

## The Athenian *Ephebeia* in the Fourth Century BCE

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# The Athenian *Ephebeia* in the Fourth Century BCE

*By*

John L. Friend



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Cover illustration: Fragment of votive relief from Rhamnus, of Lycurgan date, depicting victorious ephobic torch-racers of an unknown tribe (Rham. 531 [ex Athens NM 2332]). (Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica, Photo by Author © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Fund of Archaeological Proceeds)

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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

*For my parents,  
Lennard Montgomery Friend and Madeleine Mary Friend,  
With gratitude*





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## Preface

The present study offers a revisionist approach to the Athenian *ephebeia* and the ephebes who had served in the institution from its creation in the mid-330s to the end of the fourth century BCE. This book is based on my doctoral dissertation, submitted to the University of Texas in August 2009. The delay in publication over the last decade is due to an extensive reworking and reconsideration of the ideas presented in the original project. In this time I have twice examined the corpus of Lycurgan inscriptions to obtain new readings or confirm the readings of previous editors, have investigated those locations in Athens and elsewhere which can be associated with the *ephebeia*, and have incorporated recent research on the *ephebeia* and on various topics connected to ephebes. The final result, I hope, is a study which challenges enduring misconceptions about ephebes and the *ephebeia*, and offers a new interpretation of the literary evidence and the epigraphic record within the context of fourth-century BCE Athens and especially the traumatic events after Thebes' destruction in 335/4 BCE. It also examines the consequences of the *ephebeia*'s creation for Athens and for the ephebes themselves, addressing questions of fundamental importance such as how did the *ephebeia* function in military terms, what was the attitude of the ephebes towards the new institution, and what do we mean by an ephebic *paideia*. While I do not claim to have found a definitive solution to these and other issues, I hope that readers will find this study both interesting and useful. I also hope that the ideas contained in this study will stimulate further discussion on the *ephebeia* and the relevance of this peculiar and enigmatic institution for our understanding of classical and early Hellenistic Athens.

## Acknowledgements

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Several institutions also have made this book possible. I received much assistance from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens during my time there in 2013 and 2015. I am particularly indebted to James Wright, Ioanna Damanaki, and Eleni Balomenou, who unfailingly answered my questions promptly and were always willing to help, and to Niamh Michalopoulou for making my stay at Loring Hall enjoyable. Recognition also goes to John Camp, Sylvie Dumont, Craig Mauzy, Jan Jordan, and the other staff at the Agora Excavations for facilitating access to the material in their care. I owe a debt of gratitude to the following individuals and their staff for their hard work in tracking down the inscriptions and for their hospitality. At the Epigraphical Museum, Athanasios Themou, Georgios Kakavas, Peppa Delmouzou, Stergios Tzanekas, Eleni Zavvou, and Eirene Choremi; at the Museum of Eleusis, Kalliope Papaggeli; at the Museum of Ceramicus, Leonidas Bournias; at the National Museum of Athens, Maria Lagogianni and Chrysanthi Tsouli; at the Acropolis Museum, Eleni Manoli; at the Museums of Oropus and Marathon, and at the Archaeological sites of Rhamnus and the Amphiareum, Eleni Andrikou, Michael Sklavos, and Paulina Marneri.

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Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens, the National Museum of Athens, and the Epigraphical Museum. Thanks also to the École Française d'Athènes for providing the photograph of the *stèle* at Acharnae. Lindsay Holman of the Ancient World Mapping Center for drawing the maps. John Barnes for helping with the indexing. My book has benefited immensely from the constructive suggestions and insightful criticisms of Brill's anonymous readers. They saved me from numerous mistakes and aided me in clarifying my ideas. Needless to say, the remaining errors are mine alone. Adele Scafuro was instrumental in my decision to submit the manuscript to Brill for the series in Greek and Roman Epigraphy. I would like to acknowledge her excellent advice and guidance. I am thankful to Gera van Bedaf and the rest of her production team at Brill, who skillfully steered my manuscript through the publication process.

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# Abbreviations

The names of ancient authors and texts are abbreviated as in S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: 2012

- FGrHist* F. Jakoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 15 Vols. Berlin: 1923–1958
- IG I<sup>3</sup>* D.M. Lewis and L. Jeffery (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae I: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores*. Berlin: 1981
- IG II<sup>2</sup>* J. Kirchner (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae II et III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*. Berlin: 1913–1940
- IG II<sup>3</sup> 1* S.D. Lambert and K. Hallof (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae II et III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores. Editio Tertia. Pars I. Leges et Decreta*. Berlin: 2012–2014
- IG II<sup>3</sup> 4* J. Curbera (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae II et III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores. Editio Tertia. Pars IV. Dedicaciones et tituli sacri*. Berlin: 2015
- IEleusis* K. Clinton, *Eleusis: the Inscriptions on Stone: Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*. Vol. 1a. Athens 2005
- IOrop.* B.Ch. Petrakos, *Οι Ἐπιγραφές του Ωρωπόυ*. Athens: 1997
- IRhamn.* B.Ch. Petrakos, *Ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Ῥαμνοῦντος*, Vol. II. Athens: 1999
- Schwenk C.J. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander: The Dated Laws and Decrees of the 'Lykourgan Era' 338–322 B.C.* Chicago: 1985
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden: 1923–



FIGURE 1 Map of Attica  
CREATED BY ANCIENT WORLD MAPPING CENTER © JOHN L. FRIEND 2018

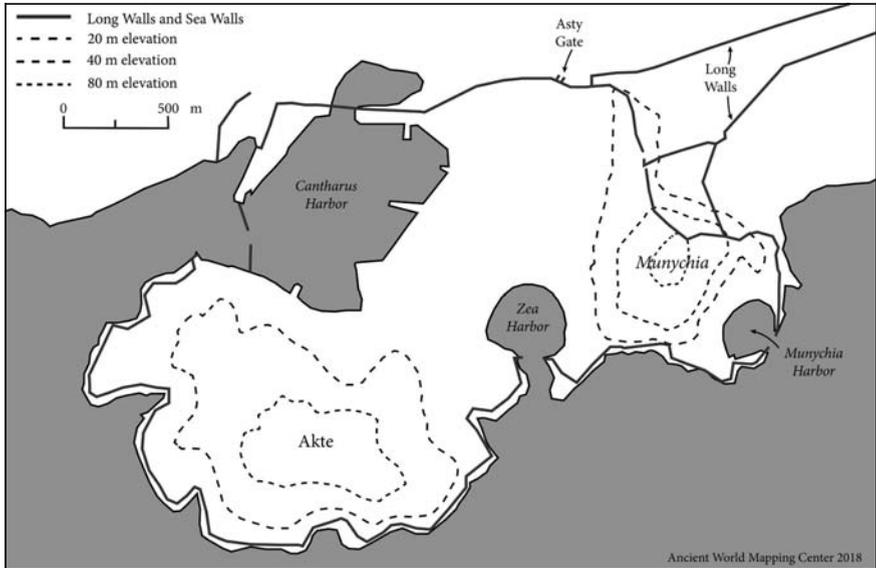


FIGURE 2 Plan of Piraeus

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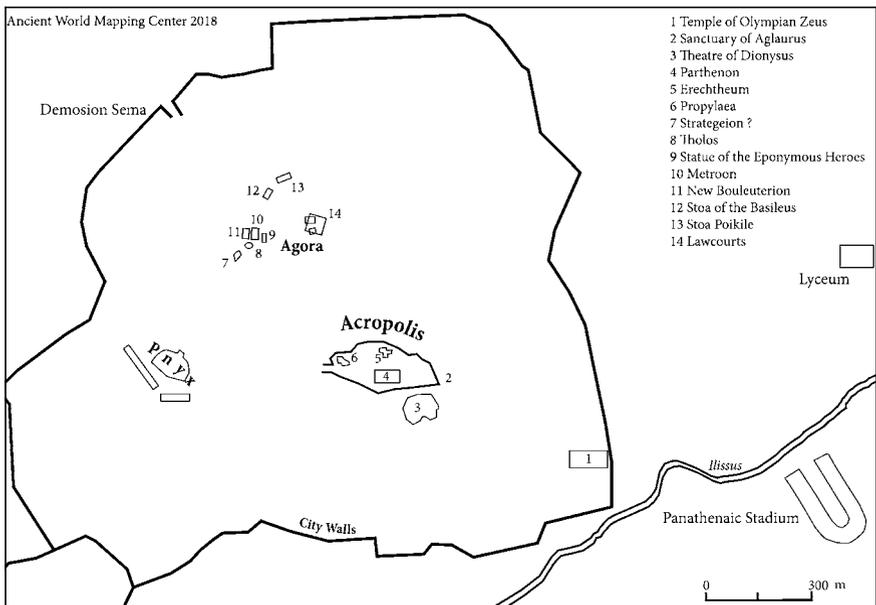


FIGURE 3 Plan of Athens

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## Introduction

According to Clarence Forbes, writing in 1929, the earliest work which mentions ephebes was Anton van Dale's *Dissertationes IX antiquitatibus, quin et mamoribus cum Romanis tum potissimum Graecis, illustrandis inservientes*, published in 1702.<sup>1,2</sup> But if scholarly interest in ephebes and the *ephebeia* is more than three centuries old, it was the discovery of a large number of ephebic inscriptions dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the early 1860s which led to the first detailed studies of the institution, beginning with Wilhelm Dittenberger's *De Ephebis Atticis* in 1863 and followed a decade later by Alfred Dumont's magisterial two volume *Essai sur l'éphébie attique* (1876). These pioneering works would provide the model for subsequent studies in the field. Not only did they aim to explain the origin, function, and purpose of the *ephebeia*, reconstructing both the responsibilities of its officials and the activities of the ephebes themselves, but they also formulated the methodological principles for evaluating the epigraphic evidence, from which the bulk of our information about the *ephebeia* in all historical periods comes. For much of the next century the study of this enigmatic and peculiar organization would primarily belong to the domain of the epigrapher, whose task it was (and still is) to edit and restore the often badly-preserved texts, and to draw plausible inferences from these documents despite many being in a poor state of preservation.

Dittenberger and Dumont, however, wrote before the rediscovery of the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* in the 1880s,<sup>3</sup> the forty-second chapter of which provides our only broad overview of the *ephebeia* to have survived antiquity.<sup>4</sup> Taken together with the appearance of the first securely-dated fourth-century ephebic inscription in the same decade (see Ch. 2.1), Wilamowitz-Moellendorf ventured the hypothesis that the creation of the *ephebeia* should be assigned to Lycurgan Athens, an issue of critical importance which has divided scholars from the 1890s onwards.<sup>5</sup> Scholarship immediately after *Aristoteles und Athen* would tend to focus on the origins of the institution, sometimes to the exclu-

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1 All dates are BCE and all translations in this book are those of the author unless stated otherwise.

2 Forbes 1929, 111.

3 For the publication of the Berlin Papyrus and the London Papyrus, see Rhodes 1981, 1–4.

4 Compare the discussions of Girard 1891; 1892.

5 Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1893, 193–194.

sion of every other matter. Brenot, for instance, wrote a monograph (*Recherches sur l'éphébie attique et en particulier sur la date de l'institution*) addressing primarily this one issue. The responses by Roussel and Lofberg rejected her arguments in support of a Lycurgan date.<sup>6</sup> By the mid twentieth-century a new generation of scholars had emerged to challenge the position of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. In 1962 Chrysis Pélékidis published *Histoire de l'éphébie attique: des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christi*, in which he surveyed the *ephebeia* from the sixth century to the end of the Hellenistic period, while Oscar Reinmuth's *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* had compiled a register of fourth-century inscriptions and argued for an origin in the early Classical period.<sup>7</sup>

But if these studies, which have become standard works on the subject, had paved the way for a resurgence of scholarly interest in ephebes and the *ephebeia* from the 1970s onwards, no comprehensive study of the fourth-century institution has appeared since Reinmuth's publication.<sup>8</sup> This should not be taken to mean that specialists have ceased to work in the field. Over the last decade two French authors have published the results of their research. Éric Perrin-Saminadayar explores the cultural significance of the Athenian *ephebeia* in the Hellenistic period, entitled *Éducation, culture et société à Athènes: Les acteurs de la vie culturelle athénienne (229–88): un tout petit monde* (Paris 2007), while three years later Andrzej Chankowski published *L'Éphébie hellénistique: Étude d'une institution civique dans les cités grecques des îles de la Mer Égée et de l'Asie Mineure. Culture et cité, 4* (Paris 2010), which provides an excellent discussion of the *ephebeiai* in Asia Minor (about which little is known), along with a chapter on age-related terminology in Athens and elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> The contribution of Nigel Kennell should also be mentioned, particularly his compilation of an exhaustive catalogue of *ephebeiai* in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds (*Ephebeia: A Register of Greek Cities with Citizen Training Systems in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Hemsbach 2006). This is not to say that scholars have entirely neglected the *ephebeia* in fourth-century Athens—the discussions of

6 Brenot 1920; Roussel 1921; Lofberg 1922; 1925. Early supporters of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf: Bryant 1907; Forbes 1929.

7 See also Reinmuth's 1952 influential article which rejected Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's hypothesis.

8 It is arguable that the brilliant but flawed Vidal-Naquet 1986a (*The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*) has done more to popularize ephebes than any other work. Certainly the discussion of ephebes and/or the *ephebeia* is no longer confined to the discipline of epigraphy but has played an important role in numerous debates on a broad array of historical and cultural topics associated with classical Athens or even earlier, and, more generally, concerning the Greek world.

9 See also Chankowski 2004a and 2004b.

de Marcellus, Burckhardt, and Humphreys clearly demonstrate otherwise—but that the study of the *ephebeia* at this time has lagged in comparison to the recent advances in our knowledge concerning the Hellenistic institution and non-Athenian *ephebeiai*.<sup>10</sup>

Even more important for urging a new study are two phenomena: the discovery of new inscriptions and the proliferation of studies that contextualize more broadly post-Chaeronea life in Athens. Regarding the first, over the last half century more than a dozen ephebic inscriptions thought to date to the Lycurgan era have been discovered (thus nearly doubling the number known to Reinmuth), primarily from excavations undertaken at the garrison deme of Rhamnus and at the Amphiareum at Oropus.<sup>11</sup> Taken together with Reinmuth's register they provide a penetrating insight into the activities both military and religious of those ephebes who were stationed at or who had frequented these and other locations during their two-year long tour of duty, thus raising a slew of new questions (or confirming old suspicions) about the internal workings of the *ephebeia* and the responsibilities of its officials, especially the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistai*. As to the second phenomenon, alongside the accumulation of new epigraphic evidence for the *ephebeia*, the same period has also witnessed a proliferation of studies (often accompanied by a vigorous scholarly debate) on virtually every aspect of life in post-Chaeronea Athens.<sup>12</sup> Scholars have also examined closely the Attic tribes and demes, demography, citizenship, military history, and religion, an understanding of which is fundamental in importance for any synoptic treatment of the *ephebeia*.<sup>13</sup> It is not possible to contextualize

10 The doctoral dissertation of de Marcellus 1994 (unpublished) traces the *ephebeia* from its origins to the Hellenistic period (i.e. 200). Burckhardt 1996, 26–75, discusses the *ephebeia* as part of his argument that Athenian citizens would have continued to constitute the core of the city's military forces throughout the fourth century. Humphreys 2004, 77–129, frequently refers to the *ephebeia* in her study of the achievements of Lycurgan Athens. Chankowski 2014 argues for the existence of an *ephebeia* predating Chaeronea but does not discuss the Lycurgan institution.

11 Clinton's 1988 publication of Travlos 1954, a Cecropid dedication, reported in Reinmuth 1971 no. 5 but with no transcript. Palagia and Lewis 1989 showed that Reinmuth 1971 no. 9 is ephebic and identified *EM 4112 = IG 11<sup>2</sup> 2401* as an honorific inscription belonging to the same *phyle*. Traill 1986 published another dedication of Cecropis. Petrakos 2004 provided details of a Leontid dedication from the same contingent as Reinmuth 1971 no. 9. Munn has reported three as yet unpublished inscriptions found at Panactum. Inscriptions unknown to Reinmuth are also found in Petrakos 1997 (nos. 348 and 352) and Petrakos 1999 (no. 99), while Mastrokostas 1970 was not included in his register.

12 See, for instance, the recent volume of Azoulay and Ismard 2011.

13 Select examples: M.H. Hansen 1985; Whitehead 1986; Burckhardt 1996; Parker 1996; 2005; Mikalson 1998; Jones 1999; Christ 2006.

the *ephebeia* without reference to these studies, the ideas which they address, and the vast amount of information contained within them. This book, however, does not aim to be a second or updated edition of Reinmuth, even if my book and Reinmuth's are limited chronologically to the fourth century and geographically confined to Attica. Instead it offers a novel interpretation of epebes and the *ephebeia*, and intends to correct what in my view are misconceptions about them.

The present study falls into two parts. The first argues that while the origins of epebes and the *ephebeia* are to be found in fourth-century Athens, they had originated at different times, with the former preceding the latter. Chapter Two investigates the controversy over the date of origin for the *ephebeia*. It rejects the prevailing scholarly view that the institution was not a creation of Lycurgan Athens. A critical evaluation of the source material and the arguments adduced in support of this hypothesis suggests that the *ephebeia* did not exist in any form before the appearance of the earliest securely dated examples of the epebic corpus in 334/3. While a comparison of Aeschines' testimony concerning his time as an epebe in the late 370s to the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* (ca. 330) does reveal a remarkable continuity in the usage of *ephebos*, it also shows that the term was used in a technical sense to denote a newly-enrolled citizen and a new citizen conscript and that *ephebos* was a neologism created by the Athenians after conscription by age-groups had replaced conscription by *katalogos* between 386 and 366. Nor should we assume the *ephebeia*'s existence from Aeschines' "*peripoleia*" because there is no evidence for military practices approximating to the institution until the Lycurgan era (i.e. epebes training in the gymnasium at public expense or undertaking regular garrison duty over a two-year period). The overall impression is that Aeschines, unlike epebes four decades later, was free to participate in Athenian public life and was only limited by inclination and age-restrictions, in comparison to his older compatriots.

Building upon the results of this investigation, the third Chapter attempts to determine the reason why the *ephebeia* was founded in 335/4. Having rejected the almost universally-held connection with the Macedonian victory at Chaeronea in 338/7 and having disassociated the *ephebeia* from other measures undertaken by the Athenians under Lycurgus' administration to improve the city's military preparedness after their incorporation into the League of Corinth, it is argued that the *ephebeia* was both an unanticipated development of the Lycurgan era and was conceived as a solution to a specific military problem dating to the mid 330s. On my reconstruction, there was no need for an organization like the *ephebeia* until Boeotian raiders took advantage of Athenian defensiveness in the aftermath of Alexander's destruction of Thebes in

335/4 to plunder Attica. The military purpose of the *ephebeia* was to reinforce those citizen-soldiers already stationed at the border forts and at the garrison demes so as to bring increased security to the Attic-Boeotian frontier and to the Athenian plain. The founding law for the *ephebeia* was Epicrates' "law concerning the epebes" (Harp. s.v. Ἐπικράτης = Lyc. Fr. 5.3 Conomis), passed sometime after Thebes' destruction. We can safely assume that Lycurgus and other politically prominent citizens such as the general Phocion would have also contributed to the new organization. In this respect, the *ephebeia* was probably no different from other major projects attested in the 330s and 320s.

The second part of this book reconstructs in detail the day-to-day running of the *ephebeia* as known from the literary and epigraphic sources between 334/3 and 323/2. What follows is an attempt to explore this institution from three different perspectives (military, socio-political, and educational), each having received insufficient scholarly attention. It begins with Chapter Four's investigation into how the decision of the Demos to entrust the protection of Attica primarily to epebes led to further military and organizational innovations, which sought to make them into a corps capable of defending the countryside against Boeotian freebooters. Four innovations are emphasized. (1) The *ephebeia*, uniquely, had a dual command structure in which the *strategoï* and *peripolarchoi* led the epebes in the field while everything else was within the purview of the *kosmetai* and the *sophronistai*. (2) The *sophronistai*, who had the right to inflict corporal punishment, imposed strict discipline (*eutaxia*) and obedience (*peitharchia*) upon the epebes, who as young men were characterized as being prone towards irresponsible and thoughtless behavior. (3) The Demos hired professional instructors (the *paidotribai* and the *didaskaloi*) to provide the epebes, the majority of whom were probably "combat unfit" and all presumably having no practical military experience, with the necessary combat skills for their long daily patrols. (4) The two-year period of military service in the *ephebeia* encouraged a strong *esprit de corps* among the epebes, grounded firmly on the uniformity of their dress, arms, and duties (including bivouacking in the *syssitia*). These strong bonds of loyalty among the epebes as demesmen and tribesmen, and among the entire enrollment year, would have increased the effectiveness of the epebes as a cohesive fighting force.

Chapter Five, necessarily speculative, attempts to provide a solution for a problem which has puzzled scholars. If epebes of all four Solonian property classes were conscripted for the *ephebeia*, why did only about half of the epebes in the first two enrollment years (334/3–333/2), increasing to about two-thirds thereafter, in fact serve? Building upon Christ's conception of the "bad citizen", it is argued that a significant minority of the epebes was unwilling to perform their civic responsibilities, despite the potential social and legal

repercussions for not complying with the draft. For them, concerns about lost income and damage to their property interests in their absence outweighed the prestige associated with military service in classical Athens. The Demos, alarmed at the lack of enthusiasm which these ephebes, who made up perhaps a quarter of an enrollment year, would have had for the *ephebeia*, sought to encourage them not to commit *astrateia* (draft-dodging) or *deilia* (desertion) by appealing to their *philotimia* (love of honor), a civic virtue of some importance in the Lycurgan era. The *ephebeia* promoted *philotimia* in several ways. Ambitious individuals could distinguish themselves from their peers by serving as an ephebic *taxiarchos*, *lochagos*, or *gymnasiarchos*. An ephebic *phyle* could gain distinction by defeating their rivals in the *lampadedromia*, and all ephebes were honored in multiple crowning ceremonies at the end of their military service. The setting up of these honorific monuments for public display in turn would have generated more enthusiasm for the *ephebeia* and ultimately would have increased the number of ephebes willing and able to serve.

Chapter Six continues to explore the relationship between the ephebes and the Demos, but from an educational perspective. The incorporation of a civic *paideia* in a military-oriented organization can be attributed to the fact that ephebes would have had no opportunity to acquire practical political experience as participants or even as observers in the running of the city's governmental institutions, which had traditionally played such an important role in cultivating normative civic values in young citizens. To ensure that ephebes would learn the practices associated with good citizenship, the Demos, probably led by Lycurgus, whose personal interest in educating the young for the public good is clear from *Against Leocrates*, introduced paideutic features into the *ephebeia*. The moral and civic educational program would have consisted of the *sophonistes* instructing the ephebes in *sophrosyne* (self-control), a civic virtue associated with decent personal conduct and manly behavior, imparting lessons on the importance of patriotism, military glory, and self-sacrifice, during the visitation of the sanctuaries, and teaching them about the importance of piety whenever they participated in festivals at a local- and state-level, such as at the Panathenaea, the Amphiarraia, and the Nemesia. The purpose of the program was to make the ephebes virtuous citizens who were unswervingly loyal to Athens and the democracy. Finally, we should reject the idea that the *ephebeia* was thought of as a rite of passage or that ephebes were marginal figures transitioning from childhood to adulthood. While the *ephebeia* clearly did have educational features, there is no evidence to associate the institution or ephebes with the Apatouria and with the myth of Melenthus and Xanthus.

The book ends with a brief Epilogue, which traces the development of the *ephebeia* from the Lamian War down to the end of the fourth century. It sug-

gests that the oligarchy of Phocion and Demades imposed by Antipater had abolished the institution in 322/1 and that it was not revived until the restoration of the democracy in 307/6. When the *ephebeia* began to function in the next archon-year after a fifteen-year hiatus, it had undergone several organizational changes, most notably a reduction in the length of service from two years to one. Nevertheless this “revived” *ephebeia* seems to have had the same military and educational function as its Lycurgan predecessor. Even so, it was a short-lived institution, probably lasting no more than half a decade or so, before Lachares abolished the *ephebeia* once more in the Spring of 300.

## An Aeschinean *Ephebeia*?

The most enduring of all the *ephebeia*'s controversies is the century-long debate over its date and circumstances of origin. From Wilamowitz-Moellendorf onwards scholars have been divided into two opposing "schools" on whether the institution did in fact predate Lycurgan Athens.<sup>1</sup> At present very few would deny Lofberg's statement that "we must admit that long before that date [i.e. 335] there existed, if not the *ephebeia* as we now know it, at least the germ from which grew the institution so completely described by Aristotle".<sup>2</sup> But is this view justified? This chapter argues that we cannot infer from the ancient sources the existence of a state-run organization resembling the *ephebeia* which dates to the 370s if not earlier. By reexamining Aeschines' testimony, upon which the case for the existence of the institution largely depends, we can interpret his time as an ephebe without presupposing a system of ephebic training and regular garrison duty.

### 2.1 The Controversy

Chapter forty-two of the *Athenaion Politeia*, a fourth-century work attributed either to Aristotle himself or (more likely) to one of his students, is the obvious starting point for any investigation into ephebes and the *ephebeia*.<sup>3</sup> It occurs at the beginning of the treatise's second half (42–69), which provides a detailed analysis of the Athenian constitution as it appeared in the author's own time (42.1: ἔχει δ' ἡ νῦν κατάστασις τῆς πολιτείας). The chapter is divided into two distinct parts, each not necessarily complete and accurate in every respect. The author begins with a discussion of citizen registration in Athens (42.1–2), followed by a description of the *ephebeia* (42.2–5):<sup>4</sup>

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- 1 For the debate, see Forbes 1929, 109–124, and Reinmuth 1952, 34–35, each with a detailed bibliography of nineteenth and early twentieth century scholarship. A more recent bibliography can be found in Burckhardt 1996, 26–33; Raaflaub 1996, 172, n. 149; Chankowski 2010, 21, n. 12.
  - 2 Lofberg 1925, 335. My italics.
  - 3 For the authorship of the *Athenaion Politeia* and a commentary on chapter 42, see Rhodes 1981, 61–63, 493–510.
  - 4 [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 43.1 summarizes both parts: "The matters concerning the registration of citizens and the ephebes [i.e. the *ephebeia*] are in this manner (τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐγγραφὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον)".

(1) And the present state of the constitution has this following form. Those born of citizens on both sides share in the constitution, and they are registered among the demesmen when they are eighteen years old. And when they are enrolled, the demesmen, under oath, vote concerning them, first whether they seem to have attained the age according to the law, and if they do not seem so, they return again to the boys, and secondly whether he is free and born in accordance with the laws. Then, if they vote that he is not free, he appeals to the law court, and the demesmen choose five men from their number as prosecutors, and if he seems to be enrolled illegally, the city sells him: and if he wins his case, the demesmen must enroll him. (2) And after this the council scrutinizes those registered, and if anyone seems to be younger than eighteen years old, it fines the demesmen who enrolled him. And whenever the ephebes have been scrutinized, their fathers, gathered together tribe by tribe, choose under oath three of their tribesmen who are more than forty years old, whom they consider to be the best and the most suitable to take care of the ephebes, and from them the people elects one of each tribe as *sophronistes*, and elects a *kosmetes* from the other Athenians to be over them all. (3) These officials, having gathered the ephebes together, first take a circuit of the temples, then march to Piraeus, where some guard Munychia and others guard Acte. And the people also elects two physical trainers and instructors for them, who teach the ephebes to fight with hoplite weapons, to fire the bow, to cast the javelin, and to discharge the catapult. And it also grants to the *sophronistai* a drachma per head for sustenance, and four obols per head to the ephebes: and each *sophronistes*, taking the pay for his own tribesmen, purchases the provisions for all in common (for they mess together by tribes), and takes care of all other things. (4) And the ephebes spend their first year in this manner: and in the next year, when the assembly is held in the theatre [where] the ephebes demonstrate their parade ground drill to the people and receive a shield and spear from the city, they patrol the countryside and spend their time in the guard-posts. (5) And they do guard duty for two years, wearing a *chlamys*, and they are exempt from all [financial] impositions; and they can neither be sued or initiate a law suit, so that they shall have no excuse for absence [from the *ephebeia*], except concerning an estate, an heiress, and if he inherits a priesthood in his *genos*. After the two years have passed, they join the others.<sup>5</sup>

5 (1) ἔχει δ' ἡ νῦν κατάστασις τῆς πολιτείας τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. μετέχουσιν μὲν τῆς πολιτείας οἱ ἐξ

All Athenian males were considered eligible to “share in the constitution (μετέχουσιν μὲν τῆς πολιτείας)” provided that they were freeborn with lawfully married parents and had attained the prescribed age of eighteen.<sup>6</sup> Each citizen-candidate was required to complete a multi-staged registration process.<sup>7</sup> The demesmen first examined his credentials for membership in the same deme as his father after he had enrolled upon the deme register. Next, he could appeal to the law-court if he was challenged. Finally, the Council scrutinized him to ensure that he had indeed satisfied all the relevant criteria for citizenship. At each stage the citizen-candidates were defined by their parentage (οἱ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότες ἀστῶν) until they had successfully passed the *dokimasia* by the Council. It is only when the *Athenaion Politeia* turns to the selection of the ephebic officials that they are called *epheboi* (ἐπὶν ... δοκιμασθῶσιν οἱ ἔφηβοι).<sup>8</sup>

ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότες ἀστῶν, ἐγγράφονται δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες. ὅταν δ' ἐγγράφονται, διαψηφίζονται περὶ αὐτῶν ὁμόσαντες οἱ δημόται, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ δοκοῦσι γενόμεναι τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, κἂν μὴ δόξωσι, ἀπέρχονται πάλιν εἰς παῖδας, δεῦτερον δ' εἰ ἐλεύθερός ἐστι καὶ γέγονε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. ἔπειτ' ἂν μὲν ἀποψηφίσωνται μὴ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον, ὁ μὲν ἐφήσιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, οἱ δὲ δημόται κατηγοροῦν αἰροῦνται πέντε [ἄν]δρας ἐξ αὐτῶν, κἂν μὲν μὴ δόξῃ δικαίως ἐγγράφασθαι, πωλεῖ τούτον ἢ πόλις· ἐὰν δὲ νικήσῃ, τοῖς [δ]ημόταις ἐπάναγκες ἐγγράφειν. (2) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα [δ]οκιμάζει τοὺς ἐγγραφέντας ἢ βουλή, κἂν τις δόξ[η] νεώτερος ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἑτῶν εἶναι, ζημιοὶ τ[ο]ῦς δημότας τοὺς ἐγγράψαντας. ἐπὶν δὲ δοκιμασθῶσιν οἱ ἔφηβοι, συλλεγέντες οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν [κ]ατὰ φυλάς, ὁμόσαντες αἰροῦνται τρεῖς ἐκ τῶν φυλετῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται βελτίστους εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐφήβων, ἐκ δὲ τούτων ὁ δῆμος ἕνα τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης χειροτονεῖ σωφρονιστήν, καὶ κοσμητήν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πάντας. (3) συλλαβόντες δ' οὗτοι τοὺς ἐφήβους, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ περιήλθον, εἴτ' εἰς Πειραιεῖα πορεύονται, καὶ φρουροῦσιν οἱ μὲν τὴν Μουνιχίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀκτὴν. χειροτ[ο]νεῖ δὲ καὶ παιδοτρίβας αὐτοῖς δύο καὶ διδασκάλους, οἵτινες ὀπλομαχεῖν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν καὶ καταπάλην ἀφίενα διδάσκουσιν. δίδωσι δὲ καὶ εἰς τροφ[ή]ν τοῖς μὲν σωφρονισταῖς δραχμὴν ἅ' ἐκάστῳ, τοῖς δ' ἐφήβοις τέτταρας ὀβολοὺς ἐκάστῳ· τὰ δὲ τῶν φυλετῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων ὁ σωφρονιστὴς ἕκαστος ἀγοράζει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πᾶσιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν (συσιτοῦσι γὰρ κατὰ φυλάς), καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται πάντων. (4) καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἑνιαυτὸν οὕτως διάγουσι· τὸν δ' ὕστερον ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γενομένης, ἀποδειξάμενοι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ περὶ τὰς τάξεις, καὶ λαβόντες ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν καὶ διατρίβουσιν ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις. (5) φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη χλαμύδας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀτελεῖς εἰσι πάντων καὶ δικὴν οὕτε διδόντων οὕτε λαμβάνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ πρό[φ]ασις ἢ τ[ο]ῦ ἄπιεναί, πλὴν περὶ κλήρου καὶ ἐπικλή[ρου], κἂν τ[ι]νι κατὰ τὸ γένος ἱερωσύνη γένηται. διε[ξ]ελθόντων δὲ τῶν δευῖν ἑτῶν, ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν.

6 The meaning of ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες was probably “eighteen years old” rather than “in the eighteenth year” (Golden 1979, 35–38; *contra* Sealey 1957 and Welsh 1977).

7 For this procedure, see Pélékidis 1962, 87–99; Rhodes 1981, 493–502; Whitehead 1986, 97–104.

8 Rhodes 1981, 502–503. Farenga 2006, 349, n. 4, is wrong to think that a citizen-candidate was called an *ephebos* before the *dokimasia*. For the *dokimasia* by the Council and citizenship in classical Athens, see Robertson 2000; Feyel 2009, 116–148. *Dokimasia* can be used for the scrutiny before the deme or Council (e.g. Dem. 27.5, 30.6, 39.5; Isae. 2.14; Lys. 10.31, 32.9), or even before the lawcourt (Ar. *Vesp.* 578).

This suggests that *ephebos* was used in a technical sense to designate an individual who had become an Athenian citizen in the current archon year.<sup>9</sup> As the youngest citizens, it is understandable that Demades would have thought of ephebes as “the spring of the Demos (fr. 68 de Falco: ἔαρ ... τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ἐφῆβους)”.

Derived from ἐπί and ἥβη, the literal meaning of ἔφηβος was probably “the one in the time of *hebe*”.<sup>10</sup> In antiquity *hebe* had two distinct but overlapping connotations, pertaining to a youth’s physical maturation and to changes in social and political status within his community.<sup>11</sup> We can compare ἔφηβος to ἐπὶ διετέες ἥβῆσαι or “to be two years older than *hebe*”. While ancient lexicographers had divergent opinions of this archaic phrase, it appears in Attic oratory as an expression of legal maturity in lawsuits concerning the inheritance of property (e.g. Isae. 8.31; 10.12; Aeschin. 3.122; Dem. 46.20, 24). These examples suggest that puberty in a civic sense would have begun for an Athenian male at sixteen (i.e. when he was a *pais*), at which time he was under his father’s authority, and would have continued for another two years until he had turned eighteen, at which time he was admitted into the community of adult citizens. The designation of an individual as an *ephebos*, then, coincided with the end of his ἐπὶ διετέες ἥβῆσαι (but was not formed from the phrase). The term thus conveyed the idea that he had attained sufficient maturity to exercise his civic rights and to carry out his obligations.<sup>12</sup>

In Lycurgan Athens ephebes from every Solonian property class were called-up for a two-year period of compulsory national service in a state-organized

9 de Marcellus 1994, 47–48, defines an *ephebos* as “one who is in the act of becoming a citizen”.

10 For the etymology of *ephebos*, see Chantraine 1999, s.v. ἥβη. Chankowski 2010, 47–62, examines words formed from ἥβη (e.g. παρωθήβης/πρωθήβος, ἔξηβος, ἄνηβος).

11 For *hebe*, see Garland 1990, 166, 323–324; Golden 2015, 24.

12 Didymus gives *hebe* as fourteen and ἐπὶ διετέες ἥβῆσαι as sixteen respectively (Harp. s.v. ἐπὶ διετέες ἥβῆσαι; schol. Aeschin. 3.122), while the *Anecdota Graeca* (s.v. ἐπὶ διετέες ἥβῆσαι) has sixteen and eighteen. Golden 2015, 24, argues that ἐπὶ διετέες ἥβῆσαι originally referred to phratry admission but was later modified for deme registration after Cleisthenes’ reforms. Labarbe 1953, 378–379, infers from *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1609 that ἐπὶ διετέες ἥβῆσαι would have begun with the *koureion* at sixteen, but the age of admission into the phratry is uncertain (Lambert 1993, 161–178). Labarbe 1957, 67–75; Pélékidis 1962, 51–60, think that ἐπὶ διετέες ἥβῆσαι refers to *two* periods of adolescence, one ending with deme registration at eighteen and the other with the completion of the *ephebeia* at twenty (*contra* Chankowski 2010, 71–82, who rightly associates the phrase with the age of majority). But this would mean that *hebe* lasted four years (cf. McCulloch and Cameron 1980, 8). Vidal-Naquet’s 1986a, 108, view that youths in their ἐπὶ διετέες ἥβῆσαι were called *epheboi* before the age of eighteen is unjustified.

and -funded institution called the *ephebeia*.<sup>13</sup> Their primary military function was to garrison the countryside, the first year spent in Piraeus and the second on the Attic-Boeotian frontier. The Demos elected two physical trainers (*paidotribai*) and specialized weapons instructors (*didaskaloi*) to train them in skills relevant for patrolling Attica. They also elected a principal supervisor known as “the orderer (*kosmetes*)” and ten tribal “discipline masters (*sophronistai*)” to oversee the ephebes and their activities. The latter played an important role in the educational program, whose purpose was to teach them about the responsibilities of Athenian citizenship. At all times they were expected to prioritize their obligations to the city over their personal interests and were excluded from participating in the public life of Athens until they had completed their tour of duty. We can assume that the author had originally written this description in the late 330s and then revisions were made to the text in the early 320s to keep it up to date. Even if the treatise does not distinguish between past and present practices in the *ephebeia* (cf. πρότερον μὲν ... νῦν δ’ in 53.4), it is arguable that one later insertion was the change in venue for the military review to the Panathenaic Stadium, completed in the summer of 330 shortly before the Greater Panathenaea (*IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 352A [= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 351], dated to 330/29).<sup>14</sup>

Our knowledge of the *ephebeia* also comes from a corpus of thirty-one ephebic inscriptions which can be assigned to the Lycurgan era on the grounds of archon-date, distinctive format, find-spot, or prosopography.<sup>15</sup> For Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and his supporters, the epigraphic record provides a secure *terminus post quem* for the *ephebeia*’s date of origin. With no certainly-dated

13 The *Athenaion Politeia* does not use ἐφηβεία in its summary of the institution. The term first appears in *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1008, ll. 29–30, dated to 118/7, although the following restorations are likely in two third-century ephebic inscriptions: *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 986, ll. 17–18 (= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 700, l. 16), τῆι [βουλῆι περι τῆς ἐφηβείας] and *SEG* 26.98, l. 21, τὴν περι τῆς ἐφηβείας ἀπόδει]ξιν (restoration omitted in *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 1176, l. 21).

14 For the date of the *Athenaion Politeia*, see Rhodes 1981, 51–58. At 52 (cf. 495), he has a *terminus post quem* of ca. 335/4 for chapter forty-two. Dillery 2002 persuasively shows that the ephebes’ military review, held “in the theater ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2: ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ)” at the beginning of the second year, was not the theater of Dionysus but the theatre-shaped end of the Panathenaic Stadium.

15 In the Catalogue there is a comprehensive collection of the epigraphical sources for the Athenian *ephebeia* in the 330s and 320s. The inscriptions are arranged in approximate chronological order and abbreviated T1–T31, each with text, bibliography, commentary, and translation. This book uses “enrollment year” to refer to the archonship in which the ephebes had registered on the *lexiarchicon grammateion*, while “class of” is a synonym for “enrollment year”. If a date is given without reference to the enrollment year, it refers to the date of the inscriptions’ erection.

example of the corpus attested before the enrollment year of 334/3 (T<sub>1</sub>–T<sub>5</sub>), they argue that the *ephebeia* would have begun to function in the archonship of Ctesicles. They associate its creation with Epicrates' legislation "about the epebes" (Harp. s.v. Ἐπικράτης = Lyc. Fr. 5.3 Conomis).<sup>16</sup> The prevailing view, however, is that Epicrates would have reformed an already well-established institution, building upon whatever had existed previously.<sup>17</sup> By analogy to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, where there is solid evidence for the *ephebeia*'s development until the appearance of the last known epebic inscription in the third century CE, it is maintained that the same institution would have also passed through various changes in its organization down to Epicrates' "reform".<sup>18</sup> In this view the corpus is not decisive in determining the date of origin for the *ephebeia* but reflects one important stage in its development.

Prominent among the literary and epigraphic evidence adduced to show that the *ephebeia* was not a creation of Lycurgan Athens is Aeschines' *On The Embassy*, dated to 343, where he claims that "for having passed from the boys I became a *peripolos* of this land for two years, and I will provide for you my fellow *epheboi* and my officers as witnesses of these statements" (2.167).<sup>19</sup> Scholars have drawn attention to the similarity in the terminology of Aeschines and the *Athenaion Politeia* (i.e. *sunephebos* and two years as a *peripolos*), which should be understood as a fleeting reference to the *ephebeia*.<sup>20</sup> We can infer a date for his *peripoleia* from the *Against Timarchus*, delivered in 346/5, where, talking about youthful appearance in old age, he states that "Misgolas is one of these men. For he is my equal in age and a fellow *ephebos* and we are at present forty-five years of age" (1.49).<sup>21</sup> Despite chronological difficulties elsewhere in the speech, if Aeschines' assertion concerning his own age is credible, he was

16 Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1893, 193–194. Mitsos 1965 assigned T<sub>1</sub>, an end of service dedication honoring the *kosmetes* Autolycus of Thoricus, to the class of 361/0 by restoring Nicophemus as archon, but Mitchel 1975 shows that T<sub>1</sub> should be dated to the same enrollment year as T<sub>2</sub>, whose epebes were enrolled when Ctesicles was archon (see Catalogue *loc. cit.*).

17 Pélékidis 1962, 7–72, assumes that the *ephebeia* before Epicrates' law was identical to the Lycurgan institution. For criticism of this view, see Reinmuth 1966.

18 For the development of the Athenian *ephebeia* from the third century onwards, see Forbes 1929, 109–174; Pélékidis 1962, 159–209; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007.

19 ἐκ παίδων μὲν γὰρ ἀπαλλαγείς περίπολος τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐγενόμην δὺ ἔτη, καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν τοὺς συνεφήβους καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡμῶν μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. The manuscripts have συνάρχοντας, but Bekker rightly emended it to ἄρχοντας.

20 For Kellogg 2008, 357, Aeschines is "the earliest unambiguous reference" to the *ephebeia*.

21 τούτων δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ Μισγόλας. τυγχάνει μὲν γὰρ ἡλικιώτης ὦν ἐμὸς καὶ συνέφηβος, καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῖν τοῦτι πέμπτον καὶ τετταρακοστὸν ἔτος.

born in 391/0 or 390/89, had attained civic majority in 373/2 or 372/1, and his “tour of duty” occurred in 373/2–371/0 or 372/1–370/69.<sup>22</sup> The acceptance of an “Aeschinean” *ephebeia* has in turn led some scholars to conclude that the institution would have originated at around this time, while others have speculated about the existence of still earlier forms, looking back to the fifth century or even to the archaic period.<sup>23</sup>

Aeschines’ testimony at first sight seems convincing, even compelling, proof for the existence of an *ephebeia*-like organization dating around the second quarter of the fourth-century, in which eighteen-year-old Athenian citizens called ephebes were assigned duties like those described in the *Athenaion Politeia*. It hardly needs to be stated, however, that Aeschines, as an accomplished orator and politician hoping to defeat his bitter rival Demosthenes in the lawcourt, would not have refrained from distortion, omission, or falsehood to win his case.<sup>24</sup> While it would be wrong to dismiss arbitrarily his claims in *Against Timarchus* and in *On The Embassy*, some skepticism is warranted about the nature of his military service unless we can substantiate his representation of the “facts” concerning his time as an ephebe with relevant and credible evidence. We therefore need to determine whether his statements should be taken as unsubstantiated assertions or whether they are supported (in part or entirely) by the ancient sources. With this understood, let us first discuss the origin and usage of *ephebos* in the classical period.

- 
- 22 Aeschines is inconsistent in maintaining that Timarchus was both (1) younger than himself and Misgolas (1.49) and (2) was a *bouletes* when Nicophemus was archon (361/0) (1.109), which implies that Timarchus was in fact the same age as Aeschines and Misgolas (i.e. born ca. 390). Lewis 1958 emends πέμπτον και τετταρακοστόν το τέταρτον και πεντηκοστόν for a birth date of 398/7 or 397/6 because Apollonius’ *Life of Aeschines* (2.12) says that Aeschines was killed during Antipater’s purge in 322. But this proposed emendation points to 400/399 or 399/8. Munn 1993, 188, n. 5, suspects textual corruption (μθ’ το με’) and thinks that Apollonius is referring to the downfall of the oligarchy in 318, yielding 394/3 or 393/2. But Harris 1988 reaffirms Aeschines’ statement in *Against Timarchus* by pointing out that (1) Apollonius is an unreliable source for his age (cf. Worthington 1992, 264), and (2) Aeschines was lying about Timarchus’ age, but not his own, to make his charge of male prostitution plausible to the jury.
- 23 For speculation on the supposed “Archaic”, “Periclean”, and “Aeschinean” stages in the development of the *ephebeia*, see Reinmuth 1971, 123–138; Gerkhe 1997, 1072–1074; Chankowski 2010, 117–134, 140–142; Fisher 2017, 114–123.
- 24 For these issues, see E. Harris 1995, 7–16.

## 2.2 Origin of *Ephebos*<sup>25</sup>

Aeschines says that he became an *ephebos* “having passed from the boys (ἐκ παίδων ... ἀπαλλαθείς)” (2.167), which recalls the statement in the *Athenaion Politeia* that citizen-candidates not recognized as having turned eighteen years old “return again to the boys (ἀπέρχονται πάλιν εἰς παίδας).”<sup>26</sup> He was clearly using *ephebos* in the same technical sense (i.e. to denote a newly-enrolled citizen) as in the treatise and we can safely assume that he had completed the same multi-staged enrollment procedure.<sup>27</sup> His claim that he was called an *ephebos* when he had attained civic majority in the late 370s is *a priori* likely because the term first appears in the *Cyropaedeia*, where Xenophon describes the activities of youths called *epheboi* in his fictional Persian para-military educational system (1.2.4–13). This work was written in the late 360s or shortly afterwards.<sup>28</sup> If the introduction of *ephebos* had preceded Xenophon’s arrival in Athens in ca. 368, he would have adapted the term for the *Cyropaedeia* because it was familiar to his readership.<sup>29</sup> Aeschines himself may provide an important clue for the date and circumstances of the origin of *ephebos* in Athens. In *Against Timarchus* he refers to Misgolas as his ἡλικιώτης ... καὶ συνέφηβος (1.49). This combination is usually interpreted as “a comrade in the *ephebeia*”, implying that Misgolas was his fellow “age-mate” during his national service.<sup>30</sup> We can associate both terms, however, with the *Athenaion Politeia*’s account of how citizen-soldiers were drafted in Lycurgan Athens (53.4, 7):

(4) The arbitrators are those in their sixtieth year: this is clear from the archons and the eponymous heroes. For there are ten eponymous heroes of the tribes, but forty-two of the age-groups. Formerly, when ephebes were enrolled, they used to be written on whitened boards, and above

25 This section owes much to the work of Chankowski 2010, esp. 45–62, 71–82, 114–117, 135–139, even where there is a difference of opinion.

26 Aeschines also uses the same formula without *ephebos* for Timarchus and Demosthenes (1.40; 2.99). For ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐκ παίδων and other formulae, see Goldhill 1987, 67; Cudjoe 2010, 254.

27 But see Whitehead 1986, 100–101, on the possibility of procedural differences between 403/2 and the 330s.

28 Date of *Cyropaedeia*: Delebecque 1957, 404–409 (after 361/0); Gera 1993, 23–25 (late 360s); Mueller-Goldingen 1995, 45–55 (between 362/1–359/8).

29 For the date of Xenophon’s return to Athens, see Higgins 1977, 128.

30 Pélékidis 1962, 41; Burckhardt 1996, 26, 30; Fisher 2001, 182. For *sunephebos* on ephebic inscriptions dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Kennell 2006, 16. *Helikiotes* as “mate” or “companion”: Foxhall 1998, 58–59. Aeschines uses *helikiotes* in this sense in 1.42; 2.168, 184.

them the archon under whom when they were registered and the eponymous hero of the previous year's arbitrators. Now, however, they are recorded on a bronze *stele*, and the *stele* is erected in front of the Bouleuterion beside [the statues of] the eponymous heroes ... (7) They also use the eponymous heroes for military expeditions. Whenever they send out an age-group on campaign, they post a notice that indicates the men from which archon and eponymous hero that must serve.<sup>31</sup>

The author describes a conscription system in which citizens aged 18–59 were divided into forty-two *helikiai* or age-groups. Each *helikia* consisted of those who had become citizens in the same archon year and was designated by an eponymous hero (*eponumos*) distinct from the other *helikiai* and the eponymous heroes of the ten Cleisthenic tribes. Whenever troops were needed the *strategoi* would call up several *helikiai* for military service (e.g. Aeschin. 2.133; D.S. 18.10.2).<sup>32</sup> The eighteen-year-old citizens belonging to the first *helikia* were called *epheboi*, which was reassigned the name of the same eponymous hero formerly used by the outgoing *helikia* of citizens in their sixtieth year.<sup>33</sup> The corpus preserves one example in a dedication by the ephebes of Aiantis “to the hero Munichus (ἥρωι Μουνίχῳ)” (T12, l. 5). Clearly Munichus was the eponymous hero for the class of 333/2.<sup>34</sup> The change in the medium upon which the ephebes' names were recorded suggests that their association with conscription by age-groups would have antedated Lycurgan Athens: in the author's own time bronze *stelai* were erected in front of the Bouleuterion alongside the Eponymoi (figs. 3 and 8), whereas earlier whitened boards were used for this purpose.<sup>35</sup>

31 διαιτηται δ' εἰσὶν οἷς ἂν ἐξηκοστὸν ἔτος ᾗ. τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐπωνύμων. εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐπώνυμοι δέκα μὲν οἱ τῶν φυλῶν, δύο δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα οἱ τῶν ἡλικιῶν· οἱ δὲ ἔφηβοι ἐγγραφόμενοι πρότερον μὲν εἰς λελευκωμένα γραμματεῖα ἐνεγράφοντο, καὶ ἐπεγράφοντο αὐτοῖς ὅ τ' ἄρχων ἐφ' οὗ ἐνεγράφησαν, καὶ ὁ ἐπώνυμος ὁ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔ[τ]ει δεδαιτητικῶς, νῦν δ' εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν ἀναγράφονται, καὶ ἴστανται ἢ στήλην παρὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου παρὰ τοὺς ἐπώνυμους ... χρώνται δὲ τοῖς ἐπώνυμοις καὶ πρὸς τὰς στρατείας, καὶ ὅταν ἡλικίαν ἐκπέμπωσι, προγράφουσι, ἀπὸ τίνος ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐπωνύμου μέχρι τίνων δεῖ στρατεύεσθαι.

32 For conscription by age-groups, Christ 2001, 409–412. The terminology follows Christ 2001. Davidson 2006, 30, calls the *helikiai* “age-sets.” Kennell 2013, 6–24, maintains that there was no age-class system in classical Athens.

33 Citizens at sixty were no longer liable for conscription: Christ 2001, 404.

34 For the identification of Munichus as an *eponumos*, see Habicht 1961 (1962), 143–146. Vidal-Naquet 1999, 215–217, suggests that Panops was another (Hesych. s.v. Πάνοψ; Phot. s.v. Πάνοψ), as does Steinbock 2011, 289–290, for Codrus.

35 Pélékidis 1962, 73–74; Rhodes 1981, 592–593. For the triangular bases upon which the

Christ has shown that conscription by age-groups was introduced between 386 and 366. If the earlier system of drafting citizen-soldiers “from the *katalogos*” was discontinued by the time when Aeschines had come of age in 373/2 or 372/1, it would explain why he called Misgolas his *sunephebos* and *helikiotes*.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps his motive was to convince the jurors that there was indisputable evidence of Misgolas’ age on one of the whitened boards erected in the Agora.<sup>37</sup> Despite their difference in appearance (i.e. Aeschines’ grey hair as opposed to Misgolas’ youthful looks) both men were forty-five years old because their names were written on the same board, suggesting that they had served in the same *helikia*.<sup>38</sup> But if *ephebos* and conscription by age-groups were in use ca. 370, it stands to reason that a link existed between them.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, the reorganization of citizens of military age into forty-two *helikiai* would have necessitated the creation of permanent registers for each *helikia*.<sup>40</sup> For the first age-group, the Athenians had to find a term which designated an individual in his nineteenth year as a newly-enrolled citizen and/or a new citizen conscript. While Aeschines used *ephebos* in both technical senses, not all ephebes in his time were eligible for hoplite service, unlike in the Lycurgan era (see Chs. 5.1–2), with the result that many could not have been called up by the new conscription method because their names were not listed under an eponymous hero.<sup>41</sup>

It is unnecessary, then, to presuppose the existence of an “Aeschinean” *ephebeia* to explain why *ephebos* was a fourth-century phenomenon and first

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bronze *stelai* were erected, see Stroud 1979, 49–57. Davies 1994, 206, n. 18, suggests that they were bronze plates mounted on boards of wood or stone.

- 36 Christ 2001, 412–416. Andrewes 1981 dates the conscription reform between 352 and 348. It is uncertain which system was in use in 378/7 and 377/6 (D.S. 15.26.2; 15.29.7), but this does not invalidate the hypothesis for the late 370s. Chankowski 2010, 117–127, argues that ephebes were not a well-defined age-group before the passage of Epicrates’ legislation.
- 37 Aeschines is notable for his use of state documents adduced in support of his arguments: Thomas 1989, 69–71 (*contra* Lane-Fox 1994, 140–141).
- 38 Given the willingness of speakers to make easily falsifiable claims (cf. Harris 1988, 213), it is likely that Aeschines was lying about Misgolas being his *helikiotes* as part of his strategy to misrepresent Timarchus’ age to the jury.
- 39 Davidson 2006, 39, infers an archaic origin for *epheboi* and conscription by age-groups from the eighth epistle of Themistocles (addressed to Leager). But the value of the evidence is dubious because this work of unknown authorship probably dates ca. 100 CE (Doenges 1981, 49–63).
- 40 Compilation of registers: Christ 2001, 410. For the absence of a central *katalogos*: M.H. Hansen 1985, 83–87 (*contra* Jones 1957, 163). The compilation of the tribal *katalogoi* was based upon deme registers, which were not arranged by age-groups: Whitehead 1986, 35, n. 130 (*contra* van Effenterre 1976, 15).
- 41 For Aeschines as hoplite, see E. Harris 1995, 26. Exclusion of non-hoplites: Liddel 2007, 284–285; Kennell 2013, 21.

coined in Athens.<sup>42</sup> It bears repeating that ἔφηβος was formed directly from ἐπί and ἦβη. It was not derived from ἦβάω: the attestation of ἐφηβάω in earlier literature is not evidence for ephebes at this time.<sup>43</sup> Nor should we associate the adoption of conscription by age-groups with the *ephebeia*: the new system was an improvement over conscription by *katalogos*, which was “slow, complex, and open to abuse” (Ar. *Eq.* 1369–372; Lys. 9.4).<sup>44</sup> Aeschines’ testimony also suggests that he was among the first (or perhaps the second) generation of eighteen-year-old citizens to be called *epheboi* and that from the beginning *ephebos* was a word of institutional significance whose usage in the classical period was limited to the attainment of citizenship and military service. *Ephebos* thus stands in contrast to the inconsistency in usage characteristic of age-related terminology in classical Athens, especially to those broadly descriptive terms in common use to denote young persons. *Meirakion* and *neaniskos*, for instance, were so elastic in meaning that they could refer to children (*paides*) or adults (*andres*) depending on context (e.g. Aeschin. 1.171.3; Antiph. *Tetr.* 2.4.6; Pl. *Lys.* 204e–205b), whereas an *ephebos* was always the latter but never the former ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.1).<sup>45</sup>

Another context for *ephebos* was the ephebic oath, which Lycurgus proclaims as one of “the ancient laws of the city (τῆς πόλεως οἱ παλαιοὶ νόμοι)” (*Leoc.* 75–76). Lycurgus does not qualify what he means by “ancient,” but the oath clearly antedated Chaeronea. Demosthenes, recalling the events of 348, says that Aeschines read “the oath of the ephebes in the temple of Aglaurus (τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τῶν ἐφήβων ὄρκον)” while he was urging the Demos to act against Philip (19.303). Contemporary with Demosthenes is a *stele* bearing the oath (and the so-called “Oath of Plataea”) dedicated in the sanctuary of Ares

42 *Ephebos* unattested in the fifth century: Bowie 1993, 50; Sommerstein 1996, 55; Casey 2013, 421. For Jeanmarie 1939, 540, *ephebos* and the *ephebeia* originated at the same time.

43 For ἔφηβος and ἐφηβάω, see Kennell 2013, 18. Instances of ἐφηβάω: Aesch. *Sept.* 665; Hdt. 6.83.1; Eur. fr. 559 Kannicht (reading uncertain). McCulloch and Cameron 1980 argue that Aeschylus uses ἔξηβος as an allusion to ἔφηβος in *Septem* 11 but fail to mention that this appearance of ἔξηβος would be unique in Periclean Athens.

44 Crowley 2012, 27. Christ 2001, 416–420, sees a connection between the two, but more convincing is his suggestion that there was a need for a fairer and more efficient system of mobilization (cf. Blanshard 2010, 213–214).

45 Inconsistency in age-related terminology: Bryant 1907, 74–76; Garland 1990, 1–16; Golden 2015, 10–12. *Meirakion* and *neaniskos*: Cantrella 1990, 37–51. Neither was a synonym of *ephebos* although *neaniskos* appears twice in the corpus (see next section). A fragment of an unknown play attributed to the comic poet Menander lists *pais*, *ephebos*, *meirakion*, *aner*, and *geron* (fr. 494 K.-A.). This sequence is understandable if we consider that a *meirakion* could be older than an *ephebos*.

and Athena Areia at Acharnae.<sup>46</sup> Based on the letter forms and the sculptural relief, the inscription is usually dated to either the second or third quarters of the fourth century. The following omits the heading of the dedicator Dion, son of Dion, who was the priest of both cults (fig. 4):<sup>47</sup>

The ancestral oath of the ephebes, which the ephebes must swear. I shall not bring shame upon these sacred arms, nor shall I desert the man beside me, wherever I stand in the line. I shall fight in defence of things sacred and profane and I shall not hand the fatherland on lessened, but greater and better as far as I am able and with all. And I shall be obedient to whoever exercise power reasonably on any occasion and to the laws currently in force and any reasonably put into force in the future. If anyone destroys these, I shall not give them allegiance both as far as in my own power and in union with all. I shall honour the ancestral religion. Witnesses: Aglauros, Hestia, Enyo, Enyalios, Ares and Athena Areia, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, Hegemone, Herakles, and the boundaries of the fatherland, wheat, barley, vines, olive-trees, fig-trees.<sup>48</sup>

Trans. RHODES and OSBORNE 2003, no. 88, ll. 5–20

Scholars have traced the origins of the oath to the fifth-century if not earlier, on the grounds of its archaic language (modified in Pollux 8.105–106 and in Stobaeus 43.48) and faint verbal echoes of its provisions in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Thucydides.<sup>49</sup> We cannot assume, however, that the Athenians at this

46 The identification the “Oath of Plataea” is disputed. Siewert 1972 thinks that it is genuine, but Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 449, are unsure. van Wees 2006b argues for an origin in Archaic Sparta, specifically as the oath of the sworn bands, while Krentz 2007 considers it the “Oath of Marathon”.

47 The bibliography is immense: Robert 1938, 297–307; Daux 1971; Rhodes and Osborne 2003 no. 88; Kellogg 2013a. Date of stele: Daux (second quarter), Robert (third quarter), and Humphreys 2004, 190–191, (after 335). Fisher 2017, 114, thinks that the *stele* was set up “shortly before or after Epicrates’ law”. For the relief, see Lawton 1995, 155, who favors Daux’s date.

48 ὄρκος ἐφήβων πάτριος, ὃν ὁμνύναι δεῖ τοὺς ἐφήβους· οὐκ αἰσχυνῶ τὰ ἱερά ὅπλα οὐδὲ λείψω τὸν παραστάτην ὅπου ἂν στειχῆσω· ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ ὀσίων, καὶ ὅκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω τὴν πατρίδα, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀρείω κατὰ τε ἑμαυτὸν καὶ μετὰ ἀπάντων, καὶ εὐηκοήσω τῶν αἰεὶ κρανόντων ἐμφρόνως καὶ τῶν θεσμῶν τῶν ἰδρυμένων καὶ οὐς ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν ἰδρῦσονται ἐμφρόνως· ἐὰν δὲ τις ἀναίρει, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω κατὰ τε ἑμαυτὸν καὶ μετὰ πάντων, καὶ τιμήσω ἱερά τὰ πάτρια. Ἰστορες θεοὶ Ἄγλαυρος, Ἑστία, Ἐνυώ, Ἐνυάλιος, Ἄρης καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀρεία, Ζεὺς, Θάλλω, Αὐξώ, Ἡγεμόνη, Ἡρακλῆς, ὄροι τῆς πατρίδος, πυροὶ, κριθαί, ἄμπελοι, ἑλάαι, συκαί.

49 Archaic language: Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 445–446; Chankowski 2010, 127–128; Blok 2011, 244 (on ἱερῶν καὶ ὀσίων). Suspected verbal echoes (including Aristophanes and

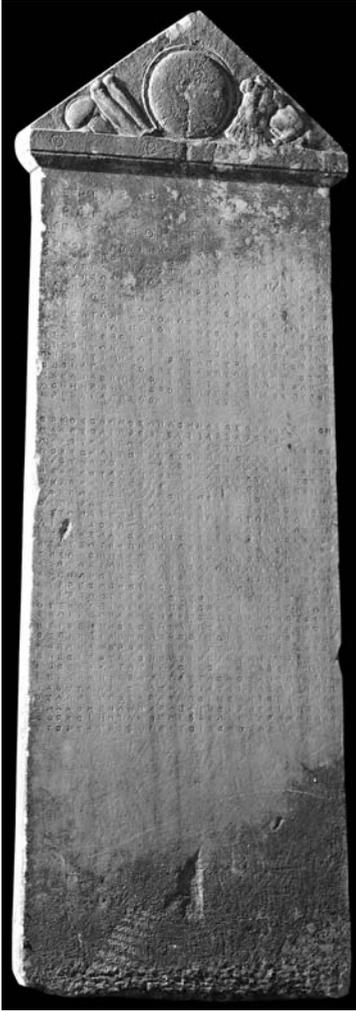


FIGURE 4  
The Oath of the Ephebes and the Oath of Plataea,  
found at Acharnae  
BY COURTESY OF THE ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE  
D'ATHÈNES, PHOTO COLLET

time would have called the oath ὄρκος ἐφήβων because of the interval between the oath's suspected beginnings and the likely first appearance of ephebes.<sup>50</sup> We should recognize the title (ll. 5–6) as a fourth-century innovation but the

Lysias): Pélékidis 1962, 24 (*Ar. Nub.* 1220; *Aves.* 1451); Siewert 1977, 104–107 (*Thuc.* 1.144; 2.37.3; *Soph. Ant.* 663–671; *Aesch. Pers.* 956–962); Loraux 1986, 202, 305 (*Lys.* 13.63; *Ar. Pax.* 596–598). See also Finkleberg 2008 who adds *Pl. Apol.* 28d6–29a1. For a range of archaic and classical dates, see Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 447–448; Krentz 2007, 740; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 28–29; Kellogg 2013a, 264, n. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Russell 1995, 203–204, suggests that *Plut. Alc.* 15.4, where Alcibiades advised the Athe-

wording of the oath itself (ll. 6–20) as “ancestral” in origin. When Dion had obtained his text of the oath, perhaps from the Metroon, he used ὄρκος ἐφήβων as the title because it reflected contemporary usage (i.e. τῶν ἐφήβων ὄρκον in Dem. 19.303).<sup>51</sup> It is claimed that the oath’s antiquity is strong evidence for an early *ephebeia*.<sup>52</sup> But Siewert, rightly, considered them separate issues.<sup>53</sup> The oath was concerned with the traditional obligations of citizenship: obedience to the laws, officials, and institutions of the cities, bravery in battle, defense of the fatherland, and honoring the ancestral cults (cf. Lycurgus’ paraphrase in *Leoc.* 76–78). Nothing in the text refers to the *ephebeia* as we know it from the Lycurgan era. This is not to say that the oath did not play an important role: we can interpret the “visitation of the sanctuaries” in the light of its provisions (see Ch. 6.3). If there was a chronological gap between the origin of the oath and the origin of *ephebos*, perhaps there was a similar relationship between the origin of the oath and the origin of the *ephebeia*.<sup>54</sup>

Still another usage of *ephebos* reflects the long-standing tripartite division of the city’s hoplite forces by age. Thucydides twice refers to citizens called *neotatoi* and *presbutatoi*, presumably those aged under twenty and those aged forty and over, whose military responsibilities were ordinarily limited to home-guard duties. Under exceptional circumstances they were called-up for campaigns beyond the frontier (1.105.3–6; 2.13.6–7).<sup>55</sup> The fourth century witnessed a change in terminology for “the youngest men” with no apparent change in military function, since Aeschines’ activities as an *ephebe* were confined to Attica.<sup>56</sup> Significantly, in *On the Embassy* he uses *sunepheboi* with *duo* for the age-category (2.167), while the pairing of *helikiotes* and *sunephebos* in *Against Timarchus* suggests that he means the first *helikia* (1.49). Exactly why *epheboi* replaced *neotatoi* is unclear. Perhaps it was to avoid using two terms for the same group of *ephebes*. We can say that the meaning of *ephebos* was “extended”

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nians to keep to the oath (τὸν ἐν Ἀγραύλου προβαλλόμενον αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ὄρκον ἔργῳ βεβαιούην), was an *apologia* written in his own lifetime or in the fourth century. The latter is more likely.

51 For the Metroon as the likely repository for the “Oath of Plataea”, see Krentz 2007, 740–741 (building on Sickinger 1999, 35–61). The addition of titles to both oaths and other editorial attention is discussed in Siewert 1977, 109–110; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 447.

52 Kellogg 2013a, 265.

53 Siewert 1977, 102.

54 Robertson 1976, 21, thinks that the oath and the *ephebeia* did not predate ca. 370.

55 Age of *neotatoi* and *presbutatoi*: van Wees 2004, 241–242.

56 In Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* the Persian youths are designated as *epheboi* for ten years from age 16 or 17 and guard the government buildings and the countryside during this period (1.2.4–13).

to the second *helikia*, although citizens were technically called *epheboi* only in the archon year in which they had enrolled on the deme register and had passed the *dokimasia* by the Council.<sup>57</sup>

In sum, *ephebos* had come into use by the time of Aeschines' civic majority ca. 370. It is thought that *ephebos* and the *ephebeia* were inextricably intertwined in fourth-century Athens because the term meant "the one who serves in the *ephebeia*".<sup>58</sup> It is also thought that the "Aeschinean" institution would have had an exclusively military focus, Epicrates' law (Harp. s.v. Ἐπικράτης) having introduced an educational component and various refinements to its military function.<sup>59</sup> The central issue, then, is not whether Aeschines was an ephebe, but whether he had served in an institution which was similar but not identical to the one described in the *Athenaion Politeia*. If so, we should expect evidence of some kind, however scattered, ambiguous, and difficult to interpret, for those military practices later associated with ephebes in Lysurgan Athens. The next two sections will therefore assume the existence of an "Aeschinean" *ephebeia*, where ephebes would have received military training and regularly patrolled the countryside, but do not assume the existence of the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistai* or of any practice connected to an ephebic *paideia*.<sup>60</sup>

### 2.3 Training before Chaeronea?

The Athenian *ephebeia* is notable for its system of peacetime military training. Scholars claim to have found traces of this ephebic training program before the Lysurgan era, which, if correct, would help to justify the institution's existence at this time. While they assume that ephebes were taught how to fight in the hoplite phalanx, they disagree over to what extent other aspects of their

57 Diodorus' remark that "even the young (*neoi*)" were included among the full levy (*pandemei*) of citizens sent out to the Peloponnese in 369 (15.63.2; cf. 18.46.3–7), which attests to the rarity of the participation of those under twenty on foreign campaigns, does not suggest that both terms would have coexisted for a time.

58 For the view that the existence of *ephebos* presupposes the existence of the *ephebeia*, see Winkler 1990, 25; Chankowski 1997, 338–340; Kennell 2013, 18. See also Ch. 5.2 for further problems with this formulation.

59 Mitchel 1975, 233; Faraguna 1992, 276; Hunter 1994, 152.

60 Reinmuth 1971, 127–133, maintains that the *kosmetes* was the head official of the *ephebeia* ca. 370, but the *sophronistes* was an innovation of Lysurgan Athens. He, however, accepts Mitsos' date of 361/0 for T1. For the introduction of the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistes* as part of Epicrates' "reform", see Burckhardt 1996, 32–33; Fisher 2001, 65–66.

training would have resembled the *Athenaion Politeia's* brief description (42.3). Important differences include if and when instruction in non-hoplite weapons (i.e. the bow, the javelin, and the catapult) was introduced, along with the *paidotribai* and the *didaskaloi*, whether the program was formally organized and/or mandatory, whether the ephebes were maintained at public expense, or whether *thetes* also participated.<sup>61</sup> The argument for the collective training of ephebes before Chaeronea depends upon the interpretation of Xenophon's comments in the *Poroi*, dated to 355/4.<sup>62</sup> In book four the author, having discussed how the exploitation of the silver mines at Laurium would yield higher revenues for the city, suggests the military advantages to be gained from this windfall:

(51) If the things which I have spoken of are carried out, I claim that not only would the city be better off financially, but would also become more obedient, more disciplined, and more efficient in war. (52) For those assigned to physical training in the gymnasia would do this far more attentively by receiving maintenance more than when under the gymnasiarchs in the torch-races: and those [instructed to] garrison duty in the fortresses and those [instructed to] serve as peltasts and [instructed to] patrol the countryside would perform more of all these things, if maintenance were given for each of the tasks.<sup>63</sup>

Gauthier was the first to associate this passage with the *ephebeia*: earlier scholarship had rejected the connection.<sup>64</sup> He argues that the οἱ ταχθέντες must be ephebes because they alone of Athenian citizens were “instructed” to exercise in the gymnasium (γυμνάζεσθαι) and because their activities were similar to those undertaken by ephebes in the 330s and 320s. In his view Xenophon's concern was how to improve the *ephebeia*. Specifically, his recommendation was that if the ephebes were to receive state-subsidized *trophe*, they would train with greater dedication and perform their garrison duties more effi-

61 See, for example, the contrasting reconstructions of Ober 1985a, 90–95; Sekunda 1990, 151–153; Winkler 1990, 28–31; Chankowski 2010, 125–126.

