

A Fresh Look at the Kallias Decrees (IG I³ 52A-B)

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A DECADE AGO Lisa Kallet-Marx boldly challenged the accepted dating of the two decrees attributed to a certain Kallias. She proposed putting them in different conciliar years, having shown convincingly that Eupheithes was not also the *epistates* of decree B and having thrown considerable doubt on the reading [K]αλλίας for its orator.¹ Daux and Pritchett indeed were willing to read no more than ΑΣΕΙ on the stone. Kallet-Marx would allow ΙΑΣΕΙ and a possible dotted *lamda* before the first *iota*, without seeing that this would undermine her main position. Attic names ending in -lias, apart from Kallias, are extremely rare. Only twelve are listed in *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names II: Athens*, none of which have more than two secure Attic entries. Biliias may not even be Attic and Thalias is known only *ca* A.D. 140. They can all reasonably be discounted for the fifth century B.C. If ΛΙΑΣ can be read, Kallias is the orator and we are in the same conciliar year for A and B. Second terms on Council are virtually unknown in the fifth century; indeed I can cite only Peisandros in 422/421 and 415/414. Kallet-Marx can escape from this dilemma, however, by joining Daux and Pritchett in their agnosticism.²

She would date decree A in 431/430, shortly after Pericles' survey of Athens' financial resources. B must belong to a Panathenaic year and she originally offered a wide range of dates—430/429, 426/425, 422/421, and 418/417. Recently she has settled

¹ "The Kallias Decree, Thucydides, and the Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War," *CQ* N.S. 39 (1989: hereafter 'Kallet-Marx') 94–113, esp. 97–100.

² See W. K. Pritchett, "Kallias: Fact or Fancy?" *CSCA* 4 (1971) 220–23; Kallet-Marx 99; M. J. Osborne and S. Byrne, *LGPN II: Athens* (Oxford 1994) 491; P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972), 3f and 242f, Table B (only seventeen known in the fourth century). For Peisandros see *IG I³* 174 with H. B. MATTINGLY, *Athenian Empire Restored* (Ann Arbor 1996: hereafter 'Mattingly') 178f, 249; D. M. MacDowell, *Andokides, On the Mysteries* (Oxford 1962), 73 comm. *ad* 14, 43.

on the last of these.³ Internal evidence, though, suggests that B followed fairly closely on A, which arranged for the Treasurers of the Other Gods to share the Opisthodomos with Athena's treasurers: B.21-25 assigned the left side of the Opisthodomos to them.⁴ Kallet-Marx once saw the force of this and similar arguments. But is 430/429 a possible dating for B, as she then thought? It is hard to believe that Athens imposed drastic restraints on spending from Athena's funds so early in the war.⁵

But do we have to put A and B back in 434/433? I still find several serious objections to this. One concerns the Opisthodomos. There is only one certain payment from the Opisthodomos in the Archidamian War, namely in the first disbursement of 425/424. We may be meant to assume that *all* later payments from Athena's funds came from the Opisthodomos, though it is not specified. But why was this note not added with the first payment of 426/425, when it could have served for the whole quadrennium covered by the accounts of the *Logistai*? Scholars have been tempted to introduce it into two other passages of *IG I*³ 369. Two standard works, Meiggs and Lewis and *IG I*³, have not accepted it in line 29f, where it hardly matters even if correct.⁶ Its introduction in line 58f—the first payment from the Other Gods in 423/422—is altogether more serious. It has been accepted in both standard works and thus given more currency. If the Treasurers of the Other Gods were already operating in the Opisthodomos in 423/422, then the arrangements of *IG I*³ 52A.13-18 were already in force and that virtually imposes the 434/433 dating.⁷ The supplement, however, is far from certain and there are surely valid alternatives to [---τέξ πρυτανείας ἔχς 'Οπισθοδόμο' 'Αρ]τέμι[δος 'Αγρ]οτέρα[ς--]. Before Meritt and Lang proposed it without argument in 1965, Meritt had thought of [τέξ πρυτανείας

³ Kallet-Marx 112f, and *Money, Expense and Naval Power in Thucydides' History 1-5.24* (Berkeley 1993) 105ff.

⁴ Cf. A.115-18 carefully with B.21-25. This point was well taken by G. L. Cawkwell, *Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War* (London 1997) 107-10.

⁵ Kallet-Marx 112 n.84: "If the decrees are in fact related in content to the extent that the sum of money in decree A voted for payment ... was the amount specified in decree B (line 22), then the latter should not perhaps be much later than decree A: 430 in that case is a likely date." For the much discussed *adeia* vote in B.15-19 see *infra*.

⁶ See *ML* 212 no. 72; *IG I*³ 369, p.342, where the supplement is noted only in the apparatus criticus.

⁷ This thought probably ensured ready acceptance of the supplement.

