, apparently, would have understood that the Panathenaic robe was meant.

In Greek prose, *peplos* almost always refers to the historical robe. The only exceptions known to me are Xenophon *Cyr.* 3.1.13, 3.3.67, 5.1.6, and Pausanias 5.16.2. All other instances of *peplos* mean the historical one.[7] As in poetry, nowhere in prose is there ever any information or elaboration accompanying the word *peplos*; it is always understood that the Panathenaic robe is meant.

Of interest now is whether this religious/literary conservatism regarding the meaning of *peplos* is present also in Attic inscriptions. A quite extensive search has yielded only seven inscriptions, including *IG* II² 1462, where *peplos*, alone or in a compound, occurs. I cite the others in chronological order, with a brief comment on each.

1. *IG* I² 80 (I³ 7) (*med. s.* V *a.*). This fifth-century document details the functions of the *genos* Praxiergidai (*cf.* Hesych. *s.v.*). At 11–12 we read:[8] [ἀ]μφιεννύοσιν τὸν πέπλον [τῆς θεῶ καὶ προθύοσιν Μοί]ραις, Διὶ Μοιραγέτει, κτλ. πέπλον here is clearly the Panathenaic *peplos* with which the Praxiergidai dressed the Athena statue as one of their *patria* (*cf.* Hesych.).

2. *IG* II² 657 (283/2 B.C.). Philippides of Kephale is the recipient of various honors in this decree: διελέχθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ κεραίας καὶ ἱστοῦ ὅπως ἂν δοθεῖ τῆι θεῶι εἰς τὰ

[5] Studniczka (*supra* n.4) 135.

[6] In fact, Aristotle (*Ath.Pol.* 49.3) reports that the *boule* had once been in charge of selecting these *paradeigmata*, but then was replaced by *dikasteria* because the decisions of the *bouleutai* had been in some way prejudiced.

[7] Lexicographers (*e.g.* Poll. 7.50 and Suda *s.v.*) defining *peplos* invariably cite the Panathenaic *peplos*. Aside from this one meaning, *peplos* had apparently become obsolete in the clothing-vocabulary of Greek prose.

[8] See D. M. Lewis, *BSA* 49 (1954) 17–21.

Παναθήναια τῶι πέπλωι ἃ ἐκομίσθη ἐπ' Εὐκτήμονος ἄρχοντος (14–16). Philippides, as we see, is credited with having negotiated (with Ptolemy) for the gifts of a yard-arm and mast that were to be used in connection with the Panathenaic *peplos*. Most probably, this meant that the *peplos* was to be hoisted on the yard-arm and mast of the Panathenaic ship, a mock vessel that seems to have been a regular feature of the Panathenaia during and after the Hellenistic period.[9]

3. *Hesperia* Suppl. 17 (1978) 2–4 [*SEG* XXVIII 60] (270/269 B.C.). This recently discovered decree for Kallias of Sphettos mentions the *peplos* in a similar context: διαλεχθεὶς τῶι βασιλεῖ Κ[αλλίας ὑπὲ]ρ τῶν ὅπλων ὧν εἰς τὸν πέπλον ἔδει παρασκευάσαι κτλ. (66–67). The *hopla*, apparently, were to be used to fly the *peplos* on the yard-arm and mast mentioned above.

4. *IG* II² 968 (141/0 B.C.). The agonothetes of the Panathenaia of 142 B.C., Miltiades of Marathon, is honored because, *inter alia*: ἔδωκ]εν δὲ καὶ ὅπλα στύπ[πινα καὶ] τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐλλείποντα πρ[ὸς τὴν κομιδή]ν τοῦ πέπλου (48–49). The ropes for the Panathenaic *peplos*, specified this time as being of tow, "were no doubt considered to have more symbolic significance than actual value."[10]

5. *IG* II² 1036+1060 [*SEG* XXVIII 90] (108/7 B.C.). The *ergastinai*, maidens who wove the *peplos* (Hesych. *s.v.*), are cited for: καλῶς προησαμέναις τὸν π[έπλον] (3). Later (9) the *peplos* is said to be ἐφέτειον, that is 'yearly' or 'of the year'.[11] Finally in line 12 of *IG* II² 1036 (by the old numbering), the maidens are honored for: τῶν ἠργασμένων τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι [τὰ ἔρια τὰ εἰς τὸν πέπλον]. The restoration here is secured by a parallel passage in *IG* II² 1034 (*infra*). These *ergastinai*, who are listed at the conclusion of the *psephismata*, numbered over one hundred. Their work with the *peplos* afforded them the opportunity to be honored publicly, like their *epheboi* counterparts.

6. *IG* II² 1034 (103/2 B.C.). The formula of *IG* II² 1036 is repeated in lines 7–8: τῶν παρθένων [τῶν ἠργ]ασμένων τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τὰ ἔρια τὰ [εἰς τὸ]ν πέπλον. Other *ergastinai* lists are extant (*IG* II² 1942, 1943a, 1943b), but these are very fragmentary and supply us only with additional names.

From this survey it is evident that Attic inscriptions, when using the word *peplos*, mean only the Panathenaic *peplos*. Equally significant is the avoidance in Attic inscriptions of the word *peplos* when vestments other than the Panathenaic robe are intended. For example, in the many inventories for the dedications to Artemis Brauronia, the hundreds of clothes offerings are referred to by an impressively large repertoire of clothing-words. Nowhere does *peplos* appear.[12]

[9] Our earliest clear reference to this custom is Strattis fr.30, where "countless men" are needed to hoist the *peplos*-sail onto the Panathenaic ship. On a later manifestation of this custom, see B. Nagy, "A Late Panathenaic Document," *The Ancient World* 3 (1981) 107–11.

[10] T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* Suppl. 17, 41.

[11] Perhaps this is the best evidence yet that the *peplos* was made also for celebrations of the Lesser Panathenaia, at least in the late second century B.C.

[12] Similarly, in a long list of vestments of every type that *Athenians* dedicated in the temple of Hera at Samos, *peplos* does not appear. See C. Curtius, *Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos* (Lübeck 1877) 10.

In sum, a conservatism that we see to an extent in Greek poetry with regard to the meaning of *peplos* is much more evident in prose and seems absolute in Attic inscriptions. Accordingly, it would seem quite likely or all but certain that the *peplotheke* of *IG* II² 1462 ought to mean a *-theke* of the Panathenaic *peplos*.

Identity of the Peplotheke. The second component in *peplotheke*, a derivative of τίθημι, has a range of meanings, with 'case', 'box', or 'chest' being the most common (LSJ *s.v.*). In certain compound words, *e.g.* μυροθήκη, αὐλοθήκη, or φαρμακοθήκη, the *-theke* is a small container or box. Occasionally, however, a *-theke* compound will mean something larger, such as a closet or even a room: *e.g.* οἰνοθήκη. As with *Khalkotheke*, a *-theke* word can even refer to a separate building. Such is also the case with ἱματιοθήκη, a word found in at least one inscription from Eleusis, *IG* II² 1672.309 λίθος Πεντελησικὸς ἐν τῆι ἱματιοθήκηι. The context suggests that the Pentelic stone was intended for the *himatiotheke*, a *building* that stored *himatia*.[13]

If the *peplotheke* was itself a separate building, and on the Acropolis—for no other place would do—one may well imagine it being near the Erechtheum where the *xoanon* stood. As we have seen, the historical *peplos* was as large as the mainsail of a trireme and required nine months for its preparation; accordingly, our hypothetical building too would have been of some size. If more of *IG* II² 1462 were extant, perhaps we would read a narrative describing the transfer of *peploi* from Panathenaia of long past to the *peplotheke*; after an accumulation of robes over many years—and *peploi* would probably last indefinitely—a transfer to a more spacious *peplotheke* would have been required.

Alternatively, the possibility that the *peplotheke* of *IG* II² 1462 was only a chest or box for the storage of Panathenaic *peploi* is suggested by the way in which the interior of the Khalkotheke may have been arranged. Using the descriptions in *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 285 (lines 17ff) [*SEG* XIX 129], J. Tréheux reconstructed possible interior plans for the building.[14] According to the inscription, there are thirteen *toikhoi*, alongside of which the contents of the Khalkotheke were arranged in *stikhoi*. These walls, in Tréheux's reconstructions, did not create any enclosures or rooms, but allowed for free passage inside the building. A *peplotheke* = 'chest', even a large one, could have been accommodated along the base of one of these walls.[15]

The third possibility, that the *peplotheke* was a room or a large closet in the Khalkotheke, in an area apart from '13 walls', cannot be ruled out. After all, the storage of Panathenaic *peploi* would have been more appropriate in an area specially set aside and specially guarded. Because of the reverence owed it—and doubtless also because of its great monetary value—a Panathenaic *peplos* would have looked out of place stored in a box next to some spears and shields.

[13] The inscription is from 329/8 B.C. *Cf.* K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (TAPhS 64.3 [1974]) 19–21, 26, 50, 71, 82, 89, 91, 98.

[14] *Études d'archéologie classique* 1 (1955–56) 144–46 figs. 1, 2.

[15] That Tréheux could contrive such greatly differing reconstructions is in itself an indication of the imprecision of the inscription's narrative.

With what information we presently have all that can be really said regarding the identity of the *peplotheke* is: (1) that *peploi* from previous Panathenaia were stored there at least during the fourth century B.C.; and (2) that it was on the Acropolis. These conclusions correspond nicely with the few data we have regarding the manufacture of the Panathenaic *peplos*. As noted above (n.6), the *boule*, in an earlier period, and *dikasteria*, in a later one, were entrusted with the selection of the *paradeigmata* that adorned the *peplos*. One can imagine either councillors or jurors visiting the *peplotheke en masse* for the purpose of reviewing previous *paradeigmata*, in perhaps the same way as the councillors, along with the various *arkhontes*, were required to visit the Acropolis and perform an audit of the Khalkotheke. In addition, we know that the weaving of the *peplos* was begun on the Acropolis by the *arrhephoroi*, young girls whose work with the robe constituted an important part of their *cursus honorum* (*cf.* Ar. *Lys.* 641–42, Paus. 1.27.3, Harp. *s.v.*). Naturally, it would have been advantageous to the work of these *arrhephoroi* if they could inspect the *peploi* in the *peplotheke* for dimensions, designs, and other details. How and where the bulk of the *peplos* work was performed is hard to say. The suggestion that the *ergastinai* carried out their task also on the Acropolis and that the *peplos* was completed there is problematic.[16] Simply put, a finished *peplos* would not be brought down the hill just to be brought up again in the Panathenaic procession. A better proposal is that the real workshop was somewhere in the lower city.

COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS

[16] But see A. von Premerstein, "Der Parthenonfries und die Werkstatt des panathenäischen Peplos," *Jd'I* 15 (1912) 1–35.

On the Range of an Idiom in Homeric Dialogue

Gregory Nagy

εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὡς
εἴην ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως ἤματα πάντα
τιοίμην δ' ὡς τίετ' Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων,
ὡς νῦν ἡμέρη ἥδε κακὸν φέρει Ἀργείοισιν.

If only I were
immortal and unaging for all days to come,
and if only I were honored just as Athena and Apollo are honored,
—as surely as this day brings misfortune to the Argives (*Il.* 8.538–41)

THERE HAVE BEEN problems with understanding the meaning of this passage, which features an extraordinary wish on the part of the speaker, Hektor. The same problems recur in 13.825–28, where Hektor expresses the same wish; 827–28 are identical with 8.540–41, but the first two verses are slightly different:

εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼν οὕτω γε Διὸς πάϊς αἰγιόχοιο
εἴην ἤματα πάντα, τέκοι δέ με πότνια Ἥρη . . .

If only I were the child of aegis-bearing Zeus
for all days to come, and the Lady Hera were my mother . . .

The translations I offer here, based roughly on the masterful rendition of Homer by Richmond Lattimore,[1] have been taken from a chapter I have written on the death of Hektor, where I adduce these two passages in arguing that the hero's hybristic wish to be a god draws him into a force-field of antagonism with the gods, notably Athene.[2] In the view of F. M. Combellack, however, I and many others have misunderstood these passages.[3] He claims that, "Though what Hector says in these passages is grammatically a wish, he does not express here any desire to be immortal or to be the child of Zeus" (116).

In making this claim, Combellack attempts to define an idiom that is at work here, citing a formulation found in Leaf's comments on these passages: "a form of wish, where a thing is vividly depicted as certain by opposing it to an imaginary event which is obviously impossible."[4] What Hektor is really saying, Combellack insists, is "I wish I were as sure of immortality (or of being the son of Zeus) as I am that this day brings evil to the Greeks." The author continues:

[1] R. Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago 1951) and *The Odyssey of Homer* (New York 1965).
[2] G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore 1979) 142–50.
[3] F. M. Combellack, "The Wish without Desire," *AJP* 102 (1981) 115–19.
[4] W. Leaf, *The Iliad*² I (London 1900) 368.

If I say, "I wish I were as certain of being elected President as I am that my taxes will go up this year," my sentence is grammatically a wish, but no one would imagine for a moment that I am expressing a desire to become President. I am using an idiom to emphasize my certainty that my taxes will go up. And Hector is merely emphasizing his certainty that evil is in store for the Greeks.

There is a serious flaw, however, in Combellack's reasoning. He is assuming that the perspective of Hektor is the same as the perspective of the reader of Homer. What is an absurdity for the reader—or, to put it more rigorously, for the intended audience of Homeric poetry—is assumed to be an absurdity for the character who is speaking. This is to overlook a central feature in the composition of Homeric speeches, where a given character's perception of reality is frequently at odds with the reality that emerges from the overall narrative—that is, with the perception of reality by the intended audience of Homeric poetry. We shall explore some examples below, but it will suffice for the moment to observe that Lohmann's book on Homeric speeches is well worth reading in this regard.[5]

A more serious flaw in Combellack's reasoning is that he has failed to examine exhaustively the Homeric parallels to the idiom that he has isolated in the two speeches of Hektor. Taking his examples from Leaf's incomplete list of Homeric passages where the same idiom occurs, he cites the following as formally the closest parallel (*Il.* 18.464–66):

> αἲ γάρ μιν θανάτοιο δυσηχέος ὥδε δυναίμην
> νόσφιν ἀποκρύψαι, ὅτε μιν μόρος αἰνὸς ἱκάνοι,
> ὣς οἱ τεύχεα καλὰ παρέσσεται
>
> If only I could have the power to hide him from sorrowful death,
> when his dreadful fate comes upon him
> —as surely as there will be fine armor for him!

The mother of Achilles is here wishing for something that seems at the moment impossible, and the wish is linked by the adverb ὥδε ('so') with the conjunction ὡς ('as') introducing an absolute certainty,[6] that Achilles will have fine armor. In other words, the impossibility of the wish (that Achilles be saved from death) is supposedly correlated with the certainty of the premise (that Achilles will have fine armor). The αἲ γάρ (+ optative) of the wish and the ὥδε ... ὡς that links it with the premise are parallel to the εἰ γάρ (+ optative) of Hektor's wish to be an immortal (8.538 and 13.825) and the ὣς/οὕτω ... ὡς that links his wish with his premise that disaster will surely befall the Achaeans (8.538–41 and 13.825–28).

What has eluded Combellack, however, is that this same idiom can occur in situations where the wish introduced by εἰ γάρ or the variants αἲ γάρ and εἴθε is clearly not perceived as impossible by the speaker. For example, the disguised Odysseus has this to say to Eumaios (*Od.* 14.440–41/15.341–42):

[5] D. Lohmann, *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias* (Berlin 1970).

[6] In this presentation, I will for the sake of convenience render Greek 'so ... as' constructions consistently in the mode of '... so as ...' (*pace* Combellack 119).

> αἴθ' οὕτως, Εὔμαιε, φίλος Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιο
> ὡς ἐμοί, ὅττι με τοῖον ἐόντ' ἀγαθοῖσι γεραίρεις.
> /ὅττι μ' ἔπαυσας ἄλης καὶ ὀϊζύος αἰνῆς
>
> If only, Eumaios, you would be dear to Zeus the Father
> as surely as you are dear to me, since you grace me, such as
> I am, with good things.
> /since you stopped my wandering and my dreadful sorrow.

Clearly, it is not impossible that Eumaios should be dear to Zeus. The implication seems to be that he probably is, and this probability is reinforced by the certainty of Odysseus' premise: that Eumaios is dear to Odysseus. In this connection, we may observe what Priam says ironically about Achilles, αἴθε θεοῖσι φίλος τοσσόνδε γένοιτο ὅσσον ἐμοί, "If only he would be dear to the gods as much as he is to me!" (*Il.* 22.41–42).

The idiom under consideration is frequently found in prayers, as when Telemakhos exclaims (*Od.* 18.235–40):

> αἲ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον,
> οὕτω νῦν μνηστῆρες ἐν ἡμετέροισι δόμοισι
> νεύοιεν κεφαλὰς δεδμημένοι, οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐλῇ,
> οἱ δ' ἔντοσθε δόμοιο, λελῦτο δὲ γυῖα ἑκάστου,
> ὡς νῦν Ἶρος κεῖνος ἐπ' αὐλείῃσι θύρῃσιν
> ἧσται νενστάζων κεφαλῇ ...
>
> O Father Zeus, Athene, and Apollo, if only
> in our house the suitors could be defeated
> and bow their heads, some in the courtyard
> and some inside the house, and the limbs be unstrung in each of them
> —as surely as that Iros there is sitting at the courtyard gates,
> bowing his head ...

Clearly, someone who prays is not contrasting the impossibility of his wish with the certainty of a situation (as Combellack's concept of the idiom would require); rather, he is appealing to this certainty as grounds for hope that the wish be fulfilled.

At times the premise for the wish is the immediate context itself, to which the speaker can refer with but one word, such as οὕτως ('so' = 'just as surely as what has happened in this context'). Thus when the suitor Antinoos strikes the disguised Odysseus, Penelope responds to this outrage by saying, αἴθ' οὕτως αὐτόν σε βάλοι κλυτότοξος Ἀπόλλων, "If only Apollo, famed for his bow, would strike you just as surely [as you struck Odysseus]!" (*Od.* 17.494). Penelope's prayer is then seconded by Eurynome, εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρῇσιν τέλος ἡμετέρῃσι γένοιτο, "If only our prayers would be accomplished!" The expression "our prayers" here refers to those of Penelope and Eurynome combined, as formalized in these two one-line versions of the idiom under study. Again, the idiom is being used to express a wish that is intended as possible, not impossible.

In one instance, a speaker uses a curtailed form of the idiom and then overtly says that his wish is impossible—only to be corrected by another speaker who uses a full form. Telemakhos wishes that the gods could give him the δύναμις or 'power' to kill the suitors (*Od.* 3.205 αἲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοσσήνδε θεοὶ δύναμιν περιθεῖεν); then, instead of giving a premise as grounds for hope, he gives up hope by claiming that the gods have granted such a power neither to him nor to his father (208–09). At this point, Nestor responds by resorting to a full form of the idiom (218–20):

> εἰ γάρ σ' ὣς ἐθέλοι φιλέειν γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
> ὡς τότ' Ὀδυσσῆος περικήδετο κυδαλίμοιο
> δήμῳ ἔνι Τρώων . . .
> If only *glaukopis* Athene would deign to love you
> as surely as in those days she cared for glorious Odysseus
> in the Trojan country . . .

This time there is indeed a premise, there is reason to hope: if Athene does love you this much, he tells Telemakhos, then the suitors will indeed be killed (223–24).

By building on something that is perceived as certain in order to wish for something that is less certain, it is also possible to extend a specific observation into a general one. One of the suitors, for example, makes the following ironic remark about the disguised Odysseus as the hero prepares to string the bow (*Od.* 21.402–03):

> αἲ γὰρ δὴ τοσσοῦτον ὀνήσιος ἀντιάσειεν
> ὡς οὗτός ποτε τοῦτο δυνήσεται ἐντανύσασθαι.
> If only this person would find much profit
> —as surely as he will have the power to string this.

The words are meant ironically, but the real irony is at the expense of the speaker. He wishes general failure for the stranger on the basis of what he expects to be the stranger's specific failure in not being able to string the bow. Instead, Odysseus will achieve a specific success with the bow and general success against the suitors. For another example, I cite what Agamemnon imagines a Trojan would say ironically, if Menelaos were killed (*Il.* 4.178–79):

> αἴθ' οὕτως ἐπὶ πᾶσι χόλον τελέσει' Ἀγαμέμνων,
> ὡς καὶ νῦν ἄλιον στρατὸν ἤγαγεν ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιῶν.
> If only Agamemnon could bring his anger to bear against all his enemies
> —as surely as he has led here in vain a host of Achaeans.

In this imaginary situation, the Trojan is entertaining the possibility of general failure for Agamemnon on the basis of one specific failure.

There are times when the hyperbole achieved with this idiom reaches the point of hybris. Such seems to be the case with the words spoken by Odysseus to the Cyclops after the hero has blinded the monster. If only I could kill you, says Odysseus to Cyclops, as surely as your father Poseidon will not restore your eyesight (*Od.* 9.523–25)!

The hybristic reality of blinding the son of a god who is antagonistic to the hero is the basis for the even more hybristic wish of actually killing him. Similarly, in the first two passages that we have considered, Hektor can actually entertain the possibility of becoming a god himself on the basis of his certainty that he is about to destroy the Achaean expedition. The first time that Hektor uses the idiom under study, he is expressing his certainty that, come next morning, he will defeat the Achaeans, most notably Diomedes (*Il.* 8.526–38); the second time, he is expressing the same certainty, although the focus of his attention has now shifted from Diomedes to Ajax (13.829–32). Of course, the perceived reality of Hektor's premise is at odds with the reality of the narrative: Hektor will not succeed in killing Diomedes or Ajax, nor for that matter will he succeed in repelling the Achaeans from Troy. Therefore, his hybristic wish to be a god is built on a premise of self-delusion, and its wording becomes an extended exercise in self-delusion. Since Hektor is speaking, we have no right to impose the reality of the narrative on Hektor's perception of reality: for him the wish to be a god is not contrary to fact, and it would be better for us to abandon the decidedly contrary-to-fact translations "If only I were immortal . . . " and "If only I were the child of aegis-bearing Zeus . . . " for 8.538 and 13.825, substituting something more neutral: "If only I could be immortal . . . " and "If only I could be the child of aegis-bearing Zeus . . . "

There is a similar though far less grandiose exercise in self-delusion on the part of the evil goatherd Melanthios: if only Apollo or one of the suitors could kill Telemakhos, says he, as surely as Odysseus has perished at sea (*Od.* 17.251–53)! The interpretation of Combellack (118) loses sight of the hybristic amplification evident in the wish of the goatherd: "I wish I were as certain that Apollo or the suitors would kill Telemakhos today as I am that Odysseus' day of return has been lost afar." I see no evidence to suggest that Melanthios is supposed to perceive the killing of Telemakhos as an impossibility.

At times the premise of our idiom is deliberately falsified by the narrative. For example, when the god Apollo assumes the human identity of Hektor's maternal uncle, he goads the hero into valor with these words: αἴθ' ὅσον ἤσσων εἰμί, τόσον σέο φέρτερος εἴην, "If only I could be superior to you—as surely as I am that much inferior to you!" (*Il.* 16.722). Apollo goes on to say, in the guise of the uncle: if you were that much inferior, then you would retreat in battle (723). But, since Hektor is supposedly that much superior, he is of course expected not to retreat. What is hidden in these comparisons, however, is the relative stature of the god himself: the uncle is to Hektor as Hektor is to Apollo.[7] From the standpoint of Hektor, the premise in Apollo's use of the idiom is reality: the uncle is inferior to Hektor. From the standpoint of Apollo and the narrative, however, the premise is false: Apollo is superior, not inferior, to Hektor. Therefore the wish that is based on the premise is augmented: the 'that much' of "let me be that much superior to you" is immeasurably more than Hektor might think.

[7] For this and other uses of such a proportional equation in archaic Greek poetry, see Lohmann (*supra* n.5) 189 n.6.

By now I have discussed, besides those Homeric examples I have found myself, every example adduced by Combellack—except one. As Hektor lies mortally wounded, Achilles expresses a ghastly wish, though in attenuated terms: if only, says he, my *μένος* and *θυμός*[8] could impel me to eat your flesh raw (*Il.* 22.346–48)! The premise upon which this wish is founded is almost as hybristic as the wish itself: as surely as it is impossible for your corpse to be rescued from the dogs, and to be ransomed by Priam himself (348–54). Yet this 'impossibility' is precisely what comes to pass in *Iliad* 24.[9] The eventual relinquishing of Achilles' premise is a function of the hero's eventual rehumanization as the narrative moves from *Iliad* 22 to 24: it is up to Achilles to release the corpse. But at the moment that he utters the premise, expressing his determination to leave Hektor's body exposed to the dogs and to refuse any ransom offered by Priam, the ghastly wish about cannibalism is as real as the almost as ghastly premise upon which it is founded. Achilles means what he wishes. It makes no sense to claim, as Combellack does (117), that "he mentions the cannibalism as the most impossible thing he can think of in order to emphasize the certainty of the dogs tearing Hector's body." This is no time for Achilles to be reassuring Hektor of a sort of modified bestiality, that he will go only so far as to expose Hektor's corpse to dogs but not so far as to eat it himself. Rather, the beastly wish is an amplification of an already beastly premise.

I come to the last example in my survey, a passage where Agamemnon has these words to say to Nestor (*Il.* 4.313–14):

> *ὦ γέρον, εἴθ', ὡς θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν,*
> *ὥς τοι γούναθ' ἕποιτο, βίη δέ τοι ἔμπεδος εἴη*
> Aged sir, if only your knees could keep up with the pace
> and your strength could remain steadfast
> —as surely as the spirit within you is steadfast!

The speaker is not telling the old man that it is impossible for him to keep up. Rather, he is paying tribute to an extraordinary man's extraordinary spirit by amplifying his admiration with a wish. The same tribute is due to Sterling Dow, an extraordinary man of our own time.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

[8] On the associations of these words as they apply to Achilles, see Nagy (*supra* n.2) 136–37.
[9] On this correspondence between *Iliad* 22 and 24, see Lohmann (*supra* n.5) 161 n.6, 279, 280 n.18.

A Tapestry of Cretan Liberation

Dia M. L. Philippides

A TAPESTRY FROM CRETE hangs in the living room of Professor Sterling Dow in Cambridge (PLATE 12). Many-coloured designs are embroidered on the orange-red woven material. A fringe hangs from the bottom edge and characters—letters, as it turns out—run across the top. On each half of the tapestry, which is divided vertically, stands a central figure flanked by smaller men. The characters could constitute a heading that tells us who the figures are, but the letters are not all legible.

The tapestry measures 48 inches in width and 22 in height. On either side of the central seam there is an identical design on the red background. At the center of the design stands a very tall man in a blue (naval) uniform adorned with colourful attachments, prominent epaulettes, and a cross about the throat. In his left hand he holds what appears to be a multicoloured staff but is more likely a sword. This arm is shorter than the other, presumably to fit the picture. Flanking this figure are twelve standing men whose smallness emphasizes his singular size. They stand on two levels: the lower row on the level on which the tall man stands; the upper row just above them, their feet at the height of the tall man's thighs.

The pattern on each panel is quite symmetrical: the stylized, almost geometrical human figures are set up in balanced distribution. The fringe borders them at the lower edge, the embroidered letter-heading at the top. The heading or 'inscription' running across the top of each panel consists of approximately twenty letters. It is divided where the head of each tall figure rises to the top of the tapestry.

In itself the inscription yields no easy reading. The alphabet seems to be Greek. Dennis Skiotis of Harvard University made the beginning of the correct interpretation when he read the word *Γεώργιος* in capital letters at the far right of the inscription. Except for 'George', however, the other letters made no sense. The first ones might be part of the word *φίλος* (friend): "Friends of George"? Professor Dow had obtained the tapestry in Herakleion; a possible conclusion was that Crete is its place of origin.[1]

Weaving, furthered by the availability of natural dyes, has for centuries been a well-developed art in Crete. The articles the women made formed part of their dowry, if they were young and single. An older woman would continue to weave, making articles for her own household or for the dowry of younger female relatives. In the Cretan woven materials of the beginning of the nineteenth century, the earlier designs were mainly geometric. Gradually the weavers began to create more lifelike figures

[1] The present paper is the result of a talk delivered at Professor Dow's house in Cambridge in the early 1970's. For guidance in revisions I thank C. Bouffides, M. Z. Philippides, D. Zimic, and especially Professor A. L. Macrakis.

and to commemorate contemporary historical events, as had often occurred in popular song.

After a visit to Herakleion it was evident to me that tapestries of the general type of the Dow tapestry were still extant, although undoubtedly much diminished in quantity. Tapestries with the word 'George' were not hard to find. Both in the shops and in the museums and collections of Herakleion, Khania, and Rethymno the type was much in evidence, usually accompanied by the legends Ζήτω ὁ Πρίγκηψ Γεώργιος or Ζήτω ὁ Πρίγκηψ Γεώργιος Κρήτης, with slight variations.

Prince George is a distinguished figure in the turbulent history of Crete. Domination by the Venetians (1204–1669) and by the Turks from 1669 to 1898 was marked by attempts at insurrection, especially in 1866 and the years following. Finally, as a result of the war between Turkey and Greece in 1897, four of the great powers (Italy, France, Russia, and England) decreed the autonomy of the island, although still under the indirect authority of the Sultan. A High Commissioner was to be appointed to rule Crete as a representative of the great powers. Further disturbances on the island between the Greeks and the Turks caused the powers to order the Sultan to withdraw his army from Crete, the withdrawal being completed in October 1898. In the following month it was announced that Prince George, the son of King George I, would fill the new post of High Commissioner. After so many setbacks the Cretans at last had good cause to celebrate. For two hundred and fifty years the Turkish flag had been flying in Khania; now the flag of the new autonomous Cretan state was raised in its place. It had been arranged that the prince would arrive in Khania in December 1898. For days in advance the Cretans worked fervidly to decorate the town for his arrival. Their enthusiasm for the freedom obtained at such high cost found its outlet in considering him as Crete's liberator. Fifty thousand people went down to the port to meet him. When he disembarked they threw flowers and there was kissing, tears, and music in the streets. They accompanied him to the church for a mass of thanksgiving. He made a speech, followed by feasting which lasted many nights and days.[2]

The excitement caused by Prince George's arrival is shown in the popular art and song of the time. Tapestries such as the Dow tapestry constitute evidence of his popularity as a national hero. The Herakleion Historical Museum contains four tapestries which commemorate him: the first depicts him on a horse; the second, with his family; and the third and fourth, surrounded by his guard, as in the Dow tapestry. A room on the ground floor of the museum is devoted to articles that belonged to the prince. Together with weapons the most impressive objects are the desk and the uniform that hangs beside it in a glass case. The uniform is that of vice-admiral, and was worn by the prince as High Commissioner. Both desk and uniform seem to have been made for a man approximately 6′4″ tall. Thus, the way in which Prince George is conspicuous

[2] The main bibliographic references regarding Prince George are A. Skandames, Πρίγκιψ Γεώργιος, ἡ ζωή καί τό ἔργον του (Athens 1955); A. A. Pallis, ed., *The Cretan Drama: the Life and Memoirs of Prince George of Greece* (New York 1959); G. Marcopoulos, "The Selection of Prince George of Greece as High Commissioner in Crete," *Balkan Studies* 10 (1969) 335–50.

among his soldiers on the Dow tapestry not only is indicative of his importance in the eyes of the Cretans, but also contains a grain of truth.

With regard to an approximate date for the tapestry in Cambridge: Prince George arrived in Crete in 1898. Enthusiasm for him reached a peak at this time. His popularity gradually diminished owing to his inability to agree with his chief advisor, Venizelos. In 1905 the Therissos Revolt[3] led by Venizelos resulted in Prince George's resignation and his departure from Crete the following July, so there was no reason for the further commemoration of Prince George in Crete after 1906. It is likely that the tapestry was made well before 1906 and probably towards the beginning of his stay in Crete. More specifically, if the Dow tapestry was made in the villages near Herakleion, it can be assumed that it was made at a time near the prince's first visit to Herakleion in April 1899.

The evidence from the Cretan museums and shops removes all doubt as to the reading of the inscription of the new tapestry. The virtually illegible heading can only be paralleled in the legible version on related tapestries in Crete: Ζήτω ὁ Πρίγκιψ ὁ Γεώργιος. The last words, Ο ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ, are clear. Note the similarity of P to Γ, and the strange form of Σ. The first word, ΖΗΤΩ, has been condensed to ⚲ ΙΩ. The Ω in ΖΗΤΩ is similar in form to that in ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ. For Τ we have evidence of a form ⏐ in another tapestry. The initial ⚲ is probably a symmetrical duplicate of the final letter ⚲ of Γεώργιος; another Prince George tapestry has this feature as well. The middle words, Ο ΠΡΙΓΚΙΨ, are contracted to ΠΡΡΗΙΨ. The K is represented as H (of which we have an instance in another tapestry). There is obvious confusion in the forms of the first letters of the noun: Π appears as two separate vertical lines; the two subsequent letter shapes, so similar to one another, should actually incorporate three different characters: P, I, and Γ.

It is generally known that many of the women who did the weaving in the villages were illiterate. Whenever they included a letter-heading in their weaving, they would treat it as part of the design to be copied, whether understood or not. There are a number of spelling inaccuracies in most of the tapestries and, in the case of at least two of them, inscriptions which can only be described as 'nonsense' ones—the figures of the people are perfectly clear, but the lettering of the inscription is a sequence of totally meaningless characters. In the tapestries that show Prince George standing among his guard, the women seem to have been using a common pattern as their model. The greatest variations are in the forms of the letters in the headings and in the colors selected to fill out the patterns. The general scheme may have been copied from a lithograph hanging in a coffee-shop or from an inscribed piece of pottery. Thence (from the correctly written epigram) the heading would have been rendered, according to each seamstress' knowledge of the alphabet.