62 For the date, see Jansen 2007, 50–56, on Xen. *Poroi*. 5.9 (cf. D.S. 16.23).

63 Πραχθέντων γε μὴν ὦν εἴρηκα ξύμφημι ἐγὼ οὐ μόνον ἂν χρήμασιν εὐπορωτέραν τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐπειθεστέραν καὶ εὐτακτοτέραν καὶ εὐπολεμωτέραν γενέσθαι. οἳ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι πολὺ ἂν ἐπιμελέστερον τοῦτο πράττειεν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντες πλείω ἢ ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι γυμνασιαρχούμενοι· οἳ τε φρουρεῖν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις οἳ τε πελτάζειν καὶ περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν πάντα ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἂν πράττειεν, ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τῶν ἔργων τῆς τροφῆς ἀποδιδομένης.

64 Bryant 1907, 86; Lofberg 1925, 331; Reinmuth 1952, 37.

ciently.<sup>65</sup> For the proponents of an early *ephebeia*, Gauthier's analysis provides the crucial link between Aeschines' testimony in the 370s and the *Athenaion Politeia* in the 330s.<sup>66</sup> Not only is it considered "nearest to being decisive on the issue of pre-Lycurgan ephebic training",<sup>67</sup> but scholars have incorporated the *Poroi* in their reconstructions of an early *ephebeia*.<sup>68</sup>

But if Xenophon had the *ephebeia* in mind, his use of οἱ ταχθέντες is puzzling. The same author had called the Persian youths ἔφηβοι in the *Cyropaedia* (1.2.8–12), a work certainly composed before the *Poroi*.<sup>69</sup> Gauthier's explanation is that *ephebos* had an ambiguous meaning at this time. His evidence is a dedication of Acamantis where *epheboi* and *neaniskoi* both appear in the same sentence (T1, ll. 15–17: ὁ κοσμητῆς τῶν ἐφ[ή]βων Ἀυτόλυκος κ[α]λῶς καὶ φιλοτιμῶς ἐπεμε]λήθη τῶν νεανίσκ[ων ...]).<sup>70</sup> But his argument depends on Mitsos' incorrect date of 361/0 rather than Mitchel's 334/3,<sup>71</sup> and overlooks T9, a Leontid dedication erected in 331/0 (Col. I, ll. 4–7), which says ἐπειδὴ Φιλόθεος ὁ σωφ[ρον]ιστῆς τῆς Λεωντίδος φυλῆς τ[ῶν ἐ]φ[ή]βων ἀπαγγέλλει περὶ τῶν ν[εαν]ίσκων. For Pélékidis, the inclusion of *neaniskos* can be attributed to the desire on the part of the cutter to avoid the repetition of *ephebos* within the same clause. They were not synonyms, although used interchangeably in each inscription.<sup>72</sup> It also bears repeating that *ephebos* is notable among the terminology used for the young because it was *not* loosely defined. The implication is that Xenophon's οἱ ταχθέντες was intended to refer to Athenian citizens generally (cf. *Por.* 1.1, 4.33, 6.4).

Another problem is how to reconcile the *Poroi* with Xenophon's statements in the *Memorabilia* on the Athenian attitude towards the value of training as a preparation for war. He makes Socrates complain to the younger Pericles "when will the Athenians train their bodies in this way, they themselves who not only neglect their fitness, but also mock those who attend to it?" (3.5.15). Socrates also castigates a certain Epigenes for being unfit, saying that "because the city does not offer public training, you should not have an excuse for neglecting it

65 Gauthier 1976, 190–195.

66 Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 122, n. 1; Burckhardt 1996, 30; Pontier 2006, 393; Schorn 2012, 708–709.

67 Winkler 1990, 30.

68 Reconstructions: Sekunda 1990, 151–153; Fisher 1998a, 90–91; Chankowski 2010, 117–120.

69 Gray 2010, 6, observes that the works of the Xenophontic corpus "cannot be arranged in a definitive chronological sequence", but it is generally recognized that the *Poroi* was written last (see Huss 2010, 278, n. 64).

70 Gauthier 1976, 193–194. Cf. Chankowski 2010, 120–121.

71 Gauthier's view of a pre-Lycurgan *ephebeia* follows Reinmuth 1971, 123–138, whose arguments also depend upon an early date for T1.

72 Pélékidis 1962, 126–127. T1 and T9 do not support the contention of Davidson 2006, 47, that *neaniskoi* were ephebes serving in the second year of the *ephebeia*.

in private, but for attending to it no less carefully yourself" (3.12.5). To be sure, we *could* assume that the program was introduced sometime after the *Memorabilia*. Xenophon then made his proposal about *trophe* in the *Poroi*, which the Athenians later implemented in Epicrates' "reform" of the *ephebeia*. But we do not know when the *Memorabilia* was completed.<sup>73</sup> If the work was written in the late 360s, the program would have existed for about a half a decade, whereas a date of 355/4 would render this scenario chronologically implausible.<sup>74</sup> Even if an ephebic training program *did* exist in some form decades before the 360s, whose characteristics can be reconciled with the *Memorabilia*, we would still have to explain the absence of positive evidence for such a program at Athens, especially from contemporary writers who discuss the state of military training in classical Greece.<sup>75</sup>

It is better to interpret the *Poroi* as Xenophon's answer to his observation in the *Memorabilia* that Athens did *not* train its citizens for war.<sup>76</sup> Few outside of the leisured and wealthy elite, it seems, would have regularly exercised in the gymnasium in the classical period.<sup>77</sup> His aim was to provide *trophe* at public expense, thus permitting more citizens from a lower social background to frequent the gymnasium and to carry out their newly imposed physical exercises. He hoped that they would attain a superior standard of fitness to those citizens who competed in the *lampadedromia* or torch race at various festivals. The *lampadephoroi* are mentioned because they practiced rigorously under the supervision of tribal gymnasiarchs (Ar. *Ran.* 1087–1088; IG 11<sup>2</sup> 1250 [350s or 340s]), liturgists who supplied *trophe* and defrayed other expenses. While some were probably of ephebic age—Aristophanes says that torch races were undertaken ἐπὶ νεότητος or "during youth" (*Vesp.* 1196)—just as in post-Chaeronea Athens, it does not invalidate the hypothesis that the οἱ ταχθέντες were not exclusively ephebes but citizens of military age or that the objective of his proposal was to improve the fitness of the Demos generally.<sup>78</sup>

73 Gray 2010, 7 and n. 32, has a *terminus post quem* of 360, while Maier 1913, 71, favors the late 360s and Delebecque 1957, 477–495, prefers 355/4.

74 van Wees 2004, 94, dates the program to ca. 360.

75 *Testimonia* collected in Pritchett 1974, 208–231; 1985, 61–65. On military training in Athens and elsewhere, see van Wees 2004, 89–95; Lendon 2005, 91–114; Hunt 2007, 132–137.

76 Pontier 2006, 393, sees the *Poroi* as recalling the Persian educational system in the *Cyropaedia*. We should note, however, Xenophon's remark that "very few men train their bodies [for war] in each city (σωμασκοῦσιν γὰρ μὴν μάλα ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ἑκάστη πόλει)" (*Hell.* 6.1.5).

77 Few outside the elite: Pritchard 2003; 2013, 34–83. For a summary of the controversy whether gymnastic participation was the exclusive preserve of the upper class in Athens, see Kyle 2015, 200–203.

78 It is thought that all ephebes were required to train for and participate in the tribal torch

We can attribute Xenophon's failure to convince the Demos to the prevailing ethos of hoplite amateurism which regarded military training as a private and informal affair and denied that it was essential for success on the battlefield.<sup>79</sup> Socrates, for instance, lectured Epigenes on the dangers of unfitness, but the decision to train was the youth's alone (Xen. *Mem.* 3.12.1–2). While some (i.e. upper-class) ephebes would have engaged in regular physical exercise, the remainder were too busy earning a living to spend much time in the gymnasium (cf. Pl. *Leg.* 831c–832a). If we can trust his rival Demosthenes, Aeschines, whose father Atrometus was a schoolmaster of modest means, worked as an undersecretary to public officials after his deme registration (18.261; 19.246). Aeschines himself says that he and his brothers did exercise in the public gymnasium and participate in athletic pursuits (1.135, 2.149, 3.216), but these activities probably date to his admission into the ranks of the leisured elite in the 340s rather than to the late 370s.<sup>80</sup> If *neos* is taken literally in the *Vitae decem oratorum*, he could not have been under twenty years of age when he began training at the gymnasium ([Plut.] *X Orat.* 840a; cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 264 p. 490b).<sup>81</sup>

#### 2.4 Aeschines' *Peripoleia*

Another argument for an early *ephebeia* is premised upon Aeschines' statement that "I was a *peripolos* of this land for two years (περίπολος τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐγενόμην δὺ' ἔτη)" (2.167).<sup>82</sup> The prevailing view is that *On the Embassy* is firm

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paces (Gauthier 1976, 192; Sekunda 1990, 158), but it is disputed whether only ephebes were *lampadephoroi* (Humphreys 2004, 115, n. 14; Pritchard 2013, 78). Moreover, to assume that the οἱ ταχθέντες and the ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι γυμνασιαρχούμενοι are the same group is belied by the fact that Xenophon is comparing the former to the latter. A discussion of the *lampadedromia* in Lycurgan Athens, its role in the *ephebeia*, and the gymnasium and its duties, is deferred to Ch. 5.6.

79 Amateurism: Thuc. 2.39.1, 4; Arist. *Pol.* 1338b; Pl. *Resp.* 374b–d. This would explain why Plato expected ridicule from his readers for his recommendation that the citizens of his ideal state should practice their martial skills in peacetime, including exercise in heavy armor "no less than once each month" (*Leg.* 829d). For badly-attended military reviews in Athens, see Cawkwell 1972, 262, n. 4, on Isoc. 7.82.

80 On Aeschines' early career and family background, see E. Harris 1995, 21–30; Fisher 2001, 8–20; Roisman and Worthington 2015, 175–178. For Aeschines and athletics, see Ober 1989a, 282–283; Pritchard 2013, 69–70.

81 νέος δ' ὦν καὶ ἐρρωμένος τῷ σώματι περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἐπόνει.

82 The *Vitae decem oratorum* paraphrases Aeschines but calls him a *meirakion*: "and while he was a young man he carried out his military service among the *peripoloi* (καὶ μεράκιον ὦν ἐστρατεύετο ἐν τοῖς <περι>πόλοις)" (840b).

evidence for the existence of a state-organized system of regular military service for ephebes ca. 370. By analogy to the *Athenaion Politeia* it is assumed that Aeschines was deployed at Piraeus in the first year and spent the second guarding the Attic-Boeotian frontier (42.3–4). Aeschines is thus the example which confirms the rule. Not only does his two-year period of service reflect “the normal arrangement” before the Lycurgan era but he also “treats his service as routine and does not seek special credit for it”.<sup>83</sup> This system of garrison duty and patrolling the countryside continued operating down to Epicrates’ “reform” of the *ephebeia*, when certain modifications were made to improve further the ephebes’ contribution to territorial defense.<sup>84</sup>

Two objections can be raised to this interpretation. First, Aeschines includes his *peripoleia* as the first example of an impressive military record in the service of Athens (2.167–169), whose purpose was to refute Demosthenes’ sarcastic reference to him as a “wondrous soldier” (19.113) and to demonstrate his patriotism by emphasizing his bravery in combat.<sup>85</sup> But he does not explain what was so meritorious about his military conduct as an ephebe, in contrast to his exploits as an older citizen at the Nemean Ravine and in the battles of Mantinea and of Tamynae. If a two-year period of garrison duty for qualified ephebes was commonplace before the 330s, it is hard to understand why he mentioned it in his military autobiography.<sup>86</sup> Aeschines also corroborates his claim by calling witnesses, namely those *archontes* and *sunepheboi* who had served alongside him ca. 370 (καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν τοὺς συνεφήβους καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡμῶν μάρτυρας παρέξομαι). The need for these witnesses suggests that the jury would have regarded his statement with some skepticism, if not open incredulity, unless they testified on his behalf.<sup>87</sup>

83 Christ 2001, 416.

84 For this view, see van Wees 2004, 94; Chankowski 2010, 114–115; Roisman and Worthington 2015, 178.

85 For Aeschines’ response to Demosthenes, see Burckhardt 1996, 237–239; Paulsen 1999, 406–409.

86 Kennell 2013, 21, thinks that “Aeschines draws attention to his two years as an ephebe, even providing witnesses to support his contention, indicates ephebic service was not yet the norm for everyone”. But even if citizen participation in the “Aeschinean” *ephebeia* was less extensive than in the Lycurgan era, it does not follow that the Demos would have been unfamiliar with how the institution functioned in the 340s.

87 Harpocration (s.v. *περίπολος*) took Aeschines’ witnesses as proof that his ephebic service was unusual because he was a *peripolos* for two years instead of the one year in the *Athenaion Politeia*. Cabanes 1991, 212, accepting this interpretation, argues that Aeschines had extended his time in the *ephebeia* by one more year. But ephebes were probably *peripoloi* in both years of the *ephebeia* in the Lycurgan era (see Ch. 3.3).

To determine what was so praiseworthy (in the author's view) and so atypical (from the jurors' perspective) about Aeschines' "two-year *peripoleia*", we can compare his testimony to three passages which may refer to the deployment of the youngest citizens in pre-Lycurgan Athens. The most informative is Pericles' review of Athenian military strength at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, on the eve of the first Spartan invasion of Attica, where he states how the city's hoplite forces were organized for the protection of the homeland (2.13.6–7):

There are thirteen thousand hoplites without the sixteen thousand in the fortresses and along the battlements. For so many were guarding at first whenever the enemy made their invasion, both from the oldest and the youngest citizens, and from the metics as many as were hoplites.<sup>88</sup>

It was already established military practice in 431 to conscript the *neotatoi*, alongside the *presbutatoi* and metics, as a group whenever the Athenians were threatened by a full-scale enemy invasion in wartime. They manned the defensive infrastructure in Attica, guarding the fortified demes and border forts (*phrouria*) and the Athens-Piraeus enceinte (*epalxis*). Their role was to reinforce temporarily those already deployed at the garrisons (cf. Thuc. 2.24.1; Lys. 12.40; 14.35), thus improving the defensive potential of the *polis*.<sup>89</sup> The mobilization of the *neotatoi* was probably infrequent in the Archidamian war, limited to the five Spartan invasions between 431 and 425. Their length of service would have coincided with the duration of the invasion, which lasted from fifteen to forty days (Thuc. 2.57.2; 4.6.2).<sup>90</sup> Thucydides says nothing about the contribution of the *neotatoi* to rural defense during the Decelean War (413–404), but (at the minimum) they would have guarded the city walls on those occasions when Agis had led the Spartan army into the Athenian plain (Thuc. 8.71; D.S. 13.72.2 Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.33).<sup>91</sup>

This practice continued unchanged into the fourth century, when the Athenians and the Thebans were "rivals on the borders (*ὄμοροι ἀντίπαλοι*)" (Xen.

88 χρήμασι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐθάρσυνεν αὐτούς, ὀπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίουσ καὶ μυρίουσ εἶναι ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑπαλιξὶν ἐξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων. τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμοιοι ἐσβάλοισιν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὀπλίται ἦσαν.

89 Permanent garrisons in Attica from the Peloponnesian war onwards: Munn 1993, 7–11; Hanson 1998, 89–91; Daly 2001, 4–17. For a contrary view, see Ober 1985a, 193–195.

90 These invasions are discussed in Hanson 1998, 132–136.

91 For the Decelean War, see Hanson 1998, 153–173.

*Hipp.* 7.1). In *Against Meidias* Demosthenes alleges that the defendant had criticized the composition of the Assembly in 348.<sup>92</sup> Meidias apparently said that the meeting was attended by (1) those who had not accompanied the army to Euboea and (2) those who had abandoned the fortresses (τὰ φρούρι' ἦσαν ἔρημα λελοιπότες) (21.193). The ephebes would have belonged to the second group, included among “the men of such kind (τοιούτοί τινες)” rather than the *xenoi* and the *choreutai*.<sup>93</sup> Perhaps they were mobilized for garrison duty because the Athenians feared Theban intentions while their forces were fully engaged in support of Plutarch, the tyrant of Eretria, an understandable precaution after the loss of Oropus in 366.<sup>94</sup> Five years later (343) an expedition was sent to Panactum to reinforce the garrison, probably in response to the threat of Theban encroachment on the Skourta plain (Dem. 19.326).<sup>95</sup> In Demosthenes’ *Against Conon* the plaintiff Ariston recalls a violent altercation with Conon’s sons at the fort, saying that “two years ago I came out to Panactum when we were ordered to carry out guard duty (ἐξῆλθον ἔτος τουτὶ τρίτον εἰς Πάνακτον φρουρᾶς ἡμῖν προγραφείσης)” (54.3).<sup>96</sup> If Ariston was aged under twenty—he was clearly young (54.1: ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν; cf. Lys. 9.14)—it would follow that the ephebes were conscripted alongside their older compatriots to safeguard Panactum (and later Drymus: Dem. 19.326) and would explain why he calls them *stratiotai* and why his commander was the *taxiarchos* (Dem. 54.5).<sup>97</sup>

These examples suggest that the youngest citizens would have functioned as a homeguard whenever there was an imminent threat to the city’s security. Between these periodic events they were not liable for conscription. Persuasive evidence that garrison duty *was* intermittent before the 330s comes from

92 For the date of the Assembly and the circumstances of the trial, see MacDowell 1990, 1–28.

93 Identification as ephebes: Ober 1985a, 99; Wilson 2000, 340, n. 125; Daily 2001, 429, n. 732. Active *choreutai* were exempt from service: MacDowell 1989, 70–72, on Dem. 21.15, 39.16. Winkler 1990 argues that all dramatic *choreutai* were ephebes who played a central role at the City Dionysia. But there is no evidence for the attendance of ephebes as a group at this festival until the Hellenistic Period (*SEG* 15.104 [127/6], l. 25). As Rhodes 2003, 109, observes, Winkler’s theory would work if he claimed that the ephebic chorus was “appropriate”.

94 For Phocion’s expedition to Euboea, see Brunt 1969, 247–251; Tritle 1988, 79–89. Athenian fear of Theban aggression: MacDowell 1990, 404. Theban occupation of Oropus: Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1; Dem. 19.325–326.

95 For a land-dispute with the Thebans as the likely reason for the expedition, see Ober 1985a, 217, n. 20, on Plut. *Phoc.* 9.4; Munn and Munn 1989, 100.

96 Ariston’s *phroura* is usually associated with Dem. 19.326 (Ober 1985a, 98; MacDowell 2000, 348), but Cary and Reid 1985, 69, suggest 357 as an alternative date (*schol.* Dem. 21.193).

97 It is assumed that Ariston’s account is incompatible with the description of the *ephebeia* in the *Athenaion Politeia* (e.g. Carey and Reid 1985, 69; Burckhardt 1996, 244, n. 329).

the evidence compiled by Bryant which shows that wealthy youths aged 18–19 were engaged in various time-consuming activities unconnected with military service.<sup>98</sup> In Xenophon's *Memorabilia* Socrates tries to keep the headstrong but foolhardy Glaucon, who is “not yet twenty” from once again making himself a laughing-stock in the Assembly (3.6.1). Among his many deficiencies in areas of knowledge crucial for any statesman to possess was his lack of understanding for the function of the garrison fortresses in Attica and his failure to comprehend their purpose (3.6.10–11). While Xenophon does not explain Glaucon's ignorance, it is likely that he had never served on the frontier because there had been no border incident serious enough to conscript citizens of ephebic age for military service. His inexperience may not have been atypical among ephebes in fourth-century Athens.<sup>99</sup>

Aeschines, however, was no Glaucon. If the preceding discussion is correct, he was called-up at least twice as an ephebe. After each *peripoleia* he would have returned to his occupation as undersecretary (Dem. 18.261).<sup>100</sup> Yet he, as we have seen, says “I was a *peripolos* of this land for two years”. His choice of words suggests that he had not distinguished himself from his fellow ephebes (cf. 2.168–169). If he had received praise and/or an award for bravery from his commanders or he had attained a rank within the military hierarchy, we can safely assume that he would have mentioned them.<sup>101</sup> Nor did his service as a *peripolos* have the same prestige as a volunteer among the *epilektoi*.<sup>102</sup> Instead his claim for distinction was based upon the length of his “*peripoleia*”, implying that he had exceptionally spent two whole years on guard duty. Aeschines, anticipating a skeptical reaction from the jury, summoned *archontes* and *sunepheboi* as witnesses to verify that he had indeed patrolled the countryside for this time, carefully omitting the important fact that his age-group would have been conscripted for *peripoleiai* of limited dura-

98 Bryant 1907, 81–84. Golden 1979, 29, n. 21, suggests that some may have served as cavalrymen. For other examples, see also Brenot 1920, 23–24; Forbes 1929, 118, 122–123; Sommerstein 1996, 55–56.

99 According to Demosthenes, there was no Athenian expedition like Panactum and Drymus in the Sacred War (355–346) (19.326).

100 Reinmuth 1952, 35; 1971, 126, 129, reconciles Demosthenes' statement with the *ephebeia* by assuming that Aeschines' military service was intermittent over a two-year period.

101 Some reject Bekker's emendation of ἀρχοντας in favor of συνάρχοντας in the manuscripts, maintaining that Aeschines was an ephebic *taxiarchos* or *lochagos* (e.g. Mitchel 1961, 357, n. 13; Sekunda 1992, 329) or a *peripolarchos* (de Marcellus 1994, 36). Fisher 2001, 13, n. 41, is rightly skeptical.

102 For the *epilektoi* in Athens and Aeschines' experience as an *epilektos* at the battle of Tamy-nae see Tritle 1989.

tion. Understandably he did not want to expose this deception by dwelling in detail on his military service. His attempt to mislead the jury was aided by the passage of time because most Athenians would have had an imperfect recollection of events on the Attic-Boeotian border antedating *On the Embassy* by more than a quarter of a century.<sup>103</sup>

## 2.5 Aeschines without the *Ephebeia*

In Lycurgan Athens we are told that ephebes “are exempt from all [financial] impositions; and they can neither be sued nor initiate a lawsuit, so that they shall have no excuse for absence [from the *ephebeia*], except concerning an estate, an heiress, and if he inherits a priesthood in his *genos*” ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5).<sup>104</sup> If we accept the arguments presented in this chapter, which suggest that the *ephebeia* did not antedate 334/3 (thus confirming Wilamowitz-Moellendorff’s hypothesis), it would follow that ephebes before its creation were not subject to these restrictions. This is confirmed by Demosthenes, who says that Aeschines had worked as a *hypogrammateus* or undersecretary immediately after his deme registration (18.261; cf. 19.237).<sup>105</sup> There is no reason to think that Aeschines was exceptional. Ephebes in his time would have lived in a manner consistent with the individual liberty (*eleutheria*) characteristic of citizens in democratic Athens. They were free not only to pursue their private interests as they desired without interference from the city and other citizens but also to participate in Athenian public life within the limitations of age and their own inclination (Thuc. 2.37.1–3; Lys. 26.5; Pl. *Resp.* 557b; Arist. *Pol.* 1317a40–b14).<sup>106</sup>

We may infer from the *Athenaion Politeia* that ephebes, if they did not serve in the Lycurgan *ephebeia*, were liable for the property tax (*eisphora*) or for liturgies such as the *choregia* and *trierarchia*. They could also appear in lawsuits without exception. This would explain why citizens aged under twenty

103 The historical background for his *peripoleiai* was Athenian hostility towards the growth of Theban power in the late 370s, such as the destruction of Plataea and Thespiea, or the defeat of Sparta at Leuctra. For these and other events, see Buckler 1980, 15–23.

104 και ἀτελείς εἰσι πάντων; και δίκην οὔτε διδάσιν οὔτε λαμβάνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ πρό[φ]ασις ἢ τ[ο]ῦ ἀπιέναι, πλὴν περὶ κλήρου και ἐπικλή[ρου], καὶν τ[ι]νι κατὰ τὸ γένος ἱερωσύνη γένηται.

105 ἐπειδὴ γ’ ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεῦν και ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. For the *hypogrammateus*, see MacDowell 1994. Aeschines’ occupations are discussed in E. Harris 1995, 29–30; MacDowell 2000, 307–308; Fisher 2001, 12–13.

106 On citizenship and individual liberty under the democracy, see Hansen 1996; 2010. Freedom as a concept: Raaflab 2004.

are known to have engaged in such activities before the 330s. Demosthenes, for instance, was a *trierarchos* “upon leaving boyhood” in 367/6 (21.154: κἀγὼ ... ἐτρηράρχουον εὐθύς ἐκ παιδῶν ἐξελθῶν). The speaker of Lysias 21 was *trierarchos* twice and *choregos* four times in the two years after coming of age (1–2), while the speaker of Lysias 10 says that he prosecuted the Thirty at the Areopagus “as soon as I passed my *dokimasia*” (31).<sup>107</sup> These examples suggest that once an individual had attained civic majority, he would have acquired the same legal, social, and economic rights as older citizens.<sup>108</sup> He, in other words, could inherit his patrimony, own landed property, represent himself in the lawcourt, and make legal contracts. He could also receive public largesse and celebrate state-cults and -festivals.<sup>109</sup>

In the political sphere, the contribution of ephebes to the running of the city’s governmental institutions was minimal. No ephebe could have served on the Council or in the courtroom because the minimum age-qualification for *bouleutai* and *dikastai* was thirty years old ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 63.3; Dem. 24.151).<sup>110</sup> What, then, of the Assembly? [Dem.] 44.35 mentions a deme register called the *pinax ekklesiastikos*. The purpose of this *pinax* was probably to list those politically active demesmen who wanted to attend (and to be paid for attending) the Assembly (*ekklesia*).<sup>111</sup> It is assumed that the enrollment upon the *pinax ekklesiastikos* would have occurred at twenty, two years after the names of the same individuals were written on the *lexiarchikon grammateion* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.1): i.e. they were ineligible until they had completed the *ephebeia*.<sup>112</sup> This hypothesis is disproved by the example of Glaucon, however, who was aged under twenty (οὐδέπω εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς) when he made many unsuccessful attempts to gain prominence as a statesman at the Pnyx (Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.1).<sup>113</sup> Clearly he had already registered on the *pinax ekklesiastikos* at some point after enrolling in his deme. While his manifest ignorance on a wide range of issues

107 MacDowell 1990, 371, dates Demosthenes’ *trierarchia* not to the year of his *dokimasia* (Dem. 30.15) but to 364/3, after he had supposedly completed the *ephebeia*.

108 Examples: Bryant 1907, 74–76; Sommerstein 1996, 55–56.

109 For civic privileges in classical Athens: Sinclair 1988, 24–34; Manville 1990, 8–9; Hansen 1991, 97–99.

110 The age-limit for public office was also at least thirty: Hansen 1980, 167–169 (*contra* Develin 1985).

111 For the *pinax ecclesiastikos*, see Whitehead 1986, 104; Hansen 1987, 139, nn. 51–52.

112 Sinclair 1988, 31; Hansen 1991, 89; Robertson 2000, 149–150. Whitehead 1986, 104, suggests that those sources which mistakenly place the *lexiarchikon grammateion* at twenty may be thinking of the *pinax ecclesiastikos* (Poll. 8.105; Harp. s.v. ἐπὶ διετέες ἡβήσαι; Suda s.v.).

113 Rhodes 1981, 494–495; Whitehead 1986, 104, nn. 95 and 97; Sommerstein 1996, 56. Hansen 1987, 139, n. 53, takes Glaucon as evidence that citizens could not speak or perhaps even attend the Assembly until twenty.

important to the city is sufficient to explain his unpopularity with the Demos (3.6.2–18), the *Memorabilia* does not support the view that he was prohibited from attending, speaking, or voting at the Assembly.<sup>114</sup>

The general impression is that the political rights of Aeschines and other *epheboi* were limited compared to citizens aged thirty and over, but apparently no different to *neoi*, citizens aged twenty to thirty-one.<sup>115</sup> Even so, it is not inconceivable that *epheboi* before the Lycurgan era were regarded as a sociopolitical group distinct from *neoi*, because the former, unlike the latter, were ineligible for campaigns beyond the frontier and garrison duty was periodic rather than regular. But we should not interpret the ephebes in Aeschines' time or later as liminal figures undergoing the transition from childhood to adulthood. The *ephebeia* was not a "rite of passage", even as a metaphorical model, and ephebes were not adolescents occupying a marginal position (before reintegration) in Athenian society.<sup>116</sup> Ephebes before 334/3 were neither separated from the Demos nor did they participate as a group in the religious life of the city, apart from those ephebes of hoplite status who swore the ephebic oath at the Aglaurion.<sup>117</sup> Not only did they not have a corporate identity, but it also seems unlikely that their non-military activities were thought of by contemporaries as typically "ephebic" or that there was a distinctive "ephebic" subculture in Athens when Aeschines had come of age.<sup>118</sup> If we are right to argue against an "Aeschinean" *ephebeia* ca. 370, these were later developments, as was the existence of the institution itself.

114 See also MacDowell 1990, 404, on Dem. 21.193. For other examples involving citizens aged under twenty in the Assembly, see Sommerstein 1996, 56, on [Pl.] *Alc.* I 123d; Roisman 2005, 24, on Lys. 16.20.

115 For the link between political rights and age/maturity/experience in Athens, see Sinclair 1988, 31–32.

116 For Vidal-Naquet's ingenious but problematic theoretical interpretation of ephebes and the *ephebeia*, see Ch. 6.5. For the purposes of this chapter, we can note the following. (1) There is no validity to the claim that ephebes were associated with the Apatouria because the *Athenaion Politeia* explicitly states that they were aged eighteen. (2) The claim that the *ephebeia*'s archaic origins are to be found in the myth of Melanthus and Xanthus, and its connection to the Apatouria is undermined by the likelihood that the institution did not exist before 334/3 and that *ephebos* first appears in the 370s.

117 Cf. the comment of [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5: "And when two years have passed, they are now with the others (διε[ξ]ελθόντων δὲ τῶν δουεῖν ἑτῶν, ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν)".

118 Farenga 2006, 353–354, maintains that *ephebos* was used in the fifth- and fourth centuries to designate an individual who served in the *ephebeia* and who was in a "broader cultural sense of a period of late adolescence." He also suggests a performative sense of "behaving like an ephebe" based upon Vidal-Naquet's structuralist conception of the ephebe as the "black hunter".

## The Creation of the *Ephebeia*

In the previous chapter we saw that the designation of Athenian citizens aged under twenty as ephebes was a fourth-century phenomenon and that there is no positive evidence for an “Aeschinean” *ephebeia*, however conceived, before the appearance of the earliest securely dated inscriptions of the ephebic corpus in 334/3, just as Wilamowitz-Moellendorff had rightly argued over a century ago. This chapter proposes a novel explanation for why the *ephebeia* had originated in the mid-330s rather than the 370s or 350s. It maintains that the *ephebeia*, if we consider the primary military function of the ephebes in the Lycurgan era and we consider how the institution would have benefited Athens, was founded in the aftermath of an unexpected and traumatic geopolitical event involving Alexander the Great. It thus rejects the *communis opinio* that it was created/reformed in response to Athenian military inadequacies at Chaeronea.

### 3.1 The Law of Epicrates

The *ephebeia* was created at a time when the Athenians were under Macedonian domination. In 338/7 Philip defeated an allied coalition led by Athens and Thebes at the battle of Chaeronea and became the master of Greece (Just. 9.3.11; Lyc. 1.50).<sup>1</sup> Within the same year membership in the League of Corinth deprived the city of its traditional freedom in international affairs and transformed its position from a champion of Hellenic liberty to a subordinate member of a panhellenic alliance controlled by Philip.<sup>2</sup> In subsequent years, against this background of adjusting to the new reality of Philip’s rule, the Athenians were engaged in a patriotic project which aimed to restore their confidence after the failure to stem the growth of Macedonian power and to foster their military strength in order to regain their independence and former power in Greece. Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, of Boutadae, appears to have played a significant role in the building program and in the extensive economic, cultural, and military reorganization of the city in the post-Chaeronea period. His

<sup>1</sup> On the significance of Chaeronea for Greece, see Cawkwell 1996.

<sup>2</sup> For the League of Corinth, see Ryder 1965, 150–162; Jehne 1994, 139–197.

prominence was based upon his management of Athenian finances over twelve years (D.S. 16.88.1), from 336/5 to his death in 325/4.<sup>3</sup>

With a *terminus post quem* of 334/3 (T1–T5), the *ephebeia* was a development of the “Lycurgan era”.<sup>4</sup> The ancient sources which summarize the achievements attributed to Lycurgus’ administration, however, are silent on the *ephebeia*. Neither Hyperides (Fr. 118 Sauppe), the literary and epigraphic versions of the decree of Stratocles (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 457+3207*; [Plut.] *x Orat.* 852), or Pseudo-Plutarch’s *Vitae decem oratorum* (841b–844a) mention the institution.<sup>5</sup> Lycurgus himself refers to ephebes twice in his speeches. In *Against Leocrates* (1.76–77) he praises the ephebic oath and defines it as one of the three (alongside the oaths of the archon and the juror) which holds the democracy together (79). His aim was to show how Leocrates had broken its provisions and hence was a traitor to the fatherland. His focus was clearly on the oath and not on the *ephebeia*.<sup>6</sup> In the fragmentary *On the Financial Administration*, delivered during the *euthuna* for his first four-year term, he (according to Harpocration’s paraphrase) associated ephebes with a certain Epicrates.<sup>7</sup>

And there is another Epicrates whom Lycurgus mentions in his speech *On the Financial Administration*, when he says that a bronze statue of him was erected on account of his law about the ephebes, whom they say possessed property worth six hundred talents.<sup>8</sup>

Lyc. Fr. 5.3 Conomis *ap.* Harp. s.v. Ἐπικράτης

The νόμος ὁ περὶ τῶν ἐφήβων is rightly interpreted as the founding law of the *ephebeia*.<sup>9</sup> We can identify the proposer as the Epicrates of Pallene who was unsuccessfully accused of illegally working the silver mines at Laurium: he and

3 The most comprehensive account of Lycurgan Athens is Faraguna 1992. Humphreys 2004, 77–129 (reprint of Humphreys 1985 with an “Afterward”), and Bosworth 1988, 187–228, provide excellent overviews. For the archaeological evidence, see Hintzen-Bohlen 1995. Lycurgus’ extraordinary office was probably called *ho epi tei dioikesei* (Rhodes 1972, 106–108). Lewis 1997, 221–229, dates his administration to 336–324 rather than 338–326 (*contra* Markianos 1969, 326).

4 Naming of the era: Mitchel 1970. Disputed by Brun 2005, but see Rhodes 2010; Faraguna 2011, 67–70.

5 See Brun 2005, 194; Roisman and Worthington 2015, 197.

6 For a contrary view, see Faraguna 1992, 275, n. 96.

7 The fragments are collected and discussed in Conomis 1961, 98–107; 1970, 98–100.

8 ἕτερος δ’ ἐστὶν Ἐπικράτης οὗ μνημονεύει Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ Περὶ (τῆς) διοικήσεως, λέγων ὡς χαλκοῦς ἐστάθη διὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐφήβων, ὃν φασὶ κεκτῆσθαι ταλάντων ἑξακοσίων οὐσίαν.

9 Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1893, 193–194. The skepticism of Pélékidis 1962, 13, and Reinmuth 1971, 124, is unjustified.

his associates are alleged to have made 300 talents over a three-year period (Hyp. 4.35).<sup>10</sup> Perhaps he was also the Epikrates [...] otetou from the same deme who was *bouletes* in 335/4 (*Agora* xv 43, ll. 200–201) and the Epicrates who in 354/3 had proposed a decree about funding the Panathenaea (Dem. 24.27) and a mining law (*Agora* I 7495, unpublished). These identifications suggest that Epicrates was both wealthy and a political figure of some standing. He was not atypical of those who had contributed to the various projects undertaken in Lycurgan Athens (see Ch. 3.5).<sup>11</sup> Presumably he was rewarded with a bronze statue, a distinction reserved for those men who had done some exceptional service to the city, because he had not only proposed the law but also promised to donate a substantial sum of money or even property towards the *ephebeia* (cf. [Plut.] *x Orat.* 841d, 843f–844a). This would explain why Harpocration drew attention to his reputed fortune of 600 talents.<sup>12</sup>

The law of Epicrates must have been passed in 336/5 or 335/4.<sup>13</sup> As Mitchel saw, the ephebic corpus would not permit a date much earlier than 334/3.<sup>14</sup> Harpocration sheds no light on the circumstances in which the Athenians passed the law, but military concerns were surely the primary impetus behind the creation of the *ephebeia*. Scholars thus agree that “while it would be a serious mistake to underestimate the broader cultural importance of the ephebate, especially in the Lycurgan era, it is equally wrong to lose sight of the basic fact that it was designed as a military institution”.<sup>15</sup> But if the *ephebeia* had an important military purpose, what was it and what does it tell us about the *ephebeia*'s origins? It seems reasonable to assume that the *ephebeia* was conceived as the solution to a specific problem which had arisen in the earliest years of Macedonian hegemony (i.e. between 338/7 and 335/4). The prevailing opinion is that Philip's decisive victory at Chaeronea provides the background to the law. Let us now examine the validity of this argument for the *ephebeia* as a Lycurgan military innovation.

10 Whitehead 2000, 155–157, dates the *Defense of Euxenippus* to ca. 330–324.

11 For the identification of Epicrates: Humphreys 2004, 82, n. 13; Rhodes 2010, 84; Faraguna 2011, 68. See also Traill 1994–2005 nos. 393520, 393525, and 394115; Davies 1971 no. 4909.

12 Epicrates as wealthy benefactor: Brenot 1920, 41; Forbes 1929, 126. Honors for wealthy benefactors: Hakkarainen 1997, 9–10, 20–21, 25–28. On the importance of portrait statues in Athens, see Oliver 2007b; Engen 2010, 164–168 (165 lists Athenians to 307/6). de Marcellus 1994, 123, thinks that Lycurgus proposed honors for Epicrates.

13 336/5: Engels 1989, 322, n. 677; Habicht 1997, 16. 335/4: Rhodes 1981, 494; Knoepfler 2001, 382. Some have suggested an earlier date: e.g. Atkinson 1981, 43 (337/6); Rawlings 2000, 237 (338/7).

14 Mitchel 1964, 344, n. 34; 1975, 233.

15 Dillery 2002, 469.

### 3.2 Reaction to Chaeronea?

It is generally agreed that the *ephebeia* was a response to the defeat at Chaeronea in 338/7. Outclassed by the superbly drilled, organized, and equipped professionals of the Macedonian phalanx, the Athenians had suffered heavy losses on the battlefield, with 1,000 dead and 2,000 captured (D.S. 16.86.5). Polyaeus contrasts the lack of discipline and the poor physical condition of the Athenians with the Macedonians' excellent training and fitness (*Strat.* 4.2.2, 7; cf. Front. *Strat.* 2.1.9; Just. 9.3.9).<sup>16</sup> The *primary* motivation, then, behind Epicrates' legislation was to train the ephebes more effectively for pitched battle. For this purpose they hired professional military instructors to teach them the art of war. They made the *ephebeia* compulsory for all eighteen-year-old citizens and equipped them with the panoply at public expense, so as to increase the number of citizens who qualified for hoplite service. By strengthening the army, now uniformly equipped and trained, the *ephebeia* played a crucial role in the revitalization of Athens' military power in the 330s and 320s, complimenting the improvement of the fleet, the naval-infrastructure, and the land-defenses (see below).<sup>17</sup>

This view, however, is open to objection. First, the *ephebeia* did not improve the proficiency of those citizen-soldiers whom the Macedonians had defeated at Chaeronea. If this was the Athenians' main concern after the battle, we would have expected them to establish some kind of state-run training program which involved as many citizens as possible, especially the veterans of Chaeronea. While they were unlikely to turn their city into a "workshop of war" as the Spartan king Agesilaus did at Ephesus in Spring 395 (*Xen. Hell.* 3.4.16–18), they could have at least encouraged reluctant citizens to participate in the hitherto badly-attended reviews and to practice their skills in the phalanx to improve its efficiency (cf. the Syracusans in Thuc. 6.72.4–73.1).<sup>18</sup> Yet the *ephebeia* both began to function in 334/3 (T1–T5) and was restricted to citizens aged under twenty, who were not usually called-up for *strateia* except under exceptional circumstances (see Ch. 2.4) and who made up about 3.3% of the citizen-body (see Ch. 5.1).

16 For the battle of Chaeronea, see Hammond 1938. The Macedonian army: Hammond and Griffith 1979, 405–449.

17 *Ephebeia* and Chaeronea: Garlan 1975, 175; Burckhardt 1996, 45–46. Pitched battle: Bosworth 1988, 209; Sealey 1993, 211. Expansion of hoplite forces: Habicht 1997, 17; Bertosa 2003, 372. Increasing Athens' military preparedness: Tracy 1995, 10; Harding 1995, 125. Cf. Reinmuth 1967, 49: "the distinctive features of the Aristotelian *ephebeia* are designed to meet the weaknesses of the army".

18 See Ch. 2.3 on the Athenian attitude towards military training before the Lycurgan era.

Second, it is difficult to reconcile the view that the purpose of the *ephebeia* was to train citizens how to fight against the Macedonian heavy infantry with the ephebes' instruction in the bow, the javelin, and the catapult ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3), each ineffective in close combat (e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 2.1.7; 6.3.24; 7.4.15).<sup>19</sup> Scholars who assume that ephebes before the Lycurgan era were trained only as hoplites would have to explain why the Athenians decided to introduce missile-based weaponry into the training program when the purpose of Epicrates' law was to improve their competence in hoplite warfare.<sup>20</sup> It is hard to understand why the Athenians hired the *toxotes*, the *akontistes*, and the (*katapalt*)*aphetes* in addition to the *hoplomachoi* and the *paidotribai*, who did teach skills useful for pitched battle (see Ch. 4.4). The Demos cannot have been unaware that they would have to face the Macedonians once again on the battlefield and defeat them to recover their freedom, just as the Thebans (335/4), the Spartans (331/0), and the Athenians themselves in the Lamian War (323/2) were to do.

Third, while the *ephebeia* did issue hoplite spear and shield to ephebes at public expense, whereas previously the procurement of these and other arms was a private affair for Athenian citizens, depending upon their personal wealth, it would have taken the *ephebeia* a generation to equip all citizens of military age with a hoplite panoply.<sup>21</sup> By the outbreak of the Lamian War, only half of the Athenians aged 20–40 who had been called-up to serve with Leosthenes had passed though the *ephebeia* (see Ch. 4.5).<sup>22</sup> If the aim of the *ephebeia* was to transform the Athenian army rapidly in a time of crisis by expanding the number of citizens equipped as hoplites, the institution was neither efficient nor dynamic.<sup>23</sup> If the Demos needed to distribute arms and armor quickly to the citizenry, they could have followed the example of the *strategoí* Diotimus and Charidemus in 338/7, whose donation of shields was intended to reequip those citizens who had lost their shields at Chaeronea (Dem. 18.114, 116), or Demosthenes' gifting of weaponry at some point in the same or next year ([Plut.] *x Orat.* 851a).<sup>24</sup>

19 Ineffectiveness: Friend 2007, 107–108.

20 Burckhardt 1996, 44–46; Ridley 1979, 530–547.

21 Private procurement: van Wees 1998. The state did supply missile-weapons to garrison troops in the border forts (Munn 1996, 52–53, on Panactum inv. 1992–300) and the hoplite panoply was given to war orphans at the Great Dionysia (Dillery 2002, 466–469). Pélékidis 1962, 14–17, rightly rejects Mathieu's theory that the *ephebeia*'s origins are to be found in this institution (1937, 315–318).

22 Reinmuth 1967, 50–51.

23 Bertosa 2003, 372.

24 For Diotimus and Charidemus, see Pritchett 1974, 88; Develin 1989, 343. The 2,000 citizens captured at Chaeronea would have also lost their panoply (cf. Vaughn 1991, 46–47) and

Another problem is chronological in nature, namely the connection between the alleged cause (i.e. the defeat at Chaeronea) and the known outcome (i.e. the *ephebeia*).<sup>25</sup> If the former was indeed the impetus for the latter, as is claimed, it is hard to understand why Epicrates' law was passed in either 336/5 or 335/4 and was implemented in 334/3. The explanation for this delay is that the Athenians were hesitant to "reform" the *ephebeia* until Alexander was campaigning in Illyria in the summer of 335 or in Asia in the spring of 334, because he would have regarded the "reformed" institution as a threat. This overt hostility towards Macedon, it is maintained, explains why the *ephebeia* was not a new creation of the Lycurgan era: Philip and Alexander would have not permitted such an organization to exist.<sup>26</sup> But this view is inconsistent with the reality of Macedonian hegemony. So long as Philip retained control over his kingdom and its immense military resources, his dominance could be contested if and only if he was opposed by a coalition at least as formidable as the one which opposed him in 338/7.<sup>27</sup> His strategy aimed to keep potentially hostile cities disunited. He exploited his victory at Chaeronea to set up pro-Macedonian regimes and to install garrisons at strategic locations.<sup>28</sup> Athens' strongest ally, Thebes, suffered this fate (D.S. 16.87.3; Just. 9.4.6–8). The Common Peace also kept the Athenians and the Thebans from reforming their anti-Macedonian alliance.<sup>29</sup> Events following the assassination of Philip in 336 demonstrate Athens' military weakness compared to Macedon.<sup>30</sup> Confident that Alexander would not leave Pella, the Athenians both encouraged other cities to revolt and corresponded with his generals in Asia (Aeschin. 3.160; D.S. 17.3.2; Plut. *Dem.* 23.2). But Alexander's rapid march to Thebes ended all hope of a unified resistance. In consequence, the Athenians quickly submitted, seeking his forgiveness and renewing the Common Peace (D.S. 17.4.6–9; Arr. *Anab.* 1.1.3). Their capitulation is understandable because they alone did not have sufficient strength to challenge successfully the military might of Alexander on land.<sup>31</sup> If the *ephebeia* did nothing to

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those citizens who had cast away their shields in flight from the battlefield (cf. Archil. Fr. 5 West; Hdt. 5.95.1).

25 As Knoepfler 2001, 382, and Bertosa 2003, 370–371, recognized.

26 For this claim, see Reinmuth 1952, 49; Pélékidis 1962, 11; Mitchel 1962, 224, n. 36; Bertosa 2003, 373.

27 Sealey 1993, 198.

28 Roebuck 1948, 73–92; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 604–623.

29 Ryder 1965, 104–105; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 633.

30 For the date of the assassination, see Bosworth 1980, 45–46. These events are discussed in Hammond and Walbank 1988, 3–17.

31 Cawkwell 1969, 164: "the central fact of this age is military, not moral—viz. the huge pre-

correct the deficiencies of those citizens so badly beaten at Chaeronea, it is unlikely that Philip and Alexander would have regarded the institution as a threat.

Nor did this supposed fear of Philip dissuade the Athenians from increasing their military preparedness from 338/7 onwards. The Athens-Piraeus enceinte was modernized, with a moat and an outer wall constructed in front of a strengthened inner wall, to counter the Macedonians' formidable arsenal of advanced siege engines (*IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 429 [= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 244]).<sup>32</sup> The navy was built up to 392 triremes and 18 quadriremes by 330/29 (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1627, ll. 266–278), while 360 triremes, 50 quadriremes, and 2 quinqueremes for 325/4 are listed on *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 370 (= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1629), ll. 783–812.<sup>33</sup> The dockyards and the arsenal of Philo were completed at Piraeus (Aeschin. 3.25; Din. 1.96).<sup>34</sup> Stratocles' decree credits Lycurgus for improving the fleet, naval-infrastructure, and land-defenses, portraying them as preparation for the Lamian War in 323/2 (ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῆς: [Plut.] *x Orat.* 852c). This claim, made with the advantage of hindsight in 307/6, is implausible. We should interpret the military build-up in the light of Athenian hopes of freeing themselves from Macedon and recovering their former leading position in the Greek world, despite Philip's generous treaty of "friendship and alliance" with them after the battle of Chaeronea (D.S. 16.87.3).<sup>35</sup> The Athenians in the Lycurgan era, however, had no way of knowing when the opportunity to rebel would present itself. As we have seen, they had unsuccessfully attempted to exploit Philip's assassination in 336/5. Under these circumstances the *ephebeia* should have been a priority, if it was intended to play an important role in reviving Athens' hoplite forces after Philip's victory at Chaeronea. But if we agree that the Athenians would have gained no immediate military benefit from the *ephebeia*'s training

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ponderance in military potential of the Macedonian state over the power of any single Greek state". We should note that the Athenians before the rise of Macedon were, in Xenophon's opinion, inferior in number, discipline, and skill to the Boeotians (*Hipp.* 7.3; *Mem.* 3.5.4, 3.5.19). They could not hope to meet the Boeotians on equal terms, as Phocion bluntly declared when the city was clamoring for war after the annexation of Oropus in 366 (Plut. *Phoc.* 9.4).

32 Modernization of urban fortifications (337–334): Maier 1959, 36–48; Conwell 2008, 133–148. The Athenians repaired the landward defenses in the expectation of a Macedonian invasion after Chaeronea (Dem 18.248): Ohly 1965, 341–343.

33 For the Athenian navy in the 330s and 320s, see Ashton 1979; Morrison 1987, 89–93.

34 Philo's arsenal, completed by 330/29 (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1627, ll. 279–305), is discussed in Steinhauer 1994; 1996.

35 Badian 1995 shows that the aim of the Athenian foreign policy throughout the fourth century was to recover the naval empire which they had possessed under Pericles. They made repeated attempts until their total defeat in the Lamian War (*contra* Harding 1995).

program and had no reason for a four-year delay, we must seek another explanation for why the *ephebeia* was created.

### 3.3 The Defense of Attica

Fourth-century Athens was protected by an extensive and sophisticated system of territorial defense (fig. 1). The most important element was the Athens-Piraeus circuit, consisting of the city walls, harbor fortifications, and the Long Walls connecting them. Next were the fortresses such as Rhamnus (fig. 5) which were strategically located on the Attic-Boeotian frontier and on the eastern littoral. Numerous secondary structures, such as watchtowers and signal stations, also occupied the landscape. Finally, a barrier wall was constructed across the Aigaleus-Parnes gap, known to scholars as the Dema Wall.<sup>36</sup> The *Athenaion Politeia* suggests that ephebes would have played a conspicuous role in guarding this defensive infrastructure during the Lycurgan era:

... [the ephebes] then march [in the first year] to Piraeus, where some guard Munychia and others guard Acte ... in the next year ... they patrol the countryside (περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν) and spend their time in the guard-posts (ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις). And they do guard duty for two years (φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη) ...<sup>37</sup>

42.3–5

On T2 (332/1) two honorific decrees attest to the presence of the ephebes of Cecropis at Eleusis. The first (ll. 36–37) mentions their deployment at the deme (ταχθέντες Ἐλευσίνι), while the second (ll. 45–47) praises them for “taking care of the guarding of Eleusis (ἐπιμελοῦνται τῆς φυλακῆς Ἐλευσίνος)”.<sup>38</sup> We can compile the following list of *phylakteria* by analogy to T2 when the honoring corporations inscribed on ephobic dedications and their attested find-spots coincide with the names of known garrison fortresses and fortified demes in Attica (date by erection):<sup>39</sup> Panactum (T20 Hippothontis 330/29; T23 Leontis 332/1–323/2; T24 Leontis 332/1–323/2); Eleusis, Phyle, and Rhamnus (T14 Pan-

36 The principal works on Athenian fortifications and the many controversies over identification, location, and date are Ober 1985a; Munn 1993; Conwell 2008.

37 εἴτ' εἰς Πειραιεῖα πορεύονται, καὶ φρουροῦσιν οἱ μὲν τὴν Μουνυχίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀκτὴν ... περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν καὶ διατρίβουσιν ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις. φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη.

38 Cf. T3 (332/1): τῆς φυλακῆς Ἐλευσίνος ἐπε]μελοῦντο ... [ταχθέντες] Ἐλευσίνι (ll. 5–6).

39 See the approach of Reinmuth 1971, 35, on T14, and Clinton 1988, 22, on T6.



FIGURE 5 The fortifications of Rhamnus from the south  
 EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF EAST ATTICA, PHOTO BY AUTHOR © HEL-  
 LENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS, FUND OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
 PROCEEDS

dionis 330/29 or 329/8); Eleusis and Rhamnus (T6 Cecropis 331/0); Rhamnus (T8 Leontis 333/2; T16 Aigeis 330/29; T22 Acamantis 331/0–323/2; T28, T29, and T31 Tribe Unknown 332/1–323/2).<sup>40</sup> We can attribute the absence of Eleutheræ from this list to the likelihood that the fort was under Boeotian control in the fourth century, and that the absence of Oinoe was an accident of preservation in the epigraphic record or perhaps can be attributed to its close proximity to Panactum.<sup>41</sup> T15 (330/29–324/3), a dedication of Leontis, is perhaps evidence that the ephebes were deployed at the strategically located town of Oropus, just as in the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 8.60.1). But it is more likely that the stone was erected at the Amphiarium after the ephebes had celebrated a festival held in honor of Amphiaraus (see Ch. 6.4).

The prevailing scholarly opinion is that the ephebes' garrison duty as described in the *Athenaion Politeia* would have differed little from Aeschines' experience as an ephebe in the 370s, except that Epicrates' legislation had made

40 See also Humphreys 2004–2009, 89–90.

41 Eleutheræ as a Boeotian possession: Fachard 2013. I thank the anonymous reviewer for the suggestion.

it continuous or had extended it to the *thetes*.<sup>42</sup> But if the youngest (hoplite-qualified) citizens before 334/3 were called-up for service periodically as part of a general levy whenever the Athenians perceived a threat to the frontier (Thuc. 2.13.6–7; Dem. 21.193), it would mean that their two-year period of compulsory service was in fact an obligation newly imposed at this time. Ascertaining why the Athenians departed so radically from this long-established military practice is central to our understanding of why the *ephebeia* was founded. In contrast to the training program, as we have seen, the institution provided Athens with the *immediate* benefit of extra citizen manpower devoted to the protection of the *polis*. We can estimate the number of ephebes for an enrollment year from the few well-preserved rosters in the corpus: perhaps 450–500 for 334/3–333/2 and 600–650 from 332/1 onwards (see Ch. 5.1). The decision to mobilize ephebes for this purpose necessitated the introduction of certain innovations so as to maintain, organize, and train this force of citizens (see Ch. 4).

But what was the *ephebeia*'s contribution to rural defense? It depends upon how the function of the garrison forts is interpreted. Ober argues that fourth-century Athenian defensive strategy intended them to act like an ancient Maginot line, where the fortresses' control of the routes along the Attic-Boeotian border was such that they could block the advance of a large enemy force until the main field army came in relief.<sup>43</sup> This view should be rejected, however, because contemporary literature betrays no knowledge of a preclusive defensive system and instead suggests that Athens continued to employ a "Periclean" city-based strategy after 404.<sup>44</sup> The Athenians responded to the threat of the Macedonian army on four occasions from 346 to 335 in the same way as their ancestors did when they faced the Spartans in the Peloponnesian War, namely by abandoning the countryside and withdrawing inside the city-walls.<sup>45</sup> The presence of ephebes on the border, then, is unlikely to have improved the Athenians' ability to prevent a full-scale enemy invasion. They would have been no more effective than their ancestors were in 378 when a large force under Sphodrias had evaded the forts and entered the Thriasian plain without detection (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.20–21).<sup>46</sup>

42 Reinmuth 1971, 123–138; Ober 1985a, 90–96; Burckhardt 1996, 44; van Wees 2004, 94–95.

43 Ober 1985a, esp. 191–222.

44 See the exchange between Harding 1988; 1990; Ober 1989b. For further discussion, see Munn 1993, 15–25; Daly 2014, 26–35.

45 346/5 (Dem. 19.86, 125; Aeschin. 3.139); 338/7 (Lyc. *Leoc.* 16, 38); 336/5 (D.S. 17.4.6); 335/4 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.10.2; [Demad.] 14). For Pericles' strategy during the Peloponnesian War, see Ober 1985b; Spence 1990.

46 *Contra* Ober 1985a, 95–96.

A more convincing interpretation is that rural fortifications, many of which were built near deme-centers, would have served as independent strong-points from which garrison troops patrolled the surrounding area as *peripoloi* in order to detect and intercept small-scale raiding parties.<sup>47</sup> Xenophon emphasizes their vital role in defending Attica, where Socrates remarks to Glaucon that the city's enemies would easily plunder the countryside if the garrisons (*phylakai*) were removed (*Mem.* 3.6.11).<sup>48</sup> In Xenophon's *Hiero* Simonides advises the tyrant on the importance of assigning an armed force to guard strategically vital locations to ensure that the inhabitants and their possessions will be kept safe from enemy surprise attacks (10.4–7; cf. *Cyr.* 3.2.1–3.4; 6.1.14). During the Peloponnesian War garrison troops protected Attica by attacking enemy raiders, such as those based at Oenoe who inflicted heavy losses on the Corinthians as they returned from Decelea (*Thuc.* 8.98.2).<sup>49</sup> Whether in times of war or peace, they were always needed to ward off the ever-present threat of freebooters. These bands often consisted of wandering unemployed mercenaries or dislocated peoples, who aimed to rob citizens, steal their livestock, and carry off their property on account of economic necessity or desire for loot (e.g. *Isoc.* 5.120–122; *Arist. Pol.* 1256a; 1267a; *Xen. Hipp.* 8.8).<sup>50</sup>

It stands to reason, then, that the purpose of the *ephebeia* was to protect the *polis* from would-be plunderers. Put in a local context, the gratitude of the Eleusinians in T2 to the ephebes of Cecropis for their devotion to guard duty is understandable: they had brought security to the town and its environs, alongside the other soldiers both ephebic and non-ephebic who also had an armed presence at the deme.<sup>51</sup> By standing guard at Eleusis and patrolling in the vicinity, they would have dealt with all types of raiding and banditry, just

47 Munn 1993, 27–32; Daly 2001, 350–372. The forts were also places of refuge during enemy invasions: Hanson 1998, 112–116. A scholium to *Thuc.* 4.67.2 defines *peripoloi* as *phylakes* or garrison-troops whose military function was to “go around and patrol the forts in guarding them (τῶν φυλάκων ... περίπολοι ... οἱ περιερχόμενοι καὶ περιπολοῦντες τὰ φρούρια ἐν τῷ φυλάττειν)”. For *peripoloi* in Athens, see Pélékidis 1962, 35–44. Daly 2001, 321, argues from the attestation of *peripolarchoi* but not *peripoloi* on garrison inscriptions that “the term *περίπολοι* was used only to distinguish their action (that of patrolling) rather than describing a particular civic or military status”.

48 The conflict between the Boeotians and the Athenians over Panactum shows the importance of border forts (*Thuc.* 5.3.5; 5.35.5; 5.39.3; 5.42.1–2; *Dem.* 19.326). For Panactum, see Munn and Munn 1989, 100–109.

49 See Munn 1993, 31, n. 61, for other examples.

50 Raiding and brigandage: Ober 1985a, 49–50; Mckechnie 1989, 101–141; Munn 1993, 28, n. 56. For what constituted readily accessible booty, see Hanson 1998, esp. 103–110.

51 For the types of soldiers who garrisoned Attica in the classical and Hellenistic periods, see Daly 2001, 244–357; Oliver 2007a, 173–189.

like Xenophon's imaginary Persian ephebes who pursued both criminals (*kakourgoi*) and raiders (*leistai*) in the *Cyropaedeia* (1.2.12). Aristotle's mention of ephebes being used to guard prisoners, perhaps before their execution, may be taken as a contemporary reference to this activity in the Lycurgan era (*Pol.* 1322a). It would be a mistake to conclude, however, that ephebes were intended to function as a police force in the modern sense: there is no evidence that they were concerned with all forms of local criminality. In these matters the demesmen of Eleusis and the other scattered rural communities could and did rely upon their own resources to apprehend *kakourgoi* and bring them to justice. The daily patrols of the ephebes, on the other hand, are unlikely to have drawn a distinction between brigands originating from across the border and the home-grown variety, such as the metic Philon and his associates after the fall of Athens in 404/3 (*Lys.* 31.17–19).<sup>52</sup>

We can assume that the regular deployment of the ephebes on the Attic-Boeotian frontier, by their numbers alone, would have resulted in increased protection against raiders for the region as a whole. The paucity of evidence does not permit even a rough calculation of the peacetime strength of the garrison forts (e.g. Phyle and Panactum) and the fortified demes (e.g. Eleusis and Rhamnus) where contingents of ephebes are known to have been stationed.<sup>53</sup> Consequently we cannot determine with any confidence what proportion of the garrison troops at these and other *phylakteria* were ephebes, or whether they in fact were the largest organized group of Athenian citizens under arms throughout the Lycurgan era, as van Wees suggests.<sup>54</sup> At the very least the year-round presence of five hundred ephebic *peripoloi* would have led to more frequent patrols, in comparison to the border situation before the *ephebeia's* creation. By patrolling the well-travelled routes which crisscrossed the mountainous terrain separating the Athenians from the Boeotians (*Xen. Mem.* 3.5.25), and by patrolling the Thriasian plain and those smaller plains

52 Crime was apparently widespread in classical Athens (Fisher 1998b). Without a police force in the modern sense citizens in the rural demes acted on their own initiative and relied upon their neighbors' help whenever they were confronted with lawbreakers (Hunter 1994, 120–151). They also built towers in farmhouses for defensive purposes (Pritchett 1991, 352–358). But, as Munn 1993, 28, saw, the duties of garrison troops were functionally “indistinguishable from civil police duties”. Hunter 1994, 151–153, also thinks that ephebes policed the countryside to some extent.

53 Munn 1993, 169, n. 61, estimates that 2,500 soldiers as “an absolute minimum figure” served year-round on the frontier to ward off a potential Spartan threat to Attica from 378 to 375. The implication is that Athenian garrison strength was much lower in times of relative tranquility.

54 van Wees 2002, 71.

located on the border (e.g. the Skourta and the Mazi), the ephebes presented a formidable but not insurmountable obstacle to freebooters of all kinds who sought access into Attica.<sup>55</sup>

The *ephebeia*'s organization also betrays a concern for rural defense. It is striking that ephebes were divided into two geographically distinct groups each approximately equal in number and each corresponding to a single enrollment year, one concentrated at Piraeus and the other distributed along the border ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3–5). While both groups clearly performed garrison duty in their respective areas of operation (φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη), the prevailing view is that the ephebes based at Munychia and Acte were not *peripoloi* because περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν refers only to those ephebes assigned to the “guard-posts” in their second year of service.<sup>56</sup> This interpretation follows the conjecture of the ancient lexicographer Harpocration (s.v. περίπολος), who, assuming that both Aeschines and the *Athenaion Politeia* were referring to the *ephebeia*, contrasted the two-year *peripoleia* of the former with the one year of the latter (ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης ἕνα φησὶν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ἐφήβους). It is also thought that the ephebes' role was to safeguard the strategically important Piraeus and the three naval harbors (along with the fleet and naval infrastructure) located there.<sup>57</sup> They spent their first year acquiring the necessary skills for border-service, which was then used when they served as *peripoloi* around the *phylakteria*.<sup>58</sup> Bryant goes so far as to declare that the *Athenaion Politeia* was distinguishing between “theory and practice” in the *ephebeia*.<sup>59</sup>

But Pollux under the heading of *peripolos* asserts that “for two years they were numbered among the *peripoloi* (δύο δὲ εἰς περιπόλους ἡριθμοῦντο)” (8.105). His value as a source on the *ephebeia* is diminished, however, by his belief that ephebes would have enrolled on the deme register at twenty, contradicting the *Athenaion Politeia* (42.1–2).<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, it is likely that the ephebes' garrison duties did not differ markedly in both years. Thucydides shows that *peripoloi* were *not* associated exclusively with the frontier (cf. Eupolis fr. 341 Kock: καὶ τοὺς περιπόλους ἀπιέν' εἰς τὰ φρούρια).<sup>61</sup> Talking about the assassination of Phrynichus in 411, he says one of the officers who arrested Alexicles, a general with known oligarchic sympathies, was Hermon “a commander of

55 The Athenian road network is discussed in Ober 1985a, 111–129; Fachard and Pirisino 2015.

56 Pélékidis 1962, 39; Ober 1985a, 91; Burckhardt 1996, 71.

57 Ferguson 1911, 9; de Marcellus 1994, 139–140.

58 Ober 1985a, 90–91.

59 Bryant 1907, 86. For a similar view, see Kennell 2015, 174.

60 Reinmuth 1971, 87–88, thinks that Pollux is decisive on this issue.

61 It is assumed that *peripoloi* were always border troops: Kent 1941, 348; Ober 1985a, 90–95; Sekunda 1990, 153.

the *peripoloi* based at Munychia (τις τῶν περιπόλων τῶν Μουνιχίᾳσι τεταγμένων ἄρχων) (8.92.5).<sup>62</sup> Xenophon's *Poroi* also shows that the deployment of *peripoloi* within the Athens-Piraeus circuit was not unique to the Peloponnesian War. He presents a hypothetical situation in which an enemy force from Thebes or Megara invades the district of Laurium: "so if they march from some point to the silver mines, it will be necessary to go past the city: and if they are few in number, they are likely to be destroyed by both the cavalry and the *peripoloi* (4.47)".<sup>63</sup> This scenario, reflecting contemporary military practice, suggests a multifaceted approach to territorial defense: a small-sized raiding party had gained access into southeastern Attica and the Athenian response was to send out *peripoloi* from the city to engage them.<sup>64</sup>

It is conceivable, then, that the ephebes based at Munychia and Acte would have patrolled the countryside around Athens. The inhabitants of the densely settled Athenian plain surely benefited from the ephebes' protection, not excluding demes as distant from Piraeus as Acharnae, located some sixty stades north of Athens near the modern town of Menidhi (Thuc. 2.21.1).<sup>65</sup> If the ephebes' patrols did not extend beyond Mt. Hymettus to the west, Mt. Aigaleon to the east, and Mt. Parnes to the north, it would explain why the fortresses at Koroni, Thoricus, and Sunium do not appear in the corpus, unless we also attribute their absence to the accident of preservation.<sup>66</sup> By analogy to the *Poroi*, the ephebes stationed at Piraeus were a mobile force which functioned independently from the frontier garrisons. In practice they could have contributed in two ways to the security of Attica. (1) They intercepted raiders who had avoided detection in the border areas. Their patrols thus increased the likelihood of a chance encounter. (2) If raiders were detected but not intercepted, the ephebes were alerted to their presence by an extensive network of observation and signal stations which quickly transmitted the message from the border to Piraeus.<sup>67</sup>

62 Jordan 1970, 234, n. 16, identifies the Hermon in Thucydides with the *archon* on IG I<sup>3</sup> 375 (= IG I<sup>2</sup> 304a), ll. 9–10. For the defensive qualities of Munychia from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, see Oliver 2007a, 48–73.

63 ἦν οὖν πορεύωνται ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀργύρεια, παριέναι αὐτοὺς δεήσει τὴν πόλιν· κὰν μὲν ὦσιν ὀλίγοι, εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἱππέων καὶ ὑπὸ περιπόλων.

64 For an analysis of Xen. *Por.* 4.47, see Munn 1993, 22–23, 27.

65 Location of Acharnae: Kellogg 2013b, 8–26.

66 Kirchner thought that T16 (= IG I<sup>2</sup> 1181) was a deme decree from Sunium, but Petrakos' join shows that the inscription was a dedication of Aigeis from Rhamnus.

67 The fourth-century "visual communication system" in Attica is discussed in Ober 1985a, 196–197; Munn 1993, 94–95.

But if the *ephebeia*'s military purpose, by its commitment of citizen manpower and its organization, was consistent with the defensive priorities of classical Athens, it remains to consider the historical context which created this need for the institution. As Lewis aptly puts it, "clearly something substantial happened in 336 or 335 to produce this effervescence of [ephebic] texts".<sup>68</sup>

### 3.4 The Destruction of Thebes

In Boedromion 335/4 a rumor spread among the Greeks that Alexander had died in Illyria (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.3).<sup>69</sup> The Theban reaction was rebellion: they overthrew the pro-Macedonian oligarchy installed after Chaeronea and besieged the garrison on the Cadmea.<sup>70</sup> Alexander, rushing south, defeated the Thebans in battle, took the city by assault, and sacked it.<sup>71</sup> 6,000 were killed and 30,000 were captured (D.S. 17.14.1; Plut. *Alex.* 11.12; Ael. *VH* 13.7). Alexander delegated the fate of Thebes to his allies, who decided to destroy the city except for the Cadmea, sell the prisoners into slavery, and forbid other Greeks from accepting them as refugees, because the Thebans had medized in the Persian Wars and because of their past crimes against the Phocians and Boeotians (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.6–10; D.S. 17.14.1–4).<sup>72</sup> The Athenians, having encouraged the Thebans to revolt and having supplied them with Persian-funded armor, also feared Alexander's retribution. Desperate to placate him, they congratulated him for his victory and for his punishment of the Thebans. He initially demanded the surrender of those Athenians whom he considered responsible for inciting resistance against himself and his father, but another embassy under Demades and Phocion persuaded Alexander to relent (Arr. *Anab.* 1.10.3; D.S. 17.15.2–5; Plut. *Phoc.* 17.2–5).<sup>73</sup>

But if the Athenians had received lenient treatment from Alexander, Thebes was a constant reminder that he "would not shrink from extreme measures against rebels".<sup>74</sup> They had to adhere to the Common Peace or suffer the con-

68 Lewis 1973, 254.

69 For the events discussed in this section, see Hammond and Walbank 1988, 56–66; Rubinson 1997; Worthington 2003.

70 Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.1–3, 6; D.S. 17.8.2–4; Ael. *VH* 12.57.