ἐσελελυθείας Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρα[ς--]. But in line 30 we find just *δοδεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας* and this shorter form of the date is found in lines 33, 39, 41f, 44f, and 79.⁸ Another solution may perhaps be discovered by deeper probing. The accepted supplement in line 55f is rather clumsy and I underline the offending phrase: [τάδε παρέδοσ]αν *ἡοι ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Γόργοινοσ Οἰνείδο Ἰκαριεὺσ καὶ χσυνάρχοντεσ ἐκ τῶν ἑκάστο χρεμάτο[ν ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίο ἄρχοντοσ στρα]γεοῖ[ς--].* It does not correspond satisfactorily with the parallel passage as supplied in line 77f, where I again underline the crucial elements: [δευτ]έρ[αν δόσιν παρέδοσαν] *ἡοι ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Γόργοινοσ Οἰνείδο Ἰκαριεὺσ [καὶ χσυνάρχοντεσ καθ' ἑκάστον θεόν] ἀπὸ τῶν χρεμάτων].* I propose instead [---καὶ χσυνάρχοντεσ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν χρεμάτο[ν in line 56f and in line 58f [---τῆσ πρυτανείασ καθ' ἑκάστον θεόν Ἀρτέμιδοσ Ἀγροτέρα[ς--].⁹ The only sure early epigraphic reference to the Opisthodomos apart from *IG I³ 369.19f.* is in the fragmentary decree *IG I³ 207*, which has there the wide dating bracket 440–420. This can surely be narrowed. In line 10 we find the ‘modern’ middle/passive imperative form *ἐνεχέσθο[ν].* The earliest dated examples of this are in the Halieis Treaty and the second Methone decree, both inscribed in 424/423. The safe dating for *IG I³ 207* would seem to be the later 420s. It gives no support to the view that the Opisthodomos was already available for banking funds in 434/433.¹⁰

The evidence on the *adeia* vote required by *IG I³ 52 B.15–19* is also awkward on the traditional Kallias dating. It is missing from the accounts of 433/432, where one would expect it, as between 76 and 166 talents were spent from Athena’s funds on Corcyra.¹¹ There seems to be no room for it either in the accounts of 432/431, though Meritt once followed Kolbe in inserting in

⁸ See M. Lang, “The Abacus and the Calendar, II” *Hesperia* 34 (1965) 232 n.7, 234, 236 (new text); B. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century* (Ann Arbor 1932) 131f, 140.

⁹ For *ἱερὰ χρήματα* of the Other Gods see *IG I³ 52 A.29f.* καθ' ἑκάστον θεόν may have been inadvertently omitted by the mason before ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν χρεμάτων in line 53 and inserted in line 59 at the end, where it fits equally well.

¹⁰ On the imperatives see Mattingly 157f; *IG I³ 75.26* ([ἐπ]αράσθον), 61.38 (εὐθουέσθον). *IG I³ 157* (δεχέσθον, line 14) was dated ca 425 by Meritt (“Attic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century,” *Hesperia* 14 [1945] 97f) because of the close similarity of its lettering to the Halieis treaty.

¹¹ See *IG I³ 364*: the totals in lines 12f, 23 are incomplete.

the first payment *φσεφισαμένο τὸ δέμο*. This conjecture is not even recorded in *IG I³*. No comparable supplement has been suggested elsewhere this year.¹² The *adeia* vote in fact is first recorded for certain in the second payment of 418/417, though there is room for it in the sixty-letter lacuna of the first. If its appearance is slightly erratic, it continues to be noted down to the first payment of 415/414. Kallias' strict rules may have been modified by this period.¹³

Boards of Treasurers of the Other Gods certainly existed in 430/429, 429/428, and 423/422. Were these the same as Kallias' board? This numbered ten, one from each tribe, chosen by lot as Athena's treasureres. Such boards are found from 421/420 onwards.¹⁴ In *IG I³* 383 of 429/428 only five treasurers seem to be listed with their secretary.¹⁵ Boards of ten are sometimes listed incompletely, but never with less than seven members. Moreover, though the tribal order may be disturbed, traces of it remain. Thus in 442/441 eight treasurers of Athena were recorded, only six with demotics: the order is III, VII, VIII, IX, X, I.¹⁶ In 420/419 nine treasurers of the Other Gods were listed in the order VII, I, IV, V, VI, III, X, II, IX (*IG I³* 472.13f). At this point I must reproduce the text of *IG I³* 383.1–11 (stoich. 27):

¹² See W. Kolbe, "Ein chronologischer Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des peloponnesischen Krieges," *Hermes* 34 (1899) 390f; Meritt (*supra* n.8) 80 and Pl. I.

