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Two Attic Demarchs Revisited

In the course of carrying out research on epigraphical evidence for the cults of Dionysos in the Attic demes, I studied the previous editions and examined the stones at autopsy that are directly or indirectly related to the context of Dionysos cults. Below I present two of them, in particular for revisiting the onomastics of two Attic demarchs.¹

1. The honorific decree of Halai Araphenides SEG 55, 252 (ca. 350)

The text was inscribed on a stele of ‘Pentelic’ marble of which the top, left and slightly bottom right were broken away. Kotzias² published the ed. princ. with a photo of the squeeze, but the stone found at Loutsia in 1926 is lost ‘possibly during the Second World War’ (informed by the Second Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities), and the squeeze is missing. Immediately after publication by Kotzias, Roussel³ suggested valuable correction and complement to lines 11-12. In the meantime, the text of SEG 55, 252, published in 2009, is a reprint of the ed. princ. Accordingly, it is still accepted as standard, while Hollinshead incorporated Roussel’s correction into her text, followed by Kalogeropoulos.⁴ I think, however, the text would remain problematic on some points. My text is as follows:

6-18	[εἶναι δὲ κα]ἰ προεδρία-	stoich. 18
	[ν αὐτοῖς ἐν] τοῖς ἀγῶσι	
	[. 9]ν· νέμειν δὲ	
	[καὶ μερίδ]α αὐτῶν ἑκατ-	
10	[έρωι τοῦς] ἱεροποιούς	

I express my warm thanks to Dr. Angelos P. Matthaiou for suggesting me the problem of restoration in the first decree and for kindly showing me his unpublished paper of November 2014. I am grateful to Prof. John S. Traill and Dr. Georgia E. Malouchou for reading a draft. I also thank the director and staff of the Epigraphical Museum for granting me permission to examine the second decree EM 7746+7747 and for facilitating my study on September 2012.

1. Another version of this paper was presented at Doshisha University (Kyoto, Japan) on May 2015. All dates are BCE unless otherwise stated. The notation [T.] attached to epigraphical citations means the letters which I examined at autopsy.

2. N. Ch. Kotzias, Δημοτικὸν ψήφισμα Ἀλῶν τῶν Ἀραφηνίδων, *AE* 1925-1926 [1929] 168-177. On temporary preservation of the stone in the Archaeological Collection of Liopesi, see also Voula N. Bardani, Δημοτικὸν ψήφισμα Ἀλαιέων, *HOPOS* 10-12 (1992-1998) 58, n. 19.

3. P. Roussel, Bulletin épigraphique, *REG* 43 (1930) 192.

4. Mary B. B. Hollinshead, *Legend, Cult, and Architecture at Three Sanctuaries of Artemis*, Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College 1979, 76-77, no. 1; K. Kalogeropoulos, *Το ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Τανροπόλου στις Ἀλές Ἀραφηνίδες (Λούτσα)*, vol. 1, Athens 2013, 139-140, 144. On the repeated use of the ed. princ., see D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica, 508/7-ca. 250 B.C.: A Political and Social Study*, Princeton 1986, 381, no. 59; Sara M. Wijma, *Embracing the Immigrant: The Participation of Metics in Athenian Polis Religion (5th-4th Century BC)*, Stuttgart 2014, 121; Ilaria Bultrighini, *Demi attici della Paralia*, Lanciano 2015, 113.

[τοὺς ἱερο]π[οι]οῦντας ἄ-
 [εἰ καὶ τὸν] δῆμ[α]ρχον· ἄν-
 [αγράφαι] δὲ τόδ[ε τ]ὸ ψήφ-
 [ισμα ἐν σ]τήλει λι[θ]ίνε-
 15 [ι καὶ στή]σαι ἐν τῷ ἱερ-
 [ῳ τῆς Ἀρ]τέμιδος τῆς Τ-
 [αυροπόλ]ης τὸν δῆμαρχ-
 [ον . . 4-5 . .]αν.

vacat 0.125

Suppl. Kotzias, 11-12 Roussel || 7-8 [ἐν] τοῖς ἀγῶσι[ν, οἷς τίθησι]ν Kotz.; [πᾶσι Ἀλαιοῶ]ν Takeuchi || 11-12 [. . . . 8] π[οι]οῦντας Ἀ[ρχίαν τὸν] δῆμ[α]ρχον Kotz. || 17-18 τὸν δῆμαρχ[ον Ἀρχί]αν Kotz. et alii.

