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THE ERECHTHEUM WORKERS OF *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1654

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THE ERECHTHEUM WORKERS OF IG II<sup>2</sup> 1654<sup>1</sup>1. The workers of IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1654

IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1654 (= Caskey XXVII–XXVIII) is one of four Erechtheum accounts which, being in Ionic script, apparently post-date the main set, in Attic script, of 409–c. 407 BC.<sup>2</sup> Three of the four were included in IG i<sup>3</sup> as pre-Euclidean: IG i<sup>3</sup> 477, “a. 407–405”;<sup>3</sup> 478, “c. a. 406”; 479, undated (very few letters preserved). The fourth and most substantial, however, IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1654, was excluded. The prevailing opinion is that it “lists a different set of workmen from that found in the records of 409/8 and 408/7” and that it comes “from some period in the fourth century when repairs were being made on the building”.<sup>4</sup> A reconsideration of the names based on a fresh autopsy of the stone shows that this *opinio communis* requires revision.

IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1654 consists of two fragments (EM 8005 and EM 7981), joined by Dinsmoor. My starting point is Caskey’s text (XXVII + XXVIII), which is slightly superior to Kirchner’s in IG ii<sup>2</sup>.<sup>5</sup>

Excluding those whose names are insufficiently preserved for identification, the workmen listed on these accounts are:

## Upper fragment (Caskey XXVII)

1. Lines 1–2. Φ/ρ]άδμονα Να[-. Caskey prints Φ/ρά]δμονα ν[-, but alphas are partially visible before the delta and after the nu. Φράδμων is the only name in the Attic onomasticon (*LGPN* II + *FRA*) that suits the surviving letters. It does not appear elsewhere in the Erechtheum accounts, being attested only for the father of Smikrias of Aphidna on IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1927, 125 (4th cent.). Since there is no Athenian demotic in Ν-, Να- must either be Phradmon’s father’s name (for a man listed with father’s name, cf. e.g. IG i<sup>3</sup> 476, 206–7) or the start of another name (for men listed consecutively by name only, cf. e.g. IG i<sup>3</sup> 476, 316).

2. Line 5. Ἄριστῶνα Ἄλωπε. The formula for metic nomenclature in these lists is normally *name ἐν deme name οἰκῶν*, but for some deme names, including Alopeke, the locative (Ἄλωπεκῆσι) is used in place of ἐν + *deme name* (e.g. IG i<sup>3</sup> 476, 6–7). As Traill therefore notes (*POAA* 200800), following Caskey, this man, like the others in this section of the list, was probably not a demesman of Alopeke

<sup>1</sup> This note arises very indirectly from a study of IG ii<sup>2</sup> 3539; cf. *The Greek Inscriptions on Stone in the British School at Athens*, *ABSA* 95 (2000) E11 with n. 62. I am grateful to Sean Byrne for reading a draft and to Angelos Matthaiou for discussion of specific points at autopsy. I thank Charalambos Kritzas and the staff of the Epigraphical Museum for facilitating access to the inscriptions and for the photographs reproduced at plates III–IV. I use the following abbreviations: Caskey: L. D. Caskey, *The Inscriptions*, ch. IV of J. M. Paton ed., *The Erechtheum* (Harvard UP, 1927); *FRA*: M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne eds., *The Foreign Residents of Athens* (Leuven, 1996); *LGPN* II: M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne eds., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. ii (Attica) (Oxford, 1994); *POAA*: J. S. Traill ed., *Persons of Ancient Athens* (Toronto, 1994–).

<sup>2</sup> Main set: IG i<sup>3</sup> 474–75, 409/8 BC; IG i<sup>3</sup> 476, 408/7 (and 407/6?) BC. The extensive bibliography on IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1654 can be traced via D. M. Lewis’ note following IG i<sup>3</sup> 479.

<sup>3</sup> Earlier thought to be post-Euclidean and included in IG ii<sup>2</sup> as IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1655.

