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THE AIAKEION AND THOLOS OF ATHENS IN POXY 2087

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THE AIAKEION AND THOLOS OF ATHENS IN POXY 2087¹

(Tafel I)

Students of the topography of ancient Athens owe a debt of gratitude to the late A.N. Oikonomides for drawing attention to a potentially valuable piece of evidence which seems to have eluded almost all of us. Shortly before his untimely death in 1991, Oikonomides published a brief paper in *The Ancient World* 21 (1990) 21–22, on a passage concerning the Athenian Tholos and the Sanctuary of Aiakos in a fragmentary lexikon of the second century after Christ preserved on POxy 2087. To my knowledge, no other scholar has discussed the topographic implications of this passage.²

A.S. Hunt published the editio princeps of POxy 2087 in 1927,³ before the beginning of the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in the Agora of Athens and before the appearance of W. Judeich's second edition of his classic *Topographie von Athen* (Munich 1931), where it is not mentioned. On the papyrus fragment, which is now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, parts of three columns of writing are preserved, of which only the middle one survives to its full width. Hunt characterized the single hand as "small upright semicursive, which in places where the surface has been rubbed is difficult to decipher, and the difficulty is not lessened by the frequent use of abbreviations... A date in the second century is indicated." (110). The contents consist of part of an alphabetically arranged lexikon of comparatively rare words all beginning with alpha. The compiler seems to have drawn his material mainly from classical prose authors such as Herodotus,

¹I am grateful to the following for reading and substantially improving an earlier version of this paper, while by no means agreeing with all of my conclusions: S.B. Aleshire, A.L. Boegehold, J.M. Camp, D.R. Jordan, A.P. Matthaiou, T.L. Shear, Jr., and H.A. Thompson.

²Oikonomides' happy discovery of this important text was marred by his unsubstantiated charge — published in his own journal — that R.E. Wycherley and the "long list of his assistants and advisors" (not identified by Oikonomides) "carefully suppressed [POxy 2087] for all these years" and "blatantly" excluded it from *The Athenian Agora III: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton 1957), "because the information it contained greatly upset the topographical theories and 'identifications' proposed by Homer A. Thompson. Thus, the text was considered undesirable and was suppressed." This same text was also omitted by Oikonomides from his own *The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens* (Chicago 1964), although in the Preface (v) he boasted that he had included "neglected testimonia of early Athenian religion and topography, unknown to many fellow scholars." On p. xviii he observed of *Agora III*, "There are also many literary texts, papyri and good editions of such well-known authors as Hypereides, Plutarch, Demades and others which apparently eluded the author, for I cannot believe that they were deliberately omitted."

³A.S. Hunt, *Egypt Exploration Society: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part XVII* (London 1927) 110–113, no. 2087. A. Körte briefly noted and summarized the contents of POxy 2087 in *AfPap* 10 (1932) 230–231, no. 770, without mentioning the Aiakeion and Tholos. His observation that, "Die meisten Glossen bieten sachlich nichts Neues," failed to appreciate the value of the note on these two Athenian buildings. POxy 2087 was listed in R.A. Pack, *Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*² (Ann Arbor 1965) 115 no. 2120.

Thucydides, Aischines Sokratikos, Plato, Demosthenes, and Aristotle, all of whom are cited with varying degrees of accuracy.

The passage which concerns us is not attributed to a specific author or otherwise identified as to its source. It occupies lines 16–18 of the middle column, which Hunt printed as follows:

- 16 Αἰα[κ]ιον κ(αι) η̣ θολος̣ ο̣[υ] φασι [τ]ον Αἰακον
 17 οἰκησ[α]ι̣ θο[λο]ς̣ δ̣(ε)̣ ο̣που̣ δεῖ̣ [...]πρυτα
 18 νεου̣ αφ...ε̣.[.] τῶ̣ Αἰακῶ̣ δικ(ην)̣ ἀ(να)γραφον^{τα}

The editio princeps was not accompanied by a diplomatic text, a commentary on the dotted letters and abbreviations, or a photograph. Since there are no word divisions or punctuations on the papyrus, readers of Hunt’s text had little control over the interpretation of readings on which he expressed doubt. Nor was it possible to verify his word divisions and especially the exact length of the spaces between words and where the surface of the papyrus might have been rubbed, torn, or completely lost.

