

Elizabeth A. Meyer

## Inscribing in Columns in Fifth-Century Athens

After the Persian Wars, Athens increasingly became a city of inscribed monuments clustered in her great sanctuaries and cemeteries. This epigraphic change manifested itself not just in numbers, but also in the physical form and appearance of these monuments. Not only were back-and-forth (*boustrophedon*) writing and writing up-and-down (rather than across-a-stone) now relics of a pre-Persian past; left-to-right writing in continuous horizontal lines and even an orderly checkerboard arrangement of letters, so-called *stoichedon*, became notably more common as texts became longer over the course of the century.<sup>1</sup> Another change whose first manifestations in Athens straddled the years of the great Persian invasion, as the introduction of *stoichedon* did, was the development and employment of the columnar format: the inscription of information (often one item of information, such as a name, per line) in relatively narrow left-aligned columns, with spaces left blank between them to set the columns off against each other and emphasize their verticality. Between 500 and 410 BC, this columnar format was not common. When it was used, it was used consistently for the city's casualty-lists;<sup>2</sup> then for the (so-called) Athenian tribute-lists;<sup>3</sup> for accounts listing money (almost always including, at times predominantly, money belonging to the gods) spent on statues and buildings for the gods and their sanctuaries;<sup>4</sup> and finally for the 'Attic *stēlai*', an extensive listing on stone of property (of the convicted mockers of the Eleusinian Mysteries in 415 BC) confiscated, auctioned, and taxed, inscribed on a ten-*stēlai* monument formatted in multiple columns and placed

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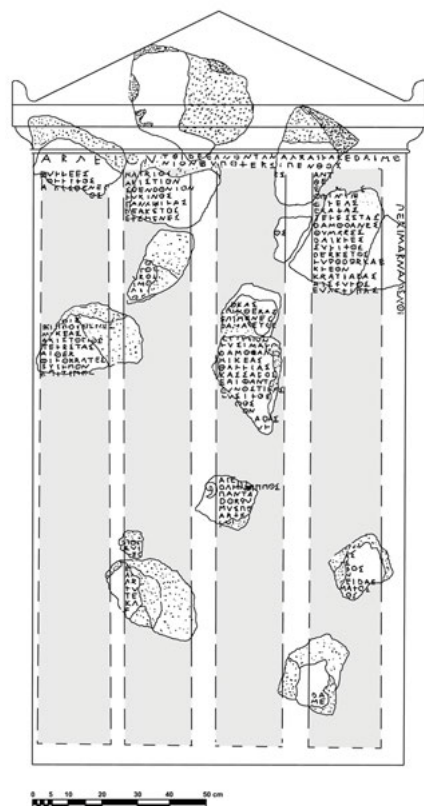
1 Austin 1938/1973, 4–5, 25–26; Keesling 2012, 144–145.

2 For recent overviews, Ruggeri 2013, 135–178 and Arrington 2015, 91–108.

3 Not tribute itself but one-sixtieth of it given to Athena; see now Paarmann 2007; Monaco 2008, 62–69; and Tracy 2014a.

4 Excluded from the list given below (n. 9) because not attributable to a monument are: IG I<sup>3</sup> 396 = I.Eleusis 25, for an unknown building project at Eleusis; IG I<sup>3</sup> 397 = I.Eleusis 29, a fragment of an account; IG I<sup>3</sup> 64B, possibly accounts for the temple of Athena Nike but not apparently in columnar format; IG I<sup>3</sup> 431–432, 434, and 480–497, fragments of (probably) columnar accounts that cannot be identified or placed (Walbank 1975 tried to associate IG I<sup>3</sup> 434 with the *Promachos* accounts, but the dating formula he restores is too extensive for the spacing on the existing fragments). Marginesu/Themos 2014 have reassigned IG I<sup>3</sup> 454 (once among the accounts for the *Parthenos* statue) to the accounts for the Samian Expedition.

in (most likely) the City Eleusinion.<sup>5</sup> Only in the last decade of the fifth century was the use of this columnar format substantially extended, to inscriptions of five other genres. Two of these genres were very old (the sacred calendar and the archon-list), now re-inscribed onto stone; two were hybrids of existing genres (the account-inventory and the decree-catalogue); and one was a newly expanded version of one of Athens' oldest inscribing genres (group dedications). The questions this paper addresses are therefore twofold. Why might this columnar format have been adopted, yet only—particularly at first—for the display of certain types of information? And why was there such an expansion in its use in the last decade of the fifth century? After establishing that columnar formatting was not only a phenomenon at Athens but also, in the forms in which it is seen there, probably a specifically Athenian development, the link to its local visual predecessors is investigated and the implications of old-fashioned religiosity and honor of that link given a central role in explaining the changes of the last decade of the fifth century. When Athenian epigraphy changed, it built on what had come before, not only in shape and format, but also in meaning.



**Fig. 1:** Single-stone casualty list (IG I³ 1149) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Papazarkadas/Sourlas, 2012, 597 fig. 6).

<sup>5</sup> The fragments might combine into fewer than ten *stelai*, Tracy 2014b, 268; Eleusinion, Pritchett 1953, 234–235.

# 1 Columnar-Format Monuments at Athens and Elsewhere

Monuments displaying information in columns took the form of stones (whether oblong thin *stēlai*, quadrangular posts, or simply very large blocks) inscribed on one or more of their sides, and often—it is presumed—set in a base. On these fifth-century Athenian monuments, the number of inscribed columns (almost always more than one) can vary greatly, as can their state of preservation (which can limit what we know about number of columns). The genre with the most fragments not (yet) all satisfactorily combined into *stēlai* and dated larger monuments is that of the casualty-lists (for an example, see fig. 1),<sup>6</sup> while the tribute-list fragments, their information in ‘double-item’ columns (a monetary amount and its paying state in the same line) have proved somewhat more (but not entirely) amenable to reassembly.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Casualty-lists: the six dates supplied here are (with one exception) from IG I<sup>3</sup>. Those with only one column preserved: IG I<sup>3</sup> 1145 (possibly to be combined with 1144, Bradeen 1974, 6), 1148, 1152, 1155 (with a horizontal line carved after *l.1*, the first surviving line), 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1165, 1166 (but it was wider if the restoration of the heading is correct), 1169, 1171, 1172, 1176, and 1188; IG I<sup>3</sup> 1035 may be a casualty-list, but if so the tribe is identified anomalously. Those with two columns on one *stēlē*, each *stēlē* (possibly) a complete monument: IG I<sup>3</sup> 1162 (complete, arranged by theater of war; possibly 447 BC), 1164 (of the Lemnians from Myr<sup>r</sup>hine), SEG XLVIII 83; IG I<sup>3</sup> 1149 (of the Argives at Tanagra, a complete one-*stēlē* monument with four columns in Argive script (Papazarkadas and Sourlas 2012; 458 BC). Those with (a minimum of) two columns preserved: IG I<sup>3</sup> 1146, 1151, 1153, 1156, 1157, 1167, 1182, 1184 (423 BC), 1185 (possibly with IG I<sup>3</sup> 240 fr. K, SEG LII 61), and 1187. Those with more than two columns on one stone: IG I<sup>3</sup> 1168 (four), 1183 (eight or nine: organized by theater of war and tribe). Those with two (or more) columns on one stone, and probably part of a multi-*stēlē* monument: IG I<sup>3</sup> 1144 (A: two columns, right side also inscribed, B: two columns, right side also inscribed; possibly 464 BC), 1147 and 1147bis (two *stēlai*, each with three columns; there were eight more *stēlai*, and Clairmont 1983 I, 135–136 no. 20b would also add 1036 to these; 460–458 BC?), 1150 (with anathyrosis, necessitating the hypothesis of the existence of another stone), 1163 (Arrington 2012, 69 joins 1184 to this also, and dates it to 424 BC; anathyrosis), 1175 (three columns; anathyrosis), 1177 (one column; anathyrosis), 1180 (two columns; anathyrosis), 1186 (five *stēlai*, each with five columns; anathyrosis), 1189 (two columns; anathyrosis), 1190 (three columns; anathyrosis), 1191 (three *stēlai* with ten or twelve columns total; anathyrosis; 409 BC), and 1046 might belong here as well (Bradeen 1964, 61), 1192 (three *stēlai* preserved, each with two columns; anathyrosis), 1193 (two *stēlai* with three columns each, or one *stēlē* with six columns), SEG LII 60 (two columns, also separated by a horizontal line after *l.33*).

<sup>7</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 259–290, with a new fragment of IG I<sup>3</sup> 270 in Matthaiou 2010, 16–17. In IG I<sup>3</sup> 259, the amounts follow the payers’ names without a space (these names are arranged in six left-aligned columns, with a summary of the year’s amount inscribed on the right side of the stone). In IG I<sup>3</sup> 260 the amounts precede the payers’ names, creating ten ‘double-item’ columns aligned mostly on the left (the last three columns running on to the right face of the stone): a ‘double-item’ column consisted of two smaller, left-aligned columns, one for amount paid and one for the payer. Thereafter the number (per year) of double-item columns varies between two (on the lateral faces) and six. The two exceptions to the pattern of left-alignment of double-item columns are IG I<sup>3</sup> 262 and 263, where amounts (given first)

The fragments of the accounts for buildings and statues<sup>8</sup> (and those of the ‘Attic *stēlai*’)<sup>9</sup> have almost all been successfully identified and assigned, even if reconstructions and dates of the resulting monuments have sometimes eluded scholars. The use of the columnar format created monuments that looked remarkably similar across genres. Most, as restored, are approximately the same height (1,15–2,20 m, most in the 1,50–1,60 m range; this estimate does not include the bases and steps on which they probably rested), while their widths could vary from wide to very wide (1,20–10,90; see table 1 and figs. 2, 3, 4).<sup>10</sup>

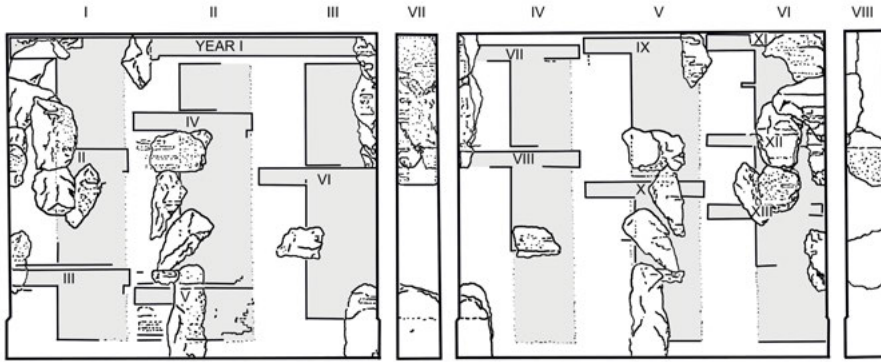
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align to the right but peoples’ names to the left, creating a column that looks more like a telephone pole (see Tracy 2014a, 5–6). Only the first two stones (with more than twenty years’ worth of lists) are now plausibly reassembled from their many fragments (see Paarmann 2007); the later lists have been disaggregated after an early, over-ambitious attempt at reassembly, see Kallet 2004.

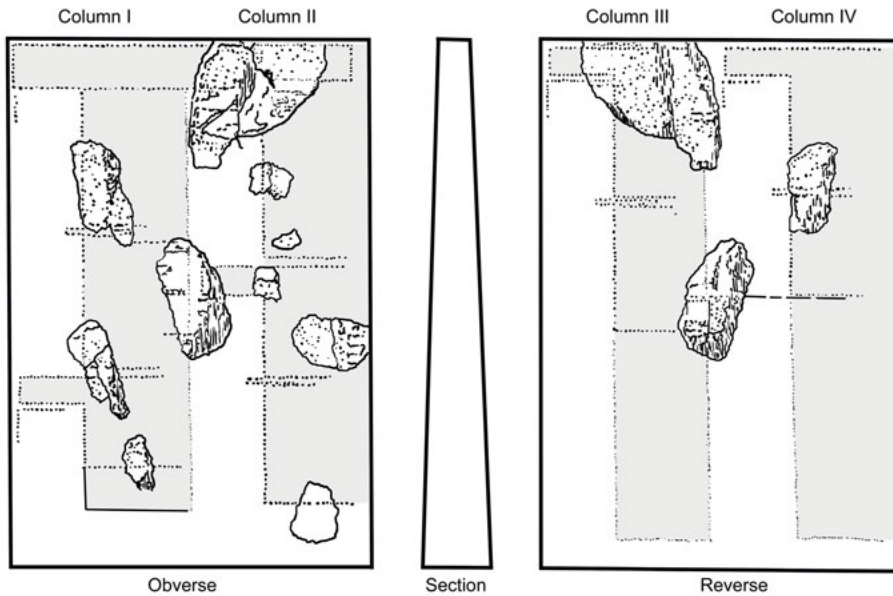
**8** Accounts: unknown construction (one column, within each year the entries and amounts written continuously rather than line-by-line as double-items; the activity takes place over eight years, the post found at the southern end of Athinas street; IG I<sup>3</sup> 433, ca. 450?). Statue of Athena *Promachos* (three double-item columns [possibly: argued by Meritt 1936, 369], activity lasting at least nine years; IG I<sup>3</sup> 435). This identification was questioned by Stroud 2006, 26–32 but reaffirmed by Marginesu 2010, 29–32. I date these accounts to 445/4–437/6, since the same hand carved these accounts and the ‘authorizing’ decree for the temple of Athena Nike (Tracy 1984, 281–282), its dating long an object of dispute and now moved to the 420s (see Mattingly 2000 and Gill 2001); and the statue of the *Promachos*, if cast in the bronze-casting pit on the south slope, had to be maneuvered on to the Acropolis, a feat perhaps most easily achieved in the first year of work (437/6) on the Propylaea, when the Old Propylaea was dismantled. Other accounts: Eleusis (double-item column, one line continuing to the right face of stone, for a special project overseen by *epistatai*, possibly the Telesterion because of the mention of ‘black stone’; IG I<sup>3</sup> 395 = I.Eleusis 23, 440s); Parthenon (two double-item columns on front and back, one double-item column on each side; IG I<sup>3</sup> 436–451, 447/6–433/2); statue of Athena *Parthenos* (five double-item columns, each on its own post, clamped together with a crowning member, and a sixth stone, summarizing this account, may have been inscribed in a double-item format and may have been erected separate from the others, see Donnay 1967, 71–76; IG I<sup>3</sup> 453, 455–458 [two years], 460; 446/5–438/7); Parthenon doors (one corner fragment survives, with a column on front and right side; IG I<sup>3</sup> 461, 438/7); Propylaea (two double-item columns on each wide side; IG I<sup>3</sup> 462–466, 437/6–433/2); wealth of the Other Gods (two double-item columns front and back, one double-item column on side B, side D inscribed in continuous-line format; IG I<sup>3</sup> 383, 429/8); statues of Athena and Hephaistos (two double-item columns on front face, non-columnar accounts on left face; IG I<sup>3</sup> 472, 421/0–416/5); golden *nikai* (IG I<sup>3</sup> 467–468; date disputed and 426/5).

**9** IG I<sup>3</sup> 421–430 (= Langdon 1991, P1), with which IG I<sup>3</sup> 1047 might be associated (a fragment with a heading and possibly two slave names, found in the Eleusinion). The number of columns per *stēlē* varies: IG I<sup>3</sup> 421 (I) had four, 422 (II) five, 426 (VI) two, 427 (VII) two; all columns in this monument had three components, sales-tax, price, and item.

**10** Most of these columnar inscriptions must have been large, but their dimensions cannot always be estimated: of the fourteen casualty-lists that were plausibly parts of larger monuments, for example, the size of only ten can be approximately estimated *in toto*; see Table I and Arrington 2015, 95–96. Similarly, the *Promachos* accounts are too fragmentary to allow restoration, but because of anathyrosis on the right side of a right-hand fragment, this monument is wider than Meritt’s drawing (Meritt 1936, 366) implies, see Dinsmoor 1921a, 119 and Stroud 2006, 26–32. The accounts of the doors of the



**Fig. 2:** Parthenon accounts (IG I³ 436–451) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Dinsmoor 1921b, 237 fig. 1).



**Fig. 3:** Propylaea accounts (IG I³ 462–466) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Dinsmoor 1913c, 380 fig. 1).

Parthenon are too fragmentary to estimate their complete width, as too are the accounts of the golden *nikai*. The sacred calendar survives only in small fragments, but the width-dimensions of the spaces into which, it is argued, their *stēlai* would have slotted are 0,949, 0,962, and 1,042 m, J. Shear 2011, 94.

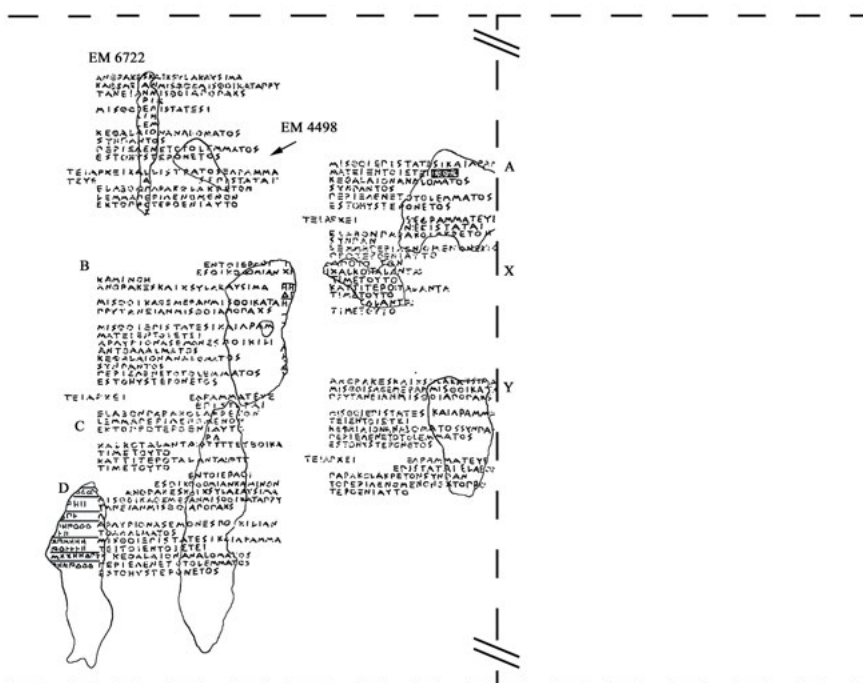


Fig. 4: *Promachos* accounts (IG I³ 435) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Meritt 1936, 366).

