VI.—Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists, III

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In 425/4, influenced by Cleon, the Athenians drew up a list of assessments which, in contrast to the accepted infra-minimum length of reconstruction (*ATL* A9), contained the names of over 400 cities, of which more than 100 had never been assessed before, or had not made payments in the preceding 30 years.— In the way of epigraphical methods, indentations and blank spaces in lists are discussed, and a principle governing the lengths of columns is proposed.

Like its predecessors,[1] this is a study not so much of letters inscribed in marble as of blank spaces left uninscribed. It is perhaps natural that epigraphists should have neglected blank spaces: their business is first of all with letters. To invert the study, as it were, and to examine mere blank areas, may seem at first thought perverse and unnecessary. But upon reflection it will appear not unnatural, I believe, that a secretary and a letter-cutter, to whom was entrusted a great state document and an expensive stele on which to inscribe it, would consider carefully just how to lay out the text on the stone, planning (among other things) what spaces to leave blank. This is indeed what happened. A sort of craft tradition grew up, which went on developing and changing for some eight centuries. A multitude of details have yet to be traced; but the fact of the tradition need not be doubted, and the study of such details as precisely where spaces were left blank may prove to be informative. Thus even in studies confined, like the present brief series, to one group of inscriptions, something can be learned from gaps left blank between letters, from related problems of spacing, and from blank spaces left as margins before and after lines;[2] or from areas left blank between lines, to mark off either "panels"[3] or larger, separately inscribed texts;[4] or from areas left blank at the ends of inscriptions.[5]

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[1] These studies are referred to in the notes immediately following. They are concerned almost wholly with the First Stele.

[2] "Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists, I," Sections 1, 3, and 4, *CPh* 37 (1942), forthcoming. The same kind of observation, applied to decrees of a later period, furnished an interesting criterion for dating preambles (S. Dow, *AJA* 40 [1936] 62–66; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List* [New York, 1939] 14–17).

[3] *Infra*, Section 1, pp. 71–78.

[4] "Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists, II," Section 2, *CPh* 37 (1942), forthcoming.

[5] *Infra*, Section 2, pp. 78–80.

The inscription dealing with the tribute assessment of 425/4 B.C., which is the subject of the present study, has been edited and commented upon in a book, wholly devoted to this one inscription, by B. D. Meritt and A. B. West.[6] It is superfluous for me to praise the many excellent features of this book, which has been largely drawn upon for the new edition in *The Athenian Tribute Lists.*[7] In the great list of cities which in this inscription follows the decrees, the editors restored what seemed to them a near-minimum number of lines. They had found no real evidence (or at least have revealed none) for doing otherwise, and their text actually provided for very few cities in excess of the number known from other documents, combined with those in the preserved parts of A9 itself. Evidently they came to suspect, however, that a minimum length of list was not really the probable length: hidden away in *ATL*, 1, Gazetteer, *s.v.* Δῶρος (p. 483) is the remark (italics mine): "The suggestion that Δῶρος possibly stood in A9 . . . is tentative, and presupposes that *no city that had ever stood in an assessment was omitted in A9.*" Historical arguments on this proposition will doubtless be offered in *ATL*, vol. 2.[8] In the present study, I propose to examine the epigraphical evidence once again, to utilize, mainly by scrutiny of areas which the editors treated as having been left blank, whatever neglected considerations this method may bring to light.

1. Gaps Between Panels

In *Ath. Assess.* the list of cities appeared with three gaps between panels, gaps which the editors supposed were left blank in the original inscription; these gaps were respectively seven, ten, and ten lines in length. Subsequent changes in the restorations at the beginning of the Ionic-Caric panel (*ATL* A9) subtracted one line from that panel, and this line was added to the first gap. The supposed uninscribed gaps appear now in the second edition, *ATL*

[6] *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C. (Univ. Michigan Stud., Human. Ser.*, vol. 33, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1934); abbreviated herein *Ath. Assess.* On the date and circumstances: H. T. Wade-Gery and B. D. Meritt, *AJPh* 57 (1936) 377–394.

[7] B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), A9 (= Assessment A9, text 154–157; bibliography and commentary 107–117 [with photographs], 204–207; plates 22 and 23). Abbreviated herein *ATL* A9, or simply A9. In col. II line 179, and col. III lines 82 and 93, delete the restored numerals: Meritt, *AJPh* 62 (1941) 15.

[8] A promising sample is given by Wade-Gery on p. 144 of his impressive study, "The Peace of Kallias," *HSPh* Suppl. 1 (1940) (*Athenian Studies Pres. to W. S. Ferguson*) 121–156.

