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OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OSTRAKA FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

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OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OSTRAKA FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA¹

In the northern spring of 1985 I was able to study the ostraka from the Athenian Agora. In the course of my examination I came across three which had not been published previously² although one of them, that for Teisandros Isagorou, has been listed by Professor Mabel Lang, who is undertaking the full publication of the Agora ostraka for *The Athenian Agora* series published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.³ The other two ostraka, both from the occasion of the last ostracism, are of particular significance. An ostrakon for Nikias Nikeratou is the first for the general and politician who figured prominently on that occasion (Plut. *Nikias* 11). The other, for Phrynondas Krates Athmoneus, provides what I will argue below is the first attested use of a pejorative name or value term from Attic Old Comedy on an ostrakon. Apart from these three ostraka which are here published for the first time I have some preliminary observations on prepared ostraka. Page numbers refer to the drawings of the ostraka which appear at the end of this article.

1 TEISANDROS ISAGOROU (p.145 fig.1)

P 31076. Length 0.083 m., width 0.057 m., thickness 0.015 m. Pit at section MH, MΘ/107, 108 in line of the south wall of the mint. Fragment from the base of a large open basin. Pinkish buff clay within, buff clay outside. Flat disk foot, letters inscribed boustrophedon on the inside.⁴

Τείσανδρος
Ἴσαγόρο

¹ I wish to acknowledge the co-operation of Professor Mabel Lang and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for permission both to examine the Agora ostraka during April, 1985 and subsequently for the publication of the ostraka discussed herein. I also wish to note the kindness of the late Professor Eugene Vanderpool, with whom I was able to discuss the ostraka referred to in this paper.

² The last publication of random finds of ostraka from the Athenian Agora was E. Vanderpool, 'Ostraka from the Athenian Agora, 1970-1972', *Hesperia* 43 (1974) pp. 189-193, pl.28.

³ M. Lang, 'Writing and Spelling on Ostraka', *Hesperia Suppl.* 19 (1982) p.75. Unfortunately, the Kerameikos ostraka, which I was not able to examine, remain unpublished and unavailable for wider examination, despite the passage of more than twenty years.

⁴ Found on 11 July, 1978: see the Agora excavation notebook for that day, p.2290. Now stored in Study Collection Case No.42 r.

The archaeological context, the letter forms and the boustrophedon style all indicate a date in the 480s BC.⁵ Both the name and the patronymic, together with the date of the ostrakon, point to the almost certain identification of this ostracism candidate as the son of Isagoras Teisandrou (*PA* 7680),⁶ the archon of 508/7 (Dion. Hal. *AR* 1.76.4) and political opponent of the Alkmeonid Kleisthenes (Hdt. 5.66.1, *AP* 20.1). One may therefore envisage the ostrakon as having been cast at one of the ostrakophoriai of the 480s, perhaps on one of the first three occasions in either 488/7, 487/6 or 486/5 when, according to the author of *AP* 22.5-6, the Athenians ostracized the “friends of the tyrants”.

Stanton has argued that in the years after the overthrow of the Peisistratid tyranny the Alkmeonidai may have tried to include Isagoras among the φίλοι τοῖς τυράννοις, accused by Aristogeiton in 514 after the murder of Hipparchos (*AP* 18.4-5).⁷ More specifically Bicknell has suggested that, after the expulsion of Isagoras and the Spartan king Kleomenes from Athens in 508/7 (Hdt. 5.72.2, 74.1; *AP* 20.3), the purpose of the Peloponnesian army raised by Kleomenes for an attack against Athens in 507/6 (Hdt. 5.74.1) was to restore Isagoras and to make him tyrant of Athens.⁸ Although Isagoras had been banished (Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 273) after his unsuccessful attempt to use Spartan forces under the command of Kleomenes to thwart Kleisthenes and his supporters (Hdt. 5.70.1, *AP* 20.2), the punishment would appear not to have applied to his son Teisandros. Nevertheless, the ostrakon cast for him in the 480s may have been cast by someone who held him to be tainted by the actions and by the possible tyrant sympathies of his father. In the years after Marathon, with the fear that defeat by Persia would see the re-imposition of the Peisistratid tyrant Hippias (Hdt. 6.107.1, 109.3), it would appear that the events associated with the overthrow of the tyranny and of the last decade of the sixth century were widely rehearsed in political debates, with accusations and recriminations being used against those at the centre of the struggle for political leadership as well as against those lesser

⁵ Lang, *op.cit.* p.75; all dates are BC.

⁶ J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* i-ii (Berlin: 1901-1903) - hereafter *PA*.

⁷ G.R. Stanton, ‘The Introduction of Ostracism and Alcmeonid Propaganda’, *JHS* 90 (1970) p.183.

⁸ P.J. Bicknell, *Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy* (*Historia Einzelschrift* 19; Wiesbaden: 1972) p.85. Because of the opposition of the Corinthians and a dispute between the two Spartan kings, Kleomenes and Demaratos, the planned attack on Athens was aborted (Hdt. 5.75-76).

individuals on the periphery.⁹

Lacking either a demotic or an epithet Agora ostrakon P 31076 is unable to cast any light on the vexed question of Isagoras' origins or gentilic connections about which Herodotos (5.66.1) confessed ignorance. Sealey has argued that Isagoras was a Philaid,¹⁰ but this has been doubted by Davies.¹¹ McCargar has attempted to cast doubt upon the identification of the archon of 508/7 and the opponent of Kleisthenes and therefore posits two contemporaries named Isagoras.¹² Bicknell, whilst not doubting the identification of archon and politician, nevertheless argues for two men named Isagoras, one Isagoras II Teisandrou, the archon and politician, and the other, his cousin, Isagoras I the son of Kimon I (*PA* 8426, Koalemos, the son of Stesagoros I, *PA* 12895), whose brother was Miltiades IV Kimonos I (*PA* 10212), the Marathon general. Both were therefore Kimoneioi.¹³ Bicknell has elsewhere argued that after his expulsion from Athens Isagoras received Spartan citizenship through the agency of Kleomenes but his arguments and conjectures have been effectively rebuffed by Kelly.¹⁴

Although Herodotos (5.66.1) could not discover anything of Isagoras' ancestors other than their distinction and the fact that they sacrificed to Karian Zeus, Bicknell has made the plausible suggestion that the name Isagoras, attested only in respect of the archon and the politician, and now a son Teisandros, is foreign and entered Athens as a result of the marriage of Teisandros (*PA* 13457) to the daughter of a distinguished non-Athenian in the

⁹ At least thirty men attested from Agora ostraka alone were voted against in the ostrakophoriai of the 480s; see Lang, *op.cit.* p.75, and the sealed deposits of ostraka from the Agora reported by A.R. Hands, 'Ostraka and the Law of Ostracism – Some Possibility and Assumptions', *JHS* 79 (1959) pp.69-79. On the politics of these years see, for example, D. Gillis, 'Marathon and the Alcmeonids', *Collaboration With the Persians (Historia Einzelschrift 34; Wiesbaden: 1979)* pp.45-58, J. Holladay, 'Medism in Athens, 508-480 BC', *G&R* 25 (1978) pp. 174-191 and G.M.E. Williams, 'Athenian Politics 508/7-480 BC: A Reappraisal', *Athenaeum* 60 (1982) pp.521-544.