71 The Macedonians may have lost five hundred soldiers (D.S. 17.14.1).

72 The decision of the council: Hammond and Walbank 1988, 62–65; Steinbock 2013, 336–341.

73 The sources are inconsistent concerning those whom Alexander demanded. For an analysis of the number and identity, see Bosworth 1980, 92–95. For Alexander's leniency, see Bosworth 1988, 196–197.

74 Badian 1994, 259.

sequences (D.S. 17.14.4; Plut. *Alex.* 11.11). Aeschines, for example, vividly conveyed the horror and revulsion of the Athenians for the city's fate when he exclaimed "but Thebes! Thebes, our neighbor, has in one day been swept from the midst of Hellas! (3.133)".<sup>75</sup> Deprived of their most important ally, one of the eyes of Greece as pseudo-Demades put it (65; cf. Hegesias *FGrHist* 142 F 12 Robinson), the Athenians had to accept Macedonian hegemony for the foreseeable future and to adopt a more cautious policy where they would avoid an armed confrontation at all costs.<sup>76</sup> Athenian hopes for freedom now depended upon Darius III defeating Alexander, ended by Issus in 333 and Gaugamela in 331: Aeschines was surely not alone in lamenting the demise of the once all-powerful Persian king (3.132).<sup>77</sup> On mainland Greece the revolt of the Spartan king Agis III ended with a heavy defeat by Antipater, Alexander's regent in Europe, at Megalopolis in spring 330. The Athenians, despite sympathy for the uprising, chose not to support Agis: Demosthenes offered token support but did nothing (Plut. *Dem.* 24.2; Aeschin. 3.166–167; Din. 1.35) and Demades' threat of drawing upon the Theoric fund to pay for the Athenian fleet was apparently decisive ([Plut.] *Mor.* 818e–f).<sup>78</sup>

Thebes' destruction also resulted in a political geography unfavorable to Athens. Alexander had divided the land and the property of the Thebans among those Boeotian allies who had eagerly participated in the sack (i.e. the Orchomenians, the Thespians, and the Plataeans).<sup>79</sup> Such was their determination to possess this farmland that they remained loyal to the Macedonians in the Lamian War rather than lose the income which they earned from it (D.S. 18.11.4; Hyp. 6.15–17). They were also hostile to the Athenians since, if the latter were to regain their independence, they would restore Thebes and confiscate the land under the former's control (D.S. 18.11.4). By the terms of the Athenian-Theban alliance of 339/8, Athens recognized the Theban-led Boeotian league and was obligated to help Thebes maintain her supremacy

75 Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται. The literary tradition of Thebes' downfall at the hands of Alexander is discussed in Worthington 2003, 65–69. Aeschines (3.239–240) and Dinarchus (1.10, 18–21) used Thebes as a *topos* to arouse the hatred of the Demos against Demosthenes for his alleged contribution to the disaster (Worthington 1992, 139–143, 160–168).

76 For the Athenian attitude towards Macedon before and after 335, see Atkinson 1981; Worthington 1992, 41–77.

77 Demosthenes expected Alexander to be "trampled underfoot by the Persian cavalry" at Issus (Aeschin. 3.164). Worthington 2000, 94–95, argues that Demosthenes may have harbored similar hopes for Gaugamela.

78 On Agis' war, see Badian 1967; 1994; McQueen 1978. Also see n. 85 below.

79 Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.9; D.S. 18.11.3; Just. 11.4.7; Plut. *Alex.* 11.11.

(Aeschin. 3.142).<sup>80</sup> Nor were the Athenians likely to improve their relationship with the Boeotians by granting asylum to Theban refugees, thus revealing the city's continued support and sympathy for her ally.<sup>81</sup>

Despite the silence of the ancient sources, the outcome of this renewed Boeotian hostility was probably increased tension on the Attic-Boeotian border, a situation which led to the creation of the *ephebeia* in 335/4.<sup>82</sup> Perhaps the Boeotians took advantage of Athens' weakness to enrich themselves by raiding Attica. This threat did not consist of large armies carrying out state policy but of individuals or small bands acting on their own initiative. The Athenian countryside, which had remained untouched by large-scale enemy incursions since Sphodrias in 378 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.20–21), would have been well-furnished and hence a tempting target for plunder (cf. *Hell. Oxy.* 12.5). We may conjecture that there was a robust demand in Boeotia for such valuable commodities as livestock and farming equipment, because the Orchomenians and the Plataeans were in the process of rebuilding their recently-founded cities (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10; Plut. *Alex.* 34) and that their newly-acquired farms needed restocking after Alexander and his allies had despoiled the former owners and burnt their properties (Paus. 9.25.10).<sup>83</sup>

This brigandage would have raised alarm among the Athenians, who recognized that protracted insecurity on the border had the potential to endanger the city, especially if fear of Macedon was to give way to anger for those despoiled. This anger presumably went beyond the perennial feuds and unresolved property disputes which typically created long-lasting enmity between those who possessed land near the frontier (cf. Pl. *Resp.* 373d–e; *Leg.* 843a; 955b–c). In the worst-case scenario they could compel the Athenians to send an armed expedition to the frontier to put a stop to the raiding (cf. Drymus and Panactum in Dem. 19.326). But bearing arms against the Boeotians invited retal-

80 Philip had restored Orchomenos, Plataea, and Thespieae after Chaeronea as a counterweight to Thebes in the Boeotian league (D.S. 17.13.5; Paus. 4.27.10; 9.1.8; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 37.42). For the treaty, see Mosley 1971.

81 D.S. 17.15.4; Aeschin. 3.156; Just. 11.4.10; Paus. 9.7.1.

82 Knoepfler 1993; 2001, 367–380, argues that Alexander returned Oropus to the Athenians in 335/4 instead of Philip in 338/7 (*contra* Tracy 1995, 7, n. 3). He accepts Reinmuth 1971, 70, who argues that the recovery of Oropus, lost to the Boeotians in 366, was the reason for the epehebic “reform” (Knoepfler 1993, 295–296; 2001, 381–382). But Reinmuth's theory does not explain why epehebes were called-up to guard both Piraeus and the Attic-Boeotian frontier rather than Oropus alone.

83 Perhaps the farmland was plundered as completely as Thebes, reputed to have been razed to the ground except for the temples, the houses of Pindar and his descendants, and the dwellings of Alexander's supporters (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.9–10; Plut. *Alex.* 11.6; Ael. *VH* 13.7; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 2.33).

iation from the League of Corinth for violating the Common Peace, especially if a border confrontation had drawn in the Macedonian garrison on the Cadmea or even Alexander himself.<sup>84</sup> In the event of defeat the Athenians could expect a harsher settlement, perhaps comparable to Philip's treatment of Thebes after Chaeronea. Any conflict would have also endangered those citizens who were serving in the squadron of twenty triremes in the Macedonian navy, Alexander keeping them as hostages for the good behavior of Athens (D.S. 17.22.5).<sup>85</sup>

There was, however, an alternative. The Athenians had steadily developed their system of territorial defense over the classical period in order to improve its effectiveness against all kinds of military threats (fig. 1).<sup>86</sup> The modernization of the Athens-Piraeus circuit after Chaeronea continued this policy. Increased Boeotian raiding in the aftermath of Thebes would have prompted further improvements, leading not to the construction of new rural fortifications, though work is epigraphically attested at the forts of Phyle and Eleusis, but to a reassessment of the manpower required to protect Attica.<sup>87</sup> For the Athenians, who had long understood the importance of adjusting the numerical strength of the garrisons in response to the perceived threat-level to Attica (Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.10; Arist. *Rhet.* 1360a), the troops stationed in the garrison demes and in the border fortresses were no longer sufficient to keep tensions down to a manageable level, so as to ensure that the Demos would not be compelled to make a show of force. The novelty of the response was not in the realization that there was a need for additional soldiers but that the increase had to be maintained for the foreseeable future because the Boeotians' hostility (in their view) was unlikely to abate. The expectation was that these soldiers, having reinforced the existing garrisons, would be strong enough to deter all but the most determined of raiders from plundering the countryside (cf. Xen. *Hiero* 10.4–7).

84 For the Common Peace, see Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 372–379. Warfare not permitted: *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 318 (= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 236), ll. 5–8. Lack of impartiality: Hammond and Walbank 1988, 65; Bosworth 1988, 191–192, 195.

85 Horváth's 2008, 32, 34–35, reading of Hyperides' *Against Diondas* (p. 5 [= 176r], l. 1) suggests that the League of Corinth originally levied ten ships in 335/4 and Diodorus' figure of twenty ships reflects a second demand. The flotilla in Macedonian service may explain the neutrality of Athens in Agis' revolt: de St Croix 1972, 376–378; Badian 1994, 259. Other possibilities include Alexander's benevolence towards the city (D.S. 17.62.7), specifically his decision to return the tyrannicides and those Athenian citizens captured at the Granicus (Badian 1967, 183, on Arr. *Anab.* 3.6.2; 3.16.8), or the Macedonian garrison on the Cadmea (Sealey 1993, 207; *contra* Cawkwell 1969, 179).

86 These developments are discussed in Ober 1985a; Munn 1993; Oliver 2007a.

87 Phyle: *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 429 (= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 244), l. 11. Eleusis: Maier 1959 nos. 19 and 20.

The Athenians could have employed a mercenary force for rural defense. While citizens were the backbone of the army throughout the fourth century, foreigners were an important factor on numerous campaigns down to Chaeronea.<sup>88</sup> To be sure, there were several advantages in hiring veteran professional troops. The supply was plentiful: they could be recruited immediately and in large numbers. They also possessed specialized skills (especially their expertise as light-armed skirmishers) which citizens lacked and could remain under arms year-round.<sup>89</sup> But their loyalty was not unconditional, since they fought for gain rather than out of patriotism (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1116b). There was no guarantee that they, even if well paid and treated, would not desert their employer for better opportunities elsewhere or turn to freebooting themselves, potentially aggravating an already tense situation (cf. Plut. *Tim.* 25; Xen. *Anab.* 7.1.7–20; *Hell.* 4.8.30). As Aeneas Tacticus observed, a large force of mercenaries used for guard duty could be as dangerous to their employers as the enemies they were hired to fight against (12.2–13.4; cf. Dem. 19.81). It is understandable, then, that the Athenians would have hesitated to hire mercenaries to protect Attica.<sup>90</sup>

Dependent upon citizen manpower, the preference was for ephebes because they alone satisfied the following criteria. (1) The new corps was intended to serve within Attica. The youngest citizens were ordinarily ineligible for military campaigns beyond the frontier (Thuc. 1.105.4–6) and were called-up periodically to garrison the countryside whenever the Athenians had perceived an external threat (Thuc. 2.13.6–7; Dem. 21.193; 54.3–5). (2) The new corps had to devote itself full-time to garrison duty, to the exclusion of all other activities. The youngest citizens played an insignificant role in the running of the city's governmental institutions: their contribution was limited to attending, speaking, and voting at the Assembly (Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.1). Their absence from Athenian political life for two whole years was therefore not disruptive to the *polis*. (3) The new corps was large enough to supplement those assigned to the forts without having to conscript more citizens. The youngest citizens would have constituted ca. 3.3% out of ca. 31,000 (see Ch. 5.1) or about 1,000 eighteen-year-olds. (4) The new corps must never threaten the Demos. Unlike the one thousand Argive hoplites maintained at public expense

88 Burckhardt 1996, 76–156.

89 Use of mercenaries: Parke 1933, 47–57; Pritchett 1974, 59–116.

90 For Isocrates' (exaggerated) view of mercenaries as a threat to Greece, see Perlman 1976/7, 252–254. Thracian peltasts had a reputation as bandits and indiscriminate plunderers (Best 1969, 126–133, on Thuc. 7.27.1–2; Ar. *Ach.* 137–173). Mercenary life in general is discussed in Trundle 2004.

who joined with the Spartans in overthrowing the democracy after the battle of Mantinea in 418/7 (Thuc. 5.81.2; D.S. 12.80.2–3),<sup>91</sup> the youngest citizens were drawn from all four Solonian property classes rather than only from the wealthy. As Humphreys puts it, they were a representative cross-section of the Demos.<sup>92</sup>

### 3.5 Lycurgus and the *Ephebeia*

Sometime after Alexander's sack of Thebes, probably in late(?) autumn 335/4, the Athenians would have discussed how best to counter the Boeotian threat. At this time, perhaps, Epicrates' "law about the ephebes" was passed, which established the *ephebeia* (Harp. s.v. Ἐπικράτης = Lyc. Fr. 5.3 Conomis).<sup>93</sup> This Assembly would have marked the starting-point rather than the end of Athenian decision-making about the *ephebeia*.<sup>94</sup> On a dedication of Cecropis for the class of 334/3, it is twice stated that the ephebes had to obey a well-defined body of regulations or *nomoi* during their military service: πάντα ὄ[σα αὐτ]οῖς οἱ νόμοι προστάττουσιν and πάντα ὄσα οἱ νόμοι αὐτοῖς προστάττουσιν (T2, ll. 28, 54).<sup>95</sup> These *nomoi*, as πάντα ὄσα suggests, were all-encompassing,<sup>96</sup> such as the restrictions imposed upon the ephebes to ensure that "they shall have no excuse for absence" from the *ephebeia* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5). The *terminus ante quem* for the *nomoi* on T2 was Boedromion 334/3, the likely beginning of the "ephebic" year in Lycurgan Athens (see Ch. 4.1). If some of the *nomoi* were provisions in the law of Epicrates, the Athenians would have taken several months to deliberate on the workings of the institution.<sup>97</sup> The outcome was the two-year state-organized and -funded system of compulsory garrison duty, mil-

91 For these Argives, see Pritchett 1974, 222–223.

92 Humphreys 2004, 88.

93 For ἐφηβεία, see Ch. 2.1. Chankowski 1997, 333; 2010, 129, dates Epicrates' law to late 335 or early 334. It may have taken several months after the sack of Thebes, which occurred during the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries in Boedromion 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.10.2; Plut. *Alex.* 13.1), for the raiding of the Boeotians to alarm the Athenians. Lambert 2004, 86, remarks that the Lycurgan era was "the most intensely documented in Athenian history". We may conjecture that a self-standing inscribed *stèle* was set up for the law, located on the Acropolis or at the Agora (cf. Liddel's 2003 survey of state-decrees in the classical period).

94 *Contra* de Marcellus 1994, 154.

95 Cf. T3, l. 5: καὶ [πάντων ὧν ὄσα αὐτοῖς οἱ νόμοι προσέταττον].

96 Pélékidis 1962, 213.

97 Reinmuth 1971, 9, thinks that the *nomoi* had nothing to do with the *ephebeia*'s foundation. For Conomis 1961, 102, Epicrates' *nomos* would have consisted of several laws.

itary training, and civic education, as described in the *Athenaion Politeia* and attested in the corpus of ephebic inscriptions.

But if the Athenians saw the *ephebeia* as the long-term solution to Boeotian raiding after Thebes (for reasons stated in the previous section), it was also necessary for them to reinforce the permanent border garrisons as an interim measure until the *ephebeia* was fully operational. In this year (333/2) the ephebes enrolled in Nicocrates' archonship would have protected the Athenian Plain while the class of 334/3, the first age-group to serve, was based at the *phylakteria* on the Attic-Boeotian frontier ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3–5). We may suppose that after the passage of Epicrates' law a large number of Athenian citizens were called up for garrison duty from early spring 335/4 to Boedromion 333/2. Afterwards the burden of patrolling the countryside would have fallen primarily to the ephebes down to the Lamian War in 323/2. By this time the Athenians had introduced *nomoi* for the ephebic *taxiarchoi*, *lochagoi*, and *gymnasiarchoi*, alongside other improvements to the *ephebeia*.<sup>98</sup>

Epicrates was officially the *ephebeia*'s founder because he proposed the law.<sup>99</sup> It is *a priori* likely, however, that some of those well-to-do and politically influential men known to have participated in the Lycurgan recovery program were also involved in the creation of the *ephebeia*, each man contributing in accordance with his own interests.<sup>100</sup> There is positive evidence for the involvement of Lycurgus, from whom we are told about Epicrates' law in his speech *On the Financial Administration*. Presumably Lycurgus had mentioned Epicrates in his discussion of the expenditure of public funds on the *ephebeia* from 335/4 (its foundation) to 333/2 (its second year of operation).<sup>101</sup> Brun argues that Lycurgus should be disassociated from the law because Epicrates was the proposer and because the evidence is lacking for a personal or political connection between them.<sup>102</sup> To be sure, even if both had served as councilors in 335/4, the nature of their relationship is uncertain.<sup>103</sup> But per-

98 We need not assume that the *nomoi* in T2 and in T9 (Col. 1, ll. 7–9), a Leontid inscription for the class of 333/2, were the same in every respect. On the introduction of *nomoi* after 334/3, see Ch. 5.5.

99 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1893, 190, 193–194; Forbes 1929, 126–127.

100 Hansen 1983, 158–180, lists over fifty politically active citizens during the Lycurgan era. Like Epicrates, these men were older, conservative, and wealthy: Lewis 1955, 27–36; Faraguna 1992, 211–243, 381–396.

101 Parker 1996, 254, is wrong to maintain that “no source brings Lycurgus into an association of any kind with the institution [i.e. the *ephebeia*]”. The brackets and italics are mine.

102 Brun 2005, 193–194.

103 Epicrates ... otetou of Pallene (*Agora* xv 43, ll. 200–201) was a member of the Council in the same year as Lycurgus (335/4) (*IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 329 [= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 328 = Lambert 2007, 119–121, no. 86

sonal rivalry would not have precluded a “coincidence of purpose” between the two on the *ephebeia*. If Lycurgus had secured a substantial private donation from Epicrates for the *ephebeia*, it would suggest that they had actively cooperated on the law.<sup>104</sup> Given his management of public finances, the Athenians would have sought his financial expertise on the allocation (*merismos*) of state resources to the *ephebeia*. As state comptroller he was able to exert some influence upon their decision-making on what should or should not be included as a regular yearly expense for the institution.<sup>105</sup>

The annual cost of the *ephebeia* was not insignificant. The daily *trophe* or food-ration of four obols for each ephebe would have been the largest expense ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3). The maintenance of ca. 1000–1200 ephebes for an ordinary year of 354 days was 39–47 talents or 42–51 talents for an intercalary year of 384 days. There were also the daily *trophe* of one drachma for the *sophronistai* and perhaps for the *kosmetes*, the salaries of the professional military trainers (the *paidotribai* and the *didaskaloi*), and the purchase of a minimal hoplite panoply for each ephebe (ca. 500–600 panoplies at 25–30 drachmas) and the purchase of necessities such as clothing (i.e. the *chlamys* and the *petasos*), tents, bedding, and cooking utensils, etc. ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3–5; Poll. 8.164).<sup>106</sup> In sum the *ephebeia* would have cost the city somewhere between 43 and 56 talents per annum from 333/2 onwards,<sup>107</sup> exceeding Xenophon’s estimate of “nearly 40 talents” for the Athenian cavalry corps in the fourth

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= Lambert 2012a, 167–169]). Faraguna 2011, 69, considers them political allies, but Rhodes 2010, 84–85, is less certain.

104 For a “coincidence of purpose”, in the context of Demades and Lycurgus being political rivals but having a common interest in religion and drama, see Lambert 2008, 58–59; 2011a, 183–185. Approval of Epicrates’ law: Faraguna 1992, 276, n. 96.

105 On the *merismos*, see Rhodes 2007a, 354–355.

106 An early third-century Cean inscription lists the *aspis* as a prize worth twenty drachmas in a festival context (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 2 1218 = [*IG* XII 5, 647], ll. 27–31), while a “*doru* without a butt-spike” and a *doration* (short-spear) were auctioned for one drachma four obols and two drachmas five obols respectively on one of the Hermokopidai *stelae* dating to 414 (Pritchett 1953 no. 11, ll. 225–226). A late sixth-century inscription obligates the settlers on Salamis to provide their own hoplite equipment worth at least thirty drachmas but does not specify the items (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1, ll. 8–10). For these inscriptions, see van Wees 2001, 66, n. 22; 2002, 63, nn. 10, 12. Also, we are told that the *paidotribes* Hippomachus charged 100 drachmas in Athens at the end of the fourth century for his services (Athen. 13.584c). A Hellenistic ephebic inscription from Teos suggests that the wages for military instructors totaled a hundred or more drachmas per month (See Kennell 2015, 179, on *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 578) and olive oil cost cities thousands of drachmas annually in the Roman period (Kennell 2010, 180–181).

107 Ferguson 1911, 10, estimates 40 talents, while Hansen 1991, 310, suggests 25 talents.

century (*Hipp.* 1.19).<sup>108</sup> Additionally the Athenians constructed a *palaistra* at the Lyceum, the likely venue for the ephebes' military training (see Ch. 4.4). While no other building can be associated with the *ephebeia*—if there was a headquarters, the location is unknown—the Lyceum is unlikely to have been unique.<sup>109</sup>

The degree to which Lycurgus was responsible for the *ephebeia* beyond finance is uncertain.<sup>110</sup> Little is known about his career before Chaeronea, but a distinguished military record seems unlikely.<sup>111</sup> It would be a mistake, then, to attribute the military aspects of the *ephebeia* to Lycurgus. Clearly someone else who had enjoyed a reputation among the Athenians for prudent generalship and sound military advice had successfully persuaded them to use ephebes for the defense of the countryside. Others would have been persuasive on the organization of the *ephebeia* and its officials. It is tempting to identify Phocion as one of the advocates. Elected to the generalship an unprecedented forty-five times (*Plut. Phoc.* 8.1–2), he had already demonstrated his military ability on campaign and he was probably the *strategos epi ten choran* on many occasions, the same officer in charge of the ephebes on the Attic-Boeotian border from 333/2 onwards.<sup>112</sup> As *strategos epi ten choran* in 335/4 he had actively opposed Demosthenes' support for Thebes and later accompanied Demades on his successful embassy to Alexander after the city's sack (*Plut. Phoc.* 7).<sup>113</sup> Perhaps Sophilus son of Aristotles of Phyle and Conon son of Timotheus of Anaphlystus, who are attested in the ephebic corpus as the *strategos*

108 On the corps, see Spence 1990, 180–230.

109 Mitchel 1970, 38, suggests that the Rectangular Peribolos located in the south-west corner of the Agora was the Theseum (cf. Thompson 1966, 42–43, 46–48) and the headquarters of the *ephebeia* on the grounds that Theseus was the embodiment of the institution (on this claim, see Chs. 4.5 and 6.3). This building is now recognized as the Heliaina, though Building A in the north-east corner seems a better candidate (see Boegehold 1995, 14–20, 99–105).

110 Much is disputed about the extent of Lycurgus' influence on Athenian politics: Brun 2005; Rhodes 2010.

111 For Lycurgus' life and career, see Davies 1971 no. 9251. Aeschines and Demosthenes, by contrast, did have military experience (*Aeschin.* 2.167–169; *Din.* 1.12). Improvements in Athens' fortifications, navy, and naval infrastructure after Chaeronea should not be taken as evidence for Lycurgus' military expertise since these developments were a continuation of Eubulus's policies (Oliver 2011).

112 Phocion's career: Gehrke 1976; Tritle 1988. Phocion as *strategos epi ten choran*: Munn 1993, 190–194.

113 Brun 2000, 71–83, shows that Demades rather than Phocion was the key negotiator after Thebes, whose efforts spared the Athenians from punishment. But Phocion's presence may well reflect the confidence of the Demos in his political abilities and his influence at this time.

*epi ton Peiraiea* and the *strategos epi ten choron* for the classes of 334/3 and 333/2, were also like-minded advocates.<sup>114</sup>

Reliably attested for Lycurgus in the ancient sources are his interests in religion, patriotism, and the moral well-being of the Demos. His *Against Leocrates* is our principal evidence for his beliefs on these topics. The themes and concepts of this speech, especially its overtly didactic tone on the duties and responsibilities of Athenian citizenship for the benefit of the young (e.g. 1.10, 93–99, 106), bear a striking resemblance the ephebes' *paideia* as reconstructed in Chapter Six. The visitation of the sanctuaries and the participation of the ephebes in religious festivals also appear to be paralleled in Lycurgus' conception of the virtuous citizen as an individual fervent in his patriotism to the fatherland, unyieldingly loyal to the constitution, and pious towards the gods (e.g. 1.147). Despite the limitations in the documentation available for the *ephebeia*'s creation (i.e. Epicrates' law), a tentative case can be made for crediting Lycurgus either directly or indirectly for the educational component in the *ephebeia* as a whole or perhaps for one or more of its three constituent parts (the third being instruction in *sophrosyne*). It seems legitimate to claim that he would have been sympathetic to the advocacy of others on the education of ephebes and would have supported a policy not radically dissimilar to his own ideas on the importance of good citizenship.<sup>115</sup>

114 Sophilus and Conon (date by enrollment year): e.g. T4 (334/3), ll. 4–6; T7 (333/2), ll. 9–10.

115 For the arguments Lycurgus and others may have used to persuade the Demos on the importance of civic education in the *ephebeia*, see Ch. 6.1.

## The Defenders of Athens

The origin of the *ephebeia*, then, is to be found in the aftermath of Alexander's destruction of Thebes in 335/4. From the archonship of Ctesicles to the probable abolition of the institution after the Lamian War (334/3–323/2) ephebes were obligated to perform two years of garrison duty in Piraeus and on the Attic-Boeotian frontier. Their purpose was to improve border security against raiders. But if the decision to assign this vital task to the youngest citizens marked a decisive break with long-standing Athenian military practices, the necessity of preparing them for service would have entailed further innovations. Athens required dependable and motivated citizen-soldiers who were willing and able to carry out their assigned duties effectively and faithfully. The ephebes had the advantage of youthful vigor and brash self-confidence. But they were also regarded as immature compared to their older compatriots and they as new citizen conscripts had no military experience. This chapter examines how the Demos sought to overcome these impediments by introducing new measures which were intended to turn inexperienced and potentially unruly youths into disciplined and competent troops capable of carrying out successfully their primary military function.

### 4.1 *Kosmetes and Sophronistes*

Like any institution, the *ephebeia* depended upon the competence and energy of its office-holders to function efficiently. The titles of four “ephebic” officials appear in the *Athenaion Politeia* and the corpus, the *kosmetes*, the *sophronistes*, the *paidotribes*, and the *didaskalos*, who owed their existence to the *ephebeia*'s creation in 335/4.<sup>1</sup> In common with a minority of Athenian state officials, predominantly military officers and financial administrators ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 43.1), they were elected rather than chosen by sortition.<sup>2</sup> This preference is explained by the institution's importance for the security of Attica and the understandable concern of the Demos for the well-being of the youngest citizens. We do not know whether ephebic officials could be re-elected in the

<sup>1</sup> For these and other officials, see Mitchel 1961, 349–350.

<sup>2</sup> Elected officials: Hansen 1987, 120–122; 1991, 233–234.

Lycurgan era. The following examines the duties and responsibilities of the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistes*, reconstructing them from the fourth-century evidence.<sup>3</sup> In the process we will also discuss how the *ephebeia* was formally administered and shed some light upon its internal organization.

The most fundamental of questions about the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistes*, namely their length of tenure in the Lycurgan era, is controversial. They are thought either to have served for two years and supervised one enrollment year, or to be annual magistrates responsible for both enrollment years, or to have had a two-year term but oversaw the ephebes in their first year while the *strategoi* commanded them in the second year.<sup>4</sup> The *Athenaion Politeia* (42.2–5), however, implies that the same group of officials was associated with the same group of ephebes throughout their tour of duty.<sup>5</sup> The end of service dedications likewise not only honor the ephebes of one enrollment year but also list a single *kosmetes* and *sophronistes*.<sup>6</sup> Admittedly there are the two dedications of Leontis (T8 [332/1?] and T9 [331/0]) which belong to the class of 333/2 and list the same *sophronistes* (Φιλόθεος Φιλοκλέου Σουνιεύς) but each has a different *kosmetes*. Inscribed upon the former, an unpublished base recently discovered at Rhamnus, was Θουγείτων Ἀριστοκράτου Ἀχαρνέυς, while the latter has as *kosmetes* [. . . 7. . .]ο[ς] Μνησιστράτου Ἀχαρνέυς (T9, Col. 1, ll. 12–13). Petrakos suggests that Thougeiton was unable to complete his term of office. Perhaps he had died in early 332/1 or was suffering from a debilitating illness while the ephebes were stationed at the garrison fortress, with the result that the Demos elected the son of Mnesistratus as his replacement.<sup>7</sup> Removal for incompetence seems unlikely because Thougeiton is honored on T8 alongside the *sophronistes* and other officials.<sup>8</sup>

Frequently attested in the ephebic corpus,<sup>9</sup> the *kosmetes* has a fleeting mention in the *Athenaion Politeia*: “and [the people] elect a *kosmetes* [by a show of hands] from the other Athenians to be over them all (καὶ [ὁ δῆμος χειροτο-

3 Forbes 1929, 129–135, and Pélékidis 1962, 104–108, depend excessively upon Hellenistic evidence which may not be relevant for classical Athens.

4 Gomme 1933, 67–68; Pélékidis 1962, 104, 108.

5 Reinmuth 1971, 81; Clinton 1988, 28–29. *Contra* Burckhardt 1996, 68–69.

6 Rhodes 1981, 504.

7 Petrakos 2004, 174–175.

8 Philocles the *strategos* of Munychia was removed from “the care of the ephebes” in 325/4 (Din. 3.15). He was not dismissed because he had behaved inappropriately around the ephebes, but because he had admitted the Macedonian Harpalus into Athens (Din. 3.1; [Plut.] *x Orat.* 846a).

9 T1 (332/1) is unique because the tribal decree honors the *kosmetes* alone. Other instances: T4 (332/1), l. 8; T7 (331/0), l. 11; T8 (332/1?)—unpublished (*kosmetes*: Thougeiton Acharneus);

νεῖ] κοσμητήν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πάντας)” (42.2). It is uncertain whether there was an age qualification for the office of *kosmetes*,<sup>10</sup> even if ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων suggests that every citizen was eligible, with the possible exception of the thirty candidate-*sophronistai* (see below). We can infer from ἐπὶ πάντας that his responsibilities were not confined to one ephebic *phyle*, as does Mitsos’ certain restoration of ὁ κοσμητῆς τῶν ἐφ]ήβων on line 15 of T1 (332/1), a dedication of Acamantis for the *kosmetes* Autolycus of Thoricus.<sup>11</sup> It would be wrong, however, to describe the *kosmetes* as “the president of the ephebic college”.<sup>12</sup> To take Autolycus as an example, his authority was limited to those ephebes enrolled in the archonship of Ctesicles, whereas Thougeiton and the son of Mnesistratus were assigned to the ephebes who had registered when Nicocrates was archon. This division of leadership can be attributed to geography. A single *kosmetes* could not have maintained effective control at the same time over one group of ephebes deployed at Piraeus and the other dispersed along the Attic-Boeotian frontier.

Called “the orderer”, the foremost task of the *kosmetes* was to ensure *kosmos* in his enrollment year. *Kosmos* was an important concept in classical Athens with a broad range of related but distinct meanings depending on context. It was also a matter of contemporary concern for the Demos under Lycurgus’ administration, especially in religious practice.<sup>13</sup> For the *kosmetes*, this would have involved the supervision of his subordinate officials and the indirect oversight of the ephebes, so that everyone performed his duties in accordance with the prescribed body of regulations or *nomoi* (T2, ll. 28, 54; T3, ll. 4–5; T9, Col. 1, ll. 8–9). Two dedications dating to the class of 334/3 explicitly praise ephebes from different tribes for their orderliness during their garrison duty at Eleusis. A Cecropid dedication thrice honors the ephebes κοσμιότητος ἕνεκα or “for their good order” (T2, ll. 31, 39–40, 58), while a deme decree of the Eleusinians says that the ephebes of Hippothontis were ἐκόσ[μο]υν (T3, l. 5). If we accept the restoration of κοσμιότητος ἕνεκα on T1 (l. 22), the *kosmetes* Autolycus of Thoricus, who had “looked after the young men with a fine love of honor (ll. 3–4: κ[αλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμε]λήθη τῶν νεανίσκ[ων]”, was expected to conduct him-

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T9 (331/0), Col. 11, ll. 12–13; T15 (330/29–324/3), R.S., ll. 7–10; T19 (328/7?), R.S., l. 3(?); T20 (327/6)—unpublished (*kosmetes*: Ctesicles Copeireion); T21 (329/8 or later), l. 2.

10 Pélékidis 1962, 105, n. 2; Rhodes 1981, 505.

11 The *kosmetes* and his activities are discussed in Pélékidis 1962, 104–106; Reinmuth 1971, 135–136; Rhodes 1981, 504–505; de Marcellus 1994, 12; Burckhardt 1996, 69.

12 Forbes 1929, 131.

13 *Kosmos* in Athens: Kerschensteiner 1962; Cartledge, Millet, and von Reden 1998; Roisman 2005, 192–199. Lycurgus and *kosmos*: Parker 1996, 244–255; Mikalson 1998, 11–45.

self in the same manner. Additionally, the *kosmetes* was required to submit one progress report per prytany to the Demos at the *ekklesia kuria* (see Ch. 5.5) and liaised with state and deme officials whenever ephebes participated collectively in certain festivals (see Ch. 6.4).<sup>14</sup>

Under the *kosmetes* there were the tribal *sophronistai*.<sup>15</sup> Like the *taxeis* of the army, the ephebic *phylai* were both based upon the ten Cleisthenic tribes and were recognized as separate entities from their parent associations: in T<sub>9</sub> (331/0) “the tribe of Leontis” praised “the Leontid tribe of ephebes enrolled in the archonship of Nicocrates”.<sup>16</sup> The archon-date was a necessary part of the formula because two “Leontid tribes of ephebes” were operating independently at the same time but had different enrollment years. The *sophronistes*, one suspects, was identified by tribe and archonship for administrative purposes, whereas the archon-year alone was used for the *kosmetes*. For the class of 334/3, the official title of the Cecropid *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon on T<sub>2</sub> may well have been ὁ σωφρονιστῆς τῶν ἐφήβων τῶν τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους ἄρχοντος, whereas the *kosmetes* Autolycus of Thoricus (T<sub>1</sub>) was probably known as ὁ κοσμητῆς τῶν ἐφήβων τῶν ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους ἄρχοντος. Positive evidence for the subdivision of ephebic *phyle* into ephebic *trittyes* and/or ephebic demes is lacking, even if rosters were ordinarily arranged under deme captions.<sup>17</sup> Nor is it certain whether ephebic *lochoi* also existed, although ephebes called *taxiarchoi* and *lochagoi* do appear in the epigraphic record (see Ch. 5.6). The implication is that there was probably no hierarchy of subunits in the *ephebeia* which mirrored the parent *phyle* or its military equivalent the *taxis*. This organizational distinctiveness perhaps accounts for why the *Athenaion Politeia* considered the ephebes separate from the rest of the citizen body (42.5).<sup>18</sup>

The *sophronistes* is mentioned twice in the *Athenaion Politeia*, beginning with a discussion of his election:

14 Liaison and religious festivals: de Marcellus 1994, 12; Burckhardt 1996, 69.

15 *Sophronistes*: Forbes 1929, 129–131; Pélékidis 1962, 106–108; Reinmuth 1971, 2, 129–134; de Marcellus 1994, 11–12; Fisher 2001, 66.

16 Mitchel 1961, 352. T<sub>9</sub>, Col. 1, ll. 9–12: δεδόχθαι τ[ῆ]ι Λεω]ντιδι ἐπαινέσαι τὴν Λεωντίδα φυλὴν τῶν ἐφήβων τῶν ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος. The ephebic *phyle* for a given enrollment year was probably created at the initial muster in the Agora (see Ch. 4.5) and was disbanded after the awarding of public honors at the end of the ephebes’ national service (see Ch. 5.7).

17 Two honorific inscriptions (T<sub>10</sub> and T<sub>20</sub>) were not organized by deme.

18 διε[ξ]ελθόντων δὲ τῶν δουεῖν ἐτῶν, ἥδη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν. Jones 1999, 181, rightly observes that the *sophronistai* functioned “outside the phyletic organization”.

And whenever the ephebes have been scrutinized, their fathers, gathered together tribe by tribe, choose under oath three of their tribesmen who are more than forty years old, whom they consider to be the best and the most suitable to take care of the ephebes, and from them the people elects one of each tribe as *sophronistes*.<sup>19</sup>

42.2

The ephebes' fathers (or guardians if their fathers had already died) convened "tribe by tribe" to select three candidates for the office of *sophronistes* from their fellow tribesmen.<sup>20</sup> A dedication of Leontis suggests that the fathers were not excluded from consideration: the *sophronistes* Philotheus son of Philocles of Sunion and the ephebic *taxiarchos* Philocles son of Philotheus of Sunion were clearly father and son (T9 [331/0], Col. 1, ll. 13–16). The number "three" may have institutional significance if each *trittyes* supplied one candidate, by analogy to the *epimeletai*, the executive officials of the Cleisthenic tribes.<sup>21</sup> Jones' attractive suggestion is that the preselection of the *sophronistes* would have taken place at the same formally-convened tribal assembly where other regular state-level business was conducted.<sup>22</sup> We may speculate that most of the *phyletai* who had attended this meeting, held sometime after the *dokimasia* by the Council, perhaps in Hekatombaion, were *not* the ephebes' fathers.<sup>23</sup> We may further speculate that while the fathers alone could nominate those whom they considered "best (βελτίστους)" and "most suitable (ἐπιτηδειοτάτους)" to "look after the ephebes (ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐφήβων)", the approval or disapproval of

19 ἐπὶ ἀν δὲ δοκιμασθῶσιν οἱ ἔφηβοι, συλλεγόντες οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν [x]ατὰ φυλάς, ὁμόσαντες αἰροῦνται τρεῖς ἐκ τῶν φυλετῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται βελτίστους εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐφήβων, ἐκ δὲ τούτων ὁ δῆμος ἕνα τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης χειροτονεῖ σωφρονιστήν.

20 Sekunda 1992, 337, wrongly thinks that the candidature was limited to the fathers. On T20, an unpublished dedication by the ephebes of Hippothontis, the *sophronistes* was Isocrates of Pallene. It is unclear why the ephebes' fathers should have nominated a citizen from Antiochis. Perhaps the Assembly had rejected all three Hippothontid candidates for some unknown reason and another (more suitable) candidate was elected from Antiochis instead.

21 *Trittyes*: Jones 1987, 54. *Epimeletai*: Traill 1986, 79–92; Jones 1999, 174–178.

22 Jones 1999, 166. For the agenda, see Jones 1987, 47–51, 57.

23 Demosthenes passed his *dokimasia* in Skirophorion or Hekatombaion (Dem. 30.15). Chankowski 2013, 57–63, prefers the former, but Whitehead 1986, 103, n. 86, favors the latter. Humphreys 2004, 184, n. 141, suggests 6 Boedromion, but Pélékidis 1962, 89–93, persuasively argues that 1 Boedromion was the beginning of the "ephebic" year in the Hellenistic period and concludes that it was "vraisemblablement au i<sup>ve</sup> siècle" as well.

the other *phyletai* would have exerted some influence upon whom the fathers included among the shortlist of desirable candidates.

Later the thirty finalists were brought to the Assembly, where the Demos elected the *sophronistai* by a show of hands (χειροτονεί). In T2 (332/1), a Cecropid dedication, the same language is twice used to refer to the election of the *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon: τ[ῶι σωφρ]ονι[στ]εῖ ... τῶι χειροτονηθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου and ὁ [σω]φρονιστῆς ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθείς (ll. 28–29, 54–55). The *Athenaion Politeia* is silent on the voting procedure, but perhaps the three candidate-*sophronistai* for each tribe were named one by one, and after each nomination the Demos voted to accept or reject him. If two or more were accepted, another *cheirotomia* was held, with the winner having received the largest number of hands raised.<sup>24</sup> Also elected were the *kosmetes*, the *paidotribai*, and the *didaskaloi* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2–3), whose candidates would have been accepted or rejected as they were proposed until every office was filled. Of the four mandatory meetings of the Assembly per prytany in the Lycurgan era, the *ekklesia kuria* was probably the occasion for their election because “the defense of the countryside (ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς χώρας)” was a fixed item on the agenda ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 43.4).<sup>25</sup> If the second or third meeting of the prytany was the *ekklesia kuria*, the election of the *sophronistes* and other officials would have taken place either in mid to late Hekatombaion or as late as early Metageitnion.<sup>26</sup>

Having described the election of the *sophronistai*, the *Athenaion Politeia* provides the following account of their activities:

And it [i.e. the people] also grants to the *sophronistai* a drachma per head for sustenance (τροφ[ήν]), and four obols per head to the ephebes: and each *sophronistes*, taking the pay for his own tribesmen, purchases the provisions (τὰ ἐπιτήδεια) for all in common (for they mess together by tribes), and takes care of all other things.<sup>27</sup>

42.3

24 This reconstruction follows Hansen 1987, 44–46, on the election of multiple candidates in the Assembly, based upon Pl. *Leg.* 755c–d; 763d–e.

25 For the *ekklesia kuria*, see Rhodes 1981, 522–526; Hansen 1987, 25–27.

26 Second or third meeting: Hansen 1987, 30–32. For the end of the first prytany on Metageitnion 6 or 7 (ordinary year) or on Metageitnion 9 or 10 (intercalary year), see Pritchett and Neugebauer 1947, 112; Meritt 1961, 9.

27 δίδωσι δὲ καὶ εἰς τροφ[ήν] τοῖς μὲν σωφρονισταῖς δραχμὴν ἅ' ἐκάστῳ, τοῖς δ' ἐφήβοις τέτταρας ὀβολοὺς ἐκάστῳ· τὰ δὲ τῶν φυλετῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων ὁ σωφρονιστῆς ἕκαστος ἀγοράζει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πᾶσιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν (συσσιτοῦσι γὰρ κατὰ φυλάς), καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται πάντων.

*Trophe* or maintenance was an allowance for rations, elsewhere called a *siteresion* or *sitos*. The epebes were *not* paid a *misthos* or wage for service.<sup>28</sup> In contrast to long-established Athenian military practice, the *sophonistes* was allocated public funds for *trophe*, obtained directly from a state-treasurer or from the *kosmetes* as an intermediary, and was tasked with the procurement of the daily rations for himself and for those epebic *phyletai* assigned to him.<sup>29</sup> The *Athenaion Politeia* adds the significant though vaguely-worded remark that the *sophonistes* “takes care of everything else (τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται πάντων)” rather than providing an itemized list, however incomplete, of his duties. We can infer that he was entrusted with many responsibilities, some of which were related to the one explicitly attested function discussed above. He would have attended to all their logistical needs, such as the distribution of state-supplied clothing (e.g. the *chlamys* and the *petasos*: [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5; Poll. 8.164) and of other equipment for the common mess (cf. the tents in Dem. 54.3). In this respect it is appropriate to liken the *sophonistes* to the modern rank of quartermaster in the British army.

The *sophonistes*, clearly, would have spent almost all of his time in close proximity to the epebes of his own *phyle*. The *kosmetes* by comparison was a remote figure.<sup>30</sup> By supplying epebes with provisions, clothing, and housing, he played an essential role in the day-to-day running of the *ephebeia*. This alone would justify Ober’s description of the *sophonistai* as the institution’s “key officials”.<sup>31</sup> But the title of *sophonistes* suggests a still more extensive contribution. Literally meaning “moderator” or “regulator”,<sup>32</sup> he also supervised the epebes’ moral behavior. While the *Athenaion Politeia* unfortunately tells us next to nothing about the nature of his supervisory activities (i.e. those *ta alla panta* not concerned with logistics), we can reconstruct them by considering the *ephebeia*’s military purpose, the perception of young men in classical Athens, and the preoccupations of the Lycurgan revitalization program. In summary, the *sophonistes* maintained *eutaxia* or “good order” and enforced

28 For the distinction between *sitos* and *misthos*, see Pritchett 1971, 3–6; Loomis 1998, 32–36. Loomis discusses *trophe* in the *ephebeia* (for epebes and *sophonistai*) at 24 (no. 26) and 53 (no. 30).

29 It was traditional in Greek warfare for generals to distribute the *sitos* directly to their soldiers and to provide them with a market to buy provisions (Pritchett 1971, 30–32). For this practice in Athenian fortresses during the Hellenistic period, see Daly 2001, 373–394.

30 Burckhardt 1996, 69. The remoteness of the *kosmetes* compared to the *sophonistes* may well explain disparity between the incidence of the two in the corpus (cf. Humphreys 2004–2009, 84, n. 3).

31 Ober 2001, 204.

32 Fisher 2001, 66; Roisman 2005, 193.

*peitharchia* or “obedience” among the ephebes throughout their service (see Ch. 4.3). He also installed *sophrosyne* or “self-control”, one component of a civic educational program which aimed to make ephebes loyal and patriotic citizens (see Chs. 6.2–4). The importance of the *sophronistes* is reflected in the epigraphical record: no other official associated with the *ephebeia* appears so frequently or is the recipient of such lavish praise.<sup>33</sup>

To return to the two-step procedure described above for selecting the *sophronistes*, the ephebes’ fathers were entrusted with the preselection of the three finalists because they, concerned about the welfare of their sons, would have had a compelling self-interest (thus serving the public good) to scrutinize carefully their fellow tribesmen for the office. To be sure, the one formal qualification (so far as we are aware) was that each candidate must be a mature adult male at least forty years old (ὕπερ τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων: cf. the *choregos* in [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 56.3), the very age when an individual was considered most *sophron* (Aeschin. 1.11).<sup>34</sup> From the fathers’ perspective (we may conjecture) the candidate was one who possessed sufficient experience and competence to manage a contingent of between 38 (T8) and 58–65 (T17) ephebes without the assistance of a subordinate official.<sup>35</sup> An exemplum of manly self-restraint himself, he was expected to protect ephebes from all potentially corrupting influences—the young were thought to be particularly susceptible (Aeschin. 3.245–246)—such as the obsequious man eagerly leering at them as they exercised in the gymnasia (Theophr. *Char.* 5.7).<sup>36</sup> Effectively a state-appointed guardian,<sup>37</sup> he was also expected to mentor them and positively influence their development at a formative time in their civic lives, just as the fathers themselves had done before the creation of the *ephebeia*.<sup>38</sup>

33 T2 (332/1), ll. 28–29, 31–32, 41–42, 47–48, 54–55, 58–59; T3 (332/1), ll. 1–2, 6, 8; T4 (332/1), ll. 3; T6 (331/0), ll. 1–2, 5–6; T7 (331/0), ll. 6–7; T8 (332/1?)—unpublished (*Sophronistes*: Philocles Sounieus); T9 (331/0), l. 1, Col. I, ll. 4–5, 13–16, Col. II, ll. 13–15, Col. III, ll. 10–11, 14–17; T10 (333/2 or 332/1), l. 1; T12 (333/2 or 332/1), l. 3; T15 (330/29–324/3), L.S., ll. 10–13; T16 (330/29), ll. 2–3; T18 (329/8 or 328/7 or 326/5), l. 2; T19 (328/7?), L.S., ll. 1–2; T20 (327/6)—unpublished (*Sophronistes*: Isocrates Palleneus); T21 (329/8 or later), l. 2. On T3 the deme of Eleusis grants *proedria* to the *sophronistes* at the *agon* of the rural Dionysia (l. 12). For these grants, see Whitehead 1986, 219–220.

34 Age-qualifications for magistrates are discussed in Devlin 1985, 149–159.

35 The *hyposophronistes*, the assistant to the *sophronistes*, is unattested until the Roman period (e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2085 [161/2 CE], l. 22).

36 For similar concerns about the moral well-being of the young, see Fisher 2001, esp. 25–53.

37 Cf. Reinmuth’s 1971, 2, formulation of the *sophronistes* as an individual “*in loco parentis*”.

38 The relationship between fathers and sons in classical Athens is discussed in Strauss 1993, esp. 61–99.

## 4.2 *Strategoi and Peripolarchoi*

The leadership of the ephebes in the field was the purview of the three annually elected *strategoi* or generals appointed to territorial defense, namely the *strategos epi ten choran* and the two *strategoi epi ton Peiraiea* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 61.1).<sup>39</sup> The *Athenaion Politeia's* description of the *ephebeia* omits these *strategoi*, but they regularly appear in the corpus. Five dedications dating to the enrollment years of 334/3 and 333/2 list Conon son of Timotheus of Anaphlystus, the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea*, and Sophilus son of Aristotles of Phyle, the *strategos epi ten choran*, although not always in the same order.<sup>40</sup> This command structure reflects the *ephebeia's* organization by region and by enrollment year. Conon was in charge of those deployed at Piraeus in the first year while Sophilus led those stationed on the frontier in the second. For the class of 333/2, the former was *strategos* in the archonship of Nicocrates, followed by the latter when Nicetes was archon (in 332/1).<sup>41</sup> It is uncertain whether the *strategos epi ten choran*, probably ranking second to the *strategos epi tous hoplitas* in the fourth-century *strategia* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 61.1), was superior in authority to the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* in the *ephebeia*.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps these *strategoi* operated independently of each other while also cooperating whenever necessary.

The *strategos epi ten choran* is first attested in 352/1 (*IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1 292 [= *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 204], ll. 19–21). From this time onwards, if not earlier,<sup>43</sup> he would have commanded ephebes whenever a general levy was raised to reinforce the frontier. One example is the Athenian expedition to Panactum in 343/2 if the unnamed *strategos* was the *strategos epi ten choran* and the ephebes were among those called up for garrison duty (see Ch. 2.4).<sup>44</sup> The *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* was probably created in 335/4 after the passage of Epicrates' legislation, unless it was a formalization of an already long-established military practice. The cor-

39 For the departmentalization of the *strategia*, see Hamel 1998a, 14–16.

40 By enrollment year: T4 (334/3), ll. 4–6; T5 (334/3 or 333/2), ll. 5–11; T6 (333/2), ll. 4–6; T7 (333/2), ll. 9–10; T9 (333/2), Col. II, ll. 9–12. Conon is called στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῷ Πειραιεῖ (T6 has στρατηγός τοῦ Πειραιῶς) and Sophilus στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ. On three occasions στρατηγός is mentioned without qualification: T8 (333/2)—unpublished (Sophilus Phulasius, clearly the στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ); T19 (330/29?), R.S., ll. 6–7; T20 (329/8)—unpublished with title restored ([στρατη]γόν).

41 Forbes 1929, 142–143; Pélékidis 1962, 109; Reinmuth 1971, 80; Rhodes 1981, 506, 508.

42 Hamel 1998a, 194–195, challenges the prevailing view that the order of the *strategoi* in the *Athenaion Politeia* (61.1) reflects their position in Athens' military hierarchy (e.g. Sarikakis 1976, 14; Tritle 1988, 124).

43 Munn 1993, 190–191, argues that the *strategos epi ten choran* was established after the Theban annexation of Oropus in 366. See also Hamel 1998a, 15, n. 32.

44 For the identity of this *strategos*, see Munn 1993, 7, on Dem. 54.3–5.



FIGURE 6 The hill of Munychia at Piraeus  
PHOTO BY AUTHOR

pus suggests that he was in sole command of Piraeus for the first few years of the *ephebeia*'s existence. At some point this regional generalship was regularly divided into two smaller appointments: T15 (330/29–324/3), a dedication of Leontis, lists Diogenes son of Menexenus of Cydathenaion (στρατηγὸν ἐπ[ί] τῶι Πειραεῖ) and Pherclides son of Pherocles of Perithoidai (στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ Ἄκτῃ) (R.S., ll. 2–6, 11–15).<sup>45</sup> As Ferguson recognized, the *ephebeia* was responsible for this shift in command structure.<sup>46</sup> If the *concentration* of the ephebes at Piraeus had prompted the Athenians to establish the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea*, it was the *division* of the same ephebes into two groups of five *phylai*, one based at Munychia and the other at Acte (figs. 2 and 6), which resulted in the creation of the *strategos epi tei Aktei*.<sup>47</sup> The need for an additional general can be attributed to Athenian concerns that the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* by himself was unable to provide effective leadership over both garrisons at the same time.

45 For Rhodes 1981, 679, the *strategos epi ton Mounichian* was an alternate title for the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea*, as suggested by a speech of Dinarchus, delivered in 325/4, which accuses Philocles of betraying “Acte and the harbors” when he admitted Harpalus into Piraeus in return for bribes (3.11, 13).

46 Ferguson 1911, 9, n. 2.

47 For the division of the ephebes, see Pélékidis 1962, 114.

While the ephebic officials attended to all aspects of the *ephebeia*'s daily operation *except* for garrison duty, such as the supervision, logistics, discipline, and training of the ephebes, the decision-making of the *strategoi* would have centered on how best to protect the countryside from raiders.<sup>48</sup> In contrast to Piraeus, the ephebes' deployment along the Attic-Boeotian border was at the discretion of the *strategos epi ten choran*, based upon his ongoing assessment of the manpower requirements for rural defense (cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1360a. Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.10).<sup>49</sup> The epigraphic record does not permit a reconstruction of the annual distribution of the ephebic *phylai* in the Lycurgan era. Perhaps at least one was assigned to every(?) garrison fortress and fortified deme. Several garrisoned Eleusis in 333/2, as the dedications of Cecropis (T2) and Hippothontis (T3) suggest, and surely also at Rhamnus. These demes were clearly of greater importance than Panactum and Phyle: in the third century they were the headquarters of the *strategos ep' Eleusinos* and the *strategos epi ten paralian* respectively.<sup>50</sup> Some *phylai* guarded more than one fort: a dedication of Cecropis lists Eleusis and Rhamnus as honoring corporations (T6 [331/0]), while on T14 (330/29 or 329/8) the demesmen of Eleusis, Phyle, and Rhamnus honor the ephebes of Pandionis. We can explain this practice, seemingly unique to the *ephebeia*, by supposing that these *phylai* were used for "firebrigade" duties in their second year. The *strategos epi ten choran* sent them to "hotspots" where reinforcements were needed to counter increased raiding: the Pandionid contingent began at Eleusis, then transferred to Phyle, and finally to Rhamnus, at which location the ephebes would have completed their tour of duty.<sup>51</sup>

The *strategoi* were in charge of the ephebes because they were the senior military officers, but in practice they would have delegated the daily patrols to subordinates called *peripolarchoi*.<sup>52</sup> The epigraphic record suggests that they

48 Burckhardt 1996, 69–70. Reinmuth 1971, 79–80, likewise recognizes this division of responsibility, but is mistaken in thinking that the *strategoi* would have also trained ephebes while "the *kosmetes* and his staff" ran everything else (my italics). For the activities of the *paidotribai* and the *didaskaloi*, see Ch. 4.4.

49 The deployment of the ephebes at Piraeus was predetermined if the ephebic *phylai* were always stationed at Munychia and Acte in their canonical order.

50 Importance of Eleusis and Rhamnus: Munn 1993, 7, 10. Third-century headquarters: Ferguson 1911, 306–308; Oliver 2007a, 164–167.

51 Plato proposes that the citizen-soldiers of his ideal city (divided into twelve tribes) should rotate around the countryside at one region per month so that no part of its territory will remain unguarded and so that each tribal contingent will be fully acquainted with their homeland (*Leg.* 760a–763b). There is no evidence that his theoretical model reflects contemporary Athenian military practices (Daly 2001, 361–366).

52 Ephebes and *peripolarchoi*: Reinmuth 1952, 38–39; Pélékidis 1962, 37–38; Ober 1985a, 93.

occupied a prominent position within the Athenian military hierarchy, in that they were under the direct control of the *stratego*i and cooperated closely with them (e.g. *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 292 [= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 204] [352/1], ll. 19–21).<sup>53</sup> Their primary military responsibility was to bring security to the countryside. An honorific decree of the Eleusinians for the *peripolarchos* Smicythion says that “and he stationed himself and the soldiers with him at Eleusis and acted according to the *stratego*i and the deme in order that sufficient protection might come to Eleusis ...” (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1193 [fin. s. IV], ll. 4–10).<sup>54</sup> Admittedly no ancient source explicitly associates *peripolarchoi* with ephebes, but, as we have seen, ephebes were *peripoloi* in both years of the *ephebeia* and a scholiast to Thuc. 8.92.2 defines the *peripolarchos* as “the leader of the *perioplo*i (ὁ τῶν περιπόλων ἄρχων).” We also know from Thucydides that at least one *peripolarchos* was based at Munychia during the Peloponnesian War (8.92.5), and garrison inscriptions dating to the 330s and 320s confirm the presence of *peripolarchoi* at Eleusis and Rhamnus.<sup>55</sup> But if *peripolarchoi* had routinely commanded ephebes in the Lycurgan era, their absence from the officials listed and honored in the corpus is puzzling.<sup>56</sup>

#### 4.3 *Eutaxia*: Discipline in the *Ephebeia*

In the winter of 414/3, during the siege of Syracuse, Nicias is said to have written in a letter to the Demos that “you are by nature difficult to command (Thuc. 7.14.2). Xenophon likewise observes in the *Memorabilia* that “it is amazing that ... hoplites and cavalymen, the pick of the citizens for their noble character, are the most insubordinate (*apeithestratous*) of them all (3.5.19)” and that “in the affairs of soldiers, where moral discipline (*sophrosyne*), good order (*eutaxia*), and obedience (*peitharchia*) are most necessary, [the Athenians] pay no attention to these things (3.5.21).” These authors do not mean that the Athenian army in the classical period was so ill-disciplined that it had ceased to function as an

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*Peripolarchoi* in classical Athens: Robert 1955, 291–292; Kroll and Mitchel 1980, 86–96; Cabanes 1991, 212–213.

53 The *Athenaion Politeia* omits the *peripolarchoi* from its discussion of Athenian military officers (61).

54 καὶ αὐτός τε αὐτὸν ἔταξεν Ἐλευσινάδε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔπραττεν πρὸς τε τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὸν δῆ[μ]ον ὅπως φυλακὴ ἰκανὴ ἔλθοι Ἐλευ[σί]νάδε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὄσων ἐδείτο [εἰς φ]υλακὴν Ἐλευσίνος.

55 Rhamnus: *IRhamn.* 92–96. Eleusis: *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 278 (= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 2973), dated to 336/5. Commentary and dates (except *IRhamn.* 92): Daly 2001, 49–57 (his nos. 3–7) and 308–309.

56 For the absence of *peripolarchoi*, see the register of Kennell 2006, 15–30.

organized force while on campaign but suggest that insubordination or *ataxia* was not an infrequent occurrence among the rank and file.<sup>57</sup> *Strategoï*, however, were reluctant to exercise their disciplinary authority, although they could imprison, expel, or fine citizens ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 61.2). Phocion did nothing to hinder those citizens who deserted his encampment and returned to Athens before the battle of Tamynae in 349/8 (Plut. *Phoc.* 12.3). Nor did a certain Simon, having beaten his tribal *taxiarchos* in a brawl at Corinth in 394, suffer a punishment more severe than expulsion from the army (Lys. 13.45).<sup>58</sup> As annually elected officials accountable to the Demos for their conduct, *strategoï* were hesitant to impose strict discipline lest their unpopularity prevent reelection or lead to prosecution in the law courts.<sup>59</sup>

This tolerance for lax discipline, however, did not extend to the *ephebeia*. The Demos was understandably concerned about the presence of hundreds of armed ephebes in their midst, if we consider the perception of young men as prone to physical violence, drunkenness, gambling, sexual excess, and a general recklessness.<sup>60</sup> While older citizens were often prepared to overlook their socially disruptive behavior (Lys. 24.17; Dem. 25.88; 54.21),<sup>61</sup> despite misgivings (cf. Pl. *Leg.* 884), they could not afford to let “boys be boys” in the *ephebeia*. They were well aware that ephebes had the potential to disrupt life wherever they were deployed and perhaps feared that some individuals in the worse-case scenario could turn to brigand-like behavior themselves (cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.11; Pl. *Leg.* 762a). With this in mind, the appearance of *eutaxia* and its cognates in the corpus is unsurprising.<sup>62</sup> On T2 (332/1) three honorific decrees praise the

57 *Ataxia* in Athens and elsewhere: Pritchett 1974, 232–245; van Wees 2004, 108–113; Lendon 2005, 72–77.

58 On the incident, see van Wees 2004, 109; Crowley 2012, 107. Simon was liable for a *graphe astrateias* but Lysias implies that he was never charged (Carey 1989, 112; Todd 2007, 342).

59 Parke 1933, 78; Pritchett 1974, 243; Hamel 1998a, 62–63, 119–120. Xenophon saw *strategoï* as citizens invested with temporary authority (*Mem.* 3.5.21). For Athenian generalship and its limitations, see Hamel 1998a. Greek armies were notable for their lack of an officer class: Anderson 1970, 40; Lendon 2005, 74–75. Generals depended upon their personal leadership to procure their soldiers’ willing obedience (Wood 1964, 51–54; Lendon 2005, 75; Lee 2007, 92–95).

60 Examples: Dem. 19.194, 229; 21.18; 54.14; Isae. 3.16–17; Isoc. 7.43, 47–49; 15.286–287; Lys. 20.3. Dover 1974, 102–105; MacDowell 1990, 18–23; Fisher 1998b, 97–99; Roisman 2005, 14–15, 171–172.

61 For the tolerance of low-level violence in Athenian society generally, see Fisher 1998b, esp. 75–77 (on young men); Roisman 2005, 71–79, 170–173.

62 *Eutaxia* and ephebes: Pélékidis 1962, 38, 181; Robert and Robert 1970, 453; de Marcellus 1994, 149–154; Burckhardt 1996, 65; Veligianni-Terzi 1997, 112, 124–125, 132.

ephebes of Cecropis κοσμιότητος ἔνεκα καὶ εὐταξίας (ll. 30–31, 39–40, 58). Both terms mean “good order” but refer to different contexts, the former civil and the latter military.<sup>63</sup> While *eutaxia* originally denoted a well-ordered formation, specifically the proper arrangement of hoplites in the phalanx, it was used generally to describe soldiers who had displayed orderly conduct and obedience to their commanders.<sup>64</sup> In either sense an appropriate translation would be “good discipline”. The corpus also suggests that the Demos sought to instill not only *eutaxia* but also *peitharchia* or obedience in ephebes. On T9 (331/0) the *sophronistes* Philotheus announces to the tribesmen of Leontis that “they [i.e. the ephebes] are well-disciplined (εὐτα[χτῶν]τας) and obedient (πειθομέ-νος) both to the regulations and to himself” (Col. 1, ll. 4–9; cf. T2, ll. 38–39, 53; T3, ll. 6–7),<sup>65</sup> recalling Xenophon’s blunt assessment on the benefits of “good discipline” that “*eutaxia* seems to keep [men] safe, but *ataxia* has ruined many already” (*Anab.* 3.1.38; cf. *Hipp.* 1.24).

The Demos would have had little confidence in the ability of the *strategoí* and the *peripolarchoi* to discipline ephebes: they could recall instances like Panactum, where the senior military officers were so ineffectual in their response to the drunken abuse of Conon’s sons that the violence against Ariston nearly escalated into an all-out brawl (Dem. 54.3).<sup>66</sup> In consequence they assigned the task of making the ephebes *eutaktoi* to the *sophronistes*, whom Burckhardt aptly calls a “Feldwebel” or “sergeant-major”.<sup>67</sup> But it would be wrong to characterize him as a military officer, because his relationship with the ephebes was conceived as paternal in nature. The *sophronistes*, having received the public endorsement of the ephebes’ fathers, his fellow tribesmen, and the Demos as a whole ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2), was clearly regarded as someone worthy of the ephebes’ obedience (e.g. T2 [332/1], ll. 28–29: τ[ὼ]ι σωφρον[ιστ]ῆ[ι] πειθ[αρχο]ῦσιν), just as a son was expected to obey his father (Dem. 54.23).<sup>68</sup> He was also entrusted with a means of disciplining those ephebes who refused to accept his authority and to imitate his virtuous behav-

63 Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 456.

64 Pritchett 1974, 236–238; de Marcellus 1994, 149–150; Lendon 2005, 74. Xen. *Anab.* 5.8.13; *Cyr.* 8.5.14; Thuc. 6.72.4; 7.77.5. Here the concern is for *eutaxia* in a strictly military context, not with “the broader societal connotations of the virtue, manifest as they are in diverse literary sources (Whitehead 1993, 70)”.

65 Xenophon uses οἱ εὐτακτοί or “the disciplined ones” and οἱ πειθόμενοι or “the obedient ones” for the same body of troops in the *Cyropaedeia* (7.2.7–8). Elsewhere he says “*eutaxia* is result of *peitharchia* (*Ages.* 6.4)”.

66 For the incident, see Carey and Reid 1985, 78–80.

67 Burckhardt 1996, 69.

68 Dover 1974, 273–275.

ior, which in practice would have involved beating ephebes for their misconduct, just as a father did to chastise his disrespectful children (Pl. *Prot.* 325d; Ar. *Nub.* 1409–1429).<sup>69</sup>

Evidence for corporal punishment comes from the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus*, whose date of composition is uncertain, with estimates ranging from the late fourth to the second century.<sup>70</sup> In the dialogue there is a somewhat bleak description of an unfortunate youth's experience in the *ephebeia*:

And whenever he enrolls among the ephebes, there are the *kosmetes* and worse fear, then there are the Lyceum and the Academy and the gymnasiarchy and the rods (ῥάβδοι) and miseries without measure (κακῶν ἀμετρίαί): and all the toil of the young is under the control of the *sophronistai* (πᾶς ὁ τοῦ μειρακίσκου πόνος ἐστὶν ὑπὸ σωφρονιστᾶς) and subject to the Areopagus' selection for the young.<sup>71</sup>

366d–367a

It is argued that the fourth-century Cynic philosopher Crates of Thebes was the original source of this passage because Stobaeus' paraphrase was derived from Crates (through his pupil, the mid-third century philosopher Teles of Athens) which has clear parallels to the *Axiochus* (4.34.72 = fr. 50 Hense).<sup>72</sup> We can explain the differences between the two by assuming that Teles' modifications of Crates would have reflected the *ephebeia* as it appeared in his own time.<sup>73</sup> Notable is the conspicuous absence of the *sophronistes* in the epigraphic record from ca. 300 (Reinmuth 1971 no. 20; *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4 352 = *Agora* I 5243) to the Roman empire (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2044 [139/40 CE], ll. 2–9), which suggests a fourth-century context for the *Axiochus*, either the Lycurgan era (334/3–323/2) or the restored democracy (307/6–300), since the *ephebeia* was probably abolished after the Lamian War (see Epilogue). Also notable is the Lyceum, the principal venue for the training program, and the ephebic *gymnasiarchoi* for the *lampadedro-*

69 Fathers and punishment: Golden 2015, 88, 135 (= 1990, 101, 103); Strauss 1993, 82. A comprehensive study of punishment in classical Greece is found in Allen 2000a; 2000b.

70 Hershbell 1981, 12–21, prefers the second century or afterwards, based upon linguistic, historical, and philosophical evidence. O'Keefe 2006, 389–390, favors a date between 300 and 36 because the author used Epicurian arguments.

71 ἐπειδὴν δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφή, κοσμητῆς καὶ φόβος χειρῶν, ἔπειτα Λύκειον καὶ Ἀκαδημία καὶ γυμνασιαρχία καὶ ῥάβδοι καὶ κακῶν ἀμετρίαί· καὶ πᾶς ὁ τοῦ μειρακίσκου πόνος ἐστὶν ὑπὸ σωφρονιστᾶς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς νέους αἴρεσιν τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς.

72 For Teles of Athens, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1965, 292–317. O'Sullivan 2009, 88, rejects the connection.

73 Ferguson 1911, 129, n. 1; Habicht 1992.

*mia*. While the author of the dialogue clearly incorporated elements dating to the late Hellenistic period, such as the Areopagus' role in selecting the young (in contradiction to the *Athenaion Politeia*), the supervision of the *sophronistes* is not inconsistent with the accumulated literary and epigraphic evidence from the 330s and 320s.<sup>74</sup>

While the *Axiochus* does not state who had used the *rhabdos* to punish the ephebe for his misbehavior, the *sophronistes* is the only viable candidate on account of his close association with ephebes during their national service. Corroboration *may* come from a second-century CE relief which depicts *sophronistai* wielding birches (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 2122).<sup>75</sup> If the *sophronistes* could indeed inflict physical punishment upon disobedient ephebes, their fear of the rod would have helped him to maintain *eutaxia* (and *peitharchia*) in his ephebic *phyle*. As Xenophon observes, "fear makes men more attentive (*prosektikoteros*), more obedient (*eupeithesterous*), and more disciplined (*eutaktoteros*)" (*Mem.* 3.5.5). The ephebes who had suffered *κακῶν ἀμετρία* at the *sophronistes'* hands would have had a different perspective on such treatment because physical coercion was considered fitting for slaves but humiliating for free-born citizens (Dem. 21.180; 22.55; 24.167).<sup>76</sup> Their anger was perhaps comparable to how many non-Spartan Greeks reacted after Spartan commanders had struck them with sticks to enforce discipline.<sup>77</sup> But discontented ephebes could not have exacted immediate vengeance (at least in court) upon the *sophronistes* since absence from service was not permitted except in suits involving estates, heiresses, and hereditary priesthoods ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5). Afterwards, however, they were free to lay a complaint at his *euthuna* or scrutiny (cf. Dem. 18.117; Aeschin. 3.23) or to go to law on the grounds that it was in the city's best interest to convict him for abusing citizens (cf. Dem. 25.26; Aeschin. 1.192).<sup>78</sup>

74 For some, the Areopagite board is the principal reason to date the passage to the regime of Demetrius of Phalerum (e.g. Wallace 1989, 270, n. 63; de Marcellus 1994, 180; *contra* O'Sullivan 2009, 89), but Keil 1920, 75–76, shows that such boards are unattested before the late second century.

