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IG II<sup>2</sup> 1250: A DECREE CONCERNING THE *LAMPADEPHOROI* OF THE TRIBE  
AIANTIS

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## **IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1250: A DECREE CONCERNING THE *LAMPADEPHOROI* OF THE TRIBE AIANTIS**

Our information concerning the gymnasiarchy and the ephebic torch races in Classical Athens is extremely limited and open to varying interpretation. *IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1250*, a decree involving the *lampadephoroi*, that is the “torch-bearers” in the ephebic torch-races, of the tribe Aiantis, is a unique document of the classical period which, with careful handling, has considerable potential to add to our knowledge of these matters. However, the restoration and interpretation of this document published in both editions of *IG* is, in my opinion, most misleading.<sup>1</sup> This paper seeks to reinterpret the document in the light of comparable inscriptions, and within the context of what is known or can be deduced of the Athenian ephebate before 335. The second part of this paper examines the inscription in detail, but first it is necessary to give a brief outline of the nature of the gymnasiarchy and the ephebic torch races in the classical period. Finally, a prosopographical section is appended.

### EPHEBIC TRAINING BEFORE 335

#### *Aristotle on the Ephebeia*

The “Aristotelian” *Athenaion Politeia* (probably composed shortly before 322, the year of Aristotle’s death) describes the Athenian ephebate as follows. First the boys are enrolled as citizens at the demes at the age of eighteen, being tested for age, eligibility for citizenship and legitimacy of birth. Then a *sophronistes*, who must be aged over forty, is elected for each tribe, and one *kosmetes* is elected over the ten *sophronistai*. Then (42):

(3) συλλαβόντες δ’ οὔτοι τοὺς ἐφήβους, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ  
περιήλθον, εἶτ’ εἰς Πειραιέα πορεύονται καὶ φρουροῦσιν οἱ μὲν τὴν  
Μουნიχίαν οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀκτὴν. χειροτονεῖ δὲ καὶ παιδοτρίβας αὐτοῖς  
δύο καὶ διδασκάλους οἵτινες ὄπλομαχεῖν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν  
καὶ καταπάλτην ἀφιέναι διδάσκουσιν. δίδωσι δὲ καὶ εἰς τροφήν τοῖς  
μὲν σωφρονισταῖς δραχμὴν ἀ’ ἐκάστω, τοῖς δ’ ἐφήβοις τέτταρας  
ὀβολοὺς ἐκάστω· τὰ δὲ τῶν φυλετῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων ὁ

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<sup>1</sup> Apart from the publication in *IG* this inscription seems to have been largely ignored by modern scholarship, apart from occasional oblique references; for example, O.W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Leiden: 1971) p.18.

σωφρονιστῆς ἕκαστος ἀγοράζει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πᾶσιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν (συσσιτοῦσι γὰρ κατὰ φυλάς), καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται πάντων. (4) καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν οὕτως διάγουσι· τὸν δ' ὕστερον, ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γενομένης, ἀποδειξάμενοι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ περὶ τὰς τάξεις, καὶ λαβόντες ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν καὶ διατρίβουσιν ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις. (5) φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη χλαμύδας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀτελεῖς εἰσὶ πάντων· καὶ δίκην οὔτε διδῶσιν οὔτε λαμβάνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ πρόφασις ᾗ τοῦ ἀπιέναι, πλὴν περὶ κλήρου καὶ ἐπικλήρου, κἄν τι κατὰ τὸ γένος ἱερωσύνη γένηται. διεξελθόντων δὲ τῶν δυοῖν ἐτῶν ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν.

(3) These gather together the epebes, and first take them around the sanctuaries, then make their way to the Peiraios and garrison it, some at Munychia and others at Akte. And the people also elect two *paidotribai* (gymnastic trainers) for them and trainers who instruct them in *hoplomachia*, archery, javelinry and catapult-shooting. And they also give as *trophe* (maintenance) one drachma each for the *sophronistai*, and four obols each for the epebes. Each *sophronistes*, taking the money for his own tribesmen, buys the provisions for all in common (for they eat in messes by tribe), and takes care of everything else. (4) And they pass the first year in this way. In the second year there is an assembly in the theatre and they display to the people their drill, and, receiving a shield and a spear from the state, they patrol (*peripolousi*) the *chora* (countryside) and spend their time in the guard-posts. (5) These two years they spend in garrisons, wearing cloaks; and they are free of all taxes; nor can they take out or defend law-suits, in order that there may not be any cause for being absent, except concerning an inheritance or an heiress, or if anyone has succeeded to any priesthood through his family. When the two years are completed they join the others (citizens).

The passage represents the situation at the time of its composition, but it is generally accepted that the epebate had been reformed after the disastrous battle of Chaironeia in 338, a reform generally attributed<sup>2</sup> to Epikrates, whom Harpocration (s.v. Ἐπικράτης) mentions as having moved “a law concerning the epebate”. Epikrates was an associate of Lykourgos, the reforming Athenian politician who came to prominence in the years after Chaironeia. On the basis of the series of epebic inscriptions, which seemingly commence only as a consequence of the reform, Wilamowitz was able to fix the first year-class of the reformed institution at 334/3, and, as these were epebes in their second year of service, the year of the reform as 335, which has now been generally accepted.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen* i (Berlin: 1893) p.194.

<sup>3</sup> Wilamowitz, *ibid.* pp. 193-194; cf. Ch. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique, des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris: 1962) pp.11-12.

*Xenophon on the Ephebeia*

In the *Poroi* (written c.355)<sup>4</sup> Xenophon advances suggestions as to how the state might increase its revenues, principally by expanding the output of, and therefore the revenues from, the Laurion silver-mines. After outlining his schemes he continues (4):

(51) πραχθέντων γε μὴν ὧν εἴρηκα σύμφημι ἐγὼ οὐ μόνον ἂν χρήμασιν εὐπορωτέραν τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐπειθεστέραν καὶ εὐτακτοτέραν καὶ εὐπολεμωτέραν γενέσθαι. (52) οἳ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι πολὺ ἂν ἐπιμελέστερον τοῦτο πράττοιεν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις τὴν τροφήν ἀπολαμβάνοντες πλείω ἢ ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι γυμνασιαρχούμενοι· οἳ τε φρουρεῖν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις οἳ τε πελτάζειν καὶ περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν πάντα ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἂν πράττοιεν, ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν ἔργων τῆς τροφῆς ἀποδιδομένης.

(51) If the things which I have spoken of really are indeed brought into effect, I affirm that not only would the *polis* be better resourced with this wealth, but that it will also become more obedient, more disciplined, and more successful in war. (52) For those assigned to practise gymnastic exercises will carry this out much more carefully in the *gymnasia*, taking their *trophe* in full than while they are under the supervision of the *gymnasiarchs* in the torch-races; while those assigned to garrison-duty in the garrisons and those serving as peltasts patrolling the countryside will carry out more of all these things, if *trophe* is given out to each one for his labours.

This passage can hardly be referring to anything other than the ephebate since only the ephebes, at any period in Athenian history, were “ordered” to train in the *gymnasia* (οἳ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι).<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, it is highly significant that Xenophon speaks of providing *trophe*, that is victuals, or more loosely maintenance, to those on garrison-duty or serving as peltasts. If these had been mercenary troops, then Xenophon would have talked of either *misthos* (pay) or *sitos* (rations or ration-money). Therefore they must be citizens.<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that *AP* also talks of money which was provided for *trophe* for the ephebes after 335.

The implication is that, at the time of writing, the ephebes did not carry out any systematic programme of training in the *gymnasia* because *trophe* was not provided for them on a regular basis, but rather on the whim of the *gymnasiarch*. Thus the athletic training of the

<sup>4</sup> E.C. Marchant, *Xenophon, Scripta Minora* (Loeb edition, London: 1925) pp.xxv-xxviii.

<sup>5</sup> P. Gauthier, *Un commentaire historique des Poroi de Xénophon* (Geneva & Paris: 1976) p.192.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. J.O. Lofberg, *CP* 20 (1925) p.331; J. Ober, *Fortress Attica: defence of the Athenian land frontier, 404-322 BC* (Leiden: 1985) p.93 n.17.

ephebes was suffering because it was under-resourced, and consequently was only carried out intermittently throughout the year. Xenophon is writing his pamphlet in order to suggest ways the state can improve its finances in order to provide funds to improve the standard of ephebic training in the gymnasia.

*The Two Years of the Ephebeia*

It is important to note that Xenophon distinguishes between those training in the gymnasia with those on garrison-duty or on patrol. He is clearly talking of two groups of ephebes. By analogy with the *Athenaion Politeia*, which tells us that the ephebes spent their first year in the gymnasia and their second in the forts, we can assume that Xenophon is contrasting the first and the second year of ephebic service. After 335 the ephebes spent their first year in the Peiraios undergoing basic training, both physical in the gymnasia under the *paidotribai* and in most branches of military training under instructors in *hoplomachia*, archery, javelinry, and catapult-shooting. Only in their second year do they go out to serve in the garrisons. Before 335, it seems, ephebic training was similarly divided into two years. In the first the ephebes train in the gymnasia, while in the second they carry out garrison-duty in the garrisons and serve as peltasts and patrol the countryside. Xenophon contrasts not only “those assigned to practise gymnastic exercises” with those in the second year of training but also in the second year of training “those on garrison duty in the garrisons” with “those serving as peltasts patrolling the countryside” (οἱ τε φρουρεῖν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις οἱ τε πελτάζειν καὶ περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν). The implication of this passage, emphasised in particular by the use of a repeated οἱ τε construction, is surely that Xenophon is talking of two separate groups of people. It seems, therefore, that before 335 the ephebes in their second year of training *either* performed garrison-duty in the garrisons *or* performed peltast-duty patrolling the countryside.<sup>7</sup>

This passage needs to be contrasted with the corresponding one at *AP* 43.4 5, where in their second year, after receiving a hoplite shield and spear from the state, the ephebes perform both functions (περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν καὶ διατρίβουσιν ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις. φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη): presumably after 335, since all ephebes received a hoplite spear and shield from the state, all were equipped and could train as

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gauthier, *op.cit.* p.193, who misinterprets this passage to mean that all ephebes performed peltast-duty, and compounds the assumption in Pierre Vidal-Naquet, ‘The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebeia’ in *The Black Hunter* (trans. Szegedy-Maszak) (Baltimore & London: 1986) pp. 106-128, that the ephebe is an “anti-hoplite”. Both fail to recognize the change in practice between the system described by Xenophon and the post-335 system.

hoplites in their second year. A little earlier in the *Poroi* (4.47), when discussing the defensibility of the Laurion mining district, Xenophon suggests that if the number of the invaders is small they will be defeated by the cavalry and the “peripoloi”. He presumably has the same troops in mind whom he later describes as οἱ τε (ταχθέντες) πελτάζειν καὶ περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν. I suggest that before 335, in the second year of training, those who could afford to provide their own hoplite equipment served as hoplites manning the border-forts of Attica, while those who could not equipped themselves as peltasts and patrolled the countryside. I further suggest that it was these latter troops who were called *peripoloi*.