¹⁰ R. Sealey, 'Regionalism in Archaic Athens', *Historia* 9 (1960) p.172 = *Essays in Greek Politics* (New York: 1967) p.25. Sealey is more cautious about Isagoras' ancestry in *A History of the Greek City States c.700-338 BC* (Berkeley: 1976) p.149.

¹¹ J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600-300 BC* (Oxford: 1971) p.296 – hereafter *APF*. The doubt about Philaiad/Kimonid connections for Isagoras is repeated by P.J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford: 1981) p.242.

¹² D.J. McCargar, 'Isagoras, Son of Teisandros, and Isagoras, Eponymous Archon of 508/7: A Case of Mistaken Identity', *Phoenix* 28 (1974) pp.275-281.

¹³ P.J. Bicknell, 'Isagoras I and Isagoras II', *op.cit.* pp.84-88 with stemma at p.88.

¹⁴ P.J. Bicknell, 'Athenian Politics and Genealogy, Some Pendants', *Historia* 23 (1974) pp. 146-163 at 153-154; D.H. Kelly, 'Lysias XII.72', *Historia* 28 (1979) pp.98-100.

same way that the name Kleisthenes entered the Alkmeonid family as a result of the marriage between Megaltes (PA 9692) and Agariste, the daughter of Kleisthenes the tyrant of Sikyon (Hdt. 6.130).¹⁵ The name Isagoras, not elsewhere attested before the fourth century, occurs in Thasos (*SEG* xvii 422, 3), Chios (*SEG* xix 580, 58), Sparta (*IG* v.i 727, 8) and Thessaly (*SEG* iii 468, 1).¹⁶ However in the absence of additional evidence and given Herodotos' failure to ascertain anything about Isagoras' antecedents it would be futile to speculate further.

One possibility that does remain is the restoration of Agora ostrakon P 6208 - - ON - - ΑΓΟΡΑ¹⁷ to read Κίμων | [Ἴσ]αγόρα(ς), which was proposed tentatively in 1972 and more emphatically in 1974 by Bicknell and noted favourably by McCargar (see above, nn.13-14). Although Vanderpool's publication of the ostrakon in 1949 noted that "neither name could be restored with certainty", he did observe that "the man's own name was a short one ending in -ων". Kimon is a tantalizing possibility and the full restoration does not depend upon Bicknell's further prosopographical speculations, the limitations of which have been demonstrated by Kelly. A Kimon Isagorou could have been either a brother or a cousin of Teisandros Isagorou but as a corollary of the restoration is a Philaid/Kimonid affiliation for Isagoras it needs to be treated with caution.

2 NIKIAS NIKERATOU (Kydantides) (p.145 fig. 2)

P 31179. Length 0.085 m., width 0.045 m., thickness 0.025 m. Deep fill at Section J8-3/7, 8 c.52.60. Fragment from the handle of a large coarseware jar or amphora, oval in section, broken at both ends. Two lines of text run along the length of the handle. Orange clay with light inclusions, covered with a dull reddish/orange wash. Top surface somewhat worn.¹⁸

Νικίαι
Νικηράτο

¹⁵ Bicknell, *Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy* pp.86-87 with nn.27-28.

¹⁶ Bicknell, *ibid.* p.86 n.27.

¹⁷ E. Vanderpool, 'Some Ostraka from the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia Suppl.* 8 (1949) p.404, no.21 with p1.59.

¹⁸ Found on 18 May, 1981: see the Agora excavation notebook for that day, p.115. Now stored in Study Collection Case No.42 r.

A single ostrakon for the Athenian politician and general (PA 10808) adds nothing to what we know of his career but it is an important addition to the small number of individuals who are attested on ostraka cast at the last ostrakophoria which resulted in the ostracism of Hyperbolos in either 417/6 or 416/5.¹⁹ In the light of subsequent finds of Agora ostraka the list of candidates from the last ostracism, published by Vanderpool in 1970, can now be revised as follows:²⁰

	Total
1 Alkibiades Kleiniou Skambonides, the Younger (PA 600, APF) ²¹	5
2 Chairias Paianieus (PA 15324?) ²² (p.146 fig.4), perhaps the archon of 415/4	1
3 Hippokies Menippou (PA 7620) ²³ (p.146 figs.5-6), strategos 413/2 (Thuc. 8.13)	3

¹⁹ Andrewes discusses the problem of the date of the last ostracism in A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes and K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* v (Oxford: 1981) pp.258-264, and prefers the spring of 416. A.E. Raubitschek, 'The Case against Alkibiades (Andokides IV)', *TAPA* 79 (1948) pp.191-210; cf. 'Theopompos on Hyperbolos', *Phoenix* 9 (1955) pp. 122-126, P. Green, *Armada from Athens* (London: 1970) pp.99-101 and R. Sealey, *A History of the Greek City States* p.353, all advocate the spring of 415.

The latter date, which places the ostracism of Hyperbolos in the context of events leading up to the election of generals for 415/14 and the departure of the Sicilian expedition, has the merits of providing a more convincing explanation of both the motivation for the ostracism and the apparent intensity of the politicking associated with it, upon which see the comments of W.R. Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth Century Athens* (Princeton: 1971) pp.78-84. C. Fugua, 'The Possible Implications of the Ostracism of Hyperbolos', *TAPA* 96 (1965) pp. 165-179, endeavours to trace the motivation of an ostracism in 416 to a general dissatisfaction with the demise of Alkibiades' Argive-Peloponnesian policy after Mantinea and the inactivity of Nikias. In this he has been followed by W.M. Ellis, *Alcibiades* (London: 1989) pp.45-49. A different set of arguments in favour of 416 is advocated by M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to Sovereignty of the Law* (Berkeley: 1986) pp.302-305.

²⁰ E. Vanderpool, 'Ostracism at Athens', *Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, Second Series (Cincinnati: 1970) p.28. The pagination is that of the preliminary publication which has been reprinted in *Inscriptiones Atticae: Supplementum Epigraphicum Atticarum* v (ed. Al. N. Oikonomides) (Chicago: 1984), which also includes Vanderpool's other publications of ostraka which appeared in *Hesperia* together with W. Peek's publication of Kerameikos ostraka in *Kerameikos* iii (Berlin: 1941). For publication details of ostraka found prior to 1970 see R. Thomsen, *The Origin of Ostracism* (Gyldendal: 1972) pp.71-80, which provides a checklist of all Agora and Kerameikos ostraka. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 43 (1974), pp. 118-120 with p.134 adds the following ostraka for the last ostracism: Alkibiades (2), Hyperbolos (1), Kleophon (2), Myrrhinikos (1), Phaiax (1). Lang, op.cit. p.75 lists totals of Agora ostraka from the last ostracism for 6 men: Alkibiades (5), Hippokles (2), Hyperbolos (3), Kleophon (8), Phaiax (4), Philinos (1).

²¹ Alkibiades ostraka: Agora ostraka P 7310, P 13702, P 19077, P 29373, P 29374; photographs/drawings in *Hesperia* 21 (1952) p.3, nos.7-9 with pl.1; *Semple Lectures* fig.53; *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.128 nos. 1-2.

²² Agora ostrakon P 4808; drawing in Vanderpool, *Hesperia Suppl.* 8 (1949) p.397, no.6 fig.3.

²³ Agora ostraka P 2023, P 2948; Peek, *Kerameikos* iii p.86, no. 164; drawing in *Semple Lectures* fig.61.

