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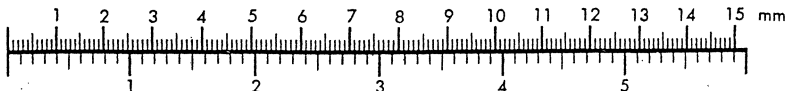
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The Origins and Nature of the Attic Ephebeia to 200 B.C.

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Literae Humaniores
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Trinity 1994

Henri Venable de Marcellus
St. Peter's College, Oxford



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This thesis examines the Athenian ephebeia, from its creation to 200 B.C. The primary aim of the study is to examine the forces which led to the perception of a need for the ephebeia and which influenced its creation.

After describing the institution and then investigating the available evidence for its foundation date, I argue that the "formal ephebeia" was created in 335 B.C. and was substantially different in form from anything which had preceded it. There were, however, some antecedent aspects of the ephebeia which can be traced to earlier times.

The following two chapters examine forces in the fifth and early fourth century which contributed to the creation of the ephebeia. The first is an examination of Greek military innovation in the fourth century and of new Athenian defensive policy. The second investigates a "discourse" of educational thought which was present in the intellectual circles of Athens in the fourth century, the nature of which can be found in writings of the "Socratic" philosophers. In the fifth chapter I describe the environment of "Lycurgan Athens" and argue that the ephebeia was a deliberately "invented tradition" which suited its ideological context. The final chapter examines all available evidence for the history of the organization from 322 to 200 B.C., charting a transformation of the institution. There are two appendices: one on the demography of late fourth century Athens and its relationship to the ephebeia, the other on the life-dates of Menander and the year of his ephebate. There are also two catalogues of inscriptions. The first provides all fourth century ephebic inscriptions since the publication of Reinmuth's collection (or changes to those). The second provides all published third century ephebic inscriptions and some from the early second century.

Acknowledgements

I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to four men in particular, without any one of whom I would have been incapable of presenting this thesis in the present form, if at all. I list them in order of appearance:

Mr. R. Kirk Underhill, without whose generosity, and that of the English Speaking Union of San Francisco, I would have been unable to study at Oxford; Prof. W. George Forrest, supervisor for my first year, whose gentle encouragement and acute questions yielded the freedom and stimulation to seek and follow my own interests; the late Prof. David M. Lewis, who introduced me to epigraphy and (unintentionally) inspired the topic of this thesis; and Mr. Robin Lane Fox, graduate advisor for my first year and supervisor for my second and third years, without whose erudite critique and suggestions and spirited support, the work would be much less than it is. I am grateful as well to Mr. George Cawkwell, graduate advisor, or rather *sophronistes*, for my first year.

I owe thanks to three fellow students and Hellenists, Ms. Andronike Makris, Mr. Tom Harrison, and Mr. Graham Oliver, for their ideas, knowledge and friendship. Mr. Oliver, in particular, has shared current work of his on the economy and military of Hellenistic Athens.

Sources of funding other than the E.S.U. have been the Overseas Research Students Award Scheme, St. Peter's College, the St. Peter's College Oxford Foundation, and the First Presbyterian Church of West Palm Beach. I am grateful for the kindness and abundant assistance of the library staff of the Ashmolean Library, the Bodleian Library, and the Classics Lending Library, as well as the staff of the Beazely Archives. I owe a great debt of thanks to the Department of Classics of the University of California at Berkeley, for permission to use their library during the summer of 1993.

I am grateful to the many scholars who, over the course of my study, have taken the time and interest to share with me in any way their knowledge, critique and/or suggestions. They include John Barron, Robert Connor, Werner Fuchs, Mark Griffith, Christian Habicht, Eirene Lemos, Josiah Ober, Robin Osborne, Robert Parker, Simon Price, Nick Sekunda, Barry Strauss, Ronald Stroud, and Steven Tracy.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations used, both general and for citations, are those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, with the exception that I use "Aristoph.", rather than "Ar.", for Aristophanes. The numbering of Isocrates' works is that of the Loeb Classical Library volumes. Periodical abbreviations are those of *L'Année Philologique*.

Sources for inscriptions are abbreviated as follows:

IG I³ or II² for *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Vol. I or II; "Reinmuth" for inscriptions from O.W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Leiden, 1971); "Tod" for inscriptions from M. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1948); "Schwenk" for those appearing in C.J. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander. The Dated Laws & Decrees of 'The Lykourgan Era' 338 - 322 B.C.* (Chicago, 1985); "Naturalization" for those in M.J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, Vols. I - III/IV (Brussels, 1981 - 1983); and "A" and "B" for those inscriptions included in Catalogues A and B of this work.

Otherwise the full source of the inscription is given. Line numbers are separated from the inscription number by a decimal point, e.g. Reinmuth 5.6 refers to inscription number five from Reinmuth, line number six.

Unless otherwise stated, all dates given are B.C.

To my Father,
noble soldier and passionate historian.

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Introduction

Because the topic of the Athenian Ephebeia is one of the most controversial subjects of ancient Greek history and as a result has been the focus of heated debate for over a century, I feel that I owe the reader some justification for the present work. Despite the long-standing debate, no comprehensive description of the programme has ever been published in English.¹ The definitive history of the organization written by Chrysis Pélékidis² is beginning to show its age as work done since 1962 increasingly provides a better understanding of the period of Athenian political history crucial to any study of the ephebeia (338-322), as well as unravelling the political history of the early third century, which when Pélékidis wrote was nearly opaque.

Although epigraphists might consider the fourth century ephebeia to be a well-worn subject, I have been complimented (to my surprise) by students of Greek literature, for working on such a "trendy topic". Recent literary theory, put into motion by Vidal-Naquet, has thrown the ephebes of Athens onto centre stage, as I explain at the beginning of my first chapter. This theory depends largely on a belief in an early origin of the ephebic programme - a belief with which I disagree. I hope that those engaged in such work will read what I have to say with patience, and that, if they continue to disagree with my position on the date, they are nonetheless able to accept my work as a study of the sudden prominence which a formal ephebeia claimed after the year 335.

In respect to the question of date, I should add that I am a convert. I was first (and belatedly) introduced to the Athenian ephebeia by Professor David Lewis in a graduate seminar on problems in Greek epigraphy. My curiosity aroused, I set out to learn all I could about them and became particularly interested in the idea that they reflected an archaic rite-of-passage, traces of which might yet be found in the fossilized remains of

¹ Although invaluable, O.W. Reinmuth's *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century* (Leiden, 1971) is organized by inscription, thereby limiting its accessibility.

² C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'Éphébie Attique des Origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris, 1962).

prehistoric and classical Athens. But the more I read and thought about the arguments and evidence for an "early ephebeia", in Pélékidis, Reinmuth, Vidal-Naquet and others, the more I realized that I could not accept them, however much I desired to. The direction of my study altered course dramatically, and, as it did, new questions surfaced. These questions, and my attempts to answer them, comprise the substance of this thesis.

My purpose here is to join others before me in examining the major arguments concerning the date of the foundation of the system but then, having established the dates by which parts of the ephebeia, both precursory and formal, were most likely to have existed, to move further and search for the influences that created a perceived need or inspiration for such a radical institution. In brief, I argue that the ephebeia proper was created in the year 335/4 by the government of Lycurgus, consciously employing for immediate purposes an array of pre-existing ideological systems and symbols, as a result of the influence of changes in the Greek approach to warfare, Athenian military requirements, and, a neglected aspect, an ongoing "discourse" concerning education, which may be found in the writings and teachings of "Socratic" philosophers. I also argue that these philosophical and political beliefs themselves grew partly out of the damage caused (or perceived to have been caused) by a "generation gap" at the end of the fifth-century which, for special reasons, influenced the way these thinkers wrote and the way in which the principles of their ideas were received. In my final chapter, I offer a close examination of the evidence which provides a history of the programme, and its decline, from 322 to the year 200 B.C.³ There are two appendices. One reviews and analyses the evidence and recent arguments concerning Athenian population at the end of the fourth century and its relationship to the ephebeia; the other establishes the dates of the comic poet Menander's birth, ephebate, and death. At the end of this work appear two compilations of ephebic inscriptions: those of the fourth century published (or

³ For my reasons for choosing 200 as an end-point for my study, see the introduction to Chapter VI, p. 171.

corrected) since the work of Reinmuth, and all which date to the third century (and, for purposes of comparison, a bit into the beginning of the second), with relevant editorial comments, a few my own, but primarily those that have accumulated since their publication.

No previous author has attempted such a rigorous explanation of the origin of the ephebeia.⁴ Those who believe in an "early ephebeia" simply claim evolution from an undocumented rite-of-passage ritual.⁵ Those who believe in a "late ephebeia" do not dwell on causes, but generally presume an attempt to revitalize the Athenian army after the debacle at Chaeronea.

The gift which each historian brings to his field - more important than facts, dates, or even argument - is his or her own perspective. Sometimes it is similar to that of others, sometimes completely different, but any given historian's view of an aspect of history will be in some way unique. The picture which I paint of the Athenian ephebeia is one of a late and purposefully invented tradition. As such, it will hopefully join recent useful works which deal with similar phenomena. In modern history, the collection of essays *The Invention of Tradition* has been ground-breaking.⁶ Ancient historians are beginning to examine the causes and impact of deliberately invented and ideologically charged tradition.⁷ Such studies have double ramifications. First of all, they reveal important information about the individuals or society which implement such traditions. (In truth, my work is more "about" late fourth century Athens than the ephebeia *per se*.) Secondly, it allows us to strip away any historical misconceptions

⁴ Except the brief suggestion of G. Mathieu, 'Remarques sur l'éphébie attique', *Mélanges Desrousseaux* (Paris, 1937), 311-318, that it evolved from the public education and maintenance of war orphans.

⁵ See (e.g.) Pélékidis, 79.

⁶ E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

⁷ See (e.g.) P. Cartledge and A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A tale of two cities* (London and New York, 1989), and their examination of such archaizing traditions as that invented by Cleomenes III in the 220's B.C., 52-58, or later in Roman times, 190-211; J.K. Davies' forthcoming work on "False Documents"; see Z. Yavetz's description of the educational intentions of Caesar Augustus' *Res Gestae* in 'The *Res Gestae* and Augustus' Public Image', in F. Millar and E. Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects* (Oxford, 1989), 1-36.

which may have arisen through a failure to recognize certain traditions as invention. We are otherwise vulnerable to the danger of trying to fit the tradition, and its concurrent implications, into a past to which it does not belong.

Chapter I

The Ephebeia: problem and description

1. Controversy

The study of the Athenian ephebeia has long been the domain primarily, perhaps exclusively, of epigraphists. The tedious records of cadet names continued to be largely ignored by more general classicists even after the discovery, made at the end of the last century, that the training programme existed in Athens at least in the fourth century B.C. and perhaps earlier.¹ As for the date, up until the middle of this century the majority of opinion weighed so heavily on a creation date *post* 336 that the accumulated evidence was said to be such as to "convince even the most prejudiced person that there was no ephebeia prior to 335."² Within the last three decades, however, since the publication of Reinmuth's collection of fourth century inscriptions, and especially since the many appearances of Vidal-Naquet's revolutionary essay 'The Black Hunter', the Athenian ephebe has properly become relevant, even central, to studies within broader dialogues on Athenian culture. The ephebe has become a powerful and commonly used tool in the hands of free-associating Hellenists.

Through a complex series of connections (the black *chlamys*, the *apate* or "trick", the myth of Melanthus, Xanthus, and Dionysus, phratry festivals, and others) Vidal-Naquet compared and essentially equated the Athenian ephebeia with the Spartan *krypteia*. He described the unique role and demands of each system as a rite-of-passage in the context of its respective *polis*.³ His arguments assumed the ephebeia to have been in existence in the fifth century, and even earlier, in a form essentially

¹ This was with the discoveries of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* (*Ath. Pol.*) on two papyri (Berlin Staaliche Museen, no. 5009, in 1880, and P.London.131, in the British Library, in 1891), and with the publication of early ephebic inscriptions in 1888, 1889 and 1890: *IGII*² 1159, 1156, and 1189, respectively (= Reinmuth 19, 2, and 3).

² C.A. Forbes, *Greek Physical Education* (New York and London, 1929), 119.

³ P. Vidal-Naquet, 'Le chasseur noir et l'origine de l'éphébie athénienne', *Le Chasseur Noir* (Paris, 1981), 151-175.

similar to that of later times. This assumption was made possible, or at least supported, by the use of mistaken epigraphical evidence.⁴ In spite of its sweeping influence, the essay has received numerous critical responses, and, in a later reply, the author has restated his purpose.⁵ He writes that the "central institution" of the paper "was related not to Athens but to Sparta, and was an answer to a question raised by Jeanmaire in 1913."⁶

John Winkler used this framework to argue that fifth century Athenian tragedy was inspired by, written for, and performed by ephebes - that the word tragedy itself was connected to the phenomenon of the breaking voice of a youth as he becomes a man.⁷ Vidal-Naquet realized the danger of such leaps and washed his hands of Winkler's work: "I do not think I can accept the general thesis developed in ['The Ephebes Song'], and as it presents itself as an offspring of the 'Black Hunter', I feel compelled to raise at least some doubts as to its total legitimacy."⁸

Nevertheless, the associations continue. Orestes, Jason, Paris, and Oedipus have been compared to or identified with ephebes. So have Neoptolemus and Hippolytus, Ion and Pentheus.⁹ Aristophanic youth have all been re-interpreted as 'Black

⁴ At the beginning of his essay, Vidal-Naquet did acknowledge the difficulty of the question of date, but supported his suppositions with the now discredited dating of Reinmuth 1, a stone which seemed at the time to prove an earlier date (see pp. 25-26 below), Vidal-Naquet 'Chasseur', 151-2, n. 1.

⁵ This is not the place for a detailed critique of Vidal-Naquet's work, but *contra* 'The Black Hunter', see J.K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Berkeley, 1985), 159, n. 3, and especially P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, 'Remarks on the black cloaks of the ephebes', *PCPhS* N.S. 16 (1970), 113-116, raised after 'The Black Hunter' first appeared in 1968, whose cogent arguments Vidal-Naquet gracefully accepted in 'The Black Hunter Revisited', *PCPhS* 32 (1986), 129.

⁶ Vidal-Naquet, 'Revisited', 127. Even with his concessions, however, the author writes "We know that the *ephebeia* existed long before Lycurgus," and then again cites Reinmuth's mistaken date (133 and 141, note 60).

⁷ J. Winkler, 'The Ephebe's Song: Tragôidia and Polis', *Representations* 11 (Summer, 1985), 26-62, also appearing in J. Winkler and F. Zeitlin (eds.), *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context* (Princeton, 1990), 20-62.

⁸ Vidal-Naquet, 'Revisited', 137.

⁹ *ibid.* 135-6; P. Vidal-Naquet, 'Le Philoctète de Sophocle et l'éphébie', *Annales (ESC)* 26 (1971), 623-38; 'On the status and position of the foreigner in Greek tragedy', lecture delivered at University College, Oxford, November 24, 1992; (cf. S. Goldhill, 'The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology', *JHS* 107 (1987), 73, also appearing in Winkler and Zeitlin, *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?*, 97-

Hunter' ephebes, operating outside the bounds of adult society.¹⁰ Light-armed figures on campaigning mugs and boar hunters on vases have been dubbed ephebes. In both cases, the pots which bear them were painted in the sixth century.¹¹ We are told that mounted ephebes are immortalized in the Parthenon frieze.¹² On the subject of erotic iconography, Sourvinou-Inwood writes, "for both Athenian artists and viewers, the signifying elements 'youth' combined with 'chlamys', 'petasos', and 'spear(s)' made up the sign 'ephebe' and/or 'Theseus as ephebe'. The sign 'pursuer' in 'erotic pursuit' produced for fifth-century Athenians the meaning 'ephebe' as well as 'Theseus'...."¹³

Other writers are more cautious. In his description of ideological tensions between tragedies of the City Dionysia and the civic/festival trappings which surrounded them, Goldhill points out that the orphan presentation "may indicate a certain connection between tragedy and males at the age of manhood...even if there is no formal institution of the *ephebeia* at the time of fifth-century tragedy...."¹⁴ Meanwhile other historians write that "contrary to Reinmuth's supposition, the ephebic organization which we view is not visible in 361/60, but is first evidenced in 334/3",¹⁵ or that "the date of origin of the *ephebia* remains mired in controversy but clearly not proved before ca 335 B.C."¹⁶

Between such fundamentally divided positions, the well-meaning historian tends to

129); C. Segal, *Dionysiac poetics and Euripides' Bacchae* (Princeton, 1982), 189-201.

¹⁰ A.M. Bowie, *Aristophanes* (Cambridge, 1993), *passim*.

¹¹ F. Lissarrague, *l'autre guerrier*, (Rome, 1990), 164-172. Figure A; A. Schnapp, 'Pratiche e immagini di caccia nella Grecia antica', *DArch* 1979, 36-59; cf. 'Images et Programme: Les Figurations archaïques de la chasse au sanglier', *RA* 1979, part 2, 218.

¹² This is an old theory, first advanced by P. Girard, *L'éducation athénienne* (Paris, 1891), 279, where Girard equates ephebes with *hippeis*; recent incarnations: Reinmuth, 'Inscriptions', 137; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Madison, 1983), 59-60.

¹³ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Culture* (Oxford, 1991), 63. Throughout the book, "ephebes" are not only identified on vases, but their specific fourth century trappings (e.g. spear, *chlamys*) are present in Sourvinou-Inwood's interpretation of their meaning and effect.

¹⁴ Goldhill, 'Dionysia', 75.

¹⁵ R. Develin, *Athenian Officials 684-321 B.C.* (Cambridge, 1989), 5.

¹⁶ E. Wheeler, 'Hoplomachia and Greek Dances in Arms', *GRBS* 23 (1982), 229.

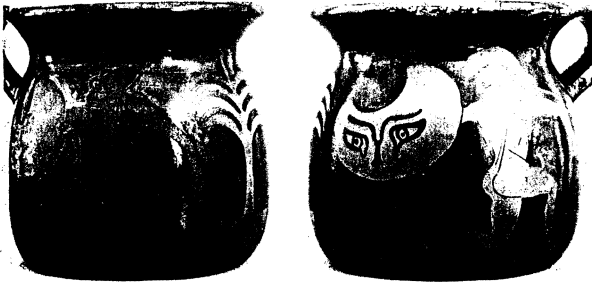
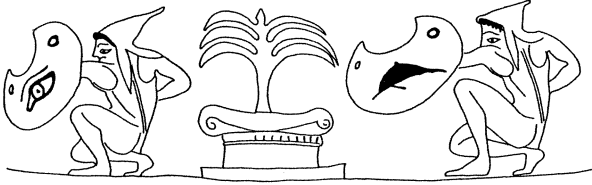


Fig. A.
"Ephebes" ?

Photos from Lissarrague, *l'autre guerrier*, 167.

tread on eggshells: "First of all, Athenian and Greek culture generally accorded a young man a transitional stage, as an ephebe, between registration as a citizen (or its extra-Athenian equivalent) and participation in the public life of the city. The *ephêbeia* of the 330's prescribing special military service for eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds, was a new institution, but it was based on ancient practice, and the term *ephêbos* was time-honored."¹⁷ An understanding of the ephebeia forms an increasingly vital element of our picture of Athenian culture as a whole. The time has come to pause, reconsider our evidence, and re-evaluate our beliefs.

2. Description of the Ephebeia

The workings of the ephebeia have been described by many authors. Even before the discovery of Aristotle's (or [Aristotle's]) *Ath. Pol.*, Dittenberger produced an impressively accurate account of the system based on surviving fragments of the *Constitution* and miscellaneous scraps of evidence.¹⁸ I include here a brief description of the organization, dwelling primarily upon recent misunderstandings and newly discovered or realized information. The basic outline (and sole ancient description) of the ephebeia is given at *Ath. Pol.* 42:¹⁹

XLII. (1) And this is the current constitution of the government. Those born of dual citizen parentage share in the government, and they are registered into their demes when they are 18 years of age. When they are registered, the deme members, under oath, vote about them by ballot: firstly on whether they seem to have attained the age prescribed by law - and if they are found not to be of age, they are returned again into the ranks of children; secondly, on whether the candidate is free and born according to the laws [legitimately]. Then, should they vote that he is not free, he may appeal to the *dikasterion*, and the deme members choose five men from among their number as prosecutors. And if he is found to have been enrolled illegally, the *polis* sells

¹⁷ B. Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens* (London, 1993), 96. (For a discussion of the term *ephebos*, see p. 43 below.)

¹⁸ W. Dittenberger, *De Ephebis Atticis* (Göttingen, 1863).

¹⁹ For a detailed commentary: P.J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Athenian Politeia* (Oxford, 1981), 493-510.

him. If, on the other hand, he should win the case, the demesmen must enrol him. (2) After these proceedings, the *boule* inspects those registered, and should anyone appear to be younger than 18 years old, it fines the demesmen who registered him. And when the ephebes have thus been inspected, their fathers meet by tribe, and, under oath, choose three from among those tribesmen who are more than forty years old, whom they consider to be the best and the most suitable to supervise the ephebes. From these the *demos* elects one from each tribe as *sophronistes*. They also elect the *kosmetes* from amongst the other Athenians to be over them all. (3) And these officers, collecting the ephebes, first take them on a circuit of the shrines, then bring them to garrison Peiraeus, some at Munychia and the others at Acte. They also elect for them two athletic trainers, as well as instructors who teach them to fight with hoplite weapons [*hoplomachia*], to use a bow, to hurl javelins, and to shoot catapults. It also grants one drachma apiece to the *sophronistai* for [daily] rations, and four obols for each of the ephebes. And each *sophronistes*, taking the whole sum for his tribe, purchases the provisions for all in common (for they eat together by tribes), and also sees to everything else. (4) In this way they spend their first year; and in the next an assembly is held in the theatre where they demonstrate drill and ceremony to the *demos*, and, taking a shield and spear from the *polis*, patrol the countryside and pass their time in the guard-posts. (5) They garrison for two years; they wear the *chlamys*; and they are exempt from all liturgies, and may neither be taken to court nor go to court, lest anyone have an excuse for absence, except in cases concerning an estate, an heiress, or any priesthood that one may inherit. When the two years have passed, they are with the others [i.e. members of the citizen body].

Young Athenian men who had been found by the deme to be eligible for citizenship (i.e. they are free, eighteen years of age, and of dual citizen parentage) were registered into the *lexiarchicon grammateion*.²⁰ This was the roster of deme members, kept by the *demarch*, and this is what certified a man as citizen. If a parallel with adopted

²⁰ I follow Rhodes, *Commentary*, 498, and M. Golden, 'Demosthenes and the Age of Majority at Athens', *Phoenix* 33 (1979), 25-38, esp. 30-32; *contra* R. Sealey, 'On coming of age in Athens', *CR* 71, n.s. 7 (1957), 195-7; the argument that ephebes were eighteen years old, and not seventeen, based on internal consistency of the 42 year groups of the *Ath. Pol.*, is not mentioned by Sealey, *Demosthenes and his Time* (Oxford, 1993), 246-7; cf. pp. 228-229 below. N. Sekunda, 'Athenian Demography and Military Strength', *ABSA* 87 (1992), 315, following G. Gilbert, *The Constitutional Antiquities of Athens and Sparta* (London, 1895), 197, incorrectly reads the *Ath. Pol.* to mean that ephebes were enrolled "in their eighteenth year", i.e. after their seventeenth birthday, as J. Carter, 'Eighteen Years Old?', *BICS* 14 (1967), 51-57.

children can be accepted, the initial registration of youths into the deme may have occurred at the *archairesiai*, perhaps as early as Thargelion (c. June).²¹ The confirmations by the *boule* which followed must have been conducted *en masse* at the beginning of the new year, sometime within the first two months.²² We should envisage, at some point very early in the year, a collective meeting in the city of all the citizen candidates and their fathers. The young men are present to be confirmed by the *boule* and later to take the oath of citizenship; their fathers gather in order to meet by tribe and nominate candidates for *sophonistai*.

The forty-two year groups from 18 to 59 were each assigned an eponymous hero, for record-keeping purposes, as well, no doubt, as for group cohesion and morale. The new ephebes were assigned to the hero of the age-group which had reached the age of fifty-nine (and served as arbiters) in the previous year, and their names were inscribed beneath the name of the hero on a bronze stele, erected outside the *Bouleuterion*.²³

Congregated in the city at the beginning of the new year, the youths probably marched as a group in the Panathenaea, towards the end of Hecatombaeon. Before the year 330, Deinarchus prosecuted the metic Agasicles for bribing demesmen to allow his sons to march with the ephebes rather than with the metics, who carried baskets of honey and cakes. Agasicles' motive was apparently to pass his sons off as citizens.²⁴

There is some evidence to suggest that the sons of cleruchs came to Athens to undergo their ephebic training: Epicurus, son of Neocles, did in 323/2 (Strabo

²¹ See Isae. 7.15, 28; Dem. 30.15; [Dem.] 44.39; Golden, 'Age of Majority', 32-33.

²² Lys. 21.1: the speaker is appointed *choregos* of a tragic drama in the year of his *dokimasia*. The selection of *choregoi* took place at the beginning of the year (*Ath. Pol.* 56.3), and the *dokimasia* must have preceded it, but see Golden, 'Age of Majority', 32, n. 25.

²³ *Ath. Pol.* 53.4-5. These lists of names would then be used for muster.

²⁴ Deinarchus, *Against Agasicles*, frag. 58 (*apud* Harp., s.v. $\sigma\kappa\alpha\phi\eta\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\iota$). M. Clerc, *Les Météques Athéniens* (Paris, 1893), 162-3, unravels this cryptic passage. Mention of this case by Hyperides in his oration *For Euxenippos* (3.3 - written about 330 according to G. Colin, *Hyperide* (Paris, 1946), 64) provides the *terminus ante quem* for Agasicles' transgression. If the procession in question was that of the Greater Panathenaea, the year was 334/3 and therefore the first of the ephebic system.

14.1.18; D.L. 10.1,14); the name Taureas, son of Aisimus of Scambonidae, apparently Samian, appears in an inscription of 324/3 (Reinmuth 15, Col. 2, line 12); and perhapsJos, son of Callius of Euonymon (Reinmuth 16, Col. 1, line 1).²⁵ Although I postpone discussion, I shall here assert that all citizen classes participated in the ephebeia.²⁶ That entry into the ephebeia, sometimes described as "taking up the *chlamys*", was closely associated with becoming a citizen, is implied by a line from the comic author Antidotus: "before being enrolled and taking up the *chlamys*."²⁷

3. Supervisors

The fathers of the ephebes met by tribe and collectively nominated three members of the tribe whom they thought to be best qualified, in terms of age (over 40) and character, for the position of *sophronistes*. The assembly (*demos*) then determined for each tribe which of the three would serve as *sophronistes*.²⁸ It also elected (from the population at large) a citizen to serve as the *kosmetes*. Though it is not stated explicitly, we may assume that the latter was also over the age of forty. The *sophronistes* is the primary officer over his tribe of ephebes. Acting *in loco parentis*, he is responsible for their day-to-day arrangements, as well as for instruction in *sophrosyne*. Because he was carefully chosen by the fathers we may assume that the officer accomplished the latter primarily by acting as a good example of upright behaviour (and perhaps through fostering competition as well).²⁹ Among his many

²⁵ Epicurus: see p. 226 below; sons of cleruchs: Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 315-316; M. Hansen, *Demography and Democracy: The Number of Athenian Citizens in the Fourth Century BC* (Herning, 1985), 49; D.M. Lewis, 'Attic Ephebic Inscriptions', *CR* 87, n.s. 23 (1973), 254-6.

²⁶ See Appendix I, pp. 213-224 below; cf. pp. 155 ff.

²⁷ Antidotus fr. 2KA, cf. Philemon fr. 34; Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 86, n. 2; cf. the "laying aside" the *chlamys* in the *exiteria*: B25.26 (Catalogue B, p. 286 below, number 25, line 26) = S.V. Tracy, 'Agora I 7181 + IGII², 944b', *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 (1982), 157-158; P. Gauthier, 'Les chlamydes et l'entretien des éphèbes athéniens: remarques sur le décret de 204/3', *Chiron* 15 (1985), 158.

²⁸ *Ath. Pol.* 42.2; Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 337, is incorrect in stating that the *sophronistai* were elected from amongst the group of fathers themselves. The candidates for *sophronistes* were chosen from amongst all the men in the tribe above the age of forty (and could include the fathers).

²⁹ We shall see Plato's emphasis on the power of example; see p. 117 below.

additional duties, the *sophronistes* was responsible for providing rations for his group of fifty or so ephebes. For this purpose, the state provided him with 4 obols per ephebe per day. The ephebes of a tribe took their meals together: "συσσιτοῦσι γὰρ κατὰ φυλάς."³⁰ Based upon a relief from the second century A.D., it has been assumed that the *sophronistes* inflicted corporal punishment when necessary.³¹ Better evidence for this is perhaps to be found through parallel with the recently published "Gymnasiarchic Law of Beroia" of the early second century, which grants the *gymnasiarchos* (who seems to perform duties somewhat similar to an Athenian *sophronistes*) the power to inflict corporal punishment upon the youths.³²

The exact function of the *kosmetes* is unclear. As with *sophronistes*, the name implies that the officer instilled or maintained order. We know that throughout their training the ephebes were heavily involved in state functions: guard duty and festival participation. I suggest that the primary function of the *kosmetes* was to plan and organize the various ephebic ceremonies and to liaise between the different tribal corps and other magistrates of the *polis*.

The implication of the Aristotle passage and the ephebic inscriptions is that the *sophronistai* and *kosmetes* served for two years, instructing the same group of ephebes over that period. At any given time, then, there were two sets of *sophronistai* and two *kosmetai* - one for each ephebic class.³³ The *sophronistai* were the most

³⁰ *Ath. Pol.* 42.3.

³¹ The relief, IGII² 2122, shows *sophronistai* wielding "withes". It dates to the period under the Empire after *sophronistai* have been reinstated; Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 108; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 504.

³² Face B, lines 9, 22, and 70 of P. Gauthier and M.B. Hatzopoulos, *La Loi Gymnasiarchique de Beroia. Meletemata* 16 (Athens, 1993), 17-25, = J.M.R. Cormack, *Ancient Macedonia*, Vol. II (Thessaloniki, 1977), 139-50, in which corporal punishment is prescribed for those who are disobedient, ill-disciplined, or who cheat in the athletic competitions. For the relationship between the Athenian ephebeia and later Hellenistic youth organizations, such as that of Beroia, see pp. 209-210 below.

³³ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 104, and others (e.g. A.W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC* (Oxford, 1933), 67-8) had supposed that these officers only supervised the first year-group, but as Rhodes (*Commentary*, 504) points out, those officers are honoured in decrees which deal with the second year of ephebic training. Nor could the officers have been elected every

important ephebic officials. They were typically honoured at the end of their service and presented a golden wreath of varying value (500 drachmae in Reinmuth 2.33; 1,000 in Reinmuth 9, Col. I, line 17). In one inscription, the fathers of the ephebes commend the *sophronistes* for his performance (Reinmuth 19.11-14). On occasion the *kosmetes* is also honoured (e.g. Reinmuth 1.13 ff.; Reinmuth 4.8). His conspicuous absence from the heading of Reinmuth 5 [= Cat. A, No. 3] demonstrates the officer's relative lack of prominence. (The *sophronistes* appears twice.)

4. Oath and tour of temples

The *Ath. Pol.* states that ephebic service began with a tour of Athenian temples. This tour and the swearing of the Ephebic Oath comprised the beginning ceremony, the *eisiteria*, in which the young men officially entered the ranks of the ephebes. We do not know at exactly what time of year it occurred, but may conjecture that in Lycurgan times it was approximately the same as that of the following century, and therefore in late Metageitnion or perhaps early Boedromion.³⁴ It is presumed that before (or at the beginning of) this tour, and after inscription into the *lexiarchicon grammateion*, the ephebes swore the "ephebic oath" in the temple of Aglaurus on the Acropolis. The evidence which suggests that the oath was taken at the beginning of the ephebeia is a combination of three passages: *Ath. Pol.* 42.1 does not mention the oath, but refers to the young men being "enrolled into the demes" at the very beginning. Harpocration defines the *lexiarchicon grammateion* as "that into which [citizens] are enrolled when they are registered into their demes."³⁵ Lycurgus states that all citizens swear the oath "when they are enrolled into the *lexiarchicon*

other year, supervising both sets during their tenure, because two consecutive year-groups honour different *sophronistai* (Reinmuth 2.32 vs. Reinmuth 5 [= A3.2]). Because other Athenian officials held office for only one year, Reinmuth (*Inscriptions*, 79-81) believes that each year two new sets of officers were elected. Aristotle does not allow this - nor could we expect the fathers of a previous year-group to reconvene in order to nominate more candidates for *sophronistes*.

³⁴ See pp. 198-201 below; according to Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 111, no later than the 6th of Boedromion.

³⁵ s.v. κοινὸν γραμματεῖον καὶ ληξιαρχικὸν.

grammateion and become ephebes" (*Leoc.* 76).³⁶ There is, however, a small chance that the oath was taken at the end of the ephebeia. This is possible if Lycurgus was speaking (and using γίγνομαι) in a general sense ("an oath which all citizens take when they are enrolled into the *lexiarchicon grammateion* and [when] they are [rather than "become"] ephebes"), AND if the inscription of which Aristotle speaks is not a final enrolment of citizens into the demes, but some sort of preliminary list of deme ephebes, the final official inscription taking place when the two years are up and "they are with the others". While this latter scenario is unlikely, it should be noted that both Pollux, s.v. περίπολοι and Harpocration, s.v. ἐπιδικεῖς ἡβῆσαι, state that citizens are enrolled at the end of their ephebeia.³⁷ This passage of Pollux is one of our three sources for the oath, and its accuracy is corroborated by inscriptional evidence. The versions of the oath which survive are similar to one another: Pollux 8.105 ff., Stobaeus 4.1.8, and the inscription, Tod 204.³⁸ I provide Siewert's translation:³⁹

I will not disgrace these sacred arms, and I will not desert the comrade beside me wherever I shall be stationed in a battle line. I will defend our sacred and public institution, and I will not hand over (to the descendants) the fatherland smaller, but greater and better, so far as I am able, by myself or with the help of all. I will obey those who for the time being exercise sway reasonably and the established laws and those which they will establish reasonably in the future; if anyone seek to destroy them, I will not admit it so far as I am able, by myself or with the help of all. I will honour the traditional sacred institutions. Witnesses are the gods Aglauros, Hestia, Enyo, Enyalios, Ares and Athena Areia, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, Hegemone, Herakles, and the boundaries of the fatherland, wheat, barley, vines, olive-trees, fig-trees.⁴⁰

³⁶ cf. Dem. 19.303; M. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1948), 303, no. 204; Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 218-19; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 506.

³⁷ cf. Schol. Aeschin. 1.7.

³⁸ Tod, *GHI* II, 303-7, no. 204 = L. Robert, *Études Épigraphiques et Philologiques* (Paris, 1938), 296 ff.

³⁹ P. Siewert, 'The Ephebic Oath in Fifth-Century Athens', *JHS* 107 (1977), 103. (I make one or two changes in punctuation.)

⁴⁰ Below, pp. 43-48 and 162-163, I discuss the date of the oath and its use in "Lycurgan ideology".

Oaths were a common part of Athenian civic life. Magistrates were regularly sworn into office (*Ath. Pol.* 56.3; Lysias 9.15). The demesmen swore before voting on the ephebes, and the fathers of the ephebes took oaths prior to nominating the three candidates for *sophronistes*. (The content of the latter oath was presumably that nominees were the most suitable and best men available.)

5. The first year

Following their tour of the temples the ephebes were sent to the Peiraeus, where they spent the year training at the forts of Acte and Munychia. Here the ephebes drilled under appointed instructors in gymnastics, *hoplomachia*, archery, javelin use, and artillery.⁴¹ The two generals in command of the Peiraeus played a role in their military training.⁴²

The tribal regiments of ephebes were themselves named after their parent tribes. Thus Philotheus, *sophronistes* for Leontis in 333/2, is called "the sophronistes of the tribe Leontis of the ephebes", rather than "of the ephebes of the tribe Leontis".⁴³ The mini-tribe of ephebes also had its own ephebic officers: a *taxiarchos* (cadet colonel), *lochagoi* (cadet captains), and, possibly, *gymnasiarchoi* (cadet (?) athletic officers).

I turn briefly to address recent arguments concerning the nature of these ephebic officers, beginning with the *gymnasiarchoi*. Lewis and Palagia have argued that the gymnasiarchs were ephebes, based upon the fact that a *gymnasiarchos* of the ephebes of Erechtheis (Charicles, son of Aleximemus, of Pergase - A4.4) also appears amongst the ephebes in a second list of the same year (333/2) - A5.9.⁴⁴ In his discussion of A4 (=Reinmuth 13), Reinmuth had allowed for the possibility that *gymnasiarchoi*

⁴¹ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 114; for a discussion of each of these skills as it related to the programme, see pp. 76-83 below.

⁴² The earliest inscriptions refer only to "the general of the Peiraeus", and it is likely that during the first few years of the system there was but one *strategos* of the Peiraeus, rather than two, or that Acte was not yet in use: Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 144; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 679.

⁴³ Reinmuth 9.4-6; F.W. Mitchel, 'The Cadet Colonels of the Ephebic Corps', *TAPhA* 92 (1961), 352; Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 2-3.

⁴⁴ O. Palagia and D.M. Lewis, 'The Ephebes of Erechtheis, 333/2 B.C. and their Dedication', *ABSA* 84 (1989), 334-5.

were themselves ephebes, but thought it unlikely, based upon adult *gymnasiarchoi* in earlier times (e.g. *IGII*² 3023 of 338/7) and in later ephebic inscriptions (e.g. *IGII*² 1039.29 ff. of 73/2).⁴⁵ Although Lewis considered the fact that the *gymnasiarchoi* were ephebes to have been "established", I suggest that, although the evidence does *prima facie* seem conclusive, there does remain room for doubt. The two *gymnasiarchoi* are not being honoured, but rather, with the *sophonistes*, are dedicating the monument in honour of the ephebes. It is surprising (and unparalleled) to find individual ephebes undertaking to erect an ephebic monument, and, given also the high number of homonymic ephebes in our inscriptions, and Reinmuth's earlier cautions, we should remain open to the possibility that the *gymnasiarchos* in A4.4 was a homonymic adult - perhaps the father or an uncle of the ephebe of A5.9.⁴⁶

It was Mitchel who demonstrated that the *taxiarchoi* of the inscriptions were, like the *lochagoi*, ephebic officers.⁴⁷ The high ratio of cadet captains to ephebes (ranging from one in five to one in eleven)⁴⁸ implies that emphasis was placed on providing experience in leadership. Sekunda has recently suggested that the officers were not ephebes proper, but were in fact recent graduates of the programme, "squadded" with the new recruits for purposes of 'showing them the ropes'.⁴⁹ He offers this as an explanation for the appearance of an unaccountable number of "twins" in several of the ephebic rosters.⁵⁰ There are several reasons for rejecting this hypothesis. First of all, these recent graduates would have been proper citizens in all respects. Like the *sophonistes* and other adult supervisors, their names would therefore not have been included among the lists of regular ephebes. Sekunda argues that they were thus

⁴⁵ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 53.

⁴⁶ If the *gymnasiarchoi* were ephebes, there is, as Lewis says, no reason why their names should have appeared in the list.

⁴⁷ Mitchel, 'Cadet Colonels', 347-357; Pélékidis (*Histoire*, 109) was aware that the *lochagoi* were ephebes.

⁴⁸ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 124.

⁴⁹ Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 329-335.

⁵⁰ Reinmuth 15 is especially notorious for its number of ephebes who share patronymics and demotics.

included because, serving with the ephebes, they would not have been available for conscription, and "for administrative purposes, they were counted among 'the such-and-such tribal regiment of ephebes'." But these inscriptions are honorific and decreed after the fact. They are not to be confused with army muster rosters. Secondly, ephebes are unable to take part in normal civic life. There would have been little incentive for an ex-ephebe to volunteer for the service. Finally, there are no instances in which a regular ephebe in one inscription appears as an ephebic officer in a later one. Admittedly, our records are sparse, but Atarbion, son of Tynnus, of Aixone (Reinmuth 5.8-9, 26), a *lochagos* in 333/2, fails to appear in the complete roster of ephebes for that deme in the year prior (Reinmuth 2, Col. II, lines 12-19). This latter was the first year-group to graduate under the ephebic programme and hence the year 333/2 must have seen Atarbion's first (and only) ephebic appearance.⁵¹ As for Sekunda's other examples, Traill's solution is more convincing: "the accumulated data suggest...that brothers may indeed be listed in the same text *honoris familiaeque causa*, that, for the same or similar reasons, an ephebe may rarely be repeated in his following year...."⁵² Pélékidis suggests that the *lochagoi* (and extrapolating I add the *taxiarchos*) were appointed at roughly the beginning of the second year of training. This is likely.⁵³

6. The second year

The second year of ephebic service began with a review before the assembly, held in the theatre of Dionysus (newly rebuilt by Lycurgus, [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 841d).⁵⁴

⁵¹ My argument here is based on the belief that the ephebeia recorded by the inscriptions was instituted in 335, see p. 154 below.

⁵² J.S. Traill, *Demos and Trittys. Epigraphical and Topographical Studies in the Organization of Attica* (Toronto, 1986), 13.

⁵³ For other possible explanations, see Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 143-146. It is significant that when the second year is later done away with, so too are the ephebic officers, see pp. 183-184 below.

⁵⁴ Theatre: Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 114-115; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 507. Probably not in the Panathenaic stadium (newly built by Lycurgus: *IGII*² 351.17), as S. Humphreys, 'Lycurgus of Butadae: An Athenian Aristocrat', in J.W. Eadie and J. Ober (eds.), *The Craft of the Ancient Historian, Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr* (Lanham, MD, 1985), 227, n. 32. Certainly not in

The cadets demonstrate the military drill that they have learned, and each receives a shield and spear from the state.⁵⁵ For the remainder of the year, the ephebes garrison various forts along the Attic border, guarding the frontier and patrolling the countryside. Ephebic inscriptions have been found at Eleusis, Phyle, Panactum, Rhamnous, Marathon, and Oropus. The border forts of Oenoe, Eleutherae, and Sounion probably also quartered ephebes, as well, perhaps, as some of the more central strongholds, such as Decelea. Because the *strategos* of the countryside was in overall command of Athenian forces in the *chora* (*Ath. Pol.* 61.1), he was also the military commander of the ephebes during their second year. Like his counterparts in the Peiraeus, the *strategos* of the countryside is honoured in the inscriptions. (The *epimeletai*, who appear in some inscriptions, but are unmentioned in the *Ath. Pol.*, seem to have held some sort of supervision over the forts at which ephebes were stationed in their second year.)⁵⁶

Athens employed mercenary *peripoloi* simultaneously with ephebes. The cadets might have been put in a supervisory position over mercenaries serving with them, a situation which would help explain the high ratio of ephebic *lochagoi* to ephebes.⁵⁷ It is unlikely that ephebes ever served outside Attica. Pélékidis suggests that, like their *neotatoi* predecessors, the cadets might have gone on expedition outside of Attica if necessary.⁵⁸ Except for the Lamian War, however, Athenian foreign policy from 335 to 322 afforded no such opportunity. Also, the ephebes fell under the command of the *strategos* of the countryside, who specifically did not command forces outside Attica. It is interesting to note that during the Lamian War the ephebic garrisons were by no means considered sufficient to guard the frontier. Three out of the ten tribal regiments

the Peiraeus deme theatre, as R. Garland, *The Peiraeus from the fifth to the first century B.C.* (London, 1987), 80.

⁵⁵ Manoeuvre drills for "περὶ τὰς τάξεις", see Rhodes, *Commentary*, 507-8.

⁵⁶ e.g. Reinmuth 15, left side, line 7, right side, lines 7-10. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 131; Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 66.

⁵⁷ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 110.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 115.

were also stationed along the border (Diod. 18.10.2, 18.11.3).⁵⁹

The impression given by *Ath. Pol.* 42.4 is that during their second year the ephebes served in the countryside continuously. "*Diatribousin*" is ambiguous, however, and I consider Reinmuth's suggestion that service in the forts was sporadic, with the intervening time spent at their "headquarters" in the Peiraeus to be possible, but unlikely.⁶⁰

7. Festivals

Because the ephebic decrees of the fourth century do not record ephebic participation in festivals, scholars have supposed that the organization became decreasingly military as time passed, and that, by comparison, ephebic festival activity in the fourth century was minimal. Reinmuth points out that his inscription number 6 (honouring a victory of the ephebes of Aiantis in a torch-race) "is the earliest specific reference to the participation of the epheboi in the religious festivals."⁶¹ He also suggested that the similar Reinmuth 13 was ephebic.⁶² This has now been proven, and the year fixed at 333/2. The festival may be identified as the Nemesia.⁶³ Michaud has published what appears to be the base of an ephebic dedication, found at Marathon, and honouring the *paidotribai*.⁶⁴ Near it, and presumably belonging to it, was a stone torch bearing a relief of *lampadephoroi*.

The Rhamnous inscription, Reinmuth 13, is cut upon a round base which once held a statue, presumably one of the four herms that were found nearby (NM313; the

⁵⁹ On the basis of the "twins" in Reinmuth 15, I had once entertained the notion that in 322 the ephebes of both year-groups had been graduated simultaneously and mobilized. This will not do, however, because Menander and Epicurus were ephebes during this time, see pp. 230-231 below. Additionally, the inscription is probably to be dated earlier, to around 329/8: A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 1988), 293-4. There is no evidence to support Reinmuth's claim that "the ephebes served in time of war" (*Inscriptions*, 129).

⁶⁰ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 80.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, 18.

⁶² *ibid.*, 52.

⁶³ J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte* (Paris, 1954), 111, n. 1; C. Habicht, 'Neue Inschriften aus dem Kerameikos', *MDAI(A)* 76 (1961), 144, n. 3; see A5 below.

⁶⁴ See A10 below.

other three are NM314, 315, 316, plus two heads: NM317 and 318; see Figures B and C). Most of the surviving fourth century ephebic decrees, in fact, are bases that once held statues, herms, or tripods.⁶⁵ The figure has varyingly been described as male or female. Palagia and Lewis argue, however, that the dress (a *chlamys*) is exclusively male and typically ephebic.⁶⁶ The figure probably represents Hermes, a generic ephebe, or the eponymous hero of that ephebic age-group, Mounichus, garbed in ephebic trappings.⁶⁷ It is likely, then, that the other three herms belonged to other ephebic dedications which do not survive.

Reliefs also survive which could date to the same period and which Palagia believes to be ephebic. They appear to commemorate festival victories: a team procession following a torch race (Rhamnous 531 [ex Athens NM 2332] and British Museum 1953.5.-30.1 + Rhamnous 530), Fig. D, and a dedication to Bendis by the winners of a torch race (British Museum 2155), Fig. E.⁶⁸ Ephebic participation in festivals was more common in the fourth century than the surviving inscriptions indicate.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Sixteen out of twenty-four are bases.

⁶⁶ Palagia and Lewis, 'Ephebes of Erechtheis', 338-9.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 344. Mounichus is known from Reinmuth 6.5, of the same year, and is a reasonable guess. Hermes, however, was offered a dedication by the ephebes of three year-groups (Reinmuth 11.1), and, much later, was "apparently *de rigeur* for victory in the λαμπάρις", Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 40.

⁶⁸ Palagia and Lewis, 'Ephebes of Erechtheis', 339-341; for other possibly ephebic reliefs, see pp. 152-153 below.

⁶⁹ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 35: "While on guard duty they doubtless participated in the games and religious festivals, as Pouilloux suggests, connected with the worship of Nemesis in Rhamnous, the Great Goddesses, Demeter and Kore at Eleusis and of Artemis Agrotera and Pan at Phyle." For a review of pre-ephebic torch races, see N. Sekunda, 'IGii² 1250: A decree concerning the *Lampadephoroi* of the tribe Aiantis', *ZPE* 83 (1990), 149-182. His account is mildly distorted, however, by his belief in a pre-Lycurgan ephebeia.

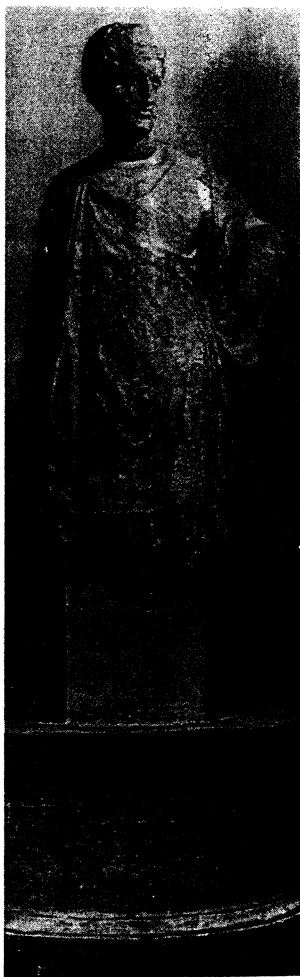


Fig. B.

Reinmuth 13 + NM 313

Photo from Lewis and Palagia, *BSA* 84 (1989), Plate 48b.

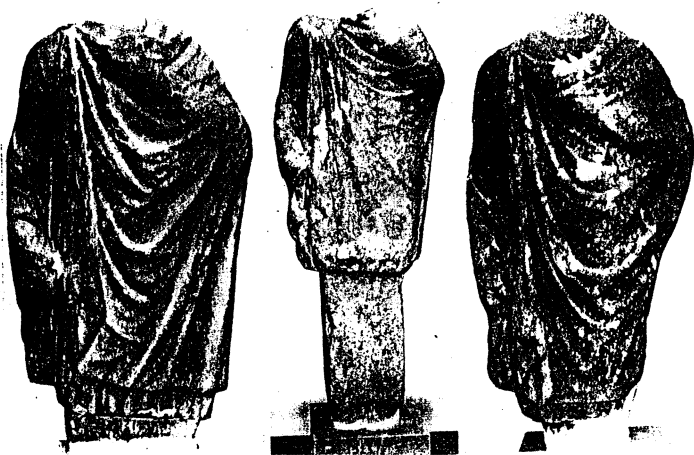
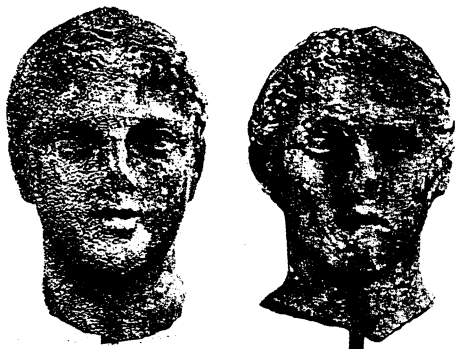


Fig. C.

Upper: Left, NM 317; Right, NM 318.

Lower: Left, NM 314; Middle, NM 315; Right, NM 316.

Photos from Petrakos, *PAE* 1976, Plates 20, α-β, Plates 19, α-γ.



Fig. D.

Cast of BM 1953.5-30.1 + Rhamnous 531
Photo from Palagia, *BSA* 84 (1989), Plate 49b.



Fig. E.

BM 2155

Photo from M. Nilsson, 'Bendis in Athen', *Opuscula Selecta* III (Lund, 1960), 63.

8. Graduation and Honours

Aristotle does not mention any formal ceremony surrounding departure from the ephebic corps but merely states that "when the two years have passed, [the ephebes] are now with the others [i.e. citizens]." In Hellenistic times, when the programme had been reduced to one year, the formal review at the end of the first year became an *exiteria*.⁷⁰ It is hard to imagine that the Lycurgan system, given all its pomp, did not have a final ceremony, but we can only guess at what might have been involved. Above, I suggested the possibility that enrolment into the *lexiarchicon grammateion* and the swearing of the oath might have taken place at the end of the ephebeia. (It would make more sense for ephebes to swear not to disgrace "these arms" after, rather than before, being given them.) Another possible explanation for the confusion of the lexicographers has been suggested. One reference survives to a register called the *pinax ekklesiastikos*, which apparently kept track of all demesmen who had the right to take part in the assembly (Dem. 44.35). Hansen has postulated that the reason for keeping this register, as distinguished from the *lexiarchicon grammateion*, was that ephebes were listed in the latter upon enrolment but were excluded from the *pinax* because they could not take part in civic activity until completion of their duty.⁷¹ If Hansen is right, Pollux (and Harpocration) may simply have confused one register with the other, and at least part of an ephebic graduation ceremony would have consisted of registration into the *pinax*.

The ephebes were honoured at or following the end of their service by a variety of decrees passed by the *demos*, the *phyle*, and individual demes. From the lists of ephebic names preserved in the decrees, we are able to approximate ephebic numbers (which, curiously, seem to rise over the first several years). In 334/3, Cecropis has approximately 42, rising to 52 in 333/2 and c.65 in 332/1.⁷² Likewise, the tribe of

⁷⁰ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 114-115; cf. pp. 198 below.

⁷¹ Hansen, *Demography*, 14.

⁷² Reinmuth 2, Reinmuth 5, and Traill, *Demos*, 1-13; Reinmuth (*Inscriptions*, 107-108) mistakenly counts 48 in Reinmuth 5; M. Hansen, *Three Studies in Athenian Demography: Historik-filosofiske Meddelelser* 56 (Copenhagen, 1988), 3-6.

Leontis rises from *c.*44 in 333/2 to 62 at some point later (324/3, according to Reinmuth). In 330/29 the ephebes of Oeneis numbered *c.*56. If multiplied by ten tribes, the number of ephebes per year seems to have been around 500 - 600, or *c.*550.

By the terms of the decrees, the ephebes and/or their *sophronistai* were often granted golden wreaths, so there must have been a ceremony in which they were officially honoured by the state. It makes sense to suppose that these crowns were bestowed as part of a ceremony marking the completion of their service. Rather than attempt to describe the inscriptions, I provide a translation of Reinmuth 2 (*JGII*² 1156), which is a well-preserved and typical ephebic decree. Where possible, I have tried to maintain a correspondence between the line numbers of the translation and its original. The decree was headed by cadet names, listed with patronymics beneath deme rubrics.

- 26 Callicrates of Aixone proposed: Whereas the ephebes of Cecropi-
s when Ctesicles was archon are well disciplined and do
all things that the laws assign them and to their sophronist-
es are obedient, him chosen by the people: honour
30 them and crown them with a golden wreath worth 500 drachmae
for their orderliness and discipline; and also honour the sophro-
nistes Adeistus, son of Antimachus, an Athmonean, and crown him with a golden
wreath worth 500 drachmae, since nobly and zealously he oversaw
the ephebes of the tribe Cecropis. And inscribe this moti-
35 on on a stone stele and set it up in the shrine of Cecrops.
Hegemachus, son of Chairemon, a Perithoidean, proposed: Whereas the ephebes
of Cecropis posted at Eleusis nobly and zealously car-
ry out what the council and the assembly assign them and as well or-
dered present themselves, honour them for orderliness

40 and on account of their discipline and crown each one of them with an olive wreath;
and also honour their sophronistes Adeistus, son of Antimachus, an Athmonean, and wreath with him an olive wreath whenever
he may render his accounts; and inscribe this motion on the offering
which the ephebes of Cecropis set up. *vacat*

45 Protias proposed: to be voted by the demesmen, whereas nobly and zealously they carry out the guard of Eleusis, Cecropis' ephebes and their sophronistes, Adeistus, son of Antimachus, an Athmonean, honour them and crown each of them with an olive wreath. And inscribe this motion on the offering which

50 the ephebes of Cecropis set up, enrolled when Ctesicles was archon. *vacat*

Euphronius proposed: to be voted by the demesmen, whereas the ephebes inscribed when Ctesicles was archon are well disciplined and do everything that the laws assign them, and the so-

55 phonistes chosen by the assembly presents them obedient and performing all other things zealously, honour them and wreath with a golden wreath worth 500 drachmae for orderliness and discipline; and also honour their

sophronistes, Adeistus, son of Antimachus, an Athmonean, and crown him with a golden wreath worth 500 drachmae, since nobly and zealously
60 he served the demesmen (and) all (the) rest of those of Cecropis' tribe. And inscribe this motion on the votive which they set up, the ephebes of Cecropis and the sophronistes. *vacat*

vacat 0.04m., left side to 0.065m., right side

The Tribe The Council Eleusinians Athmoneans

vacat 0.34 m.

Chapter II

The date of origin

When was the ephebeia created? Any review of past arguments concerning the dates of the ephebeia is doomed to contain extensive lists of previous arguments, counter-arguments, and counter-counter arguments. Even discussions written in the 1920s are weighed down by continual citation of writers who have held the same or similar view. I have included all the major works on the subject in the bibliography and shall footnote the relevant recent works on the subject, but do not intend to provide an exhaustive account of the history of the modern debate.¹ Instead I wish to review the evidence at our disposal, piece by piece, and see where it leads us in deciding which of the pre-Lycurgan aspects of the ephebeia may have existed prior to 334/3 - the date implied by our earliest ephebic inscriptions (e.g. Reinmuth 2).²

Our evidence can be divided into three categories: inscriptions, negative literary evidence, and positive literary evidence. By "negative" evidence, I mean not only *argumenta ex silentio*, but also those passages in ancient authors which state or imply the absence of such an organization, at least in its entirety.

1. Inscriptions

At about the time that the *Athenaion Politeia* was found on several papyri at Elephantine, various inscriptions honouring and listing ephebic "cadets" also began to surface. There are currently twenty-four³ which can be dated from between the year 333/2 and 324/3.⁴ While ephebic inscriptions continue for several centuries, none

¹ M.P. Nilsson, *Die Hellenistische Schule*, (Munich, 1945), 17-20, remains one of the best synopses of the question of the date of the Athenian ephebeia.

² Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 5; cf. K. Clinton, 'The Ephebes of Kekropis of 333/2 at Eleusis', *AE* 127 (1988) [1991], 29.

³ I have raised this figure twice in two previous drafts: inscriptions continue to be found, but none which can be positively dated to before 334/3. Three recent fragments have been added to the corpus one, **A6**, unpublished, from Panactum, and two found by Petrakos at Rhamnous, one published, **A13**, and the other recently reported but not yet published, **A14**.

has been found that can be dated securely prior to 333/2. The earliest of these, *IGII²* 1156, was used as evidence by Wilamowitz to argue that it represented a *terminus ante quem* for the beginning of a newly formed institution, established in the wake of the Athenian disaster at the battle of Chaeronea.⁵ It had long been anticipated that an inscription would be found that could be securely dated to a time prior to the Lycurgan period. Such a discovery, it was felt, would prove the existence of an early ephebic institution.⁶ But as time has passed and more inscriptions found, but none dating prior to 333/2, hope for discovery of an early inscription has flickered and died.

The inscriptional evidence presents two complexities:

A. In 1967, Markellos Mitsos published a stone bearing two inscriptions, the second of which mentions ephebes. The first inscription is clearly dated to the archonship of Nicophemus in 361/0. Mitsos also published a second stone, bearing part of a crown and the title "*epi Nikophem-*". Reinmuth understandably believed this to be the long awaited inscription which proved the existence of the organization prior to 335/4 (and justified his earlier conjectures).⁷ He had jumped to conclusions. The second stone has now been separated, primarily on the basis of taper, from that bearing the decree. The name Nicophemus is too short to fit in the archon-date of the second inscription. The tribe of Acamantis had used the space left over beneath an old

⁴ See Reinmuth. For the date of Reinmuth 1, I follow F.W. Mitchel, 'The So-called earliest Ephebic Inscription', *ZPE* 19 (1975), 241. The earliest inscriptions praise "the ephebes, those when Ctesicles was archon". This is an abbreviated formula for "the ephebes, those who were enrolled when Ctesicles was archon". They therefore refer to the ephebic year-group enrolled in 334/3. Because they were probably not inscribed until after the end of the second year of ephebic service, the decrees themselves most likely date from 333/2 or 332/1 and later: Mitchel, 'Cadet Colonels', 348, n. 3; Clinton, 'Ephebes of Kekropis', 29; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 593. Some of the decrees, however, may have been passed at the end of or following the ephebes' first year, e.g. Reinmuth 6 and 13.

⁵ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles und Athen*, Vol. I (1893), 193.

⁶ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 12.

⁷ M. Mitsos, 'ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΥ ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΥ (VII)', *AE* 1965 (1967), 131-136; Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 2.

inscription (of 361/0) to add a later ephebic inscription. In addition to the question of name length, it is unlikely that a second archon-date would have been included if the second inscription had been of the same date as the first. Finally, experts see a different hand at work in the lettering of the second, ephebic, decree.⁸ Now bereft of a firm date, the ephebic-related inscription must revert to the same approximate date as its sister decrees of the "Lycurgan" period.

B. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 53.4) states that: "Whereas before the ephebes who were being enrolled were inscribed onto white-washed tablets...now they are engraved onto a bronze stele, and the stele is set up in front of the bouleuterion by their eponymous heroes." Based on this passage, it has been argued that prior to a "reform" of the ephebeia, decrees similar to those which survive were written on whitewashed tablets and regularly painted over.⁹ Of course none of the bronze enrolment engravings have survived. But the extant inscriptions do not deal with newly enrolled ephebes. They honour cadets for service completed. The change from white-washed to bronze inscription tablets is generally seen as part of more sweeping "reforms" of the ephebic system, "reforms" that also introduced the stone honorific decrees which survive. In any event, Aristotle uses the word "ephebe", in an apparently technical sense, within the context of some period earlier than the battle of Chaeronea.¹⁰

2. "Negative" Evidence

From the beginning of the discussion over the date of the origin of the ephebeia, the primary arguments used to "prove" that it did not exist until a late date have been

⁸ On the dismantling of the inscription's date, see Mitchel, 'So-called', 233-241; A.G. Woodhead, *SEG* 23 (1968), no. 78; S. Dow, 'Companionable Associates in the Athenian Government', in L. Bonfante and H. von Heintze (eds.), *In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel. Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities* (Mainz, 1976), 81-84; Lewis 'Ephebic Inscriptions', 254; Mitsos' defence, "Ἐπιγραφικὰ Β", *AE* 1975 [1976], 39-40 not withstanding.

⁹ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 73-74; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 592-3; N. Sekunda, 'The Athenian Ephebate Before 335', unpublished, 4-5.

¹⁰ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 74.

passages that seem to contradict the possibility of an established system of training or which point to a way of thinking in Athens that precludes a two year deprivation of civic freedom. Of these, the primary passages are those in which: (1) mandatory training runs against the grain of an Athenian ideal of freedom; (2) Athenian youths of ephebic age are not excluded from public life; (3) Athenian writers: (a) complain about the poor state of military training; (b) express concern about how young men (*neaniskoi* or *neotatoi*) are spending their time; and (c) suggest similar systems, without reference to ephebes or their supervisors.

(1) In his "Funeral Oration", Thucydides' Pericles compares Athenian spirit with Spartan training:

...[we are] trusting not so much in preparations and stratagems as in our own keen spirit for action; and as for education, while they from childhood seek after manliness through laborious training, we, who live our lives without constraint, advance no less to meet equal dangers....And yet if with leisure rather than by demanding drills, and not by means of laws so much as character, we consent to hazard acts of courage, we have the advantage both in that we do not undergo prematurely the sufferings which are yet to come, and, when they are at hand, that we are shown to be no less courageous than they, who are continually weary from toil... [Thuc. 2.39].

Whatever the real Pericles may have said on the occasion, this Thucydidean show-piece of Athenian ideology leaves little room for a compulsory ephebic corps or mandatory military training.¹¹

There was little change by the mid-fourth century. Megillus, the fictional Spartan of Plato's *Laws*, still contrasts Athenian freedom with Spartan compulsion (642c): "...and the common expression that the Athenians who are good differ in that respect seems to me to be most true; for they alone, by providence, are truly good by nature, not by compulsion and in no way moulded to be so."¹² The dialogue deals not so

¹¹ Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles*, 191, 193-4; A. Brenot, *Recherches sur l'éphébie attique et en particulier sur la date de l'institution* (Paris, 1920), 7-8; cf. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 9; Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 131-132.

much with martial prowess as being of "good" moral character, but the former was considered by the Spartans and, as we shall see, by Plato to be a path to the latter.

(2) The next set of evidence runs along more matter-of-fact lines. The *Ath. Pol.* makes it clear that while ephebes are undergoing their training, they are so divorced from public life that they may only take part under certain specific conditions and that only when they have completed their second year do they join the rest of the citizens.¹³ Examples abound, however, from both the 5th and 4th centuries, in which young men either specifically under twenty or just having been enrolled into the citizenry (therefore 18) participate in public affairs or are at least clearly free from ephebic duty.

In Plato's *Alcibiades I*, the careless upbringing of the young aristocrat is contrasted with the rigorous training of a Persian prince (122a-c, cf. 106e) and with Spartan regimen (122c).¹⁴ Likewise in Xenophon (*Mem.* 1.2.40), Alcibiades is interested in affairs of the state prior to his twentieth birthday.¹⁵ Antiphon (fr.67 Blass) describes Alcibiades sailing off to Abydus with all his property "when he came of age". Whether this is true or not, Antiphon must at least have anticipated some credibility in his assertions.

Similarly, Socrates of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (3.6.1-11), cross-examines Glaucon, Plato's brother, about his political ambitions. "He was undertaking to be a demagogue, hoping to be chief of the city, even though he had not yet reached twenty years old." As the conversation develops, Glaucon admits to little knowledge of military affairs and has never visited the forts along the frontier. He cannot have been an ephebe.¹⁶ I should add that Glaucon holds the guards of the countryside in

¹² See A. Bryant, 'Boyhood and Youth in the Days of Aristophanes', *HSPH* 18 (1907), 85, n. 6.

¹³ See p. 9 above.

¹⁴ *Alcibiades I*, an early dialogue, is probably original: Loeb edn. (1955), 97; M. Croiset, *Platon Oeuvres Complètes*, Vol. I (Paris, 1953), 49-53.

¹⁵ Forbes, *Physical Education*, 116; Bryant, 'Boyhood', 81, n. 3.

¹⁶ Forbes, *Physical Education*, 118; Bryant, 'Boyhood', 82; Brenot, *Recherches*, 23-24; Pélékidis' suggestion (*Histoire*, 22) that Glaucon may not yet have got around to that part of his ephebic

contempt, suggesting that they be done away with and accusing them of stealing nearby crops.

The speaker of Lysias 10.31, who would have to have been an ephebe at the turn of the century, declares that "immediately upon coming of age", he indicted the Thirty before the Areopagus. The speaker of Lysias 21.1 defends himself by cataloguing the liturgies that he undertook upon coming of age in 411/410; he lists 6 undertaken within the first two years, not including continual service as a trierarch. In Demosthenes 18 (*On the Embassy*), the orator contrasts his activity upon becoming a citizen with that of his opponent, Aeschines. As in Lysias 21, Demosthenes immediately undertook several liturgies (.257): "...and I followed my departure from the ranks of children with the following deeds: to be *choregos*, *trierarch*, to pay *eisphora*...." Aeschines meanwhile took employment as a clerk "immediately upon being inscribed into deme membership" (.261). In 21.154 Demosthenes again recounts the liturgies that he undertook "immediately upon leaving childhood". In 30.15-17, he describes how he filed suit against his guardians, also "immediately" upon coming of age".¹⁷ These passages do not disprove the existence of some sort of ephebic programme, but they do demonstrate either that it was voluntary¹⁸ or that it demanded service only intermittently. Either case is a departure from the system described by Aristotle.

service, is possible, but unlikely. His argument that he may have used connections to get out of the service is incredible.

¹⁷ On these examples, see Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 116; Brenot, *Recherches*, 18.

¹⁸ In the cases of Glaucon, Demosthenes, Alcibiades, and others, one might wonder whether *hippeis* and above were excluded from the ephebeia, but although the names which survive in our inscriptions are quite random, they certainly include the sons of wealthy men, Habron, son of Lycurgus, being perhaps the most notable example (Reinmuth 12, lines 8 and 72). To name all others is unnecessary. From Reinmuth 2 alone: the father of Phyro[machos] (Col. I, line 19) might be identified with a *syntrierarch* of 323/2 (*IGII*² 1632 b.214); Nicias, son of Euctaeus of Aixone (Col. II, line 21) is named, with his cousin Euctaeus, in a catalogue of *hippeis* in 323/2 (*IGII*² 1955.5.20); Autocles, son of Charippus of Pithea, was *syntrierarch* in 323/2 (*IGII*² 1632 a.106-7), see Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 8-9.

(3a) The ephebeia was a programme of military training, but authors of the early to mid-fourth century state, both directly and implicitly, that such training does not exist. In his discussion with Pericles the Younger (*Xen. Mem.* 3.5.15), Socrates asks, "When will they [the Athenians] train themselves [as the Lacedaemonians do], they who are not only unconcerned with being fit, but who ridicule those who are?" The Athenian army is described as "insubordinate" (*apeithestatous* - 3.5.19) and pays "no attention to good conduct, discipline, and obedience" (*sophronein, eutaktein, peitharchein* - 3.5.21). Elsewhere Socrates berates Epigenes, telling him that he is out of shape and warning him that this is why the Athenians fare ill in war. "Because the state does not train for war as a public concern [or 'at public expense'], you must not make that an excuse for being any the less careful in seeing to it yourself."¹⁹ In his oration *On the Peace* (8.44), Isocrates' denunciation of Athenian apathy toward military affairs is equally telling. Writing around 356, the statesman declares that "We are unwilling to take the field, and while we undertake war...we do not train ourselves for it...."²⁰

Plato seems unaware of ephebic institutions. The garrulous Athenian in the *Laws* compares Spartan and Cretan youth training organizations (Cretan *agelai* and Spartan *agoge*) to herds of colts, without apology for any Athenian ephebate (666e). At 780b he speaks of the Cretan and Spartan communal eating (*sussitia*) as something specific to those places only: "You have a splendid and - as I was saying - astonishing institution: communal meals for men". The lawmaker decides to adopt *sussitia* for his ideal state (842b), but is unable to decide between the Cretan or Spartan model. There is no room for the ephebic *sussitia* described by Aristotle: "and they eat together [*sussitousi*] by tribe" (*Ath. Pol.* 42.2).²¹

(3b) Authors are concerned with a lack of direction or education in teenage boys, with never a mention of the ephebeia. Crito of Plato's *Euthydemus* states that he is at a

¹⁹ *Xen. Mem.* 3.12.5.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 117. I address the subject of Greek military training more broadly in the following chapter.

²¹ Bryant, 'Boyhood', 85. On the relationship of this *sussitia* to Sparta, see p. 119 below.

loss as to what his sons should do. Though the exact ages of the youths involved are not explicit, one of the sons, Critobulus, is at least 18, for he is "of age". In Plato's *Laches* (179a) Lysimachus wants to see to it that his teenage sons have something constructive to do, wanting "not to act like most people, letting them do whatever they wanted to after they were young lads." At 179e, he wonders whether it would be useful or not for his sons to watch men practicing *hoplomachia* - a discipline included in the training of the *ephebeia*.²² In both cases, the absence of reference to "until they are *ephebes*" or any such possibility is striking.²³

To these examples, I add three references from the Isocratean corpus which serve as evidence against the existence of an *ephebeia*. In the *Areopagiticus* (37), the orator contrasts his own time with a (largely fanciful) golden age of Athens: "For they [Athenians of former times] were not watched over by many preceptors during their boyhood, only to be allowed to do what they liked when they were accepted into the ranks of men [i.e. 18]." Isocrates defends his career and the worth of his school by advertising the virtues acquired by his students, "having just emerged from boyhood", while most other young men squander their time at drinking parties and in soft living, drinking in taverns, playing dice, and hanging around the training schools of flute girls, *Antidosis* 286-90. In his last work, *Panathenaicus* (28), which dates to 339, Isocrates admits some educational value to be found in geometry, astronomy, and eristics, but "for those who have been admitted to a man's estate", such subjects are no longer suitable, but rather they should study the philosophy, virtue, and rhetoric of the Isocratean school. Nowhere does he mention the *ephebeia*, an organization that aimed explicitly at teaching the discipline and virtuous living which Isocrates praises. Neither does he explain how these young men, whom we should expect to be participating in the programme, would be free to study rhetoric and philosophy instead. The expressions used to mean "to come of age" - εἰς ἄνδρας δοκιμασθεῖεν, ἡλικίαν

²² Forbes, *Physical Education*, 116; Bryant, 'Boyhood', 80, n. 2.

²³ Forbes, *Physical Education*, 116; Bryant, 'Boyhood', 81-82; cf. Plato, *Meno* 93d-94c; these passages do not deal solely with the education of children, as Pélékidis claims, *Histoire*, 10, 32 and n. 3.

ἔχει, ἄρτι δ' ἐκ παίδων ἐξεληλυθότες, and so forth - are all idiomatic for "having turned eighteen and been inscribed as citizens".

As late as the 340's, Aeschines does not seem to be aware of an ephebeia. At the beginning of his oration against Timarchus (1.8) he recounts every possible bit of evidence concerning the education of citizens: "For you shall hear first a review of the laws that have been laid down to govern the orderly conduct of your children, the laws concerning the lads (*meirakion*), and next those concerning other ages...." But while laws such as those concerning the musical instruction of children are summoned up in full detail, ephebic instruction is not once mentioned. It is inconceivable that Aeschines would have ignored the ephebeia completely.²⁴

(3c) Both Plato and Xenophon suggest systems of youth education that are vaguely similar to the ephebeia, but they never mention the Athenian system and at times make it apparent that they are not drawing from it. In *Mem.* 3.5.25-27, Xenophon's Socrates suggests the use of light-armed young men to guard the mountain passes which adjoin Boeotia. It is a plan suspiciously similar to Aristotle's "they patrol the countryside and spend time in the guard-towers". His statements would have been superfluous in the face of pre-existing ephebic guards.²⁵ The relevance of this passage to the date of the ephebeia depends on whether Socrates' language implies a strictly defensive or a partly offensive use of the young men. The former interpretation would imply that at the time of the work's publication, there were no systematic garrisons of young men, while the latter would allow for a departure from a pre-existing, but hitherto defensive, ephebeia. I interpret "βλαβερούς μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις εἶναι, μεγάλην δὲ προβολὴν τοῖς πολίταις τῆς χώρας κατεσκευάσθαι" to be defensive. Considering Xenophon's appraisal of the power of Thebes, I read the first clause as meaning that they would be useful against Theban troops attacking Attica.²⁶

²⁴ This has already been pointed out by Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles*, 192.

²⁵ M. Munn, *The Defense of Attica. The Dema Wall and the Boiotian War of 378-375 B.C.* (Berkeley, 1993), 187.

²⁶ Brenot, *Recherches*, 24; J. Lofberg, 'The Date of the Athenian Ephebeia', *CPh* 20 (1925), 332, sees this passage as proposing offensive *raids* into Boeotia, and therefore different from the ephebic

In the *Cyropaedia*, Xenophon describes a fictional Persian system of education in which the youth is divided into several age-classes. He calls one of these groups "ephebes" (1.2.9), and uses the word in a sense which approaches that of the institution. But Xenophon's "ephebes" begin their duties at the age of 16 or 17 and continue service for ten years rather than two. Their role is to guard the public buildings of the city and to escort the king on hunts.

Likewise, Plato describes a system of light-armed young men (*neoi*), in the countryside (*Leg.* 760b ff.). Every tribe appoints 5 men, "Agronomoi", who in turn choose 12 men between the ages of 25 and 30. These men rotate through the countryside, guarding a different area every month, and serving for two years. Their duties include protection against enemies, safe-guarding livestock, earthworks, and the water supply, constructing gymnasia, collecting firewood, etc. The fact that these men work for two years is significant, as we shall see. In most other respects, however, they differ from the Athenian ephebe. Most notably, they are chosen, their service is not mandatory; they do not train with weapons (though they apparently *do* conduct athletics in the gymnasia that they build); they are older; their participation is not linked to citizenship; they are not called "*epheboi*".

The Xenophon and Plato passages imply, rather, that the ephebic system did not exist at the time of their writing.²⁷ It has been argued, however, that the ephebeia *did* exist and that the authors were adapting details from a system with which they and their readers were familiar.²⁸ If such were the case, it would surely be surprising that, while Plato used civic titles of positions that already existed in Athens, he does not refer to the *Agronomoi* leaders as *sophonistai* or *kosmetai*. Likewise, he does not know what to call these men in the country: "So much for these 'secret-service men' or 'Country-Wardens' (call them what you will)" (763b).²⁹

Aristotle's *Politics* has also been used as evidence against the existence of an early system, but *contra*, see Forbes, *Physical Education*, 121.

²⁷ Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles*, 194; Brenot, *Recherches*, 28; Bryant, 'Boyhood', 85.

²⁸ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 19-33; Lofberg, 'Date', 332.

²⁹ Forbes, *Physical Education*, 115.

ephebeia, but is of questionable value. Aristotle describes how military affairs should be organized (6.4.5 [1321a]): "But the right plan is for the men of military age to be separated into a division of older and one of younger men, and to have their own sons while still young trained in the exercises of light and unarmed troops, and for youths selected from among the boys to be themselves trained in active operations." This passage could be based upon the ephebeia - or it could be an idea related to those of Plato. When Aristotle includes a list of magistrates which he feels is fairly complete (6.5.13 [1323a]), he includes neither *sophronistai* nor *kosmetai* nor any magistrates who might have held similar positions.³⁰ Aristotle echoes Xenophon in his stress on the importance of using a mountain frontier for defence (7.10.4 [1330b]). He posits magistrates for his hypothetical state who patrol the countryside, and have guard-posts and messrooms in the *chora*. (7.11.4 [1331b]). He does not have a certain name for them, however, borrowing *hyloroi*, "as they are called in some states", or *agronomoi*, "as they are called in others". In another passage, however, Aristotle does use the term *epheboi*. He suggests that in places where there is a unit of ephebes or guard-forces they be used to guard prisoners (6.5.7 [1322a]).³¹ The *terminus post quem* for the *Politics* is the assassination of Philip in 336 (mentioned at 5.8.10 [1311b2]). The *terminus ante quem* is the death of Aristotle, in 322, which left the manuscript unfinished. It is most likely that the work was written after 335/4, and that Aristotle has the Athenian ephebeia in mind.

I have presented the evidence which denies the presence of an Athenian ephebeia of the sort that Aristotle describes and which appears in inscriptions. Based on this evidence, we would normally and confidently declare that the ephebeia did not exist until late in the fourth century. But it does not stand alone. There is some evidence to indicate that there *was* an ephebeia, or something like it, earlier in the fourth century.

³⁰ *ibid.*, 118-119; Mathieu, 'Remarques', 312.

³¹ Forbes mentions neither this use of "*epheboi*" nor the *terminus post quem* of the work.

3. Aeschines' peripoleia

There are two pieces of evidence used for the existence of an ephebeia earlier in the fourth century: a *peripoleia* such as that in which Aeschines participated, and early references to the "ephebic oath".

The single most important piece of evidence for an early ephebeia is a passage from Aeschines' speech, *On the Embassy*, which he delivered in his debate against Demosthenes in 343. Aeschines defends his military record and says (2.167): "Having left the ranks of children, I became a patrolman (*peripolos*) of this land for two years, and I offer you my fellow ephebes (*sunepheboi*) and our officers as witnesses of these facts." In *Against Timarchus* (1.49), which was delivered in 346/5, Aeschines states that he is forty-five.³² The orator was therefore born in 391/90 or 390/89. His inscription, and subsequent two years as a *peripolos*, were during the years 373/2 - 371/0 or 372/1 - 370/69.

The use of the word *sunephebos* is striking. Aeschines also uses it in that same passage from which we determine his age (1.49), where he compares his appearance with that of Misgolas: "And Misgolas is one of these of men, for he happens to be of the same age as myself and a fellow ephebe (*sunephebos*), and this year both of us are 45 years old." For some, Aeschines' reference to *sunepheboi* is ample proof of an ephebeia as early as 372.³³ Others argue that, as made explicit in the Misgolas passage, the term is merely used to denote those of the same age.³⁴ In any event, however, the word suggests a group of peers called ephebes and implicitly links this to patrol of the countryside.

The lexicographers complicate the matter. Under *περίπολος*, Harpocration cites this passage, and then immediately quotes the *Ath. Pol.* (42) passage describing the ephebic two year service. Also under *περίπολος*, Pollux (8.105) says that ephebes

³² On the date of Aischin. In *Tim.*, see E. Harris, 'The date of the Trial against Timarchus', *Hermes* 113 (1985), 376-380.

³³ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 40-42; Lofberg, 'Date', 333-4.

³⁴ Brenot, *Recherches*, 17-18.

travelled about the countryside guarding it, beginning when they were eighteen and continuing for two years. When they became twenty, he says, they were inscribed into the *lexiarchicon grammateion*, and swore an oath at the shrine of Aglaurus. It appears that neither Pollux nor Harpocration had any more evidence on the matter than we do, and that they jumped to the logical conclusion that Aeschines' duty as *peripolos* was the same as the system described by Aristotle. (Prior to the discovery of the *Ath. Pol.*, Harpocration was our best source for the details of the institution.)³⁵ Pollux is generally assumed to have been mistaken in placing the oath and inscription at the age of 20 rather than 18.³⁶ We may not use the lexicographers as solid evidence.

Our confusion is magnified when we recall Demosthenes' claim that Aeschines became a clerk immediately upon coming of age.³⁷ Aeschines does not deny this record of his employment, so we must suppose that Aeschines did serve as a *peripolos* between the ages of eighteen and twenty, but that it was not a duty which demanded all or even the majority of his time. It should also be noted that Aeschines calls for his fellow ephebes and his "officers". This common reading is based on Bekker's emendation of the manuscript, which actually reads "συνάρχοντες", or fellow officers. As a young man, Aeschines may have been in charge of citizen or mercenary *peripoloi*.