<sup>4</sup> W. E. Thompson, *Hesp.* 39 (1970), 56. Lewis, *loc. cit.* suggested 380–75, comparing the lettering with IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1415 and 1426. Cf. *Hesp.* 44 (1975), 383 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> The following amendments should be made to Caskey XXVII + XXVIII, in addition to those mentioned below: **3** οἰκῶν(τα) Δ[- (οἰκῶν[τα Caskey); **31** πρυ/τα]νέας (πρυ/ταν]έας Caskey); **37** μισθω[.]Ο/[- (μισθω. ο[- Caskey); **43** χά]λιξ ἐς τὸς ὀχε[τὸς. Before ξ, Caskey prints an upper vertical followed by a full length vertical. The first of these is a damage mark, to the left of which the upper tip of Α/Δ/Λ is detectable. The second may also be damage (both marks perhaps caused by a claw chisel vel sim. when the stone was broken up), though judging from the absence of other traces in the stoichos, the letter here must in any case have been iota. For χάλιξ cf. Thuc. i 93, 5, IG i<sup>3</sup> 387, 44, etc., Caskey p. 356; **45** ΣΤΩ (ΣΤ Caskey).

(thus *LGNP* II), but a metic with residence there. Cf. below, no. 4. The text will have been something like Ἄλω[πε(κῆσι) οἰκ(όντα), though the extent of abbreviation is uncertain. Names in Arist- are not rare; but this man might have been the Erechtheum worker, Ἀριστ[-, on the account for 408/7 at *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476, 402 (listed there apparently in the company of sculptors/stone-workers).

3. Line 7. [Μ]υννίωνα ἐμ Μελ[ί οἰκ. Με[λί previous eds., but the Λ is partially visible. There are two sculptors named Mynnion in the accounts for 408/7: one living in Kollytos (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476, 152) and one in Agryle (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476, 169–70). Our man might be a third (cf. Caskey); but the name is not common. Probably, the Mynnion of *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476 living in Agryle, listed there, like the Mynnion in our account, immediately before Soklos, was identical with our Mynnion and, in our account, had changed residence.<sup>6</sup>

4. Line 8. [Σ]ῶκλον Ἄλωπε οἰκ. Πάτ[ρο]κλον previous eds. The name Patroklos is not attested at Athens before the late 2nd cent. AD (see *LGNP* II, p. 363; cf. *ABSA loc. cit.* above n. 1). Moreover, before the kappa, the right side of omega is detectable. This man is identifiable as the sculptor Soklos resident in Alopeke in the account of 408/7 (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476, 173). There, as here, he is listed immediately after Mynnion (and before Phymachos).

5. Line 13. Φ(υ)[ρομαχ- -. Caskey prints φ,<sup>7</sup> but the phi is followed by a clear psi. This is an impossible letter in context and should be interpreted as in error for upsilon.<sup>8</sup> This cutter made his upsilons with three separate strokes. In this case the vertical stroke has simply been extended too far up. (Perhaps unfamiliarity with the novel letter psi contributed to the mistake). Of the few attested names in Φυ- easily the commonest was Φυρόμαχος (*LGNP* II, pp. 467–68). This man should be identified with the sculptor, Φυρόμαχος Κηφισιεύς at *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476, 144, 159, 167, 175 and 419. (On this sculptor cf. *SEG* xl 1726.) As at *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476, 175 he is listed after Soklos, though in our case at least one other worker may have intervened.

6. Line 14. [.]ιτον[-. ἐμ Με/λ]ίτ οἰκ Caskey (οἰκ *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>). It is possible that the name lurking here is Θευγείτων Πειραιεύς, stone worker at *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476, 99, 217, 325, perhaps in an oblique case. There is a trace after the nu compatible with the bottom of an upright (vertical?) or the bottom left corner of E, O, Ω.

In addition to these names, two demotics are preserved. Ἄγγεληθ[ (12) does not occur elsewhere in the Erechtheum accounts, but in the context of references to the Council and, apparently, the People (τῆ]ι βολῆι ἐσ[- τῶι δῆ/μ?]οι δόξαν [- / Ἄγγεληθ[-, 9–12), I suggest that the reference may be not to a worker, but to Καλλίας Ἄγγεληθεν, eponymous archon for 406/5.<sup>9</sup> In 15–16 Caskey prints Φ]λυ οἰκδ[ντα. Again, Phlya does not occur elsewhere in the accounts. So perhaps ἐγ Κολ]/λυ(τῶι), cf. XVIII, 30, *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476, 11, 28, 37 etc.<sup>10</sup>

Uniquely, it seems, in the Erechtheum accounts, at least the first group of workers on this fragment (i.e. lines 1–8) are in the accusative.

