

## THE FIFTH-CENTURY HOROI OF AIGINA

(PLATES I-II)

THE fifth-century *horoi* of sacred lands, found in Aigina, marked the property of two named cults, of Athena and of Apollo and Poseidon.<sup>1</sup> They are inscribed (for the most part) in the Attic dialect and script, surprising features one or both of which they share with similar stones from Samos, from Chalkis and from Kos.<sup>2</sup> The accepted view is that they were set up following Athens' seizure of Aigina during the summer of 431 BC, when the Athenians expelled the islanders and installed a colony of their own people who remained until 404.<sup>3</sup> For the setting aside of *temene* for the gods would naturally accompany such a foundation in confiscated territory, as it did in Mytilene four years later.<sup>4</sup> Yet some of the inscriptions bear such early letter-forms as angular tailed *rho* and three-barred *sigma*, forms long regarded as confined in Attic texts to the period before 446/5.<sup>5</sup> There is thus a clear contradiction between the accepted view of the context of these inscriptions and the tenets of 'orthodox' epigraphical doctrine. In editing the inscriptions for *IG iv* (see on nos 33-8), Fraenkel acknowledged the contradiction but was unshaken by it, though he did concede that the placing of the *horoi* could have been no later than the very outset of the colony: 'Tantum vero rationi palaeographicae erit tribuendum, ut statim post occupatam insulam instituisse terminationem sacrorum Athenienses sumamus.' More recently a similar but slightly earlier date was proposed by Prof. H. B. Mattingly:<sup>6</sup> 'In the

<sup>1</sup> *IG iv* 29-38. I am most grateful to two Ephors of Antiquities for Aigina: to the late Dr N. M. Verdellis for kindly allowing me to study these inscriptions in 1964, and to Dr B. Ch. Petrakos for similar permission in 1980; also to Miss I. Dekoulakou for her assistance in the latter year. The completion of this study was made possible by the generosity of the Wolfson Foundation. Mr Russell Meiggs has given much patient help and encouragement over the years, for which I am more than thankful, and particularly for his comments on the penultimate draft of this paper. I am most grateful also to Dr D. M. Lewis, who very kindly read this paper, found time to discuss it with me and improved it at many points.

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Hill, *Sources for Greek History*<sup>2</sup>, edd. R. Meiggs and A. Andrewes (Oxford 1951) 318 f., B 96. Samos: J. P. Barron, *JHS* lxxxiv (1964) 35-48; K. Tsakos, 'Ἐπιγραφεὶς Σάμου I, *ADelt* xxxii (1977) 70-9. Chalkis: *IG xii.4* 934, now lost. Kos: W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford 1891) 160 no. 148; W. K. Pritchett, *BCH* lxxxix (1965) 440, fig. 15; dated to the late fifth century by S. M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*, *Hypomnemata* li (Göttingen 1978) 37 f. See also R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972) 295-8.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. ii 27; Xen. *Hell.* ii 2.9. See M. Fraenkel, comm. on *IG iv* 29-32; cf. Kirchhoff, *IG i*<sup>1</sup> 528, and, more recently, G. Welter, 'Aiginetica xxix, der Kult der Athena', *AA* 1954, 35-6.

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. iii 50.2. It was of course part of the ritual of any colonial foundation, as for example is implied by the clause of the decree for the foundation of a settlement at Brea c. 445, providing against excessive multiplication of *temene*: *IG i*<sup>3</sup> 46.9-11, cf. *ML* no. 49 and p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> For a comprehensive study of these and other relevant letter-forms, see R. Meiggs, 'The dating of fifth-century Attic inscriptions', *JHS* lxxxvi (1966)

86-98; M. B. Walbank, *Athenian Proxenes of the Fifth Century BC* (Toronto/Sarasota 1978) 31-51 (a revised version of 'Criteria for the dating of fifth-century Attic inscriptions', *Φόρος, Tribute to B. D. Meritt*, ed. D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor [New York 1974] 161-9) in which developing forms identified by Bradeen and McGregor are matched against texts of known date. The tables given by Meiggs, 92, 94, and by Walbank, 39-42 (165-7), which largely supersede that in W. Larfeld's *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* (Leipzig 1902) ii *Taf.* ii, are the authority for stylistic dating adopted throughout the present paper.

<sup>6</sup> *Historia* x (1961) 149. Mattingly puts forward three occurrences of three-barred *sigma* as later than 446/5. Of these, the Aiginetan *horoi* are here *sub judice*, and the Samian are in fact earlier: see Barron (n. 2). The third, the long-lost choregic dedication of Aristokrates son of Skellias (*IG i*<sup>2</sup> 772), has been rediscovered since Mattingly wrote, and remains a puzzle: see T. L. Shear, Jr, *Hesp.* xliii (1973) 173-5 no. 1; P. Amandry, *BCH* c (1976) 19 and n. 7, 27-8; ci (1977) 182 with photograph and drawing, 189; A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesp. Suppl.* xix (1982) 130-2. The dedicator (cf. *Pl.*, *Gorg.* 472a-b) is *prima facie* to be identified with the general of the Ionian War (see A. Andrewes and D. M. Lewis, *JHS* lxxvii [1957] 179; J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* [Oxford 1971] 56-9 no. 1904). The script, in addition to three-barred *sigma*, carries a full-scale *omikron*, obsolete in dated inscriptions after 460 though to be found occasionally in documents dated later on circumstantial grounds, e.g. Kleinias' decree of c. 447 (*IG i*<sup>3</sup> 34; *ATL* ii pl. 3). It also employs *eta*, in a curious form with inward-curving verticals. This recalls the form of the aspirate seen in the heading of Quota List 5 of 450/49 (cf. *ATL* i 23, fig. 23) and also on a *horos* from Peiraieus (D. K. Hill, *AJA* xxxvi [1932] 258-9, fig. 7; *SEG* x 384: I owe the reference to Dr Lewis), likewise dated c. 450. Most curiously of all, the patronymic *Σκελίω* is spelled

late 430s Aigina began overtly complaining to Sparta about inroads on her autonomy. One form of interference might well have been Athenian acquisition of sacred property on Aigina, perhaps in consequence of some stirrings of revolt.' Mattingly, as is well known, does not accept the universal validity of stylistic criteria for the dating of inscriptions in this period. But, for those who do, neither his suggestion nor Fraenkel's adequately resolves the discrepancy of half a generation. Instead, the second edition of Hill's *Sources for Greek History* bears the natural if cautious comment, 'The letter-forms in general suggest the period before the Thirty Years' Peace' of 446/5.<sup>7</sup> In an earlier article I myself urged, but did not argue, that the Aiginetan *horoi* of Athena should follow those from Samos to a new date at the middle of the century.<sup>8</sup> The stones have not been studied in detail since the work of the local schoolmaster Dr P. Iriotis in 1893; and not all of them were in fact known to him.<sup>9</sup> Clearly the time has come for a full re-examination of them and of the texts they carry. This task has recently been made much easier; for the stylistic development of the Attic alphabet has itself been subjected to fresh and thorough scrutiny by Mr Russell Meiggs and by Prof. M. B. Walbank, and judgments of date can now be made with new confidence.