Aeschines' account of his time as a *peripolos* makes no mention of garrison duty in the Peiraeus, and it appears that both years were spent on patrol along the frontier or throughout the *chora*. Such an interpretation has been cited in order to demonstrate that Aeschines' service differed substantially from that of later ephebes.³⁸ From early on, however, scholars have pointed out that Aeschines need here not be very specific.³⁹ Even to Aristotle the first year counted towards garrison duty (42.5): "φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη".⁴⁰ In sum, Aeschines' service may or may not be

³⁵ Dittenberger, *De ephebis*, 12.

³⁶ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 39; see p. 21 above. On Harpocration, see Brenot, *Recherches*, 15.

³⁷ See p. 29 above; O.W. Reinmuth, 'The Genesis of the Athenian Ephebia', *TAPhA* 83 (1952), 36.

³⁸ Bryant, 'Boyhood', 86.

³⁹ Dittenberger, *De ephebis*, 13.

⁴⁰ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 126; but might this not be a later gloss?

the same as in the later *ephebeia*. Given the fact that it does not demand all of his time, however, and given the weight of evidence against an early date, one must assume that this was some other sort of military role. If so, what was it?

Unlike *ephebes*, *peripoloi* appear commonly in our early literature. The word *peripolion* appears three times in Thucydides, and is used to describe some sort of fort or outpost: 3.99, 6.45, and 7.48. He refers to *peripoloi* twice: 4.67 and 8.92.⁴¹ In the first case the Athenian general Demosthenes uses Plataean light troops and *peripoloi* to force an entry into the gates of Megara. In the latter case it is a *peripolos* who assassinates Phrynichus. Though the assassin escapes, an accomplice is caught. This fellow-*peripolos* is a middle-aged (*aner*) Argive. The two are among the *peripoloi* who assemble at the house of a *peripolarch*.⁴² *Peripoloi* are also mentioned by Aristophanes, *Birds* 1177-1179.⁴³ Perhaps, like Phrynichus' assassin, *peripoloi* were mercenaries, especially during the fifth century.⁴⁴ Some have suggested that Aeschines' service was as a mercenary ⁴⁵ (he was from a poor family: Dem. 18.258), but this is unlikely. He was a citizen, after all, and given the low esteem in which mercenaries were held, it is improbable that he would have referred to such service in order to defend his character. Demosthenes, for his part, would have leaped at the opportunity for slander.⁴⁶

Even if some or most *peripoloi* were mercenaries, at least during the

⁴¹ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 36.

⁴² The known assassins, Thrasyboulus of Calydon and Apollodorus of Megara, were foreigners and were granted citizenship when Phrynichus' treachery was discovered - Lysias 13.71; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 112; and the decree granting Thrasyboulus citizenship, R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Revised Edition (Oxford, 1992) 260-263, no. 85. It is therefore likely that the other *peripoloi* were foreigners as well.

⁴³ "P^hisetaerus: 'Well, shouldn't you have sent a border patrol after him straight away?' Second Messenger: 'But we have - we've sent thirty thousand mounted Hawk archers...'" ; Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 37, n. 1; Girard, *L'éducation*, 275.

⁴⁴ P. Foucart, 'Décrets en l'honneur des éphèbes de l'année 333', *BCH* 13 (1889), 265 ff.; Brenot, *Recherches*, 14; Forbes, *Physical Education*, 119-120; before Foucart, Girard (*L'éducation*, 276) had equated them to mounted archers.

⁴⁵ Brenot, *Recherches*, 17.

⁴⁶ For more on *peripoloi*, see pp. 75-76 below.

Peloponnesian War, it is likely that citizen soldiers could serve as roving territorial guards, especially before Athens was able to afford to pay for foreign soldiers.⁴⁷ Writing about events immediately after 478/7, Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 24.1) tells us that, "now that the state was emboldened and much money had been collected [from allies], [Aristeides] began to advise them to aim at the leadership [of Greece], and to come down from their farms and live at the city, telling them that there would be food for all, some serving in the army and others as frontier-guards...."

Perhaps these frontier guardians are not only citizens, but are from the first two year groups - distinguished from the main hoplite corps and called *neotatoi*.⁴⁸ Thucydides refers to them twice: while the army is away, the general Myronides leads the youngest and oldest men, who had been left in the city, into Megara to battle against Corinthian troops (1.105); the Athenians have an army of 13,000 hoplites, "not including the 16,000 in the garrisons and at the parapets. For this was at first how many were put on guard whenever the enemy invaded, both from the oldest and youngest year-groups [*presbytatoi* and *neotatoi*] and from as many metics as were hoplites" (2.13.6-7). From Thucydides we therefore learn that it was Athenian wartime policy to leave *neotatoi* (aged 18-19) and soldiers aged 50-59 (*presbutatoi*) on guard at home.⁴⁹ These *neotatoi* are of the same age group as ephebes. In wartime, they seem to guard the countryside and frontiers, along with the ten oldest age groups. But can we therefore equate them with ephebes?⁵⁰ There is no sign of a training programme for the young, although it would be more than natural for the *presbuteroi*, out on guard shift with their young counterparts, to teach them a thing or two with spear and shield.

⁴⁷ A. Dumont, *L'éphébie attique*, Vol. I (Paris, 1875), 16, n. 3; Reinmuth, 'Genesis', 38.

⁴⁸ Reinmuth, 'Genesis', 50.

⁴⁹ Thucydides does not specify the ages of the *neotatoi*. They have been equated by modern authors with the first two age groups who, we are told, did not campaign abroad: Schol. Dem. 3.29; Schol. Aeschin. 1.18; 2.168; 3.122; *Etym. Magn.* and *Suda* s.v. $\tau\epsilon\rho\theta\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$; Pélekidis, *Histoire*, 47-49; A.W. Gomme, 'The Athenian Hoplite Force in 431 B.C.', *CQ* 21 (1927), 142 ff.

⁵⁰ Forbes (*Physical Education*, 120-121) and Brenot (*Recherches*, 9) do not. Lofberg ('Date', 330) does, as do Dumont (*L'éphébie*, 4) and Girard (*L'éducation*, 280).

We may, in fact, have evidence that a young man in the fifth century could fight abroad. In Aristophanes' *Birds* (1360-69), Pisthetairus welcomes the "young man" and treats him like an orphan, arming him in imitation of the Athenian arming of orphans, and then sending him abroad:

...my good fellow, since you've come here wishing us well, I'll wing you like an orphan fowl. And, my lad, I'll give you some rather good advice - the sort of thing I was taught myself when I was a boy. Don't hit your father; just take this wing [shield], and this spur [spear] in your other hand, imagine that this comb [helmet] you have is a cock's, and do garrison duty [φρουρούει], serve on expeditions, maintain yourself by earning pay, and let your father live. In fact, as you're the fighting type, fly off to the Thracian coast and fight there.⁵¹

In the fifth century, then, young men could earn their keep by doing garrison duty or by volunteering to fight abroad. Perhaps this was the sort of garrison duty which Aeschines performed. The service is not mandatory, nor does it require constant duty, but was most likely needed only during the campaign season. We should note the date of Aeschines' service, however. The years 373 and following were not peaceful. In that year Plataea, long time ally and buffer-state of Athens, was invaded and destroyed by an increasingly powerful and polemic Thebes. In 371, Thebes overthrew the power of Sparta, and dangerously upset the Greek balance of power.⁵² It is not implausible for Athens to have established for the first time a systematic, if periodic, frontier guard at precisely this time.⁵³

⁵¹ See H.D. Westlake, 'Overseas service for the Father-Beater (*Birds* 1360-71)', *CR* 68, n.s. 4 (1954), 90-94; A. Andrewes, 'The Hoplite *Katalogos*', in G.S. Shrimpton and D.J. McCargar (eds.), *Classical Contributions: Studies in Honour of M.F. McGregor* (Locust Valley, New York, 1981), 2. The orphans were ceremonially armed by the state when they came of age, so our young man is eighteen, cf. p. 164 below.

⁵² See pp. 69-72 below.

⁵³ D.M. Lewis has suggested some resolutions to a problem of logic in Aeschines' *Against Timarchus* ('When was Aeschines born?', *CR* 72, n.s. 8 (1958), 108). The fifth and most heavily emphasized of these solutions was to presume textual corruption in §49, πέμπτου καὶ

I suggest that following either the Corinthian War or the destruction of Plataea, Athens took measures to guard her frontiers. As part of these measures, she began to employ the two youngest age classes, the *neotatoi*, to provide patrols.⁵⁴ Service appears to have been neither mandatory for all citizens nor continuous. It did not include training. This is the point at which, until the publication of the mistaken Reinmuth 1, "early-" and "late-ephebeia" camps had come to find common ground, both grudgingly.⁵⁵

Athens seems to have taken the extraordinary procedure of including the two youngest age classes in the full levy mobilized under Iphicrates to aid Sparta against the Theban army at Corinth in 369: "Even the young were sent" (Diod. 15.63.2).⁵⁶ Guards in the country appear (infrequently) from the time of Aeschines' service to the appearance of the ephebeia. They serve under the general of the countryside and his *peripolarchs*, mentioned in an inscription of 352/1, IGII² 204 (lines 19-21). Demosthenes (18.37) gives us a decree of Callisthenes, passed in 346, which refers to

ΤΕΤΤΑΡΑΚΟΣΤὸν ἔτος, and to move Aeschines' birth to an earlier date. This could have the effect of placing the orators' service in the countryside during the Corinthian War, when we know the countryside to have been garrisoned (on an apparently *ad hoc* basis). Munn follows Lewis and presents just such a scenario (*Defense*, 188-9, n. 5). I confine this to a footnote, however, because Harris ('When was Aeschines born?', *CPh* 83 (1988), 211-214) has convincingly provided motive and plausibility to support Lewis' third possibility: "Aeschines is just lying" (about Misgolas' age).

⁵⁴ I am not alone in seeing this as a crucial moment for the defence of Attica and the time at which a system of youth on the frontier was created: N. Robertson, 'False Documents at Athens: Fifth-Century History and Fourth-Century Publicists', *Historical Reflections* 3, No. 1 (Summer, 1976), 21; J. Ober, *Fortress Attica* (Leiden, 1985), 212.

⁵⁵ Reinmuth, 'Genesis', 44: "They were not only called out in time of war, but served in time of peace. They were used for a limited service and for a limited time"; Bryant, 'Boyhood', 79: "For the two years immediately following enrolment, the young citizen, though liable with all others for military service, seems to have been especially favored. During this time he was not obliged to serve outside Attica, and some attention seems to have been given to fitting him for the duties of campaigning by preliminary tours of service in the garrisons, or on patrol along the frontier."; Forbes, *Physical Education*, 122: "[Aeschines' service] merely suggests the possibility that the police service performed by mercenaries in the fifth century may have been entrusted now, under economic pressure, to the lads eighteen and nineteen years of age."

⁵⁶ This point is Hansen's, *Demography*, 41. While οἱ νεῶτοι is not normally confined to the youngest, the adverbial force of καὶ suggests that it was in this instance. We see, then, both that the procedure was an exception and that exceptions could be made.

this civilian guard: "Callisthenes, son of Eteonicus, of Phalerum, proposed that no Athenian be allowed upon any pretext whatsoever to pass the night in the country, but only in the City and Peiraeus, except those stationed in the garrison forts; that the latter keep each the post assigned to him, leaving it neither by day nor by night." Ariston, a client of Demosthenes served in the garrison of Panactum (Demosthenes 54.3 ff.):⁵⁷

Two years ago I went out to Panactum, where we had been ordered to do garrison duty. The sons of the defendant, Conon, encamped near us....These men used always to spend the entire day after luncheon drinking, and they kept this up continually as long as we were in the garrison. We, on our part, conducted ourselves while in the country just as we were wont to do here. Well, at whatever time the others might be having their dinner, these men were already drinking and abusive, at first toward our body-slaves, but in the end toward ourselves.

The situation degenerates into such a scene that the general must be called in.⁵⁸

In the *Poroi* (51-52), written c.355, Xenophon proposes that the money which his ideas would generate for the state should be used in part for the maintenance of those who train and those who are on garrison duty:

If the plans that I have put forward are carried out, I submit that not only will the *polis* improve financially, but it will also become more obedient, better disciplined, and more efficient in war. For those organized for athletic training [οἷ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι] would practise this more keenly in the gymnasium when they receive their maintenance [τροφή] in full than they do under the *gymnasiarchs* in the torch races; and those on garrison duty in guardposts [οἷ τε φρουρεῖν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις] or serving as peltasts or patrolling the countryside [οἷ τε πελτάζειν καὶ περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν] will show greater alacrity in carrying out all these duties when

⁵⁷ The passage could also refer to a military expedition to Panactum in 343, described in Dem. 19.326.

⁵⁸ Ober, *Fortress*, 217, argues that these youths were not ephebes because they did not inhabit a permanent camp, their fellow soldiers are *stratiotai*, and they are commanded by a *strategos* and *taxiarchoi*. He adds that "this does not mean that ephebes were not garrisoning the fort in 346-343, but simply that at one time reinforcements were thought to be necessary." I disagree. If there had been an ephebeia, the youths involved would have to have been serving as ephebes and would therefore not have been available for this expedition. Ober is right to point out the differences between this expedition and later ephebic service.

the maintenance [τροφή] is duly supplied for the work done.

Gauthier saw in this passage a veiled reference to the ephebeia, but his belief was founded on the mistaken Reinmuth 1.⁵⁹ Sekunda writes that "this passage can hardly be referring to anything other than the ephebate since only the ephebes, at any period in Athenian history, were "ordered" to train in the gymnasia."⁶⁰ He reads too much into "*tachthentes*". The athletes are being marshalled in the gymnasia. Xenophon is referring to the young men assigned to the *gymasiarch* in charge of festival *lampadephoroi*. As a *choregos* does with choruses, so too the *gymasiarch* prepares his runners, on occasion providing meals when doing so. As Sekunda points out, those guarding the frontier and countryside cannot be mercenaries (or they would have been receiving *misthos* or *sitos*) - they are citizens performing a state service.

If Xenophon had been referring to the ephebeia, he would not have detailed all of these duties in a long periphrasis. He would have said simply "the *ephebes* would be better disciplined". He suggests the provision of *trophe*, while the *Ath. Pol.* makes it clear that ephebes are indeed given rations by the state. Additionally, we know now that the ephebic *gymnasiarchoi* were probably ephebes.⁶¹ In this passage they are adult magistrates supervising different functions altogether. Nevertheless, Xenophon's flow of thought is fascinating. Moving from athletes of the torch-races directly to *peripoloi*, the historian demonstrates an immediate mental association between the young men who run in festivals and those who perform guard service in the countryside. It is effectively the same group of people - the *neotatoi* - acting in what are at this point two distinct civic capacities.⁶²

⁵⁹ P. Gauthier, *Un commentaire historique des Poroi de Xenophon* (Paris and Geneva, 1976), 193; before Gauthier the similarities between this passage and the ephebeia were noted by Bryant, 'Boyhood', 85-86, who questioned its authorship.

⁶⁰ Sekunda, 'Lampadephoroi', 151; *contra*, see M. Faraguna, *Atene nell' eta di Alessandro* (Rome, 1992), 277, n. 105.

⁶¹ Palagia and Lewis, 'Ephebes of Erechtheis', 334-5.

⁶² For further possible relationships between the *lampadephoroi* and the ephebeia, see Sekunda, 'Lampadephoroi', 153-158, and review, D. Whitehead, 'The Lampadephoroi of Aiantis Again', *ZPE* 87 (1991), 42-44.

I have not yet addressed Aeschines' application of the word "*sunepheboi*" to a period some thirty-five years before the apparent institution of the ephebeia. It is exceptional. In 1980 McCulloch and Cameron published an article which usefully put into focus a previously enigmatic verse of Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*.⁶³ In lines 10-16, Eteocles exhorts not the young and old men of Thebes, but the young men (the *neotatoi* we have been discussing) and adult men, whom he calls "*exebon*". By a circumlocution Aeschylus avoids the jingle of ἔφηβος / ἔξηβος, but still, by using the one explicitly, he suggests the other hidden in the periphrasis.⁶⁴ The authors fail to mention that the noun form *ephebos* which Aeschylus studiously "avoids" appears nowhere in any fifth century literary writing or inscription.⁶⁵ Neither does *ephebos* nor any reference to the ephebeia appear in the pages of Plato or Isocrates, those authors whose fully preserved works are primarily concerned with education.⁶⁶ The first surviving use of "*ephebos*" was Xenophon's, in his description of the fictional Persian age-class and training programme of the *Cyropaedia* (1.2, 5-6). Apart from Aeschines' two uses of "*sunepheboi*", when the word *ephebos* is used in connection with events prior to 335, it is always in the context of the "Ephebic Oath",⁶⁷ which we must now examine.

4. The Ephebic Oath

I have already described the oath.⁶⁸ Based upon the gods, heroes and plants by

⁶³ H. McCulloch and H. Cameron, 'Septem 12-13 and the Athenian ephebeia', *ICS* 5 (1980), 1-14.

⁶⁴ Their suggestion that this might provide evidence for an early ephebeia is symptomatic of the holy grail that it has become.

⁶⁵ Their omission can be forgiven, however, for they too relied upon Reinmuth 1, the mistaken inscription; as noted at the beginning of Catalogue A, the restoration of "*ephebos*" in *IGI*² 84.31 has been corrected to "*epandros*" in *IGI*³ 82.29. The impropriety of "*ephebos*" was first pointed out by F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris, 1969), 13, but the word has continued to find its way into historical accounts of Athenian festivals, e.g. H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977), 172.

⁶⁶ Not including the spurious Platonic *Axiochus* (366e); see p. 180 below.

⁶⁷ Dem. 19.304; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 76.3; Plut. *Vit. Alc.* 15.7.

⁶⁸ See pp. 14-15 above.

which the ephebes swear, it has been argued that the oath is antique, older than the inscription of the 330s.⁶⁹ This may be so.⁷⁰ There can be no question that an "ephebic oath" antedated Chaeronea. The Lycurgus version appears in a speech delivered in 330 but which concerns the behaviour of Leocrates immediately following Chaeronea and implies that Leocrates had taken the oath at some point previously.⁷¹ Lycurgus relates the oath to "the ancient laws of the city" (75).⁷² Demosthenes (19.303) asks, "Who made those long and eloquent speeches, and read the decrees of Miltiades and Themistocles and the oath of ephebes sworn in the shrine of Aglaurus [τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τῶν ἐφήβων ὄρκον]? Was it not Aeschines?" The context is the year 347. In Plutarch (*Vit. Alc.* 15.4), Alcibiades refers to the ephebic oath taken in the temple of Aglaurus.⁷³ Plutarch's dramatic date is late fifth century.

Siewert draws parallels of varying plausibility between the wording of the oath and passages in Thucydides (1.144.4 and 2.37.3), Sophocles (*Antigone* 663-671), and Aeschylus (*Persae* 956-962).⁷⁴ The implication of his argument is that the writers allude to an oath intimately familiar to their audience. We should be aware, however, that the similarities between the Siewert passages and the ephebic oath may not, in fact, stem from direct reference or borrowing, but may instead reflect a parent ideology common to both, without any direct relationship between the two. For instance, in Siewert's first example (Thuc. 1.144.4), Pericles declaims that "we must not fall short of [our ancestors'] example, but must defend [ἀμύνεσθαι] ourselves against our enemies in every way, and must endeavor to hand down our empire undiminished [μὴ ἐλάσσω παραδοῦναι] to posterity." This echoes the oath's "I will defend [ἀμυνῶ]

⁶⁹ Siewert, 'Ephebic Oath', 104: "Since the epigraphic version shows old elements and no demonstrable fifth- or fourth-century traits, an archaic date of origin seems never to have been seriously questioned." Cf. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 75-76.

⁷⁰ See, however, pp. 162-163 and n. 181 below, where I suggest reasons for believing the wording of the oath to have been invented or adapted to suit ephebic service.

⁷¹ It would not be unprecedented, however, for an orator to make such an implication falsely.

⁷² Mathieu, 'Remarques', 314.

⁷³ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 76; Lofberg, 'Date', 332; Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 136.

⁷⁴ Siewert, 'Ephebic Oath', 104-107; *Antigone*: cf. C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Assumptions and the creation of meaning: reading Sophocles' *Antigone*', *JHS* 109 (1989), 144.

our sacred and public institutions and I will not hand over the fatherland smaller [οὐκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω], but greater and better." The resemblance is striking. But then again so are the words of a Persian king, Xerxes, recounted by Herodotus, a non-Athenian. Xerxes claims to a Persian assembly that by invading Greece, he will be following the established custom of the Persians not to remain idle, but like his fathers to enlarge the empire which he had inherited (7.8).

Again, says Siewert, Pericles' words in his funeral oration (Thuc. 2.37.3): "for we render obedience [ἄκροάσει] to those in authority [τῶν αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων] and to the laws [τῶν νόμων]..." "is almost a word-for-word paraphrase of lines 11f. of the oath": 'I will obey [εὐηκοήσω] those who for the time being exercise sway reasonably [τῶν ἀεὶ κραινόντων] and the established laws [τῶν θεσμῶν]....'" Siewert explains that the differences in vocabulary result from Thucydidean modernizing of the expression. He supports Jebb's comparison of a line in the *Antigone* and the oath: *Ant.* 670: "for a defender [παραστάτην] to remain where he has been positioned [προσ τεταγμένον μένειν] is a good and just thing..." vs. Oath, lines 7ff.: "I will not desert the comrade beside me wherever I shall be stationed in a battle line [οὐδὲ λείψω τὸν παραστάτην ὅπου ἂν στοιχήσω]." ⁷⁵ Siewert adds for further comparison a harangue by Creon about obedience to the state (lines 661-673), and explains that "*verbatim*" reference to the oath "would violate the rule of dramatic probability", given the Theban context of the play. (I do not add Siewert's last passage which is somewhat less than probable, drawing out and comparing two words from the lines of the chorus and of Xerxes in the *Persae* [957, 962].) The *Antigone* is a play entirely concerned with obedience to the state and obedience to family and natural laws. This was a topos of the sophists and pre-Socratics of the time. As with the Thucydides passages, it might echo the Ephebic Oath - or it might not.

The "Ephebic Oath" is above all a civic oath, broken down into the two primary forms of obedience required of citizens for a polis to survive against threats, external

⁷⁵ R.C. Jebb, *Sophocles. The Plays and Fragments, III: Antigone*³ (Cambridge, 1900), 127.

and internal. To check an external threat, the citizens of a polis army must stand their ground - they swear to fight. To avoid the dangers of political faction, the citizen must swear to obey the laws and those who hold office.⁷⁶ Even if the words of the ephebic oath which survives were not among the citizenship laws that Cleisthenes instituted, we should be very much surprised if early Athens did not have an oath like it.⁷⁷ "Everywhere in Greece a law is laid down that the citizens shall promise under oath to agree, and everywhere they swear this oath. The object of this is...that they may obey the laws" (Xen. *Mem.* 4.4.16).

Two vase paintings of the early fifth century, a black figure neck-amphora and a red figure oinoche, could portray what has generally been believed to be an Athenian "ephebe" in the process of taking his citizenship oath at the temple of Aglaurus (Figures F and G).⁷⁸

As Siewert acknowledges, "one will hardly assume that the content of the oath depends upon the existence of the Athenian institution of cadet-training."⁷⁹ We certainly know of other aspects of Athenian civic initiation, similar to the one described by Aristotle, which existed prior to the ephebeia. The scrutiny of youths existed in the

⁷⁶ The "Soldier's oath" and the "Citizen's oath": Robertson, 'False Documents', 7. Robertson suggests that the ephebic oath was created around 370.

⁷⁷ Cleisthenic introduction of citizen obligations: R. Sealey, *The Athenian Republic* (Penn. State Univ, 1987), 125; Mathieu, 'Remarques', 313, suggests the time of Cleisthenes (comparing it to the Oath of the Boule, *Ath. Pol.* 22.2), Pericles, Ephialtes, or even during the upheavals at the end of the fifth century (comparing it to the civic oath in the decree of Demophantes, *Andoc. Mysteries* 97-98). Others believe that the oath could even be pre-Perisistratid: Siewert, 'Ephebic Oath', 111. I do not agree with M. Jameson ('Apollo Lykeios in Athens', *Archaiognosia*, Vol. 1, part 2 [1980], 232) when he writes that a "submissive character" of the oath indicates that it can only be intended for young men and is not a citizenship oath in a broader sense.

⁷⁸ The identification may be correct; at any rate the paintings do portray young warriors who are apparently taking oaths. Fig. F: Hermitage, Leningrad, 59 Stephani = C.H. Haspels, *Attic Black Figured Lekythoi*, Vol. I (Paris, 1936), 239, Diophos Painter, no. 141; Fig. G: private collection = Beazley, *A.R.V.*² ii. 1069, Thompson Painter no. 1. Both cited in: A. Conze, 'Giuramento da Efebo, Rappresento in Pitture Vascolari', *Annali dell' Inst. di Corr. Arch.* 40 (1868), 266 & Plates H and I; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 506; Lofberg, 'Date', 334; Reinmuth, 'Genesis', 35, n. 6; Brenot, *Recherches*, 37; Pelékidis, *Histoire*, 111, n. 4.

⁷⁹ Siewert, 'Ephebic Oath', 102. Oath used as evidence for the ephebeia: Pelékidis, *Histoire*, 76-77; Lofberg, 'Date', 33-5; Dumont, *L'éphébie*, 4; Girard, *L'éducation*, 287.



Fig. F.

Black figure: Haspels, Diophos Painter, no. 141.

Photo from K.S. Gorbunova, *Чернофигурные Аттические Вазы в Эрмитаже* (Leningrad, 1983), 145, no. 114.



Fig. G.

Red figure: Beazley, Thompson painter, no. 1.

Photo from Sotheby Catalogue, 3-4 March 1931, no. 99, plate 5.
(Nike, not shown, stands behind the youth, holding aloft a helmet.)

fifth century. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 577-8, refers to the deme inspection (or more probably an appeal before the *dikasterion*)⁸⁰ of young men to determine their age: "Bdelycleon: Describe for me the good things which you get ruling over Greece. Philocleon: It is to see the genitals of the boys when they are examined for citizenship." Demosthenes (30.15) tells us that he underwent *dokimasia* just after a wedding in Skirophorion 367/6.⁸¹ Careful selection of citizens was extremely important. In 451/0, Pericles proposed his law which limited the right to citizenship to children of citizens on both sides (*Ath. Pol.* 26.4). Becoming a citizen was highly significant, for both state and individual reasons, and all important civic events in Athens contained a religious ingredient. It is therefore not surprising to find among the bureaucratic and ceremonial procedure an oath sworn by those becoming citizens.

The oath is called "ephebic". I have pointed out that, although cognates of the word *ephebos* can be found in various places with a range of meanings,⁸² the word only occurs in pre-Lycurgan sources in the limited context of citizenship initiation: either enrolment in the register or taking the oath itself. We should accept, then, that originally the word *ephebos* had a technical meaning: one who is in the act of becoming a citizen.⁸³ Because this moment represented only a snapshot in the life of a citizen the word is not very common. It was an important snapshot, however. At the beginning of the new year, all youths who had attained 18 years of age gathered for the ceremony.⁸⁴ Other Athenians who participated in the event would be one's peers, sharing the same year group and eponymous hero, and would proceed through the various stages of life together. These are the fellow ephebes (*sunepheboi*) of the Aeschines passages.⁸⁵ McCulloch and Cameron remind us that the verb *ephebeuo* appears in *Seven Against Thebes* (665).⁸⁶ They might have added a fragment from

⁸⁰ Rhodes, *Commentary*, 500-501.

⁸¹ Whether this was a deme or a *boule* proceeding is unclear, however; cf. Lysias 21.1.

⁸² Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 51-63.

⁸³ See Reinmuth, 'Genesis', 40-41.

⁸⁴ Golden, 'Age of Majority', 35.

⁸⁵ Phot. *Lexicon*, s.v. ΣΥΝΕΦΗΒΟΣ· ὁ μετὰ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐφηβεύσας.

⁸⁶ McCulloch and Cameron, 'Septem', 14.

Euripides (*Oineus* - Wagner, no. 562). In both cases the forms are aorist participles, looking back to that moment at which a youth becomes a man.⁸⁷ We can accept that there was in Athens an oath of citizenship, called the Ephebic Oath, and that the act of becoming a citizen (undergoing scrutiny, being enrolled, and swearing the oath) was conveyed by the term *ephebeuo*.⁸⁸ Those new citizens were at that moment ephebes, and could later refer to their peers as "fellow ephebes". None of this demonstrates in any way the existence of a two-year ephebic programme such as we find described in the *Ath. Pol.*⁸⁹

5. Conclusion

The ephebeia, with its training, officers, and pay, is a product of the late 4th century. Harpocration names its creator (s.v. Ἐπικράτης), telling us that "another Epicrates is the one whom Lycurgus mentions in his speech about the administration, saying that a bronze statue of him was set up because of the law concerning the ephebes, him whom they claim owns 600 talents in property."⁹⁰ Those who have argued for an early date of creation were right to see many aspects of the later system in an earlier Athens. They were also right to warn their readers that the phenomena which they described must not be construed as identical to the Lycurgan ephebeia.⁹¹ But most importantly, Reinmuth correctly writes that, "The dictum of Wilamowitz that the

⁸⁷ G. Hutchinson, *Aeschylus, Septem Contra Thebas* (Oxford, 1985), 151, on line 665: "ἐφῆβῆσαντα: here ἦβη begins before the beard has grown."

⁸⁸ Proponents of the "early ephebeia" have not yet cited [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 844b-c, which quotes Hegesias of Magnesia referring to the point at which Demosthenes began studying under Isocrates and Plato as "when he left the ephebes" (ὁ δ' ἐγεγόνει ἐξ ἐφῆβων). By my interpretation, this phrase at the time of Demosthenes means the same thing as εἰς ἄνδρας δοκιμασθεῖεν.

⁸⁹ See Forbes, *Physical Education*, 123-4; because I accept an early date for some version of the Athenian Ephebic Oath, this study does not, in my opinion, invalidate the legitimacy of those authors, such as J. Wilkins, 'The Young of Athens: Religion and Society in *Herakleidae* of Euripides', *CQ* 40 (1990), 329-339, who find fifth-century allusions to and interest in a proto-ephebic "rite-of-passage".

⁹⁰ See pp. 154-155 below.

⁹¹ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 132; A. Piganiol, 'Les origines de l'éphébie attique', *Annales d'Histoire économique et sociale* 11 (1939), 213; and even Winkler, 'Ephebe's Song', 27.

ephebeia began to function in 335/4 on the basis of a law passed the year before, has had the effect of diverting later studies on the subject from an examination of the antecedents of the institution and of confining discussion of its beginnings largely to arguments about the date of its origin."⁹² The aim of this chapter has been to argue that the evidence points to the 330's as the most likely time for the creation of what we call the ephebeia, some features of which predated the organization. The process by which citizens were enrolled, including the *dokimasia* and an ephebic oath, was an old one, dating perhaps to as early as the time of Cleisthenes. The special military category of the first two-year groups of citizens, called *neotatoi*, also existed earlier. We see it at work during the Peloponnesian War. By the second third of the fourth century, Athens has begun to use these 18 and 19 year-olds as *peripoloi*, garrisoning the border forts and patrolling the countryside. The duty is without pay, and is optional or does not require continual service, or both. There is no training; there are no ephebic magistrates, no decrees nor monuments. Having established this, we are free to examine the forces at work in the politics and ideology of fourth century Athens (and Greece) which led to the formal ephebeia. Nothing is *de novo*. In the following chapter, I examine the changes in Greek warfare and the political pressures on Athens which brought her citizens to perceive a need for border defence and military training.

⁹² Reinmuth, 'Genesis', 34.

Interviewer: "What do you mean the Pakistanis cheat?"

Graham Gooch: "They bowl fast. They practise".

- Spitting Image

Chapter III

Military Innovation and the Ephebeia

If the ephebeia, with its required military training, was a product of the late fourth century, then its appearance must be explained in the context of Greek, or at least Athenian, military development. The changes that took place in warfare from the end of the Peloponnesian War to the middle or end of the fourth century are both profound and complicated.

With the "Periclean Strategy" adopted by Athens during its struggle against Sparta, military conflict during the end of the fifth century moved away from an "agonal" format and came to include such temporally protracted strategies as the *epiteichismos*. Pitched battles generally gave way to longer campaigns which required not only more time, but also more complex uses of different kinds of troops. Whatever forces that had existed in Athens (and elsewhere) to minimize the use of light-armed soldiers were necessarily undermined. New forms of warfare gave rise to an increased use of mercenaries, with their inherently better discipline; the use of peltasts, who could deny hoplites rough or fortified ground; increased emphasis on the defence of the countryside and concurrent focus on fortification and defence; the blossoming of siege and artillery technology. As we shall see, Athens was keenly aware of all of these trends and evolved her military organization accordingly. The emphasis on military training and border patrol within the Lycurgan ephebeia is the direct result of these changes.¹

¹ What follows is the first attempt to examine military changes that led to the military training and frontier duty of the ephebeia, but a similar view has been stated in passing by Faraguna, *Alessandro*, 277.

1. Phalanx Warfare

We must first begin with an assessment of Athenian military practice before such changes took place. The use of hoplite equipment and phalanx tactics seems to have begun at some point during the seventh century.² The hoplite battle is described by the Persian general Mardonius to his lord Xerxes (Herodotus 7.9): "And yet, I am told, these very Greeks are wont to wage wars against one another in the most foolish way, through sheer perversity and doltishness. For no sooner is war proclaimed than they search out the smoothest and fairest plain that is to be found in all the land, and there they assemble and fight; whence it comes to pass that even the conquerors depart with great loss: I say nothing of the conquered, for they are destroyed altogether."

Although we are not to take Mardonius' words at face value, especially given Athenian success at Marathon which ironically was fought on the smoothest and fairest plain nearby, recent scholars of Greek military history have come to picture the phalanx battle as a ritual contest, an *agon*. For whatever reasons, the Greeks did fight on plains rather than hills, conflicts were generally decided in a single engagement, and a code of conduct did tend to prescribe Greek military behaviour.³ The goal of phalanx warfare was to force an engagement by threatening to destroy a city's economic base, its crops. Such techniques as ambushes, night attacks, assaults on towns, and so forth, were not generally used.⁴

The idea that Greek warfare was entirely ritualized and *agonal* has often been taken too far. In 'The Black Hunter', Vidal-Naquet made much of the contrast between ritualized "hoplite" warfare and the trick, *apate*, used by Melanthus in his duel against

² See for instance J. Salmon, 'Political Hoplitēs?', *JHS* 97 (1977), 84-101, and P. Cartledge, 'Hoplitēs and Heroēs', *JHS* 97 (1977), 11-27.

³ On the *agonal* system: P. Vidal-Naquet in J.-P. Vernant (ed.), *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1968), 161-181; Y. Garlan, *Recherches de Poliorcétique Grecque* (Paris, 1974), 21-22; V.D. Hanson, *The Western Way of War* (Oxford, 1989), *passim*. The "agonal" system is referred to by Ober, *Fortress*, 35; I.G. Spence, 'Perikles and the Defense of Attika', *JHS* 110 (1990), 91-109, especially 93.

⁴ On various "rules of war": W.K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War, Part II* (Berkeley, 1974), chapters 7-9.

Xanthus. Tricks *were* used by hoplites, however. Even Spartans used deceit. At the battle of Sepeia between Spartans and Argives, the latter are afraid of being tricked and order all Argive warriors to respond in kind to the Lacedaemonian signals. The plan backfires when Cleomenes realizes their scheme and orders the Spartans to attack when they hear the signal for mess. The trick works and "vast numbers" of Argives are slain while sitting down to dinner (Herod. 6.77-8). I do not here want to assert or even imply that I subscribe to the *agonal* theory as a comprehensive description of the way that Greeks went to war.⁵

Normally hoplites in a phalanx battle would line up in close formation opposite one another and then clash together as walls of shields and spears. Without entering into the finer points of the issue,⁶ I shall merely ask, how much training did a hoplite need? The question is a controversial one, but I believe that the average Greek warrior of the fifth century and earlier trained very little, if at all. Perhaps this lack of a need for training was why the phalanx came to be the tactic used between men who were largely farmers (Spartans excepted). This is perhaps also why the technique continued to be used for so long - the phalanx was a system of warfare that produced maximum effect with minimum preparation. According to Cartledge, "hoplite warfare continued for centuries as it had begun - a gentlemanly, amateur affair confined to a campaigning 'season' in spring and early summer before the harvest, a 'walking tour ending in a combat' that demanded a minimum of training and theoretical analysis."⁷ For a hoplite the need and (for economic reasons) even the ability to train was minimal. We should therefore not be surprised by the paucity of information that survives regarding

⁵ Challenging the "agonal" theory, see W.K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War, Part III* (Berkeley, 1979), 300; P. Harding, 'Athenian Defensive Strategy in the Fourth Century', *Phoenix* 42 (1988), 65.

⁶ Debates rage as to the nature of these hoplite battles: how long do they last? how far apart did the hoplites stand? when came the shove (*othismos*)? For all this, see A.J. Holladay, 'Hoplites and Heresies', *JHS* 102 (1982), 94-97; J.K. Anderson, 'Hoplites and Heresies', *JHS* 104 (1984), 152; G.L. Cawkwell, 'Orthodoxy and Hoplites', *CQ* 39 (1989), 375-389.

⁷ Cartledge, 'Hoplites and Heroes', 23, quoting F.E. Adcock, *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War* (Berkeley, 1967), 82; cf. R.T. Ridley, 'The Hoplite as citizen: Athenian Military Institutions in their social context', *AC* 48 (1979), 515; Pritchett, *GSW* II, 207; A.M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (London, 1967), 103.

Greek military training.⁸

Training has two aims: expertise and confidence. Hoplite warfare minimized need for the first. It took no great skill to jab with a spear, and the extent of manoeuvre was to remain in line whilst moving forward. This is a gross over-simplification to be sure: one had to avoid poking out friendly eyes with the point on the back of one's spear, and moving forward in line was not as easy as all that. In fact, J.K. Anderson has catalogued a number of spear positions that might have formed part of hoplite drill, or "manual-of-arms", including the 'slope' position ("shoulder arms"), with the spear on the right shoulder, "stand at ease", with spear end and shield resting on the ground, and both overhand and underhand spearthrusting techniques.⁹ All of these positions, however, are such as one would adopt naturally, and while useful in visualizing hoplite stances, do not denote a need for training.

Moving and fighting *en masse* and at close quarters is much more difficult. Anderson catalogues several drill formations in which hoplites are seen counter-marching to meet an enemy to the rear, forming into a phalanx from the march in column, and reacting to signals.¹⁰ The evidence is comprised overwhelmingly of Spartan soldiers, who were the exception. These men were notorious for their ability to train and for their subsequent effectiveness in battle - they were *technitai ton polemikon*.¹¹ It is significant that they also were exceptional in that they would

⁸ Pritchett, *GSW* II, 208, points out the lack of such information, especially compared to athletic training, which he roughly equates to military training (230-231), with some truth. Cawkwell, 'Orthodoxy', 378-379, is convinced that the hoplite battle was more demanding than we think and is also much impressed that we hear so little about training. Wheeler, 'Hoplomachia', 229: "With the possible exception of Sparta, our knowledge of Greek military training before the fourth century B.C. is a *tabula rasa*. This is particularly true of Athens...." Cawkwell's most important passages about military training are derived from Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3, and Plato's *Laws*. These both date to the middle of the fourth century, as we shall see, and depict an increased interest in the need for training that was developing at that time. I am indebted to Mr. Cawkwell for giving me a copy of his article.

⁹ J.K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (Berkeley, 1970), 87-89.

¹⁰ Anderson, *Military Theory*, discusses formations: 100-106, and signals, 79-81, 87.

¹¹ Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 8.5; Plut. *Vit. Pel.* 23.4; Pl. *Laches* 182E-183A, et al.

march, rather than run, into contact with the opposing phalanx, keeping time with recorders, "to make them advance evenly, stepping in time, without breaking their order, as large armies are apt to do in the moment of engaging."¹² Most phalanxes tended to break up somewhat during the final advance, and this was due to lack of training. The phalanx itself would have compensated a bit because the more closely formed a body of soldiers are, the easier it is to maintain formation. Even were other armies to have drilled in the sort of manoeuvres of which the Spartans appear to have been capable, such drill would not have required extensive training before they were proficient at the simple tasks required of them.¹³

Much more important than technique was the willingness of a hoplite to stand his ground. To do this, he not only had to overcome the fear induced by an approaching phalanx, but also to be confident that his neighbours would not break and run. It was in this aspect of battle that Spartan hoplites enjoyed an unrivaled reputation. Xenophon (*Mem.* 3.9.2) conflates technical and moral training (for the two were coincident): "I think that every man's nature acquires more courage by learning and practice. Of course, Scythians and Thracians would not dare to take bronze shield and spear and fight Lacedaemonians; and of course Lacedaemonians would not be willing to face Thracians with leather shields and javelins, nor Scythians with bows for weapons."¹⁴

The system of the Spartan *agoge* developed military cohesion in the face of hardship and fear. Before the battle of Mantinea in 418, while Mantineans, Argives, and Athenians are encouraged by speeches of the rewards and glory that they will gain, "the Lacedaemonians meanwhile, both man to man, and, through their war-like customs, along the ranks, made reminder to each other of those things which they had

¹² Thuc. 5.70; on this passage, see Cartledge, 'Hoplites', 15-16. Thucydides must explain that *auloi* are used to keep step, rather than for religious reasons, which means that most other hoplite armies did not use them.

¹³ A drill sergeant is able to have new recruits prepared to march in review in the space of an afternoon; at Princeton Prof. W.R. Connor used to arm students with cardboard shields and bamboo poles and conduct sham battles that, while less than organized, nonetheless demonstrated the simplicity of the operation.

¹⁴ Because of its late date, the passage does not provide evidence for awareness of the need to train in the fifth or early fourth centuries.

learned before to be of value, knowing that long hours of hard drill brought more safety than any fair verbal exhortation given in a few words."¹⁵

What Athens lacked in training, she attempted to make up for through individual bravado. As we have seen, Pericles's Funeral Oration refers to Spartan training, and asserts that the Athenian qualities of courage and boldness obviate any need to train.¹⁶ But boldness did Cleon's men little good at Amphipolis when, because of the poor state of Athenian drill, they were attacked and routed by Brasidas (Thuc. 5.10.3-6). As late as the mid-fourth century, Xenophon would still complain that Athens did not organize any military training.¹⁷ (By contrast the Athenian navy was, if not better trained, at least more experienced.)¹⁸ It is likely, however, that although no peacetime military training existed, Athenian soldiers (or "the more soldierly of them") would meet on the field of the Lyceum to practice a bit before setting off on expedition. This is the explanation given by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Pax* 355-356, in which the chorus complains about being continually worn out from having to wander up to the Lyceum and back with spear and shield.¹⁹ Far from being compensated for the inconvenience, citizens may even have paid a tax to treasurers of Apollo (chosen from the *boule*) for the upkeep of Apollo's trampled *temenos*.²⁰ In the fourth century, if we are to

¹⁵ Thuc. 5.69.2.

¹⁶ Thuc. 2.39; see p. 27 above. Also interpreted by Pritchett, *GSW* II, 229, as evidence for a lack of military training.

¹⁷ *Mem.* 3.12.5. Lest it be raised as evidence, L.J. Worley, *Hippeis, The Cavalry of Ancient Greece* (Boulder, 1994), 77-8, writes that Athens "required the cavalrymen to train a certain amount of time." The author's evidence is Xen. *Hipparch.* 1.13. The word Xenophon uses is ἱππάζεσθαι (L.S.J.: "to take a ride"), which I take to mean that cavalrymen were required to take their horses out for exercise now and then - not to train collectively.

¹⁸ Thuc. 2.85 - after Athens first becomes a naval power (Herod. 7.144.2; Thuc. 1.18.2) it is difficult to draw a distinction between training and experience; Plut. *Vit. Per.* 11.4; cf. A.W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, Vol. 3 (Oxford, 1956), 638; W.W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* (London, 1930), 4.

¹⁹ cf. Hesychius s.v. Λύκηον, Phot., *Suda*: s.v. Λύκειον; Ridley, 'Hoplite as Citizen', 543. The connection referred to here may, however, date only to the period after Lycurgus' construction of the gymnasium at the Lyceum, cf. p. 141 below.

believe Isocrates (7.82), the Athenians were loathe even to participate in military reviews unless they received some sort of compensation for it.

2. The "Periclean" Strategy

It is commonly known that the Peloponnesian War differed from previous Greek warfare and that this was the result of the "Periclean Strategy". Pericles persuaded the Athenians to retreat behind their extensive walls rather than face invading Spartan armies, to supply themselves by sea, to harass the Peloponnesians with seaborne raids, and to hinder invaders as much as possible with Athenian cavalry.²¹ The new strategy was fundamentally a continuation of the previous idea of economic warfare, but altered to meet the realities of a rapidly expanding and increasingly complex economic infrastructure. Armies only ravaged enemy lands (the economic base) because siege warfare was in its infancy. Walls had been a feature of defence since Mycenaean times, and Sparta was an exception for not having them. Cities did not always challenge an enemy who was ravaging their lands, and sieges, often protracted, were certainly known.²² The "new strategy" of Pericles arose from the realization that, because of her naval superiority and imperial tribute, Athens had the means and ability to import supplies and, in theory, survive a siege indefinitely. As Archidamus discovered, the Athenian economic base no longer grew in the fields of the *chora*. Warfare would follow where economics led.

The new warfare was characterized by pan-Aegean diplomacy, sporadic though

²⁰ *IGI*³ 138 - the rate is 2 *drachmai* per year for *hippeis*, one for *hoplitai*, and 1/2 (3 *obols*) for archers, citizen and foreign. For this interpretation of the inscription, see Jameson, 'Apollo Lykeios'. The Lyceum is associated with ephebes, but not until the 2nd century and later: *B35.17* (185/4); *B36.13* (181/0); *IGII*² 1006.19-20 (123/2), though, given Lycurgus' interest in the place an earlier date would not be surprising: Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 227, n. 32.

²¹ For the theories that Pericles' strategy originally included coastal raids and cavalry defence, see H.D. Westlake, 'The Progress of epiteichismos', *Studies in Thucydides and Greek History* (Bristol, 1989), 37-46; Spence, 'Perikles', 91-109. Garlan, *Poliorkétique*, 44-50, suggests that the strategy is older.

²² e.g. Pydna and Potidea besieged by Athens, Thuc. 1.61, 64 (though the Potideans had first fought a battle outside their city). Plataea by Sparta and Thebes, Thuc. 2.71 ff.

repeated harassment, and far flung expeditions aimed at destabilizing an enemy's political and economic support.²³ I wish to focus on two specific results of the war - extended campaigns and the use of lighter armed soldiers - both of which can be seen in an event that was, according to Thucydides (4.3), an accident of nature: a squall happened to force Demosthenes' squadron, bound for Corcyra, into Pylos. Demosthenes quickly fortified the place, establishing a base of operations from which to harass the Lacedaemonians, and to stir up Messenian revolt. This was the first use of the technique of *epiteichismos* - the fortification of a forward area, often within enemy territory, in order thence to conduct raids with a permanent garrison. It was an effective stratagem. Athenian control of Pylos contributed substantially to negotiating the end of the Archidamian War, while the later Spartan *epiteichismos* at Decelea (advised by Alcibiades) greatly disadvantaged Athens in the final years of the war (Thuc. 7.27).²⁴ The *epiteichismos* is characteristic of the sort of operations, like sieges or expeditions to Amphipolis or Sicily, which required a virtually permanent fielding of soldiers. They would have two effects: armies kept in the field would find the opportunity to train;²⁵ cities would find mercenaries to be better suited to long term use than citizen armies.

The second result was the understanding that, under the right conditions, the best hoplite forces could be defeated by lightly armed soldiers. At Pylos this occurred when the light missile troops that Cleon had supplied Demosthenes forced the Spartan hoplites on Sphacteria to surrender (Thuc. 4.38). Though Athens maintained a corps

²³ The novelty of long expeditions, too, must not be over-emphasized, e.g. Herod. 5.99-101.

²⁴ On the *epiteichismos*, see Westlake, 'The Progress of *epiteichismos*', 37-46; Ober, *Fortress*, 36; Garlan, *Poliorkétique*, 33-38.

²⁵ P. Roussel ('Bulletin épigraphique', *REG* 34 (1921), 460) sees Athenian training in Nicias' encouragements to his soldiers that they are better than their enemies, a mass Syracusan levy (Thuc. 6.68): "[il] encourage ses soldats en leur montrent la supériorité des hommes instruits sur les soldats improvisés...." But Nicias does not claim that the Athenians are trained, but rather *apolektoi*, no doubt referring to the selection of hoplites for the expedition "picked from the best muster-rolls" (whatever that may mean, Thuc. 6.31.3). There is, however, an indication of some sophistication in drill demonstrated by the ability of a detachment of Nicias' men to form a square (though not under pressure), 6.67.1.

of archers, she had never armed light troops, *psiloi* (Thuc. 4.94). Now it was discovered that under the right conditions the best of Greek hoplites might succumb to this previously despised arm.²⁶ Between the lines of Thucydides' account we can see that the battle was no accident. Campaigning in Aetolia, Demosthenes had lost many allies and not fewer than 120 Athenians, "the best men of the city of Athens that fell during the war", to the skirmishing tactics of javelin throwing Aetolians (Thuc. 3.94-98). The lesson was not lost on him.²⁷ When preparing the relief expedition to sail for Sicily, Demosthenes arranges for the inclusion of Thracian peltasts, no doubt to use against unsupported Sicilian hoplites. What their effect might have been, we cannot know: they arrived too late to join the expedition, unleashing their barbarism on hapless Mycalessians during their return to Thrace (Thuc. 6.27, 29). This is the first instance in which Athens attempts to employ barbarian peltasts. Their value on campaign was understood, especially on rough terrain and against unsupported hoplites.²⁸ With increased use of lighter soldiers, the hoplite panoply had gradually lightened over the previous two centuries. During the first half of the fifth-century, the heavy Corinthian helmet was replaced by lighter varieties, notably the open faced Attic, Thracian, and Boeotian helmets, and perhaps the simple *pilos* or metal cap (*cf.* Thuc. 4.34.3, though "*pilos*" here could mean "felt armour"). Such accoutrements as greaves and breastplate were either lightened or abandoned.²⁹

²⁶ Cartledge, 'Hoplites', 24, theorizes that hoplite tactics had lasted for so long because, were *psiloi* to take a more prominent role in battle, so also would they demand more political power.

²⁷ Note also that during the engagement the Aetolians burned the area around the Athenians. Surely we must give Demosthenes credit for having intentionally burned the wood on Sphacteria to expose the Spartans (as well as for having suggested the use of light missile troops to Cleon). Demosthenes had earlier applied his lesson, using a combination of heavy and light troops for ambushes at Olpae (Thuc. 3.107-108, and again at 3.112): on this aspect of the career of Demosthenes, see J.G.P. Best, *Thracian Peltasts and their Influence on Greek Warfare* (Groningen, 1969), 17-21.

²⁸ Dawn of peltasts: Anderson, *Military Theory*, 114; H.W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers* (Oxford, 1933), 17. I do not agree, however, with Parke's interpretation of Alcibiades' words (Thuc. 6.17) that "Greece had found herself deceived in the sufficiency of [hoplites]". Alcibiades is discussing the number, not the effectiveness, of Hellenic hoplites.

²⁹ See Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, 94; Hanson, *Western Way*, 57-58: "Perhaps, by the end of the Peloponnesian War, soldiers might have seemed as ill-equipped to their hoplite ancestors of 250

The changes in Greek warfare following the Peloponnesian War have been described as a "revolution". The "Pandora's Box of true economic warfare" had been opened, and the result was an abandonment of the old *agonal* battles and the invention of total war.³⁰ Just as it is possible to overstate the *agonal* nature of early Greek battles, so also is there a danger of seeing here too abrupt a change. Citizen hoplite armies still decided the major conflicts. Spartan armies, notably under Agesilaus, would continue to ravage enemy lands (e.g. against Thebes: Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49; Diod. 15.32.6),³¹ and much later, Demosthenes could still complain about Philip's ability to conduct war all year round (9.47-50). Nevertheless, warfare was increasingly seen as a *techne*. Accordingly, there emerged at this time "experts", wandering around Greece and offering services, either as a general for hire, or as a teacher of the knowledge of war.³²

3. New Professionalism

The Peloponnesian War saw an increased use of mercenaries.³³ Unlike a citizen soldier, the mercenary was not constrained by those demands which made it difficult

years earlier as their lighter-clad adversaries from outside Greece...."

³⁰ Ober, *Fortress*, 1, 35; Garlan, *Poliorkétique*, 83; J. de Romilly, 'Guerre et paix entre cités', in J.P. Vernant (ed.), *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1968), 215-216.

³¹ On apparent Spartan unwillingness to keep up with the new ways of war: Anderson, *Military Theory*, 6; H.D. Westlake, 'Seaborne Raids in Periclean Strategy', *CQ* 39 (1945), 84; G.L. Cawkwell, 'Agesilaus and Sparta', *CQ*, N.S. 26 (1976), 83-84.

³² Coeratidas of Thebes is a general for hire: Xen. *An.* 7.133; Plato (*Laches* 183 b-c) describes the novelty of teachers giving instruction in *hoplomachia*, but makes it clear that these teachers have had no practical experience of what they teach. But "they are the first known professional instructors of military arts in the Western world, in one sense reflecting the trend toward professionalization of Greek military service, which began in the fifth century B.C. and intensified in the fourth": E. Wheeler, 'The Hoplomachoi and the legend of Spartan Drillmasters', *Chiron* 13 (1983), 5. We find Dionysodoros of Chios lecturing on "generalship" in Athens, about whose claims to wide martial knowledge Plato is sarcastic (*Euthyd.* 273c; cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.1.1). For war seen as *techne* as a result of the Peloponnesian War: D. Whitehead, *Aineias the Tactician* (Oxford, 1990), 34; more generally: M. Bettalli, 'Enea Tattico e l'insegnamento dell' arte militare', *AFLS* 7 (1986), 73-89; Anderson, *Military Theory*, 94; Parke, *Mercenaries*, 39.

³³ Thuc. 1.60; 3.109.2; 4.80.5; 6.43; 7.57.9-10, 58.3; L.P. Marinović, *Le Mercenariat Grec au IV siècle avant notre ère et la crise de la Polis* (Paris, 1988), 19-23.

for the hoplite to campaign abroad. "The Peloponnesian War was...the cause of a new demand for professional soldiers in Greek warfare. By its long duration, and by the distance and complexity of its campaigns, it rendered the old type of citizen soldier gradually more obsolete."³⁴ But events outside of Greece were soon to touch off a greater mercenary age. The power of the Great King was waning, and in their bids for increased power or autonomy or rule, his lieutenants enlisted the service of thousands of Greeks.³⁵ Asia became the proving ground for the professional Greek soldier. The most important and best known of these struggles is the revolution of Cyrus the Younger and the march of the Ten Thousand.³⁶ Two aspects of the journey of the Ten Thousand are particularly significant: this was the largest mercenary army Greece had ever produced; by chance, the army was thrown upon its own resources and became, in effect, the first roving mercenary army.³⁷

Until Alexander's conquests the East would provide a constant market for mercenaries. Her wars would also attract the services of the most capable generals in Greece, those of Athens not least.³⁸ Chabrias skilfully supported the Egyptian Pharaoh Acoris in his rebellion against Persia (Diod. 15.29). In his unsuccessful attempt to restore Egypt to the empire (374/3), the satrap Pharnabazus employed Iphicrates (Diod. 15.41-43) to lead some 20,000 mercenaries. Persian interference in the affairs of Greece also affected the number of mercenaries employed. The foremost example of this is the force of peltasts which Athens used in the Corinthian Wars. In 394, the Athenian general Conon led a Persian fleet to victory against the Spartans at Cnidus. With wealth provided by Pharnabazus he then rebuilt the walls of Athens,

³⁴ Parke, *Mercenaries*, 20.

³⁵ *ibid.*, 21; the Greek hoplite supplied heavy infantry entirely lacking in the East, and the superiority of the Greek warrior to the Persian was generally accepted: Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.17-20; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 7.14.3; 7.14.4; Peloponnesian mercenaries in the East during the Peloponnesian War, see Thuc. 3.34.2-3, 8.28.4.

³⁶ The Ten Thousand included Greeks from various areas, but was primarily comprised of Arcadians and Achaeans: Xen. *An.* 1.1.6; 6.2.10.

³⁷ Parke, *Mercenaries*, 23.

³⁸ Adcock, *Art of War*, 23.

constructed a new fleet, and recruited a body of peltast mercenaries (either from Thrace or the Greek cities of Asia).³⁹ The peltasts were transferred to the Corinthian isthmus, first under the command of Iphicrates and then briefly Chabrias. For the duration of the Corinthian War, apparently, they were supported by Persian money - a unique arrangement which allowed the Athenian generals to train and discipline a standing army.⁴⁰

After early reverses, Iphicrates' peltasts were soon the scourge of Arcadia, keeping Arcadian and Mantineian hoplites at bay, and later capturing Sidous, Crommyon, and Oinoe (*Xen. Hell.* 4.4.15-17; 4.5.19). Their finest moment was when the light troops, supported by Athenian hoplites under Callias, attacked and destroyed a *mora* of 600 Spartan hoplites on its way to Lechaem. The Spartans were aware of the peltast presence but had assumed that they would not dare attack (*Xen. Hell.* 4.5.7; 4.5.11-17). In 388, Iphicrates and some 1,200 peltasts whom he had brought with him were again to carry out a successful attack, this time an ambush, against Spartan hoplites (and others) serving near Abydos under Anaxibius (*Xen. Hell.* 4.8.31-39). With the Peace of Antalcidas, the supply of Persian money ended, and the remaining mercenaries in Corinth, now under Chabrias, either returned home or followed their new general to Cyprus. Iphicrates' successes were the direct result of his emphasis on training, and neither Athens nor Sparta would forget that a *mora* of Spartan hoplites had been defeated in open terrain by a force of peltasts.⁴¹ Chabrias' attention to training is most famous during an incident of the Boeotian war (378). Standing on a ridge beside Gorgidas' Theban hoplites, the Athenian forces (peltast and hoplite) demonstrate such discipline and expert drill that Agesilaus and his Peloponnesian army halt an advance against them (*Diod.* 15.32.2).⁴² Soon generals would apply lessons

³⁹ This theory of the origin of the Athenian peltasts in the Corinthian War was suggested by Parke (*Mercenaries*, 50-51), and modified, but largely reinforced by Best (*Peltasts*, 85-86); cf. Anderson, *Military Theory*, 121; Pritchett, *GSW* II, 118. *Contra* Parke's suggestion that they included Athenian citizens, see Best, 93-97.

⁴⁰ *Xen. Hell.* 4.8.7-10; Aristoph. *Plut.* 170-173; cf. Best, *Peltasts*, 94.

⁴¹ Iphicrates' discipline: Nepos, *Iphic.* (9) 2.1; 2.4; Frontin. *Str.* 3.12.2-3; training: Polyaeus, 3.9.32. A grievous moral blow to Sparta: *Plut. Ages.* 22.2.

they learned while leading mercenaries in Greece or Asia to their command over citizen armies. In his expedition to Corcyra in 373, Iphicrates trains the men of his 70 or so Athenian ships *en route* (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.27-30). With the increased availability and use of mercenaries during the fourth century, the citizen soldier was forced to compete with professional and often well trained men.⁴³

Spartan success also provided a model for training in other states. After the Olynthiac campaigns and before the Boeotian war, the Spartans remained "an object of terror to all" because of their practice in the use of arms (Diod. 15.23.4). But constant campaigns throughout Greece began to weaken their advantage. When Agesilaus twice invaded Boeotia and accomplished nothing but some looting and agricultural devastation, Antalcidas is said in Plutarch to have mocked him for "carrying on a war so as to give lessons to his enemy in military practice" and for violating one of the three *rhetras* of Lycurgus, who forbade the Spartans from repeated expeditions against the same foes "in order that they might not learn how to make war" (Plut. *Vit. Ages.* 26.2-3). The most constant adversaries of the Spartans were perhaps the first to learn their secret: the Argives maintained and trained a body of 1,000 select hoplites, attested between 421 to 418.⁴⁴

Agesilaus' "lessons" were not lost on Epaminondas of Thebes. In 379, he created the Sacred Band, a body of 300 picked warriors, who would receive constant training and serve as elite in phalanx battles.⁴⁵ This force was the primary reason for the

⁴² J.K. Anderson, 'The Statue of Chabrias', *AJA* 67, No. 4 (1963), 411 ff.; cf. Best, *Peltasts*, 108-110; Munn, *Defense*, 155-161.

⁴³ By the end of the first third of the century, even the smallest and poorest states can be found using mercenaries, e.g. Cleitor in Arcadia, Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.36; Xenophon's Polydamas of Pharsalus contrasts mercenary armies with citizens, quoting Jason of Pherae: "...in every city very few men train their bodies, but among my mercenaries no one serves unless he is able to endure as severe toils as I myself" - *Hell.* 6.1.5.

⁴⁴ Diod. 12.75.7; 12.79.1,4; 12.80.2-3; Thuc. 5.67.2 (these passages presumably but do not necessarily refer to the same body of troops). The political danger inherent in such standing forces, however, was manifest when these men overthrew the government.

⁴⁵ Plut. *Vit. Pel.* 18; *Mor.* 639 ff.; cf. Diod. 15.81.2; on the doubtfulness of an earlier "Boeotian Three Hundred" (Diod. 12.70.1), see Gomme, *HCT* III, 568; Pritchett, *GSW* II, 221-222.

astounding Theban success against Sparta at Leuctra, after which, "all the Boeotians were now training themselves in the craft of arms, glorying in their victory at Leuctra" (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.23). Subsequent to Leuctra, other *poleis* followed the Theban example of training a picked guard. We hear of the 300 at Elis and the Arcadian League's *Eparitoi*.⁴⁶ Philip would later adopt rigorous programmes of training for his Macedonians.⁴⁷

In the fourth century all Greece learned the value of military training, Sparta's secret that "without good order, the hoplite arm is worthless" (Arist. *Pol.* 4.10.10 [1297b]). Discipline is required to maintain good order. As a young Xenophon told his compatriots, trapped in the heart of Persia, "discipline is salvation, while disorder has by now destroyed many" (*An.* 3.1.38). With the ephebeia, even Athens instituted a system of training designed, above all, to instruct citizen cadets in discipline. At this time, Aristotle wrote (*Pol.* 8.3.4, 7 [1338b]):

Even the Spartans themselves, as we know from experience, were superior to others only so long as they were the only people which assiduously practised the rigours of discipline; and nowadays they are beaten both in athletic contests and in actual war. Their previous superiority was not due to the particular training which they gave to their youth; it was simply and solely due to their having some sort of discipline when their antagonists had none at all....(7) The Spartan training has now to face rivals. Formerly it had none.

4. Athenian defensive policy

The lessons of the Peloponnesian war also affected city-state strategy. An efflorescence of fourth century passages concerning the defence of the Attic countryside and her borders has led some scholars to believe that the era witnessed a new Athenian approach to defence. They see the fortifications around Attica as part of (and the result of) this new strategy.

After the Peloponnesian War, Athens could no longer afford to hide behind her walls. Without the tribute of her empire, the fields of Attica and (once restored) the

⁴⁶ Elis: Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.13, 16, 31; Arcadian *eparitoi*: Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.22, 33-34; 7.5.3; Diod. 15.62.2; 15.67.2.

⁴⁷ Polyaeus 4.2.10.

silver mines became of much greater relative importance, while memory lingered of the Decelean *epiteichismos*. In the *Poroi*, Xenophon stresses the importance of the countryside to Athens, especially the mines.⁴⁸ Shortly after the war, Lysias (34.9) says that "when we had command over the Greeks...we deemed it a wise course to suffer our land to be ravaged without feeling obliged to fight in its defence. For our interest lay in neglecting a few things in order to conserve many advantages. But today, when the fortune of battle has deprived us of all these, and our native land is all that is left to us, we know that only this venture [resistance to the Spartans] holds out hopes of salvation...."⁴⁹

In recent years, much attention has been focused on the "network" of forts and defensive works which cross the Athenian countryside, especially along her borders. Because, as we have seen, ephebes used to spend their second year garrisoning and patrolling the Attic frontier, the question of Athenian defensive policy is germane to the development of the Athenian ephebeia. The major fortresses from Eleusis along the frontier clockwise are Eleusis, Eleutherae, Oenoe, Panactum, Phyle, Rhamnous, and Sounion (see Map, Figure H). There is also a wall, known now as the Dema Wall, built across the Aigaleus-Parnes gap, between the plain of Eleusis and the plain of Athens.⁵⁰ Traditionally, these fortresses have been considered to form a

⁴⁸ cf. the words of Alcibiades, Thuc. 6.91.7.

⁴⁹ See Garlan, *Poliorcétique*, 66; Ober, *Fortress*, 52. Importance of *chora* after loss of empire: Garlan, 83; Ober, 15-16. Writers who interpret the Lysias passage as a new defence strategy do not point out that at the time Athens had no walls; it is therefore not relevant after the walls have been rebuilt ten years later. Ober also lists a number of sources which, he claims, demonstrate an Athenian reaction against the Periclean strategy, which they consider to have failed them (53-55). Some are early (Andocides 3.8 & fr. 3.1), but many date from the middle of the century and, although they do demonstrate an antipathy towards relying on walls instead of the quality of soldiers, are too late to be considered direct complaints against Periclean strategy. They are: Aeschin. 2.175; Isoc. 8.77, .84, .92; 7.13; Plato, *Grg.* 519a; *Leg.* 6.778d, .778e-.779a; Xen. *Oec.* 5.4-5, 6.6-7, 10. Garlan, 67-68, draws special attention to Isocrates, who often extols the virtue of facing the enemy in the field - 4.58, .87; 7.52; 8.75-77, .84 - but sees Isocrates as a reactionary, calling for a return to days of heroic warfare rather than suggesting a new strategy of defence.

⁵⁰ Bibliography on Attic forts is extensive; the primary works are: W. Wrede, *Attische Mauern* (Athens, 1933); Pouilloux, *Rhamnonte*; J.R. McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*,

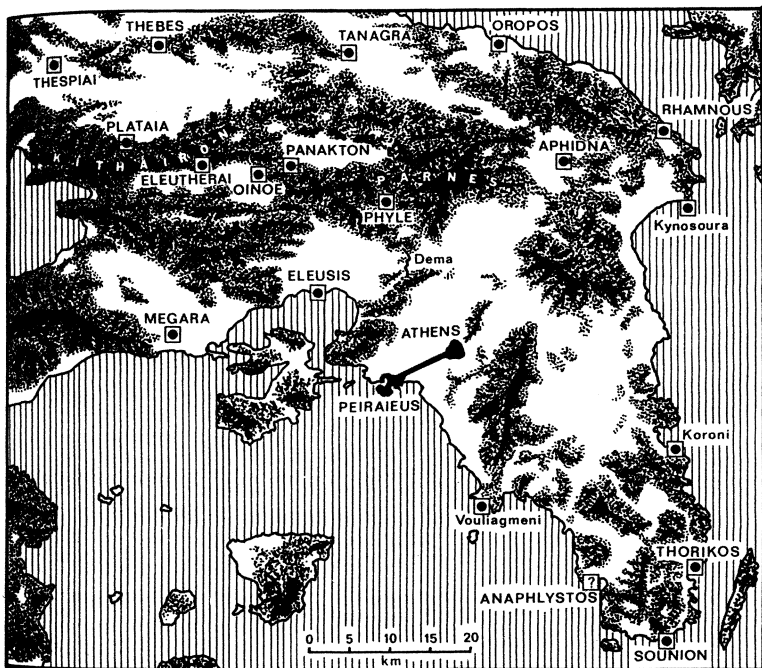


Fig. H.

Attica: classical and Hellenistic forts and garrisons

Copied from Munn, *Defense of Attica*, 6.

comprehensive system of defence along the Attic border. It was, we are told, as a reaction against the "Periclean strategy" that Athens, now intent upon defending her *chora*, constructed this network. "The economic and military realities of the postwar era," writes Ober, "in conjunction with an emotional reaction against the failed policy of city-based defense led to the growth of a defensive mentality among the Athenians who became determined to protect the *chôra* of Attica against future incursions."⁵¹ Ober's theory has four major weaknesses. (1) Many major Attic forts existed in the fifth century, so the "system" was not constructed as part of one design. (2) We have no reason to suppose that these fortresses were able to stop or even delay an invading army. (3) That Athens chose to rebuild her Long Walls and fleet at the end of the 390's must indicate some vestiges of the "Periclean" strategy. (4) Our fourth century sources never imply that Athenians thought of their border as a fortified defence.

Not only did Athens possess fortresses during the fifth century, but she kept them garrisoned throughout the war.⁵² At the outset of hostilities Archidamus laid siege to Oenoe, but he eventually abandoned the operation and invaded Attica (Thuc. 2.18). Athens lost Panactum to the Boeotians (Thuc. 5.3.5) and during the negotiations surrounding the Peace of Nicias was intent to recover the fortress, which she considered to be strategic enough to exchange for her base in Pylos (Thuc. 5.35.5, .36.2, .40.1-2), only to discover that it had been destroyed by the Thebans (5.42.1-2).

Hesperia Supplement XI (Princeton, 1966); F.E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications*, *Phoenix* Supplement IX (Toronto, 1971); A. McNicoll, *Proceedings of the X International Congress of Classical Archaeology: 1973* (Ankara, 1978); A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford, 1979); Garlan, *Poliorkétique*; J.-P. Adam, *L'architecture militaire grecque* (Paris, 1982); Ober, *Fortress*; Munn, *Defense*.

⁵¹ Ober, *Fortress*, 208, cf. 3. Ober's theory of an Attic "Maginot Line" is the most vocal presentation of a defence network argument. Garlan, *Poliorkétique*, 82, sees the forts as a sort of compromise between the traditional, land oriented defence, and the Periclean strategy.

⁵² *contra* Ober: Munn, *Defense*, 18-25; Harding, 'Defensive Strategy', 62-63. Ober himself is well aware of the forts in the fifth century (192-195), but points out they are not used by Pericles to hold the Spartans at the borders and are not part of the systematic defence which he posits in the fourth century. For further sources for Attic forts in the fifth century, see Garlan, *Poliorkétique*, 78-79, notably Lysias 12.40, in which the Thirty Tyrants of 404 intend to destroy the forts around Attica.

Athens rebuilt the fort.

It has been suggested that a "coherent system of fortifications existed in the fifth century."⁵³ McCredie outlines what has been the traditional view on fortresses:

These strongholds were placed at strategic points, on the borders of Attica, on major routes, and at key coastal points, not so much in the hope that they could themselves prevent the entry of an invading army or fleet, but more because they could force such an army to weaken itself. An invader could not afford to leave these strongholds unreduced; for, if they were left, their garrisons could at any moment emerge to disrupt the enemy's communications and, if faced with a superior force, retreat again into the strongholds.⁵⁴

We have no account, however, of any of these forts successfully delaying or weakening an invading force. Archidamus may have stopped to besiege Oenoe, but his primary reason for delay, we are told, is that he still expected the Athenians to come to terms once a Spartan army was on their border (Thuc. 2.18). When no heralds arrived from Athens he continued, with no concern about the fortified area to his rear. No additional fortifications were in place in the fourth century. Indeed, in 378 the Spartan general Sphodrias attempted a night-time raid into the heart of Attica (aimed at taking the Peiraeus) and succeeded at getting well into the plain of Eleusis. He had been able to penetrate the border without being noticed, and those who ran to warn Athens of his approach had "happened upon him" (ἐντυχόντων, Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.21). This was the last invasion of Attica until after Chaeronea. The "fortified frontier", if we are to believe that it existed, was never tested, so we have no account of it in operation. I would add that invading armies rarely seem to use lines of supply; they consume the grain which they brought or that of their enemy.⁵⁵ The idea that they maintained lines of supply or were in constant communication is anachronistic.

As we shall see, in the period following the Boeotian War writers became interested

⁵³ Ober, *Fortress*, 193; see Gomme, *HCT* I, 13-14; Winter, *Fortifications*, 305-306; R.E. Wycherly, *Stones of Athens* (Princeton, 1978), 16.

⁵⁴ McCredie, *Military Camps*, 88; cf. U. Kahrstedt, 'Die Landgrenzen Athens', *MDAI(A)* 57 (1932), 19.

⁵⁵ Spartans end their invasions of Attica when their supplies are exhausted: Thuc. 2.23.2; 3.1.3; 3.26.4; the Boeotians likewise withdraw from the Peloponnese: Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.50.

in matters of national defence. Their concerns were no doubt prompted first by the example of Sphodrias (which, according to a convincing theory by Munn, inspired Athens to build the Dema Wall at that time),⁵⁶ and then by the growing power of Thebes. None of these authors write as though they expect their frontiers to hold off the enemy.⁵⁷ Perhaps the most important passage is from Xenophon's *Cavalry Commander* (7.2-4), in which the author's assumptions about Attic defence are clear:

Or if the enemy invades Athenian territory, in the first place, he will certainly not fail to bring with him other cavalry besides his own infantry in addition, whose numbers he reckons to be more than a match for all the Athenians put together. Now provided that the whole of the city's levies turn out against such a host in defence of their country, the prospects are good. For our cavalrymen...will be the better, if proper care is taken of them, and our heavy infantry will not be inferior in numbers, and I may add, they will be in good condition and will show the keener spirit, if only...they are trained along the right lines (ὀρθῶς ἀσκηθῶσι). And remember, the Athenians are quite as proud of their ancestry as the Boeotians. But if the city falls back on her navy, and is content to keep her walls intact, as in the days when the Lacedaemonians invaded us with all the Greeks to help them, and if she expects her cavalry to protect all that lies outside the walls, and to take its chance unaided against all her foes, why I suppose...it is essential that our cavalry commander be masterly.

In case of invasion, then, Xenophon does not think of the borders as a line of defence. The approximate date of the work is c.360.⁵⁸ We should note that Xenophon perceives the threat to be Thebes, that his aim is to persuade the Athenians to train both the infantry and the cavalry (he also writes this in the *Memorabilia*), and that in order to argue that the cavalry commander must be well trained and well versed, he imagines a Periclean-like city defence.

If the fortresses were not built as a single system of defence, and were not expected

⁵⁶ Munn, *Defense*, 103.

⁵⁷ Silence of sources: Munn, *Defense*, 19, 24-25.

⁵⁸ É. Delebecque, *Essai sur la vie de Xenophon* (Paris, 1957), 425-31; E.C. Marchant, Loeb edn., xxviii, dates it to 365.

to hold an enemy, what then was their function? McCredie has pointed out that they are either near or co-existent with deme centers.⁵⁹ During an invasion, those living near Athens would retreat to within her walls. The forts in the outlying regions served as a place of refuge for the local populace. In the Thucydides passage describing Archidamus' arrival, the general is blamed for wasting too much time at Oenoe. "During this interval the Athenians were carrying in their property (ἔσεκομίζοντο); and it was the belief of the Peloponnesians that a quick advance would have found everything still out" (Thuc. 2.18). Thucydides means primarily that property and supplies were being brought into Athens, but the same would have been going on at all the fortresses, just as is prescribed in the decree of Callisthenes, which Demosthenes describes (*On the Crown* 37-38): "All property in the country shall be immediately removed, if within a radius of 120 stades, to the city and Peiraeus; if outside of this radius, to Eleusis and Phyle and Aphidna and Rhamnous and Sounion."⁶⁰ This is not to say that fortifications had no strategic value. In the fourth century palisades were increasingly used, constructed to take advantage of terrain. In addition to the Dema Wall, which Munn dates to around 377, the Athenians, under Chabrias, and the Thebans constructed a wooden palisade, behind which to hold off Agesilaus in 378 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.38-39). Twice, however, the wily general crossed it without difficulty. In 369, the alliance of Spartans, Corinthians and Athenians, again under Chabrias, used palisades against Epaminondas (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.15-17; Diod. 15.68). In 348 Phocion, once a lieutenant of Chabrias, uses a similar procedure at Tamynae (Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 12-13; Aeschin. 2.169, 3.86-88).⁶¹

⁵⁹ McCredie, *Military Camps*, 91-92.

⁶⁰ Munn, *Defense*, 25-26, who adds: "Although the urban center, ultimately, was the proper refuge for the population of Attica, garrison forts were essential for the protection of both property and populace in outlying areas."

⁶¹ Munn, *Defense*, 53-55; he attributes the technique of defending palisades to lessons learned by Chabrias in Egypt and suggests that the new professionalism and discipline of the armies and the use of peltasts made palisades defence feasible (56-57). He does not, however, mention the wall, or palisade, behind which the Peloponnesians planned to defend their isthmus from Persian invasion, Herod. 8.40.

5. Thebes, Athens, and the Cold War

Ober and his predecessors are correct in noting growing Athenian concern about techniques of defence. A decade and a half after Aegospotami, Athens had rebuilt her walls, but during the Corinthian War enjoyed her ability to conduct operations against Sparta on Peloponnesian soil. During the Boeotian War, the raid of Sphodrias had caused alarm, and if Munn is correct in his dating the Dema Wall to this time, led her generals to reassess the issue of defence. But the literature which is cited to demonstrate Athenian concern with defence all dates to a short while later. I submit that it was neither the loss of the Peloponnesian War nor the raid of Sphodrias which engendered an Athenian fear of invasion and focussed attention on her borders. It was the ascent of Thebes.

During the years following the Boeotian War, an anxious Athens watched as the Thebes which she had liberated slowly expanded her power over Boeotia. In 374/3 alarms sounded as Theban soldiers destroyed the long-standing Athenian ally and buffer city of Plataea and savaged the adjacent city of Thespieae.⁶² Tanagra, too, was brought under the Theban yoke. Quickly Isocrates wrote his manifesto against Theban aggression, in which he reminds his readers of Theban violence, antipathy towards Athens, Medizing, and its ambition to reclaim the frontier region of Oropus.⁶³ It is difficult for us to assess any coherent Athenian diplomatic stance toward Thebes immediately prior to the battle of Leuctra, if in fact there was one. Diodorus Siculus tells us that, outnumbered by the impending Spartan invasion, the Thebans voted to send their women and children to the safety of Athens.⁶⁴ Biased against Thebes and towards Sparta, Xenophon tells us that earlier that year the Athenians "were of the opinion that now there was hope that the Thebans would be decimated."⁶⁵

We may better trust Xenophon's account of the Athenian response after Leuctra. At

⁶² Diod. 15.46.4-6; Paus. 9.1.8.

⁶³ Isoc. 14 *passim*, especially §20.

⁶⁴ Diod. 15.52.1.

⁶⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.20; the context is the refusal of Thebes to sign the reaffirmation of the King's Peace, except as "Boeotia".

that town in 371, an outnumbered Theban army under Epaminondas demolished the Spartans, killing Cleombrotus the king, 400 Spartiates (out of the 700 present) and a further 600 Lacedaemonians. Thebes was now the most powerful *polis* in Greece, she shared a fifty kilometer border with Attica, and she did not enjoy Sparta's reputation for conservatism and caution. In Athens the *boule* listened with consternation to the garlanded Theban messenger, then sent him away unwelcomed and unanswered (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.20).

Within a year the Thebans invaded the Peloponnese at the invitation of Elis, Argos, and Arcadia. Among the allied hosts listed by Xenophon are "Euboeans from all its cities". Another neighbouring ally of Athens had been lost to Thebes.⁶⁶ Whatever her stance before this, Athens now realized that safety lay in the preservation of a balance of power. "Men of Athens", says Xenophon's Phliasian, Procles, "if Lacedaemon were out of the way, the Thebans would march first against you. I think this is clear to everybody." (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.38). As they debated, Laconia itself was being overrun by the Boeotians and their Peloponnesian allies. Athens mustered her entire force (*pandemei*), and under the command of Iphicrates marched to Corinth, but arrived too late to be of substantial aid.⁶⁷ Eighty-five days later Epaminondas returned to Boeotia, leaving Laconia ravaged, Messene returned to independence, and Megalopolis founded as the capital of an independent Arcadia.⁶⁸

The following year Athens and Sparta formed an alliance along lines similar to that proposed by Callistratus several years earlier (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.12-14); overall command of forces would alternate between the two states every five days. Again Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnese, and again Athens dispatched an army against him, this time under Chabrias, whose valiant efforts around Corinth apparently deterred the Boeotians from continuing their campaign.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.23; cf. Xen. *Ages.* 2.24; see P. Cloché, *La Politique étrangère d'Athènes* (Paris, 1934), 95.

⁶⁷ Diodorus Siculus records an Athenian force of 12,000 (15.63.2).

⁶⁸ Campaign of 370/69: Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.22-33; Diod. 15.62-67; Plut. *Vit. Ages.* 31-32; Plut. *Vit. Pel.* 24; et al.