Although all the Prince George tapestries are similar, one is struck by the marked resemblance of the Dow tapestry to a large tapestry in the Herakleion Historical Mu-

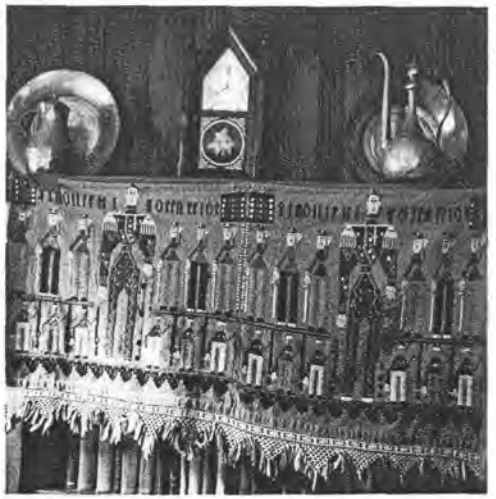
[3] Regarding the Therissos revolt, see Pallis (*supra* n.2) 253–76.

seum (number 1222). The latter has a beige background, as against the orange-red background of the former, but the colors embroidered on both tapestries are remarkably similar. Only the hats of the soldiers and the prince's sword differ, and the weapons have changed hands. Lastly, the letter heading of the Dow tapestry reads from left to right, but that in Herakleion from right to left.

One is tempted to conjecture that an identical pattern, although in the one case reversed, was the basis for both the Cambridge and the Herakleion tapestries. The Dow tapestry and its counterpart in the Herakleion Museum both commemorate a major moment in Cretan history: Prince George's arrival and the acquisition of long-desired freedom. Although slightly different in detail, both tapestries convey the same message: "Long live Prince George!"[4]

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

[4] For help in the original gathering of material for this article I acknowledge my sincere gratitude to Professor and Mrs Dow, Mrs E. Fragkaki, Mrs M. Lambraki, Mrs Papadaki (Cretan Corner, Historical Museum of Khania), Mr Papadakis (Historical Museum of Herakleion), J. and M. Z. Philippides, Mrs D. Photiades, Mrs P. Zora (Popular Art Museum of Athens), the Benaki Museum, the Gennadeios Library, the Kentron Laographikon Erevnon of the Athens Academy (especially Mr Spyridakis and Mrs Papadopoulou), the National Historical Museum of Athens, and the shops Grimm and Zeus in Herakleion.



TAPESTRY FROM CRETE

The Origin of θεοί as Inscription-Heading

Robert L. Pounder

THE HEADINGS of Greek inscriptions have long interested Sterling Dow. The essay which follows is offered in the hope that he may look with favor on an attempt to explain the origin of the most enigmatic of all headings, θεοί.[1]

Headings for inscribed decrees were used most extensively in Greece by the Athenians. What was their purpose? The earliest extant heading from Athens, *IG* I² 19 (I³ 11) of 454/3 B.C.,[2] is inscribed in slightly larger letters than those of the text above which it is spaced. Its purpose is to specify the nature of what follows, a treaty between Athens and Segesta, and it reads [χσυμμαχία καὶ hόρ]κο[ς] Ἀ[θ]εναί[ον κα]ὶ Ἐγεσταί-[ον]. Here is the succinct one-line summary which permitted the observer to tell at a glance what the decree was about. Similar headings indicating the subject matter occur in the pre-Eukleidean period to 403/2, such as φόρ[ο] in *IG* I² 65 (I³ 68) of 426/5, where there is a line before φόρ[ο] which reads [. . .⁵⁻⁶. . .]εμα[. . . .ᶜᵃ.¹¹. . . .]ς,[3] and τά[χσι]ς [φ]ό[ρο] in I² 63 (I³ 71) of 425/4.[4] Such subject headings can be accompanied by θεοί or by the name of an individual. It will be convenient to refer to these as complex headings.

Names of peoples or nations are found in complex headings of the pre-Eukleidean period, such as [N]εο[π]ολιτô[ν] [τ]ôμ παρὰ Θάσ[ον] in I² 108 (I³ 101) of 410/409, or Μεθοναίον ἐκ Πιερ[ίας] in I² 57 (I³ 61) of 424/3; the genitive is a genitive of specification, "concerning the Neapolitans by Thasos," etc.[5] There are instances, too, of the names of individuals. Two decrees, *IG* I² 30 (I³ 18), before 446/5, and I² 143 (I³ 28), *ca* 450–440, are headed by lists of names of the men who are *proxenoi*. The name of a single individual appears in I² 59 (I³ 65), *ca* 427/6: [Ἀπολλ]ονοφάνος τô / [. . . . .]θος Κολοφον[ίο]. The other major element in headings, apart from θεοί, is the use of the name of one or more of the officials involved in passing the decree. A typical example includes the name of the secretary, whose responsibility it was to publish the decree: so *IG* I² 82 (I³ 80) of 421/0, Προκλέες Ἀτάρβο Εὐονυμ<ε>ὺς <ἐ>γραμμάτευε in larger letters. This heading element is the most common among the citations of officials,

[1] The thesis of this article is contained in my Ph.D. dissertation, *The Origin and Meaning of* ΘΕΟΙ *in Greek Inscription Headings* (Diss.Brown 1975). Special thanks are owed to Professor Alan L. Boegehold, who directed it, and to Professor Dow himself, who suggested the topic and took a lively interest in the research. Others who offered helpful suggestions and criticism include Dorothy Burr Thompson, David R. Jordan, Brunilde S. Ridgway, James R. McCredie, and Leslie L. Threatte.

[2] *Cf.* R. Meiggs, "The Dating of Fifth Century Inscriptions," *JHS* 86 (1966) 95, for problems concerning this date. *IG* I³ retains the early date.

[3] See B. D. Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1937) 26ff.

[4] Discussed in detail in B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* I (Cambridge [Mass.] 1939) 107ff, 154ff.

[5] *Cf.* Kühner/Gerth II 332.

occurring twelve times between 449/8 and 403/2.[6] The famous decree of 409/8 which reinscribes the Drakonian law on homicide on a marble stele by the Stoa Basileios[7] is headed, in two lines, by the names both of the secretary and of the archon: Διόγν[ε]τος Φρεάρριος ἐγραμμάτε[υε] / Διοκλῆς ἔρχε. Both are spaced up from the body of the text in larger letters. In *IG* I³ 31 (*Hesperia* 2 [1933] 494) of *ca* 450 the name of the secretary precedes the specification of the business, [χσ]υνθῆκαι : Ἑρμονέον : καὶ Ἀθε-ναίο[ν].

This brings us to *θεοί*. It makes its first appearance in Athens at a time roughly contemporaneous with the introduction of headings in general. The earliest known example is *IG* I³ 34 of 448/7.[8] This example supersedes that previously thought to have been the earliest,[9] *IG* I² 232 (I³ 292), first of the inventories of the Pronaos, dated 434/3. One may note that when Hill and Meritt refer to the heading they call it the "invocation." The next known occurrence of *θεοί* as a heading is *IG* I³ 50, of *ca* 435.[10] The letters of the word conform to the *stoichedon* scheme, standing immediately above the first four letters of ἔδοχσεν in the preamble. The letter-size is virtually identical, but the word is spaced somewhat above the text.

There are other examples of its solitary use from the fifth century, but the ones cited may suffice to illustrate the phenomenon. When used in combination with complex headings, *θεοί* normally is denied prominence over the other heading elements, at least with regard to letter-size. For instance, in *IG* I² 60 (I³ 66) of 427/6, the name of the secretary is combined with *θεοί*, both being inscribed in smaller letters than those of the text, with the secretary's name first.

In summary, decree headings at Athens in the fifth century are varied and far removed from a formal standard. They can (1) specify business; (2) present the names of officials; (3) provide the names of individuals or entire groups of people; and (4) may include *θεοί*, alone or in combination with any of the above. The important point to be made is that *θεοί* must be separated from all other headings because its meaning, whatever that may prove to be, is fundamentally different from that of other headings, whose purpose is as obvious to the observer now as then, *viz.* to convey information.

Scholarly discussion of *θεοί* headings has been meagre. Guarducci[11] refers to the heading as " ... l'invocazione agli dei, la formula con cui si sancisce la disposizione proposta ... " Davidson,[12] in discussing an inscribed lead plaque from the Pnyx, states, "*θεοί*, the customary beginning of a decree, is of no help in discovering the nature of the inscription ... " The early handbooks do not ignore *θεοί*, but neither do they reach

[6] *Cf.* J. P. Traywick, ΘΕΟΙ *and* ΑΓΑΘΗΙ ΤΥΧΗΙ *in Headings of Athenian Inscriptions* (Diss.Harvard 1968) 9ff. Traywick has compiled examples of different heading elements involving persons of official rank. *Cf.* also A. S. Henry, *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees* (Leiden 1977).

[7] *IG* I² 115 (I³ 104); R. S. Stroud, *Drakon's Law on Homicide* (Berkeley 1968).

[8] B. H. Hill, B. D. Meritt, "An Early Athenian Decree Concerning Tribute," *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 1–15.

[9] W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der attischen Inschriften* II (Leipzig 1902) 591.

[10] B. D. Meritt, "Attic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century," *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 87ff.

[11] Margherita Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* II (Rome 1969) 43.

[12] Gladys R. Davidson, D. B. Thompson, *Small Objects from the Pnyx* I (*Hesperia* Suppl. 7 [1943]) 11.

any degree of unanimity. For Larfeld (*supra* n.9) *θεοί* is a "Weiheformel" and, further, a "Segenswunsch für das gnädige Walten der Vorsehung." We are thus presented by the same author with two rather different, if related, ideas in "consecration formula" and "good wish." An exception to this vagueness is Woodhead,[13] who introduces what seems a new possibility into the body of opinion built up over the previous century: *θεοί* "rather cryptically indicates that, before the matter under discussion was considered and decided upon, the proper religious exercises had been performed or invocations made." What were these religious observances? We know from Demosthenes that an apotropaic curse was included in the prayers that were recited before the meetings of the *ekklesia* and the *boule*.[14] It is doubtless this prayer, which Demosthenes reports was required by law to be recited at each meeting, that Woodhead has in mind. But if the prayer was compulsory, we might expect that the reference to the gods would have become a regular part of the heading-preamble section, either of every decree or, at least, of the first decree passed in each meeting. It did not, however.[15] In Athens, of fifth-century inscriptions that possess headings, fewer than half are headed by *θεοί*, either alone or in combination with a name; its use is thus far from a regular feature of the decrees.

A brief reference to the heading *θεοί* by D. M. Robinson[16] brings us, I think, closer to understanding its essential nature. He writes, "on the taenia, we have the word of good omen, *θεοί*." We are here on different ground. The definition "word of good omen" recognizes, or at any rate suggests, that *θεοί* has no intrinsic, direct connection with the business of passing the decree it heads, or with the contents of the decree itself. I believe that this is on the right track. Viewed this way, *θεοί* is not a dedicatory formula, nor a formal appeal for good fortune, nor an indication that suitable religious rites had been performed. Rather, I hope to suggest in what follows, its presence on the stone may best be explained as harking back to an early religious element, imprecatory and apotropaic in nature.

The earliest use of what we may term the forerunner of the *θεοί* heading is found not in Attica but in Crete, in the so-called Constitution from Dreros.[17] The inscription begins with a phrase, or primitive 'heading', which runs θιός ολοιον, the rendering of Meiggs and Lewis. This reading differs from that of Buck,[18] who prefers θιὸς ὄλοι ὄν, "may God destroy him." Meiggs and Lewis assume the phrase to express hope for beneficence on the part of the deity, "may God be kind," a translation which presumably reflects an interpretation of the letters as θιὸς ὁ λῴων or λωίων. Both formulations of the letters are problematical, it must be admitted. Buck's reading has the ad-

[13] A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*² (Cambridge 1981) 39.

[14] Dem. 19.70. A parody exists in Ar. *Thesm.* 331ff.

[15] In 332/1 B.C., for example, eight decrees were passed on a single day; four of these have *θεοί* headings, four have not. See B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year* (Berkeley 1961) 85–88.

[16] "A New Logos Inscription," *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 74.

[17] Meiggs/Lewis 2; *cf.* P. Demargne and H. van Effenterre, "Recherches à Dreros," *BCH* 62 (1938) 194–95; V. Ehrenberg, "An Early Source of Polis-Constitution," *CQ* 37 (1943) 14–18.

[18] C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago 1955) 116.

vantage, however, of being a complete sentence, which is what one would expect at this early stage of documentation in Greece, however cryptic it may have become subsequently. The ὁ λωίων of Meiggs and Lewis, literally 'the better one', is not satisfactory for any period. For these and other reasons to be discussed presently, I favor the interpretation of Buck. The difficulties attendant on making sense of it have forced two expert scholars to state that the meaning "is still disputed."[19] If, however, Buck's treatment of the letters is correct, what are we to make of the phrase? What does it really mean and what inspired it?

Eastern artisans with various skills emigrated from their homelands in Syria and Phoenicia and found their way to Crete, beginning as early as the ninth century.[20] Contacts between Greece and the East, with Cyprus often the intermediary, continued with increasing frequency through the eighth and into the seventh centuries; indeed, the latter is often called the Orientalizing period in Greek art, when eastern artistic motifs became the dominant influence in both pottery and sculpture. The emigration of craftsmen from Syria to Greek centers followed the occasional importation of bronzes, ivories, and terracottas to these centers. A bronze tympanum from the Idaean cave is eastern in style but has unmistakably Greek features.[21] Similarly, it appears probable that a Syrian artisan was brought to Corinth and there made of Corinthian clay a mould for a human head in a North Syrian style.[22] There was a corresponding effect in Syria and elsewhere, as Greek pottery, from ninth-century Protogeometric through eighth-century Geometric and Corinthian, was imported into many areas—Al-Mina, for one.[23] The manufacture of terracottas also shows that eastern craftsmen moved into Greece and took on local apprentices; Rhodes and Crete, not unexpectedly, were the first to receive the new technique of mould-manufacture and to refine it according to Hellenic fashion.[24]

This brief survey of eastern influence has been undertaken to make it clear that close ties between the Near East and Greece involved not just trade and commerce but also immigration. Since it is well known that immigrants to new cities and new countries bring with them beliefs and customs peculiar to their places of origin just as surely as they bring artistic or manual skills, we may easily assume that the Syrians and Phoenicians who came to Greek centers were no exception to that general principle. It is with this in mind that we may find a solution to the mystery of *θιός ολοιον*.

Apotropaic, imprecatory curses on important stone objects and buildings have a lengthy tradition in the Near East. In Babylonia, the use of boundary stones, *kudurru*,

[19] L. H. Jeffery, A. Morpurgo-Davies, "Ποινικαστάς and ποινικάζεν: BM 1969.4-2.1, A New Archaic Inscription from Crete," *Kadmos* 9 (1970) 125.

[20] T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and Their Eastern Neighbours* (London 1957). See also J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*[2] (London 1980).

[21] Boardman (*supra* n.20) 84; see also E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronze-reliefs* (Berlin 1931) pl. 49.

[22] A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth* XV.1 *The Potters' Quarter* (Princeton 1948) 87, pl. 29.1.

[23] M. Robertson, "The Excavations at Al Mina, Sueidia," *JHS* 60 (1940) 2ff; he notes a Corinthian aryballos of the mid-eighth century, 21, pl. IV.1.

[24] *Cf.* R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracotta Figurines* (London 1963); *Greek Terracottas* (London 1967); also, for a detailed examination of archaic types, R. V. Nicholls, "Type, Group and Series: A Reconsideration of Fundamentals," *BSA* 47 (1952) 217–26.

extends over a 700-year period, from before the reign of Kurigalzu II (from 1345 B.C.) to the reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin (to 648 B.C.).[25] The belief underlying their use was that the boundary of a property could be protected by marking it with reliefs naming deities who guarded its inviolability and permanence; a few of the stones were deposited in temples to record and confirm the ownership of the land.[26] These *kudurru* appear first in the Kassite period (*ca* 1600–1100). Usually conical in shape, they are sometimes termed 'stelae'.[27] The stones are almost always sculpted across the top or on a side with symbols of the gods; further down, or on the reverse, they bear long texts in cuneiform.[28] The texts state the exact position of the land in question, sometimes include a list of witnesses, and close with a detailed series of curses upon anyone who might destroy or hide the stone—or alter its text—and thereby effectively deprive the owner of his property. The most important aspect of the iconography of the reliefs is the divine symbols that appear on all the surviving examples. Gods and goddesses, with their attributes, appear on *kudurru* of early date as well as on the most recent. The most recent of all, dated 648 B.C., has no fewer than seven symbols of divinities in addition to an image of king Shamash-shuma-ukin.[29]

One of the striking features of the texts is the appeal to the great gods. They are enumerated and then either one curse is ascribed to them all, or a separate curse is ascribed to each. In the curses, potential offenders are threatened with all manner of diseases or calamities. Part of a text of one stone will serve to illustrate the practice, a boundary stone of Marduk-akhe-eriba (1098–1044).[30] It opens with a description of the land and its boundaries (column i). Then follow two columns giving warnings and appeals to the gods for retribution against anyone who disturbs the stone. Column ii, which deals with him who fails to respect the stone and boundaries, is translated thus:[31]

> May NIN.IB and Gula, the lords of the boundary
> and of this boundary stone,
> cause a destructive sickness to be
> in his body, so that, as long as he lives,
> he may pass dark and bright red blood as water.
> May Sin, the eye of heaven and earth, cause

[25] U. Seidl, "Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs," *BaghMitt* 4 (1968) 7–220, collects all extant stones; *cf.* M. S. Drower, "Syria c. 1500–1400 B.C.," *CAH* III[3].1 (Cambridge 1973) 440.

[26] There are many studies of these stones and the reliefs on them, the chief of which are L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum* (London 1912); K. Frank, *Bilder und Symbole babylonisch-assyrischer Götter* (LeipzSemitStud II.2 [1906]); F. X. Steinmetzer, *Die babylonischen Kudurru (Grenzsteine) als Urkundenforme* (Paderborn 1922); E. D. Van Buren, "Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art," *AASOR* 23 (1945); C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations* VIII *The Kassite Period and the Assyrian Kings* (London 1965).

[27] Drower (*supra* n.25) 440; Seidl (*supra* n.25) 67, "Die Kudurru sind formal unpräzisierte Stelen."

[28] The word *kudurru* itself means 'boundary' in Akkadian, which the occupying Kassites adopted; *cf.* K. Balkan, *Kassitenstudien* I, *Die Sprache der Kassiten* (American Oriental Society Publ. 37 [New Haven 1954]) 95ff.

[29] Seidl (*supra* n.25) 63.

[30] Seidl (*supra* n.25) 53ff no. 91.

[31] W. J. Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I* (Philadelphia 1907) 191f.

leprosy to be in his body, so that
in the enclosure of his city he may not lie.
May the gods, all of them, as many as are mentioned
by their names, not grant him life for a single day.

This text is of the eleventh century, but the traditional forms persisted into the seventh.[32]

These texts with their dire warnings bear a striking resemblance to the warnings inscribed on the figures which supported the main portico of the palace of Kapara at Tell Halaf in eastern Syria.[33] It is true that these warnings or imprecations differ from those on the *kudurru* in that the king does not call on the gods but himself threatens retribution. As, however, we have no earlier examples from Tell Halaf, and as the artistic motifs are surely influenced by Babylonian ones, the idea of an inscribed warning would seem also to have been derived from Babylonia. The reasonable conclusion is that there was contact between the two areas from an early date, and certainly from 1000 B.C., when Aramaeans settled in both areas and Babylonia was on the trade route from Phoenicia to India.

The existence in Phoenicia itself of curses like those on the *kudurru* adds what seems the final link in the chain of transmission to the west. In Phoenicia inscribed curses were of two main types. First, we find in the early part of the seventh century the use of curses within official agreements, as in a treaty between Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–668) and Baal of Tyre (676–671);[34] in the initial section the obligations of Baal to Esarhaddon are established and a settlement outlined, and in the second "the gods are invoked as guarantors of the agreement and a curse laid on whoever breaks it."[35] Second, a strongly apotropaic use of curses, very like, if more elaborate than, the Dreros phrase, is found in a late seventh century dedicatory inscription to Baalat, the chief goddess of Byblos. The final portion of it is translated as follows:[36]

. . . and if thou dost not add my name to thine own,
or if thou removest this work and movest . . . its base
in this place . . . may the lady Baalat of Byblos destroy
this man and his seed before all the gods of Byblos.

Dreros, in the eastern part of Crete, gives us θιὸς ὄλοι ὄν. With Buck's division of the letters, ὄλοι is a third-person singular optative of ὄλλυμι and ὄν its direct object, the accusative singular of the masculine demonstrative: "May God destroy him," *viz.* the one who disturbs the stone or subverts the statute inscribed on it. My contention is that this curse reflects eastern, or Phoenician, influence. Is there evidence to connect Dreros with Phoenicia? The archaeological remains indicate that the site was an important one

[32] *E.g.* Seidl (*supra* n.25) 63 no. 109.
[33] B. Meissner, *Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur* (AOF Beih. 1 [1939]) 71–79; *cf.* H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth 1970) 402 n.44.
[34] D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago 1927) 587–91; *ANET*[3] 533–34.
[35] S. Moscati, *The World of the Phoenicians*, tr. A. Hamilton (London 1968) 21.
[36] H. Donner, W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* I (Wiesbaden 1962) 10, as quoted by Moscati (*supra* n.35) 32, *cf.* 257.

in the Geometric period. The temple of Apollo Delphinios, on a wall block of which the 'constitution' is inscribed, was excavated in the 1930's,[37] and yielded statuettes which have been interpreted as cult objects. The excavator believed them to be Minoan, but Boardman shows that they are rather of the late eighth or early seventh century, examples of the influence of eastern metalworking techniques.[38] They may have been installed in the temple when it was built, in the late Geometric period, and they were probably made by Phoenician artisans.[39] There is now a good deal of evidence that suggests some Phoenician settlement in Crete, as for instance a Phoenician-inscribed bowl of bronze discovered near Knossos.[40]

I would therefore suggest that the apotropaic curses which first appeared hundreds of years earlier in Babylonia, then moved—as did artistic influences—first to North Syria, then to Phoenicia, were transmitted to eastern Crete by immigrants who in time were assimilated into the communities in which they worked. The diffusion of this epigraphical custom was apparently rapid. Although originally in the singular, θιός in Crete soon gave way to the plural form, as in an inscription from Gortyn *ca* 500 B.C. concerning agricultural matters, which has two θιοί headings (*I.Cret.* IV 43B). In its plural form it reached Athens (as did terracotta techniques and other influences), where it was used first by private individuals in the form of graffiti on pots, tiles, and architectural members;[41] these Athenians presumably had the Twelve Gods in mind, although that is a matter for full discussion elsewhere. In time, it seems that the curse originally understood to accompany the word θεοί was quite forgotten, but the word itself, having retained its apotropaic quality, was used from time to time for centuries as a heading on public documents as well as on private objects.

This theory obviates the problems that attend the other explanations of θεοί, particularly that of its sporadic use. Had it represented recognition of the completion of official, compulsory religious rites, it should have become a standard part of decree preambles. But it never did. It was used, it seems, at the discretion of the secretary or his staff, at times almost in a decorative way, since it could be widely spaced across the stele above the text in a manner like that of the secretary's name, say, or the designation προξενία. The apotropaic purpose of θεοί may well have continued to be recognized—it was in use from the mid-fifth century into the Roman period[42]—but it seems

[37] S. Marinatos, "Le temple de Dreros," *BCH* 60 (1936) 214–85.
[38] J. Boardman, *Cretan Collection in Oxford, the Dictaean Cave and Iron Age Crete* (Oxford 1961) 137ff.
[39] *Cf.* E. Kirsten, *RE* Suppl. 7 (1940) 128–49 *s.v.* "Dreros," esp. 138.
[40] M. Sznycer, "L'inscription phénicienne de Tekke, près de Cnossos," *Kadmos* 18 (1979) 89–93.
[41] *Cf. e.g.* D. Peppas-Delmousou, "Τεκτονικὰ Σημεῖα καὶ Ἐπιγραφαὶ Μαρμαρινῶν Ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν Μελῶν," Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον IV (Athens 1968) 369ff, pl. 105.
[42] Although Athens gives us the vast majority of our examples of θεοί as a heading, the word does appear in the inscriptions of other parts of Greece, *e.g.* Delphi and Sparta, but beginning later and apparently owing to Athenian influence. At Delos, where the hand of Athens was heavier than in almost any other area of the Greek world, θεοί appears in 49% of all Delian inscriptions with preserved headings, *cf.* Pounder (*supra* n.1) 147. It is difficult to ascertain such a percentage for the far more numerous Athenian inscriptions, but a rough estimate puts it at over 50%, taking all decrees from the mid-fifth century to the Roman period.

clear that the violent imprecatory origin of the apotropaism had long since atrophied and that it was viewed as a more benign means of protection, one which could be brought into use at the whim of an individual.

VASSAR COLLEGE

The Polis of Sellasia

W. Kendrick Pritchett

STERLING DOW, acting on his deep conviction that a firm knowledge of ancient Greek history must be based on a personal acquaintance with the monuments, inscriptions, and terrain of Greece, has sent to the American School at Athens more students than any other American teacher of the past generation. It is my hope that in a volume commemorating his eightieth birthday he will look with favor upon a topographical contribution which discusses two sites pertinent to the battle of Sellasia described in Polybios 2.65–69.

The Fortress above Sellasia. A plan of the so-called fortress of Sellasia, a pear-shaped enclosure of unhewn stones with towers, was published by Loring in *JHS* 15 (1895) 73.[1] Since my study of the battle of Sellasia,[2] the chapel of Ayios Konstantinos within the enclosure at the summit of the mountain, which rises to an elevation of 831 m. above sea-level, has been rebuilt, and a winding track for trucks bulldozed up the northwestern side. Today one enters the fortress, which measures about 1200 yards in circumference, where the cross-wall joins the western side of the circuit-wall. It is a circuitous hike of about 45 minutes. The area of the upper fortress has been cleared of shrubs, affording a much better opportunity to inspect the surface remains than on previous visits in the early 1960's. PLATE 13A shows the chapel with the cross-wall in the middle distance, as viewed from the south. Others before me have assembled piles of sherds, principally roof-tiles, but I know of no report of their finds. Most of the roof-tiles are covered with chocolate-brown glaze, which Miss Nancy Winter informs me are not later than Hellenistic, but we also found tiles with a good black glaze which are usually assigned a date before 400 B.C. Although the pottery, in contrast to the tiles, is not numerous,[3] we found a number of small pieces of black glaze with rims, which were identified for me as being not necessarily later than the fifth century. The best collection is in the vicinity of an abandoned well, or artificial cavern, at the southeastern part of the upper enclosure, as marked on the map of General A. Jochmus.[4] We saw no pottery in the long ascent, although the bulldozer had exposed the earth down to bedrock. Moreover, there is only a small scattering of roof-tiles outside the enclosure. Any idea that the walls on the summit constituted an akropolis with people dwelling on the slopes round about cannot be sustained.

[1] *Cf.* the sketch of L. Ross, *Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland* I (Berlin 1841) 188.
[2] As published in *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* I (Berkeley 1965) 59–70.
[3] Ross (supra n. 1) 188 reported, "Im Innern sieht man nur wenige Fundamente von Häusern und gar keine Marmorstücke."
[4] *Journal of the Geographical Society* 27 (1857), facing p.34.

The presence of the sherds suggests that the fort was constructed not later than 400 B.C., some two hundred years before the battle of 222 B.C.[5] There was never any ground for supporting the theory that the fort was built by Kleomenes just before the battle, which took place at a much lower elevation, more than two miles away.[6] Ross wrote of the site that it "beherrscht von solcher Höhe (831 Meter) eine weite Aussicht auf die Kette des Taygeton, auf das Eurotasthal und gegen Norden auf die Pässe der Skiritis, durch welche die feindlichen Heere gegen Sparta heranrücken mussten."[7] To the west one looks down into the valley of the Eurotas with the plain north of the springs of Vivari in full view. One sees all of the modern villages located on the modern road from Sparta to Megalopolis on the eastern slope of Taygetos and the high pass above Yeorgitsion which leads over into Messenia.

The Polis of Sellasia. Diodoros (15.64.1), in writing of a campaign of 369 B.C., refers to Sellasia as a polis (ἐπὶ τὴν Σελλασίαν καλουμένην πόλιν).[8] In 1965 I proposed that the ancient town was on the hill called Palaiogoulas.[9] The hill is surmounted by a rubble circuit wall, about 1.75 m. thick, with a perimeter of 300 m. Soteriades excavated at the site in 1910 and dated the pottery from the fifth to second centuries B.C.[10] In accord with his belief that ancient Sellasia was on Mt Ayios Konstantinos, he termed the site a φρούριον of the archaic and Hellenistic periods, although it is honeycombed with walls of small buildings and the lines of house walls can be traced. I earlier recorded (*Topography* I 64) the fact that, as one went northward from the eastern base of Palaiogoulas in the direction of the remains of the khan of Krevatas, one could observe in the ground to the left glazed pottery of the classical period. In 1982, taking advantage of the fact that a dirt road, running north from the modern Sparta-Vresthena road, had been bulldozed in the foothills above the right bank of the river, I spent several hours exploring the area north of Palaiogoulas. From time to time we ascended into scattered

[5] For another Spartan fortification of about the same date, on the right bank of the Eurotas, see my *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* IV 14–18. Nabis, after crossing the Eurotas on his way to the site of Sellasia, is said to have skirted Poliasion (Plb. 16.16.2). Since the word is synonymous with πολίχνη (see F. Bölte, *RE* 21 [1952] 1365 *s.v.* "Poliasion"), 'fort', the appellative would seem to be a candidate for the name of our fort.

[6] See, for example, S. C. Bakhuizen, *Salganeus and the Fortifications on Its Mountains* (Groningen 1970) 159; A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortifications* (Oxford 1978) 178.

[7] Ross (*supra* n.1) 189.

[8] Sellasia was pillaged and burned by the Thebans of Epameinondas in the winter of 370/369 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.27); in 365 it was retaken by the Spartans who were aided by the Syrakousans (7.4.12). After the battle of 222 B.C., the people were sold into slavery (Paus. 2.9.2); in Pausanias' day the city was in ruins (3.10.7).

[9] *Topography* I 64. The hill is labelled as Euas on Kromayer's map in the *Antike Schlachtfelder* I Karte 5, and on F. W. Walbank's map, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* I (Oxford 1957) 276. Kromayer's map is repeated with the addition of some modern placenames in *BCH* 34 (1910) pl. 13. More recently, I. Touloumakos, *Istoria tou Ellenikou Ethnous* IV (1973) 397, has published a sketch-map in color. The hill is illustrated in *BCH* 34 pl. I.1 and 3, pl. II.5; 35 (1911) facing p.93; *Topography* I pls. 60b and 61a and b.

[10] See in particular *Praktika* 1910, 277–78. *Cf.* also *BCH* 35 (1911) 89–93. Kromayer and Kahrstedt in their debate with Soteriades over the date of the remains on Palaiogoulas insisted that the site was a Turkish one. I have never seen any Turkish pottery on the site or on the surrounding hills. The Byzantine and Turkish remains are at Vourlia (renamed Sellasia) on the western side of the modern Sparta-Tripolis highway.

olive groves, where the natives had cultivated around the roots of trees. We saw much coarse ware, but also fragments of pottery of good quality, including a fourth-century lamp and the handle of a black-glazed oinochoe. Here and there one observes the layers of ancient pottery in the left bank of the road. The stratigraphy is particularly clear at a depth of about two feet below the present gound level just before the tractor road turns west and ascends the mountain (see PLATE 14). PLATE 13B shows the hill Palaiogoulas from the north. The terrain between the hill and the camera was part of the ancient city. The bulldozer had exposed pottery which would be the pride of any museum collection. We saw one large fragment about four inches square of a lekane, or deep basin, with decorative band and unusual chocolate-brown glaze applied to clay of a light pinkish color. The profile of the moulded ridge suggests a late sixth- or early fifth-century date.[11] On my return, I paced off the distance by pedometer as being more than half a mile from the bridge on the Sparta-Vresthena road. Clearly, Sellasia was a prosperous town of considerable size, occupying much more territory than Palaiogoulas.

Just as the location of the deme of Marathon is of critical importance for any reconstruction of the battle of 490 B.C., so the fact that the polis of Sellasia extended northwards from Palaiogoulas, covering the ridge on which Kromayer has marked the nineteenth-century khan of Sakellarios, rules out the reconstructions of the battle of 222 B.C. by Kromayer and Kahrstedt.[12] Any ancient battle in this part of the valley of the Kelephina (= Oinous) river must have been north of the town.[13] It follows that the Gorgylos river mentioned in Polybios' account was correctly identified in *Topography* I 66–67, following the earlier suggestion of General Jochmus[14] after his visits of 1830 and 1834; he wrote: "Inconsiderable as it is, it deserves to be distinguished from the other small tributaries of the Oenus, inasmuch as it is the only one which has water in summer derived from a spring." It seems safe to infer that the left wing of the Spartan army, arrayed on the right side of the river, fortified the ridge which rises south of the Gorgylos, marked on Kromayer's map as carrying the khan of Dagla.

As to the fortifications on the left bank of the river, which were constructed by Kleomenes for his right wing, where the two phalanxes ultimately clashed, we seem to have a choice of the ridge due east of the Dagla ridge, as I suggested earlier, or that immediately to the north, as preferred by Jochmus (see his plan facing pp.34–35). Soteriades seems to follow Jochmus, placing Antigonos and the Makedonians at Skinolakka (*BCH* 35, 104), a ridge marked on Kromayer's map in *BCH* 34 pl. 13. It is im-

[11] For similar but unglazed vessels from Attika, see B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora* XII.2 (1970) pl. 83.

[12] The first scholar to place the battle of Sellasia in the plain of Krevatas was Boblaye (*Recherches géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée* [Paris 1836] 73–74): "Tous les détails topographiques donnés par Polybe ne peuvent s'appliquer qu'à la plaine du Khan de Kravata, sur les bords de la Kéléphina. Sa largeur est de 600 à 800 mètres, sa longeur de 1000 à 1200; au-dessous, la vallée se reserre en une gorge de deux lieues de longeur, qui suivait la voie ancienne. Nous avons trouvé des débris antiques sur toutes les collines qui bordent la plaine au midi, entre autres un petit sacellum très rapproché de la route."

[13] For up-to-date bibliography on the number of the Spartan forces at Sellasia, see F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* III (Oxford 1979) 763.