As a preliminary, we should review the few surviving inscriptions from Aigina whose connexion with the Athenian settlement of 431–404 is at least arguable, in case they prove stylistically comparable with the *horoi*. They comprise the temple inventories *IG* iv 39 and 1588 and the gravestones *IG* iv 50, 67, 72. The latter are soon dealt with. *IG* iv 50 is the grave of Antistates, son of Atarbes, 'the Athenian'. He is not a settler, then, for the settlers were known as Aiginetans (Thuc. vii 57.2, cf. v 74.3, viii 69.3). Moreover, though the wording is Attic, the carving of the text is in fact Aiginetan. For though many of the letters could as well be Attic, the use of  $\Gamma$  for *gamma* and  $\Lambda$  for *lambda*, not for *gamma*, is Aiginetan rather than Athenian practice; and there are other features, such as the 'looped' *rho*, to point to the same conclusion. The grave is therefore earlier than the expulsion of the Aiginetans; and Dr Jeffery regards it as local work of c. 450–31.<sup>10</sup> *IG* iv 67 carries four letters,  $\text{ΙΕΤΕΣ}$ , of which the *sigma* is three-barred. This would not on its own prove an Attic connexion, for Aigina used three- and four-barred *sigma* indifferently. But *Αἰγινήτης* or a name such as *Γλαυκέτης* is perhaps implied, either termination Attic in dialect, not Aiginetan. However, other restorations are not unthinkable, and there is nothing in particular to tie the stone to the period of the settlement. *IG* iv 72, in Ionic script, is the tomb of *Ηγησιππος | Κηφισοδωρου | Λαμπρευς*, accepted by Fraenkel as from Aigina but with a note recording Salamis as an alternative provenance. I have not seen the stone; but the patronymic in *-ου* rather than *-ο* argues a fourth-century date, and Dr Lewis confirms this impression. There remain the two inventories. *IG* iv 39 is a list of contents of the temple of Aphaia, in the *pronaos* of which it was found.<sup>11</sup> The dialect is Attic, the script typical Athenian Ionic of the last quarter of the fifth century, with a single lapse into older Attic in lines 1–2,  $\alpha\lambda\upsilon|\sigma\epsilon$  for  $\alpha\lambda\upsilon|\sigma\eta$ . This inscription, which certainly dates from the years of the Athenian settlement, shows no significant points of stylistic comparison with our *horoi*. The other inventory, *IG* iv 1588, is very hard to assess.<sup>12</sup> It is a substantial text of some forty-five lines, listing the contents of the temple of 'Mnia' and 'Azesia', evidently Damia and Auxesia of Herodotos' highly relevant story (v 82–8). Basically the dialect is Attic, but with some strange variations, as *ηυπισθοδομοι*, line 9—a hybrid of Aeolism and aspiration. The composer in the archaic manner with single consonant for double. A 'natural' inscription of the late fifth century would appear to be ruled out: the main possibilities are that it is a deliberately archaizing work (perhaps even recut: so Raubitschek, *loc. cit.*) or, as Lewis believes, that it is a rather old-fashioned text of c. 440. In addition to Mattingly's three 'exceptions' already mentioned, Walbank reports an outlying occurrence of three-barred *sigma* in the Parthenon accounts of 443/2. I have not so far been able to find it here.

<sup>7</sup> *Sources*<sup>2</sup> 318, B 96 (a). <sup>8</sup> *JHS* lxxxiv (1964) 44 f.

<sup>9</sup> Π. Ἡρείωτης, Ἀρχαῖαι Ἐπιγραφαὶ Αἰγίνης, Προογρ. τοῦ ἐν Αἰγ. Ἑλλ. Σχολείου 1892–93 (Athens 1893) 5–10—still the most important first-hand account, and Fraenkel's main source in *IG* iv.

<sup>10</sup> L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 113, pl. 17.19.

<sup>11</sup> M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* iv (Rome 1978) 293–6 and fig. 86.

<sup>12</sup> Dr Lewis kindly provided a photograph of this text (and one of *IG* iv 39); the letter-forms given in *IG* are largely, but not wholly, reliable.

frequently omits sibilants (*hei* for *heis* lines 4, 21, 23, 25, 39; *ασπιδι(σ)κε*, 21; *κλα(σ)ματα*, 42, cf. 13), and adds aspirates (*hocτο*, 42; *heνεα*, 16; *hικοσι*, 11, 27; *κυφαρισινον*, 7). Like the dialect, the script could be described as basically Attic. But *gamma* and *lambda* are written as Γ and Λ respectively, which is not Athenian practice. Nor is this simply a matter of local Aiginetan influence, for Ξ is also used, not ΧΣ. Moreover the aspirate is found in closed as well as open form, and the former had disappeared from Athens well before the end of the sixth century; nor is it easily to be found there in company with dotted *theta*, as here. This inscription clearly demands further study: for the moment, one must doubt whether it is Athenian work at all. Certainly its closed aspirates, slanting and tailed *epsilons*, wide open *upsilons* and slant-barred *alphas* have no parallel with any official Athenian work of the last third of the fifth century. Nor does the inventory have anything much in common with the Aiginetan *horoi*, beyond a general air of untidiness.

Turning to the *horoi* themselves, we begin by classifying them in three groups: I, those bearing only the two words *hopos temenos*; II, those which originally bore only the two words *hopos temenos*, but which have the identification *Απολλωνος Ποσειδωνος* added below in a different script and on a different occasion; III, those inscribed *hopos temenos Αθηναιας*. Stylistically, as will be seen, it is impossible to date the inscriptions of any group so closely as to establish a distinction between them. The reader will therefore seek a word of explanation for my having reversed the sequence of Fraenkel's list in *IG iv*. Though anonymous *horoi* are very common in Athens (and elsewhere in Greece), it is hard to parallel or to explain the subsequent addition of their divine owner's name. A possible hypothesis is that the *horoi* of Group I were set up at a time when only a single *temenos* existed in their vicinity, that of Apollo and Poseidon; and that the addition of the gods' names to some of its *horoi* to form Group II was made necessary, to avoid confusion, by the consecration nearby of one or more new *temene* to other deities. If so, it would be reasonable to suspect that the new *temenos*, which first necessitated the distinction of the old, was that of Athena, bounded by the *horoi* of Group III.

We consider the stones individually, matching their letter-forms against the tables derived by Meiggs and Walbank from dated Athenian inscriptions. All are of white marble, and all are in the Museum at Aigina unless a different location is stated. Measurements are given in metres, respectively height, width, thickness; letter-height.<sup>13</sup>

## GROUP I

- I. Mus. Inv. 2411; possibly *IG iv* 37. 1·10 visible (and a further length set into a cement base 0·20 high), 0·235, 0·158; 0·017(O)—0·032(E). Inscribed on a smoothed panel beginning 0·08 from the top of the stone. *IG iv* 37 had been re-used above the door of the episcopal church in Aigina. PLATE Ia.

*hopos*  
*τεμενος*

Dialect and script are Attic throughout; we may therefore inquire what would be the date of this inscription if it were from Athens. Three-barred *sigma* last occurs in 446/5; but the proportions and angles of the strokes used here cannot be paralleled after 450. *Rho*, angular and tailed, points to a date earlier than 446/5, as does the form of *nu* used (which, found sporadically in the early forties, is never found consistently used throughout a text later than 450). *Epsilon*, tall and narrow, would allow a date as late as c. 425, but the form is not found used consistently after 431. *Omikron* with a dot (or compass-mark) at the centre is rare at all periods and affords no evidence: it occurs here and there until c. 460, but is also recorded from the years of the Archidamian War.

<sup>13</sup> For the provenance of stones now in the museum, I depend upon *IG iv* and the authorities cited there. For the most part, I have not repeated the nineteenth-

century bibliography, unless reading or provenance is in dispute.