A9, in the following places (brackets indicate restorations; absence of brackets indicates what the editors claim as positive evidence):

[Summation of Island Tribute, Col. I, lines 99–101]	[Summation of Ionic Tribute, Col. II, lines 161–163]	[Summation of Aktaian Tribute, Col. III, lines 139–141]
[*First gap:* Lines 102–109 blank]	[*Second gap:* Lines 164–173 blank]	*Third gap:* Lines 142–151 blank
[Rubric of Ionic Panel, line 110]	[Rubric of Hellespontine Panel, line 174]	Rubric of [Thracian] Panel, line 152

Thus the positive evidence claimed by the editors is altogether limited to the third gap. For the existence of this gap it has been alleged that Fragment 36 offers definite proof. The authors of *ATL*, vol. 1, mention no dissent on their part from the vague statement which already appeared in *Ath. Assess.* 40, where we read, "There seems to have been a rather large uninscribed surface immediately above the first lines of the Thracian list (frag. 36), and this fact suggests that the principal panels of Island and Ionic-Caric names, and of Ionic-Caric and Hellespontine names were also separated by uninscribed lines upon the stone." The phrase "rather large" is repeated on p. 70. No further argument and no measurements are given. Some meaning may be gathered, however, from the photograph, *ATL*, 1, 115 (= *Ath. Assess.* 27), where it appears that the stoichos which contains the first numerals of the Thracian tribute (col. III, lines 153–154 and following) was left blank above lines 153–154. The stoichos in question is the 39th stoichos of the inscription (counting of course from the left: see the diagram, *infra*, p. 75). The area of this 39th stoichos is preserved on the stone and is in fact blank, above lines 153–154, to an extent of some 13 lines (viz. lines 140–152). Three [9] of these 13 lines would necessarily be occupied by the summation of the Aktaian tribute. The summation would be indented either one or two

[9] I assume three, though the Thracian summation in lines IV, 124–125 is compressed into two lines. The reason for assuming that the Aktaian summation occupied three lines is that otherwise the Aktaian panel would have to be lengthened by yet another line (*infra*), which is perhaps undesirable.

stoichoi,[10] so that in either case the stoichos in question (viz. the 39th stoichos) would be left blank. The last of the 13 lines, line 152, would contain the rubric for the Thracian panel, just as the editors have shown it. They have indented it two spaces, correctly, since the stone is sufficiently preserved to exclude a one-space indentation, and since the next rubric above, the Aktaian, was indented two spaces. But in each and all of the other nine lines (143–151), numerals should appear in the 39th stoichos, *if* those lines contained the only type of entry conceivable, viz. the names of cities with numerals before them. Hence at least $(13-4 =)$ 9 lines must have been altogether blank, and these 9 lines (or more; the editors make it 10) must fall between the summation which concludes the Aktaian tribute, and the rubric which introduces the Thracian tribute.

Thus far the editors. The 10-line space which they have left blank depends on an assumption from the (correct) observation that the 39th stoichos, which contains the first numerals of the Thracian tribute (lines 153–154 and following) is actually preserved on the stone: and on the further assumption that the first numerals of the preceding (Aktaian) panel must fall *in that same 39th stoichos*.

This latter assumption is incorrect. It is not what the editors of *Ath. Assess.* had come to believe when they made their final

[10] The answer to the question whether it was one or two is immaterial for the problem of the alleged blank lines. In my diagram I have copied Meritt's for this detail, deferring to him in giving an indentation of two spaces. It is true that the only summations preserved evidently favor an indentation of one stoichos (lines III, 121–122, and IV, 124–125), and it may well be that the Aktaian summation should be indented one stoichos only. The only reason for preferring two is that a careful workman would feel that the summation should not project further than the rubric itself, when the rubric is so near on the stone.

That the workman who laid out the inscription actually was intent upon certain niceties in the indentations of rubrics and summations is shown by lines III, 121–2, 124, where the stone preserves the formula of summation of the Hellespontine and the rubric of the Aktaian panel. Though the beginnings of only two of these lines are preserved, there need be no doubt that all three lines were, as in fact editors have shown them, indented one stoichos. This arrangement made a break with the preceding column of numerals, which of course was not indented at all. But it was desirable to avoid setting the end of one panel (in this case the summation of the Hellespontine panel) in an unbroken block of lettering, all uniformly indented, with the rubric of the following panel (the Aktaian). To avoid this the numeral which gives the total Hellespontine assessment was indented not one space but two (line 123). Again in line IV, 124, where restoration is needed and has been made, no doubt correctly, in *Ath. Assess.* and *ATL*, the same object has been differently attained.