Despite Athenian assistance, Sparta had been humbled by Thebes. Although her swan song at Mantinea was still eight years away, she had lost her Peloponnesian hegemony and would never again pose a threat to Athens. The aggressive Athenian responses in 370 and 369, while perhaps not militarily significant, marked the beginning of a cold war with Thebes that would keep Athens on the defensive until overcome by Macedonia. In 366 Oropus was seized by Eretria. Outraged, Athens diverted their general Chares and the entire army, only to discover that Thebes had already supported and then occupied the place. Left to face Boeotia without allied support, Athens demurred.⁷⁰ The warnings of Isocrates had been fulfilled. Another King's Peace was declared and conflict on the mainland arrested (Diod. 15.76.3). Thebes possessed the entire region along the northern Attic frontier, from Plataea to Tanagra to Oropus. Even with the Peace, Epaminondas continued his efforts to squeeze Athens. In 364/3, Thebes constructed a fleet with which she won over Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium, the latter vital to Athens' ability to import corn.⁷¹ While these gains were short lived, they can have left no doubt in Athens upon Thebes' ultimate intentions. It was the threat of Theban aggression, coupled perhaps with lessons of the Boeotian War,⁷² which prompted sudden Athenian interest in defence.

After 370, Thebes was the "adversary along the borders" - ἄμοροι ἀντίπαλοι - against which Xenophon and his peers warned Athens to be ready (Xen. *Hipparch.* 7.1). Rumours circulated of impending Theban invasion of Attica,⁷³ while with an Athenian embassy present, Epaminondas is said to have railed at the Theban assembly,

⁶⁹ Diod. 15.68-69; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.15-22. (Presumably the *psiloi* on high ground who repel the Sacred Band in Xenophon's account are peltasts, the corps of Chabrias in Diodorus Siculus).

⁷⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1; Diod. 15.76.1; Aeschin. 3.8; Dem. 18.99.

⁷¹ See Cary, *CAH* VI, 105; cf. Isoc. 5.53; Plut. *Vit. Phil.* 14.1.2.

⁷² Munn, *Defence*, 194-195, lays heavy stress on the lessons of the Boeotian war which he says, "was the crucible out of which were forged the fourth-century Athenian standards for service in the defense of Attica. Its effects can be traced in the writings of Xenophon and Plato, in the rhetoric of Demosthenes and Lykourgos, in the career of Phokion, and in the institutions of this later generation of Athenians."

⁷³ Polyaeus 3.9.20.

telling them that they should remove the *propylea* of the Acropolis and set it up at the entrance of the Cadmeia.⁷⁴ The threat of Boeotian invasion would continue until overshadowed by the similar danger of Macedonian invasion, realized in 338.⁷⁵

6. New approaches to defence in the 350's

It is during this time that Xenophon wrote his *Cavalry Commander* so that the Athenian cavalry might be ready to defend the *chora*. Similarly, his Socrates suggests to the younger Pericles that young men be stationed in the borderlands as a defence against the enemy - Theban incursions (3.5.25-27).⁷⁶ Concerns of defence run throughout the 3rd book of the *Memorabilia*. In 3.6.10-11, Socrates grills political aspirant Glaucon about his knowledge of *chora* defence. The subjects in which he expects Glaucon to be fluent are the state's revenues and expenditures, issues of war and peace, the defence of the countryside, the production of the silver mines, and the food supply. In the *Ath. Pol.* (43.4, dated c.330), the fixed topics to be discussed at curial assembly meetings are: the confirmation of the magistrates; the grain supply; the defence of the *chora*; and matters to do with private estates. Aristotle (*Rhetoric I*, 1359b-1360a) also wrote that the five most important subjects in which a *ymbouleutic* orator should be conversant are: revenues and expenses, (external) war and peace, the defence of the countryside, imports and exports (of grain), and legislation.⁷⁷ In such works as *Memorabilia* 3, Xenophon is formulating or at least responding to and circulating new ideas of peacetime readiness, which by the 330's had become standard in Athenian political agenda and rhetoric. Complementing the idea for using light-armed soldiers in the mountains, Xenophon elsewhere emphasizes the use of frontier

⁷⁴ Aischin. 2.105.

⁷⁵ After Chaeronea Demosthenes reminds Athens of the anti-Theban attitude which had continued even while Philip was forcing Thermopylae: *De Cor.* 35-36. More anti-Theban sentiment or fear in Athens: Dem. 16.11; 19.325-6; Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 9.4, 24.2-3.

⁷⁶ cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4; Ober, *Fortress*, 77, dates Book 3 to the period between Leuctra and Mantinea (371-362). Munn, *Defense*, 107, n. 25, follows the dating of Delebecque, *Xenophon*, 477-95, who puts the work at around 355/4.

⁷⁷ The work is dated to c.330 by J.H. Freese, Loeb edn., xxii-xxiii.

forts to defend the countryside.⁷⁸

Simultaneous with Xenophon's defensive suggestions, Aeneas Tacticus, a non-Athenian, was publishing military writings that amount to the first "field manuals".⁷⁹ The only one which survives is his work on *Siege Defence*. Much of the Tactician's advice is reminiscent of Xenophon. He alludes to preparation of the *chora* for defence and his (lost) work on the subject (8.1-8.5), and he suggests the use of troops in border passes to ward off an invader (16.16). (It is interesting, also, to note his suggestion that it might be better to let an invader pillage one's countryside and grow overconfident and undisciplined before choosing the moment to counterattack [16.8-10]). The work is clearly not intended for application to any single *polis*, but it is possible that the author knew Xenophon and that the two drew ideas from each other.⁸⁰

In addition to writing about defence of the countryside, we have seen that Xenophon lamented the lack of training at Athens and suggested that she adopt some sort of programme.⁸¹ Plato was likewise concerned about such things. In the *Laws*, especially, his suggestions of training and rural guard forces echo those of Xenophon.⁸² He laments and explains the lack of training in the citizen *polis* (831), and prescribes a comprehensive routine of monthly training for the state.⁸³ Munn points out the influence that Chabrias, with his experience of training, may have had on

⁷⁸ Xen. *Oec.* 4.4-17; *Cyr.* 3.2.4; 6.1.15-16.

⁷⁹ Dates for Aeneas Tacticus: Whitehead, *Aineias*, 8-9.

⁸⁰ The identification of this Aeneas with Aeneas of Stymphalus, an Arcadian general mentioned by Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.3.1) was first made by Isaac Casaubon in 1609; cf. Whitehead, *Aineias*, 10; Ober, *Fortress*, 7. Influence/similarity between him and Xenophon: Whitehead, 36; Garlan, *Poliorkétique*, 77; Anderson, *Military Theory*, 139.

⁸¹ Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.15, 19, 21; 3.12.5 (see p. 30 above; pp. 105-106 below); *Hipparch.* 7.3; cf. also *Mem.* 3.1.11; *Cyr.* 2.3.17-20 (on this aspect of the *Cyropaedia*, see Anderson, *Military Theory*, 96; Pritchett, *GSW* II, 221.

⁸² Garlan, *Poliorkétique*, 72-73.

⁸³ As already mentioned (p. 53, n. 8), most of Cawkwell's evidence for Greek training is the *Laws* (828e-834a); cf. pp. 106, 118 below. Ridley attempts to explain away Xenophon and Plato by interpreting them as referring specifically to the *sorts* of training put forward by the authors, but is unconvincing ('Hoplite as Citizen', 535-7).

plato, his teacher.⁸⁴ Later, Aristotle, when describing his ideal state, would stipulate that the frontier be mountainous and difficult to invade, with a certain number of strongholds and a roving patrol of guards and *agronomoi* (*Pol.* 7.5.2 (1326b-1327a), 10.4 (1330b), 11.4 (1331b)).⁸⁵

There is some indication that during the two decades after Leuctra Athens did begin to establish new military procedures. A new call-up procedure was adopted under which citizen hoplites were mustered by age group instead of the lists posted by the generals (*Arist. Ath. Pol.* 53). This was probably to make call-up procedures more fair, but would also have allowed for a more rapid response during emergencies and streamlined the city's ability to send out expeditions.⁸⁶ At about the same period, the ten generals were elected not one from each tribe but at large, and were allotted specific duties by vote.⁸⁷ The inscriptions Tod 153 (20-24) and Tod 156 (7-15) mention *strategoí* without any specific duties attached. They date to 357/6. One of the new duties was to guard the countryside and to command Athenian armies fighting within the *chora* (*Arist. Ath. Pol.* 61.1), and the position first appears on an inscription of 352/1.⁸⁸ Munn supposes that the General of the Countryside must have spoken during the "defence of the *chora*" part of the assembly schedule (*Ath. Pol.* 43.4) and suggests that this was the position that Phocion held, thereby accounting for that general's anomalous (for the fourth century) participation in both the military and political sides of *polis* life.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Munn, *Defense*, 181 and n. 91; cf. p. 126 below.

⁸⁵ cf. Garland, *Poliorkétique*, 75; Ober, *Fortress*, 77-78.

⁸⁶ The new system is in place by 352 (Dem. 3.4; Diod. 18.10.2; cf. Aeschin. 2.168-9), but its use overlapped with the earlier call-up method by about two decades: *eponymoi* - 352/1 (Dem. 3.4); 354/3 (Aeschin. 2.133); 362 (Mantineia) Aeschin. 2.168; *katalogoi* - 362/1 (Dem. 50.6 & 16); 354/3 (Dem. 13.4); 348 (Dem. 39.8), see Hansen, *Demography*, 83-89; A. Andrewes, 'The Hoplite *Katalogos*', 1-3, dates the change to "some time in the second quarter of the fourth century."

⁸⁷ I am here assuming that the two changes - moving from one general from each tribe, and the assignment of specific duties to those generals - were part of a single reform. There is, in fact, no reason to suppose this except that both share an approximate *terminus post quem* of 357/6 and had been incorporated by the time of Aristotle's *Ath. Pol.*; cf. Rhodes, *Commentary*, 677-678.

⁸⁸ IGII² 204.19-21; cf. Phil. 328 F 155 (350/49). Munn, *Defense*, 190-191, suggests that the position was created after the loss of Oropus in 366.

7. *Peripoloi*

Due to the Theban threat, Athens was forced to maintain garrisons along her borders and patrols in her countryside. In the *Poroi* (4.52), Xenophon suggests that the garrisons of the forts in the countryside be given their provisions or *trophe*. This, he says, will make them better disciplined.⁹⁰ During the Boeotian War of 378-374, Athens had maintained a guard along her frontiers under Chabrias (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.14). When the war ended Athens discontinued this frontier guard - indeed, the expense of maintaining it was "wearing her down", and this was one of the reasons for the conclusion of peace with Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.1). I suggest that after the destruction of Plataea or the battle of Leuctra, Athens instituted some sort of frontier garrison to be maintained on a (semi-?)continuous basis, and that she probably did this with mercenaries and citizens. The earliest Attic inscription recording guards of the countryside is *IGII² 204*, dating to c.352/1.

Patrol of the countryside and frontier was not new to Attica. During the Peloponnesian War Athens refused to meet Spartan invasions, but until the occupation of Decelea controlled most of her land all of the time and all of it some of the time (cf. Thuc. 7.27). Athenian soldiers patrolled the land which she did control and guarded the frontiers against raids by brigands or neighbouring enemy. Thus Aristophanes' Lamachus (clad in hoplite armour) guards the deme of Phyle from mischievous Boeotian cattle thieves (*Acharnians* 1023-25, 1073-77). In texts dated after 360 we begin to find references to what appears to be a full time guard of the frontier, stationed or at least headquartered at the fortresses. Xenophon's Socrates asks Glaucon if he is familiar with the garrisons (φρούροι - *Mem.* 3.6.10). In the *Poroi*, he not only suggests the provision of *trophe* for the guards, but also describes their use (4.47): "And if [the invader's] numbers are small, they are likely to be destroyed by our

⁸⁹ Munn, *Defense*, 190 ff.

⁹⁰ Earlier (pp. 41-42), I addressed Gauthier's suggestion (*Poroi*, 193) that this was proof of an *ephebeia* (c.355/4). It is only proof that forts existed (Ober, *Fortress*, 99), that they were probably manned in peacetime, that they were probably not manned entirely by mercenaries, and that whoever did occupy them did not yet receive rations from the government, as *ephebes* later did.

cavalry and our patrols [*peripoloi*]."

Soldiers stationed in the countryside could be used not only to ward off small enemy units, but, like Lamachus, to keep brigands and pirates at bay. This was no doubt one of the primary uses of the forts throughout the *chora*. The number of displaced and desperate souls had increased substantially as a result of the Peloponnesian War, the Corinthian War, the Boeotian War, and the Laconian-Theban War. The danger of vagrant mercenaries or collected bands of plunderers only added to Athenian cause for concern.⁹¹

In the same decree which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the *strategos* of the countryside there is also reference to "the peripolarchs" (*IGII*² 204.20-21). What was a peripolarch? The name implies that he commanded the *peripoloi*. Some have been concerned that this is apparently a military position but is not mentioned by Aristotle in the *Ath. Pol.*⁹² The inscription makes it clear that they are plural and next mentions demarchs. The logical assumption must be that the peripolarch is the officer in charge of the patrolmen (and guards?) at any given fort, and presumably falls under the command authority of the *strategos* of the countryside. The five later fourth century inscriptions which mention peripolarchs are all associated with garrison forts and support this assumption.⁹³

8. Ephebic martial arts

In my first chapter I described the various categories of military training which the ephebes underwent during their first year. I have postponed more specific discussion of those categories until now, in order to present it within the context of evolving Greek military science. If Athenian youth of the 330's were trained in a given technique, that

⁹¹ References to highwaymen and other such activity: Arist. *Pol.* 1256a, 1267a; Aischin. 2.191; Isoc. 5.120-122; Lysias 31.17-19; 13.78; cf. Ober, *Fortress*, 49; Harding, 'Defensive Strategy', 70.

⁹² e.g. Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 327.

⁹³ *IGII*² 1193; 1260; 2968; 2973; cf. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 38. The fifth mention occurs in a decree of 342/1 in which a *peripolarch* Charias is honoured for his service at Rhamnous: not yet published, but reported by B. Petrakos, *TO EPTON* 40 (1993) [1994], 7. This last is the earliest epigraphic record of garrison activity at Rhamnous.

technique must have been considered important. In what follows, I discuss the five skills in which ephebes are trained by their *didaskaloi*: gymnastics, *hoplomachia*, archery, javelinery, and artillery.

Gymnastics

During the Lycurgan era, the *demos* appointed two *paidotribai* to train ephebes in athletics (one each at Acte and Munychia).⁹⁴ Though they must have played an important role in the ephebic system, these instructors are not mentioned in the inscriptions of the fourth century.⁹⁵

Gymnastic instruction had long been considered a proper, indeed mandatory, part of Athenian education. Socrates' anthropomorphic Laws ask Crito, "Did those of us [*nomoi*] who are assigned to these matters not give good directions when we told your father to educate you in music and gymnastics?" (Plato *Crito* 50d). The link between athletics and military training is an old one. A Spartan Olympic wrestling champion prized highly his earned right to fight at the side of the king (Plut. *Vit. Lyc.*22). The hoplite race in armour presents a clear association between athletics and warfare.⁹⁶ With the increased professionalism of the fourth century, however, it became understood that military training, and not gymnastics, best prepared the soldier. Epaminondas warned against preference for the gymnasium over the camp.⁹⁷

Ephebic gymnastic training may have been intended to further the strength and hardiness of the young men. It may also have been instituted as a measure to renew civic participation in athletics, which might have declined from the mid-fifth century until the creation of the ephebeia.⁹⁸ The instruction would certainly have helped to

⁹⁴ Later reduced to one, see p. 183 below.

⁹⁵ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 132.

⁹⁶ "So testifying that military fitness is the aim of athletics and competition" (Plut. *Mor.* 639e); on the relationship between gymnastics and war: Anderson, *Military Theory*, 95, 249; Pritchett, *GSW II*, 213-215.

⁹⁷ *Nep. Epam.* 5.4, 15.2.4; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 192 c-d. But cf. Diod. 17.11.4, and the value of gymnastic training in the Theban phalanx of 335/4. The theory that Sparta came to reject athletic training has been challenged: Pritchett, *GSW II*, 218, n. 39.

prepare ephebes for competitions at the many festivals in which they participated.

A connection has been suggested between Greek dance, as military training, and participation in the ephebeia.⁹⁹ It is true that some forms of dancing, especially the Pyrrhic dance, were believed to prepare the warrior.¹⁰⁰ There is no evidence in any of our literary or epigraphic sources, however, that ephebes (of any period) received instruction in dancing.

Didaskaloi

We are told that in addition to the two *paidotribai* there was an unspecified number of instructors in the various martial skills. How these were appointed is unclear. Several of the inscriptions honour, not specific "*akontistai*" and so forth as in the following centuries, but merely one or two "*didaskaloi*".¹⁰¹ These officers were probably assigned to, or employed independently by, each ephebic tribe (or *sophronistes*) to assist in training: the *didaskaloi* for the tribe Leontis (Reinmuth 9.33-36) appear to be different individuals from those assumed to be the *didaskaloi* of the tribe Pandionis (Reinmuth 8.11-13) in the same year.¹⁰² These instructors were not always citizens.

Hoplomachia

The Mantineans, says Ephorus, developed this discipline - dueling with hoplite

⁹⁸ H.I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1950), 104-5; Forbes, *Physical Education*, 85-91; E.N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1930), 99-106; cf. Reinmuth, 'Genesis', 47.

⁹⁹ Winkler, 'Ephebes' Song', 41-44.

¹⁰⁰ See esp. Ath. 4.628e-f, 631a; Pritchett, *GSW* II, 216; Anderson, *Military Theory*, 92-93. For a good discussion on the relationship of dance to training, especially *hoplomachia*, see Wheeler, 'Hoplomachia', 229-232.

¹⁰¹ e.g. Reinmuth 5. 11; Reinmuth 9, Col. I, lines 33-36; Reinmuth 10.6-7; Reinmuth 15, left side, Col. II, lines 6-11.

¹⁰² Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 23, suggests that the *didaskaloi* of the inscriptions and those mentioned in the *Ath. Pol.* may not have been the same, but since the latter source does not provide a number, this conclusion is not necessary; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 506-507.

weapons - in the mid-sixth century.¹⁰³ Plato's *Laches* (179e-84c) colourfully depicts its introduction at Athens by travelling instructors and its cool and sceptical reception by the prominent generals of the late fifth century. If it were any use, declares Laches, the Spartans would have adopted it. The progression between this fifth century Athenian attitude and the adoption of hoplomachy for ephebic training speaks loudly of changing attitudes toward military training. Just how useful *hoplomachia* would be in battle is difficult to estimate. Nicias points out that the skill would be especially helpful in the aftermath, when the phalanx has been broken. We must remember also that the trireme included a crew of 20 marines, whose combat on deck must have approached individual combat. Likewise, *hoplomachia* might have proven useful in the defence of the palisades which Munn argues saw increased use in the fourth century.¹⁰⁴

Archery

The Greek contempt for the bow as an unmanly weapon is well-known.¹⁰⁵ Its use was allegedly banned during the ancient Lelantine wars (Strabo 10.1.12). The Persian Wars were considered to have demonstrated "a victory of the Dorian spear over the Asiatic bow".¹⁰⁶ Famously, there were no Athenian archers at Marathon (Herod. 6.112). A Spartan is unashamed for having survived at Sphacteria (unlike Aristodemus and Pantites at Thermopylae), underscoring the change in warfare by pointing out that the arrow is no arbiter of bravery (Thuc. 4.40.2).¹⁰⁷ The bow, we have been told, "was not really a Greek weapon...a real gentleman, like Odysseus, leaves his bow at home when he goes to fight."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ *FGrH*. 70 F 54. Ridley, 'Hoplite as Citizen', 528, equates it with the *monomachia* in which the Argive Eurybates was expert, Herod. 6.92. Xenophon was certainly aware of it: *An.* 2.1.7; *Lac. Pol.* 11.8; cf. P. Krentz, 'The Nature of Hoplite Battle', *CIAnt* 4 (1985), 58; E. Wheeler, 'Hoplomachia', 223-233, and 'Hoplomachoi', 1-20.

¹⁰⁴ Munn, *Defense*, 48; see p. 68 above.

¹⁰⁵ Tarn, *Developments*, 6, 85-86; Anderson, *Military Theory*, 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ Aesch. *Pers.* 817, 278, 729, 926; Cartledge, 'Hoplites', 15.

¹⁰⁷ cf. Plut. *Mor.* 234e; G. de Ste. Croix, *Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London, 1972), 372-3.

¹⁰⁸ Tarn, *Developments*, 85.

But with Odysseus at Ilium there were such noble archers as Teucer and Philoctetes. Likewise there had indeed been Athenian archers at Pylos to defeat the vaunted Spartiate; and they had been effective. In fact, at Salamis there were Athenian archers aboard the triremes (Plut. *Vit. Them.* 14), and on the isle of Psyttalia (Aesch. *Persae* 461-462). There were Athenian archers at Plataea (Herod. 9.21-22, 60). Citizen archers appear in the casualty lists of 459/8.¹⁰⁹ Between 445 and 438 Athens created a body of 1,200 Athenian archers (Andoc. 3.7; Aeschin. 2.174).¹¹⁰ When Pericles encourages the Athenians by listing their military resources, he includes some 1,600 dismounted archers (Thuc. 2.13.8). This force of citizen (and other) archers was employed throughout the war.¹¹¹ It is not clear whether these soldiers were citizens.¹¹² They are referred to as *toxotai Athenaion* (Thuc. 3.107.1; cf. 6.43.2, in which 400 of 480 archers appear to be Athenian). The use of archers in Athenian forces was commonplace. The playwrights dwell upon the implications of the newfound effectiveness of this arm.¹¹³ In the fourth century, Xenophon gives an oblique hint at the acceptance of the bow when discussing the most important traits of a leader: "I tell you, he is the strong leader, he, and not the sturdiest soldier, not the best with bow and javelin, not the man who rides the horse the best, not the ideal of cavalryman or peltast, but he who can make his soldiers feel that they are bound to follow him through...any danger."¹¹⁴ By the time of Alexander, warfare had become what modern soldiers describe as a "combined-arms" affair.

Javelinry

In the passage above, Xenophon also refers to the use of javelins. This was the arm of the peltast, that light-armed skirmisher whose success under the command of

¹⁰⁹ *IGI*³ 1147.67-70; cf. A. Plassart, 'Les Archers d'Athènes', *REG* 26 (1913), 195-199.

¹¹⁰ Plassart, loc. cit.

¹¹¹ Thuc. 2.23.2; 3.98, 207.1; 4.28.4, 32.2, 36.1, 129.2; 5.52, 84.2; 6.25.2, 43.2.

¹¹² Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 353, presumes that they were, but he does not provide a source, but cf. Gomme, *HCT* III, 41.

¹¹³ *Soph. Aj.* 1120 ff., *Eur. HF* 188 ff.

¹¹⁴ *Xen. Oec.* 21.7.

such generals as Chabrias and Iphicrates had revolutionized fourth century warfare.¹¹⁵ In his *Laws* (834a), Plato had recommended training in the arms of the peltast "with bows, light shields, javelins, and stones [slings]". Nevertheless, the Athenian peltasts of the Corinthian War were probably not citizens,¹¹⁶ and in Athens hoplite snobbery persisted. With some disdain, Demosthenes (9.49) attributes Philip's military success to the fact that, unlike Greeks, the king led an army of peltasts, cavalry, archers, and mercenaries. Now, every Athenian citizen would be trained in this form of light-armed warfare. As with the bow, it could be used in open order and would prepare the ephebe for his duty on the mountainous frontier of Attica.¹¹⁷ Ober, who believes in an early creation of the ephebeia, suggests that the alleged "peltast reform" was the result of ephebic garrisons on the frontier. He even goes so far as to suggest that the peltasts under Chabrias were ephebes.¹¹⁸ He is mistaken about the date of the ephebeia, but his assertions demonstrate how suited javelin training was for ephebic service. I should add, however, that recent writers seem to assume that ephebes were always lightly armed. I suspect 'The Black Hunter' to be the source of this misconception.¹¹⁹ We should remember that the shield given the ephebe by the state is not a *pelte* but a hoplite *aspis*. While ephebes are trained in the use of javelins, they are also trained in *hoplomachia*. There is no reason to suppose that an ephebe on patrol was armed any more lightly than a hoplite of his day.

Artillery

Instruction in *hoplomachia*, archery, and javelinery all demonstrate that the Lycurgan administration intended to incorporate into ephebic training all major recent

¹¹⁵ See pp. 60-61 above.

¹¹⁶ Munn, *Defense*, 212-213, agrees with Best's belief, 93-97, that the peltasts were not citizens; *contra* Ober, *Fortress*, 94; Parke, *Mercenaries*, 50-51.

¹¹⁷ Ober, *Fortress*, 90-91.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, 90, 94-95; Ober's suggestion here is similar to that of Girard, *L'education*, 281, who equated ephebes with young *hippeis* and therefore thought that ephebes may have fought in the Corinthian War.

¹¹⁹ Vidal-Naquet, 'Chasseur', 153.

developments in the art of war. Nothing describes this pursuit of a state-of-the-art military so well as instruction in the use of catapults. These machines were first invented in 399 for the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse by engineers assembled for the purpose.¹²⁰ The work of Marsden on the history of catapults subsequent to their invention remains speculative. What follows is a brief summary of current opinion. The *terminus ante quem* for the presence of catapults in Athens is approximately 363/2, when two boxes of catapult bolts appear in an inventory of the arms on the Acropolis.¹²¹ The Peiraeus may have been a site for Athenian catapult installations quite early: a gravestone was set up there in the 340's bearing an inscription for "Heracleides the Mysian, a catapult operator".¹²²

Catapults remained rather ineffective, however, until engineers of Philip II invented the torsion spring between 353 and 341.¹²³ Macedonian preoccupation with catapults, once a subject of humour in Athens, became a matter of some gravity as Philip's successes threatened the safety of walled cities.¹²⁴ The torsion spring could send a bolt through shield and armour at great ranges. Its value could not be overestimated, especially for the defence of fortifications. Evidence suggests that torsion catapults appeared in Athens quickly.¹²⁵ It is not until the Lycurgan era, however - the time of

¹²⁰ This is reported by Diodorus Siculus (14.41), whose source, Philistus, was a nobleman of Dionysius' court; E.W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery* (Oxford, 1969), 48; Garland, *Poliorkétique*, 164-165. Marsden, 54-55, rejects Tarn's hypothesis (*Developments*, 106) that the technology might have been brought to Syracuse from Phoenicia through Carthage. His opinion is based upon the surprise of the Carthaginians when they encountered Syracusan artillery at Motya (Diod. 14.50.4).

¹²¹ *IGII²* 1422.8 ff. (heavily restored, but relatively sound based on comparison with the later *IGII²* 120.36 ff.). Marsden dates it to 371/0. For the date 363/2, see P.J. Cole, 'The Catapult Bolts of *IG²* 1422', *Phoenix* 35 (1981), 216-19.

¹²² *IGII²* 9979 (= *Syll³* III 1249), the title 'κατ[α]παλταφέτας' is the same as that of the later ephebic catapult instructor; Marsden, *Artillery*, 67; Ober, *Fortress*, 95.

¹²³ Marsden, *Artillery*, 60; Ober, *Fortress*, 44.

¹²⁴ Humour: Mnesimachus, fr. 7KA (*Philip*), line 10: καταπάλταισι δ' ἔστεφανώμεθα. Changes in siege warfare, see Garland, *Piraeus*, 43.

¹²⁵ Torsion frames are recorded in *IGII²* 1627, Col. B.329. Marsden, *Artillery*, suggests that they had been captured from Macedonian forces or allies during Phocion's successful campaign to expel the tyrant Cleitarchus of Eretria in 340.

ephebic training - that we have indisputable evidence for sinew or hair powered torsion spring catapults made in (or expressly for) Athens.¹²⁶ This set of inscriptions, from "when Lycurgus and his party were striving to put the city in a strong position", "reflects the first major Athenian effort to produce a quantity of defensive artillery."¹²⁷

Catapults begin to appear in the literature of the time. In his *Politics* (7.10.6 [1331a]) Aristotle warns of "the inventions that have now been made in the direction of precision with missiles and artillery for sieges." In the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1111a6) he describes an involuntary action made through ignorance by using the example of a fellow accidentally shooting a catapult which he intended only to aim. Indeed, the catapult required a level of training for operation and maintenance previously unknown. Experts were imported to coach the marvelling ephebes. No doubt the Syracusan *didaskalos* of Reinmuth 5.11 was a catapult engineer.

9. Conclusion

The military aspects of the ephebeia were the culmination of changes in the Greek warfare that were, in the main, a result of the Peloponnesian War. Several writers on Attic defence assume that the ephebeia was already in place and that it was they who had always manned the frontier.¹²⁸ The very ideas of both military training and a need for continual border patrols did not arise until well into the fourth century. Three of the four weapon skills in which the ephebes trained, *hoplomachia*, artillery and javelin fighting, had only come into prominence earlier in that century. In the 350s and early 340s, the ideas that helped lead to the creation of this system of training and garrison duty were in their formative stages. While it is clear that citizens (selected from the younger classes) garrisoned the forts, mercenaries were also used. It has been

¹²⁶ *IGII*² 1467 B, Col. II, lines 48-56; *IGII*² 1627 B.328-41 (both of 338-326); cf. *IGII*² 1469 B, Col. I, lines 72-3, 77-80 (321/0).

¹²⁷ Marsden, *Artillery*, 68-69.

¹²⁸ Ober, *Fortress*, 213: "The training of ephebes in peltast and garrison defense tactics can be dated to 386-371..."; cf. 99-100, 204. Ober uses the existence of the ephebeia as supporting evidence for an Athenian "Maginot Line" mentality.

suggested that during the *ephebeia* the cadets and mercenaries served on the frontier together. With the marked rise in mercenary activity during the fourth century came substantial rhetoric about the moral and financial costs of their use. Isocrates and Demosthenes stood foremost in this denunciation.¹²⁹ Conscripted youths would later provide for Athens a frontier guard and *chora* patrol without the expense of hiring mercenaries and the inconvenience of rotating citizen hoplites to the forts.¹³⁰ The *ephebeia* was created fifteen or twenty years after the ideas of Xenophon and Plato first came into circulation.

¹²⁹ Isoc. 8.44-48; Philip 96; cf. Mathieu, *Les idées d'Isocrate* (Paris, 1966), 148-9; Dem. 3.35; cf. Dem. 4.24; Aeschin. 2.71; Xen. *Vect.* 2.3-4.

¹³⁰ Munn, *Defense*, 188, points out the minimal reliance on mercenaries provided by the *ephebeia* but does not himself enter into debate over the date of the system.

*"Mrs. Alving: All this talk about law and order. I often think that
is what causes all the unhappiness in the world.*

Pastor Mander: Mrs. Alving, now you are being sinful."

- Henrik Ibsen, Ghosts

Chapter IV

"Socratic" formulas for virtue

Changes in the Greek approach to warfare and increased Athenian vulnerability during the 4th century help explain Athenian adoption of formal military training and frontier patrols. To be sure, the programme of the *Ath. Pol.* does aim earnestly at developing and improving skills such as weapon technique. As a comprehensive explanation for the particular design and nature of the ephebeia, however, purely military and political accounts fall short. There remain several curious and overarching features of the ephebeia which are not explained by the simple assertion that Athens had decided to improve her readiness for war.

Part of what has surprised scholars about the ephebeia is the difficulty found in reconciling the compulsory nature of the system with the ideology of Athenian democratic freedom in the fifth century.¹ While service during war, among other civic functions, had long been the duty of a citizen in the democracy, the sacrifice of two years for the purpose of peacetime training and frontier service surpasses anything that our knowledge of fifth-century Athens would lead us to expect. From an instructional point of view, the nature of this change is also surprising when one considers that in Athens education had been the responsibility of the family, not the state.² The ephebic system provides that the young men be put under the care of a tribal "*sophonistes*". A "*kosmetes*" is in overall supervision. These titles (and the prominence within the system of those magistrates who bear them) are vital to our

¹ Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles*, 191.

² *Pl. Cri.* 50d; *Xen. Lac. Pol.* 2.1-2; *Cyr* 1.2.2; *Arist. Pol.* 7.1.2-3 [1337a20 ff.]; see G. Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City: a historical interpretation of the LAWS* (Princeton, 1960), 52.

understanding of the objective and nature of the ephebeia: the role of the officials is to instil "temperance" and "order" into the young men.³ Nearly all of the ephebic inscriptions in which the decree survives honour the ephebes, above all, for their discipline (εὐταξία), obedience (τὸ πείθειν) to their officers and the laws, and virtue (ἀρετή).⁴

Although ephebes do participate in military training and border patrols, I shall argue that such activity came to be prescribed not only for its own sake, but also as a medium for instruction in discipline. Military training is intended to provide a more extensive education, teaching moral virtue to the citizen corps as a whole.⁵ The young men of Athens are to be kept under the eyes of the Athenian state, both through her officials, during year-round training and service, and as a body, during their review in the theatre of Dionysus and their participation in religious festivals.

1. "Socratics"

Supervisory officers, service in the countryside, and training in virtue: we are reminded of Plato's utopias, the *Laws* in particular.⁶ Wilamowitz saw but overstated the relationship of Plato to the ephebeia, writing that "Platons Gesetze haben die ephebie erzeugt."⁷ When reviewing discussion over the date of the ephebeia, I referred to the relationship of the programme in the *Ath. Pol.* to such similar systems as those outlined in the *Laws* and the *Cyropaedia*.⁸ After a brief discussion of the

³ Herodian, s.v. κοσμηταί: οἱ τῶν ἐφήβων εὐταξίας προνοοῦντες; cf. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 105-106; Brenot, *Recherches*, 43-45.

⁴ Reinmuth 2.27-29, .39-40, .53-56; 3.6-7; 5.3; 9.7-8, 14; 17.5-6. That *eutaxia* is a formulaic ingredient is demonstrated by the continuing use of the word in ephebic inscriptions well into the Roman Empire (see p. 149 below).

⁵ Girard, *L'education*, 273; Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 257; Marrou, *Histoire de l'education*, 166, believes that ephebes are soldiers "avant tout", but also stresses aspect of moral and religious civic training.

⁶ See p. 33 above for a description of Plato's *agronomoi*; H.F. North, *From Myth to Icon. Reflections of Greek Ethical Doctrine in Literature and Art* (Ithaca, 1979), 115-116, reminds us that Plato coined the name "Sophronisterion" for the House of Correction in his *Laws*.

⁷ Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles*, 194; cf. Forbes, *Physical Education*, 114; but for the differences see Morrow, *Cretan City*, 190, n. 87.

superficial similarities which Plato's *agronomoi* and Xenophon's *epheboi* bear to Athenian ephebes, modern authors dispense with the question by asserting either that the ephebeia was simply based upon these outlines (for a 'late' date) or that the writings were themselves based upon an already existing ephebeia (for an 'early' date).⁹ To cease comparison there, however, is to ignore important cultural evidence which illustrates the forces which helped to create and shape the ephebeia. Those who argue for an 'early date' of the ephebeia (and perforce insist that the training systems which appear in Plato or Xenophon were merely modelled after it) divorce those systems from their philosophical context, ignoring the larger framework in which these passages are enmeshed and suppressing the fact that Plato and Xenophon were presenting or at least collecting new ideas.

The works which we must examine are primarily those of Plato, Xenophon and Isocrates, whom I loosely label "Socratic". Although their intent in writing and their viewpoints usually differ, all three were deeply concerned with the importance of discipline in the attainment of virtue and with the possibility of using state-supervised education to foster such discipline in the citizenry.¹⁰ My aim in this chapter is to sketch the ideas which those authors shared and which reflect a current of fourth century thought that led to the creation of the ephebeia.¹¹ By focussing on the specific works of these men, I do not mean to suggest that they alone were the source of the thoughts which they express, nor do I intend to argue that any single work of

⁸ See pp. 32-34 above; cf. Nilsson, *Die Hellenistische Schule*, 19.

⁹ e.g. A.H. Chase, 'Plato's Laws and Athenian Institutions', *HSPH* 44 (1933), 151-4.

¹⁰ Robertson, 'False Documents', 21, describes the authors of this period as being "obsessed" with discipline; J. Ober highlights the central role of individual education as a means for realizing state virtue in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, and Isocrates in *Mass & Elite in Democratic Athens* (Princeton, 1989), 160-161.

¹¹ O. Murray ('War and the Symposium', in W.J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* [Ann Arbor, 1991], 83-103) is thinking along the right lines when he states (89) that for the Lycurgan ephebeia "the ideology and the arguments used must have been those of Plato, who provides us with the theoretical principles of a fundamental revolution in Athenian social and political customs," and sees it as part of "a larger movement in social values that we call 'laconism,' which spread through the Athenian aristocracy and bourgeoisie of the fourth century."

theirs was used as a blueprint for the epebeia. The ideas which these authors express were part of a broader current of political philosophy in the early fourth century.¹² Some were shared, some idiosyncratic. Some were transmitted in writing, others in the Academy or across Athenian dinner tables. If there is a dialogue which is discernible from the passages I cite, it was probably shared with the "minor Socratics". If the works of such philosophers as Antisthenes, Aeschines the Socratic, Phaedo of Elis, Euclid of Megara, and Aristippus of Cyrene had survived, we would doubtless have a rich supply of sources from which to mine the ideas that paved the way for the epebeia.¹³ Although I shall cite passages from Aristotle where they parallel the thoughts of others, I have not included a specific study of his works because my aim is to demonstrate philosophical and political ideas that pre-dated the Lycurgan era and therefore may arguably have influenced it.¹⁴

I should pause to defend my inclusion of Isocrates. The teacher is of course in a class of his own and would have been offended by the appellation "Socratic". In later years Isocrates began to produce writings of a flavour similar to those of both his fellow demesman Xenophon and Plato. Because he believed that rhetoric can only be effective when it is a sincere product of the virtuous speaker, Isocrates began more and more to emphasize the importance of individual virtue.¹⁵ In *On the Peace* (145), he

¹² I omit discussion of the influence of these authors upon one another. It has been documented elsewhere: Plato and Isocrates: F. Beck, *Greek Education - 450-350 B.C.* (London, 1964), 293-300; Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 147; and Mathieu, *Isocrate*, 175-188, where he also discusses the inter-relationships between his subject and Antisthenes, Xenophon, and Aristotle; Isocrates as Socratic: Marrou, 135; on this see H. Gomperz, 'Isokrates und die Sokratik', *WS* 27 (1905), 163-207; *WS* 28 (1906), 1-42. Plato and Xenophon: B. Due, *The Cyropaedia. Xenophon's Aims and Methods* (Århus, 1989), 144-145; T.W. Higginson, *Greek Attitudes to Persian Kingship down to the Time of Xenophon* (Diss., Oxford, 1987), 187; see Ath. 504e-505b, but Aul. Gell. 1.4.3; Antisthenes and Xenophon: W. Jaeger, *Paideia*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1944), 21; Higginson, 176.

¹³ On these, see H. von Arnim, in his introduction to *Dio von Prusa* (Berlin, 1898), 21-43; Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 108.

¹⁴ Morrow, *Cretan City*, 322, citing Arist. *Pol.* 1337a 14-24, 308e; see also North, *Myth to Icon*, 122, in which she sees Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1103b 3-6 and 1179b 33ff. to be based upon 'the principle that supported the whole tremendous structure of Plato's *Laws*'.

¹⁵ See *Antid.* 278; Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 143-144; (on page 139, Marrou sees the appearance of Isocratic virtue as a response to the *Gorgias*.)

urges those more vigorous than he to deliver discourses which will lead the state towards greater virtue and justice and which in turn will enable a better study of philosophy. When he implicitly compares himself to Socrates in the *Antidosis*, Isocrates makes the claim that he has spent his life "urging all his fellow-countrymen to be nobler and more just leaders of the Greeks" (86).

Whether due to an increasing understanding of the need for more substance behind political rhetoric or to a reluctant acceptance of the political potential of some of Plato's ideas, Isocrates grew closer to his philosophic rival - just as Plato seems to have accepted certain political realities in the *Laws* that were not present in the *Republic*.¹⁶ Most important for our purposes, however, is the fact that both Isocrates and Plato came to believe that the ultimate welfare of the state rests, not upon specific laws or government, but the education of her citizens. They both presented their own political ideals, and, whether in the form of Guardians of the Laws or an idealized Areopagus, the functions of those bodies were fundamentally the same: moral instruction and supervision for the citizen body.¹⁷

2. "Generation Gap"

Before examining "Socratic" ideas about education in virtue, it will be helpful to draw attention to certain aspects of the period which immediately preceded their appearance. The late fifth century was a time of political and social upheaval, which, for whatever reasons, was unlike anything that had preceded it. Several recent writers have discussed those changes, describing a schism that took place in Athens, in the 420's and following, between young Athenians and the "older generation",¹⁸ but the

¹⁶ Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 68-69, describes well this change in Isocrates towards an acceptance of some of Plato's ideas.

¹⁷ Mathieu, *Isocrate*, 152, 178.

¹⁸ The most recent such work is B. Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens: ideology and society in the era of the Peloponnesian War* (London, 1993). Other studies of the "generation gap" include: M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law* (Berkeley, 1986), 229-250; M. Reinhold, 'The Generation Gap in Antiquity', in S. Bertman (ed.), *The Conflicts of Generations in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Amsterdam, 1976), 32-37; W.G. Forrest, 'An Athenian generation gap',

possibility of their impact on subsequent thinkers has received less attention.

The clearest and most vocal description of the behaviour of the youth of appears in the plays of Aristophanes. Aristophanic young men are idle, indulgent, and profligate. They race chariots, chase women, and wear ringlets in their long hair in styles of decadent effeminacy.¹⁹ Trained in rhetoric, they take advantage of the easily impressed democratic assemblies and courts and overwhelm their elders with clever phrases and entertaining argument. It is not fair, cry the old Acharnians: old should be tried by old and young by young.²⁰ Steeped in moral relativism, the young disrespect established custom and religion.²¹ They are also disrespectful and even abusive towards their fathers. The convention is so well known to Aristophanes' audience that in the *Wasps* he inverts it: the young Bdelycleon is assaulted by his disrespectful and misbehaved old father, Philocleon.²² There can be no question that many of Aristophanes' plays focus upon the political and social tension between the younger Athenian generation and their elders.²³

It falls beyond the focus of this work to examine at length the reasons behind this tension, but causes have generally been connected with an abrupt societal change brought about by the Peloponnesian War and with the teachings of the sophists.²⁴ Both factors appear in Aristophanes. In the *Clouds*, Socrates is described as a sophist

YCS 74 (1975), 37-52; W.R. Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth Century Athens* (Princeton, 1971), 147-151; Bryant, 'Boyhood'.

¹⁹ Chariots: Aristoph. *Nub.* 15, 31, 69; wine, women, and styles: *Nub.* 1071, *Ach.* 524-5, *Vesp.* 1066-70; frags. 214, 225, 231-2, 238KA (*Banqueters*).

²⁰ Aristoph. *Ach.* 714-8; cf. 675-688, 370-375; "clever" youth: *Vesp.* 1392-5; *Pax* 43-45; *Nub. passim*.

²¹ Aristoph. *Nub.* 1399-1400.

²² Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1384-5; *hubris* of the young against their fathers: *Nub.* 423; *Birds* 1345-52. Reverence is transferred from the father to the teacher: *Nub.* 1464-67.

²³ See Bowie, *Aristophanes*. Throughout this book the author refers to Aristophanic youth as "ephebes", and using Vidal-Naquet "rite-of-passage" theory, depicts them as being "outside society". Faced with the fact that there is no evidence for an ephebeia in the fifth-century, Bowie covers his bets: "Even if nothing like the *ephebeia* existed in the fifth century, the arguments of these chapters would not be substantially affected....", 51. I disagree.

²⁴ Forrest, 'Generation Gap', *passim*; Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, 4-5.

who corrupted the young, teaching them to worship new gods and to question the established order. If the *Banqueters* had survived, we might have an even more vivid satire on the effect which sophists were having upon their pupils: one son stayed home on the farm and remained virtuous and the other returned from his city education changed and morally bankrupt.²⁵ The new approach to learning which men such as Protagoras and Gorgias provided (with its inherent separation of previously interlinked intellectual and traditional frameworks) has been described as nothing short of revolution.²⁶

As Lévy reminds us, however, the sophists were just one of several factors which contributed to an age of challenged social values.²⁷ The conduct of the Peloponnesian War itself may also have contributed to the division between young and old: between Strauss' fathers and sons. I have discussed the novelty of the "Periclean Strategy". It has been plausibly argued that in addition to merely hiding behind the city walls, Pericles had always included in his plans the use of a mobile defence of the countryside against unformed enemy groups.²⁸ In any event, one effect of the war was that while most citizens remained behind the walls (or at sea), the young *hippeis* saw demanding and continual service harrying Spartan invaders (Thuc. 3.1.2).²⁹ "For ourselves," declare Aristophanes' knights, "we claim the right nobly to defend the city and the god of the land, without any reward; and beyond that we ask for nothing at all, save only this much: if ever peace comes and we have an end of our miseries, do not resent it if we grow our hair long and wear tiaras" (*Knights* 577-581).³⁰ Eventually these

²⁵ *Banqueters*: Aristoph. frags. 205-255 KA.

²⁶ Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 104; see also K.J. Dover's introduction to *Aristophanes Clouds* (Oxford, 1968) and E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951), 179-206, for a summary description of the effects of sophistic teaching. (The broader argument of Dodds' work has recently been challenged, however, by B. Williams, *Shame and Necessity* [Berkeley, 1993]).

²⁷ E. Lévy, *Athènes Devant La Défaite de 404, Histoire d'une Crise Idéologique* (Paris, 1976), 83.

²⁸ Spence, 'Defense of Attika', 91-107.

²⁹ After the Spartan occupation of Deceleia, especially, the Athenian cavalry saw relentless action; G. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton, 1988), 81-85.

³⁰ Later, lines 595-611, the chorus extolls the brave efforts of the knights; the scholiast on this passage of Aristophanes relates an attempt by Cineas and Phrinus to pass a law forbidding the young to

young men would claim more than the right to wear new, elaborate styles; their later activity may have resulted in part from a righteousness born of their prominent role in wartime defence.

During the war, younger men are portrayed as aspiring to a higher level of political prominence than ever before. This change may have resulted partly from the disproportionate military activity of the cavalry, from an increased public visibility while the lower classes were off serving in the fleet,³¹ and/or from Cleon's "severance" of political from military activity.³² The schism between young and old appears in Thucydides' account of the war.³³ Alcibiades in his debate against Nicias represented the desires of the young to go to war, against the judgement of the older men.³⁴ The outcome of warhawk policy - the complete destruction at Sicily of two Athenian armies - left recipients of the news in stunned disbelief (Thuc. 8.1). And what Athenian could forget the malefactors responsible for the unfortunate circumstances of the expedition's departure: all the sacred herms in the city had been mutilated. In the witch hunt that followed, stories surfaced of drunken young men having defaced other images and of certain others profaning the sacred Eleusinian Mysteries at their private homes (Thuc. 6.27-28; Andoc. 1). Alcibiades had been indicted, and he and his youthful companions sentenced to death (Thuc. 6.61.7). To the superstitious Athenian these men were responsible for the greatest single blow his city had ever known.³⁵ It is telling that following the disaster the democracy

live luxuriously or wear long hair; Ridley, *The Hoplite as citizen*, 532.

³¹ Ostwald, *Sovereignty*, 230.

³² Connor, *New Politicians*, 149-150; Ostwald, *Sovereignty*, 237.

³³ Thuc. 6.38-39 - the debate in Syracuse, which Forrest ('Generation Gap', 48) sees as a parallel to Athens.

³⁴ Thuc. 6.8-20; cf. Plut. *Vit. Nic.* 11.3; Connor, *New Politicians*, 79: "At the risk of oversimplification, it was a struggle between the young who wanted war and the old who wanted peace."

³⁵ See Ostwald's helpful analysis of those who can and might be identified with the profanation of the Mysteries and mutilation of the Herms, *Sovereignty* (Appendix C), 537-550; especially 549: "Of the sixty-four persons inculpated on one or the other of the sacrileges in 415 B.C., twenty-seven members of the upper classes can be identified with greater or less confidence. Only six of these are likely to have been over forty years of age at the time...the remaining twenty-one seem to have been between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, that is, they will have gone through their formative and most

appointed a conservative board of elders, the ancient generation of Aristophanes' *Wasps*, to advise the state (Thuc. 8.1).

But the situation would soon worsen. In 411, through the influence of the friends of Alcibiades, the democracy was subverted and replaced by the "Four Hundred".³⁶ Strauss sees the "fallout" of the Sicilian disaster and the mutilation of the herms as the turning point in the age of youthful decadence.³⁷ In his view, the oligarchy, with their rallying cry of *patrios politeia*, marked the beginning of a political reaction against the excesses of the young.³⁸ He feels the same about the oligarchy of the Thirty Tyrants, which followed the loss of the Peloponnesian War.³⁹

There are two problems with Strauss' view. The first is that these oligarchies included precisely the same group of men who had been pupils of the sophists and whom Aristophanes had caricatured.⁴⁰ The antics of Philocleon, the misbehaved father of the *Wasps*, are described: "And that though Hippyllus was there, and Antiphon, Lycon, Lysistratus, Theophrastus, and the Phrynichus group, of all these he behaved by a long way the most outrageously" (1301-3). Forrest points out that the men whom we can associate with the 400 - Critias, Phrynichus, Peisander, Aristocrates, Theramenes, and Alcibiades - were all born within a few years of each

impressionable years in the late 430s and the 420s, when many young men of the upper classes associated with the sophists. Their number suggests that they constituted the core of the suspects in 415 B.C." Several were subsequently associated or aligned with the later oligarchies.

³⁶ For a comprehensive reconstruction and analysis of these events, see A. Lintott, *Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City 750-330 BC* (London, 1982), 135-158.

³⁷ Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, 16.

³⁸ *ibid.*, 130-131, 176. At page 182, Strauss recalls the words of Thrasymachos, yearning for the days when "young men could remain silent" and for a return to "the ancestral constitution" (Diels and Kranz 85 B fr. 1). While the quote does indicate a link between the two, the slogan *patrios politeia* was notoriously slippery, and could be wielded by any faction in search of justification, cf. Lévy, *Crise idéologique*, 195.

³⁹ See Lintott, *Violence*, 158-168.

⁴⁰ Professor Strauss has explained to me that the reason for this is that the generation had aged - as in fact he has written (181). But the span between the Sicilian debate and 411 is not sufficient, nor can it make sense that subsequent reaction against the oligarchies, such as the trial of Socrates, were part of the same reaction against youth as those oligarchies themselves. I agree that there was a reaction, but it came later.

other about the middle of the century.⁴¹

The second problem with Strauss' theory is the prominent role which "young men" played in the installation and maintenance of both the Four Hundred (and "Five Thousand") and later the Thirty.⁴² Bugh's association of the cavalry with oligarchy is sufficient to challenge Strauss' suggestion that the oligarchies came about as a reaction against the young and to demonstrate that, if anything, they were a continuing part of the younger generation's disdain for and mistrust of the established democracy.

3. Perception and Reaction

When Thrasybulus restored the democracy he enacted his famous amnesty in order to minimize political reaction and turmoil. Memory of the damage done to Athens by the young and by the teachings of the sophists proved indelible, however. Through the first part of the fourth century, there was apparently some reaction against the cavalry, particularly those who served under the Thirty.⁴³ In the years that followed the restoration of democracy, orators often charge that their opponent had served as a cavalryman in support of the Thirty.⁴⁴ A more telling sign of reaction against the behaviour of "the young" and the teachers who led them astray is the trial and execution of Socrates.⁴⁵ In the *Clouds*, Socrates had been portrayed as a sophist.⁴⁶ He had certainly associated with (and thereby "corrupted") such men as Critias, Alcibiades, and

⁴¹ Forrest, 'Generation Gap', 38. He excepts Antiphon, who was older, born about 480.

⁴² Four Hundred: Thuc. 8.65.2; 8.69.4; 8.92.6; Bugh, *Horsemen*, 114-118; Thirty: Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.23, 50-51; 2.4.2; Bugh, *Horsemen*, 120-129.

⁴³ Bugh, *Horsemen*, 129-143.

⁴⁴ Lysias 16.6; 26.10.

⁴⁵ The tradition that in the years before the trial Socrates Athens had already witnessed a political reaction against the sophists, an "age of persecution" (Dodds, *Irrational*, 189-191), has now been called into question by K.J. Dover, "The Freedom of the Intellectual in Greek Society", in *The Greeks and their Legacy* (Oxford, 1988), 135-158, who analyses the tradition of 'persecution' and concludes that it results from "a systematic distortion applied within a single politico-philosophical tradition and motivated by a uniform bias...", 152. Socrates, he adds, was the exception because he was "thought of as the teacher of men who were not simply potential enemies of the demos but actual enemies", 156.

⁴⁶ Xenophon's Socrates ironically plays up to this perception: *Mem.* 3.11.16-17.

perhaps other ringleaders of the Thirty. Although designed to circumvent the amnesty, the charges levelled against Socrates are telling. Corrupting the young and inventing new gods - these spring from a reaction against the sophistic movement and, as Socrates himself points out, sound as if they had been lifted directly out of the *Clouds*.⁴⁷ Socrates, said his accusers, had taught his pupils to treat their fathers with contempt (Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.49).⁴⁸

Strauss reminds us that the rhetoric about disobedient sons can only have been effective "in a period when the old pattern of general obedience is still largely intact."⁴⁹ He argues that "there is no reason to think that a majority (or even significant plurality) of Athenian sons c. 400 BC were in rebellion against their fathers. That such rebellions became a common theme of Athenian literature in the late fifth and early fourth centuries tells us, rather, that Athenians felt that their values had been challenged at the heart." Those values, however, "were still basically intact."⁵⁰ I do not think many would disagree with Strauss. If moral tradition had indeed been completely subverted there could have been no reaction. Certainly the dangerous and impious upper-class youth represented a minority. But my concern here is not with the reality of what most of the young men of the day had been doing, but with the perception of their actions and their causes, and its effect upon subsequent Athenian thought. The perception was that, left to his own devices - or (worse yet) educated and encouraged by sophists - the young man is a danger to be feared.

Related to this issue of perception is the question of how inevitable or how abnormal the "generation gap" had been. Modern societies are certainly accustomed to father/son tension. Faced with the clever dialectic of Alcibiades, Pericles retorts that "at

⁴⁷ Plato *Ap.* 19c; on the relationship between sophistic teaching and the Thirty, see Lintott, *Violence*, 168-173. In this account Lintott suggests that the oligarchy of the Thirty can be explained on purely political grounds but adds sophistic teaching as a contributive factor. Even if "sophistic learning merely helped oligarchs to formulate their existing political convictions" (Lintott, 172), that formulation, especially if it took the form of advertised rationalisation, would have contributed heavily towards a subsequent perception of the political ill-effects of sophistry.

⁴⁸ cf. Xen. *Ap.* 20; Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, 5.

⁴⁹ Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, 15.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 144-5.

your age, I may tell you, we too were very clever at this sort of thing" (Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.46-47). But Pericles is lying - and in his response Alcibiades shows that he knows it.⁵¹ The degree of tension between generations depends upon the rate of cultural change at the time. We do not hear of the rash young days of Themistocles or Miltiades. We cannot imagine such a generation gap at Sparta. The turmoil of the late fifth century - the result of a unique combination of new empire, intellectual investigation, and war - was both monumental and unprecedented.⁵²

...the horizon of the young Athenian under Pericles was swiftly expanding; he was outgrowing the knowledge of his fathers as his city had outgrown the city of Marathon and Salamis. The new wine of his ambitions soon burst the old bottles of traditional restraint. And then with the great disasters of the Peloponnesian War it must have been borne in upon the young man that the old order was pitifully inadequate to the burden laid upon it. It was inevitable that he should chafe at restrictions, and ridicule customs, which he felt to be useless, and that his elders should misunderstand and rebuke - and be at the last set aside.⁵³

A continued mistrust of youth and appeal to the wisdom of elders characterizes the writings of fourth century orators and philosophers. Alcibiades becomes the prototypical result of unrestrained youth. Andocides blames him for setting the bad example which his peers follow (4.22). Lysias' two orations against his son (14 and 15) recount endless stories of the father's misdeeds.⁵⁴ Xenophon concedes that Socrates' accusers have a point when they claim that Alcibiades "exceeded all in licentiousness and insolence" (*Mem.* 1.2.12).⁵⁵ Antisthenes, who wrote a book on Alcibiades and compared him with his virtuous Cyrus, even believed, or at least claimed, that Alcibiades had committed incest with both his mother and his sister.⁵⁶

⁵¹ "Ah Pericles, if only I had known you intimately when you were at your cleverest in these things!"

⁵² Late fifth century generation gap as exceptional: Ostwald, *Sovereignty*, 229.

⁵³ Bryant, 'Boyhood', 92-93.

⁵⁴ cf. Isoc. 5.58-61; [Andoc.] 4 *passim*.

⁵⁵ The "accuser" of Socrates is possibly the sophist Polycrates in his *Accusation of Socrates* - Loeb edn., p. ix.

Alcibiades was a symbol of the danger which threatened youth - which threatened society itself.⁵⁷ The writings of Isocrates, Plato, and Xenophon repeatedly refer to the moral bankruptcy of youth. Their impression was grounded in the events of the late fifth century, to which they had all been witness. Since their fathers grew too self-assured, wrote Isocrates, "what calamity has not been visited upon the city?... We have been plunged into war...we have seen the democracy twice overthrown, the walls which defended our country torn down...and our enemy encamped on the Acropolis."⁵⁸

Young men waste their time in gambling dens and chasing flute girls, behaving in a way in which "in former days an honest slave would have despised."⁵⁹ Xenophon's younger Pericles asks Socrates, "when will Athenians show the Lacedaemonian reverence for age, seeing that they despise all their elders, beginning with their own fathers?" (*Mem.* 3.5.15).⁶⁰ In the *Laws*, Plato repeatedly warns of the importance of the young consenting to be governed by their elders. The "worst sort of violence", he writes, "is the insolence and outrageous actions of the young."⁶¹ He explains that

⁵⁶ Ath. *Deipnosophistae* 220c; Herodicus *ap.* Athen. 220c = H. Declava Caizzi, *Antisthenis Fragmenta* (Milan, 1966), fg. 29a; H.D. Rankin, *Antisthenes Sokratikos* (Amsterdam, 1986), 123.

⁵⁷ D.W. Gribble, *Alcibiades and Athens: A Study in Literary Presentation* (Diss., Oxford, 1994), begins his chapter on Alcibiades in Socratic writings (218 ff.): "Even after the experience of the fifth century had faded, Alcibiades continued to be depicted in the dialogues of Socratic writers as a symbol of unexamined ambition and worldly, non-philosophical goals, perhaps still with the resonance of the failed ambitions of the fifth century."

⁵⁸ Isoc. 15.318-19 *et passim*.

⁵⁹ Isoc. 15.285-287; cf. Isoc. 7.48-50; Lysias, 16.11.

⁶⁰ cf. Aeschin. 1.25: "...[the lawgiver] teaches the younger men to respect their elders, to yield precedence to them in every act, and to honour old age to which we shall all come if our lives are spared." It is interesting that immediately prior to this passage (1.23), the orator refers to a Solonian law by which those aged over 50 speak first in the assembly. In a later oration he repeats the comment and mourns its disuse (3.4). We might wonder whether there was any substance to this claim. Although Aeschines has many of "the lawgiver's" laws read out, he merely paraphrases this one. If the claim was factual, the law was no longer observed by at least 352/1, when a young Demosthenes mounts the *bema* to begin debate (Dem. 4.1). In the same part of his discourse, Aeschines compares the behaviour of contemporary speakers with that of Solon, Pericles, Themistocles and Aristides - theirs was the sort of composure disregarded by Cleon (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 28.3). If age-priority in speaking had existed, it probably became ignored at the time of Cleon, Alcibiades, and the "new politicians".

new modes of music began the disrespect for elders and led to complete licence (*Laws* 701).

Plato's complaints about youthful degeneracy are mixed with a reaction against sophists. "There is a certain kind of immoral practice, grandly masquerading as a 'skill', which proceeds on the assumption that a technique exists - itself, in fact - of conducting one's own suits and pleading those of others, which can win the day regardless of the rights and wrongs of the individual case....Now it is absolutely vital that this skill - if it really is a skill...should not be allowed to grow up in our [utopian] state if we can prevent it" (*Laws* 937-8). Sophists are likened to atheists, demagogues, dictators, and "plotters in secret rites" (908). He despises the wrangling and changing of moral standards and those who argue that they are based on convention and not nature. "All this, my friends, is the theme of experts - as our young people regard them - who in their prose and poetry maintain that anything one can get away with by force is absolutely justified."⁶²

When moderns read the condemnations of youth in the fourth century, especially when they are compared to "fifth century virtue", they sometimes explain that it demonstrates "a universal tendency to idealize the past at the expense of the present."⁶³ As Dover comments, "The Greeks of any given generation tended to believe that their ancestors were supermen." He points out the emphasis placed on ancestral virtues in both the *Clouds* and the *Frogs*.⁶⁴ It is true that Greek myth and culture often viewed itself as part of a broad and long-term decline. The golden and silver ages were behind them. In the case of youthful rebellion, however, it is more accurate to interpret fourth century complaints as a direct inheritance of fifth century generational turmoil and a mistrust of youth that had been etched upon the society.

⁶¹ *Pl. Leg.* 884; cf. 690.

⁶² *Pl. Leg.* 890; cf. 886; *Soph.* 231d-232a; *Ap.* 20b; *Grg.* 519c, 460e; *Meno* 91c. Isocrates and Xenophon also react against sophists: *Isoc.* 10.1-13, 11.1-9, 13 *passim*; 15.4-5, 149, 285; *Xen. Cyr.* 8.1-7; cf. *Mem.* 1.6.13; 4.7.2; for Socratics vs. sophists, generally, see Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 103.

⁶³ Bryant, 'Boyhood', 91, referring to G. Grote, *A History of Greece* (London, 1907), 371.

⁶⁴ Dover, *Clouds*, lxii-lxiii.

4. State Education

Generational turmoil, however, was not the only result of the sophists. Of sophistic thought, Dodds explains that "through the fog of confused and for us fragmentary controversy we can dimly perceive two great issues being fought out. One is the ethical question concerning the source and validity of moral and political obligation. The other is the psychological question concerning the springs of human conduct - why do men behave as they do, and how can they be induced to behave better?"⁶⁵ The sophists had set out to make their pupils better at particular skills - the technical side of *arete*. Certain of them also became interested in the question of whether political virtue, generally, could be taught. Such is the question pondered by Plato's *Protagoras*.⁶⁶ Plato describes Protagoras as believing that *arete* can be taught, but not by intellectual device so much as through a sort of social conditioning (*Prot.* 327e).⁶⁷ In reacting to the effect of the sophists upon the younger generation, the "Socratics" may have commandeered their belief - or that of Protagoras at any rate - both that virtue could be taught,⁶⁸ not only by the teaching of skills, but on the more fundamental level of the shaping souls,⁶⁹ and that such education was the role of the state. In the minds of men like Plato and Xenophon it was only through such conditioning that moral virtue could be learned. Antisthenes's work *Heracles* seems to have had as its aim a portrayal of the virtuous life and the fact that it could be acquired through instruction and *ponos*.⁷⁰ The younger generation must be trained towards

⁶⁵ Dodds, *Irrational*, 182-3.

⁶⁶ The question of whether virtue was inherited or could be taught did not truly originate with the sophists but were part of the broader "Age of Enlightenment" which Dodds describes. It is an idea which first can be found in the writings of Theognis and Pindar; e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 3.57-58; Marrou, *Histoire de l'education*, 79, 103; Jaeger, *Paideia* I, 302-3.

⁶⁷ Dodds, *Irrational*, 184.

⁶⁸ In using "virtue" here and *arete* in the preceding sentence, it is important to understand the word's double meaning of expertise or capability (as the sophists would use it) and the sense of ethical or moral strength (as the Socratics would use it).

⁶⁹ I borrow the image of "soul shaping" in regard to the effect of the sophists from Jaeger, *Paideia* I, 311; for the role of Protagoras and others in this development: Beck, *Greek Education*, 162, 177-8; Marrou, *Histoire de l'education*, 89.

⁷⁰ Higginson, *Greek Attitudes*, 182.

virtue. In fact, admits Isocrates, the problems with the young are ultimately not the fault of that generation. "Let no one suppose that I am out of temper with the younger generation: I do not think that they are to blame for what goes on, and in fact I know that most of them are far from pleased with a state of affairs which permits them to waste their time in these excesses; so that I cannot in fairness censure them, when it is much more just to rest the blame upon those who directed the city a little before our time...." (7.48-50).⁷¹

Political theorists of the fourth century believed that the future of the state depended upon the virtue of her citizens and that it was thus the paramount responsibility of the state to educate the young in virtue. "I suppose you are not unaware of the fact," warned Isocrates, "that the government of the state is handed on by the older men to the youth of the coming generation; and that since the succession goes on without end, it follows of necessity that as is the education of our youth, so from generation to generation will be the fortune of the state...." (*Antid.* 174).⁷² In thinking about effective ways of educating the young, Plato and his contemporaries came to believe that an important part of such an education must consist of learning self-discipline and control over desires and fears.

Plato's answer is that virtue can be taught, but not primarily by admonition, nor by the explanation and proof of principles, as one would teach a science....The value of such habituation Plato could see in the products of Spartan discipline....The discrepancy between a man's real sentiments and the habits he has been disciplined to adopt was often too clearly marked in the behaviour of the fourth-century Spartan. The real problem is to induce those sentiments in the youth that will make his acquired virtue a genuine expression of his inner disposition.⁷³

⁷¹ cf. Isoc. 15.304; appealing to the "laws of Solon", Aeschines (1.11) glorifies the mythic lawmaker who "believed that it is the boy who has been well brought-up that will be a useful citizen when he becomes a man."

⁷² cf. Arist. *Pol.* 7.13.9 [1333b]; 8.1.1 [1337a10-19].

⁷³ Morrow, *Cretan City*, 300-1.

It is important to note that this new way of thinking demanded a shift from the old aristocratic view of inborn virtue to a more democratic understanding that all citizens have the potential to become "*kalos k'agathos*".⁷⁴ Several authors have already pointed out the trend: In a survey of the use of the expression *kalos k'agathos* and the set of people denoted by the term, de Ste. Croix has found a striking difference in the way that it is used by the orators of the fourth century (his "Group C") compared to its use in Thucydides and Aristophanes. "And by the mid-fourth century, beginning with Demosthenes, a very interesting development has taken place: the scope of the expression which the *kaloi kagathoi* reserved for themselves was widened to take in the whole Athenian citizen body."⁷⁵ In examining *sophrosyne*, North also notices a shift. "After the turn of the century, the *arete* that had generally been conceded to the Spartans and had been a political term suggestive, not only of conservatism, but of aristocracy or oligarchy, began to be appropriated by the Athenians and even spoken of as if it were a hallmark of democracy."⁷⁶ She connects this change with a disillusionment in the "values of the generation just past" and the disaster of the Thirty Tyrants, who were aristocrats, but who had clearly lacked *sophrosyne* or virtue.

5. Pleasure and Pain⁷⁷

We may now examine some of those "Socratic" ideas concerning virtue and education. Under the supervision of a *sophonistes*, ephebes are expected to learn

⁷⁴ Plato's *Republic* is the first suggestion that education be provided for young citizens on a system not based on class - Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 120; cf. Jaeger, *Paideia* I, 9: "The class limitations of the old ideals were removed when they were sublimated and universalised by philosophy."

⁷⁵ G. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London, 1972), 375-376; I must concede two things: 1. As de Ste. Croix points out, the aims and audience of the orators might have influenced this shift. 2. Included among those identified with the "old" use are Plato, Isocrates, Xenophon, and Aristotle. I would reply to this by suggesting that such a semantic shift as identified by de Ste. Croix might not have been incorporated into the understanding of these writers, but was later brought about by the new ideas about virtue which their works involved; cf. Ober, *Mass and Elite*, 289-292.

⁷⁶ North, *Myth to Icon*, 100-1.

⁷⁷ I must acknowledge the impact which Jaeger's lengthy study of these writers has had upon my thinking in this section; see (e.g.) Jaeger, *Paideia* II, 7, 53-54.

sophrosyne. The idea of self-restraint, of moderation, was not new to fourth century Athens. Plato's *Lysis* portrays a fine example of the modesty and self-discipline of a young fifth century aristocrat (*Lysis* 214b).⁷⁸ He possesses the ideal of *sophrosyne*. The word is difficult to pin down, however, and its meanings range from prudence to moderation to self-discipline. North highlights the appearance in Athens of *sophrosyne* as an important trait as early as the sixth century (she contrasts this evidence with the impression of Athenian recklessness in Thucydides).⁷⁹ She proposes four phases in "the career of *sophrosyne*". We are interested in the first three. Admitting that they are rough and overlapping, she divides them as follows (I quote):

1. The period in which it is identified with an aristocratic system of values and an oligarchic or at least conservative type of constitution (sixth and fifth centuries B.C.).

2. The fifth and fourth centuries, in which it is increasingly involved with the development of moderate democracy in Athens, particularly as reflected in the speeches of Attic orators of the fourth century.

3. The time of philosophical speculation in the fourth century, when *sophrosyne* attains a greatly expanded significance in the ideal constitution of Plato.⁸⁰

(Her fourth phase centers around Hellenistic and Roman autocrats.) Later North expounds upon the changes wrought by Plato, arguing that in the *Gorgias* he equated *sophrosyne* with order and *kosmos* and thereby transformed it from an "ordinary civic virtue" into a system of "organizing principles akin to the principle of order in the universe....On it ultimately depends the unity of the state."⁸¹ It is crucial to our understanding of the development of ideas relating to the state's role in educating her

⁷⁸ Dover, *Clouds*, lxiii.

⁷⁹ North, *Myth to Icon*, 95-96; her evidence is based upon G. Pfohl's epigraphic work in *Greek Poems on Stones*, Vol. I: Epitaphs from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries B.C. (Leiden, 1967). The contrast with Thucydides' Athens is perhaps to be questioned by the possibility that these inscriptions date from Peisistratid and not democratic times.

⁸⁰ North, *Myth to Icon*, 91.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, 105-106.

citizens that we accept an ongoing change in the meaning, use, and frequency of use of this word. It creeps from 'temperance' towards 'self-discipline' in concert with similar appearances of new words to fill the gap of ambiguity created by this change. *Enkrateia* and *eutaxia* develop out of the same transition, each word having a separate nuance. *Sophrosyne*, *enkrateia*, and *eutaxia* come to be seen as the path by which citizens should be able to attain the virtue that they lack. But Athenian citizens do not embrace such virtues. They "fail to see that nothing in the world can contribute so powerfully to material gain, to good repute, to right action, in a word, to happiness, as virtue and the qualities of virtue."⁸²

In examining the great emphasis placed upon discipline, we must begin as Plato did. For him, an important element in the quest for virtue lies in striking a balance between pleasure and pain:

Athenian: ...I maintain that this disaccord between his feelings of pleasure and pain and his rational judgement constitutes the very lowest depth of ignorance....So when the soul quarrels with knowledge or opinion or reason, its natural ruling principles, you have there what is called 'folly'. This applies both to the state in which people disobey their rulers and laws, and to the individual, when the fine principles in which he believes prove not only ineffective but actually harmful [*Laws* 689].

This belief underpins the whole of the *Laws*. The dichotomy reappears, for example, in his attempts to flatten the wealth distribution of his ideal state in order to avoid those two "foes, wealth and poverty" (729). Xenophon also emphasizes the importance of controlling pleasure and pain. His Socrates (*Mem.* 4.5) points out to Euthydemus that self-control releases one from the control of pleasure.⁸³ Antisthenes claimed that he would sooner go mad than succumb to pleasure.⁸⁴ Isocrates, too, echoes the importance of freedom from pleasure: "For when men are in private life, many things contribute to their education: first and foremost, the absence of luxury among them, and the necessity they are under to take thought each day for their

⁸² Isoc. 8; cf. 15. 240, 12.185; and Pl. *Ap.* 30a, b.

⁸³ For Socrates, *sophrosyne* is a paramount virtue: Xen. *Mem.* 4.3.1.

⁸⁴ Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 15.137; Decleva Caizzi, fg. 108 a-f.

livelihood...[*To Nicocles* 2-3]."

The capability of an individual to overcome impulses of desire is self-control - *enkrateia*. This is somewhat more than the meaning of temperance that *sophrosyne* carries. It is not merely a description of an individual's nature but implies an active and deliberate engagement of will-power. In Xenophon, Socrates continually preaches the virtue. "For holding that it is good for anyone who means to do honourable work to have self-control (*enkrateia*), he made it clear to his companions, in the first place, that he had been assiduous in self-discipline (*enkrateia*); moreover, in his conversation, he exhorted his companions to cultivate self-control (*enkrateia*) above all things" (*Mem.* 4.5.1). He uses the same word in *Memorabilia* 1 (5.1-6 and 6.7), when Socrates describes the value of self-control to Antiphon. In doing so, Socrates explains that he makes a point of staying physically fit, which allows him to "stand every strain" better than his listener, who does not train.

In the *Cyropaedia* *enkrateia* and indifference to hard work or hardship (*ponos*) serve as primary themes. Cyrus describes his moderate diet and regimen of exercise to his father, who suggests that Cyrus prescribe the same for his whole army (*Cyr.* 1.17). The passage is typical of Xenophon's connection of diet, physical exercise, and military training. Due's study of the work emphasizes this aspect: "In Xenophon asceticism and endurance form one great complex, often introduced in topical formulas; and in the *Cyropaedia* that complex, especially the topic of food and drink, appears quite often, more often than the specific term."⁸⁵ All three are possible through self-control and, in turn, they lead to virtue and to military readiness. In another work of Xenophon, the Spartan Lysander is amazed at Cyrus the Younger, who sits down to dinner only after he has worked hard at war or agriculture.⁸⁶ Xenophon writes of the importance of being accustomed to heat and cold - a discipline essential to the conduct of warfare and agriculture.⁸⁷ The whole of the *Cynegeticus* is "inspired by his

⁸⁵ Due, *Cyropaedia*, 170-181, esp. 175, 179.

⁸⁶ Xen. *Oec.* 4.23-24.

⁸⁷ Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.6; in his *Oeconomicus*, Xenophon consistently repeats the moral values of farming: 4.2-3; 5.4-5, 7; 6.6-7, 10, see Garlan, *Poliorkétique*, 69.

admiration for *ponos*, exertion and hardship, without which no man is properly educated."⁸⁸

Neither Xenophon himself nor the "Socratics" at large were the first to understand the moral value of hard work. Hesiod warns us that, "before the temple of Virtue the immortal gods have placed labour, and the way to it is long and steep, and at the commencement rough" (Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.20).⁸⁹ Strepsiades of Aristophanes' *Clouds* is told that as part of his education, he must "cheerfully endure cold and hunger and abstain from the pleasures of life (414 ff., cf. 440 ff.)."⁹⁰ But with the "Socratics", especially Antisthenes, who embraced poverty and whose works on Cyrus and Heracles probably influenced Xenophon heavily,⁹¹ the idea is reinforced and transformed into asceticism. It became a part of the idea that virtue can be taught and that repeated exposure to the elements, to hard work, and obedience will lead to freedom from the demands of pleasure. This is the only real education. Isocrates asserts that such a man - one who holds his pleasures under control and is not spoiled by success - is truly educated (*Antid.* 30-32).

6. Military and Civic Obedience

A result of athletics (and hunting) is that it prepares one for battle. Athens lacks the discipline and obedience her army requires: "But, you see, in the army, where good conduct, discipline, submission are most necessary, our people pay no attention to these things..." (Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.21). The fact that the city has no training, Xenophon reminds us, is all the greater reason for individuals to train themselves

⁸⁸ Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 180.

⁸⁹ Beck, *Greek Education*, 250; cf. Xen. *Cyn.* 12.14-19, in which physical exertion and hunting constitute a 'good education' which induces one to obey the laws.

⁹⁰ Dover, *Clouds*, lxii.

⁹¹ On this and the idea of *autarkeia*, see Dover, *Clouds*, xxxix; Due, *Cyropaedia*, 140-142; Jaeger, *Paideia* II, 55-56; for more on the asceticism and influence of Antisthenes, see Rankin, *Antisthenes*, 24, 27; R. Höistad, *Cynic Hero and Cynic King*, (Upsala, 1980), 77 ff.; O. Gigon, *Sokrates*, (Bern, 1947), 294; H. Dittmar, *Aeschines von Sphettos. Studien zur Literaturgeschichte der Sokratiker* (Berlin, 1912), 74.

(*Mem.* 3.12.5). Perhaps, he hopes, Thebes' newfound prowess will awaken a threatened Athens to a higher level of discipline and obedience (*Mem.* 3.5.5). Arguments about the importance of military training in relation to virtue run two ways. First of all, the development of *enkrateia* will make an individual (or entire state) more effective at warfare: "surely nothing is wanting to the strength of that battle-line in which obedience results in perfect discipline..." (*Xen. Ages.* 6.4).⁹² Socrates was famously a brave warrior both at Potidaea (*Plato Symp.* 219e-220e) and at Delium. Antisthenes was conspicuously brave at Tanagra (*D.L.* 6.1.1).⁹³ *Enkrateia* will allow a general to implement strategies which everybody knows to be sound, but which many often do not bother to enforce, at the peril of their army (*Xen. Oec.* 20.6-7). Secondly, training for war will itself serve to reinforce personal discipline and lead to the development of broader virtues (*Xen. Oec.* 11.11-18). Plato emphasizes the latter effect. His Athenian would legislate lessons in riding, archery, javelin throwing, and slinging (*Leg.* 794). At least once a month, all men, women and children will take part in mass exercises: tactical manoeuvres, marches, and mock battles (*Leg.* 813, 829).⁹⁴ Plato explains why no *polis* trains her citizens (831): in democracies everybody is too greedy and prefers to devote all of their time in the pursuit of wealth, and in oligarchies and autocracies the rulers of states train themselves, but fear to train their subjects for fear of inspiring a fighting spirit, virtue and courage in their subjects. Plato stresses that military training must be conducted while the state is at peace rather than waiting until there is a war. For one thing, he points out, what is called 'peace' is

⁹² See *Xen. Cyr.* 1.17; *Pl. Leg.* 641.

⁹³ Possibly not the battle of 426, but at Tanagra during the Delium campaign of 424 (*Thuc.* 4.76.4); cf. Van der Mühl, 'Interpretationem Biographischer Überlieferung', *Museum Helveticum* 23 (1966), 234; Rankin, *Antisthenes*, 3.

⁹⁴ Plato and Xenophon (*Cyr.* 2.3.17-20) offer the only evidence that pre-Hellenistic Greeks valued such wargames. Perhaps Sparta went in for such things, but no evidence survives to show that democratic citizen armies did. (In *Herod.* 6.12.3, however, the Ionian fleet trains in manoeuvres - until the *ponos* overcomes them and they give it up. It is of some interest to compare the weapon training described here by Plato with that given by Xenophon for his boys and ephebes, as well as that later conducted by Athenian ephebes. In all cases, the use of javelins and bows is present. A significant difference is the absence in the Athenian ephebeia of lessons in hunting, riding or cavalry tactics.)

only a state of undeclared war (626), but also such training is really for peace more than for war (628). Discipline and self-control are the means to an end.⁹⁵

Sophrosyne and *enkrateia* lead not only to individual virtue, but also to excellence for the state as a whole. As Sparta had demonstrated for three hundred years, a disciplined army always overcomes skittish rivals. Chastened by the defeats of the fifth century and immersed in the war-torn fourth century, Athenians needed no great leap of logic to equate martial capability with security. But civic gain did not end there. *Stasis* and moral disorder had also left their scars. The disciplined citizen will not only keep his place in the phalanx, but he will also obey state laws. This is the next logical step in the *Laws*. Plato requires self-control and discipline of his ideal citizens so that they will heed the laws. In fact, as implied in the quote of 689 (p. 103 above), he draws a direct parallel between an individual's use of reason to control his behaviour and a city's use of obedience to its laws.⁹⁶

The state always demanded obedience of her citizens, as both Pericles (Thuc. 2.37.3) and the early citizenship oath remind us, but following the constitutional crises of the Four Hundred and the Thirty, we find a new emphasis upon the importance of the stability and maintenance of accepted law.⁹⁷ Ideas about relativism, conceived by the Ionian philosophers and marketed by the sophists, had been digested by Athens. They could not be forgotten. The city could never again believe that their laws reflected some divinely inspired absolute. The Athenians acknowledged both that the

⁹⁵ Arist. *Pol.* 7.2.10 [1325a6-8]: "It is evident therefore that while all military pursuits are to be deemed honourable, they are not so as being the ultimate end of all things but as means to that end."

⁹⁶ Jaeger, *Paideia* II, 53. I have perhaps developed this philosophy backwards, for it is likely that a transference of civic obedience to laws to the realm of the individual is what originally led Plato to develop his ideas about personal self-control and the rule of reason; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 7.1.5 [1323b] in which the individual happiness of the good person is compared with the civic happiness of a virtuous state.