¹³ See *IG I³* 370.15 for the second payment. In line 6 τῆς πρυτανείας φσεφισαμένο τὸ δέμο τὴν ἄδειαν ^α τοῖς τριεράρχοις ἐπ' Ἄργ would exactly fill the gap. The fourth payment, being from Samos (line 18f with *IG I³* 2, p.962), would not require *adeia*. The third (line 16f) may have been below a new limit, substantially raised since Kallias. For further *adeia* records see 370.28 and 33 (417/416), and 63f (415/414). West wanted to restore the *adeia* phrase in line 48 (416/415), but the other payments this year seem to lack it. Was *adeia* waived for the Sicilian expedition? It was this late evidence for the *adeia* vote that persuaded Mallet-Marx (*supra* n.3: 112 n.84) to favour 418/417 for *IG I³* 52b and there is much force in this view, though her own date is demonstrably too low.

¹⁴ *IG I³* 52a.10–15; 472.9–19

¹⁵ This is generally assumed. Boards are almost always listed *with* their secretaries: 473.7–10 is an isolated exception. The pattern of 383.1–9 (names of *tamiai* + secretary *vacat*/ τῶδε παρέδ[οσαν- -]) would neatly parallel 472.2–5 (*epistatai* + secretary *vacat*/ ἔρχαντο τὸν ἔργον - -) and 474.1–5 (*epistatai* + secretary *vacat*/ [τῶ]δε ἀνέγραψαν ἔργα τὸ νεό- -).

¹⁶ See *IG I³* 457.12–20. In line 15 only K[-6-] is preserved, but K[οιλεύς] of VIII is surely preferable to K[έττιος] of IV.

- ταμία[ι] τὸν ἄλλ[ον θεὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βολ]-
 ἔς ἔι Κ[α]λλίστρατο[ς - 11 -]
 πρῶτος [ἐ]γγραμμάτευ[εν ἐπὶ Ἐπαμεί]-
 νονος ἄρχοντος Ἄντι[- 10 -]
 5 ος, Ἀλκίφ[ρ]ον Ἀναφλύ[στιος, - 6 -]
 τον Ἀναγ[υρά]σιος, Κ[- 12 -]
 τιος, Χαρ[ι] - - οἶς - - - - -]
 Ἐλευσίνι[ος ἐγγραμμάτευεν *vacat*]
 τάδε παρέδ[οσαν παραδεχσάμενοι]
 10 παρὰ τὸν π[ροτέρον ταμιὸν οἶς . . .]
 στρατ[ος - - - ἐγγραμμάτευεν - - -]

Though only the tribes of the second and third *tamiai* are known, R. Develin has boldly argued that the five men were listed in tribal order—IX, X, I, II, III.¹⁷ but his arguments are flawed. His tribe for the first *tamias* depends on my hazardous guess Ἄντι[φῶν Ραμνός]τιος. Thucydides asserts that Antiphon, whom he clearly knew, played no part in Athenian public life, preferring to work behind the scenes until the crisis of 411. So he would appear a very unlikely treasurer in 429/428.¹⁸ Moreover, Ἄντι[φῶν Φρεάρρι]τιος and Ἀντί[μαχος Ἐρμεῖ]τιος are equally possible supplements. The first, father of a Councillor of *ca* 420, may still have been active a decade earlier. Antimachos was *parhedros* or *hellenotamias* in 416/415. Tribe IV or V might be open for the first treasurer.¹⁹ Alternatively he might be a complete unknown like Alkiphron Anaphlystios, with a demotic and tribe beyond conjecture.²⁰ Develin's tentative suggestion for the fourth treasurer was Κ[αλλίας Γαργέτ]τιος. A family from Gargettos (Aigeis) is known from 254/253 on, which alternated the names Thrasippos and Kallias. But, though an isolated Thrasippos Gargettios is known from *ca* 445, no man from the deme with the very common name Kallias is recorded before the first half of the third century. So Kallias Gargettios must be rejected for the treasurer.²¹ Could Develin find

¹⁷ "Prytany Systems and Eponyms for Financial Boards in Athens," *Klio* 68 (1986) 78, and *Athenian Officials* (Cambridge 1989) 121, 441.

¹⁸ Mattingly 225; Thuc.8.68.1.

¹⁹ Antiphon Phrearrhios see *IG* I³ 1040.19; Antimachos: *IG* I³ 370.53, 55, 57 with W. E. Thompson, "The Regional Distribution of the Athenian Pentakosiomedimnoi," *Klio* 52 (1970) 442 with n.2.

²⁰ There are only four entries in *LGPN* II for Alkiphron.

