

AN ARCHIVE OF THE ATHENIAN CAVALRY *

(PLATES 33-39)

Go to the Agora, to the Herms, the place frequented
by the phylarchs, and to their handsome pupils, whom
Pheidon trains in mounting and dismounting.

Mnesimachos, frag. 4¹

THE open area known as "The Herms" at the extreme northwest corner of the Agora and the colonnade that faced on to it, the Stoa of the Herms, were prominent in the life of Classical Athens as the focus of the colorful activities of the Athenian cavalry.² Area and stoa both await excavation, but discoveries in their vicinity have already produced substantial evidence of the cavalry's presence. Until very recently, such evidence was limited to monuments of stone: bases and a sculptured relief erected by victors in the annual cavalry competitions³ and two

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Special Abbreviations. APF = J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600-300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971. Agora XV = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora, XV, Inscriptions, The Athenian Councillors*, Princeton 1974. Braun = K. Braun, "Der Dipylon-Brunnen B₁: Die Funde," *AthMitt* 85, 1970. Habicht = Ch. Habicht, "Neue Inschriften aus dem Kerameikos," *AthMitt* 76, 1961, pp. 127-148. Martin = A. Martin, *Les cavaliers athéniens*, Paris 1886.

¹ Mid-4th century b.c. Translation, W. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora, III, The Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957, p. 105, no. 303.

² For recent general discussion of the Herms and the Stoa of the Herms, E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora, XI, Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965, pp. 108-110; H. A. Thompson and W. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora, XIV, The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, pp. 94-95. The fullest discussion of their relation to the cavalry is that of Ch. Habicht, pp. 136-138. Cf. E. Vanderpool, "Victories in the Anthippasia," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, p. 311, especially note 2. On the topography at this corner of the Agora in light of the recent excavations, T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 265-266.

³ The Bryaxis base, I.G. II², 3130, found *in situ* between the Stoa of Zeus and the Royal Stoa; a more fragmentary base has been discovered before the southeast corner of the Stoa of Zeus (*Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 176-177); and the relief showing the cavalrymen of Leontis (*Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 271-272, pl. 57:c) found directly behind the Royal Stoa.

Hesperia, 46, 2

decrees of the *hippeis*, one of which was set up *πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς*, a copy of the other *ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῶν Ἑρμῶν*.⁴

In 1971, excavation of a nearby well brought to light a remarkable and wholly different class of cavalry documents: some 111 inscribed lead tablets belonging to an archive that recorded the values of the cavalrymen's horses. The well is situated before the Royal Stoa within the intersection of the Panathenaic Way and the Agora West Road, in other words, directly across the Panathenaic Way from the assumed location of the Stoa of the Herms. The well also yielded 25 clay *symbola* of Pheidon, hipparch for the cleruchy island of Lemnos, and the nine lead armor tokens discussed in the following article (Pl. 40).⁵ If we can assume that the armor tokens were employed in the administration of the cavalry, as the inscribed lead tablets and clay *symbola* clearly were, all of these objects would have been housed at cavalry headquarters, the Hipparcheion, before they were discarded down the well. Their place of discovery gives welcome confirmation to the view originally expressed by Christian Habicht that the Hipparcheion was located near the northwest corner of the Agora.⁶ One supposes that it is to be found in the unexcavated area to the north of the Panathenaic Way, close by the Stoa of the Herms.

The inscribed lead tablets had been dumped down the well in two lots. Not counting insignificant fragments, which are omitted from the Catalogue below, 26 tablets (Figs. 1, 2, Pls. 33, 34) were found together in a level (13.10-11.80 m. below datum) dated by pottery shortly after the middle of the 4th century B.C. At this same level occurred the clay *symbola* of Pheidon, *Hipparchos eis Lemnon*. The remaining 85 tablets (Figs. 3-12, Pls. 35-39) are inscribed with more cursive and advanced lettering (e. g., with lunate sigmas instead of sigmas with four bars that are characteristic of the 4th century tablets) and were discovered with the nine lead armor tokens at a higher level (8.95-7.70 m. below datum) which dates to the

⁴ J. Threpsiades and E. Vanderpool, "Πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς," *Δελτ* 18, 1963, *Μελέται*, pp. 104-105, no. 1 (= *SEG XXI*, 525), lines 43-44 (282/1 B.C.); pp. 109-110, no. 2 (= *SEG XXI*, 357), line 9 (between 286 and 261 B.C.). Both had been re-used in a Roman wall off the modern Theseion Street, north of the Panathenaic Way shortly before the latter enters the Agora. A decree honoring a hipparch of 188/7 from a Roman wall over the Pompeion was also to be erected "near the Herms" (Habicht, p. 128 [*SEG XXI*, 435], line 11).

⁵ A preliminary account of the well (Agora Deposit J 5:1, "The Crossroads Well"), the inscribed lead tablets and the clay *symbola* is presented by T. L. Shear, Jr., in the 1971 Agora report, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 130-134, 165-168, 176-179, with pls. 25, 28, 36, 39. As there observed (pp. 178-179), the Pheidon Thriasios of the clay *symbola* is doubtless to be identified with the Pheidon mentioned in the fragment of Middle Comedy that prefaces this paper.

A brief analysis of the tablets was read by me at the Seventy-third General Meeting of the American Institute of Archaeology (abstract in *AJA* 76, 1972, p. 213). For another summary and the significance of the tablets in archival history, see E. Posner, "The Athenian Cavalry Archives of the Fourth and Third Centuries B.C.," *The American Archivist* 37, 1974, pp. 579-582.

⁶ Habicht, p. 138. The Hipparcheion is known only through mention in line 6 of *IG II*², 895, in honor of a hipparch of 188/7 (improved text by Habicht, pp. 139-140 = *SEG XXI*, 436).

middle or third quarter of the 3rd century B.C. These 3rd century tablets are identical in type and date to the huge lot of 570-odd lead cavalry tablets recovered in 1965 from a well in the courtyard of the Dipylon Gate and admirably published by Karin Braun in the recent Kerameikos number of *Athenische Mitteilungen*.⁷

Like the lead tablets from the Kerameikos well, those from the Agora were found folded or rolled up, with the name of an Athenian in the genitive case inscribed on the outside. On the inside face, and hence not visible until unfolding, are normally inscribed the designation of a color, the designation of a symbol (or the term *ἄσημος*, "unmarked"), and a sum in hundreds of drachmas (minas). On the 3rd century tablets the sum of money is frequently prefaced with the term *τίμημα*, "evaluation," or an abbreviation thereof, *τίμη*, *τίμ*, or *τί*. There is considerable variety in the size and proportions of the tablets and in the way their information is recorded. For example, on many of them the proper name inscribed on the outside is repeated at the beginning of the text on the inside face, and certain 3rd century tablets bear name, color, and symbol on the outside of the folded tablet with only the *timema*, the evaluated sum, on the inside.

From the specialized vocabulary of certain of the colors and symbols, Braun recognized that the tablets pertain to horses, the colors being the colors of the horses and the symbols the horses' brands.⁸ The men whose names appear in the genitive at the beginning of each text are, of course, the horses' owners. That they are *hippeis* is shown by two of the names (Charias of the Kerameikos tablet no. 565 and Antimachos of 62 below) that are followed by the title *πρόδρομος*. As we know from Xenophon, *Hipparch.* I. 25, and Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 49. 1, the *prodromoi* were a specialized body of mounted men attached to the regular Athenian cavalry (see below *ad* 62).

The final item of each tablet, the *τίμημα*, must relate then to the *τιμήσεις τῶν ἵππων*, mentioned in two extant decrees passed by the *hippeis*, one honoring the hipparchs and phylarchs of the year 282/1, the other in honor of a hipparch of the year 188/7. Among the duties of the commanders of the earlier inscription are praised for having carried out, *ἐπιμετέληνται δὲ καὶ τῶν [τι]μήσεων καὶ τῶν δοκιμασιῶν, ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων δοκιμασίαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς καλῶς . . .*⁹

From the context it is clear that the *τιμήσεις καὶ δοκιμασίαι* are evaluations and inspections of the horses, as distinct from the inspections of the physical fitness of the cavalrymen (*ἡ τῶν σωμάτων δοκιμασία*, for which see *Ath. Pol.* 49. 2). The 2nd century decree is more explicit in actually referring to "the evaluations of the horses"

⁷ Braun, pp. 129-132, 198-269, pls. 83-92. The location and construction of the well is detailed by G. Gruben in the same volume of *AthMitt* (85, 1970), pp. 114-124. Summary in U. Knigge, "Der Kerameikos von Athen," *Antike Welt* 4, fasc. 4, 1973, pp. 2-20.

⁸ Braun, pp. 198-200.

⁹ Threpsiades and Vanderpool, *op. cit.* (footnote 4 above), p. 104, no. 1, lines 14-17.

([. . . ἐποι]ήσατο δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμήσεις τῶν ἵππων μετὰ [τῆς βουλῆς?])¹⁰ but does not associate these *timeseis* with *dokimasiai*. The *dokimasiai* of horses, as documented by *Ath. Pol.* 49. 1, and Xenophon, *Hippiarch.* III. 1 and 9, cf. I. 13, were of two kinds: inspections of the individual horses under the supervision of the Council to determine if each had been properly fed and cared for, and several annual mass reviews in riding and maneuvering before the Council to insure that the horses were obedient and fast enough for military service. The *timeseis*, on the other hand, are attested only in the two inscriptions, and now by our lead tablets, which are surely the records of these evaluations. The tablets demonstrate at once that the evaluations are to be understood literally as appraisals of each horse's monetary worth.

Horse Colors and Brands

The Agora tablets have very little to add to Braun's extensive discussion of the horse colors and brands that occur on the more numerous Kerameikos tablets.¹¹ All five color adjectives that are commonly used in the Kerameikos tablets are employed in the Agora tablets: *πυρρός* (red or chestnut, much the most frequent color), *μέλας* (black), *παρώας* (reddish brown or bay), *λευκός* (white), and *ποικίλος* (spotted). Only the first three of these are attested on the Agora tablets from the 4th century. Two additional colors are mentioned in the Kerameikos material: *ψαρός* (dapple-gray), recorded on only two tablets, and *μαλο[παρώας?]* (white [-brown?]), given on a single fragment.¹²

Until the discovery and publication of the Kerameikos tablets, Greek horse brands were known solely from mentions in the literary sources and from representations of horses in Greek art, especially on painted vases. On the lead tablets the brands are normally designated by a simple noun stating the device of the brand. Certain of the more prestigious brands, however, are referred to by the use of descriptive nouns denoting horses marked with them. Braun rejects *βουκεφάλας* from this class of brand-compounds, preferring to associate it with the term *φαλιός* which occurs once or twice in the Kerameikos tablets to identify horses with a natural white marking.¹³ On this reasoning a *boukephalas* will have been an unbranded horse with some distinctive natural marking or coloring (Braun hesitantly proposes "with white fetlocks"). But although it is true that the ox-head device that would be branded on *boukephalai*, a *βουκεφάλιον* is not separately mentioned in the tablets, and although several contradictory explanations were given in antiquity for the naming of Alexander's famous Boukephalas, the most persistent and informed ancient tradition classed *boukephalai* with *sanphorai* and *koppatai* as "brand-name" horses.¹⁴ And this tradition is upheld by the tablets, which, except for one or two *phalioi*, identified the animals by artificial markings.

¹⁰ Habicht, p. 129, lines 27-28.

¹¹ Braun, pp. 199-200, 251-267.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 256.

¹³ *Ibid.* Note that the *boukephalas* of the Agora tablet 106 is black like Alexander's Boukephalas (Arrian, *Anab.* V. 19. 5).

¹⁴ Hesychius, *s.v.* βουκέφαλος. ἵππος ἐκκεχαραγμένον ἔχων τοῖς ἰσχίοις βούκρανον. Photius, *s.v.* σαμφόρας. ἵππος χαρακτήρα ἔχων ἐκκεκαυμένον σίγμα, ὡς κοππατίας καὶ βουκέφαλος. Four accounts are given for the name of Alexander's Boukephalas: he was marked with an ox-head brand (one of the two explanations offered by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VIII. 44, and the one favored by Arrian, *Anab.* V.

The following 25 brands are found on the Agora tablets. Full documentation of their appearance in literary or artistic contexts will be found in Braun's list of 57 brands, *Z(eichen)*, collected by her from all sources.¹⁵

Attested on 4th century tablets only:

Dolphin: *δελφίς* (16). Braun, Z 44

Circle: *κύκλος* (12). Not in Braun.

(See also the undeciphered brand description of 10).

Attested on 4th and 3rd century tablets:

Thunderbolt: *κεραυνός* (22a). Braun, Z 16

Caduceus: *κηρύκειον* (14, 17). Braun, Z 18

Helmet: *κράνος* (8, 108). Braun, Z 21

Krater: *κρατήρ* (1, 76, 78, 101, 104). Braun, Z 22

Nike: *Νίκη* (15, 26, 94). Braun, Z 28

Dove: *πέλεια* (2). Braun, Z 32¹⁶

Axe: *πέλεκυς* (7, 51, 55, 64a), *πέλυξ* (28, 67b). Braun, Z 33

San (i. e. sigma): *σάν* (3, 21a, 59, 70), *σανφόρας* (27). Braun, Z 41, with p. 199.¹⁷

Trident: *τρίαινα* (13, 22b), *τρίαινα* (40). Braun, Z 46.

(Note that the brand of 81a may be a thunderbolt or a Cerberus [see below].)

Attested on 3rd century tablets only:

Agyieus (i. e., Apollo as an aniconic, bullet-shaped pillar): *Ἄγυιεύς* (30). Braun, Z 2

Eagle: *αιετός* (50, 64b, 87), *αετός* (66a, 102). Braun, Z 3

Arkadian (helmet?): *Ἀρκάς* (85, 89). Braun, Z 6

Ox-head: *βουκεφάλας* (43, 106). (Although the word is incomplete on both, it occurs in entirety on seven of the Kerameikos tablets; see footnotes 13 and 14 above.)

19. 5); he had a white mark on his forehead in the shape of an ox-head (the alternative mentioned by Arrian); he was fierce in appearance (Pliny's alternative); or he had a broad, ox-like head (Strabo, XV. 1. 28; Aulus Gellius, V. 2). The last two of these are obviously facile etymological deductions; and since horses with white marks on their foreheads were *φαλιοί*, we are left with the first tradition, which has the authority of Arrian and the lexicographers. The statement in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, 207, 55 (introducing Aristophanes, frags. 41 and 42) that *boukephalai* were a type of Thessalian horse agrees with the tradition that Alexander's Boukephalos was purchased from the *grex* of Philonikos of Pharsalos (Pliny, *loc. cit.*) to show that "ox-headers" belonged to a localized stock; and it is much more probable that such stock was identified by a brand than by some kind of natural marking that necessarily did not occur on horses raised elsewhere.

¹⁵ Braun, pp. 256-264. M. B. Moore (*AJA* 76, 1972, p. 3, note 11) lists a few instances in Attic vase painting where brands (snake = Braun, Z 11; S-shaped sigma = Braun, Z 57; and dotted circle) are depicted on the flanks of other animals (a lion, a centaur, and several bulls).

¹⁶ The brand abbreviated ΠΕΠΙ on the Kerameikos tablet no. 302 + 303 should probably be expanded *περιστέρα* (pigeon) and understood as an alternative designation of the *πέλεια* brand. (The letters were read by Braun [p. 267] as belonging to the preposition *περι*.) Another pair of brand designations that conceivably refer to the same device are *Skylla* (Braun, Z 43) and *Triton* (Z 48).

¹⁷ To which add Aristophanes, *Knights*, 603 (with the remarks of L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, p. 33, note 1) and *Clouds*, 1298.

- Snake: δράκων (36, 41, 61, 72, 80, 86, 93, 96, 97, 100, 103, 111). Braun, Z 11
 Centaur: κένταυρος (69). Braun, Z 15
 Cerberus: Κέρβερος (38). Braun, Z 17
 Crow: κρώνη (33, 47). Braun, Z 20
 Lioness: λέαινα (52). Cf. Braun, Z 25 (λέων)
 Lyre: λύρα (37, 59b, 71). Braun, Z 27
 Quail: ὄρνις (63b, 64a, 110). Braun, Z 29
 Club: ῥόπαλον (59a, 67). Braun, Z 39
 Triton: Τρίτων (68). Braun, Z 48
 Bridle: χαλινός (95). Braun, Z 50
 "Brand": χαρακτήρ (98). Not in Braun.

Only four of the above, the dolphin and circle of the earlier tablets and the lioness and χαρακτήρ of the later ones, represent additions to the 52 brands of the Kerameikos tablets. But the dolphin and circle brands are previously known from Greek vase painting;¹⁸ and because lions were frequently depicted in antiquity without manes, our lioness is probably no more than a conscientious description of the brand that on several of the Kerameikos tablets is identified as a lion. The χαρακτήρ of 98 I take to be a brand that was too obscure or irregular to be described more precisely.

San-bearing and ox-head horses already enjoyed a high reputation in the time of Aristophanes (fragments 41 and 42); and other brands still being employed in the 3rd century, caduceus and snake for example, are shown on horses in Attic vase painting as early as the 6th century B.C. (see Braun, Z 11 and Z 18). Thus the reappearance a century later in the 3rd century tablets of all but two of the brands mentioned on the 4th century tablets merely underscores the long continuity in the use of these devices.

Certain brands are known to or may be inferred to have had specific regional associations. *Boukephalai* were a "brand" of Thessalian horse, apparently from the vicinity of Pharsalos (above, footnote 14); horses marked with the device of a centaur are said to have come from the area around Larissa (see Braun, Z 68); and horses on the coins of Alexander of Pherai (369-357 B.C.) branded with a *pelekeus* imply that this axe was another local Thessalian mark (Braun, Z 33). The caduceus brand similarly appears on the coins of Kings Alexander I (498-454 B.C.) and Pausanias (390-389 B.C.) of Macedon, surely as the mark of the finest Macedonian chargers (Braun, Z 18). And it has long been assumed that koppa- and san-bearing horses were bred at Corinth and Sikyon respectively. Such local connections, together with the longevity of many of the devices over the centuries of use, leave little doubt that the brands were trademarks of the established stables and herds that provided the finer mounts for the whole of Greece.¹⁹

Horse Values

In terms of content, the one significant difference between the 4th and 3rd century tablets is to be found in the horses' evaluations. The maximum figure given on the 3rd century tablets is 1200 drachmas.²⁰ Since there hardly can have been such a limit on the actual worth of fine

¹⁸ Dolphin brand in a chariot-racing scene on a 4th century South Italian volute-krater (H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien*, Tübingen 1966, pl. 58). Dotted circle on a lion (!) by the 6th century Attic Lysippides Painter (Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford 1956, p. 255, no. 5).

¹⁹ Braun, pp. 265-267, who suggests possible regional associations for certain other devices.

²⁰ The sum on the Kerameikos tablet no. 170, inscribed ΧΗΗ, was meant to represent 1200 drachmas, not 1300 as transcribed by Braun, p. 213, cf. p. 267. The inscriber of the tablet crossed his two etas with a single horizontal thereby making them look like three.

horses (Aulus Gellius, V. 2, quoting Chares, states that Alexander's Boukephalos was purchased for 13 talents; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VIII. 44, gives the price at 16 talents), it is clear that this 12-mina maximum was an arbitrarily imposed ceiling on the amount at which the cavalry mounts could be appraised. Many, if not most, of the 12-mina horses must have been worth more, but for the purposes of the evaluation their additional value was discounted. From 1200 drachmas the evaluations descend in even hundreds (or occasionally fifties) of drachmas down to 100, although the lowest normal evaluation is 300 drachmas. Out of the nearly 500 3rd century Kerameikos and Agora tablets whose evaluations are preserved in full, 44 record horses at 300 drachmas, only 3 record horses at 250 drachmas, only 12 record horses at 200 drachmas, and only two horses at 100 drachmas.²¹ The average (mean) evaluation of the 3rd century horses is just under 700 drachmas.

On the 17 4th century tablets with fully preserved evaluations, the appraisals run from 700 to 100, with a median at just under 400 drachmas. Furthermore, although the sample is minute in comparison with the 500 tablets from the 3rd century, it contains a strikingly greater proportion of evaluations in the lower 250-to-100 drachma range: one at 250 (9), one at 200 (19), two at 150 (12, 20), and one horse at 100 drachmas (11).

Though small, the 4th century sampling implies that during the century that separates the earlier and later groups of tablets the over-all values of the horses used by the Athenian *hippeis* had increased. This could be evidence that the cost of war horses had risen in the early Hellenistic period. But the more probable explanation may be simply that a higher standard was maintained for the horses of the 3rd century cavalry, which was, as we will see, a much smaller, more exclusive, and presumably *per capita* wealthier body than the cavalry of the preceding century. In both the 4th and the 3rd century tablets, the greatest clustering of horses falls at 500 drachmas; and it should be noted too that the values in the 3rd century tablets agree closely with those preserved in literary sources of the late 5th and early 4th centuries B.C.: 3 minas for a cheap but serviceable cavalry horse, 12 minas for a first-rate charger.