The importance of these details is that they prove that the designer of the inscription need have felt no compulsion to separate panels by blank spaces. Indentations, properly manipulated, could serve the purpose.
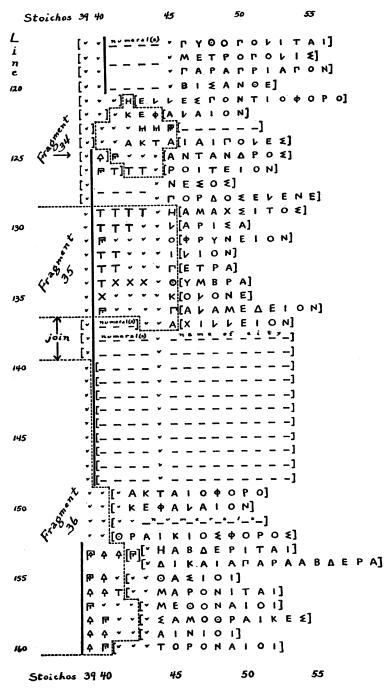
reconstruction.   The joining of Fragments 35 and 36 had proved
that the entire lower part of Column III, beginning with the rubric
for the Thracian panel, was moved (so to speak) one whole stoichos
to the left.   The editors, recognizing this, reconstructed the list
accordingly.   As their reconstruction (*Ath. Assess.* pl. 2; *ATL* pl.
23) correctly shows, the 39th stoichos, in which the first numerals
of lines 153–154 and following are inscribed, is *not* the stoichos in
which the first numerals in each line of the preceding (Aktaian)
panel should fall.   Instead the first numerals of the Aktaian panel
should fall, where indeed the diagrams in *Ath. Assess.* and *ATL*
show them, *in the next stoichos to the right, the 40th.*

This fact was unknown before the join was discovered between
Fragments 35 and 36.   After that join was discovered, and after
they had reconstructed the whole inscription, the editors evidently
did not feel the need to review the statement quoted *supra* about
the blank space between the two panels, and the error has escaped
thirteen reviewers and two new editors.[11]

Accordingly the stoichos on Fragment 36 which offers evidence
as to what preceded the Thracian panel is the stoichos in which
were inscribed, not the first, but the *second* numerals of lines 153–154
and following: viz., the 40th stoichos.   Now the 40th stoichos also
is preserved uninscribed on Fragment 36 above lines 153–154, but
not nearly so much of this 40th stoichos is preserved as of the 39th.
Measuring as carefully as possible on the photograph (as well as on
the diagrams), I find that only four lines on Fragment 36, viz.
lines 149–152, clearly have no inscription in the 40th stoichos.
It is barely possible that line 148 should be included; a x or н, for
instances, inscribed there might show a trace; I think not; a т would
be wholly lost.   But this matters little, since an entry of more than
one line can be imagined, the numeral of which would lie higher,
wholly off the preserved stone.

To account for the four blank spaces in the 40th stoichos, the
arrangement on p. 75 could be proposed.   The system of indenta-
tions is precisely that which is used elsewhere on the stone, and
which the editors themselves employ in their diagrams.

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[11] A similar error, due to the same reconstruction, is to be found on p. 30 of *Ath.
Assess.*   If, as the editors claim, the system of moving each successive panel one stoichos
to the left was followed throughout (except in Col. I), then the space available for the
numerals of the Hellespontine panel at the end of Col. II (line 180, partly preserved,
and a few preceding lines) *can* have been only four stoichoi instead of the usual five.
Whether only four spaces were available depends upon whether Col. I had long entries
in these lines.   This we do not know.   I doubt whether the jogs were planned in
advance, but they may have been.