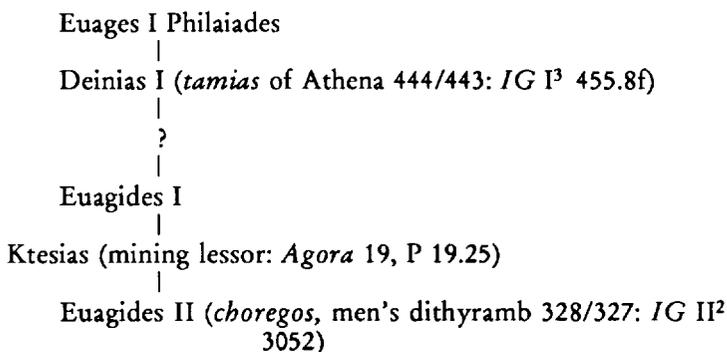
²¹ For the Gargettos family see *LGPN* II *s.v.* Καλλίας nos. 127–30; for the earlier Thrasippos see *IG* I³ 433.31.

another man from Gargettos, with a seven-letter name beginning with *kappa*? At first it looks hopeful. There are no less than seventy-one such names! But the great majority are very rare, ranging from one to four *LGN* II entries. They can surely be ignored. Kratios (9), Kephalos (8), Kritias (7), and Kydenor (6) can also be discounted—they make little showing in the fifth century and have no links with Gargettos or Aigeis.²² The least uncommon names are Ktesias (38), Kointos (18), and Kleophon (17). Kointos is known only from the second century B.C. onwards. Only one man called Kleophon (no. 1) comes from the fifth century apart from the demagogue from Acharnai: indeed it is possible that the *kalos ca* 440-430 may be the demagogue in his youth. It is also conceivable that the name Kleophon was invented by his father Kleippides, as Eurymedon was devised for the general of 427/426, Paralos for Perikles' son and Pasiphon for the secretary of 413/412.²³ Two men called Ktesias come from the very early fifth century (nos. 2-3). Three (nos. 4-6) seem to belong to the period *ca* 445-425—an official cited in the Eleusinian *epistatai* decree of *ca* 432, the proposer of a decree for the Eteokarpathians and a litigious politician attacked by Aristophanes in 426/425. They could all be the same man. There is also a war-casualty of *ca* 411 from Antiochis, who may be from another family.²⁴ More interesting is a Ktesias Euagidou Philaiades of *ca* 346/345. The family stemma can be reasonably established:

²² Kleitos (8) and Kelados (6) are confined to the Roman Imperial period. The family of the oligarch Kritios accounts for the sixth/fifth-century occurrences of the name, except for Kritaias Aphidnaios of 423/421 (no. 4). There is a Kratios a war-casualty of *ca* 450 (*IG* I³ 1146.32) and Kratios Alopekethen, whose son was voted against at an *ostrakophoria* of the 480s. The fifth-century Kydenor—father of a Council secretary *ca* 390 (*IG* I² 49)—was also from Alopeke. Kephalos seems to appear only in the fourth century.

²³ For Kleophon *kalos* see Beazley, *ARV*² 1144 no. 7 and 1590 (Kleophon Painter); for the evidence for the other three names see *LGN* II.

²⁴ See *IG* I³ 32.30ff (*ca* 449-447?) with Mattingly 32ff, 193, 196f, 336f, 483f, and K. Clinton, "The Date of the Classical Telesterion at Eleusis," in *Φιλία* "Επη (Athens 1987) II 254-62; *IG* I³ 1454.4; *Ar. Ach.* 839; *IG* I³ 1190.98 with C. Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos* (Oxford 1983) I 195ff.



We might well supply a Ktesias Philaiades as the missing grandfather of the Ktesias of *ca* 346/345.²⁵ He may then with some plausibility be identified with the proposer of *IG I³* 1454. The prytany was either Oineis or Aigeis, to which the demotic Philaiadai belongs. Now it was not unusual for the proposer of a decree to belong to the prytany in office. Thoudippos of Arraphen proposed a short decree in the prytany of Aigeis in 425/424 and in the same year probably Leon of Antiochis proposed the Hermione Treaty in the Antiochis prytany. Peisandros Acharneus honoured Lykon of Achaia in the Oineis prytany of 422/421 and Kleosophos and his fellow-prytanies honoured the Samians in 405/404. Finally Kleonymos, so active in the prytanies of Hippothontis and Kekropis in 426/425, was very possibly from the latter tribe.²⁶ If Ktesias no. 5 from *LGPN* II is Philaiades, there is really no room for a Ktesias Gargettios in the fifth century. Tribe III then seems virtually ruled out for the fourth *tamias*. With a demotic ending in -tios there is anyway a wide field open. The choice is effectively between demes in IV, V (2) and VII. For the fifth *tamias* there is no possible control on demotic or tribe.²⁷ We are left with the troubling sequence of *tamiai* from ? : X : I : IV : V or VII : ?. The

²⁵ For this family see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971) 186f. Alternation of names by generations was, of course, common at Athens.

²⁶ See *IG I³* 71.54f and *LGPN* II no. 1; *IG I³* 31.6 with Mattingly 34f, 256; *IG I³* 174.1–5 with Mattingly 178f, 201f, 249; *IG I³* 127.6f, 32. For Kleonymos see *IG I³* 61.32ff with 68.3ff, ?30–33 with 69.1–4. *LGPN* II no. 10, Epieikides (Kekropis) of 329/328 might well be a descendant of the politician of the 420s and 410s.