⁹⁷ Lévy, *Crise Idéologique*, 184; cf. 173-174, 181; M.H. Hansen, *The Athenian Assembly* (Oxford, 1987), 98-101; P.J. Rhodes, 'Athenian Democracy after 403 B.C.', *CJ* 75 (1980), 305-323; A. Harrison, 'Law Making at the End of the Fifth Century B.C.', *JHS* 75 (1955), 26-35; C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1952), 299-305.

laws are not always just and that they are subject to change. What became the new absolute was not the moral legitimacy of law but obedience to the state and its laws, however they stood. The laws of Plato's *Crito* (51a-b) demand obedience even at the cost of personal destruction. Xenophon's Socrates stresses the urgency of obedience to laws even if they may soon change: "Then is there any difference, do you think, between belittling those who obey the laws on the ground that the laws may be annulled, and blaming those who behave well in the wars on the ground that peace may be made?" (*Mem.* 4.4.14). The passage continues: "Among rulers in cities, are you not aware that those who do most to make the citizens obey the laws are the best, and that the city in which the citizens are most obedient to the laws has the best time in peace and is irresistible in war?"

If the people of a city are suitably obedient, there is no need for a complex legal code. Plato carried this idea to extremes when, in the *Republic*, he did away with laws altogether. In the *Laws* he returns to them, but only with a brutally simplified code. His emphasis lies rather on shaping the character of his citizens. Isocrates believes the same thing. 'Arrogance and insolence' have been the source of the city's misfortunes, while *sophrosyne* that of its blessings (8.119). He hopes for a political reform "tout d'abord comme une réforme des caractères plutôt que les institutions, comme une véritable réforme morale."⁹⁸

Virtue is the result of *sophrosyne*, in its meaning of self-discipline - of the *enkrateia* to forego pleasure. An individual, like Socrates,⁹⁹ who possesses and reinforces such qualities will be happy and good. A city made up of such men (and women) will be strong in war, obedient to its laws, productive, and free from *stasis*. But not everybody is by nature like Socrates, nor, like Prodicus' Heracles, will they stop, when passing from boyhood to youth, at the crossroads of virtue and vice and ponder which path to take (*Xen. Mem.* 2.1.21). Self-discipline can and must be taught, and it can only be taught by repeated and rigorous training.

⁹⁸ Mathieu, *Isocrate*, 130; Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 119-120.

⁹⁹ Xenophon's Socrates renders 'scrupulous obedience to the laws': *Mem.* 4.4.1-2.

7. State Education: Sparta, Persia and the Areopagus

"To me indeed it seems that whatever is honourable, whatever is good in conduct is the result of training, and that this is especially true of prudence. For in the same body along with the soul are planted the pleasures which call to her, 'Abandon prudence, and make haste to gratify us and the body.'" (Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.23). In his later years, Isocrates calls "educated" those who: "hold their pleasures always under control and are not unduly overcome by their misfortunes, bearing up under them bravely..." (*Panath.* 31-32). Plato repeatedly emphasizes the importance of proper education.¹⁰⁰ Elsewhere, he stresses that "we should stop spoiling [children], and resort to discipline" (793). A citizen body properly educated by the state will *desire* to avoid pleasure and to obey the laws. Its virtues will be "a genuine expression of [its] inner disposition. Education, then, if properly conducted will not only produce an accord between the citizen's opinions and what the law prescribes; it will also produce an accord between these opinions and the feelings of pleasure and pain, of love and dislike, which are the chief determinants of action" (653a, 659d).¹⁰¹

The idea of state education in discipline was heavily influenced by the example of Sparta and was conveyed through mythical versions of Persia and the Athenian Areopagus. "Sparta," declared Antisthenes, "was the abode of men: Athens, the women's quarters."¹⁰² Spartan discipline and political unity were legendary long before the Peloponnesian War. Demaratus warns Xerxes about the powers of such a people: "Law is the master whom they own, and this master they fear more than your subjects fear you. Whatever it commands they do..." (Herod. 7.104). Archidamus contrasts implicitly Athenian and Spartan regard for law: "We are warlike because self-control contains honour as a chief constituent, and honour bravery. And we are wise, because we are educated with too little learning to despise the laws, and with too severe a self-control to disobey them" (Thuc. 1.84.3). The "legend" of Laconism, whether justified or not, has been well documented and was no invention or sudden discovery

¹⁰⁰ Pl. *Leg.* 641, 644.

¹⁰¹ Morrow, *Cretan City*, 300-301; see Dodds, *Irrational*, 212.

¹⁰² Theon of Alexandria, *Peri Progyrnasmaton* 33; Decleva Caizzi, *Antisthenis*, fg. 195.

of Plato and his contemporaries.¹⁰³

In the *Laws*, the Spartan Megillus lists the various sorts of Spartan training (633): *sussitia*, gymnastics, hunting, boxing, raids, the *krypteia*, etc. These were the tools of the Spartan *agoge*. They are designed, explained Simonides, to break men to Spartan discipline and courage as horses are broken to the rider and bit (Plut. *Ages.* 1).¹⁰⁴ Xenophon knew the Spartans best of all; his love for them is apparent in his *Agesilaus* and *Lac. Pol.*, the second of which Jaeger describes as "a product of the political and philosophical romanticism of the fourth century, which held the Spartan state to be a sort of political revelation from heaven."¹⁰⁵

Isocrates' feelings towards Sparta are less well-known. At times he refers to it as an oligarchy, at times as "the most democratic" state (7.60; cf. *Nic.* 24). In Isocrates' works as a whole, however, he appears ambivalent because, although he does harbour respect for Sparta, he fears loss of credibility with his Athenian audience. A key lies hidden at the end of his last work, completed in 339 shortly before his death.¹⁰⁶ After dealing Sparta hidden compliments under the excuse of comparing her to Athens (*Panath.* 111-112), he uses the device of a dialogue with a 'pro-Spartan' student to praise the Spartan constitution. While Isocrates unconvincingly denounces Sparta by pointing out the harm that she has wrought on Greece, the student praises "the athletic practices which have been instituted among them, their training in courage, their spirit of concord, and, in a word, their discipline for war. These," he proclaims, "all men will commend, and will concede that the Spartans practise them most of all" (217).

¹⁰³ Lévy, *Crise Idéologique*, 197; cf. North, *Myth to Icon*, 93; E. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity*, Vol. I (Stockholm, 1965), for Spartan admiration in Xenophon (159-178), Isocrates (179-205), and Plato (244-275); F. Ollier, *Le Mirage spartiate. Étude sur l'idéalisation de Sparte dans l'Antiquité grecque*, Vol. I (Paris, 1933); E. Rawson, *The Spartan tradition in European thought* (Oxford, 1969).

¹⁰⁴ Morrow, *Cretan City*, 52-54; for descriptions of the *agoge*, see Xen. *Lac. Pol.*, *Agesilaus*; Plut. *Vit. Lyc.*, *Vit. Ages.*; P. Cartledge, *Agesilaos and the crisis of Sparta* (London, 1987), 24-33; W.G. Forrest, *A History of Sparta* (London, 1968), 51.

¹⁰⁵ Jaeger, *Paideia* I, 77.

¹⁰⁶ On "the Riddle of the Panathenaicus", see Tigerstedt, *Legend of Sparta*, 191-197.

Isocrates congratulates himself for his subtlety in praising both cities without seeming to be pro-Spartan (239). Through his student, Isocrates describes the rewards of Spartan discipline: "of all the other Hellenic states, many as they are, no man could cite or find a single one which has not been involved in the misadventures which are wont to happen to states, whereas in the city of the Spartans no one can show an instance of civil faction or slaughter or unlawful exile, nor of seizure of property or outrage to women and children, nor even of revolution or abolition of debts or redistribution of lands, nor of any other irreparable ills" (258-9).¹⁰⁷ Sparta's discipline is the right tool used in the wrong hands. Athens merits glory because of her virtuous leadership, while Sparta had used her power against Greece, but the latter had also demonstrated a way of life that created absolute unity and left no room for the danger of *stasis*.

There are three independent factors that made Sparta an obvious model. First of all, Plato, Xenophon, Isocrates and their associates were staunchly conservative. Plato's relatives, Critias and Charmides, were the villains of the oligarchic reign of terror in 404. An aristocrat, Xenophon had campaigned extensively with Spartans and had lived for some time on his estate in Elis. Isocrates is alleged to have been an associate of Theramenes, the moderate oligarch who played so instrumental a role during both oligarchic coups.¹⁰⁸

Secondly, Athenian defeat at the hands of the Spartiate must have left a profound impression. By the fourth century, Athenians may have decided that the 'legend' of Sparta had something to it. Even though our most important sources, Plato's *Laws*, Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and Isocrates' *Areopagiticus* and *Panathenaicus*, were all written after Thebes had defeated Sparta, what had kept Lacedaemon great for three hundred years could never be forgotten. Spartan discipline, it was alleged, had even allowed them to excel at foreign skills. "Because of their supremacy on land and of their stern discipline and of the self-control which was cultivated under it, they readily

¹⁰⁷ cf. Isoc. 15.127.

¹⁰⁸ [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 837.

obtained command of the sea..." (Isoc. 8.102). Isocrates then explains that once Spartan discipline gave way to the temptations presented by its own success, the hegemony collapsed.

Thirdly, the Spartan system provided a good model for Plato because it offered precisely what he was looking for. It is more likely that his search for the path to virtue, and its solution in the development of *sophrosyne* and *enkrateia*, led him to look more closely at Sparta (by then a "synonym" for *eunomia*)¹⁰⁹ than that he somehow developed his lifetime philosophy and search for spirituality out of a conservative admiration for Sparta. The "Socratics" sought educational ideals for a morally impoverished Athens. "When will Athenians show the Lacedaemonian reverence for age," pines Xenophon, "seeing that they despise all their elders, beginning with their own fathers? When will they adopt the Lacedaemonian system of training, seeing that they not only neglect to make themselves fit, but mock at those who take the trouble to do so? When will they reach that standard of obedience to their rulers, seeing that they make contempt of rulers a point of honour?" (Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.15-16).

We must not forget that Plato never embraces Spartan ways wholesale. He points out that Spartan generals are corruptible, recommending the Athenian symposium as a test of such defects (639-640), and he denounces the *krypteia* as unmanly (824a). Aristotle has no patience for those who see Sparta as a constitutional ideal. In his view the mere fact that they have lost their premier position in Hellas is sufficient proof that their success could not have been the product of their laws (*Pol.* 7.13.10-13, 22 [1333b ff.]). His attitude serves as a counterweight to intellectual pro-Spartan undercurrents.¹¹⁰

Athenian political philosophers did not look only to Dorian tradition. Persia features prominently in their writings as a setting for the ideal state.

¹⁰⁹ Morrow, *Cretan City*, 43; cf. Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, 185-6.

¹¹⁰ v. Morrow, *Cretan City*, 44-48, and Lévy, *Crise Idéologique*, 202-203 for further examples of fourth century Athenian intellectual anti-Spartanism.

And [Cyrus] thought that temperance could be best inculcated, if he showed that he himself was never carried away from the pursuit of the good by any pleasures of the moment, but that he was willing to labour first for the attainment of refined pleasures.

To sum up, then, by setting such an example Cyrus secured at court great correctness of conduct on the part of his subordinates, who gave precedence to their superiors; and thus he also secured from them a great degree of respect and politeness toward one another [Xen. *Cyr.* 8.1.32-3].¹¹¹

Although it is commonly assumed that the Persia described in such works is entirely fictitious, merely a canvas for philosophical expression, there are some similarities to be drawn between Sparta and Persia - not least the dependence of both societies upon obedience (one to law, the other to the King, cf. Herod. 7.104). In the fourth century, the connection of Persia with this new emphasis on obedience was perhaps first made by Antisthenes, who wrote two pieces about Cyrus the Great.¹¹² The flamboyant and immoral career of Alcibiades is compared with the rigours of Persian education in the works of Antisthenes, Aeschines, and Plato.¹¹³ Isocrates, too, used Cyrus as an example of the virtuous Persian (in conjunction with Heracles as the virtuous Greek).¹¹⁴ An important aspect of the Persian focus, however, is that while comparisons are made to contemporary Spartan and Cretan systems, the Persia that the philosophers have in mind is an old, pre-Xerxes Persia, a Persia undiluted by soft Median ways of living. Plato's Athenian describes this change (*Laws* 695):

The children's father [Darius, father of Xerxes]...did not know that his intended heirs were not being instructed in the traditional Persian discipline. This discipline (the Persians being shepherds, and sons of a stony soil) was a tough one, capable of producing hardy shepherds who could camp out and keep awake on watch and turn soldier if necessary. He simply failed to notice that women and eunuchs had given his sons the education of a Mede, and that it had been debased by their so-called 'blessed' status.

¹¹¹ The authenticity of Book 8 is debated, but this quote is typical of the whole work.

¹¹² Diod. 6.15-18.

¹¹³ Antisthenes, see D.L. 6.18; Aeschines, see D.L. 2.61; Plato, *Alc.* 122a-c; cf. Higginson, *Greek Attitudes*, 179-181.

¹¹⁴ Isoc. 5.109-112.

Plato did not invent the idea of a Persian softening. Darius is compared with his weak son, Xerxes, who is overly protected by his mother, Atossa, in Aeschylus' *Persae*.¹¹⁵ It is difficult for us to know to what degree Xenophon and others have simply created a Persian education, (or superimposed Dorian systems onto it) and to what extent there may have been some sort of deliberate education in hardiness. What is clear, however, is that Xenophon, like Plato and Antisthenes, does not intend to describe Persian ways so much as to contrast aspects of their ideal with the Athenian *status quo*. High on the list of important Persian habits is the teaching of *sophrosyne* and to *peithesthai* (obedience).¹¹⁶

If in former times the Persians were more disciplined and more virtuous, so too (said legend) were the Athenians. Socrates of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (3.5.7-9) had suggested that Pericles make the Athenians more obedient (εὐπειθεστέρους) and better disciplined (εὐτακτοτέρους). He explains that: "As we want them to strive for pre-eminence in virtue, we must show that this belonged to them in old days, and that by striving for it they will surpass all other men." "How then can we teach this?" asks Pericles. "I think by reminding them that their earliest ancestors of whom we have any account were, as they themselves have been told, the most valiant."¹¹⁷

Isocrates looked back to a more effective, better disciplined archaic Athens.¹¹⁸ His examples stretch back to mythic history - to the time of Heracles, Agamemnon and Theseus.¹¹⁹ Isocrates did not desire oligarchic rule so much as a return to the more moderate democracy of before the Persian Wars - a democracy which "trained the masses and turned them toward *arete*" (*Paneg.* 75).¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ cf. Herod. 9.122, where Cyrus the Great warns that "soft countries give birth to soft men".

¹¹⁶ See Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 165-166; Due, *Cyropaedia*, 150-151, who also points out the 'unusual' emphasis on self-control in the face of food and drink; see also H. North, *Sophrosyne: Selfknowledge and Selfrestraint in Greek Literature* (Ithaca, 1966), 130 ff.

¹¹⁷ This is repeated at *Mem.* 3.5.14.

¹¹⁸ Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 120; Morrow, *Cretan City*, 592, argues that the setting of the *Laws* is in fact based on Plato's perceptions of what an ancient Athens was like.

¹¹⁹ *On the Peace* ([8].109-112), *Panathenaicus* ([12].72 ff., 126 ff.), *Helen* ([10].18 ff.).

¹²⁰ cf. Isoc. 12.126-148; 10.35-37; R. Wallace, *The Areopagus Council* (Baltimore, 1989), 163.

His prime focus is the institution of the Areopagus. For Isocrates this relic of the old aristocracy was the arbiter of excellence in pre-Periclean Athens.¹²¹

The Athenians of that day were not watched over by many preceptors during their boyhood only to be allowed to do what they liked when they attained to manhood; on the contrary, they were subjected to greater supervision in the very prime of their vigour than when they were boys.¹²² For our forefathers placed such strong emphasis upon sobriety [*sophrosyne*] that they put the supervision of decorum in charge of the Council of the Areopagus - a body which was composed exclusively of men who were of noble birth and had exemplified in their lives exceptional virtue and sobriety... [Isoc. *Areop.* 37].

His Areopagus taught discipline by the formation of the people's character in the habits of every-day life (*Areop.* 39-40). The ancient concern for the virtue and sobriety in Athens dated, he claims, to the days of her kings (*Panath.* 138). They instructed the people in virtue and justice; their noble example improved the entire state. Isocrates echoes Plato in this passage when he compares a state and its laws with an individual and reason: "...every polity is the soul of the state, having as much power over it as the mind over the body. For it is this which deliberates on all questions, seeking to preserve what is good and to avoid what is disastrous...." Things have degenerated from a Golden Age. Nowadays, he moans, the "discipline" of the old days is gone. He finds a proof of this in the declining citizen interest in performing their military duties (*Areop.* 82), and argues that the decline in discipline was the result of a Periclean emphasis on the navy, rowed by a disorderly rabble, rather than on an obedient and disciplined army (*Panath.* 115).¹²³

¹²¹ cf. Wallace, *Areopagus*, 173; Mathieu, *Isocrate*, 136-8.

¹²² See p. 31 above for the relevance of this passage to the date of the *ephebeia*. Isocrates' vocabulary, ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς ἀνδρας δοκιμασθεῖεν, leaves no room for doubt: there was no compulsory *ephebic* service at the time.

¹²³ Isocrates' belief in the disorderly rabble of the fleet is exactly opposite to Xenophon's (*Mem.* 3.5.18): "No, no, Pericles, don't think the wickedness of the Athenians so utterly past remedy. Don't you see what good discipline they maintain in their fleets...?"

Xenophon (*Mem.* 3.5.20) also invokes the example of the Areopagus:

Then Socrates asked, "But what of the Court of the Areopagus, Pericles? Are not its members persons who have won approval?"

"Certainly."

"Then do you know of any who decide the cases that come before them and perform all their other functions more honourably, more in accordance with law, with more dignity and justice?"

"I am not finding fault with the Areopagus."

"Then you must not despair of Athenian discipline [*eutaxia*]."

The chief officials in Plato's *Laws*, his "guardians of the laws" (νομοφύλακες), might have been influenced by an admiration for the Areopagus. The same word, representing the custodianship of the laws (νομοφυλακία), is used by contemporary or later writers to describe the role of that body.¹²⁴ Plato shared belief in a decline of traditional Athenian respect for the laws (*Laws* 698b5; 699c4).

8. Example, Shame, and Honour

The Areopagus is to provide an example for modern Athens to follow in her struggle to regain her former virtue (and thereby her stature). Example holds an important place as a technique of "Socratic" instruction. The Younger Pericles is advised to find example in the Areopagus or the order and obedience of Athenian chorus and athlete trainers (*Xen. Mem.* 3.5.14-18). Xenophon's Cyrus constantly sets an example of proper and disciplined behaviour for his lieutenants and army to follow (e.g. *Cyr.* 8.1.33). According to Isocrates, the Areopagus used to demonstrate virtue through their daily example (*Areop.* 39-40; cf. *Panath.* 138).¹²⁵

The teacher urges Nicocles of Cyprus to exhort the young to virtue by "exemplifying in

¹²⁴ cf. Isoc. 7.37-49; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 8.4, see Morrow, *Cretan City*, 84; for Aeschines' similar emphasis on older Athenian virtue and Solonian laws intended to instill discipline into the young, see Aeschin. 1.7, .20, .139; North, *Myth to Icon*, 123; for the Areopagus as a 'cura morum' prior to the reforms of Ephialtes: G. Cawkwell, 'NOMΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΑ and the Areopagus', *JHS* 108 (1988), 1-11.

¹²⁵ cf. *Xen. Vect.* 1.1, written simultaneously with the Isoc. *Areopagiticus*, according to Mathieu, *Isocrate*, 145.

his own conduct what good men ought to be" (*Nic.* 57). Following the example of virtuous men will yield rich rewards:

...most of all I am concerned with those who, in preference to any other, will gladly listen to a discourse which celebrates the virtues of men and the ways of a well-governed state. For if any should have the wish and power to pattern their lives upon such examples, they might themselves pass their days in the enjoyment of high repute and render their own countries happy and prosperous [*Isoc. Panath.* 136-137].

"The best way of training the young," advises Plato's Athenian, "is to train yourself at the same time; not to admonish, but to be always carrying out your own admonitions in practice" (*Laws* 729). Virtue, which can only be attained by self-mastery and self-discipline, must be trained. The young will learn as they follow the noble example of their elders.

The most effective tool for education is the use of fear of shame and desire for honour. "I maintain that everyone does everything which he does for the sake of pleasure or gain or honour" (*Isoc.* 15.217). The role of glory and honour as a part of the aristocratic value system predates Homer, who sung of the *klea andron*. Herodotus wrote "so that the great deeds do not go unrecorded."¹²⁶ Esteem in the eyes of one's peers is the fuel that fired the Spartan machine. Aristodemus and Pantites were the only two Spartans to survive the Thermopylae campaign. The first was labelled Aristodemus the Coward (until redeeming himself at Plataea); the latter hanged himself (*Herod.* 7.231-232). We should not be surprised, therefore, to find that philosophers stress the third of Isocrates' incentives as a way of combating excesses of the first two. "Athenians excel all others not so much in singing, or in stature or in strength, as in love of honour, which is the strongest incentive to deeds of honour and renown" (*Xen. Mem.* 3.3.13). The general suggests to a cavalry commander that he distribute glory to create an atmosphere which will lead to discipline

¹²⁶ Pritchett, *GSW* II, 287; for Homeric 'shame-culture', see Dodds *Irrational*, 17-18, 28-50; A.W.H. Adkins, *From the Many to the One* (Ithaca, 1970), 43.

and readiness to face the enemy (*Mem.* 3.3.14). He advises his fictional tyrant to follow the analogy of the Athenian choral competition and to establish contests between his tribes, with prizes offered for "excellence in equipment, good discipline, horsemanship, courage in the field and fair dealing in business" (*Hiero.* 9.5-6). Cyrus explains to his father the secret of obedience: "...and most of all the laws seem to me to teach these two things above all else, to govern and to be governed. And now, when I think of it, it seems to me that in all things the chief incentive to obedience lies in this: praise and honour for the obedient, punishment and dishonour for the disobedient" (*Cyr.* 1.6.20).¹²⁷

Plato uses desire for honour and fear of shame as the primary incentive for obeying the laws in his ideal state. His Athenian explains: "We maintain that if a state is going to survive to enjoy all the happiness that mankind can achieve, it is vitally necessary for it to distribute honours and marks of disgrace on a proper basis. And the proper basis is to put spiritual goods at the top of the list and hold them - provided the soul exercises self-control - in the highest esteem" (*Laws* 697). He advocates awards of honour to overcome aversion to pain (634) and plans to use shame in the same way (647).

As a part of his war-games, Plato plans for military competitions throughout the countryside in order to simulate real fighting as nearly as possible, using weapons just dangerous enough that they reveal the brave man and the coward. Observing his citizens, the legislator will confer honours upon the brave and virtuous, just as he will disgrace the cowardly (830). All this will "prepare the whole state to be an efficient fighter in the real struggle that lasts a lifetime" - the pursuit of virtue. At the end of the dialogue, as the Athenian proposes various laws with their concurrent penalties, disgrace is paramount among punishments, honour the highest of rewards.

9. Two correlations: *Sussitia* and Xenophon's "ephebes"

I close with two specific parallels between the ephebeia and the ideas discussed. The first is the ephebic *sussition* or common mess. Invented, according to Aristotle,

¹²⁷ cf. Isocrates' sadness at the loss of a sense of shame, 7. 48 ff.; Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 237.

by King Italus of the Oenotrians (*Pol.* 7.9.2 [1329b]), group meals of adult male citizens were an integral part of life in both Sparta and Crete. Plato values the institution and adopts it for his ideal state (*Laws* 842b), but he does not have a particular preference as to from which of the two forms to borrow.¹²⁸ The meals represent for the philosopher "a part of that life-long education to which the citizen is to be subjected, and by which the law imprints its principles upon his manners and sentiments."¹²⁹ In the perpetual company of his peers, the Spartan's identity becomes inseparable from that of the state. The Spartan "trained, with his *sussitoi*, he fought, with his *sussitoi*, or he was idle, again for the most part one would imagine with his *sussitoi*."¹³⁰ Whereas Plato admired the institution as an educational feature of Spartan and Cretan culture, *sussitia* (or at least state-provided common meals) appear in Aristotle's account of the Athenian ephebic programme. It is possible that those meals which *sophrontistai* provided for their ephebic tribes were a loose adoption of the Spartan procedure, similar to what Plato's Athenian has in mind.¹³¹

The second parallel is a close comparison between the ephebic system as described by Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia* (written in the 360's)¹³² and the actual system which later appeared in Athens. I quote Xenophon at length because it distils clearly the various "Socratic" principles of education which I have been discussing. I mark specific aspects of the passage with bold-faced letters in order to compare them with

¹²⁸ Aristotle also includes *sussitia* among his ingredients for the ideal state (*Pol.* 7.9.6 [1330a]).

¹²⁹ Morrow, *Cretan City*, 389, 394.

¹³⁰ Forrest, *Sparta*, 53-54.

¹³¹ Murray, 'Symposium', 89; but *Ath. Pol.* 42.3 could simply mean "they ate together" (cf. Lysias 13.79). In societal terms and function the ephebic meals would have been very different from the Spartan *sussitia*, but this does not negate the possibility that Athens borrowed the more basic idea of unit cohesion; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 507: "eating together by tribes was perhaps a conscious imitation of the more extensive Spartan ἀγῶγῆ"; cf. Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 130: "a student of Plato and with him an admirer of Spartan training, [Lycurgus] surely felt that the *syssitia* system developed the feeling of solidarity, cooperation, mutual support and mutual dependency so vital to the morale particularly of a citizen army."

¹³² Date of *Cyropaedia*: D.L. Gera, *Xenophon's Cyropaedia. Style, Genre, and Literary Technique* (Oxford, 1993), 23-25. As Gera explains, the work's *terminus post quem* is 362 if Book 8 is accepted as genuine.

the ephebeia:

1.2.8 They teach the boys temperance [*sophrosyne*] as well (A), and it greatly contributes toward instructing them to behave temperately (A) that they should also see the older men passing every day in a seemly manner (D).

They also teach them to obey their leaders (A), and it contributes greatly toward this as well for them to see even the older men strictly obeying their magistrates (A, D). Another thing in which they instruct them is self-control [*enkrateia*] in eating and drinking.... (B) In addition to these subjects, they also learn to use a bow and to hurl a javelin. So then, until six- or seventeen years after their birth the boys participate in these activities, and after this they are promoted into the ephebes.

1.2.9 These ephebes, in turn, pass their time in the following manner: for ten years from that in which they left the ranks of boys, they keep watch around the government buildings (C), just as we mentioned earlier, both for the sake of guarding the city, and to develop self-discipline (A), because this age seems to be the most needing of attention. And also during the day they offer their services to their leaders to be used should the latter require anything for the common good (C). And whenever it is necessary, they all stay around the government buildings. But whenever the king goes out on a hunt, he leads out half of the guard.... Those who go out must have a bow and, in addition to their quiver, a scimitar in a sheath, or an axe, as well as a light shield and two spears, so that he can throw the one and use the other, should he need to, in close combat (C).

(1.2.10-11 discusses various aspects of their hunt, unsurprisingly similar to the *Cynegetica*).

1.2.12 The tribes who remain at home, in turn, spend their time with archery and throwing spears and practising all the other things which they learned when they were boys (C), and they also continue competing against each other in these things (E). And there are also public competitions of this sort, for which prizes are offered (E, F); and to whichever tribe should have the greatest number of the most expert, the most masculine, and the most trustworthy ephebes (A, F), the citizens praise and honour not only the current officer (G), but also whomever it was who trained them as boys (G). And the magistrates may make use of any of the youth who remain behind, whether for garrison duty (C), or for arresting criminals, or for intercepting brigands, or for any other such task requiring strength or speed.

Cyropaedia

- (A) education in self-control and obedience
- (B) physical denial / *ponos*
- (C) military training / guard duty
- (D) example of virtue in elders
- (E) contests
- (F) public honour for ephebes
- (G) public honour for trainers

Athenian Ephebeia

- praise for *eutaxia*, *arete* and obedience
- mountain patrol duty, simple rations (?)
- military training / guard of the *chora*
- example of *sophronistai*, *kosmetai*
- ephebic festival competition
- decrees, monuments, golden crowns
- honour granted officers and *didaskaloi*

Not only does the Athenian ephebeia share its name with Xenophon's Persian training programme, but both the aims of the systems and the methods used to produce those aims are strikingly similar. The goal is to create citizens who are virtuous - who will obey the law, hold their place in battle, and avoid the temptations of pleasure which lead to moral decline. Exposure to close supervision, hard work, and rigorous training, with examples to follow and rewards for success in competition, are the techniques used to instil those qualities in young citizens. These aims and techniques spring out of a trend of "Socratic" thinking which took place in the first half of the fourth century.

10. Conclusion

Due to the effect of the sophists (or such was the perception), as well as various effects of the Peloponnesian War and the loss of the Athenian empire, the young men of that period, after first being associated with new styles, luxury, and rebellion, came later to be associated also with the disaster of the Sicilian expedition and both oligarchic revolutions. Certain fourth century thinkers who had grown up in that time - Plato, Xenophon, Isocrates, and probably many others - agreed that for a city to be well governed and successful at war it had to be virtuous. A city became virtuous by being comprised of virtuous citizens. Virtue could be taught, but the most important ingredient of its teaching was discipline because only discipline allows one to avoid the

temptations of pleasure and withstand the forces of pain and fear. Discipline was best taught by military training (and other similarly demanding activities such as hunting and farming). The use of example, competition, and honour (or shame) were also ways of inspiring discipline (and other virtues).

The beauty of this model is that it can be applied on a very basic level. Isocrates and others were mistrustful of Plato's complex and lofty ideas, and one could not expect all citizens to grasp them. Yet the formulas put forward do not require attendance at the Academy. They do not require any intellectual or philosophic activity on the part of those being trained. They are simple enough for a legislator to put into practice in one form or another, just as they are simple enough to have entered, either *en masse* or one by one, into the discourse of Athenian political thought. I intend to argue that Lycurgan Athens was exactly the sort of culture in which the "Socratic" germ would grow.

"There's a great deal to be said for compulsion," stated
Homer Slotern. "Provided it's democratically planned."

- Ayn Rand, *The Fountainhead*

Chapter V

"Lycurgan Athens" and the Athenian Ephebeia

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the creation of the ephebeia as a product of "Lycurgan Athens", the period from 338 to 322. There can be no doubt that the new programme of training was a highly visible and ideologically important part of the Athenian rejuvenation initiated under the regime of Lycurgus. Twenty-four ephebic inscriptions have been found which can be dated to the fourth century. None of these has been positively dated prior to 334/3. Of the seventeen which can be securely dated, 13 belong to the four years 334/3 to 331/0.¹ Another 2 are dated to within the same four years but not definitively.² The inscriptions have been found throughout Attica and demonstrate nothing short of an explosion of ephebic activity, previously unattested.³ It is during Lycurgan Athens that we first find allusions to the ephebeia in surviving literature.⁴ I have already written about the Ephebic Oath and accepted for it the possibility of an early date.⁵ I should point out, however, that none of our sources which mention or give the wording for the oath date prior to Lycurgan Athens.⁶ Lycurgus showed great interest in both the oath and the ephebeia itself. He honoured Epicrates with a statue for the latter's "law concerning the ephebeia".⁷

¹ Reinmuth 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13 (=A4 [Catalogue A, No. 4]), A5, A6, and A9.

² Reinmuth 10 (=A8) and A7.

³ We even hear of a trireme named the "Ephebos" in 323/2: IGII² 1632.262 - B. Strauss, 'The Ideology of the Athenian Oarsman', paper delivered at Royal Holloway, Egham, 20 May 1994.

⁴ e.g. Demades frg. 68, V. De Falco, *Demade Oratore. Testimonianze e Frammenti* (Naples, 1954); Deinarchus 3.16; *Against Agasicles*, frg. 58; Philemon frg. 28; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42; *Pol.* 6.5.7. In asserting this, I except Aeschines' use of "*synepheboi*", see pp. 35 ff. above, and references to the ephebic oath.

⁵ See pp. 43 ff. above.

⁶ Although, as we have seen (p. 44 above), two orators refer to it in a pre-Lycurgan context.

A brief note on sources: in what follows, I have made substantial use of several late sources, not least Plutarch and [Plutarch]. On many subjects these writings comprise the only material available to us, and we can have no choice but to use them as best we can and hope for some degree of accuracy. I should point out, however, that several of the "Socratic" ideas recorded in the preceding chapter occupied the thoughts of Plutarch as well (for instance he wrote an essay on "Is Virtue Teachable?", *Mor.* 409e-438e); his beliefs may have influenced somewhat the biographical sketches he provides. Although Plutarch is a respected source who commanded broad knowledge of material now lost,⁸ we must approach his accounts of virtuous habits of living with a certain degree of caution. We know nothing of the author of [Plutarch] *Vit. X Orat.*, when it might have been written, or whether the same source was responsible for the appended collection of decrees.

1. The political relevance of the "Socratics"

The previous chapter has been largely concerned with ideas generated in the early fourth century about educating the young. Because it is my thesis that those ideas and the broader intellectual dialogue to which they belonged influenced the creation of the *ephebeia*, I must also be prepared to argue that such "Socratic" thought could plausibly have had an influence upon later Athenian politics. Although I maintain that the increasing emphasis upon discipline was a trend in thinking rather than the dogma of a particular school, it will be helpful to address the influence of both Plato and Isocrates upon fourth century Athenian political thought.

The complete writings of both authors survive, a testament to their importance not only to Dark Age scribes but also to intellectuals at the time of their publication. The subject of Platonic influence on the politics of Athens is debated. Some suppose that the works of Plato, in particular, were kept within the walls of the Academy to ferment until the outside world was ready to receive them. Brunt has written that Plato

⁷ Lycurgus frg. 5 (=Harpocration, s.v.), cf. pp. 154-155 below.

⁸ L.A. Tritle, *Phocion the Good* (London, 1988), 2-3.

influenced Athenian politics "not at all", that there were no traces of Platonic thought in any speeches or policies, and that the influence of the school "on the history of the states was nil".⁹ I do not agree, but, ultimately, the difference in opinion between Brunt and myself is one of degree. While he is interested in demonstrating that Plato's Academy was not, in fact, a sort of political think-tank which dispatched its followers across Greece to put their philosophy into practice, I am arguing simply that many important political figures must have come into close contact with the sort of "Socratic" ideas which I have described, and that, through those figures and their discourse, educated Athenian opinion was indirectly and partially shaped by those ideas.

Brunt fails to address adequately the influence which the publication of Plato's ideas might have had upon the literati of Athens. The many parallels between Plato's writings and those of Isocrates (not least the plagiarism of the *Apology* evident in the *Antidosis*) are evidence that Plato's works were published and circulated shortly after completion and that they were part of a broader philosophical dialogue.¹⁰

Even with writings widespread, the more effective means by which Plato's ideas were transmitted was through his students and their associates. Brunt writes that there is no evidence for any formal organization to the Academy until the death of Speusippus, but the fact that Plato's "students" were not attending lectures in any modern sense in no way negates the likelihood that Plato's words left their mark upon his listeners.¹¹ These were not limited to pale, cloistered Academicians, but included men of state throughout Greece (Plut. *Adv. Colot.* 1126a): Dion of Syracuse; Python and Heraclides, liberators of Thrace; Aristonymus, legislator of Megalopolis; Phormio of Elis; Menedemus of Pyrrhus; Eudoxus of Cnidus; Aristotle and Xenocrates. To this we may also add Callippus, murderer of Dio of Syracuse; Clearchus, tyrant of Heraclea of Pontus and his adversary Chion; Euphraeus, counselor to Perdicas III.¹²

⁹ P.A. Brunt, *Studies in Greek History and Thought* (Oxford, 1993), 282, 301, and 332, respectively.

¹⁰ Inter-relationships between Plato, Xenophon, Antisthenes and Isocrates, see Mathieu, *Isocrate*, 30-31, 175-188; cf. Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 55-56.

¹¹ Brunt, *Studies*, 284.

Among Athenians were the great generals Chabrias and Phocion (Plut., loc.cit., and *Vit. Phoc.* 4.1),¹³ the orator Hyperides (Athen. 8.342c; D.L. 3.46; [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 848d¹⁴), and the administrator Lycurgus ([Plut.] loc.cit. and 841b; D.L. loc.cit.; Olympiodorus on Pl. *Gorgias* 515c).¹⁵ There is even a tradition according to which the orator Demosthenes listened to Plato (Olympiod., loc.cit.; [Plut.] 844b; Hermippus *apud* Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 848.7; Cic. *De Orat.* 1.89). While in the case of Demosthenes neither Plutarch nor [Plutarch] fully accept their sources on the subject, they do remain open to the possibility.¹⁶

Phocion's entry into a reluctant Byzantium was facilitated by his friendship with Leon, a Byzantine orator and fellow student at the Academy (Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 14). Xenocrates, leader of the Academy, was included among an embassy to Antipater because of his spiritual reputation in Athens (op.cit. 27.1-2). Chaeron of Pellene, having become tyrant of his city through the agency of Alexander (Paus. 7.27.7), proceeded to install a communistic government based loosely upon what he had learned from the lectures of Plato and Xenocrates (Athen. 509b). The policies of Demetrius of Phalerum and later Hellenistic Greece exhibit traces of "Platonic" or, more directly, Aristotelian influence.¹⁷

¹² Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 111-112.

¹³ Plato as a relative of Chabrias and Timotheus: Philochorus, *FGh* 328 F 223; cf. Tritle, *Phocion*, 46, and for the influence of Plato on Phocion in general, 50-54.

¹⁴ Henceforth [Plut.].

¹⁵ R.F. Renehan, 'The Platonism of Lycurgus', *GRBS* 11 (1970), 219; Morrow, *Cretan City*, 9.

¹⁶ *contra* Chabrias and Demosthenes, Brunt, *Studies*, 300-301.

¹⁷ Morrow, *Cretan City*, 9; Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 117. Brunt (*Studies*, 259, n. 47) admits that the programmes of Demetrius of Phalerum were a result of his philosophy, but seems to argue that they should not be considered examples of influence because they were not imposed while Athens was under a democracy. H.-J. Gehrke, 'Das Verhältnis von Politik und Philosophie im Wirken des Demetrius von Phaleron', *Chiron* 8 (1978), 149-193, has presented an altogether different picture of Demetrius' measures, fitting them into the *Realpolitik* of Athens' position at the time. His arguments are interesting and at times convincing, though he does not allow sufficient room for the possibility of a blend between pure philosophical ideas and the necessities of practical applications. Merely because Demetrius' *nomothetai* do not have the full powers of Aristotle's (*Pol.* 4.11.9-10 [1298b]), for example, does not mean that Aristotle's paradigm did not influence Demetrius, 156-7; for another viewpoint, see J.M. Williams, *Athens without Democracy. The Oligarchy of Phocion and*

It was Isocrates, however, "qui a été l' éducateur de la Grèce du IV^e siècle."¹⁸ He, "the master of all rhetoricians" (Cic. *De Orat.* 2.94), "turned out an entire Who's Who of Greek intellectuals and public figures,"¹⁹ himself claiming that he had more students than all of his contemporaries combined (*Antid.* 41). Though the total number of his students may not have exceeded 100, they included such as: Eunomus, Lysitheides, Callippus, Onetor, Anticles, Philonides, Charmantides, Timotheus, Theodectes, Asclepias, Androtion, Theopompus, Ephorus, Hyperides, Isaeus, Lycurgus, and perhaps Demosthenes ([Plut.] 837d).²⁰

How much influence teachers such as Plato and Isocrates may have had upon the political thought of their time is, in fact, a difficult and largely unanswerable question. There are some who differ from the view of Brunt and who see a direct relationship between ideas which appear in the political philosophies of early fourth century and subsequent political events. Morrow sees Plato's ideas at work in such political changes as the replacement (in part) of the lot by election, the establishment of the board of *nomophylakes*, and the curtailing of the power of the people's courts.²¹ Dušanič describes an interplay between the writings of Plato and Athenian politics, particularly the actions of Timotheus and Athenian foreign policy.²² Some scholars have attempted to find consistent ideas within Isocrates' writings and traces of their effect upon Athenian history.²³ To what extent, we might wonder, was Demosthenes' measure to increase the power of the Areopagus influenced by Isocrates'

the tyranny of Demetrius of Phalerum (322-307) B.C. (Diss., Yale University, 1982), 173-183.

¹⁸ Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 132.

¹⁹ M. Finley, *Use and Abuse of History*² (London, 1986), 198.

²⁰ Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 140-141; cf. F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, Vol. II (Leipzig, 1893), 17ff.; cf. Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 136-137.

²¹ Morrow, *Cretan City*, 232; cf. 7-9.

²² S. Dušanič, 'Plato's Academy and Timotheus' Policy, 365-359 B.C.', *Chiron* 10 (1980), 111-144.

²³ Mathieu, *Isocrate*, 153-174; G. Norlin, *Isocrates* (Intro. Loeb edn.), Vol. I (London, 1928), xlv-xlvi; Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 54, 126; J. Kessler, *Isokrates und die panhellenische Idee* (Paderborn, 1911) 73ff.; M. Markle, III, 'Support of Athenian Intellectuals for Philip', *JHS* 96 (1976), 86-99. Markle adds (89) that Isocrates' complaints about his unpopularity among Athenians is also evidence for his contemporary notoriety (Isoc. 15.4-7, 153-154); J. Mesk, 'Democrates und Isokrates', *WS* 23 (1901), 207-212; Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 126.

Areopagiticus?²⁴ Did the reform of the generalship (p. 74 above) have anything to do with Isocrates' views on the matter?²⁵ Critics argue (as Brunt on Plato) that the writings of Isocrates in no way influenced Athenian thinking - indeed that his works amounted to no more than sophistic exercises and reflected nothing that the writer believed.²⁶

The answer to the question is best sought somewhere in the middle. To search for direct causal relationships between the surviving words of these writers and what we know to have occurred subsequently is perhaps an unsophisticated historical approach. On the other hand, to presume that the most prolific authors of the early fourth century had no influence upon their time is somewhat naïve, especially when we are told that several of the leading statesmen of the late fourth century were among their pupils. Instead the historian should think in terms of an ongoing 'cultural discourse' within the ranks of the Athenian educated - a dynamic framework of opinions and beliefs, some new, some inherited - which will have absorbed principles from the array of ideas to which it is exposed, and which may then internalize and sustain them, in degrees of variation and divorced from any single author or school. In short, some of the ideas developed by the "Socratics" will have found their way into Athenian culture and that culture, in turn, will later reflect some aspects of those ideas. This is the manner by which men such as Plato, Xenophon, and Isocrates influenced the creation of the Athenian *ephebeia*.

²⁴ Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 14.5-6; Dem. 18.132 ff.; Dein. 1.63; cf. Sealey, *Demosthenes*, 185-7; Wallace, *Areopagus*, 176.

²⁵ Wallace, *Areopagus*, 167 - he refers to Isocrates' attacks on generals in 8.50-55, 134, and 15.123, but cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.21-22 as another possible influence. Reinmuth boldly states that this was a reform under Lycurgus (*Inscriptions*, 130), but the date of the reform is not clear - 'between 357/6 and 323/2', Rhodes, *Commentary*, 52.

²⁶ N. Baynes, 'Isocrates', *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London, 1955), 144-67; P.E. Harding, 'The Purpose of Isokrates' *Archidamos* and *On the Peace*', *CSCA* 6 (1973), 137-49; cf. Wallace, *Areopagos*, 146.

2. Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, and those around him

If an Athenian was ever of sufficient moral temperament to have been influenced by contemporary political philosophy and had attained the political stature necessary to implement policies which included ideas derived from those teachings, it was Lycurgus. Nearly all that we know of his life is based upon the account of [Plut.] 841b-844a, and the decree of Stratocles in 307/6, as recorded by [Plut.] 852 and by *IGII*² 457. Lycurgus was born around 390 into the ancient clan Boutadae (renamed Eteoboutadae), a family that was conservative, religious, democratic, and well-to-do, if not wealthy.²⁷ Lewis writes that "chances are high" that the Lycurgus whom Herodotus (1.59.3) records as head of the Attic "plain" faction, the *Pedieis*, in pre-Cleisthenic times came from the Boutadae, whose family seat was just west of Athens.²⁸ His grandfather of the same name, a minor public figure during the Peloponnesian War (cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 1296), had been executed under the rule of the Thirty.²⁹ Tracing their lineage from Erechtheus, son of Gaea and Poseidon ([Plut.] 843e), the Eteoboutadae, and in fact Lycurgus himself, held the hereditary priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus, centered on the Erechtheum.³⁰ By virtue of the priesthood alone Lycurgus' role in Athens was both traditional and visible.

As a young man he attended lectures at the Academy and later became a pupil under Isocrates.³¹ The manner of his lifestyle suggests an adoption of the Socratic virtue of *enkrateia*. "He wore one and the same cloak winter and summer and put on sandals only on days when they were necessary. He studied night and day...and he lay on a cot with only a sheepskin and a pillow on it, so that he might wake up easily and study" (842c). He was deeply concerned with the need to educate the young properly,

²⁷ J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford, 1971), no. 9251.

²⁸ D.M. Lewis, 'Cleisthenes and Attica' *Historia* 12 (1963), 22-23, 26; Lycurgus Boutadae opposition to Peisistratus, see Worley, *Hippeis*, 66-71.

²⁹ Often taken as evidence for a long-standing democratic family tradition, but for all we know this Lycurgus could have been among the oligarchic camp of Theramenes (which would add a further connection with Isocrates).

³⁰ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 199.

³¹ See p. 127 above.

claiming that "if anyone would promise to make his sons better, he would pay him, not thousands only, but half of his property" (842d).

We would be wise to question [Plutarch's] assertion that Lycurgus studied under Plato. Further evidence supports the account, however. Olympiodorus (on Plato's *Gorgias*, 515c [Norvin, p. 198.1-4]) cites Philiscus of Miletus as saying that Lycurgus was greatly in debt to Plato for many of his achievements. We may consider this Philiscus, himself a student of Isocrates and contemporary of Lycurgus, to be a solid source.³² Lycurgus maintained his friendship with the Academy, assaulting and imprisoning a tax-collector for trying to enforce the resident-alien tax on Xenocrates (842b).³³ The gravestones of Lycurgus' father and second son, as well as other family members, have been discovered adjacent to the alleged location of the Academy, perhaps suggesting a further connection.³⁴ Lycurgus may have encouraged Aristotle to build his new school near the Lyceum, and it was probably he who commissioned the statue of Socrates, made by Lysippus, to be set up in the Pompeion.³⁵

Despite Brunt's assertion that no Platonic ideas are reflected in the works of any orator, Robert Renehan finds convincing parallels between Plato's *Laws* and the only surviving speech of Lycurgus, that *Against Leocrates*, for desertion of Athens at the time of Chaeronea:

Lycurgus (102) echoes one of the fundamental messages of the *Laws* (718b ff., esp. 722c, 722e-723a): men must be *persuaded*, rather than commanded to obedience.³⁶ Several metaphors or ideas used by Plato are repeated or borrowed by Lycurgus. He declares that a city's men are a more dependable defence than her walls (*Leoc.* 47 vs. *Laws* 778d). In employing images of birds defending their young from death, Lycurgus' wording resembles that of Plato:

³² [Plut.] 836c; Dion. Hal. *Isaeus* 19; Cic. *De Or.* 1.94.

³³ [Plut.] 842b; see C. Mossé, *Athens in Decline*, J. Stewart (trans.), (London, 1973), 81, for Lycurgus' Academic ties.

³⁴ A.P. Matthaiou, "Ἡρόιον Λυκούργου Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδου", *Horos* 5 (1987), 31-44.

³⁵ D.L. 2.43; F. Mitchel, 'Athens in the Age of Alexander', *Greece and Rome*² 12 (1965), 198.

³⁶ Renehan, 'Platonism of Lycurgus', 222-223.

Leoc. 131-2: "τὰ γοῦν πετεινά, ἃ μάλιστα πέφυκε πρὸς τάχος, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν νεοττιᾶς ἐθέλοντα ἀποθνήσκειν· ὄθεν καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τινες εἰρήκασιν· οὐδ' ἀγρία γὰρ ὄρνις, ἦν πλάσθ' ἴσθ' ἄλλην νεοσσοῦς ἠξίωσεν ἐντεκεῖν"

Laws 814b: "ὥσπερ ὄρνιθας περὶ τέκνων μαχομένας πρὸς ὀτιοῦν τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων θηρίων ἐθέλειν ἀποθνήσκειν τε καὶ πάντας κινδύνους κινδυνεύειν."

Lycurgus refers to the idea that a criminal might warrant punishment worse than death (*Leoc.* 8, 134 vs. *Laws* 854e, 869b, 878e, 881a, 908e). He calls for piety towards the gods, ancestors, and parents (*Leoc.* 94 vs. *Laws* 716d-718a; 869b-c). Lycurgus presents a paradigm for patriotic self-sacrifice by using the story of Codrus, king of Athens (*Leoc.* 84-87). By tradition, Plato was descended from Codrus (D.L. 3.1). Lycurgus ponders the metaphysical issue of whether consciousness is retained in afterlife: "εἴ τις ἄρ' ἔστιν αἴσθησις τοῖς ἐκεῖ..." (*Leoc.* 136) vs. "καὶ εἴτε δὴ μηδεμία αἴσθησις ἔστιν..." (*Ap.* 40c; cf. 41c).³⁷ In section 10, Lycurgus repeats the Platonic dictum of using fear of punishment and desire for honour as the two motivators in teaching virtue.³⁸ In Athens, Lycurgus reminds the court, law is paramount - along with the vote of the jury and the role of the accuser - in preserving Athenian democracy and prosperity (*Leoc.* 3-4). Finally, and most dramatically, Lycurgus quotes extensively from the war poems of the Spartan poet Tyrtaeus (*Leoc.* 106-107 vs. *Laws* 629a ff., 660e; *Republic* 465d-466a, 689c-d). Both Plato and Lycurgus recount a tradition according to which Tyrtaeus was originally Athenian by birth (*Leoc.* 106 vs. *Laws* 629a).³⁹ Tyrtaeus is well known for his verses on Spartan discipline and self-sacrifice.

³⁷ cf. Hyperides *Epitaphius* 43 - he too studied under Plato, we are told.

³⁸ cf. pp. 117-118 above.

³⁹ For all of these similarities, see Renehan, 223-227; on the tradition of Tyrtaeus, see W. Jaeger, *Tyrtaeus über die wahre ἀρετή* (Berlin, 1932); English trans., *Five Essays* (Montreal, 1966), 103-42.

The chronological relationship between the *Laws* and Lycurgus' oration is a close one. Plato died in 347 before having completed his last and longest work. According to Diogenes Laertius (3.37), Philip of Opus edited the *Laws* for publication. Even were he to have accomplished this task within the same year, which is most unlikely, there would remain but seventeen years between the completion of the first work and the delivery of the second (in 330), but since the trial had been delayed eight years, the time interval could have been only 9 years or less.⁴⁰ Renehan concludes that "it appears that in Plato's native city not long after his death one of his associates was given the opportunity to put his Platonism into practice in the field of *Realpolitik*."⁴¹ This assertion is the sort at which Brunt recoils; it is too strong. Nevertheless, the similarities are striking and do suggest Platonic influence upon Lycurgus' rhetoric.

The combination of Lycurgus' devotion to Athens and conservative background fits him well into the "moderate democracy" of the late fourth century.⁴² But he was a democrat and an egalitarian, legislating that no women go to Eleusis in a carriage, "lest the women of the people should appear inferior to the rich, and if any woman should be caught doing this, she should pay a fine of six-thousand drachmas" (842a). When his wife violated the law, he himself paid the talent fine. A fierce patriot, he joined Demosthenes and Hyperides in their antipathy towards Macedonia, accompanying the two on their embassy to the Peloponnese in 343 (841e), and with Demosthenes was among those demanded by Alexander after the destruction of Thebes (Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 23.4). Though he was possibly active prior to 338,⁴³ nothing is known of Lycurgus' political life until his sudden appearance at the helm of the Athenian state. In the wake of the Athenian debacle at Chaeronea he assumed the newly created position of "treasurer of the administration", and acted in this capacity for three four-year terms,

⁴⁰ Renehan, 'Platonism of Lycurgus', 220.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, 231.

⁴² Mitchel, 'Age of Alexander', 192.

⁴³ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 200.

the first in his own name and the two remaining through the use of associates as figure-heads (841c). The exact date of his instalment is not known but is likely to have been the year 336, rather than immediately following the peace.⁴⁴ As Treasurer Lycurgus wielded extraordinary power, controlling all aspects of Athenian civic life that dealt with public funds; he also used his religious office to alter festivals (e.g. the Anthesterion [841f]) or even to establish them (e.g. to Poseidon in the Peiraeus [842a]). He proposed a law which provided new sacred vessels for the Panathenaic procession and for the overhaul of dedications in several of the temples (*IGII*² 333).⁴⁵ He instituted laws concerning the procession to Eleusis (Schwenk 21), and may have struck new bronze coinage to celebrate the Greater Eleusinia of 335.⁴⁶

Athens remained a democracy, however, in spite of the extensive powers which Lycurgus held as Treasurer of the Administration. In order to legislate, Lycurgus must have commanded broad support among the citizens and acted with purposes and beliefs held in common with the orators and "politicians" of the time. Any work on the Lycurgan era inevitably refers to Lycurgus "and those around him". Mitchel characterizes this group as a conservative one "within which the ideological differences were less than is generally supposed" and one in which "personal dislikes did not prevent co-operation on essential matters of external and internal policy."⁴⁷ We are able to discover a certain cross-section of Lycurgus' circle by examining the proposers of laws during this time. They are wealthy (Epicrates and the law about ephebes [Harpocration, s.v., no. 3]), prominent (Aristonicus and the law regulating the Lesser Panathenaea [*IGII*² 334]), learned (Phanodemus and the law on crowning Amphiaræus [*IGVII* 4252]), and democratic (Eucrates and the law against tyranny [*Hesperia* 21 (1952), 355-359]).⁴⁸ They are also disliked by Macedonia: Aristonicus

⁴⁴ Wallace, *Areopagus*, 195 and n. 52; Davies, *APF*, 351: this argument, originating in an unpublished paper by D.M. Lewis, centers on the implication of the sources that the statesman died while in office.

⁴⁵ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 203.

⁴⁶ Mitchel, 'Age of Alexander', 196; M. Thompson, 'Coins for the Eleusinia', *Hesperia* 11 (1942), 218-20.

⁴⁷ Mitchel, 'Age of Alexander', 193.

and Eucrates, along with Demosthenes, Hyperides, and Demades, were condemned to death following the Lamian War.

Lewis discusses three inscriptions which list "a fair cross-section" of the most politically active men of the time.⁴⁹

1) the *hieropoioi* of the Pythais (*Syll*³ 296), 326/5.

2) the commissioners for the Amphiareia (*Syll*³ 298 = *IG*VII 4254), 329/8.

3) ten contributors to the Boule dedication at the Amphiareion (*AE* 1917, 41).

As Lewis points out, the men who appear frequently in such decrees, including Lycurgus, Phanodemus, Demades, and Niceratus (great-grandson of Nicias), share a high average age (for those whose age we can know).

Lewis also feels that because Demosthenes and Hyperides do not appear in the decrees, we should generally not think of them as being firmly in the camp of Lycurgus. It is perhaps too rigid, however, to draw such firm associations based on these lists, and only conjecture to exclude or distance other politicians who fail to appear.⁵⁰ There were no solid allegiances or political parties, and members of the upper class may have agreed on matters of belief and policy without always taking part. Likewise, personal agreement and differences were likely to change with circumstances. Although Demades is listed with Lycurgus in number two above and must have worked closely with him when in charge of the stratiotic fund in 334/3,⁵¹ he was attacked by Lycurgus, as well as by Polyeuctus (who appears in no. 3), in the prosecution *Against Cephisodotus*. Cephisodotus had proposed a statue for Demades and that the orator receive maintenance in the prytaneum for twice "saving Athens".⁵² Because Polyeuctus is a known associate of Demosthenes,⁵³ it would be a mistake to

⁴⁸ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 204.

⁴⁹ D.M. Lewis, 'Notes on Attic Inscriptions (II)', *BSA* 50 (1955), 35.

⁵⁰ *contra* Lewis, see C.J. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander. The Dated Laws & Decrees of The Lykourgan Era' 338 - 322 B.C.* (Chicago, 1985), 246.

⁵¹ F.W. Mitchel, 'Demades of Paeania and *IG*II².1493, 1494, 1495', *TAPhA* 93 (1962), 213-229.

⁵² N.C. Conomis, 'Notes on the fragments of Lycurgus', *Klio* 39 (1961), 126.

⁵³ He was listed, with Lycurgus and Demosthenes, among those demanded by Alexander (*Plut. Vit. Dem.* 23.4); he accompanied the two on their embassy to the Peloponnese (*[Plut.]* 841e).

rule the latter out of "those around Lycurgus". We must also keep in mind that when faction within the upper class arose, Lycurgus did not always win. In spite of his personal attack on the reputation of Demades, we must remember that the honours proposed by Cephisodotus were granted (Deinarch. 1.101).⁵⁴ Lycurgus could be opposed: he failed to secure the conviction of Leocrates.

To compile a list of "those around" Lycurgus would be not only difficult but in many ways misleading. But we can assert without much danger that the prominent and powerful men of post-Chaeronea Athens included such men as Lycurgus, Demades, Demosthenes, Hyperides, Phocion, and Phanodemus. Like Lycurgus, Hyperides studied under Plato and Isocrates.⁵⁵ The old general Phocion had also studied with Plato,⁵⁶ and exhibited the sort of *enkrateia* that we find in Xenophon. He rarely displayed emotion. Like the great orators of the past, Phocion kept his hands within his cloak - when he wore one. In the country and on campaign he walked without shoes or an outer garment, unless the cold was excessive, so that "presently his soldiers used to say in jest that it was a sign of severe winter when Phocion wore a cloak" (Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 4.2).⁵⁷ Concerned about the moral education of his wayward son, Phocus, he sent the boy to learn discipline in the Spartan *agoge* (*Vit. Phoc.* 20.1-3).⁵⁸ The same passage recounts a dialogue in which Demades, who would later dub the ephebic corps "the springtime of the demos",⁵⁹ suggests to Phocion that the two persuade their countrymen to adopt a system similar to that of

⁵⁴ Though [Plut.] 843d states that Lycurgus won a trial against Demades.

⁵⁵ See pp. 126-127 above.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Authors warn against placing too much credence in these passages. Tittle, *Phocion*, 10, 35, explains away this description of Phocion as nothing more than "a literary *topos*", begun after the general's death. Athenians were painfully aware of the similarity between the circumstances of Phocion's death and that of Socrates: Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 38.5; Williams, *Athens without Democracy*, 25, n. 74, remains refreshingly more "credulous" about Plutarch's account of Phocion's behaviour, suggesting that Phocion might have been influenced by his exposure to Plato.

⁵⁸ Xenophon's son was also sent to Sparta (Plut. *Vit. Ages.* 20). Phocus seems not to have benefitted from his Spartan experience (*Vit. Phoc.* 30.1; 38.2).

⁵⁹ Demades fr. 68, De Falco.

Sparta.⁶⁰ Demades himself, with ointment and costly mantle, is anything but Laconian, and Phocion points out the irony. Munn argues that the many generalships which Phocion held were probably as "General of the Countryside".⁶¹ In Lycurgan Athens, this position would have given him a supervisory role over the ephebes. Again, we must be careful to allow for differences of opinion between Lycurgus and such a solidly conservative Athenian as Phocion. When the general recommended that Athens acquiesce to Alexander's demand for ten citizens, Lycurgus (one of the ten) attacked him in the assembly (*Vit. Phoc.* 9.6).

Phanodemus is the most closely aligned to Lycurgus. We find him listed with Lycurgus in several inscriptions, especially those involving religion (all three above). He is associated with Amphiaraeus at Oropus (2 & 3; *IGVII* 4252; *Syll*³ 287 = *IGVII* 4253).⁶² Phanodemus was an able and respected statesman, honoured in 343/2 for his role in the Boule (*IGII*² 223). Jacoby argues that Phanodemus' *Atthis* was written as support for Lycurgus' programmes, calling him a quasi-"minister of public worship and education".⁶³ Whether this interpretation is accurate is subject to debate,⁶⁴ but the writer clearly shares much with Lycurgus. Not only are they often found together in inscriptions, but both join Isocrates in contributing to the myth of ancient Athens. Phanodemus claims that Athens was responsible for founding Troy (*FGrH* 325, F 13), and Sais in Egypt (F 25),⁶⁵ and that Agamemnon's expedition set out from Brauron (F 14). It may have been he who invented the connection between Delos and Erysichthon, son of Cecrops, in order to demonstrate or justify ancient Athenian claims over the island.⁶⁶ "Such passages suggest...that

⁶⁰ The word used is *politeia*, but the context makes it clear that he means the Spartan *paideia*; the passage has been rejected by some scholars as lying beyond the pale of credibility: H.-J. Gehrke, *Phokion: Studien zur Erfassung seiner historischen Gestalt: Zetemata* 64 (1976), 146.

⁶¹ Munn, *Defense*, 190 ff.

⁶² Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 210-211.

⁶³ F. Jacoby, *FGrH* III B Suppl., *A Commentary on the Ancient Historians of Athens*, Vol. I (Leiden, 1954), 172.

⁶⁴ Wallace, *Areopagus*, 197.

⁶⁵ Sais, cf. Callisthenes, *FGrH* 124 F 51.

⁶⁶ *FGrH* 325 F 2; R. Parker, 'Myths of Early Athens', in J. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of*

Phanodemus shared with Lycurgus not only a taste for erudition in matters of local history but also a firmly utilitarian view that the purpose of myth and aetiology was to teach useful lessons, especially the lesson of patriotism."⁶⁷

The political reconstruction of post-Chaeronea Athens was in the hands of a heavily conservative group which continued to steer the state towards a "moderate democracy". Although, by virtue of his religious and financial positions, Lycurgus was the most influential among this group, the reforms which we attribute to him are equally the product of many like-minded members of the Athenian upper class. They are wealthy, conservative, and patriotic. The traditions of the biographers record that they studied under Plato and Isocrates. We cannot know the extent to which that tradition reflects the truth, but it is a mistake to suppose that Lycurgus and "those around him" were not influenced by the political philosophy of their time. The "reform" of the ephebeia has been attributed to Lycurgus, and he must have played a major role in the creation of the system, but the ideas of moral education and discipline which it embodies are not incompatible with what we know of his colleagues: Phocion, Phanodemus, Demades, Hyperides, and Demosthenes.

3. The Lycurgan programme⁶⁸

To understand the history of Athens in the period from 338 to 322, one must first understand her perception of her place in the expanding Greek world. The loss of a thousand citizens at Chaeronea and the capture of an additional two thousand was a severe blow to her power and her pride. Nevertheless, we must not assume that the

Greek Mythology (London, 1987), 200 & n. 57, 211; N. Robertson, 'The ritual background of the Erysichthon Story', *AJPh* 105 (1984), 385-7.

⁶⁷ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 215-216.

⁶⁸ The history of Athens during this period has attracted much recent attention: Faraguna, *Atene nell' eta di Alessandro*; C. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander*; W. Will, *Athen und Alexander: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Stadt von 338 bis 322 v. Chr.* (Munich, 1983); Humphreys, 'Lycurgus'; F.W. Mitchel, *Lykourgan Athens: 338 - 322* (Cincinnati, 1970); Mitchel, 'Athens in the Age of Alexander'.

leaders of Athens saw then that their *polis* would never again attain her ancient prominence in Aegean affairs. When Marrou describes Athenian military reforms of the time, including the *ephebeia*, he points out the irony of such innovations made at the point that Athens, indeed Greece, lost her independence.⁶⁹ But the Greeks did not yet realize that their world had changed forever. Athens must now bend to Philip's will, they must have thought, but in the past they had seen a Spartan garrison on the Acropolis, where there was no Macedonian one now. Emergency measures were required to ensure safety and supplies, but once the war had ended Athenians took the opportunity to get back to the daily business of improving civic life.⁷⁰

At any moment, they supposed, events would return their freedom. Athens celebrated the death of Philip and voted honours for his murderer (Aeschin. 3.77; Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 12; *Vit. Phoc.* 16). They hoped for Attalus's succession instead of Alexander (Dem. 17.3.2; 5.1)⁷¹ and rejoiced once more at rumours of Alexander's death in Illyria (Arrian. 1.7.2-3; Dem. 17.4.4-6). When the Thebans dared to rebel and attack their Macedonian garrison, Demosthenes was among their sympathizers. Athens briefly prepared to go to war at their side (Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 23.1), and was stunned at the savage destruction of her neighbour. As time passed, and Alexander disappeared over the eastern horizon, hope may have grown that the king would never return and that Athens would inherit this new Macedonian hegemony. Is Alexander himself not alleged to have made such a suggestion (Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 17.5)?⁷² Tones adopted in the debate *On the Crown* between Aeschines and Demosthenes denote a surprising atmosphere of political freedom.⁷³

Throughout these years, Athens was undergoing an unprecedented military buildup. Lycurgus had succeeded in raising a tremendous amount of money, raising

⁶⁹ Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 167.

⁷⁰ Mossé, *Decline*, 80.

⁷¹ Mitchel, 'Age of Alexander', 190; cf. E. Badian, 'The Death of Philip II', *Phoenix* 17 (1963), 244-50.

⁷² cf. Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 13.2.

⁷³ Mossé, *Decline*, 85.

the state revenue from 600 to 1,200 talents a year ([Plut.] 842f), with a total of 18,900 talents over the course of his administration ([Plut.] 852b). This accomplishment stands as testament to Lycurgus' brilliant managerial skills, but it also reflects the resources of an Athens at peace, capable of raising large sums from fully functioning mines and thriving port activity.⁷⁴ More notable than Lycurgus' ability to raise money, however, was his ability to spend it; the lion's share of these expenditures went towards military reconstitution and public building projects.

After Chaeronea Athens immediately began work on her walls. The measures taken are partially restored in *IGII*² 244, and amply referred to by the orators (Aeschin. 3.27, 236; Dem. 18.248; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 44). The year was 337 - most likely before Lycurgus took office.⁷⁵ In subsequent years the walls were not only repaired but were also improved in order to meet state-of-the-art siege technology, with the addition of outer fortifications, with a fore-wall and water-filled moat along exposed stretches.⁷⁶ The war chest on the Acropolis was filled with a store of armour and fifty-thousand missiles (for catapults?, [Plut.] 852c; see Dem. 18.114, 117). Lycurgus improved the Athenian navy as well, providing for a total of 400 warships and completing their sheds, as well as building an arsenal in the Peiraeus (designed by Philo - Vitruv. 17 *pref.* 12).⁷⁷ Extensive repairs were made to the defences of the harbour.⁷⁸ It is possible that a reform of the Generalship of the Peiraeus was included among these military improvements.⁷⁹ The positioning of a full year-group

⁷⁴ Lycurgus' revenue programmes: Mossé, *Decline*, 82; Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 204; Mitchel, *Lycurgan Athens*, 31-34; Faraguna, *Atene*, 289 ff.

⁷⁵ Faraguna, *Atene*, 257; Schwenk, *Age of Alexander*, 25-26.

⁷⁶ Mitchel, 'Age of Alexander', 196-197; J. Threpsiades, 'Ἐπιγραφαὶ ὄρων ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος', *AD* 14 (1931-2) [1935], ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ, 31-32.

⁷⁷ [Plut.] 841c, 852c; *IGII*² 807-809; much of this work may have been begun under Eubulus (*IGII*² 1168).

⁷⁸ Garland, *Piraeus*, 45.

⁷⁹ Mossé, *Decline*, 84, connects the reform and specialization of the generalship with this period of military renewal, but as we have seen (p. 74 above), an inscription as early as 352/1 refers to the "General of the Countryside". It was under Lycurgus, apparently, that the single General of the Peiraeus (recorded in an early ephebic inscription: Reinmuth 5.4) is replaced by one at Acte and one at

of ephebes in the Peiraeus had strategic reasons. The fleet was intended to ensure a steady grain supply for Athens, and the contingent of ephebes to provide a constant guard for the fleet.⁸⁰

One of the arguments put forward to refute a Lycurgan date for the creation of the ephebic training programme is that such an institution could not have begun after Chaeronea because it would have provoked Macedonian reaction.⁸¹ But diplomatically, the training programme would have paled in comparison to the extensive military construction and resupply which took place. One can only suppose that Macedonia was either unthreatened by such measures, or (in the eyes of Athens) did not at the time enjoy a position which allowed it to dictate to Greek states - until later: did not Macedonia react after all, when Alexander, victorious in his war with Persia, unsuccessfully demanded Lycurgus ([Plut.] 841e, 852d)?

Additionally, we have no reason to suppose that such measures aimed at ultimate revenge against Macedonia, or, if they did, whether Macedonia would have recognized them as such.⁸² Athens did not join Thebes in rebellion, after all, just as later she did not join Sparta. The curious *IGII*² 351 does not necessarily help: Eudemus of Plataea is honoured on a motion of Lycurgus in 330/29 for donating a thousand yoke for the building of the Panathenaic stadium. The inscription also mentions that Eudemus had offered the demos four thousand drachmae, if needed for "the war". Which war is unclear. Some take this to be evidence for Athenian consideration of war against Macedonia.⁸³ Others feel that it must refer to events surrounding or immediately following Chaeronea.⁸⁴ The latter conclusion is correct for two reasons. First of all,

Munychia (as *Ath. Pol.* 61.1). It may also have been under Lycurgus that the generals are no longer elected on a basis of one per tribe (Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 130); cf. Rhodes, *Commentary*, 677-679.

⁸⁰ The Peiraeus was notoriously the target of sneak attacks, see Thuc. 2.93-94; Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.22; Polyaeus, *Strat.*, 6.2.2; Diod. 20.45 ff.

⁸¹ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 11.

⁸² See Mitchel, 'Age of Alexander', 202-203.

⁸³ E.L. Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1901), 307, no. 161; he follows Dittenburger, *Syll*³ 288; Faraguna, *Atene*, 257.

⁸⁴ Tod, *GHI* II, 280, no. 198; Schwenk, *Age of Alexander*, 237, no. 48.

it is unlikely that Athens would have officially recorded abortive military plans against Macedonia. By 330/29 Alexander had defeated the Great King, Agis' revolt had been crushed, and the impression of freedom in Athens must have dissipated somewhat. At about the same time, Lycurgus claims that at Chaeronea, with the bodies of the fallen "was buried the freedom of every other Greek" [*Leoc.* 50]). Secondly, the definite article, "*the war*", can only refer to a specific war, not one which might have been possible.⁸⁵

Although I argue that the ephebeia was designed to create better citizens, the system also provided a needed military service. While improving the souls of young men, and teaching them to stand in battle as the hoplites at Chaeronea had not, the ephebeia provided guardians of the countryside. In the aftermath of the war, and especially following the destruction of Thebes, the frontiers of Attica would have been particularly vulnerable to marauders. This, too, at a time when imports of grain were increasingly problematic, increasing the importance of Attic-grown supplies.⁸⁶ We should bear in mind that for similar reasons Lycurgus safeguarded Athenian commerce from piracy.⁸⁷

Lycurgan Athens is also known for its massive building projects and festival refurbishments. As mentioned above in connection with Eudemus of Plataea, Lycurgus completed work on the Panathenaic stadium (*IGII*² 351.17, [Plut.] 841d, 852c). He also constructed the gymnasium and palaestra in the Lyceum, and completed work on the theatre of Dionysus replacing wood with stone (841d).⁸⁸

⁸⁵ It could, however, refer to anything from the Macedonian war against Thebes (unlikely), to that against Sparta (in case assistance was demanded by Antipater), to that against Persia.

⁸⁶ Faraguna, *Atene*, 279, stresses the suitability of the ephebic garrisons to the security of Lycurgan Athens.

⁸⁷ *IGII*² 1623.276-308: in 335/4 Lycurgus dispatches Diotimus (later honoured: *IGII*² 414a; cf. [Plut.] 844a) with two fast ships; cf. Tod 200 (= *IGII*² 1629), lines 217-232, for the anti-piracy aspect of Miltiades' mission to the Adriatic in 325/4.

⁸⁸ Mitchel, 'Age of Alexander', 198, draws a connection between ephebic gymnastic training and the new Lyceum. This *had* been the field on which hoplite armies of the fifth century had rehearsed drill prior to campaigning (see p. 55 above). We have no evidence that Lycurgan ephebes trained anywhere

Construction of new stoas was begun on the Pnyx, where the assembly met, and a large new lawcourt (?) was begun in the Agora, concurrent with alterations to the existing lawcourt, the Heliæa.⁸⁹

Much of this building complemented religious initiatives. The improvement to the Theatre of Dionysus included a new temple and stoa in the adjoining sanctuary.⁹⁰ A temple to Apollo Patrous was built or completed in the agora.⁹¹ In Eleusis a portico designed by Philo was begun (Vitruvius 7 *pref.* 17), and a temple to Pluto completed.⁹² The Amphiareion of Oropus was repaired and the sanctuary of Asclepius in Athens possibly adorned with new buildings.⁹³ Lycurgus replaced the golden victories on the Acropolis, outfitted Athena (with her golden plating or her ceremonial vestments?), and provided gold and silver vessels for festal processions (841d, 852b). He erected bronze statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and codified official versions of their plays, outlawing the performance of unauthorized text (841f).

In conjunction with his assertion that the ephebeia was not new to Lycurgan Athens, Reinmuth writes that Lycurgus' policy "was a program not of innovation but of restoration....Lycurgus embarked upon no new policies and programs. He strengthened and made more effective the old."⁹⁴ Given this interpretation of the Lycurgan era, Reinmuth believes that the ephebeia must then have only been given a new impetus. But Reinmuth does not give Lycurgus sufficient credit for the innovative spirit which characterized his programmes. Reinmuth himself, two pages later, suggests that a new procedure for the election of generals belonged to this period.⁹⁵

but the Peiræus, however.

⁸⁹ H. Thompson and R. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* 15 (Princeton, 1972), 56-61, 64-65.

⁹⁰ J. Travlos, *A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971), 537-539.

⁹¹ Thompson, *Athenian Agora*, 136-140.

⁹² G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961), 146-149.

⁹³ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 206.

⁹⁴ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 128.

⁹⁵ i.e. the change from electing one general per tribe; Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 130.

The statesman is no longer understood to have been a mere renovator. The office held by Lycurgus was new. Many of his religious institutions were new, as were many of his buildings, though some were inherited from the days of Eubulus. The manner in which the state accumulated wealth was an innovation which no longer depended upon the tribute of a sea empire. The novelty of the *ephebeia* would fit well with Lycurgan ideas about religion and patriotism.⁹⁶

4. The Areopagus and the Ideology of "Moderate Democracy"

One of the most important inscriptions pertaining to the political ideology of post Chaeronea Athens is the famous "Anti-Tyranny Decree", proposed in 337/6 by Eucrates of Peiraeus.⁹⁷ The *nomothetai* resolved that anyone attempting to overthrow the democracy and establish a tyranny could be killed with impunity, and members of the Areopagus were not allowed to meet should the democracy be overthrown. Current literature on the possible intent of this legislation abounds.⁹⁸ There are six proposed explanations. (1) It resulted from fears of Areopagite and Macedonian collaboration (Meritt and Ostwald).⁹⁹ (2) It demonstrates a desire to support the terms of Philip's peace and addresses concern about agitation of an Areopagus *hostile* to Macedon (Mossé and Will). (3) It resulted primarily from a reaction to internal changes, particularly the decree of Demosthenes investing the Areopagus with more power, and subsequent trials and executions (Larsen and Sealey).¹⁰⁰ (4) Similar to number 3, it represents a need to reaffirm democratic ideology in the face of a threat to the "spirit" of democracy as posed by the new power of Lycurgus' office and the trials and executions of the Areopagus (Wallace and

⁹⁶ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 210: "there was no attempt to return to the archaic age, and no ideology of traditionalism"; cf. 199.

⁹⁷ B.D. Meritt, 'Greek Inscriptions', *Hesperia* 21 (1952), 355-359.

⁹⁸ For complete bibliography, see J. Engels, 'Das Eukratesgesetz und der Prozeß der Kompetenzerweiterung des Areopagus in der Eubulos- und Lykurgära', *ZPE* 74 (1988), 189-192, plus Schwenk, *Age of Alexander*, 33.

⁹⁹ M. Ostwald, 'The Athenian Legislation against Tyranny and Subversion', *TAPhA* 86 (1955), 103-128.

¹⁰⁰ J.A.O. Larsen, 'The Judgement of Antiquity on Democracy', *CP* 49 (1954), 9.

Faraguna). (5) It was the work of Charidemus and his democratic supports, in an effort to protect the constitution and at the same time work within the framework of the Corinthian League (Engels). (6) It was passed in the hope of keeping the newly empowered Areopagus from being forced to give legal sanction in the event of a tyranny installed or supported by Philip (Schwenk).¹⁰¹

Scope forbids me from giving these arguments the attention that they merit. Without further contemporary epigraphic evidence we cannot prove any conjectures. I address problems with each of the first four as briefly as possible: (1) The Areopagus had maintained an anti-Macedonian stance. (2) There is no reason to believe that an anti-Macedonian clique would seek to overthrow the democracy. (3) The decree is aimed more against tyranny than the Areopagus *per se*, and in no way limits that body's power under the democracy. (4) Lycurgus may not yet have held his office, nor, indeed, may it have yet been created.¹⁰² Additionally, this would be too indirect a measure to achieve such a purpose.

Engels' view is certainly possible, but I find Schwenk's to be the most likely. The law may also have been intended to prevent the Areopagus under a tyrant's rule from exercising either its recently increased judicial power or, more importantly, its ancient jurisdiction over capital trials. Schwenk is correct to follow those earlier theories which see at the root of the issue Athenian fears about Macedonia, in spite of oaths taken at the League of Corinth intended to usher in a new "common peace" and allay such fears.¹⁰³ There is a clear parallel between the first half of this law and that of Demophantus in 410/9 (Andoc. 1.96-98).¹⁰⁴ Lycurgus believed that such an anti-tyranny decree was enacted after the fall of the Thirty and draws a parallel between the political situation after Chaeronea and that at the end of the Peloponnesian War (*Leoc.*

¹⁰¹ Schwenk followed the earliest explanation put forward: Thompson, *The New York Times*, 26 May 1952.

¹⁰² Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 202.

¹⁰³ Tod *GHI* II, 224-231, no. 177. Line 14 of the pact forbids any change of the member cities' *politeia*; cf. Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 16.

¹⁰⁴ cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 1074-75; see Lintott, *Violence*, 179-180.

124-125). After Aegospotami, an oligarchic victor had enabled power-hungry citizens to overthrow the constitution and set up a like government: Athens would be foolish not to be wary lest this tyrannical victor do the same. Hyperides (2.8-9) warns that certain men were seen "to be watching the city's fortunes, if some possibility would be granted of saying or doing something against the democracy." These men may or may not have existed; fear of them certainly did.¹⁰⁵ If they did exist, however, they were probably not among the Areopagus and they certainly did not include those around Lycurgus. We must not confuse democratic conservatism with oligarchic ambition, nor must we forget that if the Eucrates law had arisen from fears of oligarchy, it would have made this explicit. The law was aimed against tyranny.

The prominence of the Areopagus in the inscription does reinforce an impression that that body had acquired significant political power since the decree of Demosthenes of a few years before.¹⁰⁶ After Chaeronea it was through the influence of the Areopagus - though by "entreaty and tears" - that the generalship was assigned to Phocion rather than to Charidemus (Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 16.3). By 330 the Areopagus may have been unpopular with the *demos* or at least with some of Lycurgus' listeners: the orator anticipates interruption at its mention (*Leoc.* 52). Nevertheless, Lycurgus and presumably his circle of conservative administrators, remained staunchly pro-Areopagite: "you [the *demos*] have in the council of the Areopagus the finest model in Greece: a court so superior to others that even the men convicted in it admit that its judgements are just. Let it be your pattern." (*Leoc.* 12).¹⁰⁷

The Law of Eucrates is accompanied by a famous relief which depicts a personification of *Democratia* crowning the *Demos*. It is the earliest of several such personifications from this period, all of which combine to reflect the appearance of a consciously reinforced state ideology of democracy.¹⁰⁸ In 333/2, the Boule erected a

¹⁰⁵ One day when the treasury of the Parthenon was broken into, the speakers in the Assembly cried out that the democracy had been overthrown and the laws made null and void - Dem. 13.14.

¹⁰⁶ See pp. 127-128 above.

¹⁰⁷ cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.20.

¹⁰⁸ Faraguna, *Atene*, 273.

statue of Democratia, the base of which survives as IGII² 2791 + Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 238-243.¹⁰⁹ In 332/1 and 331/0, the *strategoï* performed public sacrifices to Democratia (IGII² 1496, 131-132, 140-141 + *Hesperia* 9 (1940), 328-330, no. 37). It is possible that this sacrifice to Democratia, or at least the creation of the abstract divinity, had originated in the previous century: the tomb of Critias is said to have had a representation of Democracy (Aeschin. *scholia* 1.39), but it was accompanied by one of Oligarchy. The sacrifices of the generals took place between the Eleusinia and the Asclepieia, and therefore may have occurred on 12 Boedromion, the anniversary of the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus, and, some hypothesize, may have been conducted since that time.¹¹⁰ It is more likely, however, that this ideology of Democratia had acquired a new emphasis which was specific to the post-Chaeronea era. It may have arisen in response to the spectre of Macedonian autocracy and the threat which it posed to Athenian independence - an anticipation of Hellenistic monarchy.¹¹¹ One characteristic of many Lycurgan innovations is that they are linked in some way to the early history of the city as a means of creating an impression of continuity and precedent. It is likely that the *demos* established sacrifices to Democratia after Chaeronea and performed them on the 12th of Boedromion in recognition of the parallel to the period surrounding the Thirty Tyrants apparently drawn by the Eucrates decree and Lycurgus (*Leoc.* 124) above.