<sup>6</sup> On metics changing deme of residence cf. D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Cambridge, *CPS* Suppl. 4, 1977), 74.

<sup>7</sup> Note that the letter before the phi is Ϝ (thus Caskey), not iota (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>8</sup> First to recognise this was Angelos Matthaiou, who kindly took time from his own work in the Epigraphical Museum to discuss this letter with me at autopsy.

<sup>9</sup> Angele was not a large deme (bouletic quota 2) and it is striking that in the entirety of the pre-Euclidean Corpus the demotic occurs only once, namely for the archon of 406/5 on *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 124, 3. See *IG* i<sup>3</sup> Indices, p. 1050.

<sup>10</sup> One should perhaps, however, add ATHO in 18, which must, I think, be Β]ατῆθ[εν. No Erechtheum worker from this deme is known.

## Lower Fragment (Caskey XXVIII)

Between lines 14 (worker no. 6) and 32 (no. 7) we have a new archon (26) and some text apparently referring to a fire (τ]δ̄ τε γεὸ τὰ κεκα[υμένα,<sup>11</sup> 28) and a (consequent?) decision of the Council (ψη]φισαμένης τῆς β[ολῆς, 29).

7. Line 32. [Δ]ρωπίδης ἐν Μελί οικ[-. οἰ[κῶν Caskey. Not identifiable.

8. Lines 33–34. Θ]/ρασωνίδηι Κικυννεῖ. Not identifiable.

9. Line 42. π]αρά Σατύρας ἐ Σκ[αμβω(νίδααις) οἰκ(όσης). πα]ρά Σατύρας ἐ Σ[καμβωνίδααις οἰκό-σης Caskey. The extent of abbreviation of the words in square brackets at the end is uncertain. Not identifiable.

Of the six men whose names are preserved on the upper fragment, five are identifiable with varying degrees of probability, three certainly or near-certainly, as workers mentioned in the Erechtheum accounts of 408/7. This evidence alone is sufficient to date *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1654 with high probability to shortly after 408/7.

In contrast the three persons mentioned in the lower fragment are unknown. Dropides apparently did something (repairs?, removal?) in connection with a workshop (ἐργαστή[ριον or ἐργαστη[ρίο, 31), perhaps the one on which structural work is recorded at *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 475, 263. Thrasonides was apparently in receipt of wages (μισθώμ[ατα, 33, cf. e.g. *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 475, 54, 250), though what his work was is unclear. Satyra, in the genitive after παρὰ, and uniquely in these accounts a female, supplied something (cf. e.g. *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476, 294), apparently ἐς τὴν ἄλει[-, i.e. probably for the oiling of something; not a function that appears anywhere else in these accounts. The other prose fragments describing the work carried out are also not much like the wording elsewhere in the accounts. The overall impression is of post-fire repair and/or finishing work. The persons mentioned in the lower fragment are therefore perhaps different from those elsewhere in the accounts because they performed rather different functions.

2. The association with *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 478

In publishing the first edition of *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 478,<sup>12</sup> a small fragment of Erechtheum accounts in Ionic script which certainly includes workers mentioned on the main body of Attic script accounts, Schweigert confidently associated it with *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1654. In this he has been contradicted by a number of scholars, most recently Lewis in *IG* i<sup>3</sup>. Schweigert was right, and not only because both fragments can now be seen to mention known Erechtheum workers.