In his commentary on these lines, Hunt cited “Bekker, *Anecd.* 212.15 Αἰάκιον· τόπος οὗ φασι τὸν Αἰ. οἰκῆσαι, Hesych. Αἰάκειον· οὗ φασι Αἰ. οἰκῆσαι. Nothing corresponding to the latter part of the gloss is to be found in the lexica. πρυτανεου̣ is for -νειου̣.” In his valuable paper on fragments of Greek lexicography in the papyri, M. Naoumidis pointed out the close connection between the papyrus glosses in books of this type and the entries in the *Lexikon* of Hesychios. “Naturally Hesychios’ glosses are as a rule more concise than those in the papyrus lexica when they are not combined with similar entries of different origin.”⁴

More than sixty years after its publication, Oikonomides was the first to realize the importance of this entry in the lexikon for the topography of Athens. He offered the following restored text of lines 16–18, with accompanying translation.⁵

- 16 Αἰά[κ]ιον κ(αι) ἡ̣ Θόλος· ο̣[ὗ] φασι [τ]ὸν Αἰακὸν
 17 οἰκῆσ[α]ι· Θό[λο]ς̣ δ̣(ε)̣ ὅπου̣ δεῖ̣[πνα] πρυτα
 18 νε(ί)ου̣ ἀφ[αίρ]ε[τά], τῶ̣ Αἰακῶ̣ δίκ(ην)̣ ἀ(να)γράφοντα
 “Aiakeion and the Tholos: where they say Aiakos
 dwelled; (The) Tholos is where the exclusive meals
 are served to the prytaneis, dedicated to justifying Aiakos.”

It is immediately obvious that there are serious obstacles to accepting this interpretation of the Greek. Even if Oikonomides’ restorations are all sound, I cannot see how his diction and syntax can yield the sense he imputes to them in his translation. First, δεῖ̣[πνα]

⁴*Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry: Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 58 (1969) 181–202. The quotation is from p. 200. I owe this reference and other bibliographic aid to the kindness of P. Mertens.

⁵In reprinting Hunt’s text and in presenting his own version, Oikonomides omitted all subscript dots indicating uncertainty about the readings.

πρυτανε(ί)ου must surely mean “meals of (the) Prytaneion.” There were such meals, of course, served to honored guests at the Prytaneion, which was probably located on the northeast slope of the Acropolis.⁶ But this was far away from the Tholos and these meals were not served to the prytaneis. It is true that some later writers confused the Prytaneion with the Prytanikon, which was another name for the Tholos,⁷ where the prytaneis did in fact dine. Oikonomides does not mention this confusion, however, and it does not seem to be present — or implicit — in his reconstruction of the text. In any case, it is difficult to see how δεῖ[πνα] πρυτανε(ί)ου in ancient Greek can be construed to mean “meals are served to the prytaneis.”

Secondly, the clause introduced by ὅπου in line 17 of Oikonomides’ restored text lacks a finite verb, cf. ο[ὗ] φασι of line 16. Even if we assume that φασι is to be understood here as a kind of carry-over from line 16, “and where they say...,” syntactic problems remain. Not the least of these is that this text lacks also an infinitive to parallel οἰκῆσ[α]ι in line 16 and to carry the heavy burden of supplying the sense “are served” with δεῖ[πνα] as its subject. There is no word in Oikonomides’ restored text which can be construed as “are served.”