The 3-mina figure is mentioned by Isaios, V. 43. A horse at 12 minas occurs in no fewer than three authorities; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 21-23 (for a race horse, a *koppatias*); Lysias, VII. 10 (a horse given as surety for a loan of this amount); and Xenophon, *Anabasis* VII. 8. 6 (Xenophon's own military horse, sold in 399 B.C. for 50 darics or 12½ Attic minas²²). As Braun observes, it is striking that this 12-mina figure appears as the maximum evaluation in the 3rd century cavalry tablets.²³ This sum seems to have been the conventional one for the worth of a fine horse, and for this reason would have been adopted as the ceiling in the evaluations. We have too few of the earlier cavalry tablets to know what maximum was set for the 4th century evaluations. But if the later 12-mina ceiling was derived from a conventional sum already recognized by the time of the *Clouds*, the ceiling in the 4th century will also have been 1200 drachmas. Hence, although the cavalymen of Hellenistic Athens were more expensively mounted than those of the 4th century, the amount of the maximum evaluation would not have been raised accordingly.

²¹ 250 drachmas: 62(b) below and the Kerameikos tablets nos. 171 and 241; 100 drachmas: Kerameikos nos. 164 (which actually records the anomalous sum of 120 drachmas) and 240, cf. Braun, p. 267.

²² On the exchange rate given in *Anabasis* I. 5. 6: 1 daric = 25 Attic drachmas. See W. E. Thompson, "Gold and Silver Ratios at Athens During the Fifth Century," *NumChron*, 7th Ser., 4, 1964, p. 121, note 4.

²³ Braun, p. 267.

TABLE I: TRIBE OF ERECHTHEIS

SERIES	I (Keramikos)	II (Keramikos)	III (Keramikos)	IV (Agora Series A)	V (Keramikos)	VI (Keramikos)	VII (Keramikos)	VIII (Keramikos)	IX (Agora Series B)
1. Ἀρκέσας Ἐδωνηγεύς	πυρὸς Κέρβερος FH	πυρὸς FH	πυρὸς σαινφόρας FH	μέλας δράκων XHH	πυρὸς δράκων HHH	πυρὸς δράκων HHH	πυρὸς δράκων HHH	μέλας δράκων FH	
2. Διοσκουρίδης Ἐδωνηγεύς	παράσιος ἄγλητηρ XHH					πυρὸς ἀγλα XHH	πυρὸς ἀγλα XHH	πυρὸς ἀγλα XHH	
3. Δημοκλήτης Κηφισιεύς						πυρὸς δράκων HHH	πυρὸς δράκων HHH	πυρὸς δράκων HHH	
4. Ἐπαύκετος Ἐδωνηγεύς	πυρὸς δράκων X	πυρὸς δράκων X	πυρὸς πέλυξ FH	πυρὸς πέλυξ FH		[πυρὸς] δράκων XHH	πυρὸς δράκων XHH	[πυρὸς] δράκων XHH	
5. Ἐπυρέτης Ἐδωνηγεύς									
6. Θεόδωρος Ἐδωνηγεύς									
7. Θεομήδης Ἀναγυράστας	λευκὸς ἄσπεμος X	λευκὸς ἀσπεμος X	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος HHHH				πυρὸς ἀσπεμος XHH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος XHH	
8. Θεουμάριος (Ἐδωνηγεύς)	πυρὸς χελιδὼν FH	λευκὸς ἀσπεμος X	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH		πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	
9. Τέγων Ἀναγυράστας	[---] [-]	λευκὸς ἀσπεμος X	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH		πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	
10. Καλλίας Ἐδωνηγεύς									
11. Κυνέας Ἐδωνηγεύς		λευκὸς κρητήρ FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH		πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	
12. Κλεοχάρης Κηφισιεύς			πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH		πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	
13. Νικόμαχος Λαμπιτρεύς									
14. Τιμόστρατος (deme?)	παράσιος ἀλεκτρυνίω FH								
15. Τιμωνίδης Ἐδωνηγεύς									
16. Φαίδρος (deme?)	πυρὸς πέλυξ FH								
17. Φιλοκράτης Ἐδωνηγεύς	πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH			μέλας ἀσπεμος FH				μέλας ἀσπεμος FH	
18. Φιλοκράτης Κηφισιεύς			πυρὸς κορώνη FH					πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	
19. Χαρίων Λαμπιτρεύς	πυρὸς Σείσηρη X							πυρὸς ἀσπεμος FH	

CONCORDANCE TO TABLE I

Series I (cf. Braun, p. 204, group 5): Kerameikos tablets nos. 60, 115 (Abb. 4) + 116, 135, 201, 220, 235, 498, 502, 529, 553 (Abb. 11), all long and exceptionally thick and heavy strips, inscribed in one line. Belonging to this series also is no. 236, a fragment of a tablet inscribed for Hieron's attendant (Ἰγέρωνος ὑπηρέτου). *πυρρός* is regularly spelled with one rho and Ἰέρωνος as Ἰγέρωνος. Demotics are not given, so that it is uncertain to which Philokrates no. 529 belongs.

Thoumrios, Timostratos, and Phaidros do not occur in later series. The first of these will have been *PA 7278*, Thoumrios, son of Sostratinos, of Euonymon, a contributor in the archonship of Diomedon (247/6) (*Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 291, col. I, line 55).

Series II: Kerameikos nos. 198, 247 (Taf. 85), 291. No demotics. The deme of Kineas is known from no. 290, which, however, cannot be stylistically associated with any other extant tablet of Erechtheis.

Series III: Kerameikos nos. 258, 292. Short, wide tablets folded in two, the name on the outside inscribed in very large letters. No demotics.

Series IV: Agora Series A, **27-35** (Figs. 3-4, Pl. 35). Demotics included.

Series V: Kerameikos nos. 132 (Abb. 5), 244, 305, 419 (Taf. 83), 526, all long tablets, similar in size to those of Series IV, inscribed in one or two lines but without demotics except on no. 526 to specify which Philokrates. Although *πυρρός* is spelled with one rho on no. 419, the tablet clearly belongs with the others. No interpuncts.

Series VI: Kerameikos nos. 61, 122, 203, 417, 499. Another series of long tablets but inscribed in one line with an interpunct before the numeral. *πυρρός* with one rho. No demotics.

Series VII: Kerameikos nos. 144 (Abb. 4), 137, 261 (Abb. 7), 304 (Taf. 87), 500, 527, 550. Short, wide tablets folded in two; names

with demotics are inscribed on the outside in two or three lines.

Series VIII: Kerameikos nos. 133 (Abb. 3), 123 (Abb. 3), 136, 202 (Abb. 5), 234 (Taf. 83), 302 (Abb. 7, Taf. 92) + 303 (for the brand, see footnote 16 above), 415 (Abb. 9), 530, 551. Small, narrow tablets, inscribed in a small hand, and nearly identical to the tablets of Series IX except for the omission of *τίμημα* or *τίμη*. Demotics are present.

As Braun records, the brand of no. 234 (Hieron) was omitted. However, under the first two letters of *πυρρός* are the clear erased incisions of beta-omicron, showing that the inscriber began to write the brand (*βουκεφάλας*, as we see from Series IX) in first place in line 2. Realizing his mistake, he rubbed out the letters and began the line properly with the color, then forgetting to add the brand after it.

The numeral of no. 530 (Philokrates of Kephisia) is very faintly preserved. Braun records ΗΗΗΗ, but, with some cleaning, traces emerged at the left of a horizontal, suggesting possibly ΠΗΗΗΗ. Neither reading allows us confidently to associate the chestnut, unmarked horse with the similar horse valued at 500 drachmas in Series IX, for it would be extraordinary for a horse to gain 100 drachmas or to lose as much as 400 drachmas in one year. In as much as chestnut *asemoi* are much the most common animals in the cavalry texts, the one of Series IX is probably a replacement for the one of Series VIII.

Series IX: Agora Series B, **36-48** (Figs. 4-5, Pl. 36) with the Kerameikos tablet no. 416 (Nikomedes). Demotics present. Note that Epigenes has two tablets in this series (**40** and **41**), and that half of a tablet from the series, inscribed for a Euonymeus with a chestnut horse, should probably be assigned to Kallias Euonymeus, see **48**.

Unassigned to a series: Kerameikos nos. 245, 246 (Hieron); 290, 293 (Kineas); 418 (Nikomachos); 528 (Philokrates E.); 552 a and b (= one tablet) (Chairion).

Tribal Series

Braun observed that certain tablets could be grouped together in stylistically homogeneous series, on the criteria of size, shape, textual format, and handwriting. But because of the formidable quantity of the Kerameikos material, she, quite understandably, limited herself to the identification of only six such groups.²⁴ With the fewer 3rd century tablets from the Agora well it has been possible to go further. From them ten series or parts of series can be distinguished; and from the three series in which demotics are recorded, it is seen that the tablets in each series are inscribed for cavalrymen of the same tribe.

For example, **27-35** (Figs. 3, 4, Pl. 35) comprise a unique group (Series A) of exceptionally long tablets inscribed in the same way, by the same hand, and identically folded into four parts. The inside text of each is in two or three lines, regularly includes the cavalryman's demotic, and prefaces the value of the horse with *τίμημα* or *τίμη* and a two-point interpunct. The demotics inform us that all of the cavalrymen are Erechtheidai. The sixteen tablets of Series B (**36-48a**, Figs. 4, 5, Pl. 36) are also inscribed for cavalrymen of Erechtheis but are much smaller, had been folded in two, and were inscribed by a hand that used spaces instead of interpuncts to separate *τίμημα* or *τίμη* from the numeral. Since some of the same cavalrymen are named in both series, it follows that each series records the evaluations of horses of the cavalrymen of Erechtheis for a separate year.

There are four series of 3rd century tablets from the Agora well inscribed for cavalrymen of Antiochis. Only one of these, Series C (**49-55**, Fig. 6, Pl. 36), gives demotics, but Series D, E, and F (**56-72**, Figs. 7, 8, Pl. 37), can be confidently assigned to this tribe because they name men known from Series C. Special notice should be made of the tablets of Series E, **62-66**, which are palimpsest tablets that had been inscribed twice for Antiochidai. Many of the extant tablets,²⁵ including some from the 4th century (**21** and **22**), have been re-used similarly; and in every instance where the tribal affiliation of the cavalrymen of both uses can be determined (e. g., on the Kerameikos tablets nos. 13, 156, 410, and 451—all from Aiantis—and **81** below), the tribe is found to be unchanged. Series C is another series of palimpsest tablets, but, as on such tablets as **30** (Fig. 3, Pl. 35) and **93-102** (Series K: Figs. 10, 11, Pl. 39), the erasure of the earlier text has been so thorough that only occasional traces of earlier letters and the spread, uneven shape of the tablets caused by the erasure attest to earlier usage.

The remaining Agora Series G-K come from three other tribes, but owing to the absence of demotics the identification of the tribes is problematic. Criteria for identifying the tribe of Series K, **92-102**, are lacking altogether but, for reasons outlined in footnotes 68 and 69 below, Series G, **73-80**, may be provisionally attributed to Leontis and Series H and J, **85-91**, to Hippothontis.

The Agora tablets inscribed for cavalrymen of Erechtheis, (?)Leontis, and (?)Hippothontis are substantially supplemented by numerous tablets from the Kerameikos deposit, which I have been able to examine through the kindness of the German excavators.²⁶ Most of the Kerameikos tablets

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201. **22**, **91**, and the Kerameikos tablet no. 149 are known to have had three uses.

²⁶ I have limited my study of the Kerameikos tablets to those that have a direct bearing on the material from the Agora well. Eventually someone will have to go through all of the Kerameikos tablets with a view to establishing as many series as possible for the remaining tribes. Among the tribes that remain, the following are represented by one or more of the Kerameikos tablets with demotics. *Aiantis*: tablets nos. 13, 27, 156, 263, 410, 451, 563, all belonging to the same annual series (cf. Braun, p. 204, group 6); most being palimpsests, they give a total of nine cavalrymen known from this tribe. *Antigonis*: nos. 212, 228, 568, all forming part of an annual series.

from these three tribes arrange themselves into stylistically homogeneous groups, which in the case of (?)Leontis and (?)Hippothontis display idiosyncracies peculiar to these tribes. Thus, for most of the tablets of (?)Hippothontis, including those of Agora Series H, 85-88 (Fig. 10, Pl. 38), name, color, and brand are recorded on the outside of the tablet with only the horses' evaluations given on the inside. Moreover, at least two series of this tribe (see Agora Series J, 89-91 [Fig. 10, Pl. 38] and footnote 68 below) are inscribed on exceptionally wide tablets that had been folded with a horizontal rather than the normal vertical fold. Most of the tablets of (?)Leontis, on the other hand, including those from our Series G, 73-80 (Pl. 38), are readily identified since they were not folded but were rolled up into tight cylinders. Such tribal characteristics together with the re-use of tablets within tribes show not only that the evaluations of horses were recorded and stored (probably in bags or small boxes) by phylai but that the procurement and form of the tablets themselves were left completely in the hands of the separate tribal commanders, the phylarchs.

The most informative of the series studied so far are those from Erechtheis, in part because about half of them bear demotics but primarily because of their relatively large numbers. Nine series or parts of series can be identified, and, as shown in Table I, the majority of these are linked together by the repetition of certain of the same horses from one series to the next. Since the horses are continually growing older and depreciating, their tablets (and hence the entire series to which the tablets belong) can be arranged in a chronological sequence of descending values. Such linkage by at least six different horses within Series VI-IX permits us to recover the internal chronology of these four series and strongly implies that the four series belonged to four consecutive years. VI-IX are the most complete of the nine series of Table I and should therefore be the latest ones. Series IV and V, linked by three horses, should likewise belong to consecutive years and possibly may be linked to Series VI-IX through the unmarked, chestnut horse of Kleochares of Kephisia. If so, we would have in Series IV-IX an unbroken sequence of one tribe's evaluations for a total of six years. But since unbranded chestnut horses are extremely common in the tablets and since it would be quite exceptional for a horse to retain the same 6-mina evaluation over a period of four years, we probably have to do with two different horses, in which case Series IV-V and Series VI-IX will have been separated by a gap of one to several years, the annual records of which have not survived.

There is no repetition of any of the horses known to us from Series I, II, and III, so that the internal sequence of these cannot be established. That they as a group preceded the more complete, linked series seems clear, however, from the circumstance that they name certain cavalrymen who are absent from Series IV-IX. One assumes that these cavalrymen (nos. 8, 11, 14, and 16 in the Table) were older men who had retired from the cavalry by the time the linked series commenced and whose places had been taken by certain of the younger men who are named in the linked series but not in I, II and III (e. g., cavalrymen nos. 3, 4, 12, 15). Gaps of one or more years almost certainly occurred within Series I, II and III and between them and Series IV. Thus in estimating the amount of time covered by all nine series of Table I we may be confident that its span was more than nine years and may easily have been in the neighborhood of a decade and a half.

If Series IV-V and VI-IX do indeed belong to two periods of two and four consecutive

Demetrias: nos. 57, 280, 331. *Aigeis*: no. 445. *Pandionis*: nos. 52, 102 (see end of this footnote), 535. *Akamantis*: nos. 25, 233, 257, 573. Three Kerameikos tablets from the split deme of Paiania (nos. 120, 168, 169) may belong to Antigonis or Pandionis, or both; no. 75 from the split deme of Oion, to Demetrias or Hippothontis. The tribe of the cavalrymen of no. 102, Diogenes Paianieus, is known from *Agora XV*, no. 130, line 61, where he is listed as a councillor of Pandionis in 220/19.

years each, we see from Table I that the depreciation of a cavalry horse in 3rd century Athens averaged 100 drachmas a year. The maximum attested drop, known in several instances, is 200 drachmas per year, while certain horses show no depreciation from one year to the next. It appears, however, that only the horses evaluated at the maximum 1200 drachmas retained the same evaluation for as much as three years in succession, doubtless, as we have seen, because most of them were actually worth more than this sum.

All of this is as one could have predicted. Less expected is the frequency with which the cavalrymen obtained new mounts. None of our cavalrymen who appear in more than one series owned fewer than two different horses during the period covered by Table I. Arkesas of Euonymon and Hieron of Anagyrous owned at least three. And Chairon of Lamprai is known to have had a minimum of four, a different one in each of the last three years. One imagines that this was as much the result of horse trading between cavalrymen as it was of buying and selling at the horse market, and that personal financial considerations were often involved quite as much as the general desirability of always replacing one's present mount with a better (or at least a different) one. There is an obvious analogy here with the motives that today govern the ownership of automobiles. Like a cavalryman's horse, a car regularly depreciates from one year to the next and, in America, is rarely kept for more than a few years before being traded in on a new model.

The continual turnover of the horses explains, I think, why the records of the horses' values were kept as they were—individually on lead tablets. Official annual records at Athens were normally kept in list form on papyrus or whitened boards.²⁷ But since a cavalryman was likely to have changed his horse at any time in the course of a year, a more flexible system of records was called for—the equivalent of the modern card-file system—whereby the record of a given horse could be pulled out and replaced if the horse itself was replaced.²⁸ For such individual records, lead had obvious advantages over paper or wood, and, because it was cheap and could be erased and re-used repeatedly, it would have been less costly in the long run.²⁹ The re-use of the tablets, incidently,

²⁷ Cf. G. Klaffenbach, "Bemerkungen zum. gr. Urkundenwesen," *Sitz. Akad. Wis. Berlin*, 1960, no. 6, pp. 21-23. The official *κατάλογος* of the Athenian cavalryman was inscribed on a *πίναξ* (*Ath. Pol.* 49. 2), called a *σανίδιον* in Lysias, XVI. 6.

²⁸ Among the Kerameikos tablets there are at least two, nos. 24 and 156.2, that seem to record the substitution of one horse for another in the course of a year. On both tablets the description and value of one horse are replaced with the description and value of another, although the cavalryman's name was left unchanged. Nos. 44, 149, 410, and 563 also give two (or, in the case of 149, three) successive horses belonging to one cavalryman, but since the cavalryman's name was reinscribed with every change of horse, these look more like "re-used" tablets, each text of which may belong to a different year.

²⁹ Lead seems to have been employed for writing in antiquity more commonly than is usually recognized. Because of its baseness and assumed affinities with the underworld, it was the standard medium for curse tablets (A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, Paris 1904, pp. xlvi-xlix). Otherwise its cheapness, permanence, and ease of inscribing made it suitable for private papers (e.g., Plutarch, *De mul. virt.* 254 D; Frontinus, *Strategemata* III, 3. 7 = Dio, XLVI. 36. 4; *SIG*⁸, 1259, 1260; G. R. Davidson and D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, *Small Objects from the Pnyx: I*, Cambridge, Mass. 1943, pp. 10-11, no. 17; *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 17, 1975, pp. 157-162), for the writing out of queries to the oracle at Dodona (H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus*, Oxford 1967, pp. 100-102, 126, note 18, 259-273), and for public documents, such as the 6th century B.C. records of loans from a temple archive at Corcyra (*BSA* 66, 1971, pp. 79-93). Pausanias (IX. 31. 4) saw a text of Hesiod on lead on Mt. Helikon. Unspecified public lead documents are mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XIII. 68-69, and "lead paper" (*plumbea charta*)

must surely be a factor in the low survival rate of tablets in most series and the loss of other entire series.

There is one other respect in which the tablets stand apart from most annual records. I assume that they were rolled or folded simply to facilitate storage and not because the evaluations they contain were to be kept secret. But the fact that they were folded or rolled up, many of them as tightly as they could be, indicates that no one expected them to be referred to on a regular basis. Indeed, since all of the unbroken tablets were recovered from the Kerameikos and Agora wells in their original folded or rolled state, it appears doubtful that any of the extant tablets had ever been consulted. This of course does not mean that the evaluations were never consulted, merely that the records were made up annually and filed away to be consulted only in rare, though anticipated, cases. If the occasion did not arise in the course of the year, they expired, were replaced with the next year's evaluations, and were put aside, eventually to be erased and re-used.

Size of the Cavalry

A final deduction to be drawn from the tribal series concerns the size of the Athenian cavalry at the time of the 3rd century tablets. The inscription honoring the hipparchs and phylarchs of 282/1 states that by recruiting an additional 100 *hippeis* they raised the total number of the body "as far as possible at present" to 300 (προσκατέστησαν ἰπ<π>εῖς ἑκατὸν [ὄ]πως ἂν ἀναπληρωθέντες οἱ ἰππεῖς εἰς τό [δύ]νατον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ γεινόμενοι [τ]ριακόσιοι τὰς χρείας παρέχωνται τῇ χῶ[ρ]αι).³⁰ This

by Suetonius, *Nero*. 20. H. A. Thompson has called my attention to a series of lead strips of the 8th century B.C. from central Anatolia inscribed with various official records and published by T. Özgüç in *Kultepe and its Vicinity in the Iron Age*, Ankara 1971, pp. 111-116; reference is there made to similar lead plaques found at Assur (*Bibliotheca Orientalis* 8, 1951, pp. 126-133). An exhaustive account of Greek inscriptions on lead has been compiled by Anne P. Miller in her University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Ph. D. dissertation, "Studies in Early Sicilian Epigraphy: An Opisthographic Lead Tablet," 1973 (Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, no. 73-26, 213), to which I owe several of the above references. A new private letter on lead, of the early 4th century B.C., was found in the same well as the present cavalry tablets; publication in *Hesperia* is expected presently.

In the 4th century B.C. a talent of lead cost 2 drachmas at Athens (Pseudo-Aristotle, *Economics* XXXVII), 1½ to 3 drachmas at Epidauros (A. Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*, Toronto 1969, p. 181). In the 3rd century the price per talent ran from 5 to 7 drachmas on Delos (J. A. O. Larsen in T. Frank, ed., *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* IV, Baltimore 1938, pp. 298-299); a large share of this cost, however, must have involved the expense of transporting the commodity to Delos. Altogether, the 650-odd 3rd century tablets from Kerameikos and Agora wells weigh a little under 14 kilograms or very close to one half of an Attic talent and thus represent only 1 to 2 drachmas-worth of lead.