4	Hyperbolos Antiphanous Perithoides (<i>PA</i> 13910, <i>APF</i>) ²⁴	3
5	Kleophon Kleippidou Achameus (<i>PA</i> 8638) ²⁵	8
6	Krates Athmoneus ²⁶ (p.145 fig.3)	1
7	Myrrhinikos ²⁷ (p.146 fig.7)	1
8	Nikias Nikeratou Kydantides (<i>PA</i> 10808, <i>APF</i>) ²⁸ (p.145 fig.2)	1
9	Phaiax Erasistratou Achameus (<i>PA</i> 13921, <i>APF</i>) ²⁹ (p.148 figs. 13-16)	5
10	Philenphos (from Halai Aixonides) ³⁰	1
11	Philinos Kleippidou Achameus (<i>PA</i> 14300) ³¹ brother of Kleophon	1

TOTAL 30

Such a small number of ostraka from the minimum of 6,000 ostraka which must have

²⁴ Agora ostraka P 12494, P 18495, P 29862. Photographs/drawings in *Semple Lectures* figs.32, 64-66, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.191, fig. 1 no.6.

²⁵ Agora ostraka P 21581, P 22322, P 23992, P 27594, P 29041, P 29268, P 29375, P 30303. Photographs/drawings in E. Vanderpool, 'Kleophon', *Hesperia* 21 (1952) pp.114-115, pl.31e, *Semple Lectures* fig.58 = *Hesperia* 37 (1968) p.120, p.1.34 no.6, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.192, fig. 1 no.9, pl.28 no.8.

²⁶ Agora ostrakon P 30190; see below, section 3.

²⁷ Agora ostrakon P 29073; *Hesperia* 43 (1974) p.192, fig.1 no.10, Μυρρίνικος | ἕτο Μυρ (). The fourth century context and the four-bar sigma make it possible that this ostrakon was cast at the last ostracism. ἕτο (get out!) is attested on four ostraka for Themistokles, *Semple Lectures* p.8 fig. 19 = *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.233-234.

²⁸ Agora ostrakon P31179.

²⁹ Agora ostraka P 373, P 6063, P 17293, P 28320. Photographs/drawings, *Semple Lectures* figs.59-60; *Hesperia* 43 (1974) pl.28 no. 11 (painted ostrakon); Kerameikos ostrakon: Peek, *Kerameikos* iii pp.78-80, no. 149 p1.19, 1.g = J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum* (Berlin: 1948) p1.16 no.38.

³⁰ Peek, *Kerameikos* iii pp.80-81 no. 150; the deme depends upon Peek's identification of Phileriphos as an antecedent of [Αἰσ]χίας Φιληρίφου who was one of twenty-four demesmen from Halai Aixonides who made a dedication to Aphrodite in c.360; *IG* ii² 2820, 14 with Peek, *Ath. Mitt.* 67 (1942) pp.9-10, no.7 and D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica, 508/7-ca.250 BC* (Princeton: 1986) pp.380, no.54 and 429, no. 180. The date of the ostrakon depends upon whether Phileriphos is seen as the grandfather of Aischias (so Peek, *Kerameikos* iii p.81) or his father, as Vanderpool would appear to have done in *Semple Lectures* p.28. The name does not appear in *PA*.

³¹ Agora ostrakon P 23548; photographs in *Hesperia* 23 (1954) p.69, p1.11; *Semple Lectures* figs.62-63.

been cast on this occasion³² can tell us nothing about the proportion of ostraka cast against each individual and thus cannot enlighten us further as to the political manoeuvring and alliances which are alluded to by our sources (Plut. *Arist.* 7, *Nikias* 11, *Alkibiades* 13; [Andok.] 4). Nevertheless they do give us an idea of the number of individuals voted against at the last ostracism, confirm the involvement of Phaiax in proceedings, securely attest the fathers of Hyperbolos and Kleophon and indicate political activity for Kleophon during this period.³³

3 KRATES ATHMONEUS, termed Phrynondas (p.145 fig.3)

P 30190. Length 0.071 m., width 0.044 m., thickness 0.005 m. Section ΒΓ in the north-west Agora between the railway line and Hadrian Street in the vicinity of the north end of the Royal Stoa. From the first layer of a trench south of the eastern half of the monumental base in the central temenos area. The first layer contained pottery from the third quarter of the fourth century whilst layers two and three which lay beneath contained pottery of the late fifth century and the last quarter of the fifth century, respectively. Incized upon a coarse sherd of tan orange clay.³⁴

Φρυνόνδ[ας]
Κράτες
Ἄθμο[νεύς]

The name Φρυνόνδας, although listed once by Kirchner (*PA* 15033), is not Athenian. It is probably Boiotian.³⁵ The *Suda*, s.v. Φρυνόνδας (ed. Adler, Φ 770), begins its entry with the words: τῶν ἐπὶ πονηρία διαβεβοημένων ὃς ξένος ὢν κατὰ τὰ Πελοποννησιακὰ διέτριβεν Ἀθήνησιν. It then continues by quoting a line from Aristophanes' lost play of 414,³⁶ the *Amphiaraos* (F 26, Edmonds p.578), ὦ μιὰρὲ καὶ

³² On the quorum of 6,000 votes for a valid ostracism see Plut. *Arist.* 7 with D.J. Phillips, 'Athenian Ostracism', in G.H.R. Horsley (ed.), *Hellenika: Essays on Greek Politics and History* (North Ryde, NSW: 1982) pp.21-43 at 24-25.

³³ For Kleophon's family and political career see B. Baldwin, 'Notes on Cleophon', *Acta Classica* 17 (1974) pp.35-47.

³⁴ Found on 25 May, 1973: see the Agora excavation notebook for that day, p.2669. Now stored in Study Collection Case No. 42 Λ. See further T. Leslie Shear Jnr., *Hesperia* 44 (1975) pp.365-70.

³⁵ Professor Vanderpool and Professor J.K. Davies in conversation.

³⁶ K.J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (London: 1972) p.13.

Φρυνώνδα καὶ πονηρὲ σύ, and notes that because of this πονηροί are called Φρυνώνδας.³⁷

Phrynondas' reputation as a πονηρός, a μάγος and a γόης was to last throughout antiquity with his name becoming synonymous with villainy and treachery.³⁸ His πονηρία is first attested in Eupolis F 39 (Edmonds p.326), which is a fragment of the play Ἄστράτευτοι, dated by Edmonds to 426.³⁹ He is mentioned on four further occasions in Old Comedy, each time apparently because of his πονηρία: Eupolis F 107 (Edmonds p.342) from the *Demes* of 411, Pherekrates F 3 (Edmonds p.208) from the *Agathoi* of 420, Aristophanes F 468 (Edmonds p.702) from the *Proagon* of 422 and Aristoph. *Thesm.* 861 of 411.⁴⁰

Old Comedy gave rise to a number of names, primarily those of late fifth century politicians, which were to become proverbial as a means of denoting certain unsavoury forms of behaviour. Thus “beyond Hyperbolos” denoted the extremely litigious, “more cowardly than Peisandros” denoted the exceedingly timorous, whilst “more ambitious than Kleophon”, “more crooked than Simon” and “more cowardly than Epeios” all had long currency.⁴¹ The name Phrynondas was clearly used in the same manner as a means of indicating a particularly low standard of villainy and cheating. Phrynondas himself, as a ξένος, must have been of metic status. Whether or not he associated with contemporary democratic politicians as did a number of other metics can only be conjectured.⁴² The fact that the late fifth century Athenian community of political leaders (δημαγωγοί,

³⁷ ἐκ τούτου τοὺς πονηροὺς Φρυνώνδας καλοῦσι.