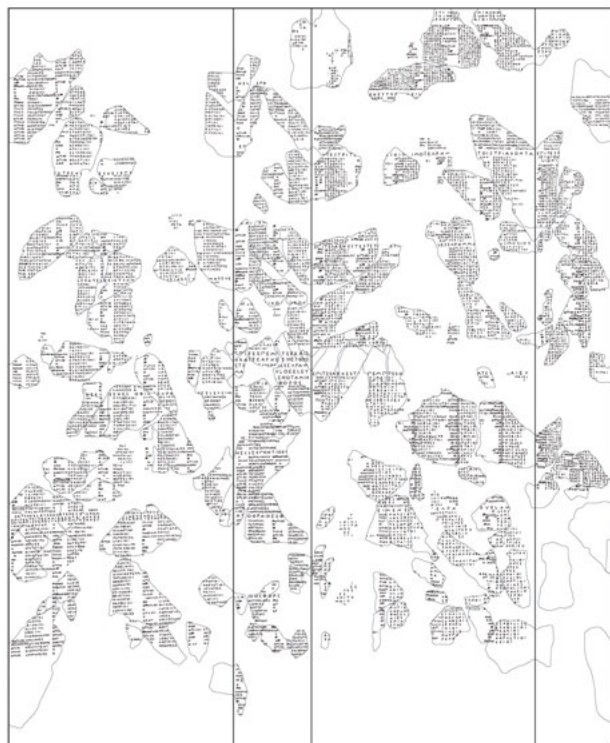
The first two tribute-list stones are unusually tall, the first spectacularly so, perhaps because, at least according to one recent assessment, they were reused architectural blocks (fig. 5).<sup>11</sup> The ‘Attic *stēlai*’, if correctly associated with a base found in the Eleusinion, were components of a monument likely to have been 15 m wide (fig. 6).<sup>12</sup> And some public funerary monuments were also very broad: the more dead there were, the wider the memorial listing them was likely to be.<sup>13</sup> Where headings are preserved, they can run across the entire width of the monument, across the width of a

<sup>11</sup> Tribute-lists, dimensions for first *stēlē* (IG I³ 259–270): h ca. 3,583+ w ca. 1,105 th 0,38 m; for second *stēlē* (IG I³ 273–280): h 2,192+ w 1,471 th 0,34 m. Miles 2011, 667 argues that the first was an architrave block, the second possibly a slab for ceiling coffers or a *thranos* (ceiling bearer).

<sup>12</sup> Lewis 1997/1966, 162–163 (180–1).

<sup>13</sup> Those that were probably wide (more than 2 m) include IG I³ 503–504 (Marathon: although here breadth is not merely functional, since there were only 192 dead), 1147, 1163 (with Arrington 2012: Delium?), 1186, 1190, 1191, 1192, and SEG LII 60 (Sicily?); and many more must have been. More dead makes for bigger and more striking monuments, one good reason why Pausanias noticed the monuments of ten major Athenian defeats: 1.29.4 (Drabescus), 1.29.6 (Tanagra), 1.29.14 (Coronea), 1.29.13 (Delium, Amphipolis, Mantinea), 1.29.11 (Sicily and other places), 1.29.11 (Corinth and Coronea), 1.29.7 (Olynthus), 1.25.3 (Chaeronea), all discussed by Arrington 2011, 191–192 and Arrington 2015, 104–108.

stone, across the width of two columns, across the width of one column, or across the width of half a column.<sup>14</sup> And where headings are preserved, especially initial ones that run across the width of a stone or monument, the intersection of horizontal and vertical creates a strong visual pattern, at times—when the columnar lists are long—even architectural: they look like a series of columns (set on bases or steps) surmounted by an architrave.<sup>15</sup> For the columns of text themselves are in all these Athenian examples narrow, and there is visible spacing between the columns as well.

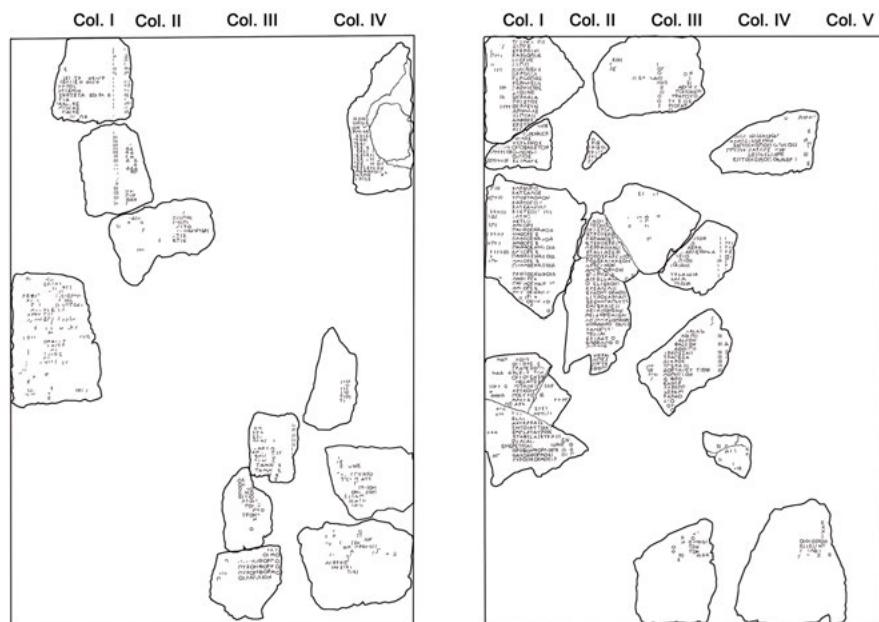


**Fig. 5:** Tribute List, *lapis primus* (IG I³ 259–272): drawing showing fragments in their place on all four sides (drawn by D. Weiss, after Meritt/Wade-Gery/McGregor 1939, pl. I).

**14** Monument headings are not preserved in most casualty-lists, the accounts for the unknown building project (IG I³ 433), the accounts of the Athena *Promachos* statue (IG I³ 435), the Parthenon accounts (although Dinsmoor 1913a, 62 thought the heading would have stretched across two double-item columns), the accounts of the doors of the Parthenon (IG I³ 461), the Attic *stēlai* (IG I³ 421–430), the archon-list (IG I³ 1031), or the sacred calendar (SEG LII 48 and SEG LVII 64).

**15** Monuments known to have been crowned by an actual architrave-like stone were IG I³ 1163, 1186, 1191 (casualty-lists); IG I³ 455, 457–458 (Athena *Parthenos* accounts); IG I³ 427 ('Attic *stēlē*' VII, with Lewis 1997/1966, 162 [180]).





**Fig. 6:** ‘Attic *stēlai*’ (IG I³ 421–430), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Pritchett 1953, 237–238 figs. 1–2).

Why was this columnar formatting used? It could have been borrowed (it has been suggested) from the formatting of originals written on more ephemeral materials, like papyri, where at least later texts (none from the sixth or fifth centuries survive) were regularly written in columns,<sup>16</sup> although the association is strong only in one of the genres, that of accounts.<sup>17</sup> Or it could have been borrowed from (postulated) habits of

**16** Argued by Corso 2002, 184–186, and followed by Camassa 2004, 91–92 and Faraguna 2011, 14. Corso’s larger point is that small details of inscribing, such as use of the *paragraphos* (a horizontal line often drawn in the left margin of a text) and the *coronis* (a bird-like marker in the lefthand margin to signal the end of a text), point to the existence of archival originals behind inscribed documents in the Greek world; this could well be right.

**17** The erratic use of the *paragraphos* even in accounts on stone in the fifth century (the *coronis* is not found in Athens in this century) argues for possible contact in this genre of accounts, not intentional imitation of format in all genres of columnar inscriptions (where the *paragraphos* is not found). The *paragraphos* is found in only some entries in only three of the years of the tribute-lists (IG I³ 269.26 [col. II], 33 [col. I]; 270.31 [col. II], 34 [col. I]; 283.1 and 3 [col. III], 18 [col. II]); consistently in the Athena *Promachos* accounts (IG I³ 435 [20 times]); in one year only of the Parthenon accounts (IG I³ 449.380, 384, 388, 391, 394, 396, 397, 400, 403); in the summary stone only of the Athena *Parthenos* accounts (IG I³ 460.5, 9, 12, 14, 17); in the accounts of the statues of Athena and Hephaistos (IG I³ 472.138, 141, 145, 148, 150, 151, 152, 154, 160); twice scattered in the ‘Attic *stēlai*’ (IG I³ 422.177, 426.8) and on one of these *stēlai* consistently (430.2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 29, 30, 35, 39); consistently in only one of the Erechtheion



posting lists of soldiers called up for campaigns, an association that (again) is likely in only one of the genres, that of the casualty-lists.<sup>18</sup> Or it can be seen as just a good way of organizing and conveying information, achieved by breaking it down into smaller units the eye can take in. But ease and functionality are quite subjective, and it is not always straightforward to judge one inscribing format easier to read than another and then decide that it was chosen for that reason. The one potential archaic predecessor on stone to any of the columnar genres, IG I<sup>3</sup> 1033 from Sikelia in Attica (thought by one scholar to be a casualty-list and dated to the middle of the sixth century), is not only exceedingly fragmentary but looks quite different (fig. 7a), its (hypothesized) ‘columnar’-division indicated only by a vertical line, not by any spacing.<sup>19</sup> Would this have made it easier to read, and this format therefore desirable? There seems no way to answer that question. Was it a useful or direct predecessor? Probably not, given its date and location.

Could the format have been borrowed from elsewhere? Outside Athens there are some examples of inscriptions in more or less columnar format before 450 BC.<sup>20</sup> The only type of information so far known that survives in this format is the list of names, one name per line. Such lists can be found, for example, on (what was probably)

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accounts (IG I<sup>3</sup> 474 [33 times]); in the fragmentary accounts IG I<sup>3</sup> 485.1, 3, 5 and 486.5; and consistently in two of the Eleusis account-inventories (IG I<sup>3</sup> 389 [47 times] and 387 [22 times]). Some relationship to accounts in other media is also supported by two fifth-century accounts on lead that show the *paragraphos*, one from Rhamnous (IG I<sup>3</sup> 247bis, 500–480; dividing lines 9 and 10) and one from Kalapodi (SEG XXXVII 422, 450–425; dividing lines 3 and 4), but even these parallels (not mentioned by Corso) bring us no closer to other types of inscriptions in columnar format.

**18** The format of lists of called-up soldiers is not known, but is plausibly reconstructed as columnar because of the later habit of posting such lists, divided by tribe, under the statue of each eponymous hero on their monument in the Agora (Christ 2001, 403). Such tribal listing is also characteristic of casualty-lists, although the lists of soldiers called up would have had to include patronymic or demotic because of the problem of homonyms within tribes (Bakewell 2008, 150). But the monument of the eponymous heroes is not known before the 420s BC, and the best preserved physical remains in fact date from the fourth century (T. Shear 1970, 203–222). To see columnar formatting as deriving from posting on a postulated predecessor of this tribal monument requires the retrojection of such a monument to the time of the Cleisthenic reforms, for which there is no evidence—despite, also, some interpretations of these reforms as constructing, through the new tribes, a larger and more representative army (Van Effenterre 1976; Bicknell 1969; Bicknell 1972, 19–21; Siewert 1982, 139–145). So such an exemplar is possible but must remain hypothetical, and in what follows I concentrate on what can be demonstrated.

**19** Only its top edge is preserved, and its letters were painted red: Peek 1942, 13. In line 2 the word or name in the left-hand ‘column’ ends one space before the vertical dividing line. Clairmont 1983, l:87–88 suggested that it was a casualty list, but the stone is too fragmentary to allow its identification as any type of monument, see Arrington 2010, 504 n. 24.

**20** I do not include here the serpent-column at Delphi (ML 27 = LSAG<sup>2</sup> 104 no. 15, now Jacquemin/Mulliez/Rougemont 2012, 43–44 no. 17), since Liuzzo 2012 has convinced me that the names of peoples who fought the Persians were inscribed on the column itself only in the mid-fourth century BC (having previously been on, e.g., the lip of the cauldron).

the doorpost of a temple at Argos, very early (between 575 and 550 BC?), and set out between other inscribing that was not in columns (fig. 7b); on three sides of a rectangular poros pillar from (possibly) Alopē, in Opuntian Locris (ca. 500–475 BC; fig. 7c); and on stone fragments from Geronthrai (a town east-southeast of Sparta, ca. 500 BC; fig. 7d), Megara (ca. 500–475 BC, fig. 7e), and Sicyon (ca. 450 BC, fig. 7f).<sup>21</sup>



**Fig 7a–f:** Inscribed small fragments, drawn by D. Weiss: (a) possible list of names (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1033), after Jeffery, LSAG<sup>2</sup> plate 3 no. 28; (b) list of *damiorgoi* on door-post, Argos (IG IV 614 = SEG XI 336), after Roehl 1907, plate 37.3; (c) poros post from (possibly) Alopē (Opuntian Locris), SEG LVI 563, after Bouyia 2006, plate III no. 5; (d) inscribed list of *wanakes*, Geronthrai (IG V 1.1134), after Jeffery LSAG<sup>2</sup> pl. 37 no. 46; (e) name-list, Megara (SEG XIII 300), after Jeffery, LSAG<sup>2</sup> pl. 22 no. 4; (f) name-list, Sicyon (IG IV 425), after Jeffery, LSAG<sup>2</sup> pl. 23 no. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Argos, IG IV 614 = SEG XI 336 = LSAG<sup>2</sup> 168 no. 7 (the first two lines, the heading, are written *boustrophedon*); Jeffery 1990, 156 attributes this block to “(probably the) door post from the acropolis on the Larisa”, where Pausanias (2.24.3) reported two temples. It is carved by the same hand (Jeffery 1990, 158) as SEG XI 314 = LSAG<sup>2</sup> 168 no. 8, a *lex sacra* also on a door-block from the Argive acropolis that incorporates the names of six *damiourgoi*. Alopē, Bouyia 2006; the fourth side is unworked and was not meant to be seen. Geronthrai, IG V/1.1133, 1134 = LSAG<sup>2</sup> 201 nos. 45–46 = SEG L 385; 1133 is now lost, and only two dimensions of 1134 (preserved height and width) are reported: it simply looks like a stone with names on it. Megara, SEG XIII 300 = LSAG<sup>2</sup> 137 no. 4 (a post). Sicyon, IG IV 425 (now lost). There is another name-list of unknown purpose from Paulitza, in Arcadia, from a little later (450–425 BC), IG V/2.425 = LSAG<sup>2</sup> 449 no. 30a.

In all but one of these cases only one column survives, but the names do seem to align on the left and end on the right, one on each line. At Argos, the list is of nine *damiourgoi* (all apparently in office at the same time, so not a chronological list);<sup>22</sup> at Geronthrai, because two of the lines (the second, and the last) consist not of a man's name but of ἄφαναξ, 'without a *wanax*', this list may be a (chronological) list of priests or magistrates called the *wanakes*, a failure to appoint such a person noted with the word ἄφαναξ.<sup>23</sup> At Alopē, Megara, and Sicyon neither context—funerary, sacred, or civic—nor purpose is known.<sup>24</sup>

Three further exemplars of columnar lists from the first half of the fifth century may be associated, either closely or at least suggestively, with the Athenian examples. One, a post from Lemnos, has columns of men's names listed by Attic tribe on two sides (fig. 8); because it was also inscribed, it is thought, by a famous Athenian carver (the 'Hekatompedon Master') and can be associated with the Athenians' take-over of Lemnos in the very early fifth century, this stone would seem to be part of the story of the development of the columnar format at Athens, not an independent—foreign—predecessor to what will be created at Athens.<sup>25</sup>



**Fig. 8:** Casualty-list, Lemnos (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1477A and C), preserved only as photographs of squeezes (drawn by D. Weiss, after Picard-Reinach 1912, 330 fig. 15, 331 fig. 16, and 333 fig. 17).

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., Moeller 2001, 258.

<sup>23</sup> Wachter 2000, following A. Johnston's suggestion in LSAG<sup>2</sup> 429 that *awanax* indicates "blank years in a list". Wachter himself proposes that these men are priests, their title inherited from the Mycenaean period; previous interpretations of the list had characterized it as funerary (SEG XI 918) or as a victor-list (Jeffery 1990, 195). The stone itself is lost.

<sup>24</sup> Peek 1934, 53–54 suggested that the six inscribed names (in the genitive case) from Megara could be drowned sailors (thus funerary) or local heroes (thus a type of *horos*-stone for a heroön); ships and naval heroes have also been suggested, see Knoepfler 2000, 341–342. Bouyia 2006, 93 suggests casualty-lists, lists of magistrates or religious officials, victor-lists, lists of sponsors of public works, or a military catalogue.