L
i
n
e

120

Fragment 034 →

125

Fragment 35

130

135

join

140

145

150

Fragment 36

155

160

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[ ·  ·  numeral(s)  ·  Γ Υ Θ Θ Γ Ο Ι Τ Α Ι]
[ ·  ·  ― ― ― ―  ·  Μ Ε Τ Ρ Ο Γ Ο Ι Ι Ξ]
[ ·  ·  ― ― ― ―  ·  Γ Α Ρ Α Γ Ρ Ι Α Γ Ο Ν]
[ ·  ·  ― ― ― ―  ·  Β Ι Ξ Α Ν Θ Ε]
[ ·  ·  · Η Ε Ι Ι Ε Ξ Γ Ο Ν Τ Ι Ο Φ Ο Ρ Ο]
[ ·  · ] ·  Κ Ε Φ Α Ι Α Ι Ο Ν]
[ · ] ·  ·  Η Η Ρ [― ― ― ― ―]
[ · ] ·  ·  Α Κ Τ Α Ι Α Ι Γ Ο Ι Ε Ξ]
[ · Δ] Ρ  ·  ·  ·  Α Ν Τ Α Ν Δ Ρ Ο Ξ]
[ · Ρ Τ] Τ Τ ·  Ρ Ο Ι Τ Ε Ι Ο Ν]
[ · ] ·  ·  Ν Ε Ξ Ο Ξ]
[ · ] ― ― ― ― ·  Γ Ο Ρ Δ Ο Ξ Ε Ι Ε Ν Ε]
  ·  Τ Τ Τ Τ ·  Η Α Μ Α Χ Ξ Ι Τ Ο Ξ]
  ·  Τ Τ Τ · ·  Ι Α Ρ Ι Ξ Α]
  ·  Ρ · · · ·  Ο Φ Υ Ν Ε Ι Ο Ν]
  ·  Τ Τ · · ·  Ι Ι Ο Ν]
  ·  Τ Τ · · ·  Γ Ε Τ Ρ Α]
  ·  Τ Χ Χ Χ ·  Θ Υ Μ Β Ρ Α]
  ·  Χ · · · ·  Κ Ο Ι Ο Ν Ε]
  ·  Ρ · · · ·  Γ Α Ι Α Μ Ε Δ Ε Ι Ο Ν]
[ ·  numeral(s) · · Α Χ Ι Ι Ι Ε Ι Ο Ν]
[ ·  numeral(s) · _ name of _ city _ ]
[ ·  ― ― ― ― · ― ― ― ― ― ―]
  ·[― ― ― ― ― ― ―]
  ·[― ― ― ― ― ― ―]
  ·[― ― ― ― ― ― ―]
  ·[― ― ― ― ― ― ―]
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  ·[― ― ― ― ― ― ―]
  ·[― ― ― ― ― ― ―]
  ·[― ― ― ― ― ― ―]
  · ·[· Α Κ Τ Α Ι Ο Φ Ο Ρ Ο]
  · ·[· Κ Ε Φ Α Ι Α Ι Ο Ν]
  · ·[· _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ ]
  · ·[Ο Ρ Α Ι Κ Ι Ο Ξ Φ Ο Ρ Ο Ξ]
Ρ Δ Δ [Ρ][· Η Α Β Δ Ε Ρ Ι Τ Α Ι]
        [· Δ Ι Κ Α Ι Α Π Α Ρ Α Α Β Δ Ε Ρ Α]
Ρ Δ ·[· · Θ Α Ξ Ι Ο Ι]
Δ Δ Τ[· · Μ Α Ρ Ο Ν Ι Τ Α Ι]
Ρ · · · [· Μ Ε Θ Θ Ν Α Ι Ο Ι]
Δ Ρ · ·[· Ξ Α Μ Ο Θ Ρ Α Ι Κ Ε Ξ]
Δ Δ · ·[· Α Ι Ν Ι Ο Ι]
Δ Ρ · · · Τ Ο Ρ Ο Ν Α Ι Ο Ι]
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ATL A9. Col. III, revised: the Aktaian Panel, etc.

The diagram is intended to account for every space in stoichoi 39–49 of lines 117–160 of *ATL* A9, Col. III.   Naturally the entries shown by dashes, of tribute and of names of cities, are not fixed in length; e.g., the column of blank spaces shown for convenience mainly in stoichos 44 doubtless extended to the left (stoichos 43, etc.) in most lines.   The dotted lines show the outlines of Fragments 34, 35, and 36 in diagrammatic form.   The heavy continuous vertical lines are merely to assist in locating the left margin with its successive jogs.   Fragments 34 and 35 do not join; because of projections of the broken edges of the stones, they cannot be moved nearer to each other than they are in the diagrams (*Ath. Assess.* 41).

The present diagram differs from *ATL*, 1, pl. 23 only in lines 138–151.   The following lines call for special comment:

Line 148.   *If* examination of the stone proves (what seems from the photograph most unlikely) that the 40th stoichos was certainly uninscribed, then either the last entry was a two-line entry, or the content of lines 149–151 should be moved upward one line, leaving line 151 blank.