³⁰ Threpsiades and Vanderpool, *op. cit.* (footnote 4 above), p. 104, no. 1, lines 7-11, with commentary, p. 106. In the later 5th and in the 4th century B.C. the number of cavalrymen was fixed by law at 1000 (Martin, pp. 367-370, with copious documentation). But it is usually assumed, though on unsubstantial evidence (below, footnote 36), that owing to difficulties in recruitment the effective strength of the corps in the latter century remained below this number (*ibid.*, pp. 350-354, 368-373). The mention of "six hundred . . ." in *IG* II², 1303, a decree honoring Theophrastos, hipparch in 220/19 (*Hesperia* 2, 1933, p. 448, lines 17-18) has been shown by A. Wilhelm to refer not to fighting men but to the Council of 650 (*Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 83, 1946, pp. 120-123).

being the period of the twelve tribes, there would have been 25 cavalymen per tribe in 282/1, and the phrase "as far as possible at the present time" implies that there was every intention of increasing the number of cavalymen in the future. The 3rd century lead tablets belong later in the century (though they can hardly postdate 224/3, when the number of tribes at Athens was raised to thirteen).³¹ Yet in every one of the tribes represented in the Agora deposit, the number of known cavalymen falls well below 25.

For example, Table I lists 19 cavalymen from Erechtheis, of whom five (nos. 6, 8, 11, 14, and 16) are named in only one or two of the earlier series, after which they had apparently retired. This leaves a total of 14 men known to have been active during the period of the last, closely linked Series VI-IX; in view of the frequent repetition of names in this last series, this number appears to be a fairly close approximation of the total number of *hippeis* of this tribe in any given year covered by the tablets. Even assuming the loss of some tablets with new names, it seems doubtful that the total could be raised by more than one or two additional cavalymen.

It is revealing to compare this total with the numbers of cavalymen attested from the other tribes whose tablets have been studied from the standpoint of annual series:

Aiantis	9	(Footnote 26 above)
(?)Leontis	11	(Series G with footnote 68 below)
Unidentified tribe	11	(Series K below)
Antiochis	14	(Series C-F, counting two men named Konon) ³²
(?)Hippothontis	14-15	(Footnote 69 below; all but one of the 15 men identified from the tribe are named in the large Kerameikos series described in this note)

The numbers in the first three of these tribes are somewhat lower than that from Erechtheis and imply that the series of surviving tablets from the tribes are incomplete or have not yet been identified in full. Since none of the several series of Antiochis are fully preserved either, one can give only a composite total of its known cavalymen. But in the case of (?)Hippothontis, which is represented by one substantial and apparently complete series, the number of cavalymen known to have been enrolled in a single year duplicates the number determined for Erechtheis. This looks significant, as does the fact that in none of the above tribes does the number of men rise above 15.

One concludes that the tablets belong to a time when the strength of the cavalry had fallen well below the 300 men attested in 282/1 B.C. With only 14 or 15 men in each of the twelve tribal contingents, the full strength would be in the vicinity of 170-180 men, which is close enough to 200 to suggest that the latter (involving a quota of 16 men per tribe) may have been the effective theoretical total intended.³³

³¹ See discussion of the absolute chronology below. The Kerameikos tablet no. 13 was first inscribed for a cavalryman from Rhamnous and later for one from Aphidna. Since both demes belonged to Aiantis until 224/3 when Aphidna was given to the newly created Ptolemais, the table, and hence the full series of Aiantis to which it belongs (above, footnote 26), must antedate 224/3.

³² If the unclassified 106 and 108 happen also to be tablets of Antiochis, the composite total of cavalymen known from this tribe is raised to sixteen.

³³ Braun (p. 269, note 44) points out the close correspondence between the 300 cavalymen of 282/1 B.C. and the number of men named in the 3rd century tablets: 256 in the Kerameikos list

Having increased the size of the cavalry to 300 in 282/1 B.C. and apparently having anticipated a still greater increase in the future, the Athenians would hardly have allowed the corps to shrink to less than 200 during the ensuing period of national revival that culminated in the Chremonidean War. Accordingly, the reduction of the cavalry's size may be plausibly attributed to Antigonos Gonatas' stern treatment of the city upon the conclusion of the war in 261 B.C.

Purposes of the Evaluations

Two interpretations of the *τιμήσεις τῶν ἵππων* have been proposed to date, both of them connecting it with the *dokimasiai* described in *Ath. Pol.* 49. Writing before the discovery of the lead tablets, Habicht³⁴ surmised that the *timeseis* mentioned in the inscription honoring the hipparchs of 188/7 were synonymous with the *dokimasia* of horses of *Ath. Pol.* 49. 1 ("The Council also inspects the horses, and if anyone has a good horse but seems to take bad care of it, he is punished by taking away his allowance for its feed"). But although this inspection does amount to an "evaluation" of the horses' fitness and maintenance, it will not account for the kind of monetary appraisals now required by our tablets. Braun suggests, on the other hand, that the evaluations are to be associated with the scrutiny of newly enrolled cavalrymen (the *dokimasia* of *Ath. Pol.* 49. 2) and that the registering of a horse of an acceptable value may have been part of the enrolling process.³⁵ But this approach, which limits the evaluations to the horses of new recruits, cannot be reconciled with the fact that each year every member of the corps submitted a horse for evaluation. Furthermore, the suitability of the mounts was not determined by their value at the horse market but by their ability to perform satisfactorily in the mass maneuvers held annually before the Council (*Ath. Pol.* 49. 1, with Xenophon, *Hipparch.* III. 1. 9).

Clearly the purpose of the evaluations must be sought elsewhere and ought to reside in the financial contract between the state and the cavalry. Of this contract, which seems generous to the *hippeis*, we know two provisions: the *σίτος*, a grain allowance paid monthly to every cavalryman for the feeding and maintenance of his steed,³⁶ and the *κατάστασις* or "establishment money," which

(*ibid.*, pp. 235-239) plus an additional 24 names from the Agora deposit. The correspondence, however, is misleading. The figure from 282/1 B.C. refers only to one year's enrollment, whereas the raw total of men named on the tablets represents the known cavalrymen from an extended period of probably one or more decades.

³⁴ Habicht, p. 135, commentary to lines 27-29.

³⁵ Braun, pp. 267-269.

³⁶ Explicit references to the *σίτος ἵππων* are made in 410/09 (*IG I²*, 304, lines 4, 8, 9, 11-12, 24), in the 320's (*Ath. Pol.* 49. 1), in 300/299 (*IG II²*, 1264, lines 2-8), in 282/1 (Threpsiades and Vanderpool, *op. cit.* [footnote 4 above], p. 104, no. 1, lines 18-21), and possibly in 187/6 (Habicht, p. 129, lines 30-31, as restored). On the strength of Demosthenes, IV. 28 (351 B.C.), the amount of the *σίτος* is alleged to have been a drachma a day to each cavalryman (e.g., Martin, pp. 350-354; G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* II, Munich 1926, p. 1186, note 4). However, the daily drachma per *hippeus* referred to by Demosthenes as a maintenance allowance (*τροφή, σιτηρέσιον*) was for active duty and had to support the cavalryman himself as well as his horse. In the same paragraph Demosthenes gives the maintenance of the hoplites and sailors as 2 obols per day, so that if we allow each cavalryman the same daily 2 obols to feed himself, he was left with 4 obols for the care of his horse. Hence 4 obols is likely to be a closer approximation of the regular peacetime *σίτος ἵππων* stipend, at least in the 4th century, and is indeed a more realistic figure in view of what it cost to feed a cavalry horse. At the time of Polybios (IV. 39. 13) each Roman cavalryman received a fodder allowance of 7 Attic *medimnoi* of barley, apparently for the feeding of two horses. At the rate of 3 to 6 drachmas per *medimnos*, the lowest and highest prices

was a loan made by the state to each recruit when he was formally enrolled ("established") in the cavalry primarily to assist him in the purchase of his mount. According to Harpokration, the *katastasis* was repaid when the cavalryman retired, at which time his sum was given to the recruit who replaced him.³⁷ Both institutions have instructive parallels in early Rome, which also paid its cavalymen a feed allowance (*aes hordiarum*) and a subvention for the initial purchase of a horse (*aes equestre*).³⁸ Whereas, however, the *aes equestre* was an outright grant to the newly enrolled Roman *eques*, the Athenian *katastasis* had to be paid back, with result that the state lost nothing while each *hippeis* was ultimately responsible for the expense of his mount—or rather, as we know now, of his successive mounts. Since part of his original investment was returned when he sold a horse to purchase a new one and when he sold his last mount upon retirement, the responsibility was limited in effect to the amount that his several horses depreciated, an amount that according to the 3rd century tablets from Erechtheis averaged a mina a year.

In a footnote to his classic chapter on the *katastasis*, Albert Martin asked whether, inasmuch as trierarchs were absolved from financial responsibility for ships destroyed in storms or in battle, there might not have been some similar provision for cavalry horses that were lost in combat.³⁹

on record for this grain in 4th century Athens (W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 25, 1956, p. 186), the costs of one horse's $3\frac{1}{2}$ *medimnoi* comes to 10-21 drachmas a month or 2 to 4 obols daily.

Lysias, frag. 6, lines 72-81 (B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Hibeh Papyri*, London 1906, p. 51) records a measure of 403/2 that reduced the cavalymen's stipend from a drachma to 4 obols per day (for discussion and the date, R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 297-301). If the reduction pertains to the peacetime fodder allowance (and it may rather pertain to pay [*μισθοφορεῖν*] on active service [*περὶ πολέμου*] over and above the maintenance allowance; so Grenfell and Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 54), it follows from the above that the reduced 4-obol stipend was probably still in effect at the time of Demosthenes, IV. Consequently it is hazardous to cite Xenophon, *Hipparch.* I. 19, as evidence for the size of the Athenian cavalry in the 360's. Xenophon there states that the cavalry cost the city nearly 40 talents a year, which is usually taken to mean an expenditure of a drachma a day to each member of an understrength cavalry of just over 650 men (Martin, pp. 351-353; Busolt-Swoboda, *loc. cit.*). But since 40 talents can also be divided into payments of 4 obols daily to a fully enrolled cavalry of 1000 and since 4 obols seems to have been the actual *sitos* stipend, Xenophon is apparently giving the conventional maximum figure that assumes a cavalry at ideal strength, whether the cavalry was at full strength at the time he was writing or not.

³⁷ Harpokration, *s. v. κατάστασις*, a gloss on Lysias, XVI. 6-7, where the *katastasis* appears as a sum of money collected in 403/2 from the cavalymen who served under the Thirty. On the assumption that Harpokration's definition of the *katastasis* as a loan was deduced from the special circumstances of 403/2, when the cavalry of the preceding year was disbanded, some commentators (e.g., Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.* [footnote 36 above], p. 1186, note 3) allege that the establishment money was an outright grant. But it is hard to imagine how the government of 403/2 could have reclaimed every cavalryman's *katastasis* unless the latter was paid out as loan. The majority of the *hippeis* of 403/2 would have been established before the Thirty came to power; if the money had been a simple grant, the state could have had no more claim to it later than to the *sitos* the knights were paid during the term of their service. For an unsurpassed analysis, see Martin, pp. 335-345. C. W. Fornara, "Cleon's Attack Against the Cavalry," *ClassQuart.* N. S. 23, 1973, p. 24, detects a probable reference to the *katastasis* in Philochoros, frag. 93.

³⁸ See articles on *aes equestre* and *aes hordiarum* in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* IA, p. 123 (G. Humbert, 1877), and *RE* I, cols. 682-684 (Kubitschek, 1894).

³⁹ Martin, p. 344, note 8. Martin (*ibid.*, p. 345) goes on to emphasize how similarly the cavalry and trierarchy were organized in other respects, especially in regard to their supervision by the Council. So also P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford 1972, p. 175. On the procedure

The financial cost to a cavalryman whose steed was killed or seriously disabled was double: not only did he lose the amount of the current horse but he would have been obliged to purchase a new one to replace it. The kind of arrangement prompted by these considerations has been assumed by J. K. Anderson in his definition of the *katastasis* as "a loan made by the state against the value of the charger and not repayable if the beast were lost on active service."⁴⁰ But although the general sense of this definition may well be correct, two modifications are called for. To judge from Harpokration, the establishment money was a fixed amount, not one that was variously adjusted to the purchase value of the particular horses. And, secondly, it is questionable that a cavalryman would have been forgiven the full amount he paid for a horse if it had been killed sometime after it was bought and had in the meanwhile depreciated. Thus if there is anything to the provision envisaged by Martin and Anderson, logically it should have included some means of ensuring that a cavalryman was compensated only for the amount his horse was worth at the time it was lost.

It is obviously in such a context as this that our evaluations on lead tablets will make perfect sense. If we may assume that the state insured against the loss of horses, the tablets, by recording each horse's current actual worth in advance, would have provided a basis for a fair claim and compensation. Without such records, the only way of settling a claim would have been through arbitration, which could hardly have been satisfactory for either party in the case of a horse that had been left to die on a distant battlefield.

Two peculiarities of the tablets make this interpretation especially persuasive. We have observed that the tablets were kept to be consulted only in very exceptional circumstances and that a ceiling of 1200 drachmas was imposed on the horses' values. Out of context both observations would appear unrelated and awkward to explain. But when the evaluations are understood as insurance appraisals all difficulties vanish. Such appraisals were made to be consulted only in the event of loss. For the cavalry horses this would normally have been only in time of war and then only when a horse came to harm. Yet, in order that the cavalry be on a ready footing, the records had to be maintained and updated regularly. The 12-mina maximum evaluation is similarly in keeping with standard insurance practice since it will represent the maximum *insurable* value of the horses—the limit of the state's liability.

The evaluation of horses was an enduring feature in the organization of the Athenian cavalry. Documented epigraphically as late as 187/6, the evaluations are first attested by the earlier group of Agora tablets around the middle of the 4th century; and there is no reason to suppose that the institution was new at that time. The *sitos* payments and the *katastasis* go back to the 5th century. The former is first mentioned in 410/9, the latter in the 420's.⁴¹ Both were presumably enacted around or shortly after the middle of the century as part of the Periklean reform that raised the cavalry to its canonical 1000-man strength by making it financially possible for a greater number of young Athenians to participate.⁴² In view of the close relationship between the *katastasis* and the insuring

governing triremes that were destroyed by storm or enemy action, M. Brilliant, *s.v. trierarchia*, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* V [1913], p. 461.

⁴⁰ *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1961, p. 137.

⁴¹ *Sitos*, footnote 36 above. The *katastasis* is first mentioned in Eupolis, frag. 268, from the *Philoï*, a comedy believed to date to the period 429-425 B.C. (J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, Leiden 1957-61, I, p. 407, note e). According to Fornara, *loc. cit.* (footnote 37 above), the reference to Kleon in Aristophanes, *Knights* 225-226 (424 B.C.) may also have to do with the *katastasis*.

⁴² The reform is dated between 445 and 438 B.C. by Martin, pp. 121-134, esp. p. 132; around 450 B.C. by B. Kill, *Anonymous Argentinensis*, Strassburg 1902, pp. 139-141. Cf. Busolt-Swoboda,

of the horses, it would not be surprising if the latter was inaugurated also at the time of this basic 5th century reform.

Absolute Chronology

To judge from the latest pottery found with them, the 4th century lead tablets, **1-26**, were thrown down the Agora well shortly after the middle of the century. The tablets of course must be earlier than the date of their deposit, but orthographic and prosopographical indications are that they cannot be appreciably earlier. The full spelling of the false diphthong OY and its earlier form, O, are each used in about an equal number of cases (both forms appear together on **1**, **2**, and **12**), as they do in dated lapidary inscriptions of the period *ca.* 360-340 B.C.⁴³ And although the prosopographical evidence is slight owing to the absence of demotics on all but one (**24**) of the 4th century tablets, three identifications can be made with some probability: the Komaios of **13** with a trierarch of the 350's or 340's and councillor in 334/3, the Alexiades of **12** with the father of another councillor of the same year, and the Thoudes of **2** with a prytanis of *ca.* 321 B.C. Adding 33 years to get a working *floruit* for Alexiades in the 360's we see that the dates of the three men bracket the middle of the century.

Since the number of 4th century tablets is small, one may easily believe that they were discarded down the well as refuse from a tidying-up of the nearby Hipparcheion. The twenty-five clay *symbola* of Pheidon, hipparch for Lemnos, recovered from the same 4th century level of the Agora well (above, footnote 5), were presumably discarded with the tablets as part of the same clean-up operation.

Although the chronological evidence for the 3rd century tablets is much more abundant, the question of an exact dating is seriously complicated by an undeniable ambiguity in the tablets' prosopography and by the fact that the archaeological chronology of the entire 3rd century has been recently in a state of flux.

We may observe at the outset that the 3rd century tablets from the Dipylon and the Agora wells are part of a single archive and must have been discarded at essentially the same time. This is shown most readily by the interlinking of the annual series from the tribe of Erechtheis summarized above in Table I. Two series from the Agora well (Series IV and IX) were inscribed in years immediately preceding or following a series from the Dipylon deposit. Series IX, moreover, although chiefly consisting of tablets from the Agora find, contains half a tablet, that of Nikamachos of Lamprai, **48a**, from the Kerameikos well. In the tribes of (?)Leontis and (?)Hippothontis one finds further instances of the same cavalrymen and even the same horses being represented by tablets from both deposits.

op. cit. (footnote 36 above), p. 978, note 3. The earliest evidence for any kind of formal organization of the Athenian cavalry is provided by two red-figure cups showing young cavalrymen (so identified by their spears) presenting their horses before a scribe who is writing something down on a wooden tablet (H. A. Cahn, "Dokimasia," *RevArch*, 1973, pp. 3-22; Rhodes, *op. cit.* [footnote 39 above], p. 175). The recently published earlier cup dates from the last decade of the 6th century; the later one, the Berlin "Dokimasia" cup, from about the 470's. There is of course no reason for associating these scenes with *timeseis*. They show excerpts either of the annual *dokimasia* of all the cavalry horses or, more probably, simply the enrollment or *dokimasia* upon enrollment of new recruits.

⁴³ So I am informed by T. L. Threatte, who is compiling a new grammar of Attic inscriptions. Cf. K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, 3rd ed., revised by E. Schwyzler, Berlin 1900, pp. 26, 63.

Both wells are strategically located with respect to the assumed location of the Hipparcheion. The well in front of the Royal Stoa must have been one of the nearest public wells to the cavalry headquarters, whereas the well some 400 meters up the Panathenaic Way in the courtyard of the Dipylon was the nearest well formally outside the city gates. Presumably, when it was decided to dispose of the tablets, they were collected and given to someone who was told to discard them outside the city. Walking out through the Dipylon, he tossed them in the first well he saw. Soon afterwards more tablets were located; but, being so few in number, they were simply taken into the Agora square and dumped in the Agora well.

The filling of the Dipylon well was excavated in 0.50 meter sections, numbered from the bottom upwards. The great deposit of lead tablets was found distributed through the continuous filling of the four lowest sections: 16% of tablets in Section I, 35% in Section II, 33% in Section III, and 16% in Section IV; but because the tablets must have all been dumped in at once, their deposition is clearly to be associated with the filling of the uppermost of these sections, Section IV.⁴⁴ Three stamped Rhodian wine-jar handles from this section are essential to fixing its date. In the late 1960's, when the well material was being readied for publication, one of the handles (no. 125) was dated to the second quarter of the 3rd century, the two others (nos. 124, 126) to the broad period 275-220 B.C.⁴⁵ Since Section IV and the next section up, Section V, are separated by a temporal gap (radical change in pottery types, no transitional material)⁴⁶ and since Section V contained half of a fourth stamped Rhodian handle (no. 135), then dated to the third quarter of the 3rd century,⁴⁷ Braun judged that Section IV and the lead tablets should be assigned to the second quarter of the century, a time that happens to agree with the prosopographical data concerning many of the cavalrymen mentioned on the tablets. Arguing that such an extraordinary amount of lead would have been thrown away only in exceptional circumstances, Braun concluded that the tablets were discarded in 261 B.C., upon Athens' capitulation to Antigonos Gonatas at the end of the Chremonidean War, to keep the archives from falling into Macedonian hands.⁴⁸

But the tablets surely do not contain "top-secret" information.⁴⁹ Nor is one justified in supposing that they comprised a valuable quantity of metal. Weighing about half an Attic talent, the entire lot of lead tablets from both wells could have been sold in Classical Athens for no more than a drachma or two (above, footnote 29). There is no need therefore to associate the discarding of the tablets with a momentous event in Athenian history. Like the smaller lot of 4th century tablets, the later tablets may very well have been thrown out as waste of negligible value by a hipparch who wanted to clear his office of useless clutter.

The more fundamental weakness in Braun's dating of the well Section IV, however, is its dependence on a Rhodian amphora chronology that has become obsolete. While her article was in press, the dating of 3rd century Rhodian amphora stamps was re-examined in light of abundant recent evidence, placed on a firmer and more exact footing, and revised downwards by a factor of about 35 years. The background and scope of this revision has been outlined in a lengthy note by Virginia R. Grace,⁵⁰ who promises a detailed demonstration presently. In the meanwhile, it should

⁴⁴ Braun, pp. 130-131.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146, 189-191.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 189-191.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 194-196, 249, 251.

⁴⁹ As observed also by E. Posner, *op. cit.* (footnote 5 above), p. 582.

