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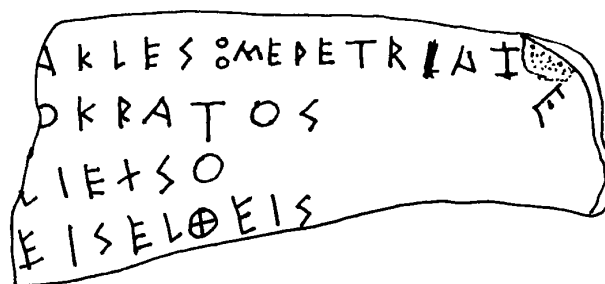
A GRAFFITO ON A MEGAKLES OSTRAKON

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A GRAFFITO ON A MEGAKLES OSTRAKON

An ostrakon against Megakles son of Hippokrates, apparently cast as a vote on the occasion of his second ostracism, has been published by F. Willemsen and further discussed by D. M. Lewis, A. E. Raubitschek and S. Brenne¹. Through the kindness of Dr. U. Knigge I have been able to examine the ostrakon (Inv.-Nr. 3469 = O 1430) in the Magazin at the Kerameikos excavations, and I have come to somewhat different conclusions.



The very good photograph in the original publication gives the immediate impression that the ostrakon consists of two associated inscriptions which I shall call the ostracism vote and the graffito. A. P. Matthaiou (in Lewis, a.O. 51), indeed, raised the question how many hands are involved. I am inclined to think that the same hand is responsible for all sections of the text (so also Brenne, a.O. 24 Anm. 75). Particularly significant are the extensions at the top and bottom of the vertical stroke of *epsilon* – in $\text{I}\alpha\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ as well as in the third and fourth lines. More exact analysis might point out that the vertical strokes of the three *epsilons* in MEPETP(I)AZE ², apparently added to line 1, exceed the boundary only in their upper part, whereas four of the five *epsilons* in the rest of the text show extensions of the vertical at both top and bottom. However, the fifth example (in the fourth line) shows an extension only in the upper part and so links the rest of the text with the hand of MEPETP(I)AZE . Nor do I think there is variation beyond what is normal for a writer in the length of the extension of the vertical above the top horizontal of the eight examples of *epsilon*. The *alpha* in MEPETP(I)AZE might possibly be considered the work of another writer, but the *alpha* here is sufficiently close to the two *alphas* in the name and patronymic to allow a single hand. Moreover, the *zeta*, occurring only here, also shows characteristic extensions of the vertical. The writer produced *rho* both with and without a tail in MEPETP(I)AZE , so the tailed *rho* in the patronymic can be the work of the same person.

Next, signs of an addition to the original inscription. The first four letters of MEPETP(I)AZE in line 1 are inscribed in smaller letters, until the addition is clear of $\text{I}\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in the line below. Then the letters are allowed to be larger (*zeta* is 6 mm. compared with 3 mm. for MEPE), but there was not enough room to complete the word and it runs down the right-hand edge of the sherd³. The final letter (*sigma*) in the fourth line has been contracted slightly and constitutes another sign of cramming.

¹ F. Willemsen, 'Ostraka einer Meisterschale', Ath. Mitt. 106, 1991, 137–145 at 144–145 with Taf. 26.3; D. M. Lewis, 'Megakles and Eretria', ZPE 96, 1993, 51–52; A. E. Raubitschek, 'Megakles, geh nicht nach Eretria', ZPE 100, 1994, 381–382; S. Brenne, 'Ostraka and the Process of Ostrakophoria', in W. D. E. Coulson et al. [edd.], The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy [Oxbow Monographs, 37], Oxford 1994, 13–24 at 22–23. Although they do not agree with my conclusions, A. P. Matthaiou and A. E. Raubitschek have enabled me to refine my ideas by their thoughtful and detailed comments on an earlier draft.

² I follow Willemsen and Lewis, rather than Raubitschek or Brenne, and retain angular brackets for *iota*. It seems that the writer began to inscribe *epsilon* and then scratched it out.