Line 151.   The numeral of the summation of the Thracian panel (IV, 125) is cut in the same line as κεφάλαιον.   The numeral for the Hellespontine panel (III, 123) stood in a line by itself.   There is good reason for believing that the Ionic numeral also stood in a separate line (Col. I, *ca.* line 101).   All other numerals of summation have been so restored; but it is possible that the present line ought to be absorbed in the preceding.

Line 152.   In the drawings in *ATL* and *Ath. Assess.* the first letter of the rubric falls between stoichoi 39 and 40.   The reason is that all the symbols in red ink were unintentionally moved slightly to the right in printing.

Lines 153–154.   I have copied the editors in restoring the five talents.   Their reasons presumably were to make a 'round' number, 75, and to increase the final total.   There is however no other authority.   Except for Thasos in the next line, no other city at any time is known to have been assessed for more than 30 talents, though doubtless in lost parts of this very list (A9) larger amounts appeared.

Lines 156, 160.   The numerals may have continued in the lost part.

In short, the normal arrangement for the summation of the Aktaian panel and the rubric for the Thracian panel will exactly fill the four lines in question when supplied in precisely the stoichoi to which the editors (correctly) assign them.   The assumption of an uninscribed blank space between the two panels is obviated. There is no compelling evidence *for* it on the relevant fragment, 36.

There is also, to be sure, thus far no decisive evidence *against* it. We have seen (commentary on line 151) that a possible gap of one

line might be thought of.   The decision on this may be allowed to
hang on other evidence (p. 78).   We may also leave to one side the
awkwardness of disparate lengths of gaps.   If there were large gaps,
they must have been of the same length in so careful an inscription.
Conceivably the gaps could be reduced to one uniform length of
either eight or ten lines.

First we must state as fairly as possible the case for gaps be-
tween panels.   Unquestionably such blank areas, breaking up the
long (at least *ca.* 120-line) columns of names, would make it easier
to consult the list.   Further, the letter-cutter certainly knew the
use of blank spaces to assist the reader.   There are, however, only
three sure instances where he did so in this inscription: in the decree
above, an uninscribed *vacat* one letter-space in extent is attested
(line 54), and another blank space has rightly been restored after the
decrees and before the rubric of the whole list (line 58; extent
uncertain).   After this rubric, one entire line was left blank, as
Fragments 21, 14, 19, and 20 all testify.   Finally the grand total,
line 181, was set off by a blank space six lines in height.

Turning to other tribute inscriptions, we find a little corrobora-
tion.   On the First and Second Stelai, gaps of one line or less
regularly occur between whole lists; though never within lists, ex-
cept that occasionally gaps less than a line high are used to set off
rubrics.   There is however a gap of two lines between Lists 9 and 10,
and of seven lines between Lists 4 and 5.

Within the other lists, viz. the lists inscribed on separate stelai,
more relevant data are to be found.   List 25 has some four pre-
served gaps, and two others restored.   All of these gaps are used to
set off the numerous special rubrics which occur in List 25.   The
first and largest gap is of five lines (25, I, 54–58); the next is of three
(or one or two more: 25, II, 28–30).   The other gaps are of one line
each.   In List 26 there are two one-line gaps, but the stone pre-
serves more instances where in comparable situations no gaps were
left.

Thus there is only one assured comparable gap (List 25); it is
of only five lines; it must be set against dozens of assured instances
where no gap at all was left.   To judge by one partially preserved
instance, A10, IV, 26–28, there were no gaps in the only other com-
parable assessment list preserved, that of four years later.   The
regular practice was to inscribe panels close together.   Especially
when he had so long a list to inscribe, the normal impulse of an

Athenian letter-cutter was to conserve space. In A9 the panels were to be distinguished from each other by the projection of the rubrics into the margin reserved for numerals.[12]

In addition, a gap of one line at most *may* have been left before the major rubrics. We have seen that the scribe did separate decree and list by a one-line blank.

But the evidence of the preserved fragments is on the whole against a blank of even one line. The Hellespontine panel ends with a summation in Col. III, lines 121–123, and the rubric for the Aktaian panel follows, without a blank, in line 124, as is clear from what is preserved on Fragment 34. The Thracian panel ends with a summation in Col. IV, lines 124–125, and the rubric for the Euxine cities follows, without a blank, in line 126, as is clear from what is preserved on Fragment 38. No other fragment preserves evidence as to the existence or non-existence of a blank between panels. As their reason for not being guided by the evidence of the Aktaian and Euxine rubrics, the editors seem to imply (*Ath. Assess.* 40) that both the Aktaian and Euxine panels were treated as appended to other lists. This may well be correct, but it hardly furnishes support to the (otherwise unsupported) notion of large gaps between major panels. Besides, if large gaps were being left before major rubrics, it could be urged that small gaps should naturally have preceded these minor rubrics.