The fragments appear to be physically compatible. The hand is almost certainly the same. Note for example nu with right vertical very slightly higher, the whole letter occasionally leaning slightly backwards; three-stroke upsilon with wide cup; bulbous phi; the same angle of curve and length of tails on the omega; the same alpha with left diagonal raised slightly off the base-line and tending to a more oblique angle than the right.<sup>13</sup> As well as letter size, vertical line-spacing is also the same (9 mm.). Moreover, horizontal spacing is also compatible.<sup>14</sup> On *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1654, which contains the start of a left column of text, letters become more crowded as the line progresses (most notably in the lower fragment, as Schweigert saw). This tendency is maintained on *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 478, which perhaps contains the end of the same left column and the start of a second column to the right.<sup>15</sup>

We have a likely choice of two dates:

<sup>11</sup> [τ]ε [v]εὸ Caskey.

<sup>12</sup> *Hesp.* 7 (1938), 268–69. In line 4 I inclined at autopsy to ΔΔ 'Ιερ (ΔΔΙ Ερ Schw.; ΔΔΙ- Ερ *IG* i<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>13</sup> I do not detect the significant difference in the sigmas alleged by D. Laing *ap.* W. E. Thompson, *Hesp.* 39 (1970), 57 n. 23. On both fragments the sigmas show the same tendency to be cut rather low in the stoichos.

<sup>14</sup> *Pace* W. E. Thompson and B. H. Hill *ap.* Thompson, *op. cit.* n. 4 above, 57.

<sup>15</sup> My measurements are: from the chi, second letter in XXVIII, 37, to the 9th letter following: 8.1 cm; from the last obol sign, eleventh character in 38 to the 9th following letter: 7.5 cm; the same width of letters on *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 478: 7.15 cm.

(a) 407/6 for XXVII and 406/5 for XXVIII+*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 478, restoring [ἐπ]ἰ [Καλλί]ο] ἄρχον[τος at the start of XXVIII (line 26); or

(b) a year later, restoring [ἐπ]ἰ [Ἀλεξί]ο] ἄρχον[τος (a dating once espoused by Dinsmoor, see Caskey p. 416).

If my suggestion that the archon Kallias is referred to in XXVII 12, is correct, (b) will be preferable. It also has the advantage of making room for *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 477, which should post-date *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476, but apparently pre-dates our fragments.<sup>16</sup> In either case, the reference in XXVIII 28 will be to the acropolis fire of 406 BC mentioned by Xen. *Hell.* i 6, 1 (cf. Caskey pp. 416 and 460ff.).