The stone which records the Ephebic Oath and the oath taken at Plataea also dates from Lycurgan Athens.¹¹² The historical authenticity of both is subject to substantial debate.¹¹³ Whatever the oath's date of origin, however, it is significant that the two

¹⁰⁹ The statue itself, however, is probably not to be identified with Agora S 2370, which is more likely to be *Agathe Tyche*: O. Palagia, 'No Democratia', in W.D.E. Coulson, O. Palagia, *et al.* (eds.), *The Archaeology of Athens in Attica under the Democracy* (Oxford, 1994), 117.

¹¹⁰ A.E. Raubitschek, 'Demokratia', *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 239; J.H. Oliver, *Democratia, the gods and the free world* (Baltimore, 1960), 164-166.

¹¹¹ Ironically, a quarter of a century later, Demetrius Poliorcetes would place a statue of himself in the Agora adjacent to Democratia, N. Kyparissis and W. Peek, 'Attische Urkunden', *MDAI(A)* 64 (1941), 221-227.

¹¹² See pp. 43-44 above.

¹¹³ On the original date of the ephebic oath, see pp. 43-48 above and 162-163 below; on the

were (re)inscribed at this time and that in his single surviving oration Lycurgus refers to both of them.¹¹⁴ Democratic ideology is coupled with civic responsibility and patriotism. The actions of an Areopagus, newly empowered to punish "anyone who offends against the laws" (Dein. 1.62), fit well with this image. Reinmuth has argued that the Law against Tyranny "should strongly suggest that radical changes in the existing constitution were not, to put it mildly, consonant with the temper of the times."¹¹⁵ But the Law was intended to prevent subversion of the democracy, while the changes which Lycurgus put into place were aimed at fostering patriotism and preserving national freedom.

From our vantage-point, the methods of Lycurgus take on a righteous edge. Subscribing to a Platonic view of punishment and reward (*Leoc.* 1.10), Lycurgus set out to educate the state by attacking her less than upright citizens. Playing "public prosecutor", he (ab)used the process of *eisangelia* to defend the city from her 'unpatriotic' citizens.¹¹⁶ He condemned the general Lysicles for his role at Chaeronea, as well as Autolycus the Areopagite, for sending his family to safety rather than face the impending siege ([Plut.] 843d; *Leoc.* 53; Diod. 16.88). In 330 he prosecuted Leocrates for moving with his family to Rhodes after Chaeronea, the latter escaping death by one vote (Aeschin. 3.252).

Lycurgus, said the sophists, signed warrants with a pen dipped, not in ink, but death ([Plut.] 841e). In 333 he supported a case against Lycophron for adultery. He attacked Menesaechmus for a breach of ritual while leading a *theoria* to Delos. Menesaechmus later sought revenge by indicting Lycurgus' sons after his death, but their

authenticity of the Oath at Plataea, see Tod; Robertson, 'False Documents', 3-25; L. Prandi, 'Un Falso Documento del IV Sec. A.C.: Il Giuramento di Platea', *RIL* 112 (1978), 39-50.

¹¹⁴ Lycurg. *Leoc.* 76-77, 80-81; when he first published the text of the stone from Acharnae, L. Robert, *Études*, 316, observed: "Il est remarquable que les deux serments transcrits sur la stèle d'Acharnai soient tous les deux cités par Lycurgue....La personnalité de Lycurgue est typique d'un courant de traditionalisme dans l'Athènes du dernier tiers du IV^e siècle...."

¹¹⁵ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 127.

¹¹⁶ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 218-219.

lives were saved at the intercession of Demosthenes ([Plut.] 843d; 842e). He supported an *eisangelia* against Euxenippus for taking bribes when receiving a dream oracle at the temple of Amphiaraus. He secured the execution of Diphilus for unsafe mining practices and distributed the proceeds of his estate to the citizenry (843d). Defending Euxenippus, Hyperides objected to Lycurgus' use of *eisangelia* as a tool for moral correction against such 'crimes' as cowardice, adultery, and overpricing of flute girls (Hyperides 3.1-8; cf. Hyp. 2.12), claiming that Lycurgus was using a sledgehammer to crack nuts.

The surviving speech against Leocrates reveals a righteous Lycurgus, presenting himself convinced not only in the guilt of the accused, but also in the benefit of the case as a lesson for the state. His attack appals a modern's sense of justice as he declares that those defending Leocrates should also be sentenced to death for daring to associate with so vile a criminal (135). He invokes the gods and heroes to make him a "worthy accuser of [Leocrates'] crimes" (1-2). For this priest of Poseidon, the prosecution of immoral behaviour is an extension of his religious office, but his success seems to have inspired others. Deinarchus, Aristogeiton, and even Hyperides may all have taken up the weapon of *eisangelia*.¹¹⁷

Lycurgus believed that sacrifice of the individual for the needs of the state was an act of the highest honour. Stories such as the self-sacrifice of King Codrus (*Leoc.* 84-87) and Praxithea's willingness to sacrifice her daughter for the city are used "to educate the young toward virtue" (*Leoc.* 10), as are the oaths of the ephebes and the hoplites at Plataea (76-77, 80-81). He invokes the tradition of Sparta, and extols the virtues of its law condemning to death those who do not fight for their country; "the fear of one's own community," he adds, "is a strong thing and will compel men to face danger against an enemy" (129-130). In keeping with his Athenocentric outlook, he asks, "Does any Greek not know that [the Spartans] took Tyrtaeus from our city...and with him...established their system of training for the young, thus wisely providing for the immediate danger and for their whole future too?" (106).¹¹⁸ Lycurgus' method of

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, 219, n. 71.

civic moral regeneration was to punish offenders by *eisangelia*, to reward virtue with honorific decrees,¹¹⁹ and to educate the new generation towards virtue. Jaeger, who seems to approve of Lycurgus' methods, writes that "not till after the catastrophe at Chaironea did the Athenians gradually realize that their state should be penetrated with the ideal of *paideia*...[Lycurgus] took up Demosthenes' efforts to re-educate the Athenian people, and tried to make them something more than mere improvisation, by proposing legal enactments to systematize them."¹²⁰

5. *Eutaxia*

Honorific decrees, Lévy reminds us, allow us to study the qualities to which a society attached the greatest importance.¹²¹ The qualities for which ephebes are consistently praised, from our earliest inscription until late Roman times, are discipline, *eutaxia*,¹²² and obedience to their supervisors and to the laws. Some authors interpret this ephebic *eutaxia* to mean merely that the cadets demonstrated good military order.¹²³ Indeed, the word was originally restricted to a military context and meant the quality of maintaining good battle order, of keeping one's post. Thucydides uses *eutaxia* once and *eutaktos* three times. Only the final use does not pertain to a military episode, but instead describes the new-found good order of the *demos* after they learn of and adjust to the Sicilian defeat.¹²⁴

By the mid-fourth century, however, *eutaxia* had acquired a broader array of

¹¹⁸ He quotes extensively from Tyrtaeus, see p. 131 above.

¹¹⁹ We find a significant increase in the number of honorific decrees at this time, proposed by Lycurgus himself (*IGII*² 328, 345, 351, 414a, cf. [Plut.] 844a) and others; Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 217; Mitchel, 'Age of Alexander', 199.

¹²⁰ Jaeger, *Paideia* II, 7.

¹²¹ Lévy, *Crise Idéologique*, 4, n. 2.

¹²² e.g. Reinmuth: 2.31, 40, 58; 9.7-8; 17.6, 10; *IGII*²: 665.21; 900.8, 17; 1008.55; 1009.16, 35; 1011.18-19, 26; 1039.61; cf. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 38, 181; Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 238.

¹²³ e.g. L. and J. Robert, 'Bulletin Épigraphique', *REG* 83 (1970), 453.

¹²⁴ Thuc. 2.89.9; 6.72.4; 7.77.5; 8.1.4; cf. Pritchett, *GSW* II, 236. Other fifth-century use meaning "good order": Aristoph. *Nub.* 964, *Vesp.* 424, *Av.* 829; Aesch. *Pers.* 399. The word does not appear in Herodotus, Sophocles or Euripides.

meanings, which included moral discipline, somewhat akin to the earlier *sophrosyne*. Plato uses the word once.¹²⁵ Xenophon, by comparison, uses *eutaxia* or its cognates thirty-two times, more often by far than any other writer.¹²⁶ In the vocabulary of Xenophon the word undergoes a semantic shift from the quality of holding one's place in the phalanx, or being generally well-ordered, to being obedient. In the *Cyropaedia* (7.2.7-8), those described as *hoi eutaktoi* are called "the obedient ones" in the following sentence.¹²⁷ The logical connection between good order and what we in English call "discipline" is made clear in Xenophon's *Agésilas* (6.4): "Being disciplined [or "Having good order"] is the result of obedience." In the *Memorabilia*, *eutaxia* becomes interwoven with the set of values which include *sophrosyne*, obedience, and self-control.¹²⁸ Xenophon, a general and a Socratic, may have been directly responsible both for the expansion of the meaning of *eutaxia* and for a new focus upon the importance of the quality of "discipline" which it acquired. Aristotle makes use of the new meaning in the *Politics*, and seems to replace the old military meaning of "good order" with *suntaxis*.¹²⁹

The orators add the new semantic tool to their vocabulary. Lysias did not use "*eutaxia*", but rather "*kosmios*". *Eutaxia* appears in the later works of Isocrates.¹³⁰ Demosthenes uses cognates three times in two orations delivered in the 350's.¹³¹ In 325, Lycurgus and Demosthenes brought an *endeixis* against Aristogeiton. Speaking after Lycurgus, Demosthenes includes *eutaxia* (by now made famous, if it had not been before, by the many ephebic monuments erected throughout Athens) in his

¹²⁵ *Eutaxia* appears in Pl. *Alc.* (122c) among a list of Spartan virtues, included along with *sophrosyne*, *andreia*, *philoponia*, *philotimia*, *karteria*, and others. Although this dialogue is now considered to be original, the use of *eutaxia* in this alone of Platonic texts might indicate otherwise.

¹²⁶ Fourteen of those times are in a military context: Pritchett, *GSW* II, 236.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*; F. Sturz, *Lexicon Xenophonticum* 2 (Leipzig, 1802), 418.

¹²⁸ cf. *Mem.* 3.5.6, 18-22; at 4.4.14, he compares *eutaxia* in warfare with obedience to the laws.

¹²⁹ Arist. *Pol.* 4.4.3 [1321a], 4.5.1 [1321b], 7.4.5 [1326a]; *suntaxis* - 4.10.10 [1297b], 6.5.8 [1322a], 7.2.9 [1325a].

¹³⁰ Isoc. 8.102; 7.39, 81; 12.115: "...ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ἤδεσαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίαν ὑπ' εὐταξίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πειθαρχίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων μελετωμένην...."

¹³¹ Dem. 45.77; 50.64; cf. Aeschin. 2.102 - meaning "in an orderly fashion".

armoury of virtues: "All the noble and revered qualities that adorn and preserve our city - *sophrosyne*, the respect of your younger men for parents and elders, *eutaxia* - hold their own, backed by the laws, against the base qualities of indecency, audacity, and shamelessness" (Dem. 25.24).¹³² The military origin of *eutaxia* remained entwined with its new, broader meanings. Undisciplined youth are undependable in war. Phocion replies to Hyperides that he will advise the Athenians to go to war only when "I see the young men willing to *hold their places in the ranks*, the rich to make contributions, and the orators to keep their thievish hands away from the public moneys" (Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 23.2).

Lycurgus believed that education in discipline provides the path to virtue. Disciplined citizens will become virtuous citizens, together comprising a virtuous state which cannot help but become prosperous in peace and and successful in wartime. An ideology was born. Inscriptions from Lycurgan Athens are the first to include the word "*eutaxia*" or any of its cognates. A liturgy or liturgical competition known as "Eutaxia" is recorded in *IGII²* 417, with two men per tribe each paying 50 dr.,¹³³ dated to "a year or two" prior to 331/0.¹³⁴ Through comparison to four fragments of a second inscription which, like 417, is a list of all liturgists (*IGII²* 1575, *IGII²* 4332, *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 246, no. 42, and a previously unpublished fragment), Lewis deduces that the 50 drachmae are paid toward *phialai* and that it is possible that the liturgical victor is exempt.¹³⁵ In 329/8 the same inscription in which the *boule*

¹³² For Dem. 25 (*Against Aristogeiton* I) without brackets, see Hansen, *Demography*, 27; *Apagoge, Endeixis, and Ephegesis* (Odense, 1976), 144-152; D.F. McCabe, *The Prose-Rhythm of Demosthenes* (New York, 1981), 196; G. Mathieu, *Demosthène: Plaidoyers politique*, Vol. 4 (Paris, 1947), 134-8; *contra* most recently: Sealey, *Demosthenes*, 237-239, defending his earlier position, who does not mention McCabe's findings on Dem. 25, but seems to claim invalidation of stylistic analysis by arguing that if we moderns can detect subtleties of style, the ancients could also mimic them, 230-1.

¹³³ Except Chares of Aexone, who contributes 49, and the tribe of Hippothontis, with but one contributor.

¹³⁴ D.M. Lewis, 'Dedications of Phialai at Athens', *Hesperia* 37 (1968), 377.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, 376.

honoured the *epimeletai* of the Amphiaraiion with gold crowns weighing 1,000 dr. also allots 30 dr. to the superintendent of the "Eutaxia".¹³⁶ If one assumes that these inscriptions refer to the same event, then it is possible that at some time around 333, a new competition was included as part of the Amphiaraea, in which two teams per tribe were entered.¹³⁷ Some sort of hoplite contest has been suggested,¹³⁸ and, given the title, it may have been some form of close-order drill, rather than anything resembling *hoplomachia*. We should note that in later Hellenistic inscriptions from Samos *eutaxia* has become a citation for victors in gymnastic competitions.¹³⁹

The competition may have been ephebic. A relief in the Athens National Museum (2958) dated to around the 330's portrays a personified Eutaxia (so labelled) adjacent to a hero-like figure, with a tripod on its stand in the background (Figure I). Eutaxia points toward a smaller figure, equipped with shield, *chlamys* and cloak, and in her left hand holds a tablet which presumably contains the names of the winning team. It is possible that the smaller figure is an ephebe and the larger one a tribal or age-group eponymous hero.¹⁴⁰ Eutaxia is portrayed in the same pose as the Democratia of the Eucrates decree, as well as several representations of Hygeia and nymphs of the period. Palagia suggests that the fact that the personified goddess is labelled implies that she is a recent creation.¹⁴¹ The relief was found on the Acropolis and has always

¹³⁶ IG VII 4254 = *Syll*³ 298. See J.K. Davies, 'Demosthenes on Liturgies: a note', *JHS* 87 (1967), 34; Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 211. Humphreys, note 46, supposes that the liturgy was a contest or supervision of the procession; for the latter, she compares an inscription of the next century, G.S. Dantas, 'The True Aglaurion', *Hesperia* 52 (1983), 48-63, line 28. If I am right in using Lewis' theory to suppose that a liturgist of Hippothontis was exempt from IG II² 417 because he was victorious, then it was some sort of competition.

¹³⁷ Davies, 'Demosthenes', among others, connects the two with the same event.

¹³⁸ O. Palagia, 'Female Torso', 182.

¹³⁹ C. Forbes, *Neoi* (Middleton, 1933), 25; Pritchett, *Inscriptions*, 238; E. Preuner, 'Griechische Siegerlisten', *MDAI(A)* 28 (1903), 354, line 19; *Syll*³ 1061.

¹⁴⁰ Palagia, 'Ephebes of Erechtheis', 339 and n. 23, sees a parallel between this and other reliefs depicting "representations of single ephebes crowned by Athena" in NM 2946 and NM 2954 (Fig. J), cf. NM 2955; Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs*, 38, no. 55. The figures could be ephebic, but they could also simply be hoplites, as earlier described by Palagia, 'Female Torso', 182 and n. 29. (In NM 2946, the figure on the right is probably Demos.) See also O. Palagia, *LIMC* IV, 120, where she dates the relief to 330-317/08.



Fig. I.

Eutaxia: NM 2958

Photo from Palagia, *JHS* 95 (1975), plate 22b.

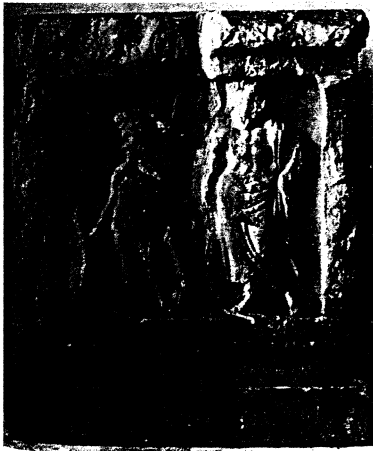


Fig. J.

Left: NM 2946; Right: NM 2954.

Photos from Palagia, *JHS* 95 (1975), plate 22c and d.

been discussed in connection with IGII² 417. It may have topped a stele which recorded the victors of an Amphiaraic Eutaxia at some point between 333/2 and 325/4. We know that ephebes, organized by tribes and competing as such (e.g. Reinmuth 13), were active in Oropus (e.g. Reinmuth 15). It is possible that the Eutaxia was a liturgical contest, taking place during the Amphiaraea, involving drill (?) competition between both year groups of all ten tribes.¹⁴² A parallel to such competition in "eutaxia" may be found in the "Gymnasiarchic Law of Beroia", in which the *gymnasiarch* is to oversee youth competitions as part of the Hermaea. The three categories for these Macedonian ephebes are "being in good shape" (*euexia*), "discipline" (*eutaxia*) and "endurance" (*philoponia*).¹⁴³ Likewise, the Macedonian ephebes may be beaten for lack of discipline (*ataxia*).¹⁴⁴

In 1982, Walbank published a terribly preserved stone which appears to bear a text of regulations for a festival, c.329/8. Line 38 reads ...στᾶθέντων [ἐ]πι[ι] εὔταξιάν... , which could be a further reference to the liturgy.¹⁴⁵ Of the several possible festivals he considers, Walbank concludes that "it is very likely that the present document represents the text of Phanodemus' nomothesia [for the Amphiaraea]," and he suggests a tentative restoration in line 33 of ἐν τῶι Ἀ[μφιαραῶι].¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Palagia, 'Female Torso', 181; cf. NM 2946, NM 2954, *et al.*

¹⁴² In fact, 329/8 is the date suggested for Reinmuth 15 by Bosworth, see p. 19, n. 59 above. I have not been able to see D. Knoepfler, 'Adolf Wilhelm et la pentétéris des Amphiaraias d'Oropos', in M. Piérart (ed.), *Aristote et Athènes* (Fribourg, Paris, 1993), 279-302, which may shed new light on the nature of the Amphiaraea.

¹⁴³ Gauthier and Hatzopoulos, *La Loi Gymnasiarchique*, 22, Face B, lines 47-57; and see the commentary on *eutaxia*, 104-105. The contest does not seem to be a team drill because individuals are to be judged "the most disciplined."

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, Face B, line 23.

¹⁴⁵ M. Walbank, 'Regulations for an Athenian Festival', *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 (1982), 173-182; he does not mention the *eutaxia* parallels, but merely writes "officials are appointed for the purpose of ensuring good order...."

¹⁴⁶ O. Hansen ('On the date for an Athenian Festival', *Mnemosyne* 38, Fasc. 3-4 [1985], 389), suggests a restoration of the first two lines, accepts Walbank's suggestion of date and line length but prefers the Bendidia over the Amphiaraea.

Related to *eutaxia* is the *eukosmia* for which the priest of Asclepius is honoured in 328/7 (*IGII²* 354; cf. *IGII²* 223b). In 335/4, Lycurgus replaced Athenian sacred property, including vessels and jewelry for 100 *kanephoroi* (*IGII²* 333; cf. [Plut.] 841d, 852b). Humphreys comments:

Probably this represented an increase in the number of young girls taking part in the procession as *kanephoroi* (perhaps from 30 to 100: D.M. Lewis, *pers. comm.*). Increased emphasis on the role of the young in ritual seems to be characteristic of the period, and the series of dedications commemorating girls' service as *kanephoroi* begins with *IGII²* 3457, dated to the late fourth or early third century. Lycurgus may have had in mind Plato's views on the necessity of educating and socializing girls as well as boys.¹⁴⁷

6. Democratic ideology of the ephebeia

It was not Lycurgus himself who proposed the law creating the ephebic training programme, but rather (most probably) an Epicrates (Harpocraton, s.v.), owner of property rumoured to be worth 600 talents.¹⁴⁸ This Epicrates is most likely to have been Epicrates ...otetou P. [of Pallene], member of the *Boule* in 335/4 (*IGII²* 1700.200-1), and wealthy mine owner: unsuccessfully indicted by Lysandrus between 330 and 326 for illegal mining practices (an *eisangelia* inspired by Lycurgus' case against Diphilus?), and allegedly making 300 talents in three years (*Hyp.* 4.35).¹⁴⁹ The name Epicrates is a common one,¹⁵⁰ but it is unlikely that there was more than one exceedingly wealthy Epicrates at the time. Consider also the date. Epicrates ...otetou P. was councillor in 335/4. What would be more natural than for him to propose his law while serving in the *Boule*? With whatever remained of that year available for working out details, the first ephebic year group would begin its training the following year under the archonship of Ctesicles - a year of the penteteric Greater Panathenaea. Our earliest dated ephebic inscriptions coincide exactly (Reinmuth 2, 3, and 4). In the

¹⁴⁷ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 209.

¹⁴⁸ Epicrates as creator: Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles*, 193-194; Brenot, *Recherches*, 41.

¹⁴⁹ Davies, *APF*, 182-3 (nos. 4909 D, E, G); Colin, *Hypéride*, 159; S. Lauffer, *Die Bergwerksklaven von Laureion* (Wiesbaden, 1956), 298; Conomis, 'Fragments of Lycurgus', 102; A.H.M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy*, (Oxford, 1957), 67.

¹⁵⁰ Faraguna, *Athene*, 275, n. 96.

year following that of the ephebic law, which must have revised or clarified requirements for citizenship, legislation was passed regulating (naturalized) citizen entry into phratries.¹⁵¹

We know nothing further about Epicrates, but we can assume that Lycurgus was pleased with (if not a co-founder of) his new idea. The orator honoured Epicrates with a bronze statue "for his law concerning the ephebeia" (Harpocration). In 330/29, Lycurgus' most distinguished son, Habron, served as one of the four cadet captains, *lochagoi*, of his tribe (Reinmuth 12.72-3). Epicrates and Lycurgus aimed at nothing short of wholesale indoctrination of all new citizens in proper civic, religious, and philosophical values. "In Platonic terms, the young men would be learning to convert a natural tendency toward sophrosune into the civic virtue which it was the purpose of the *Laws* to instill."¹⁵²

While young men of all citizenship classes undoubtedly took part in the *dokimasia* for citizenship and the registration procedures, opinion is divided on the question of whether citizen youths of the lowest class, the *thetes*, were subsequently enrolled among the ephebes. In my first chapter I asserted that the ephebeia was, in fact, open to all citizen classes. My arguments for this - primarily demographic - are presented in Appendix I.¹⁵³ I add to those arguments the implications of the Deinarchus case against Agasicles referred to in Chapter I.¹⁵⁴ Deinarchus draws an explicit distinction between metic youths, who participated in the Panathenaic procession as

¹⁵¹ M.J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, Vol. II (Brussels, 1981), 87.

¹⁵² North, *Myth to Icon*, 109, cf. 124-125. In the course of this work I have often been taken to task for describing the ephebeia as a programme of "indoctrination": "Greeks don't indoctrinate, my boy. *Communists* indoctrinate." It is interesting to note that the *OED* (s.v.) does, in fact, associate the word "indoctrinate" with Communism. Nevertheless, I am not alone in using it to describe the ephebic agenda. Mitchel, 'Age of Alexander', 198, writes that the ephebes "were also subjected to a course of intensive indoctrination in patriotism." cf. Mitchel, *Lykourgan Athens*, 37; Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 130.

¹⁵³ See pp. 213-224 below.

¹⁵⁴ Deinarchus frag. 58; cf. p. 10 above.

skaphephoroi, and ephebes, who are equated with citizens. Either *thetes* were included in the latter or metics took place in the procession of a major state festival from which the largest class of citizens was barred. The former case is far more likely.

One of the reasons supposed for the creation of the ephebeia was to strengthen the Athenian army after its loss at Chaeronea. Some believe that this was also the date at which *thetes* were recruited in order to augment the numbers of the army.¹⁵⁵ This may be true. After the battle, it seems, the generals Diotimus and Charidemus made contributions of shields to the state (Dem. 18.114) - presumably as a crisis measure. Later, Demosthenes himself equipped citizens who lacked shields ([Plut.] 851a). As Ridley implies, however, the inclusion of *thetes* in the land army may have occurred earlier.¹⁵⁶ This change became possible as a result of the increased effectiveness of peltasts and the gradual lightening of hoplite armour.¹⁵⁷ Under the ephebic system all citizens were given their spear and shield - the primary expenses of a hoplite - thus making obsolete the ancient requirement for hoplite class that the soldier provide his own equipment.¹⁵⁸

Although the Solonian categories of census classes had never officially been discarded, they most likely had become unworkable in practice. In 457/6 *zeugites* became eligible for the archonship, but *thetes* were still excluded (*Ath. Pol.* 26.22). Although the rule remained in place, *thetes* selected by lot for magistracies simply did not admit to their class (*Ath. Pol.* 7.4). It was possible for someone selected for Treasurer of Athena to be "extremely poor", even though the position was nominally open only to the *pentakosiomedimnoi* - the wealthiest (*Ath. Pol.* 47.1). Both Rhodes and Hansen refer to these passages and describe the Solonian classes as having become "a dead letter" in the fourth century.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 345; Ridley, 'Hoplite as Citizen', 519.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*; see Dem. 13.4; 50.6, 16; Hansen, *Demography*, 83-89.

¹⁵⁷ Hansen, *Demography*, 49, *et al.*

¹⁵⁸ There is no *locus classicus* for such a requirement, but see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26.1; *Pol.* 3.5.3 [1279b1]; 5.2.8 [1303a8-10]; Thuc. 8.65.3.

¹⁵⁹ Rhodes, *Commentary*, 146, 551; M. Hansen, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes. Structure, Principles and Ideology* (Oxford, 1991), 107. Hansen repeats his belief

I believe *thetes* must have been included in the *ephebeia*, but even if they were not, we must understand that the programme was aimed at the bulk of the Athenian citizenry. It certainly included the sons of *zeugites*, the "middle class". This is nowhere debated, but I mention it to underscore the fact that the *ephebeia* was a fundamentally democratic institution. It included no traditionally aristocratic training. Although Isocrates (*Areop.* 44-45), Xenophon (*Cyrop.* 1.2.9-11; 8.1.38; *Cyneg. passim*) and Plato (*Laws* 763b) had advised such aristocratic training as riding and hunting, the expensive pastimes were not included in the *ephebeia*.¹⁶⁰ The supervisors of each *ephebic* tribe and year group, *sophonistai*, were not appointed but elected by the *demos* from three of the "best men" in each tribe chosen by the fathers of the *ephebes*. The *kosmetes*, too, was elected by the *demos*. The role of the *sophonistes* is, above all, to serve as a role-model for the *ephebes* under his care, and virtue (as well as suitable age), not social class, is the requirement.

Athens is estimated to have spent in excess of 40 talents per year on the *ephebic* programme.¹⁶¹ This sizeable sum does not include the golden crowns weighing 500 dr. awarded yearly to each of the ten *sophonistai* and other related officers (e.g. Reinmuth 2). One of the results of the *ephebeia* is that, like Lycurgus' building programme, it would have provided a form of welfare (or workfare) for the city's poor and young - one of the two primary recommendations of Isocrates' *Areopagiticus*.¹⁶² Lycurgus professed to hold in disdain the traditional hobbies of the elite:

...horsebreeding, a handsome payment for a chorus, and other expensive gestures, do not entitle a man to any such recognition from you [the *demos*]

that all citizen classes served as *ephebes*, 108-9.

¹⁶⁰ See Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 24; Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 121; H. Pleket, 'Collegium Iuvenum Nemesiorum. A note on ancient youth-organizations', *Mnemosyne* 22 (1969), 296: "...it seems significant that it was only in the late-Hellenistic period, i.e. when the *ephebeia* had developed into a kind of social club for the sons of the well-to-do, that the *ephebes* began to practice riding on horseback."

¹⁶¹ Mitchel, 'Age of Alexander', 197; *Lycurgan Athens*, 37; W.S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911), 10.

¹⁶² Wallace, *Areopagus*, 167.

since for these acts he alone is crowned, conferring no benefit on others. To earn your gratitude he must, instead, have been distinguished as a trierarch, or built walls to protect his city, or subscribed generously from his own property for the public safety [*Leoc.* 139].

Lycurgan public works reflect this concern for public welfare. The improvements of the Pnyx, the Theatre of Dionysus, the Lyceum, and so forth were all part of a coherent policy to better the lifestyles of Athenian citizens and to encourage broader participation in the democratic and community life of the polis.¹⁶³ It is unlikely that either Lycurgus, egalitarian that he was, or the *demos*, would have spent such large amounts of public monies on a programme that excluded any group of citizens.

Jaeger writes that Isocrates "was bound to believe that state control of education was merely the wild dream of extreme radical theory, which in practice would not create an intellectual élite, but rather mechanically level down all social distinctions."¹⁶⁴ Whatever the truth of this statement in regard to Isocrates, the observation is important. One effect of the *ephebeia* would have been to narrow the distance between social classes by forming ties between fellow ephebes while at the mess table or on patrol. If, indeed, fears of a Thirty Tyrant style coup followed Philip's victory, a rigorous programme of mandatory training (and mutual suffering) would, like the Spartan *agoge*, ward away the threat of class stasis among future generations with far greater effectiveness than any law such as that of Euclates.

In an attempt to understand an "ideology" of the *ephebeia*, we should remember that metics and foreigners did not take part. It is usually only when calculating Athenian demographic statistics that we pause to remember that the citizens of Athens represented a minority of the city-state's inhabitants. There were slaves and women, of course, but there was also a sizeable number of metics. In 322, Athens fielded an army of around 8,000 soldiers; presumably all were citizens (Diod. 18.10.2; 18.11.3). At the same time, she launched a fleet of 174 ships, each about 200 men (Diod.

¹⁶³ Faraguna, *Atene*, 269; Wallace, *Areopagus*, 196.

¹⁶⁴ Jaeger, *Paideia* III, 120.

18.15.8-9).¹⁶⁵ The total number of men in service, then, was around 42,800. The highest estimate of total citizen numbers at this period is made by Hansen at around 31,000 (a figure which I believe to be too high).¹⁶⁶ Of these a certain number would be too old or unfit for service.¹⁶⁷ Roughly speaking, one-fourth to one-third of the free male population of Athens were not citizens. (A census later conducted by Demetrius of Phalerum recorded 21,000 citizens and 10,000 metics.)¹⁶⁸

I stress the democratic aspects of the ephebeia because there is an apparent contradiction between the ephebe's aristocratic trappings, notably the *chlamys* (*Ath. Pol.* 42.5) and *petasos* (*Pollux Onom.* 10.164) normally associated with the cavalry, and the democratic nature of the system and its founding government. Pélékidis followed others in deducing from the ephebic uniform that the *ephebeia* was a remnant of an ancient aristocratic organization.¹⁶⁹ We must remember, however, that the virtues which ephebes are taught originated within and were once the property of the aristocratic classes of earlier centuries. In the previous chapter I alluded to an apparent shift in class mores which took place once society accepted that virtue was acquired rather than inborn.¹⁷⁰ Ideas of moral rectitude remained associated with nobility of birth, and "the best" of the Greek language provided no way of disentangling the two. "The *kalos kagathos* in classical Greece is as clear as that of the gentleman of England. Both titles carry us back to the ideal of knightly aristocracy. But as the two types were taken over by the bourgeoisie in its rise to power, the ideals inspiring them became

¹⁶⁵ J.S. Morrison and R.T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* (Cambridge, 1968), 256.

¹⁶⁶ cf. Appendix I.

¹⁶⁷ Hansen, *Demography*, 19-20, 34.

¹⁶⁸ Ctesicles *apud* Athenaeus 6.272C; Jacoby, *FGrH* II B 245f. I, p. 1128; estimates are not without substantial difficulty: Gomme, *Population*, 19-20; D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, *CPhS* Suppl. 4 (Cambridge, 1977), 97-8; for the fifth century, R.P. Duncan-Jones has argued in favour of the implications of accepting Thuc. 2.13.6-7 as it reads, i.e. that about 40% of the hoplite force at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War was made up of metics, although it was almost exclusively used for Attic defence - 'Metic Numbers in Periclean Athens', *Chiron* 10 (1980), 101-109.

¹⁶⁹ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 116.

¹⁷⁰ See p. 101 above.

universal and at last affected the whole nation."¹⁷¹ Ober traces exactly this shift from the ideals and values of the aristocracy to their appropriation by the broader *demos*. He describes the values of *eugenia* and *kalokathia* as having been "democratized and communalized in the course of the fifth and fourth centuries" and "made the common property of all citizens."¹⁷² Orators increasingly appropriate qualities which had been reserved for the upper classes and use them instead to describe citizens who have demonstrated themselves to be virtuous through their actions.¹⁷³ "The 'nationalization' of the ideals of *kalogathia* and nobility of descent...demonstrates the power of popular ideology to appropriate and transvalue terms that had formerly implied the exclusivity of a few *within* the citizen group. Those 'captured' terms were used to celebrate the equality of origin and the national unity that transcended differences between citizens."¹⁷⁴ What had been the middle and even lower classes of Athens were merging in identity with the aristocracy, relative to non-citizens. Ober reminds us that "the citizen population of Athens was collectively a political elite *vis-à-vis* noncitizens, and a citizen's political status was normally inherited. Foreigners and slaves, who were excluded from citizenship, could be looked down upon by even the poorest and least well-educated citizen. The citizen 'in-group' was, therefore, a hereditary aristocracy when compared to non-citizen 'out-groups'."¹⁷⁵

Aristotle (*Pol.* 7.8.1-6 [1328b24-29a39]) points out that workers are disqualified from higher education; property wealth is a necessary condition "since *scholē* is

¹⁷¹ Jaeger, *Paideia* I, 1-2.

¹⁷² Ober, *Mass and Elite*, 259-260. I am grateful to Professor Ober for giving me a copy of his book.

¹⁷³ e.g. Lysias 19.14, whose speaker prefers his daughters to marry men whom "the many" judged to be "better" rather than certain rich men of whom he did not approve; Lysias (30.14) refers to democrats who had overthrown the Thirty in one breath as *polloi* and *kaloi k'agathoi*. Aeschines (1.134) implies that the *demos* hopes that the sons of citizens will grow up to be *kaloi k'agathoi* - Ober, *Mass and Elite*, 260.

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 291.

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 261; Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 78, understands this shift and claims that Athens had at last become a true democracy. This is perhaps true if we are prepared to exclude slaves and *metics* from our image.

essential both for the creation of virtue and for civic activities." Lycurgus understood this and with a two-year ephebeia provided the necessary *scholē* for all citizens. Plato had once tried to educate the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse. Isocrates had his Nicocles, and Aristotle served as tutor to Alexander. Lycurgus aimed at nothing less than the moral education of the entire Athenian *demos*.

7. A tradition invented

After describing the Lycurgan building programme, Humphreys explains that the ephebeia served as a functional part of this new face of Athens: "These new public settings were equipped with a new cast of performers to represent the citizen body in miniature: the *epheboi*."¹⁷⁶ What has made the question of the date of the ephebeia nearly impossible to resolve is that although Lycurgus or Epicrates (or whoever first designed the programme) was creating an Athenian civic programme which was something entirely new, he carefully grounded it in the sobriety and ancient prestige of the past by weaving together and incorporating various previously existing though often antiquated trappings of earlier times. While such writers as Isocrates, Cleidemus, Phanodemus, and Lycurgus were re-inventing Athenian history and myth,¹⁷⁷ new creations were justified by whatever links they could be seen to have with the older glory of the Athenian empire.

A recent collection of essays, *The Invention of Tradition*, describes several modern instances in which "traditions" which appear to have been passed down through the mists of time are in fact created practices or behaviours.¹⁷⁸ "Invented tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values

¹⁷⁶ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 206-7.

¹⁷⁷ Sealey, *Athenian Republic*, 130, describes some of these invented myths: the ancient educational role of the Areopagus and the attribution to Solon of the creation of the democracy; cf. E. Ruschenbusch, 'Ephialtes', *Historia* 15 (1966), 369-76; Jacoby, *Ancient Historians*, 58-61, 102-106, and 171-4.

¹⁷⁸ Hobsbawm, *Invention of Tradition*.

and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past."¹⁷⁹ Last week I witnessed a perfect example. A stone inscription appeared by the entrance to the St. Peter's College dining hall. It reads: "1392 - New Inn Hall - 1992". The dining hall, once Hannington Hall, had been renamed in order to establish an apparent link between St. Peter's College, founded as a Hall in the nineteen-twenties, and New Inn Hall, founded on the same grounds in the fourteenth century but now extinct.

The pre-existing strands which were linked together and incorporated into the ephebeia are many. They include the citizen enrolment and ephebic oath, patrol duty in the countryside, torch-race festivals, the presentation and equipping of state orphans in the Theatre of Dionysus, and perhaps even the new associations between the only true Attic hero, Theseus, and the beginning of democracy.

I have already discussed the relationship of citizen enrolment and ephebic oath to the ephebeia.¹⁸⁰ It is likely that both had existed at least as early as the fifth century. The procedure of enrolment highlighted the exclusivity of the "closed" citizenship and the importance of birth. It underscored the fact that ephebes were being admitted to Ober's "in-group". The oath itself, if not invented, suited the ephebeia perfectly. Already called "ephebic", it provided the name for the system as a whole, just as it had provided the name for that age-group in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. The words of the oath focus upon the two traits which the programme is designed specifically to foster: military discipline - *eutaxia* in the literal sense of keeping one's place in formation - and civic obedience to the laws. The overtones of empire (continually expanding the fatherland) would call to mind the recent reacquisition of Oropus. Among the witnesses invoked in the oath are the stones marking the boundary of the fatherland which the ephebes will patrol and the crops of the *chora* which the ephebes will

¹⁷⁹ op.cit., 1.

¹⁸⁰ For discussion and wording of the oath, see pp. 14 and 43-48 above.

protect.¹⁸¹ The section of the oath by which citizens swear to prevent anybody from destroying the laws is in accord with the Eucrates' Anti-Tyranny Decree of 337/6. We cannot know whether the exact wording which survives antedated Lycurgan Athens. It may have, but it would not have been beyond the powers of the ephebic inventors to create a text which "seemed archaic". In fact the military divinities and the rural "objects" invoked as witnesses are so well suited to patrol of the *chora* - a service which, as I have argued, did not begin until the late 370's and was not mandatory until after 335 - that we should accept a high probability that the wording of the oath which survives dates from the creation of the ephebeia in 335. Lycurgus himself stresses the importance of the oath (*Leoc.* 76), and, as mentioned earlier, the stone which records it (Tod 204) dates from this period.

The distinction between the first two year-groups, the *neotatoi*, and the remainder of the hoplite army had always existed. At some point earlier in the fourth century, I believe *c.*373, these young began to serve on occasion in the countryside. That separation between the young and the rest of the adults was now formalized and cemented. Called *epheboi* for the duration of the two years, they were kept separate from the main citizen body until they had completed their service. Because those same young men had earlier taken part in the festival torch-races of the Panathenaea, Hephaisteia and Pan, they now participated as ephebic *lampadephoroi* at festivals which, in later times, would include races to Hermes, Bendis, Prometheus, and Theseus.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ R. Merkelbach, 'Aglauros (Die Religion der Epheben)', *ZPE* 9 (1972), 277-283, has summarized the relevance of each deity, hero, or natural objects to ephebic service: Aglauros, he says, is "die Sondergöttin der Epheben". Enyo, Enyalios, Ares and Athena Areia - the military gods - reflect the military aspect of the ephebeia; Thallo and Auxo (cf. Paus. 9.35), divinities of growing and blossoming are suitable for adolescents, as well as for the crops of the *chora* which the ephebes will guard; Hegemone refers to the ephebes as "pathfinders" in the *chora* (Merkelbach, 282), or could (also) resonate an imperial tone; Heracles, a role model; with the *horoi*, the cultivated crops of the *chora*, which it will be the duty of the ephebes to guard, are "objects" called upon as witnesses and not archaic divinities, cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical* (Oxford, 1985), 251. They do not necessarily imply archaism.

¹⁸² Harpocration, s.v. $\Lambda\alpha\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$; cf. schol. patm. on Dem. *Against Euboulides* 43; I. Bekker,

The state presentation of orphans, from which Mathieu once suggested the *ephebeia* had evolved,¹⁸³ was also borrowed and superimposed upon the *ephebeia*. At the beginning of the City Dionysia, the tribute from the empire was set out on display in the theatre.¹⁸⁴ The orphaned sons of men killed at war were then paraded in, wearing armour granted by the state, and presented to the audience, the *demos*, at whose expense they had been raised. Aeschines describes the tradition:

...once on this day, when as now the tragedies were about to be performed, in a time when the city had better customs and followed better leaders, the herald would come forward and place before you the orphans whose fathers had died in battle, young men clad in the panoply of war; and he would utter that proclamation so honourable and such an incentive to valour: 'These young men, whose fathers showed themselves brave men and died in war, have been supported by the state until they have come of age; and now clad thus in full armour by their fellow citizens, they are sent out with the prayers of the city, to go each his way; and they are invited to seats of honour in the theatre.'
[Aeschin. 3.154].¹⁸⁵

It is clear that this procedure had fallen out of use.¹⁸⁶ Perhaps it had not been practised since the end of the Peloponnesian War. The tradition was brought out, dusted off, and applied not to orphans only, but to a ceremony which began the second year of ephebic service, in which the ephebes marched before the assembly in the Theatre of Dionysus, and were each given a spear and shield (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42.4). The ceremony did not take place during the Dionysia, but there, in the newly renovated theatre, was displayed the city's wealth, no longer tribute from allies, but that of a

Anecdota Graeca, Vol. I (Berlin, 1814), 228; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 638-9; Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 153-4.

¹⁸³ Mathieu, 'Remarques', 311-318; cf. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 14-15; before Mathieu, Dittenburger, *De Ephebis*, 9; Bryant, 'Boyhood', 87

¹⁸⁴ Isoc. 8.82; schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 504.

¹⁸⁵ cf. Thuc. 2.46; [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.4; Lysias 2.75-6; Pl. *Menex.* 248e-249b; Dem. 60.32; Isoc. 8.82; Arist. *Pol.* 2.5.4 [1268a9]; *IGI*³ 6, Col. C, lines 40-41.

¹⁸⁶ Isoc. 8.82; Aeschin. 3.154; Bryant, 'Boyhood', 88, n. 3; Goldhill, 'Dionysia', 63-4. Although the presentation was no longer practised, the provision of maintenance apparently continued: Arist. *Pol.* 2.5.4 [1268a9].

well-trained new generation.¹⁸⁷ There stood the young men who, like their orphan predecessors, owed filial allegiance to the state.

The connection between ephebes and the Theatre of Dionysus is one which has inspired recent authors to search for relationships further back between fifth century drama and the training programme.¹⁸⁸ In inscriptions of the second century B.C. ephebes are honoured for their part in a procession from Eleutherae, a re-enactment of the advent of Dionysus, in which they escort a statue of the god. Later, ephebes took part in a sacrifice to Dionysus in his sacred precinct.¹⁸⁹ The theatre had always had a *bouleutikon*, a section of seats reserved for members of the *boule*, and presumably the same "seats of honour" granted the orphans. Late sources tell us that the area was also reserved for ephebes.¹⁹⁰ We might wonder at what point ephebes were given these seats. An inscription of 266/5 (B6.22-3) proclaims that the ephebes will be given seats at the contests which the city holds. It is possible that ephebes were given their special seats from the very beginning of the programme as a further part of their moral education. Unlike Plato, Lycurgus believed in the didactic value of poetry and drama. "We have therefore good reason to thank Euripides," said the orator, "because, apart from his other merits as a poet, he chose this subject for a play [the *Erechtheus*], believing that in the conduct of those people the citizens would have a fine example which they could keep before them and so implant in their hearts a love of their country" (*Leoc.* 100).¹⁹¹ Lycurgus was rare among orators in his use of poetic references and quotations.¹⁹² He erected bronze statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and

¹⁸⁷ It is interesting to note that the decrees which bestowed honours upon the ephebes and their supervisors in the second century were proclaimed at the tragic contests of the Dionysia (as well as others), e.g. B 35.9; B 36.7.

¹⁸⁸ See p. 6 above.

¹⁸⁹ The earliest records of this activity are *JGII*² 1028; 1008; 1006 - dated to the final third of the 2nd century B.C.; cf. Goldhill, 'Dionysia', 59, who is rightly cautious about assuming similar activity in the fifth or fourth centuries; A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The dramatic festivals of Athens*² (Oxford, 1968), 58ff.; R. Seaford, 'Dionysiac Drama and the Dionysiac Mysteries', *CQ* 31 (1981), 252-75.

¹⁹⁰ schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 794; Poll. *Onom.* 4.122; Hesychios and *Suda*, s.v. *Bouleutikon*; cf. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 107.

¹⁹¹ vs. Plato's dismissal of poetry: *Leg.* (663d-664d); cf. Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 216-217.

Euripides, codified official versions of their works which were kept in the public archives, and outlawed the performance of any unofficial versions.¹⁹³

The uniform of the ephebe was a *chlamys*, the short cloak of the cavalryman. This is all the *Ath. Pol.* tells us. Sources which date from the second century A.D. add that the cloaks were black (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.1.5; *IGII²* 2090.5-11).¹⁹⁴ Another late source says that they also wore the cavalry (or traveller's) broad rimmed hat, the *petasos*.¹⁹⁵ We must remain skeptical that the ephebic *chlamys* had always been black. If it had always been so distinctive, Aristotle might have said so. He might likewise have mentioned the *petasos*. Nevertheless, it is possible that the black *chlamys* and *petasos* was one further thread woven into the invented tradition. According to Philostratus, the Athenian ephebes wore a black *chlamys* in memory of the myth of the Argive herald Copreus, impiously murdered by the Athenians. In explaining the text of *IGII²* 3606.18-22, which describes Herodes Atticus' replacement of the black *chlamys* with white, Roussel has interpreted another foundation myth. A line in the metrical text reads "mending the forgetfulness of the Aegeid father".¹⁹⁶ The forgetful son of Aegeus can only be Theseus, who forgot to replace his black sails with white ones, thereby prompting the suicide of his father Aegeus. Apparently the black *chlamys* of the ephebe was at some point associated with Theseus and the orphaned hero's mourning for his father. Indeed, a summary computer search for vases depicting young men in *chlamys*, *petasos*, and spear, which I conducted in the Beazley Archives yielded no 4th century ephebes, but figures of Theseus did appear.¹⁹⁷ The hero seems comfortable wearing the traditional

¹⁹² S. Perlman, 'Quotations from Poetry in Attic Orators of the Fourth Century', *AJPh* 85 (1964), 162: "The greatest number and the greatest condensation of quotations from poetry is to be found in Aeschines 1.119-54 and in Lycurgus 83-110, 131-3."

¹⁹³ [Plut.] 841f.

¹⁹⁴ The passage in Philostratus explains that the colour of the ephebic *chlamydes* was changed from black to white in A.D. 167/8 by Herodes Atticus.

¹⁹⁵ Poll. *Onom.* 10.164.

¹⁹⁶ Lines 20-21; P. Roussel, 'Les Chlamydes Noir des éphèbes athéniens', *REA* 43 (1941), 163-5.

¹⁹⁷ e.g. Penthesilea painter: Munich 2565 = ARV 889.169 (5th Century).



Fig. K.
Theseus: Oxford 1937.983.
Photo from Brommer, *Theseus*, plate 37a.



Fig. L.
Theseus: Paris, Louvre G 462.
Photo from Brommer, *Theseus*, plate 42b.

"ephebic" costume (e.g. Figs. K, The Dinos Painter, and L, The Euaion Painter).¹⁹⁸ (He often wears a *chiton* or is nude, however.)

Lately, scholars have increasingly associated Theseus with the *ephebeia*. The hero has been called "the Athenian ephebe, par excellence" and the "ephebe of ephebes". His myth is seen as "the story of the Athenian ephebe system."¹⁹⁹ We should remember that the only connection between the *ephebeia* and Theseus is that of Roussel's 2nd century A.D. inscription, youthfulness, and an apparent similarity of dress. Theseus appears nowhere in our early ephebic inscriptions, while the eponymous heroes do. Ephebes do take part in the *Theseia*, but that festival was not created until much later, and even then it appears to have held no more significance for ephebes than the many other festivals. Nevertheless, the connection may be a valid one, and the relationship deliberate.

Theseus was a national hero who had been altered and re-invented for political reasons since the times of Peisistratus.²⁰⁰ Increasingly democratised, eventually becoming a founder of Athenian democracy,²⁰¹ Theseus appears increasingly in the fourth century as part of the new "political" Attic myths which were being invented, his aristocratic trappings used to symbolize the virtues of moderate democracy.²⁰² In the

¹⁹⁸ F. Brommer, *Theseus* (Darmstadt, 1982), 145, cf. plates 34 (The Dinos Painter, Oxford 1937.983), 35 (The Altamura Painter, Vienna 321), and 37b (The Painter of the Ferrara Sinis, Ferrara T.512). All pots are fifth century.

¹⁹⁹ Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, 105-6, has collected these associations; they derive from: C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'A series of erotic pursuits: images and meaning', *JHS* 107 (1987), 135; P. Vidal-Naquet, 'The Black Hunter', trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak in *The Black Hunter* (Baltimore, 1986), 112; and H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* (Lille, 1939), 245 - respectively; cf. also Wilkins, 'Young of Athens', 334.

²⁰⁰ W.B. Tyrrell and F.S. Brown, *Athenian Myths and Institutions* (Oxford, 1991), 'Theseus and the Parthenon as Mythic Propoganda', 159-188; Parker, 'Myths', refers to the work of Hobsbawm and Ranger in connection with Theseus: "The quite extraordinary development that the figure of Theseus underwent in the fifth century is a glittering example of an 'invention of tradition' which was also the forging of a 'political myth' "; W.R. Connor, 'Theseus in Classical Athens' in A. Ward (ed.), *The Quest for Theseus* (London, 1970); W. den Boer, 'Theseus. The growth of a myth in history', *G & R* 16 (1969), 1-13.

²⁰¹ Soph. *OC* 422-9; Isoc. 10.36; [Dem.] 60.28, Theophr. *Char.* 26.6.

²⁰² C. Calame, *Thésée et l'Imaginaire Athénien* (Dijon-Quetigny, 1990), 412-415; Raubitschek 'Demokratia', 238-9. Isoc. 10.18 ff., .36; [Dem.] 59.74; 60.28. Plutarch (*Vit. Thes.* 24-25;

late fourth century, Euphranor painted a mural in the Stoa of Zeus which depicted Theseus standing between Democratia and Demos (Paus. 1.3.3-4; cf. Pliny *HN* 35.129).²⁰³ This scene may well have been the source for the Democratia of the Eucrates Decree.²⁰⁴ If a connection between the ephebes and Theseus did exist, it was intentional. The Theseus of those playwrights whom Lycurgus praised as educators in virtue and patriotism would have been an entirely suitable model for the ephebeia.²⁰⁵ "Theseus was a national hero who squared the circle of patriarchy and youth culture. As the embodiment of adolescent prowess, as a man without a master, Theseus symbolized the vigor and freedom of Athens' young democracy. Yet Theseus was no rebel...he spoke the language of filial submission."²⁰⁶ As the capstone to his invented tradition of the ephebeia, Lycurgus may have intentionally dressed the "cast" of his new Athens as little Theseuses, expertly bridging the gap between aristocratic ideal and moderate democratic ideology.

Citizen enrolment, the oath with its title "Ephebic", the military age-class of *neotatoi*, *peripoloi*, the ritual of the orphans, festival torch races, and the political traditions of Theseus - once separate aspects of Athenian life - were rolled together and incorporated into a completely new system of military training and moral supervision, with its officers, drills, ephebic tribes, messes, ceremonies, and honorific monuments.²⁰⁷ Once the tradition had been invented, it was allowed to go its own way. As we shall see, the focus increasingly moved from military to festival.

Comp. Thes. et Rom. 2.1) seems to borrow from the tradition of the Atthidographers; cf. *Arist. Ath. Pol.* 41.2.

²⁰³ Brommer, *Theseus*, 146.

²⁰⁴ Raubitschek, 'Demokratia', 238.

²⁰⁵ Euripides' Theseus warns against the ambition of the young (*Eur. Supp.* 232-7); Theseus and Demophon of Euripides' *Herakleidae* served as examples of Athenian moral rectitude. Examples are listed by Wilkins, 'Young of Athens', 337, n. 106. See Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, 112, for Sophocles and Theseus.

²⁰⁶ Strauss, *Fathers and Sons*, 127.

²⁰⁷ The Lycurgan invention corresponds to Hobsbawm's "type c" classification of invented tradition (page 9): "whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour."

Whatever seemed appropriate could be added by *kosmetai* and *sophonistai* as they saw fit. "Some initiatives -- perhaps the invitations to the ephebes to participate in festivals at Athmonon, Aexone, and Phyle, which are not listed in later records of their ritual activities -- will have met with only temporary success; others became institutionalized."²⁰⁸ Lycurgus did not design the ephebeia merely as a system of military training, nor solely to impress virtue into new citizens - though these were high on his agenda. When the Athenian empire and even her "Second Confederacy" had disappeared, the young men in cloaks, who marched nobly at state festivals or swept across mountainous frontiers, became a living symbol of the old glory of Athens. Like the new marble buildings - the stone theatre of Dionysus, the Panathenaic Stadium, the gymnasium at the Lyceum - the ephebes represented and glorified an era to which they had never belonged.

In that famous glorification of Athenian ideology, the first funeral oration of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles boasted most proudly of Athenian freedom. The greatness of Athenian bravery and skill is that it was natural: "...[we are] trusting not so much in preparations and stratagems as in our own keen spirit for action; and as for education, while they from childhood seek after manliness through laborious training, we, who live our lives without constraint, advance no less to meet equal dangers...."²⁰⁹ In Hyperides' funeral oration, spoken over the dead of the Lamian War a little over a hundred years later, things have changed: "Am I then to touch upon their education and, as other speakers often do, remind you how as children they were reared and trained in strict self-discipline? None of us, I think, is unaware that our aim in training children is to convert them into valiant men; and that men who have proved of exceptional courage in war were well brought up in childhood needs no stressing."²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 208.

²⁰⁹ Thuc. 2.39.

²¹⁰ Hyper. 4.8. I read "children" to be contrasted with the men who have fallen. The orator must have the ephebeia in mind and, indeed, over half of the men who fought in the war had undergone ephebic training.

Chapter VI

The Ephebeia 322 - 200 B.C.

For all the attention it has claimed, the ephebeia as described in the *Athenaion Politeia* was a comparatively short-lived form of the institution. In all it lasted for approximately a decade (and I have mentioned that most of the inscriptions which have been found date from only the first few years).¹ The purpose of this chapter is to examine the evidence which we have for the evolution of the programme from the end of the democracy in 322 until the year 200 B.C. The only broad study of the ephebeia in Hellenistic times is that of Pélékidis, who extends his work down to the year 30 B.C. Since Pélékidis wrote, no fewer than seventeen ephebic inscriptions from the 3rd century have been published (or found to be ephebic), many of them substantial. Additionally, new evidence and scholarship have given us a somewhat clearer picture of the obscure events of the early third century - an obscurity which forbade Pélékidis from offering much of an account of the programme at that time and confined him largely to providing descriptions of the few inscriptions then available. By far the bulk of his Hellenistic chapters centre around the better documented second and first centuries B.C. A new appraisal is needed.

The reader must be forewarned, however, that much of the political history of Athens during the third century remains unproven. No comprehensive work has been attempted since Ferguson wrote in 1911.² Since then several authors have made substantial contributions to certain individual aspects, but to the extent that the historical background is itself controversial, any theories concerning political influence on the ephebeia during the third century cannot at this point be taken as conclusive.³

¹ See p. 123 above.

² Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*; I eagerly await Professor Habicht's forthcoming book on the history of early Hellenistic Athens.

³ Recent works on the subject: M.J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, 4 Vols. I (Brussels, 1981-1983); 'The Chronology of Athens in the Mid Third Century B.C.', *ZPE* 78 (1989), 209-242; C. Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit: Hypomnemata* 73 (Göttingen, 1982);

My study ends at the year 200 (although I do make some comparisons with later evidence) firstly because it must end at some point and the Roman eclipse of Macedonian influence and official Athenian expunging of Antigonid memory makes an attractive date (especially as it coincides with the turn of a century), and secondly, because the inscriptions of the second century B.C. are more complete and extravagant than those of the third. They indicate that the system itself had undergone refurbishment: the numbers of ephebes begin to rise, as does the number of festivals in which they participate; efforts are made to re-create whatever was remembered of the Lycurgan ephebeia (with trips to the frontier, reconstructed catapults, and so forth),⁴ and by 123 B.C., foreigners participate as ephebes. An examination of the ephebeia after the third century would be both interesting and useful, but it does not belong as a part of this work. A final reason is that there are some second century inscriptions (one from 198/7 and another, apparently complete, from the late 170s) which will be essential to any such study but which have not yet been published and to which I do not have access.⁵

1. Macedonian occupation: 322/1 - 319/8

When the Greek rising which followed Alexander's death failed, Antipater was not as forgiving to Athens as Philip and Alexander had been. The most active and anti-Macedonian politicians were hunted down and executed. A garrison was established on Munychia in the Peiraeus (Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 28.1). The democracy was ended, replaced by "the ancestral government of Solon". Citizenship was limited to those with a property qualification of 2,000 drachmae, a measure which disenfranchised 12,000 of about 21,000 men, or four-sevenths.⁶ Evidence is sparse for the ephebeia

Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. *Vestigia* 30 (Munich, 1979); T.L. Shear, Jr., *Kallias of Sphektos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.*: *Hesperia Suppl.* 17 (Princeton, 1978); H. Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*: *Historia Einzelschrift* 20 (Wiesbaden, 1972).

⁴ Catapult: *IGII²* 1006.34, 81; Marsden, *Artillery*, 73. Sacrifices on the frontier: *IGII²* 1006.24-5, 54; *Hesperia* 24 (1955), 288, line 24.

⁵ It was Prof. C. Habicht who kindly informed me of their existence.

following Athens' defeat. From the period 334/3 to 323/2, twenty-three ephebic inscriptions have so far been found. We have only one which might date between 323/2 and 307/6.⁷ The oligarchical changes instituted by Antipater were such that the ephebeia could not have remained untouched, for reasons of cost if no other.⁸ At a minimum, the number of ephebes must have been drastically reduced. Guessing at the nature of the ephebeia at this time, some have assumed a cut in enrolment similar in scale to the reduction in the number of Athenian citizens.⁹ We have no reason, however, to suppose that the programme continued to be mandatory for those young men who could still qualify for citizenship. We therefore have no way of knowing how many would have participated in the programme - if it was continued.

The ephebeia may have been completely abolished. Election by lot might have been discarded,¹⁰ as might have been the system of *daitetai*.¹¹ The *grammateus* of inscriptions is replaced by the *anagrapheus*, the *astynomoi* by *agoranomoi*. With no

⁶ Diod. 18.18.4; see Appendix I, p. 215.

⁷ Reinmuth 16; cf. pp. 178-179 below.

⁸ About this government, Tritle (*Phocion*, 136) writes that it "was a moderate democracy, not an oligarchy." He points out that the bodies of democratic government remained in place, although reduced to a rule by 9,000. The distinction descends into semantics: the Four Hundred or even Five Thousand of 411 - to which Tritle compares this government - has been classified by orthodoxy as a form of oligarchy, even though there may have been no small ruling *junta*. After 322 Athens was securely under the thumb of Antipater, whose garrison at Munychia ensured compliance. A decree of the restored democracy in 318/7 refers to those ruling at this time as οἱ ἐν τῆι ὀλι<γ>αρχίαι πολιτευόμενοι - IGII² 448.61, Williams' appellation (*Athens without Democracy*, 45, 98) of "moderate oligarchy" is appealing.

⁹ e.g. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 157: "si le nombre annuel des éphèbes avant 323 était de six cents cinquante à sept cents environ, après cette date il devait être d'environ trois cents."; Dumont (*L'éphébie*), 63.

¹⁰ Tritle, *Phocion*, 131; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 22-23: but these are both conjecture based on the sort of measures enacted by Antipater (Diod. 18.18). J. Headlam, *Election by Lot at Athens* (Cambridge, 1933), 87, n. 1, points out that we do not know when sortition was abandoned and mourns that Diodorus does not expressly mention its abolition. Based on IGII² 394 and *Hesperia* 9 (1940), 345-6, no. 44. Williams (*Athens without Democracy*, 128-9), argues that it was retained - to be abandoned by Demetrius of Phalerum, 180 and n. 463, 195-6; cf. Gehrke, 'Demetrius von Phaleron', 152-3.

¹¹ Rhodes, *Commentary*, 591; cf. Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles*, 224.

need to expend wealth on poorer citizens, the theoretic fund, distribution of surpluses, pay for assembly and jury attendance, and perhaps for holding office were all unnecessary.¹² Athens had spent large amounts on the ephebeia. The programme required around 40 talents a year in food and arms for all 18 and 19 year old citizens,¹³ excluding such costs as monuments, golden wreaths, and instructors. The oligarchy would not have continued such expenditure. Additionally, to the extent that Macedonia saw the ephebeia as an institution geared to prepare young Athenians for war against enemies of the democracy, its abolition is probable.¹⁴ It has been argued that the Athenians owed their early land successes in the campaigns of 323 to ephebic training.¹⁵ We cannot know what truth there is in this, but the men under Leosthenes¹⁶ and Phocion had fought well, and Antipater would have remembered the new programme which trained those citizens who had held him besieged at Lamia, and who had at one point demanded his unconditional surrender.

If the ephebeia was suppressed by Antipater, however, it might not have been until the end of the archon year 322/1. In Appendix II I address the dating of the comic poet Menander's ephebate. One result of my study is that in the year 322/1, Menander was granted an exemption from his cadet service in order to direct his first play, perhaps the *Heauton Timoroumenos*.¹⁷ Since plays for the Dionysia, and their authors, were selected early in the year, the exemption may have been granted within the first month, around July 322.¹⁸ However, the anonymous source which records Menander's exemption probably derived his information from a didaskalic inscription, similar to

¹² Tritle, *Phocion*, 131; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 23.

¹³ See p. 157 above.

¹⁴ F. Mitchel, 'Derkylos of Hagnous and the date of *I.G.*.II², 1187', *Hesperia* 33 (1964), 346-8; the author is inconsistent, however, because later (349) he follows the view that the ephebeia was simply reduced in number by four-sevenths.

¹⁵ J.M. Williams, 'Solon's Class System, the Manning of Athens' Fleet, and the Number of Athenian Thetes in the Late Fourth Century', *ZPE* 52 (1983), 243, n. 7.

¹⁶ Leosthenes was general of the countryside, and therefore involved in ephebic training in 324/3: Reinmuth 15 (left side, lines 4-6).

¹⁷ Anon.; G. Kaibel, *CGF* I, p. 9, line 71; Appendix II, pp. 225-231.

¹⁸ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.3.

IGII² 2323a. For the exemption to have been worth recording, the ephebeia might still have been in existence during the performance, in the spring of 321, and indeed throughout the remainder of that archon year, even though Macedonian troops entered Athens in September of 322.¹⁹ In fact this is likely, for we know that other mechanisms of oligarchic government were not instituted until the change of archon year 321/0.²⁰

Otherwise, no ephebic inscriptions have been found which date from the years 322 to 318, but two related decrees are worth noting. In 320/19, a deme honoured two(?)²¹ "*sophronistai*" who were involved with its festival to Hebe (IGII² 1199.17-20).²² These *sophronistai* are probably not ephebic magistrates because the inscription does not mention ephebes and because it is a deme and not tribal decree.²³ Humphreys supposes that they had been appointed to maintain order in the all-night festival.²⁴ Her suggestion may be correct, although no phrase such as "*heneka eutaxias*" appears. We have seen that ephebes played a prominent role in festivals of Attica, and nothing would have been more appropriate than that they participate in a festival to Hebe (Youth). I suggest that ephebes had earlier assumed an important role in the festival and, with the ephebeia abolished, Aixone substituted untrained young men. Temporary deme "*sophronistai*" were appointed to organize them.²⁵

A curious Eleusinian decree survives, dated to 319/8 and therefore during the events surrounding the death of Antipater and the contest between Nicanor and

¹⁹ Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 28.1.

²⁰ The oligarchic officer, *anagrapheus* does not appear in inscriptions until the archon year 321/0; see Williams, *Athens without Democracy*, 117-8; S. Dow, 'The Athenian Anagrapheis', *HSPh* 67 (1963), 37-54.

²¹ The text is unclear.

²² The deme is assumed to be Aixone because of the find site. Kirchner had mistakenly dated the decree to c. 325, and this was accepted by Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 131. The proper date of 320/19 was assigned by D. Whitehead, 'Notes on Athenian Demarchs', *ZPE* 47 (1982), 37-38.

²³ See Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 131; no demotics are given. Are all mentioned from Aixone?

²⁴ Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 208.

²⁵ D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (Princeton, 1986), 143, n. 136, roughly equates these *sophronistai* with *hieropoioi*.

Polyperchon.²⁶ *IGII²* 1187 honours the general Dercylus, son of Autocles of Hagnous [*PA* 3248], "for his zeal towards the deme of Eleusis and the others, and for seeing that the boys of the deme might be educated." The deme awards him a golden wreath weighing 500 drachmae and proclaims his honour at the Eleusinian tragic competition. The demarch and fathers of the boys are responsible for inscription of the stele. This inscription is without precedent, as is any involvement of a general in the education of children: those involved are described as *paides*. If they were of ephebic age, we might instead expect *neaniskoi*, *neotatoi*, or some similar term. For this reason, Sekunda has suggested that Dercylus had taught some form of pre-ephebic training, a "secondary school" to prepare younger boys for their ephebic service.²⁷ The idea is imaginative but difficult to accept. We have no evidence of any such training of boys at any time in Athenian history, nor of an ephebeia in 319/8.²⁸

The best explanation for the decree was put forward by Mitchel, who suggested that these fathers of Eleusinian youth have created a "strictly informal" replacement for the ephebeia in the education of their sons by requesting that they be trained by Dercylus, General of the Countryside.²⁹ Ephebic inscriptions, both earlier and later, highlight the role of ephebes at Eleusis both as guards and as participants in the Mystery festival.³⁰ Perhaps here, as at Aixone, the deme had sought to replace the ephebes who were missing from their festival.³¹ Mitchel's date of 319/8 makes this

²⁶ The date is Mitchel's, based on the supposition that Dercylus was general of the countryside in that year, *Plut. Vit. Phoc.* 32.5. Kirchner had dated it *Med.s.IV*. Davies accepts Mitchel's dating of the generalship of Dercylus, *APF*, 97-98. We should remember, however, that there is no reason to think that this was the only year in which Dercylus was general. This inscription might then belong to another (earlier) time and have little or nothing to do with ephebes.

²⁷ Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 328.

²⁸ Though Sekunda does not suggest it, a parallel could be drawn between such training of *paides* and that required by a law of the Boeotian Confederacy after 245. See p. 210 below.

²⁹ Mitchel, 'Derkylos of Hagnous', 341-8; followed by Williams, *Athens without Democracy*, 164.

³⁰ **B8**.13-15; **B20**.10-15; **B25**.11-13. It is generally assumed that ephebes participated in festivals of the fourth century. Reinmuth 6 and 13 (+ **A4**).

³¹ Since Dercylus is to be honoured at the tragic competition, the decree probably refers to preparation for the Eleusinia.

suggestion even more likely, since the year coincides with celebration of the penteteric Greater Eleusinia. The 'education' then may have had nothing to do with military training, but consisted simply of preparation for processions and competitions. Such a theory would explain why, if the ephebeia had been abolished, the Eleusinians felt secure enough to proclaim Dercylus' virtue publicly.³² If Mitchel's theory about the date of this decree is correct, *IGII*² 1187 and *IGII*² 1199 suggest an absence of the ephebeia during this time. Dercylus was heavily involved in political intrigue at the time,³³ but perhaps preparation for the Greater Eleusinia was important enough to demand his attention. The general was certainly a patriot.

2. Demetrius of Phalerum: 319/8 - 307/6

In 319/8, to win Greek support against Cassander who had effectively courted the oligarchies which were in place, Polyperchon, through King Philip Arrhidaeus, decreed the restoration of all governments to their polity at the time of Philip and Alexander.³⁴ Democracy was restored and, swollen by indignant ranks of returning exiles and disenfranchised, vengeance exacted. Antipater's Pétain, Phocion, and those partners in government who could be rounded up, were accused of treason and illegally put to death. At the beginning of the following archon year, 318/7, the democratic political framework was restored.³⁵ It is likely that some form of ephebeia

³² Admittedly, the theory does not explain the use of "*paidēs*" and must assume vaguery of terminology.

³³ As general of the countryside, he attempted to capture the garrison commander Nicanor when he attended a diplomatic conference in the Peiraeus: *Plut. Vit. Phoc.* 32.4-7; *Nepos Phocion* 2ff.; *Diod.* 18.64.1-6. Dercylus would have been quite an elderly man by this time, perhaps nearly eighty. He had taken part in all three embassies to Philip in 346 (*Aeschin.* 2.47, 140; *Dem.* 19.60, 125, 175), and would not have been young then.

³⁴ *Diod.* 18.55-6. The traditional dating of these events has been defended by J.M. Williams, 'A note on Athenian chronology, 319/8-318/7 B.C.', *Hermes* 112 (1984), 302-3, A.B. Bosworth, 'Philip III Arrhidaeus and the Chronology of the Successors', *Chiron* 22 (1992), 68-69, and others, against R.M. Errington, 'Diodorus Siculus and the Chronology of the Early Diadochoi, 320-311 B.C.', *Hermes* 105 (1977), 478-504.

³⁵ The continued appearance of the *anagrapheus* in inscriptions of the year 319/8 indicates that, as in 321/0, the new government was not fully put into place until the archon new-year.

was restored, both because of its ideological associations and because of the need to train soldiers to defend the new democracy. We shall never know whether this is the case, however, because by the time the first group of ephebes would have been honoured, even in a one-year programme, the democracy had again fallen.

While Cassander continued to hold the Peiraeus, Polyperchon's fleet was destroyed in a sneak night attack by Antigonos, and the regent's hold on Greece began to ebb. With no means now of overcoming Cassander, Athens was forced to seek terms. In 318/7 Demetrius of Phalerum, a peripatetic philosopher who had been active during the previous regime and condemned to death by the democracy *in absentia*, was installed by Cassander as "*epimeletes*", in fact dictator.³⁶

Under his rule, the citizenship qualification, which must have been suspended by the democrats (if not in the decree of Philip Arrhidaeus) was set at 1,000 drachmae. A pupil of Theophrastus and philosophical idealist of the Aristotelian school, Demetrius took the opportunity to overhaul completely the laws of Athens.³⁷ Like a Greek Cromwell, he curtailed extravagance in any form, though his enemies often accuse him of personal excess. Sumptuary laws were enacted to minimize spending on and regulate behaviour at funerals, weddings, and banquets. New boards and magistracies

³⁶ Demetrius of Phalerum was active during the oligarchy of Phocion and Demades: *IGII²* 2971. When the democracy was restored he had wisely sought refuge with Cassander in the Peiraeus.

³⁷ Whether or not the legislation of Demetrius was a result of his philosophical studies is, in fact, a matter of debate; cf. Williams, *Athens without Democracy*, 172, for bibliography on the issue. Gehrke, 'Demetrios von Phaleron', has argued that the *nomophylakai* were unlike those invented by Plato and Aristotle, but copied from contemporary systems, and instead served to replace the function of the discontinued *graphe paranomon* (160-161). Likewise, he argues, the *gynaikonomoi* and related sumptuary laws were derived from older greek *mores* (166-167) and/or were similar to restraints previously enacted by the democracy (168-170). In fact, he sees them as democratic "concessions". In addition to some problems with this previously mentioned (see p. 126, n. 17), Gehrke does not allow for the possibility that those previous laws - one enacted by Lycurgus, another referred to by Hyperides - were themselves influenced by philosophy. Nor does he explain why, if Demetrius was not motivated by philosophical agenda, upon the restoration of the democracy in 307 a law proposed by Sophocles of Sounion was passed barring philosophical schools from Athens: D.L. 5.38; Poll. 9.42 (although it was quickly judged illegal). Williams (*Athens without Democracy*, 173 [esp. n. 442] - 183) feels, as do I, that Gehrke "goes too far" and offers a more balanced account of the ideological nature of Demetrius' measures.

were established to create and enforce these extensive new laws.³⁸

When Pélékidis wrote, the only evidence for the existence and nature of the ephebeia at this time was *IGII*² 2970, dated by Kirchner to 315/4.³⁹ Since then this inscription has been positively redated to 334/3, and we are left to guess whether a continuation (or reinstatement) of an ephebeia would have suited Demetrius' agenda.⁴⁰ Such a system for the teaching of appropriate behaviour and obedience to law would certainly have appealed to the same man who established the board of seven *nomophylakes*, which closely monitored the *boule* and assembly in order to maintain strict adherence to the laws, and the *gynaikonomoi*, a board responsible for regulating civic behaviour, and not only of women, and for posting the names and penalties of miscreants on display in the Cerameicus. Whether with these measures Demetrius was putting his philosophy into practice or charting a course between the Scylla of Cassander and Charybdis of a vengeful *demos* (as Gehrke would have it), the measures imposed speak of an emphasis on obedience to the laws and civic control.

At the same time, however, Demetrius was accused of neglecting the army, of which the ephebeia was a part.⁴¹ His regime is clearly characterized by a curtailment of public expenditures. Any ephebeia at the time of Demetrius of Phalerum would have been aimed less at providing military training (although Athenians did take part in the campaigns of Cassander) and more toward enhancing civic obedience, or at least consolidating political security. The state would not have provided arms or subsistence. It is unlikely that the programme would have been mandatory.

Four possible clues about a Demetrian ephebeia survive, the first of which is Reinmuth 16. When Meritt first edited this brief list of names, he felt for stylistic

³⁸ Philoch. fr. 64; Poll. 8.94; *Suda*, s.v. $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$; *Lex. Rhet.* 283.16; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 39-47.

³⁹ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 156-157.

⁴⁰ Redated: Mitchel, 'Derkylos', 349-350, based on a new reading of the three surviving letters of the archon name; cf. Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 13.

⁴¹ Duris, *apud* Athen. 12.542b-c (*FGrH* 76.10), relates that of an annual state income of 1,200 talents, Demetrius spent a minimal amount on the army and government administration, squandering the remainder.

reasons that it belonged to the mid-third century.⁴² There are no demotic rubrics such as are found as late as 266/5 (B6). The small number of names also indicates a similar date. The tribes which survive intact, Aigeis and Cecropis, each have only 6 members, so the enrolment was well below 100 and therefore corresponds roughly with numbers likely in the third century. But soon Meritt realized that the deme of Cydathenaeum was listed under Pandionis.⁴³ Since Cydathenaeum was redistributed to Antigonis in 307/6, the inscription must date either before that year or after 200/199.⁴⁴ Additionally, the deme Myrrinosios is spelled with an upsilon (Myrrinousios) which implies an earlier date. For these reasons, and because of prosopographical indications, Meritt then suggested a date "earlier than 307/6". Reinmuth accepted Meritt's earlier date but cautioned that the inscription is not necessarily ephebic.⁴⁵

In sections 5.6-10 of his *Characters*, Theophrastus describes a man of "Petty Ambition" (5.7)⁴⁶: "In the marketplace he goes frequently to the money-changers; among gymnasia he spends his time at those where the ephebes train, in the theatre, whenever there is a show, he sits next to the generals." Theophrastus may here describe life during the oligarchy of his pupil Demetrius; our records of the Lycurgan ephebeia indicate that the young men trained at the Peiraeus or near their border forts, never mentioning such training at Athens - but such lack of evidence is in no way conclusive. Current scholarship tends to place the dramatic date of the *Characters* to be c.319, but from a period spanning before 322/1 to some time after 317/6.⁴⁷

⁴² *Hesperia* 33 (1964), 209.

⁴³ Meritt, *ibid.*, 336.

⁴⁴ Unless the deme was split between Antigonis and Pandionis (and this is our only evidence for it) - in which case the date of the inscription may revert to the mid-third century.

⁴⁵ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 85. It is not bouletic.

⁴⁶ The title given "Character" 5 is the Obsequious man, but the actions of parts 6-10 do not seem to describe obsequiousness, but are rather more similar to section 21, "Petty Ambition". It is more likely, however, that a column of an early manuscript has been lost, and with it the end to Section 5 and the beginning of a following Character, perhaps resembling an extrovert (e.g. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1125a27-35) or vulgarity (e.g. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1123a19-36): Rusten, Cunningham and Knox, (Loeb, 1993 edn.), 170.

⁴⁷ A. Boegehold, 'The Date of Theophrastus' *Characters*', *TAPhA* 90 (1959), 15-19; cf. *Characters* (Loeb, 1993 edn.), 8-11, 179. Some characters (e.g. no. 24, "Arrogance", or no. 26, "Oligarch") might

In the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus*, the young man enters a strange and sinister ephebeia. "And when he enrolls among the ephebes, the *kosmetes* and fear are worse, and then there is the Lyceum and Academy and the gymnasiarchy and rods and excesses of ills; and all the toil of the little lad is under *sophronistai*, and the choice concerning the young men made by the council of the Areopagus" (366-367). Although he wrote much later, the author of this work seems to have drawn from a late fourth century source.⁴⁸ The Lyceum and Academy do not appear in ephebic inscriptions until the second century,⁴⁹ but the mention of *sophronistai* is telling because the position ceases to exist at the end of the fourth century. Study at the Lyceum and Academy, and the apparent power of the Areopagus would fit well with the oligarchy of Demetrius.⁵⁰

After he had redated *IGII² 2970*, Mitchel was on the verge of suggesting that the ephebeia did not exist under Demetrius when Meritt reminded him of the didaskalic catalogue *IGII² 2323a*, recording dramatic contests of the City Dionysia.⁵¹ Under the year 312, the inscription records that a certain Ameinias received third place for his comedy *Apoleipouse* (line 46). The following line continues: [οὐτος ἔ]φηβος ὠν ἐνεμήθη which Mitchel reads as "Although Ameinias was an ephebe, he was granted permission to produce."⁵² Mitchel concludes the existence of some sort of ephebic

indicate that the work (or at least those characters) was composed during a democracy - which might have been prior to 322, but might also have been during the restoration of 319/8.

⁴⁸ The work has been considered spurious since Diogenes Laertius (3.57); it was composed at some point after the third century B.C., see J. Souilhé, *Platon Oeuvres Complètes*, Vol. 13.3 (Paris, 1962), 132, or "no earlier than the first century B.C.", see W.A. Heidel, *Pseudo-Platonica* (Baltimore, 1896), 15-18.

⁴⁹ Lyceum: **B35.17** (185/4); **B36.13** (181/0); *IGII² 1006.19-20* (123/2); Academy: O.W. Reinmuth, *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 15-17, line 4 (c.100 B.C.).

⁵⁰ Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 129, n. 1; cf. Wallace, *Areopagus*, 270 n. 63, who also dates this description, if historical, to Demetrius of Phalerum. As he reads the passage the Areopagus chooses the *sophronistai*. The Lyceum and the Academy may, however, be insertions by the writer, familiar with the ephebeia of his time.

⁵¹ Mitchel, 'Derkylos', 350-1.

⁵² This is followed by P. Ghiron-Bistagne, *Les Acteurs dans La Grèce Antique* (Paris, 1976), 39-42, and strengthened by H.J. Mette, *Urkunden Dramatischer Aufführungen in Griechenland* (Berlin, 1977), 114-115, who restores: [καίπερ ἔ]φηβος κτλ.

programme at the time. The *Ath. Pol.* does not include this sort of exemption among those it lists. The number of instances in which an ephebe was one of the poets might have been so low that it was not worth recording, although the situation of Ameinias is not unique. Menander was allowed to direct a play during his second year as an ephebe in 322/1.⁵³ The demands of the "Lamian" War might have had something to do with Menander's special exemption. If the fact that Menander had been an ephebe was recorded on a didaskalic inscription, it may have provided a precedent (and inspiration) for later ephebic poets. It is also likely that regulations of ephebic service under Demetrius of Phalerum were less stringently observed than they had been during the democracy, or at least personal influence could more easily be brought to bear.

References in the *Characters*, a passage from [Plato's] *Axiochus*, Reinmuth 16, and *IGII²* 2323a combine to form an impression of what the ephebeia might have been like at this time. I suggest that from 317/16 to 307/6 the ephebeia was open only to the sons of a handful of wealthy (pro-Cassander?) citizens, perhaps selected or confirmed by the Areopagus. Training took place in the city, and (if the *Axiochus* passage does reflect this period) emphasis was also placed on philosophic study. The positions of *kosmetes* and *sophronistes* were retained. It is also possible that during this time ephebic service was limited to one year, as under the following democracy. The ephebeia under Demetrius of Phalerum was most likely an oligarchic imitation of the Lycurgan creation.