[14] Jochmus served in Greece on the staff of General Sir Richard Church.

portant to note that a great quantity of gravel and dirt was removed particularly from the left bank of the river in preparing the road-bed for the Sparta-Vresthena road.[15] Abandoned cables were still to be seen at the time of my first visit. The complete transformation of the shoulder of the mountain on this side of the river is proved by a comparison of the terrain today with that shown on the valuable photographs published by Soteriades; the third photograph is particularly informative.[16] The area is so overgrown today (1982), in contrast with that on the right bank of the river, that no meaningful photograph is possible. One may be reminded that the so-called Charadra in the plain of Marathon has been completely transformed by the removal of literally thousands of tons of dirt and rocks, dredged up by two large cranes over several months for the construction of roads, particularly those leading to the Schoinia when an International Jamboree of Boy Scouts was encamped along the beach.[17] Jochmus' solution for the right wing at Sellasia involves no formidable barrier, and Jochmus was a professional soldier with personal experience, but the critical determination remains as to what postion Kleomenes is most likely to have fortified with a τάφρος καὶ χάραξ (Plb. 2.65.9). Any future reconstructions of the battle must be based in part on the early photographs.[18]

I find completely unconvincing the solution of the battle on the Spartan wing offered by J. D. Morgan.[19] He places the camp of Kleomenes "on the summit of Melissi." A camp for over 20,000 men is of course not a point on a map. This mountain is illustrated in the right portion of the photograph in *BCH* 34 pl. III.8 and at the upper right of the photograph in *Topography* I pl. 58b. It seems more logical to site the Spartan camp on the left bank of the river behind their fortifications and opposite the polis of Sellasia. In turn, the site of the battle between the phalanxes on the Spartan wing is placed at a small plowed field which the author says is "barely visible in a photograph of Olympos (*SAGT* pl. 58b)." By measuring 1.4 cm. from the top border and 6 from the left edge of my photograph, one sees the field in question. The engagement would have taken place far away and indeed out of sight of the rest of the action.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

[15] The road leading from the modern Tripolis-Sparta highway to Vasaras and Vresthena is entirely of modern construction. It does not appear on maps of Jochmus, Kromayer, or Soteriades. It must have required thousands of tons of gravel.

[16] *BCH* 34 pls. I.4, II.6, and III.8. See also Kromayer (*supra* n.9) pl. 3.

[17] See *Topography* II 4–5. Another conspicuous example is the removal of the hill behind the sanctuary of Eleusis after the completion of the excavations of Mylonas in 1955/56.

[18] The extremely uneven, though not rugged, terrain at Sellasia is described as "*skolios* and full of stream-beds and gullies": Plut. *Phil.* 6.8.

[19] *AJA* 85 (1981) 328–30.

A. AYIOS KONSTANTINOS, FROM THE SOUTH

B. PALAIOGOULAS, FROM THE NORTH

SELLASIA: STRATIGRAPHY

Ποικιλόθρονος in Sappho: The First Word of Poem 1

R. Renehan

For S. Dow

Let others, not you, pass this script unread,
O sterling searcher of the bronze age old:
Mine be the words inscribed on wood or lead;
See Sappho's song all writ in gold.

ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε·
μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα,
πότνια, θῦμον,
ἀλλὰ τυίδ' ἔλθ', αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα
τὰς ἔμας αὔδας ἀίοισα πήλοι
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα
χρύσιον ἦλθες
ἄρμ' ὐπασδεύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ' ἆγον
ὤκεες στροῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνωἴθε-
ρος διὰ μέσσω·
αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο, σὺ δ' ὦ μάκαιρα
μειδιαίσαισ' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ
ἤρε' ὄττι δηὖτε πέπονθα κὤττι
δηὖτε κάλημμι
κὤττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι
μαινόλᾳ θύμῳ· τίνα δηὖτε πείθω
. . σαγην ἐς σὰν φιλότατα; τίς σ' ὦ
Ψάπφ' ἀδικήει;
καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει,
αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει,
αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει
κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα.
ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον
ἐκ μερίμναν, ὅσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι
θῦμος ἰμέρρει, τέλεσον, σὺ δ' αὔτα
σύμμαχος ἔσσο.

The first word of this beautiful poem has attracted manifold comment, much of it controversial.[1] (1) The existence of elaborately worked thrones in Sappho's lifetime has been questioned, wrongly. Page (5) gives the corroborating evidence with references. Whether Sappho's epithet was inspired by actual thrones, or Homeric (or other poetic) descriptions, or both or neither, seems to me unanswerable and of minor import for the understanding of the poem. (2) The etymology of *ποικιλόθρονος* is disputed; some would connect it with *θρόνα*, 'flowers' (see LSJ *s.v. θρόνον*), and explain it as signifying "with decorative flowers woven on her peplos."[2] For references see Gerber 162–63 and add Kannicht/Snell on *TrGF* II 692.17–18. Whatever the actual etymology of compounds in *-θρονος*, there seems to me no doubt that the Greeks of the historical period, and Sappho in particular, understood such compounds to be derived from *θρόνος*, 'throne' (see below). (3) There is a variant *ποικιλόφρον'* which some prefer. Here too the meaning has been disputed. Smyth (231) felt it necessary to caution "The form *ποικιλόφρον'* is not Aiolic for *-θρον'*." He was thinking presumably of such legitimate dialectical doublets as *θήρ/φήρ*. But those few who favor *ποικιλόφρον'* usually understand it rather as 'full of various wiles'.[3] *ποικιλόφρον'* should be dismissed as a simple corruption, possibly caused either by the *-φρ-* in *Ἀφρόδιτα* or by a psychological anticipation of the meaning suggested by *δολόπλοκε* in v. 2. For the fluctuation compare Pindar *Ol.* 2.22 where the MSS. have (correctly) *εὐθρόνοις* in contrast to the reading *εὔφρονος* of *P.Oxy.* XVII 2092. (4) W. F. Wyatt has argued[4] that in *ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα* Sappho is consciously referring to an etymology of Aphrodite's name from *ἄφρων/ἀφροσύνη*, 'she who renders one *ἄφρων*'. For the etymology he compares Eur. *Tro.* 990, Arist. *Rh.* 1400b24 (who quotes Euripides), and some late passages. In connection with this Wyatt writes, "It is possible that Sappho did indeed write *ποικιλόφρον'*, and if she did, that would seem to clinch the etymology of Aphrodite." This is an improbable suggestion which fails to take into account the crucial consideration that the derivation of *Ἀφροδίτη* from *ἀφροσύνη* is almost certainly a creation of the later, sophistic period. For similar etymologies compare Democritus fr.2 and Pl. *Cra.* 407A–B.[5]

[1] The following are cited by author's name alone: David A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (New York 1967); D. E. Gerber, *Euterpe. An Anthology of Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac, and Iambic Poetry* (Amsterdam 1970); G. M. Kirkwood, *Early Greek Monody. The History of a Poetic Type* (Ithaca/London 1974); Denys Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1959); Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* (London 1906); Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913).

[2] Wilamowitz was thus too sanguine when he wrote (44) "hier darf wahrlich niemand an *θρόνα ποικίλα* denken." *ἱστὸν ... δίπλακα πορφυρέην, ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ' ἔπασσε* in *Il.* 22.441 (of Andromache's web) is a curious coincidence, but nothing more. Here is another. *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59445 of the third century B.C. [Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri* I 171] preserves a *ὑπόμνημα* from a painting contractor; among the parts of the house which the entrepreneur undertakes to paint is a *θρᾶνος* (the word is probably cognate with *θρόνος*), literally a 'bench', but here used in the sense of 'upper course of masonry' in the *προστάς* (*cf.* LSJ *s.v. θρᾶνος* II.2 with *Suppl.*): *ἵνα γραφῆι <κυ>μάτιον περιπόρφυρον καὶ θρᾶνος ποικίλος*. Surely no one will advocate the notion of a house painter drawing up a commercial agreement under the influence of Homer and Sappho.

[3] For references and arguments against this view see Keith Stanley, *GRBS* 17 (1976) 309 n.26.

[4] *CP* 69 (1974) 213–14.

[5] See also W. K. C. Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy* III 207 with n.2, V 16 with n.2.

ποικιλόθρονος refers to a throne, not flowers, and the variant reading *ποικιλόφρον'* should be rejected. The few who argue otherwise, it is fair to say, have not carried conviction. But if this much be conceded, is it possible to be any more precise about the use of *ποικιλόθρον'* in Sappho's poem? Apart from comparisons with Homeric descriptions of thrones or with actual representations of thrones in art most commentators say little. Wilamowitz was content to remark, "wer sich der Tonbilder thronender Göttinnen erinnert, die doch für Weihgeschenke oder auch für den häuslichen Cult bestimmt waren, dem wird *ποικιλοθρόνος* [*sic*] ohne weiteres volle sinnliche Wahrheit haben" (44). Of recent commentators Campbell states simply "Sappho pictures Aphrodite in her Olympian home ... " (264). Kirkwood describes *ποικιλόθρονος* as a "single [?], sumptuous" word and writes, "The *ποικιλο-* certainly suggests the deviousness of Aphrodite, fitting well with *δολόπλοκε*, and *-θρονος* as throne seems right in emphasizing her divine quality" (111 and 248 n.20). This is at best but part of the truth; to go no further, it seems most unlikely that *ποικιλο-* should be brought into explicit connection with the 'deviousness' of *δολόπλοκε*. However, it is Page's judgment on which the present paper will focus. He states flatly that *ποικιλόθρον'* is "a purely ornamental epithet" (5). On the contrary, the epithet is functional; Sappho has quite deliberately placed *ποικιλόθρον'* at the very beginning of her poem in order to emphasize the *mise-en-scène*.

"Aphrodite seated on your elegant throne, it is no time for sitting; come and help me ... " Aphrodite is introduced not simply as being in heaven (*cf.* vv. 11–12) rather than on earth where Sappho wishes her, but in a situation the very opposite of that desired—repose rather than activity. *ποικιλόθρον'*, summoning up as it does a picture of a *seated* goddess, is intended to contrast with *ἀλλὰ τυίδ' ἔλθ'* (v. 5, echoed in 25 *ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν*). For the contrast suggested here compare *Orphic Hymn* 16 Quandt (to Hera), which is explicit. I give the opening and close:

κυανέοις κόλποισιν[6] *ἐνημένη, ἀερόμορφε,*
Ἥρα παμβασίλεια ...
ἀλλά, μάκαιρα θεά, πολυώνυμε, παμβασίλεια,
ἔλθοις εὐμενέουσα καλῷ γήθουσα προσώπῳ.

It is just possible that this hymn owes something to Sappho's poem. That both poems summon down a goddess from the air does not count for much, but *καλῷ γήθουσα προσώπῳ* in v. 10 of the Orphic hymn is curiously reminiscent of *μειδιαίσαισ' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ* in v. 14 of Sappho's poem.

Of the two elements in the Sapphic compound, *-θρον'* is the more important; that sets the scene, not *ποικιλο-*. Comments such as Kirkwood's "*-θρονος* ... emphasizing her divine quality" and Stanley's "an Aphrodite defined more by authority than by charm ... thus ... 'richly-enthroned' ... appears more appropriate [than *ποικιλόφρον'*]" miss the main point. This proposed contrast between (seated) repose and action has many parallels in Homer (to go no further). In fact what we have here is a

[6] *κόλποισιν* here means 'hollows of the air'; see LSJ *s.v.* III.1, where this occurrence should be added.

subtle variation on a common *topos*; so *Iliad* 23.203–05 (of Iris), πάντες ἀνήϊξαν, κάλεόν τέ μιν εἰς ἕ ἕκαστος· ἡ δ' αὖθ' ἕζεσθαι μὲν ἀνήνατο, εἶπε δὲ μῦθον· "οὐχ ἕδος· εἶμι γὰρ αὖτις ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα . . . " This same passage contains language that recalls Sappho's poem: λιτάνευεν ἐλθέμεν (196f), ὦκα δὲ Ἶρις ἀράων ἀίουσα . . . ἦλθ' (198f). See also *Iliad* 1.349, of Achilles, whose *inactivity* was responsible for so much sorrow: δακρύσας ἑτάρων ἄφαρ ἕζετο νόσφι λιασθείς. He prays to his mother and she heeds him (357–59): τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ ἡμένη ἐν βένθεσσιν ἁλὸς . . . καρπαλίμως δ' ἀνέδυ πολιῆς ἁλός κτλ. More specifically, it may be significant that the very word θρόνος occurs often in such contexts; compare *Iliad* 11.645–48, τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ὁ γεραιὸς ἀπὸ θρόνου ὦρτο φαεινοῦ, ἐς δ' ἄγε χειρὸς ἑλών, κατὰ δ' ἑδριάασθαι ἄνωγε. Πάτροκλος δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἀναίνετο εἶπε τε μῦθον. "οὐχ ἕδος ἐστί . . . " Here again the positive and negative sides of the motif both appear: Patroclus' refusal to sit, so anxious is he to be about his business, and Nestor eagerly leaping up from his seat—a θρόνος, as regularly. *Iliad* 15.123–24 provides another clear example of θρόνος in this sort of context: Ἀθήνη . . . ὦρτο διὲκ προθύρου, λίπε δὲ θρόνον ἔνθα θάασσε. The purpose of her activity is to restrain Ares, which she does (142), ὣς εἰποῦσ' ἵδρυσε θρόνῳ ἔνι θοῦρον Ἄρηα. Note in this last verse the use of θρόνος in a phrase expressing interruption or cessation of activity. So also *Iliad* 15.149f, ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὣς εἰποῦσα πάλιν κίε πότνια Ἥρη ἕζετο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ.

Whether Homeric examples of compound epithets in -θρονος are ever used with pregnant force is difficult to determine, since epithets in Homer, especially if formulaic, do tend to become merely ornamental. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Homeric -θρονος epithets frequently occur in conjunction with verbs of motion or action. *Odyssey* 6.48, αὐτίκα δ' Ἠὼς ἦλθεν ἐύθρονος, ἥ μιν ἔγειρε; 15.250, Κλεῖτον χρυσόθρονος ἦρπασεν Ἠώς; 15.495, αἶψα γὰρ Ἠὼς ἦλθεν ἐύθρονος; 22.197–98, οὐδὲ σέ γ' ἠριγένεια . . . λήσει ἐπερχομένη χρυσόθρονος. Observe how in these examples the epithet is separated from its noun and emphatically placed next to the verb,[7] which suggests that a conscious contrast between activity (verb) and repose (-θρονος) may have been intended. Even if such adjectives have become standard epithets, in origin they were perhaps something more. Compare Theocritus *Idyll* 2.163, addressed to the Moon: ἀλλὰ τὺ μὲν χαίροισα ποτ' ὠκεανὸν τρέπε πώλως,[8] followed in 165 by χαῖρε, Σελαναία λιπαρόθρονε, where Gow correctly renders "Moon *on* thy gleaming throne, farewell" (emphasis mine). λιπαρόθρονε here is no perfunctory epithet.

One would expect Sappho to have chosen the very first word of her great poem with especial care, and so she has. ποικιλόθρονος is not mere ornament; it is rather Sappho's delicate and oblique way of saying to Aphrodite—οὐχ ἕδος.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

[7] Compare also *Od.* 10.541 = 12.142 = 15.56 = 20.91.

[8] For the inception of the moon's activity in this Idyll see 10–11 ἀλλά, Σελάνα, φαῖνε καλόν.

Grammatical Errors and Epigraphical Hands

Leslie Threatte, Jr

IT WAS STERLING DOW who first suggested to Stephen Tracy that he study the individual hands in Hellenistic inscriptions from Attica, an area in which he himself had already done important work.[1] And it was also Professor Dow who first pointed out to me the need for a new study of the grammatical features of Attic inscriptions.[2] In this short paper I would like to combine these areas of research by investigating to what extent if any the various orthographical anomalies in the inscriptions attributed to the various hands by Tracy can be shown to be due to the person who inscribed the text on the stone as opposed to the person who prepared the copy.[3]

One sometimes sees errors in spelling attributed to the mason, or letter-cutter,[4] and in certain cases there may be special circumstances to foster such an attribution. A dittography caused by beginning a new line would be a typical example. But in order to make a very systematic study of the source of these errors, or in some cases of mere variants in spelling, a fairly large body of texts that can be attributed to individual hands is necessary. There must also be at least two or three hands of roughly the same period that can be analyzed in order to provide the basis for comparison. As the result of Tracy's painstaking research of the past fifteen years we know now no less than eight hands of the Hellenistic period, and while most of the fragments assigned to each are fairly small, there is nonetheless a substantial body of text attributed to each hand.[5]

[1] The occasion was the Seminar in Greek Epigraphy in the fall of 1965. For several decades these seminars in Greek epigraphy of S. Dow were an important part of the graduate curriculum of Harvard University.

[2] At the American School of Classical Studies in Athens during his professorship there in 1966/7. Sterling Dow has always been unstinting in his support of this fine institution, and perhaps more than anywhere else it is in the American School that the importance of his influence on American classical scholarship in the past four decades can be comprehended.

[3] The following abbreviations are used: *Agora* XV = B. D. Meritt, J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora* XV *The Athenian Councillors* (Princeton 1974); *GAI* I = L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I: *Phonology* (Berlin 1980); *Kerameikos* III = W. Peek, *Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen* III *Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln* (Berlin 1941); *Lettering* = S. V. Tracy, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 15 [1975]); Meisterhans = K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3] (Berlin 1900); *Prytaneis* = S. Dow, *Inscriptions Honoring Prytaneis* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 1 [1937]). An asterisk next to a reading indicates confirmation on the stone.

[4] The usual term had always been *mason*, but Tracy has wisely adopted the term *letter-cutter* or just *cutter* in his more recent publications, *cf. GRBS* 13 (1973) 190 n.3, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 244 n.1. For our purposes the terms *hand* or *inscriber* are satisfactory.

[5] As Tracy carefully points out, three of these hands (nos. 1–3) were identified by Sterling Dow himself, and a fourth (no. 6), originally identified by Ad. Wilhelm (*Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen* [Vienna 1906] 63–64), was the subject of a special study by Dow (*AJA* 40 [1936] 58–60). Hand no. 5 was originally described by W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1940) 122–23. But in all cases Tracy has greatly refined the criteria for identification of the hands and has significantly increased the number of inscriptions that can be attributed to each. For a statement of

These hands may be listed here; in this list the three hands published most recently by Tracy have been given the numbers 6, 7, and 8, as the others had already been numbered by him from 1 to 5.

HAND 1 (= III *infra*):
GRBS 11 (1970) 328–30; two texts added *GRBS* 14 (1973) 189.
21 texts (*cf. Hesperia* 47 [1978] 245).
226/5–192/1 B.C. As B. D. Meritt has moved the archon Diodotos back to 192/1, the original limit date of 180/179 can also be changed to 192/1, eliminating the worry of too long a period (mentioned in *GRBS* 1970, 329 n.42).[6]

HAND 2 (VII *infra*): *GRBS* 11 (1970) 330–31. One text added *GRBS* 14 (1973) 189.
12 texts.
130/129–117/6 B.C.

HAND 3 (VIII *infra*): *Lettering* is devoted to this hand; *GRBS* 11 (1970) 331–33.
20 texts.
131/0–98/7 B.C.

HAND 4: (I *infra*): *GRBS* 14 (1973) 190–92.
31 texts.
273/2–248/7 B.C. The date of the archon Athenodoros originally brought this hand down to 240/239, but he is now placed by Meritt in 256/5. The latest archon is now Thersilochos (248/7).

HAND 5 (V *infra*): *GRBS* 14 (1973) 192–95. A fragment added *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 62.
46 texts (*cf. Hesperia* 47 [1978] 245).
194/3–155/4 B.C. The archon Dionysios of *IG* II² 888 is now dated 194/3 instead of 197/6.

HAND 6 (II *infra*): *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 247–55, 266–68; one fragment added *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 57.
53 texts.
229/8–210/9 B.C.

HAND 7 (IV *infra*): *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 255–61.
35 texts.
212/1–174/3 B.C.

HAND 8 (VI *infra*): *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 261–66.
34 texts.
148/7–135/4 B.C.

Nearly all these inscriptions are public documents and were not executed for a private individual. Many are decrees of the state in whose text (if that part is preserved) it is stated that the secretary is to prepare the text. It is a reasonable assumption that persons inscribing the texts were supposed to follow the copy fairly exactly, and for

the methodology Tracy employs, *cf. infra* 279ff; *Lettering* 1–11; *GRBS* 11 (1970) 321–27. The eminent soundness of Tracy's method can be seen in his ability to join very small fragments to larger texts on the basis of his attributions to hands.

[6] The dates limiting the various hands have been revised in accordance with the most recent versions of the archon list published by B. D. Meritt in *Historia* 26 (1977) 161–91, with additional revisions for the third century in *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 78–99. There are still uncertainties in parts of this list, and no doubt further changes will occur in it, but at least in recent years the shifts in the individual archons have not been for very many years. No shift has produced any difficulty for the dates of Tracy's hands; indeed, the contrary has occurred with the return of Diodotos to 192/1 B.C. (Hand 1).

Hand 3 Tracy has produced evidence that this was indeed the case (*Lettering* 117), a view supported by the analysis of Hand 2 below. Thus we would not expect certain types of grammatical variation to occur, such as the substitution of one vocabulary item for another (*e.g.* ἀναγορεῦσαι instead of ἀνειπεῖν). But there are many grammatical phenomena that involve the substitution of one or more letters for others (*e.g.* ηι for ει, ω for ο, etc.), or involve the adding or subtracting of but a single letter (*e.g.* η or ω for ηι/ωι and the opposite, spellings like εἰστήληv, στρατεύεσσθαι, etc.), and it is quite likely that minor changes of this type could in some cases be due to those who carved the inscriptions rather than those who prepared the copies. It should also be remembered that Tracy has shown convincingly that in this period the letters were not traced out in a temporary medium on the stone before carving, although incised guidelines were used and estimates of the best way to use the available space based on counting the number of letters in the text were normal (*Lettering* 115–16, 118–19).

We now present a detailed analysis of phenomena in each of the eight hands which could be considered relevant grammatically. The numbering of the hands given above has been retained, but they are treated here in chronological order. The dates providing the upper and lower limits for the activity of each hand are the dates of the earliest and latest texts assigned to a particular year on the basis of the occurrence within them of the name of an archon whose year is known. The small fragments often have no precise date and could in some cases be slightly earlier or later than the limits.[7]

Before beginning the analysis of the individual hands something should be said of the methodology. Criteria for assigning a variant to the inscriber rather than the secretary or whoever prepared the copy are as follows. In the first place the variant must be fairly rare, for if it is not unusual in the period, its occurrence in several texts of a given hand could hardly be attributed to the inscriber, as any of several persons could be responsible for it. Second, the phenomenon must occur in two or more texts of a given hand, for if a variant, although very unusual, is confined to only one text, its occurrence could be due to the person who prepared the copy rather than the one who carved it on the stone.

I. Hand 4 (273/2–248/7 B.C.)

ἥμυσυ (*Hesperia* 7 [1938] 9 no. 2.35). This spelling can be paralleled in *IG* II² 1534B.250*, of about the same date (*cf. GAI* I 263), a text not by this hand.

ἐλαῖαι (*Hesperia* 7 [1938] 9 no. 2.10–11—the printed text gives ἐλᾶαι, in error). There is not enough comparative material to tell whether the spelling is abnormal or not. A deme decree assigned to the third century has ἱερῶν ἐλαῶν (*IG* II² 1211B.3), but an inventory of 161/0, somewhat later, has ἐλαίας three times (*Hesperia* 16 [1947] 164 no. 64.31, 32, 47).

ηι ~ ει. Spellings like λειτου[ρ]γοῦντες in *IG* II² 665.11, or names of *phylai* in -εῖδος, *e.g. Hesperia* 38 (1969) 418 no. 1.1, 7, 13, 24, are normal in this period (*cf. GAI* I 371, 375–76). The

[7] The catalogues of inscriptions compiled by Tracy include a very few fragments which are unpublished; these have not been taken into consideration in our analysis. Also omitted are a few texts not in the Attic dialect: *IG* II² 1136 and *FD* III.2 48 (*Lettering* no. 7h) in Phocian (Delphic), both assigned to Hand 3; *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 268–76 in Boeotian, assigned to Hand 7.

prominence of -ει in the dative singular of the first declension is quite normal for the period, as is the preference for ἥι in the relative pronoun: *cf.* *IG* II² 1272 (-ει), 665 (ᾗ, -ει, rarely -ηι), 668 (-ει, less often -ηι), 661 (ᾗ, -ει), 686+687 (usually -ει, rarely -ηι), etc. But in several texts there occurs an unusual fondness for -ηι: *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 9 no. 2 (-ηι four times, -ει twice); 110 no. 20 (*IG* II² 700 + new fragment) (ᾗ, -ει and -ηι each three times, also ἥι once), *IG* II² 780 (-ηι nine times, no -ει, although a subjunctive in -ει is partially in restoration), *IG* II² 677 (-ηι six times, also ὑπάρ]χηι). But there are contemporary texts not by this hand which show the same fondness for -ηι, *e.g.* *IG* II² 659 (283/2), *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 3 no. 3 (242/1), *IG* II² 788 (235/4). These texts are very close to the limit dates of Hand 4, and it seems risky to assume that preference for -ηι was so unusual in the second quarter of the third century that its occurrence in these four texts of Hand 4 would have to be due to a single person, *i.e.* the inscriber. The conservative fondness for -ηι is very rare after *ca* 240–230 B.C., which explains why it does not occur in any of the other hands studied below.

Κλευβούλου (*IG* II² 668.19): an oddity for Attic inscriptions. It is probably similar to spellings like Θευδόσιος, etc., and Ἀρευπαγίτης, neither of which occurs elsewhere in the texts of this hand (*cf.* *GAI* I 415).

Φιαλεῦσιν (*IG* II² 687.39*), Φια[λέων] (25*). So far as I know this spelling is not elsewhere found in Attic inscriptions, but it is common in local texts of the Hellenistic period and was probably introduced from Phigaleia (*cf.* *IG* V.2 419, 420; *GAI* I 441).

γινόμεν[ος (*IG* II² 780.34): normal for this period, *cf.* *GAI* I 562.

εἱστ[ήκην (*IG* II² 686.19*). This spelling is of a type that occurs occasionally in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (*cf.* *GAI* I 577), and it could reflect an actual feature of pronunciation as opposed to being a mere omission. But as it is without parallel in Hand 4, it is hard to decide whether the inscriber or the secretary is responsible for the oddity. Contrast the evidence in Hand 3 (272 *infra*).

Ἐρσιγένης (*Hesperia* 38 [1969] 418 no. 1.55). This certainly looks as though it should be Ἐρξιγένης (*cf.* *GAI* I 552 no. 4). Since inscribing *sigma* for *xi* is probably a visual error, it is naturally tempting to assume that the inscriber misread his copy. But similar cases in both Hand 2 and Hand 5 make one hesitate.

Ἀμφιχάρους (*Hesperia* 7 [1938] 110 no. 20.9 [*IG* II² 700 + new fragment]), alongside the expected Θυμοχάρου in line 1, Καλλιφάνου in 60. Everywhere else in this hand's texts the genitive of names of this type (stems in -ης, -ε(σ)ος) is always in -ου, accusative -ην, the normal spellings at this time. Without a single additional case of -ους in another text of Hand 4, it is not convincing to attribute this spelling to the inscriber, as -ους does occur very rarely throughout the Hellenistic period (*e.g.* *IG* II² 774a.3, 3850.3, 905.9, 1003.2). See also the analysis of Hand 3 (273 *infra*).

-κλέους, -κλῆν are the normal endings for names in -κλῆς throughout the Hellenistic period and are abundantly attested in the texts of Hand 4. A single case of -κλέου (*Hesperia* 38 [1969] 418 no. 1.43) is an abbreviatory curtailment caused by lack of space and is not grammatically significant; the inscriber certainly was responsible for it, but this does not mean that he used a genitive in -κλέου. The very unusual spelling Ἡρακλέως occurs in *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 9 no. 2.8* (the printed text wrongly gives Ἡρακλέος, but the *omega* is quite clear on the stone). The spelling -κλέως is virtually unknown in Attic inscriptions, and the only parallels are dated to the fourth century B.C. (*cf.* *GAI* I 235).

τ]όν τε Πειραιᾶ (*IG* II² 724.3). The contrast between this contracted form of the toponym and the uncontracted demotics in -αιέα such as Ἁλαιέα (*Hesperia* 38 [1969] 418 no. 1.33, 34), Κυδαθηναιέα (*IG* II² 668.24, 25), is quite normal in the Hellenistic period. It occurs also in Hands 5, 6, and 7.

πρέσβεις (*IG* II² 675d.3; 687.27, 42, 45). This is the normal plural form at this time, *cf.* *IG* II² 653.49 (285/4), 641.12–13 (299/8). The word is very poorly attested in the third century, but there do not seem to be any certain cases of πρεσβευτής in the *plural* before the end of it.

εὔνους nom. plur. (*IG* II² 661.19). Although identical to the nominative singular and the accusative plural, this is the normal spelling of the nominative plural at this time, *cf.* *IG* II² 505.10 (302/1), 690.2–3 (*ca* 275–260).

πᾶς *vs* ἅπας. There is a great deal of inconsistency in practically all the hands, and in many cases it is hard to determine which spelling if any was the norm in the Hellenistic period. This must be kept in mind in the analyses of all the hands. But certain phrases are very frequent and are nearly always spelled the same way, *i.e.* they are formulaic—so εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα [χρόνον (*IG* II² 687.41, also in 686.26), ἐξ Ἀθηναίω]ν ἁπάντων (686.3–4). The phrase τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων of *Hesperia* 38 (1969) 418 no. 1.30 is certainly a formula and has many parallels, *cf.* *e.g.* Hands 5, 8 (but Hand 1 has an anomalous spelling of the phrase, *cf.* 266 *infra*). In line 27 of the *Hesperia* 38 text the phrase τάς τε θυσίας ἀπ[άσας τεθ]υκέναι τὰς καθηκούσας is very like the τάς τε θυσίας τεθυκ]έναι ἁπάσας τὰς καθηκούσας of *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 25 no. 1 (*IG* II² 989), assigned to Hand 3, or *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 25 no. 12.47–48, of Hand 8. There are in any case many variations in the formulae with θυσίας, and in some of them πάσας occurs. Hence not much weight can be placed on the inconsistency of θυσίας πά[σας of *IG* II² 780.14 with the example from the *Hesperia* 38 text. There is also an internal inconsistency within 780, which has ἐπιμ[ελείας ... ἐχειρ]οτόνησεν ἁπάσας (31–32), but this type of inconsistency is also common in Hellenistic decrees. Also formulaic is the ἐφά]μιλλον ἥι πᾶσι of *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 110 no. 20.18, *cf.* *IG* II² 984.6 (*ca* 150) and Hand 1. Probably also formulaic are: τὰ ἄλλα ἅ[παντα *IG* II² 784.10, τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν 687.14, ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς κ[αιροῖς 777.11.

ἑαυτοῦ etc. *vs* αὐτοῦ. ἑαυτ- was certainly normal in the third century, as an abundance of examples shows, including several in texts of this hand, *e.g.* *IG* II² 687.10, 12; *Prytaneis* 9.10; *Hesperia* 38 (1969) 418 no. 1.26, 32, 34. But in *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 9 no. 2 τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀναλώμασι and τεῖ ἑαυτῶν occur in close proximity (20, 22) and αὐτ- *probably* occurs in three other texts of this hand: ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν (to avoid τε ἑαυτῶν?), *IG* II² 772.12; ἀποδει]κνύμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν σ[πουδήν, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 110 no. 20.16; φανερὰν αὐτοῦ ποιῶν τὴν εὔνοιαν, *IG* II² 1272.7–8. There is some temptation to assign the cases of αὐτ- to the inscriber, but it should be noted that αὐτ- is fairly well attested in other texts of the third century, *cf.* *IG* II² 740.8 (*init.* III), 1316.11 (272/1), 674.7 (273/2), *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 287 no. 56.44 (*IG* II² 791d.2) (245/4), *IG* II² 1298.21 (245/4), 1284.25 (either 263/2 or 255/4), 1285.16 (233/2). The occurrence of both spellings in a single text can be paralleled by *IG* II² 1304 (*post* 211/0), assigned to Hand 1 (*cf.* 266 *infra*), and in Hand 7 (267 *infra*). The weight of the evidence seems to discourage attribution to the inscriber here.

ἀναγορεῦσα[ι (*IG* II² 677.14–15). This is unusual in state decrees, where ἀνειπεῖν is expected; but not only is the example isolated for this hand, but it can be paralleled by *IG* II² 682.75 (*post* 254/3). See the analysis of Hand 6 (266 *infra*).

σώιζωσιν (*IG* II² 687.35). The ωι was certainly normal until late in the second century.

ὀμ]νύω (*IG* II² 687.54). A very rare type of spelling, but isolated in both the hand and the period. Comparable cases occur in the fourth and second centuries.

ἕνεκα *vs* ἕνεκεν. ἕνεκα, the form of the Classical period, is normal in the third century and abundantly attested in texts of this hand, *e.g.* *IG* II² 661.28, 668.21, 677.11, 780.19, 712.11, 804.6, 1272.17, *Prytaneis* 9.14, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 444 no. 2.9, 38 (1969) 418 no. 1.18. A single case of ἕνεκεν occurs in *IG* II² 665.21 (ἕ[νεκα καὶ] ἐπιμελείας has been restored in line 30 of this *stoichedon* text), but it is isolated for this hand and can be paralleled in other texts of the period, *e.g.* *IG* II² 1284.14, 30 (263/2 or 255/4), 1235.15 (246/5), 1297.16 (237/6). See Hand 1 for a comparable case (266 *infra*); *cf.* also Hand 6 (265 *infra*).

Ἐλευσῖνι (*IG* II² 1272.6, 15). ἐν is normally not found in this period, *cf.* *IG* II² 1235.18, 22 (246/5), 1682.2 (285/4), etc.

Summary. There is scarcely anything in Hand 4 which could with confidence be assigned to the person who inscribed the texts.

II. Hand 6 (229/8–210/9 B.C.)

ΣΤΕΦΗΝΟΣ for Στέφανος (*Hesperia* 47 [1978] 252 *ad Agora* XV 128.98). This certainly looks like a copying error of the inscriber.

γεινόμενον (*IG* II² 786.7*). ει for ι is just beginning to appear in state decrees in this period (*cf.* *GAI* I 196), but the example is isolated in this hand.

Δυονισικλῆν (*Hesperia* 6 [1937] 448 no. 3.15*); *cf.* Διοννσίων (line 10*). An odd spelling, but unparalleled in other texts of this hand.

ὠινοχό[η] (*IG* II² 839.20, the correct οἰνοχόη in 47–48 and 85). ωι for οι is scarcely ever found at this time, but the error is probably due to the inscriber, who saw the ωι of the preceding word θεῶι (*cf.* Meisterhans 66 n.585; *GAI* I 337 no. 14).