75 *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 2122 and the Lycurgan *ephebeia*: Pélékidis 1962, 108; Rhodes 1981, 504. de Marcellus 1994, 12, compares the *sophronistes* to the gymnasiarch at Beroia, who could inflict punishment upon disobedient ephebes (*SEG* 27.261, B ll. 9, 22, 44, and 70).

76 Corporal punishment and slaves: Hunter 1992; 1994, 70–95, 154–184. In some circumstances, however, it was permissible for citizens (Allen 1997).

77 Spartans striking other Greeks: Wheeler 2000; van Wees 2004, 109–111. Spartan commanders: Thuc. 8.84.2 (Astyochnus); Xen. *Anab.* 1.5.11–17; 2.3.11; 2.6.9–14 (Clearchus); Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.18–19 (Mnasippus).

78 *Euthuna* of *sophronistes*: T2 (332/1), ll. 42–43; T3 (332/1), ll. 9–10 (restored); T9 (331/0), Col. 1, l. 18. For the *euthuna* in Athens, see Piérart 1971. Prosecutors appealing to public interest: Roisman 2005, 194–199.

The Athenians' response was to exert social pressure upon the ephebes after they had completed their tour of duty, whose purpose was to dissuade them from prosecuting *ex-sophronistai*. The honorific decree of Pandionis (Reinmuth 1971 no. 19 [303/2] = *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1159) shows that the ephebes' fathers would have played a leading role in praising the *sophronistes* Philonides son of Callicrates of Conthyle for his meritorious conduct: "the fathers of the ephebes declare to the tribe that he has looked after the ephebes according to the laws" (ll. 11–14).<sup>79</sup> As the tentative restoration of a fragmentary decree on a dedication of Leontis suggests (T9 [332/1], Col. III, ll. 10–18), this practice may have originated in the Lycurgan era (see Catalogue *loc. cit.*). For those ephebes antagonistic towards Philonides (or Philotheus), it was not in their interest to threaten the honorand with litigation during the ceremony. Nor, having returned to their demes, was it beneficial to quarrel on this matter with their fathers or with other demesmen.<sup>80</sup> This display of communal support may have also reassured potential candidates for *sophronistai* that the *sophronistes* could discipline ephebes without fear of prosecution provided that he had not acted contrary to what the ephebes' fathers and others had considered acceptable behavior (i.e. Philonides was moderate with the rod).<sup>81</sup>

But if the *sophronistai* were responsible for the maintenance of *eutaxia* in the *ephebeia*, they were *not* concerned with the orderly deployment of the ephebes by rank and file.<sup>82</sup> This was the task of the *hoplomachos* (see Ch. 4.4). The Demos also established an *agon eutaxias* specifically for ephebes.<sup>83</sup> The case for this competition is built upon *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 550 (= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 417), recently reedited by Lambert,<sup>84</sup> whose partially preserved left column has a list of liturgists (two per tribe apart from Hippothontis) from a single year under [ε]ὑταξίας

79 ἀποφ[αίν]ουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν φυλὴν [ο]ἱ πατέρες τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπιμεμε[λ]ῆσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τῶν [ἐ]φήβων.

80 For solidarity and conflict between fathers and sons, see Strauss 1993, 61–99. The importance of cultivating good relations in deme society is discussed in Whitehead 1986, 223–234.

81 Cf. the hortatory intention clause in Reinmuth 1971 no. 19 (= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1159): ὅπως [καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν] ἕκαστος τῶν [αἰρεθέντων σωφρονιστῶν] ἐπι[μελ] ... (ll. 20–23).

82 Not military trainers: Rhodes 1981, 504. *Eutaxia* in hoplite battle: Crowley 2012, 49–66.

83 Xenophon, emulating the Spartan "ethos of competitive obedience" (Xenophon and Sparta: Lendon 2005, 74–77), recommended competition as an effective method of improving discipline in Cyrus' army (e.g. *Cyr.* 2.1.22–24; cf. *Hell.* 3.4.16, 4.2.5–7). In the *Hiero*, he advises the tyrant to set up athletic events for citizens on the analogy of choral competitions, one being the *eutaxia* (9.4–8). Elsewhere he makes his fictional Persian ephebes compete in public competitions (*Cyr.* 1.2.12). Plato too admired the Spartans and appreciated how armed contests encouraged excellence in war (*Leg.* 829c, 830a–831a).

84 Lambert 2001 no. 4.

(Col. I, ll. 6–30). Lewis associates this inscription with *SEG* 25.177, which records liturgists dedicating *phialai* worth 50 drachmas on the Acropolis in 331/0.<sup>85</sup> He interprets *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 550 (ll. 1–4) as a “founding law” where all liturgists, including those contributing to the *eutaxia*, were obligated to dedicate a *phiale*, and dates this law “a year or two earlier” than *SEG* 25.177.<sup>86</sup> Building upon this observation Lambert suggests 333/2 or 332/1 for the creation of the *eutaxia* and links the competition to the earliest known ephebic inscriptions in 334/3 (i.e. T1–T5).<sup>87</sup> If *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 550 commemorates the inaugural *eutaxia* competition, the connection between the event and the *ephebeia* becomes clear.<sup>88</sup> The *eutaxia* had a brief existence in Athens, as it is not attested after the Lamian War, even if it appears in other Hellenistic *poleis*.<sup>89</sup>

A relief found on the Acropolis (*NM* 2958), dated stylistically to the 330s, is our best evidence for the *agon eutaxias*.<sup>90</sup> The right side has a full-sized female figure, labeled *Eutaxia* on the architrave, while the center depicts a male of the same size, who could be *Demos*, a tribal hero, or an eponymous hero of the age-group. On the left there is a smaller male figure wearing a *chlamys* and a short *chiton*, probably an ephebe.<sup>91</sup> It is argued that *NM* 2958 and *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 550 belonged to the same monument, but it is more likely that the relief would have come from a victory dedication (as suggested by the tripod) erected after an unknown *phyle*'s success in the *agon eutaxias*.<sup>92</sup> The ephebe rests with his left hand on an *aspis*, suggesting that the *eutaxia* was a hoplite contest of some kind.<sup>93</sup> Perhaps the competition involved ephebes, *kata phylas*, maneuvering in formation and drilling their spears in unison.<sup>94</sup> *Eutaxia* also appears on a dedication from Oropus (*IOrop.* 298 [329/8] = *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 355) which says that at the next meeting of the *nomothetai* the *tamias tou demou* is to give 30 drachmas

85 Lewis 1968 no. 51 = *SEG* 25.177. His restores ἐπ' Ἀ[ριστοφάνο]υς ἄρχοντ[ος] with caveats (377–378).

86 Lewis 1968, 376–377. Wilson 2000, 44, n. 184, prefers a date later than 330 but does not discuss *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 550.

87 Lambert 2001, 56–57.

88 Humphreys 2004, 115, n. 17.

89 *Eutaxia* in Hellenistic period: Crowther 1991, 301–302; Chankowski 2010, 246–247, 293–298.

90 For the date, see Palagia 1975, 181–182. Lawton 1995, 146, prefers ca. 325–300.

91 Palagia 1975, 181–182; Lawton 1995, 146; Lambert 2002, 122–123.

92 *NM* 2958 and *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 550: Lawton 1995, 146. Disassociation: Lewis 1968, 376, n. 25; Lambert 2002, 123. Victory dedication: Palagia 1975, 182; Humphreys 2004, 115, n. 17. Lambert suggests that *NM* 2958 was from the law “which instituted the *Eutaxia* liturgy and competition, c. 334/3”.

93 Denied by Crowther 1991, 303–304, who does not mention *NM* 2958.

94 de Marcellus 1994, 152.

to “those in charge of the *agon*” at the quadrennial Amphiaraia. In accordance with the law the money is to be allocated “to the one chosen for the *eutaxia* (τῶι αἰρεθέντι ἐπὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν)” (ll. 39–45). Walbank’s reading of τῶν] σταθέντων [ἐ]πὶ εὐταξίαν (l. 38) and ἐν τῶι Ἀ[μφιαράωι (l. 33) on *SEG* 32.86 (ca. 329/8) suggests that he was not an official who supervised the *agon eutaxias* but was in charge of maintaining *eutaxia* among the celebrants.<sup>95</sup> Even so, it is uncertain whether there was indeed an *agon eutaxias* at the Amphiaraia because the victor list is incomplete (*IOrop.* 520; cf. *IOrop.* 298, ll. 16–18).

In summary, the Demos sought to instill *eutaxia* in ephebes during the Lycurgan era so that they could perform their assigned garrison duties in an orderly manner. But if *eutaxia* was regarded as virtuous for ephebes, the *ephebeia* did not change the Athenian attitude towards the importance of strict discipline. In the debate before the Lamian War, Phocion responded to Hyperides’ question of when Athens should make war against Macedon with “whenever I see the young men (*tous neous*) willing to hold their places in the ranks (Plut. *Phoc.* 23.2)”. Plutarch’s account of Phocion’s victory over Micion near Rhamnus in 323/2 suggests that his concerns about *ataxia* in the Athenian army were well-founded. His force experienced several disciplinary problems before the battle (Plut. *Phoc.* 25.1–2).<sup>96</sup> Perhaps half of those serving in the three tribal *taxeis* or regiments (D.S. 18.10.12) who had fought against Micion would have served in the *ephebeia* (see Ch. 4.5). These citizens, no longer subject to the exact discipline of the *sophonistes*, could be just as insubordinate as their older compatriots. *Eutaxia* in the *ephebeia*, in other words, was an exception to the traditional Athenian laxity in discipline in the classical period.

#### 4.4 Training Ephebes

Throughout the classical period the Athenians had stubbornly resisted the view that a state-funded system of peacetime military training for citizens was nec-

95 Walbank 1982, 173–182. Tracy 1995, 101, identified the hand as the “Cutter of *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 244” (now *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 429), whose career ran from 340/39 to ca. 320. Walbank’s restoration is disputed, with the Bendidea and the Epitaphia possible alternatives: O. Hansen 1985, 389; Parker 1996, 246, n. 100; Humphreys 2004, 117; Lambert 2005, 149. Supervisor of *agon eutaxias*: Palagia 1975, 182; Humphreys 2004, 115–117. Enforcer of *eutaxia*: Lambert 2001, 56; 2012a, 89, n. 78.

96 Plutarch mentions the following: (1) Citizens surround Phocion and advise him on how best to take an enemy-occupied hill. (2) One man described as a *meirakion* breaks ranks from the battle-line and advances far ahead. He then flees once he sees the enemy and returns to his previous position.

essary or even advantageous for the city. The decision to establish such a program in the *ephebeia*, then, was a radical departure from the prevailing ideology of amateurism, which held that preparation for war was a private affair. The Demos would have had little choice because ephebes were inexperienced in soldiering when they were called up for service and began their garrison duty at Piraeus. Nor could they have benefited from the guidance and steadying presence of veterans in the ranks.<sup>97</sup> Consequently, professionals were hired to instruct ephebes in the art of war, just as Plato had recommended in the *Laws* (813d–e). The *Athenaion Politeia*, our principal source for the training program, provides the following list of military trainers:

And the people also elects two *paidotribai* and *didaskaloi* for them, who teach the ephebes to fight with hoplite weapons (ὄπλομαχεῖν), to fire the bow (τοξεύειν), to cast the javelin (ἀκοντίζειν), and to discharge the catapult (καταπάλτην ἀφιέναι).<sup>98</sup>

42.3

Two kinds of instructor are distinguished, namely the *paidotribai*, whose concern was physical training, and the *didaskaloi*, a general term designating those who specialized in teaching skills associated with one type of weapon.<sup>99</sup> The latter are well-attested in the corpus and there is one instance of the former if T25 (334/3–323/2) is ephebic (ll. 1–2).<sup>100</sup> The appearance of an *akontistes* (javelin instructor) on T19 ([328/7?], L.S., ll. 5–6) shows that the other specialist *didaskaloi* were called the *hoplomachos* (hoplite instructor), the *toxotes* (archery instructor), and the (*katapalt*)*aphetes* (catapult instructor), just as in the Hellenistic *ephebeia*.<sup>101</sup> The *paidotribai* and the *didaskaloi*, like the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistes*, were elected in the Assembly with a show of hands ([ὁ δῆμος] χειροτ[ο]νεῖ). Their qualification for office was their technical expertise (cf. Plato's paid experts in *Leg.* 813c).<sup>102</sup> It was presumably their ability

97 Advantages of veterans: Hanson 1989, 89–95. Conscription of Athenian hoplites at different ages: Christ 2001, 409, 411.

98 [ὁ δῆμος] χειροτ[ο]νεῖ δὲ καὶ παιδοτρίβας αὐτοῖς δύο καὶ διδασκάλους, οἵτινες ὄπλομαχεῖν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν καὶ καταπάλτην ἀφιέναι διδάσκουσιν.

99 For *paidotribai* and *didaskaloi*, see Pélékidis 1962, 108–109.

100 T4 (332/1), ll. 3–4, 6–8; T6 (331/0), ll. 10–11; T9 (331/0), Col. 1, ll. 33–38; T15 (330/29–324/3), L.S., ll. 14–17; T19 (329/8), L.S., l. 3. The four untitled individuals in T7 (331/0), ll. 11–13, were probably *didaskaloi* (Meritt 1945, 237; Reinmuth 1971, 23). Μενάιος Θεοδ(ό)του ἐκ Κοίλης on T17 (329/8 or later), l. 115, was a *didaskalos* or *paidotribes* (Traill 1986, 12).

101 For Hellenistic and Roman examples, see the register of Kennell 2006, 28–29.

102 Mitchel 1961, 348. Pélékidis 1962, 108, argues that there was also an age qualification.

to impart this knowledge which prompted the tribe of Leontis to award two *didaskaloi* with laurel crowns because “they had looked after the ephebes well (καλῶς [ἐπ]εμεληθησαν τ[ῶν ἐφ]ή[βων])” (T9 [331/ο], Col. 1, ll. 37–38). The need for skilled *didaskaloi* (and *paidotribai*) would explain the recruitment of non-Athenians such as a certain Agathanor the Syracusan honored on a Cecropid dedication (T6 [331/ο], l. 11).<sup>103</sup>

The two *paidotribai* probably reflected the ephebes’ deployment at Munychia and Acte respectively ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3), with each assigned to train five ephebic *phylai*. It is unclear why the *didaskaloi* were indefinite (οὔτινες) in number or why the *didaskaloi* on three ephebic inscriptions belonging to the class of 333/2—two on Cecropis (T6), four on Pandionis (T7), and two on Leontis (T9)—have different names.<sup>104</sup> If we consider that T9 calls them “the *didaskaloi* of the tribe (τὸς [δ]ιδ[ασκάλου]ς τῆς φυλῆ[ς])” (Col. 1, ll. 33–38), perhaps at least four *didaskaloi* were allocated to each ephebic *phyle*, the number varying according to the size of the contingent. Another possibility is that the *didaskaloi* in the corpus not only differed from those in the *Athenaion Politeia* but were also hired by the parent associations of the ephebic *phyle*, operating independently of the training program in Athens.<sup>105</sup> Still another possibility comes from T8, an unpublished dedication found at Rhamnus, which lists seven *didaskaloi*, none of whom appear on T9, although both belong to the same Leontid enrollment class. For Petrakos, T8 shows that *didaskaloi* were based at the garrison deme and trained the ephebes stationed there.<sup>106</sup> But it is difficult to understand why the Demos should have permitted tribes or demes to hire supplemental *didaskaloi*. More likely is that the literary and epigraphic evidence refer to the same *didaskaloi* and were attached to specific *phylai*.

We can infer from the *Athenaion Politeia* that one set of trainers was hired to teach a single enrollment year. Their tenure in office was annual, unlike the *kosmetes* and the *sophonistes*. The *terminus post quem* was the deployment of the ephebes at Piraeus and they would have continued to train until the end of their first year ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.4: καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν οὕτως διάγουσι). At the beginning of the second year a military review was held “in the theatre (ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ)”, probably in the Panathenaic Stadium (at least after 330/29),<sup>107</sup>

103 Plato recommends foreign trainers for his ideal state (*Leg.* 804d).

104 The use of οὔτινες argues against the claim that there were always four *didaskaloi*, one per specialty, for an enrollment year (Forbes 1929, 136; Pélékidis 1962, 108).

105 Mitchel 1961, 349, n. 4; Reinmuth 1971, 23.

106 Petrakos 2004, 171–173. He thinks that Theophanes son of Hierophon of Rhamnus, honored on T21 by the ephebes, the *sophonistai*, and the *kosmetai* from three successive enrollment years, was a *didaskalos* (1999, Vol. 11, 87).

107 Dillery 2002, 462–466, prefers the Panathenaic stadium over the theater of Dionysus

where the ephebes demonstrated their martial skills before the Demos (see below). Afterwards, they were stationed permanently “at the guardposts (ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις)” on the Attic-Boeotian border ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5). This sequence of events, arranged in chronological order, confirms the prevailing view that the duration of the program was limited to one year.<sup>108</sup> There is no evidence for Gomme’s hypothesis that the military instructors would have resumed their duties in the second year, or for Reinmuth’s suggestion that ephebes would have returned periodically from garrison duty on the frontier to train in Athens.<sup>109</sup>

The *Characters* of Theophrastus says that ephebes exercised at certain unnamed gymnasia in the Lycurgan era (5.7: τῶν δὲ γυμνασίων ἐν τούτοις ... οὐδ’ ἄν οἱ ἔφηβοι γυμνάζωνται).<sup>110</sup> Of the three major publicly-owned athletics facilities situated within close proximity to the city-walls (Dem. 24.114),<sup>111</sup> we can make a case for the Lyceum because of its long-standing military connection and contemporary importance (figs. 3 and 7).<sup>112</sup> From the fifth century onwards the Lyceum was a muster point for the army or was used for cavalry reviews: clearly the grounds around the gymnasium could accommodate hundreds of ephebes.<sup>113</sup> The Athenians in the post-Chaeronea period also renovated the gymnasium. They planted trees and constructed a *palaestra*, in front of which Lycurgus set up a *stele* recording his public acts.<sup>114</sup> If Mitchel is right to attribute the *palaestra* to the *ephebeia* rather than to the establishment of Aristotle’s philosophical school in 335, it would follow that the Lyceum was the princi-

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because this venue would have had sufficient space to accommodate hundreds of ephebes maneuvering in formation. Others also argue for the Panathenaic stadium as the venue (Knoepfler 1993, 297; Humphreys 2004, 89, n. 32, 117, n. 18), whereas Faraguna 1992, 279, n. 11, rejects the identification.

108 Ober 1985a, 90; Burckhardt 1996, 71; van Wees 2004, 94.

109 Gomme 1933, 67–68; Reinmuth 1971, 78–81. For criticism of these views, see Clinton 1988, 28.

110 The date of composition is unclear, but a dramatic date before 322 is likely: Boegehold 1959; Lane-Fox 1996, 134–139; Diggle 2004, 27–37. For a commentary on 5.7, see Diggle 2004, 235–236.

111 For the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Cynosarges, see Kyle 1987, 56–92; Tyrrell 2004, 156–175. Morison 1998, 178–260, collects the testimonia.

112 Mitchel 1970, 38; Kyle 1987, 99; Faraguna 1992, 279–280; Humphreys 2004, 89, n. 32. The Lyceum is unattested in the ephebic corpus until 184/3 (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 1 1290 [= *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 900], l. 17).

113 *Ar. Pax.* 351–357; *Schol. Ar. Pax.* 356; *Schol. Xen. Anab.* 1.2.10; *Suda* s.v. Λυκείον; *Hesych.* s.v. Λυκείον; *Xen. Hipp.* 3.1.

114 Remodeling: [Plut.] *x Orat.* 841c–d; 852c; *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 457b, ll. 7–8. *Stele*: [Plut.] *x Orat.* 843f. Lycurgus and the Lyceum: Lynch 1972, 15–16; Ritchie 1989, 250–260; Hintzen-Bohlen 1997, 39–40.



FIGURE 7 The palaestra at the Lyceum  
 EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF THE CITY OF ATHENS, PHOTO BY AUTHOR ©  
 HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS, FUND OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
 PROCEEDS

pal venue for the training program.<sup>115</sup> The ephebes may have also frequented the Academy and/or the Cynosarges, or the otherwise unknown “gymnasium of the ephebes” at Piraeus (Sundwill restored ἐν τῷ γυμνασί[ω]ι τῶν ἐφήβων in Reinmuth 1971 no. 17 = *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 478 [305/4], l. 30), if it had predated the restoration of the democracy in 307/6.<sup>116</sup>

It is problematic that the *Athenaion Politeia* lists *what* was taught but is silent on all other matters. We are uncertain, for example, how often the ephebes trained. Plato recommends that citizens should exercise in full armor once a month and daily without armor (*Leg.* 830d). The *ephebeia* must have fallen somewhere in between.<sup>117</sup> Nor are we told about the relative importance of

115 Mitchel 1970, 38–39. *Contra* Kyle 1987, 83. For the founding of Aristotle’s school, see Lynch 1972, 68–105.

116 Piraeus: Pélékidis 1962, 114, n. 2; 260, n. 1; Reinmuth 1971, 115; Ober 1985a, 90. The Academy had a regular military function (*Xen. Hipp.* 3.1).

117 It is unclear whether a *phyle* of ephebes could have marched from Piraeus to Athens, a distance of around 6 km (Conwell 2008, 4–19), trained at the Lyceum, patrolled the Athe-

each skill, unless the list is in a descending order of importance (cf. Xen. *Oec.* 8.6). The treatise offers no explanation as to why ephebes were instructed in gymnastic exercise, hoplite arms, and missile weaponry. Some argue that the purpose of the training program was to prepare ephebes for their future role as hoplites, while others maintain that ephebes would have learnt how to fight interchangeably in the phalanx, as light-armed skirmishers, and at sieges.<sup>118</sup> A middle-ground is possible. This reconstruction incorporates the following: (1) The *ephebeia*'s protection of the countryside against Boeotian raiders. (2) The theory and practice of military training in the classical period. (3) Important developments in fourth-century warfare. It also assumes that the ephebes would have attained at least a competency in each skill, but not an expertise comparable to professional troops or to the *epilektoi*, Athens' elite hoplite unit.<sup>119</sup>

Fundamental for the understanding of any training regime is the identification of the type of soldier to be trained.<sup>120</sup> As the *Athenaion Politeia* makes clear, ephebes were armed as hoplites, each receiving a state-issued spear (*doru*) and shield (*aspis*) from the Demos ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.4: λαβόντες ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως).<sup>121</sup> We can attribute this decision not to equip ephebes with a full panoply to fiscal matters.<sup>122</sup> The annual expenditure of the *ephebeia* in the Lycurgan era was at least forty talents for *trophe* alone (see Ch. 3.5). The city thus saved a substantial sum by spending around 25–30 drachmas on a spear and shield, whereas the addition of body-armor would have increased the outlay perhaps three- or four-fold.<sup>123</sup> A more persuasive explanation, perhaps, is

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nian plain, and returned to Piraeus on the same day. If the ephebes' patrol duties included demes as distant as Acharnae, located 12 km to the northwest of Athens on the foothills of Mt. Parnes (Kellogg 2013b, 7–34), they would have come to the gymnasium still more infrequently.

118 Ephebes as hoplites: Rhodes 1981, 503; Raaflaub 1996, 157; Sekunda 2013, 200; Pritchard 2013, 214. Ephebes fighting interchangeably: Ober 1985a, 90–95; Burckhardt 1996, 44–47; Rawlings 2000, 237–241.

119 Other reconstructions: Pélékidis 1962, 108–109, 114–115; Ober 1985a, 90–91; de Marcellus 1994, 76–83; Burckhardt 1996, 45–47; van Wees 2004, 94–95.

120 Hunt 2007, 132–133.

121 Pounder 1983, 247–248, suggests that most of the arms were stored in Philo's Arsenal and the rest on the Acropolis, where there was a stockpile of “many suits of armor and fifty thousand missiles ([Plut.] *x Orat.* 852c)”. Sekunda 2013, 200, thinks that ephebes could supplement the spear and shield at private expense. For Vidal-Naquet's structuralist interpretation of ephebes as anti-hoplites, see Ch. 6.5.

122 For the hoplite panoply, see Franz 2002, 339–349; Schwartz 2009, 25–101.

123 The full panoply probably cost 75–100 drachmas: Hanson 1999, 291–292; van Wees 2001, 66, n. 22.

that mobility and comfort were preferred to protection. A lightened panoply was advantageous when ephebes crisscrossed Attica on their long daily patrols, enduring the oppressive heat of the Greek summer and/or the precipitous ruggedness of the frontier (Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.25–27). It was prudent for them to wear a woolen traveler's cloak (*chlamys*) rather than a linen corselet or bronze greaves ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5), and to keep out the sun with a wide-brimmed traveler's hat (*petasos*) instead of wearing bronze headgear which restricted the field of vision and/or hearing (Poll. 8.164).<sup>124</sup>

But if the lightening of the panoply had substantially reduced the weight ephebes had to bear, the spear and shield by themselves were not an insignificant encumbrance.<sup>125</sup> While the degree to which the shield would have restricted the hoplite as a soloist is controversial, the ancient sources suggest that it both fatigued the wearer appreciably and limited his maneuverability, even if hoplites had fought occasionally with some success in combat situations outside of the phalanx.<sup>126</sup> The physical demands of patrolling Attica were also extensive. Ephebic *peripoloi* were not only required to march long distances in all kinds of terrain but also had to be ready to overtake fleeing raiders and, if necessary, to engage them in close combat. Knowing that a well-conditioned body was essential for ephebes to carry out their assigned duties, the Demos established a state-run program of athletic exercises under two *paidotribai*, whose purpose was to prepare them adequately for the rigors of their *peripoleia*.<sup>127</sup> The need to improve the fitness of ephebes was all the more necessary if a significant minority was “combat unfit” (cf. Pl. *Resp.* 556b–c; Plut. *Mor.* 192c–d), with some in such poor condition that they could shirk their obligations (cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.12.1–2; Pl. *Prot.* 326b–c).<sup>128</sup>

124 *Chlamys* and *petasos*: Lee 2015, 117, 160. Lightened panoply: Anderson 1970, 13–42. Discomfort in the summer: Hanson 1989, 72–73, 79–80; Schwartz 2009, 65, 73–75.

125 The spear and shield probably weighed 1.6–2.2 kg. and 7–8 kg. respectively (Schwartz 2009, 96).

126 Ar. *Nub.* 987–989; Xen. *Anab.* 3.4.47; *Hell.* 3.1.9, 4.3.23; D.S. 15.44.2. Difficulty of wielding the *aspis* in combat: Donlan and Thompson 1976; Hanson 1989, 65–69; Schwartz 2009, 35–41. *Contra*: Cawkwell 1989, 385–389; van Wees 2000, 126–130; Rawlings 2000, 246–248; Krenz 2002, 35–36.

127 *Paidotribai* in classical Athens, see Kyle 1987, 141–145; Pritchard 2013, 47–53.

128 A recent study of childhood participation in Athenian athletics shows that socio-economic barriers would have prevented most non-elite citizens from sending their sons to attend the private lessons of *paidotribai* (Pritchard 2013, 53–83). On this controversial issue, see also Pritchard 2003; 2009; Fisher 1998a; 2011. Even so, it is likely that many had benefited physically from working on the family farm or as shepherds (see Jones 2004, 63; Golden 2015, 28–31), outdoor occupations thought to make good citizen-soldiers, in

The *paidotribai* clearly could not have offered to ephebes the individualized instruction typical of professional athletes, whose disproportionate physiques and over-specialized diets were often criticized as excessive and useless in war. They would have instead taught an ephebic *phyle* a curriculum resembling the all-round gymnastic training traditionally undertaken by the leisured elite in Athens (cf. Pl. *Pol.* 294d–e).<sup>129</sup> Perhaps the type of athlete considered most suitable for ephebic *peripoloi* was the pentathlete, whose physique Aristotle considered aesthetically pleasing and the best adapted for the exertions of war (*Rhet.* 1361b). They would have practiced wrestling (and boxing?) in the newly-constructed *palaestra* at the Lyceum, activities which the Theban generals Pelopidas and Epaminondas praised as useful in war (Plut. *Mor.* 233e, 639f, *Pelop.* 7).<sup>130</sup> They would have also practiced the *hoplitodromos* or race in hoplite armor, an event which Plutarch took as proof that the ultimate aim of athletics was military fitness (*Mor.* 639e).<sup>131</sup> It is uncertain whether the curriculum would have included armed races of the kind which Plato had recommended in the *Laws* (830d, 832e–833b).<sup>132</sup> There is no evidence for ephebic participation in (armed) dances, much praised in antiquity as an useful preparation for war (e.g. Athen. 14.628e–f; Xen. *Mem.* 3.4.3–6; 3.5.18; Ael. *VH.* 3.8). Evidence is also lacking for a connection between the *ephebeia* and the pyrrhic, where dancers would manipulate the hoplite shield and weapons in defense or attack (e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 815a; Eur. *And.* 1129–1136).<sup>133</sup>

Alongside the gymnastic lessons of the *paidotribai*, the *hoplomachoi* taught ephebes *hoplomachia* or the art of hoplite fencing.<sup>134</sup> The Athenian general

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contrast to craftsmen who stayed indoors (Xen. *Oec.* 4.2–3, 5.5; Arist. *Pol.* 1319a20–24; see Hanson 1999, 221–271).

129 Disdain for athletes: Pl. *Resp.* 404a; Xen. *Symp.* 2.17; Eur. Fr. 282 Kannicht *apud* Athen. 10.413d–f; Arist. *Pol.* 1335b6–12. See Kyle 1987, 127–154.

130 Boxing and wrestling in war: Cawkwell 1983, 398–399; Pritchett 1985, 64–65.

131 Athletics and war: Arist. *Pol.* 1338b; Xen. *Mem.* 3.12.5; Pl. *Resp.* 404a–b; *Leg.* 832e–833a. Pritchett 1974, 213–221. Some (e.g. Poliakoff 1987, 93–103; Golden 1998, 23–28) dispute the connection between ancient sport and hoplite warfare (*contra* Pritchard 2013, 179–184). Their principal argument that competitors relied upon their own physical prowess to win events, some of which at best had limited relevance to mass fighting, while others at worst had nothing in common, does not apply to the *ephebeia* because ephebes would have patrolled the countryside as a loose group of individuals.

132 For Plato's ideas, see Morrow 1960, 327–337.

133 Armed dances: Borthwick 1967; 1970b. On the supposed connection between dances in arms (such as the pyrrhic) and the *ephebeia*, see Poursat 1968; Scarpi 1979; Lonsdale 1993, 162–168; Ceccarelli 1994.

134 On *hoplomachoi*, see Wheeler 1982; 1983. Pl. *Lach.* 179e–184c; *Euthyd.* 271b–273c; Xen. *Mem.* 3.1.

Nicias argues in Plato's *Laches* that the practical military value of *hoplomachia* was minimal when hoplites fought in tight formation (cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 2.1.16; 2.3.9–11) but was greatest when the ranks were broken. Whether in pursuit or retreat, his proficiency in individual attack and defense would allow him to defeat one or more adversaries in close combat (182a–b).<sup>135</sup> These skills were clearly beneficial for ephebic *peripoloi* to possess, whose random encounters with raiders were conducive towards small-scale fighting. It would explain the transformation of *hoplomachoi* from the private teachers of upper-class Athenians in the fifth century to state-appointed instructors of the youngest citizens in the *ephebeia*.<sup>136</sup> While ephebes surely learnt basic weapons handling (Pl. *Lach.* 181e), it is uncertain whether they were also taught such complex fighting techniques as the “Thessalian Trick” (Eur. *Phoen.* 1380–1420).<sup>137</sup> Plato's *Laws* may shed light on how the ephebes practiced with spear and shield, if his ideas reflect a fourth-century reality.<sup>138</sup> Perhaps inspired by the public exhibitions of *hoplomachoi* or by their private training sessions with wealthy pupils (Pl. *Lach.* 183c; Xen. *Mem.* 3.1), he proposed that solo and team contests in *hoplomachia* should be established for the citizens of his ideal state, in which *hoplomachoi* formulated the rules to determine the winner(s) (Pl. *Leg.* 833e).

Ephebes also received instruction in tactics (*taktika*) or “the art of marshalling men in formation” (Xen. *Mem.* 3.1).<sup>139</sup> We know from the *Athenaion Politeia* that they demonstrated their competence in hoplite maneuvers to the Demos in their second year (42.4: ἀποδειξάμενοι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ περὶ τὰς τάξεις).<sup>140</sup> The *hoplomachoi* would have taught ephebes how (1) to maintain *eutaxia* or good-order in the ranks (Arist. *Pol.* 1297b20–21; Plut. *Mor.* 220a), (2) to handle their weapons in unison (Xen. *Anab.* 6.5.25–27; *Hell.* 2.4.12), and (3) to change from column to line and vice-versa (Xen. *Cyr.* 2.3.17–22; *Resp. Lak.* 11.5–10).<sup>141</sup> But such skills were of little use to a *phyle* of ephebes on patrol. Like Lamachus pursuing Boeotian raiders in the Peloponnesian War (Ar. *Ach.* 1174–

135 Laches' response is that if *hoplomachia* was as useful for young men as Nicias maintains (182d), why are the Spartans, whose lives are devoted to the study of war, *not* taught these skills (182e–183a)?

136 Institutionalization of the *hoplomachoi*: Anderson 1970, 86; Wheeler 1983, 9; Rawlings 2000, 242.

137 The “Thessalian Trick”: Borthwick 1970a.

138 For differing opinions, see Wheeler 1982, 225; Rawlings 2000, 243; Lendon 2005, 110.

139 Anderson 1970, 94.

140 Tactical maneuvers: Rhodes 1981, 508; Rawlings 2000, 238; Dillery 2002, 462.

141 For the theory and practice of collective weapons and unit training in fourth-century Greek warfare, see Anderson 1970, 94–110.

1188), ephebic *peripoloi* were soloists. This is not to say that the military success of the *ephebeia*, whose theater of operations extended over much of Attica, would not have depended on the cooperation of ephebes who patrolled and fought together as a loosely-organized group under the able leadership of the *peripolarchoi*. But even if the phalanx was a more open formation than scholars have generally recognized, it was still unsuited to traversing the mountains of the Attic-Boeotian frontier and was too slow-moving and cumbersome to threaten lightly-encumbered raiders (Hdt. 7.9b1; Arist. *Pol.* 1303b; Poly. 18.31.5).<sup>142</sup>

We can explain the inclusion of unit drill in the training program by assuming that the Athenians had originally hired *hoplomachoi* to teach the ephebes *hoplomachia*, but also saw the ideological benefits of them learning *taktika*.<sup>143</sup> It is striking that the second-year military review, held before the Assembly (probably) convened in the Panathenaic stadium (ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γενομένης), consisted of an entire enrollment class of ephebes displaying “their skills in maneuvering” followed by the presentation of the hoplite spear and shield ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.4).<sup>144</sup> This presentation, clearly, was of “valeur symbolique”,<sup>145</sup> since the ephebes would have been issued with a minimal panoply at their initial muster in the Agora. If we also consider the opening lines of the ephebic oath, where the ephebes promised that “I shall not bring shame upon these sacred arms, nor shall I desert the man beside me, wherever I stand in the line” (Trans. Rhodes and Osborne 2003 no. 88 = *SEG* 21.519, ll. 6–8),<sup>146</sup> it is tempting to interpret the review as a celebration of hoplitic values, where all ephebes were valorized regardless of their social background. Having demonstrated their skills to the Demos on this ceremonial and perhaps competitive occasion,<sup>147</sup> the ephebes received public recognition of their prowess in the

142 For the kind of terrain suitable for phalanx warfare, see Pritchett 1985, 76–85; Lazenby 1991, 88; Hanson 2000, 206–211.

143 This collective training is wrongly taken as evidence that the *ephebeia*'s aim was to professionalize Athens' citizen militia after the defeat at Chaeronea in 338, although the primary military function of the institution in the Lycurgan era was to guard the countryside (see Chs. 3.2–3).

144 If Hansen 1987, 26, is right to think that there was a higher rate of remuneration for the *ekklesia kuria* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 62.2) because it was longer in duration than the three other mandated meetings of the Assembly per prytany, this Assembly was probably the occasion for the review because the issue of the *doru* and *aspis* to ca. 450–650 ephebes must have taken some time.

145 Pélékidis 1962, 114.

146 οὐκ αἰσχυνῶ τὰ ἱερά ὄπλα οὐδέ λείψω τὸν παραστάτην ὅπου ἂν στειγῆσω.

147 Humphreys 2004, 115, associates the review with the *agon eutaxias*.

form of spear and shield, and presumably were praised for embodying the virtues of the hoplite, whose position was central to the Athenian conception of warfare.<sup>148</sup>

But if the *ephebeia* was a “hoplite-centric” institution, why did the Demos also hire specialized instructors in non-hoplite arms—the *akontistes* (javelin instructor), the *toxotes* (archery instructor), and the (*katapult*)*aphetes* (catapult instructor)—to teach the ephebes how “to fire the bow (τοξεύειν), to cast the javelin (ἀκοντίζειν), and to discharge the catapult (καταπάλτην ἀφιέναι)” ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3)? Ober suggests a two-fold purpose.<sup>149</sup> First, the ephebes were trained to fight as spear-throwing skirmishers called peltasts. Protected by the *pelta*, a light crescent-shaped shield, these swift-moving lightly-armed infantrymen excelled in fighting in rough terrain. Clearly ephebes, having acquired a rudimentary skill in javelin-casting, would have been formidable on the Attic-Boeotian border.<sup>150</sup> But it is difficult to reconcile this view with the *Athenaion Politeia*, which implies that ephebic *peripoloi* would have spent most, if not all, of their national service in hoplite armor. Nor can we assume that ephebes were “hybrid hoplites”, equipped with a minimal panoply and a brace of light throwing spears (*akontia*), or were peltasts of the “Iphicratean” type, as described by Diodorus (15.44.3; cf. Nepos *Iphic.* 11.1.3–4).<sup>151</sup> To this we can add the social stigma associated with light-armed troops: Athenian literature often denigrated the cowardly behavior and effeminate weaponry of peltasts and archers (e.g. Thuc. 4.40.2; 4.126.5–6; Eur. *Her. Fur.* 159–164).<sup>152</sup>

Second, ephebes learnt how to use missile weapons from a fortified position with a reasonable degree of accuracy.<sup>153</sup> Alongside the javelin, the expertise of

148 For the predominant position of the hoplite in Athens and elsewhere, on the battlefield and ideologically, see Ober 1996; Burckhardt 1996, 154–237; Pritchard 1998, 44–53; Hunt 2007, 111–117.

149 Ober 1985a, 90–91.

150 Ephebes as peltasts: Faraguna 1992, 277; Burckhardt 1996, 46; Rawlings 2000, 237–241. Equipment of the peltast: Best 1969, 3–16. For peltasts and other types of light troops in Greek warfare, see Lippelt 1910. Recent discussion: Hunt 2007, 119–124 (Greece); Trundle 2010, 147–157 (Athens).

151 In archaic vase paintings hoplites are often depicted with two spears, some having throwing-loops, but this practice did not continue into the fifth century (van Wees 2000, 134–146; Schwartz 2009, 84–85, 123–130). Best 1969, 102–110, convincingly rejects an Iphicratean peltast reform ca. 374 (*contra* Parke 1933, 48–57). For the controversy, see also Lendon 2005, 94–97; Trundle 2010, 156–157.

152 Prejudice against the peltast and archer: Hanson 1989, 13–16; Friend 2007, 105–108; Trundle 2010, 141–147. Trundle 2010, 157, observes that there “seems little compelling evidence that Athenians regularly became peltasts themselves”.

153 Cf. Anderson 1991, 28.

the *toxotes* and the (*katapult*)*aphetes* was needed to show them how to shoot the bow well, a skill apparently difficult to acquire, and how to operate a torsion catapult competently, which required some practice given its technological complexity (cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1111a6).<sup>154</sup> While the Lyceum was the likely venue for learning the javelin and bow, instruction in the catapult would have taken place at Piraeus or on the Acropolis.<sup>155</sup> These skills were ineffective against small groups of raiders because they could easily avoid the *phylakteria* on the frontier by remaining outside shooting-range (hence the need for patrols) but were useful against a large enemy force which sought to take them by storm.<sup>156</sup> In the post-Chaeronea period Athens was threatened with Macedonian invasion on three occasions.<sup>157</sup> Perhaps the Athenians, anticipating an invasion should conflict break out with Alexander, thought it prudent for ephebes to receive a basic training in weapons to defend the city's defensive infrastructure, thus complementing the strengthening of the Athens-Piraeus circuit ca. 337–334 and the construction of an arsenal which stored 50,000 missiles on the Acropolis ([Plut.] *x Orat.* 852c).

#### 4.5 Spirit De Corps

The *Athenaion Politeia*, having described the election of the *kosmetes* and the *sophonistai*, says that “these [officials] gathered the ephebes together (συλλαβόντες δ’ οἱ τοὺς ἐφήβους)” (42.3). It is likely that the designated muster point was the Agora rather than the Pnyx or the Lyceum.<sup>158</sup> The Agora was preferred not only because the area was sufficient to accommodate an entire enrollment year but also because it was in close proximity to the Aglaurion, situated on the north-east slope of the Acropolis, the first sanctuary visited on the tour of the shrines (see Ch. 6.3). We may suppose that the ephebes were required to appear before the monument of the ten Eponymous heroes on the appointed day of muster, probably 1 Boedromion (figs. 3 and 8).<sup>159</sup> As with the mobiliza-

154 On the bow, see Gabriel and Metz 1991, 67–68. On siege artillery, see Marsden 1969, 67–68.

155 Marsden 1969, 56–58, 67, shows that the Athenians had torsion catapults by 340, soon after Philip of Macedon has used them against Perinthus in 340 (D.S. 16.74.2–76.3). Catapult frames are attested on the Acropolis (e.g. *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1627 [330/29], Col. B, ll. 328–341).

156 Avoidance of border fortresses: Munn 1993, 15–25. See also Daly 2014.

157 In 338/7, 336/5, and 335/4: Aeschin. 3.131; D.S. 17.4.6–9; Arr. *Anab.* 1.10.2–6.

158 For the Agora, Pnyx, and Lyceum, as possible muster points for Athenian armies about to embark on campaign, see Christ 2001, 407.

159 The base was remodeled ca. 330 (Rotroff 1978, 208–209; Hintzen-Bohlen 1995, 40–42) but should not be associated with the *ephebeia*. Pélékidis 1962, 89–93, shows that the begin-



FIGURE 8 Monument of the Ten Eponymous Heroes at the Agora  
 EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF THE CITY OF ATHENS, PHOTO BY AUTHOR ©  
 HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS, FUND OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
 PROCEEDS

tion of the city's hoplite forces in the classical period, one suspects that most, if not all, of this day (the first in the *ephebeia*) was spent organizing the ephebes into ten ephebic *phylai*. The *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* was tasked with recording the names of the ephebes who had arrived and with the last-minute granting of exemptions if some had a legitimate reason for release from national service (see Ch. 5.2). This process was time-consuming because groups of ephebes, having set out from their respective deme *agorai* (Lys. 16.14), would have come to the Agora gradually throughout the day. At the same time it was the *kosmetes'* responsibility to assign the ephebes who did arrive to the *sophronistai*. Once they had been "gathered" into their respective *phylai*, the ephebes were then supplied with state-issued clothing and a minimal hoplite panoply ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.4–5; Poll. 8.164).

Unless an ephebe was from the one of the smallest demes, which in some years were represented by a single name listed on an ephebic roster (e.g. Hybidai, Pelekes, and Kolonai on T24 [332/1–323/2]), he would not have begun his tour of duty in the company of total strangers. The epigraphic record suggests that most demes sent at least two ephebes, with the twenty-five or more

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ning of the "ephebic" year in the Lycurgan era would have fallen on 1 Boedromion, just as in the Hellenistic period.

from Acharnae being the largest (T19 [328/7?], Col. II, ll. 43–66). For some ephebes the relationship was familial. On T6, for example, two ephebes are listed in succession from the same deme (Phlya) with homonymous patronymics (Σύνβουλος Εὐβούλου, Εὐβουλος Εὐβούλου) (Col. III, ll. 42–43). The unusual incidence of these so-called “twins” in the corpus, far exceeding the ca. 1% in pre-industrial populations, requires an explanation.<sup>160</sup> While “the sons of Eubulus” were officially designated as eighteen and assigned to the first age-group for conscription purposes ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 53.4), their chronological age could have varied by as much as twelve lunar months.<sup>161</sup> Exactly how age was reckoned in classical Athens is unclear, but, in the absence of state-issued documents resembling modern birth certificates (cf. Pl. *Lys.* 207b–c), one likely method was to compare one’s physiological development to his peers as they passed through the different stages of life together (cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 578).<sup>162</sup> Perhaps “the sons of Eubulus” were brothers born within the same year (ca. 3% of births) who served together because they had the same physical maturity.<sup>163</sup> They could have also been the sons of homonymous cousins.<sup>164</sup>

There is no evidence for the division of the ephebic *phyle* into demes, which, if true, would mean that the seven ephebes from Aixone listed on T2 (Col. II, ll. 13–19) had functioned as an administrative and tactical subunit of Cecropis.<sup>165</sup> By analogy to the Athenian army, however, we may assume that these demesmen would have associated with each other as a socially distinct group, bound by long-standing ties of friendship and kinship, for the duration of the *ephebeia*.<sup>166</sup> They could rely upon one another for assistance whenever

160 Incidence of twins: Hansen 1994, 303. Examples: T6 (331/0), Col. III, ll. 42–43; Col. IV, ll. 58–59; T15 (330/29–324/3), Col. I, ll. 7–8, 9–10; Col. II, ll. 53–54, 60–61, 64, 67; T17 (329/8 or later), Col. II, ll. 101–102, 105–106; T23 (332/1–323/2), ll. 24–25. The most notable inscription is T15, where 10 out of 62 ephebes had homonymous patronymics, or 16% of the *phyle*.

161 For the distinction between structural age and chronological age, see Davidson 2006, 38–43.

162 Reckoning of age by physical maturity: Robertson 2000; Beaumont 2012, 17–19. Golden 1979, 35–38, thinks that phratries would have recorded the archon-date of a child’s birth (cf. Pl. *Leg.* 785a). See also Pélékidis 1962, 143–147; Humphreys 2004–2009, 83, n. 2.

163 Hansen 1994, 303–304, rejecting the view of Sekunda 1992, 329–330, that ephebic “twins” were *lochagoi*. Reinmuth 1948, 213–216, thinks that some “twins” were brothers of different ages, the youngest being 18.

164 This was the solution of Leonardos 1918, 83, for the “twins” on T15.

165 *Contra* Sekunda 1992, 327–328.

166 Demesmen in a military context: *Lys.* 16.14; 20.23; 31.15–16; *Isae.* 2.42. Also see Petrakos 1984b no. 92, a dedication of a helmet by the Rhamnusians to Nemesis after Miltiades’ expedition to Lemnos. For the social and military role of the deme in Athenian warfare,

necessary to cope with the physical and psychological demands of military service (cf. Pl. *Symp.* 219e–220b; Xen. *Anab.* 3.4.46–49). Such mutual support was crucial for struggling ephebes who were unable to bear the strain of the training program and/or the hardships of patrolling Attica. Just as a prudent ephebe sought to cultivate a manly reputation among his fellow demesmen by displaying (for example) his courage in combat, he was also acutely aware of the potential damage to his reputation should he fail to meet their minimal expectations. Like the coward in the *Characters* of Theophrastus (25.5–6), their presence would have deterred ephebes from overtly shameful acts or at least from the appearance of cowardice when confronted with danger on patrol.<sup>167</sup> The demesmen, after all, had sworn in the ephebic oath *not* to “bring shame upon these sacred arms (οὐκ αἰσχυνῶ τὰ ἱερὰ ὄπλα)” (Rhodes and Osborne 2003 no. 88 = *SEG* 21.519, ll. 6–8).

But if there was already a corporate solidarity among ephebes as demesmen before they had mustered in the Agora, the bonds between them as tribesmen were weak by comparison because they would have known few, if any, of the ephebes affiliated with other demes. Perhaps some were present at the tribal assembly in which their fathers had preselected three tribesmen as candidates for the office of *sophronistes*, but it is uncertain whether they had fraternized at this meeting or at the Assembly where the *sophronistai* and the other ephebic officials were elected ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2).<sup>168</sup> It is conceivable that the two-year period of national service in an ephebic *phyle*, which functioned as a semi-independent tactical unit in protecting Attica from Boeotian freebooters and was the principal administrative unit of the *ephebeia*, would have both drawn the deme contingents closer together and would have fostered a strong sense of comradeship and loyalty in the ranks. Alongside the strict discipline (*eutaxia*) of the *sophronistes* and the training program under the *paidotribai* and the *didaskaloi*, it was this “regimental pride” which transformed inexperienced youths into an effective fighting force of citizen-soldiers.<sup>169</sup>

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see the contrasting opinions of Whitehead 1986, 224–226; Hanson 1989, 121–124; Sekunda 1990, 325–326; Crowley 2012, 46–48.

- 167 For mutual support and deterrence of cowardice among deme contingents on campaign, see Crowley 2012, 66–68. The perception of courage and cowardice is discussed in Roisman 2003, 127–143; Christ 2006, 88–142. Importance of reputation in deme society: Whitehead 1986, 223–234; Hunter 1994, 96–119.
- 168 Jones 1999, 169–172, has examined the available evidence for the voluntary association of Athenians as tribesmen in public life and concludes that “the phylai did not in fact maintain a particularly intimate associational life”.
- 169 Scholars disagree whether the ten tribal *taxeis* in the Athenian army were the ancient precursor of the military regiment in modern European warfare, despite differences in

The epigraphic record suggests that the number of ephebes in an ephebic *phyle* in the Lycurgan era ranged from a low of 38 (T8) to a high of 58–65 (T17). If we consider that the average size of an Attic deme was ca. 120 adult male citizens,<sup>170</sup> even the largest *phylai* were “face-to-face” communities in which ephebes would have had been familiar with each other.<sup>171</sup> The *Athenaion Politeia* emphasizes their close association by remarking that the ephebes “dine by *phylai* (συσσιτοῦσι ... κατὰ φυλάς) (42.3)”. Given contemporary Athenian military practice, we should reject the view that ephebes were organized into formal *syssitia* or common messes on the Spartan model.<sup>172</sup> The ephebic *syssittoi* were probably divided into smaller groups, formed on an *ad hoc* basis, their number depending on the size of the *phyle*. While the *sophronistes* was tasked with supplying provisions to his *phyle* and perhaps attended to everything else logistical, the ephebes’ daily routine would have centered on such matters as the preparation of food and the maintenance of equipment, each ephebe cooperating (out of necessity) with his fellow mess-mates (and without the assistance of slaves or servants) to ensure the smooth running of the encampment.<sup>173</sup> As Xenophon observes in the *Cyropaedia*, with reference to a *taxis* or regiment of one hundred soldiers, the experience of

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recruitment and organization. Hanson 1989, 117–125, argues in the affirmative, while Crowley 2012, 70–79, rejects his position. Neither, however, considers the ephebic *phyle*, which provides a closer parallel because it functioned as a self-contained military and social unit for two years until it was disbanded at the end of service.

170 Osborne 1985, 44.

171 Scholars reject the concept of a “face-to-face” society (coined by Laslett 1956) for Athens as a whole (e.g. Osborne 1985, 64–65; *contra* Finlay 1973, 17) but rightly apply it at the deme-level (e.g. Whitehead 1986, 223–234; see also Ch. 5.5). It is surely also appropriate for a small community like the ephebic *phyle*.

172 Some (e.g. North 1979, 124; O’Sullivan 2009, 19; Pritchard 2013, 162, n. 104) take συσσιτοῦσι ... κατὰ φυλάς as evidence that the *ephebeia* was in part inspired by Spartan military practice (*contra* Burckhardt 1996, 48–49). Lee 2007, 96–99, however, draws a crucial distinction between the Spartan and Athenian *syssition*. The former was an institution whose activities were tightly regulated and membership was required for citizenship (Plut. *Lyc.* 15.3–4; Xen. *Resp. Lak.* 5.2–7), whereas the latter was an informal association of like-minded individuals on campaign (Lys. 13.79; Isae. 4.18). The innovation of the *ephebeia* was to restrict the *syssittoi* to those from one tribe (cf. Alcibiades and Socrates, who belonged to different *taxeis*, but fought together at Potidaea and messed with one another by choice: Plut. *Alc.* 7.2; Pl. *Symp.* 219e), and to impose strict discipline upon the ephebes so as to prevent *ataxia* or ill-discipline in the camp (cf. Dem. 54.4; for *eutaxia* in the *ephebeia*, see Ch. 4.3).

173 Lee 2007, 103–105, 183–231, has reconstructed the camp life of the Ten Thousand. While ephebes were clearly not mercenaries marching through foreign lands, they would have used similar equipment for cooking, bedding, etc.

living and eating together intensifies interpersonal ties and contributes to greater unit cohesion (2.1.25–28).

The *ephebeia* created a strong sense of group identity not only within a *phyle* but also between the *phylai*. We should not conceive of the enrollment year as a loose collection of self-contained and inward-looking communities, but as one “community of the ephebes” united in the defense of the countryside against Boeotian raiders. Half a thousand ephebes, to be sure, was an “imagined community” rather than a “face-to-face” community where everyone was personally acquainted.<sup>174</sup> Even so, there were numerous opportunities for ephebes of different *phylai* to fraternize together. The likely division of the ephebes into two groups of five *phylai* for one year, based at Munychia and Acte respectively ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2), would have encouraged regular personal interaction among those ephebes assigned to guard them. If two or more *phylai* were stationed at the same garrison deme or border fortress on the Attic-Boeotian frontier, such as the ephebes of Cecropis and Hippotonthis at Eleusis in 333/2 (T2–T3), the tribal contingents would have become much better acquainted by the end of their second year of service.

The uniformity of the ephebes’ attire, namely the *chlamys* (of uncertain color) and the *petasos* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5; Poll. 8.164), would have also encouraged them to think of themselves as a distinctive community.<sup>175</sup> Exactly

174 The concept of an “imagined community” is borrowed from Anderson 2003, 15–16. He defines it with reference to the modern nation-state, where “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”.

175 It is assumed that ephebes wore black *chlamydes* in the Lycurgan era (e.g. Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 112; Garland 1990, 183; Barringer 2001, 52), but we cannot determine from the extant evidence how long this color was used until white was formally adopted after Herodes Atticus’ patronage in the second-century CE (Philostrat. 2.550). The *Athenaion Politeia* is silent: possibilities include black, white, another color (cf. Artemidorus’ crimson *chlamydes* in 1.54), or none at all. Maxwell-Stuart 1970 argues unpersuasively that black *chlamydes* were worn only on the ephebes’ procession to Eleusis in the Hellenistic period (Vidal-Naquet 1986b, 124, n. 3; Lambert 1993, 151). Also doubtful is the association of fourth-century ephebes with the color black. First, there is no justification for the connection between ephebes, the myth of Melanthus (the Dark One), and the celebration of the Apatouria (see Ch. 6.5). Second, Roussel 1941a draws attention to *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3606 (ca. 176 CE), which provides an etiology for the black *chlamys*, namely that it was worn to commemorate Theseus’ failure to change his sails from black to white (thus leading to the death of his father Aegeus) when he returned to Athens from Crete. But if Theseus was the “Athenian ephebe par excellence” or the “ephebe of ephebes” (Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 112; Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 135) and was the archetype of the ephebe or was a “proto-ephebe” (e.g. Calame 1990, 188–195; Strauss 1993, 105–129; Walker 1995, 94–98), the evidence is lacking for ephebic participation in his cult until the late second century (see Kennell 1999 on the Hellenistic

why the Demos had supplied them with the same clothing is unclear. Presumably the ephebes were prohibited from wearing other garments, although the small male figure wearing a *chiton* and *chlamys* on *NM* 2958, if an ephebe, is suggestive.<sup>176</sup> Perhaps they anticipated a scenario where shabbily-dressed ephebes from a lower social background would resent wealthier peers who could afford finer clothing, thus creating dissension in the ranks.<sup>177</sup> We have already discussed the advantages of ephebic *peripoloi* wearing the *chlamys* and *petasos* instead of body armor and bronze headgear in the hot Greek summer (see previous section). Furthermore, as Humphreys observes, “the ephebes were new and interesting, young, handsome, and conspicuous in their distinctive short cloaks”.<sup>178</sup> If the ephebes’ clothing was intended to impress observers (cf. the crimson *chiton*as of the Ten Thousand at Tyriaeum in Xen. *Anab.* 5.2.19), especially on those few occasions when they had assembled *en masse* for an important event between the initial and the final musters (e.g. the visitation of the sanctuaries and the celebration of various festivals), their dress, effectively a uniform, would have made them both easily recognizable and marked them out as a subgroup of the Demos.<sup>179</sup>

Finally, the *ephebeia* may well have influenced the *esprit de corps* of the Athenian army.<sup>180</sup> By the time of the Lamian war (323/2) ten enrollment years had successfully passed through the institution, the first (334/3) in 332/1 and the tenth (325/4) in 323/2 (see Epilogue). When the Athenians had mobilized a force of 5,000 hoplites to fight against the Macedonians, which consisted of citizens aged 20–39 arrayed in seven tribal regiments or *taxeis*, half of the twenty age-groups called-up would have completed the *ephebeia* (D.S. 18.10.2, 11.3).<sup>181</sup> The proportion of citizens aged 20–29 was probably even higher, given demographic realities, although it is doubtful whether all those who had served in the *ephebeia* were in fact still eligible for military conscription as hoplites.<sup>182</sup> What-

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Theseia). Nor can we confirm Mitchel’s hypothesis that the headquarters of the *ephebeia* was the Theseum (see Ch. 3.5), although the visitation of the shrines may have included this sanctuary (see Ch. 6.4).

176 For this relief, see Ch. 4.3.

177 For clothing and accessories as an indicator of social status, see Lee 2015, 89–171.

178 Humphreys 2004, 92.

179 Ephebes were therefore exceptional among the inhabitants of Attica in that they could be distinguished by dress alone (cf. Cohen 2000, 107, on [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.10). Lee 2015, 281, n. 212, thinks that “the *chlamys* did not comprise a ‘uniform’ in the modern sense”.

180 Steinbock 2011, 298, argues that the goal of the *ephebeia* was “cohesion within the entire citizen army”.

181 For various assumptions concerning this force, see M.H. Hansen 1985, 37–38.

182 The following statistical argument (if the data is credible) argues against continued eligibility for all “ex-ephebes”. Estimates from the ephebic rosters suggest that ca. 450–500

ever the number, their presence on this campaign surely enhanced the solidarity of each *taxis* and the solidarity between the *taxeis* because they shared the common experience of camp life at Piraeus and on the frontier, training at the Lyceum, and patrolling the countryside. We may further conjecture that the special bond which existed between these *neoi*, whether as tribesmen or as *helikiotai*, would have promoted not only increased cohesion within the army but perhaps also a greater sense of unity among the Demos as a whole.<sup>183</sup>

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would have served for the age-groups of 334/3 and 333/2, and ca. 600–650 for the classes of 332/1–326/5, yielding a total number of ca. 5,700–6,200 for the Lycurgan era. This figure cannot be reconciled with the ca. 7,100 hoplites for all ten regiments fielded in 323/2, of which three were assigned to home-defense (D.S. 18.10.2), even if some “ex-ephebes” had instead served in the corps of 1,000 horsemen (size of cavalry force: Spence 1993, 10). This suggests that the *ephebeia* did *not* increase the number of citizens who fought as hoplites, at least in the Lamian War, compared to army figures from earlier periods (M.H. Hansen 1985, 36–43, discusses the evidence). Perhaps (to speculate further) ephebes returned their hoplite spears and shields to the state after completing their tour of duty (or after receiving public honors), with the result that the citizens aged 20–29 who fought in the phalanx and in the cavalry during the Lamian War were limited to those who were able to afford the requisite military equipment just as at Chaeronea and before (*contra* van Wees 2006a, 381–382). If so, it casts into doubt the assumption that the *ephebeia* was intended to create a “hoplite democracy” (Hansen 2006a, 38) or that there was a close connection between ephebes and hoplite service (Kennell 2013, 20).

183 Adopting the higher figure (ca. 6,200) from the preceding footnote, about a fifth of the adult male citizen population of ca. 31,000 (see Ch. 5.1) would have passed through the *ephebeia* by the outbreak of the Lamian War. The proportion increases to about a quarter of citizens aged between 20 and 59 (i.e. of military age) who comprised 84.6% of all males 18–80+ (see M.H. Hansen 1985, 12).

## Ephebes and the *Ephebeia*

A cursory examination of the ancient sources quickly reveals that we lack a first-hand perspective of the *ephebeia*. Even if a wealthy and learned individual known to have later achieved prominence in Athenian public life, a Habron perhaps, had written a detailed account, however biased and inadequate, of what it was like to have undertaken his two-year period of national service in the Lycurgan era, the literary evidence has preserved no such testimony, with the result that it is not possible to write a case study about any ephebe based upon his own experience.<sup>1</sup> Despite this deficiency, this chapter argues that we can construct a plausible (if speculative) circumstantial argument which sheds some light on how ephebes may have viewed their national service in the first few years of the *ephebeia*'s existence and how this may have influenced the institution's subsequent development. The following aims to show that, if we consider the attitude of Athenian citizens towards military conscription and we associate this attitude with the number of ephebes epigraphically attested in the corpus, there was a significant minority of eighteen-year-olds who initially sought to avoid their civic obligations but were later persuaded to serve on account of the substantial public honors which they received both during and after their service in the *ephebeia*.<sup>2</sup>

### 5.1 Citizen Participation

Any attempt to determine the extent of citizen participation in the Lycurgan *ephebeia* is dependent upon the lists of names appended to honorific inscriptions erected at the end of the ephebes' military service or after their victory in the *lampadedromia*. The *a priori* assumption, and there is no compelling reason to reject it, is that each roster would have inscribed all and only those

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- 1 Habron, the eldest son of Lycurgus, was surely the Habron of Boutadai (patronymic omitted) attested as *lochagos* and *ephebos* on T19 (328/7?), a dedication of Oineis (Il. 8, 74–75). For Habron's political career after the democracy's restoration in 307/6, see Merker 1986. Aeschines' *περίπολος τῆς χάρας ταύτης ἐγενόμην δὴ ἔτη* (2.167) is usually taken as a fleeting reference to an *ephebeia* predating Chaeronea, but there is no evidence for the institution in any form at this time.
  - 2 This chapter owes much to the work of Mogens Hansen on Athenian demography and to the insights of Matthew Christ on military conscription and draft evasion in classical Athens.

ephebes who had served in one ephebic *phyle* for a single enrollment year.<sup>3</sup> We can assume, for example, that the two dedications of Erechtheus for the class of 333/2 (T10 and T11) would have listed the same names, even if T11 is incomplete. The state of preservation of the corpus is such that while sixteen out of thirty-one inscriptions have catalogues (T1–T31), more than half are so fragmentary that only a minimum number can be estimated.<sup>4</sup> We are therefore fortunate to have the following (dated by enrollment year):

T2	Cecropis	334/3	42–44
T6	Cecropis	333/2	52–54
T8	Leontis	333/2	38 <sup>5</sup>
T10	Erechtheis	333/2	48–50
T15	Leontis	332/1–326/5	62
T17	Cecropis	332/1 or later	58–65
T19	Oineis	330/29(?)	57–58

The limitations of this evidence are threefold. (1) The tribal distribution is uneven, in that no more than four of the ten Cleisthenic tribes are represented, of which five out of seven come from Cecropis and Leontis. (2) The chronological distribution is heavily skewed towards the *ephebeia*'s first few years, with the notable exception of T15, whose date is controversial. (3) Humphreys has recently challenged Traill's identification of T17 as ephebic. It is with some hesitation that the dedication is still included in the corpus (see Catalogue *loc. cit.*). In the absence of reliable statistical information about ephebes in the 330s and 320s, based upon official state documents such as the lists of names set up before the Bouleuterion in the Agora ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 53.4), there is no alternative but to extrapolate as best we can from the epigraphic record, however (in)accurate the result may be. As Hansen rightly observes, the ancient historian has little choice but to employ "the shotgun method" to make sense out of the available data.<sup>6</sup>

According to Sekunda scholars have overestimated the size of the ephebic *phylai* because the *taxiarchoi* and the *lochagoi* were not ephebes but twenty-year-old citizens who had just completed the *ephebeia*. These veterans were

3 Hansen 2006a, 35, 38. Pélékidis 1962, 143–147, is wrong to argue that the ephebes of Leontis (T15) came from two enrollment years (see Reinmuth 1971, 72–73).

4 Ephebes in parentheses: T7 (10+), T12 (2+), T14 (35+), T20 (19+), T23 (16+), T24 (15+), T25 (4+).

5 Two dedications of Leontis are attested for the archonship of Nicocrates. For the rosters of T8 and T9, see the Catalogue *loc. cit.*

6 Hansen 2006a, 19–20; 2006b, 1–2.

“squadded” with the ephebes from the same tribe which belonged to the next archon-year, whose purpose was to “show them the ropes”.<sup>7</sup> By excluding the “ephebic” officers from T6, for example, the number of ephebes in this Cecropid contingent is reduced from 52–54 to 44–46. But it is difficult to understand why the *taxiarchoi* and the *lochagoi*, if they were in fact *neoi*, were listed in the roster on T15.<sup>8</sup> No explanation is offered for this practice except that it was done “for administrative purposes”.<sup>9</sup> The proposed identification of *taxiarchoi* and *lochagoi* as *neoi* is also problematic if we consider that they first appear in the corpus when Nicocrates was archon (333/2), while those ephebes from the class of 334/3 were still carrying out their two-year period of national service. Counter-evidence is provided by Ἀταρβίων Τυνηίου Αἰξωνέυς, a *lochagos* honored in a dedication of Cercropis (T6, ll. 8–9). If Atarbion was a *neos*, as Sekunda claims, we would expect to find him under the deme heading of Aixone in T2, but his name is unattested among the seven ephebes listed (Col. I, ll. 10–19).

The traditional method for estimating the number of ephebes who served in an enrollment year is to take an average of the extant catalogues and multiply the result by ten. It is assumed that the citizen participation would have remained relatively constant from 334/3 to 323/2, while also allowing for intercalary years and for annual variations *kata phylas*.<sup>10</sup> This yields ca. 530 ephebes for the seven aforementioned inscriptions, a total not radically dissimilar from previous estimates.<sup>11</sup> As Hansen saw, however, earlier rosters have fewer ephebes than later ones (dates by enrollment year).<sup>12</sup> First, the three Cecropid contingents had 42–44 (T2 [334/3]), 54–55 (T6 [333/2]), and 58–65 (T17 [332/1 or later]). Second, Leontis (T8) numbered 38 in 333/2, but 62 within half a decade (T15 [332/1–326/5]). Third, 48–50 are attested for Erechtheis on T10 [333/2], exceeded by the 57–58 from Oineis (T19) in 330/29(?). Further qualification of these figures is not possible because there is no sure method,

7 Sekunda 1992, 327–342. Quotation at 312.

8 Leonardos 1918, 83, was the first to identify *lochagoi* as ephebes. Meritt 1940, 59–66, thought that they were the regular military officers mentioned in [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 61.3, but Roussel 1941a, 222–226, reaffirmed Leonardos' view. Meritt 1945, 234–239, ventured the same opinion for the *taxiarchos* Φίλοκλέης Φιλοθέου Σουνηεύς (T9, Col. I, ll. 21–22; Col. II, ll. 15–16), but Mitchel 1961, 350–353, showed that Philocles too was an ephebe. For a recent defense of Mitchel's position, see Hansen 1994, 302–304.

9 Sekunda 1992, 329.

10 Reinmuth 1971, 105–108.

11 Other estimates (ephebes in parentheses): Pélékidis 1962, 292 (650–700); Reinmuth 1971, 106 (490+); Ruschenbusch 1988a, 139 (500); de Marcellus 1994, 22 (550); Burckhardt 1996, 37 (500 or 600?).

12 Hansen 1988a, 3–5; 1994, 302–304; 2006a, 34–37.

whether by calculation of *bouleutai* or bouletic quota, of determining the relative strength of the parent tribes. It is uncertain whether Leontis was larger than Erechtheis or vice versa.<sup>13</sup> Even so, the rosters can be divided into two distinct groups. (1) The classes of 334/3 and 333/2 totaled ca. 450–500 ephebes each and (2) ca. 600–650 from the class of 332/1 onwards.<sup>14</sup> These figures gain significance when compared to the citizen population of fourth-century Athens. Hansen shows that there were ca. 31,000 citizens (D.S. 18.18.4–5), of whom ca. 1000 were eighteen-year-olds or ca. 3.3% of adult males aged between 18 and 80+. We can infer that about half of the annual crop of ephebes would have served in the first two enrollment years, and afterwards perhaps two thirds down to the Lamian War.<sup>15</sup>

How should we interpret this data? Scholars have argued that the *ephebeia* was restricted to those newly enrolled citizens who belonged to the three highest Solonian property classes or that there was no formal qualification for the *ephebeia*, with the result that the *thetes* also served alongside their more affluent peers.<sup>16</sup> By the time the *ephebeia* was created in 335/4, however, the type of military service which citizens performed no longer depended upon their membership in a given property class. Whereas cavalrymen, hoplites, and light-armed skirmishers were probably drawn from the *pentakosiomedimnoi* and the *hippeis*, the *zeugitai*, and the *thetes* respectively, these property classes had lost their military importance by the late 370s, when conscription by age-groups had replaced conscription by *katalogos*. In the new conscription system every citizen, regardless of property class, was included in an age-group if he was

13 Gomme 1933, 50: Aigeis, Leontis, Cecropis, Erechtheis, Pandionis, Acamantis, Oineis, Hippothontis, Antiochis, and Aiantis. Traill 1975, 31–32: Cecropis, Pandionis, Erechtheis, Aigeis, Leontis, Acamantis, Antiochis, Oineis, Hippothontis, and Aiantis.