Thirdly, Oikonomides offered no parallel for the adjective ἀφαιρετός as meaning “exclusive” in the manner indicated in his translation. That is, the prytaneis were a privileged, exclusive group. Their meals were not shared with others who were excluded. But the rare adjective ἀφαιρετός seems to be used in ancient Greek in exactly the opposite sense from that translated by Oikonomides. It modifies normally something that is extraneous, rejected, kept out. For example, Plato, *Politikos* 303 E, in speaking of the refining of gold, says that after earth and stones have been removed, λείπεται ξυμμεμιγμένα τὰ ξυγγενῆ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τίμια καὶ πυρὶ μόνον ἀφαιρετά, χαλκὸς καὶ ἄργυρος, ἔστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ ἀδάμας, ἃ μετὰ βασάνων ταῖς ἐψήσεσι μόγις ἀφαιρεθέντα τὸν λεγόμενον ἀκήρατον χρυσοῦν εἶασεν ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μόνον ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ. “There remain the precious substances which are mixed with the gold and akin to it and can be removed only by fire — copper and silver and sometimes adamant. These are removed by the difficult processes of smelting and tests, leaving before our eyes what is called unalloyed gold in all its purity.” Cf. also Arrian, *Epiktetos* III.24.3 (Schenkl), ὁ θεὸς ... τὰ μὲν ἴδια δοὺς ἐκάστῳ, τὰ δ’ ἀλλότρια· τὰ μὲν κωλυτὰ καὶ ἀφαιρετὰ καὶ ἀναγκαστὰ οὐκ ἴδια, τὰ δ’ ἀκώλυτα ἴδια. “The god grants to each man both what belongs to him and what is alien. The things that are subject to hindrance, deprivation, and compulsion are not what belong to him, but the things which cannot be hindered are his own;” Pausanias 9.7.6, τὴν μὲν δὴ

⁶For evidence and conjectures about the location of the Prytaneion at Athens, see Stephen G. Miller, *The Prytaneion* (Berkeley 1978) 38–53.

⁷For good discussion of this confusion, see Wycherley, *Agora* III. 184; R.E. Wycherley, H.A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora XIV: The Agora of Athens* (Princeton 1972) 41–42; Miller, *Prytaneion* 60–64.

ἀφαίρετον χώραν ὕστερον Ῥωμαίων χάριτι ἀνεσώσαντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι. “By favor of the Romans, the Thebans later regained the land that had been taken away from them.”

I do not know whether in modern Greek ἀφαιρετός, which normally means that which is subtracted, extracted, taken away, can bear the sense of “exclusive” that Oikonomides intends in his “exclusive meals of the prytaneis,” but in the absence of an apt ancient parallel, I remain unconvinced.⁸

Fourthly, he prints the last word in line 18, ἀ(να)γράφοντα, as an active, present participle, neuter plural, which presumably modifies δεῖ[πνα], after a rather harsh asyndeton marked only by the comma following ἀφ[αίρ]ε[τά]. He translates the participle, however, as passive in the formulation “dedicated to justifying Aiakos.” Again, in the absence of a parallel, I do not see how this active participle of a verb which normally bears the concrete sense of “write up,” “record,” “publish,” vel sim., can come to mean, with δίκ(ην), “dedicated to justifying.” Finally, Oikonomides never explains how τῷ Αἰακῷ δίκ(ην) can be construed as “justifying Aiakos,” or why, indeed, this hero needed “justifying.”

It has been necessary to examine the diction and syntax of Oikonomides’ restored text because on these restorations he builds a new theory about the relationship between the Tholos and the Aiakeion. Regardless of the historical and archaeological strengths and weaknesses of his theory, which I shall examine elsewhere, I do not believe that he has demonstrated that the text of POxy 2087 “tells that the ‘exclusive meals’ offered to the prytaneis in the Tholos were dedicated (in what way is not clear) to Aiakos.” Nor does he succeed in showing that “the text says, [that] the Aiakeion and the Tholos stood where, according to the oral tradition, Aiakos dwelt earlier.”

Since lines 16–18 of POxy 2087 could still promise valuable new information about two structures of classical Athens, the papyrus itself might repay closer examination. By courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society of London, I print a photograph on Tafel I. The following text is the result of study of this photograph and of the original which I examined in the Ashmolean Museum in late July 1993.⁹

16 ΑΙΑ[Κ]ΙΟΝΚ'ΗΘΟΛΟΣΟ[Υ]ΦΑΣΙ[Τ]ΟΝΑΙΑΚΟΝ
 17 ΟΙΚΗΣ[Α]ΙΘΟ[ΛΟ]ΣΔ'ΟΠΟΥΔΕΙ[.]ΙΗΠΡΥΤΑ
 18 ΝΕΟΥ[Σ]ΑΦΥΛΗ[.2-3-..]ΤΩΑΙΑΚΙΩΔΙΚ'Α'ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΑΙ

This text differs from Hunt’s in the second half of line 17 and in line 18 in the following respects. Line 17 οπου δεῖ [.]...πρυτα Hunt. After ΔΕΙ there is one letter-space where the surface is torn and no traces of ink are visible. The next letter too has been almost totally obliterated by a large hole, except for what appears to be the end of a diagonal sloping

⁸A word-search of *TLG*, kindly performed for me by S.B. Aleshire, yielded only twenty-two other examples of this adjective; all have meanings similar to those in the three passages I have quoted above.

⁹I am grateful to P.A. Parsons for assistance with the readings. It would be poor return for his kindness to hold him responsible for any of them. I thank also A.P. Matthaïou for examining the original with me.

down to the right. This could be the bottom of either a lunate epsilon or nu. Of the next letter there is a vertical stroke extending a bit below the line whose top is missing. It is probably too close to its neighbors on either side for any letter other than gamma, rho, tau, or iota; the last looks most likely to me. In the next space, before ΠΡΥΤΑ, is a vertical, not reported by Hunt. Its bottom stands free and it is separated from the pi by a hole. I interpret this as the left vertical of eta, but gamma, iota, nu, pi, and rho are also physically possible.

In line 18 there is space for one letter after ΝΕΟΥ and before ΑΦ, since a vertical fold in the papyrus allows more space here than the photo suggests. After phi I see a clear upsilon and possibly faint traces of the right diagonal of lambda. What Hunt read as epsilon seems to me compatible with eta if we are both trying to interpret what appears to be a dim trace of a horizontal at mid-height in the line.

A hole has removed the surface of the papyrus in the next two or three spaces; then Hunt read τῷ Αἰακῷ δικ(ην) α(να)γραφον/ται (the last two letters superscript). The letter after the dotted tau is a clear omega and should not be dotted. The dotted kappa is a possible reading but nothing remains except a small trace of ink at mid-height in the line. Of Hunt's second dotted omega only the right open-top loop is visible, but it is difficult to see to what other letter these traces could belong, so I do not print it with a dot. It is separated from the proposed dotted kappa to its left by at least one letter-space, thereby making the dative singular of Αἰακός very dubious, if not impossible. A tiny trace of ink here below the line level and close to omega could belong to iota, which often in this hand extends below the line. I suggest that the spacing makes Αἰακῖϖ, or even possibly Αἰακ[ε]ῖϖ, much more likely; i.e. the Sanctuary, not the hero, in the dative.

Above the kappa of ΔΙΚ there is a tiny dot of ink almost completely obscured by a hole. Hunt interpreted this as the remains of a mark of abbreviation, ΔΙΚ' for δίκ(ην) and he was followed in this by K. McNamee.¹⁰ It seems to me, however, that this tiny mark slants down from right to left more like the abbreviation marks used above the kappa in κ(αί)¹¹ in lines 16, 28, 30, and 37; i.e. δίκ(αι). After this the prefix of the verb is abbreviated by Α', i.e. ἄ(να)-; McNamee 5. After the small superscript alpha at the end of the verb there is a damaged area in which a small spot of ink survives at the top of the line. This could be a stop or mark of punctuation, for we are at the end of a lemma, but there are no other stops or punctuation of any kind in this text.¹² I, therefore, think that the spot of ink is more likely to be part of the letter iota.

I propose, therefore, to restore the text as follows:

- 16 Αἰά[κ]ιον κ(αί) ἢ Θόλος ο[ῦ] φασι [τ]ὸν Αἰακὸν
 17 οἰκῆσ[α]ι, Θό[λο]ς δ(έ) ὅπου δεῖ[.]ι ἢ πρυτα-
 18 νέου[σ]α φυλή, [.2-3.] τῷ Αἰακῖϖ δίκ(αι) ἄ(να)γραφον/ται

¹⁰*Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca: BASP Suppl. 3* (1981) 115.