<sup>25</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1477, ca. 500–490 BC (LSAG<sup>2</sup> 307 no. 59); sides A and C are identified as inscribed by the "Hekatompedon Master" by Jeffery 1990, 299–300 and Butz 2010, 121–127. For possible context, see Rausch 1999, 7–13.

The second is a fragmentary list, in two columns, of eponymous *stephanephoroi* of Miletus, carved on a block, each name in a different hand (fig. 9).<sup>26</sup> Most of the names are in the right-hand column and date to the fourth century (388/7–374/3 BC), but there are traces of a first column of names to the left, divided from the column of fourth-century names by both a vertical line and a gap approximately one letter wide (0,012 m).<sup>27</sup> If the traces to the left are indeed names of fifth-century *stephanephoroi* (489/8, 487/6 BC) and carved in different and older hands (as the first editor thought), then this is the earliest known example of a list of *annual* magistrates carved *year-by-year* on stone, possibly on a wall-block from a building: the list grew to become multi-column, although not planned to be such from the start.<sup>28</sup> The famous Athenian archon-list, previously thought the earliest list of annual magistrates, must now be seen as only the earliest of the *retrospectively* inscribed lists of magistrates, and in its stone form between sixty and eighty years later than the Milesian inscription.

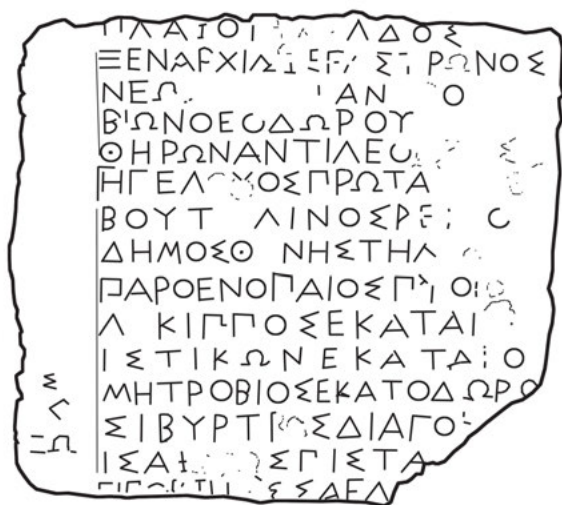


Fig. 9: (Older) list of *stephanephoroi*, Miletus (I.Mil. VI.3.1350) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Blümel 1995, pl. 13.3).

<sup>26</sup> I.Mil. VI.3.1350 = Blümel 1995, 56–58 no. 26 = SEG XLV 1620.

<sup>27</sup> Description, photo, identification of hands, and nature of list all in Blümel 1995, 56–58: he recognized here a precursor to the famous fourth-century list of *stephanephoroi* I.Mil. I.3.122 (entries from 525/4–314/13), which re-inscribes Blümel’s list all in one hand until 333/2 (for date, see Rhodes 2006).

<sup>28</sup> Blümel 1995, 56 claimed that the letters of the lefthand (earlier) column were carved in “notably older letter forms” (*deutlich älteren Buchstabenformen*), although I.Mil. VI.3.1350 is more cautious on this issue. The block itself was found built into a mosque at Nalbantlar, at least ten km away from Miletus, and does not appear from the picture to have been removed from that context at the time of publication.

The final possible exemplar of columnar inscribing outside Athens is a bronze plaque found in a small village in the territory of Sicyon.<sup>29</sup> The dating assigned to it varies between 500 and 450 BC,<sup>30</sup> and it is the most striking parallel to the Athenian examples because it is a complete document with a three-line heading that runs across the width of the plaque, followed by five columns of names (73 total), each column aligned to the left (fig. 10). The holes in the plaque's four corners point to its having been posted in a place where people could see it, and—since it lays out obligations



Fig. 10: Sicyon plaque (SEG XI 244) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Lolos 2010, 277 fig. 1).

and membership in a *hestiatorion* or eating-club—it seems likely that the context is sacred, that the members of the group gathered, as was common, in honor of some divinity or hero.<sup>31</sup> There are extensive incised guidelines and little space between columns.<sup>32</sup> Orlando detected an Athenian impact in a phrase of the heading and

<sup>29</sup> SEG XI 244; h 0,259 w 0,467/0,472 m; see Lolos 2010 and Lolos 2011, 405–408.

<sup>30</sup> Orlando 1937–1938, 12 assigned a date of 450; Peek 1941, 205–207 moved the date back to 500 (on the basis of three-bar sigma, which according to him had to date this inscription before the four-bar sigma used in the Sicyonian treasury at Olympia, which Peek thought dated early in the fifth century, but is now dated 475–450, see LSAG<sup>2</sup> 139–140). LSAG<sup>2</sup> 141, 143 no. 8 also dated the plaque to ca. 500, as does Lolos 2010, 279; at Lolos 2011, 405 Lolos notes that the remains associated with the plaque's approximate find-spot are from the fifth century.

<sup>31</sup> Lolos 2010, 281, 287–292 (possibly members of a phratry or a *hetaireia*, and the majority of *hestiatoria* associated with sanctuaries); and Lolos 2011, 407.

<sup>32</sup> Lolos 2010, 278, with a photograph of the incised guidelines on 277 (not visible in drawing); guidelines are also a Corinthian habit (Sicyon's alphabet was also Corinthian), Jeffery 1990, 139.

in the presence of moveable *nu*,<sup>33</sup> and perhaps if the plaque is to be dated closer to 450 than to 500, as now seems likely,<sup>34</sup> an Athenian connection is possible, since the Athenians maintained a naval base at Pagae, 40 km away, from 461 to 446. Certainly one can find no better parallel in appearance to the fifth-century Athenian columnar inscriptions on stone, even if Athenian influence cannot be definitively proven.

## 2 Athenian Contexts

Most of these ostensible predecessors or parallels, fragmentary single- or multi-column lists, are not quite the same, or not provably the same, as the Athenian examples: either because the entire inscribed surface does not set out a clear visual column (Argos), because not enough survives to see what the overall arrangement would have been (Geronthrai, Megara, the first example from Sicyon), or because the columnar format was adopted only over time (Miletus). The more similar some foreign examples look to Athenian columnar formatting, the later they are, and the more other aspects of these inscriptions suggest the possibility of Athenian connection or influence (Lemnos, the Sicyon plaque). These comparisons strengthen the supposition that the specific look of the format at Athens—multiple narrow columns on a flat surface in a quasi-architectural arrangement—was likely to be a local development, undertaken for specific local reasons or at least primarily explicable within the local context, in the fifth century.

One might, as a consequence, expect the columnar format to have had some roots in the two major Athenian epigraphic genres of the archaic period, funerary and votive inscriptions, although neither (with the possible exception of IG I<sup>3</sup> 1033) presented in a multi-column format in the sixth century. In which case the change to a format that emphasized the listing of information in columns could have marked a shift *within* genres, and such a shift might have been meant to accommodate deaths or dedications occurring in far greater numbers than before. Such a functional interpretation is not in itself implausible. The city's fifth-century casualty-lists came to list the Athenian dead of specific years, combining in one inscription far more than the one or (rarely) two dead that any (private) archaic Athenian epitaph had memorialized.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Orlandos 1937–1938, 12, φοικέουσιν γὰ καὶ τὰ τέλε φέρουσιν (for which Peek 1941, 206 n. 2 could, however, find no parallel). Moveable *nu* is characteristic of Attic-Ionic, although taken from it before the fifth century into other dialects, Schwyzler 1934, I: 405 and Kühner-Blass 1978, 292–296; Lejeune 1943, 198 with n. 2 notes other possible traces of Attic-Ionic.

<sup>34</sup> Jeffery 1990, 141 had thought the retention of the letter *vau* an indicator of significant age, but this letter is now also found in a Sicyonian dedication at Olympia dated to 459 BC, Kunze 1991, 128 no. I (see also the drawing, p. 127).

<sup>35</sup> Only two people at most were memorialized in any archaic Athenian funerary inscription, and

Similarly, the tribute-lists memorialized the dedication of one-sixtieth of the allies' tribute given each year to Athena as *aparchē* ('first fruits', a traditional category of votive), the amount given by each ally listed in a double-item line, the lines arranged in columns.<sup>36</sup> The number of allies (and the size of the amount) varied, but both must have been, always, more than the number of donors (usually only one or two) and the value of individual votives in the archaic period,<sup>37</sup> and more than the value of the gifts given by groups of named officials, such as the (more than) five treasurers in the mid-sixth century who inscribed their names and their dedication on a small bronze plaque written not in columns, but in long lines of continuous text (IG I<sup>3</sup> 510).<sup>38</sup> This emphasis on the scope of the phenomenon memorialized is also a characteristic the casualty- and tribute-lists have in common with the other—new—genres on stone in the fifth century. Such new genres—accounts and auctioned property—were characterized from their first appearance by column-formatting, and were all also attempts to inscribe on one monument an action or achievement with many parts: large sums paid out and what they were spent on (in varying levels of detail); vast quantities of property of many men sold. Moreover, all of these genres, evolved or new, shared not only a focus on large, multi-part phenomena, but also a retrospective perspective, a view of these phenomena inscribed from the vantage-point of the end of a period of time. Casualty-lists were inscribed after the fighting year was over; tribute-lists were inscribed at one point in the year; accounts were inscribed year by year, after a certain number of years, or upon the completion of the project.<sup>39</sup> These were to be permanent

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even this is not common: I find only two examples, one with two names (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1255), and one commemorating a brother and a sister (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1265). Arrington 2015, 91–92 concurs.

**36** *Aparchai*, restored in IG I<sup>3</sup> 259.1.

**37** Most votives were given by only one named person. In Athens, 28 (including two uncertain) were given by two: IG I<sup>3</sup> 566, 597, 614, 620, 636, 644, 659, 695, 699, 701 (unclear how many), 702, 716, 727, 731, 740, 751, 768 (restoration of names uncertain), 783, 785, 833, 834, 843, 848, 873, 909; in Attica, 954, 986, 994; in 718 and 830 the dedication is by a named father and his unnamed son. Six were given by two or more: IG I<sup>3</sup> 605 = DAA 331 (at most three; 530–520), 700 = DAA 93 (possibly three), 801 = DAA 115 (plural verb only), 802 = DAA 80 (one, then three more added), 858 = DAA 297 (at least three), 859*bis* = DAA 117 (perhaps two or three). And only two were given by more than three people actually named: 696 (= DAA 291*b*–*c*; five named children?), 762 (= DAA 90; six or seven?); 722 was given by a named man and his unnamed *paides*. Lists compiled by a comparison and evaluation of Raubitschek 1949, 466, IG I<sup>3</sup>, and Keesling 2005, 398 n. 12.

**38** Two other votives dedicated by men in their official capacities list multiple names, as the treasurers' plaque does: the first of the *dromos*-inscriptions (IG I<sup>3</sup> 507) lists five [*hieropoioi*] in continuous-line format; and Raubitschek 1949, 73 also thought IG I<sup>3</sup> 723 = DAA 68 (500–480), restored as nine names with demotics, one name per line, was "of a somewhat official nature". Outside Athens, a dedication by six Delian *architheoroi* lists them in a column, one name per line (IG I<sup>3</sup> 426/5). Group votives also survive from the Athenian Acropolis, e.g., IG I<sup>3</sup> 501, 506, 511 (the *hippeis*), 521*bis*, 522, 522*bis* (Rhamnousians), and from elsewhere (IG I<sup>3</sup> 523–525, 'the Athenians' dedicate war-booty).

**39** Casualty-lists: when there are different hands they are making late additions, albeit still from the same year, to a list (Bradeen 1969, 146–147; 151–152); Arrington 2011, 202 concluded that the lists had



memorials of completed events, even if the phenomena they monumentalized were imagined—as the collection of tribute was—to be on-going and incremental, each year adding to the previous in the display.

Yet even if the intent to memorialize, in a retrospective way, expensive, complex, or multi-person phenomena is visible in all of these monuments, these factors alone cannot account for the development of the new format. Functionality alone did not determine the result. For other complex lists, such as the annual and official ‘handing-over’ (*paradosis*) of minutely inventoried belongings of the god(s) that began in 434/3, and other retrospective compilations of achievements, such as the republication of some Athenian laws undertaken in the last decade of the fifth century, were not formatted in columns: they were written in continuous-line format on individual stones, as one text (fig. 11).<sup>40</sup>



Fig. 11: Accounts of the year 410/9, an example of continuous-line inscribing (IG 13 375) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Meritt 1932, pl. 6).

to be finished before the funerary celebration at the end of the year. The *Protagoras* statue accounts were inscribed all at once (although the expenditures covered nine years), according to Meritt 1936, 373; the Parthenon accounts were inscribed by five different hands (hand one: years 1–5; hand two: year 6; hand three: year 7; hand four: year 8; hand five: years 9–12; hand six: year 13; hand seven: years 14–15, according to IG 13). The Propylaea accounts were inscribed year by year, at the end of the year (IG 13). IG 13 433, accounts for an unknown project, was inscribed by different hands. IG 13 472, the accounts for the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, were inscribed by one hand (Thompson 1969, 114). IG 13 421–424 (*Attic Stelai* I–IV) were once thought to have been carved by the same hand (Lewis 1997/1966, 162, 168 [180, 185]), but Tracy 2014b, 263–267 now suggests at least eleven inscribers for the entire monument.

40 Similarly too, a list possibly of dedicators (although one per line) is written across the length of a bronze plaque at Leontinoi, filling entire lines (SEG LIV 925; ca. 450 or 400 BC); and contributions of gold and silver towards the building of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus were written in continuous (and *boustrophedon*) lines across a silver plaque, LSAG<sup>2</sup> 344 no. 53 (ca. 550 BC?).

So whatever was driving the new format, there must have been additional factors that helped to generate the distinctions drawn between inscriptions in columns and those in continuous-line format memorializing genres of information that are seemingly close but not quite the same.

If inscriptions in columnar format did evolve, even if only in part, within the two existing genres of funerary monuments and dedications, then perhaps other sorts of continuities (between older and newer) can contribute to our understanding as well. Physical placement, for one: archaic epitaphs and votives were set up in specific places, in Athenian cemeteries, especially the great Kerameikos to the northwest of the city, and Athenian sanctuaries, especially the Acropolis, the great sanctuary of Athena as well as of other gods. Fifth-century casualty-lists were erected in and around the Kerameikos as well, within the area identified as the *dēmosion sēma*, the ‘public marker’ or ‘tomb’.<sup>41</sup> The fifth-century tribute-lists were placed on the Acropolis, as were many of the inscribed accounts: the exceptions here are only IG I<sup>3</sup> 433 (for an unknown building project, the stone found on Athinas Street) and the accounts found in sanctuaries of other divinities, such as Hephaistos or the Eleusinian goddesses, Demeter and Korē. It was in the city sanctuary of the latter pair that the ‘Attic *stēlai*’ were most likely erected. Such strong continuities of placement before the end of the century, along with the possibility that the new format at least in some way expanded or reflected old genres, encourages another look to predecessors, this time for the possible continuities in the physical shape of inscribed monuments on the Acropolis and in the Kerameikos at the end of the sixth century. Were there tall and narrow inscribed forms in either place? Only in significant numbers on the Acropolis: the archaic Kerameikos offers, as do other burial-sites in Attica, many horizontally inscribed bases, but nothing in the way of lists and surprisingly little in the way of inscribed vertical monuments—either inscribed oblong *stēlai* or inscribed posts and columns serving as pedestals<sup>42</sup>—while such inscribed stones were quite common and visible on the archaic Acropolis.

Moreover, on the Acropolis a particular votive type there looked like a pedestal but was not one: these were turning posts dedicated around the middle of the sixth century, constituting one ancestor—I have argued—of a new type of inscribed stone, carved to carry only a text rather than a physical votive. This new type of inscribed stone appeared on the Acropolis starting (most likely) at the end of sixth century.<sup>43</sup> Like other votives, these inscribed documents bestowed honor on the gods in whose sanctuaries they were placed, the inscribed stone reporting and thus giving to the god an act or achievement.<sup>44</sup> For the first half of the fifth century, such inscribed

<sup>41</sup> Arrington 2010 and Arrington 2015, 55–90: clustering along the road to the Academy.

<sup>42</sup> As Lougovaya 2004, 15–16 notes, it is the base, not the *stēlē*, that is usually inscribed.

<sup>43</sup> Meyer 2016, where the points made in this paragraph are argued more extensively.

<sup>44</sup> Meyer 2013, 458–460, 462.

stones took the form, with very few exceptions, of a stone post: taller than wide, and wider than thick, but with thickness:width proportions ranging from 1:1 (a true quadrangular post) to 1:3. The contents of these inscribed document-posts could best be described as falling within the broad range of the *thesmos*: laws and regulations about behavior; the gods' honors (in the form of sacred calendars listing the sacrifices to be given at appropriate times of the year); and divine utterances such as oracles (which sometimes specified these behaviors and sacrifices in response to a question), all pleasing (as *thesmoi* were) to the gods.<sup>45</sup> Boundary stones (*horoi*) were inscribed posts as well, demarcating territory in some way special (either sacred or *dēmosios*, 'public') with religious authority.<sup>46</sup> These *horoi* were placed around the Acropolis and around the Agora, while the other inscribed 'documentary' posts were placed within the bounds of the Acropolis or in other sanctuaries. Unfortunately we cannot be precise about where, within a given sanctuary. But one such inscribed post was also found at Delphi, inscribed on two sides with a *lex sacra* in Athenian lettering, and placed in front of the Athenian Treasury there. Over time, it acquired eleven other posts as company,<sup>47</sup> which might suggest that grouping inscribed posts together in this way was a normal and expected physical (and therefore visual) arrangement at Athens as well.