ηι ~ ει. There is nothing unusual here: ῆι is more frequent than εῖ, otherwise -ει is much more common than -ηι in the dative singular of the first declension.

Εὐπουλίδ(ης) (*IG* II² 1292.31). This kind of spelling has no parallels (*cf.* *GAI* I 435).

ὡσ αὕτως (*IG* II² 847.21*): similar to the ἕωσ ἄν of 1328.18 (183/2), but without parallel in other texts of Hand 6 (*cf.* *GAI* I 533).

ὀλίγα (*IG* II² 834.4, 7). This word is poorly attested in the Hellenistic period, but this spelling, the original one, is slightly more frequent than the variant ὀλίος, and was probably still normal (*cf.* *GAI* I 440). This spelling occurs also in Hands 1 and 8 (265, 269 *infra*), ὀλίον in Hand 3 (272 *infra*).

Ἀρευπαγιτῶν (*IG* II² 839.51). The spelling also occurs in a text of Hand 1 (265 *infra*), but is isolated in both hands; no case of Θευ- for Θεο- occurs in other texts of Hand 6.

ναῶι (*IG* II² 1314.18), ναοῦ (1315.28*). In this type of text this spelling is normal. *Cf.* also Hands 3 and 7.

-κλέους, -κλῆν, the normal forms, are the only ones attested in texts of this hand. Names in -γένης, -μένης, -φάνης, etc., always have the genitive in -ου, accusative -ην, as was normal in this period. The spelling τοῦ γένους (*IG* II² 1235.20) is also the expected one (*cf.* Hand 3).

τὸν Πει]ραιᾶ toponym (*IG* II² 834.11–12), but demotics uncontracted in -αιέα as in *Prytaneis* 28.82–83, 86–87. This is normal, *cf.* Hands 4, 5, and 7.

πρεσβευτάς (*Hesperia* 6 [1937] 448 no. 3.14). By the end of the third century this form is becoming usual, *cf.* *IG* II² 858.4, 6. τῶν συμπρεσβευτῶν occurs in 786.11, also by Hand 6.

πᾶς *vs* ἅπας. *Cf.* analysis of Hand 4 (*supra* 263) for difficulties of analysis. The following are all certainly formulaic and the expected spelling: ἐν παντὶ κ[αιρῶι (*IG* II² 833.9); πρὸς πάντας Ἀ[θηναίους (834.27); ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων (839.48–49 and *Hesperia* 6 [1937] 448 no. 3.6); τῶν ἄλλ]ων ἁπάντων (*Agora* XV 128.50). The τούτων ἁπάντων of *IG* II² 847.27 can be easily paralleled, *e.g.* by 1271.14. But the τὰ ἄλλα πάντα of 847.30–31 is probably not the most usual form of the phrase (*cf.* Hand 4). These is no adequate context for the πάντα of 993.10.

ἑαυτοῦ etc., the normal spelling in the third century, is the only form found in this hand: *cf.* *IG* II² 839.27; 1235.9, 11; 1292.4; 1314.17; 1315.18, 23; *Prytaneis* 31.4.

τάς for ἅς (*IG* II² 1315.8*): a very rare type of anomaly. It is isolated in this hand and can be paralleled by τοῖς for οἷς in 657.66* (283/2).

πέντε καὶ δέκα (*IG* II² 839.46), ἑξακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα (847.26). The appearance of καί here is normal. But in *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 267 line 12 we find δέκ[α] ἕξ, and probably εἴκοσι π[έντε in line 16; but this text is an inventory, not a decree. The omitted καί occurs in this one inscription, and it is perhaps doubtful that the inscriber would have made changes of this kind in a text.

δυσ[ίν dat. plur. of δύο (*IG* II² 847.53): a parallel only slightly later in 909.22 (*ca* 170).

τέτραχμον (*IG* II² 839.55, *passim* in *Hesperia* 47 [1978] 267). This is the normal form.

ἠδυνήθησαν (*IG* II² 1320.2). This form of the augment was normal, *cf.* 678.12 (254/3), 682.42 (*post* 254/3).

ἐπέδωκαν (*IG* II² 847.19). By this period this is the normal form, *cf.* Hands 2, 3, 5.

γένητ' ἐφρόντισ[εν (*IG* II² 834.18). This elision of -αι is without parallel in prose texts (*cf.* *GAI* I 419). The preceding elision τὰ δίκαι' ὅπως is also unusual, but other texts of this hand do not offer parallels.

κατασκευᾶν future (*IG* II² 836.10), but [κ]ατασκευάσουσι 839.33. Both types of future are found in the Hellenistic period (both types in a single text in 840), but there are no parallels for either in other texts of this hand. *Cf.* Hand 3 (274 *infra*).

ἀνειπεῖν is normal in state decrees and occurs in *IG* II² 836.20, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 448 no. 3.9. ἀναγορεύειν occurs in decrees of *gene*, Sarapiasts, and *orgeones*, *cf.* *IG* II² 1235.16, 1292.13, 15, 1314.20, 1315.24–25. This is an entirely normal arrangement in this period.

ἕνεκα *vs* ἕνεκεν. We are in the period of transition and each form occurs in three texts of the hand, *e.g.* ἕνεκα *Agora* XV 128.53, *IG* II² 1320.9–10, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 448 no. 3.4, 8; ἕνεκεν *IG* II² 1235.15, 1314.16, 1315.21–22. *Cf.* Hands 1 and 4.

Ἐλευσῖνι (*IG* II² 847.21, 1235.18, 22). Absence of ἐν is normal here, *cf.* Hand 4.

εἰσιτητήρια (*IG* II² 1315.7). Only εἰσιτητήρια and ἐξιτητήρια are found before Roman times, *cf.* *IG* II² 689.20 (272/1), *Hesperia* 45 (1976) 296 line 25 (204/3), etc.

Summary. Although there are some rather peculiar spellings in this group of texts, they are all isolated and thus not necessarily due to the inscriber.

III. Hand 1 (226/5–192/1 B.C.)

ἀίσιτ[ο]ι (*Agora* XV 187.11 [*IG* II² 916]): rare in this period, but can be paralleled in a text of 166/5, *cf.* *GAI* I 197 no. 25. The confusion of ει and ι also occurs in the contemporary Hand 6 (*supra* 264), but is not otherwise found in Hand 1.

Παν*α*]θηναικῶι (*Agora* XV 187.7 [*IG* II² 916]), Πτολεμαιδ[ος (line 3). The second spelling is the normal one before 150 B.C., *cf.* *GAI* I 291. There is no comparative material for the first spelling, although it occurs in an inventory dated *ca* 325–300 B.C. (*cf.* *GAI* I 287), and it is in any case isolated in this hand.

Ἀγεῖδος (*Prytaneis* 53.12). There is no grammatical basis for the dropping of the *iota* and it is tempting to assume that it is a simple omission of the inscriber, possibly to be related to other omissions of this hand. *Cf.* *infra* on ἔνπρο[σ]θε.

π]επόηνται (*IG* II² 841.3*), ἐπ]οήσατο (931.2*). These might be due to the inscriber, as the omission of *iota* is unusual in this word after 200 B.C. But the date of neither text is known precisely, and they perhaps belong in the later third century; and instances of omitted *iota* can still be found in decrees of the end of the second century in any case (*cf.* *GAI* I 329).

ηι ~ ει. Nothing unusual occurs in the texts of this hand. -ει is normal in the dative except in ῆι. ει- is also normal in verb forms like εἰρημένος, ἐπείνεσαν, εἰρέθη(σαν), *cf.* *IG* II² 1304.10, 49, 50; 1539.3, 4, 10.

Ἀρευπαγιτῶν (*IG* II² 1539.7). The spelling is isolated for this hand and can be paralleled in the contemporary Hand 6. Comparable spellings like Θευ- for Θεο- do not occur in this hand either.

γινομένης (*IG* II² 1304.24*): normal in this period, *cf.* *GAI* I 562.

ὀλίγα (*IG* II² 1304.36): probably normal, *cf.* Hand 6 (*supra* 264) and *GAI* I 440.

-κλέους, -κλῆν, Ἐργοχάρου. Only the normal spellings occur in this hand.

Πειραιέα (*Hesperia* 26 [1957] 59 no. 14.49). Failure to contract the demotic is normal at this time, *cf.* Hand 4 (*supra* 262).

πᾶς *vs* ἅπας. The spelling τῶν ἄλλων πάντων of *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 236 no. 7.15 is certainly anomalous, as there are numerous cases of τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων; the only parallel for it is in a text of 337/6, τῶν] ἄλλων πάντων *IG* II² 1255.6. But in other places this hand clearly follows the normal form of the formula, *e.g.* εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρό[νον *IG* II² 859.10; θυσίας ἔθυσαν ἁπάσας *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 236 no. 7.13. A different form of the latter formula, with πάσας, also occurs twice: θυσίας τε τεθυκέναι πάσας τὰς καθηκούσας, *Agora* XV 187.14 (*IG* II² 916), *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 59 no. 14.42. This formula has an exact parallel in Hand 5 (*cf.* 268 *infra*), and the collocation θυσίας πάσας occurs in *IG* II² 780.14 (Hand 4 [*supra* 263]), *Kerameikos* III 5.5–6 (Hand 3 [273 *infra*]), *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 22 no. 23.11 (118/7). ἐφάμιλλον εἶ πᾶσι of *IG* II² 931.10 can be paralleled by *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 110 no. 20.18 (Hand 4) and *IG* II² 984.6 (*ca* 150). πᾶς occurs four times in *IG* II² 1304, but there are good parallels to show that ἐν πᾶσι (twice) and μετὰ πάσης are not unusual, and there is thus no reason to associate *IG* II² 1304 with the anomalous τῶν ἄλλων πάντων of *Hesperia* 23 no. 7.

ἑαυτοῦ etc. *vs* αὑτοῦ. The normal ἑαυτ- is well attested, *cf. Hesperia* 26 (1957) 59 no. 14.41 (*IG* II² 916), *Agora* XV 187.13, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 10 no. 13.6, *IG* II² 1221.7. Both spellings are found in *IG* II² 1304, with ἑαυτ- in lines 12, 19, 20 and 30 (ὑφ' ἑαυτόν), 40, 60; αὑτ- in 30–31, 35 (ὑφ' αὑτόν). As this sort of thing has parallels in Hands 4 and 7, there is no reason to attribute αὑτ- to the inscriber here.

ἀναγορεῦσαι (*IG* II² 1304.45–46; 931.15). The latter is a state decree, where this spelling is less usual, but it can be paralleled by 677.14–15 (Hand 4 [*cf.* 263 *supra*]) and 682.75 (*post* 254/3). ἀνειπε]ῖν restored *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 249 no. 10.8 (state decree) is before τὸν στέφανον and thus virtually certain.

τοῖς ἔνπρο[σ]θε χ[ρ]όνοις (*IG* II² 1304.24). ἔνπροσθε without final -ν is very rare, but it can be paralleled by *IG* II² 654.13* (285/4). Yet it is tempting to associate it with the inscriber as an omission, *cf. supra* on Ἀγεῖδος.

ἕνεκα *vs* ἕνεκεν. Both are found in one text, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 59 no.14 ἕν[ε]κεν τῆς in 13, ἕνεκα in 46. Elsewhere only ἕνεκα occurs, still the more common form in this period: *Agora* XV 187.49 (*IG* II² 916); *AJP* 63 (1942) 422 line 13; *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 249 no. 10.7; 23 (1954) 236 no. 7.18. Hand 4 provides a parallel for one case of ἕνεκεν, and, if the restoration is correct, both spellings occur in one text there also (*supra* 263).

ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι (*IG* II² 1304.2, 42, 55–56). The presence of the preposition is certainly abnormal in this period, but neither ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι nor Ἐλευσῖνι occurs in any other text of this hand. The use of the preposition can be paralleled by *IG* II² 1299 (*post* 236/5), where it occurs alongside the spelling without ἐν. The use of the preposition was normal by Roman times and occurs in Hand 3 (*cf.* 274 *infra*).

Summary. One might associate the omissions in Ἀγεῖδος and ἔνπροσθε and assign them to the inscriber, but there is really nothing in this group of texts which meets the criteria to make attribution to the inscriber unavoidable.

IV. Hand 7 (212/1–174/3 B.C.)

ἐν ἄστε (*IG* II² 851.12). A very rare type of spelling for which there is no parallel in other texts of this hand. *Cf.* πρυτάνες in Hand 8 (268 *infra*) and ἐμ πίστε ὤν in *IG* II² 646.11* (295/4).

Πτολεμαΐς (*IG* II² 896.2, 2314.42); Ἀχαΐα (2314.48, 50, 54). The first spelling is normal at this time (*cf. GAI* I 291); there is no contemporary evidence for the other spelling, but it too was probably normal (*cf. GAI* I 288).

τέλειος (*IG* II² 2314.51, 53, 55); πλείους (844.6*), πλέον (1293.8), πλείω (1327.5*): all normal at this time (*cf. GAI* I 317, 322).

πεπόηται (*IG* II² 785.15), ποιήσεσθαι (844.19). The spellings without *iota* are becoming rare by this time (*cf. GAI* I 329), but the spelling is isolated in this hand.

ηι ~ ει: normal treatment in all texts.

Ζμυρναῖος (*IG* II² 2314.19, 25). This can be paralleled in texts not by this hand, *cf. IG* II² 2313.7, 30 (194/3 and 190/189), 1011.109* (106/5).

ἐκλ[ησίαν (*IG* II² 851.6): isolated in this hand; for parallels see *GAI* I 514 no. 1.

εὐσεν̣βείας (*IG* II² 1327.19*): an exceedingly rare type of spelling (*cf. GAI* I 489), but isolated for this hand.

καθ' ἰδίαν (*IG* II² 891.6): isolated for the hand; can be paralleled by *IG* II² 1281.10* (*ca* 266).

ναῶι (*IG* II² 1327.25): normal in this type of text, *cf.* Hand 6 (*supra* 264).

-κλέους, κλῆν. These expected forms are the only ones found in this hand. Third-declension names of the -ης, -ους type always have the genitive in -ου (*e.g.* Σωσικράτου), accusative -ην (*e.g.* Τιμοκράτην), as was normal at this time.

τὸν Πειραιᾶ toponym (*IG* II² 844.54), alongside demotics in -αιέα (896.47, 50; 913.36–37): normal at this time, *cf.* Hands 4, 5, and 6.

πρεσβευτάς, πρεσβευταῖς (*IG* II² 844.11, 16*). This form is well established by the end of the third century, *cf.* parallels in Hand 6 (264 *supra*).

ἑαυτοῦ etc. *vs* αὑτοῦ. One text (*IG* II² 1327) has both spellings, ἑαυτὸν παρασκενάζων (16), αὑτὸν παρασκενάζων (7). Elsewhere the more usual ἑαυτ-: *IG* II² 785.16; 844.52, 56; 851.2; 896.10, 13. Hands 1 and 4 provide exact parallels for the evidence of Hand 7.

πᾶς *vs* ἅπας. All the following are normal spellings of formulae: ἐν παντὶ καιρῶι *IG* II² 844.22, 59; διὰ π[αντός 1243.12; ἐμ πᾶσιν 1327.16. Forms of πᾶς occur four more times in 844, but this is not unusual, as πᾶς is generally more frequent in this period than ἅπας except in certain specific formulae.

ἕνα καὶ πε[νταϰοσίους (*IG* II² 851.16–17). Use of καί is entirely normal here.

ἠδύνατο, ἠδύναντο (*IG* II² 896.12, 37): the normal spellings (*cf.* Hand 6 for parallels).

ἂν θέλει (*IG* II² 851.15). The spelling is isolated, both in the period and in the hand.

καταλεγείσης (*IG* II² 896.9). There is little comparative evidence for this form. In *IG* II² 1236. 8–9* (*ante* 150) διαλεγέντο[ς] occurs (*cf.* Meisterhans 187 n.1541).

ἀναγ[ορεῦσαι (*Hesperia* 10 [1941] 58 no. 22.2, a decree). This can be paralleled by Hands 4 and 1 (*supra* 263, 266).

ἕνεκα *vs* ἕνεκεν. This is the period of transition, and both forms can be found, *e.g.* ἕνεκα *IG* II² 844.24–25, 896.40; ἕνεκεν 1327.19. Hand 6 offers a good parallel.

Summary. There is little that is unusual in this hand, and what there is occurs only in a single text and hence could be due to the person who prepared the copy.

V. Hand 5 (194/3–155/4 B.C.)

ΣΑΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΣΤΕΦΑΝΑΙΣΑΙ (*Prytaneis* 71.26, 80). These certainly do look like copying errors of the inscriber. It is tempting to assume that the problem was caused by the handwriting of the person who prepared the copy.

υἱῶν, [Λε]υκ[ο]νοιεύς (*IG* II² 2332.325, 333*). *Iota* in υἱός is very unusual at this time (*cf. GAI* I 340; the expected υἱός occurs *passim* in *IG* II² 2332), and in the demotic the *iota* is also nearly always absent by this date (*cf. GAI* I 330). But the retention of *iota* here does not recur in any other texts of this hand, and could thus be due to the person who prepared the copy. The expected Λευκονοεύς occurs in other texts of this hand, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 33 no. 6.47, 37 (1968) 287 no. 26.3. See the next item.

Θεόκλεα (*IG* II² 2357.35). The dropping of *iota* in a name in *-κλεια* is very rare in this period (*cf. GAI* I 319). It shows the opposite tendency of that seen in *υἱός*, but I hesitate to relate the two phenomena partly because the retention of *iota* in *υός* looks like a learned spelling of some sort, while Θεόκλεα is probably due to some casual omission. But certainty is impossible. *πλείο*[*νες* in *IG* II² 888.8 shows an *iota* which is normal, *cf.* Hand 7 (*supra* 267).

ηι ~ *ει*: entirely normal treatment in all the texts of this hand.

Σένων for Ξένων (*Prytaneis* 84.121*): a spelling of a rare type and which it is tempting to attribute to the eye of the inscriber. But note a similar case in both Hand 4 and Hand 2.

γινομένων (*Hesperia* 36 [1967] 88 no. 19B.45–46): normal in this period, *cf. GAI* I 562.

ἀρχεθέωρον (*IG* II² 992.17*). This spelling is normal at this time, *cf. IG* II² 1534.170, 971.30, 1941.13, and Hand 3 (272 *infra*).

-κλέους, *-κλῆν*. These are the normal and the only forms found in this hand. Third-declension names of the *-ης*, *-ους* type also always have genitive in *-ου* (*e.g.* Ἀριστοκράτου), accusative *-ην* (*e.g.* Καλλικράτην), as was normal in this period.

τὸν Πειραιᾶ toponym (*Hesperia* 36 [1967] 88 no. 19B.38–39), but the demotic spelled Πειραιέα (*IG* II² 918.11, *Prytaneis* 84.60). This is entirely normal, *cf.* Hands 4, 6, 7.

πᾶς vs ἅπας. Formulae in their normal spelling are: *θυσίας ἔθυσαν ἁπάσας* (*Agora* XV 171.14; restored in *Prytaneis* 55.11; probable also in *Hesperia* 26 [1957] 33 no. 6.14–15); *τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων* (*Hesperia* 26 [1957] 33 no. 6.17, 52); *τῶν ἄ*]*λλων ἁπά*[*ντων* (*Prytaneis* 78.7); *τ*]*ῶν ἄλλων ἁ*[*πάντων* (*Hesperia* 2 [1933] 162 no. 8.6). The phrase *θυσία*[*ς τε*]*θυκέναι πάσας τὰς καθηκούσας* in *Prytaneis* 84.50 occurs elsewhere (*e.g.* twice in Hand 1, *cf. supra* 266), as does *εἰδῶσιν ἁπάντες* of *IG* II² 908.7 (*e.g.* at 1038.8).

ἑαυτοῦ etc. *vs αὐτοῦ*. Only *ἑαυτ-*, normal at this time, is found in this group of texts: *IG* II² 908.3, 8; *Prytaneis* 84.49; *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 277 no. 74.33; 9 (1940) 118 no. 24.4; 4 (1935) 172 no. 37.6.

ἔδωκαν (*IG* II² 992.5): normal by this period, *cf.* Hands 6, 8, 2, and 3.

ἕνεκα vs ἕνεκεν. Only *ἕνεκεν*, the more frequent spelling after 200 B.C., occurs in this hand: *IG* II² 908.13, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 33 no. 6.20.

Summary. There are no spellings which we have compelling reasons to attribute to the inscriber as opposed to the person who prepared the copy, although copying mistakes like ΣΛΚΡΑΤΗΣ, Σένων are probably the inscriber's. Proper analysis does not allow association of presence of *iota* in *υἱός* and Λευκονοιεύς with its omission in Θεόκλεα; the inscriber, therefore, cannot be identified as responsible.

VI. Hand 8 (148/7–135/4 B.C.)

ON for ὦν, possibly HN for ἐν (*Hesperia* 17 [1948] 17 no. 9.6*, 16*). The spellings show confusion of vowel quantity and are quite rare in this period, although there are parallels for both (*cf. GAI* I 163, 225), including cases in Hand 2 (270 *infra*). These two examples are probably related, but they occur in the same text and there are no parallels in other texts of Hand 8.

πρυτάνες (*Hesperia* 21 [1952] 359 no. 7.16*). This looks like an omission, probably by the inscriber. This text also has Λύ]σαδρος, *cf. infra*.

Μάαρκος (*IG* II² 960.34, 1939.15): normal at this time, *cf. GAI* I 137.

Πτολεμαίς (*IG* II² 960.30), Πτολεμαιύς (*Hesperia* 21 [1952] 359 no. 7.27). Both spellings are common at this time, *cf. GAI* I 291 and Hand 2 (270 *infra*).

πλειόνων, *πλείονα* (*IG* II² 968.43, 54), [*π*]*λειόνων* (*Hesperia* 11 [1942] 293 no. 58.18). These spellings are normal at this time, *cf. GAI* I 322.

ποητεῖ (*IG* II² 2323.212), *ποη*(*τής*) (208). The spellings are not significant for our purposes because they also occur in other parts of this text not executed by Hand 8 (*e.g.* at 148, 176).

ηι ~ *ει*. The usage is beginning to change in connection with these diphthongs. Spellings like Οἰνεῖδος, λειτουργός, etc., do not change, but there is a gradual replacement of *-ει* by *-ηι*, already often spelled without *iota* as *-η*. This replacement is somewhat earlier in the subjunctive than in the dative singular of the first declension. For this transitional period the treatment of the dative in Hand 8 is entirely normal: *-ει* is still normal, *-ηι* still rare except in ᾗι. Certainly not atypical of the period are the following subjunctives: *ὑπάρχει IG* II² 1224b.4, *ὑπάρχη* 983.8*, *τυγχάνηι* 968.61, *δοκῆ* 907.13, *ᾖι Hesperia* 17 (1948) 25 no. 12.22, 63. *Cf. GAI* I 360–61, 378–81.

γινομένων (*Hesperia* 11 [1942] 293 no. 58.22): normal at this time, *cf. GAI* I 562.

ὀλίγα (*IG* II² 968.37, 45). This spelling is probably normal, *cf.* Hand 6 (*supra* 264) and *GAI* I 440.

Λύ]σαδρος (*Hesperia* 21 [1952] 359 no. 7.63). This kind of omission is fairly common and may have a phonological basis (*cf. GAI* I 486–87), but it is isolated in this hand. This text probably shows another omission in *πρυτάνες*, see *supra*.

κατ' ἰδίαν (*Hesperia* 11 [1942] 293 no. 58.6). *IG* II² 945.12 provides a good parallel for the spelling, isolated in this hand.

[*νε*]*ὼ τὸν ἀρχαῖον* (*IG* II² 983.6). It is likely that *νεώς* was still preferred in the phrase *νεὼς ὁ ἀρχαῖος*. *τὸν νεώ* also occurs in *IG* II² 1325.21, 31 (178/7); 1326.49 (175/4).

-κλέους is well attested; *-κλῆν* occurs in *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 17 no. 9.49; both are normal at this time. There are many cases of genitives of names such as *-κράτου*, *-γένου*, etc., and an accusative in *-κράτην* occurs in *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 359 no. 7.24. There are no anomalous spellings in this hand.

πρέσβε[*ις*], *πρέσβεις* (*IG* II² 1224b.11*, 27*), but *πρεσβευτῶν* (26*). This hesitation between the two spellings is not exactly paralleled by that in *IG* II² 1134 (Hand 2, *cf.* 271 *infra*), but the phenomenon is isolated in the hand in any case.

εὔνους nom. plur. (*Hesperia* 17 [1948] 17 no. 9.15): normal at this time, *cf.* Hand 4 (*supra* 263).

πᾶς vs ἅπας. Formulae in their normal form are: *ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἁ*[*π*]*άντων IG* II² 1224b.12; *τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων Hesperia* 21 (1952) 359 no. 7.15, 17 (1948) 17 no. 9.45 (*τῶν ἄλλων ἁπ*[*άντων* 17); *τῶν ἄλ*]*λων ἁπάντων Hesperia* 17 (1948) 25 no. 12.17, 49; *ἐκ πάντων IG* II² 960.13, 23; *θυσίας ἔθυσ*]*αν ἁπάσας Hesperia* 17 (1948) no. 12.15, and the very similar *θυσίας ἔθυσαν τὰς καθηκούσας ἁπάσας Hesperia* 21 (1952) 359 no. 7.13. *θυσίας τεθυκέναι ἁπά*[*σας* of *Hesperia* 17 (1948) no. 12.47–48 can be paralleled in Hand 3 (273 *infra*) and with a very slight change in word-order in Hand 4 (*supra* 263). The internal inconsistency between *πᾶσαν δαπάνη*[*ν* and *δαπάνην ἅπασα*[*ν* of *IG* II² 968 (39, 55) is not atypical of the period and can be paralleled in both hands 2 and 3 (271, 273 *infra*).

ἑαυτοῦ etc. *vs αὐτοῦ*. Normally *ἑαυτ-*, the more frequent form, occurs: *IG* II² 966.8; 968.26, 44, 53; 2334.4, 6, 10; etc. *αὐτοῦ* occurs only once, in *IG* II² 2323.236, where it is in the title of a play and is probably a faithful reproduction of that title.

γεγονείας (*IG* II² 1224b.7). This is the normal spelling in the Hellenistic period, *cf.* Meisterhans 169 n.1410.

συνχαρήσονται (*IG* II² 1224b.18). There are no contemporary data to allow analysis of the spelling.

ἐπέδωκαν (*IG* II² 2334.2), *ἀνέθηκαν* (*Hesperia* 17 [1948] 17 no. 9.12). These are normal at this time, *cf.* Hands 6, 5, 2, and 3.

ἀναγορεύειν (*AthMitt* 66 [1941] 228 no. 4.16, 18): normal in this type of text, *cf.* Hand 6 (*supra* 265).

ἕνεκα vs ἕνεκεν. *ἕνεκα*, the older form and no longer common, occurs once: [*ἕν*]*εκα*, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 186 no. 8.11. *ἕνεκεν*, now normal, occurs elsewhere: *IG* II² 1224e.6; *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 359 no. 7.17–18; 17 (1948) 17 no. 9.20, 47. Hands 6 and 7 offer parallel data.

εἰς Ἀθήνας (*IG* II² 1224b.12). There is a good parallel for this phrase in *IG* II² 1223.21 (*post* 167). Ἀθήναζε seems to have gone out of use by about 300 B.C. It seems doubtful in any case that the inscriber would have introduced a change of this magnitude into his copy.

Summary. It is tempting to associate ON/HN for ὦν/ἐν, but they occur in the same text and could thus be due to the secretary. A similar objection can be raised against the omissions seen in πρυτάνες and Λύ]σαδρος, although it is natural to suspect the inscriber in the case of omissions. Otherwise there is nothing atypical in this hand.

VII. Hand 2 (130/29–117/16 B.C.)

TON for τῶν (*IG* II² 1134.106), Ἐκαλήθην (*Hesperia* 24 [1955] 228 line 185*). Whereas in Hand 8 (*supra* 268) the two spellings occurred in the same text, here they are in two different inscriptions, and it is thus possible that the inscriber may be responsible. There are a few parallels for both spellings, however (*cf. GAI* I 163, 225).

Ἀμφικτ]ίοσιν (*Hesperia* 39 [1970] 309 no. 3.1, a new fr. of *IG* II² 1133). This spelling is rare, but can be paralleled in *IG* II² 1132 (*cf. GAI* I 264). It is isolated in the hand. The more usual -τύων occurs in another text of this hand, *IG* II² 1134*.

βραβία for βραβεία is in the part of *IG* II² 3147 (line 5) that is now lost and rests only on the authority of Pittakes. It is generally thought to be a misreading. S. Dow, following Kirchner's commentary, prints τὰ ἐν Ἀπολλωνίαι, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 81 no. 38. Isolated in the hand in any case.

Πτολεμαΐδος (*Hesperia* 26 [1957] 77 no. 23.1); Πτολεμαίδος (*Hesperia* 24 [1955] 228 line 178). Both spellings are common at this time, *cf. GAI* I 291 and Hand 8 (*supra* 268).

πλειόνων (*IG* II² 1332.9, 11, 13): normal at this time, *cf. GAI* I 322.

Οἰνῆιδος (*IG* II² 1134.64*, my reading). The spelling, most unusual at this time (*cf. GAI* I 375), occurs in an Attic decree which is quoted in a larger document including a letter of the Koinon of the Delphic Amphiktyons to the Athenians (which has the peculiar διαφυλάσσειν, *cf. infra*). It is uncertain whether the special character of this inscription might have favored this spelling in -ηι. It is isolated in the hand; elsewhere we find the expected -ει: Αἰγε[ῖδος *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 228 line 1, λει[τουργ- 19, 86, λειτουργ- also in *Kerameikos* III 6.6.

ηι ~ ει. As seen in the analysis of Hand 8 (*supra* 269), this is the period of transition in which -ει is replaced by -ηι and -η in the dative singular of the first declension. The large decree *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 228 provides conclusive evidence of a case in which variants of this type were already in the copy and not due to the inscriber. The whole text is in one hand and was inscribed in 127/6 B.C., but lines 1–100 (the first two decrees) were passed in 127/6 and the remainder (decrees 3, 4, and 5) in 128/7. Two distinct practices are followed in these two sections of the inscription. In lines 101ff occur three instances each of -ει and -ηι, *iota* is not normally dropped in ηι, ωι, and αι, but ἐκκλησίαι is nominative in line 106*; in lines 1–100 -η occurs seven times and τραγ]ωδοῖς appears in line 97. Clearly the inscriber faithfully followed the varying practices of the copies of the two groups of decrees, both practices being not unusual in this period (*cf. GAI* I 378–79). This feature was pointed out by B. D. Meritt (*Hesperia* 15 [1946] 211), who also suggested that the two sections also divide in their treatment of nasals before consonants, lines 1–100 preferring not to assimilate the nasal (*e.g.* ἐνλείποντες, πένπτη), the second section doing so (*e.g.* πομπή); but there are only a very few cases of nasals in the text, perhaps too few to justify this assertion. The treatment of -ηι, -ει is normal also in other texts of this hand: ἧι, τῆι *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 22 no. 23.2, 9; -ηι, -ει once each in the dative, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 77 no. 23.3, 13.

διαφυλάσσειν (*IG* II² 1134.100). This is the section that contains the letter of the Koinon of the Amphiktyons to the Athenians, and the -σσ- for Attic -ττ- is most likely an intrusion of the Koine (*cf. GAI* I 538). *Cf.* on Οἰνῆιδος *supra*.

γίνεσθαι (*Kerameikos* III 6.5): normal at this time, *cf. GAI* I 562.

εἰστήλην (*Hesperia* 24 [1955] 228 line 140). Although there are parallels for such spellings and they may have a phonological basis (*cf. GAI* I 577), this is most likely a careless omission of the inscriber, as the same line contains ΣΤΗΣΑΙΝΤΩΙ for στῆσαι ἐν τῶι. The omission in TOITHN for τοῖς τήν in *Kerameikos* III 6.5 is similar and probably also due to the inscriber.

Ἀλεσάνδρ[ου] (*IG* II² 1134.8*). The spelling is isolated for the hand and occurs here in the section of the document (*cf. supra* on Οἰνῆιδος) which contains the heading to the δόγμα of the Delphic Amphiktyons. Σ for Ξ can be paralleled in Hands 4 and 5 (*supra* 262, 268).

Ἐμπεδοσθένου (*IG* II² 1134.13: a non-Athenian mentioned in the same section of the document in which the preceding item occurs); Διογένου, Δημοκράτου, Φιλοκράτου, Ἀριστομένου, Θεογένου (*Hesperia* 24 [1955] 228 lines 155, 168, 181, 184, 194); -κλέους (lines 182, 191, 245). These spellings all normal at this time. The only anomaly occurs in *Hesperia* 24 with Ἀριστοκλέου at 179. But the full name there was unusually long, and this spelling is undoubtedly an abbreviatory curtailment, *cf.* Hand 4 (*supra* 262) and similar cases in *IG* II² 678.31, 33 (254/3), *Hesperia* 30 (1961) 225 no. 23.13 (*init.* II).

πρέσβεις, πρεσβευ[τῶν (*IG* II² 1134.72, 92–93). The first case occurs in the quoted Athenian decree (*cf. supra* on Οἰνῆιδος), the second in the letter of the Koinon of the Amphiktyons to the Athenians, which may account for the inconsistency (there seems to be no reason for Kirchner's πρέσβε[ις in 96, also in the letter, rather than πρεσβε[υτάς). There is, however, a similar inconsistency in a text of Hand 8 (*cf. supra* 269).

πᾶς *vs* ἅπας. There is quite a bit of inconsistency. Thus τὰς θυσίας ἁπάσας occurs twice in *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 228 (9–10, 84–85), but [τὰς] ἄλλας θυσίας πάσας [τὰς καθηκούσας occurs in *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 22 no. 23.11 (there are parallels for θυσίας πάσας, *cf.* Hand 1 [*supra* 266]). ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις ἁπάσα[ις and ἐκκλησ[ία]ις ἁπάσαις occur alongside τοὺς δ]ρόμους π[άν]τας and πρὸς πάντας in *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 228 (86–87, 27, 12–13, 127). For the first phrase *IG* II² 1009.38 provides a good parallel and for the last *cf.* 1334.10. The internal inconsistency seen here is typical of the period, *cf. e.g. IG* II² 1008, 1009, 1011, 1028 (Hand 3 [273 *infra*]). There is thus nothing distinctive in this hand.

ἑαυτοῦ etc. *vs* αὑτοῦ. Only the more usual ἑαυτ- occurs: *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 228 line 11, *IG* II² 1333.11.