2. Mus. Inv.—; possibly *IG* iv 38. 0·34, 0·243, 0·185; 0·016(*E*)—0·019(*O*). The whole of the front of the stone is smooth, but the sides and top remain roughly shaped by the punch. No provenance. PLATE *Ib*.

hopos  
τεμενο[s]

Despite the very different appearance of this stone, largely due to the influence of the *stoichedon* style, many of the letter-forms of its Attic text are similar to those of no. 1. *Sigma* and *rho* should be earlier than 446/5, and *nu* also (though this form, slanting but ‘on the line’ rather than rising, is never found consistently repeated). *Epsilon*, however, is of broader proportions than on no. 1—a form which became fashionable *c.* 455. One pointer to a particularly early date may be the scale of *omikron* (here lacking the central dot). Initially of the same height as other letters, after 460 *omikron* is normally reduced in scale, first to three-quarters and then to half height. Here it retains its full dimensions and is in fact the tallest letter of all. The criterion is not quite decisive, however, for full scale *omikrons* are found on the decree of Kleinias, probably of *c.* 447, as well as on the enigmatic dedication of Aristokrates son of Skellias, perhaps of similar date (n. 6, above).

#### GROUP II

Fraenkel lists four *horoi* of Apollo and Poseidon. I have seen two of them. Iriotis in 1893 knew a third. But the fourth may in fact have been identical with this (see on no. 6 below).

3. Iriotis, no. 2; *IG* iv 34. 0·560, 0·235, 0·195; lines 1–2, 0·011(*N*)—0·019(*H*); lines 3–4, 0·011(*O*)—0·025(*Σ*). Inscribed panel begins 0·074 from top of roughly punched stone. Built into south-west corner (inscription on south face) of the chapel of Ay. Taxiarchis (*alias* Ay. Asomatos, St Michael), at Marathona.<sup>14</sup> PLATE *Ic*.

hopos  
τεμενος  
Απολλωνος  
Ποσειδωνος

The first two lines are inscribed in Attic script, the last two in Ionic on a different occasion. That lines 3–4 were not contemplated in the original design is proved by the nature of the smoothed panel: the part carrying lines 1–2 shows horizontal striations, while that with lines 3–4 shows no such marks and was cut rather more deeply into the stone, though not so far as to suggest a replacement *in rasura*. We consider first the date of lines 1–2. These are plainly by the same hand as no. 2 above. The telling signs are the same almost *stoichedon* pattern, with *omikron* large and undotted, *rho* angular and tailed with the top stroke of its loop horizontal rather than slanting, *mu* with small central strokes—and distinguished from the superficially similar no. 1 by the straightforwardly non-*stoichedon* arrangement of the latter and by the proportions of its letters, especially the diminutive and dotted *omikron* and the taller, narrower *epsilon*. Nos 2 and 3 should therefore be contemporary, certainly no later than 446/5, perhaps much earlier. The date of the addition, lines 3–4, is harder to establish. Though the script is Ionic, with *omega* as well as four-barred *sigma*, the dialect remains Attic (*Ποσειδώνος*, not *Ποσειδέωνος*). On the common view that the *horoi* were set up *c.* 430, one would suppose the addition to have been made later in the century, when the Athenians were increasingly inclined to use the Ionic alphabet. Against this, not only is the general appearance of the inscription quite different from the tidy arrangement of Athenian texts of the period (including the inventory of the temple of Aphaia,

<sup>14</sup> The chapel, identified by its dedicatory inscription to the right of the west door outside, lies in the level ground to landward of the Perdika road. The stone, concealed by rendering in 1964, is now again visible under whitewash—but not ‘in angulo septentrionali’, as Fraenkel wrote, misunderstanding Iriotis’ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ν. [sc. Νότον] γωνία. Despite the total confusion of

Wordsworth’s geography, it seems clear that this is the building in which he saw the stone (*Athens and Attica*<sup>3</sup> [London 1855] 231): there is no further *horos* to be found in the church of the Ayy. Asomati on the Oros, nor indeed in the chapel of Ay. Taxiarchis above Marathona at Pakhia Rhakhi. (Note, however, that Wordsworth reports four-barred *sigma* throughout this text.)

IG iv 39), but the letter-forms are virtually decisive. Considered as Attic work, *omikron* is perhaps too large to be so late, *nu* is of the form already noticed in lines 1–2 as not later than 446/5. Above all, *alpha* with cross-bar slanting almost to the foot of the right-hand stroke is rare in Athens after 480 and makes its last appearance there in 449. Moreover the *omegas*, wide open at the base and standing perpendicularly on straight horizontal feet, are characteristic of true Ionian work of the mid-fifth century. In Samos straight feet had already replaced the earlier curled form by c. 472, when they are to be seen on the sculptor Pythagoras' inscribed base at Olympia honouring the boxer Euthymos; and they recur on the Samian dedications for the Eurymedon and Egyptian campaigns in the sixties and early fifties. But in all these cases the body of the letter is horseshoe-shaped.<sup>15</sup> For a parallel to the more open form before us here, we must look rather at such Ionic texts as the Lygdamis inscription of c. 460–55 from Halikarnassos or the Lophitis inscription in Chios.<sup>16</sup> It seems probable that lines 3–4 of our *horos* should be regarded as Ionian work of this period.

4. Mus. Inv. 2408; Iriotis, no. 1; IG iv 33. 1·075, 0·230, 0·195; lines 1–2, 0·025(*O*)–0·045(*H*); lines 3–5, 0·018(*O*)–0·022(*E*)–0·030(*Σ*). The front surface was smoothed to take the inscription, the remainder roughly punched to shape. Found not long before 1893, in a well in the region of Mesokampo. PLATE Id.

horos  
 τεμενος  
 Απολλων  
 [ο]ς Ποσει  
 δωνος

As before, the first two lines are in Attic script; the names of the deities are in Ionic, but this time in three lines, *stoichedon*. Again the dialect is Attic throughout. Again, too, it is possible to discern two separate stages in the smoothing of the inscribed panel, with horizontal striations only on the part containing lines 1–2; but with this difference, that the lower section of the panel is not at all set back from the upper, and there can be no question of erasure. In lines 1–2, *sigma* and *nu* once more suggest a date no later than 446/5, and the simple rounded *rho* is of course no argument to the contrary. *Mu*, inclined to be short on the right, has a rather earlier look; but *omikron* is somewhat diminished, and *epsilon* is of the tall narrow form obsolescent by 431 and never found after 425. The Ionic script likewise appears early. *Alpha* again has a slanting cross-bar; but differences in the outline of *nu* and *omega*, together with the proportions of *sigma* with very short central strokes, indicate that lines 3–4 are not by the same hand as the corresponding part of no. 3. Once more the *omegas* are of the typical Ionian form, wide open and standing on horizontal feet. *Nu* occurs in two forms, both rising and slanting but in line 5 shaped as an isosceles *lambda* with an added vertical stroke on the right. The lettering as a whole may be compared closely with the work of one of the masons who carved the Lophitis inscription in Chios, dated to the mid-fifth century (see n. 16). It seems less advanced than, for instance, the Ionic fragments of the Coinage Decree of c. 448.<sup>17</sup>

5. Iriotis, no. 3; IG iv 35. 0·75, 0·26, 0·17; 0·02 (for which part not recorded). In 1844 the threshold, subsequently lying in the forecourt, of the derelict church of the *Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου*, *alias* Panayia Phoritissa *sive* Mesosporitissa, formerly Ay. Yeoryios Katholikos, at Palaiochora;<sup>18</sup> present whereabouts unknown.