3. The Democracy Restored: 307/6 - 299/8

In 307/6 Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonos the One-eyed, restored democratic government to Athens. Two new tribes were created and named after this father-son pair of liberators. The *boule* was enlarged to six hundred, allowing greater participation in the running of the state. Most of the measures enacted by the oligarchic government were overturned.⁵⁴ The 360 statues of Demetrius of Phalerum were

⁵³ See Appendix II, p. 225.

⁵⁴ Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 99. Banned liturgies, for example, were not reinstated.

melted down into chamber pots.⁵⁵ A decree of Stratocles, passed in 307/6, honoured Lycurgus posthumously, granting him a bronze statue in the Agora and his eldest descendant public maintenance in the Prytaneum.⁵⁶ The activities for which Lycurgus is honoured are chiefly those involving his increase of city revenues, supervision of defensive preparations, and building programme. Mention is made of the city's refusal to surrender him to Alexander (852d). We should read the Stratocles decree not merely as an account of Lycurgus' activities, but also as a reflection of the ideology of its time. It reveals a city eager to turn back the clock and resume its pre-322 government and defensive posture.

The democracy began extensive work on city defences, supervised by Habron, son of Lycurgus, who in 307/6 held his father's old post of treasurer of the general administration.⁵⁷ The restoration of this post demonstrates a willingness of the new democracy to preserve institutions that had been created in the last decades of the democracy.⁵⁸ As under Lycurgus, the Peiraeus was again improved.⁵⁹ The ephebeia, too, was revived in much of its former splendour. Reinmuth 17, dated to the archonship of Euxenippus (305/4), honours ephebes enrolled in the previous year (the archonship of Coroibus, line 10).⁶⁰ The business of restoring the apparatus of the democratic government must have taken a certain amount of time in 307/6,⁶¹ so this inscription probably honours the first ephebic year-group of the new democracy. Habron must have played a major part in the revival of the ephebeia. His father had

⁵⁵ D.L. 5.77 (the fate of some, at any rate).

⁵⁶ Decree: [Plut.] 852; *IGII² 457 = Syll³ 326*. Statue in Cerameicus, [Plut.] 843c.

⁵⁷ *IGII² 463 + F. Maier, Griechische Mauerbauinschriften II* (Heidelberg, 1961), no. 11; fortification: *IGII² 463, 468, 505, 7, 554, 1487, and 1488*; A. Frickenhaus, *Athens Mauern im IV Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1905), 29-43.

⁵⁸ Mossé, *Decline*, 109.

⁵⁹ Diod. 20.46.2, 4; *IGII² 1492.123 ff.*

⁶⁰ This restoration made by Koehler, *MDAI(A)* 4 (1879), 326, is necessary given space requirements in the line. It is accepted by Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 102, and by Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 170-171.

⁶¹ Creation of the new tribes, redistribution of demes, reconfiguration of the *boule*, etc. - and perhaps, as in the restoration of 318/7, the government was not set fully into place until the beginning of the next archon year.

been instrumental in the creation of the original ephebeia, and he himself had served as an ephebe and ephebic officer.⁶² In 306/5 Habron was treasurer of the stratiotic fund, a position which remains closely linked to the ephebeia in later inscriptions.⁶³

Reinmuth 17 is pieced together from no fewer than 12 fragments and contains many gaps. Unlike the individual tribal ephebic monuments of the earlier democracy, it begins with a general decree honouring all ephebes and their instructors and then records the ephebes by tribe under deme sub-headings.⁶⁴ *Sophonistai* are recorded both in the text of the decree and at the head of each tribe's list of names. Because the number of tribes has increased from 10 to 12, we may assume that the same change has occurred in the number of *sophonistai*. There is one *paidotribes*, no longer two.⁶⁵ The ephebic officers (the *logarchos*, *taxiarchos*, and probably *gymnarchos*) are gone.

The number of names that appeared on the stone - estimates of which have ranged from as high as six hundred to three or four hundred, with opinion leaning toward the low end - probably indicates that at this point ephebic service was no longer compulsory.⁶⁶ The debate centres around the possible number of names that could have been included in the tribe of Erechtheis, this being the most complete. In a comprehensive attempt to reconstruct the size of the inscription and the number of ephebes honoured, Reinmuth concluded that the total number was somewhere near 372, a figure which does not differ substantially from earlier guesses of around 400.⁶⁷ If this count is correct, there has been a drop in ephebic enrolment since the pre-322 organization, for which Pélékidis presents four possible explanations:⁶⁸

(a) Due to military preparations against Macedonia 18 years prior, fewer men were

⁶² Reinmuth 12, lines 8 and 72.

⁶³ Habron as treasurer: *IGII*² 1492.123; stratiotic treasurer and ephebes: **B35.11, 26; B36.8-9.**

⁶⁴ This format marks a departure from Reinmuth's Type I decree to Type II, 'The Ephebic Inscription, Athenian Agora I 286', *Hesperia* 24 (1955), 226.

⁶⁵ Line 26 vs. *Arist. Ath. Pol.* 42.3.

⁶⁶ Pélékidis summarizes previous conjectures, *Histoire*, 161-162.

⁶⁷ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 106.

⁶⁸ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 162-163.

born into this year group. It is a "hollow year". (b) It might reflect a general fall in the population of Attica over the previous thirty years. (c) The ephebeia might still have been reserved for those who met Demetrius of Phalerum's property requirement of 1000 drachmae.⁶⁹ (d) Ephebic service may no longer be mandatory. The high numbers reflect Athenian enthusiasm in the wake of the restored democracy.

I agree with Reinmuth in believing the last explanation to be true.⁷⁰ Briefly: (a) it is very unlikely that any Athenian military activity in 324/3 was such as to have so severely reduced the size of that year group. Alexander had not yet died. (b) The brevity and relative peace of the time span in question does not allow a fall in population of c.35%. (c) Maintenance of the property requirement would fly in the face of restored democratic ideology.⁷¹

Ephebic service was now for only one year. We know that the ephebes honoured were enrolled in the previous year because the archon name Anaxicrates (307/6) does not fit in line 10, where Coroibus (306/5) fits exactly.⁷² Three possible reasons for the change leap to mind. The first and least likely is that the democracy may simply have chosen to continue a length of service shortened under Demetrius of Phalerum or even the democracy of 318/7. Secondly, Athens may not have been willing to pay to support ephebes during a second year, if they continued subsistence payments at all. With service now voluntary, ephebes might be expected to provide or pay for their weapons and rations. Finally and most importantly, Athens did not have adequate control over her frontiers at this time. During the Four Year War, such border

⁶⁹ Pélékidis sensibly does not consider this possibility to be very likely.

⁷⁰ As does Gauthier, 'Les chlamydes', 161, who sees this new ephebeia to be a less expensive and less stringent copy of its Lycurgan predecessor.

⁷¹ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 108-115. His arguments, however, are based on an assumption that the ephebeia had always been restricted to the hoplite class. If thetes were included in the earlier programme, but for some (unlikely) reason excluded after 307/6, this would also explain the drop in numbers.

⁷² Reinmuth, *op.cit.*, 102, following Koehler's restoration. I agree with Reinmuth's dismissal of Pélékidis' supposition that the monument honoured the ephebes after their first of two years (171). Pélékidis is led astray by his assumption that all changes in the system, i.e. the drop in enrolment, the disuse of *sophonistai*, and service for only one year, took place in a single sweeping reform.

strongholds as Phyle, Panactum, and Eleusis were foci of the continuing struggle with Cassander, not returned to Athens by Demetrius until 304.⁷³ Throughout this period the Attic frontiers lay at the mercy of campaigning Diadochoi.⁷⁴ No ephebic inscriptions dated after 322 have been found on the Attic frontiers. The institution was confined to Athens and Peiraeus.

Ephebes had in the past spent their first year training in the Peiraeus, at Acte and Munychia. That port which once allowed Athens to dominate the Aegean had now become the pathway of aggressors, a place to be carefully guarded. The Macedonians asserted their control over Athens with a longstanding garrison in Munychia, and it was into Peiraeus that Poliorcetes had boldly sailed to begin his liberation (though he did not reduce Munychia until two months later).⁷⁵ It is not surprising that this ephebic monument was erected in the Peiraeus.⁷⁶ Here the new ephebes were stationed, training under instructors and guarding the gateway to Athens.

Reinmuth 18, dated to c.305/4 on the strength of the date of Reinmuth 17, is apparently a fragment of legislation concerning the ephebeia (also found in the Peiraeus). Reinmuth was unable to locate the stone in the museum and was therefore

⁷³ Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 23.2. Four Years War against Cassander: *IGII²* 470, 469, 467 (306/5); 500, 492 (305/4); see H. Hauben, 'IG II² 492 and the Siege of Athens in 304 B.C.', *ZPE* 14 (1974), 10. In 304, a besieged Athens had appealed to Antigonos for aid against Cassander: Diod. 20.100; Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 23.1. Fighting near Eleusis in 304: Osborne, *Naturalization* II, 117-8, no. D44. By 304/3 Athens also possessed Rhamnous as attested by a decree there honouring Cephisophon, General of the Countryside, cf. B. Petrakos, "Ἀνασκαφές", *ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ*, 1993, 7. Although the frontiers were returned to Athens by 304, they were never again garrisoned by ephebes.

⁷⁴ G. Oliver has kindly shared with me his useful work on the Athenian military organization in the late fourth and early third century. Of this period he writes: "I have failed...to uncover any evidence for Athenian activity at either Eleusis or Rhamnous in 307-304 BC. None of the [frontier] inscriptions seem datable to these years, and the literary evidence does not indicate activity there. Perhaps these sites were only recovered in 304 when Demetrius expelled Kassander from Attika. If so, this puts the impact of Demetrius' campaign of 304 into perspective, and suggests that the recovery of Attika will have been of vast importance to Athens." - 'The Defence of Attika in the Early Hellenistic Period'. (Diss., Oxford, Forthcoming), 11, n. 31. The frontier would remain unstable. In 296/5 a less friendly Demetrius Poliorcetes took Eleusis and Rhamnous and ravaged the surrounding countryside (Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 33.3).

⁷⁵ Diod. 20.45 ff.; strategic importance of the Peiraeus from 322 on: Garland, *Piraeus*, 45-6.

⁷⁶ Notably, this is the earliest inscription to have been erected there.

unable to confirm the date on the basis of lettering. If it does belong to this period, which is likely, then presumably it dealt with the restoration of the democratic ephebeia, thus predating the first year group, and belonging to the year 307/6 or 306/5.

Two further ephebic inscriptions from this period survive. The first is Reinmuth 19. Decreed in the archonship of Leostratus, it dates to 303/2. It confirms that ephebic service was for one-year (lines 7-9) and provides the last mention of the office of *sophronistes* for over four centuries - not restored until the time of Hadrian (A.D. 139/140, *IGII²* 2044.2-9). Because this is a tribal decree we can tell that although ephebes of all tribes are now honoured together on one stele the individual tribes did retain an interest in the welfare of their particular ephebes and ephebic officers. The second inscription, **B1** - tentatively dated to the year 300/299⁷⁷ - honours a *paidotribes*.

In summation, with the liberation of Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes, the restoration of the democracy included a restoration of the ephebeia. Due to financial and political constraints, the restored ephebeia differed from its Lycurgan predecessor in a number of significant ways. Service was no longer mandatory, lasted for only one year, and was probably not subsidized. With the frontiers vulnerable, or even still in enemy hands, ephebes remained in the Peiraeus, where their monuments were now erected. Presumably two new ephebic tribes were created, Demetrius and Antigonus, the number of *sophronistai* being increased from ten to twelve. Like its predecessor, this version of the ephebeia was also short-lived.

4. 298/7 - 286/5: an ephebic gap?

All that we know of the ephebeia in the 3rd century B.C. is derived from 30 or so inscriptions.⁷⁸ These inscriptions describe a system which remains surprisingly unchanged throughout the century, but which differs drastically from that of even the final years of the fourth century. The most significant change is the enrolment. As we

⁷⁷ See the comments in the catalogue for the question of its date.

⁷⁸ Catalogue B.

have seen, the number enrolled in the year 306/5 was about 370; the number of ephebes in the early part of the third century (B3-6) ranged from around sixty to thirty.⁷⁹ *Sophronistai* are no longer mentioned, which can only mean that the office had been done away with. (The *sophronistes* of the fourth century was the single most important officer and was nearly always mentioned and honoured. Although the number of ephebes in Hellenistic decrees is dramatically lower, the decrees themselves are longer and meticulously list all officers involved. It is certain that they would have referred to *sophronistai* if those officers had continued to exist.) Presumably the office was no longer needed because of the small number of ephebes involved. The *sophronistes* of Aristotle's time had been responsible for the day-to-day care of around 50 ephebes from his tribe. Now that the entire corps numbered fewer than that figure, the *kosmetes* took over such duties, aided by the *didaskaloi*.

We do not know the cause of this drop in enrolment. Pélékidis, who sought a date for one comprehensive change,⁸⁰ felt that the most likely point for it would have been some time after the return of Demetrius Poliorcetes, between 295/4 and 292/1.⁸¹ Although the beginning of the third century and its attendant political upheavals remains a murky subject, our knowledge of events has improved substantially since Pélékidis wrote.

It is significant that although many third century inscriptions have recently surfaced, none can be securely dated to the time between 300/299 and 282/1. The year 298/7 saw *stasis* between the *strategoi*.⁸² Lachares, general in charge of the mercenaries and influenced by Cassander, succeeded in ousting from the Acropolis Charias, general of the hoplites. On the motion of a certain Apollodorus, Charias and

⁷⁹ But the dates of B3-5 are not definite, see pp. 254-255 below.

⁸⁰ He did not accept that Reinmuth 17 reflected a one-year ephebeia or that the system was at this time voluntary.

⁸¹ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 170-2. He also summarizes the theories of Ferguson, Beloch and Koehler on the subject.

⁸² This information is derived from *P.Oxy.* XVII 2082. The dating is Osborne's (*Naturalization II*, 148 and n. 641).

his fellow generals were executed. Lachares subsequently besieged the Peiraeus, apparently unsuccessfully. In 296/5 Demetrius Poliorcetes starved Lachares' Athens into submission and restored a "democracy" which within fifteen months turned into oligarchy.

The democrats of Athens waited until the time for revolt was right. The moment came in 287. Threatened by his massive preparations for an invasion of Asia, the Hellenistic kings formed an unprecedented alliance against Demetrius which included Lysimachus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Pyrrhus.⁸³ Caught in the north between the twin spears of Lysimachus and Pyrrhus, Demetrius' army collapsed and Macedonia was abandoned. While Demetrius was engaged in mustering the support of cities in the Peloponnese, Athens revolted, supported by 1,000 soldiers and a fleet of corsairs provided by Ptolemy. To secure his oligarchy Demetrius had fortified the Museum hill and established a garrison there.⁸⁴ Through bribery and gallantry the democrats captured the fort.⁸⁵ Demetrius marched on Athens to lay siege once again, but was threatened by the impending arrival of Pyrrhus and forced to come to terms. At Athens the fate of the Hellenistic world was determined, as representatives from each of the four allied powers signed a peace accord with Demetrius - a treaty which proclaimed the freedom and autonomy of Athens, but left the Peiraeus and other forts of the countryside in the hands of Demetrius' soldiers. Shortly afterwards, Demetrius left for Asia where he quickly betrayed his word and was eventually defeated and executed by Seleucus.

It was in the nature of oligarchic regimes to leave behind fewer inscriptions than did democracies, and it is therefore dangerous to use absence of inscriptions as evidence *ex silentio* for the non-existence of a programme such as the ephebeia. Nevertheless, subject to the discovery of further evidence, I suggest that the Athenian ephebeia was discontinued from the year 298/7 until at least 286/5. Lachares the tyrant

⁸³ The details of the rebellion are preserved by or deduced from an honorific decree to Callias of Sphettus: Shear, *Kallias of Sphettos*, 61-86.

⁸⁴ Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 34.5; Paus. 1.25.7-8.

⁸⁵ Shear, *Kallias of Sphettos*, 2, *IGII²* 666, 667; Paus. 1.26.1 ff.; 1.29.13.

was a mean fellow with little respect for tradition. Infamously, he melted down the sacred gold of Athena in order to pay his mercenaries.⁸⁶ As tyrant, he would have been threatened by a programme which trained potential enemies, and, in any event, the period of his tenure was unstable in the extreme: he would not have replaced the executed generals; the city was cut off from the Peiraeus. When Demetrius returned to power, Athens was starving and impoverished, and the *demos* would not have had the means or time to restore an ephebeia before the oligarchy was imposed.

After its successful rebellion, on the other hand, the democracy was euphoric. Statues were erected of the allied kings who had brought about the fall of Demetrius.⁸⁷ "For the great old city, the treaty legally confirmed her freedom and autonomy, mere slogans of propaganda in the world of the Hellenistic kings, but the breath of life for the nationalist party, whose seizure of the government...was now accorded official recognition, and under whose leadership Athens would enjoy more than twenty years of democratic government."⁸⁸ I suggest that this democracy restored the ephebeia, perhaps as soon as archon year 286/5. It is certainly in place by 283/2.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Paus. 1.25.7 ff.; 1.29.16.

⁸⁷ Paus. 1.8.6; 1.9.4; 1.11.1; 1.16.1.

⁸⁸ Shear, *Kallias of Sphettos*, 78; how fitting a time for a restored ephebeia, recalling that the revolt included "both the old and the young [*meirakia*]" - Paus. 1.26.1.

⁸⁹ It remains possible, however, that there was no single comprehensive change. If in 306/5 service was already voluntary, the drop in numbers could reflect a decrease (steady or rapid) in the number of families able and willing to send their sons off for a year of expensive training. There would still have been a specific date at which the post of *sophonistes* was done away with, but it would be an arbitrary one. (Additionally, Pélékidis' search for a change date was fueled in part by his mistaken belief that the post-307 system continued to be two years long, with mandatory service.) But the dramatic drop in ephebic numbers, even from an apparently volunteer figure of c.370, to a definite thirty-two when the inscriptions re-appear (B6), as well as a shift in the format of the decrees justify a continued belief in an abrupt change. Shift in format: *sophonistai* no longer appear; an ephebic *grammateus* has been added; the *didaskaloi* are individually listed and honoured in order (although they could have been included in the *lacunae* of Reinmuth 17), and the same men continue to be so honoured year after year. (Perhaps the format could be added as "IIb" to Reinmuth's classifications - 'The Ephebic Inscription', 226).

5. Military aspects of the third century programme

The new ephebeia seems quite different from its predecessors, primarily because the numbers are so low. We might well wonder what the criteria for admission would have been. Were there simply very few young men who were willing to volunteer? Was the admission confined to the sons of a particular class? Or was there a process of selection which included a limit on numbers?

We can guess where those few ephebes who took part in the programme now trained. In 307/6 Athens did not control her forts. Now she did not even control the traditional ephebic training centre, the Peiraeus.⁹⁰ During the Chremonidean War in 266/5, the ephebes are praised for their discipline and obedience during the previous year "while the city is gripped with war". They obey the orders of the general concerning the guard of the Museum (B6.7-12). Later in the same war (264/3 or 262/1), ephebic activity again involves guarding the Museum (B7.4). Following the rebellion of 287/6 the fort became a symbol of the city's newly won freedom. If there was indeed a break in the ephebeia, its restoration - as in 307/6 - would have served to link the programme still more closely to democratic ideology. It is most likely that a restored ephebeia would have been garrisoned on the Museum, if for no other reason than that it was the only fort now available to the democrats.⁹¹

Their praise for involvement in the Chremonidean War does not, however, mean that the ephebes had any particularly significant role in the course of events. Thirty-two ephebes is not a sizeable military force. Also, Athens was not assaulted during the war. Since the ephebeia still maintained a military tradition, it would have been natural for the man proposing the decrees (B6 and 7) to mention the war and to honour the

⁹⁰ In 283/2 Athens does not control her frontiers but must ask Lysimachus for aid in recovering the Peiraeus and the "garrisons" - *IGII*² 657; *contra* Shear, *Kallias of Sphettos*, 79, and P. Gauthier, 'La Réunification d'Athènes en 281 et Les Deux Archontes Nicias', *REG* 92 (1979), 348 ff., Athens probably did not recover the port city from Macedonia until 229: Garland, *Piraeus*, 51; Osborne, *Naturalization* II, 146; 'Kallias, Phaidros and the Revolt of Athens in 287 B.C.', *ZPE* 35 (1979), 192 ff.; Habicht, *Politischen Geschichte*, 102 ff.

⁹¹ S.V. Tracy, 'A fragmentary inscription from the Athenian Agora praising ephebes', *Hesperia* 59 (1990), 545-6, suggests ephebes on the Museum from 287/6.

ephebes for their part in it, however nominal.⁹² In 261 the Chremonidean War ended with the surrender of a starving Athens to Antigonos.⁹³ Once again the Museum was garrisoned by Macedonian troops.⁹⁴ It remains possible, though unlikely, that even after the end of the war ephebes remained in the fort.⁹⁵ What is significant is that following the Chremonidean War and the imposition of new Antigonid shackles on Athenian government, the ephebeia is allowed to continue: e.g. **B8** of c.259/8. Despite its military trappings, the post 287 ephebeia must no longer have presented any serious threat to Macedonian overlords.

We can tell much about the ephebeia from 286/5 into the next century from the ephebic *didaskaloi* who are honoured. The inscriptions list a *kosmetes*, *paidotribes*, *akontistes*, *hoplomachos*, *katapaltaphetes*, *toxotes*, and occasionally, an ephebic *grammateus*. The latter is a new feature of the system which appears as early as 266/5 (**B6.28**). What is so telling about these positions is that the same incumbents continue to appear over long stretches of time, and then are often replaced by their sons. The clearest example of this is the *paidotribes*, apparently the most important of the *didaskaloi*.⁹⁶ In 266/5 Hermodorus son of Heortius of Acharnae was *paidotribes*. He maintained the position until at least 242/1 (**B13.19**). Around 240 (**B14**, Col. I, lines 1-4), his son, Heortius son of Hermodorus of Acharnae, holds the post, and continues to do so as late as 205/4 (**B25.40**). The next *paidotribes* is his son, Hermodorus son of Heortius of Acharnae, appearing in 186/5 (**B33.16**). This inheritance of position also takes place in the case of the *katapaltaphetes*, held by the same family through at least four generations.⁹⁷ In spite of the Chremonidean War,

⁹² Gauthier, 'Les chlamydes', 160: "Faut-il ajouter qu'il eût été passablement ridicule de préciser, dans le décret adopté en leur honneur, que les épêbes «n'avaient été affectés à rien»?" G. Oliver, *pers. comm.*, has pointed out, however, that even 32 men armed with catapults and behind fortified walls could have been an effective defence or deterrence (cf. Diod. 20.45.6-7).

⁹³ Apollodorus, *FGrH* 244 fr. 44.

⁹⁴ Paus. 3.6.6.

⁹⁵ Tracy, 'A fragmentary inscription', 546.

⁹⁶ The position is listed first among the *didaskaloi* throughout the century. In the beginning of the next century it moves about a bit in the order (e.g. **B33, 35 - 36, 39**), but this may have something to do with age seniority among the *didaskaloi* as well.

the ephebeia must have remained particularly stable throughout the remainder of the century: evidence that it no longer carried real military (or political) significance.

It is interesting to note, however, that there are years in which not all of the *didaskaloi* are honoured. In 267/6, for example, there was no *hoplomaches*.⁹⁸ In 260/59 and 243/2 (and the period between?) there was no *katapaltaphetes*. If the ephebes had in fact been important in the defence of Athens during the Chremonidean War, we might imagine that the skill of fighting with hoplite weapons was considered less useful than archery, javelin throwing, and artillery. Likewise, victorious Macedonian occupiers may have put an end (temporarily) to the training of ephebes in the use of catapults. After the ephebic year of 267/6, the next catapult instructor does not reappear until c.240 (B14).

I have suggested above that the ephebeia restored by Habron required service for only one year in part because the garrison forts were no longer secure or even possessed. As Athens regained control of more of Attica, we should expect her to develop some sort of military system to secure the border forts and patrol the countryside. Around 250, Antigonus returned "freedom" to Athens, as well, apparently, as control over her frontiers.⁹⁹ But a Macedonian garrison remained in the Peiraeus. In 229 a desperate Athens bought her independence from the garrison commander Diogenes for the sum of 150 talents.¹⁰⁰ As in 337 and 307, with the new independence came a flurry of defensive preparations.¹⁰¹ The walls were again

⁹⁷ See B.D. Meritt, 'Greek Inscriptions', *Hesperia* 11 (1942), 299-302; Marsden, *Artillery*, 72.

⁹⁸ B6 - the officer would have been honoured between the *akontistes* and the *katapaltaphetes*, lines 26-27.

⁹⁹ A. Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicon Canonum*, Vol. II (Berlin, 1866), 120; Paus. 3.6.6; Habicht, *Geschichte Athens*, 16-20. By the late 250's inscriptions reappear at Eleusis: *IGII²* 1304b, 1219+1288, 1285, 3460.

¹⁰⁰ Plut. *Vit. Arat.* 34.4; Paus. 2.8.6; Garland, *Piraeus*, 52. The venture met with more success than a similar attempt in the 280's to buy the Peiraeus by bribing the Macedonian Hierocles in which the Athenians were double-crossed and 420 killed; Polyaeus 5.17; Paus. 1.29.10.

reinforced and the harbours strengthened.¹⁰² Inscriptions of the period refer to strange new military units in the frontiers. At Rhamnous foreigners called *paroikoi* were commanded by an Athenian appointed by the General for the Coastal Countryside.¹⁰³ A group known as *kryptoi*, which was mainly comprised of Athenians and which also fell under the Coastal General, was already operating during the Demetrian War in the 230's.¹⁰⁴ We hear of soldiers known as *hypaithroï*, who sound like light infantry or peltasts.¹⁰⁵ They are recorded at both Eleusis and Rhamnous, and the nature of the honours proposed them suggests that they are Athenian.¹⁰⁶ Presumably these troops fulfilled the same mission as had the Lycurgan ephebes, except that they had no fixed garrison, but operate "in the open air" as their name states, using tents. Though not strong enough to block a powerful invasion, they might delay one or provide warning. These new units served to discourage enemy marauders, brigands, and pirates who would otherwise have pillaged the countryside.¹⁰⁷ As with the Lycurgan ephebes, the

¹⁰¹ Reinmuth describes the plight of Athens well: "In 230/29, however, Athens had a pressing need for defense against the repeated incursions of Aratos into Attica, which he hoped would force Athens to enter the Achaean League. Beginning as early as 239/8, the forces of the Achaean League under Aratos had again and again invaded Attica, ravaging the land and destroying the crops, so that in 230/29 the fields could no longer be cultivated and Athens, which was largely dependent on its own crops, was lacking even seed grain, while at the same time Aetolian pirates raided the coasts of Attica." - 'A new Ephebic Inscription from the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* 43 (1974), 256.

¹⁰² Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 237.

¹⁰³ e.g. *ΠΑΕ* 1979, 25, no. 3; *ΠΑΕ* 1984, 200-201, no. 131; *ΠΑΕ* 1986, 16, no. 5. cf. J. Pouilloux, 'Trois Décrets de Rhamnonte', *BCH* 80 (1956), 73. (The position of General of the Coastal Countryside is attested as early as 267/66 - *ΠΑΕ* 1985 [1990], 13-14, no. 10.)

¹⁰⁴ *ΠΑΕ* 1989 [1992], 28-31, no. 14. The inscriptions were to be erected both at Rhamnous and Sounion. We can assume that they operated along that entire stretch of coast, whatever their mission might have been. *Kryptoi* may in fact have been used by Epichares in this region since the Chremonidean War, see D. Knoepfler, 'Les *kryptoi* du stratège Épicharès à Rhamnonte', *BCH* 117 (1993), 327-341, discussing Petrakos, *AD* 23 (1967), 38-52 (= *ΠΑΕ* 1985 [1990], 13-4, no. 10), line 9.

¹⁰⁵ At Rhamnous: *Praktika* 1958, 35-6, 36-37 (cf. *AE* 1979 [1981], 66-68, no. 19), *PAE* 1979 (1981), 24, no. 2; at Eleusis: *IGII*² 1306, 2978, 1304.

¹⁰⁶ Occasionally, non-citizens are included: *Praktika* 1958, 35-6; cf. J.H. Kent, 'A garrison inscription from Rhamnous', *Hesperia* 10 (1941), 349.

¹⁰⁷ Such forces no doubt proved especially useful during the turmoil of the Social War of 220-217, in which Athens remained neutral: Garland, *Piraeus*, 53.

young men in these units take part in gymnastic exercise, honouring benefactors who facilitate such training.¹⁰⁸ Likewise, the frontier demes honour the troops which defend them with decrees similar to those with which they had once honoured ephebes.¹⁰⁹ The fact that the ephebeia was not used in its former role of guarding the countryside is evidence that despite their military trappings, these Athenian youth were by now largely ceremonial.¹¹⁰ Although trained in military skills, they had as little to do with the army as do Eagle Scouts today.

One remaining tie between ephebes and the military was through finance. The stratotic fund is mentioned in inscriptions of the early second century. In 184/3 (B35.11, 26) and 180/79 (B36.8-9), the treasurer of the fund is responsible for the costs of the *stelai* and for praising the ephebes at public festivals. Presumably similar expenses of the ephebeia were paid out of the same fund in the 3rd century. While the young men might have paid for their own weapons, they would not have paid for the golden crowns which they often are granted by decree.¹¹¹ Gauthier has pointed out that in 205/4 the Athenians make a point of honouring the ephebes "who received no distributions from the state" (B25.19-20). He attributes this specific mention to financial hardship at the end of the century and rightly concludes that it represents an exception to the norm.¹¹² It is unclear what the state paid for under normal

¹⁰⁸ e.g. Pouilloux, *Rhamnonte*, 208, no. 17 (225/4). The young men, *neaniskoi*, are clearly distinct from the ephebeia of the day.

¹⁰⁹ e.g. IGH² 1302 - 1312, from Eleusis, Sounion, Phyle, and Rhamnous. When young men are involved, they are "*neaniskoi*" (1303.10).

¹¹⁰ The ephebic activity on the frontiers in the late second century (*Hesperia* 24 [1955], 228, line 24; IGH² 1006.24-25, 54) which Pélékidis takes as proof of renewed military activity are part of archaising ceremonial.

¹¹¹ A practice also in the fourth century (e.g. Reinmuth 2.30; 5.3; 8[.2]; 9.12-13), cf. B6.20-21; 13.17; in 20.29, 36.4-5, and 39.28 "golden" has been restored. In B7.11 and 8.25 "θαλλου" is restored, but "χρυσωι" could have been written. Perhaps due to the Chremonidean War Athens cannot at this time afford golden crowns. A law regulating the granting of golden crowns appears to have been enacted c.303, cf. Osborne, *Naturalization* II, 135.

¹¹² Gauthier, 'Les chlamydes', 161; he takes issue with Reinmuth, 'A new Ephebic Inscription', 256-7, who interprets that line to read that the ephebes were militarily active even without specific assignments from the Demos, that they acted "above and beyond the call of duty."

circumstances. The word *μεριζόμενος* is ambiguous. One might expect *sitos* or *trophe* instead. At any rate, we should not lose sight of the possibility that this is an exception which implies some regular financial support for Hellenistic ephebes.

The prominence of military activities increasingly gave way to religious ceremony. The decree of 266/5 (**B6** - which is almost entirely intact) mentions no festivals. Inscription **B8** (259/8), which is riddled with *lacunae*, refers to participation in the Eleusinian Mysteries, torch and other races (lines 13-15, though largely restored). By the end of the century religious participation is ubiquitous. In 215/3 (**B20**), heavy emphasis is placed on procession, sacrifices, and races in the Eleusinian Mysteries (lines 10-15) and the Aianteia (lines 15 ff.). The festivals listed in 204/3 dominate the decree. At the end of the century the *demos* still praised ephebes for their obedience to the generals and their guard of the "cities" (**B25**, 204/3). (Line 17 is partially restored, but if correct, we should interpret from it that ephebic training once again involved some sort of guard at both Athens and Peiraeus.)¹¹³ The numbers in this year remain low (c.29). Although reference to "the generals" is clear and the ephebeia of even the late third century continued to be associated with things military, the "corps of ephebes acted in the main...as a small, select honor guard at the most important religious festivals and public meetings."¹¹⁴ This may have been largely true ever since 286 but not as clearly reflected in the decrees. By the beginning of the 2nd century, however, the tone of any praise for ephebic military activity becomes increasingly formulaic. In 197 Flaminius had defeated Philip V at Cynoscephalae, and Rome had proclaimed freedom for Greece. With the relative peace which followed, the number of ephebes slowly increased while the military aspect of the organization became increasingly ritualized.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ They are guarding the Peiraeus in 171/0, **B39**.13, and it is likely that ephebic activity in the Peiraeus was resumed after 229: a cult was established to Diogenes, the corruptible *phourarch*, and a gymnasium built for ephebes was named after him: *JGII*² 1028.23; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), 235 and n. 7; Garland, *Piraeus*, 52.

¹¹⁴ S.V. Tracy, 'Greek Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* 48 (1979), 176-7.

¹¹⁵ Reinmuth, 'A new Ephebic Inscription', 258, points out the formulaic repetition of military activity in the inscriptions. Tracy, 'Greek Inscriptions', 177, admits that this may be the case, but also

To explain why in the 180's the *paidotribes* was honoured third among *didaskaloi* rather than first, as usual (B37), Reinmuth supposes that when Roman forces withdrew from Greece in 188 or 187, a nervous Athens gave greater emphasis to the military aspect of the ephebeia, and therefore to the more military disciplines of *hoplomachia* and javelin throwing.¹¹⁶ But would they not now have found catapult training to be the most useful? And how useful could a force of fewer than 50 men really have been? I suggest instead that because, in B33, the *paidotribes* Hermodorus had been newly appointed, he was listed in the first few inscriptions after Persaeus (*hoplomaches*) and Nicomachus (*akontistes*) because of their age seniority.¹¹⁷ At this time there was no renewed emphasis on the military activities of the ephebes.

6. Festivals and the Ephebic Year

The two most complete discussions of ephebic festival activity - the studies of Pélékidis and Launey¹¹⁸ - are based primarily upon the substantial ephebic inscriptions which survive from the end of the second century.¹¹⁹ Insofar as it is possible, I intend to confine my discussion of ephebic festival participation to the chronological limits of this chapter: the third century. It is difficult to know how much of the festival activity which is attested by later inscriptions took place during earlier centuries and was simply not mentioned in the decrees. At several points in studying the third century we must extrapolate from later decrees in order to fill gaps in our evidence. The reader is reminded that the ephebeia was a dynamic organization, changing with the political and religious climate of its *polis* and the whims of its magistrates, and ephebic activity of one century cannot safely be assumed to have taken place in earlier times.

points out that it might result from an "increased elaboration of language" and that earlier differences were "the particular choices of the speakers rather than any appreciable differences in the ceremonies."

¹¹⁶ O.W. Reinmuth, 'Ephebic Texts from Athens', *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 14-15.

¹¹⁷ Admittedly, there is no proof that these two were not equally new; their positions do not survive in the immediately preceding inscriptions (while Hermodorus, Heortius' father does).

¹¹⁸ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 211-256; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les Armées Hellénistiques*², Vol. II (Paris, 1987), 890-897.

¹¹⁹ e.g. *IGII*² 1006, 1008, 1009, 1011, 1028, etc.; cf. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 212.

Four decrees of the third century attest an increasing prominence of festival in ephebic decrees, and perhaps in the day-to-day activity of the ephebic corps itself. While the first, **B6** (266/5), is very complete, it does not refer by name to religious festivals but instead honours the ephebes for their guard of the Museum and so forth. (The partially surviving **B7** (late 260's) seems to have followed a similar format.) A decree of the early 250's (**B8**), however, appears to provide the first specific mention of ephebic participation in the Mysteries (restored in line 14), and certainly speaks of races (line 15).¹²⁰ The reference to the Mysteries follows immediately after a lacuna which may have discussed them in greater detail. We now know that ephebes participated in festival races as early as the first years of the fourth century programme, although they were then honoured for the participation on separate steles.¹²¹ It is significant, however, that festival activity first appears in honorific ephebic decrees following Athenian surrender to Macedonia at the end of the Chremonidean War. The shift in focus from military to festival activity is concurrent with Athenian loss of freedom.

By the end of the century the emphasis is clear. In 214/3, ephebes are honoured for participation in the Mysteries, in processions and torch races, and sacrifices to the gods, including Ajax of Salamis and Democratia (**B20.11-19**).

The most important ephebic document for third century festival participation is **B25**, dating to 204/3. The bottom fragment, which preserves the list of names, was published as *IGII*² 944b and known to Pélékidis. The top half, which preserves the decree, was not discovered until 1970. This decree, first published by Reinmuth in 1974 (minus a subsequent addition by Tracy), lists festival participation by ephebes in detail unprecedented for its period. We hear of their enrolment (line 8), a procession for the Semnae (lines 9-10) and for Iacchus (line 10),¹²² the Eleusinian Mysteries

¹²⁰ Reinmuth, 'A new Ephebic Inscription', 258.

¹²¹ See pp. 19-20 above.

¹²² Reinmuth restores Ἰάκχου on the basis of *IGII*² 1006.9, 74; 1008.7-8; 1011.8. They date from nearly a century later, but the restoration is sound. A procession to Iacchus was part of the events of the Eleusinian Mysteries: Aristoph. *Ran.* 340-350, 479; Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 28.1; Paus. 1.2.4;

(lines 11-13), the Epitaphius (line 16), a liturgy in the Hephaesteum (line 18), a boat demonstration, and the final display in armour (lines 20-21).

Ephebic induction

As we have seen, the Hellenistic ephebeia was a one-year programme. In the two-year ephebeia, the end of the first year had been marked by a review in armour in the theatre.¹²³ In Hellenistic times this review became a ceremony in which armoured ephebes would march in formation before the *boule* assembled in the Panathenaic stadium. Here the *boule* formulated the honorific decree to be put before the assembly. Shortly afterwards the ephebes perform an *exiteria* ceremony on the Acropolis and officially graduate from the corps.¹²⁴ One assumes that the induction of the next ephebic year group, the *eisiteria*, occurred soon afterwards. This change of ephebic year must have taken place at the end of the second Athenian month - Metageitnion - for two reasons.¹²⁵ First of all, nearly all third-century ephebic decrees (whose opening lines survive) are passed in the middle or towards the end of the third month, Boedromion.¹²⁶ Ephebic decrees in the following centuries honour cadets for participation in festivals, beginning with those in Boedromion, and as late as the imperial period lists of ephebic gymnasiarchs begin in that month.¹²⁷ This fixes the general time of year. What follows is a table of the third century ephebic decrees for which we have some idea of the time of year in which they were passed: ¹²⁸

Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, 34; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 245-6.

¹²³ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42.4. Presumably based on the ancient display of orphans in the theatre of Dionysus; cf. p. 164 above.

¹²⁴ *exiteria*: e.g. **B25.25-26**; march in armour: **B20.23**, **25.21**; Panathenaic stadium: **B18.4**, **25.3**. See Gauthier, 'Les chlamydes', 156, 159.

¹²⁵ Gauthier, *op.cit.*, 155, assumes the end of Metageitnion or the beginning of Boedromion.

¹²⁶ **B6**, **8**, **11**, **15**, **18**, **20**, **21**; cf. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 174-175. Exceptions: **B1**, a *paidotribes* is honoured in Thargelion; **B13**, Meritt has restored it as Posideon and a year later than we would expect. For whatever reason (most likely political turbulence), this decree was not passed as speedily as the others.

¹²⁷ *IGII*² 1006, 1008, 1009; 2024, 2037; Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 175.

¹²⁸ Some days herein differ from those listed by Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 174.

<u>Inscrip.</u>	<u>Archon</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Lunar date</u>	<u>Prytany</u>
B1	Hegemachus?	300/299	Tharg. 29	[XI 30]
B6	Nicias Otryn.	266/5	Boed. 25	III 26
B8	Thymochares	259/8	Boed. 30	III [25]
B11	Polyeuctus	246/5	Boed. [1]8	III 1[8]
B13	Cynedor?	240/39 I	[Posid. 12]	[VI 14]
B15	Ecphantus?	235/4 I	[Boed.] 18	III [1]4
B18	Hagnius	216/5	Boed. [1]4	[III 17]
B20	Euphiletus	214/3	[Boed.] 30	IV 13
B21	Heracleitus?	213/2	[Boed. 30]	[III 2]7
B25	Apollodorus?	204/3 I	Boed. ?	[III] ?
B39	Antigenes	171/0 I	Pyan. 11	IV 17
	"	"	Elaph. 9	IV 17

The most important religious event in Boedromion was the observation of the Eleusinian Mysteries, the preparation and celebration of which lasted from the 13th to the 22nd. Ephebic participation was important. A very late inscription (3rd century A.D.), *IGII² 1078.9-15*, describes a procession of ephebes to Eleusis on the 13th in order to bring sacred objects back to the Eleusinion in Athens on the following day.¹²⁹ As early as the fourth century ephebes received particular praise in connection with Eleusis (e.g. Reinmuth 2, 3, 5), although this may have had as much to do with their guard duties as with festival. In the third century ephebic participation in the Mysteries is clearly important: **B8.13**, **20.10-13**, **25.11-12**.¹³⁰

The change of the ephebic year would not have taken place during preparation for or celebration of the Mysteries. The Athenian festival activities for Boedromion were:¹³¹

1 Monthly Noumenia	11	21 Mysteries - <i>mystai</i>
2 Niceteria	12 Democrateia	22 Plemochoae

¹²⁹ J. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton, 1975), 54.

¹³⁰ Launey, *Armées Hellénistiques*, 879.

¹³¹ Mikalson, *Calendar*, 47-65.

3 Plataean victory	13 Eleusis preparation	23 "Sacred" Boule
4 Monthly Festival	14 Eleusis prep., B18	24 Boule in Eleusinion
5 Genesia	15 Mysteries - <i>agyrmos</i>	25 B6
6 Marathon / Artemis Agrot.	16 Mysteries - <i>hal. mystai</i>	26
7 Boedromia	17 Epidauria	27
8 Monthly Festival	18 B11, 15	28
9	19 Mystery Procession	29
10	20 Mysteries - <i>mystai</i>	30 B8, 20, 21

I have inserted the decrees passed during this month. As Mikalson has demonstrated, the assembly did not generally convene on a festival day.¹³² The *exiteria* and *eisteria* must have taken place either following or preceding the Eleusinian Mysteries. By extrapolating from later evidence, however, we can provide further data for dating. The first religious participation mentioned in ephebic decrees of the late second century is a procession in honour of Artemis Agrotera, commemorating the goddess' aid at the battle of Marathon.¹³³ The date of the festival is set by Plutarch (*Mor.* 862a) as the 6th of Boedromion.¹³⁴ Although the later inscriptions do not always list festivals in chronological order,¹³⁵ they uniformly begin with the procession for Artemis Agrotera and thereby imply that this was the first such activity of the year. Because all the days of Boedromion prior to the sixth were festival days, it is likely that the change in ephebic year-groups took place sometime earlier, at the end of Metageitnion.¹³⁶ The procession to Artemis is not attested during the third century, but it certainly may have taken place. Whether it did or not, if one assumes that the "ephebic new year" did not

¹³² *ibid.*, 203; a fruitful result of comparing the dates of these decrees with the maps of festivals and assemblies that Mikalson presents is that all those days of the year restored in the ephebic inscriptions fall outside festival days. Since the days were restored on bases of line length and Prytanny day equivalents, we should take this as further confirmation of their accuracy.

¹³³ *IGII²* 1006.8-9, 58; 1008.7; 1011.7; 1028.8; 1029.6; 1030.5-6; 1040.5-6; cf. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 111, 219-220; Launey, *Armées Hellénistiques*, 879.

¹³⁴ cf. *Xen. An.* 3.2.12; *Herod.* 6.109 ff.; *Arist. Ath. Pol.* 58.1; Deubner, *Feste*, 209, n. 10.

¹³⁵ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 215-6.

¹³⁶ The *Boule* met every day except when there was a recess (*Arist. Ath. Pol.* 43.3), and there are no festivals at the end of Metageitnion to preclude an *exiteria* or *eisiteria*, see Mikalson, *Calendar*, 193, 195.

move, one can place it before 6 Boedromion in the third century and probably as early as the fourth as well.

The Festivals and their order

Pélékidis rightly warns that inscriptions do not necessarily list festivals in order, and that they can thereby be deceiving. Fewer festivals are listed in the third century, however, and those given do appear to be listed in chronological order, beginning from enrolment. Certainly the events at which their honour will be proclaimed are in order: the City Dionysia, the Panathenaia, and the Eleusinia (lines 34-35).

No editors have commented on the Semnae (who reappear definitely as goddesses in 171/0 - B39.17). If a capital sigma is understood this properly refers to some sort of festival to the Erinyes, for whom there existed an altar in Phlye.¹³⁷ According to Philo, the "most select" Athenian ephebes prepared cakes for a festival procession to the Semnian goddesses.¹³⁸ When this might have taken place, we do not know. The Erinyes are deities of the underworld and might thereby have had a connection with the Mysteries, especially the the first days, before ritual purification in the ocean. It could also be a reference to Demeter and Core, either by virtue of a connection of these goddesses with the Erinyes,¹³⁹ or simply by reading a small sigma and therefore "the reverend goddesses". If there is a link with the Mysteries, this refers to a similar procession of ephebes to Eleusis as that of IGII² 1078. Otherwise, since Phlye is in the opposite direction from Athens to Eleusis, this might be an entirely different festival.

The procession with Iacchus is related to the Mysteries. In Imperial times it took place on the 19th of Boedromion.¹⁴⁰ If the restoration is correct, this is the earliest

¹³⁷ Paus. 1.31.4; D.L. 1.112.

¹³⁸ Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit*, 140; Deubner, *Feste*, 214; writing in the mid-first century A.D., Philo uses the present tense.

¹³⁹ There is a Demeter Erinys of Thelpousa; both are multiple mother goddesses connected with the underworld and purification. See L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. V (Oxford, 1909), 439-441.

¹⁴⁰ See note 123.

evidence for ephebic participation in the procession.

The Epitaphion occurred in winter, as Thucydides tells us.¹⁴¹

The reference to the Hephaesteum is noteworthy. It could refer to the Chalceia, a festival for craftsmen at the end of Pyanopsion and celebrated to Hephaestus and Athena, but this is unlikely.¹⁴² The festival has no claim over other minor festivals in appearing in the decree. This is more likely to be a reference to participation in the Hephaesteia, first attested in 421/0, and made penteteric in 329/8.¹⁴³ The Hephaesteia is elusive, and this might be valuable evidence for its time of year. Penteteric festivals tend to occur in the summer: the Greater Panathenaea and Greater Eleusinia are within the first two months of the Athenian calendar.¹⁴⁴ But if the same is true of the Hephaesteia, it must have fallen at the end of the year, rather than the beginning, otherwise those enrolled in early Boedromion of the archonship of Diodotus could not have participated.¹⁴⁵ The time frame between the Epitaphia and the end of the year is sufficiently large for the festivals to have been listed in chronological order. Based upon separate evidence, in fact, Simon has suggested that the festival took place in Munychion, at the beginning of the summer.¹⁴⁶

Not recorded in **B25** but appearing in **B20.18** (214/3), is a procession to

¹⁴¹ Thuc. 2.34.1; cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 58.1. Note that Thucydides, who describes the ceremony in detail, says nothing of ephebes marching in armour, as they do in this decree (if restored correctly) and as they do later, in addition to competing in torch races (*IGI²* 1006.22; *IGI²* 1011.9); see Deubner, *Feste*, 231-232.

¹⁴² Calceia: N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends: The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual* (Toronto, 1992), 17.

¹⁴³ *IGI²* 84; restored in Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.7. Arguments have been made for a reading of Amphiarea, but it would be forced: Rhodes, *Commentary*, 610. Reinmuth assumes the decree refers to the Hephaesteia: 'A new Ephebic Inscription', 258; Deubner, *Feste*, 212-213.

¹⁴⁴ Greater Eleusinia: Metageitnion of the second Olympian year; Greater Panathenaea: Hecatombaeon of the third Olympian year. The Hephaesteia was celebrated on the fourth year of the Olympiad.

¹⁴⁵ Like 329/8, 205/4 falls on the fourth year of the Olympiad, which provides strong support for the date of the archon.

¹⁴⁶ Simon, *Festivals of Attica*, 54: her evidence is based upon the association of the torchbearer who represents Mounychion in the "Calendar Frieze" with the Hephaesteia, *contra* E.B. Harrison, 'Alkamenēs' Sculptures for the Hephaesteion: Part III, Iconography and Style', *AJA* 81 (1977), 414-16. The Calendar Frieze is "late hellenistic", Simon, 6.

Democratia. Is this part of the Democratia of 12 Boedromion?¹⁴⁷ Tracy connects it with the mention of Salamis in the previous line and supposes a reference to the statue of Democratia on the island (*JGII*² 1011.62-63) and thus part of the Aianteia, perhaps celebrated on the 17th of Mounichion.¹⁴⁸

7. Ephebic Membership

What class of citizens were ephebes in the third century? The low numbers suggest a restricted group of participants, and since they probably bore their own expenses we may suppose these are the sons of a small, wealthy upper class.¹⁴⁹ Stephen Tracy has compiled a list of ephebic names of the 3rd century which, he says "amounts to an ephebic telephone directory."¹⁵⁰ He agrees with me that prosopographical indications suggest that the ephebes are generally wealthy and politically ambitious. Examples from some of the prosopographical evidence confirm this:

B 3 Dioscourides (line 8) is probably the same as recorded in three cavalry tablets of the middle third century (*Hesperia* 46 [1977], 116, no. 37). Nicocles (line 11) is identified as a descendant of Nicocles of Lamprae, trierarch in 373/2 (*JGII*² 1609.12). Traill, 199.¹⁵¹

B 8 Alexion son of Amphichares of Azenia, who proposes the decree (line 9), is the father of the ephebe (line 48). The ephebe in line 53 descends from the general Iphicrates. Meritt, 113.

B 13 Eualcus son of Phocinus of Diomeia (Col. I, line 39) is a descendant of Phocinus son of Eualcus who served as a Megarian general (later naturalized) in the late fourth or early third century, possibly a grandson. Osborne, *Naturalization* Vol.

¹⁴⁷ cf. *JGII*² 1496.131-132; Deubner, *Feste*, 39.

¹⁴⁸ Tracy, 'Greek Inscriptions', 177; cf. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 247-8.

¹⁴⁹ Pélékidis, *op.cit.*, 169: "le collège est composé des seuls fils des meilleures et des plus riches familles d'Athènes."

¹⁵⁰ S. Tracy, *pers. com.*

¹⁵¹ When only the author of the source is given, the publication is that of the source given above the inscriptional text in Catalogue B.

3-4, 86. In 243/2, Heortius son of Hermodorus of Acharnae was an ephebe (Col. II, line 41). His father was *paidotribes* and had been for many years. Heortius is then himself *paidotribes* in the years following. If, in fact, the ephebeia has become exclusive to the Athenian elite, the position of ephebic *didaskalos* was one which carried no mean social standing.

B15 "As subscribers in 247/6 B.C., next after the leaders of the state, who were Eurykleides and Mikion Kephisieis, were listed Dromeas Erkhieus, in line 36, and after him Diokles Erkhieus, in line 37 (*IGII²* 791). They were brothers, and their position shows that they were the second family of Athens. The present line [35]...evidently contains a son of his." It could also be Hagnias, Archon in 216/5. Leon Aixoneus (line 28) was a famous Athenian, see *PA* 8445. Dow, 335.

B16 A Dromeas of Erchia, who was contributor to the defence of the city in 247/6 (*Hesperia* 11 (1942), 290.36) had a son who was ephebos in 237/6 (**B15.35**, Col. I). The ephebe in line 8 might be another son. Pritchett, 186.

B22 Sostratus son of Nicostratus of Cholargus (line 9, Col. II), was treasurer of the Council between 176 and 169 B.C. (*Hesperia* Suppl. I, 128, No. 70, line 12); Nouphrades of Perithoidae (Col. II, line 14) belongs to a known family (*PA* 11144, *IGII²* 1934); Telemachus of Laciadae (Col. II, line 15) made a contribution in 183/2 (*IGII²* 2332.137). Meritt, *Hesperia* 34 (1965), 92.

B25 The father of the ephebe in Col. I, line 63, was polemarch in 228/7 (*IGII²* 1706.13). The father of the ephebe in Col. II, line 70, may be identified with the Archon Basileus in the archonship of Nicetes, 225/4 (*IGII²* 1706.42). The father of the ephebe in Col. II, line 68, may be identified with a contributor to the *epidosis* for the safety of the city in the archonship of Diomedon (244/3?), *Hesperia* 11 (1942), 291, no. 56, II, line 60. Reinmuth, 249, 252-3.

8. Ephebic Virtues

It is always interesting to see what qualities are considered good in an ephebe. Throughout this and following centuries, the cadets are praised for traits now familiar to us: discipline, obedience, zeal, and prudence (*eutaxia*, *peitharchia*, *philotimia*, and *sophrosyne*.)¹⁵² New traits also appear. The addition of piety (*eusebia* - **B20.30**, **33.12**) is unsurprising. Hard work and endurance (*philoponia* and *kakopathia* - **B35.16**, **17** and **36.12**, **14**) are valuable traits in soldiers and also fit well with the "Socratic" emphasis on hard work and self-discipline. (It is perhaps not by coincidence that these two inscriptions also mention the Lyceum.) *Euschemoneia* (elegance), however, does not (**B20.14**, **25.15**). The word betrays the importance now given appearance, spectacle. Finally, in **B39.19**, Meritt restored *hesuchia* or "quietness". Elsewhere are restored *homonoia* (line 20), *philia* (line 20), and *anengkleteia* (line 17), harmony, friendship, and reproachlessness. I do not know the basis of these restorations, but if accurate they would nicely illustrate the evolution of the organization from military to festal to philosophic.

9. Boats

Apparently at the end of the century the ephebes took part in a competition which involved sailing (**B25.20**).¹⁵³ On the basis of a later inscription, Pélékidis asserted that naval training was part of the military training received by ephebes and even supposed some sort of 5th century ephebic training in naval warfare.¹⁵⁴ This is impossible. The sailing, if it did exist at the end of the third century, is connected with festival and not military training. There are no naval *didaskaloi*, nor are there any references to ships prior to the year 204. There was not an ephebeia in the 5th century.

¹⁵² **B6**, **7**, **8**, **13**, **18**, **20**, **25**, **33**, **35**, and **36** *passim*.

¹⁵³ Considering the lack of contemporary parallels, the restoration of "κατὰ τὸν πλο[ῦν ...]" should not be accepted without a sizeable degree of caution. Later such references do exist, however: *IGII*² 1008.17-18, 59-60 (119/8); 1011.16, 40-41 (107/6); 1028, 27, 76 (102/1).

¹⁵⁴ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 272. He cites *IGII*² 1008.59-60. Discussion of later nautical ephebes, see Garland, *Piraeus*, 81.

When an ephebic decree refers to sailing, it is a reference to participation in an aquatic festival such as the Aianteia.¹⁵⁵

10. Conclusion

Because of the fragmentary nature of our evidence, this examination of the ephebeia from 332 until 200 has been necessarily detailed and close. Nevertheless, the evidence reveals a few important aspects of the early Hellenistic ephebeia. We must keep in mind that, far from being a continuing tradition firmly rooted in Athenian (or Greek) culture, the ephebeia was a sporadic and rapidly changing organization. Ephebes only garrisoned the border for thirteen years.¹⁵⁶ The monuments which survive are generally clustered around a five year period, following the creation of the formal institution. Even after the restoration of the democratic ephebeia in 307, not all citizens took part, and after a substantial break in the programme, 298-286, only a handful of young men participated. As the prominence of Athens declined, the role of ephebes became increasingly ceremonial. Within a century of its creation, the Athenian Ephebeia had changed, nearly beyond recognition.

¹⁵⁵ Tracy, 'Greek Inscriptions', 177, was concerned that the Aianteia was not mentioned in **B25**, and concluded that which festivals were and which were not mentioned was a function of the individual proposer's choice rather than a reflection of ephebic (non)participation.

¹⁵⁶ Not including the periodic *neotatoi peripoleia*, probably begun around 373, in which Aeschines took part.

Conclusion

The creation of the Athenian ephebeia resulted from a convergence of at least four forces. First: with the developments in warfare that resulted from the Peloponnesian War, routine military training, once unique to Sparta, came to be implemented in city-states throughout Greece. Second: with the sudden threat to border security posed by a powerful and belligerent Thebes in the 370's, Athens implemented a series of military changes, one of which was the occasional use of young men, probably 18 and 19 year-old *neotatoi*, to patrol the countryside. Third: after the fifth century's generational turmoil, political upheavals and challenges to moral convention, the intellectual circles of fourth century Athens became engaged in an educational "discourse", led by students of "Socratic" philosophy and emphasizing the value of civic education in virtue. A primary step in the attainment of virtue was the acquisition of discipline. Following the Spartan paradigm, military training came to be seen as an ideal method for the education of discipline in the youth. Fourth: after the battle of Chaeronea Athens found herself in a position of utmost urgency. It was clear that her military was in need of reorganization. Perhaps at this time *thetes* were included among the ranks of hoplites. In the face of Macedonian hegemony, the fostering of Athenian patriotism was placed high on the political agenda. Many were put on trial for showing a lack of patriotism. Many were rewarded for their display of it. In 335 these forces converged when, at the suggestion of a man named Epicrates, Lycurgan Athens created the formal ephebeia.

After the failure of her revolt in 322, Athens entered a period of political turbulence from which she would never recover. Changes in the ephebeia reflect this turbulence. Probably suppressed in 322 and 298, the programme was continually reincarnated, but always in a substantially different form. From 286 onward, with only a comparative handful of members, the ephebeia ceased to play any significant military role; instead it was used only to augment the pageantry of Athenian festival (part of its role from inception), and to act as a symbol of the greatness of Athenian tradition. With the

coming of the Romans at the turn of the century and the reacquisition of Delos in 166/5,¹ Athens enjoyed renewed wealth and position in the Aegean.² Over the course of the mid- to late second century, ephebic numbers begin to rise to over 100 and inscriptions crystallize into stylized and extensive decrees.³ The organization was by now a centre of Athenian culture, open by the year 120 to sons of wealthy foreigners as well,⁴ drawn from the corners of the Mediterranean to participate in a living tradition of the ancient "school of Hellas". The school would last for another five centuries.

If a tradition is to survive, especially an invented one, it must fill a legitimate need. One reason for the continuance of the ephebeia was its connection to democracy. Moderns often end their time-line of Athenian freedom and the Classical Age at Chaeronea in 338. If Hellenistic Athenians ever drew such a demarcation, it would have fallen at the battle of Amorgus, or the negotiations with Antipater which followed, in 322. In their eyes the Lycurgan years - the days when Demosthenes could still be heard before the assembly - were a continuing part of the great tradition of Athenian democracy. The ephebeia had grown from that legacy and as such remained intimately connected with the freedom and even empire of Classical Athens. That reason alone would have sufficed to stoke the embers of the ephebic tradition. At the same time, we must not underestimate the self-perpetuating nature of traditional ritual. Ceremony and ritual can acquire momentum of their own, increasing in pomp and expanding in application with every repetition. This is especially true when a ritual has become itself a centre-piece of the societal context which originally created it.⁵ Such would have

¹ Polybius 30.20.

² Tracy, 'Agora I 7181 + JGII², 944b', 159.

³ For numbers: Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 184.

⁴ JGII² 1008.

⁵ D. Cannadine, 'The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast', *P&P* No. 94 (Feb. 1982), 130, writes of that civic ritual that "the interaction between ceremonial and context extended *both* ways, as the spectacle was at once the product and embodiment of changing circumstances, while being an integral part in the creation of these contexts and cultural

been the case with Athenian festivals of the Hellenistic Age.

In addition to links with Athens' past, however, the ephebeia, as created in 335/4, was apparently discovered to serve broader societal needs. Nothing speaks more loudly of this than the fact that very soon after its creation, and continuing over the centuries which followed, the Athenian ephebeia was imitated in versions that appeared throughout the eastern Mediterranean. The most striking example of this is found in Boeotia, where a number of ephebic inscriptions date to as early as the first half of the third century.⁶ The oldest Boeotian catalogue, from Orchomenus, dates to c.280;⁷ it has even been argued that the Boeotian ephebeia began as early as the end of the fourth century but that the earliest inscriptions do not survive because they were recorded on bronze.⁸ The theory finds support in the form of two ephebic decrees of the late fourth century (c.307), from Eretria, which belonged then to the Boeotian Confederacy.⁹ Likewise, several inscriptions from Thebes may date to as early as the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third.¹⁰ A passage in Aristotle's *Politics* 6.5.7 [1322a25-30] could indicate that other states have ephebic programmes, or something similar, which might be taken to mean that the system had already been copied as early as the 320's (unless Aristotle has in mind the Spartan *agoge* and Cretan systems."

⁶ Thespieae (e.g. *IGVII* 1747; *BCH* 1946, 477-8, no. 3 + *IGVII* 1754), Thisbe (e.g. *SEG* III.351), Copae (e.g. *IGVII* 2781), Acraephia (e.g. *IGVII* 2716). My study of other than Athenian ephebic inscriptions is intended to be descriptive rather than exhaustive. The best discussion of Theban ephebic systems is P. Roesch, *Études Béotiennes* (Paris, 1982), 307-354: most of my material on the subject is derived from Roesch's work, but see also M. Feyel, *Polybe et L'Histoire de Béotie* (Paris, 1942), 187-218.

⁷ *IGVII* 3175; Feyel, *Polybe*, 191.

⁸ Roesch, *Études Béotiennes*, 340; Feyel, *Polybe*, 190-1.

⁹ *IGXII* 9, 240 and *IGXII* Suppl. 555; F.E. Cairns, 'IG XII Suppl. 555, Reinmuth 15 and the demes and tribes of Eretria', *ZPE* 64 (1986), 149-158; see Beloch, *GG²* IV 2, 428; Roesch, *Études Béotiennes*, ix; Feyel, *Polybe*, 193, n. 2; O.W. Reinmuth, *The Foreigners in the Athenian Ephebeia*, *University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism*, No. 9 (Lincoln, 1929), 38, n. 144.

¹⁰ *IGVII* 2429-2431: "...quos saeculo a. Chr. n. quarto exeunte aut tertii initio incisos esse manifestum est."

agelai or unless he means garrisons at different areas of Attica).

Certainly by the third century ephebic or similar training is attested in many states. Not only was such training required of all members of the Boeotian Confederacy, but it appears that in the military reorganization which followed defeat (at, ironically, Chaeronea) in 245, the states were also required to train *paides* (aged 12-14) and *neaniskoi* (aged 15-17) in the use of the bow and javelin, and in keeping formation.¹¹ A Thespian decree of about this period honours an Athenian, Sostratus son of Batrachus, for his service as *didaskalos* in providing such training.¹² Ephebic training at Thespieae is attested from at least nine inscriptions, the earliest dating to before 260.¹³ It is interesting to note that in the third century, while the small Athenian ephebeia increasingly lost military significance, a large Boeotian ephebeia, commanded by an *ephebarchos*, remained above all a system for training hoplites for the federal army until the end of the Confederacy in 172.¹⁴ As with Athens, when the political prominence of Boeotia declined, the ephebic training (and that of the other age-classes) became increasingly athletic and festal.¹⁵

Other ephebic systems attested in the third century include:

Miletus: *Milet I* 3 (1914), n. 139 (c.262-60). Hyettus: *IGVII* 2809-2832.
Sicyon: Paus. 2.10; Plut. *Vit. Arat.* 53 (c.271-13). Teos: *SIG³* 578.
Aegosthena (Megaris): *IGVII* 209-220. Thebes: *IGVII* 2442 (3c.).

The centuries which followed witnessed an explosion of youth schools modelled after the Athenian ephebeia.¹⁶ Reinmuth compiled a list of the cities of the ancient

¹¹ Roesch, *Études Béotiennes*, 354.

¹² Roesch, *Acta of the Fifth intern. Congress of Greek and Latin epigraphy* (Oxford, 1971), 81-88 = Roesch, *Études Béotiennes*, 307-308. Sostratus is paid 400 dr. per year.

¹³ See Roesch's chart, *Études Béotiennes*, 317. Until 245, the Boeotian inscriptions refer to ephebes varying as *epheboi* and *neoterói*. After the training of 15-17 year-olds is made mandatory, c.245, those 18-19 are invariably referred to as *epheboi*, 345.

¹⁴ Roesch, *Études Béotiennes*, 318. (The same was true in Macedonia; see Gauthier and Hatzopoulos, *La Loi Gymnasiarchique*, 173-174.) Relative sizes: in 266/5, the Athenian ephebes numbered 32 (B6); around the same time, the ephebes of Thespiai, just one of the Boeotian cities, numbered 68 (*SEG* 3.333).

¹⁵ P. Roesch, *Thespies et la Confédération Béotienne* (Paris, 1965), 225. Thespian ephebic gymnasiarchs, 229-231 (and *pedonomoi* for younger ages, 231-233).

world at which a local ephebeia is attested. It is four and a half pages long.¹⁷

At the risk of undercutting the role of "Socratic" philosophy in the creation of the ephebeia, I wish to add that the ideas involved - "building character" in the young men - were not unique to the period. In my introduction I footnoted Yavetz's theory on the *raison d'être* of Augustus' *Res Gestae*. Yavetz interprets the emperor's account of his life's achievements to be part of an effort to provide an *exemplar* of behaviour for the Roman *iuventus*. "[Augustus] took a strong personal interest in the education of the *iuventus*, caring not only for their physical fitness, but also for what he saw as their moral and spiritual well-being."¹⁸ At the time this theory was speculative, but in the late 1980's, the Tabula Siarensis was discovered, in which Tiberius orders the circulation and publication of his honorific verse about the deceased Germanicus "because the most intimate [document of Tiberius] Caesar Augustus and of Germanicus Caesar, his son, contained not so much a praise as a methodical ordering of his whole life and a true testimony of his excellence...and [because] he [i.e. Tiberius] judged that it would be useful for the youth of our children and descendents."¹⁹

In 1992, Ann Landers published a letter proposing "the establishment of a national youth corps in which children ages 13 to 18 who are homeless, troubled at home or not succeeding in school, could live, work and be educated at the military bases that are being closed around the country." The author explains that "the environment should be one of strict discipline because this almost always is what was lacking in the lives of these young people in the first place."²⁰

In the United States during the first half of this century, the Athenian ephebeia was

¹⁶ That the Athenian ephebeia served as their model is considered self-evident by Nilsson, *Die Hellenistische Schule*, 17.

¹⁷ Reinmuth, *Foreigners*, 51-55.

¹⁸ Yavetz, 'Augustus' Public Image', 18; cf. note 128, providing further bibliography for "emphasis on premilitary education".

¹⁹ Translation from: R.K. Sherk, *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1988), 36.

²⁰ Ann Landers, *The Miami Herald*, 21 July 1992.

used as a model for the fostering of public service. In 1918, The Ephebian Society of Los Angeles was founded, lasting at least until after World War II, in order to "bind its members...into an active, aggressive, civic-betterment association pledged 'to conduct a program of civic education for its members and the public at large; to foster and promote and participate in programs which champion good government, under the American ideals of Democracy; to encourage good citizenship in the city, state and nation; to support constructive legislation and civic enterprises from time to time in accordance with this purpose.'"²¹ Lycurgus would have been proud.

Ephebic Date-line:

<u>Date:</u>	<u>Event:</u>
6c?	Citizenship Oath created?
5c.+	<i>neotatoi</i> retained in the <i>chora</i> during wartime
c.373	advent of Thebes; <i>neotatoi</i> used as <i>peripoloi</i> in <i>chora</i>
338	Battle of Chaeronea
335/4	Law of Epicrates creates ephebeia
322/1	Surrender to Antipater; ephebeia suppressed?
318	Democracy restored; ephebeia recommenced?
317	Dictatorship of Demetrius of Phalerum; oligarchic ephebeia?
307	Liberation by Demetrius Poliorcetes; full ephebeia recommenced
298	Tyranny of Lachares; ephebeia suppressed
294	"Liberation" by Demetrius Poliorcetes
292	Oligarchy of Demetrius Poliorcetes
286	Successful Athenian revolt; smaller ephebeia restored
262	Loss of Chremonidean War; festivals begin in decrees
229	End of Demetrian War: Athens regains freedom and Peiraeus

²¹ F.H. Swift, *The Athenian Ephebic Oath of Allegiance in American Schools and Colleges* (Berkeley, 1947), 16-17. Inspired by Robert's publishing of the stone of Acharnae, the author describes the use of the Ephebic Oath in many U.S. academic institutions.

Appendix I

Demography and ephebic participation¹

Were ephebes enrolled from all classes of the Athenian citizen body or were thetes excluded? Because none of our sources provides an irrefutable answer, this is a question on which opinion is keenly divided.² The primary argument against thetic participation in the ephebeia is that ephebic training included hoplite skills, namely *hoplomachia*, and that all ephebes were granted hoplite weapons, a shield (*aspis*) and spear, by the state. The programme also included training with bows, javelins, and catapults, however. Whereas ownership of arms was the original determinant of hoplite status, the state now provided each ephebe with his weapons and shield, as well as 4 obols per day for rations. Financial considerations would not have barred a thete from service.

Those who believe that all classes were included base their belief on the following evidence. In the *Ath. Pol.*'s description of the ephebeia, the author moves from his description of the procedures of enrolment (which would have included all citizens) directly to that of the participation of those enrollees in the ephebic training program (§42). He does not mention that thetes were specifically excluded from the programme, so many assume that they were not.³ Those who believe they were

¹ I would like to thank Mrs. K. Shipton for her helpful comments on this paper.

² Of those who believe thetes were excluded: Rhodes, *Commentary*, 503; 'Ephebi, Bouleutae and the Population of Athens', *ZPE* 38 (1980), 194; Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 106, 111; Gomme, *Population*, 11; Beloch, *GG*² III, 2, 402; Girard, *L'education*, 622.

Of those who believe that all citizens were included: Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 345; Faraguna, *Atene*, 277; Hansen, *Demography*, 48-49; Williams, *Athens without Democracy*, 10, 234, n. 592; E. Ruschenbusch, 'Demography and Democracy. Doch noch einmal die Bürgerzahl Athens im 4. JH. v.Chr.', *ZPE* 72 (1988), 139-140; 'Die Soziale Herkunft der Epheben um 330', *ZPE* 35 (1979), 173; Ridley, 'Hoplite as Citizen', 519, 531; Humphreys, 'Lycurgus', 226, n. 30; A.R.W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, Vol. 2 (Oxford, 1971), 205 ff.; Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 113-114; O. Reinmuth, *Der Kleine Pauly*, Vol. II (Stuttgart, 1967), cols. 287-291, s.v. Ephebeia; W.K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (London, 1968), 94-95; Forbes, *Physical Education*, 128; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 8; Beloch, *Klio* 1 (1905), 351; cf. Ruschenbusch, 'Soziale Herkunft', 173, n. 1.

excluded argue that the writer of the *Ath. Pol.* might either have forgotten to mention it or assumed that such a fact would go without saying. Gomme, who holds this position, concedes that standing alone it is less than satisfactory.⁴

The second piece of evidence is found in Lycurgus' oration *Against Leocrates*. Referring to the ephebic oath, he tells his audience that it is an oath which "all Athenians swear when they are enrolled as citizens and become ephebes."⁵ Here also it would seem that all citizens joined the ranks of ephebes, but Lycurgus' words "may easily be rhetorical exaggeration."⁶ Also, Lycurgus is referring specifically to "the ephebic oath". I have accepted above that an oath existed prior to the creation of the formal ephebeia,⁷ and I therefore think it possible that, while all citizens may have taken an oath of citizenship when being enrolled, it does not necessarily follow that they all then underwent ephebic training. If this is true, it is not a distinction which Lycurgus would have made, given that his words concern the oath and not the training.

The question at hand is intimately tied to the problem of fourth century Athenian demography. The number of names which appear on ephebic inscriptions of the Lycurgan era indicates a yearly enrolment of about 550. If service in the ephebeia was mandatory then that figure ought to represent a certain percentage of the total male citizen body. Several authors have first stated their opinion about whether or not thetes were included and then used these inscriptions as primary or supporting evidence for population figures. We must begin by assessing what evidence there is for Athenian population during the final third of the fourth century and then decide whether that number is sufficiently low for thetes to have been admitted to the ephebeia. I shall concentrate attention on Hansen's position because it is the most recent and comprehensive.

³ Nor does he specifically exclude thetes from service as *diaitetai*: 53.4-5; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 503, 591.

⁴ Gomme, *Population*, 11.

⁵ Lycurg. *Leoc.* 76.

⁶ Rhodes, 'Population of Athens', 194.

⁷ See pp. 47-48 above.

The primary piece of evidence concerns the political changes imposed by Antipater in 322. He instituted a minimum financial qualification for citizenship, disenfranchising all those with less than 2,000 drachmae. According to Diodorus Siculus (following a good source, Hieronymus of Cardia) 9,000 citizens remained and 22,000 were excluded (18.18.4-5). According to Plutarch (*Vit. Phoc.* 28.4), 12,000 were disenfranchised. Antipater offered land in Thrace to those who had lost their citizenship (Plutarch, loc.cit.). We do not know how many accepted the offer.⁸

There are two stands taken concerning the population of Attica at around 323. One group of scholars accepts the Plutarch figure and believes that there were 9,000 citizens of zeugite class or higher and 12,000 thetes, or 21,000 citizens.⁹ The other camp believes Diodorus and supposes that there was a total of 31,000 citizens.¹⁰ Both sides then use any supporting evidence which corroborates with their beliefs and dismiss that which does not. Hansen rejects both sources as a starting point for inquiry into the question.¹¹

The other evidence of the same general time period is:

1. [Dem.] 25 (*Against Aristogeiton I*).51 states that there are around 20,000 citizens.
2. At some point during his tenure (336-324), Lycurgus successfully convicted Diphilus of illegal mining practices, saw him executed, and confiscated his estate of 160 talents ([Plut.] *Vit.X Orat.* 843D). The 160T were then distributed to the citizens, each receiving 50 (or some said 100) drachmae. All scholars accept the figure of 50.

⁸ Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 113, follows Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, in believing that not many emigrated. Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 288, thinks that as many as 10,000 might have moved. Likewise, we do not know how many would have returned following the decree of Philip Arrhidaeus, cf. p. 176 above.

⁹ e.g. Jones, *Athenian Democracy*, 76; Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 109; Ruschenbusch, 'Soziale Herkunft', 174; Williams, *Athens without Democracy*, 235.

¹⁰ Gomme, *Population*, 18.

¹¹ Hansen, *Demography*, 29, 67.

If every citizen received a share and the fortune was depleted exactly, there were 19,200 citizens ($160 T \times 6000 \text{ dr}/T + 50 \text{ dr}/\text{person}$).

3. During the Lamian War (323/22), Athens called up all soldiers of year-groups 20 to 39.¹² Seven of the ten tribes were sent against Macedonia; the remaining three guarded the border (Diod. 18.10.2; 18.11.3). In all 5,000 foot and 500 horse were sent. Thus the total army of citizens under 40 totalled c.8,150 men.¹³ By Gomme's calculations, this corresponds to a total adult male citizen body of 14,500. Using Hansen's demographic model, it would correspond to a total of 14,900.¹⁴

4. After a brief return of the democracy in 318, Cassander imposed the rule of Demetrius of Phalerum. Demetrius (or Cassander) instituted a citizenship requirement of 1,000 dr. At some point in his tenure, presumably not long after the requirement change, Demetrius conducted a census. He found that there were 21,000 citizens, 10,000 metics, and 400,000 slaves (Ctesicles *apud* Athenaeus 6.272C; Jacoby, *FGrH* II B 245f. [I, p. 1128]). Nobody believes the figure for slaves.

Given these passages, especially numbers 1, 2, and 4 above, it is easy to see why many conclude a general citizen body size of 21,000. But the evidence is more complicated than it appears:

¹² There is nothing in the sources to indicate that the ephebes were not mobilized, however, as discussed above (pp. 38-39), the 18-19 year groups were normally kept in Attica. I present a separate argument for believing that the ephebes were not mobilized (see pp. 230-231 below).

¹³ All other authors calculate this to be c.7,850 ($5,500 \times 10 + 7$). I am assuming that the 500 cavalry represents not 7/10's of all the cavalry, but half of the traditional 1,000 cavalymen, thus ($5,000 \times 10 + 7 + 1,000$).

¹⁴ Gomme, *Population*, 8; For my calculation, see Hansen's tables, using "Model West", at growth rate 5 (1/2% *per annum*) and a mortality level of 4 (life expectancy at birth of 25.26), 12. Total = $8150 + .547$.

1. The authenticity of the Demosthenes passage is in question.¹⁵ Hansen accepts the speech as genuine, but suggests that the speaker was unlikely to have had access to an accurate count of the citizen body. It was a guess or perhaps reflected a widely held belief that there were "about 2 myriad citizens".¹⁶ Certainly the figure is rounded. Hansen also adds that, in the context of the next sentence, Demosthenes is really only making a guess at the number of Athenians *who frequent the agora*: "εἰσὶν ὁμοῦ δισμύριοι πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι. τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν γέ τι πρᾶττων κατὰ τὴν ἀγορᾶν περιέρχεται...." Hansen pushes the text farther than it will allow. Demosthenes says that there are about 20,000 citizens and then claims that they all frequent the market in order to contrast normal behaviour with Aristogeiton's mysterious privacy. We should also bear in mind that, if anything, it is (mildly) in the orator's interest to exaggerate the number of citizens - the more good ones thereby to contrast with the one wicked Aristogeiton. This is not a major point, but the speaker certainly has no interest in understating the number. The statement appears offhand, and I agree that we should not accept the figure without circumspection. At the same time, however, we should hesitate to presume that a scholar 2,500 years removed from the period in question would be better able to estimate the number of citizens than a notable and well-informed politician of the time.¹⁷

2. We might well wonder by what mechanism Lycurgus distributed Diphilus' money. I concur with Hansen's arguments. He compares the passage with Philochorus fr. 119, in which Athens (in 445/4) distributes a gift of 30 or 40 thousand *medimnoi* of wheat to what would be an unacceptably low 14,240 to 19,000 citizens. Indeed,

¹⁵ Jones (*Athenian Democracy*, 76) accepts it; Gomme (*Population*, 3, n. 1) does not. For recent bibliography on the authenticity of Dem. 25, see p. 151, n. 132, above.

¹⁶ As R. Meiggs pointed out ('A note on the population of Attica', *CR* 78, n.s. 14 [1964], 2-3), it seems to have been a widely held belief in the fifth century that there were about 3 myriad citizens; cf. Herod. 5.97.2; 8.65.1; Aristoph. *Eccl.* 1131-3. Meiggs writes that this was a belief in the "5th and 4th centuries", but does not provide any evidence from the fourth, nor does he cite [Dem.] 25.51.

¹⁷ Hansen, *Demography*, 27. On the style: D.F. McCabe, *Prose-Rhythm*, 196; cf. Hansen, *Apagoge*, 144-152. Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 319: "Hansen's interpretation cannot be accepted on any fair reading of the passage, and the figure of 20,000 must be accepted."

would the Athenians have been diligent enough to set aside the correct amount of money for cleruchs, for those at sea, and in foreign cities? It is more likely that 50 dr. were distributed to every claimant until the money was exhausted. Late-comers went home empty handed.¹⁸ Hansen does not mention it, but this approach would be even more likely if there were a common belief that the citizenry numbered around 20,000. Alternatively, Lycurgus might have supplemented the hand-out, paying 50 dr. to any remaining citizens out of public funds.¹⁹

3. Many assume that the 5,000 foot soldiers called up for the Lamian War were all hoplites. Gomme, for instance, argues that 7,700 men on campaign corresponds to a total hoplite (zeugite+) citizen body of around 14,500 or 15,000 men. Since 3.3% of that figure corresponds very closely to the average number of ephebes which appear on the inscriptions (c.550), he concludes that the ephebic corps was purely hoplite.²⁰ But the Greek, "*pezous*", could and probably does mean that the army included peltasts.²¹ Additionally, we have some indications that thetes could fight as hoplites.²² Sekunda maintains that following Chaeronea, all citizens were expected to fight as hoplites.²³ There is no particular reason to take this to be a sample of the number of zeugites and above of that age group. Hansen reminds us that not all the men available would have been fit for duty, and assumes a disability ratio of 20%.²⁴

¹⁸ Hansen, *Demography*, 45-47.

¹⁹ J. Williams, *Athens without Democracy*, 232. (The annual state income of 1,200 Talents could easily absorb the additional cost.); *contra* Hansen, see Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 318.

²⁰ Gomme, *Population*, 8, 10. For the percentage, see p. 223 below.

²¹ cf. Hansen, *Demography*, 38-39.

²² See Antiphon fr. 61 (= Harpocration, s.v. $\theta\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ καὶ $\theta\eta\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$). Also, before the campaign to aid the Thebans at Haliartus (395), Mantitheus saw that some of his demesmen lacked sufficient means for the expedition and suggested that they be subsidized by the better off, himself giving two men 30 dr. apiece (Lysias 16.14). We must await the fruits of B. Strauss' work on "The Ideology of the Thete".