³⁸ For later references to the πονηρία, of Phrynondas see Plato, *Protagoras* 327c, Isok. 18.57, Ais. 3.137, Lucian, *Alexander the False Prophet* 4, Apuleius, *Apol.* 81.10 (ed. H.E. Butler and A.S. Owen [Oxford: 1914]), together with the additional comments in the Suda, s.v. Φρυνώνδας, Schol. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 861 and Schol. Lucian 181R.

³⁹ J.M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy* i (Leiden: 1957) p.323 n.6.

⁴⁰ The dates are those of Edmonds, *ibid.* i pp.996-997.

⁴¹ For references and comment see Connor, *New Politicians of Fifth Century Athens* p.139 with n.4, and the entries for Hyperbolos (*PA* 13910), Peisandros (*PA* 11770), Kleophon (*PA* 8638), Simon (*PA* 12686) and Epeios (not in *PA*) in D.J. Phillips, ‘Demagogoi and Political Participation at Athens, 432/1-399/8 BC’ i-ii, (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney: 1985) pp. 166-169, 199-202, 224-225, 238-241 and 270-271.

⁴² See section 4.4, ‘Metics, the democracy and demagogia’, in Phillips, *ibid.* pp.333-334.

προσάται τοῦ δήμου) gave rise to so many proverbial expressions associated with πονηρία might suggest that he did.

Given that both names on the ostrakon, Phrynondas and Krates, are in the nominative form,⁴³ and given that Phrynondas was used of men considered by some to be πονηροί during the Peloponnesian War, the name Φρυνόδ[αζ] on the ostrakon must have the force of an adjective. The clear traces of the upper portion of a four-bar sigma (Ϛ) in line 2 will not allow the restoration of the genitive-patronymic form Κράτητος. The letter forms, the date of the pottery in the associated layer of the find spot and the late fifth century currency of the pejorative name Phrynondas all clearly indicate that this ostrakon was cast on the occasion of the last ostrakophoria in 416 or 415.

Of the 30 ostraka for the eleven men who were probably voted against at the last ostracism this is the first, apart from the ἕτο for Myrrinikos, to record a detail other than the name, patronymic and/or demotic of the individual being voted against. The application of the name Phrynondas to Krates is thus the first direct evidence of the contemporary political use of a pejorative name or term current in Old Comedy. The clear implication is that the person who cast the ostrakon for Krates considered him to be a πονηρός, a characterization widely applied by those critical of the democracy to contemporary democratic politicians, the so-called δημαγωγοί. The association of δημαγωγία and πονηρία is best seen in Thucydides' brief account of the assassination on Samos in 411 of Hyperbolos who had been a victim of the last ostracism (8.73.3)⁴⁴ It would not be pushing speculation too far to view Krates as one of that group of politicians of whom Thucydides is so thoroughly critical in 2.65.10-11, and who elsewhere he either dismisses or else disassociates from the events in which they were involved.⁴⁵

⁴³ To my knowledge it would be unprecedented to have a patronymic in the genitive preceding the nomen in the nominative on an ostrakon where a demotic has been included. Ostraka written from the bottom up are only attested where only name plus patronymic occur as in the three examples cited by Vanderpool, *Simple Lectures* p.10 with figs. 16, 17 and 25. Professor Vanderpool (in conversation) was also of the opinion that the name should be restored to read Φρυνόδ[αζ].

⁴⁴ καὶ Ὑπερβολὸν τέ τινα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μοχθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὠστρακισμένον οὐ διὰ δυναμέως καὶ ἀξιότατος Φᾶβον ἀλλὰ διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ αἰσχύνην τῆς πόλεως, ἀποκτείνουσι. On the designation of those who were favourable to the demos as πονηροί see Connor, *op.cit.* pp.88-91, 102-104, 177 with nn.68, 181 and 192, and Phillips, 'Demagogoi and Political Participation at Athens' pp.59-62. One may note the use of πονηρός and similar negative value terms in [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* (= "The Old Oligarch").

⁴⁵ Thus the demagogoi Hyperbolos (Thuc. 8.73.3) and Androkies (Thuc. 8.65.2) are both ignored in Thucydides' account of the years 416 and 415 (contrast, for example, Plut. *Alk.* 13 on Hyperbolos and Plut. *Alk.* 19 on Androkles), and Demostratos (*PA* 3611) is nowhere mentioned, although it is clear from Plut.

It is not possible to identify Krates Athmoneus positively with any of the men named Krates in *PA*, although three provide a range of possibilities:

- (1) *PA* 8739: the comic poet who was active between 450 and 430;
- (2) *PA* 8740: the archon of 434/3 (Diod. 12.35);
- (3) *PA* 8741: the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς of IG³ 119, 2, a decree of 407, proposed by Alkibiades.

The comic poet may perhaps be eliminated on the grounds of age and a lack of attested political activity, although it is not inconceivable that he might have been the target of a disgruntled spectator or a victim of his satire. Ostrakophoriai of the 480s certainly produced a large scatter vote.⁴⁶ The archon of 434/3 could still have been politically active in 416 or 415, although Nikias Nikeratou (*PA* 10808) is the only one of the eleven candidates at the last ostracism for whom there is attested political activity or office before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Plut. *Nikias* 2).

The γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς, which was an elected office until 368/7,⁴⁷ is a further possibility, especially if one accepts the statement of *AP* 54.3 that when this office was elected it used to be held by the most famous and illustrious men.⁴⁸ Indeed one could be tempted to identify both the archon of 434/3 and the secretary of 407 with Krates Athmoneus of Agora Ostrakon P 30190.⁴⁹ Such an identification would create an accountable political participant with an attested political career spanning nearly thirty years.⁵⁰ Some significance may attach to the fact that Krates was secretary in the very prytany when Alkibiades, who had recently returned to Athens in the early summer of 407, proposed his decree to confirm the treaty which had been made by the Athenian generals with the Klazomenians settled at

Alk. 18 and *Nikias* 12 that it is he who is to be identified as the τις τῶν Ἀθηναίων of Thuc. 6.25.1 and as the proposer of the decree which gave full powers to the generals appointed to command in Sicily (Thuc. 6.26.1). A similar dismissive use of the indefinite pronoun is used by Thucydides of both Androkles (Ἀνδροκλέα τέ τινα, 8.65.2) and Hyperbolos (Ἵπερβολόν τέ τινα, 8.73.3).

⁴⁶ Phillips, 'Athenian Ostracism', pp.21.43, especially p.35 nn.11-13.

⁴⁷ P.J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford: 1972) pp. 134-136.

⁴⁸ καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ πιστοτάτους ἐχειροτόνουσιν with Rhodes, Commentary pp.602-603.

⁴⁹ Especially if one follows the views of E. Badian, 'Archons and Strategoi', *Antichthon* 5 (1971) pp.1-34, who argues that fifth century archons tended to be younger than their sixth century (elected) counterparts.

⁵⁰ On the accountability of demagogoi see Phillips, 'Demagogoi and Political Participation at Athens', pp.20-23 and 348 and J.T. Roberts, *Accountability in Athenian Government* (Wisconsin: 1982).