³ For another example of letters written down the side of a Megakles ostrakon see Brenne, a.O. 15–16 with Fig. 10.

Moreover, there is a distinct space between the *sigma* of Μεγ]ακλῆς and the two circles of punctuation, but no space between the circles and ΜΕΡΕΤΡ(Ι)ΑΖΕ. This fact militates against the natural assumption, seen in Lewis's exposition (a.O. 51), that the two circles of punctuation mark off ΜΕΡΕΤΡ(Ι)ΑΖΕ from the rest of the text (Willemsen and Brenne printed : after εἰσέλθεις, a word with which they are *not* associated). I conclude that the two carefully executed circles of punctuation (they are only 2 mm. in diameter) are not part of the graffito but part of the original vote. Two or three dots of punctuation on the ostraka⁴ most frequently separate words within a line, but there is a parallel to such punctuation at the end of a line on Agora XXV 641 ([Μελ]άνθιος : | Φαλ(ά)νθ[ο])⁵. What looks like a parallel on the casualty list of Erekhtheis c. 460 B.C., IG I³ 1147.62–63 (στρατεγός : | ἠιποδάμας)⁶, evaporates in view of the dots in lines 64 and 65; the dots must have been added when the words in large letters were inscribed to the right. However, there is a clear example of a wedge-shaped marker at the end of a line in IG I³ 1403, a fifth-century erotic inscription cut into the living rock on the Mouseion Hill: Ἄντινος καλὸς μὲν ἰδὲν < | τερποννός δὲ πορσειπῆν⁷.

Thirdly, how far did the original inscription extend? That is, was the third line (if restored πάλι(v) ἔχσο) also part of the ostracism vote? Did it read (with restorations):

Μεγ]ακλῆς :
 ἠιπ]οκράτος
 πάλι(v) ἔχσο

that is, 'Megakles son of Hippokrates, out with him again!?' The *epsilon* and *sigma* in the third line are approximately the same size as those letters in [Μεγ]ακλῆς : | [ἠιπ]οκράτος; the *omikron* is slightly larger, but it begins in the same (top left-hand) quadrant of the circle. However, the third and fourth lines must go together: (a) although the third line is composed of letters which do not have distinctive features, the *epsilon* has extensions at both top and bottom, exactly as with the first two *epsilons* in the fourth line; (b) the third and fourth lines both slope up towards the second line. I conclude that the original vote comprised name and patronymic only.

Fourthly, the disposition of the letters on the sherd. Brenne called ΜΕΡΕΤΡ(Ι)ΑΖΕ a fifth line and described his lines 1–4 as stoichedon (a.O. 24 Anm. 75), and read (a.O. 23):

[Μεγ]ακλῆς
 [ἠιπ]οκράτος
 [1–2 πάλι] ἔχσο
 [3–4] εἰσέλθεις

He stressed that the name was given *exempli gratia* and that one could have more space in lines 3–4 by restoring [Μεγ]ακλῆς | [ἠιπ]οκράτος in 1–2. However, the stoichedon pattern may be more apparent than real: I note that it is lost by the -εσ of line 1 / -ατ- of line 2 (*tau* in line 2 is under the circles of punctuation, whereas *theta* of line 4 lies under *sigma* of line 1). Also, the left-hand margin may not be even. On Tafeln 26–27 of Ath. Mitt. 106, 1991, one sees the first four letters of Μεγακλῆς

⁴ M. L. Lang, *Agora XXV*, Princeton 1990, 10.

⁵ See E. Vanderpool, 'Some Ostraka from the Athenian Agora', in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* [Hesperia Suppl., 8], Princeton 1949, 394–412 at 401 with Fig. 6.

⁶ See G. Daux, 'Notes de lecture', BCH 99, 1975, 145–171 at 152 Fig. 3; S. N. Koumanoudhis, 'Ἐμ πολέμοι, in *Horos 2* (1984) 189–201 at 191 Pl. 2; or C. W. Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos: Public Burial in Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* [BAR International Series, 161], Oxford 1983, Pl. 17.