<sup>15</sup> Euthymos: Olympia Mus. 357; L. H. Jeffery (n. 10) pl. 63.19. Eurymedon: Samos, Heraion; H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS* liii (1933) 98 fig. 3. Egypt, (a) Hegesagores at Memphis: Samos, Heraion; W. Peek, *Klio* xxxii (1939) pl. opp. p. 289; Jeffery pl. 63.21. Egypt, (b) Inaros' *aristeion*: Samos, Heraion, and Berlin, Staatliche Museen; G. Dunst, *AthMitt* lxxxvii (1972)

Taf. 60.

<sup>16</sup> Lygdamis: British Museum; H. Roehl, *Imagines Inscriptionum Graecarum Antiquarum*<sup>3</sup> (Berlin 1907) 23 no. 14 = *Inscr. Gr. Antiquissimae* (Berlin 1882) 138 no. 500; cf. ML 69 no. 32. Lophitis: Chios, Museum; Roehl 24 f. no. 18 = 105 no. 381, side a; *SGDI* 5653.

<sup>17</sup> *ATL* ii D 14, pll. 6–7.

*horos*  
 τεμενο[s]  
 Απολλων  
 ο[s] Πιοσ[ει]  
 δωνος

The use of Attic and Ionic script is as on no. 4. The word-division of lines 3–5 is the same; and the published letter-forms agree, with the exception of *rho* in line 1. This letter is recorded by Fourmont (*ap. CIG 527*) as having been angular and tailed, in Athenian terms therefore earlier than 446/5. Iriotis, it is true, prints the rounded and tailed form usually associated at Athens with the fifties and early forties, with an isolated example in 438. But it is clear from the facsimile type of his no. 2, our no. 3, that he did not in fact distinguish between the two forms of tailed *rho*, rounded and angular, and it is probably safer to follow Fourmont. *Rho* and *sigma*, then, provide a *terminus ante quem* in 446/5 for lines 1–2; and there is nothing to be said about the date of lines 3–5, except that there is no reason to doubt that they were contemporary with the corresponding lines of nos 3 and 4. This inscription would perhaps add but little to the argument, if it were rediscovered.

6. *IG iv 36*. No further details recorded, now lost.

Απολλ[ων]  
 ο[s] Πιοσ[ει]  
 δωνος

The damage to line 2 is suspiciously similar to that of the corresponding line 4 of no. 5, and suggests that nos 5 and 6 are identical. If not, then at least the word-divisions and published letter-forms of no. 6 tie it closely to nos 4–5.<sup>19</sup>

I take it as obvious that nos 3–6 were inscribed on the same two occasions. It seems equally clear that nos 1–2, Group I, were set up as boundaries of the same sacred estate. For not only are their style and content the same as the style and content of nos 3–6 in their original form, but no. 2 and the original portion of no. 3 are actually by the same hand. When need arose to name the owners of the estate, nos 1 and 2 were evidently overlooked. This should cause no surprise. An estate might be surrounded by a great number of *horoi*: Lophitis in Chios required no fewer than seventy-five.<sup>20</sup> As to date, it seems clear that, considered as Athenian work, Group I and the Attic-script sections of Group II should be placed no later than 446/5 and perhaps significantly earlier. The evidence of the surviving stones nos 1–4 and the lost but well-known no. 5 may be summarized in tabular form:<sup>21</sup>

	Not after	455	450	445	440	435	430
<i>Rho</i>				1,2,3,5			
<i>Sigma</i>			1,4	2,3,5			
<i>Epsilon</i>							1,4
<i>Nu</i>				1,2,3,4			

<sup>18</sup> Le Bas, *RA* 1844, 102; further bibliography, *IG iv 35*. Boeckh, who records this text ‘ex schedis Fourmonti et Guil. Gellii’, locates it ‘Athenis [*sic*] in limine ecclesiae B. virginis ‘Αγάνη’, but notes that Gell in fact assigned it to Aigina (*CIG 527*; cf. *IG i<sup>1</sup> 528*). For the church of the *Κοίμησις*, at Plasta in the northern part of Palaiochora, see Iriotis (n. 9) 6 f. and n. 1; cf. Anna Yannoutis, *Aegina* 25. Its most readily identifiable feature, over the door, is a Latin inscription dated 1533 naming Antonio Barbaro. It is to this period that the dedication to ‘St George the Catholic’ relates.

<sup>19</sup> It is worth repeating Fraenkel’s observation, *IG iv*

36, that no. 6 cannot be the same stone as our no. 4, since when Le Bas saw no. 6 (*Voyage archéologique* [Paris 1855] ii 1681, pl. vi no. 12), no. 4 was still in Spyridon Moraktis’ well at Mesokampo.

<sup>20</sup> *SGDI* 5653, lines 6–7.

<sup>21</sup> The table is based on Walbank (n. 5), omitting the somewhat uncertain evidence of *omikron* (n. 6 above). I have given 430 rather than 425 as the *terminus* for *epsilon* because, though found as late as 425, the form is not used consistently in any one inscription after 431. Here, though occurring only twice on each *horos*, its use is consistent in three of the four texts.

Dating of Ionic texts is less precise, but the Ionic sections of Group II should belong to the period c. 465–45: not much earlier, to judge from the open form of *omega* on nos 3–4, nor later, witness the slanting *alpha* on no. 3.

## GROUP III

Of the four published *horoi* of Athena, all are still available for study; there is one addition to the list (no. 9).

7. Mus. Inv.—; Iriotis, no. 4; *IG* iv 29. 0·653, 0·233, 0·190; 0·019(*O*)–0·022(*A*). Inscribed on a smoothed panel which begins 0·13 from the top of the stone. From the harbour. PLATE IIa.

ἡορος  
τεμενος  
Ἀθεναιας

Dialect and script are Attic throughout. The initial aspirate of *horos* is a shadow, barely visible, in comparison with the untidy but sharply cut lettering of the remainder of the text. It may perhaps have been erased, to conform with the fashion of later days. *Nu*, slanting without rising, is an aberrant form not found after 446/5. *Rho*, tailed and crudely rounded, suggests the fifties or early forties but could be as late as c. 438. Three-barred *sigma* with a long and nearly horizontal central stroke appears to be of a form which went out of use by 450. Consistently, *epsilon* is of a shape which did not come into fashion before 455, not so tall and narrow as *epsilons* of Groups I and II. But *omikron*, though marginally the smallest letter here, belongs clearly to the full-height phase of this character—for what that may be worth.

8. Iriotis, no. 5; *IG* iv 32. 1·105, 0·233, 0·167–0·18; 0·015(*Θ*)–0·025(*E*)–0·032(*P*). Inscribed on a smoothed panel at top of stone. Now lintel over door, church of Ay. Charalampos on the hill Dragonara at Palaiochora.<sup>22</sup> PLATE IIb.

ἡορο[s]  
τεμενος  
Ἀθεναιες

9. Mus. Inv.—. 0·26, 0·225, 0·17 (complete); 0·016(*O*)–0·024(*E*). Bluish marble. Provenance unknown. PLATE IIc.

ἡορο[s]  
τεμενος  
Ἀθεναιες

Nos 8 and 9 plainly go together, witness their mixture of dialect, Attic *τεμένος* with Ionic *Ἀθεναιές*; and although the avoidance of *eta* appears to mark their script as Attic, it has been suggested that the ‘error’ in dialect may in fact reveal the workmanship as Ionian.<sup>23</sup> *Prima facie* slanting *alpha* and angular *rho* are hard to reconcile with such an hypothesis. The former seems to have disappeared from Ionia before the Persian wars;<sup>24</sup> and angular *rho* was never really at home in that region.<sup>25</sup> But we have already met slanting *alpha*, at least, on the Ionic section of no. 3 in the added specification *Ἀπολλῶνος Ποσειδῶνος*. Detailed inspection, however, leaves no room to believe that the Ionic addition to no. 3 might be by the same hand as either of nos 8–9: *nu* and *sigma* are quite differently formed. The coincidence between no. 3 and nos 8–9 is

<sup>22</sup> Boeckh, *CIG* 526, places this stone ‘circa fines Athenarum in ecclesia Sancti Χαραλαμπού’—again ‘ex schedis Fourmonti’ (see n. 18 above). L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze* (Leipzig 1855–61) i 244, avoided this error, but confused the stone with our no. 11, which he saw still in place above the door of St Athanasios’ chapel in Aigina. See *IG* i<sup>1</sup> 528 for the confusion, and *IG* iv 32 for its resolution. Le Bas, *RA* 1844, 101 f., carelessly

reports the reading of line 3 as *Ἀθεναιας*.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Fraenkel on *IG* iv 32.