At some point, possibly in the 450s, the Athenians started to inscribe also on tall, wide, but thinner stones—on what epigraphists now tend to think of as *stēlai*, inscribed left-to-right—and to place them in sanctuaries, especially on the Acropolis. Many genres of 'documents' that are new, or that we first start to see on stone in Athens only in the second half of the fifth century—treaties, regulations for allies, decrees, records of loans from the goddess and the Other Gods, and the *paradoseis* of divine possessions, carefully inventoried, from one set of treasurers (*tamiai*, 'stewards') to the next—are all inscribed on these sorts of thinner, oblong *stēlai*, and written quite densely, in continuous lines and very often *stoichedon* format.<sup>48</sup> Why the shift to the oblong *stēlē* occurred can only be a matter of speculation. Generally speaking such

<sup>45</sup> *Thesmoi*: R. Osborne 2009, 105 refers to these contents as "cultic"; see also Meyer, 2016, 333–334 n. 42.

<sup>46</sup> Ritchie 1985, 585–590 at 585 and Lalonde 1991, 7.

<sup>47</sup> Athenian post, IG I<sup>3</sup> 1478 = CID I.6; eleven other posts on the terrace east of the Athenian treasury, discussed FD III.2.158–204; the twelfth, and earliest, is IG I<sup>3</sup> 1478.

<sup>48</sup> Austin 1938/1973, 50–53, the continuous-line *stoichedon* arrangement followed in most Athenian public inscribing before 403. Inventories: IG I<sup>3</sup> 292–362 with IG II<sup>2</sup> 1382–1383, and IG I<sup>3</sup> 400 = I.Eleusis 32–33 (430–425 BC); some fragmentary financial inscriptions from Eleusis: IG I<sup>3</sup> 384 = I.Eleusis 24; IG I<sup>3</sup> 398 = I.Eleusis 27; IG I<sup>3</sup> 392–395 and 401 = I.Eleusis 34–38; IG I<sup>3</sup> 391 = I.Eleusis 45; IG I<sup>3</sup> 399 = I.Eleusis 42. Financial documents from demes are also inscribed in continuous-line format: IG I<sup>3</sup> 248 (Rhamnous); IG I<sup>3</sup> 249 (near Zoster; fragmentary, see Stavropoulou 1938, 25); IG I<sup>3</sup> 253–254 (Ikaria, text improvements by Makres 2004 = SEG LIV 57; before 431 BC [Makres 2004, 137] or 425–413 [Faraguna 2008, 43]).

*stēlai* were inscribed on only one side, their backs roughly finished and therefore probably not meant to be seen,<sup>49</sup> and the cuttings for *stēlai* in the bedrock of the Acropolis (cuttings that could date to any period, to be sure) indicate that at least some *stēlai* were lined up in rows, one side backing on a building or wall and the other side facing a putative path, while others were lined up on the rock-cut steps to the west of the Parthenon.<sup>50</sup> These two qualities suggest that the development of the oblong *stēlē* corresponded, albeit perhaps only loosely, with a new attention to how people were directed through space, since *stēlai* could be used to mark edges and direct attention because they were readable, for the most part, only from one side. Worshippers on the Acropolis were, after mid-century, not only visiting a sanctuary that was finally beginning to look more like a sanctuary and less like a ruin or building site, but increasingly being given some visual direction through it. Inscribed *stēlai* would attract and circumscribe their field of vision at the same time—just as those who walked along the road to the Academy could admire the city’s casualty-list monuments to left and right, but not always walk behind them. Monuments (such as inscribed posts) intended to be appreciated and read from more than one side needed not necessarily more space, but different space.

Thus columnar formats developed—were chosen—in a context where another format (continuous-line inscribing) was quite prominently and increasingly used: after the mid-fifth century, to carve on a post, or to inscribe in a column, or indeed to inscribe in column-format on a post or a *stēlē*, was a deliberate, and therefore significant, choice. And this choice was only followed in certain specific instances, where at times the post rather than the oblong *stēlē* was also still used.<sup>51</sup> The information there memorialized was of great pride to the city: *aparchē* to Athena from the allies

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49 Very few inscriptions—of the non-columnar-format and/or non-post sorts—were inscribed on more than one side: IG I<sup>3</sup> 129; 250, 253–254, 255 (all cultic); IG I<sup>3</sup> 325–328 and 329–332, 333–337 and 338–340 (inventories). Several stones came to be inscribed on another side only later (i.e., they were not intended to be inscribed on more than one side initially): IG I<sup>3</sup> 19, 35–36 (likely), 42–43, 292–295 and 304, 296–299 and 305–308, 300–303 and 309–313, 343–346 and 355–357, 347–350 and 351–354, 365 and 371–373. The chronological relationship between the inscribed sides is unclear in IG I<sup>3</sup> 41, 47, 52, 59, 64, 371 and 374, 375 and 377, 379, 380, 389, and 403. Of the rest, many have enough of a back surviving to show that the backs were unworked.

50 The drawings in Kawerau/Kavvadias 1906 show these cuttings (along the path from the Propylaea to the Parthenon; as the path turns south in front of the Parthenon; the cuttings in the steps to the west of the Parthenon). Stevens 1936 explores them further: IG I<sup>3</sup> 456, 461–462 (*stēlai* removed in order to build stoa of Artemis Brauronia), 474 (step cuttings: “an accumulation of centuries”), 475–476 (*stēlai* along a small propylon), 480 (along the “Processional Way” from Propylaea to western side of Parthenon), 510 (*stēlē* cutting helps to establish the location of the Mycenaean terrace used for the temple of Athena Polias).

51 Posts (identified by proportions) were still used for the inscribed accounts of the unknown building project (IG I<sup>3</sup> 433), of the statue of the Athena *Parthenos* (IG I<sup>3</sup> 453, 455–458, 460), of the Other Gods (IG I<sup>3</sup> 383), and of the golden *nikai* (IG I<sup>3</sup> 467–468).

and the accounts for various aspects of the wonderfully expensive Acropolis building program, all on very large monuments placed, we surmise, in very significant places on the Acropolis, the tribute-lists (at least) all together somewhere in the northwest quadrant between Propylaea and the statue of Athena *Promachos*.<sup>52</sup> So it would follow that an intentional visual link is asserted: between inscriptions on posts that, because they were tall and narrow, could look like columns, a columnar format used *on* posts and other large, three-dimensional monuments, and a columnar format used, eventually, on thinner *stēlai* and wall-revetments as well. The column format was meant to recall the inscribed post, the multi-columnar format to recall inscribed posts standing next to each other in architectural rows or (as at Delphi) in a forest-like clump. On the Acropolis, in other words, the columnar format was a type of visual reference that had real resonance, for inscribed posts there had for fifty years been used as the form in which to dedicate *thesmoi* and achievements of old-fashioned religiosity that served to honor the gods. This type of old-fashioned honor too, therefore, the newer columnar formats of the 440s, 430s, and 420s would convey, mimicking this old-fashioned form.

In the financial inscriptions displayed in this columnar format, much of the money (given as *aparchē*, or disbursed and spent on the building projects) either came to belong, or already belonged, to the gods themselves.<sup>53</sup> The transformation of money into gift, of divine wealth into beauty, or conversely (as in the Attic *stēlai*) the rendering of the confiscated possessions of the wickedly impious into wealth shared with the gods, transformed at a fundamental level either the nature or the disposition of this property. Marginesu, examining the various emphases in the accounts, concludes rather lyrically that each account was “like a narrative of a religious event”, “fragments of a discourse between men and gods”,<sup>54</sup> thus keeping Athenian inscribed accounts very much in the category of *thesmoi*. Possessions and tribute became *hiera* (sacred), while *hiera* wealth became *hiera* buildings and statues, and the stone memorialization of these transformations appeared as a new genre of inscribed *thes-*

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<sup>52</sup> Tribute-lists, argued by Paarmann 2007, 43–45 (between Propylaia and Parthenon), Monaco 2008, 69–75 (northwest quadrant). Thompson 1969, 114–116 argued that the inscription for the accounts of the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, which ran its headings and *lemmata* (disbursements) across the stone but formatted expenditures in columns, was set next to a same-sized stone bearing an inscription reorganizing the cult in continuous-line format (IG I<sup>3</sup> 82), so the contrast here too was deliberately emphasized.

<sup>53</sup> See Kallet-Marx 1989a, 253, 262–264, 265; Giovannini 1990, 137–139; Samons 1993, 134, 136 n. 29; Kallet-Marx 1998, 48–49; Pope 2000. Giovannini’s attractive suggestion (Giovannini 1997), 145, 151 that the *aparchē* specifically given to Athena through the *hellenotamiai* by the allies and administered by its own magistrates (*archai*) was intended from the start to help fund building projects, would if true merely expand the contributions to the building projects to be attributed to Athena herself.

<sup>54</sup> Marginesu 2009, 474.

*mos*.<sup>55</sup> Change in religious objects, like change in religious practice, marked a dangerous transition that had to be navigated with due attention to what the gods were presumed to recognize and like. Most dedications did not change their nature, as the detail of the inscribed *paradoseis* of inventoried gifts to the gods makes clear, and this must have been what the gods were thought to prefer. The inscribed inventories protected these items, for one board of treasurers passed on these treasures (the *hiera chrēmata*), specifically identified and described, to the next board of treasurers, and this act (with this list) was memorialized on *stēlai*, the text written in continuous lines across the stones.<sup>56</sup> Treaties too were about the relationships between men, or between city and city, as were the regulations the Athenians made for the inhabitants of some other cities; decrees stressed the relationship of the Athenians with other men—those they wished to honor—or the ways in which the Athenians ordered acts in the life of their own city. Even loans made by the gods for Athens' military campaigns did not transform divine treasure into something else, but instead emphasized that this wealth was merely borrowed and would return—that the Athenians would pay it back, indeed with interest.<sup>57</sup> These were all also inscribed in continuous lines, not in columns. Perhaps, then, columnar formats on Acropolis monuments pointed back to older Acropolis traditions not only to display an old-fashioned religiosity that honored the gods, but also, especially, because in the actions memorialized, human property or some of it was made *hiera* (as in the Tribute Lists and, by implication, in the Attic *stēlai* in the Eleusinion), or divine (and human) wealth was passed through human hands to return to the god as something yet more beautiful, but different from what it had initially been. Victorious achievements and attestations of scrupulous attention paid to the husbanding of special divine possessions, on the other hand, were also inscribed and given to the gods, but in different written forms and inscribed

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55 Despite some similarities noted above (nn. 16–17), inscribed accounts differed from their versions in other media, see now Marginesu 2009, 470 and Epstein 2013. The creation of the 'double-item' column marks the initial development of the inscribed account as its own monumental form, since in an inscribed double-item column the money amounts form their own column on the left, whereas on plaques and in 'continuous-line' accounts (e.g., SEG XXX 519–526, ca. 500; debt-acknowledgments from Corcyra), the amounts *follow* the entry *without a space* (as the drawing, not the printed text, of the Rhamnous plaque shows, Petrakos 1984, 188), as they also do in non-columnar financial inscriptions from Attic demes (IG I<sup>3</sup> 248, 253; perhaps also the fragmentary 249). The (undated) accounts for the unknown building project (IG I<sup>3</sup> 433) and the earliest of the tribute-lists (IG I<sup>3</sup> 259) still list money amounts following the entry, without a space, but thereafter the money is listed to the left, and this type of double-item column is consistently in place by 448/7 (IG I<sup>3</sup> 264), giving a putative date for the establishment of the distinctive and independent monumental form.

56 The preambles in inventories only identify groups of *tamiai* (the group of the year; the previous group; the next group). The possessions were specifically referred to as *hiera chrēmata* in: IG I<sup>3</sup> 293.14, 294.26, 295.38, 297.12, 298.26, 299.39, 306.22, 308.64, 310.18, 311.35, 313.72, 318.8, 319.14, 320.22, 326.14, 327.25, 330.16, 331.31, 345.34, 354.72, and 357.54.

57 Davies 1994, 208 notes the emphasis on human identities in the *logistai*- (loan-)inscriptions.

formats, since the emphasis in these inscriptions was on how the Athenians' relationships with others and with each other brought glory to the gods. The gods were honored by all of these inscriptions—on posts and *stēlai*, in columnar and continuous-line formats—but for different reasons and in different ways.

The inscribed post was a development of the Athenian Acropolis, and the columnar format subsequently employed on Acropolis monuments derived meaning from its visual predecessors there. It is likely that inscriptions on posts also played a role in inspiring the columnar format used in casualty-lists. Back in the first decade of the fifth century, the 'Hekatompedon Master' was the first to have carved the names of the dead of Athens on two sides of a post, now lost, from Hephaestion on Lemnos.<sup>58</sup> He was also responsible for carving the first of the epigrams on the base of the 'Marathon cenotaph' in the *dēmosion sēma*, a multi-stone inscribed base over 5 m in total length supporting vertical *stēlai*, each separated from the next by a distance of approximately 0.62 m, on which (it is presumed) names of the dead were carved.<sup>59</sup> The presumption, that names were listed on these stones, arises from Pausanias' description of the monument for the dead of Marathon at Marathon, which he himself saw: the dead were named, and listed there, by tribe (1.32.3). A stone that may have come from this monument at Marathon (with fragments of others that are very similar) has recently been found, listing the dead from the tribe Erechtheis.<sup>60</sup> This recently discovered stone is a post (proportions th:w 1:2), its names inscribed one per line in a striking cross-hatched pattern. If, as seems likely, the correct chronological arrangement of these three funerary monuments is Lemnos, Marathon, and 'Marathon cenotaph' in the *dēmosion sēma* (this last also likely repaired after the Persian sack of 480), then a progression in Athenian funerary-commemorative monuments from inscribed post to inscribed (thinner, oblong) *stēlē* can be observed, the same sort of transition that can (generally) be traced in 'documentary' stone inscribing on the Acropolis a little later in the century as well. The earliest of the subsequent casualty-lists (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1144, dating perhaps to 464 BC) may still have consisted of inscribed posts rather than obviously oblong *stēlai*,<sup>61</sup> although thereafter, and to the end of the century, the oblong *stēlē*,

<sup>58</sup> Lemnos, IG I<sup>3</sup> 1477A and C (above n. 25). The Athenian habit of commemorating the dead by listing their names started ca. 500 BC, Arrington 2010, 503–506, Arrington 2011, 185, and Arrington 2015, 39–49.

<sup>59</sup> Matthaiou 1988, 119, 121; what exactly it commemorated is still disputed, see summary in Arrington 2015, 43–48.

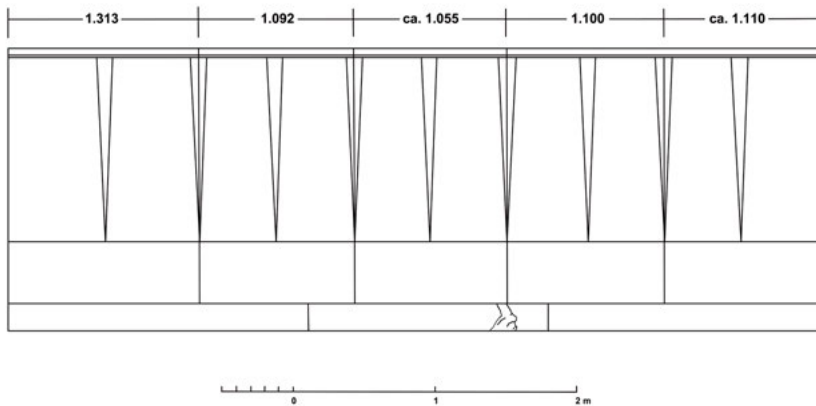
<sup>60</sup> Steinhauer 2004–2009, 679–680, with SEG LVI 430. Whether this was an authentic stone from Marathon (it was found in the Peloponnese) is disputed, see (e.g.) Steinhauer 2004–2009 and Keesling 2012, both in favor, versus Proietti 2013, who argues for a fourth-century date on the basis of the epigram; all give references to earlier scholarship.

<sup>61</sup> Possibly a ten-*stēlai* monument of which fragments of three *stēlai* survive; the dimensions of the first *stēlē* are w 0.26 th 0.09, or th:w 1:2.8, so in this reconstruction still a thick oblong, and inscribed on side as well as front faces, see Bradeen 1967 and 1974, 3–6. But the fragments could also combine



inscribed on only one side, is the common physical form of the Athenian casualty-list, perhaps because these monuments lined a road.<sup>62</sup>

The names on the Lemnos post are inscribed in *stoichedon* fashion, and it is characteristic of all subsequent casualty-lists (except that from Marathon) that they will be inscribed with *stoichedon* letter-spacing but in columnar format, with headings stretching across individual *stēlai* (or indeed even the entire monument), the stones themselves set in bases and usually inscribed somewhere, often on the base, with an epigram. The dead are listed by theater of war or by tribe (the indication of which functions as a kind of sub-heading within a column) or military role within a tribe, but without patronyms or demotics, making each column half, or one-third, the width it might have been. Sometimes a casualty-list was only one *stēlē*, with the dead of ten tribes; sometimes multiple *stēlai* were used, one *stēlē* for one (or two) tribes. At times, a vertical line was carved between the columns of names. The columns were already set apart by their spacing, so vertical lines were carved not because the columns needed to be minimally distinguished (as had once been the case with the list of *stephanephoroi* from Miletus), but because this strengthened the visual impression given of columns standing side by side.<sup>63</sup> In one of the best cases where an entire funerary monument can be reconstructed (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1163; fig. 12), not only are there five stones with a total of ten columns (the individual columns separated also by carved, tapering vertical lines) set in a base, but the *stēlai* were clamped together at the top and a course of stones placed on top of the *stēlai* (fig. 12).