⁷ For the oddities of the language (τερποννός for τερπνός, etc.) see L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I*, Berlin 1980, 408, 476, and P. A. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculorum VIII–V a. Chr. n.* [Texte und Kommentare, 12], Berlin 1983, 246 no. 441.

corresponding to five of *ἠπποκράτος* on Inv.-Nr. 3461 and the four readable letters of *Μεγα*. [corresponding to five of *ἠποκρ[ά]τος* on Inv.-Nr. 7715a. Since the narrowness of *iota* allows these correspondences when five letters of Hippokrates remain, one may conclude that the *mu* of Megakles need not have been precisely above the *daseia* when the second line lacked only [ἠπ] or [ἠππ]. In short, we cannot be sure how many letters are missing on the broken left-hand edge of the ostrakon. Unless there is some grammatical objection, as Lewis believed there was (a.O. 51), ἔχσο may be followed immediately by εἰσέλθεις. Also, [Μεγ]ακλῆς : | [ἠππ]οκράτος and [Μηγ]ακλῆς : | [ἠπ]οκράτος are possible restorations – not to mention misspellings. Raubitschek allows slightly uneven lines, but his supplements [ἄπο]λι and [τυπ]εῖς give a poetic tone to the text. Addressing the ‘candidate’ as ἄπολις may conceivably be supported by a Korinthian’s reference to Themistokles in 480 B.C. as an ἄπολις ἀνὴρ (Herodotos 8.61.1). But the word occurs more frequently in the tragic poets (often of a city, as in ἄπολις πόλις) and I have not found an example of the vocative ἄπολι (‘you stateless person’) before Khariton (2.8.7) and Herodianos (Καθολικὴ προσφῶδια, in GG 3.1, p. 349.3 Lentz) in the second century after Christ. [τυπ]εῖς occurs in the Homeric formula ἐμῶ ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπεῖς (Iliad 11.191, 206; 16.861; 18.92), which is echoed by each of Pindar, the author of Prometheus Bound, Sophokles and Euripides⁸, and is parodied by Aristophanes in a lyric passage: δορὸς ὑπὸ πολεμίου τυπεῖς (Akharnians 1194). The only example I have found of τυπεῖς occurring in a prose author before 300 B.C. is in Lykourgos (Against Leokrates 103) – and he is quoting the Iliad.

Despite the charm of Raubitschek’s supplements, there is a substantial difficulty in his interpretation in that the negative μέ should come before the verb in the subjunctive, that is, μὲ ἔλθεις Ἐρετρ(ί)αζε. Any view that makes MEPETP(I)AZE the last ‘word’ written on the sherd or a fifth line entails the irregular word order (εἰσ)έλθεις μὲ ῥετρ(ί)αζε. But I do agree that ἔλθεις or εἰσέλθεις is subjunctive and forms a prohibition with μέ. We should, then, hypothesise that MEPETP(I)AZE was the beginning of the graffito. Although the writer made the first four letters smaller and began them right up against the punctuation mark, he still ran out of space and was forced to run μὲ ῥετρ(ί)αζε down the right-hand edge of the sherd. When he came to write the next part of the graffito, he avoided the space after the patronymic. A fresh mark of punctuation would have been needed after the patronymic and the end of the line already had the last letter of MEPETP(I)AZE in the way. To avoid confusion, I suggest, the writer of the graffito moved next to the vacant space under the patronymic. He envisaged two lines here and ended the third line with ἔχσο when he saw that another word after it would destroy the opportunity for a fourth line of reasonable length. That the space available was not entirely satisfactory is suggested by the upward sloping of the third and fourth lines and the smaller *sigma* at the very end.