14 Hansen 2006a, 35, thinks that the number of ephebes would have risen slowly over the decade, but this depends upon an incorrect enrollment date of 324 for T15 (see Catalogue *loc. cit.*). Previously (1985, 48) he had estimated ca. 450–500 for a normal year and ca. 500–550 for an intercalary year.

15 The bibliography on fourth-century Athenian demography is extensive and controversial. For a defense of the higher figure (ca. 31,000) against the lower figure (ca. 21,000), see M.H. Hansen 1985. His arguments are restated (in response to counter-arguments) in 1988a; 1988b; 1989b; 1994; 2006a. Hansen suggests that Coale and Demeny's Model West (mortality level 4 with an annual growth rate of 0.5 percent) would be the most appropriate for the demographic structure of classical Greece (cf. Coale and Demeny 1966, 128). Ruschenbusch 1979, 173, n. 3, has 3% but prefers 2.5% in 1999, 94, while Burckhardt 1996, 40–41, settles on 3%. Before the use of model life tables, Jones 1957, 81–83, and Pélékidis 1962, 288–289, estimated 5% and 6.9% respectively.

16 Three highest classes: Reinmuth 1971, 106; Rhodes 1981, 503; Rauflaab 1996, 157. *Thetes* included: Pélékidis 1962, 113–114; Faraguna 1992, 276–277; Burckhardt 1996, 35, 42.

capable of fighting as a hoplite.<sup>17</sup> The issue is not whether *thetes* had served in the *ephebeia*, but whether the participation-rate of the ephebes was higher than the proportion of citizens which had typically fought in the hoplite phalanx during the classical period. The answer is in the affirmative because the “hoplite class” in Athens would have averaged around a third of the citizen body (e.g. Thuc. 2.13.6–7; D.S. 18.10.12, 11.3).<sup>18</sup> The *Athenaion Politeia*’s description of citizen registration (42.1–2) and of the *ephebeia* (42.2–5) likewise implies that all ephebes from the class of 334/3 onwards had to serve.<sup>19</sup>

But the conscription of ephebes from every socio-economic background was problematic in one crucial respect. With the exception of the wealthy elite, they would have lacked the personal means to sustain themselves in the field beyond a few months, as the example of the upper-class Mantitheus supplying two of his fellow demesmen with thirty drachmas for campaign expenses suggests (Lys. 16.14; cf. 31.15). The Athenians, aiming to mobilize as many ephebes as possible for the defence of the countryside against Boeotian raiders, decided to subsidize them at public expense, without which they could not have served. Each ephebe received a generous daily *trophe* of four obols in the form of a *siteresion* or ration-payment from the city ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3: δίδωσι ... εἰς τροφ[ήν] ... τοῖς δ' ἐφήβοις τέτταρας ὀβολοὺς ἐκάστῳ).<sup>20</sup> He was also supplied with clothing (*chlamys* and *petasos*) and a minimal panoply (hoplite spear and shield) ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.4–5; Poll. 8.164). Finally, he was provided with all other essential supplies ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3: τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελείται πάντων), such as bedding, tents, and various items concerned with the preparation and consumption of food and the repair of military and non-military equipment

17 The precise relationship between the *zeugitai* and the “hoplite class” is controversial (cf. Whitehead 1981; Rosivach 2002a). Van Wees 2001; 2002; 2004, 55–57; 2006a, maintains that hoplites came from the *zeugitai* and the *thetes*. The former were counted among the wealthy and the latter were “working class hoplites”. For a contrary view, see Gabrielsen 2002; de Ste. Croix 2004; Raaflaub 2006. Loss of military significance: van Wees 2006a, 375; Guía and Gallego 2010, 276. The property classes also lost their political importance ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 7.4, 47.1; Dem. 59.72): Rhodes 1981, 146, 551; Rosivach 2002b, 45.

18 Proportion of citizens as hoplites: Hansen 1981, 19–24; Ober 1989a, 128–130; van Wees 2001, 52–53; 2006a, 382; Pritchard 2010, 22–23.

19 As Gomme 1933, 11, observes, “we must assume that Aristotle forgot to state that they [i.e. the *thetes*] were excluded from the ranks of the epheboi ... because such a fact was well-known and obvious to his readers: an assumption in itself unsatisfactory”. The brackets and italics are mine.

20 For *trophe* as a *siteresion* in the *ephebeia*, see Loomis 1998, 24 (no. 26), 53 (no. 30). The standard rate of gross pay for hoplites in fourth-century Greece was one drachma per day, four obols for the *misthos* and two obols for the *siteresion* (Loomis 1998, 57, with examples in 47–55, nos. 21–32). For the fifth-century rate, see Pritchett 1971, 14–24.

(cf. Dem. 54.3; Ar. *Ach.* 1136; Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.30–32).<sup>21</sup> By these measures it was hoped that there would be no impediment for ephebes of lower social status to perform their civic obligations.

## 5.2 Exemptions and Citizenship

Out of the ca. 1,000 eighteen-year-old citizens who had enrolled on the deme register in the archonship of Ctesicles (334/3), then, ca. 450–500 would have served in the *ephebeia*. But if ephebes from all four Solonian property classes were eligible for military conscription, we still need to explain why approximately the same number of ephebes did and did not serve. To answer this important but difficult question, the next three sections will discuss the following: (1) Those ephebes who legitimately obtained a release from service. (2) Those ephebes willing to comply with the call-up for service. (3) Those ephebes who sought to avoid service. Let us begin with the first group.

The number of exemptions which ephebes could have claimed was limited compared to older citizens.<sup>22</sup> While the latter were exempt on the grounds of officeholding (e.g. Lyc. 1.37) or by performing liturgies such as the *choregia* and the *trierarchia* (Dem. 21.103, 166), for example, the former were disqualified by age to hold most, if not all, political offices and were “free from all [financial] impositions (καὶ ἀτελεῖς εἰσι πάντων)” ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5) during their tour of duty. It is maintained that wealthy ephebes could transfer to cavalry service and thus be exempt from the *ephebeia* (cf. Lys. 14.14; 15.5–6), but the appearance of Nicias son of Euctaius of Xypete on a dedication of Cecropis (T2 [332/1], l. 21) and in a catalogue of *hippeis* a decade later (*IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 323 [ca. 323/2], l. 5) suggests otherwise.<sup>23</sup> Nor could poor ephebes claim personal hardship (cf. Plut. *Nic.* 13.7–8) or that they lacked the wealth to afford hoplite armor (cf. Lucian *Tim.* 51) because they received state-funded *trophe* and state-issued arms ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3–4).

Two exemptions, however, were open to ephebes. The first was a discharge for medical reasons.<sup>24</sup> Hansen estimates that perhaps 20% of Athenian men

21 One suspects that many of the items discussed in Lee 2007, 117–125, 210–231, who has studied the logistics involved with the march of the Ten Thousand, were both familiar to the ephebes and supplied at public expense. See also van Wees 2004, 104; Crowley 2012, 32.

22 On exemptions, see M.H. Hansen 1985, 16–21; Sekunda 1992, 346–348; Christ 2001, 404–407.

23 Burckhardt 1996, 42. For Nicias, see Bugh 1988, 168–169.

24 For medical exemptions, see Baldwin 1967, 42–43; Christ 2001, 406–407.

were unfit for military service because they suffered from a physical disability or an acute illness (e.g. *Ar. Ran.* 190–192; *Plut. Phoc.* 10.2).<sup>25</sup> He also estimates that at least 10% of ephebes were similarly incapacitated.<sup>26</sup> But even if ephebes had suffered less from chronic ailments than the rest of the Demos,<sup>27</sup> garrison duty in the *ephebeia* would have demanded a higher standard of fitness than campaigning in the Athenian army. There was no point in conscripting ephebes who lacked sufficient mobility to patrol the countryside.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, the proportion of ephebes unfit for service was approximately one fifth of an enrollment year. Second, exemptions were probably granted to the adult sons of Athenian merchants, exiles, and mercenaries who lived permanently elsewhere in mainland Greece or overseas because they could not have received notification of the call-up for service.<sup>29</sup> Few fathers, even if they were aware of the *ephebeia*'s existence, would have sent their sons to Athens on their own initiative to register as demesmen and to serve alongside their peers (cf. Xenophon in *D.L.* 2.53–54).<sup>30</sup>

Scholars are divided on whether cleruchs were exempt from military conscription generally,<sup>31</sup> but there is explicit evidence for cleruchic involvement in the *ephebeia*, at least for Samos. The philosopher Epicurus served alongside the comic poet Menander (*Strabo.* 14.1.18; *D.L.* 10.14). Three ephebes from Samos are also attested in the corpus: Demetrius son of Eucles of Aixone and Hedylyus son of Dryon of Halai on T6 (331/0), ll. 29, 58, and Taureas son of Aisimus of Skambonidai on T15 (330/29–324/3), Col. 11, l. 12.<sup>32</sup> Even if the cleruchs were residents on Samos rather than absentee landlords living in Attica, their sons were clearly expected to serve throughout the Lycurgan era.<sup>33</sup> The cleruchy num-

25 M.H. Hansen 1985, 17–20. His estimate is based on comparative data from nineteenth-century European states. Less convincing are arguments which prefer 10% or less: e.g. Ruschenbusch 1988b, 139; Sekunda 1992, 347–348.

26 M.H. Hansen 1985, 49, 67. Accepted by Burckhardt 1996, 42.

27 Sekunda 1992, 347.

28 For lame or crippled citizens in hoplite battle, see Hanson 1989a, 95; Edwards 1996, 89–90.

29 *Lyc.* 1.29; *Dem.* 29.3; *Lys.* 31.9; *Arr. Anab.* 1.29.5; 3.6.2.

30 Athenians living abroad: Hansen 1982, 179–182. Exempted from service: Christ 2001, 405, n. 33, rejecting Sekunda 1992, 348. Adult sons of those mercenaries who had left their families behind in Attica (Trundle 2004, 141–142; Lee 2007, 265–275) would not have been exempt.

31 Christ 2001, 405 (none served); M.H. Hansen 1985, 50 (few served); Sekunda 1992, 316; (all served).

32 Demetrius and Hedylyus: Clinton 1988, 24–26. Taureas was probably a cleruch rather than an enfranchised Samian (M.H. Hansen 1985, 103, n. 170; Sekunda 1992, 315–316; *contra* Cargill 1983, 324–325).

33 On cleruchies, see Figueira 1991; Cargill 1995. Absentee landlords: Brunt 1966, 81–84; Gau-

bered in the thousands—at least three groups were sent to the island between 366/5 and 352/1, one a contingent of 2,000 citizens (Strabo 14.1.18)—and it is hard to understand why the Athenians would have neglected this source of manpower for the *ephebeia*.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps the ephebes from Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros were also conscripted since contingents from these islands are known to have accompanied the Athenian army.<sup>35</sup> Beloch estimates that 150 cleruchs served annually, but this cannot be verified.<sup>36</sup>

The procedure for obtaining exemptions in the system of conscription by age-groups was probably no different from the earlier method of conscription by *katalogos*.<sup>37</sup> Like a certain Polyaeus in Lysias' *For the Soldier* (9.4), ephebes would have petitioned the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* (and later also the *strategos epi tei Aktei*) directly for an exemption between the call-up and the muster.<sup>38</sup> In contrast to the mobilization of Athenian citizens for a campaign beyond the borders of Attica, a process usually compressed within a few days (*Ar. Pax.* 1181–1184), ephebes would have been informed of when and where to muster well in advance of the appointed day (1 Boedromion), at which time they were obligated to assemble before the monument of the ten *Eponymoi* in the Agora. If the *dokimasia* by the Council was held either in late Thargelion or early Hekatombaion, an ephebe had perhaps two months to approach the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* to present his case in person. Individuals physically incapable of making the journey to Athens or whose absence was otherwise unavoidable (i.e. living abroad) were presumably represented by their relatives who petitioned on their behalf (cf. Aesch. 2.94–95; Dem. 19.124).

We can assume that the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* would have had access to an accurate and comprehensive list of the ephebes, which he regularly updated over the two-month period by removing the names of successful claimants until the day of the muster. The Council probably compiled the list after scruti-

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thier 1966, 65–66. Lived on plots: Gomme 1959, 64; Graham 1983, 167. The recent study of Hallof and Habicht 1995 on the Samian Council (Samos Inv. J 352) shows that some cleruchs would have regularly traveled between Athens and Samos.

34 Contingents: D.S. 18.18 (366/5); Schol. Aeschin. 1.53 (361/0); Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F 154 (352/1). Shipley 1987, 14, 141, estimates 6,000–12,000 (cf. Hallof and Habicht 1995, 288, 302). M.H. Hansen 1985, 70–71, favors 5,000 for Samos and the Thracian Chersonese.

35 See Moreno 2003, 97, on Thuc. 7.57.2.

36 Beloch 1905, 354.

37 Both conscription systems are discussed in Ch. 2.2. Similarity of procedure for the granting of exemptions: Christ 2001, 411.

38 *Strategoí* and exemptions: Christ 2001, 404; 2006, 53. MacDowell 1994, 158–160, suggests that it was not the *strategos* himself but his staff who refused Polyaeus' request for an exemption.

nizing the citizen-candidates ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2) and was responsible for its preservation in the Metroon.<sup>39</sup> The list of ca. 1000 names was then handed to the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea*.<sup>40</sup> If perhaps 20% of ephebes were exempt for reasons of health and another 5% for living abroad, or ca. 250 in all, ca. 750 would have remained on the list to be inscribed later upon the bronze *stele* erected before the Bouleuterion ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 53.4).<sup>41</sup> This figure, if correct, was the maximum number of ephebes whom the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* could have reasonably expected to appear at the muster. Whether as many as 750 ephebes (i.e. 75% of an enrollment year) did in fact serve in the Lycurgan era is uncertain, however, because the epigraphic evidence is lacking.

At first sight it is difficult to reconcile this reconstruction with Lycurgus' statement in the *Against Leocrates* that "you have an oath, which all citizens swear, whenever they enroll upon the deme register and become ephebes (1.76)".<sup>42</sup> Scholarly interest has centered on the interpretation of πάντες οἱ πολῖται in arguments for or against the involvement of *thetes* in the *ephebeia*.<sup>43</sup> Rhodes, rightly, takes the orator's language as a "rhetorical exaggeration", not to be interpreted literally, as Ruschenbush argued.<sup>44</sup> The *Athenaion Politeia* shows that the muster preceded the tour of temples (42.3; συλλαβόντες δ' οὔτοι τοὺς ἐφήβους, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἱερά περιήλθον ...), during which the ephebes would have sworn the ephebic oath at the Aglaurion on the northeastern slope of the Acropolis (see Ch. 6.3). Unless Lycurgus had used πάντες οἱ πολῖται in the sense of "all citizens after exemptions were granted", which seems implausible, his assertion is clearly incompatible with this sequence of events.<sup>45</sup> We can assume the following: (1) All newly-enrolled citizens were called *epheboi* after they had completed the multi-staged registration procedure described in [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.1–2. This designation was clearly not dependent on their passage

39 Initial compilation of the list by the Council: Rhodes 1972, 172. Sickinger 1999, 129–131, suggests that the Council would have deposited these lists in the Metroon from the fourth-century onwards, centuries before the first epigraphically attested example in 61/2 CE (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1990, l. 9). His evidence is Harpocration (s.v. στρατεία ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις), who reproduces the text of [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 53.4 with the addition of εἰς τὴν βουλήν.

40 Council and *strategoi*: Christ 2001, 410.

41 Exclusion of unfit from *stele*: M.H. Hansen 1985, 15.

42 ὑμῖν γὰρ ἔστιν ὄρκος, ὃν ὀμνύουσι πάντες οἱ πολῖται, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγραφῶσιν καὶ ἔφηβοι γένωνται.

43 For the debate, see Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 453–454.

44 Ruschenbusch 1979, 174; Rhodes 1980, 194.

45 Liddel 2007, 185, thinks that the bronze *stele* which listed the ephebes' names would have "acted as a record of their having taken the ephebic oath". But even if ca. 750 names were later inscribed on the *stele*, sometime after the tour of temples, only about two-thirds would have actually sworn the oath in 334/3.

through the *ephebeia* (42.2–5). (2) The same individuals in (1) were assigned to the first age-group for conscription purposes (53.4). Significantly, the treatise does not provide an alternative designation for those who did *not* serve, suggesting that an eighteen-year-old citizen who had obtained an exemption from service was also designated as an *ephebos*.<sup>46</sup>

The civic status of exempt individuals requires some clarification. It is an enduring misconception that the *ephebeia* was a prerequisite for full citizenship, based on the erroneous assumption that ephebes were unable to attend the Assembly until aged twenty (i.e. after the completion of their military service).<sup>47</sup> By analogy to the example of Glaucon in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (3.6.1), an ephebe in the Lycurgan era could have registered on the *pinax ecclesiastikos* at any time, if he wished, after passing the *dokimasia* by the Council (cf. [Dem.] 44.35).<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the stringent regulations in the *ephebeia* which prohibited ephebes from pursuing their private interests and participating in Athenian public life clearly did not apply to their activities in Hekatombaion and Metageitnion (cf. [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5). Consequently, ephebes within this two-month period would have had the freedom to exercise their newly-acquired social, economic, legal, and political prerogatives, restricted only by the limitations of age and personal inclination (cf. Thuc. 2.37.1–3). Hundreds of ephebes, one suspects, were present alongside their fathers at the Assembly to vote for the *kosmetes*, the *sophronistai*, the *paidotribai*, and the *didaskaloi* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2–3). The crucial difference, then, between exempt and non-exempt ephebes from 334/3 to 323/2 is that the former were never subject to the above regulations, unlike the latter, whose lives would have differed little from ephebes of previous generations such as Aeschines or Demosthenes (Dem. 18.261; 21.154).<sup>49</sup>

46 Attempts at reconciling Lycurgus and the *Athenaion Politeia* with the corpus have created problems for scholars who maintain that the usage of *ephebos* was explicitly linked to service in the *ephebeia*. For Hansen 2006a, 38, all eighteen-year-old citizens would have taken the ephebic oath, and hence were “technically *epheboi*” even if they had not served in the *ephebeia*. Kennell 2013, 23–24, however, rejects Hansen’s notion of “passive ephebes” as unsupported by the ancient sources and suggests that only those who belonged to the first age-group were called *epheboi* (*contra* Davidson 2006, 39, n. 4).

47 E.g. Reinmuth 1948, 212; Liddel 2007, 290–293; Casey 2013, 423.

48 For Glaucon and the *pinax ecclesiastikos*, see Ch. 2.5.

49 There is no justification for the view of Humphreys 2004, 120, who thinks that the *ephebeia* “represents a decentering of politics itself, a shift from the conception of the ideal-typical citizen as active, mature, contributor to the defence of the city’s interests in war to the formulation of policy in assembly debates to a vision of the citizen as (pre-political) ephebe”.

### 5.3 The Motivation to Serve

It is no exaggeration to state that the *ephebeia* would have radically transformed the lives of epebes during the Lycurgan era. Whereas their predecessors were ordinarily called up for garrison duty whenever the Athenians feared an external threat to Attica but were not otherwise expected to serve, epebes beginning in Ctesicles' archonship were required to guard the countryside for two years ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5: φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη), the first spent in Piraeus and the second in the *phylakteria* on the frontier. The epebic rosters suggest that ca. 450–500 epebes from the class of 334/3 would have served, or about two-thirds of those whom the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* had not granted an exemption (i.e. 500 out of 750 epebes). These epebes thus fulfilled one of the two formal obligations (*ta deonta*) associated with Athenian citizenship, namely to serve the city with “person and property” (Dem. 10.28; 42.25; [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 29.5; 55.3; Lys. 20.23).<sup>50</sup> It would be wrong, however, to assume that they would have embraced their new military role with boundless enthusiasm. It is *a priori* likely that their attitude varied from individual to individual, with the result that some looked forward to their tour of duty with eager anticipation, others were less enthusiastic but not unwilling, and still others had a grudging acceptance. We *can* assert with some confidence that the epebes were ready to make themselves *khrestoi politai* or “useful citizens” to the city like their older compatriots (Lys. 16.14; Aeschin. 1.11; Dem. 19.281; Eur. *Supp.* 886–887).

We can also speculate on how much the epebes would have known about the *ephebeia* before it began to function in Boedromion 334/3. The same youths clearly could not have attended the Assembly convened soon after Thebes' destruction in 335/4, in which Epicrates' law established the *ephebeia* (Harp. s.v. Ἐπικράτης = Lyc. Fr. 5.3 Conomis), and subsequent meetings which determined its officials and organization. Their fathers, kinsmen, and other demesmen, however, were surely present at some of these meetings. Perhaps they brought back reliable information about the *ephebeia* both to their fellow demesmen and to the epebes themselves, which was then rapidly disseminated by the extensive gossip networks in the urban neighborhoods of Athens and in the villages scattered around the countryside.<sup>51</sup> By the time when the youths had

50 An exhaustive discussion of civic obligations (both military and non-military) in classical Athens is found in Liddel 2007.

51 While numerous factors had the potential to limit the fathers' participation at a given Assembly, such as the distance separating their demes from Athens and the demands of daily life in rural Attica (Sinclair 1988, 114–119; Ober 1989a, 127–138; Jones 1999, 94–99), they

passed their *dokimasia* by the Council and were designated as ephebes ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.1–2), they would have acquired at least some understanding of the *ephebeia*'s workings (cf. [Pl.] *Axiochus* 366d–367a).<sup>52</sup> They cannot have been unaware that their national service would exclude them from the public life of Athens and that they would be prohibited from attending to their own affairs for two whole years ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5). Their willingness to serve, despite knowing about these restrictions, indicates the strength of their commitment to the new institution.

Even so, the ephebe, it bears repeating, was *not* a volunteer.<sup>53</sup> As a conscript called-up for the *ephebeia*, he was legally accountable to the Demos for his performance in the field. Should he fail to meet the (minimum) required standards expected of an Athenian citizen, a public suit (*graphe*) could be brought against him, each dealing with a specific military offense: a *graphe astrateias* for draft-dodging, a *graphe lipotaxiou* for desertion, and a *graphe deilias* for cowardice. On private initiative, the defendant could be prosecuted for his alleged offense in a specially-convened court presided over by the *stratego*i (Lys. 15.1–2) and judged by those citizens who had served alongside the defendant on campaign (Lys. 14.5). Conviction resulted in *atimia* or the loss of citizen rights, although the enforcement of this punishment was apparently not universal.<sup>54</sup> Unless we assume that ephebes were somehow exempt from these lawsuits, the severity of this penalty would have caused them a degree of apprehension, in common with older citizens of military age, over the legal consequences of non-compliance with their obligations (Aesch. 3.175; Lyc. 1.130; Lys. 14.15). If the fear of prosecution was a deterrent for some ephebes not to shirk their civic responsibilities, we should note that few examples of *astrateia* or *lipotaxia* (there is no instance of *delia*) are attested in Attic oratory, perhaps reflecting the actual incidence of such trials in classical Athens.<sup>55</sup>

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would have made every effort to attend out of concern for their sons' welfare. Gossip networks in the city and demes: Ober 1989a, 148–151; Hunter 1994, 96–101; Millett 1998.

52 The cluelessness of Glaucon concerning the role of fortifications (Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.10–11) was surely inapplicable to the ephebes of Lycurgan Athens.

53 Some maintain that ephebes were volunteers rather than conscripts (e.g. Pritchard 2010, 55; 2013, 203; Kennell 2013, 24). Hansen 1988a, 190–193; 2006a, 36–38, analyzes the fluctuations in the number of ephebes from the demes and concludes that the *ephebeia* was open to ephebes from all Solonian property classes but service was voluntary.

54 Penalty of *atimia*: Aeschin. 3.175–176; Lys. 14.9; Dem. 24.103. Incidents of military *graphai*: Aeschin. 1.29; And. 1.74; Dem. 15.32; 24.103–105; 39.17. For a collection and discussion of the *graphai*, see Pritchett 1974, 233–234; Hansen 1976, 55–56, 62, 66, 72, 91; Hamel 1998a, 63–64; Hamel 1998b; Christ 2006, 59–62, 124–128.

55 For the fear of the law as a motivation to perform civic obligations, see Thuc. 2.37.3; Lyc. 1.130.

There were also strong inducements for ephebes to comply with the draft. While the extent to which we can characterize Athenian society as militaristic is unclear, in the sense that military prowess and war-making were considered praiseworthy, there can be no doubt that the ideal of the citizen-soldier would have persisted down to the Lycurgan era.<sup>56</sup> Burckhardt has shown that Athenian citizens, if not always with unbridled enthusiasm, continued to serve as the core of the city's land-forces (supplemented by contingents of professional light-armed skirmishers), whether as hoplites or cavalrymen, in numerous fourth-century campaigns.<sup>57</sup> The prestige which the Demos attached to military service is unsurprising if we consider how the glorification of war in classical Athens would have encouraged a martial orientation among citizens of military age (i.e. 18–59). The city was full of conspicuously displayed monuments, such as dedications, inscriptions, paintings, and sculptures which celebrated the past achievements of the Athenians on the battlefield. Numerous religious events such as the procession and sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera reminded the Demos of their glorious military past. While literary genres such as oratory and drama praised Athens' preeminent martial virtues, it was above all the *epitaphios logos* or funeral oration, delivered at a public ceremony for the Athenian war dead, which commended the fallen for their unsurpassed manly courage and encouraged the living to emulate their example.<sup>58</sup>

The ephebes of 334/3 would have readily agreed with the statement that “by serving in the military, a man brought honor to himself and his family and helped to defend the polis and to maintain or augment its wealth, power, and prestige. Displaying courage in war was the traditional way for a man to acquire *aretē*”.<sup>59</sup> The frequent appearance of *arete* in the corpus suggests that ephebes (and their officials) were expected to demonstrate this important cardinal virtue during their two-year period of service.<sup>60</sup> While *arete* was asso-

56 For militarism in Athens and in Greece generally, see Lendon 2007; van Wees 2007; Hunt 2010a; 2010b.

57 Burckhardt 1996, esp. 76–153. Examples: Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16–23 (Nemea) and 7.5.15–25 (Mantineia).

58 The literary and material evidence for the commemoration of Athens' military exploits is discussed in Hölscher 1998; Raaflaub 2001. For the funeral oration, see Ziolkowski 1981; Loraux 1986.

59 Roisman 2005, 105–106.

60 For *arete* as a civic virtue, see Whitehead 1993, 49, 57–60, 65; 2009, 53–55. Examples in the corpus: T1 (332/1), l. 9 (*kosmetes*); T3 (332/1), ll. 2 (restored: ephebes and *sophronistes*), 8 (restored: ephebes), and 9 (*sophronistes*); T6 (331/0), l. 3 (ephebes and *sophronistes*); T7 (331/0), l. 7 (ephebes and *sophronistes*); T9 (331/0), l. 2 (ephebes and *sophronistes*), Col. 1, ll. 12–13 (ephebes), 18 (*sophronistes*), 30 (*taxiarchos* and *lochagoi*), and Col. 111, l. 16 (*sophronistes*).

ciated with virtuous non-martial masculine qualities, thus justifying Fisher's translation of *arete* as "moral goodness",<sup>61</sup> it would be a mistake not to recognize the link between *arete* and courage in battle, so much so that *arete* was often preferred to *andreia* in Athenian literature (the latter does not appear in the epigraphic record).<sup>62</sup> If we are right to characterize ephebes as having a predisposition towards violent or belligerent behavior (see Ch. 4.3), some, perhaps many, would have welcomed the prospect of fighting at close-quarters against raiders. Having displayed courage as hoplites rather than as cavalrymen or light-armed troops, whose courage was considered inferior, they could justly claim to have faced danger on behalf of the community. For these ephebes, service in the *ephebeia* was attractive because it would both confirm their *arete* to the Demos and exclude them from the ranks of the cowardly.<sup>63</sup>

Finally, while the combination of garrison duty and patrolling the countryside perhaps lacked the excitement of overseas campaigns (cf. Thuc. 6.24.3), very few ephebes could have denied the importance of these activities for the security of Attica. As *paides* they had lived through the shock of Alexander's destruction of Thebes in Boedromion 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.1; Aeschin. 3.133), whose aftermath had created the problem which the *ephebeia* was intended to solve. For some, their local communities, especially those situated on or near the Attic-Boeotian border, may have already suffered from freebooters ransacking farms and carrying off movable possessions (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 230; Dem. 47.53–56; Men. *Dysc.* 109–121; Theophr. *Char.* 10.8). Others were understandably apprehensive at this development and were prepared to bear a disproportionate burden of the garrison duty to safeguard the countryside against this new threat. *This*, one suspects, was the primary motivation for the ca. 450–500 ephebes enrolled in Ctesicles' archonship to comply with the call-up for the *ephebeia*. The newly imposed obligation was thus unavoidable given the circumstances.

61 Fisher 2001, 257.

62 *Arete* and courage: Lyc. 1.108; Dem. 60.3; Lys. 2.69; Hyp. 6.19; Pl. *Menex.* 240d; Thuc. 2.36.1. On the use of *arete* in funeral orations, see Yoshitake 2010, 360–369. *Arete* also appears on epigrams for Athenian soldiers who had died in battle (e.g. *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 1162, l. 48). Absence of *andreia*: Whitehead 2009, 54.

63 For courage as a virtue requiring public validation and for what kind of behavior was recognized as cowardly, see Christ 2006, 91–142.

#### 5.4 The “Bad” Ephebe

A recent study on “bad citizenship” in classical Athens has persuasively shown how self-interest motivated some citizens (how many is unclear) to evade their civic obligations (both military and financial) if they were thought to conflict irreconcilably with their own personal affairs. While the exact incidence of draft-evasion (*astrateia*), desertion (*lipotaxia*), and cowardice (*delia*) among Athenian citizens conscripted for overseas campaigns (*strateiai*) cannot be determined from the ancient sources, they were frequent enough to be an ongoing public concern and to have presented a persistent challenge to the Demos, who regarded them as an unacceptable deviation from the recognized norms of citizen behavior.<sup>64</sup> The following argues that the core ideas presented in this innovative study are relevant to the *ephebeia* in the Lycurgan era, potentially offering a hitherto unexplored perspective of the institution and its development in the first few years of its existence. At any rate we should assume that instances of “bad citizenship” were not confined to citizens aged twenty and over, with the result that all ephebes would have unquestionably prioritized service in the *ephebeia* over their self-interest. Aristotle’s cynical observation in the *Nicomachean Ethics* that “all men, or most men, wish what is noble (*ta kala*) but choose what is profitable (*ta ophelima*) (1162b34–36)” cannot have been aged-restricted.<sup>65</sup>

If we accept the arguments presented so far in this chapter, there was no formal property qualification for the *ephebeia* in the Lycurgan era and the number of ephebes who served was ca. 450–500 for the enrollment years of 334/3 and 333/2, increasing to ca. 600–650 from 332/1 onwards. These ephebes were clearly not among the ca. 250 who were exempt from service. Around two thirds of able-bodied ephebes not living abroad (cleruchs excepted) would have complied with the draft in the first year of the *ephebeia*’s existence. For a significant minority of the ca. 1000 ephebes who had enrolled in 334/3 and who were *not* exempt, however, the prestige associated with military service was insufficient to outweigh their personal misgivings about spending two continuous years in the *ephebeia*. For the 100–200 ephebes who were conspicuously absent from the class of 334/3 but served in the class of 332/1, one suspects, their antipathy was so great towards the newly-created institution that they

64 Christ 2006, 15–142. For a contrary opinion, see Crowley 2012, 105–126.

65 Christ 2006, 208, thinks that the *ephebeia* was conducive towards making citizens better and more enthusiastic soldiers, but does not consider the possibility that not all of the ephebes were willing to carry out their obligations.

would have sought to exploit whatever opportunities were available for them to evade this unwanted obligation.<sup>66</sup>

The ephebes' misgivings were two-fold. First, computer generated modelling suggests that approximately half of eighteen-year-old citizens would have come into their patrimony.<sup>67</sup> From 334/3 onwards each ephebe had about two months to make the necessary arrangements to safeguard his inheritance before he mustered in the Agora. The most pressing issue was to entrust one of his nearest relatives—probably his former guardian—with the management of the *oikos* until his return from the *ephebeia*.<sup>68</sup> Even if he had found a caretaker both competent and trustworthy (cf. Dem. 57.18–19, 29–30), there was still a concern that his property interests might suffer from his prolonged absence, potentially weakening his claim to those possessions which he was legally entitled to inherit. Perhaps he anticipated disputes over his share of the patrimony with his adult siblings (cf. Xen. *Mem.* 2.3.1–10) or suspected kinfolk of scheming to misappropriate whatever wealth he did possess (cf. Isae. 9; Dem. 48).<sup>69</sup> Another anxiety consisted of perennial feuding with neighbors over boundaries, water usage, trespassing, and damage to property (e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 842e–846d), disputes unlikely to cease in his absence.<sup>70</sup> Given the harsh reali-

66 It is maintained that the increase in citizen participation can be explained by supposing that Epicrates' legislation would have taken a few years to be implemented fully (Hansen 1988b, 189–193; Burckhardt 1996, 42–43; Pritchard 2010, 55; Van Wees 2011, 99). This view, however, is open to the following objections: (1) While the provisions of his *nomos* "concerning the ephebes" have not survived, they are unlikely to have altered the system of conscription by age-groups ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 53.4, 7), the preferred method from at least Aeschines' time of calling up eligible citizens for military service (1.49; 2.167). (2) The Athenians, knowing that broad-based citizen participation was an essential prerequisite for military success, sought to conscript as many ephebes as possible from 334/3 onwards. The state-subsidized *trophe* and minimal panoply (along with clothing and bedding, etc.) were intended to remove hardship as a reason not to serve (cf. Christ 2001, 405) and thus allow even the poorest *thetes* to serve alongside their wealthier compatriots.

67 Golden 2015, 94–95 (= 1990, 111–112) applies the study of Saller 1987 (also 1994, 14–69), who calculated human mortality in the Roman empire (assuming a life expectancy of twenty-five and a first marriage of thirty for men), to classical Athens. Scheidel 2009 has recently validated Saller's results.

68 The guardians of Athenian orphans were usually the kinsmen of the deceased: e.g. Lys. 10.4–5, 18.9; Isae. 8.40–42, 10.5–6; Dem. 27.4–6, 48.8. On the appointment and responsibilities of guardians, see Cudjoe 2010, 165–190.

69 Cox 1998, 155–161, shows how the absence of elite Athenians on overseas campaigns could and did cause harm to their households (*oikoi*). The two-year period of national service in the *ephebeia* may well have had a similar "destabilizing effect" on some ephebes' patrimony, depending upon individual circumstances and socio-economic background.

70 Quarrels between landowners: Klingenburg 1976, 21–62.

ties of the agricultural calendar, especially the all-important harvest, it would be unsurprising if some ephebes were more concerned about the welfare of their moderately-sized farms or large estates than the performance of their civic obligations.<sup>71</sup>

Second, for ephebes of modest financial means who worked for a living (cf. Aeschines in Dem. 18.261), it was the fear of losing two years of income, thus depriving their families of support, which made them apprehensive (or at least diminished their enthusiasm) about serving in the *ephebeia*. While poverty-stricken individuals may have welcomed the state-funded daily *trophe* of four obols ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3), those ephebes accustomed to earning a livelihood in various occupations with higher rates of pay would not have regarded this ration-allowance (a *sitos* or *siteresion*, not a *misthos*) as adequate remuneration.<sup>72</sup> An inscription from Eleusis (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1672 [329/8]) suggests that hired laborers in the Lycurgan era were paid 1½ drachmas per day and skilled craftsmen such as carpenters received as much as 2½ drachmas.<sup>73</sup> Nor was it possible for an ephebe to enrich himself by collecting booty, unless he himself had engaged in profiteering, which, if caught, would have made him a *kakourgos* or common criminal liable for prosecution in the lawcourt. We can assume that whatever possessions were recovered from raiders became the property of the state. Such goods were not sold at a public auction but were returned to their former owners if they had a convincing claim.<sup>74</sup> Finally, prizes for valor (*aristeia*), typically a crown or a hoplite panoply, were not awarded to ephebes.<sup>75</sup>

The preferred strategy for an ephebe who sought to avoid the *ephebeia* was probably to obtain an exemption from the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* which he was not entitled to receive.<sup>76</sup> He could claim that he was incapable of patrolling Attica or training at the Lyceum because he suffered from a physical handicap or from an acute illness. Fraudulent claims of this kind were not uncommon among older citizens called-up for service if we can trust Antiphon's statement that "illness is a holiday for cowards (Fr. 87 B57 D-K: νόσος δειλοῖσιν ἑορτή)". Even if an ephebe was suspected of dishonesty, his feigned or exaggerated "sickness"

71 For farmers' concerns during the agricultural year, see Hanson 1999, 152–164; Jones 2004, 59–85.

72 Poverty and the perception of poverty in Athens: Dover 1974, 109–112; Rosivach 1991. For *trophe* in the *ephebeia*, see Loomis 1998, 24 (no. 26) and 53 (no. 30).

73 Wages in classical Athens: Loomis 1998, esp. 232–239, on the issue of whether there was a "standard wage." He (111–114, nos. 7–8) discusses the wages from the accounts at Eleusis.

74 *Kakourgoi* and criminal activity: Hunter 1994, 135–137, 144–145; Fisher 1999. For booty in Athens and elsewhere, see Pritchett 1971, 53–100; 1991, 68–202, 363–437.

75 For *aristeia*, see Pritchett 1974, 276–290; Hamel 1998a, 64–70.

76 For the abuse of exemptions by older citizens, see Christ 2004, 36–39; 2006, 53–58.

or “disability” was difficult to disprove, unless he was as blatant as a certain Aristogeiton who appeared for muster with both legs bandaged and leaning on a staff (Plut. *Phoc.* 10.2).<sup>77</sup> This is not to say that every ephebe was granted a “medical discharge,” especially if others could challenge his claim (cf. Dem. 21.15). The *strategos*, however, cannot have taken his claim lightly because perhaps 20% of eighteen-year-old citizens were exempt from service on medical grounds (see Ch. 5.2).

Another strategy, perhaps, was not to appear on the appointed day for the muster in the Agora or, having mustered, to wait for an opportune moment to desert afterwards (cf. D.S. 11.81.5; Plut. *Phoc.* 12.3).<sup>78</sup> Still another was to manipulate those regulations which permitted leave from the *ephebeia*. According to the *Athenaion Politeia* “[the ephebes] can neither be sued nor initiate a lawsuit, so that they shall have no excuse for absence [from the *ephebeia*], except concerning an estate, an heiress, and if he inherits a priesthood in his *genos* (42.5).”<sup>79</sup> We may assume that ephebes were granted a temporary release from their assigned garrison duties while they were involved in such litigation, probably for the duration of the lawsuit until the day of trial. It was therefore possible for an ephebe to make a false claim that he was a litigant and then never return to his duties, or, if his claim was genuine, he could extend the period of release indefinitely.<sup>80</sup> Nor is lying about the inheritance of a *genos* priesthood inconceivable, although such a claim was much easier for the Athenians to refute than a fabricated lawsuit over property.<sup>81</sup>

### 5.5 Persuasion or Coercion?

Unless an ephebe had dodged the draft by falsely claiming an exemption for a disability or illness, his absence cannot have escaped the notice of the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea*, whose responsibility it was to oversee the initial muster in the Agora and to maintain the list of ephebes for conscription purposes. He would have read out the names of those who were not present (cf. Poll. 8.115; Soph. fr. 144), and, having waited for the late arrivals who had missed the depar-

77 On Aristogeiton's deception, see Christ 2004, 38; 2006, 55.

78 Both strategies are discussed in Christ 2006, 59, 95.

79 και δίκαην οὔτε διδῶσιν οὔτε λαμβάνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ πρό[φ]ασις ἢ τ[ο]ῦ ἀπεινάει, πλὴν περὶ κλήρου και ἐπικλή[ρου], καὶν τ[ι]νι κατὰ τὸ γένος ἱερωσύνη γένηται.

80 See Todd 1993, esp. 77–163, on the procedural details for lawsuits.

81 On *genos* priesthoods and their method of appointment, see Blok and Lambert 2009; Lambert 2012b, 69–72.

ture from their demes to Athens (cf. D.S. 11.81.5–6; Lys. 16.14), would have posted their names on the whitened boards placed under the ten Eponymous heroes for public consumption.<sup>82</sup> Nor was it possible for an ephebe, under the supervision of the *sophronistes*, to abscond from his encampment after the muster without detection.<sup>83</sup> His name was quickly added to the same boards once the *sophronistes* had informed the *kosmetes* (who then had passed this information onto the *strategos*) of his desertion. On this scenario it would have taken a relatively brief time, perhaps within a month, for the *kosmetes* and the *strategos* to realize that a significant number of ephebes was avoiding their civic obligations. We may assume that they promptly alerted the Demos to this problem in the hope of finding a workable solution.

In Chapter Three it was proposed that the body of regulations (*nomoi*) which governed the activities of the ephebes and determined the *ephebeia*'s organization (T2 [332/1], ll. 28, 54; T3 [332/1], l. 5; T9 [331/0], Col. 1, ll. 7–9) was the work of more than one Assembly. Some *nomoi* were associated with Epicrates' law "about the ephebes" (Harp. s.v. Ἐπικράτης = Lyc. Fr. 5.3 Conomis), while others were introduced at different times in the Lycurgan era. From 334/3 onwards the *ephebeia* was probably discussed at the *ekklesia kuria*, where "the defense of the countryside (ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς χώρας)" was a mandatory item on the agenda ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 43.4).<sup>84</sup> It is likely that the *kosmetai* and the *stratego*i from both enrollment years were required to submit a formal report to the Council, which was then forwarded to the Assembly for discussion. This report concerned the performance of subordinate officials (the *sophronistai*, the *paidotribai*, the *didaskaloi*, and the *peripolarchoi*) and such important matters as the ephebes' deployment, state of discipline, progress in military training, and effectiveness of patrols.<sup>85</sup> It also addressed other matters of varying

82 Cf. Christ 2006, 93, n. 14, on the names of citizens absent at muster before embarking on campaign. The whitened boards were used to disseminate information to the Demos in the classical period (Wycherly 1957, 85–90, nos. 229–245). This included displaying lists of conscripts (Ar. *Pax.* 1183–1184) and posting indictments for military offences (MacDowell 1990, 326, on Dem. 21.103).

83 The *sophronistai* would have kept an accurate list of ephebes in their own *phylai* for logistical purposes (i.e. the *trophe* in [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3).

84 Agenda of the *ekklesia kuria*: Rhodes 1981, 522–526; Hansen 1987, 25–27. For εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας on Attic inscriptions, see Rhodes 1972, 231–235. Ober 1985a, 88–89, infers from Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.10–11 (cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1359b–1360a) that ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς χώρας was already on the agenda by the 360s. The attestation of κυρίαν εἶναι on T17 (329/8 or later), l. 2, may well be a reference to the *ekklesia kuria*.

85 A joint report was necessary because the *kosmetai* and the *stratego*i had different leadership responsibilities. On this reconstruction, the *strategos epi ten choran* would have

importance concerning the *ephebeia* which merited discussion at the next meeting of the *ekklesia kuria*. The resolution of these issues led to the modification of existing *nomoi* or to the introduction of new *nomoi*. Examples of discussions are the increase in the number of *strategoï* at Piraeus from one to two (see Ch. 4.2) and the change in venue for the second-year military review to the Panathenaic Stadium (see Ch. 4.4).

For the *kosmetes* Autolycus of Thoricus and the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* Conon son of Timotheus of Anaphlystus the most pressing concern in 334/3 was the lower than anticipated citizen participation in the *ephebeia*.<sup>86</sup> For those citizens attending the Assembly, the likelihood that some of the ephebes currently residing in their demes were in fact “stay-at-homes” was perhaps unsurprising, since these close-knit and self-governing communities were “face-to-face” societies where the inhabitants were intimately familiar with the affairs of their immediate neighbors and to a lesser extent with those demesmen living elsewhere in the same geographical area.<sup>87</sup> We may assume that demesmen were reliably informed about the ephebes in their midst, such as their physical condition (cf. Lys. 24). They were doubtless familiar with the rules which permitted absence from the *ephebeia* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5). The sudden reappearance of an able-bodied ephebe in deme life, then, was enough to arouse suspicion against him. Whatever the suspicions about certain individuals, they were probably unaware of the extent of the problem until they had travelled to Athens and read the names of ca. 100–200 absent ephebes on the whitened boards displayed under the Eponymoi. Having listened to the report submitted by the *kosmetes* and the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* in the *ekklesia kuria*, the challenge for the Demos was how to make ephebes, beginning in the next enrollment year, refrain from draft evasion and cowardly behavior, both contrary to the practice of good citizenship in classical Athens (Aeschin. 3.175–176; Lys. 14.5–7).

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delivered two reports to the Demos at the *ekklesia kuria*: (1) The activities of the ephebes in their second year of service ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.4). (2) All matters concerned with “the defense of the countryside”, of which the *ephebeia* was one component (cf. Munn 1993, 190–194).

86 The *kosmetes* Autolycus and the *strategos* Conon: T1, ll. 15, 18; T4, ll. 4–5, 8, T5, ll. 3–6.

87 Among the evidence adduced by Whitehead 1986, 222–234, to support his assertion that “most of the members of even the largest demes must have known each other by sight or by name or both” (38) is that demesmen were used as witnesses in court (e.g. Lys. 31.15–16) and that *demotai* were virtually synonymous with neighbors (*geitones*) and friends (*philoï*) (e.g. Ar. *Nub.* 132; *Eccl.* 1023–1024; Lys. 6.53). On the deme as a face-to-face society, see also Osborne 1985, 89; Hunter 1994, 96–97; *contra* Cohen 2000, 112–129.

But if economic self-interest was the primary motivation behind the avoidance of the *ephebeia* for ephebes in 334/3, it is doubtful whether increased social pressure by itself could have deterred other like-minded individuals from the same course of action. This does not mean that ephebes guilty of transgressive behavior were unconcerned about public opinion and their reputation, but that, from their perspective, the necessity of earning a livelihood took precedence over the potential legal and social consequences of failing to perform their civic obligations.<sup>88</sup> While they may have feared that a public suit or *graphe* would be brought against them for the military offences of draft-evasion (*astrateia*), desertion (*lipotaxia*), or cowardice (*delia*), which usually resulted in the loss of civic rights (*atimia*) if convicted, in practice these *graphai* were initiated by the personal rivals of wealthy or politically prominent citizens such as Demosthenes and Medias (Dem. 21.161–166) and Stephanus and Xenoclideas ([Dem.] 59.27). By comparison there was a diminished risk of prosecution for Athenians of lower social status ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.5).<sup>89</sup> As Crowley observes, the city “never developed a coercive apparatus capable of forcing unwilling combatants to comply with her demands”.<sup>90</sup> If there was a disinclination to punish non-compliant citizens (cf. Dem. 22.51; Pl. *Leg.* 955b–c),<sup>91</sup> the prosecution of draft-dodgers and deserters would not solve the problem of getting reluctant ephebes to serve.

Rather than rely upon coercion, the Demos hoped to increase the enthusiasm of ephebes generally for the *ephebeia* by appealing to their *philotimia* or “love of honor”. In Xenophon’s view (as put by the poet Simonides to the Syracusan tyrant *Hiero*), *philotimia* is the quality which distinguishes real men (*andres*) from mere human beings (*anthropoi*) (*Hiero* 7.3; cf. Thuc. 2.44.4; Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.3). By the mid-fourth century the Athenians appreciated the advantages of promoting and exploiting this civic virtue first among foreigners and

88 For social disapprobation at an individual’s failure to carry out his assigned military duties adequately, see Crowley 2012, 118–119. Roisman 2005, 117–129, 141–142, examines how rivals would trade accusations and counter-accusations over each other’s military record to establish themselves or discredit their opponents as citizens (un)worthy of political or military leadership. Demosthenes, for example, disparaged Aeschines as a “stupendous warrior” (19.112–113), forcing Aeschines to defend himself with a summary of his military exploits (2.167–169), while the latter repeatedly claimed that the former fled in disgrace from the battlefield of Chaeronea (e.g. 3.148, 152, 175–176). For Aeschines and Demosthenes, see Christ 2006, 128–141.

89 Uncertainty of prosecution outside the propertied classes: Christ 1998, 118–159; 2006, 61, 118–121.

90 Crowley 2012, 106–107.

91 Leniency: Christ 2006, 62–63.

later among their own citizens for the benefit of the community (i.e. the *Demosion philotimia* or “*philotimia* involving the Demos” in Dem. 18.257; cf. Aeschin. 1.129). The concept of *philotimia* was reciprocal. The honorands, whether liturgists, office-holders, or others, were expected to carry out their civic obligations with zeal, on the understanding that they would receive an appropriate reward from the community in the form of honor (*time*) and gratitude (*charis*). First attested epigraphically in 343/2 (*IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 306 = Lambert 2012a, 9, no. 1), *philotimia* and its cognates regularly appear on honorific decrees, with numerous examples passed by the Council, Demos, tribes, demes, and a host of other associations, a practice which continued into the Lycurgan era and long afterwards (e.g. *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 338 = Lambert 2012a, 40, no. 15 = Schwenk 1985 no. 28). The widespread appearance of *philotimia* in the epigraphic record suggests that it was thought of as a useful tool in encouraging individuals or groups to act in the public interest (cf. Dem. 21.159).<sup>92</sup>

The corpus shows that *philotimia*, a civic virtue which Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* explicitly associates with young adult males (1389a13), was regarded as a desirable quality for epebes to possess. On T2, a dedication of Cecropis, for example, a decree of the Council emphasizes the importance of *philotimia* in the motivation clause: “since the epebes of Cecropis stationed at Eleusis look after the things which the Council and the Demos command them (to do) with a fine love of honor (καλῶς και φιλοτίμω[ς] ... (ll. 36–38).”<sup>93</sup> If we also consider the roster of ca. 42–44 names which preceded the four honorific decrees on T2 (three using φιλοτίμω[ς]),<sup>94</sup> the message conveyed by the decree quoted above is that each and every epebe of the Cecropid *phyle* of 334/3, no matter how ordinary and humble, would receive public recognition as a *philotimos* at the end of his service provided that he had fulfilled his civic obligations both energetically and competently. Unlike the epebes from the same parent association who did *not* serve, those listed on T2 were entitled to receive whatever honors (i.e. words of praise and a crown of gold or laurel) the city and other corporate

92 For the development of the concept of *philotimia* and its significance in the social and political life of classical Athens, see Whitehead 1983. Also see Dover 1974, 229–234 (in Athenian literature); Whitehead 1986, 241–252 (deme decrees); 1993, 65 (one of ten “cardinal” virtues); Sinclair 1988, 188–190; MacDowell 1990, 378–379 (in oratory); Veligianni-Terzi 1997, 223, 283–284, 302–303 (on inscriptions); Wilson 2000, 144–197 (*choregoi*); Engen 2010, 132–135; Lambert 201b (on state decrees).

93 ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβο[ι οἱ] τῆς Κεκροπίδος ταχθέντες Ἐλευσίνοι καλῶς και φιλοτίμω[ς ἐπ]μελοῦνται ὦν αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλή και ὁ δῆμος προστάττει ...

94 *Philotimia* also occurs on T3 (332/1), l. 6 (restored), and T23 (332/1–324/3), an unpublished inscription from Panactum.

bodies regarded as appropriate to bestow for their meritorious conduct. The inscribing of T<sub>2</sub> was also intended to enhance these honors which the ephebes of Cecropis had received and to create an expectation among eighteen-year-old citizens enrolled in subsequent archon-years that they too would be awarded with similar (or even greater) honors if they were to emulate the *philotimia* of the honorands.<sup>95</sup>

We may suppose a scenario in which the Demos, having been alerted to the problem of the ephebes' non-compliance by the *kosmetes* and the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* in the *ekklesia kuria*, established an honorific system for ephebes whose objective was to convince lukewarm individuals not to prioritize their private interests over the performance of their public obligations (cf. Isoc. 18.60; Lys. 31.5–7) and to cultivate greater zeal in those already willing and able to serve. The epigraphic record, as we have seen, suggests that citizen participation in the *ephebeia* would have increased from ca. 450–500 for the classes of 334/3 and 333/2 (T<sub>2</sub>, T<sub>6</sub>, T<sub>8</sub>, and T<sub>10</sub>) to ca. 600–650 from 332/1 onwards (T<sub>15</sub>, T<sub>17</sub>, and T<sub>19</sub>). If we accept the arguments presented above, the “sudden” increase of ca. 100–200 ephebes should be attributed to the success of the Demos in encouraging and satisfying their “love of honor” in return for protecting the community, despite their well-founded concerns about earning a living. With this understood, let us now examine what kind of honors were bestowed upon ephebes in the first few years of the *ephebeia*'s operation which changed the behavior of these otherwise disinclined ephebes. As the remainder of the chapter will demonstrate, the honors can be divided as follows: (1) *Philotimia* within the *phyle* and between the *phylai* during the ephebes' tour of duty. (2) The awarding of honors to ephebes after they had completed their two-year period of military service.<sup>96</sup>

95 The Lycurgan era is notable for the large number of honorific decrees awarded to Athenian citizens and deserving foreigners (in comparison to the decades before Chaeronea), particularly for wealthy benefactors. For this development, see Hakkarainen 1997. A comprehensive catalogue of these decrees dating from 352/1 to 322/1 is collected in Lambert 2012a, 3–47, 93–183 (= 2004, 2006, 2007).

96 Perhaps the practice of recording ephebes' names on bronze *stelai* instead of whitened boards (see Ch. 2.2 on [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 53.4), a change dating to the Lycurgan era (Pélékidis 1962, 73–74; Rhodes 1981, 592–593; *contra* Liddel 2007, 185), can be explained as a more effective means of conveying the gratitude of the Demos to those ephebes who had complied with the call-up for the *ephebeia*, thus excluding all those who had dodged the draft.

## 5.6 Honors during Service

Beginning with the ephebes enrolled in the archonship of Nicocrates (333/2), ambitious individuals could distinguish themselves from their peers by becoming *taxiarchoi* or *lochagoi* (whether appointed or elected). We can infer from the corpus that these ephebic officers, who are attested only in the Lycurgan era, would have received greater honors than their fellow *phyletai*. On a dedication of Cecropis (T6 [331/0]), for example, the *taxiarchos* and seven *lochagoi* are included among the *sophronistes*, the *strategoï*, and the *didaskaloi* (ll. 6–10). As the heading makes clear, all those listed are to receive gold crowns from the ephebes and the *sophronistes* of Cecropis “for their excellence and care towards themselves (στεφ]ανώσαντες χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς)” (ll. 2–4). The *taxiarchos* and the *lochagoi* are then honored further by appearing first alongside the ephebes of their respective demes in the roster (Col. I, ll. 13, 20–21; Col. II, l. 26; Col. III, ll. 42–43, 49; Col. IV, l. 55).<sup>97</sup> On T15 (330/29–324/3) the top front of the Leontid dedication honors eleven individuals (ll. 1–5), to whom we can add a twelfth since the cutter had mistakenly inscribed Eupolis son of Calliades of Phrearrhioi in Col. I, l. 6 (see Catalogue *loc. cit.*), under a caption (ΛΟΧΑΓΟΙ) covering the breadth of the stone. On the left side Lysistratus son of Euxenus of Cettus, who was probably the *taxiarchos* although his title is omitted, was listed among several other officials (ll. 18–20). As with T6, the *ephebes* appear on the roster beside the other ephebes (Col. I, ll. 9–10, 12, 36; Col. II, ll. 43, 46, 59–62, 70, 72).<sup>98</sup>

97 Other examples for enrollment year of 333/2. The format of T7 has (in order) a roster (ll. 1–4), heading (ll. 5–7), and a list of officials (ll. 7–17), of which six *lochagoi* (no *taxiarchos* is attested) are listed, each preceded by *λοχαγόν* (ll. 13–17) instead of *λοχαγούς* (cf. T6, l. 7). It is unclear whether the names of the *lochagoi* were also included in the roster. As in T6, all the officials receive a gold crown [ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς] (l. 7). In T9 the *taxiarchos* and five *lochagoi* first appear among the officials (Col. I, ll. 20–31) and are then listed in the same order (Col. II, ll. 15–22) before the roster of other ephebes begins with *ἐ[φηβοί* (Col. II, ll. 22–38). The ephebic officers received a gold crown worth 500 drachmas “for their excellence and self-control” whereas the other ephebes of Leontis were awarded gold crowns (value unspecified) and were praised “for their excellence” (cf. Col. I, ll. 12–14, 28–31). T14, belonging to the enrollment year of 332/1 or 331/0, lists the *taxiarchos*(?) and five *lochagoi* (labelled as in T7) among the officials, whose names were apparently not repeated on the fragmentary roster (cf. ll. 3–6, Col. I–II, ll. 11–46).

98 T22 (332/1–323/2) has a similar format to T15 in that the *taxiarchos* and ten *lochagoi* (ll. 3–15) are listed under the heading (ll. 1–2), and were presumably separated from the roster, which has not survived. In T19 (330/29?) five *lochagoi* (without captions and originally within painted wreaths) were inscribed under the roster on the front of the *stèle*

The epigraphic record is silent concerning the duties of the *taxiarchoi* and the *lochagoi* or their method of selection, although T8, an unpublished dedication of Leontis recently discovered at Rhamnus and dating to the same enrollment year as T9 (i.e. 333/2), suggests that ephebes were selected in the first year.<sup>99</sup> We do know that in the classical period the Athenian army was divided into ten *taxeis* or tribal regiments, each commanded by a *taxiarchos*, an annually elected official, who then appointed *lochagoi* to lead smaller units called *lochoi* or companies ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 61.3; cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.4.1).<sup>100</sup> It is maintained that ephebic *phylai* were also divided into *lochoi*. In Sekunda's view the *lochagoi* were in charge of *lochoi* which consisted of one or more deme contingents and the *taxiarchos* was the senior *lochagos* of the *phyle*.<sup>101</sup> While we should reject his claim that both *taxiarchoi* and *lochagoi* were not ephebes, the division of *phylai* into (in)formal subunits of variable strength is plausible. Burckhardt suggests that the *lochagoi* were assigned to "companies" of 5–10 ephebes.<sup>102</sup> Reinmuth's observation that the ratio of *lochagoi* changes from inscription to inscription (T6, 7 *lochagoi* and 52–54 ephebes; T9, 5 and 38; T15, 12 and 62; T19, 5 and 57–58) is not decisive counter-evidence.<sup>103</sup> For Pélékidis, the *lochagoi* commanded the ephebic *peripoloi* in the field.<sup>104</sup> If so, they played an active military role on their daily patrols under the *peripolarchoi* (see Ch. 4.2). It is also suggested that they would have assisted the *paidotribai* and the *didaskaloi* in preparing the ephebes for training.<sup>105</sup> We cannot dismiss the possibility, however, that the duties of the *taxiarchoi* and the *lochagoi* were ceremonial in nature.<sup>106</sup>

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(ll. 72–81), while on the right side another ephebe (ll. 4–5), probably a *taxiarchos*, was listed alongside the *strategos* and the *akontistes*. All six names appear in the roster (ll. 8, 34, 43(?), 53–54, 58). An unpublished inscription of Hippothontis (T20 [327/6]) found at Panactum has six names inscribed within wreaths located between the heading and the roster on the preserved portion of the stone, of which one is the *taxiarchos* and two are *lochagoi*.

99 For a contrary view (before the discovery of T8), see Pélékidis 1962, 109; Sekunda 1992, 335.

100 On *taxeis* and *lochoi* in the Athenian army from the fifth-century onwards, see Sekunda 1992, 322–323; van Wees 2004, 99–100; Crowley 2012, 36–39.

101 Sekunda 1992, 327–330. Cf. Lonsdale 1993, 163.

102 Burckhardt 1996, 69–70.

103 Reinmuth 1971, 23.

104 Pélékidis 1962, 110. He thinks that the *sophronistes* was responsible for electing the *taxiarchos* and the *lochagoi*.

105 Sekunda 1992, 329. Cf. Mitchel 1961, 356–357.

106 Cf. Burckhardt 1996, 70: "Aspiration auf eine solche Stelle, die einen aus dem Rest der Kameraden heraus hob, war natürlich ein zusätzlicher Ansporn für eine pünktliche Erfüllung des Dienstes".

If the introduction of ephebic officers encouraged the individual pursuit of honor within a *phyle*, the mass participation of ephebes in athletic competition before large and enthusiastic audiences including not only the ephebes themselves as spectators but perhaps also their own fathers and kinsmen at a limited number of state festivals would have fostered the collective ambition of ephebic *phylai* within the context of a long-standing and intense inter-tribal rivalry. Two team-based athletic events between ephebes are attested in the ancient sources.<sup>107</sup> The first was the *eutaxia*, an *agon* seemingly unique to the Lycurgan *ephebeia*. While the founding law for this competition was probably *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 550* (= *IG II<sup>2</sup> 417*), direct evidence for the *eutaxia* is limited to *NM 2958*, a relief suggesting a hoplite contest of some kind, perhaps resembling the τὰ περὶ τὰς τᾶξιεις in [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.4. The second was the *lampadedromia* or torch-race, a time-honored contest long associated with various Athenian festivals, in which the runners were young adult men (Ar. *Vesp.* 1196–1204).<sup>108</sup> We have three examples of ephebic *lampadephoroi* (T10, T12, T25?), from which a reconstruction can be made of their involvement in this event, with varying degrees of plausibility.<sup>109</sup>

Most informative is T10, a dedication of Erechtheis found at Rhamnus (fig. 9). As the heading makes clear, the reason for setting up the rounded base (with a rectangular cutting for a herm, perhaps *NM 313*) at the eastern wall in the sanctuary of Nemesis was the ephebes' victory in the torch-race at an unidentified festival (ll. 1–4):<sup>110</sup>

107 A dedication at Oropus (T26), dated 334/3–324/3, suggests that ephebes could compete individually in some athletics events against non-ephebes: “the Athenian [name unknown] son of Autolykus, [having defeated] the ephebes in the javelin at the Amphiarium (ll. 1–3).”

108 For the *lampadedromia* in Athens before the 330s, see Kyle 1987, 190–193; Sekunda 1990; Whitehead 1991; Fisher 2011, 189–190.

109 T5 (332/1 or 331/0) is an end of service dedication rather than a victory monument (*contra* Humphreys 2004, 115) because *strategoï* appear after the heading (ll. 5–11). The tribe is unknown but perhaps Acamantis on account of its find-spot in the Ceramicus (Habicht 1961, 147–148; see Catalogue *loc. cit.*). T30, of uncertain date, may well also be a victory dedication, perhaps for the *lampadedromia*. Rausa 1998, 192–217, suggests that an inscription honoring three athletes from Oineis (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 3134*) and a statue-base depicting youthful *lampadephoroi* (Acropolis Museum 3176+5460+2635) came from an ephebic victory monument. She dates the base stylistically to ca. 320–310, while Humphreys 2004–2009, 89, favors a Lycurgan date if it is ephebic. Goette 2007, 120, however, thinks that event was the *euandria*, which is not associated with ephebes.

110 Association of T10 and *NM 313*: Palagia and Lewis 1989, 337–339, 344. They identify this youthful male figure dressed in a short *chiton* and *chlamys* as Hermes, an ephebe, or Munichus, the eponymous hero of the age-group of 333/2.



FIGURE 9 Dedication of the Ephebes of Erechtheis (Τ10 = EAM 313 N)  
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS, PHOTO BY AUTHOR  
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RECEIPTS FUND

The *sophronistes* Pericl— son of — of Anagryous and the *gymnasiarchoi* of the ephebes of Erechtheus made this dedication. Those [enrolled] in the archonship of Nicocrates who had gained victory in the torch-race, —andrus son of Tim— of Euonymon, Charicles son of Aleximenes of Pergase.<sup>111</sup>

On the *a priori* likelihood that there was an annual celebration of Nemesis in the fourth century, for which there is explicit evidence from the third-century onwards (e.g. *SEG* 21.435; 25.155), it would follow that the ephebes of Erechtheis had competed in the torch-race at the Nemesia. This victory dedication is the earliest attestation of the festival.<sup>112</sup> It is also possible that the occasion was the Great Nemesia (cf. *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 1281 [= *SEG* 41.75], ca. 260–240, ll. 8–9: τῶν μεγάλων Νεμεσιῶν τῶι γυμνικῶι ἀγῶνι).<sup>113</sup> If the *gumnikos agon* or athletic competition was held on the same day (19 Hekatombaion) for the quadrennial(?) and the annual festivals, the ephebes would have defeated their rivals in the *lampadedromia* in 332/1 or 331/0. T10 was therefore set up at Rhamnus in either archon-year.<sup>114</sup> Further evidence for ephebic involvement in the torch-race at the deme comes from two votive reliefs dated to the 330s. The best preserved is British Museum GR 1953.5.-30.1+ Rham. 530, which depicts a victorious torch-racing team approaching three goddesses, identified as Themis, Nemesis, and Nike. The third figure crowns the first of two older men wearing *himatia* and carrying torches, who lead at least six naked youths, the first of whom is crowned. On the second, more fragmentary, relief (Rham. 531 [ex Athens NM 2332]), two older men wear *himatia*. The second carries a torch and leads at least four naked youths.<sup>115</sup> The discovery of other hip-herms (NM 314, 315, 316) and youthful heads perhaps belonging to herms (NM 317, 318) also show that dedications like T10 were not uncommon at Rhamnus in the Lyscurgan era (cf. T13).<sup>116</sup>

111 [ὁ σωφ]ρονιστῆς Περικ[- - - - - Ἀναγυρ]άσιος [καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἐρε]χθείδος ἐφήβων γ[υμ]νασίαρχοι ἀνέθεσαν, [οἱ ἐπι] Νικοκράτους ἀρχοντος λαμπάδι νικήσαντες [- -] ἀνδρος Τιμ[- -] Εὐωνυμεύς, Χαρικλῆς Ἀλεξιμένου Περγασῆθεν.

112 For the Nemesia in the Lyscurgan era, see Friend 2014. Ephebes of Erechtheis at the Nemesia: Palagia and Lewis 1989, 344; Parker 2005, 476; Fisher 2011, 190. For a contrary opinion, see Humphreys 2004–2009, 84, n. 5.

113 As Stafford 2000, 94–95, suggests.

114 Friend 2014, 99, is thus wrong to say that the date of erection for T10 was 333/2 or 332/1.

115 For both votive reliefs, see Palagia and Lewis 1989, 340–344, pls. 48c, 49a. Karanastassi 1997 no. 24 prefers Themis as the central figure. Palagia 2000, 403–408, compares the reliefs from Rhamnus to a relief dedicated after a victory in the Panathenaea (British Museum GR 1864.2–20.11).

116 For NM 314–318, see Palagia and Lewis 1989, 337–344.

The appearance of Χαρικλῆς Ἀλεξιμένου Περγασῆθεν on both the heading of T10 and the fragmentary roster of T11, an end of service dedication of Erechtheis for the same enrollment year (l. 9), suggests that the *gymnasiarchoi* were epebes.<sup>117</sup> We can reconcile the existence of an “ephebic” gymnasiarchy with the *Athenaion Politeia*’s assertion that epebes were exempt from all financial obligations such as liturgies during their national service (42.5: ἀτελεῖς εἰσι πάντων) by assuming that this restriction did not apply to the *ephebeia* itself.<sup>118</sup> T10 implies that a maximum(?) of two epebes per *phyle* was appointed as *gymnasiarchoi* for the torch-race at the Nemesia and perhaps also for the same event at other festivals.<sup>119</sup> In classical Athens it was the responsibility of the *gymnasiarchos* to provide *trophe* to the athletes whenever they exercised in the gymnasium (Xen. *Por.* 4.52).<sup>120</sup> In the *ephebeia*, however, the epebes received their 4 obol daily *trophe* from the state ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3). Instead, the outlay of —andrus and Charicles was probably limited to supplying high-quality oil to the epebes of their own *phyle* at private expense (cf. ἔφηβοι, ἀλειψάμενοι παρὰ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου in Σ Patm. Dem. 57.43). This “ephebic” liturgy, one suspects, would have appealed to those epebes from well-to-do families who were eager for public honors in return for displaying their personal generosity.<sup>121</sup> Both —andrus and Charicles feature prominently on T10, appearing alongside the *sophonistes* as “the *gymnasiarchoi* of the epebes of Erechtheus” on the prescript.

117 *Gymnasiarchoi* as epebes: Palagia and Lewis 1989, 334–335. The absence of [-]ανδρος Τιμ[-] Εὐωνυμεύς from T11 is not decisive because only the demes of Lower Pergase, Upper Pergase, and Lower Lamprai, are preserved on the stone. de Marcellus 1994, 16, thinks that Charicles is a homonymous kinsman.

118 For the gymnasiarchy outside of the *ephebeia*, see Davies 1967; Rhodes 1981, 622–623, 638–639.

119 Fisher 2011, 190, is uncertain whether T10 “refers to one or more races”, while Sekunda 1990, 156, thinks that T10 commemorated two victories because there were two *gymnasiarchoi* rather than one. But the dual gymnasiarchy would have doubled the opportunity for epebes driven by *philotimia* to gain prestige among their peers. On other occasions, it seems, there was one ephebic *gymnasiarchos* per *phyle* (cf. the insightful comments of Palagia 2000, 404) as suggested by the inscribed architraves of British Museum GR 1864.2–20.11: λ]αμπάδι νικήσας γυμνασιάρχων (= IG 11<sup>3</sup> 4 331) and of British Museum GR 1953.5–30.1 + Ramn. 530: ]ου Ῥαμ[ν]οῦ[σιος γυμνασιάρχης] Δῆμη[τρι και Κόρει ἀνέθηκεν] (= IG 11<sup>3</sup> 4 349).

120 The reconstruction of Sekunda 1990, esp. 157–158, is based upon the misconception of an “Aeschinean *ephebeia*”.

121 The cost would have been a fraction of the 1200 drachmas spent by the speaker of Lysias 21, who was a *gymnasiarchos* for the torch-race at the Promethea (4). For this outlay, see Pritchard 2012, 29.