However, for the purposes of this paper, it is the first year of ephebic service with which we are concerned, the nature of which is outlined below.

#### *The Three Ephebic Torch-Races*

Torch-races are mentioned in inscriptions (mostly ephebic of the Hellenistic and Roman periods) at the Panathenaia, the festivals of Prometheus, Hephaistos, Pan, Bendis, Hermes, and Theseus, and the festival in honour of the dead.<sup>8</sup> Before 335, however, it seems that the ephebes competed in only three. Our principal information for this is the indirect evidence that the liturgy of the gymnasiarchy is only mentioned by the forensic orators and by other sources in connection with the festivals of Prometheus, Hephaistos and Pan. It is only stated directly in late glosses, such as that on the Attic festival of Gamelia contained in the *Schol. Patm.* on Demosthenes, *Against Euboulides* 43:<sup>9</sup>

καὶ οὗτοι (τῶν μελλόντων γαμεῖν) ἤγοντο Λαμπαδοδρομίαν τὴν ἑορτὴν  
τῷ τε Προμηθεῖ καὶ τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ τῷ Πανὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. οἱ  
ἔφηβοι, ἀλειψάμενοι παρὰ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου, κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες  
ἤπτοντο τὸν βωμόν· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἄσπας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἡ τούτου φυλὴ.

And they (those about to marry) would celebrate a torch-Race in the festival in honour of Prometheus and Hephaistos and Pan in this fashion. The ephebes, supplied with oil coming from the gymnasiarch, used to run in relays and touch the altar; and the first of them who touched it won, and so did his tribe.

A second gloss, derived from the same ultimate source, confirms the information contained in the *Schol. Patm.*, though in a more garbled form.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* ii (London: 1913) pp.391-393.

<sup>9</sup> Sakkélion, *BCH* 1(1877) p.11.

<sup>10</sup> I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* i (Berlin: 1814) p.228.

Γυμνασίαρχοι· οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν λαμποδοδρομίων εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Προμηθέως καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τοῦ Πανός, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ ἔφηβοι ἀλειφόμενοι κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἤπτον τὸν βωμόν.

Gymnasiarchs: Those officiating over the torch-races with regard to the festivals of Prometheus, Hephaistos and Pan, by whom the ephebes were supplied with oil, as they, running in relays, touched the altar.

Other sources give the three festivals at which the torch races took place as the the Panathenaia, the Hephaistia and the Prometheia. Thus Harpokration (s.v.):

Λαμπάς: (...) τρεῖς ἄγουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἑορτὰς λαμπάδος, Παναθηναίους καὶ Ἡφαιστίους καὶ Προμηθείους, ὡς Πολέμων φησὶν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις πινάκων.

Torch-race: .... The Athenians hold three torch-festivals, at the Panathenaia, the Hephaistia and the Prometheia, as Polemon says in his *On the Paintings in the Propylaia*.

Numerous other minor sources<sup>11</sup> follow Harpokration and his source Polemon in giving these three festivals to the exclusion of the festival for Pan. Herodotos (6.105.3), however, tells us that, following the epiphany of Pan to the Athenian courier Pheidippides near Tegea, the Athenians dedicated a shrine to him beneath the Acropolis and “they appease him with annual sacrifice and a torch-race” (θυσίησὶ τε ἐπετείοισι καὶ λαμπάδι ἰλάσκονται). The simplest way to reconcile these two divergent traditions is to assume that the annual torch-race to propitiate Pan took place during the Panathenaic festival, and that the two races are the same. It is perhaps significant that the shrine of Pan was established in a cave beneath the Acropolis, sacred to Athena. A reference to torch races in Photios (*Lexicon* s.v. λαμπάς· ἄγων Ἀθήνησι Πανὶ καὶ Προμηθεῖ ἀγόμενος) mentions the races held in honour of Pan and of Prometheus, but not the Hephaistia.

#### *Relay- and Non Relay-Races*

The two glosses given above imply that all three ephebic torch-races were relay-races, but information from Aristophanes' *Frogs*, performed in 405, indicates that all ephebes ran in the Panathenaic torch-race.

It seems that the race started in the Kerameikos (v.131); indeed, the scholia to this passage and to v.1087 indicate that all three torch-races started there (λαμπαδηδρομῖαι δὲ γίνονται τρεῖς ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ, Ἀθηνᾶς, Ἡφαίστου, Προμηθέως).

<sup>11</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Frogs* 131 & 1087; Schol. Aristoph. *Wasps* 1203; *Suda*, s.v. Λαμπάδος; Bekker, op.cit. i p.277, s.v. λαμπάς καὶ λαμπαδηφόροι.

Later (vv. 1087-1088) Aristophanes informs us that “from lack of athletic training nobody is able any longer now to carry the torch” (λαμπάδα δ’ οὐδεὶς οἶός τε φέρειν ὑπ’ ἀγυμνασίας ἔτι νυνί). He continues to describe how a laggard in the race, who has run into difficulties, is physically tormented by the people living in Kerameikos.

This passage makes little sense unless these torch-races were a compulsory part of ephebic training, in which all ephebes took part. It is hard to see why anyone in poor physical condition would take part in the race unless it was compulsory. It is likewise hard to see how anyone in such poor physical condition would have been selected to run in a tribal relay-team. Furthermore the people of Kerameikos would have hardly felt free to beat a competitor who had fallen behind unless he were an ephebe who had failed to meet the requirements of his physical training. This passage might also be taken to suggest, incidentally, that it was difficult to be excused from ephebic training on the grounds of physical condition, and that only a very small percentage of young men managed to avoid participating in the *ephebeia*. Finally it is interesting to note that Aristophanes is suggesting that in 405 the ephebes were receiving insufficient physical training. It is clear that Xenophon considers the situation to be similarly unsatisfactory in 355. It is possible that Aristophanes is making reference to temporary difficulties in the system caused by the public and private financial difficulties induced by the final stages of the Peloponnesian War.

In fact it seems that only the torch-race at the Hephaistia was traditionally a relay-race for, when discussing the Persian messenger system, Herodotos (8.98.2) compares the way the messages are conveyed from hand to hand to the torch-race to Hephaistos celebrated among the Greeks (κατὰ περ Ἑλλησι ἡ λαμπαδηφορὴ τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι).<sup>12</sup> In the torch-race in the Hephaistia one supposes that ten teams, one for each tribe, would race against each other, and the ephebes of one tribe, rather than a single individual, would win. It is difficult to see why Herodotos, writing for an Athenian audience, would have singled out the torch-race of the Hephaistia to use as his comparison if all races had been relay-races at this period. Furthermore, an interesting inscription from Rhamnous,<sup>13</sup> dating to 333/2, set up by two gymnasiarchs from the tribe Erechtheis, lists some 48 *lampadephoroi* of the same tribe who had been victorious in the torch races. Unfortunately the inscription nowhere states which torch-races, and various possibilities

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. e.g. Aischylos, *Ag.* 312 for these torch relay-races. Plato (*Laws* 6.776b) and Lucretius (2.79) both compare the passing on of life from generation to generation to a torch-race.

<sup>13</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 3019; J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte* (Paris: 1954) 111 no.2 *bis* and Reinmuth, *op.cit.* no. 13 pp.51-55.

have been suggested. The fact that 48 victors in a torch-race are listed in this inscription is surely significant. There can be little doubt that the inscription lists a single age-class of the eighteen year-olds of the tribe Erechtheis who had been victorious in one (possibly two, if the fact that the inscription was set up by two gymnasiarchs is anything to go by) of the relay torch-races. We might compare this number of 48 with the various numbers of nineteen year-olds listed in the ephebic catalogues after 335: 65 from Kekropis (332/1), 62 from Leontis (324/3), c.56 from Oineis (330/29), 52 from Kekropis (333/2), c.44 from Leontis (333/2) and c.42 from Kekropis (334/3).<sup>14</sup>

Therefore I believe it is safe to assume that, before 335 at least, the ephebes regularly participated in only three torch races, and of these only that at the Hephaistia is certainly known to have been a relay-race.

#### *The Election of Gymnasiarchs*

Before 335 service as a gymnasiarch was one of the three recurring tribal liturgies; after that date, though the evidence is far from clear, it seems that the gymnasiarchy became a state magistracy.<sup>15</sup> A late gloss informs us that each tribe elected only one gymnasiarch for the whole year:<sup>16</sup>

Γυμνασίαρχος· καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν γυμνασίαρχος εἷς ἐξ ἑκάστης  
φυλῆς ἐχειροτονεῖτο.

Gymnasiarch: every year one gymnasiarch used to be elected from each tribe.

In fact it seems that our scholiast is mistaken, for it is clear that a gymnasiarch was appointed one for each tribe for a single festival only. Isaios (7.36) informs us that one Apollodoros acted as gymnasiarch at the Prometheia, probably in the late 350s or early 340s, and he calls upon his tribesmen to state this. This passage can be taken as evidence that the gymnasiarchs were selected from the same tribe to which the ephebes belonged, and it is supported by a number of inscriptions dating to this period in which gymnasiarchs are honoured by their own tribesmen.<sup>17</sup> Thus three served for each tribe each year. Demosthenes, *Against Leptines* (written c.355) 21 asks: “How many are there that annually

<sup>14</sup> See M.H. Hansen, *Three Studies in Athenian Demography* (Copenhagen: 1988) p.4, who also lists the 48 from Erechtheis for 333/2.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. Kirchner *ad IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 3206.

<sup>16</sup> *Schol. Patm.* on Dem. 4.36 = Sakkélion, *BCH* 1(1877) p.11.

<sup>17</sup> For example, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 3019, 3023, 3201.

perform the recurring liturgies, *choregoi* and *gymnasiarchoi* and *hestiatores*? Perhaps sixty in all, or a trifle more”. Thirty would be required to serve as gymnasiarchs alone.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately we have no specific information as to how gymnasiarchs were elected to office, but I feel it is safe to presume that they were proposed before, and elected by, the tribal assemblies. Demosthenes 39.7 (possibly delivered c.348) informs us that members of the tribe nominate the *choregos*, the *gymnasiarchos* and the *hestiator*; presumably this took place at the tribal assembly. He then goes on to tell us (39.7 8) that an archon or some other magistrate would summon the person elected, and that if the person elected does not obey the summons or perform the liturgy he is liable to suffer the penalties provided by the laws. In his own defence speech Andokides (1.132) tells us that his accusers, Kallias’ partners, proposed (προβάλλοντο) him to perform liturgies, first as gymnasiarch in the Hephaistia. Andokides does not, unfortunately, specify which of his accusers proposed him for service, but it is quite probable that he was one of Andokides’ relatives, and therefore a fellow tribesman. Therefore I feel it is safe to presume that the gymnasiarchs were nominated and elected annually at the tribal assemblies.