²⁷ The demotics are Kettios, Sphettios and Prospaltios, Sypalettios. Anaphlystios, already taken by the second *tamias*, can be discounted.

juxtaposition of tribes X and I is no more remarkable than the juxtaposition of V and IV in a board of *ca* 410 and of V and VI in the *epistatai* for the Hephaisteion statues in 421/420, neither chosen on a tribal basis.²⁸ The *tamiai* of 429/428 look more like a non-tribal, elected group of five than a truncated tribal board of ten. Fifth-century Athens had a great liking for five-man elective boards—the *epistatai* for years five to seven of building works *ca* 445, the *epistatai* for Eleusis and the Propylaia, the *archontes* for Miletos and the *oikistai* for the Kolophonians are good, varied examples of this.²⁹ A disputed passage of *IG I*³ 52A (18–22) suggests that the five-man board of 383 does indeed belong with these. The basic structure is *παρὰ τῶν νῦν ταμιῶν -- παραδεχσάσθον ἅοι ταμίαι ἅοι λαχόντες*. The board to be appointed by lot seems here contrasted with the current *tamiai* of a somewhat different type. This is how Beloch and Wade-Gery took the passage, and I do not think that their view has been effectively demolished, though Wade-Gery later gave it up.³⁰

I shall end with the problem of the Golden Nikai, of which at least three were to be completed under *IG I*³ 52B.2ff. We may assume as a starting-point that there were no more than eight Nikai in the fifth century, seven of which were melted down in the crisis of 407/406. From the 360s on we find *διερείσματα τῶν Νίκων* ΠII registered in the Chalkotheke and in *IG I*³ 468.28 (a Nike record) we have the cryptic reference [ἀ]πὸ τῶ διερείσ[ματος]. Each Nike evidently had an armature (*diereisma*) round which its various parts were assembled and the seven armatures were presumably kept in the Chalkotheke in the fourth century in the pious hope that the statues themselves might some time be restored.³¹ Methods of weighing the parts of the Nikai suggest that *IG I*³ 467—often associated by scholars with *IG I* 52B—should in fact be placed between 468 (426/425) and 469/470 (*ca* 410–). I can now improve on my earlier case

²⁸ See *IG I*³ 469.26ff with A. M. Woodward, *ArchEph* 100 (1937) 162 (seven *epistatai*); 472.2ff.

²⁹ *IG I*³ 433.23–28; 462–65; 21.4; 37.20–23, 42.

³⁰ See K. J. Beloch, *RhM* 43 (1888) 118f, *Gr. Gesch.* II² 247f; H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Financial Decrees of Kallias (*IG i*².91–2)," *JHS* 51 (1931) 65; Mattingly 225ff.

³¹ For this view see D. B. Thompson, "The Golden Nikai Reconsidered," *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 187ff, 207; W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1933) 122 n.2; E. S. G. Robinson, "Some Problems in the Later Fifth Century Coinage of Athens," *ANSMN* 9 (1960) 12; W. E. Thompson, "The Golden Nikai and the Coinage of Athens," *NC SER.* 6 10 (1970) 1–5.

(Mattingly 332f). The main points to note are these: (1) In 468 three objects (drapery, right and left leg: 17f and 22-25) are weighed on their own; in the other lists items are always weighed in groups. (2) The 'appendix' on the *diereisma* (468.28) comes between the first and second Nike: in 467 and 469/470 each new Nike seems to come immediately after the total weight of its predecessor. There are no such postscripts in the other records.³² (3) In 468.19 probably and in 467.8 the two arms+hands are weighed together; in 469.23 (=470.7) and 30-32 the arms are weighed separately and once the left hand is weighed apart from the arm (469.25=470.9). (4) In 468 *skelos* includes the foot. This is proved by the weights, to be plausibly restored as ΧΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ+ (lines 22-26). Thompson (*supra* n.31: 185) estimated a leg at 1200 drachmas and a foot at 250 drachmas. In 467.5f and 469.31, 34, feet are weighed separately: note the emphatic phrase in 470.6.³³ (5) In 468.26 π[-8-] may represent π[ροσωπον ·], possibly weighed on its own. In 467.8f we have the sequence [π]ρόσ[ο]πον, χῆρε, ἡ[ό]ρμος, ἡυπο[δερίς]. In 469.24f this is echoed by πρόσσωπον, ὄρμος, ἡυπ[οδερίς] and in II² 1388.17 (=469.30) by [κ]εφαλή, στρεφάνη, ἐνοίδ[ι]α, ὄρμος, ὑποδερίς.³⁴

Cumulatively this evidence is impressive. It is backed up by epigraphy. *IG* I³ 467 was cut by the mason responsible for *IG* I³ 77, 78 (Athens copy), 80, 82, 89, and 172, whose work belongs to the late 420s and the early 410s. 172 is probably his last surviving work. The spelling ἡ[αύριον] in line 5 is otherwise found only in 73.43 (424/423), 122.10 (*ca* 413-405), 113.32 (*ca* 410), and 181 *bis* (*ca* 410-403).³⁵ Walbank did not recognise 467 as this mason's work, but my Plate I, showing 467 and 80 at actual size