Daphnus. If, as seems likely, a series of political manoeuvrings had occurred at Athens in 407 which facilitated Alkibiades' return, the election of a supporter as secretary of the boule could have been one of them. If this were the case, then it is just an outside possibility that Krates had been linked with Alkibiades in some way in the events which resulted in the ostrakophoria of 416 or 415.⁵¹

Nevertheless, regardless of the possibilities of identification, the ostrakon presents us with another political participant who, for whatever reason, was identified with the demagogoi and tarred with the same brush, most probably by someone who shared the dislike of the democracy and its leaders which is so common in our sources for late fifth-century Athenian politics.

PREPARED OSTRAKA, SCRIBES AND LITERACY

The points to be made here and the issues raised have been canvassed by Vanderpool in his *Semple Lectures* (pp.4.-16; references in the text below are to these lectures). My purpose is to re-emphasize these matters, to add some further evidence, and to suggest that Vanderpool may have underestimated the extent of scribal activity at ostrakophoriai.

Even a cursory examination of the Agora ostraka reveals several important features of the group as a whole.

(i) Many ostraka are badly damaged, having been broken or worn after they were cast and then dumped or re-used as fill. This has meant that restoration either has been necessary, not always with certainty, or is in some instances impossible (p.148 figs.13-15).

(ii) There is a wide range of potsherd types which have been used as ostraka. Vanderpool reported (p.5) about 40% from plain jars or pitchers, about 23% from semi-glazed kraters or lekanai, about 27% from black-glazed vases, including kylix feet and fragments of skyphoi, kraters and amphorae, and about 10% of various types including red- and black-figured vases, plus a few geometric or proto-Attic fragments together with the occasional fragments of lamps, pithoi, terracotta water pipes, wellheads and roof tiles.

⁵¹ A corollary of the identification of Krates Achmoneus with the secretary of the boule of IG i³119 would be the elimination of one of the two possibilities for the tribe in prytany suggested for line 1 by R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the fifth century BC* (Oxford: 1969) p270. Given (i) that Krates Athmoneus belonged to tribe VII Kekropis, and (ii) the observation of W.S. Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries* (New York: 1898) chs.vi-vii, that the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς was not of the same tribe as the one in prytany (followed by Rhodes, *Athenian Boule* pp.134-136), only tribe I Erechtheis, favoured by Meiggs and Lewis, and tribe X Antiochis would remain.

(iii) There is a clear contrast in the quality and style of lettering on the ostraka ranging from neatly incized uniform letters to halting spidery letters which have been roughly scratched upon the potsherd and which at times are barely legible. The latter frequently contain spelling errors which have been described by Vanderpool as “atrocious”.⁵²

These various features may be seen at a glance by comparing two of the ostraka for Phaiax (p.148 figs.15-16). Figure 15 (P 172930) is a fragment of a tile of pinkish buff clay whilst figure 16 (P 28320) is a fragment of an amphora body upon which the full name with patronymic and demotic has been painted. The contrast is even more striking for several of the Hyperbolos ostraka. Two neatly prepared ostraka, one painted and one incized (P 12494 and P 18495; *Semple Lectures* figs.32, 64-66) contrast sharply with the poorly incized fragment of a heavy unglazed amphora (P 29862; *Hesperia* 43 [1974] p.191, fig.1 no.6). Similarly the badly written P 29041 for Kleophon (p.147 fig.11), which is also on a fragment of an unglazed amphora, contrasts with P 27594 (p.147 fig. 10), a fragment of a terracotta cover tile upon which the letters have been neatly incized with a chisel. The shapes and height of the letters (0.008-0.010 m.), together with their arrangement which for the first three letters of each line is stoichedon, are consistent with the lettering on late fifth century Attic decrees and suggest the activity of a skilled mason.

Whilst these features have been widely noted an additional feature requires comment and further study. There would appear to be a large number of neatly prepared ostraka especially on quality fabric such as glazed ware. My impression is that there is also a significant correlation between neatly written names on quality fabric just as there would appear to be a greater number of poorly written names on coarseware. No attempt has been made to analyze and quantify the Agora ostraka in terms of the quality of writing and fabric. Lang’s study focussed upon writing and spelling as a means of determining more about the speaking and writing habits of Athenians but did not consider the fabric upon which the names were written. What attempts have been made in this direction have focussed upon the 190 ostraka for Themistokles from Well M on the north slope of the Akropolis which were published by Broneer in 1938.⁵³ A large number of these, all of which were neatly written, were incized upon kylix bases. Amongst the groups as a whole Broneer was able to identify fourteen different hands from which it has been generally concluded that these ostraka represent the

⁵² Vanderpool, *Semple Lectures* p.10; Lang, op.cit. has studied the writing and spelling on 1047 ostraka.

⁵³ O. Broneer, ‘Excavations on the North Slope of the Akropolis, 1937 – Ostraka’, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) pp.228-243, with Vanderpool, *Semple Lectures* p.11, figs.30-31.

activity of an anti-Themistokles faction of the 480s or 470s. It is apparent, however, that Themistokles was not the only person for whom neatly incized ostraka of quality fabric were prepared. In the short time that was available to me in 1985 I was able to make a preliminary investigation of these by focusing upon fragments of kylikes and other black-glazed ware which were neatly incized. The results are listed in the appendix.

What is needed however is a thorough study of the ostraka which examines neatly incized or painted ostraka on all fabrics, but especially upon fragments of quality pottery, together with an attempt to identify hands. Such a study will need to consider all ostraka from the Agora as well as the Kerameikos. Any results based on the Agora ostraka alone can only be tentative until tested against the larger body of evidence from the Kerameikos.⁵⁴ Hopefully a study of fabric, writing and names will help to clarify such questions as the role of political factions in the preparation of ostraka, the use of scribes, whether official or unofficial, and the extent of literacy amongst those who voted at ostrakophoriai.

From my preliminary observations it seems likely that scribes were used more widely than is commonly held. Vanderpool (p.11) has noted the difficulty of scratching a name on a sherd with a pointed instrument and in conversation indicated that, as a result of experiments on fragments of various types of pottery surface, it was even more difficult when the surface was glazed. Given the large number of neatly incized names on glazed potsherds I am inclined to conclude that these represent the activities of scribes. The few examples of painted ostraka,⁵⁵ together with neatly incized names on all fabrics, would seem to indicate the same conclusion. Whether these were official scribes provided by the state or unofficial scribes cannot be determined. Unofficial scribes may have been men “who set up booths and tables at various points in the Agora and along the roads leading to it” with ostraka for sale, as Vanderpool suggested (p.11), or they may have been associated with small groups

⁵⁴ This point is stressed by Lang, *op.cit.* p.87. Few of the 9000 or more Kerameikos ostraka have been published. Some details are given in the preliminary publications of F. Willemsen in *Ath. Mitt.* 80 (1965) pp.100-126 and *ΑΔ* 23 (1968), *Chronika*, pp.24-32. The checklist of all Agora and Kerameikos ostraka published by Thomsen, *The Origin of Ostracism* pp.71-80 gives no details of writing or fabric for the unpublished Kerameikos ostraka.