Scholars have been tempted to take μὲ ῥετρ(ί)αζε as the last ‘word’ written because it bears the most obvious signs of cramming. It is then interpreted as a separate statement, generally as meaning ‘not to Eretria’ or ‘don’t [go] to Eretria’. Alternatively, it is taken to be a present imperative, as preferred by Lewis (a.O. 52), e.g. ‘don’t mock’ [us? Athenians?], ‘don’t taunt’ – the possible allusions are numerous, as Lewis observed⁹. Should this view that ῥετρ(ί)αζε is present imperative be valid, Matthaiou (*per litt.*) is inclined to view MEPETP(I)AZE as the only addition, written after the ostrakophoria by another person and not the possessor of the ostrakon at the time of the vote. Yet another alternative, elision (μ’ ἔρετρ(ί)αζε), is unattractive, since με would be left without a transitive verb to govern it and μοι, possibly an ethic dative, is scarcely recognisable when elided.

Since there are signs of cramming in two parts of the graffito (in the second part of the first line the final letter is displaced despite the word being started right against the circles of punctuation; and the last letter of the fourth line is contracted slightly) and since the third and fourth lines slope upward towards the ostracism vote, I suggest that the reader start at the top and try to read the text of the graffito

⁸ See, for example, Pindar, Nemean 1.53; [Aiskhylos], Prometheus Desmotes 361; Sophokles, Oidipous Tyrannos 811; Euripides, Andromakhe 1150; Ion, PMG 746.1 Page = TGF 53.1 Snell.

⁹ For μέ with a present imperative on a graffito compare Agora XXI, Princeton 1976, 13–14 no. C19 with Pl. 5.

as fitted in where possible to the right of and below an original inscription of name and patronymic. We should take the graffito as a whole: $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ ῥετρ(ί)αζε | [πά]λι(ν) ἔχσο | [ὄν?] εἰσέλθεις (or, for example, [βληθ]εῖς ἔλθεις). This frees $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ to be taken with the aorist subjunctive εἰσέλθεις (or ἔλθεις), instead of with ῥετρ(ί)αζε. Although the -ζε ending is expected with plurals, there are ample parallels for its use with singular nouns in Μουνιχίαζε (e.g. Lysias 13.29) and Βήσαζε (e.g. Agora XIX P10.24), as Lewis pointed out. The interpretation ‘to Eretria’ is appropriate with a compound verb of movement towards, εἰσέλθεις. Since the same hand is at work, this is not a vote inscribed by a party hack or an entrepreneur for ostracism day. A possible scenario is as follows: the voter cut the name of his ‘candidate’ before entering the voting arena and borrowed someone else’s piece of broken pottery to scratch the graffito on his own piece while he waited for everyone to get inside. Philokhoros (FGrH 328 F 30) and Plutarch (Aristeides 7.5) imply that voters had to wait until everyone had been checked and had entered the enclosure. Now, this scenario is merely a reconstruction to show what might have happened. What seems certain is that Megakles was in Attike and a ‘candidate’ for ostracism when both vote and graffito were fashioned.