#### *The Duties of the Gymnasiarch*

The gymnasiarch was responsible for training the team of ephebic torch-bearers who ran in one of the three races. It would seem that he was responsible not only for “providing the oil” necessary for training but also, as indicated by the passage in Xenophon’s *Poroi* (see above), for the *trophe* for the ephebes on the days that they trained. This is clearly indicated in a passage in the *Athenaion Politeia* written by an Athenian called Xenophon<sup>19</sup> (c.445 425) which tells us that “It is the wealthy who serve as gymnasiarchs... At any rate the people think themselves worthy of taking money... for running” (γυμνασιαρχοῦσιν οἱ πλούσιοι... ἀξιοῖ οὖν ἀργύριον λαμβάνειν ὁ δῆμος... τρέχων). Clearly the ephebes are taking their *trophe* in the form of pay.

The more days the ephebes trained together, obviously, the more chance they had of winning the torch-race. Thus Lysias 21.3 (delivered in 403/2) tells us of a gymnasiarch

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<sup>18</sup> On this passage see J.K. Davies, *JHS* 87 (1967) pp.31-40.

<sup>19</sup> The author is called “Xenophon the Rhetor” in the manuscripts existing. Xenophon son of Gryllos would never have termed himself a rhetor, so it is obvious that the pamphlet was written by another Athenian called Xenophon, but has been mistakenly inserted into a collection of works by his more famous namesake during the Hellenistic period. The only problem is with which of the several Xenophons known from the third quarter of the fifth century “Xenophon the Rhetor” should be identified. The habit of referring to Xenophon the Rhetor as “The Old Oligarch” is both unnecessary and misleading.

appointed for the Prometheia who won after spending twelve minae. There are a hundred drachmas in a mina, and six obols to a drachma, therefore this gymnasiarch spent 7,200 obols on *trophe* for the ephebes of his tribe. Assuming that he spent four obols on each ephebe, the amount which *AP* 42.3 tells us was provided to the *sophronistes* after 335 for each ephebe, and that there were 50 ephebes in the year-class for that tribe, this would provide *trophe* for some 36 days of athletic training. There is no indication in any of our texts that the gymnasiarch received any money from either the state or the tribe to fulfil his duties, nor, indeed, would one expect anyone performing a festival-liturgy to receive any.

However, the situation may have changed between 355, when Xenophon wrote the *Poroi*, and 335, when the system was reformed by Epikrates. In chapter 36 of his *First Philippic* (delivered in 351) Demosthenes, wishing to contrast how poorly military expeditions are organized when compared with other public affairs, tells us that as concerns the liturgies all is ordained by (a) law (νόμος). Everyone, he continues, knows in advance who of the many is to be the *choregos* or gymnasiarch for the tribe, when, from whom and what he is to receive, and what it is necessary for him to do (πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν). This could perhaps be taken to indicate that, at least at the time of writing, the gymnasiarch was not responsible for the provision out of his own wealth of all the maintenance necessary to carry out the athletic training. Rather he may have been provided with some funds to provide *trophe* for the ephebes, as the *sophronistes* for each tribe did after the reform of 335.

#### *Summary*

The following picture emerges from the evidence. Before 335 the Athenian ephebate lasted two years. In the first year training consisted simply of athletic training for the three annual torch races. Of these three it would seem that only the torch-race for the Hephaistia was a relay-race, for which a team of ephebes would be selected from the ephebes of each tribe, while all ephebes would have to run in the other two. It should be noted that if first-year ephebic training consisted of training in the gymnasia only, and if attendance was actually compulsory only when the ephebes were training to compete in the three annual torch-races, then an ephebe in his first year would be free for a considerable proportion of the year. The second year would consist of military training, either in the garrisons if the ephebe was wealthy enough to provide his own hoplite equipment, or patrolling the countryside in the *peripoloi*, equipped as a peltast, if he was not.

## THE INSCRIPTION

*The Stone*

The inscription is carved on Hymettian marble, probably from “behind the Royal Gardens in Athens”, and is now in the Epigraphical Museum (EM 7840). It is non-stoichedon; its letter style probably points to a date in the 350s or 340s<sup>20</sup> – see Plate IV. Originally these letters were picked out in red paint, which is still preserved in numerous places. The inscription is now set in a plaster base which prevents certainty as to whether the bottom of the stone as preserved represents the original base of the monument. However, since there is a blank space beneath the last line it can be stated with near-certainty that no lines of the original inscription are missing at the bottom. The top of the stone, preserved at a maximum height of c.51 cm. above the base, is certainly damaged however, and there would have been enough space on the original surface for at least a couple more lines of inscription. Only the extreme left-hand portion of the inscription is preserved, some 18 cm. wide at the bottom, and 23 cm. across at its widest point. Though damaged in places, the left-hand front corner of the monument is preserved, the left-hand edge is worked but is anepigraphic, while the left-hand rear corner is tooled but the back is left rough. The stone is extremely thick, some 35 cm. from front to back (cf. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1155 at 34 cm.), which has led to it being described as a “Basis” in both editions of *IG*. The normal thickness of a stele is about 10 cm. or less, so it is probable that the monument acted as a plinth of some sort, but there is no mention of a statue or any other monument in the inscription.

*Previous Interpretation*

As restored by Koehler in 1877 as *CIA* ii 606, reproduced with very minor alterations by Kirchner in 1916 as *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1250, the text is interpreted as a decree passed by the *lampadephoroi* of the tribe Aiantis commending their gymnasiarch and crowning him with a wreath, and resolving to inscribe this decree along with the names of the *lampadephoroi*. Beneath comes a list of ten names on the left, and a further three names on the right. I now give Koehler’s and Kirchner’s text, followed by a translation of their text:

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<sup>20</sup> Thus Koehler: “Titulum medio saeculo quarto non multo esse recentiore vel ex nominum ratione conicias”.

606 Basis marmoris Hymettii a parte superiore et a dextra mutila. Lapis si recte memini pone hortum regium inventus est. Litteris minusculis edidit Kumanudis in Παλιγγενεσίς τῆς 31 Αὐγούστου 1865. Exscipsi.

Ν Ο Φ Ω Ν Ε Ι Ι Ν Ε  
 Ρ Ο Ι Ξ Ε Ρ Λ Ι Ν Ε  
 Ο Ν Γ Υ Μ Ν Α Σ Ι Α Ρ Χ Ο  
 Ν Ω Ι Ο Τ Ι Ε Σ Τ Ι Ν Α Ν Η Ρ  
 5 Α Ι Α Ν Τ Ι Δ Α Φ Υ Λ Η Ν Η  
 Φ Ο Ι Τ Ω Ν Τ Α Ξ Ο Τ Λ Ν Σ  
 Τ Ο Δ Ε Τ Ο Υ Η Φ Ι Σ Μ Α Ι Ι  
 Χ Ο Ν Τ Ι Τ Ο Ι Σ Φ Υ Λ Ε  
 - Λ Τ Ω Ν Λ Α Μ Π Α Δ Η  
 10 Λ Α Μ Π Α Δ Η Φ Ο Ρ Ο Ι  
 Α Ρ Ι Σ Τ Υ Λ Λ Ο Σ Ε Ρ Ι Ξ  
 Ξ Ε Ν Ο Κ Λ Ε Ι Δ Η Σ Υ Π Ε Μ Ε  
 Κ Α Λ Λ Ι Α Δ Η Σ Ρ Α Μ Ν Σ  
 Ξ Ε Ν Ο Ρ Ε Ι Θ Η Σ  
 15 Ρ Υ Θ Ι Ξ  
 Ρ Υ Θ Ω Ν  
 Ε Υ Θ Υ Μ Α Χ Ο Σ  
 Μ Ν Η Σ Ι Κ Λ Ε Ι Δ Η Σ  
 Δ Η Μ Η Τ Ρ Ι Ο Σ  
 20 Κ Τ Η Σ Ι Κ Λ Η Σ

Satis certum esse videtur lampadephoros Aeanidis tribus haec de-  
 etenias. [Ξε]νοφῶν εἶπεν· ἐψήφισθαι τοῖς τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς λαμ-  
 παδηφόροις, ἐπαινεῖσθαι - - - - τῶν γυμνασίων καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν  
 Διλλοῦ στεφάνῳ ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ [ἀγαθὸς περὶ τοὺς λαμπαδηφόρους καὶ  
 τῆν] Αἰαντίδα φυλῆν [καὶ - - - - τοὺς -] φοιτῶντας ὅταν [- - -] ἀναγρά-  
 ψαι δὲ] τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα - - - - χοντι τοῖς φυλῆ[ταις - - - - τὰ ὀνόμα]α  
 τῶν λαμπαδηφόρων [-]. — Λαμπαδηφόροι· Ἀρίστουλλος Ξενοκλείδης Καλ-  
 λιείδης Ξενοπέθης Πύθων Εὐθύμαχος Μνησιελείδης Δημήτριος Κτη-  
 σιελῆς Ἐπιτ - - - - Ῥαμνο[ύσιο - - -]

Titulum medio saeculo quarto non multo esse recentiore vel ex  
 nominum ratione conicias.

1250 (II 606). DECRETVM LAMPADEPHORORVM AEANTIDIS. Pone hortum regium, nunc in museo nat.  
 Basis marmoris Hymettii a. 0,48, l. 0,30, cr. 0,38. Lit. alt. 0,010 volg. med. s. IV. Exscr. †Kochler<sup>1</sup>. *Eccl.*

post med. s. IV.	[Ξε]νοφῶν εἶπεν· ἐψήφισθαι τοῖς τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς λαμπαδη- [φό]ροις, ἐπαινεῖσθαι - - - - - [τῶν γυμνασίων καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν Διλλοῦ στεφάνῳ ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ [ἀγαθὸς περὶ τοὺς λαμπαδηφόρους καὶ τῆν] 5 Αἰαντίδα φυλῆν καὶ [αἰ - - - - - τοὺς] φοιτῶντας ὅταν ὅ [- - - - - ἀναγράψαι δὲ] τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα // - - - - - χοντι τοῖς φυλῆ[ταις - - - - - τὰ ὀνόμα]- τὰ τῶν λαμπαδηφόρων].	NON STOIK. c. 48.
10	ΛΑΜΠΑΔΗΦΟΡΟΙ· ΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΛΛΟΣ Ἐπί[σ]τρατος] ΞΕΝΟΚΛΕΪΔΗΣ Χρέμη[ς] ΚΑΛΛΙΑΔΗΣ Ῥαμνο[ύσιο -]	
15	ΠΥΘΩΝ ΕΥΘΥΜΑΧΟΣ ΜΝΗΣΙΚΛΕΪΔΗΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	
20	ΚΤΗΣΙΚΛΗΣ	

Suppl. †Koe. || 11 lin. Ki. || 12 lin. Hiller.  
 Titulum medio s. IV non multo recentiore esse affirmat Koe.