<sup>24</sup> The latest examples are in such inscriptions as the signature of the sculptor Alxenor of Naxos, c. 490–75; a marble altar of Zeus Elasteros in Paros, early fifth century; a Samian statue-base at Delphoi, perhaps of 479: respectively Jeffery (n. 10) pll. 55.12, 56.35, 63.17.

<sup>25</sup> The only example noted by Jeffery (n. 10) is the

nevertheless striking and may be significant. But it has to be admitted that no. 8 and (so far as can be seen) no. 9 also look like perfectly ordinary examples of Athenian work. Provisionally, then, they will be treated as such. It is clear that these two inscriptions are themselves the work of different hands. On no. 8 *sigma* is indeed four-barred; but it is set lower in the line than any other letter, and its lower angle extends much further back to the left than does the upper, in fact to the point which the third stroke might be expected to have reached had it been the last. The suspicion must be that this letter was originally indeed three-barred, the fourth bar being an addition to conform to later practice—like the possible removal of the aspirate from no. 7. No. 9, on the other hand, has a four-barred *sigma* of normal form. *Nu*, too, is differently formed on the two stones: although its outer strokes slant in both texts, the last stroke is more nearly perpendicular than the first on no. 8, whereas the opposite is the case on no. 9. No. 9 (and in its present, perhaps altered, state no. 8 also) shares with no. 10 (and originally of course no. 11) the comparatively rare combination of angular *rho* with four-barred *sigma*. They also share the dotted *omikron*. But *alpha* and *nu* are quite different. We shall attempt to date nos 8–9 as Athenian work: first, no. 8. ‘Broad’ *epsilon* does not occur at Athens before 455, nor sharply slanting *alpha* after 449. All the other letters are compatible with a date in the late fifties or early forties, particularly *rho* and *nu* which speak against a date any later than 435. No. 9 is a rougher piece of work, not merely less well preserved. But *epsilon* and *alpha* are as on no. 8, suggesting a bracket 455–49 which may be extended to 445, since *sigma* with long outer strokes and a substantial centre begins then. *Nu*, however, slanting and ‘on the line’, is obsolete after 445 apart from a single occurrence in 440, and not found as the sole form in any Athenian text after 450.

10. Mus. Inv. 2410; *IG* iv 30. 1·10, 0·233, 0·180; 0·019(*O*)–0·038(*E*). Formerly in the Demarcheion; found *in situ* in 1888, in a vineyard at Ay. Asomati, 3 km from the town towards the temple of Aphaia. PLATE II*d*.

hopos  
τεμενος  
Αθεναιας

11. Mus. Inv. 2409; *IG* iv 31. 1·6 (so *IG*: now shortened, with 1·10 visible, and up to 0·20 sunk in a cement base), 0·235, 0·168; 0·018(*Θ*)–0·037(*E*). Formerly the lintel of the church of Ay. Athanasios, either 3 km from the temple of Aphaia towards the town, i.e. along the same road as no. 10 and some 3 km from it, or 2 km south of the temple, at Vlichada.<sup>26</sup> PLATE II*e*.

hopos  
τεμενος  
Αθεναιας

late seventh-century dedication by Euthykartides the Naxian on Delos: 290, pointing out an error at this point in the facsimile, pl. 55.3, taken from Roehl (n. 16) 27 no. 30.

<sup>26</sup> This stone certainly comes from a church of Ay. Athanasios: ‘Αγίου Ἀθανασίου’ may be read at the beginning of line 3 of the Byzantine inscription which runs along the length of the stone. But the location of the church is in dispute between Wordsworth ([n. 14] 227) and Le Bas ([n. 22] 100; cf. [n. 19] ii 1678, pl. vi no. 8). The former sets it a quarter of an hour *west* of the temple, at ‘Bilikada’, and the record is accepted by Fraenkel. This church, 3 km from the temple as the crow flies, in the area known as Mesagro, is now completely cement-rendered. Le Bas, however, in mentioning a stone which he identifies with Wordsworth’s, places the church 2 km *south* of the temple—in an area which is in fact called Vlichada, clearly

Wordsworth’s Bilikada, a short way north of the cape Peninda Vrachia, at the southern limit of the bay of Ayia Marina: see map by H. Thiersch, *ap.* A. Furtwängler, *Aegina* (Munich 1906); repr. by G. Welter, *Aigina* (Berlin 1938). Wordsworth’s topography commands no great respect—cf. n. 14 above—even though all the other provenances for *horoi* of Athena, including the companion-piece no. 10, are west of the temple, between Palaiochora and the town. Since both he and Le Bas appear to agree on Vlichada as the site, it is certainly possible that the stone comes from one of the two churches of Ay. Athanasios in that neighbourhood. Le Bas read *Αθαναϊας*, a Doric form. But since his reading *Αθεναιας* (for *-εσ*) on our no. 8 proves him capable of error, it is unfortunately unsafe to argue from it the existence of a stone now lost, with an indication of local Aiginetan work in its dialect.



Nos 10–11 are clearly by the same hand: this is shown by their close correspondence in shape, scale and spacing of the letters. On both, the smooth inscribed panel is set at the very top of the stone and not some way down, as on no. 7. Again the dialect is Attic. Athenian parallels for the letter-forms in general suggest the decade 445–35. The form of four-barred *sigma* seen here, with the same long outer strokes and substantial centre as on no. 9, is not found before 446/5. The angular, tailless *rho* should not be later than 440; nor should this *nu*, slanting upwards and shorter on the right than on the left, be later than 435. (At Athens the form was used consistently only in 452.) *Epsilon* is of the tall and narrow shape regular in Groups I and II, not used consistently after 431 nor at all after 425. *Omikron* (as we have seen) occasionally sports a central dot even in the twenties, and cannot here be used in evidence. The cross-bar of *alpha* raises a serious question. At least once on each stone it shows some tendency to slant, but not to the foot of the right stroke in the archaic manner obsolete in Athens after 449, like the *alphas* on nos 8 and 9: here the direction of the slant is downward to the *left*, and this is a form for which I can find no parallel among the public inscriptions of fifth-century Athens. It is, however, characteristic of the local script of Aigina, both in its extreme form reaching to the foot of the left stroke and in the more moderate form used here, in which the slanting cross-bar meets the left leg well above the foot.<sup>27</sup> Both forms, indeed, are commonly found together and in company with more ‘developed’ *alphas* with horizontal cross-bar. I am not sure whether this form of *alpha* must be taken conclusively to remove the stones from consideration as Attic work: I have left them in the table which follows, but with this *caveat*. Of course if they were of local Aiginetan workmanship, that would at once rule out any date later than the expulsion of the Aiginetans and the planting of the Athenian settlement.

The stylistic evidence for Group III may be represented in tabular form, the first table giving evidence for an upper limit, the second for a lower.