There is an obvious divergence of tendency between ἔχσο and εἰσέλθεις. It is therefore preferable to presume that ἔχσο qualifies a verb or participle other than εἰσέλθεις. Hence the attractiveness of an aorist passive participle such as τυπείς (as suggested by Raubitschek) or βληθείς. I tentatively suggested above the participle of the verb ‘to be’, ὄν. There is probably room for ἰόν ([τυπ]εῖς requires slightly more space than [ἰόν]), but the participle of the verb ‘to go’ seems a little awkward with εἰσέλθεις following immediately and ἔχσο does not require a verb of movement. If ἔχσο qualifies a participle before εἰσέλθεις, then [πά]λι(ν) will also. While *πάλι* for *πάλιν* does not seem strange in view of Phrynikhos’s objection (249) to the omission of *nu*, it is (I think) not attested before the second century B.C. (P. Bad. IV 48.3 [126 B.C.]: καὶ *πάλι* εἰς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς ἀφείς ἀπελήλυθας; I. Cret. I 17, 11 A.3). However, final *nu* is omitted on a gravestone of c. 510 B.C. (οἰκτίρο προσορῶ[v]; IG I³ 1219.1) and before a vowel on another gravestone, which also omits a medial *nu* before a stop (παίδοι | ἐπέθεκεν : θανότοι [for παίδοι(ν) . . . θανό(ν)τοι(ν) (or θανό(ν)τοι(μ))], IG I³ 1266.1–2). So [πά]λι(ν) ἔχσο does make it look extremely probable that Megakles was facing exile for the second time when this ostrakon was inscribed. In the days before an ostrakophoria at which Megakles was a much-discussed ‘candidate’, exile for Megakles was a prospect, not an established fact. He would still have been in Attike. Hence a participle like ὄν would suit the actual situation on ostracism day. The sense of [πά]λι(ν) ἔχσο [ὄν] would be ‘being out again’, that is, ‘when you are out again’. The remaining words of the graffito, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ ῥετρ(ί)αζε . . . εἰσέλθεις, ‘don’t go to Eretria’, combine with this well.

Although the number and size of the gaps are uncertain, I believe that the possessor of the ostrakon added to an original vote against Megakles son of Hippokrates a graffito to the effect ‘once you’re out again, don’t go to Eretria’. This is virtually the opposite of Willemsen’s view that Megakles was being told to go right back to Eretria (whose inhabitants were enslaved in 490 B.C.) along the route he took from there to Athens. Raubitschek is surely right in concluding that Megakles was being asked *not* to go to Eretria, even if, grammatically, he needs $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ to go before ἔλθεις. The point, surely, is that Eretria was the base from which a successful attempt to impose tyranny on Athens had been mounted (Herodotos 1.62.1; [Arist.] Ath.Pol. 15.2). And it was not only the Peisistratidai who used Eretria as a base: Megakles’s own family, the Alkmeonidai, had strong links with Eretria. His wife (if it was not his great-grandmother!) had come from Eretria and was probably a fugitive from Eretria in 490 B.C.; the names Megakles and Kleisthenes occur (for Eretrians) at least five times each in Eretrian inscriptions; it is even possible that Kleisthenes borrowed the idea of trittyes from Korinth via a tripartite arrangement (three regions later increased to five) at Eretria¹⁰. In the period after 481/0 B.C., when the rule apparently was

¹⁰ See IG XII 9, index nominum; Schol. Ar. Clouds 46, 64, 800; T. L. Shear, Jr., ‘Koisyra: Three Women of Athens’, Phoenix 17, 1963, 99–112; J. K. Davies, Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C., Oxford 1971, 380–381; G. R. Stanton, ‘The Territorial Tribes of Korinth and Phleious’, Classical Antiquity 5, 1986, 139–153, especially 145. I owe the suggestion

that those who were under sentence of ostracism must reside on the other side of a line drawn between the south-eastern tip of Euboia and the eastern tip of Argolis¹¹, it was inviting – for a voter who didn't want his favoured 'candidate' for ostracism to breach this rule during his exile and go to Eretria – to express his wish in a graffito. Of course, what really counted (and was counted) on that day was the ostracism vote, 'Megakles son of Hippokrates'.

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that there were originally three divisions in Eretria and that Eretria may thus have been an intermediary for the use of trittyes by Kleisthenes to a doctoral student of this university, K. G. Walker; he points out that enrolment in a 'trittys' of Eretria is absent from the isopoliteia treaty between Keos and Eretria (H. Bengtson, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*² II, München 1975, 180–181 no. 232). For Khairion, an Athenian treasurer in Eretria, and his family see IG XII 9.296, Davies, a.O. 13–15 and G. R. Stanton, *Athenian Politics c. 800–500 B.C.*, London 1990, 206–207.

¹¹ Ath. Pol. 22.8. On the text and its interpretation see Stanton, *Athenian Politics* (n. 10) 176–177 n. 13.