ἑκατὸν ἑπτά (*Hesperia* 24 [1955] 228 line 89). Omission of καί after ἑκατόν is common at this time, *cf. IG* II² 1008.55 (118/7), 1013.33 (*fin.* II), 1027.23 (*ca* 160, *cf. SEG* XXVI 111).

ἀνέθηκαν (*Hesperia* 24 [1955] 228 line 27): normal at this time, *cf.* Hands 6, 5, 8, and 3.

ἕνεκα *vs* ἕνεκεν. The expected ἕνεκεν is the only form found: *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 228 lines 34, 95, 111.

ἐν Ἀ[θήναις (*IG* II² 1134.109). Parallels occur in *IG* II² 1132.75, 80, 83, etc., also a document of the Delphic Amphiktyons, and in 1223.4, a decree of cleruchs dated after 167 B.C. *Cf.* Hand 3 (274 *infra*).

Summary. The lengthy *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 228 proves conclusively that certain spelling variants were faithfully copied by the inscriber from his copy. It is possible that the confusion about vowel quantity seen in τὸν, Ἐκαλήθην in two separate texts is due to the inscriber, but this assumption is hardly compelling. Other peculiarities are either isolated or can be paralleled in the period.

VIII. Hand 3 (131/0–98/7 B.C.)

Δι̣ρα̣δώτη[ς] (*IG* II² 4991.14), alongside the correct spelling in the same text.[8] Parallels for this use of *iota* for ει can be found in Athens (*cf. GAI* I 197 nos. 27–31, 42, 44), and it is isolated in this hand.

Μάαρκος, Δέκομ[ος (*IG* II² 1028.156). These spellings are normal at this time, *cf. GAI* I 137, 222.

Πτολεμαιύς (*IG* II² 1028.141): still occurring at this time, *cf. GAI* I 291 nos. 10–12, 14.

πλεῖον (*IG* II² 1227.16*). This is a rather rare spelling, but it can be paralleled by *IG* II² 1013.65 (*fin.* II). The *iota* in πλείονα 1023.4 and πλείοσιν 1028.88 is normal at this time (*cf. GAI* I 322).

λειτουργ- (*Hesperia* 26 [1957] 25 no. 1.52; *IG* II² 1028.28, 1023.4–5); -εῖδος in names of *phylai* (*Hesperia* 26 [1957] 25 no. 1.18, 46; *IG* II² 1028.119 etc.; *FD* III.2 10.2; *IG* II² 1942.8). Such spellings are nearly universal in this period (*cf. GAI* I 371, 376).

ηι ~ ει. As Tracy has already noted (*Lettering* 101), there is nothing in this hand that can be said to be atypical of the period. This is a period of transition (*cf.* Hand 8 [*supra* 269]), and some texts still show the use of -ει in the dative: -ει three times in *Kerameikos* III 5, eight times in *IG* II² 1227; -ει three times, -ηι four in 1023. There is one case of ει- in the augment, εἰρέθησαν (1228.19). Other texts employ only -ηι in the dative, *e.g. Hesperia* 26 (1957) 25 no. 1 (eight times), or a mixture of -ηι and -η (*e.g.* 1028, usually -ηι, but -η in 1, 2, 66, 67; 1341, -ηι twice [*cf. Lettering* 78], -η three times). In the subjunctive -ει does not occur, and a greater tendency to drop the *iota* in subjunctive forms is quite normal (*cf. GAI* I 381, 361), *e.g.* δοκῆ (*IG* II² 1023.26, 1028.103), ἔχη (1228.14), ᾖι (1227.20).

η, ω, α for ηι, ωι, αι. The occasional dropping of the *iota* is normal in this period (*cf. GAI* I 361), *e.g.* τραγωδοῖς (*IG* II² 1028.48, 100; 1227.31), τῶ, σωζομένους (1028.72, 89), ἑαυτῶ (1023.2), Ἀγροτέρα (dative, 1028.8); *cf.* data for -η in the preceding item.

γίνομαι (*IG* II² 1028.32, 81; 1227.32; 1341a.8). This spelling is normal, *cf. GAI* I 562.

ὀλίον (*IG* II² 1227.8). There are two other cases of this spelling in decrees from earlier in the second century (*cf. GAI* I 440 nos. 3–4), but as it is isolated in the hand, it could be due to either the inscriber or the secretary, as already pointed out by Tracy (*Lettering* 18). *Cf.* Hand 6 (*supra* 264).

εἰστήλην (*IG* II² 1028.56, 104; 1228.11*), εἰστήλας (1227.34*). Spellings of this type are probably more than casual omissions, and they are not especially common (*cf. GAI* I 577). The large number of cases in texts of this hand and their distribution in no less than three inscriptions tends to support attribution to the inscriber. A similar omission of a final *sigma* occurs in ΠΡΟΤΟΥΣΘΕΟΥΣ for πρὸς τοὺς θεούς in *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 25 no. 1.19, where, however, any phonological basis for the spelling is doubtful. As Tracy has pointed out, this hand is prone to omission.[9] Note also ΚΑΤΟΥΣ = κατὰ τούς in *IG* II² 1227.15.

ἀρχιθέωρος (*FD* III.2 2.17), alongside ἀρχεθέωρος (10.5, 17; 16.1). The latter is the normal spelling, but there are parallels for the former in *IG* II² 1054.20, 32. *Cf.* Hand 5 (*supra* 268).

ναοῦ (*IG* II² 1023.20): not unusual, *cf.* 974.26 (137/6), 1011.71, 80 (106/5), 1036.25 (108/7), etc. *Cf.* Hands 6 and 7.

Names in -κλῆς. Only the normal endings occur: -κλέους (*IG* II² 1227.1, 5, 27, 46; 1028.113, 116, 138, 139; *HThR* 30 [1937] 208 no. 8.13); -κλῆν, *IG* II² 1227.38, 1228.22–23; *Kerameikos* III 5.18, 27.

[8] In this section all the readings cited from *IG* II² have been tacitly revised to agree with the readings given in Tracy's republication of the texts in *Lettering*, in all cases based on his own restudy of the monuments. Readings I have confirmed are indicated by asterisks.

[9] See his chart showing the omissions and other types of errors, *Lettering* 112–13. Most of the omitted letters have been put in by the inscriber, who caught his error and made an erasure. The phrases εἰς στήλην and πρὸς τοὺς θεούς also occur in texts of this hand.

Names in -ης, -ους. In the accusative and dative only the expected -ην, -ηι occur, *cf.* Ἀπολλοφάνην (*Hesperia* 26 [1957] 25 no. 1.48, *cf.* 35–36); Τιμοκράτην (*IG* II² 1028.51); Ἀρποκράτη[ι] (*HThR* 1937 no. 8.2). But in the genitive the rare -ους occurs twice, *cf.* [Ε]ὐθυκράτους (*IG* II² 1028.131) alongside many cases of names in -κράτου, -φάνου, etc., and Ἐχεκράτ[ο]υς (2336.53, confirmed by S. Dow, *HSCP* 51 [1940] 118 line 48), alongside Σω[σ]ικρά[το]υ (260, Dow's reading at 124 line 267).[10] -κράτου also is found in *IG* II² 1942.3, *HThR* 1937 no. 8.15. The ending -ους is revived by Roman times and is frequent then; it occurs sporadically from the late second century B.C. on. For the two cases of -ους in this hand there are thus some parallels, *e.g. IG* II² 1006.45 (122/1), 1036.7 (108/7), 4693 (II/I), 1757.25 (dated *ca* 40–30 by S. Dow at *Prytaneis* p.174). It seems doubtful that only the inscriber has to be responsible for the two cases of -ους. The spellings γένους, ἀμφιθαλοῦς in *IG* II² 4991 are normal at this time (*cf.* Hand 6 [*supra* 264]).

Πειραιέα demotic (*IG* II² 1227.28, 44; 1228.24; *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 193 no. 43.12–14): normal at this time, *cf.* Hands 6, 4, 5, and 7.

πᾶς *vs* ἅπας. There is often inconsistency, for which Hands 8 and 2 provide good parallels (*supra* 269, 271). Certainly formulae are: τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάν[των (*Kerameikos* III 5.7; the dotted *nu* was seen by Tracy); πρὸς πάντας Ἀθηναίους (*IG* II² 1023.24), ἐμ πᾶσι (*Hesperia* 36 [1967] 242 no. 51.4); good parallels for ἐφάμιλλον ἢι πᾶσι in *IG* II² 1227.20 occur in Hands 4 and 1 (*supra* 263, 266) and *IG* II² 984.6 (*ca* 150); θυσίας τεθυκ]έναι ἁπάσας τὰς καθηκούσας in *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 25 no. 1.49 (*IG* II² 989.17–18) has a parallel in Hand 8 and with a slight change in word-order in Hand 4. The mixture of forms in πα- and ἁπα- is otherwise considerable in *IG* II² 1227, 1023, and especially 1028, but this is characteristic of the period (*cf.* Hands 8, 2).

ἑαυτοῦ etc. *vs* αὐτοῦ. Only the more frequent ἑαυτ- occurs: *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 25 no. 1.47; *Kerameikos* III 5.4; *IG* II² 1023.2, 7; 1028.72, 80, 92.

γεγονείας (*IG* II² 1028.92). This is the normal spelling in the Hellenistic period (*cf.* Meisterhans 169 n.1410).

ἀνηλώσας (*IG* II² 1227.16*), alongside ἀναλώσας (8*); ἀνηλ̣ώσωσιν (1228.4*), ἀνήλωμα (12*). These are the only Attic examples of the extension of the augment to the subjunctive and the noun (*cf.* Meisterhans 174 n.1447), except for [ἀ]νηλώματα at *IG* II² 1328.5* (183/2). The phenomenon is thus rather rare, especially as the noun ἀνάλωμα in its correct spelling is very well attested at all periods. In this hand ἀνάλωμα occurs at *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 25 no. 1.22, *IG* II² 1028.57, 1023.21. The two texts with ἀνηλ- are of the same type and both state that the secretary of the *demos* of the Salaminians was to ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα. *IG* II² 1227 is dated by the name of the archon to 131/0 B.C.; the fragmentary 1228 mentions the Athenian archon of 116/5. The rarity of the phenomenon makes it virtually certain that the two sets of spellings are due to the same individual. If the two texts are in fact fifteen years apart, it seems scarcely possible that the deme secretary would be the same. Hence it is likely that the inscriber is responsible for these variants. But perhaps too little is known of the organization of the *demos* of the Salaminians to allow certainty.

προέπεμψαν, προενοή[θη] (*IG* II² 1028.9, 78). These spellings are normal at this time, *cf.* προέπεμψ[αν] *IG* II² 1006.9 (122/1), προενοήθη 1011.36*, 41 (106/5), 1008.55 (118/7).

ἀνέθηκαν (*IG* II² 1028.29, 40), ἀπέδωκαν (2336.157): normal at this time, *cf.* Hands 6, 5, 8, and 2.

σωζομένους (*IG* II² 1028.89). This dropping of the *iota* is related to spellings like τραγωδοῖς, which occurs in this same text (*cf. supra*). It is thus not distinctive.

[10] Both of Dow's readings in *IG* II² 2336 have recently been confirmed by Tracy in his new study of this text: S. V. Tracy, *IG II² 2336, Contributors of First Fruits for the Pythaïs* (Meisenheim am Glan 1982) 42 line 49, 81 line 263.

κατασκ[ε]υῶντες (*IG* II² 1228.18). The parallels for this type of future are all somewhat earlier, *cf. IG* II² 1308.15 (*fin.* III), 842.5 (224/3), 840.14 (II B.C.?), and 836.10 (*post* 229/8) by Hand 6 (265 *supra*). The σ- future seems to have been less frequent, *cf. IG* II² 839.33 (221/0, Hand 6), 840.32.

παρακαθιζάων (*IG* II² 1028.85). For this later formation in -ιζάνω (*cf.* Meisterhans 176 n.1469) there is a parallel: παρεκαθίζανον at *IG* II² 1011.22 (106/5).

καθεσταμένος (*FD* III.2 6.12). There are several parallels for this middle formation (*cf.* Meisterhans 190 n.1559): *IG* II² 1006.24, *cf.* 80 (122/1); 1013.38, 47, 61, *cf.* 48 (*fin.* II); *Hesperia* 44 (1975) 207 lines 17–18 (*IG* II² 1035; *ca* 10/9–3/2).

ἀνειπεῖ[ν (*IG* II² 1028.48), ἀνειπεῖν (1227.30): normal at this time, *cf. IG* II² 1009.17 (116/5), 1029.31 (96/5).

ἕνεκα *vs* ἕνεκεν. Only the more common ἕνεκεν occurs: *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 25 no. 1.19; *IG* II² 1028.46, 98; 1023.15; 1227.29; 1228.9.

ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι (*IG* II² 1028.11). The locative without the preposition does not seem to occur in this word in other decrees after *ca* 200 B.C., and the spelling seen here is thus probably normal. For parallels *cf. IG* II² 1039.36 (79/8); 1338.10, 35, *cf.* 14–15 (*post* 77/6).

ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις (*FD* III.2 6.5), Ἀθή]νη[σιν] (2.13, *cf. Lettering* 50). Parallels for the former are listed in the analysis of Hand 2 (*supra* 271), where this spelling also occurs in a text with Delphic connections. The latter spelling is still found in Roman times, and may be compared to Ἀθ]ήνησιν in *IG* II² 1330.5 (*post* 163), Ἀθή[νησιν] in *Hesperia* 34 (1965) 125ff line 9 (37 B.C. or a little later).

Summary. The unusual spellings of the ἀνηλώσας type found in two texts are almost certainly due to the same person, and unless the *demos* of the Salaminians can have had the same secretary over a period of fifteen years, it is reasonable to assume that the inscriber was responsible for the variants. The high incidence of εἰστηλ- in three separate texts is most likely due to the inscriber, especially in view of his proneness to omission. Otherwise there is nothing grammatically distinctive in this hand in comparison with other texts of the period.

It is only in Hand 3 that significant numbers of variants seem due to the inscriber. There the clustering of fairly unusual phenomena in several texts certainly suggests that the inscriber is responsible. In Hands 1, 5, and 2 one might think of the inscriber as the source of certain variants, but most of them involve omissions, and the evidence is not compelling even then. Analysis of Hand 2 has shown that in some cases the inscriber faithfully copied spelling variants that were already in his copy. Our two criteria—rarity of the phenomenon and occurrence in more than one text of the hand—are very strict. But the purpose of the inquiry was to isolate those variants that *can only* be attributed to the inscriber rather than the secretary or the person who prepared the copy. There is the possibility that other variants are sometimes due to the inscriber, but if they do not meet our criteria or are clearly the result of some physical feature of the stone itself, there is no way to tell whether the inscriber is responsible or not: he is merely one of the persons who might have been responsible. Many minor inconsistencies are common in Attic inscriptions, especially in the Hellenistic period, and it is tempting to think that some of these are due to the inscriber, who occasionally allowed his own less formal spelling practices to influence the text. But it is also well known that even today individuals are frequently inconsistent in their own writing, and it is not unreasonable to expect that this was more general in the period we have been studying than it is now, as the attempt to standardize spelling rigidly is probably a modern phenomenon. The high percentage of formulaic language in inscriptions may also have entailed some copying of previous texts even by the secretaries responsible for the final version given to the inscriber. But these are matters about which only speculation is possible. The findings of our study indicate that one cannot *unavoidably* attribute large numbers of the spelling variants to the inscribers in such a large percentage of the public inscriptions of the Hellenistic period. This is a significant fact because it shows us that the numerous variants that occur in inscriptions are not due to a small, homogeneous group of persons who may well have been not especially educated but rather stem from the much larger and more various group of the secretaries who prepared the copies for the inscribers.[11]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

[11] I wish to thank Professors A. L. Boegehold and S. V. Tracy for reading this article and making many helpful suggestions. Such errors as remain are my own. I would like also to express my sincere thanks to the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, whose support made it possible for me to complete the research and writing of this paper.

Hands in Fifth-Century B.C. Attic Inscriptions

Stephen V. Tracy

DESPITE the tremendous attention given inscriptions of fifth-century Athens, no systematic (published) study has yet been devoted to identifying hands in the period.[1] Nor do the present remarks seek to offer more than guidelines toward such a study. Attributions of inscriptions to cutters, however, continue unabated.[2] But the only published account of a fifth-century hand remains that of H. T. Wade-Gery in *BSA* 33 (1932–33) 122–35. In that article, written fifty years ago, Wade-Gery credited Sterling Dow: "Dow indeed taught me to distinguish hands" (101). The present writer acknowledges the same debt and much more.[3] I take, therefore, especial pleasure in offering this study of fifth-century hands to S. Dow in a volume paying tribute to his wide-ranging contributions to classical studies for more than half a century.

Although Wade-Gery did indeed isolate four inscriptions by one cutter and identify him,[4] he was less successful in his main concern, which was to "distinguish the hand, and to try to formulate a method whereby hands can be, securely, distinguished" (101). The method formulated by Wade-Gery had at its basis measurement of the straight strokes to determine the blade lengths of the chisels employed and the pattern of use of each chisel. He also used extensively, and this has been less recognized because he did not himself emphasize it, criteria other than measurable ones. For example, he recognized that irregularities of lettering can themselves constitute a distinguishing feature: "such irregularities as there are (horizontals not quite horizontal, letters off centre, etc.) are very regularly repeated" (123). And he was very sensitive to idiosyncrasies of shape: "in this extremely regular hand, the tail of Υ comes lower than the tail of Ι" (125); "notice how the Α and cognate letters always lean forward; how the lowest angle of Σ is always a little more open than the others" (134–35). But the measurement of letter-strokes constituted the stated criterion in "The Three Chisels," section I of his study (122–23).

The problems of a methodology which relies primarily on measurement of letter-strokes are manifold. I present them here in full because students of fifth-century Attic inscriptions appear unaware of the difficulties and continue to employ this method.

[1] A small grant from the Graduate School of the Ohio State University supported the initial phase of this study. The actual writing was done in Athens during my tenure as Special Research Fellow at the American School of Classical Studies. Ohio State University made possible that tenure by the grant of a sabbatical year.

[2] The editors of *IG* I³ sparingly offer such attributions. Less cautious is M. B. Walbank, *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto 1978).

[3] See in particular *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 15 [1975]: hereafter *Lettering*) iv, and *IG II² 2336: Contributors of First Fruits for the Pythaïs* (Meisenheim am Glan 1982) 4–6.

[4] I have independently studied the inscriptions and am of the opinion that they are by one cutter.

Indeed, a doctrine once well presented by a distinguished scholar is notoriously difficult to lay to rest.

The problems are largely theoretical:

(1) That cutters inscribed using a vertical or stem cutting technique, so that the width of the blade determined the length of the stroke, is an assumption and must be recognized as such. It appears to be a good one, at least for the small lettering common on Attic decrees of all periods.[5]

(2) To have a hope of success, this methodology must assume that a cutter used the same set, or an exactly similar set, of chisels over many years.[6] This is highly unlikely since techniques of mass production were not widespread in the ancient world. Each chisel would be hand forged, probably by eye, and could not be expected to have exactly the same dimensions—close, but not the same. Furthermore, when working on an inscription a cutter did not, in all probability, have just one set of three chisels as Wade-Gery's remarks imply, but several sets in the event a blade broke or became dull. He may well have used these sets interchangeably or on a rotating basis. None of us, it is perhaps worth reminding ourselves, has seen an ancient cutter at work.[7]

(3) Chisels need to be sharpened frequently. But frequent sharpening would, depending on the design of the chisel blade, affect the length of the cutting surface and thus the length of the resulting letter-strokes.[8]

(4) Common sense tells us that almost all cutters used a finite number of chisels of different sizes. For any one inscription the minimum is two, a long one and a short one; the practical maximum was probably four. Most cutters, like Wade-Gery's, appear to have used three—long, medium, and short. Since the lettering on Attic inscriptions is remarkably uniform in height, the chisels, at least the longest, must all have been of about the same size. The room for individual variation is thus very small. In short, this method, even if it were sound on other grounds, could not be very productive in distinguishing cutters.

(5) Lastly, I mention a small but not insignificant practical problem. To measure the exact length of a stroke at points where letter-strokes join is difficult, if not impossible. Yet everything rests on measuring differences which are 0.002 m. or less. I do not think that it is possible to do this reliably in most cases. I say this as one who has measured with the best possible calipers thousands upon thousands of letter-strokes. It is a difficulty which cannot be dismissed or glossed over.

These problems are in my opinion fatal to a method which relies solely or largely on measurement of letter-strokes and patterns of chisel use. I hasten to add that this is not intended, nor is it to be interpreted, as an attack on Wade-Gery. He made an important start and showed that something could be done. Most of all, good scholar that

[5] See *Lettering* 86–88.

[6] C. G. Higgins and W. K. Pritchett, "Engraving Techniques in Attic Epigraphy," *AJA* 69 (1965) 367 n.2, and Tracy, *Lettering* 9, have already pointed out this difficulty.

[7] For the procedure of one modern cutter and reference to the work of others see *Lettering* 125–26.

[8] See also Higgins and Pritchett (*supra* n.6) 367.

he was, he recognized the need to state his method. This is fundamentally important. *Ex cathedra* statements that two inscriptions are by the same hand are not very helpful; nor are they, in themselves, very harmful. The method and criteria employed, however, must be stated whenever the attribution is used to support the cause of a particular date, line of argument, etc. If not, it becomes a case of *obscura per obscuriora* and ought to be condemned by all who wish to advance our discipline.

In what follows, I repeat briefly the method I have developed for studying hands on Attic inscriptions in the Hellenistic period and then recount what success I have had in applying it to Attic inscriptions of the fifth century B.C.[9] The conclusions I offer about the fifth-century texts at this stage are preliminary and not the result of a scrutiny of every known inscription. I have, however, been able to examine, primarily from squeezes, about 50% of the inscriptions and have devoted some years to the study. I publish at this time primarily because I cannot foresee conditions soon under which I will have the opportunity to study in a systematic manner all of the extant evidence.

My method is founded on the assumptions that the lettering on Attic inscriptions may be treated as a type of handwriting and that cutters customarily inscribed their own particular lettering.[10] The method is a descriptive one which seeks to isolate pecularities of lettering sufficiently numerous and idiosyncratic that, taken as a group, they may reasonably be expected to characterize the work of that one individual. It is a matter of training one's eye to recognize peculiarities in the disposition of letters and letter-strokes. The subjective element present in all studies which involve stylistic attribution is freely admitted, but the dangers of too much subjectivity can be minimized, in my view, by rigorous application of the stated criteria and by providing adequate illustration, *i.e.* good photographs, as a control.

The procedure in studying any hand is to choose a large, well-preserved, and, if possible, securely dated fragment. The lettering on this fragment will then be the standard against which all others will be compared. The challenge is to study this lettering, to 'learn' the hand. I shall not minimize the difficulty of this step. It is essential to draw every letter painstakingly, to observe every variation, to take careful note of the general qualities of the writing, and finally to describe in detail and illustrate the peculiarities of the lettering in question. To do this usually requires many hours or days of concentrated study and, thereafter, frequent restudy of the lettering as reinforcement. Once one has 'learned' a hand, then, ideally, he searches thoroughly the epigraphical collections looking for other inscriptions which reveal *the same set* of peculiarities. These and only these may be considered the work of the same cutter.

Now let us turn to fifth-century Attic inscriptions. First and foremost their lettering does reveal individuality. At the same time, it is generally true that the variations are not so pronounced as in later times when it is possible to find, for example, very plain

[9] I gratefully acknowledge here the help of S. Dow and A. G. Woodhead, who put at my disposal their extensive squeeze collections.

[10] For full statements of method and the reasoning which lies behind these assumptions, see my "Identifying Epigraphical Hands," *GRBS* 11 (1970) 321–28, and *Lettering*, esp. 1–11 and 90–95.

lettering coexisting with highly florid, serifed letters. Still it takes no great talent to see that individual differences in lettering are readily perceptible on inscriptions of the fifth century. I take as my illustrations examples of lettering provided by J. Kirchner and G. Klaffenbach in *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*[2] (Berlin 1948). Consider plate 13 no. 32.41–45:[11] the 'pennant' shaped *rho*, the 'double pennant' shaped, thin *beta*, the forward tilted *nu*, and, above all, the *upsilon* with its graceful curves are very idiosyncratic. Now compare plate 14 no. 33 (*IG* I² 195, I³ 263): 'pennant' shaped *rho* and *beta* are similar to the lettering just considered, but *nu* tilted only slightly and *upsilon* made with three straight strokes differ markedly. Furthermore, this cutter's *alpha* is quite idiosyncratic. Note that he places the crossbar very near the bottom of the letter and always slants it, sometimes very noticeably, downwards from left to right.

Next let us compare two fragments dated to about 430 B.C., namely Kirchner/Klaffenbach plates 13 no. 35 (*IG* I² 54, I³ 49) and 16 no. 36 (I² 59, I³ 65). One need only examine *epsilon* closely to perceive a meaningful difference. The first cutter consistently places the central horizontal closer to the topmost horizontal; the second usually centers this stroke, but, when he fails to do so, he often positions it closer to the bottom horizontal (see for example the first two in line 19). In addition the cutter of *IG* I³ 49 makes *sigma* with different angles, the lower angle more open than the upper. Furthermore, the verticals of his *nu* extend markedly below and above the diagonal. By contrast the cutter of *IG* I³ 65 makes *nu* taller and thinner, with the extension of the verticals above and below the diagonal less pronounced. His *sigma* usually has the same angle (to the eye) above and below. His *alpha* is quite unusual, very wide (as wide as *mu*) with the crossbar placed slightly *above* the mid-point of the letter. In summary, there can be no question that these four fragments exhibit the work of four different cutters.

Although individual idiosyncrasies are comparatively easy to perceive, the identification of hands in the fifth-century material, *i.e.* the assignment of two or more inscriptions to one workman, is not correspondingly an easy or certain matter. Without going into the details, which would be impossible here, I have applied this methodology to twenty-eight fifth-century texts, that is I have 'learned' the hand, and then searched in the evidence available to me for other inscriptions which exhibited the same lettering and could be with certainty assigned to the same hand. The results are, I think, significant and suggest that the assignment of large numbers of inscriptions to a given hand in the fifth century is unlikely. Seventeen of the examples studied gave no matches, eight gave one match, two gave two, and one gave three. This contrasts sharply with studies of hands on Hellenistic inscriptions where there are usually no fewer than ten matches for any one hand and sometimes as many as fifty.[12] In fact, it is worth 'learning' the hand on any decree of Hellenistic Athens from the point of view of finding other examples of the lettering.

[11] *IG* I² 928; D. W. Bradeen, *The Athenian Agora* XVII *The Funerary Monuments* (Princeton 1974) 1.

[12] See the lists which I have published in *GRBS* 11 (1970) 329–33, 14 (1973) 191–95, and *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 248–50, 256–57, 262–63.

With fifth-century inscriptions it appears to be quite a different matter. Why is this so? I think two factors at least are operative: first there were fewer texts inscribed in the fifth century than in later times and their survival rate is lower. Thus, to use a term from our scientific colleagues, we perhaps lack a 'critical mass' of evidence. Second, it is quite possible that fifth-century letter-cutters were not specialists as were their later counterparts who cut nothing but long texts on stone.[13] The fifth-century cutter may well have been a mason in the more general sense of someone who carved blocks for buildings, fluted columns, even sculpted statues as well as inscribing texts. In short, it may be that few fifth-century cutters inscribed large numbers of texts. The results of the present study probably reflect a combination of these two factors.

The study of fifth-century epigraphical hands, then, is an enterprise almost at the point of diminishing returns; but something can be accomplished and that should be stressed. I describe and illustrate here three distinctive fifth-century hands and list the inscriptions that I have been able to assign to them thus far.

Cutter of I³ 270 (*ATL* 13)
(PLATE 15A and *ATL* I fig. 55)

The most distinctive letters of this cutter are *rho*, *sigma*, and *upsilon*. The loop of *rho* is not nicely rounded; rather, it is ovoid and betrays the influence of angular, 'pennant' shaped *rho*. The lower angle of *sigma* tends to be more open than the upper; the top and bottom strokes are often curved, particularly the bottom. *Upsilon* appears to have been made in two segments, the left extending to the height of the letter and curved. The right stroke is shorter and attached to it; it is sometimes straight and sometimes curved. This cutter inscribed most, and perhaps all, of I³ 267 (*ATL* 10), 268 (*ATL* 11), 269 (*ATL* 12), and 271 (*ATL* 14).[14] I³ 146 (I² 138) may also be assigned to him; see PLATE 15B.

Cutter of I³ 35 (I² 24)
(PLATE 16A and Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* I 141)

Alpha is a rather wide letter; the crossbar occurs at about the mid-point and slants downward from right to left. *Beta*, *epsilon*, *eta*, and *lambda* are rather thin letters. *Mu* is most idiosyncratic; about fifty per cent of the time the left half of the letter is noticeably smaller than the right, which gives it a rather peculiar appearance. See for example the second *mu* in line 12. The verticals of *nu* extend below and rise above the diagonal. The strokes of *upsilon* regularly curve. The central part of *phi* is a graceful oval which is quite well centered on the vertical. When not centered (about one-third to one-half of the time) it is off to the right slightly. I³ 435 (I² 338) is by this

[13] See *Lettering* 122.

[14] The hands on the tribute lists constitute a large and challenging study. There are clearly changes of hand in some of the lists, and I am not yet in a position to affirm positively that every line in lists 10–14 is by this hand or that his hand appears only in these lists. In fact, I think I see evidence of his work elsewhere in the tribute lists, but this must await further study.

cutter;[15] for photographs of various parts of this inscription see *AJA* 36 (1932) 474, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 363–64, 7 (1938) 266, 12 (1943) 14.

Cutter of I³ 93 (I² 98)

PLATE 16B

This is a very neat hand; the letter-strokes are relatively thick and precisely placed. *Alpha* and *delta* are rather wide letters; the crossbar of *alpha* is consistently placed below the mid-point of the letter. The central horizontal of *epsilon* is sometimes centered, sometimes nearer the top, and sometimes nearer the bottom; there is no consistency. *Eta* and *pi* are relatively narrow letters. *Mu* is not as tall as the surrounding letters. The second vertical of *nu* usually extends up above the letter a bit. *Sigma* is made so that it is distinctly taller than the other letters. The vertical of *tau* penetrates slightly beyond the horizontal about half of the time. The short slanting strokes of *kappa* reveal the greatest amount of variety and idiosyncrasy. These strokes usually meet the vertical at the mid-point of the letter or a little below; the angles at which they are placed and their lengths vary. Note the difference between the two in ἐκκλησίαν in line 17. I³ 178 (I² 159) may be assigned to this hand; see plate 42B in Walbank (*supra* n.2) for a photograph of this fragment.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

[15] M. B. Walbank (*apud IG* I³) has assigned *IG* I³ 434 and 435 to the same cutter. I have not had access to IG I³ 434.

A. *IG* I³ 270

B. *IG* I³ 146

A. *IG* I³ 35

B. *IG* I³ 93

The Case of the Mal-aligned *Bouleutai*

John S. Traill

STERLING DOW has made notable scholarly contributions particularly in the study of the Athenian *bouleutai* and in the principles of epigraphical text-editing. His general interests, however, have always been in difficult epigraphical problems, especially those requiring scholarly detective work, and it is a pleasure on this occasion in honor of our teacher to offer this treatment of a text which is almost certainly bouleutic, which claims special editing techniques, and which is, above all, highly problematical: in Koehler's words, "audacia quadam opus fuit, ut hic titulus restitueretur." The subject is particularly fitting, for it was Professor Dow's notes, always so generously placed at his students' disposal, which first drew my attention to the problem.[1]

Case History

The stone has been lost. We depend entirely on Fourmont's majuscule transcript, published as *CIG* 289 (see *Figure* 1). Boeckh offered suggestions for the restoration of about a dozen names, but he gave no minuscule text. Koehler reprinted, with slightly wider horizontal interspacing, the *CIG* majuscule text and added an interpretative minuscule version (*IG* II 1028). Kirchner copied the latter in *IG* II² 2410, reproduced here as *Figure* 2. He offered five addenda: restored headings for Leontis and Akamantis, K[λε] in line 8 to form the name Kleostratou, and the names in lines 19 and 20 omitted by Koehler. A revised text, paying closer attention to the original transcript, was printed as *Agora* XV 56, where the identification as a bouleutic list was proposed.

It was readily apparent to the early editors that this inscription preserved a list of personal names grouped by demotic. Halimous at the bottom left and Kerameis at the middle right indicated, respectively, Leontis and Akamantis, consecutive *phylai* in the official order before 224/3 B.C. The genitive case, along with the nominative, demonstrated the presence of patronymics, but the orderly columnar format expected in such multi-tribal rosters was strangely absent. In five instances the patronymic clearly occupied the line following the name:[2] Theoros K[le]ostratou (8–9), Epikhares Mikonos (13–14), Epikhares Epikharo[us] (15–16), Epikrat[es] Olympionos (13–14), and Olympi[on] Mnesiado[u] (15–16). In several instances, however, the patronymic seemed to have been inscribed on the same line as the name: Sok[l]eides Eukle[i]dou (12) and

[1] Grateful acknowledgement is made of the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Much of the research was undertaken at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, to the director, faculty, and staff of which I express my warm appreciation. The following abbreviations are used: *APF* = J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971); *Agora* XV = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora* XV *Inscriptions, The Athenian Councillors* (Princeton 1974); *Agora* XVII = D. W. Bradeen, *The Athenian Agora* XVII *Inscriptions, The Funerary Monuments* (Princeton 1974); *Organization* = J. S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 14 [1975]).

[2] The line numbers, unless otherwise noted, are Boeckh's (*Figure* 1).

