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## Two Dikastic *Pinakia*

Since the appearance in 1972 of *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates* (hereafter *ABAP*),<sup>1</sup> the number of these inscribed artefacts has continued to grow. A brief supplement of six was published in honor of Sterling Dow in 1984.<sup>2</sup> Mabel Lang's catalogue of pinakia fragments from the Agora excavations appeared in the Agora volume devoted to the lawcourts of Athens (1995).<sup>3</sup> And in separately published excavation reports Greek archaeologists have recorded a dozen pinakia unearthed since 1972 from various cemeteries in Attica.<sup>4</sup> New specimens in other publications include the pinakion in the Manchester Museum recently presented in this journal by Peter Liddell<sup>5</sup> and the two pinakia reviewed here that are known from auction catalogues.

The second of these allotment plates is said to have belonged to a 19<sup>th</sup> century English collection. No source is provided for the first, although its authenticity is beyond question. Both belong to Class V, the large category of extant dikastic pinakia that were issued in the 360s, probably in a single year. Their characteristics (analyzed in *ABAP*, 14-15, 26-30, 41-46) are as follows:

Before inscribing the pinakion was stamped with three stamps: (1) a section-letter (**A** through **K**) in an incuse frame at the upper left corner; (2) at the lower left corner, the type of a triobol coin (standing, facing owl between two olive branches and the letters Η<sup>Α</sup>Θ); (3) at the right end, a finely-featured gorgoneion. The **T**(riobol) seal certified that the owner was one of the 6,000 annually-allotted and sworn *dikastai* and that the pinakion was to be used in the daily allotments for empanelling jurors. The **G**(orgoneion) seal was essentially a seal of citizenship; it merely certified that the pinakion could be used also in the annual allotments for state offices (*ABAP*, 55-56).

The name of the first owner was then inscribed with letters that were secured with added punched or drilled holes according to a rigidly prescribed format: holes were placed at the terminal points of linear letters and in a triangular formation for rho, theta, omicron and omega. This painstaking procedure was intended to prevent the erasure of the name of the legitimately allotted and sworn juror and its illegal replacement with the name of someone else.

Later, a square **D**ouble-bodied owl stamp was commonly (as on no. **2** below) but not invariably (see no. **1** below) stamped near the right end. The purpose of this stamp was probably to revalidate the pinakion in the second year after the initial issue of Class V pinakia.

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1. J. H. Kroll, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates*, Cambridge, MA, 1972.

2. *Ibid.*, More Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates, in A. L. Boegehold *et al.* (eds.), *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his Eightieth Birthday, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Monographs*, Durham, NC, 1984, 165-171, pls. 11, 12.

3. Mabel Lang, Pinakia, in A. L. Boegehold, *The Law Courts of Athens, The Athenian Agora XXVI*, Princeton 1995, 59-64.

4. These pinakia have been duly listed in the annual volumes of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. I am preparing a detailed presentation.

5. P. Liddell, Timodemides' *Pinakion*, Manchester Museum 42015, *Γραμματεῖον* 9 (2020) 77-80.

1. *Numismatik Lanz, München, Auction 138; Münzen der Antike, 26 Nov. 2007*, p. 52, no. 336 (with the photograph reproduced here as Fig. 1).

Complete. Broken in two. Cleaned to dark metal surface. 10.8 x 2.2 x 0.34 cm.

Two uses:

<i>a</i>	<b>B</b>	Μεῖδων	
			<b>G</b>
	<b>T</b>	Μυρρι(νούσιος)	

<i>b</i>	<b>B</b>	Πιστοκλῆς	
			<b>G</b>
	<b>T</b>	Μυρρι(νούσιος)	

In the auction catalogue only the name of the second user was recognized: Pistokles of Myrrhinous, a person previously unknown in Athenian prosopography.

The name of the first use is readily restored from the pierced holes of the original lettering (Fig. 2): Meidon of Myrrhinous. He is from an exceptionally well-known family of the same deme. Eighteen members of the family over six generations are listed on three funerary stelai erected in their home deme. A full stemma is given in *JHS* 100 (1980), 115, table I. Since Meidon was not buried with the pinakion, he could be the Meidon M. who was a *bouleutes* in 336/5, at least if he was Meidon (II), son of Kalliteles, M. (so *ibid.*, note d, and *Agora XV*, p. 426). If, however, the *bouleutes* happened to be Meidon (III), son of Kallimedes, M. (*PAA* 637660), who died near the end of the century, he would have been too young to have owned at age 30 or more a Class V pinakion in the second quarter of the century.