²³ Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 345-6.

²⁴ This seems high to me. There is no reason to believe that Athenian "discharge" criteria were anything like modern ones. Would ancient Greeks have stayed home if they had "flat feet", for instance, or less than perfect hearing? I have no alternative figure to suggest, and as Greek medicine

He therefore calculates a total number of Athenians between 20 and 39 of 9,750, and a corresponding total citizen body of 17,725 men.²⁵ I make it 10,200, corresponding to 18,545.²⁶ In his following calculations, Hansen goes astray. He points out that legislative business apparently continued at Athens during the war.²⁷ We must then assume that the *ekklesia* of 6,000 citizens was able to meet. Therefore, to his total figure of 17,725, Hansen adds 6,000. Likewise, he points out that the city had simultaneously launched a fleet of about 200 ships.²⁸ As a minimum, he assumes 15-20 citizens out of the crew of 200 on each ship.²⁹ Thus he finds an additional 3,000-4,000 men. In the first case, there is no reason to think that the assembly could not have been comprised of men over the age of 39 and those unfit for service (both groups of whom Hansen had already included in his figure of 17,725).³⁰ In the second case, Hansen again adds an additional fourth for the mariners and totals 5,000 - 8,500 men (not seamen, but a misguided figure estimating the total number of citizens represented by the percentage of these age groups [73%]). It is inaccurate to calculate these numbers separately from the ground forces, just as it is inaccurate to use the numbers of the 40-49 year-olds as a fixed proportion of the whole citizenry since,

(however good) was not the equal of modern, I accept Hansen's percentage; cf. B. Baldwin, 'Medical Grounds for Exemptions from Military Service at Athens', *CP* 62 (1967), 42-43; Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 331, who prefers 8%, 347.

²⁵ Again, he takes the 20-39 year age groups to represent about 55% of the total male population 18 and older.

²⁶ The difference stems from my assumption about the number of cavalry; cf. note 13.

²⁷ During this time, for instance, the *ekklesia* passed a naturalization decree (Osborne, *Naturalization* 1, D 25), for which a *quorum* of 6,000 would have been needed (Dem.59.89).

²⁸ Hansen, *Demography*, 39. The rest of the crews was made up of metics, foreigners, and slaves. For an Athenian fleet manned by non-citizens: Dem. 4.36; cf. Hansen, *Demography*, 23; Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 354.

²⁹ Total of 200 per ship: Morrison, *Greek Oared Ships*, 256; J.S. Morrison, 'Hyperesia in Naval Contexts in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC', *JHS* 104 (1984), 55-56: 170 rowers, 10 marines, 4 archers, 16 hands and mates.

³⁰ In fact, when one calculates the population size based on extrapolation from a smaller group, as Hansen has done, one cannot simply add to it. One must either accept that total as comprehensive or, if for other reasons the total seems too small, abandon it on the supposition that one has used incorrect assumptions.

unlike those in the land army, they do not represent all men of that class. Also, since Hansen's publication, J.S. Morrison has argued convincingly that the total number of Athenian ships launched was 170 (Diod. 18.15.8-9). Those proposed in the decree (Diod. 18.10.2) were never built.³¹

Below I give Hansen's calculations. Using the same demographic assumptions and minimum figure and ages for citizens in the ships, I then provide the calculations as they should have been made. Hansen is over 20% too high, but the extent of that difference arises mainly because he has added the assembly when he should not have.

HANSEN

7,800 total land army + 25% disabled = 9,750.

9,700 is 55% of total. $9,700 \times 100 \div 55 =$ 17,725

3,000 (minimum) at sea + 25% disabled = 3,750

3,750 is 73% of total. $3,750 \times 100 \div 73 =$ 5,140

$17,725 + 5,140 = 22,865 + 6,000$ (*ekklesia*) = 28,865 (minimum)

CORRECTED

8,150 land + 2,000 sea (20-39 ages / 40-49 ages = $2/3 \times 3000$) = 10,150

10,150 + 25% disabled = 12,690 which is 55% of the total.

$12,690 \times 100 \div 55 =$ 23,070 (minimum)

(When corrected for 170 ships it becomes 22,390.)

The 40-49 year-olds at sea cannot be used to compute a higher total not on campaign, as Hansen does, because they do not represent a complete section of the citizenry. The difference between the total and those on campaign, 12,920, is more

³¹ J.S. Morrison, 'Athenian Sea-Power in 323/2 BC: Dream and Reality', *JHS* 107 (1987), 89-91; Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 349, argues that the fleet of 170 might have been launched after the initial land campaigns, and could have been manned by some returned soldiers. The chronology is far from certain, however.

than sufficient to convene the assembly.³² We should bear in mind that the margin of error inherent in some of these assumptions is massive. By way of example, if 15% were a more accurate figure for disability, then the total would become 20,600. If there were 30, rather than 15 citizens on each ship, the total would become 26,250. When figures are given, precision does not denote accuracy.

4. Demetrius' census: Jones simply took the figure of 21,000 to be in line with that given by Plutarch, and the implications of 1 and 2 above. Gomme, who argued for a large citizen population, accepts the figure of 21,000 some time after 317 as evidence of massive emigrations to Thrace and to Asia in the wake of Alexander.³³ But a drop from 31,000 to 21,000, or 33%, in the space of four years is unreasonably dramatic. Hansen (35) points out that this was a census of those residing in Attica and not, as in former cases, a count of all Athenian citizens. Like Gomme, he sees effects of large migrations. He also points out that this figure might reflect a state of affairs after the citizenship requirement was lowered from 2,000 to 1,000 drachmae. That is, it may not have included either those citizens living abroad or those thetes who held property valued at less than 1,000 dr.³⁴ The earlier figures would have included these.

Did Demetrius' "citizen" figure in fact include thetes? Hansen rightly supposes that, since figures are provided for citizens, metics (and slaves), either one for those having less than 1,000 dr. has been lost, or, more probably, all classes are included in the 21,000.³⁵ Finally, after supposing that the figure for slaves is a gloss of some sort, he suggests that the purpose of the census was military.³⁶ According to

³² cf. Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 355.

³³ Gomme, *Population*, 18-19.

³⁴ An argument ignored by Sekunda, 'Demography and Military'.

³⁵ Hansen, *Demography*, 33. I set aside the question of whether or not slaves were included in the census. I do not think, however, that we can be certain that slaves would not have been counted for military purposes - especially if they might be used to man a fleet.

³⁶ Following Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* III, 2, 405-6.

Hansen, Demetrius wanted to find out how many citizens and metics of military age were available to defend Attica, probably under the threat of attack by Ptolemy.³⁷ Hansen therefore adds 20% for the number of disabled and then 9% for those aged 60 and above, and arrives at a "true" census figure of 28,850. We cannot know the procedure used by Demetrius, however. Even if the purpose of the census was military, would he have screened out the unfit and the elderly, or would he have simply collected a figure for all citizens in order to obtain a rough estimate? We cannot know. I suspect the latter.

We have seen that the Lamian War statistics do not prove an Athenian citizen population of greater than around 21,000, although they do allow for one. In the light of this, and the additional evidence which suggests a lower figure, I am led to accept the total number of 21,000 read in Plutarch (of whom 9,000 were zeugites and above?)³⁸ and, guardedly, to reject Hansen's proposal of an Athenian citizen population of 31,000 citizens or more at this time.³⁹

We have seen that the inscriptions reflect an average ephebic graduation of 550 or so cadets.⁴⁰ What fraction of the population ought that number reflect? Until recently, the demographic procedures used to answer this problem have been extremely primitive. I will not here summarize previous authors attempts to fit the ephebic numbers into their population estimates, but will pause to say that their demographic ratios were derived from such sources as Italy in 1881,⁴¹ early twentieth century

³⁷ Hansen, *Demography*, 34.

³⁸ I hasten to add that even the association of a figure of 2,000 dr. with the requirement for thetic class is uncertain: "No ancient source, however, explicitly states that any Athenian who did not own property worth at least 2,000 drachmae was a thete, nor do we know what types of property were included in the evaluation of a person's wealth." Williams, 'Solon's Class System', 242.

³⁹ Also rejected by Sekunda, 'Demography and Military', 342, who estimates a total adult male citizen population of about 20,230, and a total population of Athenians of about 58,000. Part of his calculation, however, is based on the assumption that the *lochagoi* in our ephebic inscriptions did not belong to the year group represented (341), a belief with which I disagree, see pp. 16-17.

⁴⁰ See pp. 21-22 above.

⁴¹ Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* III 2, 440. He estimates a ratio of 6%.

India,⁴² and even post World War I France!⁴³

Three authors use a more rational ratio. Gomme (10) estimates that the ephebes represented 3.3% of the male citizen population. Ruschenbusch places it at between 2.5% and 3.4%. He settles upon 3%.⁴⁴ Hansen's ratio is 3.35%.⁴⁵ I shall use Gomme's 3.3%, but it is near enough Ruschenbusch's and Hansen's not to matter. I will further use Hansen's assumption that about 20% of the year group were physically unfit for ephebic duty. If, then, approximately 660 ephebes per year equals about 3.3% of the citizen population, we get a total of about 20,000 men. All citizen classes were included.

In closing, I should comment on Hansen's position about the evidence provided by ephebic inscriptions. He believes that all classes could in principle join as ephebes,⁴⁶ but that the citizen population was in excess of 31,000. He compares the number of ephebes from certain demes in a given year with the number of citizens in that deme's bouleutic quota, and determines that "not all councilors can have served as ephebes."⁴⁷ As I understand his argument, he would expect the number of ephebes per year to be at least as great as the number of citizens who sat on the *boule* each year. His conclusion, therefore, is that only about 60-80% of the citizens took part in the ephebeia, and he therefore dismisses it as evidence for the citizen population.

It is apparently true that for a man to sit in the *boule* twice was, by and large, exceptional, but the statistical variation between demes in terms of their population to quota ratio could have been considerable. It is entirely possible that the citizens of a small deme might have found themselves normally serving twice in their lives, while at other demes some may never have served at all. We simply do not have sufficient

⁴² Jones, *Athenian Democracy*, 82-83; Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 111-112. Ratio = 5%.

⁴³ Pélékidis, *Histoire*, 288-289, 292. His ratio is 7% (2% (of total population) x 100/48 x 100/60).

⁴⁴ Ruschenbusch, 'Soziale Herkunft', 173; cf. Rhodes, 'Population of Athens', 191, n. 4.

⁴⁵ Hansen, *Demography*, 11-12.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 49.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*; e.g. Xypete with 2 ephebes in 334/3 and 5 in 333/2, but a bouleutic quota of 7; Aixone with 7 ephebes in 334/3 and 333/2, but a bouleutic quota of eight; cf. Hansen, *Three studies*, 4.

evidence for comparing the populations of demes to their bouleutic quota to support an argument that as few as 60% of the citizens took part.⁴⁸ That said, however, Lewis has recently challenged Hansen's findings by comparing an ephebic roster of Erechtheis with the bouleutic quota for demes of that tribe, finding "a remarkable match" which "suggests that, at any rate in Erechtheis, the bouleutic quotas were not too disproportionate from ephebic population in the age-group born about 350."⁴⁹ Ruschenbusch points out that the difference between the number of ephebes recorded and 3.35% of Hansen's 31,000 is simply too high to believe. "Leider wird nicht deutlich, wie man eine derart eklatante Verletzung der Bürgerpflicht erklären soll und somit auch nicht, wie wohl Behörden und Bürgerschaft darauf reagiert haben."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ See Lewis, 'Attic Inscriptions (II)', 36.

⁴⁹ Palagia and Lewis, 'Ephebes of Erechtheis', 337; cf. R. Osborne's review of Hansen, *Demography*, in *JHS* 107 (1987), 233.

⁵⁰ Ruschenbusch, 'Demography and Democracy', 139-140.

Appendix II

Menander's ephebate and IGXIV 1184

The purpose of this brief appendix is to correct a small but continuing misunderstanding concerning the life of the comic poet Menander. With the resolution of the problem comes additional information about the ephebeia in 322 B.C., in addition to the life of the comic poet himself, and perhaps a resolution to the enigmatic IGXIV 1184.

An anonymous Alexandrian source for the life of Menander records that the poet directed his first play while still an ephebe in the archonship of Diocles (ἐδίδαξε δὲ πρῶτον ἔφηβος ὦν ἐπὶ Διοκλέους ἄρχοντος).¹ It also states that he died in Athens having lived fifty-two years (τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἑτῶν ὑπάρχων νβ'). The tradition that Menander died aged fifty-two is echoed by Apollodorus, *apud* Gellius (17.4). It is also recorded in the late (Roman) inscription IGXIV 1184. The inscription states: "Menander, son of Diopieithes of Cephissia, was born in the archonship of Sosigenes [342/1] and died aged fifty-two in that of Philippos [292/1] in the 32nd year of Ptolemy Soter."

Now, it should be clear that there are two problems with the evidence thus far. First of all, the account of Menander's life-span is mistaken, for if he was indeed born in 342/1 and died in 292/1, he would have lived into his fifty-first year only, and not his fifty-second.² One of the facts must be incorrect. The second problem is that the archon year of Menander's ephebeia as given by the anonymous source must be incorrect. The nearest archons of that name fall in the years 409/8 and 286/5.

More evidence comes into play. Under the fourth year of the 114th Olympiad (321/0), the Hieronymus version of Eusebius records that Menander won a victory

¹ J.M. Edmonds, *The fragments of Attic Comedy* Vol. IIIb (Leiden, 1961), 533 = Anon.; Kaibel, *CGF* I, 9, line 71. Many of the sources cited can be found in Edmonds, 533.

² The idiom used here is not that of the English "so-and-so years old", but rather each year *or portion of year* lived is counted as one, so the day one was born one "entered one's first year".

with his first play, the *Orge*.³ The Armenian version places the event in the year 322/1. On the basis of the Armenian chronicle, Clinton long ago corrected the anonymous fragment's archon name from Diocles to Philocles, the archon in 322/1.⁴ Since then a publication of part of the Parian Marble has revealed beyond doubt that Menander's first victory did not occur until 316/5.⁵ Building upon Wilhelm's suggestions, Capps unravelled the manuscript error, explaining that the scribe had conflated two separate events in his source - the date of Menander's first play, name unstated, and the name of his first victory, date unstated.⁶ Capps finds a parallel for the original format in the chronicle's accounts of Sophocles, Ol.77.2 and Ol.78.1. Menander seems to have authored a play performed c.322, but which was not the *Orge* and which did not win the competition.

When Clinton proposed his emendation, the archon date of Philippus was not yet known. Although by 1906 the date could still not be fixed, Clark could not accept the possibility of its falling later than 292/1.⁷ He did accept that Menander had lived into his fifty-second year. To reconcile these facts, Clark proposed an ingenious and, we shall see, mistaken solution: Strabo (14.1.18 [C638]) tells us that the philosopher Epicurus grew up in Samos and in Teos and that he was an ephebe in Athens at the same time as the comic poet Menander. Diogenes Laertius (10.14) records, quite specifically, that Epicurus was born in the third year of the 109th Olympiad, during the archonship of Sosigenes (342/1), on the seventh of the month of Gamelion. Clark therefore supposed that the source or inscriber of *IGXIV 1184* had done two things: first of all, that he was familiar with the account of the year of Epicurus' birth and that he and Menander had been ephebes together, and secondly, that he had written in the

³ A. Schoene, *Eusebi Chroniconum Canonum*, Vol. II (Berlin, 1866), 116-117.

⁴ H.F. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1834), 181.

⁵ "ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ κωμοιοποιοῦς Ἀθηνησιν τότε πρῶτον": A. Wilhelm, 'Parische Marmorchronik', *MDAI(A)* 22 (1897), 200; F. Jacoby, *Das marmor Parium* (Berlin, 1904), 23.

⁶ E. Capps, 'Chronological Studies in the Greek Tragic and Comic Poets', *AJPh* 21 (1900), 60-61.

⁷ W.R. Clark, 'Menander: A study of the chronology of his life', *CP* 1 (1906), 313-328. Clark's belief was correctly based upon a reading of the archon list provided by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in *Deinarchus* 9.

days when the ephebeia was only a one year programme and did not realize that at the time of Menander it had been two. According to Clark's theory, the inscriber did not have accurate knowledge of the life of Menander but, based on his knowledge of the life of Epicurus, assumed that the two were born in the same year. To reconcile the inscription and attempt to find an archon date for Philippus, Clark instead suggested that Menander had actually been born a year prior to Epicurus (343/2) and that they could be described as fellow ephebes because Epicurus' first ephebic year was Menander's second. In thus pushing Menander's birth-year backwards, Clark addressed the anonymous fragment by altering Clinton's correction of "Philocles" to read "Anticles", who was archon in 325/4, and suggested that the first play referred to was performed in 325/4 - the first year of Menander's ephebate.

This theory put the archonship of Philippus at the year 292/1. By the time Dinsmoor produced his study of the archon dates of Hellenistic Athens, more evidence had surfaced which suggested that Olympiodorus had illegally held the archonship for two years, presumably in a row.⁸ This implication corroborated the date 292/1 for Philippus, and Dinsmoor therefore accepted Clark's reasoning about Menander.⁹ On the basis of the momentum which Clark's theory had thereby achieved, Lewis also accepted it, but was rightly worried that it failed to account adequately for the Eusebius entries of a play performed in 322/1 or 321/0.¹⁰ Lewis wrote "we still have to account for Eusebius, and it seems most likely that he is referring to a Lenaian victory." He then provided a time table which gives 325/4 as the date of Menander's first production, 322/1 or 321/0 as the date of a first Lenaean victory, and 316/5 as the date of his first victory in the Dionysia. Curiously enough, Lewis abandoned Clark's

⁸ Two decrees from the archonship of Olympiodorus, *IGII*² 389 and 649, each show a different *anagrapheus*. They are both heavily restored.

⁹ W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 41-42.

¹⁰ D.M. Lewis, 'Appendix to Chapter II', *apud* Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*² (Oxford, 1988), 119. Clark, 'Menander', 321, dealt with it by supposing the Hieronymus account (321/0) had been dislocated by an Olympiad. I am grateful to Professor Lewis for bringing his Appendix to my attention.

suggestion of Menander's birth year in 343/2, reverting to the original, but was unconcerned that this had been the basis of Clark's dating.

I propose the following solution to the problem. When Clark was writing, Aristotle's *Ath. Pol.* had only been in currency for two decades, and its intricacies were not yet fully understood. In formulating his argument, Clark (followed by Dinsmoor) accepted the wrong side of a then heated but by now largely resolved debate concerning the reckoning of age in Athenian idiom. In his calculation of Menander's age, both upon entering the ephebeia and upon death, he had assumed that all sources followed the Greek idiom of life-years. To be in his fifty-second year meant not that Menander was fifty-two, but that he was fifty-one and something: he had entered into his fifty-second year. Likewise, Clark supposed that ephebes performed their service at the age of 17+ to 19+, rather than 18+ to 20+.¹¹ This is why he could not understand how Menander could still have been an ephebe at the age of twenty (and "in his twenty-first year", as Clinton had pointed out).

Today it is generally accepted that there were *two* ways to count years. The expression to be in one's such and such year, does in fact, mean what Clark thought it did, just as when the *Ath. Pol.* (53.4) says the *diaitetai* were those οἷς ἀν ἐξηκοστὸν ἔτος ᾗ, it means: "those in the official year in which their sixtieth birthday fell." But the formula, to be over such and such a year, or to have achieved such and such a year, means just that. The supervisors of boys' choruses had to be over forty years of age: ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες - (*Ath. Pol.* 56.3). The *Ath. Pol.* (42.1) therefore makes it clear that ephebes began service after the beginning of the first archon year following their 18th birthday.¹² In fact, for there to have been 42 age groups from the years 18 to 59 inclusive, and for the *Ath. Pol.* to

¹¹ Clark, 'Menander', 318-319, n. 1; Clark is aware of and cites sources for the debate about the age-year of inscription, but does not draw attention to the fact that it is this issue upon which his entire argument hinges.

¹² Rhodes, *Commentary*, 498; Golden, 'Age of Majority', 25-38, esp. 30-32.

preserve internal consistency, ephebes must have begun their service after turning 18 years-old, not having entered into their 18th year (i.e. being 17 years old). Likewise, they would complete their service not long after the archon year following their 20th birthday, two years later - during their "twenty-first year".

When this is understood Clark's arguments fall like a house of cards. Even if born in 343/2, Menander could not have been an ephebe until 324/3. He could therefore not have entered a play while an ephebe in the archonship of Anticles. Without reason to move it, Menander's birth year must revert to the more probable year of 342/1, the same year as that of Epicurus and the year recorded by our inscription. Clinton's earlier emendation of Philocles must be restored and we must accept the untangled Armenian chronicle which records a date of Menander's first play in 322/1. We may dispose of the Lenaeon hypothesis which in any event, as Clark pointed out, would have been unprecedented in Eusebius.¹³ The first year of Menander's (and Epicurus') ephebeia, then, was 323/2, and the second was the archonship of Philocles, 322/1, when he directed his first play, not the *Orge*, but the some other play.

We might, in fact, be able to identify this first play. In 1902, E. Bethe suggested that the Terence play *Heauton Timorumenos* provides a clue to its Menander antecedent of the same name.¹⁴ Line 117 refers to the "king" in Asia; he can only be Alexander. In line 194 we find *patriam incolumem* - "homeland, safe and sound", which is unimaginable in Athens after the Lamian war. Bethe therefore argued that the play must have been composed by Menander prior to Alexander's death in 323, but, given the Eusebius, conceded that it was not performed until 322/1. Clark concluded that this was the play which Menander directed in 325/4. After all, says Clark, "we cannot suppose for a moment that Menander postponed the production of his play for two years out of a desire to polish it off carefully."¹⁵

If Bethe was correct, we might still ask why Menander waited at least two years

¹³ Clark, 'Menander', 316.

¹⁴ E. Bethe, 'Die Zeit des Heauton Timorumenos und des Kolax Menanders', *Hermes* 37 (1902), 278-282.

¹⁵ Clark, 'Menander', 322.

between writing and producing the play. The answer is two-fold: first, it was probably not a very good play and did not get selected over better competitors; secondly, Menander was busy becoming an ephebe. Let us say he wrote it in 324/3. He could not have directed it in the following year because it was his first year in the ephebeia and he was therefore not allowed to participate in civic functions. The only exceptions granted, as the *Ath. Pol.* clearly says (42.5), were in cases of estate, inherited priesthood, or the marriage of an heiress. Why, then, was he able to direct it in the second year of his ephebeia? I suggest that because the "Lamian War" had already lasted a year, there were probably few left in Athens who had written new plays or were available to direct them. Menander had his first play lying around and the needs of the Dionysia demanded that he be given permission to direct the thing, even though an ephebe. Also, when Athens went to war three of her ten tribal regiments had been sent to reinforce the frontier (Diod. 18.10.2, 11.3). Second year ephebes in the forts were superfluous. MacDowell has deduced from two speeches of Demosthenes (21.15 and 39.16-17) that chorus members could be exempt from military duty.¹⁶ This exemption would probably not ordinarily have applied to ephebe-poets, but these were not ordinary times.

It happens that Menander is not the only comic poet to have produced a play while he was an ephebe. *IGII² 2323a* is a didaskalic catalogue of the Dionysia dramatic contests. Under the year 312, it records a poet Ameinias receiving third place for his comedy *Apoleipouse* while an ephebe. It serves as a parallel to Menander's exemption and might have been inspired by it.

If my calculations about Menander are correct, and I think they must be, the ephebeia must have continued to operate throughout the Lamian War. This should not come as a surprise. Thucydides (2.13) tells us that the *neotatoi* were not required to campaign abroad (although they could perhaps volunteer).¹⁷ There seem to have been

¹⁶ D. MacDowell, 'Athenian Laws about Choruses', *Separata de SYMPOSION* (Valencia, 1982 [1985]), 70-72.

¹⁷ Voluntary service abroad: in the *Av.* (1360-69), the young bird, having just come of age, is invited to go fight on the Thracian coast, see p. 39 above.

some exceptions to this policy, such as Iphicrates' march to the relief of Sparta in 369 (Diod. 15.63.2) and perhaps again against Thebes in 366.¹⁸ But, as the scholiast to Aeschines 1.18 tells us, "they [Athenian citizens] went to war after reaching the age of twenty." The *ephebeia* of Menander and Epicurus, however, provides the only evidence that *ephebes* did not serve outside Attica in major wars.

This theory also means that if the *ephebeia* was indeed discontinued during Phocion's oligarchy, as I believe, Menander and Epicurus were among those *ephebes* in the final year group to complete the two-year Lycurgan programme. It means that they had completed their first-year garrison of the Peiraeus only days before the Macedonian troops under Menyllus marched into the harbour and garrisoned Munychia, and that the *ephebeia* was probably allowed to continue at least until the City Dionysia of 321, probably until the end of the archon year. Other evidence also suggests that the democratic framework of government remained in place for a time after the agreement with Antipater, not being replaced by an oligarchic one until the change of archons in the summer of 321.¹⁹

But what of Philippus? The charm of Clark's theory was that it served to explain the error in *IGXIV* 1184, and after all it had correctly dated the archon year. In answering this, I claim that we might be able to suggest an approximate time of year of Menander's birth and death: both fell in late summer or early autumn. If Menander was born in the archonship of Sosigenes (342/1), and if he indeed lived into his fifty-second year, he must have died in 291/0.

Now, the Hieronymus chronicle states that Menander died in the 33rd year of Ptolemy's reign, and it begins that reign in the year 324/3. Like *IGXIV* 1184, the Armenian version states that Menander died in the 32nd regnal year, but because it starts the reign in 323/2, it effectively agrees with its sister version that Menander died in 292/1.²⁰ The problem is that we do not know the time of year from which Ptolemy

¹⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1; Diod. 15.76.1; Aeschin. 3.8; Dem. 18.99.

¹⁹ Williams, *Athens without Democracy*, 117-118.

counted his ascension to the throne. Samuel claims to have worked this out and places it at the date of Alexander's death, but in doing so bases his arguments on the very inscription in question (*IGXIV* 1184), without mention of the obvious error involved.²¹ We otherwise have no idea when the Ptolemaic regnal year began. It could have been on Alexander's death (c. June 13th); whenever Ptolemy arrived in Egypt (sources vary from immediately after Alexander's death to "a year later");²² at the beginning of the Egyptian year (which fell on November 12th that year);²³ or at the beginning of the Macedonian year (sometime in the autumn). We also do not know whether Ptolemy counted the partial first year of his reign up to the new year as the first year, as the Pharaohs did, or whether he counted by anniversaries of the day of his accession (as his successors seem to have done). At any rate, the chronographers varyingly count Ptolemy's regnal years as from 324/3 or from 323/2. There are two traditions.

I prefer to think that Ptolemy counted his first year, up to 1 Thoth (June 323 - Nov. 323) and then started his second year (by one tradition, his first by the other).²⁴ An argument in favour of this is that when he was finally crowned (305/4), demotic documents and the Ptolemaic Canon counted this as his first year.²⁵ The crowning seems to have occurred around the Egyptian New Year and Samuel thinks a new year's coronation likely.²⁶ Even with two year numbers in Egypt at once (Ptolemaic Canon

²⁰ The two versions quite often differ from one another by a year (as with the year of Menander's first play), so these differences may not in fact be of much significance.

²¹ A. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (Munich, 1962), 15-19. Samuel's discussion at this point is fundamentally confused. He suggests that the difference between the two versions of Eusebius stems from a disagreement over the time of year (and thus the *archon* year of Menander's death) but he mentions neither their similar difference over Ptolemy's accession nor that they often disagree by a year.

²² Soon after Alexander's death: e.g. *FGrH* 239 B8; Curtius *Alex.* 10.10.9; later: e.g. Porphyry, *FGrH* 260 2, (2); *POxy.* 12.5.33-6 = *FGrH* 255.9; see Jacoby, *Marmor Parium*, 195.

²³ Having only 365 days per year, the Egyptian new year moved backwards one day every four years.

²⁴ Dinsmoor, *Archons*, 42.

²⁵ Ptolemaic Canon vs. retroactive regnal years: Samuel, *Chronology*, 4-11.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 11.

vs. retroactive dating), Egypt would probably not have maintained two different new-year days.²⁷

If this is the case, or if some other autumn date was the regnal new years day, and if Menander was born in the late summer, say July 342, and died fifty-one years plus a month or two later, say September 291, but possibly as late as Nov. 4 (1 Thoth in 291), he would have been born in the archonship of Sosigenes, lived into his 52nd year, and died in the 32nd year of Ptolemy's reign according to those who counted from 323/2 (such as Porphyry and Eus.Arm.) and the 33rd to those who count from 324/3 (such as Marmor Parium and Eus.Hier.). The source for *IGXIV* 1184 was Egyptian. He knew the Ptolemy year of Menander's death, and he knew the archon year of his birth. Since the 32nd year of Ptolemy and the archonship of Philippus largely overlapped, he naturally equated them. If, instead, he had bothered to count down a list of archons, he would have found that 52 years (inclusive) after Sosigenes, Menander died in the archonship of Charinus.

I propose a time-line for the life of Menander as follows:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 342/1 | Late summer (July?) (342): Menander born.
January (341): Epicurus born. |
| 324/3 | Menander writes the <i>Ἐαυτὸν Τιμωρούμενος</i> ?
Menander and Epicurus turn 18. |
| 323 | June: Alexander dies; Athenian mobilization begins. |
| 323/2 | Late summer: Menander and Epicurus enter the ephēbeia. |
| 322/1 | Menander, aged 19-20, is exempted from his second year of service.
April: City Dionysia; Menander's play performed. |
| 316/5 | Menander's first victory with the <i>Ὀργή</i> . |
| 292/1 | Archonship of Philippus (June-June). |
| 291 | early autumn (c. Aug?): Menander dies. |
| 292/1 | 32nd (/33rd) year of the reign of Ptolemy I Soter (Nov.-Nov.?). |

²⁷ Although a modern analogy to the calendar year vs. the fiscal year would demonstrate such a possibility.

CATALOGUE A

Ephobic Inscriptions earlier than 300 B.C.

Inscriptions not considered ephobic:

A. 421/0 The restoration of *IGI*² 84, line 31: [τὸς βοῦς ἐφέβος ἡοι], is anachronistic and has been changed to ἐ[πάνδρος αὐτός, ἡοι]: *IGI*³ 82, line 29.

B. 400-375 In *Τὸ Τερό τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος Μουνηχίας* (Thessalonike, 1983), 88, 231, no. ΕΠ 5, L. Palaiokrassa republished J. Threpsiades, *PAAH* (1935), 189:¹

ΣΤΟΙΧ. [-----]σαντι[-----]
[-----στ]εφάνωι [-----]
[-----] ἐν ὄπλου[ς -----]
[----- Τ]ιμόστρα[τος -----]
5 [-----] Δυσανδρίδ[ης -----]
[-----]εοφ[-----]
[-----] τι [-----]
[-----]πι[-----]

The date is based on letter forms. If the date is correct, I think it more likely that this is a decree honouring soldiers or generals. If ephobic, its date should be changed to fit with those of the securely dated ephobic decrees; see R. Stroud, *SEG* 39 (1989), 37.

C. The inscription published by Pritchett, *Hesperia* 16 (1947), 184, no. 91, is now known to be bouletic: *Hesperia* 35 (1966), 206; see *SEG* 23.63.

D. I do not include *IGII*² 2974 as ephobic because the relief on which it is found (Acropolis Museum 3012 + British Museum 813) depicts bearded men.²

¹ See *SEG* 39.110; I have incorporated R. Stroud's suggested changes.

² Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs*, 100-102, nos. 213 and 213a, dates this gymnasiarchal victory relief to the final decade of the fourth century.

New inscriptions or changes to inscriptions published since Reinmuth's collection in

The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C. (Leiden, 1971):

1. 334-322; *kosmetes* of Acamantis
F.W. Mitchel, *ZPE* 19 (1975), 233-243.
Changes the date of Reinmuth 1.
EM 13354, 13354a.

Reinmuth had assumed that the date of the second inscription on the stone *AE* 1965 (1967), 131-2 (*ed. pr.* Mitsos) was the same as that of the first (361/0). Mitchel's arguments against this assumption have been broadly accepted, and the date of the second inscription must revert to some time after 335/4.³

2. 334/3 Archon, Ctesicles; ephebes of Hippothontis.
F.W. Mitchel, *Ancient World* 9 (1984), 115-8.
Correction to Reinmuth 3 (= *IGII*² 1189), Eleusis 84.

Mitchel points out that the top of the stone survives and that the first few lines are therefore incorrectly restored.⁴ With Mitchel's corrections, the inscription reads:

ΣΤΟΙΧ. c.57 (lines 1-3); c.62 (lines 4+).

[οἱ ἔφηβοι τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος φυλῆς οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλ[έους ἄρχοντος καὶ ὁ σ]-
[ωφρονιστῆς στεφανωθέντες ὑ]πὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δ[ήμου τοῦ Ἐλευσινί]-
[ων Δῆμητρι καὶ Κόρει ἀνέθηκα]ν.

[Ἔδοξεν Ἐλευσινίοις ...⁸...εἴπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος ἔφηβοι καλ]-

5 [ὡς τῆς φυλακῆς Ἐλευσίνιος ἐπε]μελοῦντο καὶ ἐκόσ[μο]υν καὶ [πάντων

³ cf. Woodhead, *SEG* 23.78; D.M. Lewis, *CR* 23 (1973), 254; *contra* see Mitsos, *AE* 1975, 39; see pp. 25-26 above.

⁴ cf. D.M. Lewis, *CR* 23 (1973), 255.

ῶν οἱ νόμοι π]-

[ροσέταπτον αὐτοῖς ταχθέντες] Ἐλευσίην ἐπεμελοῦντο καὶ [τῶι σωφρονιστῆι π]-

[εἰσαρχῶντες, ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς δ]ημόταις ἐπαινέσαι αὐτοῖς κα[ὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐ]-

[τοὺς φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλευσινίων. ἐπ[αινέσαι

δὲ καὶ τὸ]-

[ν σωφρονιστὴν αὐτῶν....⁸....] ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας [τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον]

10 [καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάν]ωι καὶ ἀνειπεῖν αὐτὸν τῶι ἀγ[ῶνι ὅτι στεφανῶι]

[ὁ δῆμος⁸.... τραγιδῶν τ]ῶν [Δ]ιονυσίων καὶ καλείτω αὐ[τὸν ὁ δῆμαρχος κα]-

[θάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν τὴν προεδρίαν.....¹⁷.....]

[.....²⁵.....] νο[...⁷...]οισουσι[.....¹⁹.....]

Lines 6-7: Mitchel accepted Kirchner's (and Reinmuth's) restoration at the end of line 6 (and beginning of line 7 "with some hesitancy" because at the edge of the stone break after καὶ, he saw what appeared to be the lower tip of a slanting stroke which might have indicated a lambda or an alpha. I therefore suggest: καὶ [ἄλλα πάντα ἐποίου - / ν φιλοτίμωσ, ἐψηφίσθαι κτλ.; cf. Reinmuth 2, line 56.

3. 333/2 Archon, Nicocrates; ephebes of Cecropis.

K. Clinton, *AE* 127 (1988), 20-21.

Publishes Reinmuth 5.

Eleusis 1103.

Base of blue-gray marble (Hymettian) preserved on all sides (bottom rough-picked) with a rectangular cavity on top that measures 0.355m. by 0.275m. in section and 0.07m. deep. H: 0.29 m., W: 0.663 m., Th: 0.054 m. Letter height: 0.005-8 m. Because of cement deposits, the stone is difficult to read, and I underline rather than dot doubtful letters.

(The following two inscriptions are printed sideways to preserve columnar integrity.)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. [οἱ ἐφίηθαι οἱ τῆς Κεκροισιπίδος οἱ ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἀρχαῖος καὶ ὁ σ]-

52 ωφρονιστοῦς αὐτῶν Περικ[λήης] Περικλείδου] Πιεσὺς ἀνέθεσαν στεφί-

ανώσαντες χρυσῶν στεφάνων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῆς εἰ-

ς ἑαυτοῦς στρατηγῶν τοῦ Πειραιῶς Κόνωνα Τιμοθέου Ἀναφάντορον

5 καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Χάμῃ Σώφιλον Ἀριστοτέλους φυλάσσειν καὶ τὸν σω-

φρονιστὴν Πρωκλέα Περικλείδου Πιερέα καὶ τὸν Παξίωνα Σύνβ-

ουδων Εὐβούλου φάνα καὶ τοὺς δοξαγῶν θρόνον φημιαίου Ἀθ-

μινέα. Εὐβουλον Εὐβούλου φάνέα. Ἐπικράτην Ἀρχεδήμου Πιθίέα. Ἀτα-

ρβίωνα Τυννίου Διέωλέα. Στέφανον Δισμίδου Ἀδαέα, Ἀρωτ[όμ]ωχα

10 Δημοχάρους Μελίττα Σύωνα Θεοκλέους Ἀθμονέα καὶ τοὺς διδασκ-

άτους Χαυρόστρατον Πάλληνα, Ἀγαθάνορα Συρακούων *vacat*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

vacat *vacat* *vacat* Ἀδαεῖης

[Τ] ῶθης Διέωνης Μενελάης Μένωνος Στέφανος Αἰσμηίδου

Ἐπικράτης Ἀρχεδήμου Ἀταρβείων Τυννίου Τρινημῆς Σωκράτης Σθενοκράτους

Ἀρχίας θρασύαλον Κυδάλιας Δελνοκράτους Θουλένης Φιλοκλέους Στήσαχος Νικομάχου

15 Ἀπολλοφῶν Ἀπολλοφῶν Πονοκράτης Φωλίου φάνης Ἡδύατος Ἀρύωνος

Εὐφράνηρ Εὐβούτικου	δημήτριος Εὐκάδεος	Σύνβουλος Εὐβούλου	Βρύων Ἀρπύριος
['A] p χ ν ο ς Παντακλέους	Κλεόστρατος Κλεόφωτον	Εὐβούλος Εὐβούλου	'Apeσtί]as 'Atpαpβίδου
[. .] α ρ χ ο ς Βιότρου	Δίφιλος Νεωσιχάρου[ς]	Φαι[δρ]ίας] 'P[ε]ο]δωλος	Σωκράτης Σωτήριου
['Aθμ] ο ν η ς	Φιλήρατος Πανκαλίστου	Φιλ[δ]ί[ε]ημος Νικομάχου	'Eπύγoνoρ Διδώδρου
20 θράς] υμτος Φρυναίου	Συμεταίονες	Φειδόστρατος' Αμεινοκλέους	Εὐβου[λο]ς Φιλοκλέους
[Σίμ] ω ν Βεοκλέους	Ιψόστρατος Μέλωτος	Τημωνίδης' Αθηνοκλέους	'Eπικράτης Σημάδου
[.] τράτος Μησημάχου	'Ηγίας' Αγαταίου	'Αρχέδικος' Αρχεδίκου	Μ[.]αι[.]ος' Iεροφώντρου
[. c. 9] Δυκίτσου	Χί[.]ωνίδης' Eπειώτου	Μελλίτης	Καλλινάδης Καλλίου
[. c. 13] χ	[- - - - -]	'Αριστόμα[χ]ος Δημοχάρου	Φιλόστρατος Νικοβούλου
		Εὐβούσιμος' Eπικράτους	Σωκράτης Εὐκράτους
		[.] . NE . [- - - - -]	Εὐθύμων Εὐκάδεος
		[- - - - - ? - - - - -]	Δύσιρ Iω[.] - - - - -]
			Καλλί[.]το]π[.]ατος - - - - -]
			[- - - - -]
			[- - - - - ? - - - - -]

Right Face:

ὁ δῆμος

ἡ βουλή

ἡ φυλή

Ἐκείνου[.]του

Ἐαυτοῦ[.]τοι

	Σόλων Ἄγρυπθθεν	Κίμων Περγασῆ	Τελένικος Περγασ	Θεόφιλος Ἄγυαλυγρά
10	Πυθοκλῆς Ααπτρε	Τυμοκράτης Κηφι	Εἰβων Ἄγρυπθθεν	Ἄγωννίδης Κηφιοι
	Δημοκρίτης Περγα	Σωσίβκις Εύωνυμ	Φιάυμιος Ἄνεγυρά	Φιλόστρατος Ααμ
	Δικαιοκράτης Περ	Διοκλῆς Ααπτρε	Φιλόδημος Ααπττ	Κάλλυπτος Ααπττ
	Χαρυναύτης Ααν	Ἴεβων Ααπτρε	Ἄντιφῆμος Περγασ	Γλαύκος Εύωνυ
	Φιλήμων Ἄγρυπθ	Πολυκράτης Εύων	Ἄντιφάνης Κηφιοι	Νικόδημος Εύω
15	Ἀρυστοκλῆς Ααπτ	Ξενοφῶν Ααπττ	Φιλόνεως Περγασθ	Φιλωνίδης Εύων
	Φιλοχάρης Ἄναγνυ	Ἐπικράτης Εύων	Νικίας Κηφισιεύς	Κηφισογένης Κηφ
		[Διον]εΐθης Ααμ	Φανορέλης Εύων	Πολυμήθης Ααπττ

Line 7, Col. I: One of the names which should probably be restored in the two erasures is Chairephilos of Pergase, who appears in A5 below (line 4) but does not appear above. Lewis and Palagia ('Erethets', 334), in fact, felt that one could read the name in Col. I, line 7, without "a very strong imagination."

Line 8, Col. I: *IGII² 3105*: Ααπττρ; Reimnuth: Αανπτρ. I follow Kirchner, but have not seen the stone.

Line 13, Col II: *IGII² 3105*: Ααμπττρε; Reimnuth: Ααμπττρε. I assume the latter is a typographical error.

Line 17, Col. II: I have restored [Διον]εΐθης to match Lewis' restoration of the corresponding [Διονεΐθης] in A5.20.

Petrakos' find confirms that the decree is ephebic, something about which Reinmuth was unsure. Pélékidis had rejected it.⁵ NM 313 (Fig. B) has been interpreted both as a male and a female deity. Hermes: B. Stais (*ed.pr.*), *AE* 1891, 58; a female representation of the tribe: Poullieux (111); a priestess or attendant of Rhamnousian Nemesis: Reinmuth, *Inscriptions*, 52.

The occasion of the torch-races was most likely the Nemesia. Palagia points out that the clothing - the *chiton* and *chlamys* - is distinctly male (and ephebic). She suggests that they may represent Hermes, an ephebe, or the eponymous hero of the age group. It may also be the eponymous hero of the tribe. In any event, the four "herms" might represent a traditional style of ephebic anathemata. Palagia also provides further examples of "ephebic" victory reliefs.

5. 333/2 Archon, Nicocrates; ephebes of Erechtheis.
 D.M. Lewis and O. Palagia, *BSA* 84 (1989), 334-5.
 Identification and additions to *IGII²* 2401.
EM 4112.

Fragment of Hymettian marble; findspot unknown.
 H: 0.25m.; W: 0.11m.; Th: 0.09m.; Letter height: 0.005-6m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.	[- - - ο]υ	- - - - -
		Περγασε[ῖς καθύπε(ρθε)]
		Ἄλκιμαχίδης Α - - - -
		Χαιρέφιλος Ν - - - - -
5		Φιλόνεως Φίλος -
		Κίμων Κίμωνος
		Τελένικος Τελε -

⁵ Reinmuth, *Inscription*, 53; Pélékides, *Histoire*, 119, n. 1.

	Περγασεῖς ὑπέ(νερθε)
	Χαρικλῆς Ἄλεξ[ιμένου]
10	Ἄριστίων Ἄριστονί[κου]
	Δικαιοκράτης Εὐμ –
	[Δ]ημοκρίνης Δημοκρ –
	Ἄντίφημος Θερσίου
	Ἄγακλῆς Πασικλεί(δου)
15	[Λα]μπτεῖς [καθ]ύπε(ρθε)
	Ἰέρων Λυσίου
	Ξενοφῶν Θεοδότου
	[Φί]λων Θεοδώρου
	[Φ]ιλδό[τημος] Φρύωννο[ς?]
20	[Διοπεί]θης Διοπεΐθου
	[Διοκλ]ῆς Διοκλείδου
	[Χα]ρινάυτης Χαριζένο[υ]
	[Κάλλ]ιππος [Δ]ιοπε –
	– – – – – 0

The names on this list were restored through comparison with 4, above. It catalogues the same set of ephebes (Erechtheis, 333/2). A gymnasiarch of 4.4, Charicles Aleximenou of Lower Pergase, is listed at 5.9, thus suggesting that, like the *lochagoi* and *taxiarchs*, the gymnasiarchs were also themselves ephebes, but there may be reason for caution. See pp. 15-16 above.

6. 332/1 Archon, Nicocles; ephebes of Hippothontis.

M. Munn, unpublished.⁶

SEG 38.67.

⁶ cf. *Epeiteris: Etaireia Boiotikon Meleton* I (1988) 366; *Newsletter of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, No. 27 (Spring, 1991), 14.

Found at Panactum in 1991; the description has not yet been published. What follows is based upon a preliminary transcription.

[Ἴπποθω]ντίδος [ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ --] κ [----]

[ἄρχο]ντος Διός [κο]ύροις ἀ[νέ]θε[σαν]

[corona] [corona] [corona] [corona] [corona?]

[----]ον σωφρονιστήν κοσμητήν ταξίαρχο[ν]

[----]ν Ἴσωκράτην Κτησικλήν Πολυ[----]

5 [----]ο[-] Παλληνέα Κόπρειον Πειραιέ[α]

vacat?

Ἄριστο[---- -----]

Πυθοκτ[---- -----]

[corona?] [corona?] [corona] Γέρων Ἐλ[-----]

λοχαγ[ό]ν Δημοκράτ[ης -----]

10 Ξενοφάν[την] Θεόξενος Ἐρο[ιάδης]

Ἐλευσί[νιον] Μησιθείος Κόπ[ρειος]

Κιμή[σιας] Δεκε[λειεύς]

Ἐυφάν[ης] Πειρα[ιεύς]

[column?] [-----]ος ?Δαμονας Ἐλευσί[νιος]

15 [-----] Ἀζηνιεύς Ἀντιφών Πειρα[ιεύς]

[-----]ιμος Ἀχερδούσιος Ἐυφρόνιος Οἰναῖος

[-----]ς Πειραιεύς Ναυχαρίδης Ἐλ[-----]

[-----]να[ς] Δεκελειεύς

[-----]νιος

20 [-----] Ἐλευσί[νιος]

No commentary has yet been written, and I do not know whether the stone is a stele

or a base, nor whether the unusual format of the columns is an accurate reflection of the stone.

The mention of a *sophronistes* indicates that this is fourth century. The find location implies a date of 334/2 - 322. If the kappa in line 1 is correct, then the only two archons of this time span that could be restored are Nicocrates and Nicetes. The *kosmetes* of the archonship of Nicocrates is known to be [.....] Ainesistratoi Acharneus (Reinmuth 9, Col. II, line 13; cf. 8, line 11). We should therefore restore Nicetes in line 1 and fix a tentative date at 332/1.

Ephebic inscriptions are scrupulous about protocol. The only officer that could have been honoured beneath the first wreath would have been the *strategos* of the countryside. The fifth, sixth, and seventh wreaths, if they existed, would have honoured additional ephebic lochagoi.

7. 332/1? Archon, Nicetes?; ephebes of Cecropis.

J.S. Traill, *Demos and Trittys* (Toronto, 1986), 3-5

Agora 990 + 2301 + 2259 + 7479 (*Hesperia* 47 [1978], 278-80, no. 7) + 929 (Agora XV, no.73b) + 431 (*Hesperia* 3 [1934], 61, no. 50) + 6954 (*Hesperia* 33 [1964], 201-2); cf. *SEG* 36.155.

Seven pieces of Hymettian marble that are part of a two-block base.

For a description of find locations and state of stones, see Traill.

<i>a</i> :	H: 0.150 m.	W: 0.200 m.	Th: 0.090 m.	LH: 0.006-7 m.
<i>b</i> :	H: 0.097 m.	W: 0.185 m.	Th: 0.323 m.	LH: 0.006 m.
<i>c</i> :	H: 0.130 m.	W: 0.160 m.	Th: 0.281 m.	LH: 0.006 m.
<i>d</i> :	H: 0.157 m.	W: 0.205 m.	Th: 0.152 m.	LH: 0.005-7 m.
<i>e</i> :	H: 0.130 m.	W: 0.135 m.	Th: 0.100 m.	LH: 0.006 m.
<i>f</i> :	H: 0.140 m.	W: 0.210 m.	Th: 0.150 m.	LH: 0.006 m.
<i>g</i> :	H: 0.410 m.	W: 1.198 m.	Th: 0.578 m.	LH: 0.006 m.

Face (Decree), Upper Block:

ΣΤΟΙΧ. [-----]
c.90 -----]σθα[ι]
[-----]
-----] κυρίαν εἶναι
[-----]
----- ἀνάλ?ωμα τ[ὸ] παρὰ [...]
[-----]
----- οἱ φυλ]έται ἐπήφ[ισαν ν]
5 [-----]
----- πειθαρχοῦσιν?] αὐτῶν· ἐπ[αινε]σαι ν
[δὲ καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς? τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς τοὺς ἐπὶ ---
ἄρχοντος καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐ]τῶν [χρ]υσῶνι στε-
[φάνωι ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων? δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπι-
μελείας εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἵνα ἅπαντες εἰδῶσιν] ὅτι [έ]πίσταται
[τῆ φυλῆ χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι κατ' ἀξίαν -----
----- τ]ῆς χώρας νν
vacat to bottom of block

Lower Block: uninscribed

Right Side (Register), Upper Block:

NON-	[Ἀλαιεῖς]	[Ἀθμονεῖς]
ΣΤΟΙΧ.	<i>lacuna(?)</i>	<i>lacuna(?)</i>
10	[-----]	Τει[-----]
	[----- ο]υ	Μνη[-----]
	[-----]ου	Εὐφ[ρό]νιος [-----]

	[-----]του	'Αρι[σ]τώνυμο[ς -----]
	[-----]νος	Αὐτ[ο]μένης [-----]
15	[-----]δόκου	Αἰ[σχ]ραῖος Χ[-----]
	[-----]ιάδου	Θε[όξ]ενος Μελ[-----]
	[-----] Φκα>ιδρίου	<i>vacat</i>
	[-----]ς Φυρομάχου	<i>vacat</i>
	[-----]ν Ἐφαιστοκλέου	[Φ]λυε[ῖς]
20	[-----]σιος Εὐφραίου	[. . .]κλείδη[ς . . .]εἰ[-----]
	[-----]ς [[. . .]ιος] Θεοφίλου	[Ἄρι]μνηστ[ο]ς Ἄριμ[ν]ήστου]
	[Αἰξ]ωνεῖς	[. . .]ελος Κηφισο[δύρου?]
	[-----]ς Φ[-----]	[Νι]κήρατος Εὐβ[ούλου]
	[-----]	'Απήμαντος Ἄπημ[άντου]
25	[-----]	Πολύστρατος Πολυ[στράτου]
	[. .]ι[.]θ[. .]ιος [-----]	'Ανθεμίων Ἄντιλ[όχου]
	Ἐκφ[α]ν[τ]ος [-----]	'Αρχέδιχος Ἄρχε[δύχου]
	Καλλιῶς [-----]	'Α[-----]
	[Ἐ]ργ[ο -----]	[<i>vacat?</i>]
30	[-----]	[<i>vacat?</i>]
	Λυσ[-----]	[Πιθεῖς] ?
	[. .]π[-----]	[-----] (?)
	[-----]θου	[-----] (?)
	Κ[-----]ράτου	[-----] (?)
35	Ε[-----] Μεταλ[ήξι]δος	[-----] (?)
	Ν[-----]οκλέους	[<i>vacat?</i>]
	[[Σ[-----]] -----] Σωσ[. . .]μο[υ]	[<i>vacat?</i>]
	<i>vacat</i>	'Ἐπριεϊκίδαι] ?
	<i>vacat</i>	[-----] (?)
40	<i>vacat</i>	[<i>vacat?</i>]

Right Side, Lower Block:

	[Τρινεμεεῖς] ?	[<i>vacat</i>]
	[- - - - -]ου	<i>vacat</i>
	[- - - -]ο[δ]ώρο[υ]	<i>vacat</i>
		<i>vacat</i>
45		Μελιτεῖς
		Κηφισοφῶν Πυθοδώρου
		Παυσανίας Χαριδήμου
	<i>vacat of</i>	Ἴερώνυμος Ἴερωνύμου
	<i>ten lines</i>	Ἄριστόμαχος Δημοχάρου
50		Δημοχάρης Δημοχάρου
		Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρο[υ]
		Πυθόδωρος Ἄγωνίππου
		Εὐφήμος Θάλλου
	Συμπαλήττιοι	Ἥγησιππος Θάλλου
55	[Ε]ὐθύβουλος Διογένους	<i>vacat</i>
	<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>
	<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>
	<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>
	Δαιδαλίδαι	Ξυπεταιόνες
60	<i>vacat c. 0.13 m.</i>	Ἄσωπόδωρος [Ἴ]σχομάχου
	<i>to bottom</i>	Ἴσχύμαχος Ἄριστομάχου
		Λυσικράτης Χιωνίδου
		Μεναῖος Θεουδότου ἐκ Κοίλης ⁷
		<i>vacat c. 0.085 m.</i>
		<i>to bottom</i>

⁷ *lapis* ΘΟΥΔΩΤΟΥ.

Traill, page 12, has suggested that Menaios Thoudotou ek Koiles (Col. II, line 63) is an ephebic supernumerary, as he is from the deme of Coile in the tribe of Hippothontis - perhaps even the *strategos* of the countryside. If this decree dates to 332/1, the "general's" name and demotic would not fit beneath the first wreath in 6, above.

On brothers: Traill, 13: "The accumulated data suggest to me that brothers may indeed be listed in the same text *honoris familiaeque causa*, that, for the same or similar reasons, an ephebe may rarely be repeated in his following year, and that the new ephebic inscription, accordingly, belongs to the year 332/1 B.C."

Total ephebes listed: 58. Total in all: 65.

8. 332/1 Archon, Nicetes; ephebes of Pandionis.

B.C. Petrakos, *PAE* 1982 [1984], 161, no. 6.⁸

Refers to Reinmuth 10.

EM 4211.

Petrakos reports that two fragments recently discovered in the earth excavated by Pouilloux join Reinmuth 10. He does not publish or indicate any new readings, but does confirm Rhamnous as the find spot. Petrakos also points out that the marble is not Hymettian, but local, and that the stone is not a stele, but rather a base with a cutting in top which might have supported a herm: 0.115m. x 0.165m., 0.04m. deep.

9. 331/0 Archon, Aristophanes; ephebes of Aigeis.

B.C. Petrakos, *PRAKTIKA Eighth Congress* 1.336.

Fragments added to *IGII²* 1181; *SEG* 34.151.

EM 4218.

⁸ See *SEG* 34.150.

The fragments of Pentelic marble were found in Rhamnous and demonstrate that the stone comes from there and not Sounion (as stated in *IG*). The monument was part of a base, and as the new decree makes clear, was ephebic. Line 5, included by Kirchner, is not added by Petrakos.

NON- Οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Αἰγῆίδ[ο]ς οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφάνους ἄρχον-
 ΣΤΟΙΧ. [τος] καὶ ὁ σωφρονιστῆ[ς τοῦ]των θαρρίας θαρριάδου
 [Ἐρχιεύς -----] ἔθυσεν ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτη-
 [ρίαι -----]νιδο[. . . . τ]οῦ δήμου.
 5 ----- ΕΞΑ . . .

10. 4th cent?

J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 94 (1970), 919.

Correction to E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 3 (1970), 19.

Part of a stone base found in Marathon (and torch with relief of *lampadephoroi*).

H: 0.81m.; W: 0.43m.; Th: 0.34m.

Οὔδε ἀνέθεσαν Σ - - -
 ωνος παιδοτριβοῦν[τος]
 Μοσχίων Κλεομέδ[ων]
 Πείσων - - - - -
 5 Οὐλιάδη[ς] - - - - -

Line 4: G. Daux reads Πείσων (op.cit., 607); *ed.pr.*: Γείσων.

Mastrokostas suggests a date in the fourth century ("τοῦ 4ου αἰ."), presumably on the basis of lettering, and assumes it to be ephebic. No ephebic inscriptions dating

after 322 B.C. have been found on the frontiers of Attica, which would lend support to the dating. If it is ephebic, it is the only evidence of activity at Marathon. On the same page, Mastrokostas mentions part of a marble torch found nearby on which there was apparently carved a relief of torch-runners. Although this could be a monument commemorating pre-ephebic *lampadephoroi*, evidence of similar *lampadephoroi* monuments, known to be ephebic, indicates that this too could be ephebic and date to the period 334/3 to 323/2 B.C.⁹

11. 4th cent?

B.C. Petrakos, *ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΩΡΩΠΟΥ* (Athens, 1980), 26, no. 12.

SEG 31.435.

Fragment of the top of a base, with an indentation to support a statue or tripod, found at the Amphiareum in Oropus. H: 0.44m.; W: 0.165m.; Th: 0.105m. Letter height: 0.014m.

Οἱ ἐφηβ[εύσαντες?]

Petrakos supposes that this is part of a base to a monument erected by Athenian ephebes during the 4th century. For reasons similar to those of the dating of 10, I find this likely. It is the second ephebic inscription to be found in Oropus.¹⁰ Ephebes probably garrisoned Oropus, a newly regained border area, and the inscription could simply commemorate their service there. Alternately, this could reflect ephebic participation in the penteteric festival the Amphiaireia.¹¹ This inscription, then, could date from the years 333/2, 329/8 or 325/4.

⁹ See pp. 19-20.

¹⁰ The other is Reinmuth 15.

¹¹ *SIG*³ 298 = *JGVII* 4254.

12. 4th cent?

IGII² 3212

EM 4119

Fragment of Hymettian marble, found near the Propyleia. Remains of a wreath around the inscription survive. H: 0.22m.; W: 0.25m.; Th: 0.20m. Letter height: 0.006m.

in corona

τοὺς κοσμη[ητὰς]

Νικόφημ[ον]

Τηλοκλ[έους]

Φιλίσκ[ον]

5 Εὐηγέ[του]

vacat

The restorations in lines 3 and 5 are Koehler's. Kirchner: line 3: Τηλοκλ[έα]; line 5: Εὐηγέ[την] in the *IG*, but he accepts Koehler in *PA*. When Kirchner published this he accepted a 3rd century date. Although I have not examined the lettering, I have included it among the fourth century inscriptions because it appears to honour at least two *kosmetai*. It is now believed that a set of ephebic officials were elected for each year group, so that there were two *kosmetai* per year. During the third century the ephebeia was a one year programme, so there was only one *kosmetes* during any given year. I therefore suggest, if letter forms permit, that this stone might date to the fourth century ephebeia, and honour both *kosmetai* of that year. It is possible, however, that it belongs to a decree which honours the officers from more than just one year (as Reinmuth 11), in which case it could be a (unique) 3rd century decree.

13. 4th cent.

B.C. Petrakos, *PAE* 1990 [1993], 29, no. 12.

A "Hermaic" base or "square stele" of Pentelic marble found at Rhamnous south of Tower C of the south gate. There is an incision in the top of the base as well as a Pi-shaped incision in the right-hand face, indicating a join with an adjacent base. The top and bottom of the inscription do not survive. H: 0.76 m., W: 0.22 m., Th: 0.185 m., Letter height: 0.012 m.

ἐφῆ[β - -]

[- -] υος

14. 332/1 Archon, Nicetes; ephebes of Oineis.

B.C. Petrakos, unpublished anathema.

Reported in *ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ* 40 (1993) [1994], 7.

Unpublished.

CATALOGUE B

Ephebic Inscriptions of 300-166 B.C.

1. 300/299 Archon, Hegemachus.
B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32 (1963), 4-5
= *Hesperia* 4 (1935), 247-8 = *IGII*² 585.

Fragment of Pentelic stele. In National Museum. H: 0.17 m., W: 0.15 m., Th: 0.055 m. Letter height: 0.006 m. The [ῆς], δρ, [ια], and εν in lines 1, 3, 6, and 8, respectively, occupy the space of one letter.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 [ἐφ' Ἡγεμάχου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς]
[. . . ντίδος ἐνδεκάτης πρ]υτα[ν]-
[είας ἦι¹²]σάνδρου
[.⁹ . . . ἔγραμμ]άτευεν· θαρ-
5 [γηλιῶνος δευτέρ]αι μετ' εἰκάδ-
[ας, τριακοστῆι τῆς] πρυτανείας·
[ἐκκλησία· τῶν προέ]δρων ἐπεψή-
[φιζεν¹⁰ . . .]ς κεφαλῆθεν·
[καὶ συμπρόεδροι· φι]λέας φιλο-
10 [ναύτου Παλληνεὺς εἶ]πεν· ἔπει-
[σθῆ⁸ . . . ὁ παιδοτ]ρίβης εὐ-
[τάκτως⁸ . . . τῶι δ]ήμῳ τ[.]

Date: Meritt, 4, based on availability of an "open" year for the otherwise unattested secretary and contemporary activity of Phileas (*IGII*² 554). Osborne (*Naturalization* II, 142) suggests 297/6 as an alternative, but concedes that it is unlikely to date from the tyranny of Lachares: no other decrees from the tyranny have been found.

2. 282/1 Archon, Nicias (II).

IGII² 3210.

EM 8994

Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble found on the southern slope of the Acropolis. Broken on the top and right. H: 0.38 m., W: 0.24 m., Th: 0.14 m. Letter height: lines 1-3, 5: 0.007 m., line 4: 0.009 m.

in corona

ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐπὶ Νικίου

τοὺς ἐφήβους

καὶ τὸν κοσμητὴν

ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δημαγέν[ους - - -]

vac. 0.07

5 Καλλικράτης Θεοφίλ[ου - - -]

vac. 0.10

In theory, this could date to any one of the three archons named Nicias in the first half of the century. That it should be Nicias II is the belief of Pélékides, *Histoire*, 250, n. 1, and one with which I agree. The majority of the year of Nicias I was spent in the final stages of the tyranny of Lachares. A decree from the year of Nicias III (Otryneus) survives in very complete form (**B6**), with no mention of Callicrates, son of Theophil[os...].

The dates of inscriptions **B3** - **5** are dubious. Traill, p. 200, dated no. **3** to before 266 on the basis that Nicocles of Lamptrae, in line 11 (*sc.*) with unknown patronymic, is identical with the Nicocles, son of Apollodorus, of Lamptrae who appears as treasurer for the prytaneis of Erechtheis during the archonship of Eubulus

(c.358/7) - *Agora* 15, no. 86, lines 23, 84-87, and 92-96. Reinmuth, *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 9, dates no. 4 to the beginning of the 3rd century without comment. Meritt, *Hesperia* 9 (1940), 79-80, feels that a date early in the century for no. 5 is probable if Euergetes of Coile is the son of Epigenes, son of Euergetes, of Coile (P.A. 4804), "who flourished late in the fourth century." In no case can we be positive that these list ephebes, though that is most likely to be the case. In any event, the two lists of whose dates we can be sure, and which bracket this period (Reinmuth 17 and my **B6**) both list ephebes under separate demotic rubrics. If we can suppose this to reflect a standard format, then 3 - 5, if ephebic, should date to some time after 266/5, when demotics follow patronymics instead. For purposes of this compilation, I retain the dating of the original editors.

3. Beginning, 3d cent.

J. Traill, *Hesperia* 51 (1982), 198-201, no. 1.

a. I 7201 + b. I 7196

a. Found 16 July 1970 in Late Roman context along the Panathenaic Way (Area J/6-4/16). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken at the top, bottom, and right side but preserving part of the original toothed left side and rough-picked back.

H: 0.27 m., W: 0.25 m., Th: 0.151 m. Letter height: 0.006 m. (with exceptions).

b. Found 15 July 1970 built into a Byzantine Wall (Area J 5). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken at the top, bottom, left and right sides, and at the back.

H: 0.13 m., W: 0.18m., Th: 0.03m. Letter height: 0.006 m.¹

Column I

[['Αντιγονίδος]]

lacuna

[[Δημητριάδος]]

Column II

lost

¹ Traill has 0.06 m.: *sc. err.*

lacuna

- I 7201 X[- - - - - - -]
Ἀθηνο[- - - - -]
5 Κόνων Ἀ[τηνεύς ?]
Δημήτριος[- - -]
Ἐρεχθε[ίδος]
Διοσκουρίδης [Εὐωνυμεύς ?]
Νικόφημος Κηφισι[εύς]
10 Θε[όδ]ωρος Κηφισ[ιεύς]
Νικοκλήης Λαμπ[τρεύς]
Δινίας Εὐων[υμεύς]
Αἰγείδ[ος]
Μείδων Ἐρ[χιεύς] *or* Ἐρ[ικειεύς]
15 Ἐπικλή[ς]- - - -]
Φιλοξε[ν]- - - -]
Νικαχ[όρας] Ἐρ[χιεύς ?]
Ὅμη[ρος]- - - -]
[Πανδιονίδος]
20 Α[- - - - - - -]

lacuna

[Λεωντίδης]

lacuna

- I 7196 [- -5-6- -]μ. [- - - -]
[- ^{3.5} -]κλήης Σ[ουნიεύς] *or* Σ[καμβωνίδης]
[. .κ]ράτης Κή[ττιος]
25 [Δη]μόδοκος Ποτ[άμιος]
[Διο ?]φ[άνης] Σουν[ιεύς]

vacat

corona

lacuna

Column II would have listed the ephebes of the final six tribes, Acamantis to Antiochis. No patronymics are listed; this may not be ephebic. The list contained about 60 names.

4. Beginning, 3d cent.

O.W. Reinmuth, *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 8-9, no. 2.

I 1034

Found 29 June 1933 in late Roman filling near north side of the Market Square (K 6). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides. H: 0.075 m., W: 0.075 m., Th: 0.015 m. Letter height: 0.004 - 0.005 m.

[[Κεκροπίδος]]

lacuna

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [- - - - -] λον 'Αλ[αιεύς]

[Πποθω]ντίδος

[- - - - -]ωνος 'Αμα[ξαντεύς]

[- - - - -]-δημητρίου Πει[ραιεύς]

5 [- - - - -]-δημετρίου [- - - - -]

[- - - - -] Νίκωνος 'Ελε[υσίνιος]

[Αίαντίδ]ος

5. Beginning, 3c.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 9 (1940), 79-80, no. 12.

I 4320.

Fragment from a base of Hymettian marble found 4 November 1936 in the wall of a modern house in Section X. Part of the bottom, face, and left side are preserved, as is the lower part of a wreath on the left lateral face. H: 0.19 m., W: 0.201 m., Th: 0.278 m. Letter height: 0.007 m.

	- - - - -	- - - - -
	[Δημητριάδος]	- - - - -
	- - - - -	- - - - -
		<i>lacuna</i>
5	- - - - -	- - - - -
	Ε[ύρι]κλήης Ἄτη	- - - - -
	Εὐεργέτης ἐκ Κο	- - - - -
	Τερώνυμος Πόρι	Ι - - - - -
	Πανάγης Μελιτ	Λυσίο[τρατος - - -]
10	Ἐρεχθεΐδος	Ἀντιφάτ[ης - - -]
	Ἐρικο[.]ς Ἄγρυλ	Χαιρέστ[ρατος - - -]
	- - - - -	- - - - -

The lettering is 3rd century. Early in that century is suggested by Meritt, if Euergetes from Coile, line 7, may be identified as the son of Ἐπιγένης Εὐεργέτου ἐκ Κοίλης (PA4804) who flourished late in the fourth century. Pélékides (*Histoire*, 182, n. 2) prefers a later date.

6. 266/5. Archon, Nikias (Otryneus).²
 S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988), 306-7.
*IGII*² 665 + *Hesperia* 30 [1961], 9 (= I 3370) + I 6801.

² For archon dates 269/8-228/7, I use Scheme A, M.J. Osborne, *ZPE* 78 (1989), 241.

Fourteen fragments of Pentelic marble, found in the Agora. Joined H: 1.415 m., W: 0.48. Letter height: 0.006 m.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 46

[ἐπὶ] Νικίου ἄρχοντος [Ὀτρυνέ]ως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος τρίτ-
[ης] πρυτανείας ἦν Ἴσο[κρά]της Ἴσοκράτου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ἔγρα-
[μμ]άτευεν· Βοηδρομιῶ[νος ἔκ]τει μετ' εἰκάδας, ἔκτει καὶ εἰκ-
[οσ]τεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλήσια· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισε-
5 [ν Λ]εωκράτης Λεωστρά[του Οἰ]ν[αῖ]ος καὶ συμπρόεδροι ὕ[ψ]δοξ-
[εν] τεῖ βουλευὶ καὶ τῶι [δήμωι]᾽᾽ . . .5 . . .στρατος Μυνίσκου Περ-
[γα]σῆθεν εἴπεν· ἐπειδ[ὴ οἱ ἔ]φηβ[οι οἱ ἐ]φηβεύσαντες ἐπὶ Μεν-
[εκ]λέους ἄρχοντος πολέμο[ν] κα[τέ]χοντος τὴν πόλιν διέμει-
[ναν] πάντες εὐτακτοῦντας καὶ [πε]ιθόμενοι τοῖς τε νόμο[ις]
10 [καὶ] τῶι κοσμητῆ[ι] καὶ [διετέ]λε[σα]ν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰς τε [φυλ]-
[ακ]ὰς λειτου[ρ]γοῦντες κ[αὶ] τὰ ἄ[λλα] τὰ παραγγελόμενα ὑπὸ
[τοῦ σ]τρατηγοῦ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Μου[σ]είου φυλακὴν, καθάπερ ἐτά-
[χθη]σαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· ὅπως ἂν [οἴ]ν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ δ-
[ιαμείν]α[ν]τες τε[τ]ίμηνται κα[τὰ] τ[ὴν] ἀξίαν, τιμηθῶσι καὶ οὔ-
15 [τοι]· ὕ[ψ]δοξῃ τύχηι δεδόχθαι [τῆι] βουλῆι ὕ[ψ]δοξοὺς προέδρους
[οἱ] ἂν προεδρ[ε]ύωσιν εἰς τὴν [ἐπι]οῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν προσαγα-
[γείν] τὸν κο[σ]μητὴν μετὰ τὰ ἱε[ρὰ] καὶ χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτ-
[ων, γνώμη]ν δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι [τῆς] βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι δ-
[οκεῖ] τῆι βουλῆι, ὕ[ψ]δοξοῖς τοῖς ἐφήβοις τοὺς ἐφηβεύσα-
20 [ντας] ἐπὶ Με[νεκ]λέους ἄρχον[τος] καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρ-
[υσῶνι] στ[εφάνωι] κατὰ τὸν νόμ[ον] εὐ[τά]ξιαν ἕνεκεν καὶ φιλοτ-
[ιμί]ας, ἣν [ἔ]χοντες διατελοῦσιν π[ρὸς] τὸν δῆμον· ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐ-
[τοῖς] καὶ προεδρία[ν] ἐν τοῖς [ἀγῶσι]ν οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθησιν· ᾽᾽
[ἐπ]αινέσαι [δὲ] καὶ τ[ὸν] κοσμητὴν αὐ[τῶν] ὕ[ψ]δοξοῖς Ἀμεινίαν Ἀντιφάν-

- 25 [ου] Κηφισιέα· [Ἐπαιν]έσαι [δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην Ἐρμόδωρ-
 [ον] Ἐορτίου Ἀ[χαρνέα ἦ καὶ τὸν ἄκον]τιστὴν Φιλόθεον Στρατ-
 [ίον] Λαμπτρέα [ἦ καὶ τὸν καταπ]αλ[τα]φέτην Μνησίθεον Μνησι-
 [θέου] Κόπρειον [ἦ καὶ τὸν γρ]αμματ[έ]α Ἐρμογένην καὶ τὸν το-
 [ξό]την Σῶνδρον [Κρήτα ἦ καὶ] στεφ[αν]ῶσαι αὐτοὺς θαλλοῦ στε-
 30 [φά]νωι εὐταξίας ἔ[νεκα καὶ] ἐπιμελείας ἦν ἔχοντες διατελ-
 [οῦ]σιν περὶ τοὺς ἐφή[βους]. Ἡ ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τ[ὸ] ψήφισμα τ-
 [ὸν] γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρ[ο]υτανείαν [έ]ν στήλῃ [λιθί]νῃ [καὶ]
 [σ]τήσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τὸ δὲ [γεν]όμενον [ἀνά]λω[μ]α εἰς τὴν [σ]τήλῃν
 [με]ρίσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τεῖ δι[οικη]σίαι.

vacat 0.065

NON ΣΤΟΙΧ.	ἡ βουλή τοὺς	[ὀ δῆ]μος τὸν	ὁ δῆμος τοὺς
36	ἐφήβους	[κοσ]μητὴν	ἐφήβους
		[Ἀμ]εινίαν	
		[Ἀντ]ιφάνου	
		[Κη]φισιέα	

40		ο ἰ ἐ φ η β [ε] ὑ σ [α] ν τ ε ς	
	[Ἀν]τιγονίδος]	Π[ανδ]ιονίδος	Κεκροπίδος
	Αἰθαλίδαι	[Μυρρ]ινούσιοι	Φλυεῖς
	Χαρ[ρ]ίνος Θρασωνίδου	Ἄρισ[τοκρά]της Ἀντιμά[χ]ου	Νικήρατος Νικηράτου
	Εἰτεαῖοι	Π[αιαν]ιεῖς]	Ἴπποθωντίδ[ος]
45	Λυ[σ]ικράτης Φορμίωνος	Τεισ[αμ]ενὸς - - -	Ἀζηνιεῖς
	Κυδαθηναεῖς	[Ἔ]ο[α]θεν	[Χά]ρης Πολλίου
	Θεόφιλος Θεοξένου	Ἱερο[κ]λῆς Ἄντ - - -	Θυμαϊτάδαι
	[Δη]μητριάδος]	Ἀγγελῆθε[ν]	[Ἄ]ριστοδόμος Κλεόλεω
	Μελιτεῖς	Χα[ιρ]έστρατος Χαι - -	Ἄταντίδος
50	[Ἀσκ]ητάδης Προξένου	Ἐωντίδος	Μαραθῶνιοι
	Ἐκ Κοίλης	Σουνιεῖς	[Β]ούθηρος Φιλωνίδου

	[- - η]ς Εύθίου	Ξενοφῶν θεμιστοκ[λέους]	Εὐθύνομος Ἄντιμάχου
	[Ἐρεχθί]δος	Πήληκες	Ῥαμνοῦσιοι
	- - -	Λυσανίας Λυσανδ[ρ - -]	Κλεομέδων Κλεαρέτου
55	- - - - - ου	Ἄκαμαντίδο[ς]	Τηλέσκοπος Ἄριστοκρίτου
	- - -	Κεφαλήθ[εν]	φαληρεῖς
	- - - - - χου	Φιλοκράτης - - -	Ἄμεινίας Δηλιάδου
	[- - - κ]λείδου	Σφή[ττιοι]	Ἄντιοχίδος
	[Ἀίγῆ]δος]	Ἐυκλε[ίδης - - -]ου	Ἄλωπεκεῖς
60	- - -	[Ἰνῆ]δος]	Διοφάνης Κλεαίνετου
	[- - - δ]ώρου	- - -	Χαρίας Ἀρχεβιάδου
	[- - εῖ]ς	[- - - - - ο]υ	Παλληνεῖς
	[- - Κ]αλλικρά[του]		Τιμοκράτης Κηφισοδήμου
	[- - ιο]ι		Κηφίσιος Κηφισοδήμου
65	- - - - ησίου		

vacat 0.07

	τὸν παιδο-	[τὸν ἀ]κον-	[τὸ]ν καταπαλ-
	τρίβην	[τις]τὴν	[τ]αφέτην
	Ἐρμόδαρον	[Φιλό]θεον	Μησιθεον
	Ἐορτίου	[Στρα]τίου	Μησιθέου
70	Ἄχ[αρνέα]	[λαμτ]ρέα	Κόρπρειον
	[corona]	[corona]	[corona]

vacat 0.12 (cum coronae)

[τὸν γραμματέα]	[τὸν] τοξότην
[Ἐρμογένην]	[Σῶνδρ]ον Κρήτα
[corona]	[corona]

7. 264/3 or 262/1.*³ Archon: Diognetus or Antipater.

S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 59 (1990), 543-7.

I 7160.

Found 22 July 1970 in a modern wall (N 6). Fragment of grayish white marble, inscribed face only preserved. H: c. 0.325 m., W: 0.29 m., Th: 0.134 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 51

[.²³.]] Μ [.²⁶.]
[.¹⁰.] ΕΠΟΤ[. ἐν τῶν ἐν[ι]αυ[τῶν²⁰.]
[.⁹. κ]αὶ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῖς ΕΦΕΣ[.²².]
[.¹¹.] ε καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μουσείου φυλακῆς¹⁵.]
5 [.¹².] Σ ἀπόδειξιν καλῶς καὶ [.²⁰.]
[.¹³. ἀγ]αθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι [τῆν βουλῆν τοὺς προέδρ]-
[ους οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν προ]εδρεύειν(εν) ἐν τῶν δ[ί]ημωι εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν]
[ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι] περὶ τούτων· γινώμ[η]ν δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆ]-
[ς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅ]τι δοκεῖ τῆν βουλῆ[ν] ὡς ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἐφ]-
10 [ήβους τοὺς ἐπὶ⁹.] ἢ [ἄρ]χοντος εὐταξίας ἕνεκα καὶ φιλοτ]-
[ιμίας εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ στεφ]ανῶσαι ἕκαστ[ον] αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφ]-
[άνωι· ὡς ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν κ]οσμητῆν αὐτῶν¹⁶.]
[.¹³. διότι ἀγαθὸς] ἀνὴρ διατετέλ[εκεν ὧν περὶ τὸν δῆ]-
[μον²².] ΠΟΝ ὡς οἱ νόμοι ?¹⁴.]
15 [ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδοτρί]βην αὐτῶν Ἐρμόδωρον Ἐορτίου Ἀχ]-
[αρνεά]ν καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστῆν Λυσι]κλῆν Ἀ[ντιπά]τρου Συπαλήττιον]

³ Dates marked with * are *ephebic year* represented; therefore the decree itself dates to the following year.

Line 10: Alternately: ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἐφηβεύσαντας ἐπὶ 8. . . .]υ
[ἄρ]χοντος.

Date: Phanomachus, tentative archon for 265/4, is too long.

For the role of ephebes on the Museum Hill before and during the Chremonidean War, see pp. 190-191 above; Tracy, 545-6.

8 . 259/8? Archon Thymochares.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 7 (1938), 110-112.

IGII² 700 + I 2054.

I 2054: Found 25 October 1934, in the wall of a modern house (O). Fragment of Pentelic marble broken at the top, bottom and left; part of the right side is preserved. Dressed smooth with a fine-toothed chisel. The back is rough, with long drilled grooves. H: 0.385 m., W: 0.325 m., Th: 0.165 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 50

[ἐ]πὶ θυμοχάρου ἄρχοντο[ς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιγονίδος
or τρίτης πρυτανεί]-
Δημητριάδος

[ί]ας ἦι Σώστρατο[ς] Ἀ[ρι]σι. 16. ἔγραμμάτευσεν, Βοη]-

[δ]ρομιῶνος ἔνει καὶ [νέαι, πέμπτη καὶ εἴκοστή] τῆς πρυτανεία]-

[ς] ἐκκλησία κυρία τῶν [π]ροέ[δρων ἐπεψήφισεν 15.]

5 [.]που θριάσιος καὶ συμπρόεδροι: - Δημητριάδος or Ἀντιγονίδος - -]

[.]ς Λαμπρέυς ὕ Δημότιμο[ς] - - Αἰγῆιδος, - - - Πανδιονίδος, - - -]

[.] Λευκονοεὺς ὕ Ἀτταβος Θ[ο]ρίκιος, ὕ - - - - Κεκροπίδος - - - -]

[.]ος Ἀνακαίου ὕ Τεισία[ς] - - Αἰαντίδος - - - Ἀντιοχίδος - - - -]

[.] Ἀλεξίων Ἀμφιχάρους Ἀζ[η]νεὺς εἶπεν ὕ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐ]-

10 [γγραφέν]τες καὶ ἐφηβεύσαν[τες ἐπὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ἄρχοντος διέμε]-

[ιναν πειθαρχοῦντες τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ 18.]