**Fig. 12:** Casualty monument (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1163), possibly for Delium (424 BC), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Arrington 2012, 73 fig. 3).

into a larger and even thicker post, as they were combined in the earlier edition (IG I<sup>2</sup> 432), where the editor then referred to the stone as a *pila quadrata*; see also Meyer 2016.

<sup>62</sup> Argued more extensively in Meyer 2016.

<sup>63</sup> Vertical channels, listed by Arrington 2011, 195 n. 116: IG I<sup>3</sup> 1147, 1147bis, 1157, 1163, 1175, 1177, 1180, 1189, SEG LII 60.

The visual impression given is thus very much architectural: a row of inscribed columns set on a step (or several steps) and crowned by an architrave. This monument was probably most similar to other, later casualty-list monuments with similar cuttings but also to the earlier (five or) six carved posts, clamped together and crowned, that memorialized the accounts of the statue of Athena *Parthenos* (fig. 13). These are thought to have been placed, because of their lack of wear, within her temple—with the stone bearing the columnar accounts of the Parthenon doors attached to the wall next to them—on the Acropolis.<sup>64</sup>



**Fig. 13:** *Parthenos* accounts (IG I³ 460), final (summary) block, cut in half vertically (drawn by D. Weiss, after Marginesu 2010, 211 fig. 33).

<sup>64</sup> Lack of wear and traces of red paint on IG I³ 453, 455–458, and 460 suggested to IG I³, followed by Davison 2009, 1085 and Marginesu 2009, 473, that these stones had always been kept inside. IG I³ 461 (438/7 BC), for the doors, is very similar in appearance to the *Parthenos* accounts and was initially polished on all four sides, but was then (from the cuttings on the back) used as revetment on a wall, therefore (according to IG I³) likely near the others and part of their display.

Nothing like this—multiple names, multiple posts—had existed in the archaic Kerameikos, but inscribed stone posts were of course known from the Acropolis, from the end of the sixth century. The physical form had been adopted for the dead of Lemnos and, especially, of Marathon, and as the inscribed post gradually transformed itself into the oblong *stēlē* inscribed with the names of the dead in columnar format, some of the old and special implications, deducible from the Acropolis series, might have carried over into these casualty-lists as well. Inscribed posts, just as other inscriptions in sanctuaries, honored the gods, but after mid-century might have been seen as a special and old-fashioned way of paying the gods particular tribute in matters of particular importance to them, as might the columnar format itself. Were those who died on behalf of the city—not just citizens, although citizens predominate<sup>65</sup>—also being paid a particular tribute, honored in a particular way? Certainly the very fact of their memorialization made these dead men special: private commemoration of the dead on stone between about 490 and 430 is otherwise barely visible, so the casualty-lists stand out, indeed “manifest their honors” (δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς), as Thucydides has Pericles say (2.35.1).<sup>66</sup> But an even more special status may have been implied. The 192 dead of the Battle of Marathon received, at the Marathon tumulus, heroic cult.<sup>67</sup> The adoption of a format—first the inscribed post, then the arrangements into post-like columns on inscribed *stēlai*—may have been intended to imply, similarly, the exceptional status of the city’s later dead, who after all had earned for themselves “undying praise” (ἀγήρων ἔπαινον), again according to Thucydides’ Pericles (2.43.2). The epigrams on these monuments were also full of Homeric and epinician language.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, these dead were likely seen as at least akin to heroes, since they received funeral *agones* (Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 58.1). Even if their exact theological status is debatable, they were dead worthy of being treated as if they were aristocratic heroes, worthy at least of being memorialized as the warrior-heroes of Marathon were, and honored in the same format used to convey special honor to the gods.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>65</sup> The absence of patronyms in these lists is usually interpreted (most recently, Arrington 2011, 187) as an emphasis on Athens’ democratic citizenry, but the existence of non-citizens in the lists suggests that the emphasis was on dying while fighting.

<sup>66</sup> Fifth-century commemorative practices, see, for references, Arrington 2011, 195 nn. 114–115; casualty-lists as honorific, Liddel 2007, 193 and Low 2010, 344.

<sup>67</sup> Whitley 1994, 227–230, identifying them specifically as “warrior heroes”; Arrington 2015, 119 n. 121 notes, however, that the evidence is late.

<sup>68</sup> Briefly at Arrington 2011, 204; on the heroization of the Athenian dead, see Boedeker 2001, 159–160 and Loraux 2006, 90–93.

<sup>69</sup> Dead as heroes: see summary of debate in Loraux 2006, 71–75, 441–442, 445 n. 131; Currie 2005, 95–96, 108–109, 112–114; Jones 2010, 27–30; Arrington 2015, 113–120. Implied heroization might perhaps explain why the format spread to allies and even to Athens’ apparent enemies before and during the Peloponnesian War: (possibly) Samos (a list of Samian casualties from Eurymedon, in – possibly – two columns on a base; IG XII 6.1.277 = LSAG<sup>2</sup> 342 no. 20); Argos (LSAG<sup>2</sup> 170 no. 31 [460–450 BC], where this stone is probably a copy of the columnar-format Argive *stēlē* set up in Athens, IG I<sup>3</sup> 1149);

### 3 Towards the End of the Fifth Century

Such, then, is the epigraphic situation until late in the fifth century BC. Even as oblong *stēlai* inscribed in continuous-line format proliferate, some special genres are instead inscribed in columns, a two-dimensional version of the older post form, using it (it is suggested here) to imply particular honor of an old-fashioned sort, associated especially with divinities and heroes and the special treatment to which they (and some of their property) were entitled. Late in the century, however, the columnar format expanded beyond these genres, in four different directions. It was used for re-inscribing Athens' sacred calendar (a type of *thesmos*); it was used for a genre that—it will be argued—was old, and perhaps once on wood, but was now like the calendar recopied onto stone (the archon-list); it was used, in a handful of cases, in inscriptions that mixed genres and formats (account-inventories and decree-lists); and it was used, finally, for dedications by groups that now listed their members, and perhaps wished to convey special honor to those listed and to those whom the list itself honored.

The sacred calendar of Athens was inscribed, or rather re-inscribed, on stone in the context of a great effort to compile and republish Athenian laws, an effort that began in 409 and only ended, amidst acrimony and a court case, in 399 BC.<sup>70</sup> Many aspects of this effort remain obscure, but are fortunately not important here; one element of the accusation, however, were changes—additional sacrifices—the project-manager was alleged to have introduced to the calendar.<sup>71</sup> Also worthy of emphasis is that specific laws or collections of laws—on the trierarchy, on the *Boulē*, on homicide—were re-inscribed in continuous-line format on freestanding oblong *stēlai* (fig. 14), while the sacred calendar itself was inscribed in columns, on *stēlai* that were themselves then placed between actual columns on the newly added wings of the Stoa Basileios in the Agora (fig. 15).<sup>72</sup>

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Thespiae and Tanagra, both probably after the battle of Delium (IG VII 1888a–i = LSAG<sup>2</sup> 95 no. 19a = I.Thesp. 485, dead listed without patronyms on nine *stēlai*; IG VII 585 = LSAG<sup>2</sup> 95 no. 19b, dead listed without patronyms in four columns; both 424 BC); Megara, SEG XXXIX 411 (one column of dead with patronyms; 425–400 BC); Mantinea, SEG XXXI 348 (dead listed by tribe and without patronym in two columns; 418 BC?); Argos, SEG XXIX 361 (dead listed by tribe and phratry in four columns, no patronyms, five-line heading; ca. 400 BC?); and Kritzas 1980, 501–502 mentions other fragments that are perhaps also to be attributed to Argive casualty lists.

<sup>70</sup> SEG LII 48 and SEG LVII 64; court-case, Lys. 30, with (e.g.) Robertson 1990; Carawan 2010; and J. Shear 2011, 229–230, 238–240.

<sup>71</sup> See Robertson 1990; Rhodes 1991; J. Shear 2011, 70–85 and 239–243; Meyer 2016, all with further references; changes, Lys. 30.2, 17–20. Since the new sacrifices were paid for (Lysias alleges that ancestral ones were neglected), it seems more likely that they had been approved by The People, and that the inscribing was to include the changes.

<sup>72</sup> For this complicated issue, see J. Shear 2011, 85–96 (although I do not agree with her verdict of *initial* opisthographic inscribing for SEG LII 48 frags. 2–3, see Meyer 2016, 375 n. 197); note too that the postulated second iteration of this calendar (for which see J. Shear 2011, 240–245; she thinks its form

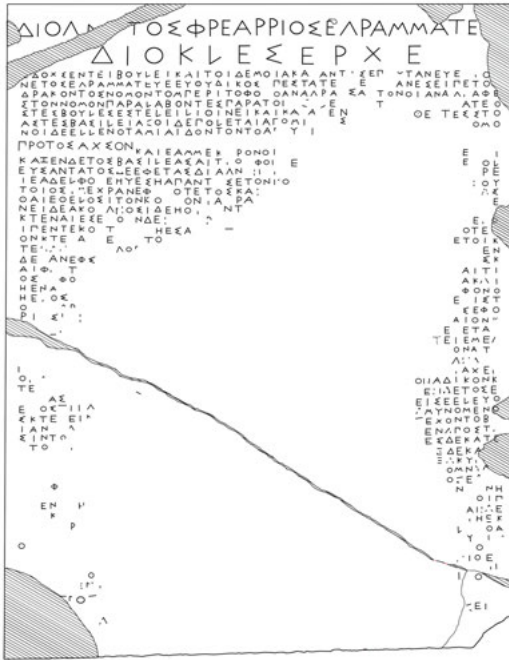


Fig. 14: Reproduction of Draco's homicide law (an example of continuous-line *stoichedon* inscribing) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Stroud 1968, pl. I).

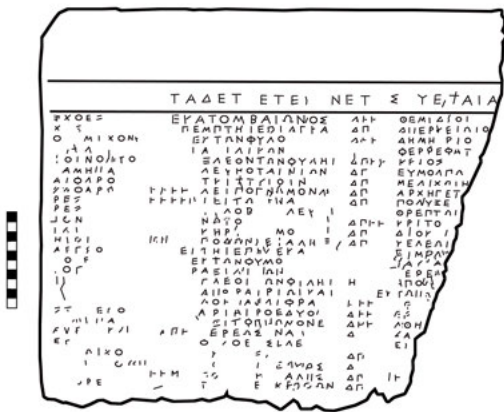


Fig. 15: Sacred calendar from Stoa Basileios (side A, the second version) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Agora inv. I 727 in Lambert 2002, pl. 33a).

“highly unusual”, 242) places the inscribed *stelai* side-by-side on a base along the back wall of the Stoa Basileios, clamping them together as other fifth-century columnar monuments were clamped together.

The contrast recapitulates and makes dramatically visible the earlier fifth-century distinction already argued for: that for *thesmoi* a post or a columnar form had been particularly favored, while matters that increasingly were seen as focussing on the (admirable, victorious, well-ordered, god-pleasing) relationships of men with men were properly inscribed as continuous text on oblong *stēlai*. Compiling ancient achievements in a tense decade, the commission and its project-supervisor thought it appropriate to inscribe laws with the perceived latter focus (laws that they now called *nomoi*) on free-standing oblong *stēlai*, while the religious calendar was inscribed in columns and then incorporated into an actual architectural display. Indeed, the commissioners' act of re-inscription in the case of the homicide law is also an acknowledged act of reclassification, for where Draco had referred to his own law as a *thesmos*, the *anagrapheis* called it a *nomos*.<sup>73</sup> retrospectively, the relationship of killer with other men was more prominent to the inscribers than the way killing offended the gods.<sup>74</sup> Or so, at least, I would venture, although what *nomos* and *thesmos* might have meant to the Athenians over the course of the fifth century has always been the subject of much discussion.<sup>75</sup>

That a sacred calendar is re-inscribed and displayed in columns therefore comes as no surprise: it continues a pattern of formatting already established, albeit in a new location. Could the same be true of the retrospective chronological list of Athenian archons? This Athenian list of the eponymous archons (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1031 = ML 6) is now the earliest *retrospectively inscribed* list of magistrates known, and its contents are estimated to reach back to 683/2 or 682/1.<sup>76</sup> It was initially dated to ca. 425 BC, is now dated—more plausibly—to the last decade of the fifth century, and is restored as a large monument inscribed in four columns, although only four fragments have been found (fig. 16).<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *Thesmoi*, of Draco, IG I<sup>3</sup> 104.20 (restored but widely accepted, Ostwald 1969, 3 n. 3), with IG I<sup>3</sup> 104.4–6, “let the *anagrapheis* inscribe the *nomos* of Draco about homicide, having received the *nomos* from the *basileus*...”.

<sup>74</sup> In other sources, the miasma consequent upon killing is also a problem; and perhaps the danger associated with this miasma also was declining, as noted by Parker 1996, 322 for the period after the fourth century.

<sup>75</sup> See, e.g., Hölkeskamp 2000, 73–81, with references.

<sup>76</sup> Bradeen 1963, ML 6; see also Chaniotis 1988, 193; Sherk 1990, 251 and 272; Sickinger 1999, 47–51, 210–212; Pébarthe 2005a; Christesen 2007, 100–104 (a summary of the arguments about authenticity). Beginning date: discussed Cadoux 1948, 89 and Bradeen 1963, 201 (cannot choose between the two); Miletus, above nn. 27–29.

<sup>77</sup> Dating: Meritt 1939, 60 had dated ca. 425 on the basis of the fragments' “beautifully even and carefully cut letters” (problems with this criterion were pointed out long ago by Stroud 1978, 33 and n. 57); dated after 410 by Pritchett 1995, 185–187 and Pébarthe 2005a, 15–21. Appearance, Bradeen 1963, 200–202: h 1,90 w 1,20 th 0,20 m (all estimated); he also gives estimates (202 n. 76) for a taller monument that left room at the end for more names to be inscribed. A later archon-list (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1713, 146/5 BC to AD 43/4) seems similar, with at least five columns of names without patronyms on a

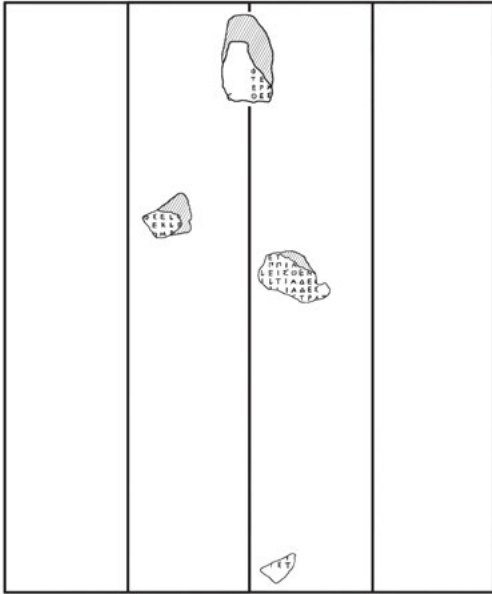


Fig. 16: Archon-list (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1031), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Bradeen 1963, 203, fig. 1).

The earlier lists of *damiourgoi* and *wanakes* (from Argos and Geronthrai, respectively) suggest that magistrate- or priest-lists carved on stone were not unknown in the Greek world already in the sixth century, and indeed that such a list might find itself on a temple (as at Argos, where it is thought to have been inscribed on a temple-doorpost). The recently discovered fragment of a list of Milesian *stephanephoroi* places this practice of inscribing names of eponymous magistrates—in chronological order, in columns, and perhaps on a building again—securely in the fifth century. Moreover, this Milesian list was copied on to a large *stēlē* in the fourth century (probably in 333/2 BC), proving that monumental originals could be subject to monumental re-inscription on great occasions, in the Milesian case the willingness of Alexander the Great to grace the city and serve as *stephanephoros*.<sup>78</sup> Had, therefore, the Athenian archon-list existed in an earlier public form, from which it was inscribed at a later date, and had this earlier form perhaps been displayed on some building?<sup>79</sup> This Athenian list

stone: dimensions h 0,85–0,95 w 1,00, and th 0,155 m, but the height is incomplete, and both side-edges of the stone have anthrosis, so it is larger even than this (Bradeen 1963, 200). It “offers some indication of what the [earlier] Athenian list may have been like”, Cadoux 1948, 77, showing “some obvious parallels”, Bradeen 1963, 200.

<sup>78</sup> I.Mil. I.3.122, with Rehm’s commentary; Sherk 1990, 251–252; date corrected to 333/2 from Rehm’s 334/3, see Rhodes 2006. Similarly, the priest-list at Halicarnassus was recopied in the first century BC from “[the ancient s]tēlē” (Syll.<sup>3</sup> 1020.1–2).

<sup>79</sup> Hedrick 2002 emphasized in particular the absence of attested lists in archives (15–17) and the



has two salient characteristics. One is that the archons are listed without patronym, which suggested (to Pritchett) a “sacred” rather than “official” written source.<sup>80</sup> The other, that ancient sources never seem to disagree about the relative order of Athenian archons, argues that this list (or some part of it) had existed in an established and accepted form even before it was inscribed on the stone monument that now survives only in fragments, although of course the existence of this late fifth-century inscribed exemplar would have subsequently cemented the validity of the archon-order it laid out.<sup>81</sup> So it is possible to speculate that a list, at least in some form, had existed before the last decade of the fifth century; that it was, or had been, publicly exhibited, possibly in a sacred context, and its contents known; that it might have been displayed on a building; and that something in the history of that building might now explain the need to re-inscribe the list on stone. Copying such a list of names, perhaps in its original form one name per line (as other name-lists seem to have been: Argos, Geronthrai, Miletus), into a columnar format on stone might have visually replicated what the original list had looked like, while simultaneously also invoking the honorific format associated with the sacred past.<sup>82</sup> Or it is of course possible that the ultimate source of the list must remain unknown, and that the columnar format was chosen to give an impression of antiquity and reliability.