⁵⁰ V. R. Grace, "Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chronology" with a "Numismatic Appendix" by J. H. Kroll, *AthMitt* 89, 1974, pp. 193-203.

be emphasized that while Miss Grace's new dates for certain Rhodian handles may be subject to future refinement, her larger chronological framework, as now corrected, can be accepted with confidence since it ties together two independently datable bodies of material that fall almost a century apart: the amphora finds from the Ptolemaic fort at Koroni in Eastern Attica, occupied *ca.* 265 B.C., and the great early 2nd century deposits of Rhodian handles from Pergamon and the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora.⁵¹

The corrected dates for the three Rhodian handles in well Section IV—241-225 B.C. (no. 125), 222 B.C. (no. 124), and 222-217 B.C. (no. 126)⁵²—require that at least some material in the section be dated as late as *ca.* 220 B.C. It is doubtful, however, that the section could have contained any material appreciably later than this date; for Section V which follows IV after a noticeable break in time (say, of at least a decade), is now anchored around the turn of the century by its Rhodian handle (no. 135), redated by Miss Grace 208-196 B.C.⁵³ Apart from what the lead tablets themselves may have to tell us, there is no accurate way of fixing when the filling commenced, though if the earliest pottery in well (Section I) belongs around 300 B.C.,⁵⁴ and if the filing of Sections I-IV proceeded at a fairly uniform rate,⁵⁵ about twenty years can be allotted to each section; for Section IV this would mean an upper terminus early in the third quarter of 3rd century.⁵⁶ On balance, the contents of Section IV could have begun about that time and continued to 220 or very slightly thereafter. The tablets would have been dumped in at any time during this period.

The contextual material with the tablets in the Agora well is less precise: a small amount of pottery characterized by the excavator as belonging around the middle of the 3rd century and three bronze coins of Antigonos Gonatas (277-239 B.C.), to which must be added a fourth coin of Antigonos that was recovered during sifting of earth from the same general well level. The coins do not reveal whether they were minted early or late in Antigonos' long reign nor, because of their heavy corrosion, how much they may have been circulated before being dropped, no doubt together, down the well. Still, in all probability they belong to the period 261-239 B.C., for it was in the former year that Antigonos closed the Athenian mint and began to circulate his own coinage in the city.⁵⁷ The Agora tablets were clearly discarded before the closing years of the 3rd century, as is indicated by the late 3rd/early 2nd century pottery from the levels above the tablets and the discovery in these same levels of pieces of a bronze equestrian statue, very probably a statue of Demetrios Poliorketes that was pulled from its pedestal and hurled down the well during the anti-Macedonian reaction of 201.⁵⁸ In so far as such evidence from the Agora well points to a

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 196, 200, 201, with earlier discussions of the Rhodian handles from Koroni, Pergamon, and the Middle Stoa in *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 319-334; *Hesperia* 33, 1964, pp. 69-75; J. R. McCredie, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XI, *Fortified Military Camps*, Princeton 1966, pp. 12-16; *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, XXVII, 1970, pp. 289-302.

⁵² Grace, *op. cit.* (footnote 50 above), p. 199.

⁵³ *Ibid.* Note, too, the Rhodian handle of *ca.* 192 B.C. in Section VII (no. 159) and the Knidian handle from shortly before 188 B.C. in Section VIII (no. 183). Both require that Section V be dated as early as possible.

⁵⁴ So Braun, p. 194.

⁵⁵ As Braun assumes in her dates for Sections I-IV, *ibid.*, p. 196.

⁵⁶ In conversation with me Dr. Braun described the pottery of Section IV as being "more advanced" than the pottery excavated from the Ptolemaic fort at Koroni, occupied by *ca.* 265 B.C. The pottery of Sections II and III, on the other hand, are very closely paralleled by the Koroni finds. For a review of the current state of scholarship on the ceramic chronology of the 3rd century, see Stella G. Miller, "Menon's Cistern," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 198-199, 209-210.

⁵⁷ See my appendix to Grace, *op. cit.* (footnote 50 above), p. 202, note 20.

⁵⁸ Shear, *op. cit.* (footnote 5 above), pp. 165-168, pl. 36.

deposition of the tablets roughly around the middle or in the third quarter of the century, it may be said to be consistent with a *ca.* 250-220 B.C. dating for Section IV of the Dipylon well.

We may now review the dates connected with the identifiable cavalrymen named on the 3rd century tablets. Much of this evidence has been set out already by Braun,⁵⁹ but her prosopographical discussion can be augmented in a number of particulars, not least by the addition of the cavalrymen from Antiochis, who were not represented in the Kerameikos find. In the following survey I have listed those identifications that seemed to me most relevant for chronological determinations. Information concerning some other cavalrymen of the tablets will be found in Braun, pp. 243-249, and in the Catalogue that concludes this article. We should bear in mind that an Athenian *hippeus* was recruited at age 18 or 20 (the young knight Dexileos of *IG II²*, 6217 was killed at Corinth in 394 B.C. at age 19 or 20) and normally served into middle age. In the 4th century, a cavalryman retired only when he could declare under oath that he was physically no longer able to serve (*Ath. Pol.* 49. 2), and indications are that a relatively long term of service still obtained in Hellenistic times. Our Table I shows that most of the cavalrymen known from early tablets of Erechtheis were still active more than a decade afterwards. And the names of as many as five Athenian *hippeis* who participated in the Pythais at Delphi in 128/7 appear 22 years later in the list of cavalrymen who attended the Pythais of 106/5; although some of the repeated names may belong to sons of the 128/7 knights, one or more may equally be of cavalrymen who participated in both festivals, being at least in their 40's at the time of the second festival.⁶⁰

The one cavalryman of the 3rd century tablets whose date of birth can be deduced with a fair degree of precision is Thymochares Sphettios of the Kerameikos tablets nos. 232 and 233 (cf. Braun, pp. 245, 249, 251). He is either Thymochares (II)—son of the well-known general Phaidros (II) Thymocharou (I) S.—born between *ca.* 300 and 290 in order to have been archon by age 30 in or about 258/7 and, late in life, to have fathered an ephebe of 220/19 (full documentation and discussion by Davies, *APF*, pp. 527-528, with modifications by Meritt, *Hesperia* 28, 1969, p. 433) or a cousin Thymochares (not in *APF*), the son of Kallias (II) Thymocharou (I) S. and dedicator of a silver cup on Delos in 277/6 (*IG XI*. 2, 164, lines B 1-2). The son of Phaidros would have had a career in the cavalry, age 20-45, between 280-270 and the mid-250's or 240's; and since his cousin was in all likelihood a close contemporary, these dates can roughly apply to him as well.

The incomplete series of Kerameikos tablets from Aiantis (footnote 26 above) appears to have been inscribed for cavalrymen who are more or less contemporaries of Thymochares. Something relevant is known about the families of six of them, and in every case save one (the problematic "f"), the prosopographical information gives a *floruit* in the second quarter of the 3rd century:

(a) Theodoros Rhamnousios (Kerameikos no. 13, cf. Braun, p. 245). The only known Theodoroi of Rhamnous belong to the well-documented family whose stemma is given by J. Pouilloux, *La forteresse de Rhamnonte*, Paris 1954, p. 163, no. 61. If our Theodoros is a member

⁵⁹ Braun, pp. 243-251.

⁶⁰ Buttakos Erechtheidos (M. G. Colin, *Fouilles de Delphes* III, ii, Paris 1909-1913, no. 27 [128/7 B.C.], line 17; no. 28 [106/5], line 16); Eudoxos Hippothontidos (*ibid.*, no. 27, line 19; no. 28, line 38); Kallias Oineidos (*ibid.*, no. 27, line 10; no. 28, line 20); Menekrates Oineidos (*ibid.*, no. 27, line 9; no. 28, line 18); Menophilos (?) Attalidos (*ibid.*, no. 27, line 37) with M[eno]philos Attalidos (*ibid.*, no. 28, line 30). According to J. Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica*, Helsinki 1910, pp. 43, 76, 128, the first, second, and probably last pairs of references pertain to single persons, who were *hippeis* in both years.

of this family and if the stemma is complete, he must be Theodoros (III), the father of two ephebes of 249/8 (archon Polyeuktos). For full references to the sons, see Braun, p. 245; *Agora* XV, no. 170, line 56, with *Hesperia* 40, 1971, p. 315; *Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 236, line 2 (apparently a third son, secretary in 214 B.C.).

(b) Prokleides Aphidnaios (Kerameikos no. 451, cf. Braun, p. 249). Almost certainly Prokleides (II) of Davies' discussion *ad APF* 1916: grandson of a trierarch of just before 323/2 and father of Phainarete, whose husband was an ephebe in 249/8 (archon Polyeuktos).

(c) Kallias Thorikios (Kerameikos no. 257, cf. Braun, p. 247). Presumably grandson of Kallias, son of Kalli-, of Thorikos (*APF* 7865), diaitetes at age 60 in 329/8 and trierarch in 322 B.C.

(d) Antimachos Rhamnousios (Kerameikos no. 27, cf. Braun, p. 245). A son, Thrasymedes Antimachou R., was elected to a committee to carry out a decree of 236/5 (archon Ekphantos) (Pouilloux, *Forteresse*, no. 15, line 46).

(e) Chares Aphidnaios (Kerameikos no. 27, cf. Braun, p. 249). Since he is a contemporary of the preceding Aiantidai, he must be identified as Chares (I), father of Eucharistes Charetos A., a proedros of the boule in 241/0 (*IG* II², 775, line 31, archon Lysiades) and proxenos for Oropos in the middle of the century (*SEG* XV, 267). For his homonymous grandson, Chares (II), who was very active in the 220's, see *Agora* XV, no. 120, line 8; *ibid.*, no. 130, lines 5, 42; *IG* II², 832 (= *Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 365), line 12; and *IG* II², 839, line 52, with S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, *Prytaneis*, Athens 1937, p. 75.

(f) Pausanias Oinaios (Kerameikos no. 156). The [Pausa]nias (II), son of Phyleus, of Oinoe, who served as councillor in 281/0 (*Agora* XV, no. 72, line 204) must have done so at a fairly advanced age if he is the son of Phyleus Pausaniou (I) O., who is known some 55 years earlier as a hieropoios in 336/5 (*IG* II², 300, lines 33, 39, 57) as well as a speaker of a decree of 325/4 (*IG* II², 360, line 66). Hence, unless we are willing to push this series of tablets of Aiantis back to the beginning of the 3rd century, the cavalryman should be considered a younger relative, i. e., Pausanias (III). Antimachos Pausaniou Oinaios, commander of the paroikoi at Rhamnous in 215/4 and in another year (Pouilloux, *Forteresse*, no. 19, lines 24-25; *ibid.*, no. 18, line 3, cf. no. 34, line 30) is therefore more likely to be his son than the son of Pausanias (II). Whatever the difficulties with the last identification, it remains very doubtful that the tablets in this series could have been inscribed after 250 B.C.

Turning now to the tribe with the greatest number of surviving tablets, Erechtheis, we find three cavalrymen who ought to be contemporaries of Thymochares Sphettios and the foregoing Aiantidai:

(g) Dioskourides Euonymus (see 37; Braun, p. 245). Uncle ephebe 305/4; father agonothetes 270/69; Dioskourides himself erected a statue in honor of this agonothesia and at some time during the first half of the century served as proxenos for the city of Oropos.

(h) Klecchares Kephisios (see 32; Braun, pp. 247-248). Grandfather trierarch in 341/0, 334/3, and 325/4.

(i) Arkesas Euonymus (see 27). Father hipparch 282/1. Yet three other men from the Erechtheis roster should belong to a younger generation. The *floruit* of each falls in the third quarter of the century:

(j) Hieron Anagrasios (see 30). Father councillor in 256/5; Hieron himself symproedros in 229/8.

(k) Philokrates Kephisios (see 33). Father councillor in 256/5.

(l) Nikomachos Lamptreus (see 48a; Braun, p. 249). Mentioned in two lists of the second half of the 3rd century.

Three remaining cavalrymen of the tribe could go with either group :

(m) Theodoros Euonymus (see 29). He or a homonymous grandson alive and possibly councillor in the decade 211-201.

(n) Timonides Euonymous (see 44). Father secretary in 275/4.

(o) Thoumorios (Erechtheides) (Kerameikos no. 220; see Concordance to Table I, Series I) = Thoumorios Euonymus, contributor in 247/6.

Altogether, these identifications seem to me to indicate a terminal date for the Erechtheis tablets very close to 250 B.C. One cannot bring the cavalry service of Dioskourides (g), Kleochares (h), and Arkesas (i) later than this date without violating established principles of prosopographical reckoning. On the other hand, the career of Hieron (j) precludes an end date appreciably earlier than 250. We know from Table I that Hieron had served in the cavalry for more than a decade and would have been at least in his thirties by the time of the last Erechtheis series (Series IX); if this series dates *ca.* 250, Hieron would have been at least in his fifties when mentioned as a symproedros in 229/8.

A similar mixture of "older" and "younger" cavalrymen is found among the identifications from Antiochis, only here the balance is tilted more strongly in favor of the younger generation :

(p) Theogenes (Antiochides) (Series F, see 68). Possibly Theogenes Poseidoniou Amphitropethen, mentioned in 266 and 247/6.

(q) Theaios (Antiochides) (Series E, see 67). Possibly son of [D?]ion Theaiou Anaphlystios, councillor in 281/0.

(r) Phoryskides Alopekethen (Series C, D, E; see 54). Secretary of the council in 247/6.

(s) Theodoros Alopekethen (Series C, D, E; see 50). Thesmothetes in 229/8.

(t) Konon Alopekethen (Series D, see 59). Elected to a committee in 221/0.

(v) Dexandros Anaphlystios (Series C, D; see 49). Homonymous grandson (?) attested in 161/0 and 152/1.

The two "older" identifications, (p) and (q), must be regarded as tentative; not only are both made from tablets that lack demotics, but Theogenes (p) has a common name and the name Theaios (q), while uncommon, occurs in a second deme of Antiochis (see 67). Nevertheless, the possible correctness and relevance of one or both identifications cannot be dismissed out of hand. Were it not for (p) and (q), I would feel compelled to urge that the tablets from Antiochis are later, say by about a decade, than those from Erechtheis, even though that would present a small problem of its own. Since Erechtheis is our most completely represented tribe by far, the *ca.* 250 B.C. *terminus ad quem* for its latest series might be expected to be the cut-off date for the latest tablets of the 3rd century archive as a whole. Accordingly, it is just possible that Konon (t) and Chairephon (u) held office in their fifties or sixties, as a *ca.* 250 date for the last tablets of Antiochis would require; or it is possible that their tablets were inscribed in reality for otherwise unknown homonymous fathers or grandfathers. But conversely, it remains equally possible that the tentative identifications (p) and (q) are misleading and that the tablets of Antiochis are after all more recent as a group than those from Erechtheis.

The same uncertainty applies to three other younger cavalrymen in the Kerameikos list whose tablets have not been studied from the standpoint of tribal series: ⁶¹

⁶¹ To the list of younger cavalrymen may be added two relevant, though necessarily tentative, identifications from (?)Hippothontis: Thrasymedes (Kerameikos nos. 299-231, see footnote 69

(w) Ἀσκληπιάδης Ξέρονος (Kerameikos no. 71, cf. Braun, p. 245) = Asklepiades, son of Xenon, of Phyle. He and his father both contributors in 247/6 (archon Diomedon) (*Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 290-291, col. II, lines 55-58). His son, Xenon A. P., proposed a decree in 186/5 (*IG II²*, 896, lines 8, 35) and paid a subscription in 183/2 (*IG II²*, 2332, lines 98-102).

(x) Ἀσκληπιάδης Ζήνωνος (Kerameikos no. 70, cf. Braun, p. 245) = Asklepiades, son of Zenon, of Phyle, strategos in 225/4 (*IG II²*, 2978) and probably ambassador in Egypt, where he died in 215/4 (*SEG XX*, 505).

(y) Diogenes Paianieus (Kerameikos no. 102). Prytanis of Pandionis in 220/19 (*Agora XV*, no. 130, line 61).

By themselves, such identifications would ordinarily date the tablets in question squarely in the third quarter of the century. Against the background of the earlier identifications from Erechtheis and two possible early identifications from Antiochis, however, there are equally good grounds for giving them the more conservative dating of *ca.* 250 B.C., which at any rate is not unthinkable for the careers of the men involved.

We conclude that our cavalrymen served around the middle of the 3rd century. For the *hippeis* of Erechtheis this will mean roughly during the decade 260-250; for those of Antiochis possibly in the following decade. Certain tablets may go back before 260, though not those from the larger tribal series. As explained above, pp. 96-97, the very number of cavalrymen named in the more complete series implies a dating after Athens' capitulation to Antigonos Gonatas in 261. On the other hand, the end date for the archives as a whole cannot be brought down much later than *ca.* 250 or 240, which leaves a sizable gap between the latest tablets and the *ca.* 220 date of two of the stamped amphora handles in Section IV of the Dipylon well. But stratigraphical considerations indicate that these handles are probably the latest material from the section; and, if the tablets were deposited before the handles, some kind of gap was inevitable. It now appears that the filling of Section IV did indeed begin to accumulate around the middle of the 3rd century and that the dump of tablets was among the earliest additions to the accumulation.

CATALOGUE

In each catalogue entry the left-hand transcription records the text inscribed on the outside of the folded tablet; the right-hand transcription records the text on the inside. In descriptions of the tablets "left" and "right" refer to the left and right ends of the inside face, which normally contains the most text. Dimensions are in meters. Note that in the Plates a tablet may be illustrated in both its folded (for outside text) and unfolded (for inside) state. All photographs and drawings are at actual size.

4TH CENTURY B.C. 1-26

Although the 4th century tablets are listed and grouped typologically, only one or two of the groupings represent tribal series such as are found among the more numerous and varied 3rd century tablets. Inconsistencies in size and inscribing occur in all but the first 4th century grouping; and, except in the case of 1 and 2, the simple format and relatively uniform alphabet of the 4th century tablets preclude identification of inscribers' hands.

below) = (?) Thrasymedes Anakaieus Thesmothetes in 228/7; and Kleomedon (see 90) = (?) Kleomedon Azenieus, polemarch in 220/19.

Name recorded on both sides. Rolled up in two and a half turns (1) or three turns (2), with name on outside inscribed perpendicular to the tablet's length. (1 and 2 have identical widths and thicknesses, appear to have been inscribed by the same hand, and were similarly rolled up; they were doubtless inscribed for cavalrymen of the same tribe.)

1 (IL 1655) Fig. 1, Pl. 33.

Complete. Mended after unrolling. L. 0.093; W. 0.018.

Similar, except folded in five layers and flattened.

3 (IL 1657) Pl. 33.

Found complete. Broken into numerous fragments upon unfolding. Partially mended. Restored L. ca. 0.10; W. 0.025.

Ἄριστοκλ [Ἄριστο]κλέος: πυρρ[: σ]ἄν: ΗΗΗ[Η?]

4 (IL 1666)

Found complete. Mended into three pieces after unfolding. L. ca. 0.09; W. 0.018. Interpuncts, no longer visible on the deteriorated surface, probably separated the components of the inside text.

Θεογέ Θεογέν[ου]ς παρ κρᾶ[-] ΗΗΗΗ

The brand will have been a *κρατήρ* or a *κράνος*.

Name recorded on both sides. Folded in four, with name inscribed lengthwise on outside. (A number of these tablets may have been inscribed for members of a single tribe. 10 and 11 especially seem to go together.)

5 (IL 1668)

A left and a "middle" fragment found adhering together as folded. Pieces missing from between them and at the right. L. of left fragment 0.015, of right fragment 0.020; W. 0.020.

(missing) Αἰσ[---π]αρώ: σ[ἄν? ---]

6 (IL 1678)

Fragment broken at left and right. L. 0.033; W. 0.018.

Ἄλκί- Ἄλκίμο: μέλα[ς:] κρατή: Π
μου

2 (IL 1656) Fig. 1, Pl. 33.

Complete. Mended after unrolling. L. 0.110; W. 0.018.

Θοδοῦ Θουδο: μέλας: πέλεια: Π

Cf. Thoudes Thoudiadou Alopekethen, prytanis ca. 331 B.C. (*Agora* XV, no. 55, line 41), and perhaps father of Nikariste Thoudou Alopekethen (*IG* II², 5571). The name is not otherwise known at Athens.

Ἄλεξι- [Ἄλεξί]μίν: πα[ρώιας ---]
μέγ

The name Aleximenes was uncommon at Athens, see *PA* 546, with *APF*, p. 573 (4th century B.C.), and *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p. 123, no. 25, lines 40 and 43 (2nd century B.C.).

7 (IL 1669) Fig. 1, Pl. 33.

Three quarters of a tablet, broken at left. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.070; W. 0.017.

Ἄριστο- [Ἄρισ]τοφῶν[τ]ος: πυρρ[ὸ]ς:
φῶντος [πέλ]εκος: Π

8 (IL 1679) Fig. 1.

Complete except for several millimeters broken from the left and right ends. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.085; W. 0.017.

Γλαυκί [Γλ[α]λλ/ll(l)]: πυρρ: κράνος: ΗΗΗ
Γλαυκίππο

The cavalryman's name was erased and re-inscribed below, presumably because of a misspelling in the first attempt.

ΑΛΚΙ
ΜΟΥ

ΑΛΚΙΜΟ: ΜΟΛΛΑ
ΚΡΑΤΗ: ΤΗ

1.

ΘΟΥΔΟΥ

ΘΟΥΔΟΥ: ΜΕΛΑΣ: ΠΕΛΕΙΑ: ΤΗ

2.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟ
ΦΑΝΤΟΣ

ΤΟΦΑΝ
ΕΚΥΣ: ΤΥΡΡ:

7.