	Not before	455	450	445	440	435	430
<i>Rho</i>							
<i>Sigma</i>				8,9,10,11			
<i>Epsilon</i>		7,8,9					
<i>Nu</i>							
<i>Alpha</i>							
	Not after	455	450	445	440	435	430
<i>Rho</i>					10,11	7(438/7)	
<i>Sigma</i>			7				
<i>Epsilon</i>							10,11
<i>Nu</i>				7,9		8,10,11	
<i>Alpha</i>			8,9				

The Athenian parallels, embarrassingly, give nos 8–9 lower limits which are earlier than their upper limits. The only course is to compromise at both ends, and suggest the years 455–45. Nos 10–11, treated as Attic, could belong to the same period. But in their case the *termini* are not in contradiction, and perhaps more naturally argue a date between 445 and 435. At any rate, it would appear that none of the *horoi* is as late as the Athenian settlement of 431. If the lack of homogeneity is significant, we might have to consider the possibility that the estate, once founded, was later enlarged and redefined.

So far we have established that Groups I and II relate to the same *temenos*, established according to the stylistic evidence probably no later than *c.* 450 and certainly not after 445; and that its identification as property of Apollo and Poseidon was subsequent to its establishment.

<sup>27</sup> Jeffery (n. 10) 109; *ead.* in *Φόρος* (n. 5) 76 ff. In view of this form, Le Bas’ report of a reading *Aθavaias* (end of n. 26) becomes the more intriguing.

The *temenos* of Athena is perhaps more closely datable by style, founded during the years 455–50. All this is compatible with the hypothesis advanced at the outset, that the two gods' estate was founded before that of Athena and named subsequently to avoid confusion with its new neighbour. But it has done nothing to prove it. In particular, though no. 10 proves that Athena's *temenos* was at Ay. Asomati, we are not in a position to show that that of Apollo and Poseidon was nearby. Moreover there is little if any stylistic indication of the interval between the two foundations, and it would appear to follow that any such interval must have been extremely short.

The use of Attic dialect and script is likely to be a mark of Athenian initiative. More precise dates for the two *temene* are therefore to be sought in the context of what is known of relations between Athens and Aigina, within the period to which the lettering of the *horoi* belongs. Any date earlier than 457 may be at once ruled out. Before the Persian wars, Aigina had a long history of enmity towards Athens (ἔχθρης παλαιῆς, Hdt. v 81.2), probably stretching back to the seventh century, which erupted into open warfare in the last years of the sixth century when the islanders joined the Boiotians and Chalkidians in their unsuccessful campaign.<sup>28</sup> It was no doubt partly on this account that Aigina medized in 491, while Athens prepared to face Dareios' army at Marathon.<sup>29</sup> In the 480s Athens and Aigina were again at war; and Xerxes' invasion brought only an interruption, not an end, to the mutual hostility of the two states.<sup>30</sup> After the Persians had withdrawn, it was Aigina who denounced Athens to the Spartans for having undertaken to rebuild her fortifications, in defiance of allied policy.<sup>31</sup> And there is no reason to doubt that she stood aloof from the Delian League at its inception, along with the other Peloponnesian powers.<sup>32</sup> But in the wake of Athenian campaigns in the eastern Peloponnese Aigina at length passed into the Delian League by siege and conquest in 457, and was assessed to pay annual tribute at the almost punitive level of thirty talents.<sup>33</sup> It is impossible to imagine any earlier occasion when *horoi* might have been set up on Aigina at the instance of the Athenians. If 457 is the upper limit for the creation of the *temenos* of Apollo and Poseidon, and the stylistic evidence favours a date no later than c. 450, then the very year of the conquest, or the next year, is most plausibly the actual date of consecration. For the confiscation and dedication of land would be a natural sequel to conquest.

<sup>28</sup> Hdt. v 79–89. See T. J. Dunbabin, 'Ἐχθρη Παλαιή', *BSA* xxxvii (1936–7) 83–91; A. Andrewes, 'Athens and Aegina, 510–480 BC', *ibid.* 1–7; D. M. Leahy, 'Aegina and the Peloponnesian League', *CPh* xlix (1954) 232–43; L. H. Jeffery, 'The Campaign between Athens and Aegina in the Years before Salamis', *AJP* lxxxiii (1962) 44–54; A. J. Podlecki, 'Athens and Aegina', *Hist.* xxv (1976) 396–413; T. J. Figueira, 'Aeginetan Membership in the Peloponnesian League', *CPh* lxxvi (1981) 1–24. I regret that I have not seen the same author's *Athens and Aegina in the Archaic and Classical Periods—a Socio-Political Investigation* (Diss. U. Penn. 1977).

<sup>29</sup> That was the view of Hdt. vi 49, *cf.* 85–94, esp. 87.

<sup>30</sup> Hdt. vii 144.1–2; *cf.* Thuc. i 14.3, consistent only on the assumption that the Aeginetan war continued after the Persian war.

<sup>31</sup> Plut. *Them.* 19.2; *cf.* Thuc. i 91.1.

<sup>32</sup> *Cf.* Thuc. i 95.4. Aigina's absence would be certain if, as is almost sure, she was a member of the Peloponnesian League at this time. See Leahy (n. 28); G. E. M. de Ste Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London 1972) 333 f. against, D. M. MacDowell (see n. 33); *cf.* Figueira (n. 28). It should be noted that Aigina sent help to Sparta against the Helot revolt at the time of the great earthquake, Thuc. ii 27.2; but so did Athens, for a time.

<sup>33</sup> Thuc. i 105.2–4, 108.4. We need not here consider

the question of the date within the year (autumn, Gomme, *HCT ad loc.*; spring, *ATL* iii 178). D. M. MacDowell, 'Aegina and the Delian League', *JHS* lxxx (1960) 118–21, argued that the events of 457 comprised a revolt followed by reconquest, Aigina having been a member of the Delian League from the outset. He based this on two passages of Diodoros, xi 70.1–4 and 78.3–4. In the former, the historian records under the year 464/3, after a note on the revolt of Thasos and before mentioning the attempt to colonize 'Amphipolis', i.e. Ennea Hodoi, roughly contemporary with the revolt according to Thuc. i 100.3, a 'revolt' of Aigina which provoked Athens to send a siege force; the outcome is not stated. In the latter passage, under the year 459/8 and with no reference back, he records a 'war of conquest' against Aigina following the victories of Halieis and Kekryphaleia (*cf.* Thuc. i 105.1–2), which resulted in the incorporation of Aigina into the Athenian *synteleia*. MacDowell's arguments are answered by de Ste Croix (n. 32) 334 f.; *cf.* Meiggs (n. 2) 51 f., 455 f.; D. W. Reece, *JHS* lxxxii (1962) 118 n. 32. Partly it is a question of the probability of Aigina's adherence to the Spartan bloc in 478 (*cf.* above, and n. 32), partly a question of Thucydidean usage. For Thucydides refers to πόλεμος, 'war', with Aigina as with Karystos (i 98.3) and others, not to ἀπόστασις, 'revolt', as he does in the cases of Naxos, Thasos, Euboia, Samos and Byzantion (i 98.4, 100.2, 114.1, 115.5). His account is to be preferred; and

In the recipients, Apollo and Poseidon, we should recognize the leading patrons of the Delian League—at least until 454. For the League was essentially Ionian in composition, and these were the chief deities of the Ionian race. The reason for the choice of Delos as administrative centre of the League was that the island was one of the two chief cult-centres of the Ionians, the scene of their great *panegyris* at the sacred birthplace of Apollo, with a tradition of Athenian protection dating back to Peisistratos, who had purified the island and built the god a temple.<sup>34</sup> Poseidon is as closely linked with the origin of the League, if less explicitly. The ancient authorities are clear that the Delian League began as a spontaneous movement by Ionians—Plutarch names Chians and Samians—to reject the leadership of Sparta and to seek that of Athens, making their appeal ‘on the ground of kinship’ (*κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές*), a phrase recalling that it was from Athens that their ancestors had come to settle the islands and the coast of Asia.<sup>35</sup> These Ionians had long ago organized themselves into a league based on their other great common cult-centre. It was at the aptly named Panionion, a sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios on Mt Mykale, that their common synod had met during the earlier struggle against Persia in the Ionian Revolt, exactly as they now met at Delos in Apollo’s shrine.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, as a maritime society the Delian League needed to retain the favour of the sea-god. There can be no doubt that Apollo and Poseidon, together, are the obvious and appropriate patrons for a maritime League of Ionians. It may have been as such that they received their gift of land in Aigina, to commemorate the conquest of the Dorian island in 457.