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importance of monumental predecessors (especially dedications in sanctuaries) in providing the raw material from which retrospective magistrate-lists could be constructed (18–29); a list of magistrates carved on a sacred building subsequently dismantled might meet his criteria. Stroud 1978, 33 saw “no reason to conclude that this was the first time that the list had been publicly displayed”.

**80** Pritchett 1996, 5 n. 6, 36; this would also reinforce the parallel with the Geronthrai *wanakes*, the Milesian *stephanephoro*i, the Thasian *theoroi* (associated with *aparchai*, see Graham 2001, 249 and 397, and listed retrospectively on walls of a building with a sacred character, Pouilloux 1979 and Graham 2000, 306–311), and the priests of Athena Lindia (listed on stone slabs against the back walls of the *pronaos* of her temple, Bradeen 1963, 199). Jacoby 1949, 172–173 thought this absence of patronym (or later demotic) an intentional difference between the inscription and the archival copy.

**81** Hedrick 2002, 15 n. 6; Jacoby 1949, 171; Rhodes 1981, 120–121; Pébarthe 2005b, 31–33, 37–50. Controversies about the list are few, and not about the correctness of the list itself: the first (a debate over the date of Solon’s archonship) is about how to associate the list with firm dates, while the second (did the reformer Cleisthenes serve as archon under the Peisistratids?) indicates that the inscribed list included information not in the historiographical tradition, for which *either* inscriber *or* historians might have had their own specific reasons. Authoritative after 400: Cadoux 1948, 78–79 (eight minor discrepancies); Jacoby 1949, 171.

**82** I have speculated that an early temple of Solon’s time had carved and painted inscriptions (of *thesmoi*) on the wooden posts of its peristyle (Meyer 2016). If such a painted set of peristyle-posts can be imagined to have provided even the earliest archon-names (from 683 or 682) to later compilers, then here too there would have been a moment of retroactive carving (that is, of the first ninety names *before* Solon). Or it is possible that archons began to be listed on temple-posts starting only with Solon, thus explaining a later remark in Plato (Plat. *Hipp. mai.* 285E) about memorizing archons’ names starting with Solon, and the fifth-century stone re-inscription strove for thoroughness by going back to the *first* annual archon, taking the names of the first ninety archons from an unknown source.

The inscription or re-inscription of the archon-list and the re-inscription of *thesmoi*, including the sacred calendar (and other laws now reclassified as *nomoi*), belong (probably) to the same post-411 initiative, a visual reconstruction of the pious, orderly, and successful Athenian past that flowed without obstruction or interruption into the Athenian present. The re-inscribed archon-list contributed to this effort by demonstrating Athenian continuity in times of difficulty: a focus on the eponymous archons, year after year, simultaneously excluded the memory of other political events, such as episodes of trouble and tyranny in the sixth century, Cleisthenes' political significance, or the oligarchic revolution of 411 BC.<sup>83</sup> That such smoothing over of the past was at least one of the possible intents behind this memorializing of the Athenian archons at this point in time is hinted at by the Milesian parallel, where the inscribed names of *stephanephoroi* marched in orderly progression across years of destruction and Persian occupation, or at least gave the appearance of doing so.<sup>84</sup> Continuity and completeness are emphasized; interruptions, difficulties, and disasters are elided. The re-inscribed sacred calendar and archon-list are also both memorialized in a new place, the Agora—Athens' major space of governance, in which continuity might be seen as, now, especially relevant.<sup>85</sup>

Along with the other re-inscribed laws, this epigraphical initiative—the re-inscriptions of calendar and archon-names, as well as (other) laws—also recapitulates a century's development of inscribing norms, employing after the democracy was restored in 410 appropriate formats for types of information or genres of document to which they were, by tradition of the last forty years, thought to be best suited. But the last decade of the fifth century also saw the widening employment of hybrid formats that themselves mixed two inscribing norms. The first was the columnar presentation, at Eleusis and on the Acropolis, of the 'handing-over' from supervising body to next supervising body of specific items belonging to the gods, that is, an 'inventory' (in the earlier examples known, inscribed in continuous-line format), combined with a listing of revenues and expenses. This hybrid genre was not itself precisely new in the last decade of the century, but rather seems to have been an innovation of the early 420s, the use of which intensified after 410. For in 429/8, the treasurers of the

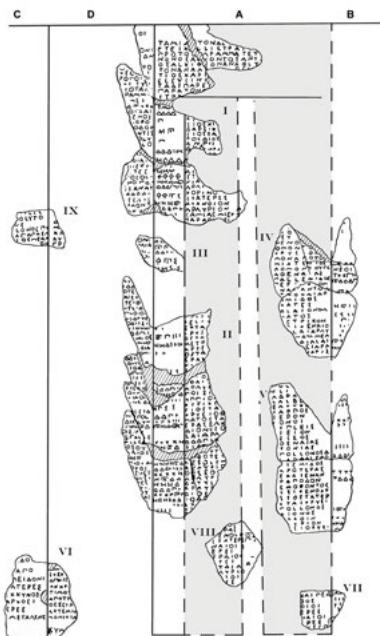
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<sup>83</sup> Although Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 13.1–2 reports *anarchia* and an archon serving for more than one year in the decade after Solon; it is not known whether this information comes from this list but it might, see Rhodes 1981, 179. Intentional de-emphasis of Cleisthenes and his reforms, Pébarthe 2005a, 28 (who also stresses that the list embodies continuity, 27–28), and see also Pébarthe 2005b, 50; J. Shear 2011, 96–111 instead emphasizes the democratic authority visible in the republication of laws and the democracy's efforts to claim the past while excluding the oligarchic regimes: "it is as if they had never been" and the city "had always been ruled by the *demos*" (111). The later archon-list has an entry with *anarchia*: IG II<sup>2</sup> 1713.12.

<sup>84</sup> Ehrhardt 2003 and Herda 2006, 15 n. 41, 17 n. 56.

<sup>85</sup> See, for the new emphasis on the Agora, J. Shear 2007; J. Shear 2011, 96–122, 243–57; Meyer 2013, 476–481.

Other Gods on the Acropolis had “handed over” (παρέδ[οσαν]) precious (especially metal) items as well as some tithes and first-fruits (*dekatē* and *aparchē*) to the next set of treasurers, this action memorialized in a list inscribed in columnar format on three faces of a post (fig. 17).



**Fig. 17:** Account-inventory of the treasurers of the Other Gods (IG I³ 383), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Johnson 1931, 35 pl. 3).

The contents of the fragmentary fourth face, inscribed in continuous-line format, are unclear but may have listed in multiple-line entries recipients of loans, who were groups of religious officials (such as *hieropoioi* and *hellenotamiai*) with secretaries.<sup>86</sup> This (on one of the last uses of a post, in the 420s) was an inventory, therefore, but one that also included accounts—gifts and (possibly) loans. The variations in the formats of inscribing seem to reflect the mixed nature of what was recorded. This first example of a hybrid genre in a hybrid format was no strange and whimsical fancy of the treasurers of the Other Gods, but the consequence of a surviving decree. These

<sup>86</sup> IG I³ 383.9 (inventory language), IG I³ 383.157 and 237 (*dekatē* and *aparchē*), IG I³ 383.258 and 260 (boards with secretaries); Thompson 1967, 225–226 had pointed out the similarity of 383 to inventories (and indeed to the Eleusis account-inventories, albeit from comparing contents, not format). Ferguson 1932, 97 n. 2 and Linders 1975, 21 suggested that Face D listed the recipients of disbursements or loans, all in Attic currency.

treasurers were instructed, in Callias Decree A of perhaps 433–431 (IG I<sup>3</sup> 52.13–15),<sup>87</sup> “to manage the *chrēmata* of the gods on the Acropolis”, to “receive *chrēmata*” from religious officials of other sanctuaries, and “to inscribe a record of all the *chrēmata* they have received on a *stēlē*, entering separately the sums belonging to each god as well as the total amount, and distinguishing silver and gold. And in future they shall inscribe annually a *stēlē* and give account of balances and receipts of the gods as well as annual expenses” (IG I<sup>3</sup> 52.15–16, 20, 22–27). These newly constituted treasurers of the Other Gods were thus instructed to perform a number of different financial tasks, and to inscribe their activities on one *stēlē* each year; and so this is what they did, including what was handed over, what came in, and what was spent or lent. But they did not husband or inventory all of the dedications or wealth of the Other Gods in their Attic sanctuaries, only the (recovered) wealth that had previously been lent out, for it was this money that was now, according to the decree, to be repaid. Therefore the focus of these treasurers’ responsibilities was, from the start, on keeping track of gold and silver while also noting revenue and outflow.<sup>88</sup> Usually both inventories and loans would be inscribed in continuous lines, but here recovered or given gold and silver were listed in columns, perhaps because (it is unclear) in the process of transfer and return they had been changed in some way, and changes in the nature of the gods’ property encouraged the use of the traditional columnar format.

The Eleusinian *epistatai*, created by decree in (probably) 432/1,<sup>89</sup> had been instructed to “oversee the *chrēmata* of the Two Goddesses, just as those (*epistatai*) of the works on the Acropolis used to oversee the temple and the statue” (IG I<sup>3</sup> 32.10–13 = I.Eleusis 30.10–13), and for ten or so years used the continuous-line format in inscribing on stone some aspects of their fulfilled financial responsibilities, the format followed also by the treasurers of Athena when listing loans of divine wealth on the Acropolis.<sup>90</sup> Between 420 and 410, however, they also adopted the hybrid account-inventory, with its *paradosis* language but columnar format as pioneered by the treasurers of the Other Gods, for specific subsets of the goddesses’ wealth.<sup>91</sup> Here

<sup>87</sup> The date is controversial, see Linders 1975, 55–57 (with references to the older scholarship); Kallet-Marx 1989b; Samons 2000, 113–138; Rhodes 2013, 214.

<sup>88</sup> Linders 1975, 19–32, 35–38, 53.

<sup>89</sup> Discussion of date, long controversial, in Cavanaugh 1996, 19–27 and Clinton 2008, 56–58. Clinton 2008, 53 noted that both this decree and Callias Decree A do not specify the names of the boards they create, a parallel that might also argue for the two decrees’ closeness in time.

<sup>90</sup> The Eleusinian *epistatai* were actually required to perform functions that these two sets of Acropolis *epistatai* had not performed: to make known, and collect, debts owed to the Two Goddesses; to take charge of the Goddesses’ revenue; and to spend what was necessary, IG I<sup>3</sup> 32.15–17, 20–22, 28–30. (Because of these differences, Ferrari 2002, 18 identified the Acropolis “*epistatai* of the temple and the statue” as *epistatai* in charge of building works associated with the ruined temple of Athena Polias). Continuous-line inscribing, above n. 48.

<sup>91</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 390, 385, 388–389 = I.Eleusis 46–48, 50 (418, 417, 416, and 413 BC), along with the tiny fragment I.Eleusis 43: gold, silver, bronze, stone seals, necklaces, rings, earrings, ivory boxes, silvered wagon-poles, and so on.

in Eleusis this hybrid genre too listed only the precious (mostly metal) objects and, in the extensive inscriptions of 408/7 (IG I<sup>3</sup> 386–387 = I.Eleusis 52), other materials that could readily be turned into cash as well.<sup>92</sup> These parallels confirm that the property, revenues, and expenses so handed on were special: listed in the way they were because, probably, they were held in readiness (and passed from treasurers to treasurers or *epistatai* to *epistatai*) to be used—transformed—into a liquid resource should that be needed, or had been used that way before.

The last and most famous of these hybrid account-inventories, IG I<sup>3</sup> 474 of 409/8, is the first of the so-called “Erechtheion accounts”. It too exists because it, like the account-inventory of the treasurers of the Other Gods, was required by a law, as its preamble makes clear: the *epistatai* “inscribed these works of the temple as they received them finished and half-finished, according to the *psephisma* of The People that Epigenes proposed” ([τά]δε ἀνέγραψαν ἔργα τὸ νεὸς ἡὸς κατέλαβον ἔχοντα κατὰ τὸ φσέ[φισ]μα τὸ δέμο ἡὸ Ἐπιγένης εἶπεν, ἐχσεργασμένα καὶ ἡμίεργα, 474.4–5). Lists of remarkable detail follow, in two long columns: wall-blocks, capitals, epistyle and angle blocks, Eleusinian stone, columns, bases, ceiling blocks, lintels, blocks for an altar. It was, therefore, a little unusual, for this account-inventory (unlike its Eleusinian contemporaries) was not a list of materials kept separate with an eye to their possible sale, but (side A) a catalogue of existing materials available for a project, inactive for perhaps twelve years,<sup>93</sup> and (side B, also in two columns) specifications for the work remaining to be done. It is a type of ‘inventory’ in that it lists property of the gods, but it simultaneously documents the raw state of the materials that are to be transformed into the gods’ temple, and what actions are to be taken to achieve that end. The subsequent Erechtheion accounts (IG I<sup>3</sup> 475–476; IG I<sup>3</sup> 477–479 and IG II<sup>2</sup> 1654 are fragments)<sup>94</sup> similarly resemble the other Acropolis accounts visually, but differ in their new and astonishing level of detail (down to a payment of four-and-a-half obols, IG I<sup>3</sup> 476.403), their inscription by prytany (not by year or by project), and their use of continuous-line inscribing *within* individual columns (as also on side B of IG I<sup>3</sup> 474).

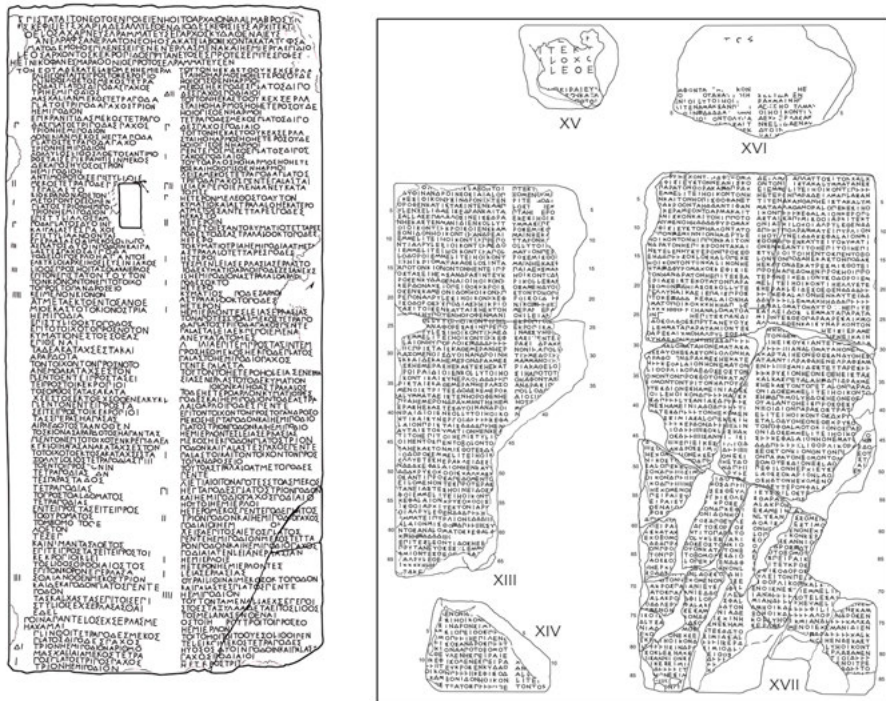
Clearly it was more important that the eye see columns than distinguish entries, for within columns entries were marked off from each other only by internal punctuation, not by spacing. The effect is emphatically architectural; indeed, because of

<sup>92</sup> In addition to listing precious items of the sort found in the earlier fragments (above n. 91), these also list money realized from the sale of *aparchai*, stone blocks, wood, tiles, bases, ladders, wagons, rope, axles, iron implements, and other materials, as well as revenues, expenditures, and a loan. Special sort of wealth, Cavanaugh 1996, 158, 212 (listed “because of their negotiable status”), and 215 (“considered negotiable even after their dedication”); also Clinton 2008, 72 and 76. IG I<sup>3</sup> 386–387 also used inventory language: 386.3 (τάδε παρελ[άβ]ομεν παρὰ τὸν προτέρον ἐπιστάτην); 387.2 ([τάδε]ε παρέδομεν ἐπιστάταις τοῖς νέοις).

<sup>93</sup> Paton 1927, 298.

<sup>94</sup> SEG XXXIII 22 presents some new readings; Lambert 2000 makes the case for associating IG II<sup>2</sup> 1654 with the fifth-century Erechtheion accounts.

the continuous-line presentation of the content in columns, the columns were even more sharply and exactly depicted than before, with justification of both left and right edges of each column (fig. 18a–b). One of these sets of accounts (IG I<sup>3</sup> 476) was itself not a free-standing *stēlē* but revetment for a terrace-wall: one would therefore see it as a wall of orderly columns.<sup>95</sup> So as the content is adjusted to add inventories of existing materials and lists of work to be done to a set of accounts enhanced in their level of specificity and detail, the old columnar format is maintained and its appearance and impact strengthened.



**Fig. 18:** Erechtheion accounts with (a) left-justified (IG I<sup>3</sup> 474) and (b) left- and right-justified columns (IG I<sup>3</sup> 476) (drawn by D. Weiss, after (a) Ferrari 2002, 19 fig. 3; and (b) Paton 1927, pl. XLIX).