Xenophon proposed: it has [been resolved] by the *lampadephoroi*  
 [of the tribe of Aiantis] to come[nd -----]  
 the gymnasiarch, [and to crown him with a wreath of olive]  
 because he is a good man [concerning the *lampadephoroi* and  
 the Aiantid tribe a[nd -----those]  
 attending whenever t[he -----and to inscribe]  
 this resolution [ -----]  
 ??? for/by the tribes [men -----the names]  
 of the *lampade[phoroi]*.

The *Lampadephoroi*:

Aristyllos	Epis[tratos]
Xenokleides	Chreme[s]
Kalliades	Rhamno[usio-?]
Xenopeithes	
Pythis	
Python	
Euthymachos	
Mnesikleides	
Demetrios	
Ktesikles	

I assume that Koehler arrived at his restoration by comparison with inscriptions such as *IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1178*, a decree of the deme Ikarion, which has many similar elements; namely, an εἶπεν clause, followed by ἐψηφίσθαι Ἴκαρεῦσιν, then an ἐπαινέσαι clause with the name of the honorand, and then by the formula καὶ στεφανῶσαι κίττω στεφάνωι. There are, however, significant problems, not only with the details of this current restoration but also, more importantly, with its basic assumptions. It is scarcely credible to believe that an assembly of thirteen 18-year olds would have moved a decree to be recorded on stone in this way. Furthermore, the name of the *lampadephoros* who is supposed to have moved the proposal, one Xenophon, does not appear in the list of *lampadephoroi* appended to the bottom of the inscription. At a more detailed level, the restoration entails 49 letters in line 1, 44 in line 3 and 48 in line 4. This is a very wide range, even for a non-stoichedon inscription.

#### *The Reinterpretation*

I suggest that, in fact, the inscription should be restored as a decree of the tribe Aiantis, passed in honour of a gymnasiarch who had won a victory in the torch-races, and listing the *lampadephoroi* of the tribe who were victorious in the race.

Honorary decrees moved by tribal assemblies are not numerous, but sufficient have been preserved to demonstrate that they generally follow a standard formulaic pattern, not dissimilar to that of decrees of the Athenian *demos*. A number of decrees passed by tribal assemblies have been preserved and are published as *IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1138-1171*. The first one dates, perhaps significantly, to shortly after 403/2. The series starts to peter out in the third

century, and a single inscription only (1171) is dateable to the second century by its letter-forms. I shall principally use these inscriptions in the restoration of our inscription, in conjunction with others, mostly tribal too, passed to honour gymnasiarchs.

Of this series of inscriptions recording decrees passed by tribal assemblies, perhaps the closest to our inscription in its formulaic layout is *IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1147* (first half of the fourth century), the text of which I give below.

[θ ε] ο[ ί].  
 [...<sup>5</sup>..μ]αχος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ καλῶς  
 [ἐχο]ρήγησεν Σαυρία[ς] Πυθογένου-  
 [ς Λα]μπρεὺς καὶ ἐνίκ[η]σεν τῆι Ἐρ-  
 [εχθη]ίδι φυλῆι καὶ τὰ[ς ἄ]λλας ληι-  
 [τοργ]ίας καλῶς ληιτο[ργ]εῖ· δεδόχ-  
 [θαι τ]οῖς φυλέταις, ἐ[παι]νέσαι αὐ-  
 [τὸν κ]αὶ στεφανῶσαι [θαλλ]οῦ στεφ-  
 [άνωι κ]αὶ..... κτλ.

Following a prescript, the inscription has an εἶπεν clause with the name of the mover of the decree, then a rather long ἐπειδὴ clause stating why the honorand is to be honoured, then an ἐπαινέσαι clause with the name of the honorand, together with the formula καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι. I suggest that *ii<sup>2</sup> 1250* should be restored with the same formulaic clauses. I give a letter-count, together with a bracketed *iota*-count, at the right-hand side of the text; a photograph of the stone is reproduced as Plate IV.

1	[θ ε ο ί].	
2	[Ἐδοξεν τῆι Αἰαντίδι φυλῆι. Ἐπὶ..... <sup>c.12-13</sup> .....ἄρχοντος]	c.45-6(6+)
3	[Χε]νοφῶν εἶπεν· ἐ[πειδὴ ἐνίκα τὰ Ἡφαίστια τοῖς λαμπαδη]	44(6)
4	[φό]ροις, ἐπαινέ[σαι Ἐπίσ(?τρατον) Τρεμπόνου Ῥαμνούσιον]	44(5)
5	[τ]ὸν γυμνασίαρχο[ν καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφά]	44(3)
6	νωι ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ [ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ φιλότιμος ἀεὶ περὶ τὴν]	45(8)
7	Αἰαντίδα φυλὴν ε[ὐνοίας ἔνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς τῆς πρὸς τοὺς]	45(4)
8	φοιτῶντας ὅταν ο[ἱ νεανίσκοι γυμνάζωνται. ἀναγράψαι δὲ]	46(6)
9	τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ε[ἰς δὲ τὴν στήλην δοῦναι τῶι γυμνασίαρ]	45(5)
10	χῶντι τοῖς φυλέτ[αις ὅτι ἂν δόξει. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰ ὄνομα]	45(6)
11	τα τῶν λαμπαδη[φόρων].	
12	Λαμπαδηφόροι·	

- 13 Ἄριστυλλος Ἐπίσ[?τρατος]  
 14 Ξενοκλείδης Τρεμπ[όνος]  
 15 Καλλιιάδης Ῥαμνο[ύσιος]  
 16 Ξενοπείθης (*vacat*)  
 17 Πύθις  
 18 Πύθων  
 19 Εὐθύμαχος  
 20 Μνησικλείδης  
 21 Δημήτριος  
 22 Κτησικλήης  
 (*vacat*)

[Gods!]  
 [Resolved by the Aiantid tribe. In the archonship of .....]  
 Xenophon proposed: s[ince he won the Hephaistia for the *lampadephoroi*]  
 to comme[nd Ἐπίσ(?traτος), son of Trempon the Rhamnousian,]  
 the gymnasiarch, [and to crown him with a wreath of olive]  
 because he is a good man [and always public-spirited towards the]  
 Aiantid tribe b[ecause of his kindness and goodness towards]  
 those regularly attending whenever t[he young men train in the  
 gymnasium, and to inscribe]  
 this decree, [to give for the stele to him serving as gymnasiar]  
 ch for the tribes[men whatever may be resolved, and to inscribe the names]  
 of the *lampade[phoroi]*.

The *Lampadephoroi*:

Aristyllos,	Epis[?tratos]
Xenoldeides,	son of Tremp[on]
Kalliades,	the Rhamno[usian]
Xenopeithes	
Pythis	
Python	
Euthymachos	
Mnesikleides	
Demetrios	
Ktesikles	

I should stress that I do not regard this restoration as certain; as an ancient historian rather than an epigraphist it is sufficient for me if the general outline of the *character* of the inscription, outlined in the paragraph above, is accepted. However, in order for these conclusions to be judged possible an attempt to restore the text as one thinks it *might* have run is necessary, and I hope to persuade the reader that the original would probably have had approximately similar contents. In my opinion only line 4 of Koehler's reconstruction should be retained: καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι (“and to crown him

with a wreath of olive”); so very common a phrase as to make this reconstruction virtually certain. This gives us, incidentally, a standard line length of approximately 44 with which to work. As the letter *iota* appears only three times in this line, we should perhaps be working within a range of line-lengths from 44 minimum to perhaps 46 maximum letters. The photograph of the stone clearly shows that, although the inscription is non-stoichedon, the letters are very evenly spaced.

*The Opening Formulae (Lines 1-2)*

In line with the text given above, I have firstly restored [Θεοί] to the top of our inscription, spaced along the line as was normal. This invocation to the gods, presumably associated with sacrifices made by the assembly before business,<sup>21</sup> is common in all manner of Athenian inscriptions. The earliest of the tribal honorary decrees, dating from the first years of the fourth century, always commence with the formula Ἔδοξεν τῆι... φυλῆι before the εἶπεν clause proposing the decree, and this remains standard down to the end of the century (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1138-1141, 1145, 1151, 1153 and 1160). By the middle of the century, it seems, a δεδόχθαι τοῖς φυλέταις clause within the body of the text (1147, 1159), occasionally ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς φυλέταις (1157), sometimes replaces the ἔδοξεν, which continues to be a practice into the third century (1163). Furthermore, in two examples, one of 386/5 (1140), the other of 376/5 (1141), the initial clause is accompanied by the archon date.

Thus it seems wise to restore a second line, within the range of c.44-45 letters, containing both an ἔδοξεν clause and an archon date, as I have done. It should be noted, however, that in one tribal decree (1146), though not honorary, it would appear that all such formulae are omitted, so the restoration of this line in its entirety is not absolutely certain. I have made no attempt to restore the archon name.

*The Εἶπεν Clause (Line 3)*

The next three lines have been restored as an εἶπεν clause, followed by an ἐπειδή clause and then an ἐπαινέσαι clause. This is closely parallel to, and presumably derived from, the standardized pattern developed for state honorary decrees during the fourth

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<sup>21</sup> A.G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge: 1981) p.39.

century.<sup>22</sup> The name of the orator moving the proposal, Xenophon, is given without patronymic or demotic, which, though hardly ever the case with regard to state decrees,<sup>23</sup> appears to have been normal, and in fact standard, in tribal decrees during the fourth century (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1138, 1139, 1140 etc.). The full name with patronymic and demotic first appears in a tribal inscription of 376/5 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1141), and thereafter the two forms alternate throughout the rest of the fourth century, the full version of the name seemingly becoming standard by the third century (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1166, 1167 and 1169).

Next I examine the list of *lampadephoroi*. In the current restoration of the bottom half of the inscription is a list of thirteen names, in one column of ten with a space beneath and a second column of apparently three names.

*The Name of the Honorand (Lines 13-15 left)*

Certain features of this second column of three apparent names raise the suspicion that they should be treated differently from the first column of ten names. The final name in the second column is left uncompleted as 'Ραμνο[ύσιο-]. Furthermore no comparable name is recorded anywhere else in Attic prosopography. Clearly, as we are dealing with an inscription of the tribe Aiantis, which comprised the demes of Aphidna, Marathon, Oinoe, Phaleron, Rhamnous and Trikorynthos, this line should be restored as the demotic 'Ραμνο[ύσιοις], the preceding line should be restored as a patronymic and the three lines in this column should be read together as the name of a single individual. I suggest that this must be the gymnasiarch being honoured in the main body of the text. It is quite common in Athenian honorific inscriptions of this type for the name of the honorand to be entered below the inscription, frequently, though not always, within a wreath.<sup>24</sup>

This interpretation is supported by the fact that these three lines are executed in a perceptibly different hand, and generally in a less careful manner, from the rest of the inscription. The epsilon has a much shorter central bar than elsewhere, the top and bottom bars of the sigma are almost straight, whereas elsewhere they are much more angled. I suggest that the name of the gymnasiarch was added as an afterthought, after the monument had been erected, by another mason. If this monument is indeed a base, then the name of the

<sup>22</sup> Cf. A.S. Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees* (Hildesheim: 1983) pp.7ff.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. A.S. Henry, *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees* (Leiden: 1971) p.61.