ΓΛΑΥΚΟΥ

ΓΛΑΥΚΟΥ: ΤΥΡΡ: ΚΡΑΝ: Ε: ΗΗΗ

8.

ΚΑΥ
ΣΤΡ: 7

ΚΑΥΣΤΡΑ: ΠΥΡΟΛΑΜ ΜΗΝΟΣ
ΤΗΗ

10.

ΝΙΚΑΝ
ΔΡΟ

ΝΙΚΑΝΑΡΟ: ΠΥΡΟΣ: ΑΣΗΜΑ
Η

11.

ΑΛΕΞΙΑ
ΔΟΥ

ΑΛΕΞΙΑΔΟΥ: ΠΥΡΡ: ΚΥΚΛ: ΗΡΑ

12.

ΚΟΜΑΙΟ

ΚΟΜΑΙΟΥ: ΤΥΡ: ΤΡΙΑΙ: ΤΗ

13.

Fig. 1

9 (IL 1658)

Found complete. Partially mended after unfolding. L. 0.105; W. 0.019.

Θρασίππο Θρασίππο : πυρρός[:] ἄσημος : ΗΗ^Π

10 (IL 1670) Fig. 1.

Found complete. Mended after unfolding, except for several millimeters that crumbled away at the left end. L. 0.093; W. 0.021.

Καλ[λι-] Καλλιστρά : πυρρὸ ΔΜ? [..] ΜΗΝΟΣ
στρά ΗΗΗ

Corrosion and cracking of the surface towards the right of the tablet have destroyed several crucial letters of the last word in line 1. The word may be a misspelling of ἄσημος, but the spacing and possible traces of a mu at its left make this doubtful. More probably it names a brand that is unattested on any of the other extant tablets.

11 (IL 1671) Fig. 1, Pl. 33.

Unfolded whole. L. 0.100; W. 0.023.

Νικάν- Νικάνδρο : πυρρὸς ἄσημος
δρο Η

Similar, except folded in three. (Despite their slightly differing widths and the fact that **12** is inscribed with somewhat smaller and neater letters than **13**, prosopographical indications are that both tablets may have been inscribed for cavalrymen of Antiochis. This prosopographical evidence, though perhaps tenuous in its own right, is at least supported by the formal characteristics that the two tablets have in common.)

12 (IL 1667) Fig. 1, Pl. 33.

Complete, except for the missing lower left edge. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.089; W. 0.020.

Ἀλεξιά- Ἀλεξιάδο : πυρρ : κύκλ[ο]ς : Η^Π
δου

The name Alexiades occurs in Athenian prosopography only in a family of Anaphlystos

(full references in *Agora* XV, p. 335). If the present cavalryman was a member of this family, he should probably be the father of the Epikrates Alexiadou Anaphlystios who was a councillor of Antiochis in 334/3 and the great-grandfather of the Epikrates Alexiadou Anaphlystios who was councillor in 273/2. One of these Epikratai also served in the council with his brother Xenophon Alexiadou Anaphlystios in 304/3.

13 (IL 1659) Fig. 1, Pl. 33.

Found complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.089; W. 0.023.

Κομαίο Κομαίο[:] πυρ : τρία : ^Π

The only Komaios attested in Athenian prosopography is *PA* and *APF* 8693: Komaios Komonos Semachides, trierarch between 356 and 346/5 and councillor in 334/3. His son, [---]s Komaiou Semachides, was himself councillor in 304/3 (full references in *Agora* XV, p. 418).

Name recorded only on the outside, inscribed lengthwise. Folded in three. (There is a considerable variety in the size and inscribing of the following tablets. If any at all are to be associated on the grounds of similar shape and writing, they are **16**, **17**, and **21**.)

14 (IL 1660) Fig. 2, Pl. 33.

Complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.103; W. 0.020.

Ἀγαθίνο πυρρὸς[:] κηρύκειον : ^ΠΗ

The name of the cavalryman is unknown in 4th century Athens. For three undated or much later occurrences, see *PA* 37; *IG* II², 2050, line 66; and *IG* II², 10541.

15 (IL 1661) Pl. 34.

Right two thirds of a tablet. L. 0.051; W. 0.019.

[Ἀ]γασίο [---N]ίκη : ^ΠΗΗ

ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟ
ΠΥΡΡΟΣ ΚΗΡΥΚΕΙΟΝ: ΠΗ

14.

ΑΔΕΙΚΤ
ΟΥ

ΜΕΛΑΣ ΔΕΛΦΙΣ Π

16.

ΑΜΦΙΣ
ΕΝΟΥΣ

ΠΑΡΑΙΣ: ΚΑΡ
ΕΙΟΝ: ΠΗ

17.

ΑΡΙΞΤΟΛ
ΟΥΟΥ

ΠΥΡΡΟΣ: ΑΞΗΜΟΣ

18.

ΔΕΙΗΟΚΑ
ΕΟΥΣ

ΠΥΡΡΟΣ ΑΞΗΜΟΣ ΗΗ

19.

ΧΑΙΡΕΤ
ΝΤΟΣ
ΚΤΡΑΤ

ΠΥΡΡΟΣ Ι
ΑΞ: ΠΑΡΗΜΑ

21.

ΠΥΡΡΟΣ ΧΕΡΕΙ ΗΗ ΗΗ

22.

ΠΑΡΗΙ ΣΤΡΙΑΝΑ Π
ΚΟΟΥΑ

ΜΕΙΞΙΣ

Fig. 2

24.

ΕΝΟΤΑΝ
ΕΟΥΣ ΜΕΝΙ
ΕΞ

The above restoration of the name is virtually certain if the tip of a horizontal on the break belongs to a gamma, as I think it must. Since the horizontal is a bit low, it is necessary to assume that the gamma was inscribed about a millimeter lower than the remaining letters of the name.

16 (IL 1673) Fig. 2, Pl. 34.

Complete, except at the right and lower right edges. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.090; W. 0.020.

Ἀδείστ- μέλας δελφῖς Π
ου

Another rare name; for the three known occurrences in 4th century Athens, see *APF*, p. 5, no. 204.

17 (IL 1662) Fig. 2, Pl. 34.

Found complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.098; W. 0.023.

Ἀμφισ[θ-] παρώϊας: κηρ[ύκ]ειον: ΠΗ
ένου

18 (IL 1664) Fig. 2, Pl. 34.

Left two thirds of an exceptionally narrow tablet. L. 0.065; W. 0.016.

Ἀριστολ- πυρρὸς: ἄσημος [---]
όχου

19 (IL 1674) Fig. 2, Pl. 34.

Complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.096; W. 0.021.

Δεινοκλ- πυρρὸς ἄσημος ΗΗ
έους

The name Deinokles is very rare at Athens, known to me only in *IG* II², 1960, line 47 (128/7 B.C.).

20 (IL 1677) Pl. 34.

Complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.055; W. 0.018.

Φιλοκ- πυρρ ἄσημ ΗΠ
λέ

21 (IL 1663) Fig. 2.

Left two thirds of a reinscribed tablet. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.065; W. 0.020.

(b) Χαιρεφ- παρώϊας: ἄσημο[s---]
ώντος
ουερ

(a) Στρατ[---] [π]υρρὸς [σ]άν: ΠΗ

22 (IL 1676) Fig. 2, Pl. 34.

Complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.097; W. 0.017. There are several erased strokes from a third, still earlier use on the inside face of use (b).

(b) Χεί- παρώϊας τρίαυνα Π
μονος
ουερ

(a) πυρρὸς: κερα: ΗΗΗΗ Ἀγαθοκλ-
έους

The name Cheimon, new at Athens, is attested from 5th century Argos (Pausanias, IV. 9. 3). Note *-μονος* for *-μωνος*.

Unclassified.

23 (IL 1690) Fig. 2.

Left third or fourth of a tablet, of which the cavalryman's name was recorded on both sides. L. 0.037; W. 0.019.

(missing) Μεξίσι[---]

Although *Μεξι-* is a common root in Athenian prosopography, the present name, however restored, is apparently new.

24 (IL 1672) Fig. 2, Pl. 34.

Tablet folded in two or three and flattened. Chipped around the edges. L. 0.027; W. 0.018. There are traces of an earlier inscription.

Ξενοφών-
τος Μελι- (cannot be opened)
[τ]έως

The well-known 5th century hipparch and general Xenophon of Melite (*PA* and *APF* 11313; died 429 B.C.) is possibly the paternal grandfather of this cavalryman. Much is

known about the general's descendants on his daughter's side (exhaustive discussion *ad APF* 5951), but this is the first indication of possible descendants through a male line.

25 (IL 1680)

Tablet folded in four and flattened. Surface damaged by corrosion. L. 0.024; W. 0.022.

Φίλο-
κ[--] (cannot be opened)

26 (IL 1675) Pl. 34.

Fragment broken at left and right. L. 0.023; W. 0.020.

Χάρητ[ος] [---]ς Νίκ[η---]

In addition to the above tablets and fragments that bear proper names, the Agora well yielded inscribed fragments of about ten or twelve other 4th century tablets. One of these fragments mentions a Nike brand, the others various common horse colors or numerals.

3RD CENTURY B.C. 27-111

SERIES A (Erechtheis) 27-35

Long, narrow tablets with names inscribed on outside lengthwise. Tablets then folded in four. All seem clearly to have been inscribed by the same hand—note the interpunct that regularly precedes the numeral—and, except for **28**, which is narrower than the others, are palimpsests with unevenly hammered edges.

27 (IL 1553) Fig. 3.

Complete. Mended after unfolding into two adjacent halves. L. 0.208; W. 0.030.

Ἀρκέσαντος Ἀρκέσαντος Εὐωνυ
πυρρὸς σανφόρας
τίμημα: ΠΗ

Arkesas, who appears also on **36** and the Kerameikos tablets nos. 60 and 61, is the son of Nikogenes Arkesantos Euonymus, hipparch in 282/1 (*Δελτ* 18, 1963, p. 104, no. 1, lines 25-26). The tombstone of an Arkesas, son of Nikogenes, of Euonymon (*IG* II², 6160) was

inscribed either for our cavalryman or his homonymous grandfather, who is known from a 4th century mortgage stone (*SEG* XIX, 1963, no. 184).

28 (IL 1546) Fig. 3, Pl. 34.

Complete. Mended after unfolding into two adjacent halves. L. 0.224; W. 0.023.

Ἐπαιέτου Ἐπαιέτου Εὐωνυ
πυρρὸς πέλυξ τίμη: ΠΗΗ

Epainetos occurs on **39** and on the Kerameikos tablet no. 132 (same horse as above at 600 drachmas). His family is not known.

29 (IL 1547) Fig. 3.

Complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.240; W. 0.032. An erased eta at the right of line 2 survives from an earlier use.

Θεοδώρου Θεοδώρου Εὐωνυμέως
πυρρὸς ἄσημος τίμη: [Η]
ΗΗΗΗ

The cavalryman is mentioned also on the Kerameikos tablet no. 198. (Nos. 196 and 197 may or may not belong to a Theodoros of another tribe.) Two Theodoroi of Euonymon are known in the 3rd century. One of these is the Theodoros, son of Protogenes, commemorated on the 3rd century tombstone *IG* II², 6174; the other, Theodoros, son of Euandros, is listed in a prytany inscription that dates from between 211/0 and 202/1 (*Agora* XV, no. 137, line 18). The addition of the prytanis' patronymic in the last inscription, which ordinarily omits patronymics, implies that both Theodoroi were alive in the last decade of the century when the inscription was erected. For a probable 4th century ancestor of the son of Euandros, see *PA* 5271 (discussed by Davies, *APF*, pp. 187-188).

30 (IL 1539) Fig. 3, Pl. 35.

Unfolded whole. L. 0.230; W. 0.038.

Ἰέρωνος Ἰέρωνος Ἀναγυρα
πυρρὸς Ἀγυιεύς
τίμημα: ΠΗΗ

ΑΡΚΕΛΑΝΤΟΣ

ΑΡΚΕΛΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΥΝΥ
ΤΥΡΡΟΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΣ
ΤΙΜΗΜΑ: ΓΡΗ

27.

ΕΓΓΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ

ΕΓΓΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ ΕΥΝΥ
ΤΥΡΡΟΣ ΤΕΛΕΥΕΖΙΜΗ: ΓΡΗΗ

28.

Η ΕΙΣ ΔΕΥΡΟΥ

ΘΕ ΔΕΥΡΟΥ ΕΥΝΥ ΧΕΥ
ΤΥΡΡΟΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΣ ΤΙΜΗ·Η
ΗΗΗΗΗ

29.

ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ

ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΑΝΑΤΡΑ
ΤΥΡΡΟΣ ΑΤΡΕΥΣ
ΖΙΜΗΜΑ: ΓΡΗΗ

30.

Fig.3

Hieron's other tablets are **43** and the Kerameikos nos. 234-236, 244 (same horse as above at 500 drachmas) and 247. (Nos. 245 and 246 could belong to a Hieron of another tribe.) The cavalryman is named as *symproedros* in 229/8 (*IG II²*, 832, line 7) and his father, Hieronymos, son of Hieron, of Anagyrous, as a councillor in 256/5 (*Agora XV*, no. 86, line 56). A possible descendant is the Hieron of Anagyrous who served as an attendant of the ephebes in 128/7 (*Hesperia* 24, 1955, p. 229, line 41, and p. 232, lines 304-305).

31 (IL 1615) Fig. 4.

Two non-joining pieces, one of which is a full half of a tablet. Restored L. 0.210; W. 0.034.

Καλλίου [Καλλί]ου [Εύωνυ]
 πυρρ[ὸ]ς [---]
 τίμημα: [---]

Kallias' demotic is given on the Kerameikos tablet no. 261. His name occurs in at least three generations of Euonymeis during the 5th and 4th centuries; see the references given by Braun, p. 247, to which should be added the redating of *Hesperia* 33, 1964, p. 209, no. 54, to shortly before 307/6 (*ibid.*, p. 336, and O. W. Reinmuth, *Mnemosyne*, Suppl. XIV, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.*, Leiden 1971, pp. 83-85, no. 16), and Reinmuth's restoration of a Kallias in the list of ephebes of Euonymon of 305/4 (*ibid.*, p. 90, no. 17, line 100, with commentary). Our Kallias, *hippeus* around the middle of the 3rd century, though doubtless a descendant of one or more of the 4th century Euonymeis of this name, extends the name into a still later generation.

32 (IL 1616) Fig. 4.

Mended into two non-joining pieces, one of which is a full half of a tablet. Restored L. ca. 0.210; W. 0.035.

Κλεοχ[άρου] Κλεοχάρου Κηφισ
 πυρρὸς ἄση[μ]ος
 τίμημα[:] ^ΓH

Kleochares appears on the Kerameikos tablets nos. 302 + 303, 304, and 305, the last one or two of which were inscribed for the same horse at the same value as recorded here (above, p. 93). The cavalryman should be the grandson of *PA* 8647. Kleochares, son of Glauketes (I), of Kephisia, who is known from naval documents of the third quarter of the 4th century (341/0, 334/3, and 325/4) and as a delegate to a Pythias between 330 and 324. An immediate relative, possibly a son, will therefore have been *PA* 2457, Glauketes (III) of Kephisia, named in 221/0. See *APF*, p. 89, with full references.

33 (IL 1617) Fig. 4.

Reconstituted from four fragments, two of which are joining. Restored L. ca. 0.200; W. 0.029.

Φ[ιλο]κράτου Φιλοκ[ρ]άτου Κηφ[ισιέως]
 Κηφισιέως πυρρὸς κορώνη [τίμημα]α ^Γ

Other tablets of this cavalryman are **46** and the Kerameikos no. 530. The Kerameikos tablet no. 529, which lacks a demotic, was inscribed either for him or for his fellow tribesman Philokrates of Euonymon (see **45**). The present Philokrates ought to be the son of Menakles Philokratous Kephisios, councillor in 256/5 (*Agora XV*, no. 86, line 54). For a probable descendant, see *IG II²*, 2333, line 15 (ca. 180 B.C.).

34 (IL 1618)

Fragment broken at left and right. L. 0.023; W. 0.030.

(missing) [---Λ?]αμπ[---]
 [----]PO[----]

If my readings and restoration in line 1 are correct, the tablet will probably have been inscribed for Nikomachos or Chairion, the only Lamptreis known from the 3rd century cavalry tablets of Erechtheis (see Table I).

35 (IL 1619)

Fragment broken at left and right. Mended L. 0.070; W. 0.032.

ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥ

ΚΑΕΟ*

ΤΥΡΡΑΙ
ΤΙΧΑΗΝ Α:

31.

ΚΑΕΟΧΑ ΡΟΥΚΤΗΙΦΙΕ
ΤΥΡΡΟΛΑΤΗ
ΤΙΜΗΧΑΔΑ
ΤΗ

32.

Φ
Κ
ΚΡΑΖΟΥ
ΑΦΙΛΕΩΣ

Φ/ΛΟΚ
ΤΥΡΡΑΙ
ΚΟΡΥΝΗ
ΚΟΡΥΝΗ

33.

ΑΡΚΕΑΝ
ΑΝΥ
ΤΗΗΗ

ΑΡΚΕΑΝ ΤΟ
ΜΕΛΑΚ ΔΡΑ

36.

ΔΙΟΚΟΥΡΙΔ
ΤΥΡΡΑΥΡΑ
ΤΙΜΗ ΧΗΗ
ΔΙΟΚΟΥΡΙΔ
ΥΕΥΝΕΜ

Fig.4. 37.

(missing) [- - - - Κη] φισμέ[ως]
 [- - - - τί]μη.
 ΠΗΗ

The tablet may have been inscribed for Dromokles, the only cavalryman of Kephisia listed in Table I and not represented in the present series.

SERIES B (Erechtheis) **36-48a**

Small, narrow tablets with the names on the outside inscribed lengthwise. Folded in two. All clearly inscribed by the same hand, as is shown especially by the use of uninscribed spaces before numerals and often to separate other elements in second lines.

36 (IL 1607) Fig. 4.

Two non-joining halves found folded over and adhering to each other. Restored L. ca. 0.085; W. 0.019. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 1 from left, first tablet.

Ἀρκέσαν Ἀρκέσαντο[ς Εὐ]ωνν
 μέλας ὕ δρά[κ τί]μη ὕ ΠΗΗ

See 27. The same horse is evaluated at 1200 drachmas on the Kerameikos tablet no. 61.

37 (IL 1541) Fig. 4, Pl. 36.

Complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.095; W. 0.018. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 177, pl. 39:c.

Διοσκουρίδ Διοσκουρίδου Εὐωννμ
 πυρρ λύρα τίμη ὕ ΧΗΗ

The cavalryman is known also from the Kerameikos tablets nos. 113, 114 (both of which record the above horse at 1200 drachmas), and 115 + 116. He is to be identified with Dioskourides (II), son of Theophanes, of Euonymon, who was honored as proxenos by the city of Oropos sometime during the first half of the 3rd century (**Arch. Eph.*, 1892, p. 46, no. 74) and who dedicated a statue of his father, Theophanes Dioskouridou Euonymeus, in honor of the latter's *agonothesia* (*IG II²*, 3851).

According to *IG II²*, 3081 and 3082, the *agonothesia* fell in the archonship of Sosistratos, which is now dated to 270/69 (not 277/6, as

previously) by an Agora decree soon to be published by T. L. Shear, Jr.

An uncle, -ios Dioskouridou Euonymeus, is listed as an ephebe in 305/4 (*IG II²*, 1478, line 50 = Reinmuth, *Ephebic Inscriptions*, p. 90, no. 17, line 99, with commentary). Stemma *ad PA* 4351.

38 (IL 1543) Fig. 5, Pl. 36.

Complete, except for a small piece missing from the lower right edge. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.084; W. 0.021. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 177, pl. 39:d.

Δρομο Δρομοκλέο Κηφισι
 πυρρὸ Κέρβερ τίμη ὕ ΗΗΗ

Dromokles, otherwise unknown, appears on the Kerameikos tablets nos. 122 and 123, the second of which was inscribed for the same horse as the present tablet.

39 (IL 1608) Fig. 5.

Two non-joining fragments that had clearly been folded over each other. Restored L. 0.095; W. 0.019.

Ἐπαινέ [Ἐ]παινέτ Εὐ[ωννμέ]ως
 πυρρὸ ἄσημ[ο τίμ]η ὕ ΗΗΗΗ

See 28.

40 (IL 1609) Fig. 5.

Left half. Mended. L. 0.043; W. 0.021.

(missing) Ἐπι<γ>ένου ὕ Ε[ὐωνν]
 πυρρ[ὸ]ς τρίανα [τίμη ---]

The malformed gamma in line 1 has the shape of a tau.

The cavalryman is named also on the Kerameikos tablets nos. 135-137 and his name should probably be restored in 41 below. He may very well have been the father of Euphanes Epigenou Euonymeus, who served as general on Salamis sometime during the first half of the 2nd century and was later buried there (*IG II²*, 2800 and 6169). Another descendant, possibly a grandson, may be the Epigenes of Euonymon whose son was an ephebe in 177/6 (*IG II²*, 1009, line 72).

ΔΡΟΜΟ

ΔΡΑΜΑΚΑ ΕΡΚΗΦΙΣ
ΤΥΡΡΟΚΕΡΒΕΡ ΤΙΜΗ ΗΗΗ

38.

ΕΓΓΑΙΝΕ

ΕΓΓΑΙΝΕ ΤΕΥ
ΤΥΡΡΟΑΚΗΝ

39.

ΕΛ
ΗΗΗΗ

ΕΝ

ΕΤΙ ΤΕΝ ΟΥ Ε
ΠΥΡ Κ ΤΡΙΑΝΑ

40.