6-8 These lines are related to the award of proedria at the competitions of some kind. Kotzias complimented the text with τοῖς ἀγῶσι[ν, οἷς τίθησι]ν, but this causes 19 letters in line 8 instead of 18 letter stoichedon, as Matthaïou noticed independently, and the last nu is placed on stoichos 10, not 11. Moreover, the relative clause modifying the words like τοῖς ἀγῶσι(ν) mostly needs a nominative subject, such as deme. Cf. *SEG* 34, 103.21-24 (Halai Araphenides, 334/3-314/3) [T.]: εἶναι δὲ καὶ προεδρίαν αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι[ν] ἄπασιν, οἷς ἄν ποιῶσιν Ἀλ[α]ίης; *IG* II² 1182.2-4 (Myrrhinous, med. s. IV): [πρ]οεδρί[αν ἐν | ταῖς θέ]αις πάσαις αἷς πο[ι]οῦσι Μυρρινούσιοι. For a parallel from the polis decrees, cf. *IG* II² 500.31-33 (302/1): εἶναι δ' | αὐτοῖς καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν ἄπασιν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οὓς ἄν ἡ πόλις τιθεῖ.

Given no other clear breach of stoichedon in this text, I suggest here [ἐν] τοῖς ἀγῶσι | [πᾶσι Ἀλαιοῶ]ν 'at all the competitions of Halai', following an alternative restoration of Matthaïou. The adjective πᾶσι(ν) or ἄπασιν(ν) is in general attached to τοῖς ἀγῶσι(ν) in this context, as cited above. Cf. Hdt. 6. 57.10: καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι πᾶσι προεδρίας ἐξαιρέτους. The genitive plural demotic Ἀλαιοῶν⁵ is the contracted form of Ἀλαίεων. On the latter, one can find an example in the same decree *SEG* 55, 252.3-5: [δικαιοσ]ύνης ἕνεκα | [καὶ φιλοτι]μίας τῆς {ε}ῖς | [τὸν δῆμον τ]ῶν Ἀλ<α>ιέων. For my restoration cf. *IG* II² 450.25-29 (314/3) [T.]: δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ [σίτ]ησιν ἐμ πρυτανείῳ καὶ [πρ]οεδρίαν ἐν ἄπασιν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκγόνων τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ.

8-12 These lines regulate the provision of sacrificial meat for the non-demesmen, either citizens or foreigners. I would maintain Roussel's correction, by which the *hieropoioi* in office and the demarch are to provide the portion of the meat for each of the honorands.⁶ At any rate, the ed. princ. does not make sense, since it is syntactically impossible and incorrect to designate some personal name here as the

5. For such contractions of nouns in -ευς, see L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, vol. 2: *Morphology*, Berlin 1996, 248-258, 56.0225; cf. *IG* II³ 4, 223.1 (Halai Aixonides, ca. 360-350): [οἱ αἰ]ρεθέντ[ες ὑπ]ὸ Ἀλα[ιῶν]. I thank Dr. Angelos Matthaïou for drawing my attention to this point.

6. The demarch could share responsibility for sacrifice with the *hieropoioi*. Cf. *IG* I³ 244C.2-5 (Skambonidai, ca. 440) [T.]: τὸν δέ[μαρχον | καὶ τὸς : ἡ[ι]εροποι[οι]δ[ες] : τοῖ Λεδ[ι] δρᾶν τ[έ]λεον : λ[ε]χ[σιν].

subject of present infinitive νέμειν, which suggests a permanent or recurrent privilege at annual sacrifices. Cf. *I.Eleusis* 99.20-23 (319/8? or ca. 340-330): νέμειν δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ μερίδα ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν καθάπερ Ἐλευσινίοις τὸν δῆμαρχον | τὸν αἰὶ δημαρχοῦντα; *IG* II² 1204.12-17 (Lamptrai, fin. s. IV) [T.]: καὶ νέμειν αὐτῶι κρέα ἐν τοῖς | ἱεροῖς οἷς ἂν θύωσι|ν οἱ δημόται Λαμπτρ[ῶσι καθ]άπερ Λαμπτρ[εῦσι]. Since his initial alpha is not secure, Roussel's amendment must have affected the restoration of [Ἀρχι]αν in line 18, but even Hollinshead and Kalogeropoulos leave the ed. princ. as it is (see below).