⁵⁵ Painted ostraka: Kallixenos (P 17960; *Semple Lectures* fig.50), Perikles Xanthippou (P 21527; *Semple Lectures* fig.33), Kallias Didymiou (P 5946; *Semple Lectures* fig.57), Hyperbolos Antiphanous (P 12494; *Semple Lectures* fig.32), Phaiax Erasistratou Acharneus (P 28320; *Hesperia* 43 [1974] p.192, no. 11 p.128; my fig. 16 p. 148), Menon Menekleidou Gargettios (Kerameikos: *ΑΔ* 23 (1968), *Chronika*, p.1. 19e), Megakles Hippokratous (Kerameikos: H.B. Mattingly, ‘Facts and Artifacts – the Researcher and his Tools’, *University of Leeds Review* 14 [1971] p.288, p.1. 1A), Thoukydides Melesiou (Kerameikos: Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.* 51 [1926] p. 128f. fig. 1).

of politicians, *hetaireiai*, who prepared ostraka against a specific candidate, an *echthros*, for distribution at the *ostrakaphoria*. The latter would appear to be attested by the 190 Themistokles ostraka prepared by 14 hands, but to establish the existence of either unofficial private scribes or official state supplied scribes what are needed are ostraka for two different candidates inscribed by the *same* hand. To my knowledge no such ostraka have yet been identified. The few published photographs of ostraka joins where two *different* names come from the same pot all appear to be by different hands and therefore merely establish that both individuals were voted against on the same occasion.⁵⁶

The problem of literacy is even more difficult to resolve. The halting, erratic writing, the bad spelling, together with the occasional addition of epithets, invective and the like, clearly indicate that many Athenians wrote their own ostraka, but they do not indicate what percentage of voters did so nor do they indicate the degree of literacy of those who voted in *ostrakaphoriai* or of the Athenian citizens as a whole. The surviving ostraka do not constitute a statistically determined random sample. They derive from at least nine certain ostracisms⁵⁷ which, on the basis of a quorum of 6,000 voters for a valid *ostrakaphoria*, will have produced a minimum of 54,000 ostraka. Just how many more than 6,000 voted on any given occasion can only be conjectured, but given the evidence for attendance at fifth-century meetings of the *ekklesia* (Thuc. 8.72.1; Aristoph. *Acharn.* 17-27, *AP* 41.3) and what other evidence we have for participation levels in the fifth-century Athenian democracy,⁵⁸ it is perhaps unlikely that the figure will have exceeded 10,000 on many occasions, if at all. Nor

⁵⁶ ΑΔ 23 (1968), *Chronika*, p1. 19a (Megakles-Themistokles), 19c (Kimon-Themistokles), republished in A.J. Podlecki, *The Life of Themistokles* (Montreal: 1975) pl.8a, b. The Megakles-Themistokles pair are clearly by different hands. The Kimon-Themistokles have a different kappa and appear to have been incized using different styli. Many joins have been reported from the Kerameikos finds but until these are fully published and photographs made available the hands cannot be studied. Mattingly, *op.cit.* p.284 n.9, reports joins for Kallias Hipponikou-Megakles and three for Megakles-Themistokles. Three joining ostraka from the rim of the same pot, two for Themistokles Neokleous and one for Megakles Hippokratous, which are on display in the Kerameikos Museum, can be noted. The two joining Themistokles ostraka have square omicrons and open omegas. They are by the same hand. The ostrakon for Megakles has a rounded omicron and is by a different hand.

⁵⁷ Phillips, 'Athenian Ostracism' pp.27-28; Mattingly, *op.cit.* p.287 with n.12.

⁵⁸ D.J. Phillips, 'Participation in the Athenian Democracy', *Ancient Society: Resources for Teachers* 11.2 (1981) pp.5-48, especially pp.28-29 and 34. Thucydides says that as many as 5,000 had never assembled at Athens and both Aristophanes and *AP* indicate difficulties in getting citizens to attend meetings of the *ekklesia*. The fifth century Pnyx could probably not seat more than 6,000 at a time, so M.H. Hansen, 'How Many Athenians Attended the Ecclesia?', *GRBS* 17 (1976) pp.130-131 (= *The Athenian Ecclesia* [Copenhagen: 1983] pp. 1-23 with addenda). Most recently, R.K. Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens* (Cambridge: 1988), especially pp. 106-135, has argued for relatively low assembly attendance.

do we have any clear indication of how many ostrakophoriai, beyond the certainly attested nine, were held. The literary sources could be taken to indicate as many as six additional ostracisms although all are disputed. The ostraka themselves have been taken to indicate the possibility of an abortive ostrakophoria in 484/3 and there may have been more.⁵⁹ From all of these occasions, both certain and possible, only some 11,000 or so ostraka survive, the greatest number of which probably were cast at the five definitely attested ostracisms of the 480s.⁶⁰ Further, given an adult male citizen population at Athens which, for the fifth century, ranged between 35,000 and 43,000 and perhaps as high as 60,000,⁶¹ the 6,000-10,000 plus ostraka cast on any given occasion will only ever have represented between c.10% - c.30% of the total number of citizens eligible to vote. All of these considerations, together with the spread of the ostraka over more than seventy years, make it exceedingly difficult to generalize about the nature and extent of literacy in the Athenian democracy on the evidence of the ostraka alone.

It is not possible to assert confidently, as Vanderpool has done, that the very existence of the law on ostracism presupposed “that the electorate was largely literate” (p.15). The existence of scribes is thought by Vanderpool not to undermine this assumption since, in his view, many made use of their services or accepted pre-prepared ostraka from political factions “as much a matter of convenience as anything, considering the difficulty of finding a suitable sherd and implement and of writing on an intractable medium” (p.15). However, this can only be a guess and, given the state of evidence for literacy in the fifth-century Athenian democracy, cannot be assumed with confidence.⁶² When considering literacy it is necessary to distinguish between different levels of literacy ranging from fully functional literacy, which is effortless, nearly automatic reading and writing, through to the mere ability to write or recognize letters and the ability at best to write one’s own name and perhaps to

⁵⁹ Phillips, ‘Athenian Ostracism’ p.28.

⁶⁰ Phillips, ‘Athenian Ostracism’ pp.26-27.

⁶¹ A.W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC* (Oxford: 1933) p.26: 35,000 in 480, 43,000 in 431 and 22,000 in 400. P.J. Rhodes, *Thucydides, History ii* (Warminster: 1988) pp.271-277, estimates a range of 45,000-60,000 for 431. A minimum figure of 60,000 has been proposed by M.H. Hansen, calculating from a minimum of 25,000 in c.400 (*Three Studies in Athenian Demography* [Copenhagen: 1988] pp.26-28).