ΝΟΥ Ε
ΑΡΑΚ Τ

41.

ΘΕΑΜΙΑ

ΤΥ
Η Χ

42.

ΠΟΙΚΙΑ

ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ

ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΑΝΑ ΤΥΡΑ ΤΥΡΡΟΣ
ΒΟΥΚΕΙΑ ΤΙΜΗ ΗΗΗ

43.

ΤΙΜΜΝΙΑ

ΤΙΜΜΝΙΑ
ΑΧΗΜΑΚ ΤΙΜ
-ΙΜΑ ΗΗΗ
ΤΥΡΡΟΣ

44.

ΦΙΛΑΚΡΑ ΤΟΥ
ΕΥΩΝΥ

ΦΙΛΑΚΡΑ ΤΟΥ
ΕΥΩΝΥ ΜΕΑΚ
Α
ΤΙΜΗ ΗΗΗΗ

45.

ΦΙΛΑΚΡΑ

ΦΙΛΑΚΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΗΦΙ
ΤΥΡΡΟΣ ΑΧΗΜ ΤΙΜ Η

46.

ΧΑΡΙΠΩ

ΧΑΡΙΠΩ Τ
ΤΥΡΡΟΣ ΚΟΡ
ΧΑΡΙΠΩ
Α Α Μ Τ
Ι Μ Η Τ Η Η
Η

47.

ΝΥΜΕΥΣ ΤΥΡΡΟΣ
ΕΜΑ ΤΗ

48.

Fig. 5

41 (IL 1612) Fig. 5.

Fragment broken at left and right. L. 0.024; W. 0.020.

[Ἐπιγ]έν [Ἐπιγέ]νον Εὐ[ωνυ]
[---] δράκ ν τ[ίμη---]

The only known cavalryman from Euonymon whose name will fit the remains is Epigenes, who has another tablet in this series (40). If the above restorations are correct, he will have had two horses appraised in one year, one presumably for an attendant. See *ad* 62.

42 (IL 1611 + 1614) Fig. 5.

Two non-joining fragments: one, inscribed ΠΟΙΚΙΑ, from the lower left; the other, which is inscribed on both sides, from the upper right corner. L. and W. of the left fragment 0.030 × 0.012; of the right fragment 0.030 × 0.017.

Θεομή[δου] [Θεομήδου Ἀνα]γν
ποικίλ[ος κράν τί]μη ν Χ

The basis for the association of the fragments and for the restoration of line 2 is provided by the Kerameikos tablets nos. 202 and 203 as arranged above in Table I. The third Kerameikos tablet inscribed for Theomedes is no. 201. His family is unknown.

43 (IL 1540) Fig. 5, Pl. 36.

Complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.111; W. 0.025.

Ἰέρωνος Ἰέρωνος Ἀναγνρα πυρρὸς
βουκεφά ν τίμη ν ΗΗΗ

See 30. It is probable that this horse is the same red one that is valued at 500 drachmas in the Kerameikos tablet no. 234; see Table I with Concordance to Series VIII.

44 (IL 1610) Fig. 5.

Complete, except along the upper edge, which has mostly broken away. Mended into two adjacent pieces. L. 0.098; W. 0.018.

Τιμωνίδου Τιμωνίδου Εὐ[ω]νυ πυρρὸς
ἄσημος ν τίμημα ν ΗΗΗ

Timonides, who appears on the Kerameikos tablets nos. 499 and 500, is the son of Kydias Timonidou Euonymeus, secretary in 275/4 (archon Olbios) (*Hesperia* 2, 1933, p. 156, no. 5, line 2).

45 (IL 1542) Fig. 5.

Complete, except for some small bits missing at the left. L. 0.091; W. 0.021.

Φιλοκράτου Φιλοκράτου ν Εὐωνυ ν μέλας
Εὐωνυ ἄσημο ν τίμη ν ΗΗΗΗ

Philokrates' patronymic, Βατράχ(ου), is given on the Kerameikos tablet no. 526. His other tablets are nos. 527 (with the same black, unmarked horse at 500 drachmas), 528, and possibly 529 (see under 33 above). A Philokrates of Euonymon, owner of a workshop around the middle of the 4th century (*Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 214, line 78; cf. *ibid.*, p. 225, line 4, and p. 255, line 21) may be an ancestor. Another Philokrates from this deme is mentioned as a *technites* on the 3rd or 2nd century gravestone IG II², 6179.

46 (IL 1548) Fig. 5.

Two joining halves mended together. Bits missing from the edges of the left half. L. 0.091; W. 0.021.

Φιλοκρά Φιλοκράτου Κηφισι
πυρρὸς ἄσημ τίμη ν Π

See 33. On the Kerameikos tablet no. 530 with a chestnut, unmarked horse at 900 or 400 drachmas and belonging to this cavalryman, see Concordance to Table I, Series VIII.

47 (IL 1564) Fig. 5.

Two adjacent fragments, both nearly complete. L. 0.080; W. 0.022.

Χαιρίω Χαιρίων[ος] Λαμπ
πυρρὸς κορ [τ]ίμη ν ΠΗ
Η

The last eta of the evaluation was inscribed in a third line for want of space at the right of line 2.

Chairon appears on the Kerameikos tablets

nos. 550-553 but is otherwise unknown. The brand is a *κορ* (ώγη).

48 (IL 1613) Fig. 5.

Right half. L. 0.044; W. 0.018.

(missing) [--- Εδω]νυμέως πυρρός
[--- τίμη]μα ὕ ΓΗ

Owing to their differing widths and character of lettering, it seems certain that this fragment cannot belong with 41 above. It should therefore be from a tablet inscribed for one of the three Euonymeis listed in Table I but not represented in the present series: Theodoros, Kallias, or Kineas, of whom Kallias is the most probable since he is the only one mentioned in the Table after Series IV.

(48a) Half of another tablet from this series was recovered from the Kerameikos well. It is no. 416 in the Kerameikos catalogue and reads:

[Νικ]ομάχ [Νικο]μάχου Λαμπ[---]
[---] ὕ τίμη ὕ ΓΗ[---]

Nikomachos, who occurs also on the Kerameikos tablets nos. 415, 417-419, belongs to a family of Lamptraï discussed by Raubitshek, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 310, and more fully by Davies, *APF*, pp. 491-493. His father's name was Kineas, and he should probably be the Nikomachos (II) of Davies' stemma, who is known from two lists (one of soldiers) from the second half of the 3rd century. For a probable restoration of the name of his father or great-grandfather, Kineas (II or III) Nikomachou Lamptreus, in an inscription pertaining to the cavalry, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 312-313, no. 1, line 1, with commentary.

SERIES C (Antiochis) 49-55

Wide tablets rolled up or folded in five or six. Names on the outside are written perpendicularly to the length of the tablets, all of which appear to have been inscribed by the same hand. Note especially the unscripted space before numerals.

49 (IL 1551) Fig. 6, Pl. 36.

Unfolded whole. L. 0.087; W. 0.034.

Δεξάνδ Δεξάνδρου Ἄναφ
πυρρός ἄσημος
τίμημα ὕ ΓΗΗ

Another tablet of Dexandros is 57, with apparently the same horse at 600 drachmas. A descendant, possibly a grandson, is *PA* 3212: Dexandros, son of Philinos, of Anaphlystos, winner of a horse race in 161/0 and *hieropoios* in 152/1. An ancestor therefore may be the Philinos of the same deme who is mentioned in a military capacity in 373/2 (*Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 4, no. 2, lines 8-11).

50 (IL 1554) Fig. 6.

Complete, except for the upper left corner and two small holes near the middle and right edge. Unfolded in one piece. L. 0.092; W. 0.034.

Θεοδώρ Θεοδώρου [Ἄ]λωπεκῆθει
πυρρός αἰετὸς τίμημα
X

Theodoros, who appears also on 58 and 65(a), was one of the thesmothetai of 229/8 (*IG* II², 1706 = *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pl. XIV, line 10).

51 (IL 1588) Fig. 6, Pl. 36.

Unrolled whole, except along the left and upper edges, which largely broke away. Partially mended. L. 0.098; W. 0.047, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 3 from left, first tablet.

Νικῆτου [Νικῆτ]ον Ἄλω[πεκ]ῆθει
[μέ]λας πέλ[εκ]υς
[τ]ίμημα — ΗΗΗΗ

The Niketes of Alopeke commemorated on a tombstone of the middle of the 4th century (*IG* II², 5572) will have been an ancestor.

52 (IL 1556) Fig. 6.

Unrolled whole, except for three small pieces that broke from the left and lower edges. L. 0.096; W. 0.034.

ΔΕΞΑΝΑΡΟΥΑΝΑΦ
ΠΥΡΡΟΤΑΧΜΟΓ
ΤΙΜΗΜΑ ΤΡΗΗΙ

49.

ΕΙΛΝΖΔ
ΖΔ

ΟΛΥΝΠΙΟΔ
ΠΥΡΡΟC
ΑΓΑΙΝΑΤΙΜΗΜΑ
ΑΝΑΦΑΥCΤΡΥ

52.

ΘΕΟΔΟΥC
ΠΥΡΡΟC
ΑΓΕΤΑCΤΙΜΗΜΑ
X

50.

ΔΤΔ
ΤΔ

ΦΙΛΙCΤ
ΠΥΡΡΟC
ΤΙΜΗΜΑ
ΑΝΑΦΑ
ΗΗΗΗ

53.

ΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ
ΑCΤΙC
ΤΙΜΗΜΑ - ΗΗΗΗ
ΑΝΤΑΛΩ
ΗΘΕΝ

51.

ΑΥΚ
Κ

ΠΥΚΙ
ΑΡΩΙΑ
ΜΗΝ

ΑΥΚΙ
ΕΝ

54.

ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΠΥΡΡΟC
ΑΓΕΤΑCΤΙΜΗΜΑ
ΤΡΗ

55.

Fig. 6

Ἄναφλυστίου

Ἄλυνπιω- δῶρ	Ἄλυνπιωδῶρου πυρρὸς πυρρὸς λέαινα τίμημα HHH
-----------------	--

After writing the color of the horse at the right of line 1, the scribe realized that he omitted the demotic, added it above, and repeated the color in line 2.

Olynpiodoros appears also on **62(a)** and is a descendant of a well-documented family of Anaphlystos, most recently discussed by Davies, *APF*, pp. 515-516 (cf. J. H. Kroll, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, pp. 216-217). He is not to be confused with the cavalryman Olympiodoros, who belongs to another tribe, see **79**.

53 (IL 1589) Fig. 6, Pl. 36.

Complete, except for crumbling along the left, upper, and, especially, the right edges. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.083; W. 0.036. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 4 from left, second tablet down.

Φιλιστίδ- ου	Φιλιστίδου Ἄναφλυσ πυρρὸς ἄσημος τίμημα ὐ HHHH
-----------------	--

Philistides, otherwise unknown, is further represented by **64(b)** and **70**. Of the three Kerameikos tablets inscribed with this name, nos. 518 and 520 bear no resemblance to any of the Agora tablets of Antiochis; and no. **519**, although similar in most formal respects to the tablets of our Series E (first uses) is several centimeters shorter than these. Thus, pending a rigorous stylistic study of all the Kerameikos tablets, it must remain open whether the Philistides of the Kerameikos list is to be identified with the present cavalryman or whether he is

a homonym from another tribe. In this connection, it should be emphasized that no. **519** is the only Kerameikos tablet that on the basis of name and format can even be suspected of belonging to Antiochis.

54 (IL 1591 + 1592) Fig. 6.

Two non-joining fragments, one preserving the original right edge, the other part of the original left edge. Restored L. ca. 0.090; W. 0.032.

Φορυσ- κίδ	Φ[ο]ρυσκίδ[ου Ἄ]λωπεκῆ[θ]εν παρώια[ς ἄσ]ημ[ος] [τί]μημ[α ---]
---------------	---

The association of the two pieces—one inscribed with the cavalryman's name on both sides, the other with his demotic—may be regarded as certain on the combined grounds of the similar corroded texture and breakage of both fragments, the consistent character and vertical spacing of the preserved letters, and the interlocking restorations of lines 1 and 2. This is emphasized, for the tablet at last gives the full name of the much-discussed secretary in the archonship of Diomedon: Φορυσκίδης Ἄριστομένου Ἄ[....⁹....] (*IG II²*, 791 = *Hesperia* 11, 1952, p. 290, no. 56, line 4).⁶² Since the rare name Phoryskides occurs nowhere else in prosopography of 3rd century Athens except for the secretary and the cavalryman, and since Ἄλωπεκῆθεν is the only Athenian demotic that suits the requirements of the secretary's deme without violating the stoikedon order of *IG II²*, 791, the identification of the secretary with the cavalryman is beyond doubt.

The identification has important consequences for our knowledge of the secretary cycle in the 240's.⁶³ The archonship of Diomedon (cur-

⁶² On the secretary, see especially W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass. 1940, pp. xvii, 28-31, with references to the earlier literature; and B. D. Meritt, "Polyeukos and Philoneos," in L. Wallach, ed., *The Classical Tradition, Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*, Ithaca 1966, p. 36, note 37.

⁶³ The most recent summary of the archons and secretaries of this decade will be found in B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1961, p. 234. For the epigraphical documentation, Pritchett and Meritt, *op. cit.* (footnote 62 above), p. xvii, with the basic revision

rently dated 247/6) is immediately preceded by that of Polyeuks (with a secretary from Tribe VII) and that of Hieron (secretary from Tribe VIII); Kydenor, who follows Diomedon by three years, has a secretary from Tribe VI. Now that we know that Diomedon's secretary is from Tribe XII, it is clear that his year witnessed not simply a break in the rotation of secretaries but involved a wholesale abandonment of it.

The problem thus opened is when the cycle resumed. If the cycle was in abeyance for only one, two, or three years, and had commenced again by the archonship of Kydenor, Meritt's current dating of the linked block of the seven archons Polyeuks-Hieron-Diomedon-Philoneos-Theophemos-Kydenor-Eurykleides is not affected. On the other hand, if the cycle did not resume until after Kydenor, it is possible that the absolute dates of these seven archons could be lowered by two years, very much as Pélékidis has proposed.⁶⁴ Others may wish to assess these alternatives further. From the standpoint of our cavalryman's career, however, two years one way or the other makes very little difference.

The cavalryman is named without his demotic on 60 (with possibly the same horse) and on 65(b).

55 (IL 1590) Fig. 6, Pl. 36.

Unfolded whole. L. 0.097; W. 0.037. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 4, bottom tablet.

Χαιρεφῶ-	Χαιρεφῶντος Ἀλεπεκῆθεν
ντος	πυρρὸς πέλεκυς τρίμημα
	Π

Chairephon, who is represented also by 61, 63(a) (same horse as above) and 72 (same horse as on 61) was eponymous archon in the

year 219/8 (*IG* II², 1706, line 81, as restored by Dow, *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pl. XIV, line 101; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 161, 435, 444). The present tablet confirms Dow's restoration, which previously lacked independent evidence that the name Chairephon occurred in Alopeke. As archon, Chairephon is named further in *IG* II², 1304, line 13, and in the preambles of *Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 299, no. 59, and *Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 76, no. 153.

SERIES D (Antiochis) 56-61

Tablets of varying widths, folded in three (or in the case of 59, which is an exceptionally wide and longer palimpsest, in four), with names on the outside inscribed lengthwise. The tablets are united further by their format (including a dash before numerals) and by having been inscribed in the same large hand.

56 (IL 1603) Fig. 7.

Two joining fragments making up the right two thirds of a tablet. Mended. L. 0.077; W. 0.027.

Ἄντι[-]	[Ἄντι]μάχου πυρρὸς
μάχ[ου]	[- ³⁻⁴ -] τρίμη — ΠΗ

Antimachos is mentioned also on 62(b). For the name in Antiochis, see references in *Agora* XV, p. 359, to Antimachos of Alopeke (third quarter of the 4th century B.C.).

57 (IL 1552) Fig. 7, Pl. 37.

Complete, except for several small pieces missing along the bottom edge and at the folds. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.115; W. 0.026.

Δεξιά-	Δεξάνδρου π[υ]ρρὸς
νδ	ἄσημ[ο]ς τρίμη — ΠΗ

See 49.

given in *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 3-13. Certain modifications proposed by Ch. Pélékidis, *BCH* 85, 1961, pp. 53-68, are discussed by Meritt in *The Classical Tradition*, pp. 26-42.

⁶⁴ Pélékides, *loc. cit.* (footnote 63 above). The cycle seems to have been operative again at least by the years of Athenodoros, 240/39, with a secretary from Tribe X, and his immediate successor, Lysias, 239/8, with a secretary from Tribe XI. Now see E. Vanderpool, *Δελτ* 23, 1968, *Μελέται*, pp. 4-5.

ANT
MA

56.

XOXOTI TPPOC
TIM - TH

59.

ΔΕΕΑ
NΔ

57.

ΔΕΕΝΔΡΟΤΤΡΡΟC
ACHM - TIMH - THH

ΘΕΟ

58.

ΑΝ

KANKANA
NOL
ANW

CTYTPPOCAYPIM
TIMHMA - XHH
NOVA

PEH

61.

PEH
AKUT
TACTTYTPPOC
TIMH - THH

Fig.7

58 (IL 1606) Fig. 7.

Three, small, non-joining fragments associated by the identical size and character of their preserved letters. L. (including restored letters between fragments) 0.077; W. 0.026.

Θεο[δῶρου] [Θε]οδῶρ[ο]υ πυρ[ρὸς σ]ὰν
[τί]μη[μα —] Χ[—]

See **50**.

59 (IL 1562) Fig. 7.

Unfolded in one piece. Fragments missing from the upper and lower left corners, at the middle of the bottom edge, and towards the right of the upper edge. L. 0.131; W. 0.040.

(b) Κόνω- [Κόνωνο]ς πυρρὸς λύρα
 vos τίμημα — ΧΗΗ
 'Αλω

ουερ

(a) Κ[ρ]ατίν[ο]υ παρωίας ῥό[π]αλον
 ΠΗΗΗ

(b) The cavalryman, who appears with the same horse at 600 drachmas in **71**, is apparently the Konon of Alopeke who was elected to a committee to supervise the manufacture of a votive oinichoe for the Healing Hero in 221/0 (*IG* II², 839, lines 50-51). The addition of his demotic on the present tablet and the fact that the Konon of **69** (Series F) is identified with his patronymic, Hippokratous, imply that there were two men by the name of Konon serving as *hippeis* of Antiochis at the time of these tablets. Unfortunately, it not possible to determine whether the Konon of Alopeke of **59** and **71** and the Konon, son of Hippokrates, of

69 are the same or two separate persons. If the same, the cavalryman could be a descendant of the venerable Alkmeonid family of Hippokrates and Megakles of Alopeke, the last known member of which, a Hippokrates, is attested in the 4th century (*IG* II², 1927, lines 162-163; cf. *APF*, pp. 368-382, with pl. I). On the other hand, if Konon Hippokratous is from another deme than Konon Alopekethen, he may descend from the famous 5th and 4th century Konons of Anaphlystos (on whom see *APF*, pp. 506-512, with pl. IV).

(a) Since palimpsest tablets were repeatedly inscribed for cavalrymen of the same tribe, we may be sure that Kratinos was an Antiochides. For the name of this tribe, see *PA* 8758 (deme of Aigilia, 334/3 B.C.) and *PA*, Addenda, 8757a (deme of Anaphlystos, 392/1 B.C.).

60 (IL 1605) Pl. 37.

Folded in three and broken along one edge. Could only be partially broken open, to 0.076 in length. W. 0.024.

[Φο]ρυσ- [Φορυσκ]ίδου παρωίας
κίδο [----- τί]μη—Χ[—]

See **54**.

61 (IL 1601) Fig. 7, Pl. 37.

Three joining fragments, mended. Broken at left and right ends. L. 0.116; W. 0.033.

Χαι- [Χα]ιρεφῶντος πυρρὸς
ρεφ [δρ]άκων τίμη — ΠΗ

See **55**.

SERIES E (Antiochis) **62-67**

62-66 are weakly-erased palimpsests with similar dimensions. Last use with text running through the middle of the tablet and continued when necessary in a second line; folded in six or (in the case of **62**) in four; name on outside inscribed perpendicular to the tablet's length. Earlier use inscribed in two lines, at the upper edge and through the middle of the tablet; name on outside inscribed perpendicularly (except for **65**, where it is parallel to the tablet's length). The last texts on all are apparently by the same hand.

67 belongs with the first texts of the series but was never reinscribed.

62 (IL 1593) Fig. 8, Pl. 37.

Found complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.130; W. 0.032. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 1 from left, third tablet down.

(b)	Ἄντιμά προδώμου	Ἄντιμάχου πρ[ο]δρόμου μέλας HH ^Π <i>over</i>
(a)	[᾽]λυ[ν-] πιοδ- ώρου	Ὀλυμπι[οδώρου -- ^{ca. 6} --] ἄση- μος τίμη[μα] HHH

The brand was omitted from text b, the horse being in all probability an ἄσημος. For the two cavalrymen, see 52 and 56.

The title, *prodromos*, that follows the name of Antimachos in text b occurs again on the Kerameikos tablet no. 565, which was inscribed in the genitive for Χαρίου προδρο(μου). At first glance, the title appears to refer to these cavalrymen, so that one would translate “(horse) of Antimachos the *prodromos*,” or “of Charias, *prodromos*.” But this interpretation is open to two fundamental objections.