³² See *IG* 3 467.2f; 469.26-29, 33. In 470.5f there *seems* to be room for some kind of postscript: this is clearer in Woodward's text (*supra* n.28: 163), which *IG* 3 basically follows. But close comparison of 470.6-10 with 469.22-26 (the same Nike) shows that 470 should be restored as stoichedon *ca* 64, not *ca* 75 as 469. Moreover, the weight of the first Nike (470.5) should be read probably as ΤΗΗΗ[-13-?] rather than ΤΗΗ [-]. The gap between the two Nikai records virtually disappears with these adjustments.

³³ Thompson (*supra* n.31) 183ff.

³⁴ Thompson (*supra* n.31: 193) showed conclusively that κεφαλή was fourth-century usage for πρόσσωπον. In 468.26 we are offered π[όδε δύο?..], but this is impossible, since *skelos* here is leg+foot.

³⁵ See M. B. Walbank, *Athenian Proxeny* (Toronto 1978) 51, 309f (no. 57).

(letters at 10 mm.), surely reveals the same three-chisel hand following the same strict rules.³⁶

*IG I*³ 52 B.2f, as we have seen, ordered the completion of at least three Nikai. If it must still be dated 434/433, then we have a disturbing picture of the fifth-century Nikai:

434/433	Nikai A B C
426/425	Nikai D E (468)
ca 420	Nikai F G (467)
ca 410	Nikai H I J K (469/470)

The embarrassing total is eleven. Even if we assume that H and I are identical with two earlier Nikai, we are still left with nine—not eight.³⁷ We can only escape, I think, by abandoning the 434/433 Kallias dating for the alternative 422/421. Then the Nikai of 467 can be two of his ordering. We thus obtain this pattern:

426/425	Nikai A B
422/421	Nikai C D E F
ca 410	Nikai G H

Nikai were twice dedicated in pairs (468, 469.26–39), so we may conjecture that Kallias arranged for the completion of two pairs. C and D will be the pair represented by 467 as it survives. E and F are listed in 470.1–10 and F reappears in 469.22–26. There are exactly eight Nikai on this scheme.³⁸

I have reserved for two Appendices some more detailed evidence supporting my late dating of *IG I*³ 52 A–B, but hope to have shown already that the balance of probability favours 422/421 and that Wade-Gery was wrong to abandon his own advocacy of that date.³⁹

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December, 1998

³⁶ For the rules see Mattingly 235, 303 n.87 (correction).

³⁷ Neither H nor I can be the first Nike in 467, which weighed exactly two talents. H weighed 2 T 200/300 drachmas and I under 2 T (470.5, 10). The groups in I are quite differently arranged than in the second Nike of 467.

³⁸ In the fourth century admittedly only one Nike was dedicated in 374/373 (*IG*² 1421+1423, 1424). But it would form a pair with the sole survivor from the fifth century (*IG*² 1388).

³⁹ For this see *JHS* 51 (1931) 57–85; 53 (1933) 135 (withdrawal).

Appendix I
Spelling Criteria for *IG P* 52 A-B

Wade-Gery long ago argued (*supra* n.30: 64, 78–82) that the change in feminine dative plurals from -ασι, -εσι to -αις began in the 420s and was complete about 418: the Kallias decrees have -ασι in B.21 and -αις in A.6, 18, and 29. In *ZPE* 83 (1990) 120 Table C (=Mattingly 514f) I updated his evidence. The case seems stronger now.

I would now add two other telling epigraphic criteria, which have been neglected in this debate. The first case involves non-assimilation and assimilation of final *nu* before initial *lambda*, on which L. Threatte (*Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I [Berlin 1980] 633f) comments:

ἐν assimilated to ἐλ is well attested in the fifth and fourth centuries ... The article is occasionally assimilated before λ ... But usually the article is not assimilated before λ in the fifth century ... The only other case of assimilation of ν to λ is in ὦλ λέγουσιν Π² 28.6 (387/6), decree ... ὦλ was certainly normal ... Only ἄν before λ....

My Table A resumes the evidence on the article.

TABLE A

		Non-assimilated	Assimilated
434/3	317.1	τὸν λόγον	
434/3	292.2	τὸν [λόγον - -]	
430/29	321.29		[- - -τ]ὸλ λόγ[ον]
426/5	300.1	τὸν λόγον	
421/0	82.32	[- - -τὲ]ν λανπαδ[εδρο- μίαν - -]	
421-415	472.149f	τὸν λίθον	
409/8	474.190, 249	τὸν λείαν ἐρ[γασίαν]: τὸν λίθινον	
409/8	475.214	[- - τὸ]ν λίθ[ιν]ον	218, 221f τὸλ λίθινον: τὸλ λίθι[νον]
?	52A.9, 28		τὸν λογιστῶν: τὸλ λόγον

The second case involves non-assimilation and assimilation of final *nu*—apart from ἐν, ἄν and the definite article—before γ, κ and χ. Threatte notes (629f) that “Assimilation is least common in these cases ... Fifth century instances are rare ... In this century [the fourth], especially during the first half, these assimilations are at their greatest frequency.” Table B shows the main evidence.