¹¹McNamee 45. For the abbreviation of δ(έ) see 21–22.

¹²Hunt p. 110, “No paragraphi or stops occur.”

In line 17 after ὄπου, Oikonomides' instincts were, in my view, sound, but it is the verb in the third person singular, δει[πν]εῖ, that is to be restored to agree with the following nominative singular, and not the noun δει[πνα]. Two possibilities are δει[π]νῖ with iotacism, cf. Αἰά[κ]ιον, or δει[πν]εῖ, assuming either severe crowding of pi and nu or possibly the omission of one of them. At the beginning of line 18, I have to postulate either the omission by error of a letter in πρυτα/νε(ύ)ου[σ]α or that εϋ was written as ε before ου, as it often was in contemporary documentary papyri, i.e. πρυτανέου[σ]α.¹³ In the gap before τῷ Αἰακίῳ, there is room for a preposition [ἐπὶ], or better, in my view, [ἐν δ(ἐ)]. The reading δίκ(α) ἄ(να)γράφον/ται better accords with the surviving letters, takes account of the convention of the abbreviations, and yields satisfactory syntax.

I offer the following commentary on my proposed new text of lines 16–18.

Αἰά[κ]ιον is the sanctuary of the Aiginetan hero, Aiakos, which the Athenians first laid out *ca.* 506 B.C. on the edge of the Agora, Herodotus 5.89. It is probably mentioned again in 414 B.C. in the Attic Stelai.¹⁴ It is prominent in a recently discovered Athenian law of 374/3 B.C., which I shall publish elsewhere,¹⁵ and it appears later in the lexicographical notes quoted above p. 2 by Hunt. The Tholos is the well-known circular building constructed *ca.* 460 B.C., whose remains in the southwest corner of the Agora Excavations are one of the most familiar landmarks of the American Excavations. As the headquarters of the prytaneis, who dined there, it accumulated a large body of literary and epigraphical testimonia which has been most conveniently collected by R.E. Wycherley in *Agora* III, nos. 589–609.¹⁶

One of the first challenges we have to face in interpreting this gloss is the force of κ(αί) in line 16. Is it copulative or “epexegetic?” The point is important for topography. Is the compiler or his source saying that the Aiakeion and the Tholos are two separate structures or that they are somehow the same, or at least closely related in some manner? Oikonomides argued, as we have seen, that there was a connection between the meals served to the prytaneis in the Tholos and the hero Aiakos, but there are insurmountable obstacles of syntax and diction in the way of accepting this interpretation. The new readings of the papyrus further weaken this link, since it is not the hero himself, but his sanctuary, which appears in line 18. On the basis of the presumed link between Aiakos and the Tholos, Oikonomides also attempted to identify the architectural remains excavated below the foundations of the Tholos as “the house of Aiakos.” That is, while translating κ(αί) as copulative (“and”), he seems to have been drawn to the epexegetical meaning, “If we accept

¹³For examples of εϋε see F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1: *Phonology: Testi e documenti per lo studio dell' antichità* 55 (Milan 1976) 228–229. In the other two surviving examples in POxy 2087, both before consonants, this diphthong was not reduced to epsilon, ψευδομ(έν)ους 27 and ἀφότευτον 34.

¹⁴*JG* I³ 426, lines 5–8, following the restoration of W.K. Pritchett.

¹⁵*SEG* XXXVI 146; R.S. Stroud, *AJA* 97 (1993) 308–309.

¹⁶See also the discussion by Thompson and Wycherley in *Agora* XIV, 41–46.

what the text says, the Aiakeion and the Tholos stood where, according to the oral tradition, Aiakos dwelt earlier” (οἰκῆσαι). It is important, therefore, to determine the meaning of κ(αί) in line 16.