A second hybrid genre in hybrid format was also explored in the 420s and became more widespread in the last decade of the century. Here a decree (in continuous-line format) was combined with a list (in columnar format). The first example is the *stēlē* announcing a reassessment of tribute, with the decree (of 425/4 BC) inscribed

<sup>95</sup> See Pritchett 1940, 102–104; Dinsmoor 1932, 145 proposes the terrace wall of the Old Temple of Athena Polias.

in continuous-line *stoichedon*, the payers and their assessed tribute thereafter listed in four double-item columns (IG I<sup>3</sup> 71): a decree and a version of a ‘tribute-list’ (itself traditionally in columns) are combined.<sup>96</sup> A second type of this hybrid appears in the last decade of the century, and praises and rewards, by name, benefactors of Athens and her democracy. One of these monuments memorialized public honor given in (perhaps) 403/2 to those citizens (and possibly others) who returned from Phyle (SEG XXVIII 45), with a decree in continuous-line format, a list of those honored arranged by tribe and demotic in (at least) two columns, and an epigram of praise;<sup>97</sup> another was the gift of civic privileges decreed between 403 and 400 to non-citizens active in the same fight against the Thirty (IG II<sup>2</sup> 10 + 2403 + SEG XLIV 34), with the continuous-line decree on the obverse and lists of those honored on both obverse and reverse, in perhaps as many as four (obverse) and four, six, or seven columns (reverse).<sup>98</sup> The first monument was erected in the Agora, the second on the Acropolis, as honors for non-citizens typically were (fig. 19).<sup>99</sup> A new hybrid format for a new hybrid genre was in these cases adopted for what was in fact also a new epigraphic practice, inscriptions that honored Athens’ own citizens for their contributions to the city.<sup>100</sup> To honor was not new (although carefully controlled in the fifth century); to honor individual for-

<sup>96</sup> New readings and a new fragment in Matthaïou 2010, 28–32; IG I<sup>3</sup> 77 and 100 are also classified as inscriptions of this type, although only fragments of the columnar part survive.

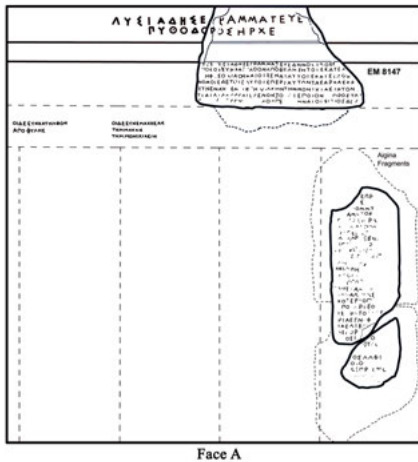
<sup>97</sup> Although the parts of this monument (heading, columnar lists of names, epigram, decree) are certainly attested, its reconstruction by Raubitschek 1941, 289 is debated, for the monument could have been taller and there could have been more columns of names (see Taylor 2002, 392–395). The date is also no longer certain: SEG LII 86 reports the discovery of a new, non-joining fragment “preserving part of the epigram and enough of the prescript of the decree to show that the archon is not Eukleides and that Raubitschek’s restoration [of the archon’s name] must be abandoned”. To my knowledge this fragment has not yet been published. Most controversial is who exactly was honored: see Taylor 2002 and J. Shear 2011, 232–234, who notes also (234 n. 31) how thick – post-like – this monument likely was (th 0,30). Another approximately contemporary monument, SEG XXVIII 46, also granted privileges to sons of those killed “helping the democracy”. Although no columns of names on the front face survive, these are surmised, since there is a list written subsequent to the erection of the *stēlē* on the narrow left side of the *stēlē*; the date is disputed, see Stroud 1971, arguing for 403/2, and J. Shear 2011, 230, slightly later, versus (most recently) Matthaïou 2011, 71–81, dating to 410/9 or a little after.

<sup>98</sup> The reconstruction of this monument is again disputed: see (e.g.) Hereward 1952; Krentz 1980; M. Osborne 1981, 37–41 no. D6; RO 4; J. Shear 2011, 234; the first three disagree on the number of columns on side B and the width and height of the monument. Walbank 1994, 169–171 no. 2 has added another (non-joining) fragment to this monument, and speculates (171 no. 3) that yet another might belong here as well (SEG XLIV 34 and 89); but the combination of continuous-line decree and columnar lists of names is certain.

<sup>99</sup> Meyer 2013, 475 n. 99, with further references; these inscribed hybrid-form honors are followed in the fourth century by, e.g., IG II<sup>2</sup> 33 (honors to Thasian exiles, decree and then names in two columns; ca. 385) and IG II<sup>2</sup> 37 (honors to some other exiles; after 383).

<sup>100</sup> See J. Shear 2011, 232 n. 27 and Meyer 2013, 474–482.

eigners by inscribed decree (on the Acropolis) was not new; but to inscribe honors to groups, to Athenians, and by name, *that* was new, and new formats were created from existing ones to achieve this. The honors for those who captured Phyle even included an epigram, which would have signalled a further visual parallel to an existing form, Athens' public funerary monuments, which stood not far away in the *dēmosion sēma*. Exceptional men were worthy of exceptional honor, whether dead or (here) alive, and their names were listed in columns. The source of the honor, the *dēmos* of Athens, was made explicit in the inscribing of the decree granting it, the decree's authorizing language emphasizing that fact.



**Fig. 19:** Decree and list honoring foreigners who helped restore the democracy, 403–400 BC (IG II<sup>2</sup> 10), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Hereward 1952, 107 fig. 4).



The last genre in which the columnar format is more widely seen in this final decade of the fifth century is that of dedications, which can now be made by groups with all members of the group listed, in columns, by name. To see the names of more than four individuals in dedications had been rare;<sup>101</sup> in the past it had been groups of magistrates making a dedication who were named in any number, although even this was not common.<sup>102</sup> Towards the end of the century, however, this changes. Thus, crews of perhaps as many as eight ships, all of them listed (complete with slaves) in ten columns, are either honored for their heroic performance or dedicate in thanks for their achievement—it is unclear which (as the battle too is unclear, although it occurred after 412), since the beginning of the inscription is fragmentary; but the resulting inscription is huge, and was perhaps used to revet a wall on the Acropolis (fig. 20).<sup>103</sup> Councillors voted the “best prytany” in 408/7 placed on the Acropolis a circular base for a statue of Athena inscribed with (37 or ca. 50) names listed by deme in (three or four) columns, in thanks for the honor given to them.<sup>104</sup> Rich and politically important men make a dedication at Eleusis, probably in the wake of Alcibiades’ leading of the Eleusinian procession there over land in 408/7.<sup>105</sup> Two highly fragmentary inscriptions with men listed by both tribe and deme in columns, interpretable as lists of councillors or *diaitetai* (arbitrators), would also have been dedications by or in honor of them. One was found on the Acropolis (and variously dated, between 440 and 405, or specifically to ca. 410), the fragments of the other, likely a base, in late contexts

**101** Earlier multiple dedicators, above n. 37; thereafter, only some choregic-victory dedications, most of them erected by only two men, the names listed in one-name-per-line fashion, and not all of them even found within the city of Athens (IG I<sup>3</sup> 958–963, 965–966, 968, 969bisb, 970 [four names; Eleusis, 425–406?], and 1034, probably a four-person, four-line dedication on a base). One dedication (IG I<sup>3</sup> 969, see SEG XXVI 225), with fourteen men listed (in two columns) plus two in the heading, could be from 440–431 (IG I<sup>3</sup>) or from ca. 400 (Mitsos 1965).

**102** For the three archaic examples, above n. 38; from the later fifth century we find IG I<sup>3</sup> 516 (*diaitetai*? 415–400), a list with nine names inscribed in a column, and IG I<sup>3</sup> 1460, four *amphictyones* of the Athenians at Delos, inscribed in a column (410/9).

**103** IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032 = IG II<sup>2</sup> 1951, estimated size h 2,15 w 1,00 th >0,22, Laing 1965, 49–50; Graham 1998, 92 notes that we have almost all of the inscription’s height, from which Bakewell 2008, 157 concluded that no decree was part of this inscription. Interpreted as a dedication to Poseidon by IG I<sup>3</sup>, possibly by those who survived Aegospotami; Graham 1998 argued for an expedition in 412; Bakewell 2008, 144–145 summarizes previous positions on date and 158–159 emphasizes the inscription’s deliberately non-temporal aspects. Another like it may be SEG LIV 226 (ca. 400), a fragmentary list of a trireme crew on a stone of post-like proportions (presumed h 0,52, preserved w 0,165 [but not much is missing]; pr. th 0,13 m), find-spot unknown.

**104** IG I<sup>3</sup> 515 = DAA 167 = Agora XV 1, the last two disagreeing over the number of columns and therefore the number of names on the base.

**105** IG I<sup>3</sup> 1048 = IG II<sup>2</sup> 2366 = I.Eleusis 49, dated somewhere between 415 and 403; Clinton 2005, 69 suggests either 415–410 (because “only the most essential inscriptions were set up at Eleusis” between 410 and 404) or (71) the fall of 407, when Alcibiades and the army escorted the procession to Eleusis.

in the Agora (and dated only vaguely to the mid-fifth century on the now-outdated criterion of a three-bar sigma).<sup>106</sup>

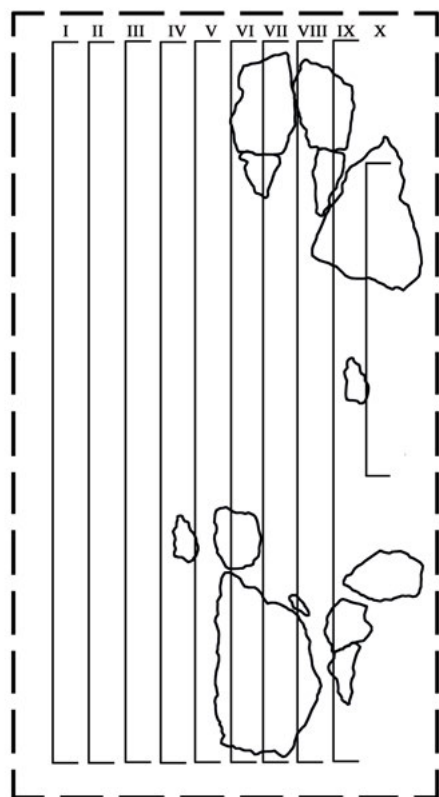


Fig. 20: List of trireme crews (IG I³ 1032), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Laing 1965, 20 fig. 2).

Even women may have been included in this trend: the only epigraphic list of women known before the first century BC, the fragmentary IG I³ 1037, may reflect honors given to makers of Athena's *peplos* or a dedication by them, if this inscription is a forerunner of other inscribed lists of women known from Athens much later.<sup>107</sup> Because of

<sup>106</sup> IG I³ 1040 and 1038 (in line 10, a second name is added in a different hand); Hondius 1925, 119–120 no. 3 (SEG III 49) first proposed 410 as a date for 1040. Mitsos 1970, 393 and Davies 1979 interpreted IG I³ 1040 as a list of *bouleutai*; IG I³ speculated that 1038 could be a list of *prytaneis*. 1040 is restored with four columns, 1038 with at least two.

<sup>107</sup> Only a corner fragment of IG I³ 1037 survives, so its columnar format, although likely, is only deduced. The front (A) and the side (B) may have been inscribed by different hands, since the front shows two-point interpuncts and the side does not. Brueckner 1926, 129–130 made the connection to

the fragmentary state of so many of these catalogue-monuments it is difficult to know exactly what they were (and there are other even less identifiable fragments too),<sup>108</sup> but either placement or later exemplars and traditions suggest that they combine dedication and honor, always with their dedicator-honorees listed in columns.

The listing of many living persons is especially characteristic of this new type of dedication and the new type of decree. But the development of these two types of inscriptions with one of their components in columns also reflects a larger general shift in Athenian epigraphy of the later fifth century. For in many epigraphical genres there was now an increased focus on individuals named and displayed, and an appreciation of this historical phenomenon helps to explain the new prominence of the columnar format in Athenian inscriptions. Before the last years of the century, naming many names was not very common in any fifth-century Athenian genre of Athenian stone inscription except for the casualty-list. Otherwise, it was groups of magistrates in inscribed accounts who could be listed by name, but even this practice was limited. *Epistatai*, ‘overseers’ of projects, were regularly listed by name only when the group changed in its composition from year to year:<sup>109</sup> we have their names for the first ten years of the Parthenon accounts, for the Propylaea accounts, for the unknown building project (IG I<sup>3</sup> 433), for the first year of the accounts of the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, and for the work resumed on the Erechtheion,<sup>110</sup> but not for the last five

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the first-century BC IG II<sup>2</sup> 1034 and 1037, honors to weavers of the *peplos*; Meritt 1961, 248–249 thought the list was obviously of slave women with their masters (rather than women with patronyms), no doubt (he does not explain himself) relying on the easy assumption that names like Thrait[ta] in l.35 (which given its position in the line, at least six spaces in, should actually be restored as a male name in the genitive, Thrait[tidos]) and Phrygia (l.27) should be slave (although a Phrygia *not* identified as a slave makes a dedication on the archaic Acropolis, IG I<sup>3</sup> 546). A list of female slaves would, however, be even more unexpected than a list of citizen-women.

**108** It remains difficult to categorize IG I<sup>3</sup> 1039 = IG II<sup>2</sup> 2364 (ca. 400 BC?), a non-*stoichedon* list of male names from the Acropolis; Dow 1983, 100 thought this might have been a casualty-list. Others not yet identified: IG I<sup>3</sup> 1041; IG I<sup>3</sup> 1042; IG I<sup>3</sup> 1043 = SEG XXI 103 and 1044 = SEG XXI 101, two *stoichedon* fragments that are perhaps to be associated; Dow 1983, 100 thought IG I<sup>3</sup> 1045 = IG II<sup>2</sup> 2365 = SEG XIII 57 (“fifth century”) might also have been a casualty-list. IG I<sup>3</sup> did not accept non-*stoichedon* fragments, nor fragments found on Acropolis or South Slope, as belonging to casualty-lists. For other fragments of catalogues of “uncertain type” from ca. 400, see Dow 1983, 100–101.

**109** Observed by Donnay 1967, 76, followed by Marginesu 2010, 59; both also suggest (therefore) that the *epistatai* did not change for the last five years of the Parthenon-building, an observation buttressed by the change in language for accepting resources handed on, which now come from “the previous year” rather than from “the previous *epistatai*”. Dinsmoor 1913a, 62 had proposed only that there might have been “an entire change in the administration of the Parthenon”, while Pope 2000, 66 thought that “the accountability” of the *epistatai* “had decreased in the last years” and Lanza Catti 2010, 34 that this marked a “new phase of the building works”.

**110** Listed *epistatai*: Parthenon, IG I<sup>3</sup> 437.35–39, 440.113–115, 442.170–171, 444.238–240, 445.285–287 (the first two of these fragmentary); Propylaea, IG I<sup>3</sup> 462.5–6, 463.63–65, 464.94–96, 465.116–118; unknown building project, IG I<sup>3</sup> 433.12–15, 18–20, 24–28, 32–36, 42–45, 52–54; Athena and Hephaistos, IG I<sup>3</sup> 472.2–3; Erechtheion, IG I<sup>3</sup> 474.1–3.

years of the Parthenon, the last four years of the accounts of the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, or in the accounts for the Athena *Promachos* or *Parthenos* statues, at least for any of the years after the first year, and the first years in these last two examples are fragmentary or missing.<sup>111</sup> Groups of treasurers who contributed money to these building projects from the funds they oversaw are also rarely listed by name: only three times in the Athena *Parthenos* accounts, and three times in the accounts for the statues of Athena and Hephaistos.<sup>112</sup> Of the treasurers who supervised treasures and accounts only one set, that of the Other Gods, is listed by name, and in only one year; the treasurers of the Goddess are not identified by name in their inventories, and the *hellenotamiai* only start to be listed in the tribute-lists after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>113</sup> Otherwise, groups of treasurers (and—some—other contributors of money in accounts) had been identified only by the naming of one of their members and/or of their secretary.

It is possible, therefore, to suspect some control (whether communal or self-imposed) on the inscribed display of individual names, especially on the Acropolis, for most of the fifth century—in both dedications and accounts. For one would think that collegial bodies would have an interest in listing their members, whether for the sake of accountability or in pursuit of public acclaim, but until the 420s this is not regularly done, and even in that decade we find such lists only for the *hellenotamiai* in the tribute-lists and for the treasurers of the Other Gods, the latter only in their own account-inventory and in the three years out of five they contributed money from their funds for the two statues of Athena and Hephaistos. To identify groups of men by only one name or by their secretary on an inscribed monument instead emphasizes the communal nature of their activity—that they are a group, that they worked as a group, and that the focus should be, as a consequence, on the group. To list their names, which does occasionally happen before 410, does not change the fact that they served as a group; but it allows for a mildly different perspective, by emphasizing the membership of the individual in the group: a man so listed is not subsumed by the group.

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**111** The first fragment of IG P 435 preserves what is “carried over to the next year”, the last line of any (subsequent) year’s entry. IG P 453 may be the first year of the Athena *Parthenos* accounts: its first four lines are fragmentary, and the name Ἐχσέκ[εστος] has been restored in line 1. We do not have names of *epistatai* (and architect) after the first year of the Erechtheion accounts (IG P 474.1–3), but the top of the second stone is missing and the top of the third incomplete (although apparently without room for such a list of names). IG P 473, a fragment of an unknown account, also hands money over to unnamed *epistatai*.

**112** *Parthenos* accounts: IG P 455.10–22, 457.12–20, 458.8–13; Athena and Hephaistos, IG P 472.9–11, 12–15, 16–19; unnamed “former” *epistatai* contributed to a building at Eleusis in the 440s, IG P 395.3.