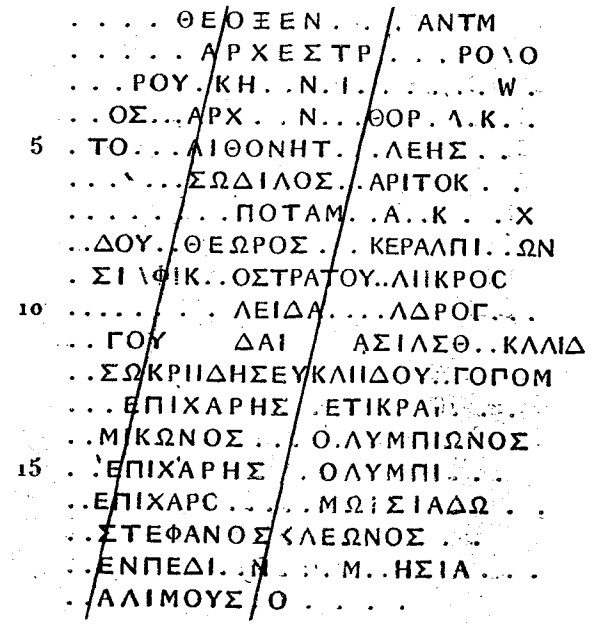


Figure 1

[Λεωντίδος]
- - - Θεοξέν[ου]
- - - Ἀρχεστρ[άτου]
- - - - - -
- - - Ἀρχ - -
- - - Ἀ[φ]θονήτ[ου]
- - - Σω[φ]ίλο[υ]
Ποτάμ[ιοι]
- - - Θεώρο[υ]
- - - Κ[λε]οστράτου
[Χολ]λεΐδα[ι]
- - - - - -
[Σ]ωκ[λεί]δης Εὐκλ[εί]δου
Ἐπιχάρης Μίκωνος
Ἐπιχάρης Ἐπιχάρο[υς]
Στέφανος Κλέωνος
Ἁλιμούς[ι]ο[ι]
- - -

[Ἀκαμαντίδος]
Ἀντ[ί]μ - - - -
- - - - - -
- - - - - -
Θορ[ί]κ[ιοι]
[- κ]λέης - - -
Ἀρι[σ]τοκ[ρ - - - -]
- - - - - -
[ἑκ] Κερα[μέ]ων
- - - - - -
- - - - - -
- ασίας Θ[εο]κλ[ε]ί[δ]ου
[Θ]εόπομ[πος - - -]
Ε[π]ικράτ[ης] Ὀλυμπίωνος
Ὀλυμπί[ωνι] Μ[νη]σιάδ[ου]
Ἐνπεδί[ω]ν Μ[ν]ησιά[δου]
- - -

Figure 2

Stephanos Kleonos (17). Koehler and Kirchner assumed the latter format to be the rule, and they generalized for those instances in which the terminations were not preserved (their lines 1, 2, 4, 20, 21, 24). In four instances they transferred the patronymic from the following line to be on the same line as the name (their 11, 12, 22, 23). Twice they altered a nominative to a genitive (5, 7). Their version did other violence to the layout of the original transcript, as may be seen by comparing *Figures* 1 and 2. *Agora* XV reversed much of this. Sacrificing the orderly arrangement of Koehler and Kirchner, we returned to the evidence of Fourmont with respect to the case and disposition of the patronymics, but, as acknowledged in the commentary, anomalies remained. The identification was uncertain, indeed questioned.[3] The date was too vague, ambivalent; the text too untidy. Further work proved necessary. The results are published here.

Important Clues

Upon investigation, two substantive pieces of information emerged. (1) Lines 9 and 10 at the right side of *CIG* 289 may be restored from, and identified with, one Androsthenes son of Andropeithes of the deme Kerameis, whose gravestone is *IG* II² 6315. Consequently, the restoration in *Agora* XV of Smikros, adopted from the Boeckh commentary, and the doubt expressed with respect to the identification of the demotic are here abandoned. (2) Stephanos in line 17 recalls one Stephanos who with Diophanes, both sons of Empedion, was pankratiast victor at the Isthmos according to the dedication *IG* II² 3125 (Moretti, *Iscr.agonist.gr.* 22), dated a little before the middle of the fourth century B.C. Stephanos may be a relatively common Attic name, but Empedion (or Enpedion) is rare, and we have no choice but to associate Enpedion in line 18 of *CIG* 289 with Stephanos in the preceding line.[4] Kleonos in line 17 must find another explanation than as the patronymic of Stephanos.

The totals are now seven to one in favor of patronymic-on-succeeding-line over patronymic-on-same-line, but in many instances the termination, hence the evidence for nominative or genitive, has been lost: *the case is not closed.* We proceed, therefore, to an examination of the entire text, line by line, or, where appropriate, by groups of lines. Reference again is made to *Figure* 1, on which two lines have been drawn, one connecting the demotics of Kettos (line 3) and Halimous (19) and the other, parallel to the first, at the beginning of the demotic of Kerameis (8). As mentioned above, these demes were affiliated with Leontis and Akamantis. The traces of the ends of names in the upper left portion should, accordingly, be assigned to Pandionis, the *phyle* which preceded Leontis in the official order.

[3] See *Agora* XV 56 commentary; *Organization*, Tables of Representation IV and V; P. J. Rhodes, *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 198; and D. M. Lewis, *CR* 27 (1977) 94.

[4] Boeckh intuitively associated the name Enpedion of *CIG* 289 with Empedion in *CIG* 233 (*IG* II² 3125). For Enpedion see *SEG* III 56, an archaic gravestone from Paiania. For Empedion, in addition to *IG* II² 3125, see I² 933.32 (a casualty list dated before 446 B.C.), II² 788, 790 (as father of Eumelos Euonymeus who was secretary in Lysanias' archonship), and 839 (as son of Eumelos Euonymeus, relative of the preceding and proposer of a decree in Thrasyphon's arkhonship). On the phonology, see L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I (Berlin/New York 1980) 593, 601.

The Investigation

LINES 1–2. The names toward the center-left ought to belong to the roster of Leontis which includes the (imperfectly recorded) demotics Kettioi in the line below and Kholleidai and Halimousioi further down. Arkhestratos is attested in the deme Skambonidai: two men of this name, presumably father and son, were *bouleutai* in 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42.221, 223 [*Hesperia* 30 (1961) 33 lines 220, 222]). Skambonidai, a city deme of this *phyle*, would be appropriate in a list which includes three other Leontid city demes (288f *infra*), and a date at the end of the fourth century would be suitable for the identification of Theoxenos as the son of a *bouleutes* in 336/5. Theoxenos (Theoxenides, less common than Theoxenos, is an alternative possibility), accordingly, is restored in the nominative, Arkhestratos in the genitive, and Skambonidai, tentatively, as the demotic.

The names at the right should be assigned to Akamantis. The addition of *iota* in the first line is necessary to form the normal sequence ANTI-. The transcript in the second line gives a broken, *i.e.* unsure, oblique stroke between the two *omikrons*; it might belong to *alpha*, *delta*, *lambda*, *mu*, or even *nu* or *khi*, although none offers a common sequence of letters in an Attic name.

LINE 3. The three letters at the left should represent the termination of a patronymic. The demotic of Kettos, obviously, is preserved in the Leontid column, N standing in lieu of original TI. The W at the right is an additional error in transcription. Another demotic may have been inscribed here; if so, it would, on the basis of quota (292 *infra*) be either Eiresidai or Hermeioi.

LINES 4–5. The letters in successive lines at the left may easily be construed as belonging to nominative and genitive respectively, the first terminating in -ος, the second perhaps in -το[υ].

In the Leontid column only the vertical stroke of *phi* is preserved in 5, but the name is clearly Aphthonetou, and the man is father of Arkhinos in 4. The Aphthonetos son of Arkhinos of Kettos who was prytany-secretary in the arkhonship of Kleomakhos, dated 240/239 by B. D. Meritt (*Hesperia* 50 [1981] 95), is probably a son, possibly a grandson, of Arkhinos here. Aphthonetos of Kettos, husband of Nikostrate, on the gravestone *IG* II² 6393, dated to the third century B.C. by Kirchner, has been reasonably identified with the prytany-secretary.

In previous editions the name toward the right in line 4 was interpreted as belonging to the well-known Akamantid deme Thorikos, although the restoration ignored both the spacing and the fragmentary *lambda* or *delta* recorded in Fourmont's transcript. The sequence of lines demands a name, not a demotic, here. Personal names commencing in Θορ- (or Θωρ-) are uncommon, but a name in Φορ-, *e.g.* Φόρυσκος, may have been inscribed. The succeeding portion, however, suggests a name ending in -δικος, -δεκος, or -δοκος. The letters in 5 ostensibly give the termination of a name in -κλεης, but their position (*cf.* APITOK- in the following line) demands the beginning of a name, and the two-line format requires a patronymic here.

LINES 6–7. In the Pandionid column only the trace of an upper slanting stroke is preserved in 6. The sequence of the three preceding lines and the genitive two lines

below indicate, in a two-line name-patronymic format, that a demotic was inscribed here. Tiny Konthylidai had a single representative in the *boule* both before and after 307/6, and it is accordingly suggested as a tentative restoration. The trace is compatible with the *upsilon*, *delta*, or *alpha*, and its position would make the last most likely.

Sophilos is an easy correction for ΣΩΔΙΛΟΣ in 6 of the Leontid column, although the name Sodemos should be mentioned as an epigraphical possibility. A relative, perhaps a grandfather, is very probably Sophilos son of S[---], *prytanis* for Kettos about 333 B.C. (*Hesperia* 47 [1978] 275 no. 5.75 [*SEG* XXVIII 52]). In 7 Koehler, followed by Kirchner and *Agora* XV, restored ΠΟΤΑΜ-, very naturally, as the demotic of Potamos, a city deme of Leontis. A patronymic, however, is clearly demanded here between Sophilos and Theoros son of Kleostratos, and personal names commencing in Potam- are well attested, *e.g.* Potamnes, Potamodoros, Potamokles, Potamos, and Potamon. Boeckh had in fact suggested Potamon, and I return now to that suggestion, with the mandatory supplement for the genitive case.

Sigma has been omitted from the common sequence Aristok- in the name in line 6 of the Akamantid column. The three letters in 7 should belong to the patronymic.

LINES 8–10. At the left of 8 a termination in the genitive case is followed in 9 by this sequence: *sigma*, *iota*, traces of an oblique stroke, traces of *phi*, and a trace of *iota* before the *kappa* of K[le]ostratou. A patronymic ending is clearly preserved two lines below. The name in line 10 should be in the nominative, and the letters in line 9 ought to belong to the termination of a demotic, *viz.* Probalisioi or Myrrhinousioi.

The unequivocal *kappa* in 9 of the Leontid column rules out the name Phanostratos which is otherwise attested in Kettos at the end of the fourth century (*Agora* XV 74.50; *PA* 14102). The restoration of the demotic of Kholleidai in 10 is mandatory on both textual and prosopographical grounds.

At the right the reading of Androsthenes son of Andropeithes has been mentioned *supra*. Kirchner dated the gravestone *IG* II² 6315, on which this reading is based, to the middle of the fourth century B.C. While his judgment generally is to be respected, it must be pointed out that sepulchral hands are among the most notoriously difficult to classify and date[5] and that traditional scholarly opinion has favored the fourth over the third century in the dating of gravestones. I find no letter-form in *IG* II² 6315 which is not also attested at the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third. The two Androsthenes, accordingly, may be identified as the same man.

LINES 11–12. These lines contain the single remaining intractable problem in this investigation of the Fourmont transcript. The three letters at the left side of 11 ought to be assigned to the termination of a patronymic, as mentioned *supra*. The letters ΔΑΙ might represent the ending (probably an error of dittography) of the demotic in the line above, although no other example of such a mistake occurs in the transcript. Further to the right in the same line the letters ΑΣΙΑΣ offer a well attested name-ending (the correction of *lambda* to *alpha* scarcely bears mentioning), *e.g.* Phrasias, Mnasias, or

[5] See *Agora* XVII p.1 n.2, with reference to S. V. Tracy, *GRBS* 11 (1970) 325–26 n.35.

Damasias. In fact, by treating the *iota* of ΔΑΙ as the left *hasta* of *mu* and disregarding the space in the middle of the line, the name Damasias may be read. The name at the right side of the line would appear to be Theokleides, although it requires the correction of *lambda* to *epsilon*. The rightward displacement of this line is matched by a similar, even greater, displacement in the following line, where the name Sokleides (with ΡΙΙ corrected to ΛΕΙ) commences beneath the *gamma* of line 11, Eukleides (with Η for ΕΙ) continues without break beginning under the vertical stroke of ΔΑΙ, and the first preserved letter of the name at the right side, *gamma* for *epsilon* from the name Theopompos, appears under the *theta* of Theokleides in line 11. Eukleides is attested in Kholleidai as the father of Philoxenos who served as *prytanis* after, but probably not much after, 255 B.C. (*Agora* XV 88.39 [*IG* II² 2434.32]), and this name, in the genitive, may have influenced the interpretation of ΣΩΚΡΙΙΔΗΣ to its left. As an alternative to Sokleides Koehler suggested Theokrines (interestingly, known only in Hybadai, another Leontid deme, as an opponent of the Mikon of Kholleidai who appears two lines below),[6] to which we may add Leokrines and Leokedes. If Sokleides (or alternative) belongs with Eukleidou, then this is the only example in this inscription of name and patronymic on the same line. Furthermore, its transfer from the preceding line still leaves ΔΑΙ and the position of ΑΣΙΑΣ unexplained. The quota of Kholleidai, as will be mentioned *infra*, is one *bouleutes* short, *i.e.* two lines, and the problem in our text may be too complex to resolve with the information available. There exists between lines 10 and 13 in the transcript an obvious shift in a rightward direction of the Leontid material. For the present, it is expedient provisionally to identify Eukleidou, on the basis of the prosopographical evidence, as a Kholleidian, and to associate him, according to the disposition of the text, as the father of Damasias (or alternative name in -asias) in the line above. Sokleides, in turn, will provisionally be assigned to the Pandionid roster (Probalinthos or Myrrhinous according to the argument *supra*), although it is freely admitted that its relatively good state of preservation, by comparison with the other fragmentary names in this column, is anomalous.

At the far right of line 12 Theopompou is chosen over Kleopompou for the restoration of ΓΟΠΟΜ from prosopographical evidence: the man is conveniently identified with Theopompos who was councillor for Kerameis in 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42.287 [*Hesperia* 30 (1961) 33 line 286]). Even if displaced to the right, as mentioned *supra*, the lines follow in normal sequence under the demotic of Kerameis, with Theokleides as the name and Theopompou as the patronymic.[7]

LINES 13–16. The family of the men in the Leontid column has been studied by J. K. Davies (*APF* 1904, with stemma). I prefer the identification of Epikhares in line 15 as

[6] See *APF* 1904, and *infra ad* lines 13–16.

[7] An additional, though slight, argument in favor of the restoration of Theopompou over Kleopompou is the obvious parallel root in Theokleides. It must be noted as a minor *caveat* against the identification with Kerameis that both Theokleides and Theopompos are relatively common Attic names, attested in many demes, including the largest, Akharnai, which would have appeared in the Oineid column immediately to the right of Akamantis.

the son of Epikhares in 13. The elder of the two would be a brother of Meixigenes who was priest of Asklepios about 330 B.C. (*IG* II² 410.16–17) and honored by the Paraloi in an inscription dated by Kirchner after the middle of the fourth century (*IG* II² 1254.2, 6–7). He would be of suitable age both to serve in the *boule* himself and also to have his son serving in the *boule* at the same time near the end of the fourth century.

Epikrates in line 13, right column, is conveniently identified with Epikrates the father of Demokrates of Kerameis who was honored as *epimeletes* of the Mysteries in a decree dated 267/6 (*IG* II² 661.27). An ancestor of the man here may be Epikrates son of Dem[---] in the *catalogus iudicalis IG* II² 1928, dated by Kirchner to the early fourth century, in which he restored the patronymic and demotic on the basis of the third-century decree. I interpret the Olympion in line 14, genitive, as the same man as the Olympion in 15, nominative, *i.e.* Olympion and Epikrates are father and son respectively. If this is so, Epikrates Dem[---] cannot be a grandfather, but he may be another relative, of Epikrates here.

LINES 17–18. Stephanos son of Enpedion, left column, has been mentioned *supra*. If the present inscription is dated very shortly after 307 B.C. and the victory of Stephanos, recorded with that of his younger brother or step-brother (Stephanos is described as πρόγονος) Diophanes in *IG* II² 3125, was no earlier than about 360 B.C., it is possible to identify the pankratiast Stephanos with the man here. The argument that Stephanos was dead at the time of the dedication (*cf.* Moretti [*supra* 285] p.57), as, of course, also the proposal by Koehler (*ad IG* II 1301) that Stephanos was grandfather of Diophanes, would have to be abandoned. If Stephanos' victory, however, is considerably earlier than the date assigned by Moretti to the dedication, *viz. ca* 370–60, then it will be necessary to identify our Stephanos as a descendant, probably a grandson, of the pankratiast.[8] The names in lines 16 and 18 of the right column appear to be identical.

[8] The text of *IG* II² 3125 is problematical. Diophanes and Stephanos are both children of Empedion and are both athletic victors. Beyond this there are difficulties. Why does Stephanos play such a secondary rôle to Diophanes, and what is the meaning of *progonos* in line 6? I admit the difficulty in understanding *progonos* as 'elder brother', for which there appears to be no parallel, but the suggestion of Koehler, who takes *progonos* in a normal sense as 'ancestor' and identifies Diophanes and Stephanos, accordingly, as grandson and grandfather respectively—*i.e.* Empedion in line 4 *is two persons*—is hard to accept. If metrical exigency has not forced the diction and *progonos* here cannot mean 'elder brother', then I suggest that the word be translated 'step-son', *i.e.* a child by a former marriage, a meaning well documented in LSJ. The word παῖδες is prominent at the beginning of line 4, and παῖς may be understood both in 5 and 6 in apposition to Diophanes in the first and as a complement to καὶ[ὁ] πρόγονος in the second: "Two Athenian sons of Empedion were victorious, Diophanes in the pankration of the *ageneioi* at the Isthmos, and a step-son, Stephanos." The apparent preference for Diophanes may be due to familial reasons, or perhaps because of the incompleteness of the monument (this was suggested to me by M. J. Osborne)—the eccentricity, *i.e.* uninscribed space at the left, of lines 1–3, is curious—or, I think more likely, because of chronological circumstances, *viz.* the victory of Stephanos followed, unexpectedly, that of Diophanes, and the three hexameters (lines 3–6) were added or modified (the surface has suffered damage and it is difficult to tell whether the format as now presented is precisely the original, unmodified version) at an interval after the inscription of lines 1–3. The interval would not be great, for the hand is similar, if not identical, although the letters of lines 4–6 are much smaller, of necessity, than those of 1–3. The καί of line 6 I assume means that Stephanos was also a victor in the pankration at the Isthmos (as well as Diophanes); probably he was *ageneios* too, although I do not think this assumption necessary, *i.e.* the καί need not oblige perfect parallelism in the two clauses. In sum, the awkwardness of expression may be attributed to

The first is obviously in the genitive case (*omega* is easily corrected to *omikron*), and the second, from its position, ought also to be a patronymic. The intervening line, however, gives us ΚΛΕΩΝΟΣ, patently the genitive of the name Kleon, where we require a nominative. Reading *omikron* again for the similarly shaped *omega*, I suggest the name Kleonostos, attested as a councillor in Amphitrope in 140/139 (*Agora* XV 240.97 [*Hesperia* 17 (1948) 19 no. 9]). Kleonostos, however, is extremely rare, and it may be that a more common name, such as Kleonymos, with two letters omitted by haplography from the influence of ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΝΟΣ three lines above, was inscribed here. The man ought to be a brother of Olympion in line 15 and uncle of Epikrates in 13 (see preceding comment).

Bouleutic List: Revised Text

paullo post 307 *ante*
Columns I–IV lost

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.
Columns VIII–XII lost

	V		VI		VII
	[Πανδιονίδος]		[Λεωντίδος]		[Ἀκαμαντίδος]
	lacuna		*lacuna*		*lacuna*
			[Σκαμβωνίδαι]?		
			lacuna		
	[------]	24	Θεόξεν[ος]		Ἀντ[ι]μ[---]
	[------]		Ἀρχεστρ[άτου]		[---]ρο.ο[---]
4	[----]ρου		Κή[ττ]ι̣[ο]ι		[----].[---]
	[----]ος		Ἀρχ[ί]ν[ος]	48	ΘΟΡ[-]Λ̣[-]Κ[--]
	[---]το[--]	28	Ἀφθονήτ[ου]		[-]ΛΕΗΣ[--]
	[Κονθυλίδαι]?		Σώ[φ]ιλος		Ἀρι[σ]τοκ[--]
8	[------]		Ποτάμ[ωνος?]		[-]Α[--]Κ[--]Χ[-]
	[---]δου		Θέωρος	52	[ἐκ] Κεραμέων
	[Προβαλί?]σιοι	32	Κ̣[λε]οστράτου		Ἀ̣νδροσ[θένης]
	[------]		[Χολ]λεῖδα[ι]		[Ἀ]νδροπ̣[είθου]
12	[----]γου		Δαμ̣?ασίας		Θ[εο]κλ[ε]ί̣δ[ης]
	Σωκ[λ]ε̣ίδης?		Εὐκλεί̣δου	56	[Θ]ε̣οπόμ[που]
	[------]	36	Ἐπιχάρης		Ἐπ̣ικράτ̣[ης]
	[------]		Μίκωνος		Ὀλυμπίωνος
16	[------]		Ἐπιχάρης		Ὀλυμπί[ων]
	[------]		Ἐπιχάρο[υς]	60	Μ[ν]ησιάδ̣ο̣[υ]

(1) an uncommon familial relationship, (2) an unexpected course of events (a victory of Stephanos two years [?] after that of Diophanes), or (3) metrical and spatial exigencies. The age of the *ageneioi* is given by T. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agonen in griechischen Festen* (Leipzig/Berlin 1918) 48, as between 17 and 20 years. If Stephanos were born in the very early 370's, he might be victor perhaps at the age of about 19 around 360 and *bouleutes* in his early seventies shortly after 307.

	[------]	40	Στέφανος		Κ̣λεό̣νοσ[τος?]
	[------]		Ἐ̣νπεδί[ω]ν[ος]		Μ[ν]ησιά[δου]
20	[------]		Ἀλιμούσ[ι]ο[ι]		[------]
	[------]		[------]	64	[------]
	lacuna		*lacuna*		*lacuna*

10: *vel* [Μυρρινού]σιοι 24: *vel* Θεοξεν[ίδης]

The following collation of the new text with *CIG* 289 is offered in the interest of confirming the general accuracy of the Fourmont transcript. No material has been transferred from one line to another, and the original terminations have been respected as far as possible. Numbers refer to the lines of the *CIG* text (*Figure* 1).

1: I omitted in ΑΝΤΜ
3: Ν for ΤΙ in ΚΗ. . Ν. Ι W for ?
5: Ι for Φ in ΑΙΘΟΝΗΤ. .
6: Δ for Φ in ΣΩΔΙΛΟΣ Σ omitted in ΑΡΙΤΟΚ
8: ΛΠΙ. . for ΜΕ in ΚΕΡΑΛΠΙ. . ΩΝ
9: ΛΦΙ (all faint) for ΟΙ in ΣΙΛΦΙ ΛΙΙΚΡΟΣ for ΑΝΔΡΟΣ
10: Λ for Ν and Γ for Π in ΛΔΡΟΓ
11: Λ for Α in ΑΣΙΛΣ Λ for Ε in ΚΛΛΙΔ
12: ΡΙΙ for ΛΕΙ in ΣΩΚΡΙΙΔΗΣ Ι Ι for ΕΙ in ΕΥΚΛΙΙΔΟΥ Γ for Ε in ΓΟΠΟΜ
13: Τ for Π in ΕΤΙΚΡΑ
16: ΩΙ (faint) for ΝΗ and final Ω for Ο in ΜΩΙΣΙΑΔΩ
17: Ω for Ο in ΛΕΩΝΟΣ?
Probable errors in 4, ΘΟΡ. Λ. Κ. . , and in 5, . . ΛΕΗΣ

Parallel Cases

With the admitted exception of the difficulties in lines 11–12, the two-line format of name and patronymic can be applied consistently and convincingly throughout the text. Such an arrangement has numerous parallels in Attic epigraphy, *e.g. Agora* XV 13 (*IG* II² 1742), a prytany list of Leontis dated tentatively 370/369, and *Agora* XV 43 (*IG* II² 1700), part of the bouleutic list of 335/4. The former text is arranged in three columns, one for each *trittys*, on a rather narrow base; the latter is disposed in ten columns, one for each *phyle*, on a wide stele; in both cases, however, the available space apparently dictated the format. Two other parallels may be cited. *Agora* XV 23 (*IG* II² 1744), now lost, was either a prytany list of Leontis *or* a bouleutic list with rosters of Leontis and Akamantis alone preserved (*cf. Agora* XV 23 commentary). The latter alternative might suggest association with our list, but the relative dates are too disparate. This parallel text also presents problems in the disposition of patronymics: lines 7–8, 11–12, 17–18, and 19–20 offer the regular (for our inscription) format with name and patronymic in successive lines; lines 2–3, 9–10, and 13–14, on the other hand, give names in the nominative without patronymics; and line 6 lists a name and patronymic on the same line, an analogy perhaps for line 12 of *CIG* 289. Here too the inconsistencies may be due to faulty transcribing; if so, the errors in *Agora* XV 23 are much more serious than those in the present text. Finally, *Agora* XV 54 (*Hesperia* 30 [1961] 260–61 no. 69), a very fragmentary prytany list of either Oineis or Demetrias dating from the end of the fourth

century (*cf. Organization* 23 no. 9), offers a further parallel for the arrangement of names and patronymics in alternate lines. The present text, which comprises rosters of Leontis and Akamantis, and, by deduction, Pandionis, and which must date very shortly after 307 B.C. (see *infra*), attests the presence of the fifth, sixth, and seventh *phylai* from a total register of twelve. It is likely that all the tribes were inscribed on the same piece of stone, and probably all in horizontal alignment like the bouleutic list of 335/4 mentioned *supra*, hence the format of alternating lines of names and patronymics and the crowded horizontal appearance of the Fourmont transcript.[9]

The Solution

A list of Athenian citizens, grouped by deme and *phyle* and dated to the late fourth century B.C., is, *a priori*, likely to be either *bouleutai* or *epheboi*. The former, of which there exist at least seven specimens, four, possibly six, from the period before 307/6[10] (*Agora* XV 20, 42, 43, 46, possibly 21, 23) and three or four from the later period (*Agora* XV 61, 62, 72, and possibly *Hesperia* 47 [1978] 283 no. 10) is much more probable than the latter, of which there is only one fourth-century example comprising more than a single *phyle* (*IG* II² 478, dated 305/4). The quotas evidenced in the present text confirm the identification as a list of *bouleutai*. Kettos, with three representatives here, is known to have had three councillors both before and after 307/6.[11] Kerameis, with a quota of six both in the time of the original ten *phylai* and in the succeeding period of the twelve, has at least five representatives before the transcript breaks off. Kholleidai has a roster apparently of four *demotai*, although there are problems here in the text (*cf. supra ad* lines 11–12). This deme had two *bouleutai* before 307/6, and at least four in one text from the Macedonian period and as many as five in another.[12] A variation in representation by one is attested from time to time in the first two periods of deme-quotas, and the system clearly tolerated these slight abnormalities (*cf. Organization* 14–23, 31–34, 56–60). Alternatively, the variation here may be due to a faulty transcript. In either case, the quotas confirm the identification as a list of councillors, and the quota of Kholleidai points to a date after 307 B.C. Arguing from another standpoint, the obvious presence of close relatives, father and son in one instance (revised, lines 36–39), and two brothers and a nephew, apparently, in another (57–62), militates strongly against identification as a list of *epheboi*. The quotas are too large for identification as a catalogue of *diaitetai*.

The date, accordingly, should be later than 307 B.C., but it ought not to be much later, for the majority of the prosopographical information points to the end of the

[9] The possibility that the original monument was a shaft with the rosters arranged in three vertical rows of four *phylai* each on a single face is scarcely worth considering, for the longest column would have required 347 lines, not counting a heading; but the text, of course, might have been arranged on three faces of a base or shaft. In any case, the crowded appearance and the two-line format indicate a scarcity of horizontal space.

[10] Lewis (*supra* n.3) reports Davies' suggestion that *IG* I² 847 is a *bouleutai*-list, but a new fragment published by M. Mitsos, *AAA* 2 (1970) 391–93, renders this identification impossible.

[11] The quotas of Kettos and Phrearrhoi, as given in *Agora* XV 88 and *Organization*, Table of Representation IV, Leontis, were corrected in *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 92.

[12] *Agora* XV 88 (*Hesperia* 9 [1940] 113 no. 22), *cf.* S. Dow, *Prytaneis* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 1 [1937]) no. 16; *Agora* XV 74 (*IG* II² 2382).

fourth century (see *ad* lines 1–2, 11–12, 13–16). Two of the items might suggest a dating somewhat earlier, and one item a dating a little later, but the evidence in each instance may allow an alternative interpretation of *paullo post* 307. A date very soon after the creation of the Macedonian *phylai*, accordingly, is here proposed. This period is already marked by two bouleutic lists, those of 304/3 and 303/2, to which this third roster of councillors is now added.[13]

An Observation

Skambonidai, Kettos, Kholleidai, and Halimous all belonged to the city *trittys* of Leontis (*Hesperia* 47 [1978] 97–100). Kerameis was a city deme of Akamantis. The present text, then, as far as the evidence permits us to judge, was listed according to *trittys*, commencing with the city section. Using the quotas attested for the Macedonian period, I suggest the following schema for the disposition of the top of this text:

PANDIONIS	LEONTIS	AKAMANTIS
[Myrrhinous]	[Potamos]	[Kholargos]
[8: 16 lines]	[2: 4 lines]	[6: 12 lines]
Konthylidai	[Skambonidai]	[Eiresidai or Hermos]
1: 2 lines	4: 8 lines	2: 4 lines
Probalinthos	Kettos	Kerameis
2+: 4+ lines	3: 6 lines	5+: 10+ lines
	Kholleidai	
	4: 8 lines	
	Halimous	
	[3: 6 lines]	

The roster of Pandionis presents a slight problem. This *phyle* lost its only proper city deme, Kydathenaion, to Antigonis in 307/6. The coastal deme, geographically, Probalinthos, apparently was assigned to the city *trittys*,[14] but if Konthylidai is correctly restored in our line 7, and a demotic ending in -ΣΙΟΙ (see *supra ad* 8–10) is required in

[13] Arrangement and format preclude the association of the present inscription with either of these Agora bouleutic lists. The year 305/4, however, is not pre-empted, for the Kerameis roster in the Akamantid prytany inscription *Agora* XV 58 is not preserved. This period and the mid-330's were obvious cluster points for bouleutic lists, and one may speculate on the parallelism of the historical circumstances.

[14] The evidence hitherto has been derived chiefly from the prytany lists (see *Hesperia* 47 [1978] 98, 101–02). A more formal proof may be offered by the catalogues of *epimeletai* of the *phylai*, of which I shall shortly be presenting a full study elsewhere. These *epimeletai* can be shown to have been distributed according to *trittys*, and in the case of Pandionis, the critical lines 3–7 of one text (*Hesperia* 32 [1963] 41 no. 42 [*SEG* XXI 515]) should be restored as follows:

[. . . .⁸ . . . .]ι[. . . . .⁹ . . . . .]
[. . .Πα]ιανι : Ἀ[ντισθένην]
[Ἀντι]σθένο : Κυ[θήρ : Μειδ]-
[οκρ]άτην : Μει[δοκράτο : Π]-
[ροβ]αλ : κτλ.

Paiania is a well-known inland deme; Kytherros (not Kydathenaion, as previously restored) belongs to the coast (the full evidence for its location will also be presented elsewhere); and Probalinthos, located at Nea Makri far from the city proper, must represent the city *trittys*.

our line 10, then the attested quotas permit only Myrrhinous, an inland deme, at the head of the Pandionid roster, and Probalinthos must be assigned to line 10.

Conclusion

CIG 289, in sum, has been shown to have been reasonably reliably transcribed by Fourmont. It is a *bouleutai* list, arranged, at least in part, according to *trittys*, and it dates from the period immediately after 307 B.C. It was ordered, like several other co·ncillor lists, in two-line entries for each *bouleutes*, *viz.* a name in the nominative case, followed by his patronymic in the genitive.

VICTORIA COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Regulations for the Herakleian Games at Marathon

Eugene Vanderpool

SINCE ITS DISCOVERY in the early 1930's at the locality known as Valaria in the southern part of the plain of Marathon, the inscription with regulations for holding the Herakleian games at Marathon has been edited three times, first by E. Vanderpool in *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 329–37 (with help from B. D. Meritt), second by A. E. Raubitschek as *SEG* X 2 (with some good observations from W. Peek), and third by D. M. Lewis as *IG* I³ 3 (in consultation with E. Vanderpool). There are still some problems, however, particularly in the first two lines, which prevent a full understanding of the text.

The letter in the third space in line 2 has been most troublesome (see PLATE 17A). It consists of a vertical stroke in the left hand part of the space with a horizontal stroke leading off from the top towards the right. This is a perfect Ionic *gamma*. If the editors have refused to regard it as a *gamma* and have suggested an incomplete *rho* or *epsilon* or some other malformed letter, this is because the three indisputable *gamma*'s in the inscription are all of Attic shape. But the variant readings lead nowhere, and it is better to suppose that the scribe wrote the first *gamma* in the Ionic shape and that someone noticed it and told him this is not the way it was done in Athens. An inscription from nearby Eretria in Euboea shows a similar confusion, having one *gamma* of Ionic and one of Attic shape.[1] Taking the letter in question as *gamma* we can restore some form of the word *ἀγόν*, either *ἀγôν*[*α* or *ἀγôσ*[*ι* according to whether we interpret the tip of a stroke at the lower left corner of the fifth space as *nu* or three-barred *sigma*.

Line 1 is badly damaged and at first glance one sees very little. On closer examination one sees that there are quite a few strokes and that they group themselves so as to make letters as can be seen in the drawing (PLATE 17B). They are concentrated over the right half of the line and make the word *hερακλείο*[*ις*]. The left half of the line is even less well preserved than the right, but I have long thought I could see traces of the letters AP in the second and third spaces and an *iota* in the eighth space, which would give the word [M]*αρ*[*αθôν*]*ι*.

We now have three words preserved with greater or less certainty and can try to construe the troublesome first lines and add them to the rest to give the full text of the inscription as far as it is preserved.

a. 490–480 ΣΤΟΙΧ. 21

[M]*ạρ*[*αθôν*]*ι hερακλείο*[*ις τὸ*]-
[*ν*] *ἀγôν*[*α*] *τιθέναι τὸς ἀ*[*θλοθ*]-
έτας· τριάκοντα ἄνδρ[*ας ἐς*]

[1] *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 281 n.2c, early V B.C.