The upshot of all this inquiry is that the epigraphical facts make it unnecessary and hazardous to suppose that any gaps whatever occurred in the list. Col. I, lines 102–109 (or their equivalent), should be filled with Island cities, or Ionian cities, or both; Col. II, lines 164–173, with Ionic or Hellespontine cities or both; Col. III, lines 138–148, with Aktaian cities alone.

Before noting briefly the effects of this enlargement, it may be well to ask whether at other points the length of the list has been correctly determined.

2. THE ENDING OF THE LIST

In *Ath. Assess.* 87–88, the editors contemplate the downward extension of the Euxine panel to the very last line (the 180th line)

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[12] A quite similar system of projections can be observed in the Thicker Wall, Later Side, of the great list of sacrifices in the Revised Solonian Law Code, best seen in the photographs, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 20, 22, 24; additional fragments in *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 34, 35. This system of projections also will repay study, as I shall try to show elsewhere.

of Col. IV.   In *ATL* 157, the Euxine panel ends with line 173, leaving seven lines blank.   There is no commentary whatever in *ATL* even to tell the reader that this change has been made, much less to justify it.

Here again comparative epigraphical data can be assembled with effect.   There are preserved to us in usable form the endings of 15 Lists; and A10 adds a little.   The numbers of lines left blank in the last columns of these lists are shown in the following table:

Number of List	Number of Columns in List	Number of Lines Left Blank at End	Irregularities
ATL 2	10	7	
3	5	0	Col. I is one line longer than
5	5	1	[other columns
7	4	0	Col. IV is one line longer than
8	2	0	[other columns
9	5	9	
10	5	2	
11	5	2	
12	5	0	
13	5	1	Col. IV also is one line short
14	2	1	
15	2	1	
19	6	0	
20	6	0	
21	6	0	
A10	6	13+?	

It will be noted that except in List 9 and in A10 *the number of lines left blank is less than the number of columns.*   There is, I think, a sort of law that this shall be so in any carefully inscribed list.   The careful scribe would first count the number of lines needed for his list, then divide this total by the proposed number of columns.   If the division came out exactly even, then the quotient would be the proper number of lines in each column.   If there was a remainder, then the proper number of lines in a column would be the quotient plus one, except that the last column would be shorter than the others by an amount which necessarily would never exceed the number of columns.[13]

[13] For a simple instance, suppose 41 lines are to be inscribed in 5 columns. $41 \div 5 = 8\frac{1}{5}$, which means that there must be 9 items in each column except the last, which will have 5.   The last 4 spaces in the last column will be blank.   The solution of a type which looked better to some scribes, and was the kind of solution adopted in

Whether in any given instance this principle applies depends of course on whether the scribe counted the number of lines required, before beginning to cut the letters.   A9 is "one of the most carefully inscribed of all the documents of the fifth century" (*Ath. Assess.* 54).   Moreover the penalty for guessing wrong where so many items were involved might be a fourth column exceeding the others in length.   It is a virtual certainty therefore that the scribe of A9 did count the lines in advance.

Hence in all probability Col. IV of A9 at least extended down to and included line 177; it may have ended in line 177, or 178, or 179, or (even with the other three Columns) in 180.   The list as it is printed in A9 is to be enlarged by four, five, six, or seven lines.[14] If the summation at the end was of two lines only (and not three: *supra*, p. 76, commentary on line 151), then possibly the list should be further enlarged by one line.

3. Gaps Between Fragments

Finally, though no proof is possible, there is need for a word on the placing of the fragments.[15]   The height of Col. III, which de-

Lists 3, 7, and 13, would put (in terms of our illustration) 9 lines in the first column and 8 lines in each of the other columns.

For List 9 and for A10 the computation was evidently careless, or changes were made during the process of inscribing.   Too little is left of A10 for a good understanding to be had.

There appear in the lists many items which run over into a second or third line. Not seldom the number of lines required is arbitrary, i.e. it depends on the exact number of letters which are to be available on the stone.   Such items introduce an interesting complication: how were they reckoned in the computation before inscribing began?   The natural suggestion is that an exactly-spaced copy was drawn up for the use of the letter-cutter—but this is only a suggestion, and study of it would lead far afield.