⁶² The evidence is surveyed and discussed by F.D. Harvey, ‘Literacy in the Athenian Democracy’, *REG* 79 (1966) pp.585-635 and A. Bums, ‘Athenian Literacy in the Fifth Century BC’ *J. Hist. Ideas* 42 (1981) pp.371-387.

scrawl the name of another in inaccurate or phonetic spelling. In twentieth century USA functional literacy has been defined as “the ability to read newspapers, to fill out employment applications and to follow written instructions”.⁶³ Just how many Athenians would have qualified as functionally literate on comparable criteria is uncertain. Studies by Harvey and Burns have concluded that Athens was, by and large, a literate society.⁶⁴ The evidence cited, however, is not such as to warrant such certain generalizations. A number of passages indicate a halting grasp of letters (Eurip. *Theseus* F 382 *apud* Athenaeus 454b-c, Kratinos, F 122 Edmonds, Aristoph. *Knights* 188-189, Plato, *Phaedrus* 242c), and the anecdote about the agroikos in Plut. *Aristeides* 7 relies upon the plausibility of an illiterate farmer for its effectiveness. Together such evidence could well be taken to indicate that what we would call functional literacy was not as widespread in fifth century Athens as is assumed by Harvey and Burns. In particular neither study adequately considers the availability and cost of education. It is assumed that elementary education was generally available for the male children of citizens, but was this the case? The evidence for elementary education for all socio-economic classes of Athenian citizens is as inadequate as that for literacy. Aristophanes’ *Clouds* 961-988, with its recollection of schoolboys heading off to school without cloaks and in the snow, serves only as evidence for the education of those of hoplite status or above as the references to Marathonomachoi (line 986) and the elements of mousike and gymnastic training clearly indicate. It tells us nothing about the education of thetes who made up the majority of the citizen population.⁶⁵ Indeed, a passage from Plato, *Protagoras* 326c, observes of education that it is the sons of the wealthy who begin their education at the earliest age and continue it the longest.⁶⁶ It then goes on to detail the painstaking steps by which one learned to write. Again the model of education is that based on mousike and the gymnasium. From it Harvey concludes that “letters are the bare minimum of education”.⁶⁷ He is certainly correct, but it begs the questions “for whom” and “with what degree of mastery”.

⁶³ Burns, *ibid.* p.384.

⁶⁴ Harvey, *op.cit.* p.619; Burns, *op.cit.* p.387.

⁶⁵ A.H.M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy* (Oxford: 1957) pp.81-90 with Phillips, ‘Participation in the Athenian Democracy’ table 2 p.44. Approximately 60% of Athenians belonged to the thetic class.

⁶⁶ Cf. Xen. *Cyn.* 2.1, which also notes a connection between education and wealth.

⁶⁷ Harvey, *op.cit.* p.619.

Indeed the evidence of poor writing and spelling on the ostraka, together with the likelihood of the widespread use of scribes, would seem to suggest that among Athenian citizens there was a degree, perhaps a considerable degree, of functional illiteracy (i.e., a halting grasp of letters and an inability to read and write with confidence). If such were the case it would not have been, by itself, a serious hinderance to participation in the public life of the polls in which oral communications were still predominant. The impact of the “literate revolution” was not dependent upon the spread of functional literacy to all levels of society.⁶⁸ Burns, in considering the impact of literacy on thought processes, makes the mistake of assuming that the advances in thinking represented by Hesiod, the Pre-Socratics, the sophists, the historians and others were typical of the thought of the many.⁶⁹ Even if they were they were communicated orally to the majority through theatrical performances, public recitals and readings, lectures and oratory given by a well educated elite who in some instances paid substantial sums for their higher education. Not only was further education “beyond one’s letters” apparently the preserve of those who could afford it (Plato, *Prt.* 326c, Xen. *Cyn.* 2.1), but also course fees charged by philosophers and orators could range from 300-400 dr. (Isok. 13.3) to 1,000 dr. (Plut. *Mor.* 837d) to as high as 10,000 dr. charged by Protagoras of Abdera for a three to four year course (Diog. Laert. 9.52). Even single lecture fees ranged from one drachma, a day’s wages, to 50 dr. (Plato, *Cra.* 384b). The fact, of which Burns reminds us, namely that in the second half of the twentieth century “the U.S. Navy... routinely rejects about thirty percent of its would-be recruits because of “functional illiteracy”, i.e., the inability to function effectively in a given literate society”,⁷⁰ should serve as a warning against any uncritical acceptance of widespread functional literacy in fifth century Athens, especially amongst the large numbers of thetes.

One final question, raised by the ostraka, requires consideration. What counted as a valid vote? Many ostraka are barely legible whilst others record only a name without the addition of either patronymic or demotic. Thomsen’s checklist of ostracism candidates includes

⁶⁸ The expression is that of E.A. Havelock, *The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Consequences* (Princeton: 1982), who in this study and in *The Muse Learns to Write: Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven: 1986) has made a major contribution to our understanding of the impact of literacy upon Greek thought and society.

⁶⁹ Burns, op.cit. pp.385-387. He goes further and asserts that “the widespread literacy in Greece gave anyone interested and capable access to intellectual pursuits, and thus allowed participation by a much larger percentage of the population”.

⁷⁰ Burns, *ibid.* p.384.

fourteen men attested by name only: Archias, Aristyllos, Eretrieus, Eukrates, Euphrastides, Lykon, Menestratos, Myrrhinikos, Naukrates, Phileriphos, Phrouarchos, Sibyrminos, Thrasykles and Xanthias.⁷¹ In addition there are instances of candidates for whom either patronymic and/or demotic are attested but who on some ostraka are recorded by name only. These include ostraka for Themistokles, Kimon, Agasias, Menon ἀφελής and Thoukydides (Melesiou?).⁷² Given that many Athenians bore the same name,⁷³ can it be assumed that an ostrakon bearing a name only was counted by the archons and bouleutai who supervised an ostrakophoria (Philochoros, *FGH* 328 F 30; Plut. *Arist.* 7)? Although modern notions of fairness might dictate that such ambiguous ostraka be rejected, we should not dismiss outright the possibility that ostraka which recorded prominent figures such as Themistokles and Kimon by name only were counted as valid. A systematic count of all single name ostraka in both the Agora and the Kerameikos collections might throw some light on this phenomenon by indicating the percentage of known ostraka which fall into this category.⁷⁴

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⁷¹ Thomsen, *op.cit.* pp.71-80.

⁷² Themistokles (Willemsen, *Ath. Mitt.* 80 [1965] p.105) and joined with Kimon (both name only. AΔ 23 [1968], *Chronika*, pl.19c); Agasias and Menon ἀφελής (*Ath. Mitt.* 80 [1965] pp.108 and 118); Thoukydides (Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 43 [1974] p.193, no. 12 p1.28).

⁷³ W.E. Thompson, 'Tot Atheniensibus Idem Nomen Erat', in *ΦΟΡΟΣ: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt* (edd. D.W. Bradeen & M.F. McGregor) (Locust Valley: 1974) pp. 144-149.

⁷⁴ Some of the ostraka, as we have them, may have lost either patronymic or demotic as a result of damage after casting.

APPENDIX

Some Prepared Ostraka from the Agora: A Preliminary Checklist

For each named ostracism candidate this appendix summarizes the following details:

- A Names on kylix bases or fragments of kylix bases similar to those for Themistokles from Broneer's Well M on the north slope of the Akropolis;⁷⁵
- B Neatly incized names on fragments of other black-glazed pottery;
- C Painted ostraka from the Agora;⁷⁶
- D Selected examples of neatly incized names on other fabric.

For each category I have included the number of ostraka followed by a checklist of Agora inventory numbers. The figures are preliminary results only and are based upon my own check of the ostraka drawers and index cards in the Stoa of Attalos Museum in the Agora in 1985 and upon a survey of published Agora ostraka. Although the details only represent the first stage of an investigation which must examine all Agora and Kerameikos ostraka they are indicative of the wide range of prepared ostraka which may be attributed to scribes.⁷⁷

1 Alkibiades Kleiniou Skambonides, the Elder (*PA* 597; *APF* pp. 15-16)

- A 4 (AO 194; P 4761, P 18537, P 27693)
- B 1 (P 6794)

2 Alkibiades Kleiniou Skambonides, the Younger (*PA* 600; *APF* pp.17-21)

- B 2 (P 29373 + P 29374). Two joining ostraka from a glazed tile, incized in the same hand (*Hesperia* 43 [1974] p.189, nos. 1-2 p1.28)

3 Aristeides Lysimachou Alopekethen (*PA* 1695; *APF* pp.48-49)

- A 6 (P 5951, P 5952, P 7045, P7396, P 14853, P 15795)
- B 6 (P 1746, P5957 a + b, P 15480, P 17216, P 17599, P 23800)

4 Charias Ph[--]dou (*APF* p.28)

- B 1 (P 17732)

⁷⁵ O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) p.229.