<sup>24</sup> For example: with wreath *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1203, 1227, 1228, 1235, 1262, 1263 etc.; 1277 has four names, all crowned in the inscription, but all without wreaths.

honorand may have been inscribed after the erection of the stele with the statue or other monument on top. The difficulties of working in this position may explain the poor quality of the workmanship.

It will also be observed that the name of the honorand does not stand in the middle of the stele, as one would expect. Therefore, I think one may have to conclude that the right-hand side of the stele did contain something in its original state, which forced the mason to enter the name of the honorand off-centre. This need not necessarily have been a postscript to the inscription or a further list of names. It could, for example, have been a carved olive-wreath,<sup>25</sup> not wide enough to accommodate a later addition of the name of the honorand, but wide enough to shift his name away from the centre. Some other form of representation may also have been carved there.

The first name of the gymnasiarch can be restored in a number of possible ways, as Ἐπίσ[τρατος], Ἐπισ[τήμων], Ἐπισ[τάτης], or as Ἐπισ[τένης] (for discussion see Prosopographia below). Kirchner chose to restore Epistratos, which is the commonest of these names, in *IG ii<sup>2</sup>* 1250, and, although Epistemon seems equally possible, this name has been retained in the present restoration.

Restoration of the patronymic is similarly uncertain and more difficult since the surface of the monument has been damaged in this area and the reading of the letters is uncertain. The second two letters are clearly epsilon and mu, severely limiting the range of possibilities for the first two letters. Koehler read upsilon and eta for the first two, making restoration of a credible name impossible, and a further epsilon as letter five. In order to restore a credible name, Hiller von Gaetringen, who saw a rho in the second letter, suggested a chi for the first and an eta for the fifth, which would allow for the restoration of the name Χρέμη[ς]. Personal examination has shown, however, that this is impossible. The first letter needs to be restored with a horizontal bar at top, and a xi or a tau would seem to be the two most probable letters. A tau is suggested by the fact that Koehler was able to read an upsilon with a horizontal bar. Hiler's chi is, however, most improbable, but his reading of a rho for the second letter does seem correct. I assume that Koehler read eta because slight surface damage in the space below the curl of the rho on the right-hand side of the letter gave it the appearance of an eta. The appearance of the fifth letter is similarly altered by surface damage, giving the impression that it has a left-hand vertical bar and a central horizontal bar; in fact only the left-hand vertical bar is visible.

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. *IG ii<sup>2</sup>* 1173, 1214, 1256 and 1284. For an illustration see Reinmuth, *op.cit.* p1.I.

Thus Hiller's Χρέμη[ς] has to be rejected, and I would suggest that in its place we read Τρέμπ[όνου]. The name Τρέμπων (PA 13880) occurs only once, in a monument to those fallen at Drabeskos in Thrace and elsewhere during the year 465/4. Unfortunately, the tribal headings of the casualty list are not preserved so we do not know if Trempon was an Aiantid, let alone a Rhamnousian. I can think of no other Attic name, however, which would fit the requirements outlined above (for discussion see Prosopographia below).

*The Ἐπαινέσαι Clause (Lines 4-5)*

A restoration of appropriate length can be made by simply inserting the full name, with patronymic and demotic (as is standard in tribal decrees for the honorand, though not for the orator), of the gymnasiarch as restored in the text above. The fact that the restored patronymic Τρεμπόνου fits the line length so well can perhaps be used as circumstantial confirmation that the restoration is correct. A genitive of Hiller's Χρέμης occurs as a patronymic in an inscription from Larissa recording a decree of Peparthos<sup>26</sup> concerning judges from Larissa in the form Χρέμητος. This would give a line length of only 43 letters, at least one too short.

*The Στεφανῶσαι Clause (Lines 5-6)*

The word order of the restoration of Koehler is retained. In the decrees of the tribal assemblies the formula is normally given in this precise order (e.g. IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1145, 1155, 1159 and 1163), as it is in all manner of Athenian decrees. The practice of awarding a crown of olive seems to start about the middle of the fourth century.<sup>27</sup>

*The List of Lampadephoroi (Lines 13-22)*

We are now left with a list on the left-hand side of the inscription of ten names, each without patronymic or demotic, and with a clear *vacat* underneath. I suggest that these ten names alone are the list of the victorious *lampadephoroi*, which has certain implications. It has been noted above that, for the fourth century at least, we only have clear evidence that the torch-race in the Hephaistia was a relay-race. If the torch-race dealt with in this inscription were a torch-race in which all the ephebes of the year-class took part, then we

<sup>26</sup> SEG 26 (1976-1977) no.677, 13; *LGPN* i p.486 lists this one occurrence.

<sup>27</sup> Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees* pp.38-40 with p.58 n. 108.

would expect a list of about forty to fifty names by comparison with the ephebic catalogues after 335. Therefore, it would seem that this inscription deals with a victory in the Hephaistia, and that the size of the ephebic team of *lampadephoroi* for each tribe would be ten: a nice round number.

I should mention at this point *IG ii<sup>2</sup> 3004*, an inscription of the second half of the first century AD which gives a list of fourteen names with varying degrees of precision of “those having won the torch-race” (οἱ νεικήσαντες τὴν λαμπάδα). The inscription is now lost and the text is based on a sketch of Fourmont, so it is always possible that errors in copying have crept in. However, I see no reason to suspect that in this case the inscription has been not copied accurately. The first name is given with patronymic and demotic, but the last ten are given without either. The only demotics listed are one Athmoneus and two Sounieus, and thus the inscription has been considered both tribal (of Attalis) and ephebic (thus Kirchner *ad loc.*: “Hi ephebi sunt Attalidis”). Assuming the three demotics are not of the same tribe by pure coincidence, the list does indeed seem to be tribal, but it need not necessarily be ephebic. Therefore the victory need not have been won in an ephebic torch-race. Neither need the torch-race have been a relay-race, for it seems that the winner of a non relay-race won the event not just as an individual but also on behalf of his tribe, so it would be legitimate to list all participants of the tribe as winners. For example, an inscription of 346/5 records that the tribe Akamantis won the torch-race in the Panathenaia, in which, as we have seen, the evidence of Aristophanes suggests that all ephebes took part. If the victors did win in a relay-race, then this may have been some race other than the Hephaistia, and finally it is also possible that practices concerning relay-races had changed since the fourth century. Thus I do not believe that this inscription casts doubt on my conclusion that the tribal relay-team in the Hephaistia before the reforms of 335 numbered ten.

#### *The Second Ἀναγράψαι Clause (Lines 10-11)*

The last clause of the inscription can hardly be anything other than an injunction to inscribe the names of the victorious *lampadephoroi* also on the stele, and the restoration of ἀναγράψαι would seem to be the most straightforward way of conveying the meaning “to write up”. Those not satisfied with my restoration of line 10 should note, however, that ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰ τῶν λαμπαδηφόρων ὀνόματα is also a possibility, which would allow more space in line 10.

*The Ἀναγράψαι Clause (Lines 8-9)*

The following clause occurs in the later clauses of many of the tribal inscriptions, frequently in the rather fuller formula ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλει λιθίνει (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1148 and 1152), but the shorter formula, as used here, also occurs (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1140).

So far the restorations suggested above have either been inevitable within the logic of the argument advanced or purely formulaic, and I believe that the clauses dealt with above can be regarded as reasonably secure. When we turn to the clauses not dealt with so far, which constitute the main body of the text, the task of restoration becomes more difficult, and all suggestions made henceforward are to be regarded as *exempli gratia*.

*The Ἐπειδή Clause (Lines 3-4)*

This clause clearly contained some reference to the victory won by the gymnasiarch which had occasioned the decree. As it is clear from the list of the ten *lampadephoroi* that the victory was run in a relay-race, I would propose that the victory was won by the *lampadephoroi* in the Hephaistia, and would restore the clause accordingly by some combination of the verb νικάω with Ἡφαίστια, to give the sense “since he has won a victory in the Hephaistia \*\*\* the *lampadephoroi*”. Somehow the dative τοῖς λαμπαδηφόροις has to be accommodated within any such sentence. It might be argued that a preposition such as σύν could be inserted before it, but there seems no clear evidence whether σύν is used with the dative in an instrumental sense this early in Attic inscriptions.<sup>28</sup> Nor does it seem likely that we are to understand τοῖς λαμπαδηφόροις without a preposition in an instrumental sense, which would be rather unusual, as we are not dealing with inanimate objects. Therefore it seems preferable to understand the dative as one of advantage: that Epistratos won the Hephaistia “for the *lampadephoroi*”.

Comparison with clauses concerning victories won in various contests contained in the tribal assembly decrees offer us two alternatives in restoring the rest of this clause. In a single decree of a tribal assembly, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1147, the text of which is given at the top of this second part of the paper, we do get a statement of victory with an ἐπειδή clause following an εἶπεν clause: see above at lines 2-6.

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften* (Berlin: 1900) p.219 n.1747.

Here we have an aorist following ἐπειδή, in a context directly comparable to that of our inscription. Therefore, one could restore ἐνίκησεν plus the accusative Ἡφαίστια, which would give a line length of 45 letters; cf. the use of the aorist participle νικήσας in honorific inscriptions of a later date.<sup>29</sup> However, a restoration along these lines seems less appropriate, perhaps, than the imperfect.

The second possibility is imperfect (ἐνίκα) + accusative (Ἡφαίστια). In support of this alternative it should be noted that this combination of imperfect and accusative is regularly used in inscriptions of the fourth century recording that the tribe or the gymnasiarch “won” a certain event (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 3017-3022). However, in tribal assembly decrees, this combination always occurs in a ὅτι clause; thus in both ii<sup>2</sup> 1138 and 1139 we have the clause ὅτι εὖ καὶ προθύμως ἐχορήγησεν τοῖς παισὶ καὶ ἐνίκα Διονύσια. Noting that the name of the festival is given without the definite article, we could therefore restore ἐπειδὴ ἐνίκα Ἡφαίστια τοῖς λαμπαδηφόροις, giving a line length of 42 letters, but it would be necessary to supplement the restoration with at least two further letters, and the definite article τὰ before Ἡφαίστια would be sufficient.

Therefore, I offer a text using the imperfect with Hephastia in the accusative and the definite article. For my purposes the precise restoration of this line is not of crucial importance, so long as the gist of its meaning suggested above is accepted as probable.