4 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιόφσασθ[αι ἐκ]
τῶν ἐπιδέμομ, τρῆς ἐκ [φυλῆ]-
ς hεκάστες, hυποσχομ[ένος]
ἐν τῶι hιερῶι ὸς ἂν οἰ[όν τ' ἦ]-
8 ι χσυνδιαθέσεν τὸν ἀ[γῶνα,]
μὲ ὄλεζον ἢ τριάκοντ[α ἔτε]
γεγονότας· τούτος δὲ [τὸς ἄ]-
νδρας ὀμόσαι ἐν τῶι h[ιερῶ]-
12 ι καθ' ἱερῶν· ἐπιστατῆ[σαι δ]-
[ὲ – – –]

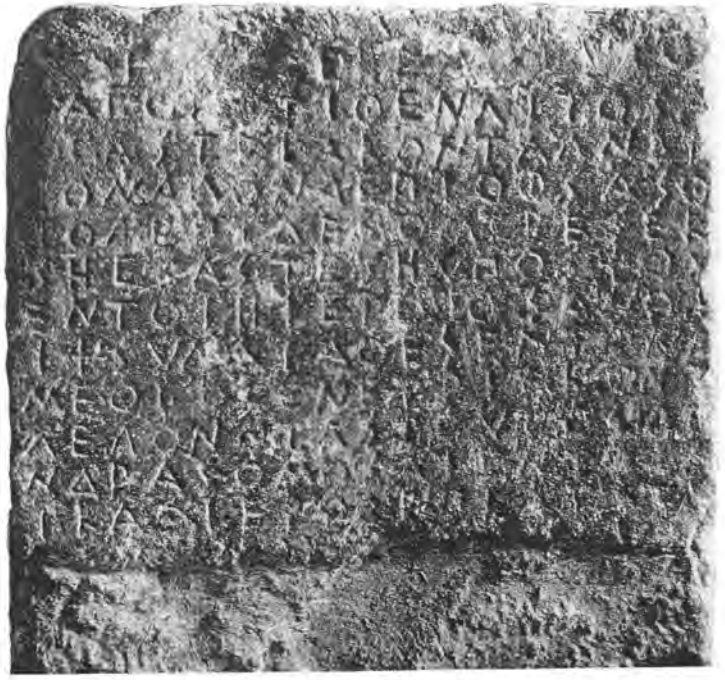
For the Herakleia at Marathon the *athlothetai* are to hold the contest. Thirty men are to be chosen for the contest from among those present, three from each tribe, who are to promise in the sanctuary to help in arranging the contest to the best of their ability and who are to be not less than thirty years of age. These men are to take the oath in the sanctuary over victims. To serve as steward – – –

The *athlothetai* or commissioners of games are a board whose composition and duties are described in chapter 60 of the *Ath. Pol.* Their chief function in Aristotle's time was to arrange the Panathenaic games. Their appearance in this inscription of the early fifth century indicates that the Herakleian games were sponsored by the Athenian state, while the actual administration was left in the hands of a local committee of thirty men.

The finding of this inscription in the southern part of the plain of Marathon gave us our first indication of the true location of the sanctuary of Herakles, the site of the Athenian camp on the eve of the battle of Marathon. A fifth-century dedication to Herakles found at the same spot in 1972[2] puts the question beyond any reasonable doubt. As a colleague remarked on hearing of the second inscription: "Two Herakles inscriptions are more than twice as good as one Herakles inscription."

ATHENS

[2] *Praktika* 1972, 6 [*SEG* XXVI 51, XXVIII 25].



INSCRIPTION FROM MARATHON

The Horse and Groom Relief in Athens

Cornelius C. Vermeule

WITH LITTLE FANFARE, in the troubled years of internal struggles in Greece following the Second World War, a spectacular find appeared in the late fourth century B.C. galleries of the National Museum.[1] The two big marble slabs showing a smallish groom controlling a large stallion were found in 1948 in new construction near the Larisa Railway Station, in an area where shrines and public or private monuments abounded (PLATE 18). The slabs are best known to exactly three decades of museum visitors and students of Greek sculpture because they were always highly visible but could not be photographed. Furthermore, they were only published in an initial notice and random vignettes of the front slab in one or two almost irrelevant books or articles. Rightfully so: the archaeologist involved with the operation of rescue reserved the rights of publication; and, at least, thanks to Mr and Mrs Christos Karouzos, the monument was well set out, well labelled, and could be admired so long as no shutters were clicked.

In the 'shop talk' that circulated around Athens, Europe, and America in the first twenty years, the relief was referred to as Pergamene in style and date, third century B.C. like the large group of Gauls or the related mythological statues. Some favored a comparable date, 240 to about 200, while others spoke of a period just after 300. The admirable guidebooks to the National Museum appearing about the end of the second decade after discovery and later had produced, or at least echoed, these chronological perceptions. As time passed and Greece entered the field of large, coffee-table, colored-plate picture-books, the 'unpublished' Horse and Groom Relief became in fact quite widely available, although then as still in the early 1980's photography was forbidden in a room where other major marbles, like the Kerameikos lions, the Rhamnous stelai, and Aristonautes (PLATE 19), could be snapped at will.

Finally, in 1978, came the long awaited 'definitive' publication, by the late Professor W. H. Schuchhardt, as Section (or Fascicle) Five in Volume Seventeen of *Antike Plastik*.[2] No better forum or format could have been found. The exhaustive article with

[1] Sterling Dow was a companion on many adventures in Athens and the National Museum in the 1950's and 1960's. We passed the Horse and Groom Relief countless times, and its potentials were always in our minds. It is an honor to offer this study to a teacher at Harvard in the years not long after the Second World War. Thanks are also due to Eugene Vanderpool, who first told me about the circumstances of discovery. Others have helped over the decades. They include Evelyn B. Harrison, Ariel Herrmann (who brought me the 1970 Agostini, Novara, picture-book by V. G. Kallipolitis), Brunilde Ridgway (who found the first complete photograph), and Emily T. Vermeule. Mary B. Comstock and Florence Z. Wolsky have helped prepare this text in Boston.

[2] At 75–99, pls. 41–49; a comprehensive bibliography is included, going back to the little picture of the right-hand slab in *Polemon* 4 Suppl. (1951) 5–6 fig. 1, widely circulated by G. M. A. Richter, *JRS* 48 (1958) 12 pl. III fig. 8. C. Vermeule, *Greek Art: Socrates to Sulla, From the Peloponnesian Wars to the Rise of*

its several appendices, copious notes, and full bibliography came to a powerful conclusion. "Unser Bild von der plastischen Kunst der 2. Jhs. v. Chr., das lange Zeit allzu sehr von dem massiven Fundkomplex pergamenischer Kunst bestimmt war, erhält durch dieses Monument einen neuen, wesentlichen Akzent, der die Ausdauer und Lebenskraft der attischen Kunst im schönsten Lichte erscheinen lässt." Mrs Semni Karouzou also wrote, in the 1978 revision of her *National Museum, Illustrated Guide to the Museum*, "The whole shape of the monument and the style of the carving in deep relief derive from the tradition of the last Attic stelai before the law of 317" (77f, plate). This sentence certainly addressed both the supposed antecedents of the Horse and Groom Relief and origins of Pergamene sculpture in its wider world across the Aegean.

The prime purpose of this paper is to reaffirm my original view, now with benefit of a photograph, that the Horse and Groom Relief belongs in the years around 320 B.C. and is different from other commemorative or funerary monuments in Athens only because of its slightly greater size, exquisiteness of carving, and excellence of preservation, especially as to the amount of painting remaining. The Horse and Groom Relief is relatively complete as it survives and is exhibited, needing only the architectural frame, above and at the sides, and the base. The horse stands firmly and almost starts to rear back on a slightly irregular ground line. The groom, who walks one way, faces outward (like Aristonautes), and turns around toward his charge, is a complete figure. The end of his whip or crop extended beyond the right edge of the right-hand slab and was doubtless completed in the same fashion as the horse's tail on the left, in paint on the vertical blocks of the frame. Such paint not only remains in abundance, as the full publication makes evident, on the visible physique of the groom but also for the crested Macedonian-type helmet which floats against the background above the stallion's rump. Aristonautes had a blue background to set off the figure, and similar coloring was certainly used for the Horse and Groom Relief.

This brings us back again to what is missing beyond the two well-matched, finished rectangular slabs on which horse and groom are carved, on which the left shoulder of the groom and the horse's left ear break the spatial lines of the right-hand block and the horse's right rear leg almost does the same along the left edge, below the tail. The two rectangular slabs or horizontal blocks on which the horse and groom were carved were carefully completed by parastades or vertical, protruding rectangular sides of a *naiskos* or *tempietto*. The top of the ensemble, on analogies with other late fourth century Athenian and Attic funerary monuments, must have comprised a pediment or a flat architectural roof with an inscription on the 'frieze'. Other parastades show us that the interior surfaces of the two missing here not only included the horse's tail in paint and perhaps relief on the left but also, right and (where space remained) left, a sword in scabbard with belt or buckler and perhaps a lance or spear.

Julius Caesar (Boston 1980) 33, 123, fig. 46, brings the bibliography of picture-books up to date. See also L. Bugner, *The Image of the Black in Western Art* I (New York 1976) 184 figs. 231, 232.

Since the monument so closely adheres, in an arresting emphasis of quality, to a tradition of iconography and subject well established in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., there can be no questions of chronology, even of purpose and setting, only of identification with a person, heroized or more likely deceased. Simply put, if this were a relief in honor of a horse (like Bucephalus), there would be no helmet in the background, and the horse would not be wearing the saddlecloth of feline skin, a touch of luxury associated with generals in the age of Alexander the Great and later. This is clearly a commemorative or funerary stele in honor of a commander. The unusual feature is that the leader is missing. Some have postulated that he is not present because the monument was a *naiskos* within a *temenos* or on a podium, and the general was represented separately, as a statue flanking the ensemble with the horse and groom. Perhaps the general's wife or a favored officer or shield-bearer was presented in similar form on the other side of the big, deep, pedimented or roofed stele.[3]

For lack of other evidence, since no traces of statues have been reported and since the heart of the stele is a complete, self-contained unit, I return to the suggestion made nearly a generation ago that this is the commemorative or funerary monument of an Athenian general who was not there near the center of the ensemble because he died and was buried elsewhere.[4] In short, this is a cenotaph, exhibiting the age-old symbol of the riderless horse and needing only reversed boots on the luxurious saddlecloth to be the funerary mount of a United States general from Andrew Jackson to Douglas MacArthur. The decade before 317 B.C. has left us a number of large Attic stelai in which knights stand with their horses or officers in full armor, like Aristonautes, move resolutely forward into battle. Only the rarest of circumstances would call for a very large stele in which everything was present save for the figure of the leader commemorated by the monument. Had there been another slab at the left, with the commander present on it, surely he would have been wearing his helmet, or he would have been accompanied by another attendant, a 'squire' holding his helmet, lance or sword, and shield.

Such a tragedy, a leader from Athens killed far from Attica, occurred during an Athenian or, at least, anti-Macedonian military adventure, the Lamian War in 322 B.C. Diodorus Siculus wrote of the siege of Lamia, "For when Antipater made an attack on the moat and a struggle ensued, Leosthenes, coming to aid his men, was struck on the head by a stone and at once fell and was carried to camp in a swoon. On the third day

[3] Ensembles such as the miniature Mausoleum of Halicarnassus found at Kallithea between Phaleron and Piraeus in 1968 or the fragments of a monument to Alexander the Great, Hephaistion, and others, in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, come to mind. See E. K. Tsirivakos, *AAA* 4 (1971) 108–10 figs. 1, 2. If the figural panel of the Athenian decree for Euphron of Sikyon, about 318 B.C., gives some smaller, inferior idea of the taste which produced the Horse and Groom Relief, then the view along the street with the Dionysiac bull and the great mastiff in the Kerameikos cemetery shows *naiskoi* and pedestals of comparable grandeur. See Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque* IV.2 (Paris 1963) 1266 fig. 496 and 1421 fig. 542. Also the reconstruction of a big multi-figured ensemble in Attica: Semni Karouzou, "Der Grabnaiskos des Alexos," *AthMitt* 96 (1981) 179–220 pls. 53–62 fig. 1. Here, the old man leaning on his staff stood to the left of what must have been the usual multi-figured family scene, all in the deep architectural frame and in high relief.

[4] See *AJA* 68 (1964) 336 and n.122.

he died and was buried with the honours of a hero because of the glory he had gained in war. The Athenian people caused the funeral oration to be delivered by Hypereides, foremost of the orators in eloquence and in hostility toward the Macedonians."[5] Since the Athenians honored Leosthenes with a hero's rites and a major oration, they certainly would have ordered a comparable cenotaph and placed it among the shrines and tombs on the road leading north, towards Lamia, from the city of Athens.

Leosthenes appears to have been one of the few military heroes whom the Athenians could claim as their own in an age when the Macedonians controlled almost everything. He probably captained mercenaries in Asia while Alexander the Great was alive and evidently found the means to maintain them back in Greece after the conqueror's death. He looked for a chance to attack the Macedonians, and the Lamian War afforded him an opportunity. As commander of the Greek army, he inspired devotion in his men. His death during the siege of Lamia was a major setback to Greek aspirations for complete liberation from Macedonian domination and interference in internal affairs.[6] Leosthenes certainly deserved a monument worthy of all the sculptural creativity Athens could summon up in the five years before municipal austerity terminated such undertakings and drove artists overseas to Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. As Ernst Badian noted a generation ago, the Lamian War coincided with the end of Greek freedom.

In conclusion, the Horse and Groom Relief in Athens belongs to the last large, deep grave-stelai being carved. It is not the product of some moment in the third or second centuries B.C. when Pergamene influences washed backwards into Attica. The one element missing in the composition is the image of the deceased, clearly a military man of importance. This absence leads to the supposition that the subject died far from Athens, and that the monument is a cenotaph rather than the marker for a tomb. Leosthenes, who fell before Lamia in 322, is the most likely Athenian leader to have been remembered with a monument of this nature in the twilight of Athenian sculptural hegemony.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

[5] 18.13.5 (tr. Russel M. Geer, LCL).
[6] E. Badian, *JHS* 81 (1961) 27, 37–41. G. T. Griffith, in *OCD*² 596 *s.v.* "Leosthenes."

ATTIC STELE

NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS

STELE OF ARISTONAUTES

NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS

Tyres the Lecher?

Emily Vermeule

"Don't drink it up, write it up."—S. Dow

TYRES THE LECHER—if it is he—would have remained unknown, had not he—and a friend?—scratched six words on a plain black cup-skyphos made in the years around 500 B.C. There are four words on one side of the cup, two on the other (PLATE 20):

Τύρετός ἐμι τô λάγνα
καλλινα ἁδύποτος

The cup is probably Boeotian, with its soft red-buff clay and poor black glaze,[1] and the graffito has Boeotian letter forms, like the side-rounded *delta*.[2] There is also X scratched off-center on the base, perhaps an initial owner's mark, before the more elaborate claim to ownership was incised. The cup's worn rim may indicate long experience of sympotic joy.

Such a simple inscription ought not, ideally, have been as troublesome to interpret as it has proved.[3] It ought to say "I am the (cup, lekythos, drinking vessel) of (personal name), a pleasant drink." This is a well-known class of convivial and possessive graffiti, whose earliest surviving member is the Geometric skyphos from Pithekoussai, Νέστορός: ἑ[στ]ι: εὔποτ[ον]: ποτέριον.[4] The name always comes first, stressed: Μίλωνός εἰμι.[5] The cup speaks in the first person, like many gravestones and dedications. It often identifies itself: ϝοράϝο ἠμὶ ϝύλιχς, Ταταίες ἐμὶ λέϝυθος, Δολίωνός ἐμι ϝυλίχνη, Θαρίο εἰμὶ ποτέριον.[6] Even when the statement is elaborated with adjectives, it wants to be clear, like the Rhodian Φιλτôς ἠμι τâς καλâς ἀ κύλιχς ἀ ποικίλα or the Boeotian Γορ-

[1] Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 155.64. Height 0.073 m., diameter rim 0.114, with handles 0.25. Soft red-buff clay, soft matt black glaze, chipped; cloth-wiping marks inside. Reserved ring above foot, reserved resting surface, reserved ring around glazed underfoot; off-center graffito X. The date is suggested by analogy with P. N. Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona* (London 1927) pl. 9, 120.21 (caption reversed), and *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona* (1934) pl. 12, 86.272. These graves are generally dated *ca* 550 to 500 B.C. There are closer Attic analogies around the turn of the century: B. A. Sparkes and Lucy Talcott, *The Athenian Agora* XII *Black and Plain Pottery* (Princeton 1970) pl. 25 nos. 568–71; E. Vanderpool, "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft," *Hesperia* 15 (1946) pl. 64 nos. 249–50.

[2] L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 89.

[3] I have learned much from discussion with colleagues and teachers, originally Sir John Beazley and Professor M. L. Lang, then A. Henrichs, T. Martin, G. Nagy, J. Rusten, and especially Calvert Watkins, who saved me from basic errors; the paper was corrected and improved by Professor Threatte.

[4] Jeffery (*supra* n.2) 239 no. 1, with bibliography, and C. Watkins, "Observations on the 'Nestor's Cup' Inscription," *HSCP* 80 (1976) 25ff; I have used Watkins' ἑ[στ]ι.

[5] M. L. Lang, *The Athenian Agora* XXI *Graffiti and Dipinti* (Princeton 1976) F 56.

[6] Jeffery (*supra* n.2) 415 Rhodes no. 1, 409 Kyme no. 3, 415 Smyrna no. 69, Lang (*supra* n.5) F3; T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 33 fig. 34.

γίνιός ἐμι ὁ κότυλος καλὸς κ[αλ]ô.[7] Along such lines our graffito ought to yield its meaning, but there are obscurities.

The name Tyres seems to be new, as so often happens with graffiti. It is not yet attested in Boeotia, or, apparently, anywhere else.[8] It seems to be a regular name, on the pattern of κέλης, Τέλης, and not a transparent ethnic like Skythes or Magnes; it does not seem to indicate a man of Tyre (Τύριος), or an Etruscan like the slightly later Τυρσανός of Athens, or a man of the Milesian colony on the river Tyres (Dniester), Τυράτης, where the Kimmerians buried their dead.[9] Let Tyres be an ordinary, late archaic, literate Boeotian.

τô λάγνα (Attic τοῦ λάγνου): Tyres makes a cheerful claim to local renown, as perhaps Archilochos had done before him,[10] with a word not much in general literary use before Attic Middle Comedy. It is not a word one would like to think of as a father's personal name. ὁ λάγνος: "qui se laisse aller au plaisir, à la débauche, à la license"; ὁ λάγνης, ὁ δ' ἐν ἀφροδισίοις μαινόμενος, ... πόρνοις συνών.[11] While it might seem odd to bare one's private traits to public scrutiny this way, other Boeotians did it: Καλιαία ἐμὶ τô κέντρονος, "I belong to Kallias the rogue," or the more explicit lamp, ἐμὶ δὲ Πανσανίου τοῦ καταπυγοτάτου.[12] "I am (the cup) of Tyres the lecher," seems so far understandable.

Does the other side of the cup, with καλλινα hαδύποτος, complement this statement, or are there two separate phrases? Professor Calvert Watkins notes the mellifluous affinity of *Turetos* and *hadupotos*, of τô λάγνα and καλλινα, sounding both backwards and forwards, and hears the two phrases as intricately connected by internal alliterations, suggesting that they are inseparable.[13] Yet Tyres' side is cut in a big, coarse, careless hand; on the other side there is a steadier script, a better eye, more refinement. Did Tyres, like the Persians, muse drunk at night and sober in the morning? Did he start his self-congratulatory outburst at an evening party and finish it next day? That seems unlikely; perhaps he had a friend, a συμπότης, with whom he alternated lines like the contest of Homer and Hesiod, an adept at capping lines, a friend who, when the cheer was kindly and the Muse sweet and the wine pleasant in Boeotian skyphoi (Bacchylides fr.21 Sn.), kept a clearer head and a less trembling hand. What did either of them mean by *kallina*?

[7] C. Smith, "Vases from Rhodes with Incised Inscriptions," *JHS* 6 (1885) 372 ("it just misses by one syllable the ordinary trochaic trimeter catalectic") [Schwyzer 275]. J. C. Rolfe, "An Inscribed Kotylos from Boeotia," *HSCP* 2 (1891) 89ff [Schwyzer 440.4]; *cf.* A. Morpurgo Davies, "Article and Demonstrative: A Note," *Glotta* 46 (1968) 77ff.

[8] Can it be a nickname, as 'troublemaker', 'incompetent', related to τυρεύω, τυρόω? *Cf.* Jeffery (*supra* n.2) 265 n.5. If that is so, the problem with λάγνης as a patronymic is ameliorated.

[9] Lang (*supra* n.5) F 44; Hdt. 4.11; Pape-Benseler *Wörterbuch s.v.* "Tyres."

[10] If the 'Kritias' discussion offers λάγνος as a scrap of original Archilochean self-description: fr.259 Lasserre, 295 West.

[11] P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique s.v.*; Poll. 6.188; Euboulos *Korydallos* fr.55 K.; Com. adesp. 388 K.

[12] D. Stavropoullos, *EphArch* 1896, 243ff [Schwyzer 440.3]; *cf.* Ar. *Nub.* 450.

[13] Personal communication; Professor Watkins sees also the same kind of internal 'icon' as he diagnosed in the 'Nestor's cup' inscription (*supra* n.4).

By analogy with the other inscriptions of this type, *kallina* should be either the name of the cup itself, like kylix, kotylos, lekythos, or an adjective describing the cup, with kylix or skyphos understood, "a pretty one," with ἡδύποτος referring both to the content of the cup and to the general pleasures of drinking from this one. For the first possibility there is a negative report; of the hundreds of Greek names and nicknames for cups, this is not one in any surviving testimony. As an adjective, it does not appear in the lexica. The only two appearances of a similar word are both in poetic contexts, Καλλῖνος the poet of Ephesos, and Καλλίνη the mother of the poet Pindar's wife Megakleia.[14] Both the metrical quantities and the meaning of καλλινα are difficult; *iota* is long in *Kallinos* and probably in *Kallina* also, although *kalli-* compounds in general should have short *iota*. The word may mean simply 'fair, handsome, pretty', or be a variant on κάλλιμος, as in the Homeric κάλλιμα δῶρα, ὅπα κάλλιμον—not gift or voice here, but the kylix.[15] There is, perhaps, a possibility of connection to καλλίναος, of fair-flowing rivers and liquid lakes in later fifth-century poetry; the personal name Kallinaos is uniquely attested at Tanagra, where so many of these inscribed black cups come from.[16] The elision seems unlikely, however; a vocative or an imperative seem equally difficult. Perhaps καλλινα is simply a local hypocoristic dialect variant of καλά, like fair Philto's lovely cup.

hαδύποτος is the least troublesome element in the graffito, a commonplace for wine and the drinking experience, from the Homeric ἐν δὲ πίθοι οἴνοιο παλαιοῦ ἡδυπότοιο ἕστασαν (*Od.* 2.340) to the contemporary Panyassis' σκύπφους αἰνύμενος Θαμέας ποτὸν ἡδὺν ἔπινεν (Ath. 498D). At least two otherwise unassuming cups have the legend ἡδύποτος alone, under the rims, one dipinto, one graffito. The feminine ἡδυποτίς is regularly used in temple treasury records, standing by itself, as for Echenike's gold kylix on Delos, which is called by each name in different listings.[17] The connection of ἡδύποτος and κύλιξ is also made explicit in a well-known graffito on a cup from Olbia, ἡδύποτος κύλιξ εἰμὶ φιλὴ πινόντι τὸν οἶνον.[18]

[14] *Vita Pindari Ambrosiana* (p.3 Drachmann). There is a high proportion of *Kalli-* names from Tanagra, F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (Halle 1917) 504ff.

[15] I owe this suggestion to Professor Thomas Martin. Something comparable may appear on the plain sixth-century amphora from Eretria, ascribed by Miss Jeffery (*supra* n.2) 85 to Boeotia.

[16] Bechtel *Personennamen* 231, *IG* VII 1128; *cf.* 1888e.5, Kallirhoidas of Thespiai; Eur. *Med.* 835, *Alc.* 589. The Gorginios kotylos (Rolfe [*supra* n.7]) came from Kakosia near Thisbe; *cf.* Schwyzer 440–42, 445; P. Wolters, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (1940). I tried, mistakenly, to turn καλλινα into a verb, as in fr.5 Radt of Sophokles' *Athamas*, οἴνῳ γὰρ ἡμῖν Ἀχέλῳος ἆρα νᾷ; Professor Watkins assures me this is quite wrong and would in any case be written ναῖ. Wrong, too, are forms from κάλινος, a wooden bowl, and ἰνέω, to empty the bowel. Sir John Beazley once thought, before seeing a photograph, of καλίνδ', like ἁλινδ'+λ on a contemporary bell-krater by the Dikaios Painter (*ARV*² 31.5, *AJA* 31 [1927] 347) but rejected it; the letter is clearly *alpha*. *Cf.* A. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (1979) 159.

[17] P. Wolters, "'Ηδυποτίς," *AJA* 11 (1896) 147ff; *cf.* "Eingeritzte Inschriften auf Vasen," *AthMitt* 38 (1913) 193ff; Echenike's cup, *BCH* 1882 (30) 113–14; there is also ἡδυπότιον, *IG* II² 1534.220f, 1539.10f; ἡδυποτίδιον, VII 303.72.

[18] I owe the proper reference to Professor Albert Henrichs: E. von Stern, *Philologus* 72 (1913) 547; *cf.* also I. Tolstoi, *Grecheskie Graffiti* (Moscow 1953), for the inscribed vases from Olbia in Leningrad; Wolters (*supra* n.17: 1913) 195 culls from E. von Stern, *Theodosia und seine Keramik (Das Museum der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 3) 11, Βοσπορίχο εἰμὶ τô Τιμώριος κύλιξ.

The Olbia cup gives dactyls, if κύλιξ was pronounced κλίξ or κλύξ. Is Tyres' graffito metrical? Not quite, by the handbooks. The first line can be a choliambic dimeter, the second (depending on καλλινα) half an elegiac pentameter, an unusual but not impossible combination, as in an epode;[19] or the second verse can be a syncopated catalectic iambic dimeter, as

The cup am I of Lecher Tyres,
lovely cup, sweet in the drink.

Pride in lechery, pretty cup, sweet drink, and awkward poetry that wine and good company may have made sound quite attractive. It is at least singable, and one might imagine Tyres, perhaps with a friend to intertwine his voice as well as his script, stabbing the Boeotian night with happy local rhythms, having been moved to write it up as well as drink it up.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

[19] The combination, with iambic trimeters, used by Hipponax (?: the Salmydessos epode, frr.115ff Masson) and Archilochos (224 Lasserre, 185 West). A careful collection of metrical and quasi-metrical inscriptions on pots would be of great benefit; *cf. supra* n.7 and the 'faulty' trochaics on a fourth-century cup-kotylos from Naukratis, J. D. Beazley, *AJA* 31 (1927) 352. For Boeotian dialogue on pots see E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich 1932) no. 658: A, χῆρε κὴ τύνει γάμι / B, ὦ τί λέγις; (P. Kretschmer, *Griechische Vaseninschriften* 5; P. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen* 59f; Schwyzer 445).

ATTIC CUP-SKYPHOS

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

Aphetai and the Battle of Artemision

Paul W. Wallace

STERLING DOW was Visiting Professor my first year at the American School at Athens in 1966/7, and on our travels together I learned of his conviction of the importance of topography for reconstructing Greek history. It is a great pleasure to contribute an article in honor of a scholar and friend, whose encouragement through the years has been firm and constant.

The strategy and tactics of the battle of Artemision have been much discussed without benefit of certain knowledge of one essential fact: the location of the Persian fleet at Aphetai.[1] Aphetai was the headquarters of the Persian fleet throughout the entire Artemision campaign; the fleet arrived there immediately after the devastating storm at the Ovens and remained there until the Greek fleet withdrew. The activities of both fleets would undoubtedly be much clearer if we knew precisely where the Persians were stationed. The difference of only a few miles, in the extreme geographical diversity of the Thessalian-Euboian channel, alters our interpretation of the activities of the two fleets. Unfortunately the evidence is insufficient for determining with certainty the location of Aphetai. We can only use what little evidence we have, and try hard not to let our interpetation of what occurred determine our choice of the site (see *Figure* 1).

The evidence for the location of Aphetai, as for almost all ancient places, consists of references in ancient literature and of modern exploration in the region. Aphetai had legendary associations with the Argonauts and with Herakles: it was the place of departure (ἀφετήριον) of the Argonauts (Strab. 9.5.15, Ap. Rhod. 1.591, Steph. Byz. *s.v.*) or the place of Herakles' abandonment (ἄφεσις) when the Argo left for Kolkhis (Hdt. 7.193, Apollod. 1.9.19, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1289–91 = Hes. fr.263 M.-W., Steph. Byz.). Aphetai is referred to in ancient literature only in connection with these two events and with the battle of Artemision, and in late geographers. Ancient literature gives only a few indications of the location of Aphetai; the evidence of the ancient sources may be listed here:[2]

(1) Hdt. 7.193: the Persian fleet turned the promontory of Magnesia and entered the gulf that extends to Pagasai (ἰθέαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέρου-

[1] The following works will be cited by author's name alone: A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (London 1962); A. I. Despotopoulos in *History of the Hellenic World: The Archaic Period* (Athens 1975); E. Fabricius, *Gnomon* 2 (1926) 11–15; N. Georgiades, *Thessalia* (Athens 1880, ² 1894; the first edition, the only one available to me, is referred to in this article); P. Green, *Xerxes at Salamis* (London 1970); N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece*² (Oxford 1967); C. Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford 1963); W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* IV (London 1835); J. A. R. Munro, "Some Observations on the Persian Wars," *JHS* 22 (1902) 294–332; W. K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* II (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1969); A. J. B. Wace, "The Topography of Pelion and Magnesia," *JHS* 26 (1906) 143–68.

[2] The garbled geography of Ap. Rhod. 1.580–91 is worthless for determining the location of Aphetai.

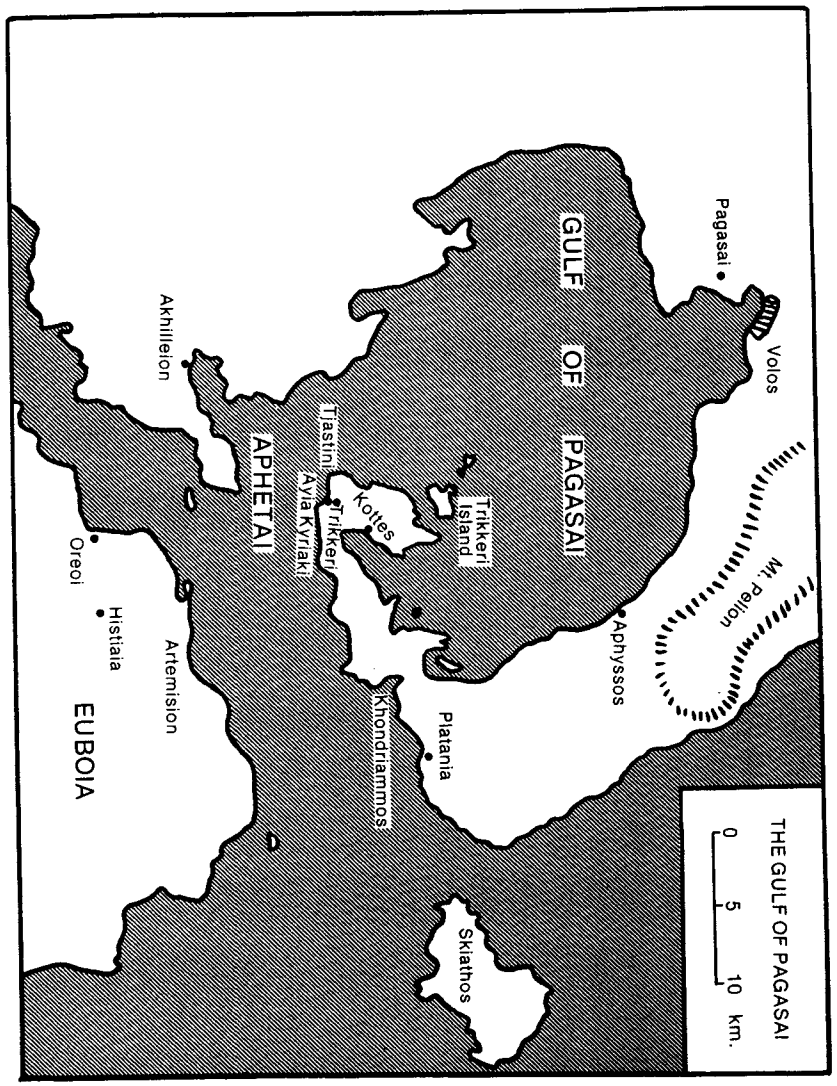


Figure 1

τα). Aphetai was a place in this gulf of Magnesia (χῶρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης).
(2) Hdt. 8.4, 8.6: the two fleets were within sight of each other.
(3) Hdt. 8.8: Skyllias dived into the sea at Aphetai and emerged at Artemision, a distance of eighty stadia.
(4) Strabo 9.5.15: Aphetai is near (πλησίον) Pagasai.
(5) Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀφεταί: Aphetai is a city of Magnesia and lies in the Gulf of Pagasai (κεῖται ἐν τῷ Παγασιτικῷ κόλπῳ).

The first person in modern times to visit the area and to try to locate Aphetai was W. M. Leake (381–83, 395–97). His choice for Aphetai was modern Trikkeri, northwest of the site in Euboia which Lolling[3] would later establish as Artemision. Near Trikkeri the Magnesia peninsula ends and forms the entrance to the Gulf of Volos, the ancient Gulf of Pagasai. The next attempt to identify Aphetai was made by N. Georgiades (175f), a "Thettalomagnetos doctor," who located the site near modern Aphyssos within the Gulf of Pagasai, southeast of Volos, basing his identification on the abundance of fresh water and the similarity of the ancient and modern names. No one has accepted Georgiades' suggestion; modern Aphyssos is much too far to the north to have been the site of Aphetai. The next recorded visitor to the area was A. J. B. Wace, who in 1905 made a thorough exploration of the Magnesia peninsula. Wace's choice for the location of Aphetai was the small bay of Platania (146). Wace's candidate was accepted by E. Fabricius (13–15), who visited the site in 1925 and recorded his impression of it in his review of F. Stählin, *Das hellenische Thessalien*. Since the time of Fabricius no one seems to have visited the area for the purpose of identifying Aphetai. The only other candidate for Aphetai, the bay of Khondriammos (also called Andriame), is suggested by scholars who do not seem to have visited the area themselves.[4]

In July 1982 I had the opportunity of spending a number of days exploring the Magnesia peninsula with the view of discovering the most likely site of Aphetai.[5] Since space here does not allow a full discussion of the problem, I shall limit my remarks to observations on the physical advantages or disadvantages of the various candidates for Aphetai. I hope to return to the subject soon in more detail.