12-18 The publication formula could have contained a demarch name at the end, as attested in several deme decrees. Cf. *IG* II² 1197.18-21 (Aixone, ca. 330) [T.]: ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην Φιλόθηρον τὸν δῆμαρχον ^ν | καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳ; *SEG* 43, 26.B14-15⁷ (Acharnai, 315/4) [T.]: ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην τὸν δῆμαρχον Οἰνόφιλον. Based on the ed. princ., Whitehead⁸ listed A[rchi]as (*PAA* 212375) as the demarch of Halai Araphenides and regarded him 'surely' as Archias (*PAA* 212370) father of Apollodoros (*PAA* 142450), a councillor in 341/0 (*IG* II³ 4, 76.51). But the uncertainty of the initial alpha raises other possibilities of 6 letter name just ending -ας, such as Εὐθείας (*PAA* 431590; 431595), Νικέας (*PAA* 710205), Χαρίας (*PAA* 981015), all known from Halai Araphenides.

On the other hand, although Kotzias noted that the last letter of line 18 is nu, the two final letters -αν are illegible on the photo of the squeeze. If Kotzias is right, the alpha should be placed in stoichos 7, but it is not fully preserved on the edge of the squeeze paper. One can not rule out, therefore, that the alpha may occupy stoichos 8 and the demarch has 7 letter name. For example, Πειθείας (*PAA* 770820) is known as the proposer of another deme decree of Halai Araphenides *SEG* 34, 103, dated in 334/3-314/3. In addition, Δαισίς (*PAA* 300650) is attested on a funerary monument *IG* II² 5468 in 340-317, found at Brauron, which suggests his family belonging to Halai Araphenides rather than to Halai Aixonides.

2. The honorific decree of Athmonon *IG* II² 1203 (325/4)

A pedimental stele of white marble, broken on the bottom (**fig. 1**). Koumanoudes published the upper fragment *a* (EM 7746), to which Wilhelm added the lower fragment *b* (EM 7747),⁹ as printed in *IG* II² 1203. I confirm Schwenk's observation on the bottom lines,¹⁰ except for a demarch name at the end. My text at autopsy is as follows:

15-20	ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ <δ>ικαιο-	a	stoich. 25
	σύνης τῆς εἰς τοὺς δημότας, καὶ		
	ἀνειπεῖν Ἀμαρυσίων τῶι ἀγῶνι. ἀν-		(27 litt.)
	αγράφαι δὲ τόδε[ε τὸ ψήφισμ]α [ἐν] στ<ή>-		(27 litt.)
b	[λ]εἰ λ[ιθ]ίν[ει] καὶ σ[τῆσαι ἐν τῶι ἱερ- ^{νν}]		non-stoich.
20	ῶι τὸν δῆμαρχον Πολ[- - - -].		non-stoich.

7. For my new readings on this decree see K. Takeuchi, Ten Notes on Inscriptions from the Attic Demes, *HOPOS* 22-25 (2010-2013) [2014] 85-88, no. 1 (*SEG* 63, 101).

8. Whitehead 1986, 411, no. 17. This identification is supported by R. Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika*, Cambridge 1985, 84 and, most recently, by Sarah C. Humphreys, *Kinship in Ancient Athens: An Anthropological Analysis*, Oxford 2018, 881, n. 106.

9. S. A. Koumanoudes, Ἀττικαὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι, *Ἀθήναιον* 1 (1872) 16-17, no. 5 [*APMA* I 15]; A. Wilhelm, Ἀττικὰ ψηφίσματα, *AE* 1905 [1906] 225-227, no. 5.