It is maintained that all tribal teams in the *lampadedromia* (at least for the relay) would have consisted of ten runners because a decree of Aiantis (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1250 = *SEG* 40.124, ca. 350–330) honors the *gymnasiarchos* Epistratus son of Trempon of Rhamnus and ten *lampadephoroi* for their victory at an unknown festival (ll. 13–25).<sup>122</sup> The victory dedication of Erechtheis, by contrast, lists a minimum of 46 epebes under the heading ΛΑΜ[Π]ΑΔΗΦΟΡΟΙ and does not identify which epebes were team members. If the race was a relay, as Sekunda suggests, less than a quarter of those listed would have competed at the Nemesia,<sup>123</sup> unless we assume that epebic torch-racing teams numbered 40–50 runners.<sup>124</sup> Humphreys' attractive explanation is that the inclusion of the entire *phyle* as *lampadephoroi* on T10 "was perhaps justified by the participation of all the epebes in training, and perhaps by some variation in the teams picked to compete in different races".<sup>125</sup> We know that success in the *lampadedromia* depended upon the runners practicing regularly at the gymnasium (Ar. *Ran.* 1087–1098; Xen. *Por.* 4.52; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1250, l. 6: φοιτῶντας).<sup>126</sup> Clearly the *paidotribes* had trained the epebes of Erechtheis well (cf. T25, ll. 2–3, if epebic).<sup>127</sup> Their prowess during training was a precondition for selection in the team: there is no evidence for specialized epebic sports teams until the *sy(n)stremmata* of the Roman Period (e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2047 [140 CE]).<sup>128</sup> But if participation in the torch-racing team was based on informal competition within the *phyle* at the Lyceum, which favored those who had practiced athletics throughout their boyhood (see Ch. 2.3), the team itself was not limited to the elite who had traditionally dominated the *lampadedromia* in the classical period.<sup>129</sup>

Apart from T10, the corpus provides two more examples of epebic victory monuments for the torch race. The first is a dedication of the epebes and *sophronistes* of Aiantis to the hero Munichus (T12 [333/2 or 332/1], ll. 1–

122 Sekunda 1990, 167–168; Pritchard 2003, 329–330.

123 Sekunda 1990, 156.

124 Fisher 2011, 190.

125 Humphreys 2004, 115, n. 15.

126 Line 8 in the editions of Sekunda 1990, 162, (= *SEG* 40.124[1]) and Whitehead 1991, 42, (= *SEG* 40.124[2]). For the location of the gymnasium at Rhamnus, see Petrakos 1999, Vol. 1, fig. 9.

127 Palagia and Lewis 1989, 341, identify the two older men wearing *himatia* on British Museum GR 1953.5.-30.1+ Rham. 530 and on Rham. 531 (ex Athens NM 2332) as a *sophronistes* and a *paidotibes*. They observe that if these figures were *gymnasiarchoi*, "no one would take them for epebes".

128 For the *su(n)stremmata*, see Oliver 1971.

129 Pritchard 2013, 214–216, sees the *ephebeia* as an anomaly in classical Athens because it permitted a large number of non-elite citizens to compete in athletics events.

6).<sup>130</sup> Humphreys rejects Munichus as the eponym for the age-group of 333/2 and suggests that the unidentified torch race was held in Mounychion at an unspecified festival because the calendar frieze of the Little Metropolis depicts a torch-race in that month.<sup>131</sup> But Palagia shows that the figure was the personification of Thargelion or was a *lampadephoros* at the Bendidea.<sup>132</sup> The ephebes of Aiantis may have competed in the Hephaesteia, the Panathenaea, or the Promethea. Each festival is known to have hosted a torch-race between tribal teams whose route began at the Academy, passed through the Ceramicus (the find-spot of T12 was south of the Pompeium) and the Dipylon Gate, and ended on the Acropolis (for the Panathenaea) or at the Agora (for the Hephaesteia and Promethea).<sup>133</sup> While Hellenistic sources associate ephebes with all three festivals, evidence for ephebic participation is limited to the Panathenaea (Din. 16 fr. 5 Conomis = Harp. s.v. Ἀγασικλῆς), suggesting that T12 would have commemorated a victory at this festival (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1087–1098) rather than at the Hephaesteia or the Promethea.<sup>134</sup> The second is T25 (334/3–323/2), a poorly preserved rectangular base erected by an unknown tribe (Aiantis?) at Marathon. *If* this dedication is ephebic and the torch-racers were ephebes (see Catalogue *loc. cit.*), the find-spot suggests the festival of Pan as the occasion (Hdt. 6.105), although we do not know whether the torch-race was tribally-organized and/or liturgically-funded.<sup>135</sup>

The *ephebeia*, then, provided opportunities for ephebes to distinguish themselves during their two-year period of service. For ambitious individuals, there were the “ephebic” *taxiarchos* and *lochagos*, and there was the “ephebic” liturgy of the *gymnasiarchos*. Each is first attested in the archonship of Nicocrates (333/2). The chronology is suggestive. Perhaps they were created in 334/3 to encourage *philotimia* among ephebes within their respective *phylai*. The number of *taxiarchoi*, *lochagoi*, and *gymnasiarchoi*, however, was relatively few in comparison to the ca. 450–500 ephebes who had served in the class of 333/2.

130 [A]ναντίδος ἔφηβ[οι οἱ] ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντ[ος] [κ]αὶ σωφρονιστῆς Ἐπιχάρης Ἐπιγένους Οἰναῖος λαμπάδι νικήσαντες ἥρωι Μουνίχῳ ἀνέθεσαν.

131 Humphreys 2004–2009, 84, n. 4.

132 Palagia 2008, 226.

133 For the torch-races at these festivals, see Harp. s.v. λαμπάς; Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 129, 131, 1087; Σ Patm. Dem. 57.43 (with Pan instead of Panathenaea). It is uncertain whether all three races were relays. For contrasting opinions, see Sekunda 1990, 155–156; Parker 2005, 472; Fisher 2011, 189. Chankowski 2010, 103–114, discusses the torch-race down to the Hellenistic period.

134 For the torch-race at the Panathenaic games, see Kyle 1987, 190–191; Palagia 2000; Shear 2001, 335–339. Humphreys 2004, 114–115, assumes “Hephaistos, Pan, and Prometheus”.

135 On the festival of Pan, see Parker 1996, 163–168; 2005, 477.

More numerous by far were the ephebic *lampadephoroi*. At the Nemesia, about one-fifth of the ephebes from two enrollment years were competitors or 200 (twenty teams at ten runners per team) out of ca. 900–1000 ephebes, with the remainder acting as supporters. The popularity of the torch-race as a spectator sport in the classical period, as reflected in Aristophanes' remarks about passionate bystanders heckling and abusing an unfortunate runner in *Ran.* 1087–1098 and in the nearly one hundred depictions of the torch-race in Athenian vase-paintings,<sup>136</sup> was sufficient to arouse the ephebes' enthusiasm and competitiveness as they contended for dominance among their peers and for the adulation of the Demos in the event of victory. We may conclude that the erection of a victory monument such as T10 was not an insignificant matter for the ephebes of Erechtheis after the Nemesia.

### 5.7 Honors after Service

For the class of 334/3, their tour of duty was completed by the end of the month of Metageitnion when Nicetes was archon (332/1).<sup>137</sup> On the first day of Boedromion, then, “they [i.e. the ephebes]”, as the *Athenaion Politeia* puts it, “are now with the others [i.e. the rest of the Demos] (ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν)” (42.5). These twenty-year-old citizens, no longer officially called *epheboi*, once again had the freedom to resume their day-to-day lives without the stringent restrictions imposed upon them over the last two years (cf. Lys. 26.5; Thuc. 2.37.1–3; Arist. *Pol.* 1317a40–b14). Whereas we would have expected them to have dispersed rapidly, whether as individuals or as deme contingents (cf. Lys. 16.14), from the *phylakteria* where they were stationed on the Attic-Boeotian frontier ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.4) and to have returned promptly to their own communities and livelihoods after a two-year absence, the epigraphic record suggests that the ten ephebic *phylai* stayed together for at least some of Boedromion before disbanding, during which each (now militarily inactive) *phyle* received formal honors as a corporate body. The key document for our understanding of this short period after the *ephebeia* is T2, a dedication of Cecropis (fig. 10), which provides the most informative and detailed account of

136 For a study of the torch-race on Attic vases, see Bentz 2007.

137 The “ephebic” year did not coincide with the Attic calendar year because the former, unlike the latter, would have begun in Boedromion rather than in Hekatombaion (see Ch. 4.1). The two-year period of service in the *ephebeia* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5: τὰ δύο ἔτη) thus extended over three archon-years (Humphreys 2004–2009, 85, n. 6). See also the reconstruction of Autolyclus' office as *kosmetes* in Chakowski 2013, 69–75.



FIGURE 10 Dedication of the Ephebes of Cecropis (T<sub>2</sub> = EM 7743)  
BY COURTESY OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS, PHOTO BY  
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CAL RECEIPTS FUND

how one *phyle* of ephebes enrolled in the archonship of Ctesicles was honored in the Lycurgan era (ll. 26–62):<sup>138</sup>

[Tribe] Callicrates of Aixone proposed: Since the ephebes of Cecropis in the archonship of Ctesicles show discipline and do all things that the laws assign them and obey the *sophronistes* elected by the people, praise them and crown them with a gold crown worth 500 drachmas for their good order and discipline; and also praise the *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon and crown him with a gold crown worth 500 drachmas, because he took care of the ephebes of the tribe Cecropis with a fine love of honor. And inscribe this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary of Cecrops.

[Council] Hegemachus son of Chaeremon of Perithoedae proposed: Since the ephebes of Cecropis stationed at Eleusis take care of the things which the council and the people command them with a fine love of honor and they show themselves disciplined, praise them for their good order and discipline and crown each of them with an olive crown; and also praise their *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of the deme Athmonon and crown him with an olive crown whenever he may submit his accounts; and inscribe this decree additionally on the dedication which the ephebes of Cecropis dedicate.

[Eleusis] Protias proposed: Decreed by the demesmen, since the ephebes of Cecropis and their *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon take care of the guarding of Eleusis with a fine love of honor, praise them and crown each of them with an olive crown. And inscribe this decree on the dedication which the ephebes of Cecropis in the archonship of Ctesicles dedicate.

[Athmonon] Euphronius proposed: Decreed by the demesmen, since the ephebes of Cecropis enrolled in the archonship of Ctesicles show dis-

138 A *terminus post quem* of 6 Boedromion would have allowed sufficient time (1) for the ephebes of 333/2 to attend to the military review, after which they were stationed on the frontier ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.4), and (2) for the ephebes of 332/1 to complete their visitation of the sanctuaries and to march to Piraeus (see Ch. 6.3 on [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3). The *terminus ante quem* was probably the celebration of the Mysteries (cf. de Marcellus 1994, 199), whose preliminaries began on 14 Boedromion (Parker 2005, 346). The relevance of third-century honorific decrees for this question is less clear, which have the following dates of passage: *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 917 (= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 665 + *Agora* 1 3370 + 1 6801) (266/5), Boed. 26; *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 986 (= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 700 + *Agora* 1 2054) (257/8), Boed. 30; *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 1027 (= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 787) (235/4), Boed. 18; *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 1161 (= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 794) (216/5), Boed. 14; *Agora* 1 7484 (214/3), Boed. 30.

cipline and do all things that the laws assign them, and the *sophronistes* elected by the people shows that they are obedient and do all other things with a love of honor, praise them and crown them with a gold crown worth 500 drachmas for their good order and discipline; and also praise their *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon, and crown him with a gold crown worth 500 drachmas, because he took care of both the demesmen and all the others of the tribe Cecropis with a fine love of honor. And inscribe this decree additionally on the dedication which the ephebes of Cecropis and the *sophronistes* dedicate.

The document lists decrees moved by corporate bodies which honor the ephebes of Cecropis for their military service (Cecropis, Council, Eleusis, Athmonon), whose arrangement reflects the order in which they were inscribed, but not necessarily the order in which they were passed (see below).<sup>139</sup> They use a laudatory language and formulaic phraseology familiar from other genres of honorific decrees, with various modifications considered appropriate for ephebes.<sup>140</sup> Each decree identifies the honorands (the ephebes and the *sophronistes*) and specifies (1) the group benefited by their activities (city, tribe, or deme), (2) the conduct regarded as meritorious by the group (garrison duty, discipline, or obedience to the *nomoi* and the *sophronistes*), (3) the possession of cardinal virtues considered worthy of praise (*kosmiotes* and *eutaxia*), (4) the awarding of crowns made from olive or gold (in the latter case the value is stated), and (5) the privilege of setting the *stele* up at a specified place (the sanctuary of Cecrops).<sup>141</sup> Despite the similarity in the language used by these decrees, there is sufficient variation in their wording and content to suggest that they were drafted and moved independently, with the result that the ephebes would have attended four separate “end of service” ceremonies rather than a single ceremony with the four honoring corporations present.<sup>142</sup> A comparison of T2 to other examples in the corpus further suggests that the Cecropid phyle was *not* atypical: i.e. the ephebes enrolled in the same and subsequent

139 Pélékidis 1962, 120–122.

140 The post-Chaeronea period witnessed at least three new categories of inscribed honors, for ephebes, for foreigners supplying grain to Athens, and for services associated with Athenian theater. On the last two, see Lambert 2011a, 181–185. Perhaps the honors associated with these genres were regulated by a law introduced in Lycurgan Athens (Osborne 1981, 161–165).

141 For the general structure of honorific degrees and the formulaic character of their texts, see Henry 1983; 1996; Veligianni-Terzi 1997. Cardinal virtues: Whitehead 1993.

142 Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 456.

archon-years were routinely honored both by the institutions of the central government (Council, Demos, or Council and Demos) and by the associations of the local government (tribes and demes).<sup>143</sup>

The granting of public honors to ephebes was probably initiated at the state level. The honorific decree for the ephebes of Cecropis (T2, ll. 36–44), one suspects, was passed at the same Assembly in which the military review was held, ensuring that their honors were announced before a large audience of at least 6,000 citizens.<sup>144</sup> Evidence for the date and venue of the “passing-out” ceremony for the entire enrollment year is lacking. We may suppose that at some point after 6 Boedromion (on an appointed day?) the ephebes of 334/3 (led by the ten tribal *sophronistai*) would have marched directly from the *phylakteria* on the frontier to the Agora, with the ten ephebic *phylae* mustering together as one body for the final time in front of the ten eponymous heroes, the same location used for the initial muster (figs. 3 and 8). Having been praised and awarded with a laurel crown by the Council,<sup>145</sup> the ephebes of Cecropis then ascended the Acropolis and attended a specially-convened meeting of the parent association in the vicinity of the Cecropeion, whose purpose was to confer formal honors upon their fellow tribesmen (T2, ll. 26–35; cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1141, l. 7).<sup>146</sup> Afterwards they departed the city for the *agorai* of Eleusis and Athmonon, where (it seems) the deme assemblies were usually held.<sup>147</sup> The honors of the former can

143 Another dedication of Cecropis, T6 (331/0), has Demos, Council, Cecropis, Eleusis, and Rhamnus (ll. 74–75), while T9, a dedication of Leontis belonging to the same enrollment year, lists Council, Demos, and Leontis (Col. 1, l. 39), and would have listed two more honoring corporations (one of which was Rhamnus: see the Catalogue on T8) which are not preserved on the stone. T14 (330/29 or 329/8), which honors the ephebes of Pandionis, has Council, Demos, Rhamnus, Eleusis, and Phyle (ll. 9–10).

144 In Ch. 4.4 it was suggested that the *ekklēsia kuria* of the second prytany was the occasion for the second-year military review ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.4), which probably met in the Panathenaic stadium rather than in the theater of Dionysus (Dillery 2002). For 6,000 citizens as a quorum at the Assembly, see Hansen 1987, 14–19. The proclamation of end of service honors after the gifting of the hoplite spear and shield to the class of 333/2 would have also communicated to these ephebes what kind of behavior is desirable and worthy of emulation (cf. Liddel 2007, 170–174). As Lambert 201b, 200, observes “the debate on a proposal for honours in the Athenian Council and Assembly communicated knowledge of the honour, at least to an Athenian audience”.

145 This “passing out” ceremony should not be confused with the Hellenistic *exiteteria*, a term first attested in the late third century, which took place on the Acropolis: e.g. *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1 1176 (= *SEG* 26.98) (203/2), l. 25. For the *exiteteria*, see Pélékidis 1962, 256; Chankowski 2010, 289.

146 For the shrines of the eponymous heroes as the probable center of the tribes’ associational activity, see Kearns 1989, 80–92; Jones 1999, 156–164.

147 The location and timing of deme assemblies is discussed in Whitehead 1986, 86–92, who

be attributed to the Cecropid *phyle's* recent deployment at the border fortress (T2, ll. 45–51), while the reason for the latter is that the *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus came from Athmonon (T2, ll. 52–63). It is uncertain, however, whether the state had imposed an itinerary upon the tribes and demes to avoid potential scheduling conflicts or whether it was determined *ad hoc* through the efforts of the *epimeletai* and the demarchs respectively. Clearly the *kosmetes* and the *strategoï* could not have attended two meetings held at the same time.<sup>148</sup>

Little is known about the ceremonies themselves, but T9 (331/0), a dedication of Leontis, intriguingly suggests that the *sophronistes* and the epebes would have played a performative role before receiving praise and crowns as benefactors to the tribe. The honorific decree begins with “since Philotheus the *sophronistes* of the Leontid tribe of epebes makes an announcement concerning the young men and says that they are disciplined and obedient both to the regulations and to himself ... (Φιλόθεος ὁ σωφ[ρον]ιστῆς τῆς Λεωντίδος φυλῆς τ[ῶν ἐ]φῆβων ἀπαγγέλλει περὶ τῶν ν[εαν]ίσκων καὶ φησὶν εἶναι εὐτα[κτὸν]τας καὶ πειθομένοσ τοῖς τ[ε νόμο]ις καὶ ἑαυτῶι ...)” (Col. I, ll. 4–9).<sup>149</sup> A plausible scenario is that the epebes, probably still under arms, would have collectively displayed their discipline (*eutaxia*) and obedience (*peitharchia*) to the assembled tribesmen, followed by a proclamation of the *sophronistes* to his *symphyletai* that the *phyle* had indeed demonstrated these qualities. It was perhaps at this moment that the fathers of the epebes, who had preselected Philotheus as one of three candidate-*sophronistai* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2), praised him for performing his duties well, as suggested by a late fourth-century decree of Pandionis (Reinmuth 1971 no. 19 [303/2] = *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1159, ll. 11–14) and a heavily restored “fathers’ decree” on T9 (Col. III, ll. 10–18).<sup>150</sup> The extant evidence does not permit us to determine whether the first two elements of the ceremony discussed above

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rejects the suggestion of de St. Croix (1972, 400–401) that meetings of the demes would have primarily occurred in the city. On this issue see also Cohen 2000, 114–117.

148 Cf. Whitehead 1986, 91, on whether the city determined the framework for deme meetings. Perhaps the tribal and deme officials met at the Agora, where, during the final muster, they coordinated with one another and relayed this information to the *sophronistai*. Humphreys 2004–2009, 85, thinks that the venue for the passing-out ceremony of T15 (the epebes of Leontis) was the Amphiareum.

149 Cf. the appearance of ἀποφαίνω in T2 (332/1): ἀποφαίνει αὐτο[ὺς] πειθάρχοντας (ll. 55–56) and T3 (332/1): ἀ[πεφαίνεν ὁ σωφρονιστῆς αὐτοὺς πειθαρχούντας ἑαυτῶι (ll. 6–7).

150 In the previous chapter (4.3) the possibility was raised that the collective approval of the epebes’ fathers for the *sophronistes* would have played a crucial role in forestalling potentially resentful individuals who sought to prosecute him over his use of corporal punishment to maintain discipline within the *phyle*.

(i.e. the ephebes' demonstration and the *sophronistes'* announcement) were also part of the state and deme ceremonies.<sup>151</sup>

The procedure for the crowning of an ephebic *phyle* and its officials is suggested by the heading of T6 (331/0):

The ephebes of Cecropis having enrolled in Nicocrates' archonship and the *sophronistes* of them Pericles son of Pericleides of Pithos made [this] dedication, having crowned with a gold crown for their excellence and care towards themselves.<sup>152</sup>

ll. 1–4

Below the heading is a list of thirteen names, each in the accusative, consisting of the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea*, the *strategos epi ten choran*, the *sophronistes*, the *taxiarchos*, seven *lochagoi*, and two *didaskaloi* (ll. 4–11).<sup>153</sup> The order of the honorands, it should be emphasized, varies significantly in the corpus. Nor is the list necessarily comprehensive: T6, for example, fails to mention the *kosmetes*, who presumably did not participate in the ceremony.<sup>154</sup> Unless the honorands had crowned themselves, the *sophronistes* would have awarded the crowns to the ephebic officers and the ephebes to the *sophronistes* and other officials.<sup>155</sup> We should not infer from T6 that only the *taxiarchos* and the *lochagoi* were crowned, but not the other ephebes named in the roster. As the tribal decree in T9 shows, the former received gold crowns worth 500 drachmas (Col. 1, ll. 29–30) whereas the latter were honored with a gold crown of unspecified value (Col. 1, ll. 12–13). Philotheus the *sophronistes* was surely assigned the task of crowning the entire *phyle*. For the ephebes of Cecropis enrolled in

151 The decree of Athmonon on T2 is suggestive: ὁ [σω]φρονιστῆς ... ἀποφαίνει αὐτο[ύς] πειθάρχοντας καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ποιούντας φιλοτίμως (ll. 54–56). See also Clinton's probable restoration of ὁ [ποφ]αίνει ὁ σωφρονιστῆς αὐτοὺς πειθαρχούντας in T3 (ll. 6–7), a decree of Eleusis.

152 [ο]ἱ ἔφ[ηβ]οὶ οἱ τῆς Κεκ[ρ]ο[π]ιδος οἱ ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχον[τ]ος καὶ ὁ σ[ω]φρονιστῆς αὐτῶν Περικ[λ]ῆς Περικλεΐ[δου] Πιθεῦς ἀνέθεσαν [ν] στεφ[αν]ώσαντες χρυσῶν στεφάνων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς.

153 Cf. the heading of T7 (332/1), ll. 5–7: [οἱ ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος ἔφηβοὶ τῆς Πανδι]ονίδος καὶ ὁ σωφ[ρο]νιστῆς αὐτῶν ἀνέθεσαν τῶν ἡρωῶν σ[τεφ]ανῶ[ν] χρ[υ]σῶν σ[τεφ]ανῶν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῆς εἰς αὐτ[οὺς]. The passive appears in T22 (332/1–323/2): [οἱ ἔφηβοὶ στεφ[αν]ωνθέντες ὑπὸ [τῆς βουλῆς καὶ το]ῦ δήμου.

154 T4 (333/2), probably a tribal decree of Antiochis, honors (in order) the *sophronistes*, the *didaskalos*(?), the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea*, the *strategos epi ten choran*, three *didaskaloi*(?), and the *kosmetes*.

155 Clinton 1988, 23. On T15 (331/0–325/4) the inclusion of the *lochagoi* in the nominative shows that all the ephebes of Leontis listed in the roster would have honored the officials mentioned on the sides of the dedication (e.g. R.S., l. 1, τοῦσδε ἐστεφάνωσαν οἱ ἔφηβοι).

334/3, the combined worth of the two gold crowns awarded by the tribe and the deme of Athmonon was 1000 drachmas (T2, ll. 30, 57). Those ephebes concerned about lost earnings during their two-year absence, one suspects, would have welcomed this not insubstantial sum at the end of their service.<sup>156</sup> T9 may suggest that an outlay of 500 drachmas per ephebe for a gold crown by an honoring corporation was exceptional or unusual, but the fragmentary state of the few honorific decrees to have survived in the corpus is inconclusive.<sup>157</sup>

Sometime after the four ceremonies (discussed above) which commemorated the ephebes of Cecropis for the performance of their assigned military duties, the honorific decrees passed by the Council, the parent association, and the demes of Eleusis and Athmonon were inscribed on T2 and erected at the shrine of Cecrops in the presence of the honorands themselves (ll. 34–35, 43–44, 49–51, 62–63). For the ephebes of Cecropis, the publication of these honors on an impressive stone monument located on the Acropolis must have created immense satisfaction because the dedication both recorded the honors awarded by the corporate bodies for all time and advertised these same honors to all the *phyletai* and other visitors who came to the Cecropeion.<sup>158</sup> Even if few had an interest in reading the honorific decrees or in consulting the list of names prominently displayed on the *stele*, the ephebes would have regarded their inclusion on the roster as a source of pride. It is also likely that certain individuals who later ascended the Acropolis could and did take the opportunity to refer to *their* names on the dedication as proof of their meritorious public service as eighteen- and nineteen-year-old citizens devoted to the defense of Attica.<sup>159</sup> For many ordinary Athenians, whose main preoccupation after the *ephebeia* was to earn a living, they would have recognized in hindsight the material and symbolic honors which they had received at the end of their military service as a highlight (if not *the* highlight) of their otherwise undistinguished civic lives.<sup>160</sup>

156 de Marcellus 1994, 157, thinks that “one of the results of the ephebeia is that, like Lycurgus’ building programme, it would have produced a form of welfare (or workfare) for the city’s poor and young”. For wages in the classical period, see Loomis 1998, esp. 232–239.

157 Cf. the heavily restored T3:  $\kappa\alpha[\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omega}\iota\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$  (ll. 7–8).

158 For the purpose of inscribing honorific decrees (especially hortatory intention clauses, which are not attested in the ephebic corpus for *ephebes* except for Traill’s tentative restoration of T17, ll. 7–8) and discussion of inscriptions as monuments, see Liddel 2007, 109–209; Sickinger 2009; Luraghi 2010; Lambert 201b.

159 The difficulty of reading of inscribed lists, however, is emphasized in Harris 1994; Davies 1994. For lists generally, see Liddel 2007, 182–198.

160 For the citizen who infrequently participated (out of choice or necessity) in the political life of Athens, see Carter 1986. It is unclear whether ephebes were allowed to keep the

While we cannot hope to estimate from the epigraphic record exactly how many honorific inscriptions (often with a herm or a document relief) were erected annually for the ephebes of a given enrollment year (beginning with such examples as T2), they may have numbered in the low hundreds by the outbreak of the Lamian War in 323/2.<sup>161</sup> The vast majority of inscribed honors awarded by the state were set up on the Acropolis and the remainder in the Agora.<sup>162</sup> Inscribed honors awarded by tribal and deme associations were erected, to infer from the find-spot or from the content of the inscription, in the tribal sanctuaries or in the garrison demes and the border forts where the ephebes were deployed, or at the Amphiareum where they had celebrated the annual and/or quadrennial festivals held in honor of Amphiaraus.<sup>163</sup> These places of publication would have communicated to the Demos the idea that such honors were appropriate for ephebes who exhibited *philotimia* in

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hoplite spear and shield, and perhaps also other state-issued supplies (see Ch. 5.1), as personal property instead of returning them to the state, even if they themselves were no longer eligible for conscription as hoplites (see Ch. 4.5). If they did keep these arms, they would have also served as an enduring reminder of their service (cf. Jackson 1991, 233).

- 161 Problems include the following: First, we do not know whether T2 is usual or atypical in the corpus. Nor can we infer from T3, a deme decree of Eleusis, whether the ephebes of Hippothontis were honored in the same manner by the state and their parent association (i.e. three free-standing honorific decrees in all). For the classification of these inscriptions, see Reinmuth 1955 (1a and 1b). Second, it is uncertain whether copies of T14, probably a deme decree of the Rhamnusians, were also set up in the demes of the two other honoring corporations (i.e. Eleusis and Phyle). Cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1163 (Hippothontis) and *SEG* 21.155 (Rhamnus). Third, we do not know whether honors from the state were compulsory but voluntary from the tribe and deme. While in practice the ephebes' fathers would have insisted that their sons be honored and crowned in the tribal assembly, we cannot assume that the demes would have honored every ephebic *phyle* stationed within their territory. Perhaps they honored only some of them. Fourth, the identity of the honoring corporation is often unclear. The restoration of τ]ῆς [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου] in line 2 of T4, if correct, suggests a state-dedication, but the iota in the same line (restored by Mitchel as τῶι ἡρω?]ι) recalls line 1 of T9, which refers to the eponym of Leontis (see Catalogue *loc. cit.*).
- 162 For the location of state-decrees in the classical period, see Liddel 2003, who also estimates that "only 6.5% of decrees were set up in central Athens in locations other than the Agora and Akropolis and only 5.8% of decrees were set up in Attica outside Athens".
- 163 Tribal sanctuary: T2 (Cecrops); T4 (Antiochus); T5 (Acamas?—location of shrine unknown); T9 (Leos); T17 (Cecropis—found in Agora); T19 (Oineus—location of shrine unknown). Deme sanctuary: T3 (Hippothoon—to Demeter and Kore?). Eleusis: T6 (Cecropis). Panactum: T20 (Hippothontis—to the Dioskouroi); T23 (Leontis); T24 (Leontis). Rhamnus: T8 (Leontis); T13 (Oineis); T14 (Pandionis); T22 (Acamantis); T28 (unknown tribe); T29 (unknown tribe); T31 (unknown tribe). Amphiareum: T15 (Leontis); T18 (unknown tribe); T27 (unknown tribe). This list omits victory dedications, for which see the previous section.

their assigned duties. Taken together with the public announcement of these honors at state- and local-level and the crowning ceremonies which followed these proclamations, the existence of these inscriptions would have provided encouragement for lukewarm individuals to serve in the *ephebeia*, despite their misgivings about lost income and their patrimony, in the hope that they too would be similarly rewarded as benefactors of Athens if they carried out their civic obligations with enthusiasm (cf. Dem. 20.108, 114; Lyc. 1.50).<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> For the connection between monuments and social memory, see Shear 2011; Steinbock 2013.

## Educating Ephebes

The *raison d'être* of the *ephebeia* was military. The institution solved the problem of Boeotian raiding in the aftermath of Thebes' sack in 335/4. The Athenians introduced several innovations, such as "ephebic" officials, a training program, and strict-discipline, which transformed an annual cohort of eighteen-year-olds into a highly-motivated corps capable of carrying out its primary military function. The Demos also sought to generate enthusiasm among ephebes for the newly-established institution by appealing to their *philotimia* so as to maximize the number willing and ready to serve. But if the *ephebeia* clearly had a military orientation, scholars have also recognized that certain aspects of this organization cannot be explained in military terms.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it is generally agreed that the motivation behind the so-called "ephebic reform" was two-fold, namely the need to improve the quality of the city's amateur militia and to educate the young about the practices of good citizenship.<sup>2</sup> The *Athenaion Politeia*, however, reveals next to nothing about this civic educational program. Nor is the corpus without its problems in interpretation. Despite these difficulties, the aim of this chapter is to reconstruct as far as the evidence permits what kind of *paideia* the ephebes received and the reasons for this *paideia*, with reference to Lycurgus and the activities undertaken during his administration.

### 6.1 The Need for an Ephebic *Paideia*

It was an Athenian conviction that the state-level decision-making bodies should play an important (if informal) role in teaching normative civic values to young men.<sup>3</sup> In *Against Ctesiphon* Aeschines argues that "you know well,

<sup>1</sup> Marrou 1956, 151.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Ober 2001, 203: "Before the 330s, the Athenians had employed as border-guards young citizens, who were probably called ephēboi. But beginning in 335/4, the ephebeia came to include a stronger educational component. Upon turning eighteen, Athenian citizen-males were now inducted into a two-year program that conjoined military training and moral education".

<sup>3</sup> On the educational value of the Assembly, the Council, and the lawcourt, see Loraux 1986, 144–145; Ober 1989a, 158–165; 2001, 179–181. Roisman 2005, 15–16, discusses other forms of communal education.

Athenian gentlemen, that it is not merely the wrestling-grounds (παλαίστραι), schools (διδασκαλεία), or music (μουσική), which educate the young (παιδεύει τοὺς νέους), but more important are the public proclamations (τὰ δημόσια κηρύγματα) [of the Demos]" (3.246).<sup>4</sup> Plato, a critic of the democracy, cites "the assemblies and the lawcourts" as examples where the decisions of the multitude (*plethos*), which consist of praise and blame for things said or done, would have exerted a far greater influence upon the behavior of a youth than whatever private education he may have received (*Resp.* 492b–d). Before the Lycurgan era ephebes could and did attend the Assembly. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia* the Demos ridiculed Glaucon for his repeated and unsuccessful attempts to gain prominence as a statesman "although not yet twenty years of age (οὐδέπω εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγινώς)" (3.6.1).<sup>5</sup> While the contribution of ephebes to the running of this governmental institution was clearly minimal compared to older citizens, they would have had the opportunity to acquire some practical political experience in the Assembly and to gain some familiarity with the complexities and procedures of democratic government.

Beginning in 334/3 stringent new regulations were imposed upon ephebes which excluded them from public life. According to the *Athenaion Politeia* "they are exempt from all [financial] impositions; and they can neither be sued nor initiate a law suit, so that they shall have no excuse for absence [from the *ephebeia*], except concerning an estate, an heiress, and if he inherits a priesthood in his *genos*" (42.5).<sup>6</sup> In Chapter Three we saw that the *ephebeia* was founded at a time when Lycurgus was (probably) *ho epi tei dioikesi* and the politically active upper-class citizens who supported him were engaging in a patriotic project to revitalize Athens after the humiliation of Chaeronea. It was argued that some of these prominent men would have contributed to this project according to their own interests and were also involved in varying degrees with the creation of the *ephebeia*, both the founding law of Epicrates and the body of *nomoi* which regulated the ephebes' behavior (Harp. s.v. Ἐπικράτης = Lyc. Fr. 5.3 Conomis; T2 (332/1), ll. 28, 54; T3 (332/1), l. 5). We may conjecture that after they had persuaded the Demos to pass the above regulations on the grounds of military necessity, they were also concerned that

4 Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ παλαίστραι οὐδὲ τὰ διδασκαλεία οὐδ' ἡ μουσική μόνον παιδεύει τοὺς νέους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ δημόσια κηρύγματα.

5 Glaucon could have also benefited from attending deme meetings which had traditionally functioned as training grounds for young citizens (Whitehead 1986, 313–315). He was also free to attend tribal assemblies (Jones 1999, 161–169).

6 καὶ ἀτελεῖς εἰσι πάντων καὶ δίκην οὔτε διδῶσιν οὔτε λαμβάνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ πρό[φ]ασις ἦ τ[ο]ῦ ἀπιέναι, πλην περὶ κλήρου καὶ ἐπικλή[ρου], καὶ τ[ι]νὶ κατὰ τὸ γένος ἱερωσύνη γένηται.

the same regulations would deny the ephebes an opportunity to participate in democratic government at the very time when they were admitted into the community of Athenian citizens.

There is reason to think that Lycurgus would have played a role in articulating these concerns to the Demos. He was zealous in prosecuting citizens who had failed to live up to *his* standards of patriotic and moral behavior. Portraying himself as a “disinterested public prosecutor”, he claimed that he was motivated not by personal enmity but by the desire to perform a valuable public service for the city (Lyc. 1.3, 5–6).<sup>7</sup> His chosen instrument was “the law of impeachment” (*nomos eisangeltikos*) which traditionally applied to citizens accused of committing serious crimes such as subversion of the democracy, treason, and acceptance of bribes (Hyp. 4.7–8). But Lycurgus had broadened the scope of *eisangelia* to include various petty offenses ([Plut.] *x. Orat.* 841e, 843d–e), each of which he claimed was an act of treason (*prodosia*) against the city. He successfully impeached the *strategos* Lysicles for the defeat at Chaeronea in 338/7 (D.S. 16.88.1–2; Lyc. Fr. 12.1–3 Conomis) and the Areopagite Autolycus for sending his family from Athens after the battle (Lyc. 1.53, 145; Harp. s.v. Αὐτόλυκος; Lyc. Fr. 3.1–3 Conomis). Leocrates was also indicted for leaving Athens after Chaeronea, escaping conviction by a single vote (Aeschin. 3.252). He impeached Menesaechmus for infringing upon some ritual connected with a *theoria* to Delos (Lyc. Fr. 14.1–10 Conomis). He supported the impeachments of Lycophron for adultery (Hyp. 1.3; Lyc. Fr. 10–11 Conomis) and of Euxenippus for falsely reporting a dream to the Assembly while sleeping at the Amphitheatre at Oropus (Hyp. 4.12).<sup>8</sup>

An examination of Lycurgus’ *Against Leocrates* reveals that the importance of this speech for the prosecutor was not limited to convincing the jurors to punish the defendant for his treasonous behavior, a charge which he readily admits is not covered by the *nomos eisangeltikos*, with the result that the jurors were required to act as *nomothetai* or lawgivers (1.8–10).<sup>9</sup> He emphasizes that

7 For Lycurgus’ denial of personal interest in prosecuting Leocrates, see Allen 2000a, 17–18; 2000b, 157–160; Humphreys 2004, 106–107.

8 For the legal procedure of *eisangelia*, see Hansen 1975. Lycurgus and *eisangelia* is discussed in Sullivan 2002, 23–35; Humphreys 2004, 106–108; Azoulay 2011, 197–204. Hyperides (4.1–8) objected to its misuse by Lycurgus and others for trivial cases such as the cost of hiring flute-girls (see Whitehead 2000, 170–189).

9 Lycurgus probably delivered *Against Leocrates* in summer 330 shortly before Aeschines prosecuted Ctesiphon (3.252) (Petrie 1922, 59; Burke 1977, 333, n. 12). An earlier date (331) is preferred by E.M. Harris 1995, 140–142; 2001, 159, n. 1; Whitehead 2006, 132, n. 2. The bibliography on the speech is extensive. For recent discussion, see Allen 2000a; Sullivan 2002; Azoulay 2011; Steinbock 2011.

a conviction would provide an incentive for “all the younger men to pursue a virtuous life (τοὺς νεωτέρους ἅπαντας ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν)” and argues that the education of the young (τὰ παιδεύοντα τοὺς νέους) consists of punishing wrongdoers and of rewarding good men (1.10).<sup>10</sup> His prosecution of Leocrates is distinctive among Attic oratory for its overtly didactic tone, which resembles more of a civics lesson than a typical courtroom speech, for its frequent and lengthy digressions, and for its extensive use of mythical, historical, and poetic *paradeigmata* (1.75–132).<sup>11</sup> Their purpose was *paideutic*: “teaching with many examples makes the decision easy for you (τὸ γὰρ μετὰ πολλῶν παραδειγμάτων διδάσκειν ῥαδίαν τὴν κρίσιν καθίστησι)” (1.124) and “by employing such examples you will make better decisions about these and other cases (οἷς παραδείγμασι καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων βέλτιον βουλευέσθε)” (1.83). The general impression is that Lycurgus was delivering an impersonal “sermon on patriotism” whose educational function was to make the younger generation better citizens (cf. 1.95, 106).<sup>12</sup>

Lycurgus, then, was a self-appointed moral guardian of Athens who had an interest in the *paideia* of the young. We may conjecture that he was a prominent advocate for the incorporation of a civic educational component in the *ephebeia* if not the instigator.<sup>13</sup> It is striking that some of the ideas in *Against Leocrates*, such as the grounding of one’s patriotic devotion to the city in piety towards the gods (e.g. 1.147–148), and some of the non-military preoccupations of the revitalization program, reflecting to some degree Lycurgus’ interests, appear to have been paralleled in the *ephebeia*, namely the visitation of the sanctuaries and participation in Athenian religious life (see below). We should not associate the *ephebeia*, however, with every preoccupation of the program. We are told, for instance, that Lycurgus refurbished the theater of Dionysus, erected bronze statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, ordered official copies of their plays to be deposited in the state archives, and forbade actors from deviating from these texts ([Plut.] *x. Orat.* 841f; 852c; *Hyp. Fr.* 118 Sauppe).<sup>14</sup>

10 Litigants urging jurors to punish and reward citizens for the benefit of the Demos: Dem. 19.342–343; 22.37; 25.53; Din. 1.17; Lys. 1.47; 15.9; 22.19–21. See Rubinstein 2000, 165–166; Roisman 2005, 192–199.

11 Allen 2000a, 6, remarks that Lycurgus’ speech is “generally recognized as being one of the most idiosyncratic and non-representative texts in the classical Athenian oratorical corpus”.

12 Herman 2006, 333.

13 de Marcellus 1994, 155, 161.

14 For the educational function of the theater, see Pl. *Resp.* 492b. Work began on the theater of Dionysus during Eubulus’ administration and was not completed until 320/19 (Hanink 2014, 95–103). A discussion of Athens’ theatrical heritage in the Lycurgus era is found in Hanink 2014. For the epigraphical evidence, see Lambert 2008.

The intention behind the exploitation of Athens' rich cultural heritage was to impress citizens and foreigners alike and was clearly a manifestation of "a *polis* whose identity was grounded primarily in its cultural power and influence".<sup>15</sup> Yet there is no evidence that ephebes were allocated seats in the theater of Dionysus before the Hellenistic period or celebrated the City Dionysia, whether escorting a statue of Dionysus from Eleutheræ to Athens or leading the main sacrifice into the theater itself (cf. *SEG* 15.104 [127/6], l. 25).<sup>16</sup>

One suspects that the Demos was persuaded to establish a formal state-supported educational system for ephebes in the following manner. First, the experience of serving in the *ephebeia* would encourage an egalitarian *ethos*, a key democratic concept, among the ephebes. They carried out the same military function (there was no differentiation by socio-economic background), were equipped with the same hoplite panoply and wore identical garments ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.4; Poll. 8.164), and obeyed the same regulations (T2 [332/1], ll. 28, 54; T3 [332/1], l. 5; T9 [331/0], Col. I, ll. 7–9).<sup>17</sup> Second, it was possible for the Demos to design and implement an educational program which would not only not interfere with the ephebes' garrison duties and military training but also instill a normative code of moral and civic values thought to improve them as citizens, despite their enforced absence from public life until they had completed their two-year period of national service. The responsibility for teaching this state-sanctioned curriculum would be assigned to the *sophronistai*, who as officials elected by the Demos ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3) would later be held accountable for their performance in educating ephebes about the rights and duties of citizenship and especially about *sophrosyne*, patriotism, and piety, at a formative time of their civic lives.<sup>18</sup> With this understood, let us now discuss how the Athenians sought to turn the ephebes, whom Demades called "the spring of the Demos" (fr. 68 De Falco), towards "the path of virtue" (Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21).<sup>19</sup>

15 Lambert 2011a, 185.

16 Winkler 1990, 57–61, thinks that ephebes had attended the City Dionysia from at least the late sixth-century, while Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 59–61, thinks that their role would have differed little from the Hellenistic *ephebeia* (cf. Barringer 2001, 53–54).

17 For the concept of equality in classical Athens, see Raaflaub 1996; Cartledge 1996; Roberts 1996. Raaflaub 1996, 157, is wrong to list the *ephebeia* as an example of citizen inequality because the ephebic rosters taken together with fourth-century demographic data suggest that *thetes* were also eligible to serve (see Ch. 5.1).

18 Citizen rights are discussed in Wallace 1996; Ober 2000. For civic obligations, see Liddel 2007.

19 We should note that scholars disagree on the purpose of the *paideia*: Mitchel 1970, 37

## 6.2 *Sophrosyne in the Ephebeia*

We may suppose the following scenario to explain why the ten tribal *sophronistai* were entrusted with the ephebes' civic education in the Lycurgan era. These officials were responsible for the logistical duties of those ephebic *phylai* assigned to them and the maintenance of discipline (*eutaxia*) among the ephebes under their care. With the exception of the daily patrols (under the *peripolarchoi*) and the training at the Lyceum (under the *paidotribai* and the *didaskaloi*), the ephebes would have spent most of their time in the presence of the *sophronistai*, whether in the camp, at festivals, or elsewhere. When the decision to create the *ephebeia* was made in 335/4 by the passage of Epicrates' Law, the fathers of the ephebes, concerned about their sons' welfare, were reluctant to have non-kinsmen as mentors unless they were granted the right of preselection ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3). Among the criteria used for the three candidate-*sophronistai* which made them "best and most suitable to look after the ephebes (βελτίστους ... καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ἐπιμελείσθαι τῶν ἐφήβων)" was a minimum age of forty, which in Aeschines' opinion was the most *sophron* of ages (1.11, referring to *paidagogoi*). The *sophronistes* was a mature adult male who was expected to possess the civic virtue of *sophrosyne* or moral-discipline, and consequently who, unlike a Timarchus, had already acquired an unimpeachable reputation among his fellow tribesmen for decency in social interaction and moderation in his daily life. This would have reassured the fathers that the *sophronistes* was not about to indulge himself in licentious or unmanly behavior in the ephebes' presence.<sup>20</sup>

But if the *sophronistes* himself was a "model of *sophrosyne*", this exemplary individual could also benefit the city (as the name of his office suggests) by instilling the same virtue in the *phyle* of ephebes which he supervised. T9, a dedication of Leontis dated to 331/0, praises the *sophronistes* Philotheus son of Philocles of Sunion and the ephebes "for their excellence and moral-discipline (ἀρετῆς ἔνε[χα καὶ σωφορο]σύνης)" (l. 2; cf. the ephebic *taxiarchos* and *lochagoi* in Col. 1, ll. 30–31).<sup>21</sup> The implication is that Philotheus was successful in making

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(indoctrination in patriotism); Faraguna 1992, 278 (instillation of civic virtues); de Marcellus 1994, 86 (education in moral virtue); Ober 2001, 203 (civic and moral education under the *sophronistes*); Humphreys 2004, 120 (education through ritual).

20 For *sophrosyne* in Greek literature, see North 1966, 1–257; Rademaker 2004. *Sophrosyne* as a civic virtue: Whitehead 1993, 70–72. For Timarchus as the antithesis of the *sophron* man, see Fisher 2001 on Aeschines' *Against Timarchus*.

21 See also T3 (332/1), ll. 2–3 (restored). Meritt 1945, 238, restored σωφοροσύνης in T7 (331/0), l. 8, but ἐπιμελείας τῆς εἰ[ς] of Lewis 1973, 256, is preferable (see Catalogue *loc. cit.*).

the ephebes *sophrones politai*, who presumably were lacking in *sophrosyne* (cf. Antiphon *Tetra.* 4.4.1; Dem. 61.3) before they began their national service when Nicocrates was archon (i.e. 333/2).<sup>22</sup> Hyperides' *Against Demosthenes*, delivered in 324/3, likewise suggests that it was the responsibility of older men to teach the young *sophrosyne*. For the prosecutor, the prospect of young men "sophronizing" those over sixty, which he claims will be the outcome of the defendant's acceptance of Harpalus' bribes, is clearly an inversion of the natural order (5.22: οἱ νέοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη σωφρονίζουσιν).<sup>23</sup> By analogy to the famous Athenian statesmen of the past, characterized as *sophronistai* of the Demos because they had led disciplined and modest lives, Philotheus would have served as a paradigm of *sophron* behavior over a two-year period for the ephebes of Leontis, who were encouraged to emulate his sterling example for the social and moral well-being of themselves and the city.<sup>24</sup>

For North, it was Lycurgus himself who, inspired by the teachings of Platonic philosophy (specifically the *Laws*), would have provided the impetus for the Demos to include *sophrosyne* in the ephebes' educational curriculum. This hypothesis is built upon the following: (1) Lycurgus was a student of Plato. (2) He agreed with Plato's educational theories. (3) Some of these theories were implemented in the *ephebeia*.<sup>25</sup> Of the three premises, the first is the least problematic, if we accept as credible the biographical tradition which says that Lycurgus had studied under Plato (and Isocrates) and intended to make philosophy his career before turning to politics ([Plut.] *x Orat.* 841b; cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 268 p. 497a).<sup>26</sup> While the absence of Lycurgus from a list of Isocrates' pupils (837c) and a similar statement concerning Aeschines' studies (840b, f) does not inspire confidence in Pseudo-Plutarch's claim, he may well have frequented

22 The fathers of Pandionis honored the *sophronistes* Philonides for taking care of the ephebes "with fine *sophron* (κα[λ]λῶς κα[ὶ] σωφρόνως)" (Reinmuth 1971 no. 19 = *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1159 [303/2], ll. 9–11).

23 Whitehead 2000, 427–428, thinks that "such language may have conjured up the image of ephebes and their compulsory military service", though the terminology is admittedly "less than precise".

24 Examples: Pericles (Isoc. 15.111; 16.28); Aristides and Miltiades (Dem. 3.25); Aristides, Pericles, and Themistocles (Aeschin. 1.25; 3.257). See Schmitz-Kahlmann 1939, 1–38.

25 North 1979, 109.

26 ἀκροατῆς δὲ γενόμενος Πλάτωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου, τὰ πρῶτα ἐφιλοσόφησεν· εἶτα καὶ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος γινώριμος γενόμενος ἐπολιτεύσατο ἐπιφανῶς, καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων καὶ δὴ πιστευσάμενος τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν χρημάτων. Cf. Olympiod. in Pl. *Gorg.* 515c = *FGrHist* 496 F 9 *bis* (addenda 757), quoting Philiscus, perhaps the same man from Miletus who was both Lycurgus' biographer and Isocrates' student (Suda s.v. Φιλίσκος; [Plut.] *x Orat.* 836c; Dion.Hal. *Ad Amm.* 120). Diogenes Laertius also claims that Lycurgus was Plato's pupil, citing the third-century Peripatetic author Chamaeleon (3.46).

the Academy at some point during his youth, although it is uncertain whether he had completed a full course of study.<sup>27</sup> The *Vitae decem oratorum* also preserves two anecdotes, which, if historical, suggest an amicable relationship between Lycurgus and the philosophical schools in Athens. He prosecuted a tax-collector who had acted inappropriately against Xenocrates, the head of the Academy, while Democles, a student of Theophrastus (Aristotle's successor at the Lyceum), had successfully defended Lycurgus' sons after his death in 425/4 (842b, e).<sup>28</sup>

While little is known about Lycurgus' educational activities, several studies of his one surviving speech (*Against Leocrates*) have shown that the orator would have had some familiarity with platonic thought and the language of philosophical discourse, despite Zeller's claim to the contrary.<sup>29</sup> Renehan was the first to draw parallels between Lycurgus' rhetoric and certain ideas expressed in Plato's *Laws*, most dramatically where both authors quoted extensively the poetry of Tyrtaeus with approval and recounted the tradition of his Athenian (rather than Spartan) birth (Lyc. 1.106–107; Pl. *Leg.* 629a–e, 660e).<sup>30</sup> Allen, however, is unjustified in thinking that Lycurgus was a conscientious student of Platonic philosophy, even if he accepted Plato's ideas on reformative punishment (see below).<sup>31</sup> Azoulay rightly emphasizes their differences on the pedagogical value of poetry, because Lycurgus, unlike Plato, considers poetry superior to the laws in educating citizens (Lyc. 1. 95, 100–102; Pl. *Leg.* 663d–664a; 721a–e, 722d–723d).<sup>32</sup> *Sophrosyne* and its cognates are also unattested in Lycurgus' writings, although Hyperides does describe Lycurgus as a *sophron* man (Fr. 118 Sauppe: οὔτος ἐβίω ... σωφρόνωνς), suggesting that he was considered “a model of *sophrosyne*” during his lifetime.<sup>33</sup> Not only is it unclear

27 On the Academy and its activities, see Fields 1930, 30–47; Saunders 1986; Monson 2000, 137–145. For a list of Athenian statesmen reputed to have studied at the Academy, see Zeller 1919, 30, n. 64, on Plut. *Adv. Col.* 1126a.

28 Lycurgus apparently hired “sophists” to teach his children ([Plut.] *x. Orat.* 842d). Mitchel 1965, 198, n. 5, thinks that Lycurgus set up Lysippus' statue of Socrates outside the Pompeium (D.L. 2.46), but Alexander is more likely (Pollitt 1986, 53). For Lycurgus and the Lyceum, see Ch. 4.4.

29 Zeller 1919, 420. Allen 2010, 92, identifies Platonic vocabulary in fourteen Attic speeches dating to the second half of the fourth century.

30 Renehan 1970, 223–227.

31 Allen 2010, 3, 133. Brunt 1993, 285, 287, divides Plato's students into two distinct groups. The majority who “were seeking primarily to be trained as statesmen and legislators” and the minority who “immersed themselves in Plato's dialectic and metaphysics”. Lycurgus probably belonged to the first group.

32 Azoulay 2011.

33 Absence of *sophrosyne*: Allen 2000a, 20. de Marcellus 1994, 129–130, thinks that Lycur-

whether he would have approved of Plato's treatment of this civic virtue, but also the ephebes would have been taught the kind of *sophrosyne*, without philosophical refinement, familiar to the Demos in the Assembly and the lawcourt in fourth-century Athens.<sup>34</sup>

Nor should we attribute the organization of the *ephebeia* and its officials to the theoretical discussions of Plato and suppose that it was the intention of Lycurgus (or other former students of the Academy) to put them into practice.<sup>35</sup> We must reject the assertion of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff that "Platons Gesetze haben die ephebie erzeugt", regardless of whether one accepts an early or late date of origin for the *ephebeia*.<sup>36</sup> It is argued, for example, that Plato's adoption of the *sysstition* for his ideal state (*Leg.* 842b) would have led to its incorporation (on Lycurgus' initiative) in the *ephebeia*.<sup>37</sup> But *συσσιτοῦσι ... κατὰ φυλάς* in [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3 was probably an adaptation of the informal Athenian *sysstioi* used on campaigns predating the Lycurgan era (cf. *Dem.* 54.4; *Lys.* 13.79). To return to the tribal *sophronistai*, a more convincing explanation is that their duties were originally conceived as logistical and disciplinary, then educational in nature. Just as it was beneficial for the *kosmetes* to ensure *kosmiotes* or orderly behavior in one enrollment year (T1, l. 9; T2, ll. 31, 39–40, 58; *ἐκόσμη[ο]ν* is attested in T3, l. 5), the paideutic value of cultivating *sophrosyne* in ephebes was such that the new officials were called *sophronistai*. The association of *sophrosyne* with good citizenship (as reflected in Attic oratory) would explain why instruction in this civic virtue was considered the most important component of the ephebes' educational program.<sup>38</sup>

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gus cultivated a Socratic persona and imitated Spartan dress ([Plut.] *x. Orat.* 842c), but Pseudo-Plutarch could have confused Lycurgus with his Spartan namesake (Roisman and Worthington 2015, 200). For the "Socratic image" of Phocion, see Williams 1982, 25, n. 74; Tritle 1988, 10, on Plut. *Phoc.* 4.1–2.

34 For *sophrosyne* in Attic oratory, see North 1966, 135–142; Dover 1974, 59–60; Rademaker 2004, 233–250; Roisman 2005, 176–185. Plato's development of *sophrosyne* as a philosophical virtue: North 1966, 150–196; Rademaker 2004, 293–353.

35 Opinion is divided on whether the philosophy of Plato influenced contemporary politics and the programs of those statesmen who studied at the Academy: Dusanic 1980; Brunt 1993, 282–342; Monoson 2000, 145–153. Ober 2001, 195, 203–204, and de Marcellus 1994, 85–137, claim that the educational aspects of the *ephebeia* were derived in some way from philosophical-critical ideas on state education but do not consider the enforced absence of ephebes from Athenian public life as a reason for the incorporation of a civic *paideia* in the *ephebeia*.

36 Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1893, 194.

37 For *sysstia* in Plato's *Laws*, see Morrow 1960, 389–398. Incorporation in the *ephebeia*: Reinmuth 1967, 49; North 1979, 124; Murray 1991, 89; de Marcellus 1994, 118–119.

38 Rademaker 2004, 246: "Thus, we see how, for the citizen of the Athenian πόλις, σωφροσύνη

Indeed, Aeschines claims that *sophron* was the third of five qualities which distinguishes a *demotikos* and *sophron* man from a man who is *oligarchikos* and *phaulos* (3.168–170).<sup>39</sup>

The *sophron polites* or self-restrained citizen was someone who demonstrated the ability to master his physical appetites and to control his emotions, such as gluttony, drunkenness, anger, or sex. At all times law-abiding, he refrains from hubristic behavior against others and has a modest personal lifestyle. Quiet, inoffensive, and unfailingly decent to his compatriots, if he is a young man he is expected to be shy and respectful whenever he is in the company of his parents and older citizens and endeavors to make himself useful to the city.<sup>40</sup> Given the characterization of the young in classical Athens as more prone to thoughtless and insolent behavior than mature adult citizens, the Demos understandably assigned the *sophronistes* the task of checking the worst of his charges' excesses and of teaching them the value of moderation (cf. Lys. 20.3).<sup>41</sup> Perhaps he used the "stick" and "carrot" approach to educate ephebes in the accepted norms and ideals of citizen behavior, alongside serving as a positive role model of *sophrosyne* for them to emulate. If ephebes were acting in a manner befitting *sophrones politai*, they were rewarded with generous public praise for their virtuous conduct ("the carrot"), whereas those who did not were shamed in their peers' presence for wrongdoing ("the stick").<sup>42</sup> For those ephebes who refused to act with the appropriate restraint, the *sophronistes* could inflict corporal punishment (if necessary) in the hope of correcting their misbehavior and encouraging them to be more *sophron* ([Pl.] *Axioch.* 366d–367a).<sup>43</sup> The more successful he was in

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is linked to an extensive ideology of civic morality. The *σώφρων* defendant in the orators is in many respects a blameless citizen".

39 North 1966, 135–136, suggests that *sophrosyne* was first an oligarchic virtue but was later adopted as a democratic virtue by the fourth century (cf. Gomme, Andrews, and Dover 1981, 159–160). Aeschines describes the restored democracy after the Thirty as *σωφρόνως πολιτεύεσθαι* (2.176; cf. citizen *σωφρονέστατοι* in Isoc. 18.46). On Aeschin. 3.168–170, see also Roisman 2005, 141; Liddel 2007, 239–240.

40 Lys. 1.38; 2.1.19; Dem. 25.24, 88; 38.26–27; 61.20–21; Aeschin. 1.136–137, 2.180. For discussion, see Rademaker 2004, 223–250.

41 For the perception of youths as rash, insolent, and engaged in the pursuit of physical pleasures, see Ch. 4.3.

42 In his analysis of Attic oratory Roisman 2005, 185, makes the important point that in the lawcourt "the Athenians were ambivalent about the criteria to use in judging self-restrained conduct". Applied to the *ephebeia*, this uncertainty in determining the dividing-line between *sophron* and immoderate behavior would have led to some variation among the *sophronistai* in what conduct they were inclined to praise or censure.

43 Allen 2000a, 17–21, discusses the novel approach to punishment in *Against Leocrates*. She

instilling *sophrosyne* in ephebes, the greater was their obedience (*peitharchia*) to him within the ephebic *phyle*.<sup>44</sup>

*Sophrosyne* was also associated with martial excellence.<sup>45</sup> Xenophon observes in the *Memorabilia* that “in the affairs of soldiers, where moral discipline (*sophrosyne*), good order (*eutaxia*), and obedience (*peitharchia*) are most necessary, they [the Athenians] pay no attention to these things (3.5.21)”. These qualities were clearly indispensable for success on the battlefield. In his funeral oration, delivered in 322, Hyperides address the education (*paideia*) of those Athenians who had died in the Lamian War, claiming that they as children (*paides*) were raised and educated “with strict (lit. much) *sophrosyne*” so that they would become brave men (*andres agathoi*). By displaying their superior courage (*arete*) in the war against Antipater, he concludes that “it is obvious that they were well-educated as children” (6.8).<sup>46</sup> Despite the orator’s use of *paides* rather than *epheboi*, Herrman’s attractive suggestion is that Hyperides is alluding to the ephebes’ civic education in the *ephebeia*.<sup>47</sup> Two more reasons can be adduced in support of this hypothesis. First, about half of the citizens called up for the campaign would have passed through the *ephebeia* between 334/3 and 326/5 (see Ch. 4.5). Second, not only is *arete* attested in the corpus (see Ch. 5.3), but also the combination of *arete* and *sophrosyne* (in that order) twice appears on T9 (also restored on T3, l. 1), suggesting a close relationship between the two civic virtues in an ephebic context. Like Aeschines in *On the Embassy*, who contrasts pathetic weaklings (*kinaidoi*) unfavorably to a smaller

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argues that Lycurgus’ claim that the punishment of wrongdoers was beneficial for the Demos because it had educational value in addition to acting as a deterrent (1.10; cf. 27, 102, 130) was an application of Platonic ideas about reformatory punishment (e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 731d; *Prot.* 323d–324b; *Gorg.* 476d–478d). But we do not know whether such practices were used in the *ephebeia*. More likely is that the *sophronistai* would have punished ephebes who lacked *sophrosyne*, thus encouraging others to be “more moderate (*σωφρονέστεροι*)” in their behavior (e.g. *Lys.* 1.35; 14.12; *Dem.* 22.68; 24.18). For a list of instances in Attic speeches, see North 1966, 137, n. 47; Allen 2000a, 20, n. 21.

44 Cf. North 1966, 131, n. 24: “*sophrosyne* throughout Greek literature is always the virtue proper to the young ... to all those members of society of whom obedience is required”.

45 *Sophrosyne* and masculine qualities: North 1966, 144–146; Roisman 2005, 177–178. Examples: Aesch. 2.151; *Dem.* 18.215–216; 24.75.

46 ἀλλὰ [πε]ρὶ τῆς παιδείας αὐτῶν ἐπι[μνη]σθῶ, καὶ ὡς ἐν πολλῇ σ[ωφρο]σύνῃ παῖδες ὄν[τε]ς ἐτρά]φησαν καὶ ἐπ(αι)δε[ύθησαν], ὅπερ εἰώθασιν [τινες ποι]εῖν; ἀλλ’ οἴμια π[άντα]ς εἰδέναι ὅτι τοῦτο[υ] [ἔνεκα] τοῦ(ς) παῖδας παιδεύομ[εν], ἵνα ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γ[ίγνων]ται· τοὺς δὲ γεγενημ[ένους] ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀνδρ[ας] ὑπερβάλλοντας τῇ ἀ[ρετῇ] προδηλόν ἐστιν ὅτι πα[ίδες] ὄντες καλῶς ἐπαιδε[ύθη]σαν.

47 Herrman 2009, 74–75. Hyperides and ephebic *paideia*: Loraux 1986, 109–110; de Marcellus 1994, 169, n. 210.

force of manly hoplites possessing a stout body and a *sophron* mind (2.151), Hyperides was reminding the Demos of how the citizens who had fought and died in the Lamian War had benefitted from their instruction in *sophrosyne* at the hands of the *sophronistes*.

### 6.3 Patriotism, Glory, and Self-Sacrifice

The second part of the ephebes' civic education was the so-called "tour of temples", which is unattested before the creation of the *ephebeia*.<sup>48</sup> The one reference to the tour is found in the *Athenaion Politeia*, which, having described the election of the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistai*, states that "these officials, having gathered the ephebes together, first take a circuit of the temples (τὰ ἱερά περιήλθον), then march to Piraeus, where some [of the ephebes] guard Munychia and others guard Acte (42.3)".<sup>49</sup> The sequence of events is clear. The first was the muster, perhaps in the Agora, where the ephebes were organized into ten ephebic *phylai* and were supplied with a minimal hoplite panoply (see Ch. 4.5). Next was the visitation of the sanctuaries. While the starting and ending point was presumably the Agora (fig. 3), the treatise is silent on whether the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistai* would have led the ephebes only to those sanctuaries situated within the city or also to those located elsewhere in Attica.<sup>50</sup> Finally, the ephebes marched to Piraeus, where they began patrolling the Athenian Plain and their military training at the Lyceum. The likely *terminus ante quem* for these events, by analogy to the Hellenistic *ephebeia*, was 6 Boedromion.<sup>51</sup> If the initial muster had occurred on the first day and the ephebes

48 Some (e.g. Steinbock 2011, 306, n. 151; Kellogg 2013a, 271–272) think that the tour predated the Lycurgan era.

49 συλλαβόντες δ' οὗτοι τοὺς ἐφήβους, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἱερά περιήλθον, εἶτ' εἰς Πειραιεῖα πορεύονται, καὶ φρουροῦσιν οἱ μὲν τὴν Μουνυχίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀκτὴν. Exactly why περιήλθον is an aorist rather than in the present tense is unclear. Sandys 1891, 115, suggests περιίασιν as an alternative.

50 For various opinions, see Garland 1990, 183; Faraguna 1992, 278; Parker 1996, 255; Mikalson 1998, 42; Humphreys 2004, 89. The position of Pélékidis 1962, 111, has much to recommend it. He assumes that the tour included the Acropolis and the Agora (among other places), drawing attention to the Aglaurion and the sanctuaries of the ten eponymous heroes.

51 Pélékidis 1962, 219–220, shows that the first official event celebrated by ephebes in the Hellenistic period was the procession and sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera (e.g. *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1011, l. 7; *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1028, l. 8; *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1040, ll. 5–6), held on 6 Boedromion (Plut. *Mor.* 349e, 862a; see Mikalson 1975, 50–51; Parker 2005, 461–462).

had marched to Piraeus at the latest by the fifth, the tour must have fallen somewhere between these two dates.<sup>52</sup>

One sanctuary which the ephebes would have visited was the Aglaurion (fig. 11), located on the east slope of the Acropolis (thus a short distance from the Agora), where they swore “the oath of the ephebes” (Dem. 19.303; τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τῶν ἐφήβων ὄρκον; cf. Plut. *Alc.* 15.4; Poll. 8.105) and (we can assume) were told about the myth of Aglaurus, daughter of Erechtheus, (Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F 105) in the presence of her priestess, the *kosmetes* and the ten tribal *sophronistai*, and perhaps other civic officials.<sup>53</sup> The scholiast to Dem. 19.303 says that the oath-takers were under arms (μετὰ πανοπλιῶν) at the ceremony, though this may be an inference from “the sacred arms (τὰ ἱερά ὄπλα)” in the inscribed version of the oath on the Acharnae *stèle* (Rhodes and Osborne 2003 no. 88 = *SEG* 21.519, l. 6; cf. ὄπλα τὰ ἱερά in Stob. 43.48 and τὰ ὄπλα τὰ ἱερά in Poll. 8.105). In the *Against Leocrates* Lycurgus says that “you have an oath, which all citizens swear, whenever they enroll upon the deme register and become ephebes (1.76).”<sup>54</sup> This statement implies that the ephebes would have taken the oath at the beginning of the *ephebeia* rather than at the midpoint or at the end.<sup>55</sup> As Reinmuth saw, the Aglaurion was probably first on the itinerary of sanctuaries visited in the tour.<sup>56</sup> This is not evidence, however, for the fourth-century existence of an *eisiteteria* or offerings made at the beginning of the ephebes’ military service (cf. the absence of an *exiteteria* in Ch. 5.7).<sup>57</sup>

52 Pélékidis 1962, 111. de Marcellus 1994, 13, 198–201, dates the tour to the end of Metageitnion or slightly later.

53 On the Aglaurion: Hdt. 8.53.2; Paus. 1.18.2; Polyæn. *Strat.* 1.21.2; Schol. Dem. 19.303. For the location of the sanctuary, see Dontas 1983 who found *in situ* a state decree (*SEG* 33.115), dated to 250/49, honoring Timocrate, the priestess of Aglaurus. For an attempt to disassociate the decree from the find-spot, see Oikonomides 1990. Presence of civic officials at the oath-taking ceremony: Pélékidis 1962, 111. Myth of Aglaurus: Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 48.

54 ὑμῖν γὰρ ἔστιν ὄρκος, ὃν ὁμνύουσι πάντες οἱ πολῖται, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγραφῶσιν καὶ ἔφηβοι γένωνται.

55 Beginning: Pélékidis 1962, 111; Rhodes 1981, 506; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 448; Humphreys 2004, 114; Versnel 2011, 17. Oaths taken twice: (1) Baudy 1992, 18–20, beginning and end of service. (2) Sommerstein and Bayliss 2013, 15, deme registration (in the deme itself) and sometime later at the Aglaurion (cf. Sommerstein 1996, 57, n. 19). (3) Kellogg 2013a, 271–272, in the beginning at the Aglaurion and “a symbolic repeated performance” whenever ephebic *phylae* stopped at Acharnae *en route* to the frontier (i.e. in the second year). Some cite Pollux’s confused entry in the *Onomasticon* (8.105), which implausibly links deme registration to oath-taking at aged twenty (εἰκοστῷ δὲ ἐνεγράφοnton τῷ ληξιαρχικῷ γραμματεῖω, καὶ ὤμνον ἐν Ἀγραύλου), as evidence that ephebes swore the oath after the military review (Forbes 1929, 147–148) or after the completion of the *ephebeia* (Burckhardt 1996, 58).

56 Reinmuth 1952, 42.

57 Gauthier 1996, 582–583, no. 175, rejects Bevilacqua 1995, who maintains that the *eisitete-*



FIGURE 11 The sanctuary of Aglaurus, east slope of the Acropolis  
 EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF THE CITY OF ATHENS, PHOTO BY AUTHOR ©  
 HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS, FUND OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
 PROCEEDS

The oath was a time-honored contract in which military, civic, and religious matters were inextricably intertwined.<sup>58</sup> It “bound young men to the territory of Attika at the time of their eligibility for military service and identified that service with loyalty to comrades, obedience to the laws, and protection of the boundaries of the land of Attika.”<sup>59</sup> Lycurgus called the oath “fine and solemn (χάλός ... και ὄσιος)” (*Leoc.* 77) and one of three (alongside those of the archon and juror) which kept the democracy together, thus playing an essen-

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*ria* in *SEG* 33.115 concerned the epebes rather than the priestess. He points out that the Prytaneum was the venue for the *eisiteteria* in the Hellenistic *ephebeia*, (e.g. *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1006, ll. 6–9). For the Hellenistic *eisiteteria*, see Perrin-Saminadayar 2007, 206–212; Deshours 2011, 170–171.

58 Kellogg 2008, 357; 2013a, 271, thinks that the oath was concerned with citizenship rather than military service. Zaidman and Pantel 1992, 66–67, see the oath as both civic and military. Plescia 1970, 17, describes the oath as “a military, civic and religious contract”. For the oath, see Burckhardt 1996, 61; Chaniotis 2005, 18–19; Rhodes 2007c, 12–13; Sommerstein and Bayliss 2013, 16.