Since Trikkeri satisfies all the literary requirements for the site of Aphetai, it is odd that Platania is now the favorite candidate.[6] Platania seems to be chosen for strategic reasons, in the belief that Aphetai must have been situated east of Artemision; otherwise the Persian fleet could have proceeded south and outflanked Leonidas at Thermopylai. Such an argument seems to me very weak, but strategic considerations must be left aside for the time being, while we concentrate on other matters, such as whether

[3] H. G. Lolling, "Das Artemision auf Nordeuböa," *AthMitt* 8 (1883) 7–23, 200–10.
[4] Munro 310 n.28 and Despotopoulos 344.
[5] In this survey I enjoyed the considerable assistance of two friends, David W. and Frances Martin. I wish also to acknowledge financial help from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society and to recognize the aid of three colleagues: Eugene N. Borza, W. Robert Connor, and J. Allan S. Evans.
[6] To the list in Pritchett 14 should be added Hignett 175–77 and Green 119 and note. Pritchett himself favors Platania.

a candidate for Aphetai is large enough to accommodate the Persian fleet and whether there is sufficient water for drinking and sufficient land for the crews to rest.

The bay of Platania which Fabricius described actually consists of two bays, the bay at the town of Platania and the small bay to the west called Mikro. The larger harbor at Platania is perhaps 600 m. long and the small bay perhaps 500 m. There is no water at Platania; the brook shown in Fabricius' plan flows only in the winter and early spring, and in July was dry. At the eastern end of Mikro Bay is a spring which seems to issue out of a cliff. The water is so little that it is lost in the sand of the beach, and would have been enough for only a few persons. The two small bays together could have accommodated only about two hundred ships, and the water would have been insufficient in any case.

The next bay to the west, Khondriammos, is formed by the projection of two headlands toward each other. The interior, however, is divided by a projection from the north, so that actually there are two bays inside. Only the eastern part would be appropriate for beaching ships, and only a few there. The beach is not sandy, but consists of small rocks (thus the name). The western part of the harbor consists generally of cliffs coming right down to the sea. There is some flat land behind, where the crews could have rested, but the area (now appropriately called Xerokambos) is nearly waterless—a few wells, but not good. There are no springs.

Having seen the bays on the south coast of the Magnesia peninsula, I am convinced that the Persian fleet could not have been located here. Neither Platania nor Khondriammos, nor for that matter both together with all the rest of the small bays, would have been sufficient to harbor the Persian fleet, even if it was as small as the smallest estimate.[7] I doubt whether all the harbors on the south coast could have accommodated more than 300 ships—so few and small are the areas where ships could be beached—and after the disaster on the east coast of Magnesia, neither the commanders nor the Persian sailors would have considered anchoring next to rocky cliffs. Hundreds of ships, anchored off forbidding cliffs, would be inviting another disaster. There is almost no water along the entire south coast; the spring at Mikro was so small that fewer than a hundred men would drink it dry.

One argument that has apparently never been used to locate Aphetai near Trikkeri is that of the need of the Persian fleet to maintain communications with Xerxes and the land army. At Ayia Kyriaki and Trikkeri it would be easy to reach the land army; in contrast, the hinterland of the bays along the south of the Magnesia peninsula is extremely severe—steep mountains and deep ravines. The brush and briars are now almost impenetrable, and in antiquity the difficulties of travel within the mountains must have been considerable. The advantages of being at the entrance of the Gulf of

[7] Herodotos (7.89–96) gives the numbers of the triremes in the Persian fleet (including an estimated 120 from the Greeks in Thrace and the nearby islands) as 1327 and the transports as 3000. Modern students of the battle usually attempt to reduce these numbers. For recent estimates of the size of the Persian fleet, see Burn 330–32; Green 60–62, 109, 128 and note; Hignett 345–50. Hammond 229 accepts the numbers of Herodotos.

Pagasai, where horsemen could make quick contact with the land forces, were surely not lost on the admirals of the Persian fleet.

There is at present, so the locals informed us, a road to Trikkeri. We attempted to drive it, but soon found that only exceptional vehicles could negotiate this rugged and eroded track. We were fortunately forced to arrange transportation with the local fishermen, one of whom agreed to convey us by his small boat to the entrance of the Gulf of Pagasai. We were thus afforded an excellent opportunity to examine the harbors of Magnesia from the same vantage as the Persians themselves.

Approaching the area of Trikkeri by sea from the north one passes a promontory called Tjastini (or Kavoulia); then one sees a harbor, and after rounding a rough projection of rock, another harbor where Ayia Kyriaki is situated, above which Trikkeri village appears on the mountain. We noticed that as we passed Tjastini point, going south, the sea became much rougher. Our boatman said that commonly they go no farther in small craft because of the increased force of the wind and waves. Tjastini seems to be a breaking point; north of that point the area is more sheltered and one is aware of being in a gulf; but beyond Tjastini one is aware of setting out to sea. The protection of the gulf (with its encompassing mountains) is lost and one is exposed to the rush of winds through the channel separating Euboia from the mainland. Tjastini forms the east side of the mouth of the gulf and is in fact the place from which one 'starts out'.[8] In a small craft one can sense the change. The entrance to the Gulf of Pagasai is therefore my candidate for Aphetai, and I would locate the headquarters of the Persian fleet in the harbors at Ayia Kyriaki, Trikkeri, and Tjastini, where there is a fine spring. Those three harbors, however, would not suffice for the entire Persian fleet, and we must accordingly find a spot for the rest of them. My suggestion would be that the rest of the fleet put in at the opposite harbor of Akhilleion, the small harbors along the south side of Trikkeri island (*cf.* Eust. *Od.* 1.969.22, Ἀφέται μὲν νῆσος), along the straits there, and down to the bay of Kottes, where, with fine shelter and plenty of water, the ships could be repaired of the damage they suffered at the Ovens and the men could find rest. The repaired ships must have been brought as quickly as possible back to the mouth of the gulf; from the harbors there easy approach was made to places like the bay at modern Akhilleion for the maintaining of close contact with the land army. From Akhilleion horsemen could reach Xerxes in the Malian Gulf area without difficulty. The only satisfactory location for the Persian fleet is at the mouth of the Gulf of Pagasai, the area which must have been called Aphetai in antiquity.

Though the neighborhood of Trikkeri has been identified with Aphetai by some of the leading students of the Persian wars,[9] it has been rejected by many others. The

[8] A perusal of the entries in LSJ under ἄφεσις and ἀφετήριον (the words associated with our site) is instructive: ἄφεσις, channels of the sea (LXX 2 Sam. 22.16); a town on the harbor at Rhodes (*IG* XII.1 128); the starting-post in a footrace (Soph. *El.* 686); ἀφετήριον, outlet of the Gulf of Maeotis (Strab. 11.2.4); the gate of a sluice (*P.Lond.* III 1177.291); outlet of a conduit (*P.Oxy.* XVII 2146.6); outlet of the river Kladeos (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.752). Aphetai thus probably refers to the outlet of the Gulf of Pagasai, which folk etymology associated with the departure of the Argonauts or the desertion of Herakles.

[9] Trikkeri is accepted by both Burn 340 (map), 391, and Hammond 3 (map), 231–32.

strategy of the battle will have to be considered against the evidence of the terrain, before the battle of Artemision can be understood.[10] The location of the Persian fleet at Aphetai, once it is finally determined, should provide us with a major piece of evidence for reconstructing the battle which "laid the bright foundation of freedom" (Pind. fr.77).

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, ALBANY

[10] The most recent studies on the strategy at Artemision are: S. Sidebotham, "Herodotus on Artemisium," *CW* 75 (1982) 177–86; M. B. Wallace, "Herodotos and Euboia," *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 22–44; H. Hoerhager, "Zu den Flottenoperationen am Kap Artemision," *Chiron* 3 (1973) 43–59; J. A. S. Evans, "Notes on Thermopylae and Artemisium," *Historia* 18 (1969) 389–406; J. F. Lazenby, "The Strategy of the Greeks in the Opening Campaign of the Persian War," *Hermes* 92 (1964) 264–84.

A Fragment of Aeschines among the Duke Papyri

William H. Willis

SOME THIRTY YEARS ago Sterling Dow encouraged me to venture my first publication of a papyrus, a fragment of Aeschines' *In Ctesiphontem* from the Robinson collection.[1] To come full circle I offer him now a new fragment of Aeschines, *In Timarchum* 40–41.

The papyrus, acquired in 1970 from a European dealer for the Duke collection (inv. G 44) and so of unknown provenience, is written in black ink along the fibers in a crisp, almost regular bookhand of virtually bilinear majuscules sloping slightly to the right, a fully developed canonical example of Schubart's 'strenger Stil', Turner's 'Formal mixed' style,[2] widely practiced in the late second and early third centuries of our era (PLATE 21). I should assign it conservatively to the early third century. The verso is uninscribed. The hand is not the same as that of any other Aeschines papyrus of which photographs have been published, nor do descriptions of hands and lengths of lines of other published texts match those of the Duke papyrus.

The fragment, 7.1 cm. wide by 13.3 high, bears the beginnings of 23 consecutive lines of 16 to 18 letters, averaging 16.9 letters per line. The generously spaced lines average 0.56 cm. in height, the letters 0.3 cm., line lengths about 7.0 cm. A slender leftward extension of fibers preserved at line 22 attests an intercolumnar margin of at least 1.6 cm. Since only part of one column is represented by the surviving text, it is not possible to calculate the dimensions of the papyrus roll from which it comes.

The Duke papyrus is the fourth ancient fragment of *In Timarchum* to be recovered,[3] the seventeenth of Aeschines.[4] It is the sole ancient witness to its section of the oration. Like all the others, while in the main confirming the mediaeval manuscript tradition generally, its text does not validate one manuscript or 'family' against another but provides yet more evidence to substantiate the observations of Martin and de

[1] *TAPA* 86 (1955) 129–34 and plate.

[2] W. Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie* (Munich 1925) 124–31; Sir Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) 26–27. See also C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands* (Oxford 1955) plates 15c, 19a, 19b, 20a, 21a, and commentary.

[3] Extant papyri of *Tim.* comprise: (1) *P.Köln* II 65, §§18–20 (= P15 Schindel [*BT* 1978], to be added to the list in R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Egypt*[2] [Ann Arbor 1965] 16), II/III cent.; (2) P.Duk. inv. G 44, §§41 end–42, early III cent.; (3) P.Fuad inv. 222, §§53–54 (= P11 Schindel, Pack[2] 4), II cent.; (4) *P.Gen.* II 1 + *P.Hal.* 6, §§171–81, 191–92, 194–95 (= P6a+b Schindel, Pack[2] 5+6, *cf. Cd'E* 41 [1966] 144–59).

[4] In addition to the four of *In Timarchum*, there are four papyri of *De Falsa Legatione* (Pack[2] 7, 8, 9 = PP 4, 2, 10 Schindel, and the recently published *P.Oxy.Hels.* 1, §§130–33, II cent.), and nine of *In Ctesiphontem* (Pack[2] 10–18 = PP 7, 13, 8, 14, 9, 5, 3, 1, 12 Schindel). All are from papyrus rolls of the second and third centuries except one, Pack[2] 17 = P1 Schindel, from a parchment codex of the fifth century. In frequency of papyri with respect to other orators and prose authors, Aeschines remains in the same relative position as before, third and seventh respectively: see W. H. Willis, *GRBS* 9 (1968) 212.

Budé,[5] that the papyri do not align themselves with any supposed class of the manuscripts and contain variants which may appear in any one of them.

In its variants and word order the Duke fragment agrees best not with any manuscript but rather with the text of this section as quoted by Athenaeus at *Deipn.* 339B–C, which coincides with lines 2–16 of the papyrus. Like Athenaeus but not the manuscripts, our scribe writes *scriptio plena* in line 5 and apparently had the same unique text and word order in lines 2 and 11. In three instances the Duke papyrus agrees in text or word order with Athenaeus and a few manuscripts against all others. The papyrus differs from Athenaeus in three instances, (1) by retaining ὦ at line 3 before the vocative along with many other manuscripts, (2) in its unique order of words in lines 11–12, which may indeed provide the right reading, and (3) where it offers a reading shared only with codex **t**, ἕνεκεν for ἕνεκα at line 18. The scribe is careful enough to write medial stops (shown as asterisks in my transcription) in lines 13 and 15 and a diaeresis on the deictic syllable in 20. No other punctuation or diacritical marks are preserved.

Athenaeus had before him, therefore, just such a text of the oration as that attested by the Duke papyrus—naturally enough, if he published his work about A.D. 228 as is generally accepted. His word order and variants are ancient and are not the product of careless quotation or of corruptions in our separate text tradition of *Deipnosophistae*.

TEXT

P.Duk. inv. G 44 Aeschin. *Tim.* 40–41 Early III cent.
Provenience unknown 7.1 × 13.3 cm.

[40] [περὶ τούτων ποι]-
– – – – – – – – – – – –
1 [ήσομ[αι τοὺς λόγους.]
[41] [Μ]ισγόλα[ς ἐστὶν Ναυκρά]-
[τ]ους, ὦ ἄνδ[ρες Ἀθηναῖ]-
[οι], Κολυττε[ύς, ἀνὴρ τὰ]
5 μὲν ἄλλα κ[αλὸς καὶ ἀ]-
γαθός, καὶ οὐ[δα]μ[ῆι ἄν]
[τ]ις αὐτὸν μέμψ[αιτο,]
περὶ δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμ[α τοῦ]-
[τ]ο δαιμονίως ἐσπ[ου]-
10 [δ]ακὼς καὶ ἀεί τινα[ς πε]-
[ρὶ] αὐτὸν εἰωθὼς [ἔχειν]
[κ]ιθαρῳδοὺς ἢ [κιθαρι]-
στάς* τ[αυτ]ὶ δὲ [λ]έγω
[ο]ὐ τοῦ [φορτι]κ[ο]ῦ ἕνε-
15 [κ]α* ἀλλὰ ἵ[να γν]ωρίση-
[τ]ε αὐτὸν [ὅστις ἐ]στί[ν.]
[ο]ὗτος αἰσ[θόμενος ὢν]
[ἕ]νεκεν [τὰς διατριβὰς]
[ἐ]ποιεῖτο [Τίμαρχος οὐ]-
20 [τ]οσὶ ἐπὶ [τοῦ ἰατρείου,]
[ἀ]ργύριόν [τι προσανα]-
λώσας [ἀνέστησεν αὐ]-
[τὸ]ν κ[αὶ ἔσχε παρ' ἑαυ]-
– – – – – – – – – – – –
[τῶι,]

COMMENTARY

The text has been collated with the Teubner texts of F. Schultz (1865) and F. Blass, rev. U. Schindel (1978), and with the Budé text of V. Martin and G. de Budé, I (1925). Codices are cited by the sigla used by Blass/Schindel. Athenaeus is collated with the text of G. Kaibel (*BT*, Leipzig 1887).

2. Μισγόλας ἐστὶν Ναυκράτους Athen. : ἔστι Μισγόλας τις N. **h q** Schultz, ἔστι Μισγόλας N. **d f** *Barb Abb*, ἔστι τις Μισγόλας N. Weidner, Μισγόλας ἔστι τις N. Franke, Martin/de Budé, Blass/Schindel. There being no room in line 1 for ἔστι nor in line 2 for the addition of τις, I print the text of Athenaeus, which alone fits the lacunae.

3. ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι **d f g h r** *Barb Abb* : ὦ om. Athen., ἄνδρες om. **B** et Schultz.

4. Κολυττεύς codd. Athenaei et Aeschinis et auctorum plurimorum : Κολλυτεύς edd.; cf. [K]ολλυ[τός] *IG* II² 2362.17 et inscrr. plur. (e.g. 6498–6510). Editors, following Bekker, cite Harpocration as authority for the spelling Κολλυτεύς, but all MSS. of Harpocration (who lemmatizes the word from the present passage) read Κολυττεύς.

5. καλὸς om. *Laur* καὶ ἀγαθός **o t**, Athen., κἀγαθός rell.

10–11. περὶ αὐτὸν εἰωθὼς ἔχειν pap. : εἰωθὼς ἔχειν περὶ αὐτὸν Athen., Martin/de Budé, Blass/Schindel : ἔχειν εἰωθὼς περὶ αὐτὸν codd., Franke, Schultz : ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν **d f h q** *Abb* : ἔχων εἰωθὼς περὶ αὐτὸν *Barb.*

12. κιθαρῳδοὺς codd. et Athen. : κιθαρῳδικὸς **l** ἢ Athen., codd., edd. : καὶ Ammon. s.v. κίθαρις, Anecd.Bach. II 378.

13. punct. med. post -στάς ταυτὶ Athen., codd. plur., ταυτεὶ Ald. : ταῦτα **d f h q** *Barb Abb* λέγω Athen. et codd. : λέγων *Laur* : ἐγὼ **h**.

14–15. punct. med. post ἕνεκα : ἕνεκεν **t**.

15. ἀλλὰ ἵνα pap. dubium : ἀλλ' ἵνα et Athen. et codd.

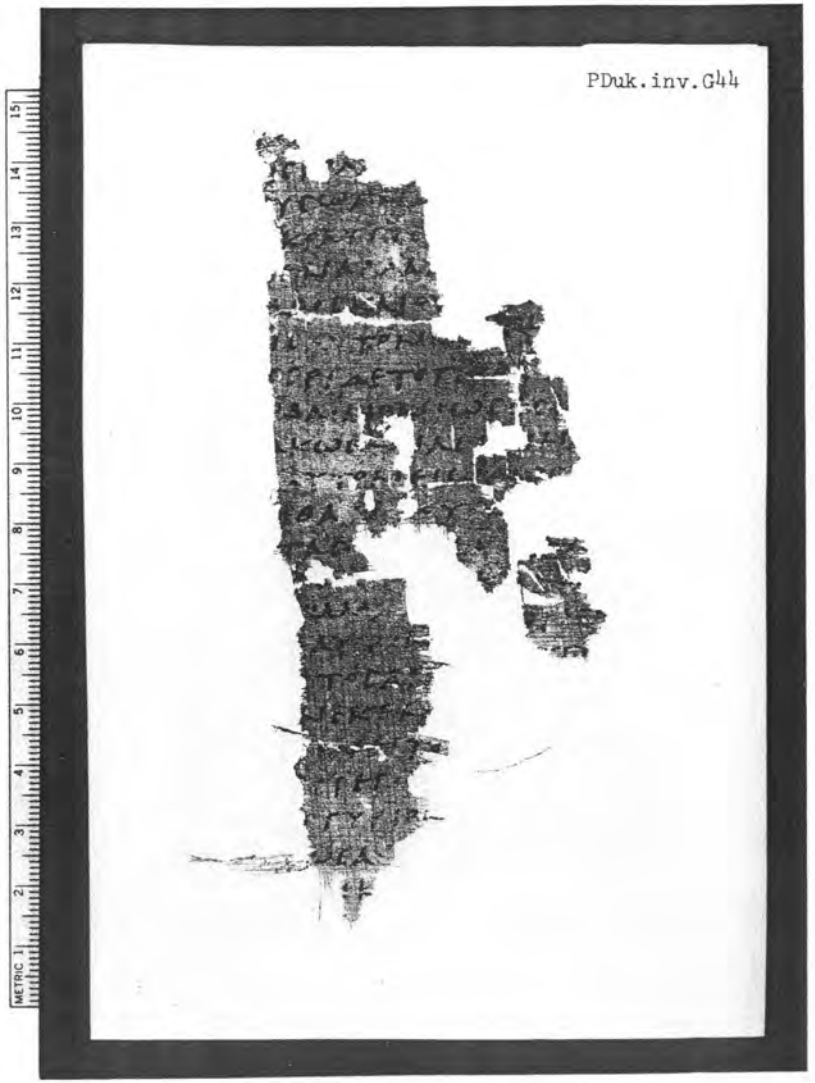
15–16. γνωρίσητε αὐτὸν **A**, Athen., Blass/Schindel : αὐτὸν γνωρίσητε **a b g l m o p r** *Vat Laur* : αὐτὸν γνωρίσηθ' Schultz. Hic post ἐστίν finit Athen.

17. αἰσθόμενος codd. : αἰσθανόμενος **d**.

[5] *Eschine, Discours*, ed. V. Martin/G. de Budé I (Budé, Paris 1952) vi–xxvi, esp. xviii–xxi. For a reassessment of the MSS. see A. Diller, "The Manuscript Tradition of Aeschines' Orations," *ICS* 4 (1979) 34–64, and P. Leone, "Appunti per la storia del testo di Eschine," *Annali d.Fac. di Lett. e Fil., U. di Macerata* 5–6 (1972–73) 9–43.

18. ἕνεκεν pap. : ἕνεκεν ἕνεκα **t**, ἕνεκα rell.
20. οὑτοσὶ codd. : οὑτοσὶν **t**.
20–21. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰατρείου ἀργύριόν τι codd. : ἀργύριόν τι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰατρείου **l**.

DUKE UNIVERSITY



AESCHINES, *In Timarchum* 40–41

DUKE UNIVERSITY

Agora I 5090

A. Geoffrey Woodhead

TWENTY YEARS AGO, as a young man of sixty, Sterling Dow had occasion to cite in an article[1] data derived from the unpublished fragment of an inscribed text designated Agora I 5090. Now, slightly less young in years if not in spirit, he celebrates his eightieth birthday, and to mark the anniversary it seems a good opportunity to offer a publication of this stone, as it were in completion of the job.

The text in itself has little to engage the interest of the student of Athenian history and society. It is no more than a comparatively uninformative fragment of the preamble of an Attic decree, preserving in the main no more than a few proper names and demotics. But it so happens that it exemplifies three features of the Hellenistic epigraphy of Athens to the analysis of which Sterling Dow made a particular personal contribution; moreover, the *terminus post quem* of its date is also dependent on a criterion established by him. Fragmentary as it is, therefore, it could hardly be more appropriate for the present occasion.

I 5090 (PLATE 22) is a fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with right side and original rough-picked back preserved, but broken elsewhere. It was discovered on 15 December 1937 in the wall of a modern house south of the Market Square (N 19 on the Agora grid). The inscribed surface is worn away before extending to the right edge. Height 0.182 m., width 0.161, thickness 0.09; height of letters 0.005 m.

a. 229/8–225/4 *a.* *NON*-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca* 33

[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – –] *reliquiae* [– – –]
[– – – – – – –], ἐνάτει τ[ῆς πρυτα]-
[νείας· ν ἐκκλησία ἐμ] Πειραιεῖ· τῶ[ν προέδρ]-
[ων ἐπεψήφιζεν . ⁽ca 5⁾. .]ς Πολυνίκου Κε[φαλῆ]-
[θεν καὶ συμπρόεδροι] Ἀπολλοφάνης [. ⁴⁻⁵. .]
[– – –, – – – Ἀγν]ούσιος, Μόσχος [. ⁴⁻⁵. .]
[– – –, – – – Τειθρ]άσιος, Κλεογέν[ης ν]
[– – –, – – – Σ]ουνιεύς, Θεογο[. ³⁻⁴ .]
[– – –, – – – Θυμ]αιτάδης, ν Σωγε[. ³⁻⁴ .]
[– – –, – – –]ς Ἀναφλύ[στι]ο[ς· vvv]
[vvv ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι κα]ὶ τῶ[ι] δή[μωι· vvvv]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]

[1] *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 335–65.

The surviving names of the *proedroi* are ordinary enough, and none lends itself to closer identification.[2] The deme of the chairman (4–5) is sure, since the only alternative, Κε[ιριάδης], belongs to a deme of Hippothontis, a *phyle* represented by a *proedros* of Thymaitadai in 9. The approximate line-length, limited on the right by the preserved edge, is established by lines 2–5 and confirmed by line 11.

The lettering provides an excellent example of what Sterling Dow called 'the disjointed style' when he defined its character and period.[3] There he illustrated one inscription in the style (*IG* II² 834) and gave a list of the twenty-seven so written which were known to him at the time.[4] It is a style characterized by a studied carelessness amounting to mannerism, chiefly recognizable in the opened apices of the triangular letters, by *nu* with separated strokes, and by 'squared' or misshapen forms of *beta* and *rho*. The 'oval' of *phi* is often formed of a horizontal surmounted by an arc. Dow said of it that it "happens to be the style of the most important inscriptions engraved at that time. It is, in fact, the official style of the period, insofar as any 'official' style may be spoken of in any period of Athenian inscriptions: practically all the important public inscriptions of the period show this one style."

S. V. Tracy took the study of it further,[5] concluding that it was not a general style (as Dow and, before him, Wilhelm had envisaged) but the work of a single individual, whom he named 'the cutter of *IG* II² 1706'. With some amendments and many additions to Dow's list he attributed forty-nine texts (including this one) to the *IG* II² 1706 cutter, arguing from his work and from other identifiable 'hands' that there were relatively few craftsmen at any one time in Athens who worked on the inscribing of public documents of this kind. The conclusion, though acceptable in general terms, ought not to be over-rigorously applied:[6] there seem to be variations in the style which might make it preferable to envisage an *atelier* rather than an individual as the source of the texts inscribed by the *IG* II² 1706 workshop.[7] However that may be, I 5090 is part of the evidence, and the photograph will assist the reader in establishing his own judgment.

All inscriptions in this style, by this craftsman or group of craftsmen, are *non-stoichedon*, and none, as Dow pointed out, can be shown to antedate 229/8 B.C. Tracy's investigations confirmed Dow's view, and a date earlier than that year should not, in consequence, be assigned to I 5090.

[2] It would, for example, be a very 'long shot' to equate Moschos in line 6 with Μόσχος Κηφισιεύς in *Agora* XV 137.40, of the last decade of the third century; but he must belong to the same *phyle*.

[3] *AJA* 40 (1936) 58–62; *cf. HSCP* 48 (1937) 105–06.

[4] To which he added five then unpublished Agora texts.

[5] *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 247–50.

[6] *Cf.* A. G. Woodhead, *AJA* 81 (1977) 250–51. In 1936 Dow (*supra* n.3) 59 wrote: "The attempt to distinguish the various hands which appear in these inscriptions must be reserved for a larger work, in which it will be made clear that the style, though it has echoes later, is definitely restricted to the period *post*-229. Evidently it was originated by a workman first employed just after the liberation. One would expect at this time not so much a change of personnel as an increase of it." Nearly forty years later he retained doubts about the number of craftsmen involved; see *Hesperia* Suppl. 15 (1975) xiv.

[7] *Inter alia*, in *IG* II² 852 and 1706 *iota* is given only half a space, which is not the practice in 917, 993, 1537–38, or this present fragment.

Secondly, in the same article[8] Dow drew attention to the layout of preambles of this period, a matter not before then sufficiently observed. He identified in particular what he referred to as 'the perfect design', and described it as follows. "In the middle of the third century, someone invented what we may call the perfect pattern. He set the ἔδοξεν-clause by itself in the middle of the line, leaving blanks on both sides to the very edge of the stone. By this simple device three things were accomplished: (1) preamble and text were visibly blocked off; (2) the ἔδοξεν-clause received all the emphasis that blanks and symmetry could give; (3) the orator's name stood first in the solid block of text." Although there were exceptions, "the new arrangement suddenly became the norm and persisted, as, in fact, for its simplicity, dignity, and clarity it deserved, down to the last preserved instance, *IG* II² 1014, of 109/08."[9]

Here again Dow pioneered a way for his successors, and the incidence of uninscribed spaces has been treated, most notably among others, by A. S. Henry.[10] Not only does the necessary spacing of the present text require a 'perfect design', but the blank spaces visible in line 9 and to be required in 10 as well as supposed, in all probability, in 7 bear out Henry's statement that "in any prescript which employs the device of uninscribed spaces, more than one item is always so set off."

Henry noted[11] that uninscribed spaces are to be found in lists of *symproedroi*, and it is such a list that this fragment presents. Normal practice (from *ca* 341 onwards) involved the naming only of the chairman of the *proedroi* who collectively presided over meetings of the Athenian *boule* or *ekklesia* (τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν ὁ δεῖνα), to which, somewhat illogically, the words καὶ συμπρόεδροι (very rarely καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι) rapidly came to be added. But occasionally, the earliest example being in 333/2, the entire membership of the board of *proedroi* was listed in full.[12] This was the phenomenon to which Dow devoted his article in 1963 which was the context of his reference to I 5090. He detailed twenty-two decrees in which all the *symproedroi* are listed;[13] the present text and *IG* II² 852, both of the same date, are the last in the series.[14]

The *proedroi* are named in the 'official' order of their *phylai*. It may be deduced that the *phyle* in prytany at the time (which did not, on that account, provide a *proedros*) was Oineis (VIII) or Kekropis (IX), since the chairman was of Akamantis (VII) and there is room in the list only for one name between those of the *proedroi* from Sounion (Leontis VI) and Thymaitadai (Hippothontis X). Eleven *proedroi* are listed, and the decree therefore belongs to the period of twelve *phylai* before the establishment of a thirteenth, Ptolemais, in 224/3. With the *terminus post quem* already secured, we

[8] *Supra* n.3: 62–65.

[9] *Cf.* W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (New York 1939) 16–17.

[10] *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees* (Leiden 1977) 67–70.

[11] *Supra* n.10: 70 with n.18.

[12] Henry (*supra* n.10) 39–41; A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*² (Cambridge 1981) 61.

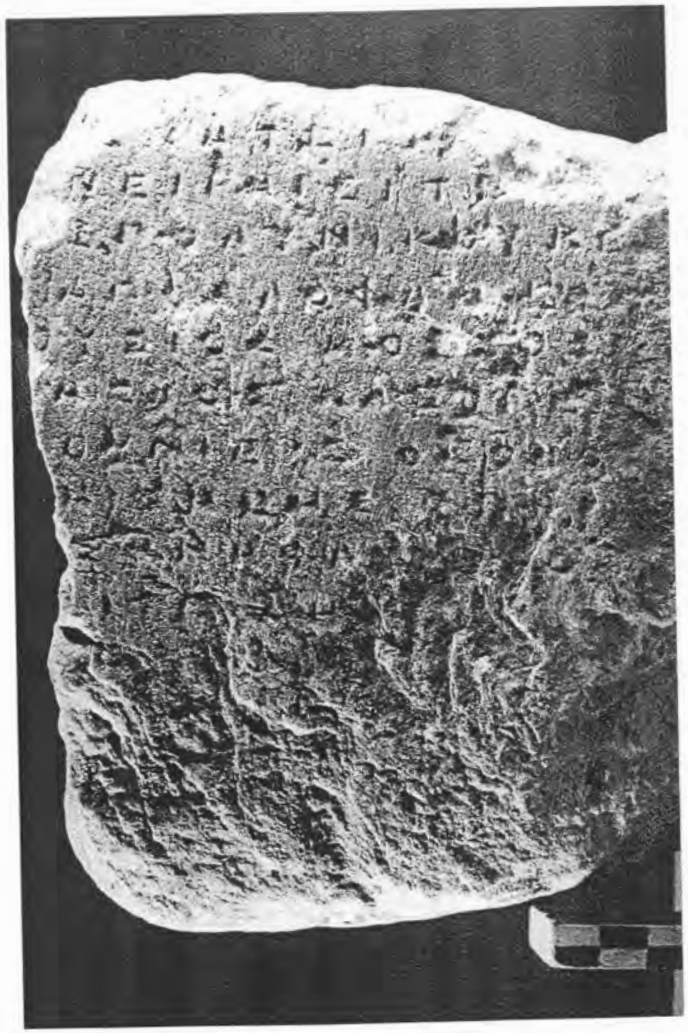
[13] *IG* II² 420 is to be deleted from the list: see *SEG* XXII 93.

[14] *IG* II² 852 is also set out in the perfect pattern, and Dow regarded it as "in a sense the best arranged of all Athenian decrees" (*supra* n.1: 364) even though "the mason stumbled into it" (340).

are left with a span of five or six years at the most to which this document must be ascribed.

Thus, to sum up, this unpromising piece admirably illustrates what may be derived from the kind of epigraphical observation and analysis of which Sterling Dow has been so notable an exponent and teacher. From it he may himself also analyse and observe the debt, gratitude, and good wishes of one who is glad to have enjoyed the privilege of his friendship and advice over so many years.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE



INSCRIPTION FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

Index

Subjects

Compiled by Leslie Threatte, Jr

Greek Words

Compiled by Leslie Threatte, Jr

Passages Discussed

Compiled by Kent J. Rigsby

GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE MONOGRAPHS

Number One
GEORGE L. HUXLEY, *Anthemius of Tralles: a Study in Later Greek Geometry.* 1959. $4.00

Number Two
EMERSON BUCHANAN, *Aristotle's Theory of Being.* 1962. $4.00

Number Three
JACK L. BENSON, *Ancient Leros.* 1963. $4.00

Number Four
WILLIAM M. CALDER III, *The Inscription from Temple G at Selinus.* 1963. $4.00

Number Five
MERVIN R. DILTS, ed., *Heraclidis Lembi Excerpta Politiarum.* 1971. $4.00

Number Six
ERIC G. TURNER, *The Papyrologist at Work.* 1973. $4.00

Number Seven
ROGER S. BAGNALL, *The Florida Ostraka: Documents from the Roman Army in Upper Egypt.* 1976. $8.00

Number Eight
GRAHAM SPEAKE, *A Collation of the Manuscripts of Sophocles'* Oedipus Coloneus. 1978. $4.00

Number Nine
KEVIN K. CARROLL, *The Parthenon Inscription.* 1982. $5.00

GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE SCHOLARLY AIDS

Number One
Index of Passages Cited in HERBERT WEIR SMYTH *Greek Grammar.* Compiled under the direction of WALTER A. SCHUMANN. 1961. $3.00

Number Two
STERLING DOW, *Conventions in Editing.* 1969. $3.00

Issues of these supplementary series published by GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE STUDIES may be ordered directly from the Secretary, GRBS, Box 4715 Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina 27706, U.S.A. Twenty per cent discount to subscribers to the journal, and twenty per cent discount on orders of ten or more copies of each number of GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE SCHOLARLY AIDS.