Epexegetic καί, of course, is commonly employed by the lexicographers to define one word, name, or phrase in terms of another. In fact the author of POxy 2087 seems to have used it himself in lines 12 and 13: ἄθλοισι κ(αί) τὰ ἔπαθλα and [αἰ]δ(ε)σις δόσις κ(αί) φιλανθρωπία, if the readings are sound. In the lemma on the Aiakeion and the Tholos, it would thus be possible to argue that Αἰά[κ]ιον κ(αί) ἢ Θόλος οἴ[β] φασὶ [τ]ὸν Αἰακὸν οἰκῆσ[α]ι should be translated, “Aiakeion, that is (or in other words) the Tholos where they say that Aiakos dwelt.” In this reading not only is the locative clause firmly linked to the Tholos as the place where they say Aiakos lived, but we must suppose that the Tholos was to some extent identified with or took its name from the Aiakeion. Possibly, the later circular, civic building was defined in terms of or identified with the earlier religious structure, which may have given its name to the area where both were located. This interpretation would preserve the link between Aiakos and the Tholos which seems to have suggested to Oikonomides the possibility of identifying the remains beneath the Tholos with a presumed house of Aiakos, οἰκῆσαι. Strictly speaking, however, the lemma would then say that Aiakos used to live in the Tholos, not in an earlier structure underneath the Tholos. But perhaps this is to insist on too literal a reading of the lemma.

To interpret κ(αί) in line 16 as copulative leads to a different interpretation: “Aiakeion and the Tholos: where they say that Aiakos dwelt.” Thus, κ(αί) here joins two different structures that were for some reason mentioned together in the compiler’s source. Following the word-order, we should then interpret the first subordinate locative clause as referring to the Aiakeion, “where they say Aiakos used to dwell.” Then, to mark clearly the transition to the second term to be defined and to ensure that there will be no confusion with the Aiakeion, there follows the separate clause, marked by the particle δ(έ)· Θό[λο]ς δ(έ) ὅπου δεῖ[πν]εῖ ἢ πρυτανέου[σ]α φυλῆ, “Now, the Tholos is where the prytanizing tribe dines.” Then, finally, there would be a third unit in the gloss, which began in the lacuna in the middle of line 18, perhaps also with δ(έ), which returns to the Aiakeion, [ἐν δ(έ)] τῷ Αἰακίῳ δίκ(α)ι ἀ(να)γράφον/ται, “Now, in the Aiakeion law-suits are published.”

If the gloss was in fact articulated in this manner, by means of the locative conjunctions and the repetition of the particle δέ, then I would suggest that the Sanctuary of Aiakos was here defined as the place where the hero Aiakos lived and a place where law-suits are published, whereas the Tholos was defined as the place where the prytanizing tribe dines. There would, on this interpretation, be no grounds for assuming any overlap between the two either in function — as for instance that the meals eaten by the prytanizing tribe were somehow connected with Aiakos — or in location — as for instance that they stood on exactly the same spot or that there was once a house of Aiakos under the Tholos, vel sim.

Perhaps some light on the possible interpretation of the gloss can be shed by its later fate in the lexicographical tradition. Here the final sentence in line 18 about dikai being published in or at the Aiakeion will probably be of little help. Although POxy 2087 now adds this potentially valuable new piece of information, which should receive considerable discussion by students of Athenian law, we cannot observe how later lexicographers treated this part of the gloss because, as far as I know, its presence in POxy 2087 is unique in our surviving tradition. I will discuss elsewhere important unpublished archaeological evidence uncovered in the Agora Excavations which now sheds light on what this last clause means.

More instructive is what happens to the formulation Αἰά[κ]ιον κ(αὶ) ἡ Θόλος, οἱ φασὶ [τ]ὸν Αἰακὸν οἰκῆσ[α]ν, Θό[λο]ς δ(ὲ) ὅπου δεῖ[πν]εῖ ἢ πρυτανέου[σ]α φυλή. To my knowledge, this information on the Aiakeion reappears next in Greek literature in the *Lexikon* of Hesychios as Αἰάκειον· οὗ φασιν Αἰακὸν οἰκῆσαι, ed. K. Latte, A 1658. A few lines above in Latte A 1653, the following entry appears, ΑΙΑΙΑΚΟΝ ΤΙΟΝ Ἀθήνησι...καὶ τὸ Αἰακοῦ τέμενος. M. Schmidt and K. Latte have both tried to combine these two separate lemmata into a single composite note, but since οὗ φασιν Αἰακὸν οἰκῆσαι is repeated from POxy 2087 lines 16–17, where τέμενος and [τόποςή?] Ἀθήνησι do not appear, it is probably better to keep the two notes separate.¹⁷ It may be that Hesychios drew them from two different sources, A 1658 from the tradition represented by the lexikon which is partly preserved in POxy 2087, and A 1653 from some other source, possibly Herodotus who twice speaks of τῷ Αἰακῷ τέμενος in 5.89.