In the first place, the testimonia indicate that at Athens the *prodromoi* comprised a body that was separate from and inferior to the corps of regular cavalrymen. *Prodromoi* are first mentioned (in the 360's) by Xenophon (*Hipparch.*, I. 25) as a group of mounted men attached directly to each hipparch, who was personally responsible for arming them and training them to fight; the implication may be therefore that their primary duties as “forerunners” were to serve as couriers and scouts for the hipparchs and that any role they may have had in active combat was quite secondary. The *prodromoi* appear later in *Ath. Pol.* 49. 1, as a corps that was examined by the council independently of the *hippeis* for the ability of its members to *προδρομεύειν*. Finally, the laconic note of Photios, *πρόδρομοι· ἄδοξοι*, suggests that, like the 5th century *hippotoxotai*, the 4th century *prodromoi* belonged to a lower social order than the *hippeis*. (On all this, see A. F. Pauli, *RE*, XXIII. 1, [1957], cols. 102-103, *s.v.* *πρόδρομος*, with references to the earlier literature.) Now, as we know from 56 and the several Kerameikos tablets (nos. 556-562, 564) inscribed for Charias without a title, Antimachos and Charias were both enrolled in the regular corps of cavalrymen. By definition, therefore, they could not have been *prodromoi* unless the *prodromoi* of the mid-3rd century had become something quite different from those at the time of Xenophon and the *Athenaion Politeia*.

A second difficulty with understanding *prodromos* as a cavalryman's title is the circumstance that no other cavalry offices or titles are mentioned on the extant tablets. If two of our cavalrymen were specifically designated as *prodromoi*, one might expect to find, for example, the title *phylarchos* on other tablets. But in fact the only other title that does occur is that of *hyperetes*, “attendant”, on the Kerameikos tablets nos. 140 (Ἐπικράτου ὑπηρέτου) and 236 (Ἰγέρωνος ὑπηρέτου). Since this last tablet belongs to Series I of the Erechtheis tablets (Table I), and since this series contains a second tablet for Hi(g)eron from which the term *hyperetes* is omitted, it is clear that in the year of this series Hieron had two horses appraised, one for himself and one for his attendant. Name and title on nos. 236 and 140 should accordingly be translated “of the attendant of Hieron” and “of the attendant of Epikrates.” And by analogy the two *prodromos* tablets should probably be understood in the same way, as being tablets inscribed for *prodromoi* of Antimachos and Charias.

One result of our analysis of tablets by series has been to show that every cavalryman ordinarily presented only one horse for evaluation each year. The sole known exceptions are the

ΕΙΔΕ
ΕΡΟΥ
ΔΙΔΑ
ΤΡΑΡΡΟΥ

62.

ΔΙΥΝΤΙ
ΑΝΤΙΧΟΥΠΡ
ΕΙΔΕ
ΕΡΟΥ
ΕΙΔΕ
ΕΡΟΥ

ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΕΙΝΑ
ΕΡΟΥ
ΕΡΟΥ

63.

ΕΡΟΥ
ΕΡΟΥ
ΕΡΟΥ
ΕΡΟΥ

ΘΕΟΓΕΝΟΥ

ΕΥΡΟ
ΤΙΜΗ
ΕΥΡΟ
ΤΙΜΗ
ΕΥΡΟ
ΤΙΜΗ

68.

ΚΟΝΝΟ
ΕΥΡΟ
ΕΥΡΟ
ΤΙΜΗ
ΕΥΡΟ
ΤΙΜΗ

69.

ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΑ

ΕΥΡΟ
ΤΙΜΗ
ΕΥΡΟ
ΤΙΜΗ
ΕΥΡΟ
ΤΙΜΗ

70.

Fig. 8

two tablets of Hieron in Series I of Table I and the two of Epigenes in Series IX (40 and 41). We may assume that one of Epigenes' tablets was also inscribed for an attendant's horse. Why, then, did certain cavalrymen register a second horse in certain years, while most of the cavalrymen did not? It seems hardly to have been a matter of personal choice, for neither Hieron or Epigenes is known to have registered a second horse in other series. The answer may rather be that in the years when they did have an attendant's horse evaluated, Hieron and Epigenes were serving as officers, probably as phylarchs, and by right of office were entitled to take on a special attendant and to furnish him with a mount whose value was underwritten by the state in case of loss.⁶⁵ This would account for the rarity of tablets inscribed for *hyperetai* and may explain also why horses of *prodromoi* were registered under the names of regular cavalrymen. For Xenophon speaks of a *prodromos* as a person directly responsible to the hipparchs, so that term could have come to denote a kind of specialized aide attached to any cavalry officer, perhaps in the mid 3rd century even being synonymous with *hyperetes*.⁶⁶ Whatever the meaning, the above reasoning leads me to conclude that Antimachos and Charias were probably cavalry officers and their *prodromoi* their mounted aides.

63 (IL 1594) Fig. 8, Pl. 37.

Found complete. Mended as much as possible into two non-joining segments after unfolding. L. ca. 0.130; W. 0.035. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 3 from left, second tablet down.

(b) Θρασυκλέους	Θρασυκλέους π [-----] ὄρτ [υξ]	P ^a
	<i>over</i>	
(a) Χαίρε-	X[αίρε]φ[ῶ]ν[τος πυ]ρρὸς [π]έλεκυ[ς]	
φῶντ	[τίμημα ---]	

(b) Thrasykles appears with the same horse on 64(a). He should not be confused with the Thrasykles of Lamprai (tribe of Antigonis), who is known from the Kerameikos tablet no. 228 (see footnote 26 above).

(a) See 55. Same horse at 500 drachmas.

64 (IL 1595) Pl. 37.

Found complete, but much broken upon unfolding. Partially mended. L. ca. 0.140; W. 0.031. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 4 from left, first tablet.

⁶⁵ For *hyperetai* as assistants to military officers, see Xenophon, *Kyropaidia* II. 1. 21, 31; 4. 4; VI. 2. 13. B. Jordan argues that they may have been trusted slaves ("The Meaning of the Technical Term *Hyperesia* in Naval Contexts of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, 2, 1969, pp. 190-192). In the 5th and 4th centuries every Athenian hoplite and knight was accompanied on expedition by a personal attendant, who in most cases was a slave (Thucydides, VII. 75. 5; W. K. Pritchett, *University of California Publications in Classical Studies*, VII, Part 1, *Ancient Greek Military Practices*, Berkeley 1971, pp. 49-51). In Xenophon, *Hell.* II. 4. 6 and *Hipparch.* V. 6, the cavalrymen's attendants are called "grooms" (*ἵπποκόμοι*); in *Hell.* II. 4. 8 and *Hipparch.* IV. 4, they are called *hyperetai*. From *Hipparch.* IV. 4 and V. 6 we learn that these attendants were mounted. Our 3rd century cavalrymen rarely—perhaps never—left the confines of Attica; but if they, too, had mounted attendants, the attendants' horses were as a rule not acknowledged in the annual evaluations of cavalry horses.

⁶⁶ Unless of course a *hyperetes* was a slave. In that case the distinction may have been that a *prodromos* was a free-born attendant. Or, did *hyperetai* accompany phylarchs and *prodromoi* hipparchs?

- (b) Φιλιστίδου Φιλιστίδου [v-----] αἰετὸς τίμημα [a]
HHH
- over*
- (a) Θραστ- κλέου Θρα[συκλέους π-----] ὄ[ρτυ]ξ
τί[μημα ----]

For the cavalrymen, see **53** and **63(b)**.

65 (IL 1596) Pl. 37.

Found complete. Broken into numerous fragments upon partial unfolding. L. (folded) 0.022; W. 0.029. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 3 from left, third tablet down.

- (b) Φορυσκίδ
over (cannot be opened)
- (a) Θεοδ[ώ-]
ρου

For the cavalrymen, see **50** and **54**.

66 (IL 1597)

Right end of a tablet. L. 0.043; W. 0.032.

- (b) (missing) [-----]ς πέλυσξ
[-----]
- over*
- (a) (missing) Φ[-----]
ἀετ[ὸς -----]

Text a may have been inscribed for Philistides, who is known to have had a horse with an eagle brand around the time of this series; see **64(b)**.

67 (IL 1643)

Found folded in four but broken along the right fold. Broken into numerous pieces upon unfolding. Restored L. ca. 0.120; W. 0.032. Name on outside parallel to length.

- Θεαίου Θεα[ίου ---- ῥό]παλον
τίμη[----]

In size, format, and character of writing, the tablet is similar to **63-66** in their first uses. The name is relatively uncommon but happens to be attested in two demes of Antiochis, Pallene and, in the 3rd century, Anaphlystos: Theoros Theaiou Palleneus, lessee of a mine in the

middle of the 4th century (*Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 219, line 12) and [D?]ion Theaiou Anaphlystios, councillor in 281/0 (*Agora* XV, no. 72, line 243).

SERIES F (Antiochis) **68-70**

Narrow tablets inscribed by the same hand (note the one-point interpuncts) and folded in three. Names on the outside written lengthwise.

68 (IL 1550) Fig. 8.

Three joining pieces mended. Complete, except for small bits missing from the bottom edge. L. 0.111; W. 0.021.

- Θεογένου πυρρὸς· Τρίτων
τίμημα· ΠHHHH

For a Theogenes of Antiochis, see *PA* 6699 + 6670: Theogenes Poseidoniou Amphitropethen, superintendent of a procession in 266/5 (archon Nikias of Otryne) (*IG* II², 668, lines 30-31) and listed in 247/6 (archon Diomedon) as a donor to Asklepios (*IG* II², 1534, line 288).

69 (IL 1563 + 1600) Fig. 8, Pl. 37.

Two joining fragments mended. Complete. L. 0.110; W. 0.021.

- Κόνωνος· Ἰπποκράτου πυρρὸς κένταυρος
τίμημα· ΠHH

See **59** and **106**.

70 (IL 1560) Fig. 8.

Complete, except for several bits missing from the upper and lower edges. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.110; W. 0.021.

- Φιλιστίδ πυρρὸς· σάν
τίμημα· ΠHH

See **53**.

UNCLASSIFIED (Antiochis) **71, 72**

See also **106** and **108**.

71 (IL 1598)

Left half (mended from two joining quarters) and right quarter of a tablet originally folded in four. Name on outside inscribed parallel to length. Restored L. *ca.* 0.110; W. 0.022.

Κόνω-	Κόνωνος Ἄλω[πεκῆθε]ν
νος	πυρρὸς λύρα τί[μημα] ν ΠΗ

The same horse at 1200 drachmas occurs on **59**.

72 (IL 1599)

Two non-joining pieces, one preserving the left end of the tablet, the other being broken at left and right. Total preserved length including the gap between fragments, 0.080; W. 0.029. The tablet was folded in three and a half or in four; the name on the outside is perpendicular to the tablet's length.

Χαιρ[ε-]	Χαιρεφῶν[το]ς πυρρ[ὸς]
φῶντος	δράκων [τί]μη[μα]
	ΧΗΗ

⁶⁷ The hand is most readily identified by its exceptionally long iotas, which normally begin higher and terminate lower than the tops and bottoms of the other letters. The same distinctive writing occurs on other tablets of this tribe, and since these other tablets should belong to at least two or three additional series (see under **75, 77, 78, 79, 81**), it appears that the same scribe was responsible for inscribing the tablets of this tribe in three or more separate (though probably successive) years.

⁶⁸ A brief check through the rolled-up tablets at the Kerameikos permitted me to identify Euktimenos of nos. 175-177, Philotheos of no. 522, and Chairestratos of nos. 547-549 as additional cavalrymen of this tribe, which brings the number of cavalrymen known so far from this tribe to eleven.

A clue to the tribe's identity is provided by the name Euktimenos, see **81**(a), which is known only from the deme of Eupyridai, tribe of Leontis, and from the section of the deme of Eitea that belonged to Antigonis during the time of the Macedonian tribes. Antigonis, however, is already spoken for by several Kerameikos tablets bearing demotics (footnote 26 above), while Leontis is one of the two to four tribes that is not. Furthermore, the names Alkibiades (**74**), Kydias (**77**), and Philotheos (Kerameikos no. 522) figure prominently enough in Leontis to make the identification probable. Philotheos, for example, although known once from Antiochis and once from Hippothontis in the 2nd century B.C. (*Agora* XV, no. 240, line 107, and no. 194, line 84), occurs in no fewer than three demes of Leontis: Phrearrioi (J. V. A. Fine, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IX, *Horoi*, Princeton 1951, p. 32, no. 16 [4th century B.C.] and *PA* 14499 [247/6, archon Diomedon]); Sounion (full references for the 4th century family in *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p. 64); and Cholleidai (*Agora* XV, no. 129, line 81 [father of a councillor of 222/1]).

The same (?) horse is valued at 600 drachmas on **61**.

SERIES G (probably Leontis) **73-80**.

Tablets of similar size, inscribed by the same hand,⁶⁷ and identically rolled up into tight cylinders. (Tablets rolled up in this way are typical of this tribe, as most of the cavalrymen in the present series are represented by one or more tightly rolled-up tablets from the Kerameikos deposit.)⁶⁸ Names on the outside are inscribed perpendicularly to the tablets' lengths.

73 (IL 1581) Pl. 38.

Found whole. Broken into numerous pieces upon partial unrolling. Largely mended. L. of mended segment 0.065; W. 0.021. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 2 from left, third tablet down.

Ἄγνοσ	Ἄγνοστράτου πυρρὸς [---]
	τίμημα ΧΗΗ

The cavalryman appears further on the Kerameikos tablets nos. 4 and 5, both of which are tightly rolled up. The first of these, more-

over, is inscribed in the same hand as the tablets in the present series (footnote 67 above).

74 (IL 1585) Pl. 38.

Whole. L. of roll 0.013; W. 0.025; Th. of roll 0.007. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 2 from left, bottom tablet.

Ἀλκιβ (cannot be opened)

Of the four Kerameikos tablets with the name Alkibiadou, at least one, no. 9, which had been rolled into a tight cylinder, belongs to the present cavalryman.

Although the name is known from other tribes, its most frequent occurrence by far is in Leontis, where it is attested in four different demes beginning with Skambonidai, the deme of the famous son of Kleinias—Alkibiades (III) in *APF*, pp. 15-21, with pl. I—and his son, Alkibiades (IV). A great-grandson, Alkibiades (V) of Leukonoe (*ibid.*, pp. 21-22) was also a tribesman of Leontis, as is his descendant, *PA* 594, Alkibiades Leukonoieus, thesmothetes in 229/8. For the Alkibiades of Cholleidai whose sons were active in the 4th century, see *APF*, pp. 22-23). The fourth deme of Leontis in which the name occurs is Potamioi (*PA* 596 [101/0 B.C.]). If the tribe of our cavalryman is Leontis, his most probable identification is with the thesmothetes of Leukonoe.

75 (IL 1586) Pl. 38.

Whole. L. of roll 0.015; W. 0.025; Th. of roll 0.007. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 2 from left, second tablet down.

Ἀριστ (cannot be opened)

The cavalryman is certainly the Aristion of the Kerameikos tablets nos. 44 (two uses with the name, the second of which was inscribed by the same hand as the present tablet [footnote 67 above]) and 45; both had been tightly rolled into cylinders. Thus he can be identified with the cavalryman of our 81(b) (which in its earlier use was inscribed for Euktimenos, who is independently known to be a member of the present tribe) and 82.

76 (IL 1549) Fig. 9, Pl. 38.

Complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.102; W. 0.022.

Εὐθυμέ Εὐθυμένου πυρρὸς κρατῆρ τίμη
X

Kerameikos no. 173, a fragment of a tablet that had been tightly rolled up, was also inscribed for this cavalryman.

77 (IL 1587) Pl. 38.

Whole. L. (of roll) 0.018; W. 0.024; Th. (of roll) 0.010.

Κυδίου (cannot be opened)

Kydias appears on 84 and on the Kerameikos tablets nos. 311-314, all of which are tightly rolled up; no. 311, moreover, was inscribed by the same hand as the present tablet (above, footnote 67).

The name is uncommon. It is currently known from five tribes, three of which (Erechtheis, Aiantis, and Antiochis) may be excluded from consideration since series of tablets from them have already been identified. This leaves Kydias of Erchia, a prytanis of Aigeis in 341/0 (*Agora* XV, no. 38, line 6) and a Kydias of Halimous (tribe of Leontis), the father of Kybernis, mover of *IG* II², 680 (lines 4-5) in 249/8 (archon Polyeuktos) and proxenos for Delphi around the middle of the 3rd century (*Fouilles de Delphes* III, ii, no. 156). Since Leontis is definitely to be preferred for the present series, the last Kydias or a grandson may very well be the cavalryman of the tablets.

78 (IL 1582) Fig. 9, Pl. 38.

Found whole. Mended into two non-joining pieces after unrolling. L. ca. 0.106; W. 0.025. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 2 from left, fourth tablet down.

Λυσιστρ Λυσισ[τρ]άτου πυρρὸς κρατῆρ [τί]μη
P

At least two of the four Kerameikos tablets inscribed with this name belong to the above

Lysistratos. These are nos. 346 and 347, which were tightly rolled up; no. 346 was inscribed by the same hand as the present tablet (footnote 67 above). No. 347 records the same horse as the present tablet but at 400 drachmas.

79 (IL 1583) Pl. 38.

Found whole. Largely mended after unrolling. L. ca. 0.085; W. 0.020. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 1 from left, bottom tablet.

Ὀλυμπι Ὀλυμπιοδ[ώ]ρου πυρρὸς ἄσημ[ος]
τίμημα Π

The same Olympiodoros is mentioned on the rolled-up Kerameikos tablet no. 423, which was inscribed by the same hand as the above tablet (footnote 67 above).

UNCLASSIFIED (probably Leontis) **81-84**

81 (IL 1545) Fig. 9, Pl. 38.

Rolled in a tight cylinder. Unrolled whole, except for small pieces that broke from the bottom, left, and right edges. L. 0.142; W. 0.045. The outside name in both uses was inscribed perpendicularly to the length of the tablet. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 177, pl. 39:e.

(b) Ἀριστίων Ἀριστίωνος λευκὸς ἄσημος
τίμημα ΠΗ

over

(a) Εὐκτιμένον [-----] Κέ[ρβερος] νελ κε[ραυνός]

Text b is possibly inscribed in the same hand as noted in Series G (footnote 67 above).

(b) See **75**. The same horse is recorded at 600 drachmas in the second text of the Kerameikos tablet no. 44.

(a) Euktimenos is further represented by **83** and the Kerameikos tablets nos. 175-177, the last of which was tightly rolled up and inscribed by the hand identified in Series G.

His name is attested only from the deme of Eitea in the 2nd century B.C. (*Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 18, line 5 and *passim*) and from a family of Eupyridai during the 4th and 3rd centuries: Euktimenos Euktimenou Eupyrides epebe 325/4 (Reinmuth, *Ephobic Inscriptions*, p. 58, no. 15, col. iii, line 11) and Polyktemon Euktimenou Eupyrides, secretary 244/5 (archon Kydenor) (*Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 3, no. 3, line 2, cf. pp. 4-13). As explained in footnote 68 above, there is every reason to associate our cavalryman with this last family and to identify him as the father or son of the secretary.

82 (IL 1640)

Found whole, rolled in five and flattened. Could only be partially unrolled, to L. 0.055.

80 (IL 1584) Fig. 9, Pl. 38.

Found whole. Mended after unfolding, except for bits that crumbled away at the right. L. 0.080; W. 0.020. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 2 from left, first tablet.

Φιλάγ Φ[ιλ]άγρου πυρρὸς δράκω[ν τίμη]
XHH

There are six tablets from the Kerameikos deposit inscribed for a Philagros. One of these (No. 511) is rolled into a tight cylinder and thus associates all or most of the rest with the above cavalryman. No. 513 gives the above horse at 1000 drachmas.

For the name in Leontis, see *PA* 14214: Philagros Hybades, whose son was a chairman of proedroi in 186/5 B.C.

Mended. W. 0.027. The name on the outside, apparently inscribed by the hand known from Series G, is perpendicular to the tablet's

length. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 3 from left, bottom tablet.

Ἄριστι [Ἄριστίωνος] πυρ[ρ] ἄσημ[ος]
[τίμημα] Π

See 75. There are traces on the outside of an earlier, erased name.

83 (IL 1642)

Three small pieces, two of which were found adhering to each other, comprising a non-joining and a middle segment. L. 0.045; W. 0.019. The name on the outside is inscribed perpendicularly.

Εὐκτ[ιμένου] Εὐκτ[ιμένου-----]
τί[μημα ---]

See 81(a).

84 (IL 1539)

Folded in *ca.* four layers and flattened. One corner broken away. L. 0.026; W. 0.025. The

name on the outside face is perpendicular to the tablet's length.

Κυδι- (cannot be opened)
[ου]

See 77.

SERIES H (probably Hippothontis)⁶⁹ 85-88

Small tablets, inscribed by the same hand and folded in two.

85 (IL 1567) Fig. 10, Pl. 38.

Complete, except for small pieces missing from the upper and lower edges. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.067; W. 0.019.

Ἄρκεσίλας μέλας τίμημα ΗΗΗΗ
Ἄρκάς

The cavalryman is known further from 89 (same horse at 300 drachmas) and the Kerameikos tablets nos. 62 and 63.