TABLE B

		Non-assimilation	Assimilation
<i>ca</i> 430/29	1454A.5ff	Καρπαθιον κα[ι]: [κοινο]ν γράψαι	A.6 τὸ]γ Καρπάθιον
	1454B.48	στήλην κατα[- -]	A.18 [- -ῶσι δὲ] νῦν καθελήφασ[ι]
422/1	91.8f	[- -ἐν τοῖ προσθε]ν χρόν[οι - -]	92.10f πρόξενος καί: αὐτόγ καί
420-415	172.4		[- -ᾶ]υτόγ κα[- -]
411	312.52: 313.72		ἱερογ χρεμάτων
410/9	375.23f	['Α]λοπεκᾶθεν καί	2 [ι]ερόγ χρεμάτων
408?	118.7, 44	[- -κ]ατάλογον κατ[- -] : προ[χσέ]νιαν κα	21 πλῆγ γῆς
407/6	123.4	[- -ἀφθ]καν Κα[ρχε- δόνιοι- -]	10 [- -'Αννίβα]γ Γέσκον[ος- -]
405/4	127.8, 15	τοῖς νῦν καί: τῶν ἄλλων κοινῆι	19 [ἐ]ὰν δέ τι ἀναγ- καῖογ γίγνηται
403/2	II ² 2b.7		[- -α]ὐ[τ]ὸγ χ[ρυσῶι στεφάνωι]
?	52A	19 examples	
?	52B.15, 26	μεδὲν χρῆσ[θ]α[ι: τῶν χρεμάτων	28 ἡόποσα μεγ χρυ[σᾶ- -]

Apart from one isolated outlier each table shows a concentration of assimilation *ca* 410: in B there is an earlier nucleus of examples *ca* 420. This all squares with dating Kallias 422/421. However, as the Eteokarpathian decree (*IG I³ 1454*) has been dated *ca* 440 and that might seem to favour 434/433 for Kallias, I devote a second appendix to defense of my dating.

Appendix II The Eteokarpathians and Athens

Jameson's claim that *IG I³ 1454* should be moved from the early fourth century to the later fifth has been fully corroborated by rediscovery of the squeezes (see *IG I³ 2*, pp.899, 902). In 434/433 the Eteokarpathians opted to join the Athenian Empire on favourable terms and were enrolled under the rubric πόλεξ αὐταὶ φόρον ταχ-σάμεναι. In 1454.5-13 the *κοινον* is thanked for a generous gift to Athens, recognised as a benefactor and assured of its autonomy. By spring 427, however, the situation has changed. They have lost their special status and are enrolled in the Ionic panel, like any subject ally (*IG I³ 283* col.III.1). Now, in 'List 25' and 'List 26' they are missing

from the rubric corresponding to the pre-war πόλεις αὐταὶ (281 col.III.54–58, 282 col.II.34–42). In *IG I³* these lists are still dated 430/429 and 429/428. But I hope to have shown (Mattingly 525) conclusively that the lists must be dated 426/425 and 427/426. I have one more point to add to this case. In 282 col.IV.9f Brykos Karpathou pays both for the current and the previous year. In 283 col.II.26–32 and col.III.1–35 Brykos is missing from the Ionic panel, which admittedly has some gaps. But *all* Brykos' neighbours survive on it—the Eteokarpathians, Arkesseia, Karpathos, Saros, and Kasos. On balance it would be an economy of hypotheses to assume that Brykos defaulted in 428/427 and paid up the following year.

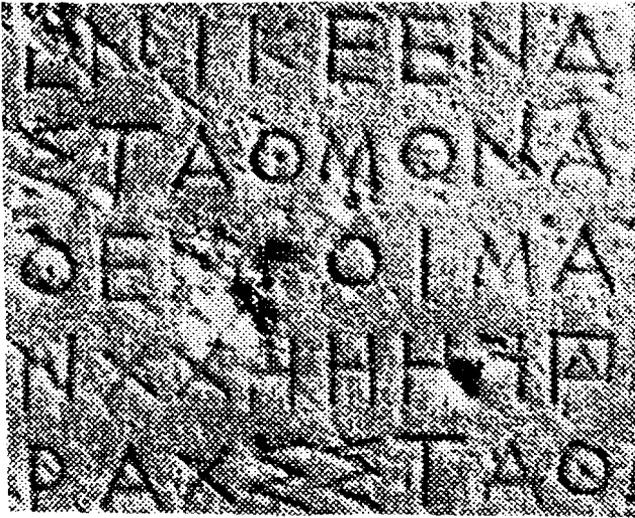
Between 434/433 and 429/428 then we can be fairly sure that the Eteokarpathians remained autonomous and that the decree may fall in this period. The secretary Teisias should be the general Teisias Teisimachou Kephaethen of 417/416, on whom Davies (*supra* n.25: 501f) must surely be mistaken: he can hardly be the man who features in Lys. 12 as a friend of Alkibiades and Councillor under the Thirty. How long a gap should be postulated between Teisias' post as secretary and his generalship? I tabulate the fifth-century evidence and mark with 'S' those men *known* to have been secretary and not just members of Council. In brackets after each name I note the number of the relevant *LGPN* entries.