For our purposes, the important thing is that the Tholos is not here. Although he is clearly deriving A 1658 from the tradition represented by POxy 2087, Hesychios or his source has firmly divided Aiakeion from Tholos. There is no suggestion here that Aiakos dwelt in or under the latter; he lived only in his own sanctuary. Hesychios or his source, then, seems to have interpreted κ(αὶ) in line 16 of POxy 2087 as copulative, joining two different structures.

This becomes clearer when we turn to Hesychios' note on the Tholos, Latte Θ 634–635, where there is no suggestion that Aiakos lived in or under this building. There may, however, be a trace or an echo of POxy 2087 in Hesychios' formulation ὅπου οἱ πρυτάνεις καὶ ἡ βουλή συνεσιῶντο, where, it is important to note, there is no implication that these meals had anything to do with Aiakos. For his lemma on the Tholos, which was a much more important, longer lived, and better documented structure than the Aiakeion, Hesychios had a richer tradition on which to draw. We must not expect him to have reproduced the formulation of POxy 2087 on the Tholos as exactly as he did that for the more obscure Aiakeion in A 1658. But it is striking that Hesychios or his source seems to have interpreted the tradition represented by POxy 2087 lines 16–18 as a note about two different buildings separately articulated by the two locative clauses, which are introduced

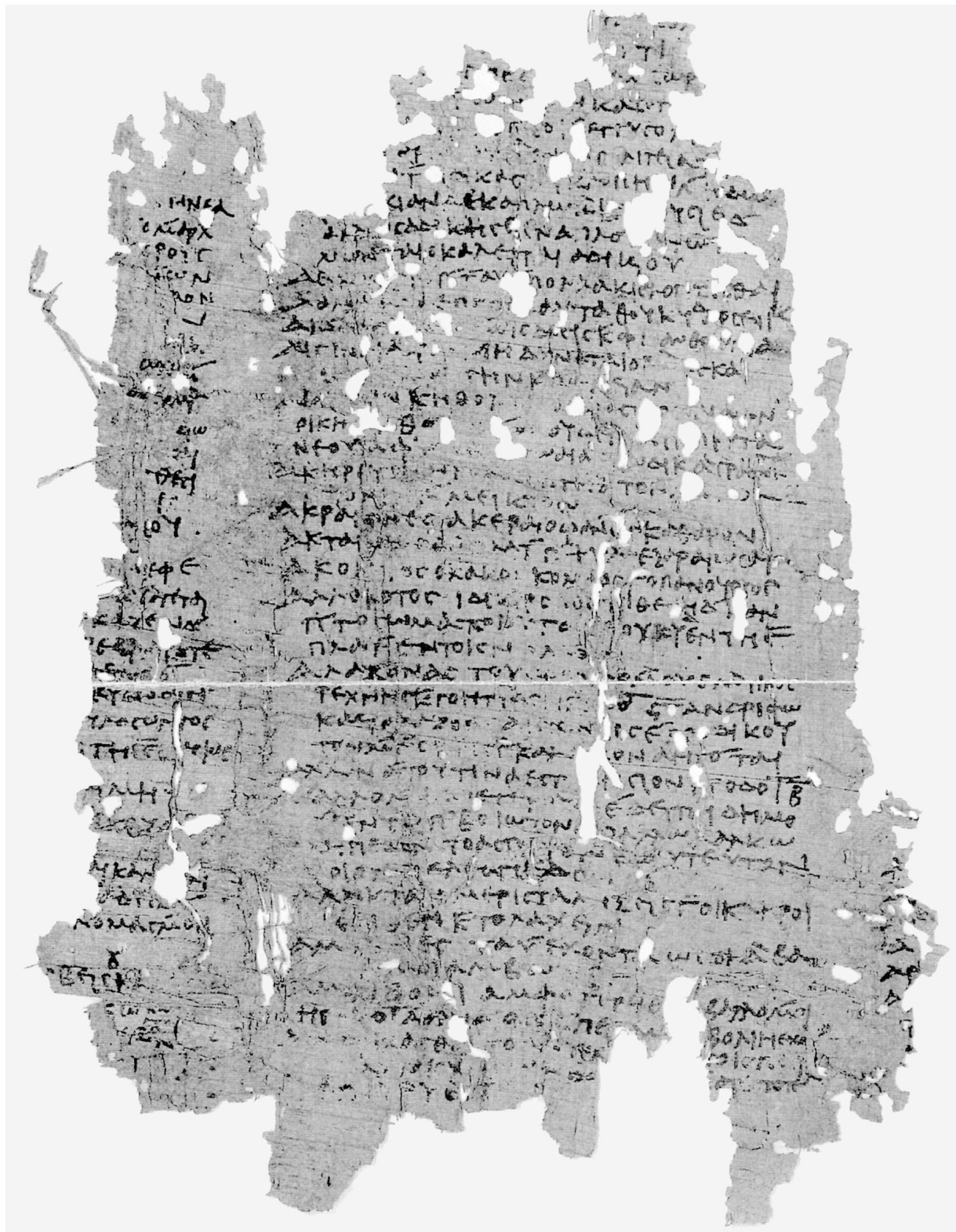
¹⁷R.E. Wycherley, without having POxy 2087 in mind, also seems to have been troubled by efforts to combine these two notes; see *Agora* III 48.