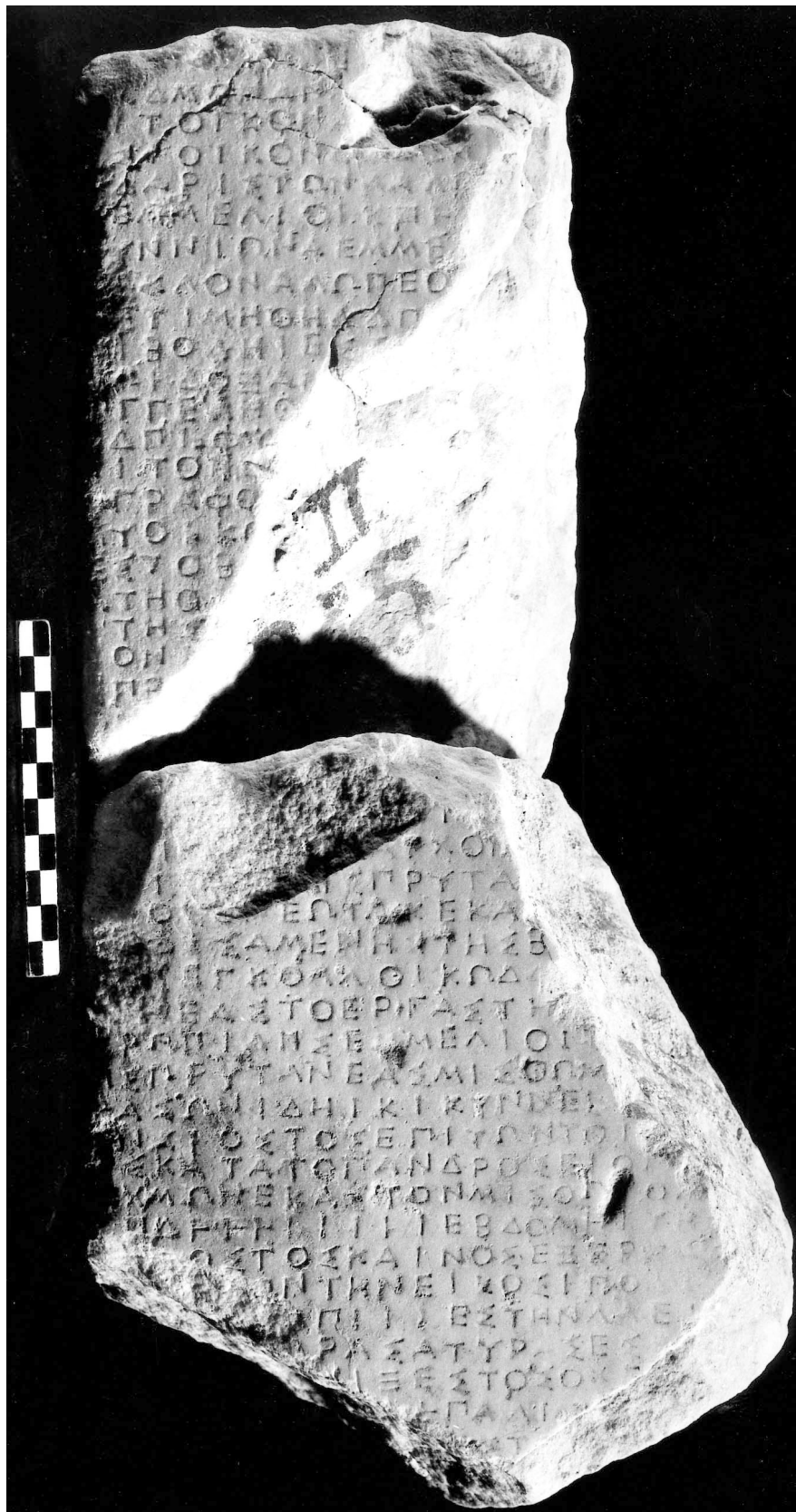
It may be helpful, in conclusion, to set out my proposed changes to the chronology of *IG* i<sup>3</sup>:

Inscription	Script	Date ( <i>IG</i> i <sup>3</sup> )	Date (Lambert)
<i>IG</i> i <sup>3</sup> 474–75	Attic	409/8	409/8
<i>IG</i> i <sup>3</sup> 476	Attic	408/7	408/7
<i>IG</i> i <sup>3</sup> 476 FXXVC	Attic (slightly larger letters)	407/6?	408/7 (or 407/6?, see n. 16)
<i>IG</i> i <sup>3</sup> 477 (= <i>IG</i> ii <sup>2</sup> 1655)	Ionic	406/5 or 405/4?	407/6 (or 406/5?, see n. 16)
Caskey XXVII (= <i>IG</i> ii <sup>2</sup> 1654, upper fragment)	Ionic	380–75	406/5
Caskey XXVIII (= <i>IG</i> ii <sup>2</sup> 1654, lower fragment) + <i>IG</i> i <sup>3</sup> 478	Ionic	380–75 + c. 406	405/4
<i>IG</i> i <sup>3</sup> 479	Ionic	undated (status as Erechtheum account uncertain)	

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<sup>16</sup> The precise date of *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 477, however, can not yet be regarded as settled. 407/6, 406/5 and 405/4 have all been candidates. Lewis preferred one of the last two, but this is based on his supposition that the tiny fragment XXVC of *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 476, in slightly larger lettering than the other fragments of 476, implies that this inscription also covered 407/6. This is very uncertain. It is quite possible that there was a change to slightly larger lettering within the same year's account. The alternative possibility, if Lewis is right, is that *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 477 and Caskey XXVII both belong in 406/5.



*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1654*; S. D. Lambert, pp. 157–160  
Photo: Epigraphical Museum, Athens

TAFEL IV



*IG I<sup>3</sup> 478*; S. D. Lambert, pp. 157–160  
Photo: Epigraphical Museum, Athens