**113** IG P 383.4–7 (Other Gods); IG P 292–316, 317–340, 343–357 (treasurers of the Goddess, inventories); IG P 281.2–4, 282.2–5, 285.3–6, 287.3–6, 289.1–5 (tribute-lists); in IG P 269.36 a head of the board of *hellenotamiai* (along with an assistant secretary) is named in the tribute-lists for the first time (443/2).

And the more names are listed, the more the fact of membership is asserted, and the more widespread the participation of individuals is seen to be.

It was in the last decade of the fifth century that the names of living individuals became more visible, both in existing continuous-line genres of inscriptions as well as in those that employed the columnar format. In the continuous-line loan-records of 409/8 (IG I<sup>3</sup> 377.1–3), for example, all five *tamiai* are named (although other groups are referred to in the more typical truncated way), as are the *tamiai* in the loan-records of 404/3 (IG I<sup>3</sup> 380.1–3); they had not been before. The *tamiai* stewarding the treasures in the *pronaos* in 407/6 are named, along with their secretary (IG I<sup>3</sup> 316.60–65), in the last independent inventory preserved before they amalgamate with the *hellenotamiai*,<sup>114</sup> and this new practice of naming all the *tamiai* of a year will continue through all the inventories of the fourth century.<sup>115</sup> Givers of the dedications listed also start to be named in these inventories of 406/5 and after, even women.<sup>116</sup> The *epistatai* in the great Eleusinian account-inventory of 407/6 are named, along with their secretary (IG I<sup>3</sup> 386.2–3). The Erechtheion accounts, between 408 and 406, are full of names: not only their initial *epistatai*, architect, and secretary, but also, or especially, the individuals to whom wages were paid (who in all previous accounts had never been named).<sup>117</sup> The *stēlai* of 402/1 BC memorializing the confiscation and sale of the property of the Thirty (and others) named not only those who “wrote up” the property (i.e., made the official denunciation) but also those who bought the property, while the earlier ‘Attic *stēlai*’ had named only those whose property was auctioned, identifying those who “wrote up” only as (unnamed) demarchs of a given deme.<sup>118</sup> Even

**114** The last inventories of the Hekatompedon (IG I<sup>3</sup> 341–342) and the Parthenon (IG I<sup>3</sup> 358–361) are fragmentary and without headings.

**115** See IG II<sup>2</sup> 1370–1510.

**116** Noted by Harris 1990, 79–80 and Harris 1996, 224: in IG I<sup>3</sup> 341.3–4, 6 (by Paapis daughter of E[-], 6–7 (406/5 BC), 342.4–7 (by Kleostratē daughter of Nikeratos; 405/4 BC); IG II<sup>2</sup> 1386.2–4, 6–7, 7–9, 9–10, 10–12 (401/0 BC), 1402.7 (401/0 BC) and 1402 add. p. 799 lines 3–5, 7–8 (by Kalliōn wife of Aristokles, Aristomachē daughter of Aristokles; 401/0 BC).

**117** *Epistatai*, IG I<sup>3</sup> 474.1–3. In the earlier accounts, when workers were mentioned they were referred to as a group and by task: see Lanza Catti 2010, 35–37 (for the Parthenon accounts, IG I<sup>3</sup> 436–451; and the same occurred in the Propylaea accounts, IG I<sup>3</sup> 432–436, and at Eleusis, IG I<sup>3</sup> 395.9–18 = I.Eleusis 23.9–18); no workmen were mentioned in the Athena *Parthenos* accounts, in the accounts of the unknown building project (IG I<sup>3</sup> 433), or in the accounts of the golden *nikai* (IG I<sup>3</sup> 467–468); in the *Promachos* accounts only “wages by day, wages by prytany, and wages by job” were noted (IG I<sup>3</sup> 435.18–19, 25–26, 51–52, 76–77, 111–112); and in the accounts for the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, “the wage” for various unnamed workmen is listed (IG I<sup>3</sup> 472.146, 153, 183, 186). Bakewell 2008, 152–153 notes the similarities of the Erechtheion accounts to the naval dedication on the Acropolis (above n. 103) in documenting “the efforts of a mixture of citizens, metics, and slaves working side by side to benefit the city”.

**118** Walbank 1982, 95 (SEG XXXII 161); what survives of this monument details only the sale of real property, not the rest of the oligarchs’ possessions, but even so there are the remains of at least six *stēlai*, five of them double-item, inscribed by two or three different carvers, the lettering picked out

ships are named, noted as inspected, and listed in columnar form in three Acropolis fragments.<sup>119</sup> Although some changes in financial management, such as the amalgamation of treasurerships and perhaps (by implication) the inspection of ships, took place in these years (and indeed may have started with the Five Thousand),<sup>120</sup> these changes are independent of the decision to list names on stone, which is a phenomenon greater than just these changes in financial documents with their implication of greater accountability.<sup>121</sup> In this last decade of the century, more names appear everywhere, and honor-bearing and -displaying inscriptions with many names multiply, presaging the great numbers of inscribed Athenian “catalogues” in columnar form (whether dedications or honors) as well as the enormous growth in individual epitaphs in the fourth century.<sup>122</sup> In inscriptions names were deliberately withheld for most of the fifth century; the columnar format saw only limited, albeit significant, use, for most of the fifth century; and both phenomena reflected the kind of democracy the Athenians practiced, for most of the fifth century. The individual contributed, but as a member of a group, and was named, was an individually listed member of a group, mostly only when he had died in war. In the last decade of that century, however, individuals were increasingly singled out and increasingly honored by being so singled out, although (non-funerary) monuments for individuals still lay a decade or so in the future.<sup>123</sup> As the reward of honor increasingly smoothed and oiled the workings

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with red paint but the top of the monument undecorated and the *stēlai* not clamped together (74–75, 91–92). On the ‘Attic *stēlai*’: e.g., IG I<sup>3</sup> 421.12–13, 26–27 (owners), 425.26 and 30 (unnamed demarchs).  
**119** IG I<sup>3</sup> 498–500; this way of (presumed) inventorying by ship was eventually transformed into inventorying by the obligations of individual trierarchs, but not until later in the fourth century, see Davies 1969, 311–312 and Liddel 2007, 189.

**120** Thompson 1967, 227 argued that the 5000 doubled the number of the *hellenotamiai* and transferred to them the functions of the *kolakretai*; on these changes see Samons 2000, 259–269, 274–275 and Rhodes 2013, 214–215.

**121** Davis 1948, 486 (the embodiment of the re-established democracy’s sense of fiscal and political responsibility); J. Shear 2011, 129 (increased accountability after 410 BC); or more generally Wittenburg 1978, 72–73 (the *Verwaltungspraxis* of the absolute democracy of the time of Kleophon) and Feyel 2006, 16–17 (inscriptions were in general becoming longer and more detailed).

**122** Catalogues, Dow 1983, 97 and Liddel 2007, 192–198 (and Humphreys 2010, 75 notes the prevalence of dedications as the genre for lists of men according to tribe and deme); epitaphs, Meyer 1993. Note too that almost all columnar-format Athenian curse tablets are fourth century in date and likely mimicked public inscribing: Gordon 1999, 255 and 256–257, Jordan/Curbera 2008, 135 and 138. Jordan 1985 lists only two (or three) Athenian tablets in columnar format as possibly from the fifth century (nos. 2, 7, possibly 10; no. 40, with three columns, is not given a date); his nos. 14, 46, 48, 51 date to the fourth century (and no. 48, republished in Jordan/Curbera 2008, is a spectacular example of a tablet that looks like an inscription, complete with a heading stretching across three columns). To the fourth-century examples Jordan 2000 adds nos. 9 and 10.

**123** Bakewell 2008, 156 suggests that the layout of the list of trireme crews (above n. 103 and fig. 20), even though by columns, was still difficult reading, and therefore honored “the larger grouping to which individuals belonged” more than individuals. For fourth-century honors for individuals, see Meyer 2013, 482–486.

of the Athenian democracy, so too did names become more prominent, along with an inscription-format traditionally well-suited to both honor and name-display.

## 4 Conclusion

Inscribing in columns at Athens is a phenomenon, a choice that was increasingly made over the course of the fifth century BC. It was at first employed slowly, in casualty-list monuments before mid-century and tribute-lists and monumental accounts in the second half—and then much more quickly, in the last decades, in newly created hybrid genres and newly detailed and specific group dedications. As a format, columnar inscribing had some inexact predecessors outside of Athens, but specifically Athenian roots and meanings in archaic and early classical three-dimensional inscribed monuments in Athens itself. The columnar format takes a three-dimensional object, the post inscribed on all or several of its sides, and unwraps and flattens it, laying it out in two dimensions and bringing with it a memory of what those three-dimensional inscribed posts had conveyed, both to the gods and to their human audience. This memory combined honor and tradition, since the format built on visual expectations and understandings already established, and thus was in one sense old-fashioned. Its expanded application in new (and modified older) genres in the last decade of the fifth century therefore was not merely by this point practical, an easy way to convey information that an audience could grasp (having been accustomed to the format for more than sixty years), but also a recollection and recapitulation of the older ways in which honor had been publicly conveyed. The traditional columnar format and its particular use for new honor-bearing name-lists after 410 thus also reveal a nexus of late fifth-century changes in the democratic culture of Athens: democracy was restored and its forms were still the traditional ones, but there is now a greater acknowledgment of the individual's role (and perhaps responsibility) in democratic governance, and an increased reliance on public recognition—honor—to reward those individuals and make democracy work. Athenian governance had always been the result of a dynamic tension between individual and group. In the last decade of the fifth century that dynamic, while still one of individual and group, shifted in its particulars, and the changes in the use of the columnar format in public inscribing both show that and helped to effect it.

**Table 1:** Inscribed Monuments in Columnar Format with Tentative Dimensions (in meters).

monument	dimensions of monument	comments	references to shape	date
IG I <sup>3</sup> 503–504 Marathon cenotaph	h 0,215 w >5,00 (estimated) th 0,48	fragments of base (only) survive; three <i>stēlai</i> (each w 0,69 th 0,20), spaced ca. 0,62 from each other	Matthaiou 1988	490–480
IG I <sup>3</sup> 1144 casualty-monument	h unknown w (possibly) 0,26 th 0,09 ( <i>stēlē</i> A)	at least ten thick <i>stēlai</i> (fragments of three may survive); inscribed on side as well as front faces	Bradeen 1967, 321–8; Bradeen 1974, 3–6	464?
IG I <sup>3</sup> 1147 and 1147 bis casualty-monument	h 1,49 w 5,04 th 0,16	fragments of two tribal <i>stēlai</i> survive (w 0,63/0,57)		458?
IG I <sup>3</sup> 1149 casualty-monument	h 2,20 w 1,20 th 0,26	one <i>stēlē</i> for Argive allies at Tanagra, in Argive script	Papazarkadas/Sourlas 2012	458
IG I <sup>3</sup> 259–270 first ‘tribute’ <i>stēlē</i>	h 3,583 w 1,105 th 0,38	inscribed in columns on all four sides	Paarmann 2007, l:7, IIA:7–13; Miles 2011	454/3– 440/39
IG I <sup>3</sup> 1162 casualty-monument	h 1,68 w 0,47/0,45 th 0,165			447?
IG I <sup>3</sup> 436–51 Parthenon accounts	h 1,60 w 1,80 th 0,198	inscribed in columns on all four sides	Dinsmoor 1921b, 233–240; Davison 2009, 1115–1145	447/6– 433/2



monument	dimensions of monument	comments	references to shape	date
IG I <sup>3</sup> 453, 455–458, 460 <i>Parthenos</i> accounts	h 0,86+ w >0,13 + 0,285/0,275 + [0,08] + 0,284 + 0,285 + 0,16+ th 0,17/0,125 monument probably h 0,86+ w 1,42 or 1,71 th 0,17	clamp cuttings on top face of 455, 457, and 458; letters and numerals much larger, more careful in 460, which summarizes the accounts; 460 may have been additional to clamped-together <i>stēlai</i>	Donnay 1967; Davison 2009, 1085–1097; Marginesu 2010	446/5?–438
IG I <sup>3</sup> 273–280 second 'tribute' <i>stēlē</i>	h 2,192+ w 1,471 th 0,34	inscribed in columns on all four sides	Paarmann 2007, IIA:45; Miles 2011	439/8– 432/1
IG I <sup>3</sup> 462–466 Propylaea accounts	h 1,85 w 1,23 th 0,11–0,10 (taper)	inscribed in columns on all four sides	Dinsmoor 1913c, 380	437/6– 433/2
IG I <sup>3</sup> 281 tribute-list	h 1,15 w 0,905 th 0,15		Paarmann 2007, IIA:63–65, IIB:III	430/29 or 425 (Mattingly 1996, 26–28, 70–78, 427–430, 525–526) 429/8
IG I <sup>3</sup> 383 Accounts of Treasurers of Other Gods	h 1,40+ w 0,42 th 0,21?	inscribed on all four sides, three (A–C) in (two [A] or one [B–C] double-item) columns, one (D) in continuous- line format	Johnson 1931; Thompson 1967, 232	

monument	dimensions of monument	comments	references to shape	date
IG I <sup>3</sup> 282 tribute-list	h 1,59 w 0,824 th 0,184	front, left inscribed; back also, but lost?	Paarmann 2007, IIA:61, IIB:99–101	429/8 or 426 (Mattingly 1996, 26–28, 70–78, 427–430, 525–526) 446 (IG I <sup>3</sup> ) or 424 (Arrington 2012, 62 ton 2012) 421/0– 416/5
IG I <sup>3</sup> 1163 casualty-monument	h 1,505 w 5,482 th 0,19–0,18 m	base (1163d–f) of h 0,205 and w >6,00 included; clamp cuttings across tops; 1184 not included	Matthaïou 2010, 13; Arrington 2012, 62	
IG I <sup>3</sup> 472 accounts for statues of Athena and Hephaistos	h 1,36 w 0,815–0,78 th 0,137–0,127	inscribed also on left side	Thompson 1969, 155	
IG I <sup>3</sup> 1186 casualty-monument	h 1,556 w 1,034 ( <i>stēlē</i> A) w 1,024 ( <i>stēlē</i> B) th 0,155 ( <i>stēlē</i> A) th 0,205 ( <i>stēlē</i> B)	clamp cuttings across tops; IG I <sup>3</sup> thinks large and multi- <i>stēlē</i> , but no specifics possible	Mastrokostas 1955; SEG XIX 42; Bradeen 1969, 157–159	ca. 411 (IG I <sup>3</sup> ) or 410 (SEG)?
IG I <sup>3</sup> 1190 casualty-monument	h 1,555+ w 0,81 th not preserved	IG I <sup>3</sup> thinks large and multi- <i>stēlē</i>	Clairmont 1983, I:195–197 no. 56	ca. 411
SEG XLVIII 83 casualty-monument	h 2,10 w 0,89–0,82 th 0,268–0,255	single free-standing <i>stēlē</i>	Parlana/Stamplidis 2000; Matthaïou 2010, 14–16; Matthaïou 2011, 83–91 h includes frieze; Arrington 2011, 194	420s, or 429–426 (Matthaïou)
SEG LII 60 casualty-monument	h 1,54 w 10,90 th 0,195	one tribal <i>stēlē</i> , with horizontal line and new heading after l.33	Tsiriyioti-Drakotou 2000	415–413? (Sicily and other cam- paigns?)

monument	dimensions of monument	comments	references to shape	date
IG I <sup>3</sup> 421–430 ‘Attic <i>Stēlai</i> ’	h ca. 1.50 (I–II) w 1.00 (I–III); 0.50+ (VII) preserved th varies: 0.114 (I–III); 0.08 (IV); 0.124– 0.125 (V); 0.15 (VI–VII); 0.095 (X); base possibly h 2.00 w 15.00		Pritchett 1953, 236–240; Lewis 1997/1966; Tracy 2014b	414/13
IG I <sup>3</sup> 1192 casualty-monument	h 0.72+ w 0.49 ( <i>stēlē</i> A) w 0.52 ( <i>stēlē</i> B) th 0.103 or 0.108	at least three <i>stēlai</i>	Bradeen 1974, 25–27 no. 22	413–404
IG I <sup>3</sup> 1191 casualty-monument	h 3.12 (?) w 0.80–0.72 (each) th 0.15	clamp cuttings on top face; monument of three <i>stēlai</i> (or more)	Bradeen 1964, 43–55 no. 15; Bradeen 1968, 238–240; Clairmont 1983, I: 199–201 no. 58b	409
IG I <sup>3</sup> 474 Erechtheion survey/ accounts	h 1.835 w 0.505 th 0.139	seven-line heading across stone; opisthographic, two columns each side	Dinsmoor 1913b, 242–247; Paton 1927, 280–321 nos. II–VII	409/8
IG I <sup>3</sup> 475 Erechtheion accounts	h 3.22? w 1.69? th 0.15	opisthographic; six columns (in continuous-line format) on each side; h and w extrapolated from Bro- neer’s drawing	Dinsmoor 1913b, 247–255; Paton 1927, 322–370, 416–419 nos. VIII–XIIA, XXVI; Broneer 1933 377–390 no. 9	409/8
IG I <sup>3</sup> 476 Erechtheion accounts	th 0.10	revetment (from attachments on no. XVII) in tiers on terrace wall of Old Temple of Athena facing western side of Erechtheion	Dinsmoor 1913b 255–264; Paton 1927, 370–416 nos. XIII–XXV; Dinsmoor 1932, 145; Pritchett 1940; 102–104 no. 19	408/7

monument	dimensions of monument	comments	references to shape	date
IG I <sup>3</sup> 1031 archon-list	h 1,50 w 1,20 th 0,20	restored in four columns	Bradeen 1963, 202; Pébarthe 2005a	ca. 424/3 or after 410?

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