59 Cole 1996, 229–230.

tial role in the city's continued well-being (*Leoc.* 79).<sup>60</sup> The purpose of the tour, if the Aglaurion was visited first, was for ephebes not only to familiarize themselves with the cults of the *polis*,<sup>61</sup> but also to educate them on the importance of keeping to the oath. The Demos entrusted the *sophronistai* with the task of teaching the ephebes about patriotism and respect for tradition. By drawing upon mythological and historical examples of Athenian heroism and self-sacrifice, they would have provided suitable “models of excellence” for ephebes to follow both in the *ephebeia* and afterwards.<sup>62</sup>

In his prosecution of Leocrates Lycurgus claims that the defendant had violated each of the oath's provisions when he had sent his household to Rhodes immediately after the Athenian defeat at Chaeronea in 338/7 (1.77: *παρὰ τοῦτον τοίνυν ἅπαντα πεποίηκε Λεωκράτης*).<sup>63</sup> He argues that *if* Leocrates had sworn the oath, the jurors should regard him as a shameless perjurer who has inflicted harm upon his fellow citizens and has behaved impiously towards the divine (1.76).<sup>64</sup> Later he exclaims to the jury “how could a man be more impious (*ἀνοσιώτερος*) or a greater traitor to his country (*προδότης τῆς πατρίδος*)?” (1.77). He also characterizes Leocrates as the very antithesis of the patriotic citizen, maintaining that he is guilty of treason because “he left the city and placed it in the hands of the enemy” and of impiety because he has done “all he could to ravage the sanctuaries and destroy the temples” (1.147).<sup>65</sup> This connection

60 Lyc. 1.79: *καὶ μὴν ὧ ἄνδρες καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς δεῖ μαθεῖν, ὅτι τὸ συνέχον τὴν δημοκρατίαν ὄρκος ἐστὶ. τρία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐξ ὧν ἡ πολιτεία συνέστηκεν, ὁ ἄρχων, ὁ δικαστής, ὁ ἰδιώτης*. These oaths are discussed in Cole 1996, 236–237; Mikalson 1998, 14–18; Sommerstein and Bayliss 2013, 13–22, 40–43, 69–80.

61 Rhodes 1981, 505; Burckhardt 1996, 57; Versnel 2011, 116.

62 Burckhardt 1996, 57: “So gesehen, hat der Tempelrundgang der Epheben einen erzieherischen Charakter. Durch eine mehr oder weniger eingehende Vorstellung der Tempelbauten und der darin—von Staats wegen—verehrten Götter sollte also wohl die Identifikation der jungen Männer mit ihrer Stadt gefordert werden”. For a similar view, see also Parker 1996, 255. Steinbock 2011, 297–299, thinks that the purpose of the tour was “cohesion within the entire citizen army”, achieved by grounding the ephebes’ patriotism in piety.

63 Steinbock 2011, 306–311, argues that Lycurgus uses the oath as an integral part of his prosecution against Leocrates, but is wrong to think that his “rhetorical strategy” aimed to remind “his audience of the lessons learnt during their ephebate” because the institution did not exist in any form before 334/3.

64 Before the creation of the *ephebeia*, the ephebic oath would have been sworn by those who had qualified as hoplites and were therefore eligible for military conscription (see Ch. 2.2 on [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 53.4, 7; Aeschin. 1.49; 2.167). Perhaps Leocrates had not met this qualification at age 18 and consequently had not taken the oath.

65 ... *ἀσεβείας δ' ὅτι τοῦ τὰ τεμένη τέμνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς νεῶς κατασκάπτεσθαι τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν γέγονεν αἴτιος*.

between patriotism and piety also appears in the oath, where epebes swore to defend “things sacred and profane”, not to “hand the fatherland on lessened but greater”, and to “honor the ancestral religion” (ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων, καὶ ὃκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω τὴν πατρίδα ... καὶ τιμήσω ἱερά τὰ πάτρια) (Rhodes and Osborne 2003 no. 88 = *SEG* 21.519, ll. 8–9, 16).<sup>66</sup> The visitation of the sanctuaries would have served as a potent reminder to the epebes of their obligation to protect the fatherland (*patris*) which had nurtured them (Dem. 18.205; Lys. 2.17; cf. Leocrates’ failure in Lyc. 1.53: οὐκ ἀπέδωκε τὰ τροφεῖα τῇ πατρίδι).<sup>67</sup> Perhaps the *sophronistai* urged epebes not to become oath-breakers because they would endanger the very shrines which they were visiting. This warning was most effective if the tour had included the precincts of those divine witnesses (beginning with Aglaurus) invoked in the oath,<sup>68</sup> such as the cult of Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone, located at the entrance to the Acropolis (Paus. 9.35.2), and the joint cult of Ares and Athena Areia at Acharnae. Unless Athena Areia was an addition to the list of divine witnesses, it would follow that the tour was not limited to the city itself.<sup>69</sup>

Another way of persuading epebes to keep to their oaths was by glorifying the exploits of previous generations of Athenian citizens in war.<sup>70</sup> Jackson’s attractive suggestion is that when epebes visited the sanctuaries their attention was drawn to the spoils displayed within these precincts, consisting of arms, shields, helmets, and corselets dedicated by their predecessors, which commemorated the city’s military successes and were impressive to behold (cf.

66 For what constituted τὰ πάτρια in Athenian religion, see Mikalson 2016, 110–118. Elsewhere (170, n. 27) he interprets ἱερά as “sanctuaries”. For Athenian patriotism as religious in nature, see Vielberg 1991; Parker 1996, 252–253; 2005, 454; Allen 2000a, 26–31; Cuchet 2006, 294–297.

67 For the relationship between citizens and the fatherland (*patris*) as analogous to a parent-child relationship, see Christ 2006, 26; Liddel 2007, 139–143. Strauss 1993, 57–60, examines the connection between *patris*, *patrios*, and *pater*.

68 Bock 1941, 47; Kellogg 2013a, 272.

69 For a full discussion of the witnesses on the oath, the reasons for their inclusion, and the probable location of their shrines (if known), see Merkelbach 1972, 279–283; Graf 1985, 265–268; Parker 2005, 397–398, 434–439; Sommerstein and Bayliss 2013, 16–21. The controversy over the inclusion of Ares and Athena Areia (omitted in Poll. 8.105) is discussed in Sommerstein 1996, 57, n. 19; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 447; Kellogg 2013a, 271.

70 The Lycurgan era is notable for its intense engagement with the past, especially Periclean Athens (Parker 1996, 243–244; Humphreys 2004, 120–121; Lambert 2010; 2011a). Like his contemporaries ([Dem.] 13.28; Dem. 22.76; 23.207; 24.284; Aeschin. 2.105; Isoc. 5.146; 15.307; Din. 1.37), Lycurgus admired Pericles for his many achievements. In a fragment of *Against Cephisodotus Concerning the Honors for Demades*, he praises him for his military success (Samos, Euboea, and Aegina), his building program (Propylaea, Odeum, and the Hekatompedon), and the 10,000 talents of gold stored on the Acropolis (Fr. 9.2 Conomis).

Alcaeus' vivid description in fr. 357 Lobel-Page).<sup>71</sup> The ephebes may well have gazed at Masistius' breastplate and Mardonius' sword, captured at Plataea in 479, which Pausanias claimed to have seen centuries later in the Erechtheum (1.27.1; cf. Dem. 24.129) or those hoplite panoplies which Demosthenes had captured at Olpae in 426/5 and had dedicated in various temples around Athens (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 2.36; Thuc. 3.114.1).<sup>72</sup> The *sophronistai* would have constructed an inspiring patriotic narrative from these and other objects which presented the city to the ephebes under their care as "an example of noble deeds for the Greeks ... our ancestors surpassed other men in courage" (Lyc. 1.83; cf. Lys. 2.40; Isoc. 12.123).<sup>73</sup> Like the funeral oration, these hypothesized narratives were selective, omitting the events of the post-Chaeronea period such as the dissolution of the Second Athenian League and the transformation of its leader into a subordinate member of the League of Corinth.<sup>74</sup> They would have instead celebrated the Athenians' heroic victories over the Persians at Marathon and during Xerxes' invasion, where they fought selflessly for Greek liberty, and in conflicts against rival cities, where they protected the weak against their would-be oppressors.<sup>75</sup> If we also consider that the captured arms and armor were thank-offerings to the gods dedicated privately by individuals or publicly by the Demos after victorious campaigns, these spoils were indisputable proof of divine aid in war for Athens in the past and consequently ephebes could expect such help in the future (cf. Lyc. 1.82; Dem. 18.153).<sup>76</sup>

71 Jackson 1991, 235. For examples of spoils hung from walls or nailed to posts or walls in temples: Eur. *Tro.* 571–576; Paus. 2.21.4; 10.14.3; D.S. 12.70.5.

72 For the dedication of arms and armor in Athens, panhellenic sanctuaries, and elsewhere in Greece from the Persian Wars to the Hellenistic period, see Rouse 1902; Gauer 1968; Pritchett 1979, 240–295; Jackson 1991. Inventories attest to large numbers of shields stored on the Acropolis and in the Parthenon: e.g. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 343, ll. 12–14; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 350, ll. 80–83; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1424, ll. 338–339; 1425, ll. 272–274. For these inventories, see D. Harris 1994; 1995.

73 τούτο γὰρ ἔχει μέγιστον ἢ πόλις ὑμῶν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων παράδειγμα τοῖς Ἕλλησι γέγονεν· ὅσον γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ πασῶν ἐστὶν ἀρχαιοτάτη, τοσοῦτον οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀρετῇ διενηνόχασιν.

74 It is doubtful whether ephebes would have looked at Alexander's 300 Persian panoplies on the Acropolis, dedicated to Athena after the battle of the Granicus in 334, whose inscription said "Alexander son of Philip and the Greeks except the Lacedaemonians from the barbarians dwelling in Asia" (Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.7; Plut. *Alex.* 16.8).

75 The principal studies on the structure, content, and ideology of the funeral oration are Stupperich 1977; Ziolkowski 1981; Loraux 1986; Prinz 1997; Herrman 2004. Hunt 2010a, 237–242, points out that Attic oratory and funeral orations did not hesitate to manipulate and falsify Athenian military history whenever necessary. For various factors influencing the collective memory of the Demos, see Steinbock 2013, 48–99.

76 For military vows and the *dekate* in Greek warfare, see Pritchett 1971, 93–100; 1979, 230–

Perhaps the ephebes also visited some of the public victory monuments located in the Agora, on the Acropolis, or elsewhere, which celebrated the city's military exploits, as they travelled from one sanctuary to another. Potential examples are the bronze chariot which memorialized the victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians in 506 (Hdt. 5.77.3–4; *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 501) and the three herms which commemorated the Persian defeat at Eion in 476/5 (Aeschin. 3.183–185; Plut. *Cim.* 7.4–8.1).<sup>77</sup> Of all the monuments the Stoa Poikile is most likely on account of its long-standing patriotic associations. Not only did this building contain four paintings depicting the Athenians as victorious in war against Greek and non-Greek opponents (the Amazonomachy, the sack of Troy, the battle at Argive Oinoe, and the battle of Marathon) but also the Spartan shields which Cleon had taken from Pylos to Athens in 425/4 were prominently displayed on the building itself (Paus. 1.15.1–5; Ar. *Lys.* 677–679; *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 522).<sup>78</sup> The ephebes may have admired the statues and dedications of Athenian generals and learnt about their successes on campaign (cf. Dem. 22.72–76), such as those of Conon and Evagoras erected beside the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius (Isoc. 9.57). By educating ephebes in the city's past military achievements, whose patriotic lessons were based on the spoils dedicated in shrines or monuments in their vicinity (cf. Aeschines' tour of the Agora in 3.183–189), the *sophonistai* hoped that they would strive to attain (or to surpass) the lofty standards of their ancestors when the time came for them to fight on the battlefield (cf. Lyc. 1.108–110; Dem. 15.35).<sup>79</sup>

But if the tour had sought to convince ephebes *not* to bring shame upon their sacred arms, it also glorified those who had paid the ultimate price for their patriotism. When the ephebes visited the Aglaurion, the myth of Aglaurus, whom Merkelbach aptly describes as “die Sondergötten der Epheben”,<sup>80</sup> was probably part of the oath-taking ceremony. According to the tradition pre-

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239. Jackson 1991, 237–239, argues that vows generally included the promise to dedicate spoils to the gods in the event of victory.

77 Victory monuments in Athens, see Hölscher 1998; 2005; Hurwit 1999, 35–66 (the Acropolis); Raaflaub 2001, 323–325 (fifth century); Hobden 2007, 495–498 (on Aeschines); Steinbock 2013, 84–94.

78 The Stoa Poikile: Harrison 1972; Hölscher 1973, 50–84; Camp 1986, 64–72; Francis 1990, 91–95; Castriota 1992, 76–89, 96–103. Lippman, Scahill, and Schultz 2006 argue that some of the 120 Spartan shields captured at Pylos were hung on the temple of Athena Nike.

79 Jackson 1991, 236: “the spectacle of temples decorated within and outside with fine arms and armour could have been, for good or ill, a strong encouragement to fight when the city required them to do so”.

80 Merkelbach 1972, 279. On Aglaurus and her myth, see Kearns 1989, 24–27, 60–61, 139–140; Larson 1995, 39–41, 102; Gourmelin 2005, 69–70, 151–159, 162–171; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 26–50.

served by the third-century Attidographer Philochorus, Aglaurus, the priestess of Athena, had willingly leapt from the Acropolis to her death in order to save the Athenians under King Erechtheus by fulfilling Apollo's oracle, which foretold that the war against the Eleusinians led by Eumolpus would come to an end if someone sacrificed himself or herself on the city's behalf (*FGrHist* 328 F 105).<sup>81</sup> The significance of this myth for ephebes was that they were expected to emulate her heroism. She was the role-model of patriotic self-sacrifice and devotion to duty, who regarded the well-being of the fatherland as more important than her own life, and achieved immortal fame from her famous deed. As Kearns observes, "Aglauros, then, who as a heroine continued to have a special interest in victory, had given her life for the city; the ephebes, young and unmarried like her, had to be prepared to do the same".<sup>82</sup> The fact that she was the *first* witness invoked on the oath illustrates her importance to the ephebes (Rhodes and Osborne 2003 no. 88 = *SEG* 21.519, ll. 17). If we can trust the scholiast to Dem. 19.303, who says that the oath-takers swore in full-armor "to fight to the death for the land which had nourished them (ὕπερμαχεῖν ἄχρι θανάτου τῆς θρηψαμένης)", the ceremony at the Aglaurion would have emphasized the cost of patriotism for all those willing to defend "the boundaries of the fatherland" and the "wheat, barley, vines, olive-trees, fig-trees" from external threats.<sup>83</sup>

This myth of patriotic self-sacrifice lends support to Pélékidis' hypothesis that the tour included the shrines of the ten eponymous heroes.<sup>84</sup> Demosthenes' funeral oration for the war dead at Chaeronea in 338 describes how the fallen from each tribe were motivated by the famous deeds of their respective eponym, which he claims were already common knowledge among the tribesmen, to fight and die for their city against the Macedonians (60.27–31).<sup>85</sup> Steinbock suggests that "the ten tribally appointed σωφρονισταί were in

81 For discussion of this fragment, see Dontas 1983, 61; Oikonomides 1990, 13–14.

82 Kearns 1990, 330. Aglaurus as a paradigm of patriotic loyalty: Larson 1995, 40–41; Cuchet 2006, 300–303. Boedeker 1984, 108–109, derives Aglaurus from *agraulos*, "spending the night in the field", or *agraulia*, a word associated with military activities in D.S. 16.15; Dion.Hal. *Ant.* 6.44.

83 Rhodes and Osborne 2003 no. 88 = *SEG* 21.519, ll. 19–20: ὄροι τῆς πατρίδος, πυροί, κριθαί, ἄμπελοι, ἔλαια, σκυαί.

84 Pélékidis 1962, 111. The location of the sanctuaries is instructive: some were situated on the Acropolis (Erechtheus, Pandion, Cecrops, and perhaps Aigeus), others in the Agora (Leos and Aias), still others in the vicinity of the Agora (Acmas and Antiochus), and another at or near Eleusis (Hippothon). The location of Oineus is unknown. See Kearns 1989, 81–83; Jones 1999, 156–161, building upon Kron 1976.

85 For the oration's authenticity, see Herrman 2008 (cf. Wirth 1997), disputed by Stupperich 1977, 49–50. For his theme of self-sacrifice, Steinbock 2011, 300–301; Shear 2013, 522–523.

charge of passing the myths of their own tribes to the ephebes”.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps the ephebes were led as one body to the shrine of each eponymous hero where the *sophronistes* recounted his exploits with an emphasis on self-sacrifice so that the ephebes of that particular tribe would be inspired to imitate such patriotic behavior. The educational value in telling ephebes mythical tales was further enhanced if such heroic examples were also familiar to those from other tribes: Phocion supposedly urged the men whom Alexander had demanded after Thebes’ destruction to imitate the daughters of Leos and the Hyacinthidae and to sacrifice themselves for the common good (D.S. 17.15.2; cf. Plut. *Phoc.* 17.2–3).<sup>87</sup> It is argued that the ephebes would have also visited at least some of the shrines of the forty-two eponymous heroes, each designating one age-group in the system of conscription by *eponumoi* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 53.4, 7).<sup>88</sup> But we cannot infer from T12 (333/2 or 332/1), a dedication of the ephebes of Aiantis “to the hero Munichus (ἦρωι Μουνίχῳι)”, that the ephebes enrolled when Nicocrates was archon had come to his shrine during *their* tour. Even if they had done so, it is unlikely that the other eponymous heroes were visited.

A tentative case can be made for the inclusion of the *demosion sema*, the public cemetery of Athens which was primarily devoted to the commemoration of the Athenian war dead (Paus. 1.29.1–16).<sup>89</sup> Throughout the classical period the Demos honored them with a magnificent funeral oration, musical and athletic competitions, sacrifices, and an impressive stone monument which immortalized their self-sacrifice (Thuc. 2.34.1–8; Pl. *Menex.* 249b; Lys. 2.80).<sup>90</sup> They adorned their mass graves (*polyandria*) with document reliefs depicting scenes of combat, epigrams praising those slain for their *arete*, and casualty lists arranged by tribe.<sup>91</sup> As Low puts it, the monuments in the *demo-*

86 Steinbock 2011, 299, n. 109.

87 Cf. Lycurgus 1.95: εἰ γὰρ καὶ μυθωδέστερόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ ἀρμόσει καὶ νῦν ἅπασιν τοῖς νεωτέροις ἀκοῦσαι. He also praises the self-sacrifice of King Codrus (1.84–88) and King Erechtheus’ and Praxithea’s willing sacrifice of their daughter for the city, quoting Euripides’ lost play *Erechtheus* as evidence (1.98–100; Eur. Fr. 360 Kannicht). A fragment of his *Against Lycophron* also mentions the Hyacinthidae (Fr. 10.10 Conomis = Harp. s.v. Ὑακινθίδες). For the Hyacinthidae and the daughters of Leos, see Kearns 1989, 59–63. Kron 1999, 77–82, sees both Aglaurus and the Hyacinthidae as patriotic role models. For Lycurgus’ use of poetry and myth in *Against Leocrates* as *paradeigmata*, see Spina 1980–1981; Vielberg 1991.

88 For this hypothesis, see Steinbock 2011.

89 For the origins, purpose, and location of the *demosion sema*, see Arrington 2010; 2015.

90 For a discussion of these activities, see Loraux 1986.

91 On the *polyandria*, see Clairmont 1983, 29–45; Pritchett 1985, 145–151, 153–235. The iconography of the reliefs is discussed in Stupperich 1994; Osborne 2010. For the casualty lists, see Bradeen 1964; 1969; Lewis 2000–2003.

*sion sema* had “become a sort of museum of Athenian military history”.<sup>92</sup> It is likely that many of the ephebes who had served in the *ephebeia* would have witnessed the *epitaphios logos* delivered by Demosthenes for the 1,000 citizens who fell at Chaeronea and marched in the procession from the Agora to the *polyandrion* where the war dead were buried (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 5226). For some, the names of their fathers, brothers, or kinsmen were inscribed upon the casualty list (*Agora* I 6953).<sup>93</sup> Not only was this solemn monument evidence of Athenian willingness to fight and die on the city’s behalf, but, just as Aglaurus was rewarded with a sanctuary for her self-sacrifice, its very existence confirmed Lycurgus’ claim that “you, Athenians, alone know how to honor brave men (1.51)”.<sup>94</sup> The *sophonistai*, by leading the ephebes around the *demossion sema*, would have provided reassurance to the ephebes that similar honors were forthcoming if they were also to follow the example of their ancestors.

Even more speculative is whether the ephebes would have visited the sanctuary of Theseus, located somewhere in the center of Athens (*Plut. Thes.* 36.2; *Paus.* 1.17.2), perhaps near to the Roman Agora as Vanderpool suggested.<sup>95</sup> Scholars have associated Theseus with ephebes because the former is assumed to have been the archetype of the latter, with Jeanmaire describing the hero’s myth as “the story of the Athenian ephebe system”.<sup>96</sup> But we cannot demonstrate a connection between ephebes and the cult of Theseus prior to the Hellenistic period, when they appear as competitors at the (Greater) Theseia on several second-century inscriptions (e.g. *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 957; 958).<sup>97</sup> If ephebes did visit the Theseum, it was because he was the quintessential Athenian hero whom the Demos recognized as “the embodiment of the best qualities of the nation in its own eyes”.<sup>98</sup> Celebrated in literature and art for his glorious deeds on Athens’ behalf, whether as ruler or warrior, he appears on Euphranor’s painting in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius (ca. 350), standing between Demos and Demokratia (*Paus.* 1.3.3–4; *Pliny. Nat. Hist.* 35.129) and twice on the paintings at the Stoa

92 Low 2010, 358, n. 55.

93 For a reconstruction of this monument, see Bradeen 1964, 55–58, no. 16; Pritchett 1985, 222–226. Lycurgus proclaimed them “the crown of the fatherland (στέφανον τῆς πατρίδος)” because they had died heroically for Greek liberty (1.46–50; cf. Leocrates’ shameful conduct before their epitaphs in 1.142). Whitehead 2006, 143: “For Lycurgus the battle of Chaeronea and its aftermath had been the ultimate testing-ground of the caliber of all patriotic Athenians”.

94 For public perception of the *demossion sema*, see Low 2010, 350–357.

95 Vanderpool 1974.

96 Jeanmaire 1939, 245. Theseus as archetype: Strauss 1993, 105–106; Walker 1995, 95–96.

97 For the Theseia, see Bugh 1990; Kennell 1999; Parker 2005, 483–484.

98 Mills 1997, 25.

Poikile. On the first he fought alongside the Athenians against the Amazons, while on the second he emerged from the earth at the battle of Marathon (Paus. 1.15.2–3). Given his position as a patriotic role model, it is conceivable that the Theseum was included on the tour.<sup>99</sup>

#### 6.4 Festival Participation

The epigraphic record shows that the *ephebeia* would have featured prominently in Athenian religious life during the Hellenistic period. The large number of honorific decrees, especially those dating to the late second and the early first centuries, permits a detailed reconstruction of the ephebes' religious practices at this time. We are reliably informed about not only what festivals they had celebrated but also what role they had played in these festivals, such as sacrifices, processions, athletic competitions, and other cultic responsibilities.<sup>100</sup> The Lycurgan corpus, by comparison, has one document (T16) in which ephebes perform a religious activity, although three (T10, T12, T25?) refer to ephebes competing in the *lampadedromia* or torch-race. It is also striking that εὐσεβεία and its cognates do not appear among those cardinal virtues for which the ephebes are praised.<sup>101</sup> It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the ephebes' involvement in the complex "religious landscape" of Attica was not important to the Demos in the fourth-century.<sup>102</sup> The ephebes, it bears repeating, had sworn to honor "the ancestral religion (ἱερά τὰ πάτρια)" at the Aglaurion (Rhodes and Osborne 2003 no. 88 = SEG 21.519, l. 16). We should also note that the creation of the *ephebeia* coincided with the regeneration of Athenian cults and festivals under Lycurgus' administration.<sup>103</sup>

The difference in content between the two corpora reflects the development of the *ephebeia* over a long period. While the Hellenistic institution did retain

99 There is an immense bibliography on Theseus. Select recent studies are Calame 1990; Walker 1995; Mills 1997.

100 The Hellenistic *ephebeia* and Athenian religion: Pélékidis 1962, 211–256; Launey 1987, 890–897; Mikalson 1998, 172–185, 243–249, 253–255; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007; Dehours 2011, 155–177. For the epigraphic evidence, see especially IG 11<sup>3</sup> 1 1166 (= SEG 29.116) (214/3); IG 11<sup>3</sup> 1 1176 (= SEG 26.98) (203/2); SEG 15.104 (127/6); IG 11<sup>2</sup> 1006 (122/1); IG 11<sup>2</sup> 1008 (118/7); IG 11<sup>2</sup> 1009 (116/5); IG 11<sup>2</sup> 1011 (106/5).

101 For *eusebeia* as a cardinal virtue, see Whitehead 1993, 65. Mikalson 2016, 37–40, translates *eusebeia* in Attic inscriptions as "proper respect" rather than "piety".

102 For a survey of this "religious landscape", see Parker 2005, 50–78.

103 Religious aspects of the Lycurgan revitalization program: Mitchel 1970, 34–47; Vielberg 1991; Parker 1996, 242–253; Mikalson 1998, 11–45; Humphreys 2004, 83–120.

its former military trappings, in that ephebes continued to train under specialized instructors and perform garrison duty in times of peace and war (e.g. *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1 917 [= *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 665 + I 3370 + I 6801] [266/5], ll. 12, 66–70), its military importance had declined due to the decrease in citizen participation, with third- and second-century enrollment being a fraction of the ca. 450–650 ephebes who had served in the Lycurgan era.<sup>104</sup> Consequently, we can infer from the epigraphic evidence that whereas the Athenians in Lycurgus' time emphasized the ephebes' contribution to the defense of the countryside, the Athenians from the third century onwards would have drawn attention to their religious activities. But this does not mean that the participation of the former in state and deme cults was thought of as insignificant, any more than the training and garrison duty of the latter were considered trivial. Lycurgus could hardly claim that the Athenians surpass the Greeks in their piety towards the gods, who oversee all human affairs, rewarding and punishing pious and impious behavior respectively (e.g. *Leoc.* 1–2, 15, 25–26, 79, 82, 91–97, 127, 146) if the ephebes' engagement with the ancestral *hiera* was not recognized as pious in nature.<sup>105</sup> Surely their involvement was not limited to the tour of the shrines ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3) where the *sophronistai* educated them about the importance of patriotism.

Humphreys thinks that the “participation of the ephebes in cult” did not follow “a master plan worked out in detail” when the *ephebeia* was created but had “developed spontaneously out of the initiatives of the ephebes' *kosmêtai* and *sôphronistai*, of deme officials and priests in the centres where ephebes were stationed, and of those who drafted new regulations of new festivals”. Some of these initiatives failed, but the success of others led to the regular attendance of ephebes at various festivals.<sup>106</sup> This view is attractive *if* we consider that ephebes were based at Piraeus from 334/3 onwards and at Eleusis, Rhamnus, and Phyle from the next archon-year. By analogy to the five extant sacrificial calendars, we can assume that each of the demes where the ephebes were deployed would have supported an extensive and varied annual program of local cultic activities.<sup>107</sup> Unless we suppose that the

104 For a recent assessment of these changes, see Perrin-Saminadayar 2007, 31–51. Tracy 1979, 176–177, makes the important point that the “corps of ephebes acted in the main ... as a small, select honor guard at the most important religious festivals and public meetings”.

105 Mikalson 1998, 11–20, 32, argues that Lycurgus' beliefs about the gods, sacrifices, and (im)piety, were “common and familiar to Athenian audiences”. Whitehead 2006, 142–147, shows how religion permeates the *Against Leocrates*.

106 Humphreys 2004, 92.

107 Deme calendars: Erchia (*SEG* 21.541); Teithras (*SEG* 21.542); Marathon Tetrapolis (*SEG* 50.168); Thorikos (*SEG* 33.147); Eleusis (*SEG* 23.80). On these calendars and deme religion

Demos was reluctant to permit the attendance of ephebes at deme festivities or an unwillingness from the demesmen themselves to accommodate external involvement in their religious life, ephebes were surely present at some of the events celebrated on the demes' *fasti*. The Eleusinians and Rhamnusians, whose cults attracted large numbers of outsiders as worshippers and spectators, are unlikely to have adopted a policy of excluding ephebes.<sup>108</sup> Perhaps the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistai*, the demarch, and the priests and priestesses of the local cults in these demes had come to a mutual understanding in the first few years of the *ephebeia*'s existence on what festivals and sacrifices the ephebes should regularly attend and on what should be their contribution to them. But if such (informal?) agreements were at their discretion, they were also subject to modification, and in subsequent years the ephebes' religious activities in each deme may have changed to some extent down to the Lamian War in 323/2.<sup>109</sup>

The ephebes probably worshipped Artemis Munychia at Piraeus,<sup>110</sup> Nemesis and Themis at Rhamnus, Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, and Artemis and Pan at Phyle.<sup>111</sup> Perhaps they ventured further afield to the cults of Ares and Athena Areia at Acharnae, Artemis Amarysia at Athmonon, and Hebe at Aixone.<sup>112</sup> Our only evidence for ephebic ritual activity in a deme context comes from T16 (330/29 or 329/8), a dedication of the ephebes of Aigeis and the *sophronistes* Tharrias son of Tharrias of Erchia after they had attended a local festival held in honor of an unknown deity, perhaps Nemesis or Themis (fig. 12). We are told that "Tharrias sacrificed on behalf of the health and safety of the Council and the Demos and the Demos of the Rhamnusians ..." (ll. 3–5).<sup>113</sup> If Tharrias was the subject of  $\xi\theta\upsilon\epsilon\nu$  (the restoration is likely), it would mean that the *sophronistai* were required to discharge religious responsibilities for their respective

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generally, see Mikalson 1977, 424–435; Whitehead 1986, 176–222; Verbanck-Piérard 1998; Humphreys 2004, 130–196; Parker 2005, 57–78.

108 Whitehead 1986, 205–206, proposes the following categories of participation in deme cult. (1) Events restricted only to demesmen, (2) events including honored individuals, and (3) events "normally" open to outsiders. The ephebes would have belonged to the third category. Also see Parker 2005, 58–59, 67.

109 For the demarch's role in the deme's sacrificial calendar, see Whitehead 1986, 127–128, 134–137; Georgoudi 2007; Mikalson 2016, 60–61.

110 On the cult of Artemis Munychia, see Palaiokrassa 1989; 1991.

111 Pouilloux 1954, 110, n. 1; Reinmuth 1971, 35; Humphreys 2004, 91.

112 Ares and Athena Areia: Kellogg 2013a, 272. Artemis Amarysia and Hebe: Humphreys 2004, 91. The presence of *sophronistai* at a festival of Hebe (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1199, l. 7, dating to 320/19) is suggestive. On these *sophronistai*, see Makres 2003; Parker 2005, 71.

113 Θαρρίας δὲ]  $\xi\theta\upsilon\epsilon\nu$  ἐφ' ὑγείαις καὶ σωτη[ρίαις τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δ]ήμου[υ] καὶ [τ]οῦ δήμου [τῶν Ῥαμνουσίων.



FIGURE 12 The temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus  
EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF EAST ATTICA, PHOTO BY AUTHOR © HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS, FUND OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROCEEDS

*phylai*.<sup>114</sup> In this festival, his role was to provide a sacrificial victim (at his own expense?) and to sacrifice for “the health and safety” of the Athenian Demos and the demesmen in particular.<sup>115</sup> Jameson has shown how religious activities at state and deme level varied from the “obscure”, where few would have participated in the sacrifices, to the “spectacular”, which attracted large crowds of attendees. Perhaps the ephebes of Aigeis celebrated only those local festivals at Rhamnus which were traditionally well-attended by demesmen and which involved a deme banquet afterwards.<sup>116</sup>

114 The *kosmetes* was entrusted with the ephebes’ sacrifices in the Hellenistic *ephebeia* (e.g. *SEG* 15.104, ll. 84–88, 107–110, 120–123). Perhaps the *kosmetes* acquired this responsibility after the office of *sophonistes* was abolished at the end of the fourth century (Reinmuth 1971 no. 20).

115 For a discussion of what is meant by “health and safety”, see Mikalson 1998, 42–45, 132–134.

116 Jameson 1999. Rosivach 1994, 34–35, estimates that an average deme hosted twenty communal banquets per year.

Two other dedications from Rhamnus suggest the mass participation of ephebes in the cult of Nemesis (rather than the single *phyle* in T16).<sup>117</sup> In the previous chapter we saw that the ephebes of Erechtheis (T10) would have celebrated the annual or “Great” Nemesis in either 332/1 or 331/0, in which they had defeated rival ephebic *phylai* in the *lampadedromia*. Consistent with this interpretation is T21, dated to 329/8 or later, which says that “Theophanes son of Hierophon of Rhamnus made this dedication to Hermes, having been crowned by the ephebes and the *sophronistai* and the *kosmetai* (ll. 1–2).”<sup>118</sup> Exactly why the ephebes and the ephebic officials from three successive enrollment years (333/2–331/0) should have honored the otherwise unknown Theophanes is unclear, but he may have defrayed the expenses for the Nemesis in these years.<sup>119</sup> Unless they were already stationed at Rhamnus (e.g. T14) the ephebes would have marched to the deme from the Munychia and the Acte at Piraeus and from the *phylakteria* on the frontier, celebrated the Nemesis, and then returned promptly to their respective starting-points where they resumed their assigned garrison duties.<sup>120</sup> But if T10 is our earliest evidence for the Nemesis, we may suppose that that the *gumnikos agon* mentioned in *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 1281 (= *SEG* 41.75), dated ca. 260–240, ll. 8–9 was a Lycurgan innovation connected to the *ephebeia*.<sup>121</sup> Parker suggests that “external participation in the *Nemeseia* at Rhamnus only began, to our knowledge, when Lycurgus established the new model ephebate in the fourth century.”<sup>122</sup>

The ephebes also celebrated the Panathenaea.<sup>123</sup> In Dinarchus’ *Against Agasicles* the defendant was accused of bribing the demesmen of Halimous to enroll himself and his sons, who were *metics*, on the deme register.<sup>124</sup> Aga-

117 The following summarizes arguments presented in Friend 2014. For the cult of Nemesis, see Miles 1989; Petrakos 1999, Vol. 1, 185–296; Stafford 2000, 78–96.

118 [Θε]οφάνης Ἱεροφῶντιδος Ῥαμνουσίου Ἑρμεί [ἀν]έθηκεν στεφανωθε[ίς] ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν σοφρονιστῶν καὶ τῶν κοσμητῶν.

119 Petrakos 1999, Vol. 11, 87, thinks that he was a *didaskalos*. Pouilloux 1954, 107, 110, suggests that he supplied oil to the ephebes as they trained in the gymnasia for the *lampadedromia*, but this was probably the responsibility of the ephebic *gymnasiarchoi*. For other possibilities, see Friend 2014, 104.

120 Friend 2014, 102–103.

121 Parker 1996, 246. The *gumnikos agon*, however, was not exclusively ephebic: Friend 2014, 107.

122 Parker 2005, 59.

123 The most comprehensive discussion of the Panathenaea is Shear 2001. See also the collected papers of Neils 1992; Palagia and Choremi-Spetsieri 2007. For Lycurgus, the Panathenaea, and the cult of Athena *Polias*, see Parker 1996, 244–245; Mikalson 1998, 27–28; Humphreys 2004, 87–88, 94, 112.

124 Hyperides’ *For Euxenippus* (3.3) mentions a certain “Agasicles from Piraeus” who had

sicles' sons later participated in the Panathenaic procession in an improper manner, with the prosecutor claiming that "they who will ascend the Acropolis as ephebes instead of *skaphephoroi*, not out of gratitude to you for their citizenship but because of this man's money (Din. 16 fr. 5 Conomis = Harp. s.v. *σκαφηφόροι*)."<sup>125</sup> Agasicles had apparently managed to pass off his sons as ephebes rather than have them included among the *skaphephoroi*, metics who carried *skaphai* or trays filled with honeycombs and cakes.<sup>126</sup> Clearly the ephebes had marched as a distinct contingent in the procession, separate from the *skaphephoroi*.<sup>127</sup> Perhaps the *sophonistai* selected a small(?) picked group of armed ephebes (cf. Thuc. 6.56; Dem. 4.26; 21.17), while the remainder were spectators.<sup>128</sup> It is uncertain whether these ephebes were entrusted with the presentation of the *aristeion* to the goddess, for example, as in the Hellenistic period (e.g. *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1009 + Agora I 5952 [116/5], ll. 27–28).<sup>129</sup> We may also associate T12, a dedication of the ephebes of Aiantis to the hero Munichus after winning the torch-race, with the Panathenaea, although the Hephaesteia and the Promethea are possibilities (cf. Harp. s.v. *λαμπάς*; Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 129, 131, 1087; Σ Patm. Dem. 57.43). Admittedly we do not know whether the *lampadedromia* was an event at the Lesser Panathenaea (T12 was erected in 332/1 or 331/0, whereas the Greater Panathenaea was held in 330/29), but if the ephebes of Aiantis did compete in a Panathenaic torch-race, the dedication is evidence for ephebic involvement in the annual and the penteteric versions of the Panathenaea in the Lycurgan era.<sup>130</sup>

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fraudulently enrolled in the deme of Halimous. This speech is dated ca. 330–324, and this was probably the date for Dinarchus' *Against Agasicles*. For discussion, see Whitehead 2000, 155–157, 179–180.

- 125 Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Ἀγασικλέους φησὶν οἱ ἀντὶ σκαφηφόρων ἔφηβοι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναβήσονται, οὐχ ὑμῖν ἔχοντες χάριν τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ τῷ τούτου ἀργυρίῳ. Also quoted in Suda s.v. *σκαφηφόροι*; Phot. s.v. *σκαφηφόροι*. Heliiodorus says that men of ephebic age marched at the Greater Panathenaea (*Aeth.* 1.10.1). The dramatic date of the *Aithiopica* is fifth-century but the value of such late evidence is dubious, since was it was probably written ca. 350–375 CE (Morgan 2003, 417–421).
- 126 Clerc 1893, 162–163, was the first to make this observation. See also Whitehead 1977, 50, 87.
- 127 Pélékidis 1962, 254; Parker 2005, 258, n. 25; Wijma 2014, 60–61. For a contrary view, see Shear 2001, 131, 135.
- 128 Parker 2005, 260.
- 129 For the *aristeion*, see Pélékidis 1962, 254–255; Shear 2001, 89–90.
- 130 On whether there was a torch-race at the Lesser Panathenaea, see Shear 2001, 113–114; Parker 2005, 268; Fisher 2011, 189. Tracy 2007 argues against the existence of individual events but "thinks that there were at least some contests annually for the tribes (56)".

In 335/4 Athens recovered Oropus, lost to Thebes in 366/5.<sup>131</sup> Having regained control over the Amphiareum, the Athenians under Lycurgus established a penteteric festival of Amphiarus, first celebrated in 329/8 (*IOrop.* 297, 298 = *IG VII* 4253, 4254). There was also an annual festival which antedated the Lycurgan era, about which little is known.<sup>132</sup> While three dedications in the corpus (T15, T18, T27) show that ephebes had participated in a festival at the Amphiareum, none can be assigned with confidence to a specific enrollment year, with the result that we cannot determine which festival they had celebrated. T15, a dedication of Leontis, for example, cannot be dated more precisely than 332/1–326/5 (see Catalogue *loc. cit.*).<sup>133</sup> Nor can we reconstruct their activities at Oropus. Like the Nemesia and the Panathenaea, perhaps the ephebes had competed in the torch-race at the Amphiarraia, although the event does not appear on an incomplete victor list for the penteteric festival of 329/8 (*IOrop.* 520). The reference in *IOrop.* 298 to τῶι αἰρεθέντι ἐπὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν (ll. 44–45) does *not* suggest that there was an official in charge of the *agon eutaxias*, an event associated with ephebes in Lycurgan Athens. He was probably the official tasked with the maintenance of good order among the celebrants (see Ch. 4.3). Direct evidence for ephebes competing at the (annual or penteteric?) Amphiarraia is limited to T28, erected by the son of Autolycus, an Athenian, who had defeated the ephebes in javelin-casting.<sup>134</sup>

The ephebes, then, would have celebrated the Nemesia, the Panathenaea, and the Amphiarraia. We cannot determine from the extant evidence, unfortunately, whether the *ephebeia*'s “collective” festival program also included such prominent Attic festivals as the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>135</sup> We *can* say, however, that the Lycurgan *ephebeia* could not have carried out its primary military func-

131 Knoepfler 2001 persuasively argues that Alexander in 335/4, not Philip in 338/7, returned Oropus to Athens. On the history of Oropus, see Knoepfler 1985.

132 For the Amphiareum, see Petrakos 1968; 1974. The epigraphic evidence is collected in Petrakos 1997. Oropus in Lycurgan Athens: Humphreys 2004, 95–96, 112–114. The annual Amphiarraia: Osborne 2010, 327–328; Mikalson 2016, 73, n. 99, 212.

133 Petrakos 1997, 270, restores Εὐθυκ]ρι[της (328/7) on T18, but Α]ρι[στοφάνης (331/0) or Α]ρι[στοφῶν (330/29) are equally likely. The date for the poorly-preserved T27 is Lycurgan (i.e. 333/2–324/3).

134 [...<sup>ca.</sup> 8... Α]ῦτολύκου Ἀθηναίου |[Αμφ]ιάρραι |[νικη]σας| ἐφήβους ἀκοντίζων.

135 Humphreys 2004, 90–91: “it is natural to suppose that those stationed at Eleusis took part from the beginning in the procession which escorted the holy objects of the Mysteries on their way to Athens and back again, as they certainly did in later centuries”. But even if there was some ephebic involvement in the religious life of Eleusis, it is uncertain whether the ephebes’ activities would have resembled those well-attested in the Hellenistic corpus (e.g. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1006, ll. 9–10, 74; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1008, ll. 7–9; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1028, ll. 6–7, 10, 29–30). For a contrary view, see Van Straten 1995, 110–112; Dillon 1997, 240, nn. 7–8.

tion (i.e. the defense of the countryside against Boeotian freebooters) while also supporting an extensive itinerary of religious festivals as in the Hellenistic period. The logistical difficulties involved with gathering together over a thousand geographically-dispersed ephebes strongly suggests that the inclusion of the aforementioned festivals was determined by the Demos in the *ekklesia kuria* rather than by the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistai* on their own initiative (see also Ch. 5.5).<sup>136</sup> Once all the relevant details were worked out (e.g. state-funding for the ephebes and how the festival should be modified to accommodate them), presumably they would have been included in the body of ephebic *nomoi* as “festival regulations”.<sup>137</sup> Lycurgus may well have played a role in formulating these regulations, given his interest in religion ([Plut.] *x Orat.* 841f–842b, 843d).<sup>138</sup> As Humphreys rightly saw, “the notion of *paideia* was embodied in a new educational institution, the ephebate, and was acted out in ritual”.<sup>139</sup> Building upon this observation, the Athenians had created a two-tier festival system which permitted ephebes to participate in local- and state-cults without impeding the *ephebeia*’s military purpose. At the least, it does confirm Forbes’ assessment that “Athens knew the value of a religious spirit in her sons, and found the period of ephebic service useful for inculcating an attitude of reverence toward the gods”.<sup>140</sup>

## 6.5 Ephebes as Liminal Figures?

According to Vidal-Naquet, “everyone would now agree the ephebia of the fourth century B.C. had its roots in ancient practices of ‘apprenticeship’, whose object was to introduce young men to their future roles as citizens and heads of families—that is, as full members of the community”.<sup>141</sup> The following is a

136 The criteria for the inclusion of the Nemesis, for example, is unclear. Perhaps this festival was thought appropriate for an entire enrollment year of ephebes because of Nemesis’ association with the battle of Marathon. Their celebration of the goddess was thus both pious and patriotic (Friend 2014, 106–108).

137 For *nomoi* pertaining to religious matters in classical Athens, see Rhodes 2009; Lambert 2012a, 48–92 (= 2005, 125–159); Mikalson 2016, 120–153. Lambert 2012a, 58–60, divides the *nomoi* into four groups, of which the third, “festival regulations”, is relevant to the *ephebeia*.

138 Four of his speeches addressed religious issues: *On the Priestess* = Fr. 6.1–22 Conomis, *On the Priesthood* = Fr. 7.1–6 Conomis, *On the Oracles*, Fr. 13 Conomis, and *Against Menesaichmus*, Fr. 14.1–10.

139 Humphreys 2004, 120. Her italics.

140 Forbes 1929, 146.

141 Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 106.

summary of his argument, which employs the anthropological theory and the structuralist theoretical approach of Jeanmarie, Lloyd, Brelich, Lévi-Strauss, and van Gennepe.<sup>142</sup> He draws attention to the myth of Melanthus (“the Black One”) and Xanthus (“the White One”), who fought a duel to settle a dispute over a border territory between Athens and Boeotia. According to Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 323a F 23 = schol. Pl. *Symp.* 208d) and Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 22 = Harp. s.v. Ἀπατούρια), the former, whom King Thymoites had appointed as his champion (and as his potential successor should he prevail in the *monomachia*), defeated the latter by distracting him with the false claim that he had violated the agreed-upon terms for the duel. When Xanthus turned around in surprise at his opponent’s announcement that someone (identified as Dionysus Melanaigis by later writers) was standing behind him, Melanthus took the opportunity to kill him and became the king of Athens.<sup>143</sup> He maintains that from the archaic period onwards this myth was celebrated at the Apatouria (the former provided the *aition* for the name of the latter), a festival held in honor of Zeus Phratrius and Athena Phratris, where boys offered a cutting of their hair on the third day in a ritual called the *koureion*, at which time they were admitted to their fathers’ phratries.<sup>144</sup> He assumes that there was a long-standing connection between the Apatouria and the *ephebeia*, based upon the fact that ephebes were stationed on the Attic-Boeotian frontier (Hellanicus says that the duel took place at Oinoe, Panactum, or Melainai) and that ephebes had always worn black *chlamydes* before Herodes Atticus’ donation (Philostrat. 2.550; *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 3606), recalling Melanthus and Dionysus Melanaigis.<sup>145</sup> He concludes that

142 Vidal-Naquet 1968 (original paper); 1986a, esp. 106–128 (a revision of 1968); 1986b (further revisions and responses to critics).

143 The sources (mostly pre-classical) and treatment of the myth are discussed in Brelich 1961, 53–59; Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 109–111.

144 For this ritual, see Lambert 1993, 161–178.

145 Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 98–99, 111–112, 140. Maxwell-Stuart 1970 disputes his claim that there was a pre-Lycurgan link between the myth and the Apatouria (cf. the response of Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 124, n. 31). Lambert 1993, 144–152, also questions an early association on chronological grounds and thinks that Hellanicus was responsible for this association, who was probably the first to derive the name of the festival from the *apate* of Melanthos in the myth. He suggests that “the connection between the ephebeia and the Apatouria, either in its broad themes or its detailed features, at any pre-Hellenistic date seems weak”. Both Maxwell-Stuart and Lambert are skeptical about the existence of black *chlamydes* before the classical period. They are right to note that the earliest mention of black cloaks (*melana himatia*) at the Apatouria is after Arginusae in 406 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.8) but are not associated with the festival itself. Nor does the late evidence permit us to determine with any confidence what was the color of the *chlamydes* in the 330s and 320s (see Ch. 4.5).

“it is not in the least surprising that a mythical figure like Melanthos should have been considered a model for the ephebe”.<sup>146</sup>

He also thinks that the *ephebeia* was analogous to the Spartan *krypteia* because there are parallels between the two institutions. In the archaic and classical periods the *krypteia* appears as a paramilitary organization in which the ephors would send young Spartans into the countryside to terrorize the helots, hiding by day and killing by night (Plut. *Lyc.* 28.1–6; Pl. *Leg.* 633b).<sup>147</sup> For Jeanmarie, who compared the *krypteia* to tribal practices in Africa and elsewhere, the *krypteia* was a rite of passage where Spartan youths, temporarily separated from their home communities, would experience activities conceived as an inversion of established civilized norms, followed by their reintegration into the same communities as adult male citizens.<sup>148</sup> Building upon the work of van Gennep, whose model of *rites de passage* has a tripartite structure (rites of separation, rites of marginality, and rites of integration),<sup>149</sup> and by using his “law of symmetrical inversion” as an analytical tool, Vidal-Naquet interprets ephebes as marginal figures passing through a transitional stage between boyhood and manhood where their behavior was opposite to the mature hoplite.<sup>150</sup> i.e. the Athenian *ephebeia* and the Spartan *krypteia* were concerned with adolescent initiation. For Vidal-Naquet, the parallels are striking between the ephebes and the *kryptoi*. Both inhabited the wilderness of the frontier, segregated from civilization for a fixed time. During this period they were “anti-hoplites” who fought as individuals. The ephebes were lightly-armed tricksters like Melanthos and the *kryptoi* were equipped only with daggers. Both relied upon a combination of stealth and deception to outwit and hunt down their respective prey, namely the Messenian helots for the *kryptoi* and small game for the ephebes (cf. Melanion the ephebic manqué in Ar. *Lys.* 781–796). In his view Melanthos and Melanion combined together into a composite mythical prototype for ephebes before they were reintegrated into the adult citizen community.<sup>151</sup>

Few would deny the significant impact of Vidal-Naquet’s imaginative hypothesis on current scholarship about ephebes and the *ephebeia*. There is general agreement on the validity of his claim that ephebes had celebrated the Apatouria and that there were two groups of “ephebes”, one belonging to the

146 Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 120.

147 On the origins, purpose, development, and ideology of the *krypteia*, see Ducat 2006, 281–331; Trundle 2016.

148 Jeanmarie 1913.

149 van Gennep 1960, 10–11.

150 For the “law of symmetrical inversion”, see Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 114.

151 Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 112–120.

phratry, which he calls the “archaic” *ephebeia*, and the other who carried out military service, which he refers to as the “official” *ephebeia*.<sup>152</sup> A recent work, for example, has distinguished between the use of *ephebos* in a “narrow” and “broad” sense. The former concerns the *ephebeia* as described in the *Athenaion Politeia* and its antecedents, while the latter began with “the appearance of certain physical signs of sexual maturity, ending with acceptance into the ranks of the hoplite *neoi*, and characterized by experiences and values typical of initiation rituals in many cultures”.<sup>153</sup> Scholars have also followed Vidal-Naquet in interpreting youthful figures in fifth-century drama, such as Theseus, Hippolytus, and Philoctetes, and on Attica vase paintings or sculptural reliefs as portraits of Greek adolescence transitioning from childhood to adulthood (i.e. the “ephebic” experience).<sup>154</sup> But others have challenged his theory on several grounds, whether terminological, chronological, or contextual. The cumulative effect of such criticism, most recently addressed by Chankowski in some detail, has cast doubt upon Vidal-Naquet’s contention that ephebes acted out symbolically or in practice the mythological role of Melanthus or Melanion during the *ephebeia*. It is not my intention to reprise the many arguments already made which reject the view that ephebes were liminal figures undergoing adolescent initiation rites according to structuralist anthropological theory, but to limit the discussion to three critical points, returning to material covered in previous chapters, which undermine the supposed connection between the *koureion* and *ephebes*, and which argue against the idea that the Demos would have conceived of the *ephebeia* as a rite of passage for ephebes.<sup>155</sup>

First, the *ephebeia* redefined what ephebes *did* (i.e. their activities) but not what ephebes *were* (i.e. their civic status). The sequence of events for each annual crop of eighteen-year-olds in Lycurgan Athens would have consisted of (1) enrollment on the deme register and the *dokimasia* by the Council (probably in early Hekatombaion), after which they were designated as *epheboi*, (2) the call-up for military service, perhaps soon after the *dokimasia*, where they could petition for exemptions from the *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* over the next

152 Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 99, 108–109; 1986b, 133.

153 Farena 2006, 353–354. Cf. Hesk 2000, 87; Polinskaya 2003, 104, n. 14.

154 Theseus (Barbieri and Durand 1985; Calame 1990, 188–195, 432–435; Walker 1995, 94–96); Hippolytus (Mitchell-Boyask 1999, 43–49); Jason (Segal 1986, 57–59); Philoctetes (Vidal-Naquet 1988). Bowie 1993, 78–133, reads Aristophanes’ *Wasps* and *Clouds* as a reverse *ephebeia*. Ieranò 1987 interprets Bacchylides 18 in the light of the *ephebeia*. Ephebes on vase paintings (Matheson 2005, 30–33) and on the Parthenon Frieze (Connelly 1996, 70–71).

155 Chankowski 2010, esp. 25–32. For recent criticism, see also Ma 1994; Sommerstein 1996; Burckhardt 1996, 53–57; Dodd 2003; Polinskaya 2003.

two months, and (3) the initial muster of the entire enrollment class in the Agora on 1 Boedromion. Not only did the attainment of citizenship precede the *ephebeia* but also the possession of one's civic rights was not dependent upon passage through the institution. The fourth-century evidence also suggests that ephebes were always *andres*, never *paides*. They clearly could not have attended the *koureion* at the Apatouria, since the age of entry was at sixteen or thereabouts.<sup>156</sup> The designation of an individual as an *ephebos* was fixed at eighteen: i.e. he was at the end of his ἐπὶ διετέες ἡβήσαι or “to be two years older than *hebe*”, as we can see from the appearance of this archaic expression in Attic oratory (e.g. Aeschin. 3.122; Isae. 8.31), not at the beginning.<sup>157</sup> Even if Vidal-Naquet is right to suppose that the myth of Melanthus and Xanthus was recounted to the participants at the Apatouria, it clearly had nothing to do with ephebes or the *ephebeia*. The only connection, it seems, is that the Athenian youths who had entered the phratries would have also later registered in the demes.<sup>158</sup>

Second, Vidal-Naquet maintains that the *ephebeia* was a preparation for hoplite warfare by the experience of the contrary.<sup>159</sup> But the *Athenaion Politeia* argues against the characterization of ephebes as “pre-hoplite” or “anti-hoplite”, which explicitly says that they received a state-issued *doru* and *aspis* (i.e. hoplite spear and shield), were taught *hoplomachia* (the art of hoplite fencing), and were instructed in formation drill. While ephebes would have fought as a loose group whenever raiders were intercepted on their daily patrols, the tactics employed in these sporadic encounters were hardly unorthodox or involving trickery and were not inconsistent with hoplites in other combat situations outside of pitched battle.<sup>160</sup> Polinskaya argues that Vidal-Naquet's structuralist conception of the frontier as a liminal area devoid of civilization is inconsistent with the evidence for “the patterns of settlement in Attica”.<sup>161</sup> The ephebes were never in “ritual seclusion” at any time during the *ephebeia*. Whether based at Piraeus or stationed on the Attic-Boeotian border, they and their officials were always in regular contact with whatever local communities were situated nearby, whose farms they were assigned to protect. Nor were ephebes soli-

156 Labarbe 1953, 378–379, argues for a fixed age of sixteen, but the analysis of Lambert 1993, 161–178, suggests that the age would have varied from phratry to phratry.

157 On this expression, see Chankowski 2010, 71–82, rejecting the view of Labarbe 1957, 67–75; Pélékidis 1962, 51–60. Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 108, thinks that ἐπὶ διετέες ἡβήσαι denoted ephebes at sixteen, but *ephebos* was not derived from this term (Chaintraine 1999, s.v. ἡβή).

158 For the link between citizenship and phratry/deme membership, which was required of all Athenian males, see Lambert 1993, 31–43.

159 Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 120.

160 Rawlings 2000, 238–239, cites ephebes as an example of hoplites fighting as *monomachoi*.

161 Polinskaya 2003, esp. 93–97. For a contrary view, see de Polignac 1995, 32–88.

tary fighters in ritual seclusion in the wilderness. They were continually in the company of their peers, whether eating and sleeping in the tribal *syssitia* or marching together as *peripoloi* crisscrossing the countryside ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3–4: συσσιτοῦσι ... κατὰ φυλάς ... περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν). Finally, there is no evidence that hunting was part of the training program or that ephebes would have spent their spare time in the hunt at the garrison forts, or that they were associated with hunting in particular.<sup>162</sup>

A literal reading of Vidal-Naquet's hypothesis, then, suggests that the *ephebeia* did not have the same function as the Spartan *krypteia* and that there was no parallel between the two institutions. The former, unlike the latter, was *not* a rite of passage. To be sure, he does clarify his position by acknowledging "what was true of the Athenian ephebe *at the level of myth* is true of the Spartan *kryptos in practice*".<sup>163</sup> Unable to demonstrate this relationship in the Lycurgan era, Vidal-Naquet presupposes the existence of earlier forms of the *ephebeia*, implying that the institution had developed from a rite of passage in the archaic period into the complex organization of the 330s and 320s. He claims that a "trace" of an initiation ritual can be found in the restrictions imposed upon ephebes so that they shall have no excuse for absence from their military service ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5).<sup>164</sup> But both ephebes and the *ephebeia* were fourth-century phenomena. The origin of *ephebos* can be found in the replacement of the conscription system by *katalogos* with conscription by age-groups. The term was a neologism coined by the Demos to designate a newly-enrolled citizen. The *ephebeia* was created after Alexander's sack of Thebes in 335/4 and began to function in Ctesicles' archonship (334/3). While there was continuity in the technical usage of *ephebos* from Aeschines down to the *Athenaion Politeia*, the view (accepted by Vidal-Naquet) that there was an "Aeschinean *ephebeia*" in the late 370s is anachronistic.<sup>165</sup>

Third, scholars have confused "invented traditions" for "initiation rituals" in the *ephebeia*. The visitation of the sanctuaries and the *chlamydes* worn by the ephebes, for instance, have been taken as evidence for *rites de passage*,<sup>166</sup> but it is better to see them as invented traditions, a concept which de Marcellus has

162 Barringer 2001, 47–59, argues for such an association, but her evidence comes from fifth-century tragedy, which depicts "ephebes" hunting, or from the Hellenistic period, where ephebes are known to have celebrated the City Dionysia.

163 Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 147 (his italics).

164 Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 106–107; 1986b, 133.

165 Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 122, n. 1, 142–143, prefers Mitsos' date of 361/0 for T1 to Mitchel's 334/3 (see Catalogue *loc. cit.*) and Gauthier's interpretation of Xen. *Por.* 4.51–52, which is not an indirect reference to the *ephebeia*.

166 Kristensen and Krasilnikoff 2017, 55–56.

recently and successfully applied to the Lycurgan *epebeia*.<sup>167</sup> As Hobsbawm observes, invented traditions are practices which aim to promote “certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition”. Unlike customs, whose origins are rooted in the distant past, invented traditions tend to establish themselves relatively quickly and, despite not being genuine traditions, claim to have a direct (but usually fictitious) historical antecedent. As such, they are used to legitimize institutions, to symbolize social cohesion, and/or to create continuity with the past.<sup>168</sup> While we are right to assume that the tour of the shrines could not have predated the founding of the *epebeia*, it did draw upon the venerable ephebic oath at the Aglaurion with its myth of self-sacrifice and the numerous objects which celebrated the Athenians’ glorious military achievements to encourage patriotism among the ephebes. As for the ephebes’ distinctive garments, there were compelling reasons both practical (patrolling the countryside in the summer heat) and ideological (uniformity in appearance despite different social backgrounds) for them to wear *chlamydes* and *petasoi*.<sup>169</sup> From the perspective of those ephebes enrolled in 325/4, we may imagine, both the tour and the *chlamydes*, although each practice was scarcely a decade old, would have seemed “time-honored”.<sup>170</sup>

Humphreys strikingly describes ephebes in the Lycurgan era as “a new cast of performers to represent the citizen body in miniature”.<sup>171</sup> The civic educational program in the *epebeia*, consisting of instruction in *sophrosyne*, the visitation of the sanctuaries, and participation in Athenian religious life, could be described as “performative” in nature. This program, which reflects the ideological context of Lycurgan Athens, was pivotal in inculcating ephebes with those traditional values considered desirable for Athenian citizens to possess. Having been taught about the importance of self-control, patriotism, and piety, it was imperative for the ephebes to display this virtuous behavior to others, whether the *sophonistai*, the *sunepheboi*, or the Demos generally, so as to show that they had learned their lessons well (i.e. a practical political education which complimented the Assembly, lawcourts, and theater: cf. Aeschin. 3.246; Pl. *Resp.*

167 de Marcellus 1994, 161–168.

168 Hobsbawm 1983. The essays in Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983 focus on the United Kingdom in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but other works have shown that the concept of invented traditions can also be applied to other cultures and other historical periods (e.g. Geary 1994; Kelley 2012).

169 On the *chlamydes* as invented tradition, see de Marcellus 1994, 166–168.

170 Cf. Hobsbawm’s 1983, 2, observation: “whatever right the workers [in the British labour movement] have established in practice, however recently, and which they now attempt to extend or defend by giving it the sanction of perpetuity”.

171 Humphreys 2004, 88.

492b–d).<sup>172</sup> Validation came with the formal crowning ceremonies at the end of their military service, followed by the awarding of inscribed honors, where they were publicly praised for the possession of those civic virtues which the Demos had traditionally associated with good citizenship. The *ephebeia*, then, should *not* be thought of as “transitional” but rather as “transformative”, in the sense that it was used as a vehicle by the Demos to guide citizens in their nineteenth and twentieth years towards a socially and politically acceptable pro-Athenian “patriotic” viewpoint. By cultivating the ephebes’ loyalty to the fatherland, its institutions, and its inhabitants, the *ephebeia* thus served contemporary needs as expressed in the writings of Lycurgus and the activities of his administration.<sup>173</sup>

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172 Ober 2001, 204: “The new educational focus of the *ephêbeia* augmented, without replacing, the Athenian conviction that public institutions should bear the primary burden of civic education”.

173 de Marcellus 1994, 169, is wrong to think that “the young men in cloaks ... became a living symbol of the old glory of Athens ... the ephebes represented and glorified an era to which they had never belonged”. It is more likely that ephebes were regarded as an embodiment of Athenian hopes for the present and future: their sterling performance in the *ephebeia* would have reassured the Demos that they had the same values as previous generations of Athenians who had made the city the rightful leader of the Greek world.

## Epilogue: After Lycurgus

The long-awaited moment for regaining the freedom lost fifteen years earlier to Philip II at Chaeronea came with the unexpected death of Alexander the Great at Babylon in 323, who had left no undisputed heir to succeed him and whose court was divided into rival factions.<sup>1,2</sup> With the Macedonian world seemingly in turmoil and the relationship between the Athenians and Alexander having already unraveled in the previous year on account of the Exiles Decree, the Harpalus affair, and the issue of divine honors, they and their allies had determined to revolt from the League of Corinth and had resolved to make war against Antipater, the late king's regent in Macedonia.<sup>3</sup> Under the able leadership of Leosthenes, the rebellion was initially successful, defeating the Macedonians, Boeotians, and the Euboeans at Plataea, occupying the pass of Thermopylae, and forcing Antipater to take refuge in the Thessalian town of Lamia. After Leosthenes was killed during the siege and after Antipater had received reinforcements from Asia, however, the Athenian fleet suffered two major defeats at Abydus and Amorgus, soon followed by Crannon on land, which brought the conflict, known as the Lamian or Hellenic War to an end in 322 (D.S. 17.111.1; *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 378 [= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 448], l. 45).<sup>4</sup>

Defeated by land and sea, the Athenians sent envoys to negotiate with Antipater at Thebes, who demanded and obtained an unconditional surrender. They had little choice, since the Macedonian army and fleet were poised to invade Attica (D.S. 18.18.1–3; Plut. *Phoc.* 26.2–27.1). The settlement which Antipater imposed upon the Athenians was harsh in comparison to Philip after Chaeronea. His intention was to reduce the city to the status of a compliant and controlled state. He subverted the democratic constitution, replacing it with one in which all those possessing property worth less than 2,000 drachmas were disenfranchised, reducing the number of Athenians who enjoyed citizenship rights from 31,000 to 9,000 (D.S. 18.18.4–5). The new government (led

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- 1 On the *epehebeia* from the Lamian War to the tyranny of Laches, see Pélékidis 1962: 155–164; Reinmuth 1971: 83–122; de Marcellus 1994: 171–186.
  - 2 Alexander's death: Plut. *Alex.* 75–76; Arr. *Anab.* 7.25–28.
  - 3 On the question whether the Athenians had resolved upon war before Alexander's death, see Ashton 1984; Worthington 1994b.
  - 4 D.S. 18.9–13, 15–18.6, Plut. *Phoc.* 23–29, and Hyp. *Epit.* are our principal sources for the Lamian War. For recent discussion of this conflict, see Schmitt 1992; Bosworth 2003.

by Demades and Phocion), was portrayed as a return to the *patrios politeia* or “ancestral constitution” and it was claimed that its subsequent activities were carried out according to the laws of Solon (Plut. *Phoc.* 31.1; D.S. 18.18.5).<sup>5</sup> For the democratic partisans of 318/7, however, Antipater’s settlement had established an oligarchy in Athens (*IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 378 [= *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 448], l. 61). To ensure the survival of the new regime, the Athenians had to agree to the installation of a Macedonian detachment at Piraeus (D.S. 18.18.5). Finally, at Antipater’s insistence, the Assembly (on Demades’ motion) passed death sentences *in absentia* upon Demosthenes, Hyperides, and other prominent opponents of Macedonian rule who had encouraged the Demos to rebel against him (Plut. *Dem.* 28.3; *Phoc.* 27.3; [Plut.] *x. Orat.* 849b, 851e).

We are not told about the *ephebeia* during the Lamian War, but presumably the institution would have functioned unchanged. The ephebes enrolled in the archonship of Cephisodorus (i.e. 323/2), then, were based at Piraeus and trained at the Lyceum, while the class of 324/3 was deployed along the Attic-Boeotian border. Like their predecessors they spent their time patrolling the countryside to intercept foreign raiders, thus contributing to Athenian security.<sup>6</sup> Even so, their attention was surely focused on the conflict beyond the frontier and on the likelihood of a Macedonian invasion.<sup>7</sup> The Athenians assigned three of the ten tribal regiments (*taxeis*) called-up for military service, or ca. 2,000 hoplites, exclusively to home defense (D.S. 18.10.2, 11.3). The prudence of this policy became clear when an enemy force had landed at Rhamnus and occupied the hinterland. Phocion, who was the *strategos epi ten choran* and hence entrusted with the defense of Attica ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 61.1), put the invaders to flight, killing the commander Micion and many of his men (Plut. *Phoc.* 25.1–4). Plutarch says little about the composition of Phocion’s army. Perhaps it consisted of the three *taxeis*, half of the cavalry, and the soldiers stationed at the garrison deme.<sup>8</sup> If so, some ephebes may have fought in this encounter with Micion’s Macedonians and mercenaries, who afterwards resumed to their task of patrolling the area surrounding Rhamnus.

5 On the rhetorical use of *Patrios politeia*, see Gehrke 1976, 90–91; Wallace 1989, 207, n. 77; O’Sullivan 2009, 27. Antipater’s settlement: Green 2003; Oliver 2003; O’Sullivan 2009, 26–32; Bayliss 2011, 85–91.

6 For raiding in times of peace and war, see Munn 1993, 25–32.

7 The Boeotians were loyal to the Macedonians (see Ch. 3.5). Leosthenes had defeated the Boeotians and their allies at Plataea (D.S. 18.11.5; Hyp. 6.11), but there was still a Macedonian garrison on the Cadmea (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.9).

8 On Phocion and Micion, see Gehrke 1976, 85; Ober 1985a, 219–220; Tritle 1988, 54, 94.

There is considerable uncertainty over whether the *ephebeia* was either modified or abolished in the war's aftermath.<sup>9</sup> If the institution continued to function in the period of Macedonian control over the city, we may infer that some of the regulations (*nomoi*) which had determined its workings were retained, others were altered, and still others were discarded (cf. T2 [332/1], ll. 28, 54; T3 [332/1], l. 5; T9 [331/0], Col. 1, ll. 7–9). The restriction of citizenship rights to those worth at least 2,000 drachmas, the minimum amount required both to make a living as a farmer and to qualify for hoplite service, would have severely limited the number of ephebes in comparison to the Lycurgan era.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the state subsidies were also suspended, such as the minimal hoplite panoply, clothing, the daily *trophe*, and other logistical items. Whatever the changes to the day-to-day running of this hypothesized *ephebeia* under the oligarchy, they would have marked the beginning of the Hellenistic institution whose form was distinct from its Lycurgan predecessor. The epigraphic record, however, may support the view that the *ephebeia* would have ceased to function in any form after the Lamian War. It is notable that no ephebic inscription can be dated with confidence to the oligarchy of Phocion and Demades or to the regime of Demetrius of Phalerum (i.e. 322/1–307/6).<sup>11</sup> This *argumentum ex silentio* is suggestive but hardly conclusive. Unlike T1–T5, which belong to the enrollment class of 334/3, there is a possibility, however slight, that at least one “floating” inscription (i.e. those without an archon-date) in the corpus may date after 323/2.<sup>12</sup> Even if the view that the *ephebeia* was curtailed is accepted, we must explain why Antipater and/or his pro-Macedonian cabal in control of Athens should have favored its abolition.

It is maintained that Antipater himself was the instigator because he “would have remembered the new programme which trained those citizens who had held him besieged at Lamia, and who had at one point demanded his unconditional surrender”.<sup>13</sup> On this interpretation the *ephebeia* was one of two mea-

9 Scholarly opinion is divided: Tracy 1995, 19; Habicht 1997, 45; Green 2003, 3.

10 For the significance of the property qualification, see Gallant 1991, 82–87; Burford 1993, 67–72. If the proportion was the same as in the citizen body (9,000 out of 31,000), ca. 170–200 ephebes would have served.