[14] Some confirmation of the view that the last column occupied a maximum or a near-maximum of space is afforded by the crowding into line 125 of matter which normally, if ample space seemed to be available, would have been given two lines.

[15] Every epigraphical editor of a fragmentary text such as the list under discussion is faced with the temptation to print his text without indications of uncertainties which he cannot resolve.   I should like to raise for discussion the general question whether it is fair to the reader to print a text of this sort, as e.g. *ATL*, A9 is printed, without a single warning that the number of lines is a mere guess.   The non-specialist is virtually at the mercy of the editor.   Even the specialist may find it irksome to have to study the grouping of the fragments (in the present instance it is necessary to obtain a different volume and to track down the discussion therein).   Thus although every editor will sympathize with the desire not to mar a "clean" text by such entries as "Lacuna of unknown extent," "Lacuna of at least 10 lines, at most 15," and the like, fairness to readers should, I think, induce editors to be as explicit and considerate as the spatial exigencies of type-setting will allow.

termines the height of the other columns, is carefully discussed in *Ath. Assess.* 41–42, where an irreducible minimum of 113 lines is determined; the editors admit 120 lines as probable. There are preserved from this column six fragments, of which 32 and 33 join to make one group; and 35, 36, and 37 join to make a second group. The lacunae may be shown as follows:

Fragment 19 (part of the decree above)
Lacuna I, irreducible
Fragments 32-33
Lacuna II, physically reducible by 3 or 4 lines, but restored on
            the analogy of A10, hence virtually irreducible
Fragment 34
Lacuna III, irreducible
Fragments 35-36-37
Lacuna IV, reducible by 3 lines
End of column (not preserved on any fragment)

Thus only one lacuna, IV, could be reduced with any plausibility at all, and that by only three lines. Further, two lacunae, I and III, are physically irreducible, i.e. the preserved edges of the fragments do not permit them to lie closer together. The question which arises is not whether the lacunae should be smaller, but whether they should be larger. It is of course possible, there is even a certain probability, that the stones did not break so that the fragments, when placed in their correct positions relative to each other, would touch or almost touch, without joining. This could and did occasionally happen; wear may reduce jagged edges; but the chances are against its having happened four times in this one column. There is no assurance particularly in regard to Lacunae I and IV, that they were not larger. On the whole, it would seem wise to keep in mind the possibility that Col. III, and hence the other columns, were longer than the near-minimum of 120 lines allowed to them at present.

4. Athenian Claims in 425/4

The text of the list as it was published in *ATL* A9 provided for 445 inscribed lines, of which 23 are rubrics and the remainder, 422, contain names of cities. As it stands at present, there is space for at most 388 cities preserved or to be restored—*if* each restored city required only one line. The number of names of cities originally

present was not 388, but a somewhat smaller number, since some names of cities occupy two lines. Actually, if we count the number of cities of which the name and/or amount is preserved, or is restorable, sufficiently fully to determine whether or not two lines were required, we find 275 such cities. They occupy 309 lines; on the average, 10 cities take about 11 lines. The number of lines where no numeral or letter is preserved or restorable is 113, and in these lines *ca.* 103 names of cities were presumably inscribed. Hence the list as printed in *ATL* contained (275 + 103 =) *ca.* 378 cities. This number is impressive, because only 341 actual names of cities in the Athenian Empire are preserved in all the lists together (including A9). Thus it was already clear that A9 was drawn up in an expansive mood.

According to the findings of the present study, the totals were greater still, since there must be added (8 + 10 + 10 + 4 =) 32 lines as a minimum, making at least 477 inscribed lines in all. If the spaces between the preserved fragments were originally only a few centimeters greater than the near-minimum on which the figure 477 lines is based, then the total number of lines would be *ca.* 490 or 500. Disregarding this possibility, and adding the *ca.* 29 cities contained in the 32 new lines, we find that A9 contained at least (378 + 29 =) *ca.* 407 cities, of which *ca.* 66 are not known in any extant tribute record.