Three years after the conquest a new situation arose. In 454 the Athenians and their allies campaigning in Egypt suffered a defeat of catastrophic proportions.<sup>37</sup> In the wake of this disaster several members of the League, whose vulnerability as frontier states in Asia Minor made them especially sensitive, sought to leave the Athenian alliance and come to terms with the enemy.<sup>38</sup> With the great port of Miletos ready to receive them, for the first time in a generation the return of Persian warships to the Aegean seemed a real possibility. Delos could no longer be thought secure. Prudence dictated the removal of the treasury, and with it the administration in general, to the greater safety of Athena’s city; and this was done in time for the tribute collection of spring 453.<sup>39</sup> From this time on, Athena was the allies’ chief protector, and it was her sanctuary on the Akropolis, no longer that of Delian Apollo, that served as both bank and headquarters. In one way or another the dedication of a new *temenos* on Aigina to Athena, with *horoi* stylistically close to those of Apollo and Poseidon, ought to be a reflection of this change, a reminder of events in or not long after 454/3.

It would not be surprising if Aigina, surely the most reluctant member of the Athenian alliance, seized the moment of Athens’ embarrassment in Egypt and Ionia to secede. If she did, the revolt was certainly suppressed with speed, in time for the collection of her thirty talents’

Diodoros’ earlier ‘revolt’ is perhaps to be explained as a reflection of a passage in which Ephoros, his source, compared the revolts of Thasos and Aigina as landmarks in the growth of Athenian power (*cf.* Meiggs, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>34</sup> Hdt. i 64.2; Thuc. iii 104. The decline of the *panegyris* which Thucydides notes no doubt dated from the middle of the century, when Athens replaced Delos as centre of the League, and work on the great temple was abandoned. For the Delian temples, see F. Courby, *Les Temples d’Apollon, Délos* xii (Paris 1931) esp. ch. iv, 217 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Thuc. i 95.1; Plut. *Arist.* 23.2–6. *Cf.*, among other occasions, the appeals of Aristagoras and Themistokles, Hdt. v 97.2, viii 22.1.

<sup>36</sup> Hdt. i 141.4, 170.1, vi 7. On the cult see Hdt. i 148.1, Strabo 639. During the fifth century it came to be neglected in favour of the Ephesia, perhaps after the revolt of Samos in 440: S. Hornblower, ‘Thucydides, the Panionion Festival and the Ephesia (III 104)’, *Hist.* xxxi (1982) 241–5. The devaluation of Delos (n. 34) and

Panionion would of course set a *terminus ante quem* for an Athenian initiative in favour of their gods, such as the Aiginetan *horoi* represent. Poseidon Helikonios was also worshipped at Athens: Kleidemos *FGrH* 323 F 1.

<sup>37</sup> Thuc. i 109–10, implying the loss of the greater part of a fleet of 250 ships, 50,000 men. On the Egyptian campaign and the credibility of Thucydides’ view of the scale of this disaster, see Meiggs (n. 2) 101–8.

<sup>38</sup> Meiggs (n. 2) 109–24, with detailed discussion of the evidence of the quota-lists for revolts in Miletos, Erythrai and elsewhere. *Cf. id.*, *JHS* lxxiii (1943) 22–34; *HSCP* lxix (1963) 3–6; J. P. Barron, *JHS* lxxxiii (1962) 1–6; D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor, *Studies in Fifth-Century Attic Epigraphy* (Norman, Okla. 1973) 24–70.

<sup>39</sup> Plut. *Per.* 12.1. The date is deduced from that of the first quota-list of sums paid to Athena in Athens: see ML 83 ff., on no. 39. For an attempt to dissociate the removal of the treasury from the Egyptian disaster, see W. K. Pritchett, *Hist.* xviii (1969) 17–21.

tribute in spring 453.<sup>40</sup> But her appearance in the quota-list for that year cannot be taken as proof that she had not in fact revolted. Aigina was the nearest of the 'allies' to Athens, so close as to be in Perikles' memorable phrase 'the eye-sore of Peiraieus',<sup>41</sup> from which she lies some sixteen miles distant. The island would have to be secured first, before Athens could move against any of the other disaffected cities. But, to put it frankly, there is no positive evidence of an Aiginetan revolt at this time—unless the *horoi* of Athena whose stylistic date is 455–50 (nos 7–9) are themselves the evidence, arguing confiscation as well as consecration of land for an estate of the allies' new patron.

It is not, of course, necessary to believe that the designation of a *temenos* for Athena can only imply secession and recovery: we know from the case of Mytilene in 427 that confiscation of land might indeed follow the suppression of revolt (Thuc. ii 50.2), but it does not follow that that was the only possible reason for such dedications.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless it may be significant that the tribute quota-lists give some ground to suspect Aigina's loyalty in the early 440s.<sup>43</sup> The islanders paid the full assessment in 453, 452 and 451, and no doubt in 450 also—the record is here too fragmentary to be certain—but in 449 we find the first hint of trouble in an incomplete if substantial payment of 26 tal. 1200 dr. When the record is resumed after the intermission of 448, the name of Aigina is absent from the well-preserved lists of 447 and 446. For 445 the evidence is lacking for Aigina as for nearly all of the Island district, and Aigina reappears in 444. She is in fact the only state of her district to be recorded as paying in 449 and absent in 447 and 446; and in all districts together this is a rare pattern of record. Here are grounds for suspecting that Aigina was disaffected and resisted the reimposition of tribute after the Peace of Kallias. The compromise of her reincorporation in the alliance, but as autonomous, appears to have been enshrined in the Thirty Years' Peace of 446;<sup>44</sup> and that is reflected in her return to the lists.

There is one further document to be adduced, the very fragmentary Athenian inscription of regulations for Aigina, *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 38=i<sup>2</sup> 18, with its references to a watch, to a previous agreement, and to the ravaging of territory. Its letter-forms are usually taken to date it between 457 and 445, and Lewis has convincingly associated it with the revolt of 447 and 446 disclosed by the quota-lists.<sup>45</sup> Detailed application of the same criteria derived from dated inscriptions to which we have subjected the *horoi* confirms this judgment. *Epsilon* is of the squarish form first found in 455; *beta* rounded rather than angular is found in 451 though not regularly until 446/5; *lambda* with vertical stem and open angle, a characteristic form by the 420s, begins in 447. For a lower limit, the text employs three-barred sigma. Stylistically, then, the inscription belongs to the early 440s, and in the light of the tribute record may well record the pacification of Aigina in 446.