10. Cynthia J. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander: The Dated Laws and Decrees of 'The Lykourgan Era' 338-322 B.C.*, Chicago 1985, 348-354, no. 70 (*SEG* 35, 239).

Suppl. 1-18 Koumanoudes, reliqua Wilhelm || 15 fin. ΑΙΚΑΙΟ lapis || 18 τό[δε τὸ ψήφισμ]α Wilhelm || 18 fin. ΣΤΕ lapis, [ἐν σ]τή- Kirchner; cf. Threatte, *GAI* I, 162, no. 9 || 19 in. [λ]εῖ λ[ιθίνει] Kirchner, [λ]εῖ λ[ιθίνει] Schwenk || 19 fin. – 20 in. Schwenk, σ[τήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερ]ῷ Wilhelm || 20 τὸν δῆμαρχον Πο[- - -] Wilhelm et alii.

20 Of the name of the Athmonon demarch, the first two letters Πο[- -] (*PAA* 776010) has been read in the previous editions.¹¹ At autopsy, however, I could confirm a slanting stroke on the right edge, most likely the left diagonal of lambda (**fig. 2**). Among the Athenian names starting with Πολ- are known from Athmonon in the fourth century Πολεμόνικος in *IG* II² 5261 (*PAA* 776525), Πολέμων in *ΣΕΜΑ* 29 (*PAA* 776655), Πολύζηλος in *IG* II² 2385.62 (*PAA* 778440), Πολυκλῆς in *IG* II² 5348 (*PAA* 779063) and in *IG* II² 5349 (*PAA* 779065).¹²

Addendum. At autopsy, one of the six merarchs is inscribed in the decree (lines 8-9) as Χαίρε|φάνην Χαριᾶδου and in the crown relief (lines 25-26) as Χαίρεφάνης | Χαριᾶδο[υ] (**fig. 3**). Wilhelm correctly transcribed the latter patronymic as Χαριᾶ[δ]ο[υ], but Kirchner and Schwenk misprinted it as Χαριᾶδο[υ]. In the Athenian onomastics, Χαίριάδες is only found in *IG* I³ 1190.99 of ca. 411 (*PAA* 976435), whereas Χαριᾶδης is not an uncommon name in Attica. The Athmonon merarch Χαίρεφάνης (*PAA* 975375) is also detected on a family grave monument with his father Χαριᾶδης (*PAA* 980260), brother Χαίρέστρατος (*PAA* 974720), and mother Πεισικράτεια (*PAA* 771590) daughter of Ἀλκίμαχος (*PAA* 121925) of Angele.¹³

11. See also Whitehead 1986, 409, no. 9.

12. Traill points out to me that the orthography ο for ου in *IG* II² 5261 and 5348 suggests that Πολεμόνικος and Πολυκλῆς are a generation too early for identification with the demarch, but either might certainly be of the same family as Πολ-. For an independent investigation of the demarch's prosopography, see most recently Humphreys 2018, 1057, n. 66.

13. *ΣΕΜΑ* 32 (ca. 350-300): [Χ]αριᾶδης | [Χ]αίρεφάνους | [Ἀ]θμονεύς. | *duae rosae* | Πεισικράτεια | Ἀλκιμάχου | Ἀγγεληθεν. | Χαίρεφάνης | Χαριᾶδους | Ἀθμονεύς. | Χαίρέστρατος | Χαριᾶδους | Ἀθμονεύς. For the other son of Χαριᾶδης, S. D. Lambert, *Rationes Centesimarum: Sales of Public Land in Lykourgan Athens*, Amsterdam 1997, F11, A.1: Ἀπ[. c.3 .]ς Χαριᾶδο[υ] Ἀ[θμο]νο[υ]ς. On this family, see Lambert 1997, 151-152, no. 7; Humphreys 2018, 1065-1066, table 29.15.



Figure 1. *IG* II² 1203 (EM 7746, 7747). Photo K. Takeuchi.



Figure 2. Detail of *IG II*² 1203.19-20. Photo K. Takeuchi.



Figure 3. Detail of *IG II*² 1203.25-26. Photo K. Takeuchi.