[. 17.]νε - - - - -

lacuna

[- - - - - ὅ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ τῶμ Μυστηρίων ἐπιμεληταί· ξδ-
 [ραμον δὲ καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλοις δρόμους τοὺς γιγνο-
 15 [μένους²⁷]ωσάντων αὐτοὺς τῶν γ.
 [.²⁷ ἀποδει]κνύμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν σ-
 [πουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν· ὕ ἐποιήσαντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆι
 [βουλῆι τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις· ὕ ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἐφά]μιλλον ἦι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐ-
 [φήβοις τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τοῦ δήμου πειθαρχεῖν εἰδόσιν ὅτι χάρ-
 20 [ιτας ἀποκομιοῦνται καταξίας παρὰ τοῦ δή]μου, ὕ τύχη ἀγαθῆι δ-
 [εδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι τοὺς προέδρους οἷ ἂν] λάχωσιν προεδρεύει-
 [ν ἐν τῶι δήμωι εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν προ]σοσαγαγεῖν πρὸς τὸν
 [δῆμον τὸν κοσμητὴν καὶ χρηματίσαι περὶ τ]ούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμ-
 [βάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δο]κεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ ὕ ἐπα-
 25 [ινέσαι τοὺς ἐφήβους καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλ]οῦ στεφάνωι σωφροσ-
 [ύνης ἔνεκα ἦν ἔχοντες διατελοῦσι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον] ὕ ἀναγρ[άψαι]
 [δὲ τόδε τὸ ψηφίσμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλ]-
 [τηι λιθίνῃ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ὕεἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῆ]-
 [ι διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα - - - - -]

lacuna

30 [.¹⁰]Ν[.]ΕΣ[.¹⁵ ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ στεφανῶ]-
 [σαι θαλλο]ῦ στεφάν[ωι εὐταξίας ἔνεκα τὸν κοσμητὴν τῶν ἐφήβων]
 [Ἄγ]γινίδην Ἄνδροκλέους¹³ καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην]
 Ἐρμόδωρον Ἐορτίου Ἀχ[αρνέα ^{ων} καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν Λυσικλῆν]
 Ἄντιπάτρου Συπαλήττι[ον ὕ καὶ τὸν ὀπλομάχην¹¹ Νι]-
 35 κάνδρου Ἄνκυλῆθεν ὕκαὶ τὸν τοξότην²⁰]
 α ὕ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα [- - - - -]

[ῆ] βουλή

lacuna

	[οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐπ'] Ἀντιφῶντος ἄρχοντος	
	[Ἀντιγονίδος]	Οἰνηίδος
40	[- - - - -]s	Πειθικλῆς Μενάδρου Περιθοίδης
	[- - - - - Γαργήτιος	Θεαίτητος Κηφισοφῶντος Ἐπικ[η]φίσ[ι](ος)
	[- - - - - υλ]ῆθεν	Κεκροπίδος
	[- - - - - υλ]ῆθεν	Θεογένης Ἥγημονος Ἀθμονεύ[ς]
	[Δημητριάδος]	Εὐκλῆς Εὐκλέους Ἀλαιεύς
45	[- - - - - ἐκ Κοί]λης	Σμικρίας Ἀριστοδήμου Ἀλαιεύ[ς]
	[- - - - -]εὺς	Ἴπποθωντίδος
	- - - - -	Φιλόστρατος Διοφάντου Ἐλευ[σί]νιος]
		Σπεύσιππος Ἀλεξίνωνος Ἀζην[ι]εύς]
		Εὐθύκριτος Θεαινέτου Ἀχερδ[ού]σιος]
50		Αὐτόδικος Ἀρχεστράτου ἐξ Ο[ἴ]ου]
		[Ἀ]ριστείδης Καλλιφάνου Κόπ[ρ]ειος]
		Αἰαντίδος
		[. . 5. .]ράτης Ἰφικράτου[ς] Φαμνούσιος]
		[. . . 7. .] Ἡνιόχο[υ - - - - -]

Lines 13-14: A.G. Woodhead, *apud* Tracy, *Hesperia* 48 (1979), 176.

Line 18: P. Gauthier, *Chiron* 15 (1985), 151.

Line 36: see S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988), 309.

Lines 32 and 63: see W. Peek, *MDAI(A)* 67 (1942), 163.

I have altered the line numbers so that Column II shares those of Column I.

9. Middle, 3d cent.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23 (1954), 234.

I 3605.

Found on 25 February 1936 in Section H'. Fragment of Pentelic marble, badly battered except on the inscribed face; the left edge seems not to be original, but crudely cut back in some later use of the stone. H: 0.108 m., W: 0.07 m., Th: 0.036 m. Letter height: 0.005 m.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. [. . . .⁸. . . .] [- - - - -]
 45 [. . . 7. . . τ]οῖς ν[όμοις ν'ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβη]-
 [ν'Ἐρμόδωρον Ἐορ[τίου Ἀχαρνέα ν'καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν Λυσι]-
 [κλῆν Ἀντι]πάτρου Σ[υπαλήττιον ν'καὶ τὸν ὄπλομάχον]
 5 [. . . 5. . Νικ]άνδρου Ἀ[λκυλῆθεν - - - - -]
 [. . . 6. . . κα]λῶς καὶ [φιλοτίμως - - - - -]
 [. . . .⁸. . . .]ΥΠΟ[- - - - -]
 [. . . .⁸. . . .]ΡΥ[- - - - -]

10. Middle, 3d cent.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36 (1967), 64, no. 8.

I 1028.

Fragment from a stele of Hymettian marble found 27 June 1933 in a Byzantine well east of the Tholos (H11:1). Left side and back preserved; otherwise broken. The side is dressed with a tooth chisel; the back is rough-picked. H: 0.207 m., W: 0.14 m., Th: 0.095 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [. . .]μένης Θε[- - - - -]
 [. .]ημιγος Χρωμ[- - - - -]
 [Δ]ημοχάρης Δημ[- - - - -]
 [Ἀ]πολλόδωρος Θεου[- - - - -]

vacat 0.06 m.

5 ἡ βουλή

12. 246/5* Archon, Polyectus.

IGII² 681.

Six fragments of Pentelic marble found in the Agora. H: 0.49 m., W: 0.48 m.

Letter height: 0.005 m.

NON-	[ό] δῆμος	ὁ δῆμος
ΣΤΟΙΧ.	ὁ δῆμος	[τὸν κοσ]- τὸν παιδο-
	τοὺς ἐφή-	[μ]ητῆν τρίβην
	βους	- - - - - Ἐρμόδωρ[ον]
5	[Ῥα]μνούσιον	Ἀχαρν[έα]
	οἱ ἐφηβε[ύσαντες ἐπὶ] Πολυεύκτου [ἄρχοντος]	
	[Ἀντιγονίδος]	[Λεων]τίδος
	- - - Ζω[π]ύρου Γα[ργήτιος]	Λεπτινῆς Κηφ[ισ - - - - -]
	- - - ανδρος Φαλάνθου Γαρ[γήτιος]	Πρόμαχο[ς] Κηφ[ισ - - - - -]
10	Ἄριστοκράτης Ἀντιφάνου Λα[μπρεύς]	[Ἐ]τέαρχο[ς] Στα - - - - -
	[Δημητριάδος]	Ἀκ[αμαντίδος]
	Πολυκλῆς Λυσικλέους ἐκ Κ[ο]ί[λης]	Φιλίνος Σα - - - - -
	Εὐφιλίδης Φιλίνου ἐκ Κοίλης]	Οἰ[νε]ίδος]
	Μησιμάχος Ἄριστοκλέου Κοθω[κ]ίδ	Ἐνδιος Μεν - - - - -
15	Ἀν[δ]ροσθένης Καλλίου Ξυπετ[αι]ών	Μενεκράτη[ς - - - - -]
	Θαρρύνων Λεωσθένου Ἴπποτο[μά]δη	Ἡφαιστοδ - - - - -
	Πρόμαχος Λεωσθένου Ἴπποτο[ομά]δη	[Κεκροπίδος]
	Ἐρεχθείδος	Ναυσικρά - - - - -
	[Π]υθόδημος Πυθ[ο]δώρας ἐκ Κ[ηδῶ]ν	[Ἴ]πποθ[οντίδος]
20	Ἀνδροκλῆς Νεοκλέου Λα[μπτρ]εύς	Σωτάδ[ης] Φιλοκῆδ[ου - - -]
	Αἰγείδος	Αἰαντίδο[ς]
	[Φ]ρασικλῆς Μένητος Ι - - - - -	Κλε[υπ]ίδης Κλεοχάρ[ους - -]
	[Ε]ύκλῆς Θεοκ[λ]έου ἐκ [Κολωνοῦ]	Θε[όδ.]ος Θεοδώρου Ῥα[μνούσιος]

τῆς [βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλήι ἐπαινεῖσαι τοὺς]
 15 ἐφήβους τοὺς ἐφηβεύσαντας ἐπὶ φιλό<ν>ε[ω ἄρχοντος καὶ τὸν κοσ]-
 [μ]ητῆν αὐ[τῶν⁹.] φιλο[κ]λέους [Εὐωνυμέα καὶ στεφ]ανῶ[σαι]
 αὐτοὺς χρυσῶι στεφάνωι] κατὰ τὸν νόμ[ον εὐταξίας ἔνεκε]ν καὶ φ[ι]-
 λοτιμίας ἣν ἔχ[οντες δι]ατετελέκασι[ν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον^ν ἐπ]αινε-
 20 καὶ τὸν παιδ[οτριβ]ῆν αὐτῶν Ἑρμ[ό]δω[ρον Ἑορτίου Ἀχα]ρνέα^ν
 ὄπλομάχην Χαρίσανδ[ρον Διο]νυσιάδου Ἀλιμούσιον^{νν} καὶ τὸν] τοξό-
 την Ἀριστόδημον^{νκ}[αὶ τὸν γ]ραμματέα [Ἡ]ρακλεί[δην Κηφισιέα κ]αὶ σ-
 τεφανῶ[σαι] ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλ]λοῦ στε[φάνωι^ν ἀναγράψαι δὲ τό]δε τ-
 ὁ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόμα[τα τῶν ἐφήβων τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεί]-
 25 αν ἐν στήλει λιθίν[ει ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα μερίσαι τὸν]
 ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει.

	<i>in corona</i>	<i>in corona</i>	<i>[in corona]</i>
		[ἡ βουλή]	
	ἡ βουλή	[ὁ δῆμος]	[- - - -]
	ὁ δῆμος	[τὸν κοσμητῆν]	[- - - -]
30	τοὺς ἐφήβους	[. ¹⁰]	[- - - -]
		[φιλο]κλέους	
		[Εὐ]ωνυμέα	
	οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐπὶ φιλό[ν]ε[ω ἄρχοντος]		
	[[Ἀντιγονίδος]]	Φιλωνίδης[- - - - -]	
35	Καιριγένης Κησικλ[- - - -]	Ἀκαμαντίδος]	
	Τιμοκ[ρ]άτης Τιμοκρά[τους - - -]	Μενεσθεὺς[ς ^{c.8} Κικ]υγνεύ	
	Παράμυθος Δημοχάρο[υς - - -]	Εὐρυπίδης [. . . . ^{c.8} Χολ]αργεύς	
	[[Δημητριάδος]]	Εὐνίκος Α[. . . . ^{c.9} Σ]φήτιος	
	[Εὐ]άλλκος Φοκίνου ? Δ[ιομειεύς]	Ἰσαρχος Ξε[νοκλ]έους ἐκ Κεραμέ	
40	[. ^{c.10}]οστράτ[ου - - -]	Οἰ[νε]ίδος	

	['Ερεχθ]εΐδ[ος]	['Εόρ]τιος ['Ερ]μοδώρου 'Αχαρνεύς
	[..... ^{c.15}]λωνος Παμβωτάδ[ης]	Κεκροπίδος
	[... ^{c.7} ... Φ]αλά[νθ]ου 'Αγρυλῆθεν	[Φιλ]όστρατος Φιλοδήμου 'Αλαιεύς
	Αΐγεΐδος	Αΐ[ν]ησίδημος 'Αγαθοκλέους Συπαλήτ
45	Δημαίνετος Φορμ[ί]ωνος ἐκ Κολω	Νο[ν]φράδης Καλλιιάδου 'Αθμονεύς
	Πολύευκτος 'Αντιφ[ῶν]τος Φηγαϊεύ	'Ιπποθωντίδος
	Πανθιον[ί]δος	Τεισίας Φωκιάδου 'Ελευσίνιο[ς]
	[Δρα]κοντίδης Δράκοντος Παιανιεύ	Πολύδωρος 'Ρόδωνος θυμαϊτ[ά]δης
	Λεωντίδος	Αΐαντίδος
50	[... ^{c.8} ...] Κρατίππου Φ[ρ]εάρριος	Σωκράτης θεμιστίου Θαληρεύς

	[ῆ βουλή]	ῆ βουλή	ῆ βουλή
	[ὁ δῆμος]	ὁ δῆμος	ὁ δῆμος
	[- - - - -]	τὸν ὀ[πλομάχη]ν	τὸν παιδο-
	[- - - -]	[Χαρίσανδρον	τρίβην
55	[- - - -]	['Αλιμούσι]ον	'Ερμόδωρον
			'Αχαρνέα

	ῆ βουλή	[ῆ βουλή]	ῆ β[ουλή]
	ὁ δῆμος	[ὁ δῆμος]	ὁ [δῆμος]
	τὸν ἀκοντισ-	[τὸν γραμμα]τέα	[τὸν τοξότην]
60	τὴν Λυσικλῆν	['Ἡρακλείδην]	['Αριστόδημον]
	Συπαλή[ττιον]	[Κηφισιεία]	

Line 1: Cynedor, see M.J. Osborne, *ZPE* 78 (1989), 215.

Lines 2-3: see B.D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year* (Berkeley, 1961), 148.

Lines 6-10, 15-23: S.V.Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988), 318; in line 22 I have retained Meritt's restoration of κ[αι] σ- at the end. (Tracy reads και complete).

Line 39: [Εὔα]λκος Φωκίνου ? Δ[ιο]μειεύς, see Osborne, *Naturalization*, III-IV, 86.

Lines 44-50, Col. I: Tracy, 319.

Lines 60-61, Col. II: I have restored the secretary (from line 22).

14. c.240.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 2 (1933), 159.

Inv. No. 200 I 61.

Found in Section E 9/ΑΓ at a depth of 1.50 m. Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, broken at top and bottom, but with both sides preserved. H: 0.485 m., W: 0.606 m., Th: 0.172 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.⁵

in corona

[τὸν παι.]δ-

[οτρίβ]ην Ἑόρ-

[τι]ον Ἀχαρ-

[ν]έα

in corona

τὸν ἄκον-

τιστὴν Λυ-

σικλῆν Συ-

παλήττιον

in corona

τὸν ὄπλο-

μάχην Χα-

ρίσανδρον

Ἀλι[μ]ούσιον

in corona

τὸν τοξό-

την Ἀριστο-

κράτην Κρη-

τα

in corona

τὸν κατα-

παλταφέ-

την Πεδιέα

᾽ὄθηθεν

in corona

τὸν γραμ-

ματέα Ἑρα-

κλείδην Κη-

φισιέα

5

15. 235/4. Archon, Ecphantus.

S. Dow, *GRBS* 20 (1979), 335-6.

IGII² 787.

⁵ I am grateful to S. Kinikin for entry of this inscription.

Five fragments in the Agora.

- a*: H: 0.32 m., W: 0.31 m., Th: 0.11 m. LH: 0.005 m.
b+c: H: 0.32 m., W: 0.16 m., Th: 0.11 m. LH: 0.005 m.
d+e: H: 0.15 m., W: 0.27 m., Th: 0.07 m. LH: 0.005 m.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. [ἐπὶ Ἐκφάντου ἄρχοντος] ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιο[χί]δου[ς] τ[ρ]ίτης
 41 [πρυτανείας ἧι Δημήτρ?]ιος Δημητρίου] Ἴπποτο[ομά]δης
 [ἐγγραμμάτευεν Βοηδρωμι]ῶνος ὀγδόει ἐπὶ δέξ[α] τετά-
 ρτη καὶ δεκάτη τῆς πρυ]τανείας ἐκ[κ]λησί[α τῶν] προ-
 5 [έδρων ἐπειψήφιζεν . . . ⁶ . . .] ὄδωρος Πυρριχί]ωνος Φλυ-
 [εὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι]

vac.9 ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆ]ι καὶ τῶι δήμωι *vac.6*

[Θρασυφῶν Ἰεροκλείδου Ξυπετ?]αυῶν εἶπεν ἔπειδὴ ο
 [. ¹⁸ τὸν κοσμητ?]ῆν τῶν ἐφήβων εὐ[.]

10 [. ²⁹] [. .] [- - - -

lacuna

[. ³⁹]]ΡΟ

[. ³² εἰς δὲ] τὴν ἀ-

[ναγραφῆν τῆς στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῆι διο]ικῆσει τ-

14 [ὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]

in corona *in corona* [*in corona*]

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [ἧ βουλῆ] [ὁ δῆμος τὸν] ὁ δῆμος
 [τοὺς ἐ]- [κοσμητῆν] τοὺς ἐ-
 [φήβους] [- - - -] φήβους
 [- - - -]
 [- - - -]

20 [οἱ ἐ φη βε ὑσαντες ἐπὶ Κι]μω(ν)ος ἄρχοντος

[Missing in Col. I: [Νικόδ?]ωρος Νικοδόρου Φρεάρι

	rubrics and Erheboi		Ἄκαμαντίδος
	[[Ἄντιγονίδος]]		[Σώστρ?]ατος Σωστράτου Κεφαλ
	[[Δημητριάδος]]		[... ^{c.3.5} ...]κράτης Θεοφίλου Ἑρμει
25	Ἐρεχθείδος]		Οἴνεϊδος
			[... ^{c.5} ...]ημος Ὀνήτορος Λους
			Κεκροπίδος
			[Λέων] Κιχησίου Αἰζωνεύς
			[... ^{c.4.5} ...]ίων Φαλάνθου Ἄθμονε
30			[... ^{c.3} ...]βουλος Κτησικλέους Αἰξ
			[... ^{c.6.5} ...]ης Μένωνος Πιθεύς
			[Ἴπ]ποθωντίδος
			[... ¹⁰⁻¹¹ ...]ε[... ^{c.3} ...]πειραξε
	[Αἰγεΐδος]		[Missing: 2 lines, including
35	[Ἀρομέας Ἀρο]μέου Ἐρχ[ιεύς]		Αἰαντίδος]
	[... ^{c.8.5} ...]ος Ἀριστομένου Κ[-]		[-][[...]][- - - - - -]
	[[Π]ανδιονίδος		καρίας θρν[- - - - - -]
	[... ^{c.8} ...]ίδης Ἡλιοδώρου Παιαν		Ἄντι[οχίδος]
	[... ^{c.6} ...]γίδης Ἡλιοδώρου Παιανι		Παντακλῆς Κρ[- - - - -]
40	Λεωντίδος		Λεπτίνης Εὐρ[- - - - -]
	[... ^{c.4.5} ...]κος Νικοβούλου Κρωπίδ		Καλλίστρατος[- - - - -]
	[... ^{c.5.5} ...]ς Εὐβούλου Λευκονοε		<i>vacat</i>
	<i>in corona</i>	<i>in corona</i>	<i>in corona</i>
	[τὸν παιδ]-	[ἡ βουλή]	[τὸν ὄπλο]-
45	[οτρῖβην]	[ὁ δ]ῆμος	[μάχην]
	[- - - -]	[τὸν ἀ]κοντισ-	[- - - -]
	[- - - -]	[τῆν - - -]	[- - - -]

(My columns above share line numbers, and therefore the line numbering differs from that of previous editions.)

16. c.235.

W.K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 16 (1947), 185-7.

I 4495.

Found 6 February 1937 in the wall of modern houses in Section X (lower fragment). Two joining fragments of Hymettian marble. H: 0.43 m., W: 0.22 m., Th: 0.162 m. Letter height: Line 1: 0.12 m., Line 2 ff.: 0.005 m.

vacat 0.07 m.

οἱ ἐφηβεύσ[αντες ἐπὶ - - - ἄρχοντος]

[[- - -]]

Καλλί[ας Κο]γωνος - - - -

[Ἐ]ρεχθεΐδος

5 Ἄντιδωρος Ἐ[ύ]δημου Ἐ[ύ]ωνυμ[εύς]

Ἀλκ[έ]της [Δι]φουυσίου Κ[η]φισιεύς]

Αἰγείδος

[Διοκλ]ῆ[ς] Δ[ρο]μέου Ἐρχιεύς]

[. . .⁵. .]μος Φιλίππου - - - -

10 Εὐθυκράτης Εὐθυμάχου Ἀλαιεύς]

Πανδιονίδος

Λεωδάμας Ἀριστομάχου - - - -]

. . . . ἀνη[ς] Διοκλέου[ς] - - - - -]

Κάλλ[ι]ππο[ς] Δε[ξι]θέου [- - - -]

15 Δ[ε]ωντί[δο]ς

[.¹³.]φ - - - - -]

[.¹³.]πε - - - - -]

[Ἀκαμα]γτι[ίδος]

Line 3: Κο]γωνος, B.D. Meritt *apud* J.S.Traill, *Hesperia* 51 (1982), 199.

17. 220/19.* Archon, Menecrates.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15 (1946), 192, no. 37.

a: I 4992, b: I 5175, c: I 4171.

Fragment *a* found 14 February 1938, in a wall of Byzantine date in Section II. Rough-picked back and right side are preserved. Fragment *b*, which joins *a*, found 3 February 1938 in Section AA, is broken on all sides. Fragment *c*, found 21 May 1936 in Section P, possibly joining with *b*, preserves part of the right edge.

a: H: 0.376 m., W: 0.237 m., Th: 0.125 m. LH: 0.005 m, 0.016 m.

b: H: 0.166 m., W: 0.168 m., Th: 0.057 m. LH: 0.005 m.

c: H: 0.091 m., W: 0.097 m., Th: 0.065 m. LH: 0.005 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. c.58

[- - - - -]κα[- - - - - c.20 - - - - -]

[- - - - -]ν Πρα[- - - - - c.19 - - - - -]

[- - - - -]νον Λα[- - - - - c.18 - - - - - ἀνα]-

[γράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν [τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κα]-

5 [τὰ πρυτανεῖαν ἀναγράψαι ἐν στήλει λιθί]νει καὶ στ[ῆσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ· εἰς δὲ]

[τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης τ]ὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ δ[ιοικήσει μερίσαι]

[τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]

in corona

[*corona*]

[τῆ βο]υλή

corona

[ὁ δ]ῆμος

10

[- -]ει[.]

- - - - -

- - - - -

[οἱ ἐ φ η β ε ὑ σ α ν τ ε ς ἐ π ῖ Μ]ενεκράτου [ἄρχοντος]

Ἄκαμαντίδ[ος]

15

Φαίδρος θυμοχάρου Σφή[ττιος]

	Column I missing	Μενεκράτης Ζήνωνος ἐκ [Κεραμῶν] Χαρικλῆς Φιλοξένου Σφήτ[τιος]
	Tribes in Col. I:	οἰνεῖδος
	Antigonis	Κεκροπίδος
20	Demetrias	['Α]νδρόνικος [- - - - - -]
	Erechtheis	['Αρι]στείδ[ης - - - - - -]
	Aigeis	<i>lacuna</i>
	Pandionis	['Ιπποθωντίδος]
	Leontis	<i>lacuna</i>
25	Ptolemais	[- - c.7 - -]οι[- - - - - -] [- - c.7 - -] Κλεῶ[νδρου 'Αμαξ]αντεύ[ς]
	(approx. 20 names)	Αἰαντίδ[ος] 'Αντιοχίδ[ος] [Θεόμν]ηστος Θεομνή[στου 'Αναφλ[ύ(στιος)]
30		ἡ βουλ[ῆ] ὁ δῆμος]

18. 216/5. Archon, Hagnias.

IGII² 794. S. Dow, *HSPH*48 (1937), 105 ff.

Cutter: *IGII² 1706*: S.V. Tracy, *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.*

(Berkeley, 1990), (hereafter *ALC*), 46, 54.

Fragment of blue-green marble found on the Acropolis. H: 0.24 m., W: 0.29 m.,

Th: 0.18 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. Ἐπὶ Ἄγνιου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς - - - c.10 - - - τρίτης πρυτανείας, εἰ Ποτάμων Δοκ[ίμου - - - c.10 - - - ἔγραμμάτευν·] Βοηδρομιῶνος τετράδι καὶ δεκάτην, ἐβδόμει καὶ δεκάτην τῆς πρυτανείας· βουλὴ ἐν τῶ[ι Παναθηναϊκῶι σταδίωι· τῶν]

5 προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Σωτέλη[ς - - - - ε.16 - - - - καὶ]
 [συ]μπρόεδροι ^{vvvv} ἔδοξεν τε[ῖ βουλευῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι ^{vvvv}]
 [- ε.4.5 -]ης Ποσειδί[ππ]ου Παιονίδ[ης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι]
 [- - - ε.12 - - - ἄρχον]τος ἐφηβ[εύσαντες διετέλεσαν εὔ]-
 [τακτοὶ καὶ πειθαρχοῦ]ντες ἐν [- - - - - ε.21.5 - - - - -]
 10 [- - - - ε.16 - - - -] ο [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

Line 3: The date is considered to be likely by Pélékides, *REG* 63 (1950), 116-117.

Line 4: Gauthier, *Chiron* 15 (1985), 155, n. 30; cf. **B25.3**; Pélékides, *Histoire*, 175-6.

The archon's name in line 8 is still unknown. Vanderpool suggested "Hoplon", *Hesperia* 40 (1971), 110), but see Aleshire *Hesperia* 57 (1988), 253.

Pélékides wonders whether this inscription is in fact ephebic, but line 8 is convincing.

19. c.215.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23 (1954), 235-6.

I 3658.

Cutter: *IGII²* 1706, *ALC* 48, 54.

Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, found on 1 March 1936 in Section H'. Right side preserved. H: 0.113 m., W: 0.085 m., Th: 0.027 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

Col. I (missing)

Col. II

[Οἰνηίδος]

[- - - - -]ιος

[- - - - - 'Αχαρ]νεύς

[- - - - -]εύς

[- - - - - 'Αχα]ρνεύς

5

[Κεκροπίδος] *vac.*

[- - - - - ε]ύς

[- - - - -] *vac.*

[Ἰπποθωντίδος] *vac.*

10

[- - - - - Ἄμαξ]αντεύς

[- - - - -] *vac.*

For date given, see S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 47 (1978), 250.

20. 214/3. Archon, Euphiletos.

S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 48 (1979), 174-8.

I 7484.

Cutter: I 7181, *ALC* 63.

Upper part of a uniquely ornate pedimental stele of white marble found over a Hellenistic channel (section ΒΓ) on 9 August 1974. Sides, top, and back preserved. H: 0.77 m., W: 0.55 m., Th: 0.145 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

NON- ἐπὶ Εὐφιλίτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθείδος τετάρτης
ΣΤΟΙΧ. [πρ]υτανείας ἦι Ἀρίστων θεοδώρου Ῥαμνούσιος ἐγραμμά-
c.45 [τευεν· Βοηδρομι]ῶνος ἕνει καὶ νέαι, τρίτει καὶ δεκάτε[ι τ]ῆς
[πρυτανείας· ἐ]κκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶμ προέ-
5 [δρων ἐπεψήφισεν] Χαριτέλης Παμφίλου Ἀφιδναῖος καὶ
[συμπρόεδροι]· ἔδοξεν τῷ βουλῆι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Φανόμ^ν-
[αχος - c.4 - φυλά]σιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Διοκλέ-
[ους ἄρχοντος] διετέλεσαν εὐτακτοῦντες εἰς τὰ γ[υμνά]-
[σια· κατεσκεύασα]ν δ' ἑαυτοὺς εὐπειθεῖς τῷ τε κοσμη[τη]τεῖ καὶ
10 [τοῖς καθεστῶσ]ιν αὐτοῖς διδασκάλοις· ἐν τε τῷ τελετῆι?
[τῶμ Μυστερί]ων ἐλειτούργησαν καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶ[ς· καθάπερ]

- [παρήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς ὃ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ τῶμ Μυστηρ[ίω]ν ἐπι-
 [μεληταί· πέπομ]φαν δὲ καὶ τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τὰς λα[αμπάδας]
 [ἔδραμον ἐν] τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγῶσιν εὐσχημόνω[ς καὶ εὐτάκ]-
 15 [τως· ἔθυσαν] δὲ κ[α]ὶ τὰς θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ [ἐκαλλιέρησαν]
 [ἀκολούθως] το[ῖς] νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμ[ασι] [ἔθυσαν δὲ τῶι Αἴ]-
 [αντι ἐπὶ τῆς κ]αθηκούσης ἐν Σαλαμ[ῖνι] - - ε.14 - -]
 [- ε.5 - τῆι Δ]ημοκραταίαι τῆμ πομπῆν [ἐπόμπευσαν καὶ τὸν]
 [δρόμον] ἔδραμον τῶι ἐπωνύμωι τῆς [νήσου ποιησάμενοι]
 20 [τὴν ἄμιλλ]αν καθάπερ αὐτοῖς οἱ νόμ[οι] προσέταττον ἵνα]
 [τῆσιν ἐπαγ]γελθείη παρακοιτουντέ[ς τε διετέλεσαν καὶ ταῖς]
 [ἐκκλησί]αις ἐφεδρεύοντες οὗ ἕτατ[εν ὁ κοσμητῆς· τὴν δὲ]
 [ἀπόδειξι]ν τε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τὴν ἐ[ν ὄπλοισ] ἐποιήσαντο· ὅπως
 [ἂν οὖν φα]ίνηται ὁ δῆμος τιμῶν τ[οὺς] ἑαυτοὺς εὐχρηστοὺς καὶ]
 25 [ἴσους παρ]ασκευάζοντας ἀγαθῆι τύχει δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι τοὺς λα]-
 [χόντας] προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐ[πιούσαν ἐκκλησί]αν χρηματίσαι]
 [περὶ τού]των γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆ]-
 [μον ὅτι] δοκεῖ τῆι βουλ[ῆι] ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἐφήβους τοὺς ἐπὶ Διο]-
 [κλέου]ς ἄρχοντος καὶ [στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσῶι στεφάνωι]
 30 [εὐσεβ]είας ἕνεκα τῆς [πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ φιλοτι]-
 [μίας] τῆς εἰς τὴν βο[υλὴν] καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ - ε.5 -]
 [- 2-3 -]ν Πίνακος Ἄνα[- - ε.8 - - τὸν κοσμητὴν αὐτῶν· ἐπαινέσαι]
 δὲ καὶ τὸν παι[δοτρίβην] Ἐόρτιον Ἐρμοδώρου Ἀχαρνέα καὶ τὸν κα]-
 ταπαλταφ[έτην] Νέανδρον Πεδιέως ἐκ Κεραμῶν καὶ τὸν]
 35 ὄπλο[μάχον] - - - - -]

The restoration of line 25 is too long.

Restorations of lines 10-23 are described as *exempli gratia*.

Lines 11-12: P. Gauthier, *Chiron* 15 (1985), 151; cf. K. Clinton, *Hesperia* 49

(1980), 281, n. 49: εὐσεβῶ[ς συνελειτούργησαν δ' αὐτοῖς. or Woodhead
apud Tracy, 176: εὐσεβῶ[ς ἐφ' οἷς καὶ | ἐπήνεσαν αὐτοῖς.

Lines 16-17, 20-21: "provisional" restorations. Tracy, *loc.cit.*

cf. *REG* 1981, 391.

21. 214/13.* Archon, Euphiletus.

W.K. Pritchett and B.D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*
(Cambridge, Mass., 1940), 110-11.

I 5722.

Cutter: *IGII²* 913, *ALC* 74-75.

Fragment of Hymettian marble found in the upper filling of a grave in the
Hephaesteion on 13 March 1939. The fragment is broken on all sides and roughly
split at the back. The spring of a moulding is partially preserved at the top of the
inscribed face. H: 0.15 m., W: 0.135 m., Th: 0.067 m. Letter height: 0.005 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [Ἐπὶ Ἑρακλείτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνείδος τρίτης πρυτανεί]-
c.48 [ας ἦι - - - c.14 - - -]κράτου Σημαχί[δης ἐγραμμάτευεν· Βοη]-
[δρομιῶν ἔνει καὶ νέαι,] ἐβδόμει καὶ εἰ[κοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας·]
[ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσου·] τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν - - - -]
5 [- - - - -] καὶ συμπρό[εδροι *vacat*]
[*vacat* ἔδοξεν τῆι βου]λήι καὶ τῶι δήμωι *vacat*]
[- - - - -] Στεριεὺς [εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ]
[ἐπὶ Ἐυφιλῆτου ἄρχ]οντος διέ[μειναν πειθαρχοῦντες τοῖς]
[τε νόμοις καὶ τῶι κοσ]μητῆι. [- - - - -]
10 - - - - - ἰλω - - - - -

For the date, see Tracy, *Hesperia* 47 (1978), 257-8, and Habicht, *Athens in
hellenistischer Zeit*, 174-5.

22. 210/09 or 209/08.* Archon, Sostratus.
 S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 47 (1978), 259-260.
 a. *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 11 [I 2499] +
 b. *Hesperia* 34 (1965), 90-92 [I 6982]
 Cutter: *IGII*² 913, *ALC* 75.

a. Fragment of Hymettian marble found 1 March 1935 in a late wall south of the Tholos (F 13). Broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved. H: 0.148 m., W: 0.078 m., Th: 0.162 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

b. Fragment of Hymettian marble found 10 December 1964 in the long late Roman wall near the modern railway (N7). Right side and rough back preserved. H: 0.35 m., W: 0.40 m., Th: 0.18 m. Letter height: 0.015 m. and 0.006 m.

1	[οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σωστράτου ἄρχοντος	
	[['Αντιγονίδος]]	Μνησίθεος Σατυρίωνος ἐξ Οἴου
	[- - c.14 - -]ου Κυδαθηναί	'Αθηνόδωρος Καλλικλέους Κονθυλῆ
	[- c.5 -]Α[- c.8 -]μου Κυδαθη[την]αί	'Ακαμαντίδος
5	[.3-3.5.]ωρος[- c.5 - Κυδα]θηναϊεύς	'Αντικλείδης Φαιδραγόρου Σφήττιο[ς]
	[Φίλ]αγρος[- c.7 - Κυδ]αθηναϊεύς	Φρύνων Φειδοστράτου Κεφαλήθεν
	[Με]γέστρα[τος - c.6 - Α]αμπρεύ	Εὐχάριστος 'Ηφαιστοδώρου Χολαργ
	[[Δημητριάδος]]	'Αριστοκλῆς Στρατίου Σφήττιος
	[- c.4 -]ος 'Αριστ[.3-4. Συπετα]ίων	Σώστρατος Νικοστράτου Χολα
10	[- c.5 -]ίδης Εὐ[- c.4 - 'Αγνού]σιος	Εὐπόλεμος Διονυσίου Χολαργε[ύ]ς
	[- c.5 -]ρατος Α[- c.7 - Μελι]τεύς	Κλεινός 'Αγίου Σφήττιος
	[- c.7 -] Κεφάλ[ου - c.10 max.-]	Οἶνεΐδος
	'Ερεχ[θεΐδος]	'Αρχιππος Τιμοθέου 'Αχαρνεύς
	[- c.8 - Κα]λλισ[- c.11 max.-]	'Αριστοκλῆς Νουφράδου Περιθοΐδη[ς]
15	[- c.6 - Δημη]τρίο[υ - - -]	[Τηλ]έμαχος 'Αθηνόδωρου Λακιάδη
		[...]νδρος [[ε]ισά[νδρου 'Αχα]ρνεύ

Date: *Hesperia* 41 (1972), 44-45.

23. c.210.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29 (1960), 53-54.

I 2944.

Cutter: IGII² 1706, ALC 48, 54.

Fragment of Pentelic marble found 28 May 1935 among collected marbles in the southeastern part of the Market Square. Left side preserved but otherwise broken.

H: 0.12 m., W: 0.116 m., Th: 0.047 m. Letter height: 0.005 m.

ἡ βουλή
 ὁ δ[ῆμο]ς
 Ἐό[ρτιο]ν
 Ἀχα[ρ]νέ[α]

For date, see Tracy, *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 (1982), 159.

24. c.205.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 16 (1947), 168-169.

I 1331.

Cutter: I 7181, ALC 63, 67.

Fragment of gray marble found 12 February 1934 in Section H'. Broken on all sides. H: 0.133 m., W: 0.16 m., Th: 0.055 m. Letter height: 0.007 m.

NON- [- - - - -]υς σ[- - - - -]
 ΣΤΟΙΧ. [- - - - -] εὐτα[ξίας - - - - -]
 c.67 [- - - - -] δῆμον δεδός[θαι ἀνάθημα αὐτοῖς - - - - -]
 [- - ἐν ᾧ] ἄν τόπῳ αἴρω[νται· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους τόν τε]
 5 [παιδοτρίβην Ἐόρτιον Ἐ]ρμ[ο]δῶρου Ἀχ[αρνέα - - - - -]
 [- - - - -] υ [- - - - -]

But I suggest instead a restoration such as:

NON- [- - - - - ἐπαινέσαι]
 ΣΤΟΙΧ. [τοὺς ἐφήβους σ[τεφανῶσαι δ' αὐτοὺς χρυσῶι στε]-
 c.37 [φάνῳ] εὐτα[ξίας ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ^ν]
 [τὸν] δῆμον· δεδός[θαι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνάθημα^ν]
 [ἐν ᾧ] ἄν τόπῳ αἴρω[νται· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν παι]-
 5 [δοτρίβην Ἐόρτιον Ἐ]ρμ[ο]δῶρου Ἀχ[αρνέα ὅτι τοῖς]
 [νομοῖς τοῦ δήμου]υ [καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν - - -]

I suspect that the inscription was not as wide as Meritt believed it to be, largely due to comparison with No. 25, lines 39-40. I am doubtful about the transition σ[τεφανῶσαι δ' αὐτοὺς rather than the usual καὶ σ[τεφανῶσαι, but -]υς σ[- is otherwise difficult to resolve. NB: I have not seen the stone.

Date: ALC 67.

25. 205/4.* Archon, Diodotus.

S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 (1982), 157-158.

a. *Hesperia* 45 (1976), 297-9 [I 7181] (= *Hesperia* 43 [1974], 246-8) +

b. *IG* II² 944b [I 131].

Cutter: I 7181, ALC 61-2, 63.

a. A fragment of blue Hymettian marble found 4 August 1970 over a drain on the Panathenaic Road at the northeast corner of the Royal Stoa in Section ΒΓ. The top, bottom, and left side are broken off, the right side preserved, and the back rough picked. H: 0.869 m., W: 0.47 m., Th: 0.125 m. Letter height: 0.005-0.006 m.

b. A fragment of blue-green marble found in the Kerameikos near the Holy Gate. Now located in the storeroom of the Kerameikos Museum. H: 0.42 m., W: 0.23 m., Th: 0.15 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. c.49-61.

[ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ] τῆς Αἰα[ντίδος τρίτης πρυτανείας]
[ῆι - c.4-5 - Θράσωνος Ὁθήθεν ἐγραμ]μάτευεν· Βοη[δρομιῶνος - c.7-8 -]
[- - c.12-13 - - τῆς πρυτανείας· βουλή ἐν τῷ Παν[αθηναϊκῷ σταῖν]-
[δίωι· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισε]ν Νικόστρατος Μενεμάχου Ἀχα[ρ^ν]-
5 [νεὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ^ν ἔδο]ξεν τεῖ βουλευεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Σωσιγ[έ]-
[νης - - - c.18-19 - -]ς εἶπεν· ^ν ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Διοδό[^ν]-
[του ἀρχοντος τὰς θυσίας τὰς καθηκούσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας ἀρξάμενοι]·
[ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ καὶ τὰς] ἐγγραφὰς ἐκεῖ συνετέλεσαν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ[^ν]
[δῆμου προαίρεσιν· ἐπόμπουσ]αν δὲ καὶ τὰς πομπὰς τὴν τε τῶν Σεμνῶν Θ[ε]-
10 [ῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἰάκχου ὡς μάλισ]τα τοῖς πατρίοις ἀκολούθως εὐτακτοῦντ[ες·]
[ῆραντο δὲ καὶ τεῖ θυσίαι τοῦ]ς βοῦς· ἀπεδήμησαν δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἐλευσίνα εἰς[^ν]
[τὸ ἱερὸν ὅπως ἂν εὐσεβῶ]ς ἔχει πάντα τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς· λειλιτουρ-^ν
[γῆκασιν δὲ καὶ τοῖς μυστ]ηρίοις καθ' ἃ παρηγγέλθη αὐτοῖς· διετέλεσαν
[εὐτακτοῦντες εἰς τὰ] γ. υμνάσια· ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας^ν
15 [ἀπάσας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀγῶ]νας ἠγωνίσαντο καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως·
[τοῖς δὲ Ἐπιταφίοις ἐν τοῖ]ς ὅπλοις ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιήσαντο· ἐπεμελή[^ν]-
[θησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν] πόλεων πειθόμενοι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς κα[ὶ^ν]
[τῷ κοσμητεῖ· ἐλειτούργη]σαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡφαιστιεῖω· διετέλεσαν δὲ κα[ὶ^ν]
[τὴν ἀσκήσιν εὐτάκτως ποιοῦν]τες μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων οὐθενὸς αὐτοῖς μεριζο[^ν]-

20 [μένου ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· ἐποιήσα]ντο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τεῖ μελέτει τεῖ κατὰ τὸν πλο[ῦν]
 [τὴν περὶ τῆς ἐφηβείας ἀπόδει]ξιν τεῖ βουλευεῖ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀκολουθω[ς]
 [τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσι]μασι τοῖς εἰς πολεμικὴν χρεῖαν καθήκουσιν· κα^ν-
 [τεσκεύασαν δ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑπ]ἔρ πατρίδος μέλλοντας ἀγαθοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς
 [τοῖς διδασκάλοις πειθόμε]νοι τε καὶ ἐπιμελεῖς· ἀκολουθῶς δὲ ταῖς ἐγγρα^ν-
 25 [φαῖς ἐν ἀκροπόλει εὐδόξως τ]ὰ ἐξιτητήρια παρασκευάζονται ποιεῖν ἵνα
 [τὰ ὅπλα κατατιθῶνται μετὰ] πάσης εὐκοσμίας καθάπερ καὶ τὰς χλαμύδας^ν
 [καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐνδύματα αὐτῶ]ν· ^ν ὅπως ἂν οἷν αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐφηβέουσιν ἐφάμιλ-
 [λον ἦε εἰδόσιν τοὺς πειθαρ]χοῦντας τοῖς χειροτονουμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν εὐ-
 [ταξίαν τιμηθέντας, ἀγαθεῖ τύ]χει δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλευεῖ τοὺς λαχόντας^{νν}
 30 [προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσα]ν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων· γνώμην^ν
 [δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλ]ῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλευεῖ ἐπα^ν-
 [νέαι τοὺς ἐπὶ Διοδότου ἐφ]ηβέυσαντας καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι
 [- - - ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐταξί]ας καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἣν ἔχοντες διατετελέκα^ν-
 [σιν εἰς τὴν βουλή]ν καὶ τῶ[ν] δῆμον καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τοὺς στεφάνους Διονυσίων
 35 [τε τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ] Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν·
 [τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεω]ς καὶ ποιήσεω τῶν στεφάνων ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς^{νν}
 [στρατηγούς καὶ τῶ]ν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν· ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ[ν]
 [προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶ]σιν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθησιν· δοῦναι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ[ν]
 [ἀνάθημα ἐν τόπω] οἷ ἂν αὐτοὶ αἴρωνται· ἐπαινέ[σαι δὲ] καὶ τὸν παιδοτρί[ν]^ν-
 40 [βην Ἐόρτιον Ἐρμοδώ]ρου Ἀχαρν[έ]α ὅτ[ι] τοῖς νό[μοις τοῦ δήμου] καὶ τοῖς ψηφ[ι]^ν-
 [φίσμασιν - - - - - e.39 - - - - -] δὲ καὶ τὸν
 [- - - - - e.43 - - - - - ἀκον]τ[ι]στὴν
 [- - - - - e.50 - - - - -]να
 [- - - - - e.49 - - - - -]ου
 45 [- e.6 - κα]ὶ τὸν γ.ραμμ[ατέα - - - - - e.23 - - - - - στε]φ[α]^ν-
 [νῶσαι ἕκ]αστον αὐτῶν [θ]αλλοῦ στεφάνωι· ἀνα]γ.ραψαι δὲ τό[δε τὸ] ψήφι-
 [σμα καὶ] τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν τὸν γ.ραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρ[υ]τα[ν]είαν

[έν στήλ]ει λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν τεῖ ἀγοραῖ· τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλω[^{vv}]-
[μα δοῦ]γαί τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν. *vacat*

	<i>vacat</i> 0.027 m.	<i>vacat</i> 0.037 m.	<i>vacat</i> 0.027 m.
	<i>in three circles</i>	<i>in three circles</i>	<i>in three circles</i>
50	ἡ βουλή		οἱ ἔφη-
	ὁ δῆμος	ἡ βουλή	βοι τὸν κο-
	[τ]ὸν κοσμη-	ὁ δῆμος	σμητῆν Νι-
	[τ]ῆν Νικόβου-	τοὺς ἐφή-	κόβουλον Ἐρ-
	λον Ἐργοχά-	βους	γοχάρου
55	ρου Ὅη-		Ὅηθεν
	θεν		

[οἱ ἐ φ]η βε ύσαντες ἐπὶ Διοδότου ἄρχοντος

	[[Ἐπιγονίδος]]	Ἐπιγονίδος
60	[- -]ος Σωφίλου Ἐπιγονίδου	Οἰνείδος
	[- -]τος Φίλωνος Λαμπρεύ(ς)	Εὐκρίτος Εὐκρίτου Ἐπιγονίδου
	[[Ἐπιγονίδος]]	Ἐπιγονίδου Νικοβούλου Οἰνείδου
	[- - -] Φιλωτάδου Φυλάσιος	Στησίλεως Νικοβούλου Οἰνείδου
	[- - Δη]μητρίου Ἐπιγονίδου	Ἐπιγονίδου Θεοφάντος Περιθεοίδου
65	[- - - Δη]μητρίου Ἐπιγονίδου	Οἰνείδου Οἰνεοβίου Ἐπιγονίδου
	[- - -]φίλου Μελιτεύς	Δημήτριος Μηνοφίλου Ἐπιγονίδου
	[Ἐπιγονίδου]	Κερκοπίδος
	[- - - -]ου Κηφισιεύς	Λυσίνος Κηφισοφάντος Ἐπιγονίδου
	[- c.6 -]Σ Κ[- c.7 -] Κηφισιεύς	Ἐπιγονίδου
70	Ἐπιγονίδου	Κόνων Ξενοφάντου [Κηφισοφάντος]
	Διοκλῆς φιλοστράτου Ἐπιγονίδου	Ἐπιγονίδου Κλεάνδρου [Ἐπιγονίδου]
	Φιλόστρατος φιλοστ[ρ]άτου Ἐπιγονίδου	Ἐπιγονίδου
	Πανδιονίδος	

Λεωντίδος

75 Χαρίας Ἀπολλοδώρου Κ[- - -]

Πτολεμαΐδο[ς]

Ἀρχέτιμος Πολυ[σ]τράτου Βε[ρενι(κίδης)]

Αἰσχίνη[ς - c.7 -]άδου Βερ[ενικί(δης)]

Ἀπολλών[ιος Ἀπο]λλοδώρο[υ - - -]

vacat 0.018 m.

80 ἡ βουλή
ὁ δῆμος
τὸν παι[δο]-
τρίβην Ἐ[ό]ρ-
τιον Ἐρμοδ[ώ]-

85 ρου Ἀχαρ-
νέα

vacat 0.041 m.

90 ἡ βουλή
ὁ δῆμος
τὸν κατα-
παλτ[α]φ[έ]-
την Ν[έ]α[ν]-
δρον Πεδιέ-
ως ἐκ Κερ[α]-
μέων

vacat to bottom 0.10 m.

Line 13: P. Gauthier, *Chiron* 15 (1985), 150; cf. C. Pélikides, *Meletes archaias historias* 1979, 38, n. 14; J. and L. Robert, *REG* 1981, 241.

Line 14: Gauthier, 151.

Line 21: beginning, something naval should be restored - Gauthier, 152.

Line 23: Gauthier, 153.

Line 24: beginning, a genitive or *περὶ τὰ* - Gauthier, 153.

Line 26: Gauthier, 158, preceded by lengthy justification.

Line 33: Gauthier, 158, dispenses with *εὐσεβείας* for lack of an accompanying,

τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς but is uncertain about a replacement. He contemplates *εὐνοίας*, but concedes it is without precedent.

Line 40: Correction of name of *paidotribes* - Tracy, 159.

The inscription listed from 27 to 29 cadets.

26. c.205.

O.W. Reinmuth, *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 18-19.

I 1013 a, b + I 1518 a, b.

Cutter: I 7181, *ALC* 66-7.

Four fragments of Pentelic marble found 22-23 June 1933 and 10 March 1934 in filling of the second century AD between the foundations of the Stoa of Zeus and the exhedra (H6). Each broken on all sides and the back, the fragments appear to belong to one stone containing two decrees.

a: H: 0.057 m., W: 0.059 m., Th: 0.029 m. LH: 0.005 m, 0.016 m.

b: H: 0.066 m., W: 0.045 m., Th: 0.015 m. LH: 0.005 m.

c: H: 0.065 m., W: 0.03 m., Th: 0.018 m. LH: 0.005 m.

d: H: 0.056 m., W: 0.035 m., Th: 0.013 m. LH: 0.005 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [- - - - -] καὶ ζ[- - - - -]
[- - - - - φιλοτ]ιμίας ἦ[ν ἔχοντες - - - - -]
[- - - - - τόν τε παιδο]τρίβην [- - - - -]
[- - - - - κ]αὶ τὸ[ν - - - - -]
5 [- - - - -] ΣΘ [- - - - -]

lacuna

[- - - - -] N [- - - - -]
[- - - - - καὶ τοῖς [ἄλλοις θεοῖς - - - - -]
[- - - τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἃ ἀπαγγέλλει γεγονέναι ὁ κοσμητῆς - -]
[- - ἔφ' ὑγιεῖται καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆ[ς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου -]
10 [- - - - - προαιρούμ]ενοι [ἐπικοσμεῖν τὸν ναὸν - - -]
[- - - προνοούμενοι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐ]σεβ[είας - - - -]

lacuna

[- - - - -] H [- - - - -]
[- - - πρὸς τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον] φι[λοτιμίας ἔνεκεν - -]
[- - - - - στεφ]ανω[θῆναι - - - - -]
15 [- - - - -] και δ[- - - - -]
[- - - - - κατὰ πρυτανεία]ν ἐν σ[τήληι - - - -]
[- - - - - ἐκ τῶν εἰ]ς τ[ὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα - -]

lacuna

[- - - - -]τα [- - - - -]
[- - - - - ἐ]γγραφ[ο[- - - - -]
20 [- - - - -] αμ[εν [- - - - -]
[- - - - -] ου [- - - - -]
[- - - - -] ε [- - - - -]

Date: This inscription was dated by Reinmuth to the second half of the second century based on the formulae apparently in use. Tracy (ALC 66-7) has since moved it forward for reasons of lettering.

Line 3: the paidotribes almost certainly shows the decree is ephebic.

Line 15: Reimuth had restored - τόν τε] παιδοτριβήν, but Tracy reads a dotted kappa rather than pi.

Other emendations by Tracy: Lines 1, 9, sc. 13 (not 10), and 21.

27. 3d cent.

O.W. Reinmuth, *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 10.

I 1233.

Part of stele of Pentelic marble found 23 January 1933 on the site of a modern house near the southeast corner of the Market Square. Right side preserved, all other sides broken. H: 0.075 m., W: 0.144 m., Th: 0.158 m. Letter height: 0.005-0.007 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [Κεκροπίδος]

lacuna

[- - - - -] Ἀλαίεϛ[ς]

[Ἴπποθωντίδος]

[- - - - -]άτους Ἀζηγιεύς

5 [- - - - -] Ἀχερδούσιος

[- - - - -]γος Ἐλευσίnius

[- - - - - Πει]ραιεύς

28. End, 3rd cent.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 218.

I 5601.

Cutter: *IGII*² 1706, *ALC* 48, 54.

Fragment of Hymettian marble found 4 November 1938 in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R22). Broken on all sides but with rough-picked back preserved. H: 0.10 m., W: 0.232 m., Th: 0.085 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [- - - c.11 - - - τοῦ] δήμου καὶ [- - - - -]

c.48 [- - - c.9 - - ἡ βο]υλῆ καὶ ὁ δήμος ![- - - - -]

[- - ε.7 - - ἀγ]αθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι [τεῖ βουλεῖ τοὺς προέδρους]
 [οἷ ἄν λάχωσιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκ[λησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ]
 5 [τούτων, γνώμη]ν δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς [βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι]
 [δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ] ἢ ἔπα[ινέσα]ι τοὺς ἐφ[ήβους τοὺς - - - -]

Lines 2-3: If ἰ can be read τ, then I propose:

[- - ε.6 - ὅτι ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος τ[ιμῶσιν τοὺς καλῶς ἐφηβ]-
 [εύσαντες ἀγ]αθεῖ κτλ.; cf. **B37.22-3**.

The dates of this cutter are 229/8 - c.203, *ALC* 44.

29. c.200.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23 (1954), 240-1.

I 4018.

Cutter: unfamiliar / school of *IGII²* 1318; *ALC* 252.

Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble found 16 April 1936 in Section ΠΘ. The left side is preserved. H: 0.104 m, W: 0.12 m., Th: 0.065 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. c.55.

[- - - - -]
 [Δι]ονυσ[- - - - -]
 [. .]δην Σα[- - - - -] Λευ]-
 [κο]νοῖα καὶ [- - - - -]
 5 [.]ν Ἀγρυλ[ῆ]θεν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κα]-
 [τ]ὰ πρυτανείαν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ οὗ ἂν εὔκαι]-
 [ρ]ον ᾖ· τὸ δὲ [γε]νόμενον ἀνάλωμα μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν εἰς]
 τὴν ἀναγραφὴν [τῆς στήλης]

10 ἡ [βουλῆ]
[ὁ δῆμος]
[- - -]

This inscription was originally dated by Meritt to second half of the second century. It has been redated "Ca. 200 B.C." by Tracy, *ALC* 252, on the basis of lettering.

30. c.200.

O.W. Reinmuth, *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 10-11.

I 3675.

Cutter: *IGII*² 913, *ALC* 71, 74.

Fragment of Hymettian marble found 2 March 1936 under the floor of the Church of Παναγία Βλασσαροῦ (K11). All sides broken except for left edge. H: 0.08 m., W: 0.08 m., Th: 0.027 m. Letter height: 0.006-0.007 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [- - - - -]

c.41 Μηνόφ[ιλος¹⁹. ἔλεπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ]
ἔφηβο[ι οἱ ἐπὶ . . . 7. . . ἄρχοντος ἐφηβεύσαντες διε]-
τέλεσ[αν πάντες εὐτακτοῦντες καὶ πειθαρχοῦντες]
5 τ[ῶ]ι τε [κοσμητεῖ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς - - -]

Date: The dates of this cutter are 210/9-171/0, *ALC* 71. The style, while appearing *stoichedon*, is not.

31. c.200.

Ντινα Πεππα-Δελμουζου, Α.Δ., Τομ. 33 (1978) [1985], Μερ. Β', 5-6.

a. *IGII*² 942 + b. *IGII*² 944.

Cutter: *IGII*² 912, *ALC* 56, 57.

a. Fragment of Hymettian marble found on the Acropolis.

b. Fragment of "Pentelic" marble found on the Acropolis.

Joined: H: 0.19 m., W: 0.13 m., Th: 0.045 m. Letter height: 0.005 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [- - ε.9- -] I [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - ε.8- -] T [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - ε.8- -] ρμ [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - ε.9- -] σ του / [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
5 [- ε.6-] ἐξήγαγ. [εν εἰς τὴν χώραν - - - - - - - - - ἀγαθεῖ]
[τύχει] δεδόχθα [ι - - - ἐπαινέσαι μὲν - - - - - - - - -]
[καὶ σ]τεφανῶ[σαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον - - - ἀρετῆς ἔ]-
[νε]κεν καὶ εὐ[νοίας ἦν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς - - - - - - - καὶ]
[ἀ]γαγορεῦσ[αι τὸν στέφανον - - - - - - - - - - -]
10 ἐπαινέσαι [δὲ καὶ τοὺς - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
λέου Κυλ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[.Φ]ιλότη[λο - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

Peppa-Delmouzou describes both fragments as Hymettian marble. Tracy, *ALC*, accepts the join. The wording which survives in line five does not appear in any other epehebic inscription. I doubt that this is epehebic.

32. Beginning, 2nd cent.
B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36 (1967), 63.
I 1003.
Cutter: *IGII*² 1326, *ALC* 94.

Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble found 21 June 1933 in a well north of the Temple of Ares (K6). Part of the left side preserved but otherwise broken. H: 0.13 m., W: 0.065 m., Th: 0.05 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. δὲ καὶ ἐν [- - - - - κοσμη]-
 τεῖ τὰ κα[- - - - - ἦραντο (?) καὶ τοὺς]
 βοῦς Ἐλε[υσῖνι - - - - - καὶ τοὺς δρόμους (?) συννε]-
 τέλεσα[ν - - - - -]
 5 του καὶ [- - - - -]
 ἐφήδρε[υσαν δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις - - - - -]
 τοῦ θε[ήμου - - - - -]
 ο [- - - - -]

This decree may not be ephobic. If it is, however, the end of line 3 should probably be restored ἐφη]-. The dates of this cutter are 199/8-176/5, ALC 92.

33. 186/5.* Archon, Zo[pyros].
 B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15 (1946), 195-196.
 a. I 1015 b; b. I 1015 c; c. I 1015 a; d. I 1017; e. I 979.
 Cutter: IGII² 897, ALC 115, 116.

Five fragments of Hymettian marble, all found in Section H'.

Frag:	Found:	Preserved:	H:	W:	Th:	LH:
a.	23 June '33	right side	0.15	0.062	0.075	0.006
b.	23 June '33	face only	0.02	0.08	0.012	0.006
c.	23 June '33	left side	0.095	0.145	0.04	0.006
d.	24 June '33	face only	0.065	0.07	0.033	0.005
e.	13/14 June '33	left edge	0.145	0.145	0.042	0.005

NON- [- - - - -]ΟΙΣ
 ΣΤΟΙΧ. [- - - - -]ΣΠΑ
 c.80 [- - - - -]ΣΑΝ

- [- - - - -] \ΡΧΗ
- 5 [- - - - -]ΣΚΑΙ
- [- - - - -]τὰς κα
- [- - - - -] ΡΟΥΣ
- [- - - - - ὕ]πὸ τοῦ
- [- - - - -]ως τοὺς
- 10 [- - - - - ἀγαθεὶ τύχει δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλεὶ τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους
εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκ]λησίαν
- [χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν
δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ] βουλεῖν
- [ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἐφήβους τοὺς ἐπὶ Ζωπύρου ἄρχοντος καὶ στεφανῶσαι
χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ε]ύσεβείας
- [ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ εὐταξίας ἣν ἔχοντες διετέλεσαν ἐν ὄλωι τῶι
ἐνιαυτῶι καὶ φιλοτ]ιμίας [τῆς]
- [εἰς τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον - - - - -]
- lacuna*
- 15 [- - - ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους τόν τε ὄπλομ]άχον Περσ[αῖον
Συμμάχου Κικυννέα καὶ τὸν]
- [ἀκοντιστὴν Νικόμαχον Νικομάχου Ἀφιδαῖον καὶ τὸν π]αιδοτρ[ίβην
Ἐρμόδωρον Ἐορτίου Ἀχαρνέα καὶ]
- [τὸν ἀφέτην Πεδιάα Νεάνδρου ἐκ Κεραμέων καὶ τὸν τοξ]ότην Σῶσον
Προξένου Σφήττιον καὶ στεφαι]-
- [νώσαι] ἔκ[αστον θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν
γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν]
- ἐν στήλει λ[ιθίνει καὶ - - - - - c.31 - - - - - στήσαι ἐν ἀγοραῖ· τὸ δὲ
γενόμενον ἀνάλω]-
- 20 μα εἷς τε τὴν [στήλην καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν
στρατιωτικῶν].

ή [βουλή]

Other citations

[ὁ δῆμος]

lost

lacuna

[οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐπὶ Ζωπύρου ἄρχοντος]

25

[Ἐρεχθίδος]

[- -]ιγε[- -]

[- - -]

lacuna

[Αἰγείδος]

lacuna

H[- - - - -]

Ἐπι[- - - -]

remainder of columns

Φίλων[- - - -]

II and III missing

30

Εὐφρων[- - - -]

[Πανδιονίδος]

Δημήτριος[- - - -]

Νίκων Ξενο[- - - -]

Λεωντίδος]

35

[Κ]ράτιππος Κι[- - -]

34. c.185.

S.V. Tracy, *Attic Letter-Cutters*, 85.

a. *IGII² 901* + b. B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 26 (1957), 219, no. 75 [I 2861].

Cutter: I 656 + 6355. *ALC* 84-86.

a. Fragment of Hymettian marble. H: 0.23 m., W: 0.26 m., Th: 0.07. Letter height:

0.006 m.

b. Fragment of Hymettian marble found 8 May 1935 in a late context east of the

Odeion (N 11). Broken on all sides. H: 0.145 m., W: 0.13 m., Th: 0.035 m.

Letter height: 0.006 m.

I do not show the third column which contained the tribes of Hippothontis, Aiantis, Antiochis, and Attalis, and which does not survive.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

			[Πτολεμαίος]
			[- c.9 -]ς Διοκλέου[ς - - -]
	Top of Column I		[Ἄκαμαν]τίδος
	c. 8 lines		[Τιμοκλήης Π]ολυκλέους θορίκιο[ς]
	missing		[- c.8 -]ράτου Πόριος
5			[Οἴνειδ]ος
			[- c.9 -]ς Δωροθέου Φυλάσ[ιος]
	[Πανδιονίδος]		[- c.10 -] Κλεοδώρου Ἀχαρνεύ[ς]
	[- c.9 -]μοτέλου[- c.5 -]εὔς		[Κεκροπίδ]ος
	Κλέαρ[χο]ς Σ[ωσι]στρά[του] Κ[υ]θήρρ		Δι[- c.11 -]νος Αἰζωνεύς
10	Λεων[τί]δος		Διον[υ]σ - - - -]
	Ἔωσθένης [Σω]σθένου Κ[ρω]πίδης		Σιμάρ[ιστος - - - -]
	Διονύσιος [Ἐρ]μίου(?) Λευκ[ον]οεύς		Ξένω[ν - - - - -]
	ἡ [β]ου[λῆ]	ἡ βουλή	- - - -
	ὁ δῆμος	ὁ δῆμο[ς]	- - - -
15	Ἐρμόδωρο[ν]	Περσαίο[ν]	- - - -
	Ἀχαρνέα	Κικυνν[έα]	- - - -
	ἡ βουλή		
	ὁ δῆμος]		
	- - - -		

As shown above, Columns share line numbers and therefore the line numbering differs from that of Tracy's edition.

35. 185/4.* Archon, Eupolem[os].

IGII² 900.

Cutter: IGII² 897, ALC 115, 116.

Two fragments of Hymettian marble in the National Museum.

a. Found at "S. Trinitatem" with part of left side preserved. H: 0.24 m., W: 0.19m.,

Th: 0.113 m.

b. Part of the right side preserved. H: 0.39 m., W: 0.35, Th: 0.12 m.

Following Meritt (*Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon I* [1965], 194, n. 8), I

have not included "fragment c".

Letter height for all: 0.005 m.

NON- . . . ΓΟΥ [κ]αλῶς - - - - -
ΣΤΟΙΧ. [. . . κ]αθήκει δὲ - - - - -
c.80 . . . τοῖς ἐφηβε[ύ]σασι - - - - -] εὐκοσμί[α . . .]
. . . ται δὲ καὶ ἡ βου[λ]ῆ c.29 ἀγαθῆν τύχην
δεδοχθαι] τῆι βουλεῖ. [τοῦ]-
5 [ς λα]χόντας προέδρ[ους εἰς ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων,
γνώμην δὲ συμβ[άλλ]-
[εσθ]αι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς [τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆι βουλῆι, ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς
ἐπὶ Εὐπολέμ[ο]-
[ν Ἄ]ρχοντος καὶ στε[φανῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσῶι στεφάνωι εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν]
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς [κα]-
[ι ε]ὐταξίας ἣν ἔχοντε[ς διετέλεσαν ἐν ὄλωι τῶι ἐνιαυτῶι καὶ φιλοτιμίας
τῆ]ς εἰς τὴν βουλήν κα[ι τὸ]-
[ν δ]ῆμον καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸ[ν στέφανον τοῦτον Διονυσίων τῶν τε ἐν ἄστει
κα]λινοῖς τραγωιδοῖς καὶ Ἐλευ-
10 [σ]ινίων καὶ Παναθηναίων [καὶ Πτολεμαίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι· τῆς δὲ

ποιήσεως τῶν στεφάνων κ[αὶ]

[τῶν ἀναγορεύσεων ἐπιμε[ληθῆναι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τὸν ταμίαν] τῶν
στρατιωτικῶν· ὑπάρχειν δὲ [αὐ]-

[τοῖς καὶ προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι [τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθησιν καὶ τὸν
ἀρχιτέκτονα τὸν ἀεὶ [χειρ]οτο[ν]οῦ[με]-

[νον] κατανέμειν αὐτοῖς τὸν τό[πον· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰκόνων χα]λκῶν
δυεῖν ἀνάθεσιν οὐ ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῆι·

[ἐπ]εὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ κοσμητὴς αὐτῶν^{·c·26}. ε αὐτοῖ
πολλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα διατετέλ[εκε]

15 [τῶ]ι δῆμῳ πρὸς ἀσφάλει[αν] καὶ φυλακὴν παρέχων, ἠξίωσε δ' αἰτή[σαι]
τὸν δῆμον δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἄθλόν τι [τῆς]

[κ]ακοπαθίας, ἀνάθημα δεδόσθαι [αὐτοῖς καθάπερ ἤιτησεν ὁ κο]σμητῆς,
ὃ ἂν φαίνηται τῶι δ[ή]μῳ, τιμῆς ἕνεκ[α]

καὶ τούτου τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ἐν λυκ[εῖω] ποιήσασθαι μνημεῖον] τῆς φιλοπονίας
καὶ εὐταξίας· καὶ ἐπιγράψα[ι]

τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν πατρόθεν [καὶ κατὰ δῆμους καὶ τοῦ κοσμη]τοῦ καὶ τῶν
διδασκάλων· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ[ν]

κοσμητὴν αὐτῶν θεόβουλον θε[ο]βούλου Ἐλευσίνιου ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ
φιλοτιμίας ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸ[ς]

20 τῆμ βουλῆν καὶ τὸν δῆμον^{·c·24}. ρας καὶ στεφανωθῆναι[ι κατ]ὰ
τ[ὸν ν]όμον· ἐπαινέ[σαι]

δὲ καὶ τοὺς διδασκ[άλους, τὸν τε ὀπλομάχον Περ]σαῖον Συμμάχου
Κικυννέα καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην [Ἑρμό]-

[δ]ωρον Ἑορτίου [Ἀχαρνέα καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν Νικόμαχο]ν Νικομάχου
Ἀφιδναῖον καὶ τὸν καταπαλταφ[έτην Πε]-

[διέα Νεάδρου ἐκ Κεραμῶν καὶ τὸν τοξότη]ν Σῶσον Προξένου Σφήττιον καὶ
στεφανῶσαι ἕκ[αστον αὐ]-

[τῶι θαλλοῦ στεφάνω]ι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα] τὸν γραμματέα
τὸγ κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λι[θίνει καὶ]

25 [.^{c.31}. στήσα]ι ἐν ἀγοραῖ, τὸ δὲ γενόμενον
 ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν στήλ[ην καὶ εἰς]
 [τὸ ἀνάθημα μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιω]τικῶν. *vacat* 0.165
lacuna 0.046
 [κοσμητή]ν ἐφ.ήβ[ous]

Lines 19-23: B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15 (1946), 197.

Line 27: *ALC* 116.

36. 181/0(?).* Archon, Hippios (?).

S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 51 (1982), 59.

I 7138.

Style of cutter I 656 + 6355, *ALC* 84.

Fragment of grayish-white marble found 10 June 1970 in a Byzantine wall (N6). H:

0.224 m., W: 0.158 m., Th: 0.085 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

NON- - - - - εὐκο]σμίαν φα - - -
 ΣΤΟΙΧ. - - - - - ἀγαθῆι τύχει δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλευῖ. τ]ρὸς
 c.80 λαχόντα[ς προέδρους]
 [εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων· γνώμην δὲ
 ξυμβά]λλεσθαι τῆς [βουλῆς εἰς τὸν]
 [δημον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆι βουλήι ἐπανέσαι τοὺς ἐφήβους τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἰππίου ?
 ἄρχοντο]ς καὶ στε[φανῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυ]-
 5 [σῶι στεφάνωι εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εὐταξίας ἦν
 ἔχοντε]ς διατετ[ελέκασιν ἐν ὄλῳι]
 [τῶι ἐνιαυτῶι καὶ φιλοτιμίας εἰς τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δημον καὶ
 ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέφαν]ον τοῦτον Δι[ονυσίωι τῶν τε]

[ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν
ἐν στήλει λιθίν]ει κ[αὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν]
[ἐφήβων κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ στήσαι κτλ. - - -]

For the date, see Tracy's note on line 4.

37. c.180.

O.W. Reinmuth, *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 12-15.

I 6512.

Cutter: I 6512, ALC 128, 130.

Fragment of banded blue and white marble found 15 April 1952 in a collection of marbles excavated from near the southeast corner of the Agora. Broken on all sides: H: 0.16 m., W: 0.23 m., Th: 0.17 m. Height of letters, 0.005 - 0.007 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. c.62.

[- - - - -] Ν Ο [- - - - -]

[εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἢ ἔχοντες δι]ατε[τελέκασιν
ἐν ὄλῳ τῶι ἐν]-

[ιαυτῶι καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον]: ἀνάθημα
δὲ δεδόσθαι αὐτοῖς]

[καθάπερ ἤιτησεν ὁ κοσμητῆς καὶ τούτου τὴν ἀνάθεσιν] ἐν Λ[υκεῖωι
ποιήσασθαι μνη]-

5 [μεῖον τῆς φιλοπονίας καὶ εὐταξίας ἐπιγράψαι τὰ ὀνόματα [αὐτῶν
πατρόθεν καὶ]

[κατὰ δῆμους καὶ τοῦ κοσμητοῦ καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων]: ἐπαινέ[σαι δὲ
καὶ τὸν κοσμητὴν αὐτῶν]

[- - - - - c.20 - - - - -] ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ φι[λοτιμίας ἢ
[ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς τὴν]

[βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς διδα]σκάλους τό[ν
τε ἀκοντιστὴν Νικόμα]-

[χον Νικομάχου Ἀφιδναῖον καὶ τὸν ὄπλο]μάχον Περσαῖον [Συμμάχου
Κικυννέα]

10 [καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην - - - - - φλ]υέα καὶ τὸν τοξότ[η]ν Σῶσον Προ]-
[ξένου Σφήττιον καὶ τὸν καταπαλταφέ]την Πεδιέα Νεάνδρου ἐκ Κεραμέων]
[καὶ τὸν γραμματέα - - - - -]Πειραιέα, καὶ στεφανῶ[σαι ἕκαστον]
[αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε] τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν
γραμμ[ατέα τὸν κατὰ]

[πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ τὰ ὀνό]ματα τῶν ἐφήβων κατὰ
φυ[λᾶς καὶ]

15 [στήσαι ἐν ἀγοραῖ· τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα] εἰς τὴν στήλην καὶ
τὴν [ἀνάθεσιν]

[μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν]· *vacat*

vacat

The date of this inscription is a difficult subject. Reinmuth (13) dated it to around 185/6 because the other two inscriptions listing Persaios Symmachou of Kikynna as *hoplomachos*, 31 and 33, were of about this time. But Holler *apud* Tracy read -υέα rather than -νέα in line 10, and on the basis of this, Tracy redated it to a time when Hermodoros might no longer have been *Paidotribes* (*Hesperia* 51 [1982], 58-60, & *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 [1982], 159, n. 6) - around 180. Tracy does not explain that Reinmuth had restored the *Paidotribes* as the third *didaskalos* praised on the strength of his reading of the demotic. The *Paidotribes* is normally praised first, as in 34.17, though 31 and 33 deviate from this norm. The *Hoplomachos* certainly seems to have been praised second of the *didaskaloi*, and we know that Nikamachos held his post as *Akontistes* at least until 172/1 (39.117-121 II). Our inscription dates before this because by this time Neandros has succeeded Pedieus as *Katapultaphetes*. Reinmuth's order and Tracy's date stand.

Line 7: Reinmuth restored Theoboulos Theoboulou of Eleusis as *kosmetes* because he was *kosmetes* in 33.19. There is no reason to believe any man held this position for more than one year.

38. 180/79. Archon, Dionysius (after Dionysius).

S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 45 (1976), 285-9.

I 7286.

Cutter: I 247, *ALC* 103.

Fragment of gray marble found 2 May 1971 in an early Byzantine disturbance in foundations along the Panathenaic Way (K2). Face only preserved. H: 0.11 m., W: 0.105 m., Th: 0.018 m. Letter height: 0.005 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [- - - - c.33 - - - -] ν ἐπὶ [τῆς - - - - - - - -]
c.60-70? [- - - - c.30 - - - -] ἐγρα]μμάτευε[ν - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - c.30 - - - -] ἐκκ]λησία ἐν τ[ῶι θεάτρῳ ? τῶν προέδρων *etc.*]
[- - - - c.32 - - - -]ης καὶ συμπρ[όεδροι. ἔδοξεν *etc.*]
5 [- - - - c.34 - - - -] Σημαχίδης εἶπεν. ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι - - - -]
[- - - - c.35 - - - -] Ν ἔθυσάν τε τ[ὰς θυσίας ? - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - c.24 - - - -] μετὰ τοῦ κοσ]μητοῦ καὶ τοῦ [ιερέως ? - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - c.35 - - - -] τετέλεσαν [- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - c.36 - - - -] καὶ τῆι Α[- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
10 [- - - - c.36 - - - -] καὶ τῆν [- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - c.36 - - - -] Σ τοῖς [- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - c.39 - - - -] Ε [- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

Date: The length of the archon's name suggests that he is either Διόδωτος μετὰ Φαναρχίδης (197/6) or Διονύσιος μετὰ Διονύσιον (180/79). The latter is

somewhat more compatible with the cutter's dates: 194/3-148/7, *ALC* 99.

39. 171/0. Archon, Antigenes.

B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15 (1946), 199-201 (= *Hesperia* 3 (1934), 14).

I 166.

Cutter: *IGII*² 913, *ALC* 74.

Stele of Pentelic marble found 12 February 1932 in a position as a cover slab over the ancient drain in Section E. H: 1.653 m., W: 0.41 - 0.461 m., Th: 0.135 - 0.15 m. Letter height: 0.006 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. Θεο[ί]

- c.44 ἐπὶ Ἀντιγένου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος τετάρ-
της πρυτανείας εἶ Σώσανδρος Σω[σικρ]ά[τ]του[ς] Ἀλω-
πεκῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· Πυανοψιδῶνος ἐν[δ]εκάτ[ει],^ν
5 ἐβδόμει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρ[ί]α
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδρων [ἐπ]ε[ψήφ]ιζεν] Εὐ[. . .]ί-
δος Ἐχεφύλου Ἀχαρνέως [καὶ συμπρόεδροι.]
ἔδοξεν τεῖ [βουλεῖ] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
Ἀναξιφῶν Εὐφραγόρου Ῥαμνούσιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ
10 ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Σωσιγένου ἄρχοντος ἐφηβεύσαντες δι-
ετέλεσαν εὐτακτοῦ[ντες καὶ πειθαρχοῦντες τῷ κοσ]-
μητεῖ καὶ τοῖς στ[ρατ]ηγ[οῖς] καὶ φιλοτιμούμενοι ἐπεμε]-
λήθησαν τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ τε ἄστεως καὶ τοῦ Πειραιέως]
ἀκολούθως τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐψηφισμέ]-
15 νοις καὶ συνέπεμψαν τεῖ πόλει τὰς πομπὰς πάσας τὰς κα]-
θ' ἑαυτοὺς καθηκούσας· ἐλειτούργησαν δὲ καὶ ταῖς]
Σεμναῖς Θεαῖς [ἀνεγκλήτως καὶ τὰς ἄλλας λειτουργίας]
τὰς καθηκούσας ἀπάσας ἐλειτούργησαν μετὰ πάσης]

εὐκοσμία[ς καὶ ἡσυχίας· διετήρησαν δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλή]-
 20 λους [ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν· ὅπως οὖν ἐφάμιλλον ἦι τοῖς ἐφη]-
 βεύουσι· [ἀεὶ καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς]
 καθιστα[μένοις διδασκάλοις εἰ εἰδόσιν ὅτι ἡ βουλή]
 καὶ ὁ [δῆμος τιμῶσιν τοὺς καλῶς ἐφηβεύσαντας, ἀγαθῆι]
 τύχη δεδόχ[θαι τεῖ βουλευεῖ τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους]
 25 εἰς τὴν ἐπιού[σαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων· γνώ]-
 μην δὲ ξυμβά[λλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ]
 τεῖ βουλευεῖ [ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἐφήβους τοὺς ἐπὶ Σωσιγένου]
 ἄρχοντος [καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσῶι στεφάνωι φι]-
 λο[τιμίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον - - -]
 30 . . . ο - - - - -

lines 31-42 illegible

[ἐ]πὶ Ἀντιγένου ἄρχοντος ἐπ[ὶ τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτα]-
 [ν]είας εἰ Σ[ώ]σανδρος Σωσικράτους] Ἀλω[πεκῆ]θεν ἐγραμ[μ]μά-
 45 τευεν· [Ἐ]λα[φ]ηβολιῶνος ἐ[ν]ά[τε]ι ἰσταμένου [ὄ]γ[ο]δο[ε]ι καὶ δεκά-
 [τε]ι τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκ[κ]λησία ἐν τῶι θε[α]τρ[ω]ι· τῶν προέ-
 δρων ἐπεψήφιζ[ε]ν - - -]ωγος [- - - - - καὶ συμ]-
 πρόεδροι *vacat* ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι *vacat*
 [Ἀ]να[ξ]ιφῶν [Ε]ὐ[φ]ραγόρου Ἰαμνούσιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ - -]
 50 [. . .]ΟΛ . Ο[ς] χειροτο[ν]ηθεῖς κοσμητῆς] ἐπ[ὶ τ]οῦ[ς] ἐ[φ]ήβους [εἰς]
 τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν [τὸν ἐπὶ Σω]σιγένου [ἄρχοντος ἔ]θυσεν] Υ . .
 [. . . .] αὐτῶν [τὰς θυσίας] καλῶς καὶ [- - - -] Ο [- - -]
 . . . ΟΝΤΙΣ Σ Σ ΙΣΤΟΥ . . ΙΡ . Λ⁸ . . .
 . . ΥΝΙΚΙΑΣΤΑ . . ΤΟΝΟ . . Α - - - - - ΤΥ - - -
 55 [ἐ]φ[η]βων . . Ν - - - - -
 [σ]τρατη[γ]ῶ[ν] - - - - -

lines 57-77 illegible

78	- - - -	ή βουλή	- - - -
79	- - - -	ὁ δῆμος	- - - -
80	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
	- - - -	- - - -	
	- -	- -	- -
83	[οἱ ἐφηβ]εύσαντες ἐπὶ Σωσιγένου ἄρχοντος		
	11 lines illegible		
95	- - - - - - - - - -		Ἴπποθω[ντίδος]
	5 lines illegible		
101	- - - - - - - - - -		Αἰαντίδος
	4 lines illegible		
106	- - - - - - - - - -		Ἄντιοχίδος
	2 lines illegible		
109	- - - - - - - - - -		Ἄτταλίδος
	5 lines illegible		
115	ή βου[λή]	[ή β]ο[υλή]	[ή β]ουλή
	ὁ δῆμος	[ὁ δῆμος]	ὁ δῆμος
	- - - -	[τὸν ἀκ]ο[ντισ]-	[τ]ὸ[ν ὀπ]λομάχην
	- - - -	[τὴν] Νικό-	Ἔστ[ιό]δω-
	- - - -	μαχον Ἄ-	ρον Προ-
120	- - - -	φιδναῖ-	βαλί
	- -	ον	
	ή βουλή	ή βουλή	ή βουλή
	ὁ δῆμος	ὁ δῆμος	ὁ δῆμος
	Ἄλεξιν	Νέανδρον	Κρώμαχ-
125	Χολαργέ-	ἐκ Κερα-	ον Παλ-
	α	μέων	ληνέα

For the end of line 3: see Pritchett: *Phoenix* 23 (1969), 167-8; *Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone* (Berkeley, 1963), 277; *The Calendars of Athens* (Harvard, 1947), 76; Meritt: *TAPhA* 95 (1964), 247-251; *The Athenian Year* (Berkeley, 1961), 160.

Line 16: Pélékides, *Histoire*, 251, n. 6.

Comment on Neandros: P. Roussel, *BCH* 58 (1934), 91.

Note: I have included second century inscriptions down to c.166 in order to coincide with Pélékides' chronological division, but those presented do not include several hitherto unpublished stones. The inscription, O.W. Reinmuth, *Hesperia* 30 (1961), 15-17 [I 5131], does not appear because it has been redated from 184-171 to c.100 or later (*ALC* 253).

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