#### *The “Οτι Clause (Lines 6-7)*

“Οτι clauses of this nature are not found in the surviving tribal inscriptions, but they are common in honorary decrees of the Athenian assembly.<sup>30</sup> Koehler's restoration of these lines (see above) is obviously too long, and the best method of reducing this to a suitable line length would seem to be replacing τοὺς λαμπαδηφόρους καὶ with a second adjective describing Epistratos plus some form of conjunction. Expressions of the honorand's virtues in state inscriptions are usually non-adjectivally expressed with a ἔνεκα phrase,<sup>31</sup> whereas we have the formula ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ + adjective(s). The noun ἀνδραγαθία is common in state inscriptions and so a restoration of ἀγαθός would seem sensible,

<sup>29</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2992, 2995, 2997-2999 and 3006 3007.

<sup>30</sup> Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees* pp.3ff.

<sup>31</sup> Henry, *ibid.* pp.42-44.

although the noun φιλοτιμία is also common so perhaps φιλότιμος would also be possible. ἀεί has also been inserted for reasons of space.

Two tribal decrees give similar phrases, which are given below as they lend some support for the restoration of both ἀγαθός and περί.

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1143:

ὄ[τ]ι δίκαιος ἀν[ήρ ἐγένε]το περὶ [τὰ] κοινὰ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Κ]εκρο[πίδος]

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1155:

[ἐπειδὴ... ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γεγένηται περ]ὶ τοὺς σ[τρατευσαμένους]

#### *The Ἔνεκα Clause (Lines 7-8)*

The next clause must, presumably, be restored with the word φοιτῶντας of line 8 as its object. Working on the assumption that this clause will contain details of why Epistratos has been judged “a good man” concerning the Aiantid tribe, in connection with his gymnasiarchy, I have restored a ἔνεκα clause. In tribal inscriptions the ἔνεκα clause generally comes immediately after the ἐπαινέσαι and before the ὅτι clauses (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1138 and 1139; cf. 1142),<sup>32</sup> but the restoration here is comparable with the wording (admittedly significantly restored) of *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1149, 2-8:

.....στεφα-  
 [νῶσαι...<sup>5</sup>..]ωνα Καλλι-  
 [.....<sup>10</sup>.....]<sup>νν</sup> τὸς ἐπι-  
 [μελητὰς δὲ ἀ]νειπὲν ἐν τ-  
 [ῶι Ἴποθωντί]ωι, ὅτι δικα-  
 [ισύνης καὶ ἀ]νδραγαθία-  
 [ς ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς] τὴν φυλὴν

There is little to guide us regarding the precise restoration of the wording in line 7 in the tribal inscriptions as many are concerned with religious matters, using words such as δικαιοσύνη (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1140, 1142, 1145, 1148 and 1150) which would not be appropriate in this context. Two decrees honouring *choregoi* (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1138 and 1139), which might be expected to use wording similar to that of our inscription honouring a gymnasiarch, however use ἀνδραγαθία, which would not have been used as too repetitious, following ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός above. I have therefore turned to the following examples of

<sup>32</sup> Henry *ibid.* p.42 with p.80 n.133.

ἔνεκα clauses from state decrees concerning the award of honours to individuals for service to the Athenian demos,<sup>33</sup> all from the last decade of the fourth century, and all following ἐπαινέσαι and στεφανῶσαι clauses.

*IG ii<sup>2</sup> 539, 8-9:*

φι[λοτιμίας ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὸ]ν δῆμον [τὸν Ἀθηναίων

*IG ii<sup>2</sup> 542, 5-6:*

ἀρετ[ῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆ]μον τὸν [Ἀ]θην[αίων]

*IG ii<sup>2</sup> 553, 11-12:*

φιλοτιμίας ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνο[ίας τῆς εἰς τ]ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων

*IG ii<sup>2</sup> 554, 25-27:*

ε[ὐ]νοίας ἔνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμία[ς] τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον

The selection of what word-formula to use is also determined by the reading of the last partially-preserved letter of line 7. Koehler restored a kappa, however an epsilon is more likely, as is suggested both by Koehler's own majuscule text and by examination of the stone. The photograph clearly shows that the left-hand vertical bar of the letter has quite a curved appearance, presumably due to the conscious widening of the chisel-groove at the top and bottom of the stroke. This feature is also present in the corresponding member of epsilon wherever else it occurs in the inscription. Furthermore, this vertical bar is joined by a distinctly horizontal bar. Where kappa occurs (only in the list of names) the vertical bar is generally quite straight and frequently rather short in overall length. Moreover, the two diagonal arms meet the vertical at a rather oblique angle, without the point which would be necessary to give the impression of a horizontal bar. Therefore I restore epsilon. Thus there is little alternative to restoring εὐνοίας as the first word of the ἔνεκα clause and, because of line length, selecting ἀρετῆς as the second word of the couplet.

The remaining clauses of the inscription do not correspond to the standard formulae normally used in decrees of the Athenian *demos*, which are now well-studied and understood. Consequently the remainder of the text is much more difficult to restore with confidence.

#### *The "Όταν Clause (Line 8)*

The word φοιτῶντας at the end of the ἔνεκα clause, which I have translated as "those regularly attending", must I think refer to the ephebes training on a regular basis in the

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. Henry, *ibid.* pp.42-44.

gymnasia. Plato, *Laws* 804d (between 360 and 347),<sup>34</sup> uses the term when describing regulations for the instruction of the *neoi*, especially as regards military training in the gymnasia and the military training establishments. In these, he tells us, should reside *didaskaloi*, recruited from abroad, to instruct τοὺς φοιτῶντας in all subjects regarding war and in music. He then goes on to tell us that these *neoi* should be compelled by law to attend. Consequently, the following ὅταν clause must concern training in the gymnasia. Isokrates 15 *Antidosis* 183 (of 354/3) informs us that the *paidotribai* instruct τοὺς φοιτῶντας in the movements or poses (τὰ σχήματα) of the combat arts. This passage, however, is clearly not specifically ephobic, but is concerned with general physical and mental education. Nevertheless, it is significant that the word is used in connection with activities carried out in the gymnasia. Therefore, I suggest that τοὺς φοιτῶντας is being used in this inscription as a periphrasis for “the ephebes” in a similar way in which Xenophon (*Poroi* 4.52) terms the ephebes in their first year of service as οἳ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι. It is perhaps significant that all these examples come from the 350s.

It follows that the ὅταν clause should be restored to refer to a larger group than the ephebes training in the gymnasia. As ἀναγράψαι δὲ of the following clause seems reasonably secure, the length of the restoration is constrained, and any restoration using the subjunctive γυμνάζωνται (required by the preceding ὅταν) and meeting the constraints of the line length would be acceptable. Thus ἀλειφόμενοι, not an uncommon word for those in athletic training,<sup>35</sup> is excluded on grounds of length. The alternative is to consider words used with the general meaning of “adolescents” or “young men”, the most suitable of which<sup>36</sup> would be (οἱ) νεανίσκοι, unfortunately giving a rather long line-length of 46, but which can perhaps be defended because the line contains a high number of occurrences of *iota*: six to be precise.

Again, this argument tries to show only that the restoration suggested along the general lines is possible, not certain, and the need to explore all avenues in order to make a case.

<sup>34</sup> A.E. Taylor, *Plato the Man and his Work*<sup>4</sup> (London: 1937) pp.464-465.

<sup>35</sup> Attested in Egypt in 257 (*P. Cair. Zen.* i no.59060), also used in Hellenistic Athens (*CIG* 256, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1227, 6-7) and elsewhere (*IG* iv 790; *OGIS* 339, 72; 764, 5).

<sup>36</sup> A.A. Bryant, *HSCP* 18 (1907) p.75.

*The Clause Regarding Payment (Lines 9-10)*

The following two lines present us with the most difficult problem of interpretation and restoration yet: namely that the dative τοῖς φυλέταις is preceded by -χοντι which, given the context of the inscription, can hardly be restored as anything other than the dative participle γυμνασιαρχῶντι. (“to him serving as gymnasiarch”). This has to be reconciled somehow with the following dative, perhaps by understanding that the gymnasiarch is acting “on behalf of the tribesmen”, but I can think of no easy explanation for this coincidence of datives.

The *purpose* of this clause however, as opposed to its *form*, seems to be reasonably clear from the use of the dative: namely that provision is being made for how much is to be paid for the work, and to whom the money is to be given to carry it out. This would seem to be “him acting as gymnasiarch”, but, one might ask, why does the inscription not use the more simple form τῷ γυμνασιάρχῳ or specifically mention Epistratos by name? The answer clearly seems to be that it has two distinct people in mind.

It seems that the tribal assembly met infrequently. One of these assembly meetings would have to take place annually in order to appoint the tribal liturgants for the coming year. It is possible that this tribal assembly first considered whether those persons assigned to carry out tribal duties, such as the cyclical liturgies, had performed their duties adequately. In the case of the gymnasiarchy, as strictly speaking the liturgy was not a public office and so, for example, there was no public money for which to be accounted, it is difficult to see to what degree the gymnasiarchs could be brought to task. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that this was the occasion taken to give praise to the liturgant for carrying out his duties magnificently and munificently or otherwise. Perhaps some form of scrutiny analogous to the *euthyna* of the state magistracies took place. Thus our inscription will record a resolution carried out at the beginning of the tribal assembly. We have already cited Isaios 7.36 (dating to the late 350s or early 340s), where Apollodoros states that he “has acted as gymnasiarch in the Prometheia this year in a public-spirited way (*philotimos*), as all my tribesmen know”, and he then calls witnesses to prove this statement. Although it is obvious that he has only just served as gymnasiarch that very year, so there is no question of him having been already congratulated on his *philotimia*, I think it does indicate that the tribesmen did scrutinize the performance of the liturgies, if only informally.

The proposal and election of liturgants for the coming year, discussed in the introductory section of this paper, may only have been carried out later in the proceedings of the assembly. Therefore, when a resolution was carried to commemorate the victory won by

Epistratos in the Hephaistia, Epistratos will have already finished his duties as gymnasiarch, but the gymnasiarchs for next year will not yet have been elected. Therefore, one might ask, who would the tribal assembly appoint to inscribe its decree on stone? We sometimes hear of tribal officials called ἐπιμεληταί carrying out work of this type (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1138), but in our inscription it seems to have been proposed that the gymnasiarch who is about to be elected in place of Epistratos (that is for the Hephaistia) shall be ordered to ensure that the work will be carried out. Clauses regarding payment for inscriptions occur in a number of the tribal decrees (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1148, 1152; cf. 1158), but nowhere in a formula which allows for convenient restoration of our inscription. Therefore I have used parallel formulae which occur in an honorary decree of the *koina* of the *orgeones* of Amyntos, Asklepios and Dexion (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1252, 12-14 and 17-19); although not tribal, the contents and style are very close to those of our inscription. Payment is to be made as follows:

12-14: δοῦναι δὲ καὶ εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀνάθημα αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἂν δόξει τοῖς  
ὀργεῶσιν

17-19: δοῦναι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς στήλας αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἂν δόξει τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν

In both cases the dative αὐτοῖς indicates the recipient of the payment, and the dative τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν (grammatically linked to ὅτι ἂν δόξει) indicates the persons who decide how much to make available. In our inscription, however, the word-order would seem to make it impossible for τοῖς φυλῆταις to be connected with ὅτι ἂν δόξει. In my opinion the only way one could connect it is to assume that the mason carved one dative and then mistakenly started to carve the second, and, once started, decided to continue and follow with ὅτι ἂν δόξει. This seems a somewhat desperate expedient, and so I have decided to retain the hypothesis that τοῖς φυλῆταις can be understood as meaning that the gymnasiarch is acting for (i.e. “on behalf of”) his fellow-tribesmen.