The *horoi* of Athena now fall into their own stylistic place. If nos 7–9 mark the consecration of a *temenos* to the League's new patron *c.* 454/3, with or without the occasion of a revolt, the apparently later work of nos 10 and 11 may have marked an extension of the estate at Ay. Asomati, where no. 10 was found *in situ*, following the suppression of revolt in 446. Alternatively it is possible, though stylistically less comfortable, that all five of these *horoi* may belong to the latter occasion.<sup>46</sup>

JOHN P. BARRON

*King's College London*

<sup>40</sup> The tribute record, given in full in *ATL* i, is most conveniently summarized by Meiggs (n. 2) 538–61, App. 14.

<sup>41</sup> Arist. *Rhet.* 1411a15; cf. Plut. *Per.* 8.7.

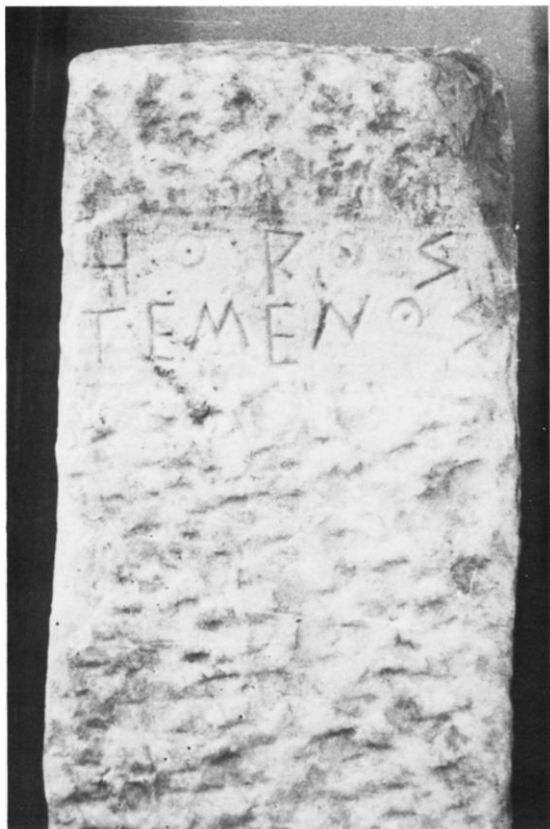
<sup>42</sup> Cf. Meiggs (n. 2) 295.

<sup>43</sup> For what follows, see *ATL* i 218, iii 38 f., 53–8, 303; Meiggs (n. 2) 183, adducing Pindar's prayer for the freedom of Aigina in an ode of 446, *Pyth.* viii esp. 140–2.

<sup>44</sup> Thuc. i 67.2, cf. 139.1, 140.3. See Meiggs, *loc. cit.*; and, for a more sceptical view, de Ste Croix (n. 32) 293 f.; Gomme, *HCT* i 225–6.

<sup>45</sup> *BSA* xlix (1954) 21–5; photograph, J. J. E. Hondius, *Novae Inscriptiones Atticae* (Leiden 1925) no. 1, pl. i. H. B. Mattingly, 'Athens and Aigina', *Hist.* xvi (1967) 1–5, uses the intrusive Ionic *eta* and a probable Ionic *gamma* in this text to urge a date for it later than 431.

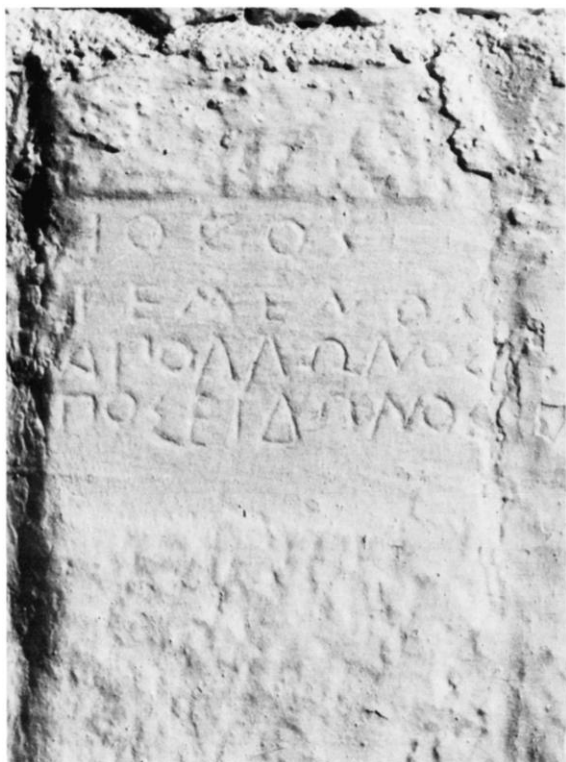
<sup>46</sup> What may have been the relation of the Aiginetan *horoi* to those found in Samos and elsewhere, and what the significance of the Ionian hands at work on the naming of Apollo and Poseidon, raise wider issues which will be discussed at length in my forthcoming study of the propaganda of Athenian imperialism.



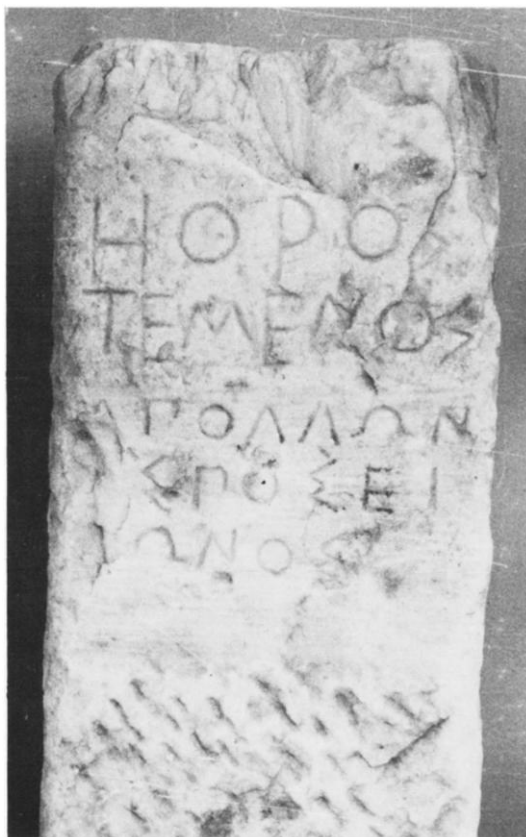
(a) No. 1: possibly IG iv 37.



(b) No. 2: possibly IG iv 38.



(c) No. 3: IG iv 34.



(d) No. 4: IG iv 33.



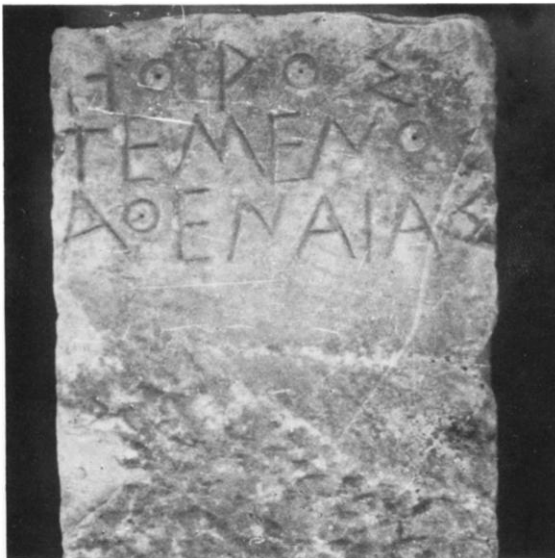
(a) No. 7: IG iv 29.



(b) No. 8: IG iv 32.



(c) No. 9.



(d) No. 10: IG iv 30.



(e) No. 11: IG iv 31.