⁶⁹ A roster of fifteen cavalrymen from this tribe can be assembled, primarily through a unique and easily recognizable series of Kerameikos tablets that are nearly square and (rather like the tablets of Group J below) were folded in two with a horizontal rather than the customary vertical fold. Name, color, and brand appear on the outside of the tablets, and the value on the inside. The fifteen men and the Kerameikos number of their tablets in this series are: Aristodikos (no. 47), Arkesilas (no. 63), Archeboulos (no. 65), Asklepiades (no. 73), Dionysodoros (no. 106), Theodotos (no. 194), Theoxenos (no. 208), Thrasymedes (no. 229), Kleomedon (no. 299), Leontichos (—), Leochares (no. 328), Proxenos (no. 453), Protarchos (no. 458), Pythokles (no. 466), and Sthennis, no. 467). Most of these names are linked together further in other stylistically homogeneous Kerameikos series and in some cases by palimpsest tablets.

To judge from the available prosopographical evidence, their tribe is likely to have been Demetrias or Hippothontis. The former is suggested by the possible identifications of Sthennis with *PA* 12641, and Asklepiades with one of the two Asklepiadai mentioned with patronymics on Kerameikos nos. 70 and 71 and therefore identifiable as Phylasioi (Braun, p. 245; above; p. 106). But these possible identifications should probably be abandoned since the three Kerameikos tablets with demotics from Demetrias, nos. 57, 280, and 331, have nothing in common typologically with any of the extant tablets of the above fifteen tribesmen. This leaves the tribe implied by Archeboulos, a name that occurs only twice in Athenian prosopography, both times in Hippothontis: Archeboulos (Hippothontidos), casualty in 409 B.C. (D. Bradeen, *The Athenian Agora*, XVII, *Funerary Inscriptions*, Princeton 1972, no. 23, line 273); Bathyllos Archeboulou Peiraieus, proxenos of Delphi between *ca.* 280 and 270 B.C. (*Fouilles de Delphes* III, ii, no. 200). Hippothontis is not conclusively spoken for by any of the extant tablets with demotics (pending further study Kerameikos no. 75 could equally belong to Hippothontis or Demetrias) and is supported by the tentative identifications of the above Thrasymedes with Thrasymedes Anakaieus, thesmothetes in 228/7 (*IG* II², 1706 = *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pl. XIV, line 19) and Kleomedon with the polemarch of 220/19 (see 90 below).

85.

ΑΡΚΕΣΙΑΣ ΤΜΑ
ΔΡΚΑΣ

ΤΙΜΗΜΑ ΗΗΗΗ

86.

ΔΙΕΥΤΗΣ ΔΕΥΡΟΥ
ΠΑΡΟΥ ΔΡΑΚΩΝ

ΤΙΜΗΜΑ
Χ Η Η

87.

ΛΕΟΝΤΙΧΟΙΜΕΛΑΣ
ΑΙΤΟΣ

ΤΙΜΗΜΑ, ΗΗΗΗ

88.

ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΟΙΛΕΥΚΟΣ
ΑΣΗΜΙΟΣ

ΤΙΜΗΜ ΗΗΗ

91.

ΕΛΧ
ΗΗΗΗ
ΑΡΟΥ

ΛΕΥΧ
ΤΥΡΡΟΛΑΣΗΙΟΣ
ΤΙΜ ΗΗΗΗ

ΔΗΜΟΚΛ

ΜΕΛΑΣ ΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΤΡΗΗΗ

Fig.10

93.

86 (IL 1558) Fig. 10.

Complete. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.067; W. 0.019.

Διονυσόδωρου	τίμημα
παρώι δράκων	HHH

Dionysodoros appears again on the Kerameikos tablet no. 106.

87 (IL 1559) Fig. 10.

Unfolded whole. L. 0.065; W. 0.018.

Λεοντίχου μέλας	τίμημα	HHHH
αίετός		

The cavalryman is represented in the Kerameikos list by tablets nos. 321-323.

88 (IL 1565) Fig. 10.

Unfolded whole. L. 0.067; W. 0.020.

Πρωτάρχου λευκός	τίμημ[α]	HHH
ἄσημος		

Protarchos is also named on the Kerameikos tablets nos. 458-461, of which no. 460 was inscribed for the same horse as above at 600 drachmas.

SERIES J (probably Hippothontis)

Three tablets that had been folded with horizontal rather than vertical folds. It is doubtful that all belong to a single series of tablets that had been inscribed together in one year. But the three tablets are closely related and clearly pertain to cavalrymen of one tribe, which is the same tribe as that of the preceding Series H.

89 (IL 1620)

Found complete, folded in four with one horizontal and one vertical fold. Broken in several fragments when partially unfolded. Restored L. ca. 0.080; W. 0.034.

Ἄρκεσίλου	Ἄρκεσίλο[υ] μέλ[ας]
	Ἄρκας [τίμη] HHH

See 85.

90 (IL 1622)

Four fragments broken all around, of which three join. L. 0.085; W. 0.028. This very badly preserved tablet appears to have been folded with two horizontal folds.

[Κλεομέδο]ν	[Κ]λ[ε]ομέδον[τος]
	πα[ρῶ]ιας
	[---]Ξ[-]Α[---]
	τ[ίμη--] Η

The cavalryman occurs also on the Kerameikos tablets nos. 298-301. If his tribe is Hippothontis, he should be Kleomedon Azenieus, polemarch in 220/19 (*IG II²*, line 73 = *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pl. XIV, line 93, as corrected in *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 21).

91 (IL 1621) Fig. 10, Pl. 38.

A tablet with rounded ends that had been folded horizontally in two. Nearly complete, a piece missing at the lower left and another from the upper right edge. L. 0.074; W. 0.028.

Λεωχ-	Λεωχ[άρου]
άρου	πυρρός ἄσημος
	τίμ HHH

The tablet is a double palimpsest; the numeral HHHH in the middle of the outside face is left from a previous use. At the lower right of the inside face, beneath the final numeral (HHH) is an erased HHH from a third, still earlier use.

The Kerameikos tablets inscribed for this Leochares are nos. 327-329.

SERIES K (unidentified tribe) 92-102

Exceptionally large, thin tablets (all well-erased palimpsests) with the names inscribed on their backsides lengthwise; the tablets were then folded in four. All are inscribed in the same large, free hand. (With the possible exception of Simias [98], the cavalrymen of this tribe are not represented among the Kerameikos tablets.)

92 (IL 1623) Pl. 39.

Left quarter of a tablet, broken at the right.
L. 0.047; W. 0.042.

Ἄριστοφῶ[ντος] λευκ[ὸς -----]

93 (IL 1561) Fig. 10, Pl. 39.

Unfolded whole. Small pieces missing from
the bottom edge. L. 0.140; W. 0.049.

Δημοκλ[--] μέλας δράκων ΠΗΗΗ

94 (IL 1557) Fig. 11.

Complete, except for pieces missing from the
upper edge and at the lower left corner.
Mended after unfolding. L. 0.151; W. 0.043.

Καλλιτέλου πυρὸς Νίκη ΠΗΠ

95 (IL 1555) Fig. 11.

Unfolded in one piece. Broken along all four
edges. L. 0.140; W. 0.040.

Μενάνδρου πυρὸς χαλινὸς Π

96 (IL 1566) Fig. 11.

Unfolded in one piece. Broken along much
of the upper, lower, and right edges. L. 0.130;
W. 0.036.

Μνησίδου [πυρ]ρὸς δράκων ΠΗ

For the name at Athens, see W. Peek's
restoration of the stele *Abh. Ak. Berlin*, 1956,
fasc. iii, p. 38, no. 137.

97 (IL 1625) Pl. 39.

Two non-joining pieces, one preserving the
original right edge, the other broken all around.
L. (including the gap between fragments)
0.120; W. 0.033.

Ξένωνος [πα]ρῶιος δρ[ά]κων Π

98 (IL 1626) Fig. 11.

Two joining fragments, broken along most
of their upper and lower edges. L. 0.135; W.
0.035.

Σιμίου πυρρὸς χαρακτήρ Π

A Simias is named on the Kerameikos tablet
no. 471.

99 (IL 1627)

Fragment broken on all sides. L. 0.042; W.
0.025.

[---]δῶρου πυρρὸς [-----]

100 (IL 1628)

Fragment broken at left and right. L. 0.061;
W. 0.038.

[---κ]λέους [----] δράκων ΗΗ[--]

101 (IL 1629)

Fragment broken at left and right. L. 0.096;
W. 0.049.

[---]πάτρου [πυρ]ρὸς κρατήρ ΗΗ[--]

102 (IL 1631)

Fragment broken on all sides. L. 0.107; W.
0.039.

[-----] πυρρὸς ἀετ[ὸ]ς [---]

In addition, there are from this series four
smaller fragments, inscribed with a few letters
of a color, a brand, or a numeral, that cannot be
associated with any of the above tablets. For
another tablet fragment that may belong with
this tribe, see **105**.

MISCELLANEOUS UNCLASSIFIED **103-111****103** (IL 1641)

Two joining fragments found folded over
each other, comprising the right half of an
extremely small tablet that had been folded in
four. L. 0.027; W. 0.023. Outside name per-
pendicular to the tablet's length.

Ἄριστογ [---δ]ράκων ΠΗ

104 (IL 1698)

Found folded in five. Mended after un-
folding. L. 0.090; W. 0.036. Outside name
perpendicular.

Ἄριστο- Ἄριστ[ο]κράτου
κράτου παρῶ[ε]ας κρατήρ
τίμημα ΗΗΗ

ΚΑΜΠΤΕΛΟΥ



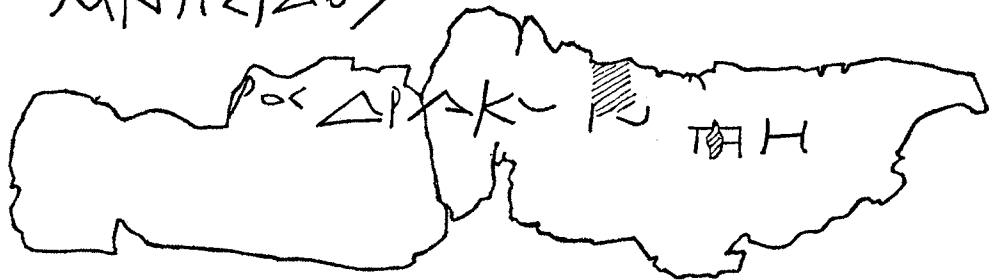
94.

ΜΕΝΑΝ ΔΡΟΥ



95.

ΜΝΗΚΙΔΟΥ



96.

ΖΙΜΠΟΥ



98.

Fig.11

The name is found on the Kerameikos tablet no. 50.

105 (IL 811 + IL 814)

Left and right ends of a tablet that had apparently been folded in two. Restored L. ca. 0.120; W. 0.033. Name parallel to length.

Δημο[...]ου πυρρός δ[ράκων?] Π

106 (IL 1604) Fig. 12.

Two joining fragments, mended, comprising about half of a tablet that had been folded in three. Broken at the left, right, and along most of the lower edges. L. 0.064; W. 0.033. Outside name parallel to the tablet's length.

Ἰππ[οκράτου] [Ἰπ]ποκ[ρά[του μέλας βου[κεφάλας]
τίμη[η]μα — ΗΗΗ

The tablet is identical to those of Series D (Antiochis) in all respects except for the size and perhaps the character of the handwriting. The cavalryman may therefore be an Antiochides; and, if so, would probably be the father or son of the Konon Hippokratous named on **69**.

107 (IL 1644)

Folded tightly in five. L. 0.023; W. 0.030. Name perpendicular to length. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 4 from left, third tablet down.

Καλλί- (cannot be opened)
ου

Although cavalrymen of this name are known from Erechtheis (see **31**) and Akamantis (Kerameikos tablet no. 257), I am unable to cite any criterion that would associate this present tablet with either of these tribes.

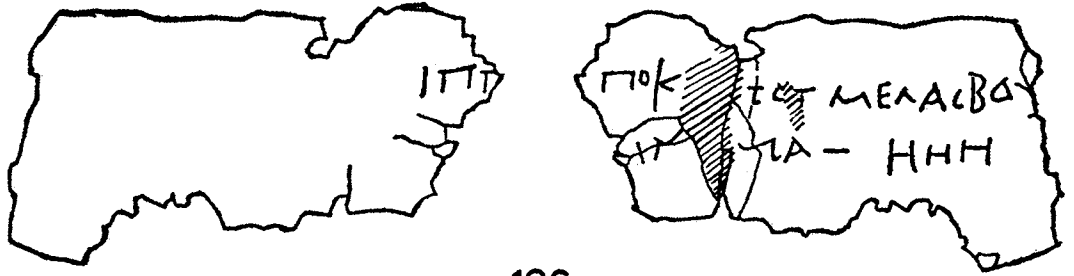
108 (IL 1602 + IL 1645) Fig. 12.

Four fragments, comprising the full left third, the full right third, and the lower half and upper right corner of the middle third of a tablet that had been folded in three. Although the fragments are adjacent, there are no actual joins. L. 0.124; W. 0.032. Outside name parallel to the tablet's length.

Λυάν[δρο] Λυάνδρ[ου εα: 3] ΠΙ π[οί]κιλος
κράνος τίμη[μ]α· ΧΗΗ

A fair number of names will suit the requirements of restoration. In favor of Demokleou, however, is the circumstance that the tablet is similar in format (though not in dimensions or lettering) to those of Series K, so that the cavalryman may very well be the same as the one named on **93**.

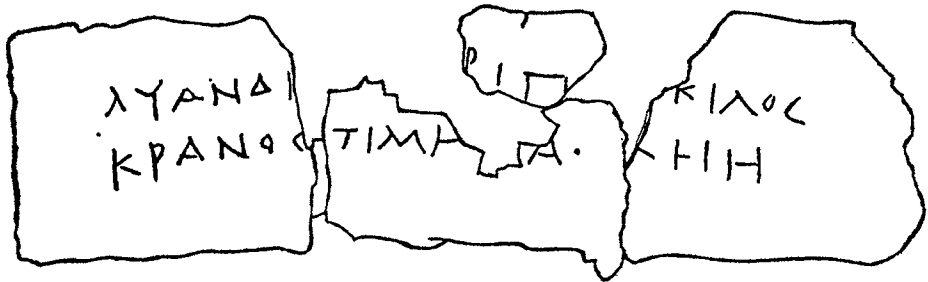
On the outside of the tablet, the scribe abandoned his first attempt at the name, apparently after omitting alpha and beginning the next letter, a nu, in its place; he then inverted the tablet and inscribed the name correctly. In the inside text, the broken word at the middle of line 1 should probably be an abbreviated demotic or patronymic. The tablet's lettering and format (except for the one-point interpunct in place of a dash) are identical to those of **106**, which implies that both tablets may have been inscribed for members of the same tribe. The form of **106** hints that this may be Antiochis, but neither the demotic or patronymic of the one Lyandros known from the tribe (*PA* 9187: Lyandros Lysiadou Anaphlystios, attested in 254/3, see *Hesperia* 38, 1969, p. 418, lines 5-6, pp. 423, 433) will restore in the middle of line 1. Nor will the demotics or patronymics of the other two Lyandroi in Attic prosopography: Lyandros Nikogenou Philaides (*PA* 9188) and Lyandros Theodoridou Phaleureus (*Agora* XV, no. 62, line 290).



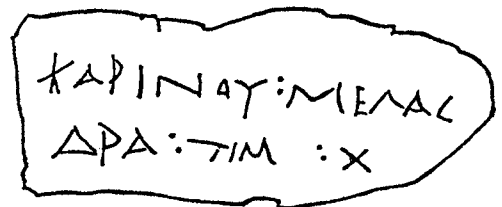
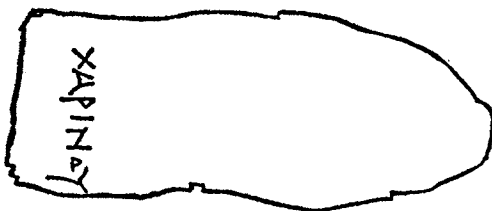
106.



108.



110.



111.

Fig.12

109 (IL 1646)

Found folded in four. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.120; W. 0.032. Name inscribed lengthwise. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pl. 39:a, row 1 from left, second tablet down.

Παντ[α-]	πυρρὸς ἄ[σ]η[μος]
λέοντ	τίμημα ΗΗΗΗ

110 (IL 1647) Fig. 12.

Apparently complete. Found folded in three. Mended after unfolding. L. 0.036; W. 0.020. On the outside face the name is inscribed perpendicular to the tablet's length, the numeral parallel to the length.

Φιλίου	Φιλίου πυρρὸς
Π ρ Π	ὄρτυξ

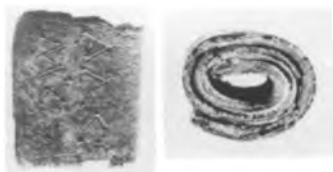
The tablet is exceptionally small and records the horse's evaluation on the outside presumably because it was felt that there was not room on the inside.

111 (IL 1544) Fig. 12.

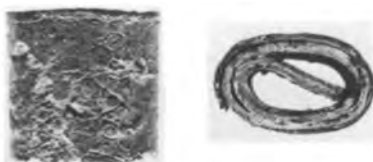
Found folded in four and unfolded whole. L. 0.064; W. 0.027. Name on outside perpendicular to length.

Χαρίνον	Χαρίνον:μέλας
	δρά: τίμ: Χ

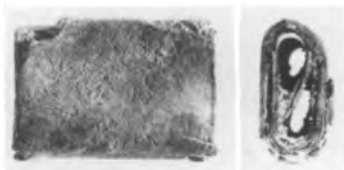
Cf. the Kerameikos tablet no. 557 inscribed for Charinos of Icaria.



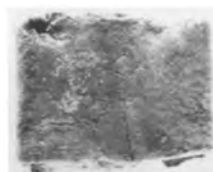
1



2



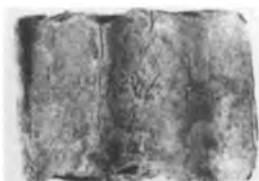
3



11



7



13



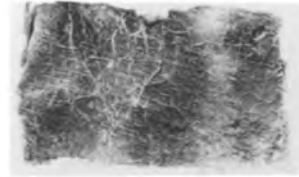
12



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



22



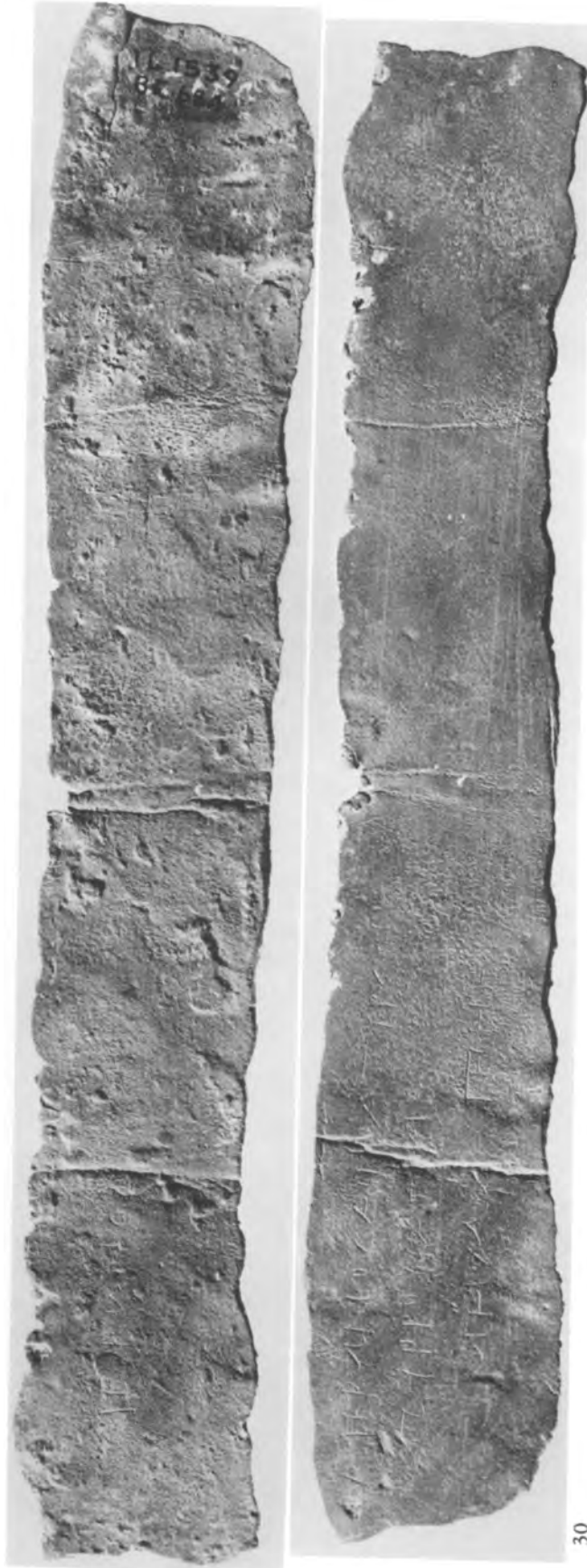
24



26



28

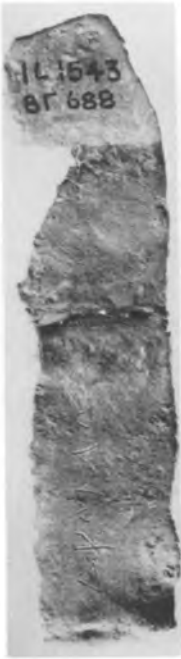


30

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37



38



49



51



53



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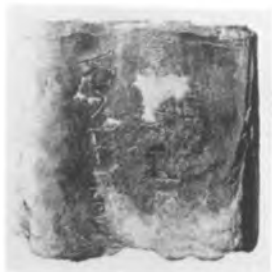


43





57



62



63



60



64



65



61



69





73



74



75



76



77



78



79



80



81



85



91



92

97



93