Nevertheless, the formula δοῦναι + dative + ὅτι ἂν δόξει has been retained in the restoration. Because the last partially preserved letter of line 9 begins with a vertical bar, probably from an epsilon, it has been necessary to place the words εἰς δὲ τῆς στήλης first. It could be argued that this monument must be a statue base, not a stele, but this does not necessarily rule out the use of στήλη in Greek, which was never used in a restricted technical sense as it is by modern epigraphists. Other restorations fitting the constraints of space and position would be equally possible; for example, a specific sum in drachmas could replace the formula ὅτι ἂν δόξει, but this would contribute nothing towards our understanding of this inscription.

In conclusion, our inscription seems to be a decree of a tribal assembly honouring a gymnasiarch for his victory in a torch-race. If the arguments advanced above are correct, then during the period prior to 335 only the Hephaestia was a relay-race, and thus the victory must have been won in the Hephaestia. The ten ephebes recorded at the bottom of the inscription comprised the winning relay team. The normal size of a relay team should therefore have been ten. Some examination of tribal liturgants is implied by this inscription, and a sequence of business in the tribal assembly can perhaps be inferred. I would guess that a full tribal assembly was held near the change of the civil year. Firstly the liturgants of the previous year were subject to some form of scrutiny and the liturgants for the following year would only have been appointed when this portion of the business had been concluded. If my restoration of the payment formula is correct, then it is possible that detailed financial arrangements were only dealt with later on in the assembly's business. It should be noted, however, that other honorific decrees passed by tribal assemblies specify amounts to be spent on crowns or on inscriptions.<sup>37</sup>

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## PROSOGRAPHIA

It is customary to include a prosopographic discussion when dealing with Athenian catalogues of names, such as those included in this inscription. In this case, however, identifications are unlikely to be certain as the names of the ephebes are given without either patronymic or demotic. As well as the particular difficulties involved in this inscription, it is, I think, becoming more generally accepted that the sample of evidence which has survived, even in the case of Classical Athens, is so small as to make much prosopographical work speculative rather than certain. The following material, gathered during the course of investigating this inscription, has been included in the hope it may be considered of some value.

The tribe Aiantis consisted of six demes: Aphidna, Marathon, Oinoe, Phaleron, Rhamnous and Trikorynthos, however the tribe Hippothontis also had a deme called Oinoe, which can complicate interpretation. I give demes their tribal affiliations of the mid-fourth century, even if an inscription discussed is Hellenistic or Imperial, as this is the affiliation relevant to *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1250.

**Ἀρίστυλλος:** *PA* 2130. The *Lexicon* contains 15 entries under this name, 10 without demotic or tribal affiliation, but none certainly Aiantid. Although this name cannot be connected with any other I would like to make the following speculation.

A stele from the Peiraios, published without date, commemorates one Nikostratos son of Aristyllos (*PA Addenda et Corrigenda* 11010a, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 12305). The name Nikostratos is not rare; Kirchner lists some 55 occurrences, but if the names Aristyllos and Nikostratos are alternating within a family of the tribe Aiantis, then the Aiantid demes where the name Nikostratos occurs may possibly be used as some indication of the demotic of our Aristyllos. Although persons named Nikostratos occur in the demes Aphidna (*PA* 11023, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 4468) and Phaleron (*PA* 11054, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1028, 129) in inscriptions of the first century BC the name is mostly concentrated in Rhamnous. The most distinguished of these Rhamnousian Nikostratoi was Νικόστρατος Ἰραμνο(ύσιος), syntrierarch on the *Anthera Archeneidou* between 356 and 346/5 (*PA* 11050, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1622, 692, J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* – hereafter *APF* – p.412). The name recurs in the deme Rhamnous in Imperial times, in an ephebic catalogue of AD 157/8 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2068, 74) and a first or second century AD inscription (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 7363). One might also mention a marble fragment, undated in publication, inscribed Ἀριστ --|Ῥαμ[νούσιος] (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 7332), which could be restored as Aristyllos, but also in a multitude of other ways: Kirchner records the names

Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἀριστογέννης, Ἀριστόδημος, Ἀριστόκριτος, Ἀριστονόη, Ἀριστόνους and Ἀρίστων as attested at Rhamnous. Therefore I think it is possible, but no more, that Aristyllos belonged to a family based in Rhamnous.

**Δημήτριος:** *PA* 3356. One of the most common Athenian names, increasingly so in the Hellenistic and Roman periods: Kirchner lists 130 occurrences. The *Lexicon* lists 14 from the deme Marathon, none earlier than the second century BC; likewise the 9 from Rhamnous all postdate 180 BC, and the earliest of the 7 from Trikorynthos dates to 223 BC. The name does not seem to be represented in the deme Oinoe. Thus our Demetrios is likely to have belonged to a family from either Phaleron or Aphidna.

It is not possible to identify our Demetrios with the famous Demetrios of Phaleron (*PA* 3455) as the latter had his “birth-year... not later than the mid 350s, and probably not much earlier, since he was still alive in the 280s” (Davies, *APF* p.108), which makes him too young. However, there could be a family connection with any one of three other personages from Phaleron: (i) Δ[?ημή]τριος Φαληρεύς is mentioned in a bouleutic list of c.330 (*Agora* xv 46, 44): an ephebe of 18 in the 350s or 340s would be old enough to serve as *bouleutes* in 330; (ii) Σωκλῆς Δημητρίου is mentioned in a second bouleutic list of 303/2 (*Agora* xv 62, 292). The son of either an ephebe in the 350s or 340s, or of a *bouleutes* of c.330, or even of both if they were one, would certainly have been old enough to serve as *bouleutes* in the year 303/2; (iii) Kirchner (*PA* 3451, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2386, 12) also lists one Δημήτριος Ἀγωνος Φ[...] in a catalogue of the mid-fourth century. The demotic could be restored to refer to Phaleron, but also as any one of the six other demes beginning with phi – I list them together with the numbers of Demetrioι noted for each by Kirchner: Phegous (0), Phegaia (1), Philaidai (0), Phrearrhioi (1), Phyle (4), or Phlya (0). Given that the *Lexicon* also lists 12 further bearers of the name Demetrios from Phaleron in the ensuing centuries, the balance of probability would seem to be that Demetrios son of Hagnon was also from Phaleron. Thus our Demetrios could be connected with any of the three from Phaleron mentioned above, but there is no positive evidence that he was.

The name Demetrios is also attested in the deme Aphidna for this period. Δημήτριος Εὐκτήμονος Ἀφιδναῖος figures as an orator in a decree concerning Oropos dating to 332/1 (*PA* 3392, *IG* vii 4253, 9). Δημήτριος Ἀφιδναῖο also appears as a *bouleutes* in 328/7 (*Agora* xv 49, 24). Both Aphidnaians might be the same individual and identical with the Demetrios of our catalogue. Ἀριστέας Δημητρίου Ἀφιδναῖος is also mentioned in an inscription dating to the first century AD (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 5724, 2). Finally the

*Lexicon* also lists a handful of other Demetriois of the tribe Aiantis without demotics. Such a surfeit of possibilities makes it foolhardy to propose any firm identification.

?**Ἐπίστρατος**: Aside from Ἐπίστρατος], other possible restorations of the name of the gymnasiarch could be Ἐπισ[τάτης], Ἐπισ[τένης] or Ἐπισ[τήμων]. Only one occurrence of the name Epistates is listed by Kirchner (*PA* 4946, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2398, 15); no further occurrences are noted by the *Lexicon*. The name appears in a fourth-century catalogue of tribesmen of Erechtheis, and so would not be suitable for restoration as the name of the gymnasiarch in our inscription. A single occurrence of Epistenes is listed by the *Lexicon*, from the deme Oa (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 7826, 2, *PA* 4945 [defective]), of the tribe Pandionis, which would therefore be likewise unsuitable for the name of the gymnasiarch. The name Epistemon is listed by the *Lexicon* three times: (i) without patronymic or demotic on a state funerary monument of the second half of the fifth century BC (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 1185, 18, *Agora* xvii. 19, 18), (ii) on a fourth century inscription (*SEG* xxv 255, 9), with the demotic Ἀλαϊεύς of the tribe Kekropis or Aigeis, and (iii) possibly to be restored as a patronymic, of the deme Pallene of the tribe Antiochis, in place of Εὐ[στήμ]ονος, in an inscription of the second or third century BC (*SEG* xxi 905, 2). Thus none of the three occurrences of the name has any reference to the tribe Aiantis, and two certainly belong to different tribes. Kirchner does not list the name Epistratos from this inscription. Otherwise five occurrences of Epistratos are listed, though none are certainly of the tribe Aiantis. The *Lexicon* supplies one further occurrence of [Ἐ]πίστρατος son of [Δ]ημόστρατος of the deme Kikynna (tribe Akamantis).

Therefore, though Epistates and Epistenes do not seem suitable for consideration in the restoration, Epistemon seems equally as possible as Epistratos, and has the advantage of being of a letter-length often in the accusative (Ἐπιστήμονα) equal to Ἐπίστρατον restored in line 4. Epistratos, however, has been chosen for the restoration principally on grounds of frequency as it occurs twice as frequently as Epistemon, and also because it seemed as well to retain Kirchner's restoration as to replace it.

**Ευθύμαχος**: *PA* 5628. The *Lexicon* lists 34 bearers of this name, 9 of unknown affiliation, and no other Aiantid.

**Καλλίαδης**: *PA* 7781. The *Lexicon* lists 64 holders of the name. Only two others are Aiantid, both from the deme Aphidna: (i) J.S. Trail, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) p.283 no.10, 3 (end of third century), and (ii) *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2332, 145, *PA* 7787 (183/2 BC). Thus it is possible

that the three Aiantid holders of the name may be from different generations of the same family registered at Aphidna, though the name is so common that further speculation is hardly worthwhile.

**Κτησικλῆς:** PA 8864. The *Lexicon* lists 36 examples of the name Ktesikles, 6 of unknown affiliation. The other known Aiantids are all of the deme Phaleron. Κτησικλῆς Κηφισοφώντος Φαληρέυς is found in a list of *diaitetai* (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1927, 108 9, PA 8873; see E. Ruschenbusch, *ZPE* 49 [1982] p.277), undated but belonging to the second half of the fourth century. Although the name Ktesikles is quite common, it is possible that he may be identified with the Ktesikles of ii<sup>2</sup> 1250. Assuming this to be the case, then our inscription would be 42 years earlier than the list of *diaitetai*. It is, therefore, most unfortunate that the list of *diaitetai*, now lost, has not been successfully dated yet, even approximately.