TABLE C: Careers of Generals *ca* 444–405

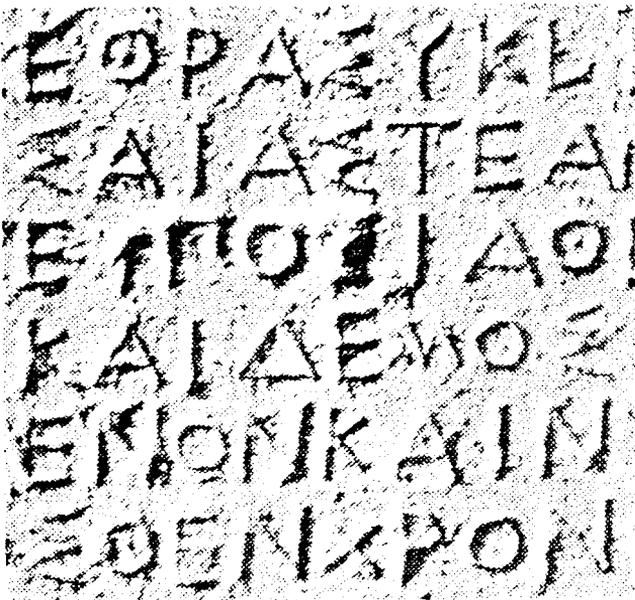
	Council	General
HIPPONIKOS KALLIOU ALOPEKETHEN (13) S	444/3	426/5
ARCHESTRATOS LYKOMEDOU (5f) S	442/1	433/2
METAGENES KOILEUS (4, 8) S	434/3	433/2
KALLIAS KALLIADOU (27f)	433/2	432/1
KALLISTRATOS EMPEDO OETHEN (5, 94) S	429/8	418/7
LYSIKLES (5, -)	429/8?	428/7
CHAROIADES EUPHILETOU (1f) S	430/29: 428/7?	427/6
KLEON KLEAINETOU KYDATHENAIEUS (43)	428/7	424/3
ALKIBIADES KLEINIOU SKAMBONIDES (23)	422/1	419/8
PASIPHON PHREARRHIOS (3) S	413/2	410/9

The gap is certainly variable. The longest known is of eighteen years (Hipponikos). Now Hipponikos was born *ca* 480—his son Kallias was in his thirties in 421/420—and, in view of his wealth and power, he was surely not made to wait till his mid-fifties for the generalship. We should assume a first generalship in the 430s. Only 439/438 and 433/432 are ruled out, when other men from Antiochis held the post (*IG I³* 48.46, 364.20f). If we discount Hipponikos, the gaps range from one to eleven years. Set at thirteen years Teisias' gap must be very near the limit.

The Eteokarpathians' gift was a cypress tree for the temple of Athena, queen of Athens (1454.5–12). Was this for the doors of the Parthenon? In *IG I³ 461* we seem to have fragmentary accounts for this work, specifying cypress in line 35 and elm in 33 (woods much used for Greek temple doors: Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 5.4.2 with 3.14.1, 5.3.5). Were the doors completed by 438, when the image of Athena was installed? Certainly they were in place in the three main chambers of the Parthenon by 434/433, when the treasures stored in them began to be published in annual inventories. But what of the western hall? W. Kolbe plausibly identified this as the Opisthodomos (*Phil. Woch.* 51 [1931] 72–84) and, though others have thought of the western part of the old Polias temple or a building between the Parthenon and the later Chalkotheke, I find Kolbe's view still most attractive: certainly the name *did* came to be applied to the western part of the Parthenon in later days. The Opisthodomos definitely had doors (*IG I³ 52A.16ff*), not just metal grilles. I submit that in 431, when the Athenians decided to create an iron reserve of 1,000 talents and keep it apart from the other funds (Thuc. 2.24.1), they proceeded to get the west chamber of the Parthenon ready for this purpose. By 430, when the Eteokarpathians' gift arrived, the Opisthodomos could duly receive its doors. Subsequently Athens decided to bring the rest of Athena's funds into the Opisthodomos and by early 425/424 money was first withdrawn from this location for the war.



(a) IG P 467 (detail)



(b) IG P 80 (detail)