Leaving the identity of Meidon aside, a more interesting question arises from the fact that both users are from the same deme and the likelihood that the transfer of this pinakion from one demesman to the other occurred in a single year<sup>6</sup>, meaning that the transfer of ownership was probably a private transfer, unauthorized by the state. Such unlawful reinscribing of dikasts' pinakia had evidently been common enough to give rise to the Class V reform, whereby the officially inscribed names of the 6,000 jurors were permanently fixed with pierced holes as mentioned above. The present pinakion suggests, however, that even this remedy could be circumvented. Here the demotic was left intact, while, after erasure of the letter strokes in line one, the engraver incorporated as many holes of the earlier letters into letters of the second name as possible. Very likely the remaining holes, especially at the right were filled

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6. That this pinakion was in use for no more than a single year rests on two probable suppositions: first, that all pinakia inscribed with the pierced-hole lettering of Class V were inscribed in a single reform issue, i.e., in the same year; second, that the square, double-bodied owl stamp was a stamp that validated or revalidated all pinakia in use during the next year. Many of these were Class V pinakia of dikasts who were re-allotted to serve for a second year in a row; others were older pinakia that were brought out of storage, erased, and inscribed for the new dikasts of that year. Since the pinakion of Meidon and Pistokles lacks the double-bodied owl stamp, it would have been buried with Pistokles before all active pinakia were stamped with the double-bodied owl seal in the following administrative year. I hope to present a more detailed demonstration of this somewhat compressed pinakion chronology shortly.

in with resin or some similar material. Since the transfer was from a man of a prominent family to an obscure fellow demesman, who, as we know, would soon die and be buried with the pinakion, one suspects that Meidon did not sell his pinakion to Pistokles (which would be the usual reason for illicit reinscribing) but rather had it reinscribed as act of generosity or patronage for an elderly acquaintance. The pinakion entitled its owner to the three-obol stipend every day that he was allotted to be empanelled on a jury.

2. *Christie's Antiquities Auction Catalogue*, London, 27 October 2009, p. 70, lot 193: "A Greek bronze *pinakia* [*sic*](allotment ticket) ..formerly in the collection of Francis Sacheverel Darwin (1786-1859), uncle of the naturalist Charles Darwin." Illustrated with the color photograph reproduced here as Fig. 3.

Whole. Surface is encrusted with green corrosion. 11.5 cm. (no other dimensions recorded). Single notches have been cut in the left, upper, and lower edges and two notches in the right edge. Carrying hole drilled low, near the middle.

Two attested uses:

<i>a</i>	Θ [- - - -]ΣΟ	<i>D G</i>
	<i>T</i> [- - - - -]	
<i>b</i>	Θ Ἐξήκεστος ὁ	
	Ἄμειν(- - -)	<i>D G</i>
	<i>T</i> Ἀλαιεύς	

*Use a.* Like the stamped theta section-letter on *ABAP* no. 65, this one too is framed in an incuse circle. The name and demotic of the first user were inscribed in the Class V alphabet with added holes piercing through the metal. Except for the holes belonging to the two letters (a sigma and an omicron) at the end of the first line, all other pierced holes of the name and demotic had been filled in and during burial were sealed by corrosion. Many of the filled holes, although not enough for restoration of the letters, show as small white dots in the green patina of the surface metal. The holes indicating ΣΟ at the end of line 1 are probably from a patronymic that might have continued in line 2. Since the filled holes can be easily punched through with a pin, the name of the first owner can eventually be recovered.

*Use b.* The last owner and his father are new additions to Athenian prosopography.

A problem remains nevertheless with the *inscribed* omicron at the end of line 1. It is inscribed, but not very precisely, over the triangle of holes pierced for the omicron of use *a* in the same position. Since it shows no signs of erasure, it looks as if it was inscribed as part of the second name, in which case it would be an article before the patronymic of the last owner, as printed above. Such use of an article to link the nomen and patronymic is without parallel in the corpus of inscribed pinakia, but this is not the only anomaly of the inscription; the positioning of the patronymic in a middle line is also irregular. As an afterthought, the abbreviated patronymic was fitted in as available space allowed, presumably to

distinguish Exekestos from another demesman from Halai Aixonides with the same nomen, a distinction that the article tends to emphasize.

Only one other published pinakion is known to have been inscribed in three lines. *ABAP* no. 68, a dikastic Class IV pinakion in its third out of four successively inscribed owners' names, also had the owner's patronymic added in between the earlier inscribed nomen above and demotic below. In this case the full patronymic was inscribed with rows of dots produced by a pointed tool, a simple technique suggesting that the patronymic may have been added by the owner himself.

The notches in each end of the present pinakion have been explained as cuts that allowed the pinakion to be tightly anchored to a worktable when being erased. Since they are positioned so as not to cut into any of the stamps, it follows that the stamps remained valid for the last use. The double notches at the right are paralleled on *ABAP* no. 57; and single notches have parallels on *ABAP* nos. 66 (slight), 96 (large) and 134. At the left end of *ABAP* no. 96 we find triple notches. The notches in the upper and lower edges are unparallelled, as is the position of the drilled hole for a carrying string near the middle of the pinakion.



Fig. 1. Pinakion 1.  
Photo *Numismatik Lanz*.

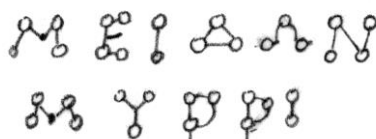


Fig. 2. Pinakion 1.  
Text *a* restored.



Fig. 3. Pinakion 2.  
Photo *Christie's*.