The question next arises whether these unknown cities are unknown because the other lists (i.e. all the lists except A9) are so fragmentary that many names originally listed there do not appear on the extant fragments. A tabulation which I cannot claim as minutely exact shows that in the preserved lines of A9 there appear, or in lost lines there have been plausibly restored, the names of no fewer than 53 cities which are not known or have not been restored in any previous list. Hence it is likely that few if any of the lost names appeared in lists prior to A9. If the preserved and restorable parts of A9 are known to have contained 53 "new" names, its many lost fragments can well have contained 66 more new names. It is necessary in fact to assume that they did contain at least that many. The assessors of 425/4 may well have added as many as 100 cities which had never appeared at all, or had appeared before 454/3 but in the interval had paid no tribute.[16]

[16] On the character of parts of the assessment, see the evidence presented in *ATL,* 1.484, *s.v.* ʹΕδριῆς. Incidentally the tribute of these additional *ca.* 100 cities helps to

So much for general statistics. Difficulty might be felt, I believe, only in regard to the Aktaian cities. In previous editions this panel has contained 14 lines for cities. Now 10 more have to be added. The restoration of the Aktaian names is based, I think rightly, on correspondences between A9 and A10 (tabulated and discussed in *Ath. Assess.* 79–82). In A10 there are 11 lines for cities; in A9 admittedly (*Ath. Assess.* 82) there must be more than 11. Attention may be called particularly to the fact that divergencies are apparent towards the ends of the two lists in their preserved form. Thus where A10 has Πέτρα and ᾿Αχίλλειον in closed sequence, A9 has three other cities in between them. This by itself gives some assurance that other additions followed in A9.

Just what names might be considered, I have not attempted to determine. In general, doubtless the more than 100 new cities do not all represent claims on new territories. They are rather to be thought of as being in the main lesser cities formerly not assessed individually. In the particular case of the Aktaian panel, *ATL* withdraws [Χρύσε], which *Ath. Assess.* had restored in this panel. "The length of the Aktaian panel is of course uncertain" (p. 206, on III, 138). Since that panel could not possibly be reduced by more than a few names, this statement seems to indicate a suspicion that it ought to be enlarged. "Certain other towns have claims," the editors add, "among them being Koryphantis and Herakleia." Perusal of the Gazetteer (*ATL* 467) *s.v.* ᾿Ακταῖαι πόλεις suggests that the south and east coasts of the Troad, and the Lesbian *peraia* (also included in this sub-district), may well have contained enough cities to fill 24 lines.

As was stated at the beginning, the editors followed a conservative policy in allowing for unknown names of cities. Their method was to reckon how many cities were known, and to allot lines accordingly. Thus the known Ionic (− Caric) cities needed 169 lines; 171 were allotted (*Ath. Assess.* 72–78). The lists of Island, Hellespontine, and Thracian cities are alleged to be nearly complete, or to be easily completed (69, 78, 82–84). We now see that more unknown cities must be allowed for. The interesting Euxine panel may illustrate this. Surprisingly long (44 lines of cities) and largely

make up the grand total of 1460(+?) talents which Meritt and West conclusively established for line 181.   The amount of tribute to be added from this source may not have been great in most cases, though to be sure Melos, for example, is here first (to our knowledge) assessed, and it is assessed for no less than 15 talents.

unrestorable already in *ATL*, it should be lengthened, as we have seen, to include 48–51 lines. In fact, by listing separately places small enough, any panel could doubtless have been considerably extended. Consider the *ca.* 93 cities of Crete, the 100 perioecic towns of Lacedaemon, the 177 demes of Attica.

In short, the editors' suspicion is confirmed that the list was meant to include [absolutely?] all cities which in the past had ever been included. Some new claims as well were doubtless asserted for the present and future.

In this light it is amusing to seek, in the decrees inscribed above the list, hints as to the real intent of those decrees, bearing in mind not only the great extent of the actual list, but also the fact that the total of the assessment (line 181) was well over three times the maximum amount of tribute known actually to have been paid in any preceding year. Lines 16–17: [τῦ δὲ φόρο, ἐπειδ]ὲ ὀλέζον ἐγ[ένε]το, κτλ., (lines 20–22:) τ[ὸ]ν δὲ φόρο[ν ὀλέζ]ο μὲ π[όλει νῦν ταχσάντ]ον μ[ε]δεμιᾶι ἐ̂ ho[πόσον πρὸ τῦ ἐτύγχανον ἀπαγ]όντ[ες] ἐὰμ μέ τ[ις φαίν]εται ἀπορία hόστε ὄσ]ες τ[ε̂]s χόρας ἀδυ[νάτο μὲ πλείο ἀπάγεν]. Certainly the first part of this reads like a masterpiece of understatement. But it was not meant to be ironical or humorous. The object was rather to avoid creating apprehension among the cities in advance. The blow would be heavy enough when the assessments were made known. Cleon could then turn aside complaints by pointing brazenly to the seeming solicitude of the clause about destitution.