by ο[ὐ] and ὄπου, and by the repetition of the particle δέ. His interpretation gains more significance for those seeking to understand the relationship of Aiakeion to Tholos when we recall Naoumidēs' observations about Hesychios' frequent use of earlier lexika like that represented by POxy 2087, see above p. 2.

There appears also to be no deviation from this separation of Tholos and Aiakeion later in the lexicographical tradition, for instance, in Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* I, 212.15 Αἰάκιον· τόπος οὗ φασι τὸν Αἰακὸν οἰκῆσαι, cf. I, 360.10; Photios, α-500 (ed. Theodorides); Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca* I, 49.4. See also Bekker, *AG* I, 264.26 and Photios, s.vv. Θόλος, Σκιάς, where the Tholos is treated separately with no trace of Aiakos.

Moreover, in all the numerous testimonia on the Tholos, conveniently collected by Wycherley in *Agora* III, nos. 589–609, while there are echoes of ὄπου δει[πν]εῖ ἢ πρυτανέου[σ]α φυλή in Schol. Demosthenes 19.249 (*Agora* III no. 592), ἔνθα ἐδείπνουν οἱ πρυτάνεις; in Harpokration, s.v. θόλος (*Agora* III no. 595), Suda Lex. s.v. θόλος (*Agora* III no. 602), and especially in Pollux 8.155 (*Agora* III no. 601), ἡ θόλος ἐν ἧ συνεδείπνουν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πενήκοντα τῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων βουλῆς, ἡ πρυτανεύουσα φυλή, Aiakos is conspicuously absent. If the κ(αί) in line 16 of POxy 2087 is epexegetic and if the Tholos was in fact ever called the Aiakeion or equated with it in antiquity, no other trace of this identification seems to have survived in our tradition.

In conclusion, I suggest that the most plausible inference to draw from POxy 2087 lines 16–18 is that the compiler or his source regarded the Aiakeion and Tholos at Athens as two different places with separate functions. I see no solid grounds in this text for linking Aiakos' living quarters with the Tholos nor the meals served to the prytanizing tribe in the Tholos with any kind of justification of the Aiginetan hero. The compiler of POxy 2087 found the two buildings mentioned together in his source and gave locative and functional information on each separately. I will argue elsewhere that his source coupled them because in fact they happened to be located near each other almost as neighbors in the same part of the Athenian Agora. But, as I will also try to show, the Aiakeion was built *ca.* 506 B.C. and the Tholos more than forty years later and in function they were quite separate.



POxy. 2087