⁷⁶ Painted ostraka from all sources are listed above, n.55.

⁷⁷ A detailed publication of those preliminary details is in preparation.

5 Dietrephes Euthoiniou (*PA* 3753)

A 1 (P 27678)

D 1 (P 30193)

6 Dionysios [Kor]onou

A 1 (P 4896)

B 1 (P 6902)

7 Eratyllos Kattariou

A 1 (P 5205)

B 2 (P 3558, P 15835)

8 Habron Patrokleous Marathonios

B 1 (P 3530)

9 Habron Patrokleous Marathonios *or* Habronichos Lysikleous Lamptreus*(PA* 20, *APF* p.1)

A 1 (P 16573)

10 Hippokrates Alkmeonidou Alopekethen (*APF* pp.244,372-373)

A 11 (P 6125, P 7822, P 14682, P 15632, P 15634, P 17291, P 17617, P 17775, P 17893, P 26731, P 27828)

B 13 (P 6885, P 12193, P 12195, P 12295, P 15593, P 17224, P 17671, P 18178, P 18179, P 18180, P 18181, P 18183, P 18296)

11 Hippokrates Alkmeonidou Alopekethen (*APF* p.244) *or* Hippokrates Anaxileo (*APF* pp.244, 373-374)

A 6 (P 5279, P 7509, P 7821, P 18198, P 29422, P 29431)

B 3 (P 18199, P 18200, P 18201)

12 Hyperbolos Antiphanous Perithoides (*PA* 13910, *APF* p.517)

B 1 (P 18495) C 1 (P 12494)

13 Kallias Didymiou (*PA* 7823)

C 1 (P 5946)

- 14** Kallixenos Aristonymou Xypetaion (*APF* pp.274,376)
- A 14 (P 2104, P 2734, P 2758, P 5313, P 7252, P 7905 + P8521, P 16757,
P 17618, P 17642 + P 17932, P 18098, P 20401, P 23145, P 25456, P 31693)
- B 9 (P 15636, P 17620, P 17625, P 17637, P 17672, P 17772, P 17915 + P19209
P 22992, P 17919)
- C 1 (P 17960)
- 15** Kimon Miltiadou Lakiades (*PA* 8429, *APF* pp.302-307)
- B 3 (P 18536, P 27789, P 30192)⁷⁸
- D 1 (P 28360)
- 16** Kleophon Kleippidou Achameus (*PA* 8638)
- B 1 (P 27594) (p.147 fig. 10)
- 17** Kydroides Timokratous Krioieus (*APF* pp.339, 513 and 600)
- A 3 (P 7139, P 10171, P 18004)
- B 1 (P 12355)
- 18** Megakles Hippokratous Alopekethen (*PA* 9695, *APF* p.379)
- B 2 (P 14490, P 17955)
- 19** Perikles Xanthippou Cholargeus (*PA* 11811, *APF* pp.457-460)
- C 1 (P 21527)
- 20** Phaiax Erasistratou Achameus (*PA* 13921, *APF* pp.521-524)
- B 1 (P 373)
- C 1 (P 28320) (p.148 fig. 16)
- 21** Philinos Kleippidou Achameus (*PA* 14300)
- B 1 (P 23548)

⁷⁸ Peek, *Kerameikos* iii p.59, no.52 pl. 18.2d records a Kerameikos ostrakon for Kimon on a kylix foot.

22 Themistokles Neokleous Phrearrhios (*PA* 6669, *APF* pp.211-218)

- A (a) 122 (O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p.229)
 (b) 8 (P 4681 a + b, P 4897, P 5121b, P 7110 + 7257, P 16752, P 17621, P 18067 + 18068, P 18238)⁷⁹
- B (a) 68 (Broneer, *Hesperia* 7 [1938] p.230: 10 skyphos bases, 26 small bowls with flat base and straight or slightly bulging sides, 32 small sherds some of which belong to undecorated kylikes)
 (b) 11 (P 5958, P 7832, P 9950, P 10141, P 15498, P 16639, P 17138, P 18015, P 18236 + P 18484, P 18621, 20015)
- D 1 (P 15727)

TOTAL FOR THEMISTOKLES: 210⁸⁰

23 Xanthippos Aripchronos Cholargeus (*PA* 11169, *APF* pp.455-456)

- A 2 (P 6119 a + b, P 10275)
 B 1 (P 16873; a metrical ostrakon for Xanthippos)⁸¹

TOTAL AGORA OSTRAKA IN THIS CHECKLIST: 317; excluding Themistokles: 107

⁷⁹ Willemsen, *Ath. Mitt.* 80 (1965) p.105, no.4 p1.32.6 is a Kerameikos ostrakon on a Kylix foot for Themistokles.

⁸⁰ On an incomplete count over half of the 382 Agora ostraka for Themistokles (Lang, op.cit. p.75) appear to indicate the activity of scribes.

⁸¹ A.E. Raubitschek, 'The Ostracism of Xanthippos', *AJA* 51 (1947) pp.257-261; Vanderpool, *Seiple Lectures* p.9 with n.8 for bibliography and fig.20.



Fig. 1 P 31076



Fig. 2 P 31179

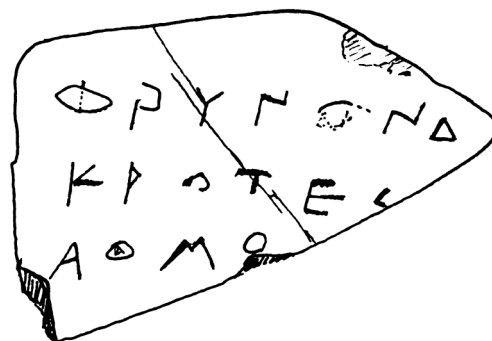


Fig. 3 P 30190



Fig. 4 P 4808

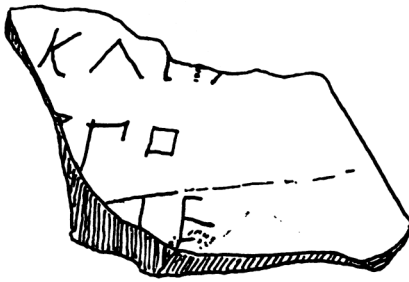


Fig. 5 P 2023



Fig. 6 P 2948

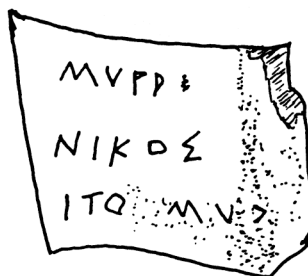


Fig. 7 P 29073



Fig. 8 P 22322



Fig. 9 P 23992



Fig. 10 P 27594



Fig. 11 P 29041



Fig. 12 P 30303



Fig. 13 P 373



Fig. 14 P 6063



Fig. 15 P 17293



Fig. 16 P 28320