[...γ]όρας Κτησικλέου Φαληρέυς, possibly the son of our Ktesikles, appears in a bouleutic list for 304/3 (*Agora* xv 59, 3 & 61, 246). Assuming [...γ]όρας must have been at least 30 to serve as *bouleutes* and that his father was at least 30 when he established his household, married, and started his family, a date of 346/5 is suggested as a *terminus ante quem* for Ktesikles' eighteenth year and therefore for our inscription. This speculation, again, assumes that our Ktesikles did indeed belong to the same family from Phaleron. A second Κτησικλῆς Κηφισοφώντος Φαληρέυς is mentioned as being secretary of the *boule* in 220/19 (*Agora* xv 130, 52). He would seem to be a further generation of the same family.

**Μνησικλείδης :** PA 10301. The *Lexicon* lists a total of twelve holders of the name, but no other Aiantid, though six are of unknown affiliation. It is interesting to note that *LGPN* i p.318 lists no less than ten occurrences of the name at Delos.

**Ξενοκλείδης:** PA 11198. The *Lexicon* lists fifteen holders of the name, only one of whom is Aiantid, though six are of unknown tribe. The Aiantid is one Ξενοκλείδης Ἀφιδναῖος, whose name and demotic occur on an undated Athenian ostrakon: see Rudi Thomsen, *The Origin of Ostracism* (Copenhagen: 1972) p.80 with n.179.

**Ξενοπεΐθης:** PA 11258. The *Lexicon* lists only 10 bearers of this rather unusual name. There is a fourth century BC stele from Athens (*PA Addenda et Corrigenda* 11258a, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 11293), which depicts a married couple, and is inscribed Ἐπιπεΐθης Ξενοπεΐθο[υ].|

Ἄρισταιχμη Λυσιμάχ[ου] Ἄφιννά[ου]. The demotic given is obviously an error for Aphidna, and there could quite possibly be a family connection between this Epipheithes son of Xenopeithes and the Xenopeithes of our inscription, especially given the rarity of the name. The most obvious speculation would be to have Epipheithes as the father of our Xenopeithes.

No other Aiantid is listed by the *Lexicon*, but a further speculation may be added to the discussion. The name Xenopeithes was used heavily by one family of the tribe Antiochis, based in the deme Kolonai, and by a second family, of the tribe Pandionis, based in Paiania. This second family interchanged Xenopeithes with Nausimachos. On this second name Davies (*APF* pp.416-418) comments that it “is surprisingly rare, and there could therefore be a connection with Nausimachos of Phaleron, one of the few trierarchs who survived Aigospotamoi”. Kirchner lists only two Nausimachoi of the family from Paiania, and Nausimachos of Phaleron. If the two families were in fact connected and interchanged names, possibly that the family of Nausimachos of Phaleron also used the name Xenopeithes, but no evidence can be supplied to support this.

**Ξενοφῶν**: *PA* 11303. Kirchner lists some 22 occurrences of this name. The only one which could possibly be connected to this inscription is 11315, of the deme Oinoe, and therefore belonging either to the tribe Aiantis or Hippothontis, who is mentioned in a funerary inscription of the third century BC as the father of one Μυρ... (*IG* ii2 6979). One presumes that the daughter would be unmarried, and so under twenty, and so this would seem to rule out her father as the rhetor of a tribal decree in the middle of the fourth century. There could be some more distant connection however, and it is possible that the Xenophon of our inscription is related and also of the deme Oinoe of the tribe Aiantis.

**Πύθις**: *PA* 12367. This name is extremely rare in Athens, although *LGPN* i p.392 lists ten occurrences. Otherwise we only know of a Sosias son of Pythis (*PA Addenda et Corrigenda* 12366a, *PA* 13177), mentioned by a scholiast on Aristophanes’ *Wasps* 78 (δύο δὲ εἰς Σωσίαι, ὁ μὲν Πύθιδος, ὁ δὲ Παρμένωνος). The *Lexicon* also lists an occurrence of the name on a vase of c.510 BC (J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* [Oxford: 1956] p.673). There is no way of knowing whether the three holders of this very rare name are connected in any way.

**Πύθων**: Not listed in *PA*. The *Lexicon* lists 28 bearers of the name, of whom just one other is possibly an Aiantid, Πύθων Δημοκίδος Οἰναῖος, mentioned on a funerary

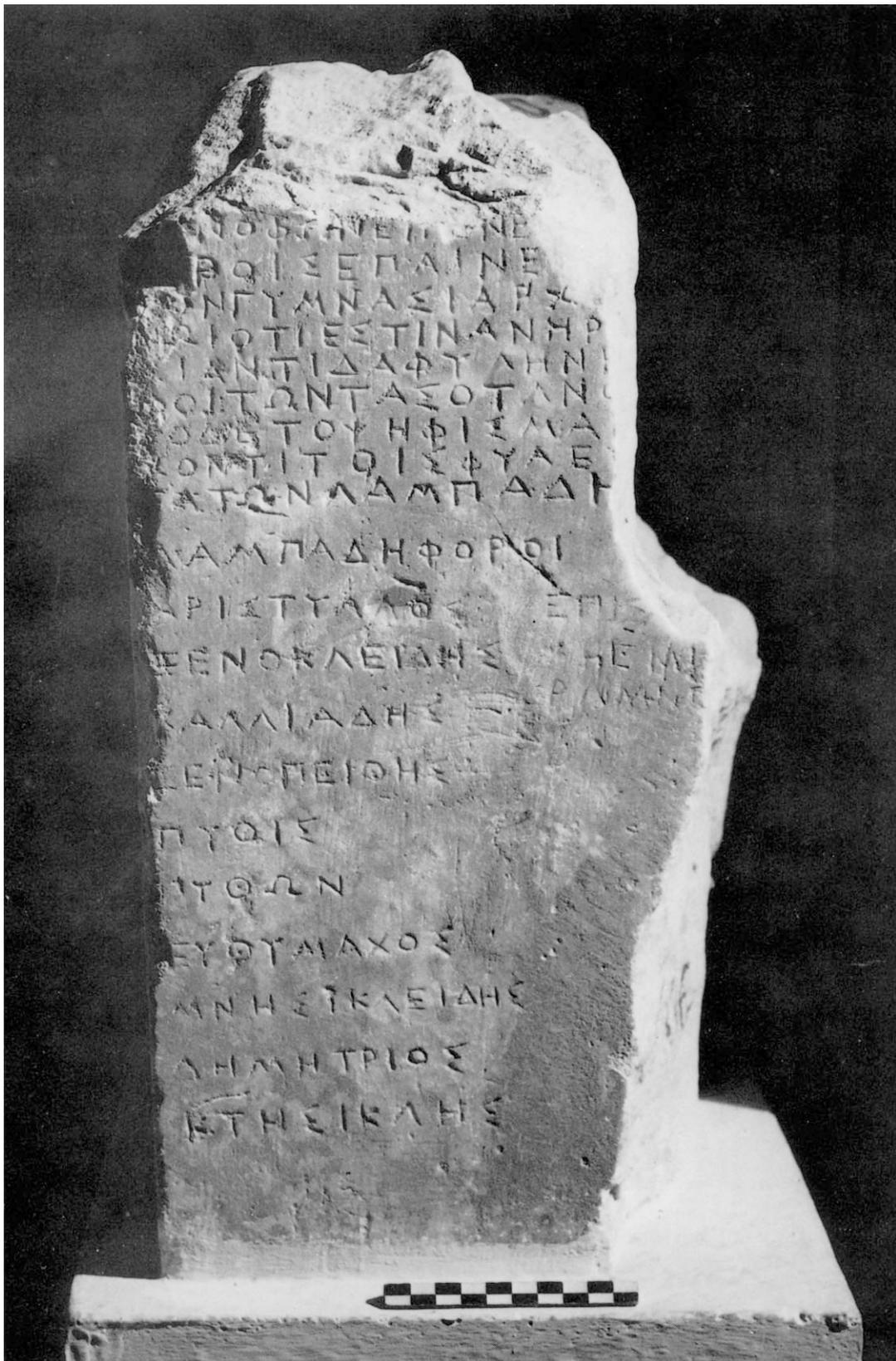
stele of the first half of the fourth century (*PA* 12476, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 6982, 1). It is possible that he could be the grandfather of our Python, but the name is not uncommon, and he could even have belonged to the Hippothontid deme of that name. There may even be some connection with the name Πυθίων, belonging to a Rhamnousian, which occurs in a funerary inscription of the first century BC (M.J. Osborne, *Ancient Society* 19 [1988] p.19 no.73).

It is perhaps also worth noting that the name Πείθων is also represented in the deme Oinoe. A funerary inscription (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 6971) records the burial of one Dionysios of Oinoe (*PA* 4224), together with his father Peithon (*PA* 11766) and uncle (θεῖος) Pheidippos (*PA* 14161). The two names are quite separate, however, and should not be confused.

**Τρέμπων:** Given the constraints of the surviving letters it seems that Trempon must be restored in our inscription. Otherwise the name Trempon is only listed once; as a casualty in a state funerary monument to those fallen at Drabeskos in Thrace and elsewhere in the year 465/4 (*PA* 13880, *IG* i<sup>1</sup> 432 i, 15 = i<sup>2</sup> 928 1, A15 = *Agora* xvii 1, 15 = *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 1144, 15). Apart from one fragmentary heading, the tribal headings of the casualty lists in this monument are not preserved, so it is impossible to know whether this Trempon is of the tribe Aiantis, let alone of the deme Rhamnous. Given the extreme rarity of the name, however, some family relationship between the two bearers of this name is surely at least possible.

**Χρέμης:** Of the four names listed in *PA*, 15569 may be deleted (cf. Davies, *APF* p.517), 15566 is of the deme Ionidai of the tribe Aigeis (cf. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 205 + *SEG* xiv 51, 4; *Agora* xv 36, 7), the updated literature for 15567, of the tribe Kekropis and perhaps of the deme Melite, is *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1156 ii, 11 = Reinmuth, *Ephobic Inscriptions* no.2, 11. Finally 15568, the archon eponymous for 326/5, is of the deme Aixone and the tribe Kekropis. The *Lexicon* also lists four further bearers of the name: Χρέμης son of ?[Με]γύλος of *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 783,3 (= A.E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* [Cambridge, Mass.: 1949] no.227, 3), another Χρέμης of the deme Eroiadai of the tribe Hippothontis (*Agora* xv 72, 263), and two others from vases, one whose citizenship is doubtful.

It will be seen, therefore, that none of the holders of this name whose tribal affiliation is known belongs to the tribe Aiantis. This would not of itself rule out a possible restoration, but the surviving traces of lettering do not permit any such action.



IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1250 (= EM 7840): Decree concerning the *lampadephoroi* of the tribe Aiantis