11 Reinmuth 1971, 83–85, tentatively identified his no. 16 (= *Agora* 1 6509) as ephebic “*paullo ante* 307/6 (?)” (cf. Lewis 1973, 254), but is probably a dedication by *epilektoi* ca. 350 (Threatte 1980, 259). While Kirchner dated T4 to 315/4, Mitchel 1961, 349–350, showed that it should be assigned to 334/3. For the date of T20 (see Catalogue *loc. cit.*).

12 Oliver 2003, esp. 41–42, shows that the epigraphical output of the Assembly during the oligarchy was not insignificant.

13 de Marcellus 1994, 173. He draws attention to Leosthenes' role as the *strategos epi ten*

asures undertaken after the Lamian War to weaken Athens' military potential. The other was the restriction of political rights to 9,000 citizens, along with a generous offer of land to the 22,000 disenfranchised if they emigrate to Thrace, an opportunity accepted by an unknown number of Athenians (D.S. 18.18.4–5; Plut. *Phoc.* 28.7). Clearly his aim was to reduce the pool of citizens available to serve as oarsmen in the fleet, thus further degrading the city's naval power.<sup>14</sup> It is unlikely, however, that he would have regarded the *ephebeia* as a threat. To be sure, about half of the 5,000 hoplites conscripted for Leosthenes' campaign were citizens who had passed through the *ephebeia* during the Lycurgan era. Even if their presence had strengthened the *esprit de corps* of the expeditionary force as a whole, it is scarcely credible that Antipater would have attributed his military failures to them in particular.<sup>15</sup> More important by far were Leosthenes' dynamic generalship (Antiphilus being an inferior replacement), the defection of the Thessalians, and the thousands of battle-hardened mercenaries who formed the core of the rebel army.<sup>16</sup>

It is better to assume that the initiative had come from the oligarchs in Athens without the involvement of Antipater. Their motivation for disbanding the *ephebeia*, one suspects, was that the ephebes *currently serving under arms* were considered a potential threat to the new regime, whose opinion of the oligarchs (mirroring that of the Demos) was unfavorable. They would have witnessed with dismay and anger the collaboration of Phocion, Demades, and others, in overturning the democratic constitution in Antipater's interests, their lack of resistance to the extradition of citizens opposed to Macedon, and their implementation of his demand to limit the franchise to a minority of the existing citizen population.<sup>17</sup> For the oligarchs, there was a two-fold concern, each connected to those places where the ephebes were based during their tour

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*choran* on a Leontid dedication of 330/29–324/3 (T15, L.S., ll. 4–6), but this is not evidence for ephebic prowess in the Lamian War.

- 14 Green 2003, 2–3; Oliver 2007a, 51; Hale 2009, 316–317. For Antipater's removal of "the disturbers of the peace and warmongers" (D.S. 18.18.4), see Baynham 2003.
- 15 Chapter four examined how ephebes were disciplined and how they learnt basic hoplite drill during their stint in the *ephebeia*. Whether these skills, which were not renewed afterwards, were sufficient to improve the fighting capability of the Athenian army in the Lamian War is unclear. Perhaps the ephebes' indoctrination in patriotism (Ch. 6.3) and their common experience of the *ephebeia* (Ch. 4.5) were of greater military value.
- 16 Leocrates' death (D.S. 18.13.4–5; Just. 13.5.12). Defection of Thessalians (D.S. 18.12.3–4; Hyp. 6.12–13). Mercenaries (D.S. 17.11.3; 18.9.4).
- 17 Xenocrates the philosopher (one of the envoys sent to Antipater) is reputed to have characterized Antipater's demands as reasonable for slaves but severe for free men (Plut. *Phoc.* 27.4), surely a more accurate reflection of Athenian sentiments than Diodorus' claim that Phocion and Demades considered the settlement as "humane" (18.18.4).

of duty. First, the memory of Thrasybulus' revolt against the Thirty in 404/3 was still firmly entrenched in the national consciousness. The oligarchs could not afford to overlook the fact that his occupation of Phyle had played a crucial role in defeating the forces of the Thirty, laying the foundation for the democrats' capture of Piraeus and for more military success at Munychia, leading ultimately to the downfall of the Spartan-supported oligarchy (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.2–43; [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 34–41.1).<sup>18</sup> The second reason for anxiety concerned the imminent arrival of a Macedonian garrison under Menyllus' command, whose orders were to occupy the fortress on Munychia Hill, overlooking Piraeus, its harbors, and its naval infrastructure (Plut. *Phoc.* 28.1; D.S. 18.18.5). The Athenians petitioned Antipater to remove this humiliating symbol of foreign control over their city, but their embassy was unsuccessful and was not supported by Phocion.<sup>19</sup>

It was prudent, then, for the oligarchs to abolish the *ephebeia* not because they suspected that the ephebes were about to emulate Thrasybulus and plunge the Athenians into civil war but because they anticipated an antagonistic relationship between the ephebes and themselves, which, if left unchecked, would increase tensions in Piraeus and decrease stability in the countryside. Menyllus' garrison was installed on 20 Boedromion 322, six weeks after the defeat at Crannon (Plut. *Phoc.* 28.1; *Cam.* 19.5). The *ephebeia* would have been abolished within this period. If the decision was made by the end of Metageitnion, the *ephebeia* was no longer in operation on 1 Boedromion, the likely date for the initial muster in the Lycurgan era.<sup>20</sup> It would follow that the call-up of the ephebes enrolled in Philocles' archonship (i.e. 322/1) was cancelled. Perhaps

18 For a historical overview of Thrasybulus' successful overthrow of the Thirty, see Buck 1998, 71–86. The historiographical issues are discussed in Wolpert 2002, 15–28; Forsdyke 2005, 196–204.

19 Petitioning Antipater: Plut. *Phoc.* 30.4–6; *Dem.* 31.3–4; *Arr. Succ.* 1.14–15. For these embassies, see Oliver 2003, 51, n. 43. The unpopularity of the Macedonian garrison is discussed in Bayliss 2011, 137–139, 141–145. In 318/7 Dercylus made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Nicanor, Menyllus' successor as commander, who responded by occupying all Piraeus shortly afterwards (Plut. *Phoc.* 31–32; D.S. 18.64.4).

20 Was Phocion the proposer, the same man who perhaps contributed to the creation of the *ephebeia* in 335/4? Diodorus claims that he was preeminent among the regime's partisans (18.65.6; cf. Nep. *Phoc.* 2.4). He was Antipater's *epimeletes* and he held both the generalship and the archonship (Plut. *Phoc.* 29.4; 32.5, 33.2). For Phocion's role in the oligarchy, see Lamberton 2003; Green 2003; Bayliss 2011, 129–151. Brun 2000 argues that the reputation of Phocion as a leading politician was inflated at Demades' expense. Even so, given his long record of military service on the city's behalf (Plut. *Phoc.* 8.1–2) and his recent command against Micion (Plut. *Phoc.* 25.1–4), which may have included those ephebes stationed at Rhamnus, Phocion could offer cogent reasons for disbanding the *ephebeia*.

the classes of 324/3 and 323/2 were permitted to complete their second and first years respectively before demobilization, but the ephebes of 324/3 (we may conjecture) would not have received their end of service honors, which from 322/1 onwards were awarded sometime between 6 and 14 Boedromion (see Ch. 5.7). The *terminus ante quem* for the corpus, then, was in 323/2 and the class of 325/4 was the last to have their national service commemorated with inscribed honors (see Catalogue).<sup>21</sup>

An important consequence of the *ephebeia*'s abolition was the loosening of those restrictions which had prohibited ephebes from participating in Athenian public life ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5). This situation for ephebes was analogous to the period before the institution's creation in 335/4, with the crucial difference being that the franchise, unlike in Aeschines' time, was based upon property ownership. In addition to the constraints of eligibility and inclination, citizens under twenty could not have attended the Assembly if they had not met the minimum qualification of 2,000 drachmas during the oligarchy's three-year hold on power (322/1–319/8) or the lower threshold of 1,000 drachmas during the decade-long dominance of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens 317–307 (D.S. 18.74.2–3).<sup>22</sup> The implication is that not all eighteen-year-old Athenians were called ephebes because a citizen-candidate was designated an *ephebos* if and only if he had successfully passed the *dokimasia* by the Council. Technically this designation could not have been applied to ca. 70% of the newly-enrolled citizens in the archonship of Philocles after their disenfranchisement: only three out of ten Athenians in their nineteenth year could officially be designated ephebes because the others were *atimoi*. Perhaps this limitation was first imposed in Archippus' archonship (i.e. 321/0).

Corroboration for this view is found in the testimonia of Menander, which suggest, despite several chronological difficulties, that he had attained the age

21 Vestiges of the *ephebeia* can be traced in two inscriptions dating after 322/1. The first, in *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1187* (319/8) the deme of Eleusis honors Dercylus of Hagnous, the *strategos epi ten choran* of that year (Plut. *Phoc.* 32.5), for funding the education (*paideia*) of their *paides*. Mitchel 1964, esp. 346–348, persuasively argues that the “children” were in fact youths of ephebic age (i.e. 18–19) and the “education” was an improvised program which resembled in some way the *ephebeia* at a local level. We may note that the *strategos epi ten choran* had played an important role in the institution. The second, in *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1199* (320/19), the deme of Aixone appointed *sophronistai* to supervise a festival of Hebe (on this inscription, see Whitehead 1982; Makres 2003). Perhaps the demesmen made this appointment because ephebes had celebrated this festival in the Lycurgan era (Humphreys 2004, 91) or because the demesmen had been impressed with the effectiveness of the *sophronistai* in making ephebes good citizens.

22 The most comprehensive study of Demetrius' regime is O'Sullivan 2009. See also Williams 1982; Habicht 1997, 53–66; Bayliss 2011.

of civic majority in 323/2 (*IG* XIV 1184; Apollodorus *FGrHist* 244 F 42).<sup>23</sup> In this year he came from the island of Samos to Athens, where he served alongside his *sunephebos* Epicurus (Strabo 14.1.18). If he was released from his obligations at the beginning of Boedromion 322, he would have had the right to live as he pleased (cf. Thuc. 2.37.2; Pl. *Resp.* 557b; Isoc. 7.20). If the *De comoedia*, a work of unknown authorship and date, is credible, Menander took full advantage of this opportunity to produce his first comedy: ἐδίδαξε δὲ πρῶτος ἔφηβος ὦν ἐπὶ (Φίλο)κλέους ἄρχοντος (*PCG* 6.2, test. 3).<sup>24</sup> Iversen argues that the play and the venue were the *Thais* and the City Dionysia respectively, a festival held in Elaphebolion 321, six months after the abolition of the *ephebeia*.<sup>25</sup> Comparison to an entry from a didaskalic catalogue (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2323a) is instructive. We are told that the playwright Ameinias, like Menander, was an ephebe when he produced the *Apoleipousa* at the City Dionysia for 312/1, for which he placed third: [Ἀμεινί]ας τρί: Ἀπολειπούσει [οὔτος ἔ]φηβος ὦν ἐνεμήθη (ll. 46–47). The use of ἔφηβος ὦν is wrongly interpreted as evidence for the existence of a “Demetrian” *ephebeia*, but, as Wilhelm saw,<sup>26</sup> it probably means no more than that it was thought of as exceptional or at the very least uncommon for someone aged under twenty to produce a play at the City Dionysia.<sup>27</sup>

In 308/7 the regime under Demetrius of Phalerum collapsed suddenly after the inadvertent admission of Demetrius Poliorcetes into Piraeus. The son of Antigonos Monophthalmus next assaulted and captured Munychia, expelling Cassander’s garrison, and destroyed the fortified hill.<sup>28</sup> By the start of the next archon year (i.e. 307/6), both the city and Piraeus were under Athenian control for the first time since Boedromion 322. While Demetrius of

23 de Marcellus 1996 and Schroder 1996 show that Menander was born in the archonship of Sosigenes (342/1) rather than Anticles (343/2), as argued in Clark 1906.

24 The same authors (see previous note) prefer Φίλοκλέους over Διοκλέους (in the manuscripts) whose name is unattested between 350/1–323/2 and over Ἀντικλέους, the archon of 325/4. de Marcellus 1996, 69, n. 2, infers from the language of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2323a that a didaskalic catalogue was the source for *PCG* 6.2, test. 3.

25 For the *Thais* rather than the *Ogre* as Menander’s first play, see Iversen 2011.

26 Wilhelm 1906, 46.

27 Mitchel 1964, 350–351, was the first to associate *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2323a with the *ephebeia*. His restoration of *καίπερ* for Kircher’s *οὔτος* does not appear in the edition of Millis and Olson 2012, 74 (Ameinias T 2). For the so-called “Demetrian” *ephebeia* (my coinage), Pélékidis 1962: 157; de Marcellus 1994: 176–181; O’Sullivan 2009, 86–89. Tracy 1995: 40, n. 24, also cites the *paidotribes* in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 585, l. 11, dated by him to 314/3, but there is no mention of ephebes on the fragmentary inscription. It is assumed that both Menander and Ameinias were granted a special exemption from the *ephebeia* to produce their plays, but Iversen 2011, 189, n. 17, is right to link the play to the institution’s abolition.

28 D.S. 20.45.1–46.3; Plut. *Demetr.* 8–10.

Phalerum was granted safe conduct from Athens to Thebes, where he lived in exile, the Athenians enthusiastically embraced the Antigonid liberation of their city from tyranny and Demetrius Poliorcetes' declaration that the democratic constitution would be restored to its former Lycurgan state (Plut. *Demetr.* 10.2; D.S. 20.45.5, 46.3; Paus. 1.25.6). For our purposes, it is significant that the *ephebeia* was among the many changes introduced by the newly-installed democratic partisans after the downfall of the previous regime.<sup>29</sup> Koehler's secure restoration of τοὺς ἐφήβους το]ὺς ἐν γρ[αφέντας ἐπὶ Κοροίβο ἄρχοντος on Reinmuth 1971 no. 17 = *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 478, (ll. 10–11) both shows that the *ephebeia* was in operation in 306/5 and that the decision to revive the institution was made in Anaxicrates' archonship. Reinmuth 1971 no. 18 = *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 556, a fragmentary inscription from Piraeus but now lost, preserves regulations concerning the *ephebeia*, dating to 307/6 rather than 305/4 (as Koehler suspected). The inscription provides our first instance of inscribed *nomoi* for the *ephebeia*, as opposed to those inferred from various developments in the 330s and 320s.<sup>30</sup>

The epigraphic evidence for the restored institution is sparse.<sup>31</sup> We can infer from Reinmuth 1971 no. 17 = *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 478, an end of service dedication for the class of 306/5, that service was reduced to one year.<sup>32</sup> The ephebes' garrison duties were henceforth confined to Piraeus and the Athenian plain: i.e. the first year of the Lycurgan *ephebeia* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3). The reason for this change is that Cassander still had control over Phyle and Panactum (Plut. *Demetr.* 23.2) and perhaps over other fortresses in Attica for some of the period between 307 and 304 (fig. 1), denying the Athenians the opportunity to farm the countryside.<sup>33</sup> Sundwill's ἐν τῷ γυμνασί[ω]ι τῶν ἐφήβων (l. 30) is probably an unidentified gymnasium located in Piraeus, suggesting that the Lyceum was no longer used as the principal venue for the ephebes' training. The program would have resembled its predecessor, although there was now just one *paidotribes* (l. 26; cf.

29 The restored democracy is discussed in Habicht 1997: 67–81.

30 Reinmuth 1971, 118, provides the background for the inscription and agrees with Koehler's date, but de Marcellus 1994, 185–186, shows that *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 556 would have predated *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 478. Lolling's reading of the stone mentions ephebic officials (i.e. the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistes* in ll. 1, 13, 15) and ὁ ἐναντιός in l. 6, which Pélékidis 1962, 164, 260, takes as the *nomos* concerning the reduction of military service to one year. It should also be noted that [το]ῖς νόμοι[ς] appears on line 12 of Reinmuth 1971 no. 17 = *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 478, dated to 305/4.

31 Reinmuth 1971 nos. 17–20; *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 352 = *Agora* I 5243.

32 Reinmuth 1971 no. 17 = *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 478 has [ἐπὶ Εὐξενί]ππου ἄρχοντο[ς] in line 1. Reduction to one year: Forbes 1929, 153. Other likely changes: (1) The ephebic *taxiarchoi* and *lochagoi* were discontinued. (2) The *eutaxia* competition was dropped. It is uncertain whether the *trophe* was resumed.

33 de Marcellus 1994, 184–185. For Cassander's control of Attica during the Four Years War, see Oliver 2007a, 116–119.

*didaskaloi* in l. 29) to teach them physical exercise.<sup>34</sup> The reduction in the number of *paidotribai* reflects the decline in citizen participation, from ca. 450–650 per year to Reinmuth's estimate of ca. 372 for the incomplete roster.<sup>35</sup> The reason for the decline is unclear, but perhaps the *ephebeia* was compulsory for those traditionally able to afford hoplite armor rather than voluntary for all citizens in their nineteenth year (with the property qualification of 1,000 drachmas discarded). Either way, the *ephebeia* in 306/5 could still field a large garrison of armed and trained citizen-soldiers for the "defense of the countryside".<sup>36</sup>

Just as the Lycurgan *ephebeia* was created in response to a tense border situation after Alexander's destruction of Thebes in 335/4, the same institution was revived because the Athenians in 307/6 were determined to protect their newly-established independence from Cassander. Whereas the former should be disassociated from the other military-oriented projects undertaken by Lycurgus' administration, the latter contributed to the city's military preparedness, which anticipated that Cassander would attempt to recover Athens and restore Demetrius of Phalerum to power. Probably starting in mid-307, Demochares, the nephew of Demosthenes, supervised the renovation and upgrading of the Athens-Piraeus enceinte ([Plut.] *x. Orat.* 851d; *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 463).<sup>37</sup> The city also stockpiled weapons, armor, and artillery in preparation for a conflict.<sup>38</sup> Under these circumstances it was advantageous for the Athenians to commit citizen manpower to guard Piraeus and the surrounding area (fig. 2). Their purpose was to repel small-scale raids from the enemy-controlled forts and to resist any attempt by Cassander to assault the walls directly.<sup>39</sup> The

34 Gymnasium at Piraeus: Pélékidis 1962, 114, n. 2; 260, n. 1; Reinmuth 1971, 115; Ober 1985a, 90.

35 Reinmuth 1971, 102–106.

36 It is assumed that the revived *ephebeia* was voluntary (e.g. Reinmuth 1971, 115; Gauthier 1985, 161), but there is considerable uncertainty over the extent of the population decline in Athens after the Lamian War (cf. Oliver 2007a, 76–105; O'Sullivan 2009, 108–116; van Wees 2011). If there was a 10–20% decline on account of Antipater's offer to settle in Thrace and other emigration, ca. 370–400 ephebes would include the 'hoplite class' while also allowing for the unfit.

37 For *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 463, see Maier 1959: 48–67, no. 11. Conwell 2008, 161–165, discusses the fortification program and suggests a date from the middle of 307 to the second half of 304.

38 Ferguson 1911, 113–114; Marsden 1969, 70–71; Migeotte 1992, 21–22, no. 9. The Athenians also received timber from Demetrius Poliorcetes to construct a fleet of one-hundred ships (D.S. 20.46.4; Plut. *Demetr.* 10.1–2), of which thirty fought for Antigonos against Ptolemy in Cyprus in 306 (D.S. 20.50.3).

39 It is pertinent here to mention that ephebes were praised for their guard duties and for the defense of Museum Hill during the Chremonidean War against Antigonos 11 Gona-

ephebes, then, would have played a role in the successful defense of the city against Cassander in the Four Years' War (307–304 BCE), alongside the more substantial contributions of the Athenian *epilektoi* and cavalry, the forces of Antigonos and Demetrius Poliorketes (who saved Athens when the city's situation was desperate), and the opportune help of their Aetolian allies.<sup>40</sup>

Another reason can be adduced to explain the *ephebeia*'s revival. The appearance of the *kosmetes* and the *sophronistai* on Reinmuth 1971 no. 17 = *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 478 (ll. 6, 29), whose tenure in office was reduced to one year, suggests that their supervisory activities would have remained substantially unchanged from the Lycurgan era. The twelve *sophronistai* (Antigonis and Demetrias were added to the ten Cleisthenic tribes: Plut. *Demetr.* 10.2–4) thus attended to all the ephebes' logistical needs ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3), ensured that they were disciplined and obedient (ἐὐτάκτ[ως in l. 6), and educated them in good citizenship (σωφροσύ[νης in l. 10]).<sup>41</sup> A dedication of Pandionis, dated to 303/2, likewise praises the *sophronistes* Philonides son of Callicrates of Conthyle for his care of the ephebes “with fine self-restraint and discipline (καλλ[λ]ῶς κ[α]ὶ σωφρόνως καὶ ἐὐτάκτως)” (Reinmuth 1971 no. 19 = *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1159, ll. 9–10).<sup>42</sup> Clearly the program of moral and civic education for ephebes would have continued in a modified form, though the details are beyond recovery.<sup>43</sup> The justification, we may conjecture, for retaining the educational program was two-fold. (1) Like

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tus (*SEG* 38.78, ll. 8–13). For the Museum, see Tracy 1990, 545–546. Bayliss 2003, 138–140, argues that a contingent of soldiers called *Peiraikoî* (*FGrHist* 257a), perhaps authored by Phlegon of Tralles, was formed soon after the expulsion of Demetrius of Phalerum and was perhaps recruited from those living in Piraeus. He thinks that they were based at Munchia throughout the Four Years' War. This would mean that the ephebes were stationed at Acte and that the two groups cooperated whenever Piraeus was threatened.

40 For an overview of the Four Years' War, see Habicht 1997: 74–76; Oliver 2007a: 116–119. The ephebes were probably included in the force of hoplites and cavalry who repelled the cavalry attack of Pleistarchus, Cassander's brother, which had breached the walls near the Dipylon gate (Paus. 1.15.1; cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 23.3).

41 For the honors awarded to Antigonos and Demetrius, see Habicht 1997, 68–69.

42 The same two-stage selection procedure was used for the *sophronistai* as in the Lycurgan era ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.3). Lines 4–5 of Reinmuth 1971 no. 19 = *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1159 (ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθεῖς) are paralleled in T2, ll. 28–29, 54–55, which refers to the vote in the Assembly, and the role of the fathers in lines 12–14 recalls the preselection of the three candidate-*sophronistai* in the tribal assemblies.

43 The ephebes could not have celebrated the Nemesia and the Amphiarraia because Cassander (probably) controlled Rhamnus from 307 to 304 (Oliver 2007a, 117–118) and because the Athenians had lost Oropus after the Lamian War (Knoepfler 2001, 183, on D.S. 18.56.7). We may conjecture that the involvement of the ephebes in deme cults was now limited to Piraeus and that all participation was collective, based on one enrollment year rather than two as previously.

their Lycurgan predecessors the ephebes from 306/5 were expected to prioritize their civic obligations over their personal interests (cf. [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.5). (2) It was vital for the Demos to encourage a fervent patriotic devotion in the young, given the vulnerability of the city to renewed attack and capture by Cassander.<sup>44</sup>

Habron, Lycurgus' eldest son, may well have played a role in the restoration of the *ephebeia*.<sup>45</sup> We know from T19 (328/7?), a dedication of Oineis, that he had served in the *ephebeia* because his name (without patronymic) appears on the ephebic roster and as one of five *lochagoi* (ll. 8, 74–75). While much about these ephebic officers remains obscure, being a *lochagos* was clearly a mark of distinction (see Ch. 5.6). He was also in charge of Athenian finances in 307/6, holding the same office (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆ διοικήσει) as his father. A year later he was the treasurer of the military fund (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1492, ll. 123–124). These financial offices suggest that Habron was a prominent figure in the first few years of the democratic regime.<sup>46</sup> If we consider that a significant minority of the citizens attending the Assembly—perhaps still numbering in their thousands—had completed their tours of duty between 334/3 and 323/2, the Demos would have been receptive to the arguments of Habron and his supporters on why it was necessary to revive the *ephebeia* after a fifteen-year hiatus. *These men*, now mature adult males, presumably had a favorable opinion of the institution and corroborated the claims of Habron and other like-minded speakers.<sup>47</sup>

Familial pride may have also motivated Habron. An early act of the restored democracy was Stratocles' decree, which awarded honors posthumously to

44 Cf. the insightful comment of Habicht 1997, 75, on the Athenian perception of the struggle with Cassander during the Four Years' War: "According to Athenian documents from these years, Cassander represented pure evil, and the aim of his offensive was the 'enslavement' of Greece. The Athenians, on the other hand, under the leadership of King Demetrius and his allies, saw themselves as fighting for deliverance, freedom, and democracy—for their own city and for the rest of Greece".

45 de Marcellus 1994, 182–183.

46 For Habron's life and political career, see Merker 1986. Habron and other leading political figures of the restored democracy are discussed in Tracy 2000; Bayliss 2011, 102–106.

47 In Ch. 4.5 we saw that ca. 5,700–6,200 citizens would have completed their two-year period of military service in the *ephebeia* before the mobilization of the Athenian expeditionary force for the Lamian War. To this we can add ca. 1,200–1,300 for the classes of 325/4 and 324/3, the former having received their end of service honors in 323/2, but the latter probably did not in 322/1, and the class of 323/2, who probably served a single year before the *ephebeia*'s abolition by the end of Metageitnion 322 (see above). This yields an overall total of ca. 6,900–7,500 citizens who had "ephebic" experience. If this is correct, even with a robust death rate over a fifteen-year period, the number of veterans living in 307/6 was hardly insignificant. For the popularity of the *ephebeia* in Lycurgan Athens, see Chapter Five.

Lycurgus and praised him for his opposition to Alexander, steadfast loyalty to the democracy, financial wizardry, building program, and improvement of the city's military preparedness (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 457+3207; [Plut.] *x Orat.* 851f–852e).<sup>48</sup> Clearly Lycurgus was used “by the democrats as something of a figurehead and a rallying point”.<sup>49</sup> Stratocles and other politicians would have aspired to return to the almost nostalgic time when the Athenians under Lycurgus' administration had not only full control of Attica but also the strength and will to resist the Macedonian yoke. The *ephebeia*, however, is not listed as one of Lycurgus' achievements on Stratocles' decree, possibly because the Demos had decided to revive the institution after the decree was passed.<sup>50</sup> For Habron at least and perhaps also for Lycurgus' former associates, there was the recollection of his *personal* contribution to the *ephebeia*'s creation. The Demos may have thought of the *ephebeia* as “Lycurgan” in the sense it had existed before Antipater had imposed an oligarchy upon Athens, even if few in 307/6 could remember the exact circumstances which had led to the institution's founding nearly thirty years earlier (see Ch. 3.4).

The epigraphic record suggests that the revived *ephebeia* may have lasted about six years, from 306/5 to the end of the fourth century, if we take Reinmuth 1971 no. 20 and *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4 352 (= *Agora* I 5243) as the *terminus post quem* for its abolition. In spring 300 Lachares became tyrant of Athens and remained in control until he was expelled by Demetrius Poliorcetes in 296/5 (Paus. 1.25.6; Plut. *Demetr.* 33.1).<sup>51</sup> His motive for disbanding the *ephebeia* was probably the same as for the oligarchy of Phocion and Demades, namely that a garrison of ephebes at Piraeus had the potential to weaken his grip on power. Subsequent events showed the prudence of this decision.<sup>52</sup> Despite its brief existence, the

48 Brun 2005 discusses the honors given to Lycurgus and its effect on the *Vitae decem oratorum*. The literary and epigraphic versions of Stratocles' decree are compared in Oikonomides 1986; Faraguna 2003, 487–491.

49 O'Sullivan 2009, 174. Rhodes 2010, 82, describes the decree of Stratocles as “a hagiographic text in we can see the creation of a legend”. For Habicht 1997, 68, the decree “elevates him to a symbol of Athenian democracy and national aspirations”.

50 Perhaps the absence of the *ephebeia* on the decree of Stratocles would explain why the author of the *Vitae decem oratorum*, perhaps the first-century Caecilius of Calacte (Worthington 1994a, 249–259; cf. Cuvigny and Lachenaud 1981–1993, 25–34), did not mention the institution in his account of Lycurgus' life (841b–844a). We should note, however, that Pseudo-Plutarch used many literary, epigraphic, and monumental sources for his biographies: Faraguna 2003; Pitcher 2005. Photius' *Bibliotheca* also omits the *ephebeia* (*Bibl.* 268 p. 497b; Smith 1992), probably for the same reason.

51 For Lachares' tyranny, see Habicht 1997, 82–85; Bayliss 2011, 64–65.

52 The *Peiraikei* (see above) first helped Lachares, who had commanded the mercenaries, defeat his fellow *strategos* Charias, who had taken control of the Acropolis, but turned

Athenian *ephebeia* in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods would be based on the “Habronian” institution, not its Lycurgan predecessor. We can attribute the revival of the *ephebeia* after Lachares’ tyranny to the continued need for a military-oriented youth organization with a civic educational component. Over the next century or so the Athenians would introduce important modifications, focusing increasingly on the paideutic aspects of the ephobic curriculum. These modifications both reflected the changing position of Athens in Antiquity and ensured the remarkable longevity of the *ephebeia*, the institution ceasing to function only after the Herulian invasion in 267 CE.<sup>53</sup>

This study has traced the origins and the development of the *ephebeia* in fourth-century Athens. It is arguable that the *ephebeia* was the most significant achievement of Lycurgus’ administration, if we consider the widespread adoption of the institution by nearly 200 cities over the next few centuries on mainland Greece and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, beginning with Eretria sometime between 315 and 305 (*IG XII 9 191*).<sup>54</sup> While these non-Athenian *ephebeiai* were clearly not the exact copies of the organization as described in the *Athenaion Politeia*, it is undeniable that the latter was the inspiration for the former. This is not to say that the Lycurgan (or the Habronian) *ephebeia* was intended to be a model for the Greek world when it was created in 335/4 or revived in 307/6. Other cities, however, appreciated the importance of establishing a military training program under professional instructors for its youngest citizens (also called ephebes) and of cultivating their minds in the practices of good citizenship (e.g. patriotism). Exactly why these aspects of the Athenian *ephebeia* were so influential is beyond the scope of the present study. But it does suggest that the careful examination of ephebes and the *ephebeia* is indeed relevant for the ongoing re-evaluation of Greek civic identity in Antiquity.

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on him when he had seized power in Athens, occupying Munychia hill and successfully resisting his attempts to displace them (see Bayliss 2003, 138–139, on *P. Oxy.* 2082).

53 For the Athenian *ephebeia* from the third century onwards, see Pélékidis 1962; Wilson 1992; Burckhardt 2004; Perrin-Saminadayar 2004; 2007; Newby 2017.

54 Recent scholarship on non-Athenian *ephebeiai*: Chankowski 1993; 2004a; 2004b; 2010; 2013; Kennell 2006; 2010; 2015.

# Catalogue

This register comprises thirty-one documents, primarily honorific inscriptions set up by the ephebes and the *sophronistes* of an ephebic *phyle*. The number of a document is given in bold type, beginning with **T1** and ending with **T31**. These documents are arranged in approximate chronological order since not all can be precisely dated.

The following have contributed to this collection: (1) Oscar Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B. C.* (Leiden 1971); (2) Chrysis Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique: des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris 1962); (4) Kevin Clinton, 'The Ephebes of Kekropis of 333/2 at Eleusis'. *AE* 127: 19–30 (1988), and *Eleusis: the Inscriptions on Stone: Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*. Vol. 1a (Athens 2005); (5) Vasileos Petrakos, *Οι Έπιγραφές του Ωρωποῦ* (Athens 1997), *Ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Ἰαμνοῦντος*. Vol. II. (Athens 1999), and *Οἱ ἔφηβοι τῆς Λεοντίδος τοῦ 333/2 π.Χ.* *PAA* 79: 167–176 (2004); (6) Efthymios Mastrokostas, *Προιστορική ἀκροπολις ἐν Μαραθῶνι*. *AAA* 3: 14–21 (1970); (7) John Traill, *Demos and Trittys. Epigraphical and Topographical Studies in the Organization of Attica*. (Toronto 1986); (8) Jaime Curbera (choregic dedications, Andronike K. Makres) eds. *Inscriptiones Graecae. Vol. II et III. Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores. Editio tertia. Pars 4. Dedications*. (Berlin 2014, 2017). (9) Mark Munn has generously provided me with access to the preliminary transcripts of three unpublished ephebic dedications found at Panactum (**T20**, **T23**, and **T24**).

Each document has a descriptive title. Two dates are given. *Enrollment Year* refers to the archon-year in which the ephebes had enrolled upon the deme register (see Ch. 4.1). *Inscription* refers to the date of erection. The reconstruction in Chapter five suggests that “end of service” dedications were probably set up in the month of Boedromion, in the third archon-year after the ephebes’ enrollment (see Ch. 5.7), while victory dedications were set up in the first or second year of the *ephebeia* (see Ch. 5.6). *Inventory Number* and *Find-spot* are self-explanatory. *Description* and *Measurements* follow, the former concerned with describing the stone itself, the latter concerned with the dimensions of the stone and letter height. Previous scholarship is listed: the *Editio Princeps* and a *Bibliography* limited to significant discussions of the document. Every third line of the Greek is numbered. The editing of the texts is in accordance with the Leiden system as described by Sterling Dow, *Conventions in Editing: A Suggested Reformulation of the Leiden System*, GRB Scholarly Aids 2 (Durham 1969).

The commentary is divided into three parts. The first is a critical apparatus. The reader should note that the apparatus is selective. It does not provide a

full history of the text but includes the most important alternative readings or restorations which diverge from the author(s) whose text this edition is based on. The second is an epigraphical commentary. With the exception of T13, T20, T23, T24, T30, and T31 all the readings in this collection have been obtained through personal autopsy. In addition to general observations about the stone's condition which affect the reading of the text, the commentary aims to verify ambiguous letters and/or to propose new letters which previous editors have missed. The third briefly addresses issues of importance for our understanding of the document, such as the date or a range of dates (if controversial), peculiarities in format (in comparison to other examples in the corpus), an estimate of the number of ephebes in the roster, the identity of ephebic officials, and, for two documents (see T17 and T25), justification for their inclusion in the corpus. The reader should note that four inscriptions listed as *dedicationes epheborum* in Curbera's edition (*IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 332, 333, 340, 351) are not included in this catalogue. *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 351 is ephebic but probably dates to the third century. Clinton identifies Eleusis E 1127 (= *IEleusis* 89 = *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 340) in his collection as "dedication by ephebes(?) of Hippothontis" (ca. 330–320), but I am not convinced. Nor is the author of this book confident that *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 332 and 333, both dated "post. a. 334/3 a.?", are ephebic. He does not know what they are.

There is an English translation for those documents whose transcripts have been published. These translations do not distinguish between the preserved and restored text, since the reader can examine the Greek directly to see how much is preserved. This author has latinized the Greek whenever possible, especially for the names and the patronymics of the ephebes and others, but has transliterated the demes and the titles of the officials such as the *sophronistes*. As a rule he has limited the use of line numbers on each translation to the heading and the text of the honorific inscriptions, but not for the rosters.

**T1      The *Kosmetes* of Acamantis**

- Date: Enrollment Year: 334/3. Inscription: 332/1.  
 Inventory Number: *EM* 13354  
 Find-spot: No. 79 K. Labake Street in Athens  
 Description: White marble stele with smooth finish on right preserved side. Bottom and left side broken. Rough picked back.  
 Measurements: Stele: H. 0.35 m., W. 0.23 m., Th. 0.10 m. Letters: 0.009 m. (l. 1); 0.008 m. (ll. 2–14). Between lines 1 and 2 there is a *vacat* of 0.014 m. Stoich. 35 (ll. 1–14).  
*Editio Princeps*: Mitsos 1965 (1967), 131–136.  
 Bibliography: *SEG* 23.78; Reinmuth 1971, 1–4, no. 1; Lewis 1973, 254; Mitchel 1975; Mitsos 1975 (1976), 39–40; Dow 1976, 81–84; Robert and Robert 1970, 452, no. 194; Chankowski 2014, 29–31.

## ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- [ἐπί Κτησικλέους] ἄρχοντος  
 [.....<sup>21</sup>.....]ο Εἰρεσίδης εἶπε-  
 3 [ν· ἐπειδὴ ὁ κοσμητῆς τῶν ἐφ]ήβων Αὐτόλυκος κ-  
 [αλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμε]λήθη τῶν νεανίσκ-  
 [ων, δεδόχθαι τῇ Ἀκαμαντίδ]ι φυλῇ ἐπαινέσ-  
 6 [αι Αὐτόλυκον . . . .<sup>9</sup>. . . Θο]ρίκιον φιλοτιμ-  
 [ίας ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῆ]ς περὶ τοὺς ἐφῆ-  
 [βους καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ σ]τεφάνωι ἐπε[ι]-  
 9 [δὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶι ὧν ἐπεμελή]θη, ἀρετῆς κ[α]-  
 [ὶ κοσμιότητος ἔνεκα· τὸ δὲ ψήφισ]μα τότε ἀνα-  
 [γράψαι τὸν γραμματέα τῆς φυλῆς ἐ]στήλην ἐν  
 12 [τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀκάμαντος ἐφ' ἧς γέγρα]πται τὸ  
 [ψήφισμα Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐπὶ Κτησικλέου]ς ἄρχο-  
 [ντος .....<sup>31</sup>.....]

Mitsos || 1 Mitchel, [Νικοφῆμο] Mitsos (see below) || 10 κοσμιότητος Friend T2 ll. 31, 39, 58, [ἀνδραγαθίας] Mitsos || 12 [γραψάντων οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ εἰς τὴν] Chankowski || 13 [Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐπὶ Κτησικλέου] Friend, [περὶ τὸς ἐφήβους ἐπὶ Μόλωνο] Mitsos, [δόγμα *vel* ψήφισμα περὶ ....<sup>8</sup> (or 10).... τὸ ἐπὶ Μόλωνο] Chankowski || 14 [ντος γεγενημένον --- Chankowski.

Mitsos 1965 (1967) published two fragmentary inscriptions, EM 13354 and EM 13354a, as the upper and lower fragments belonging to the same stele. He

further assumed that the second decree of Acamantis on EM 13354, which uniquely honors only the *kosmetes* Autolycus of Thoricus, was dated to the archonship of Nicophemus (361/0) because his name appears on both the first (non-ephebic) Acamantid decree and the heading of EM 13354a (ἐπὶ Νικοφῆμ[οῦ ἀρχοντος]). Mitchel 1975, however, is persuasive in arguing for the separation of EM 13354a from EM 13354, despite being found together in the same trench and the similarity in their geological structure (Herz and Wenner 1978, 1071–1072), on the grounds that they differed markedly in how their surfaces were worked, in the dimensions of the letters inscribed, and in their respective widths (cf. Chankowski 2014, 38–53). Confirming the skepticism of Woodhead (*SEG* 23.78) and Lewis 1973 about Mitsos' claim, Mitchel shows that the lacuna containing the archon's name requires not nine but eleven letters. Of the two archons in the Lycurgan era which have eleven letters in the genitive, Ctesicles (334/3) and Nicocrates (333/2), the former is preferable because [...<sup>9</sup>... ]o[s] Mnesistratou Acharneus (T7, l. 11; T9, Col. 11, ll. 12–13) and Thougeiton Aristocratou Acharneus (T8: see *loc. cit.*) were the *kosmetai* for the latter. Acceptance of Ctesicles down-dates the second decree on EM 13354 from 361/0 to 334/3 (*contra* Mitsos 1975 but see Dow 1976 who independently arrived at the same date). Chankowski 2014, 76, has recently suggested Kephisodotus (358/7), Agathocles (357/6), Apollodorus (350/49), and Lysimachides (339/8), as alternatives for Ctesicles. While each of these archons (in the genitive) would also fit the lacuna, there is no corroborating evidence that the *ephebeia* did in fact predate the destruction of Thebes in 335/4 and the passage of Epicrates' legislation in the same year (see Chapters 2–3).

### *Translation*

In the archonship of Ctesicles [334/3].

— son of —o of Eiresidai proposed: since the *kosmetes* of the ephebes Autolycus has looked after the young men with fine love of honor, it was resolved by the Acamantid tribe to praise Autolycus son of — of Thorikos for his love of honor and care concerning the ephebes and to crown him with a crown of olive when he gives his scrutiny of which he has looked after, for his excellence and good order. The secretary of the tribe is to inscribe this decree on a stele in the sanctuary of Acamas in which the decree of Acamantis was inscribed in the archonship of Ctesicles ———

## T2 The Ephebes of Cecropis

- Date: Enrollment Year: 334/3. Inscription: 332/1.  
 Inventory Number: *EM 7743*  
 Find-spot: Acropolis  
 Description: Stele of Pentelic marble preserved on the left and right sides. The upper left is broken. The bottom has an inset for a base.  
 Measurements: Stele: H. 1.02 m. (right side), W. 0.51 m., Th. 0.12 m. letters: 0.005 m. Stoich. 47–54 (ll. 26–63).  
*Editio Princeps*: Foucart 1889, 253.  
 Bibliography: *IG* 11 5 563b; *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1156; *SEG* 51.7; Pélékidis 1962, 120–122, no. 1; Reinmuth 1971, 5–10, no. 2; Rhodes and Osborne 2003 no. 89.

### ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Col. I	Col. II
	-----
	[------]ου
	[------]ους
3	[-----]νίππου
	[------]άδ[ο]υ
	[------] Μνησιθέου
6	[------] Ἡγησιφάνους
	[... μα]χος Γλαυκέτου
	[...]ανόδωρος Λυσιστράτου
9	[Κα]λλίας Καλλιάρχου
	Ἀντιφῶν Ἐπιτρόπου
	Χρέμης Σμικύθου
12	Αἰξωνῆς
	Εὐκλῆς Εὐκλείδου
	Μελάνθιος [Ἀ]ριστείδου
15	Θεότιμος Θεοπόμπου
	Ἀμφίστρατος Φιλημονίδου
	Δημοκλείδης Δημέου
18	Θεόδωτος Αἰσχροῦ.
	Ἐπικράτης Εὐκράτους
	Ξυπεταίωνες
21	Νικίας Εὐκταίου
	Ξενοφῶν Μνησιάρχου

- [Α]ντισθένης Ἀντιφάτους Πιθής·  
 24 Δαιδαλίδαι· Τεισαμενὸς Κίρου  
 Φιλόξενος Φιλονόμου Αὐτοκλῆς Χαρίππου  
 Καλλικράτης Αἰξωνεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Κεκροπί-  
 27 δος οἱ ἐπ[ὶ Κτη]σ[ι]κλέους ἄρχοντος εὐτακτοῦσιν καὶ π[ο]ιοῦσ[ιν]  
 πάντα ὅ[σα αὐτ]οῖς οἱ νόμοι προστάττουσιν καὶ τ[ῶ] σωφρ[ον]ι[στ]-  
 εἰ πειθ[αρχο]ῦσιν τῶι χειροτονηθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ δ[ή]μου, ἐπ[αι]ν[έ]σ-  
 30 αι αὐτ[οὺς κα]ὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπ[ὸ] Ἡ<sup>α</sup> δραχ[μ]ῶν  
 κοσμι[ότη]τος ἔνεκα καὶ εὐταξίας· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν σω[φρο]-  
 νιστὴν Ἄδαιστον Ἀντιμάχου Ἀθμονέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυ[σῶι]  
 33 στεφάνωι ἀπὸ Ἡ<sup>α</sup> δραχμῶν, ὅτι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμελή[θη]  
 τῶν ἐφήβων τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή[φι]-  
 σμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Κέκροπος ἱερ[ῶ]ι.  
 36 Ἠγέμαχος Χαιρήμονος Περιθοίδης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ  
 τῆς Κεκροπίδος ταχθέντες Ἐλευσίνοι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμω[ς ἐπ]-  
 ιμελοῦνται ὧν αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος προστάττει κα[ὶ] εὐτ-  
 39 άκτους αὐτοὺς παρέχουσιν, ἐπαινέσαι αὐτοὺς κοσμιότη[τος]  
 ἔνεκα καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι ἔ[καστον]  
 αὐτῶν· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν σωφρονιστὴν αὐτῶν Ἄδαιστ[ον Ἀντι]-  
 42 μάχου Ἀθμονέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι ἐπε[ιδὰν τὰ]-  
 ς εὐθύνας δῶι· ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ τὸ ἀ[νάθημα]  
 ὃ ἀνατιθέασιν οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Κεκροπίδος. *vacat*  
 45 Πρωτίας εἶπεν· ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς δημόταις, ἐπειδὴ καλ[ῶς καὶ φι]-  
 λοτίμως ἐπιμελοῦνται τῆς φυλακῆς Ἐλευσίνος οἱ [τῆ]ς Κεκροπί-  
 [δ]ο[ς ἔφηβο]ι καὶ ὁ σωφρονιστὴς αὐτῶν Ἄδαιστος [Ἀν]τι[μ]ά[χου Ἀθμο]-  
 48 [νεύς, ἐπαι]νέσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν [θαλλοῦ]  
 [στεφάνωι]. ἀναγ[ρ]άψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα, [ὃ ἀνα]-  
 [τι]θέασιν οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Κεκροπίδος οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλέ[ους]  
 51 [ἄ]ρχοντος. *vacat*  
 Εὐφρόνιος εἶπεν· ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς δημόταις, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔ[φηβοι]  
 οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλέος ἄρχοντος ἐνγραφέντες εὐτακτοῦσιν [καὶ]  
 54 ποιοῦσιν πάντα ὅσα οἱ νόμοι αὐτοῖς προστάττουσιν, καὶ ὁ [σω]-  
 φρονιστὴς ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθεὶς ἀποφαίνει αὐτο[ὺς]  
 <πειθάρχοντας> καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ποιοῦντας φιλοτίμως, ἐπ[αι]-  
 57 νέσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ Ἡ<sup>α</sup> δρα[χμ]-  
 ῶν κοσμιότητος εἴνεκα καὶ εὐταξίας· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ [ν]  
 σωφρονιστὴν αὐτῶν Ἄδαιστον Ἀντιμάχου Ἀθμονέα καὶ στεφ-  
 60 ανῶσ(α χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ) Ἡ<sup>α</sup> δραχμῶν, ὅτι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπε-  
 μελήθη τῶν τε δημοτῶν <καὶ τῶν> ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν τῆς Κεκροπίδος  
 φυλῆς. ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα, ὃ ἀνατι-

63	θέασιν οἱ ἔφηβοι τῆς Κεκροπίδος καὶ ὁ σωφρονιστής.	<i>vacat</i>
		<i>vacat</i>
	ἡ φυλή	ἡ βουλή
		Ἐλευσίνιοι
		<i>vacat</i>
		Ἄθμονης

Kirchner

56 πειθαρχονίας on stone || 6ο Erasure of 11 letters between στεφ|ανῶσ and <sup>π</sup> || 61 καὶ τῶν omitted.

As preserved, the roster lists 30 epebes arranged in two columns under deme captions (ll. 1–25), followed by the decrees of four honoring corporations (Cecropis, Council, Eleusis, Athmonon), whose names are inscribed at the bottom of the *stèle*. The heading is lost (if it existed), but the enrollment year is certain (cf. ll. 27, 50–51, 53). We can infer the total number of epebes originally listed on the roster with some confidence from the other two Cecropid inscriptions in this corpus (T6, T17). Column 1 probably listed the demes of Melite, Athmonon, and Phlya, which provided 4(?), 5, and 7 epebes respectively in T6, dated to the archonship of Nicocrates (333/2). One presumably contributed the 5 epebes under the now lost deme caption in line 18 (*contra* Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 449, 453). Is it uncertain whether the small demes of Trinemeia, Sypalettos, and Epieikidai were represented, since T6 lists Trinemeia alone with one epebe while Trinemeia and Sypalettos are listed with two and one in T17 (Epieikidai appears on neither dedication). Of the 22 names preserved on column 11, half belonged to Aixone (7), Xypete (2), and Pithos (2), while Daidalidai (at the bottom of column 1) was too small to supply the remainder. As Clinton 1988, 27, saw, the unassigned deme was probably Halai Aixonides (*contra* Gomme 1933, 67), which had at least 17 epebes in T6. This deme caption was one of the missing line(s) at the top of column 11. The total enrollment was ca. 42 if two of the three small demes were represented and ca. 44 if none was represented. Other estimates: Gomme 1933, 67, 43–45 epebes (= Pélékidis 1962, 121; Reinmuth 1971, 7, 107). Hansen 1988a, 189, has ca. 42 epebes (= Sekunda 1992, 331–332).

*Translation*

[Col. I]

— son of —mocritus, — son of —crates; (from Melite, Athmonon, or Phlya?), —nus son of Phyromachus, Chaerestratus son of Chaerion, —otus son of Demetrius, —genes son of Sabon, Antisthenes son of Antiphates; from Daedalidae, Philoxenus son of Philonotus.

[Col. II]

(from Halai Axonides?), — son of —us, — son of —es, — son of —nippus, — son of —ades, — son of Mnesitheus, — son of Hegesiphanes, —machus son of Glaucetes, —anodorus son of Lysistratus, Callias son of Calliades, Antiphon son of Epitropus, Chremes son of Lysistratus; from Aixone, Eucles son of Eucleides, Melanthius son of Aristides, Theotimus son of Theopompus, Amphistratus son of Philemonides, Democleides son of Demeas, Theodotus son of Aischron, Epicrates son of Epicrates; from Xypete, Nicias son of Euctaeus, Xenophon son of Mnesiades; from Pithos, Tisamenus son of Cirus, Autocles son of Charippus.

- 26 [Tribe] Callicrates of Aixone proposed: Since the ephebes of Cecropis [enrolled] in the archonship of Ctesicles [334/3] show discipline and do all things that the laws assign them and obey the *sophronistes* elected by the people, praise them and crown them with a gold crown worth 500 drachmas for their good order and discipline; and also praise the *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon and crown him with a gold crown worth 500 drachmas, because he took care of the ephebes of the tribe Cecropis with a fine love of honor. And inscribe this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary of Cecrops.
- 36 [Council] Hegemachus son of Chaeremon of Perithoedae proposed: Since the ephebes of Cecropis stationed at Eleusis take care of the things which the council and the people command them with a fine love of honor and they show themselves disciplined, praise them for their good order and discipline and crown each of them with an olive crown; and also

praise their *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon and crown him with an olive crown whenever he may submit his accounts; and inscribe this decree additionally on the dedication which the ephebes of Cecropis dedicate.

- 45 [Eleusis] Protias proposed: Decreed by the demesmen, since the ephebes of Cecropis and their *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon take care of the guarding of Eleusis with a fine love of honor, praise them and crown each of them with an olive crown. And inscribe this decree on the dedication which the ephebes of Cecropis [enrolled] in the archonship of Ctesicles dedicate.
- 52 [Athmonon] Euphronius proposed: Decreed by the demesmen, since the ephebes of Cecropis enrolled in the archonship of Ctesicles show discipline and do all things that the laws assign them, and the *sophronistes* elected by the people shows that they are obedient and do all other things with a love of honor, praise them and crown them with a gold crown worth 500 drachmas for their good order and discipline; and also praise their *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon, and crown him with a gold crown worth 500 drachmas, because he took care of both the demesmen and all the others of the tribe Cecropis with a fine love of honor. And inscribe this decree additionally on the dedication which the ephebes of Cecropis and the *sophronistes* dedicate.

The Tribe      The Council      The Eleusinians      The Athmoneis

### T3      The Ephebes of Hippothontis

- Date:                      Enrollment: 334/3. Inscription: 332/1.
- Inventory Number:      Eleusis 84
- Find-spot:                Eleusis
- Description:              White Pentelic marble fragment of the top front of a *stèle* or base.
- Measurements:          Base: H. 0.16 m., W. 0.23 m., Th. 0.15 m. Letters: 0.01 m. (ll. 1–3), 0.005 m. (ll. 4–13). Non-Stoich. (ll. 1–3), Stoich. 82 (ll. 4–13).
- Editio Princeps*:        Philios 1890, 91–93, no. 55.
- Bibliography:            *IG* 11 5 574d; *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1189; *SEG* 34.106; Pélékidis 1962, 122–123, no. 2; Reinmuth 1971, 11–12, no. 3; Mitchel 1984; de Marcel-

lus 1994, 236; Tracy 1995, 115; Rhodes 1995, 93 (with n. 8);  
*IEleusis* 84 (= Clinton 2005, Vol. 1a, 90–91).

- [οἱ ἔφηβοι τῆς Ἴπποθωντίδος φυ]λῆς οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλ[έους ἄρχοντος καὶ ὁ  
 σωφρονιστῆς αὐτῶν .....<sup>17</sup>.....]
- [.....<sup>10</sup>..... στεφανωθέντες ὑ]πὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δ[ήμου καὶ τῶν Ἐλευ-  
 σινίων ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ σωφροσύ]-
- 3 [νης Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρει ἀνέθηκα]ν.  
 [.....<sup>25</sup>..... ε]ἶπεν. ἐπειδὴ οἱ τῆς Ἴπποθ[ωντίδος φ(υλῆς)]  
 ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους ἄρχοντο]-
- [ς τῆς φυλακῆς Ἐλευσίνος ἐπε]μελοῦντο καὶ ἐκόσμ[ο]υν καὶ [πάντων ὧν ὄσα  
 αὐτοῖς οἱ νόμοι προσέταττον κα]-
- 6 [λῶς καὶ φιλοτίμῳς ταχθέντες] Ἐλευσῖνι ἐπεμελοῦντο καὶ ἀ[πεφαίνεν ὁ  
 σωφρονιστῆς αὐτοὺς πειθαρχοῦ]-
- [ντας ἑαυτῶι, ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς δ]ημόταις ἐπαινέσαι αὐτοὺς κα[ὶ στεφανῶσαι  
 χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν]
- [δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλευσινίων, ἐπ[αινέσαι δὲ καὶ  
 τὸν σωφρονιστὴν αὐτῶν . .<sup>4</sup> .]-
- 9 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....] ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας [τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον  
 καὶ ἐπειδὴν τὰς εὐθύνας δ]-
- [ῶι στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφά]νωι καὶ ἀνειπεῖν αὐτὸν τῶι ἀγ[ῶνι τῶν Διону-  
 σίων. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἀτέλε]-
- [ιαν καὶ προεδρίαν τῶι ἀγῶνι τ]ῶν [Δ]ιονυσίων καὶ καλεῖτω αὐτ[ὸν ὁ δῆμαρ-  
 χος τῶι ἀγῶνι τῶν Διονυσίων καθ]-
- 12 ἀπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἷς ὁ δῆμ[ος] ἔδωκεν τὴν προεδρία[ν].....  
 ..<sup>39</sup>.....]
- [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]ιτο[...<sup>7</sup>...]γοισουσι.[.....<sup>40</sup>.....  
 .....]
- -----

Mitchel, *exempli gratia*, post Koehler et Kirchner, Clinton, and Friend || 1–3 Clin-  
 ton, [καὶ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων] Rhodes, [Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρει ἀνέθηκα]ν Mitchel || 4 [ἔδο-  
 ξεν Ἐλευσινίοις . . .<sup>8</sup> . . .] Philos, Mitchel || 6–7 [τῶι σωφρονιστῆι πειθαρχοῦ][σιν]  
 Kirchner, Reinmuth, [π][ειθαρχόντες] Mitchel, ἀ[λλὰ πάντα ἐποίου][ν φιλοτίμῳς]  
 de Marcellus, ἀ[ποφαίνει ὁ σωφρονιστῆς αὐτοὺς πε][ιθαρχούντας] Clinton || 7–8  
 [στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς θαλλοῦ στεφ]άνωι ἐπιμελείας ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς] Clinton, φιλοτιμίας  
 Kirchner, Reinmuth, Mitchel || 9–10 [τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλευσινίων ὡ] | [καὶ στε-  
 φανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφά]νωι Clinton, [ἐπειδὴν τὰς εὐθύνας δ][ῶι Friend T1, ll. 8–9;  
 T2, ll. 42–43; T9, Col. 1, l. 18 || 11 [τῶι πατρίωι ἀγῶνι] and [εἰς τὴν προεδρίαν] Clinton.

Tracy identified the hand as his “Cutter of IG 112 337”, whose period of activity went from 337 to 323 || 5 1st preserved stoichos: right oblique stroke and  $\nu$  of mu visible, as Mitchel read; 16th preserved stoichos: Philios’ mu is preferred to Mitchel’s “nothing at all”. Tracy notes an erasure after the first  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  which was not reinscribed but Clinton observes that “the scrape does not seem regular enough to be an ancient erasure” || 6 After 22nd preserved stoichos: lower half of left oblique stroke of alpha or lambda, confirming Mitchel. Dotted as alpha || 11 The iota of  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omega$  was cut twice because of an imperfection on the surface of the stone. The horizontal stroke of a probable tau after 23rd preserved stoichos || 13 Clinton reads the top part of a horizontal stroke as a certain iota in the first stoichos after the second lacuna, but a faint oblique suggests a nu.

With the exception of Clinton, previous editors have overlooked the likelihood that the text extended much further to the right. This edition maintains that a stoichedon line of eighty-two letters would be appropriate for the restoration of the deme decree (ll. 4–13). Kirchner and Reinmuth restored sixty-three letters, Mitchel sixty-two, whereas Clinton’s “alternative text” has seventy-six. The reader should note, however, that no edition of T<sub>3</sub>, regardless of line-length, has proved entirely satisfactory. On this reconstruction, the original width of the end of service dedication for the ephebes of Hippothontis enrolled in the archonship of Ctesicles was ca. 91cm. (assuming margins of ca. 1cm.), but the height is uncertain because the list of officials and the roster of ephebes (inscribed on the sides and back?) have not survived. It is assumed that the cutter had inadvertently omitted four letters after the restored phi on the first line of the decree (cf. T<sub>1</sub>, l. 61). Line 13 is too fragmentary to restore. Perhaps it contained instructions for the dedication’s erection at the sanctuary to Demeter and Kore (cf. T<sub>1</sub>, ll. 12–14; T<sub>2</sub>, ll. 34–35, 43–44, 49–51, 62–63; T<sub>9</sub>, Col. 11, ll. 3–8; T<sub>23</sub>, ll. 8–9). As Philios noted and Mitchel reaffirmed, the stone has a top, suggesting that the insertion of a line before the archon-date in Kirchner’s and Reinmuth’s editions was unjustified and that the prescript was limited to three lines. Mitchel and Clinton are right to observe that the prescript is non-stoichedon because the spaces between the letters are not uniform.

### *Translation*

- 1 The ephebes of Hippothontis [enrolled] in the archonship of Ctesicles [334/3] and the *sophronistes* of them - - - dedicated to Demeter and Kore, having been crowned by the Council and the People and [the deme] of the Eleusinians for their excellence and self-control.

- 4 --- proposed. Since the ephebes of Hippothontis [enrolled] in the archonship of Ctesicles looked after the guarding of Eleusis and were disciplined and, stationed at Eleusis, looked after all things that the laws assign them with fine love of honor, and the *sophonistes* displayed them as obedient to himself, the demesmen voted to praise them and to crown them with a gold crown worth 100 drachmas for their excellence towards the deme of the Eleusinians, and also to praise the *sophonistes* of them --- for his excellence and care towards the deme and to crown him with a gold crown when he gives his scrutiny and to announce him at the competition of the Dionysia. He is to receive *ateleia* and *proedria* at the competition of the Dionysia and let the demarch call him at the competition of the Dionysia just as also the others to whom the deme granted *proedria* --- —ITO —NOISOUSI —

## T4 The Ephebes of Antiochis

- Date: Enrollment: 334/3. Inscription: 332/1.  
 Inventory Number: *EM* 2802a  
 Find-spot: Unknown  
 Description: Left side of a Pentelic stele ornamented with a relief of an armed Athena.  
 Measurements: Stele: H. 0.57 m., W. 0.24 m., Th. 0.12 m. Letters: 0.01 m. (ll. 1–2), 0.005 m. (ll. 3–10). Non-Stoich. (ll. 1–2), Stoich. 46 (ll. 3–11).  
*Editio Princeps*: Kirchner 1927, 197–198, no. 1.  
 Bibliography: *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 2970; *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 329; *SEG* 22.148 (= Mitchel 1964, 349–350), 39.234, 41.138; Reinmuth 1971, 13–15, no. 4; Roccas 1991, 408–409, no. 4.

[Ἀντιο]χ[ίδος] ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Κ[τη]σι[κλέους] ἄρχοντος ἀνέθε-  
 [σαν τῷ ἦρω?] ἰ σ[τεφανωθέν]τες [ὑπὸ τ]ῆς [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου.]  
 3 [σωφορ]νιστή[ς] Ἄφρ[.....<sup>22</sup>..... διδασκάλος]  
 [...<sup>5</sup>...]σαρ[... ]κλ[.]ο[υ .....<sup>9</sup>.... στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῷ Πειραι]-  
 [εἰ Κόν]ων Τιμοθέ[ο]υ [Ἀναφλύστιος στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῇ χώρῃ]  
 6 [Σώφιλ]ος Ἀριστο[τέ]λους Φυλάσιος διδασκάλος .....<sup>9</sup>....]  
 [...<sup>5</sup>...]ην[...<sup>5</sup>... διδασκάλος .....<sup>24</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>5</sup>...]κο[σμ]ῆ[της] Αὐτόλυκος .....<sup>9</sup>.... Θορίκιος. ἔφηβοι· .]  
 9 [...]νευς [...]δε[.....<sup>35</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>5</sup>...]ιο[... ]στ[.....<sup>35</sup>.....]  
 -----

Mitchel and Reinmuth || 1–2 Mitchel, ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Π[ρα]ξι[βούλου] ἄρχοντος οἱ τῆς -- ἰδος στε|| [φαναθέν]τες [ὑπὸ τ]ῆς [φυλῆς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνέθεσαν] Kirchner || 3–4 Reinmuth, [διδασκάλος] Friend T8, T25, l. 2, ο[υ] Friend || 5–6 Mitchel, *vel* [...<sup>5</sup>.....<sup>12</sup>..... στρατηγός τοῦ Πειραι]||[ὡς Friend T6, l. 4, [διδασκάλος] Friend || 7–10 Reinmuth, [διδασκάλος] Friend, [Αὐτόλυκος .....<sup>9</sup>.... Θορίκιος. ἔφηβοι· .] Friend T9, Col. 11, l. 22.

The surface is in poor condition and difficult to read. Few letters are preserved, primarily located in the upper left corner || 1 Lower tip of oblique stroke of chi, thus [Ἀντιο]χ[ίδος] (Mitchel) rather than [Ἐρε]χ[θείδος] (Reinmuth) || 3 12th stochos: Kirchner and Mitchel read lambda, but the crossbar of alpha is clearly visible.

As Mitchel saw, our inscription is an end of service dedication for the epebes of Antiochis enrolled in the archonship of Ctesicles, not of Praxiboulus (315/14) as Kirchner thought. Below the heading is a fragmentary list of officials (ll. 3–8). In addition to the *sophonistes*, the *strategos* of Piraeus, the *strategos* of the countryside, and the *kosmetes*, there were three(?) *didaskaloi* in lines 3–4 and 6–8, although it is hard to understand why they were divided. Perhaps the first *didaskalos* was a *paidotribes* instead. Each *didaskalos* would have had sufficient space for name, patronymic, and demotic/city (cf. [. . .<sup>6</sup>. . .]την Α[. . .<sup>7</sup>. . .]υ Παλλην[έα . . .<sup>7</sup>. . .]υ Ἀρ[. . .]ανέ[ο] Μεθων[αῖον on T9, Col. 1, ll. 34–36]). The roster began in line 8, probably with ἔφηβοι as the heading, and the first preserved epebe had a name ending in νευς. By analogy to T11 and T20 the epebes were not arranged under deme captions but were listed with demotics in no particular order. At least four names would have appeared on lines 9–10, but we cannot estimate the size of the Antiochid contingent on account of the roster's poor state of preservation.

### Translation

The epebes of Antiochis [enrolled] in the archonship of Ctesicles [334/3] dedicated to the hero, having been crowned by the Council and the People.

The *sophonistes* Aphr—, the *didaskalos* —sar— son of —cl—us, the *strategos* of Piraeus Conon son of Timotheus of Anaphlystos, the *strategos* of the countryside Sophilus son of Aristotle of Phyle, the *didaskalos* of —en—, the *didaskalos* — —, the *kosmetes* Autolycus — of Thorikos. Epebes: —neus son of —de— — — —io—st— — —



tion of the *kosmetes* in lines 11–13. Habicht also inferred the identification of the tribe from the find-spot, located in Kerameis, a city-deme of Acamantis, and nearby the altar of Zeus Herceius, Hermes, and Acamas at the Dipylon gate (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 4983), but the location of the tribal shrine is disputed (Jones 1999, 158). The nature of the dedication is uncertain. The stone could have come from a base or stele although there is no trace of a cutting on the stone. The layout was probably similar to T9 with at least two columns. The first was the heading and the list of officials, the second presumably the roster of ephebes.

### *Translation*

--- having crowned with a gold crown for their excellence and care towards themselves. The *strategos* of Piraeus Conon son of Timotheus of Anaphlystos, the *strategos* of the countryside Sophilus son of Aristotle of Phyle ---

## T6 The Ephebes of Cecropis

Date:	Enrollment: 333/2. Inscription: 331/0.
Inventory Number:	Eleusis 1103
Find-spot:	West of Greater Propylaea at Eleusis
Description:	Base of blue-gray Hymettian marble preserved on all sides (smooth except for rough-picked bottom) with rectangular cutting.
Measurements:	Base: H. 0.29 m., W. 0.663 m., Th. 0.54 m. Cutting: W. 0.355 m., B. 0.275 m., D. 0.07 m. Letters: 0.005–0.008 m. (lines 1–11) Stoich. 52, 0.005 m. (lines 13–73) Non-Stoich.
<i>Editio Princeps</i> :	Clinton 1988 [1991], 20–21, publishes Travlos 1954 (1957), 70–71.
Bibliography:	<i>IG</i> 11 <sup>3</sup> 4 337; <i>SEG</i> 30.334, 37.233, 41.107; Reinmuth 1971, 16, no. 5; <i>IEleusis</i> 86 (= Clinton 2005, Vol. 1a, 94–95).

### ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- [ο]ἰ ἔφ[ηβ]οἰ ο[ἰ τῆς Κεκ]ρ[ο]π[ίδος οἰ ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρ]χον[τος καὶ ὁ σ]-  
 ωφρονιστῆς αὐτῶν Περικ[λῆς] Περικλεῖ[δου] Πιθῆς ἀνέθεσα[ν στεφ]-  
 3 ανώσαντες χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῆς εἰ-  
 ς ἑαυτοὺς στρατηγὸν τοῦ Πειραιῶς Κόνωνα Τιμοθέου Ἀναφλύστιο(ν)  
 καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆι χώρῃσι Σώφιλον Ἀριστοτέλους Φυλάσιον καὶ τὸν σω-  
 6 φροντιστὴν Περικλεῖα Περικλεῖδου Πιθέα καὶ τὸν ταξίαρχον Σύνβ-

	ουλον Εὐβούλου Φλυέα καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς Θράσιππον Φρυναίου Ἀθ- μονέα, Εὐβουλον Εὐβούλου Φλυέα, Ἐπικράτην Ἀρχεδήμου Πι[θ]έα, Ἀτα- ρβίωνα Τυννίου Αἰζωνέα, Στέφανον Αἰσιμίδου Ἀλαιέα, Ἀριστ[ό]μαχον		
9	Δημοχάρους Μελιτέα, Σίμωνα Θεοκλέους Ἀθμονέα καὶ τοὺς διδασκ- άλους Χαιρέστρατον Παλληγέα, Ἀγαθάνορα Συραχόσιον. <i>vacat</i>		
	Col. I: <i>vacat</i>		Col. II: <i>vacat</i>
12	[Π]ιθήης		Αἰζωνής
	Ἐπικράτης Ἀρχεδήμου		Ἀταρβίων Τυννίου
	Ἀρχίας Θρασύλλου	27	Καλλίας Δεινοκράτους
15	Ἀπολλοφῶν Ἀπολλοφάνους		Πολυκράτης Φαγίου
	Εὐφράνωρ Εὐθυδίκου		Δημήτριος Εὐκλέους
	[Α]ρχίνος Παντακλέους	30	Κλεόστρατος Κλε(ο)φάντου
18	[. .]αρχος Βιόττου		Δίφιλος Ναυσιχάρου[ς]
	[Ἀθμ]ονής		Φιλήρατος Παν(α)ρίστου
	[Θράσ]ιππος Φρυναίου	33	Εὐπεταίωνες
21	[Σίμ]ων Θεοκλέους		Τιμόστρατος Μένωνος
	[. . . <sup>6</sup> . .]τρατος Μνησιμάχου		Ἡγίας Ἀγαπαίου
	[. . . . <sup>ca.9</sup> . . .] Λυχίσκου	36	Χ[ι]ωνίδης Ἐριώτου
24	[. . . . . <sup>ca.13</sup> . . . . .]Υ		[-----]
	Col. III: <i>vacat</i>	54	Ἀλαιεῖς (Col. IV)
	Μενεκλῆς Μένωνος		Στέφανος Αἰσιμίδου
39	Τρινεμῆς		Σωκράτης Σθενοκράτους
	Θουγένης Φιλοκλέου	57	Στήσαρχος Νικομάχου
	Φλυής		Ἡδύλος Δρύωνος
42	Σύνβουλος Εὐβούλου		Βρύων Δρύωνος
	Εὐβουλος Εὐβούλου	60	Ἄρεσ[ί]ας Ἀταρβίδου
	Φαι[δ]ρίας] Π[ό]δωρος		Σωσικράτης Σωσίππου
45	Φιλό[δ]ημος Νικομάχου		Ἐπίγονος Διοδώρου
	Φειδόστρατος Ἀμεινοκλέους	63	Εὐβου[λ]ος Φιλοκλέους
	Τιμωνίδης Ἀθηνοκλέους		Ἐπικράτης Σημιάδου
48	Ἀρχέδικος Ἀρχεδίκου		Ν[ <sup>1</sup> or <sup>2</sup> .]αι[.]ος Ἱεροφάντος
	Μελιτέης	66	Καλλιάδης Καλλίου
	Ἀριστόμα[χ]ος Δημοχάρους		Φιλόστρατος Νικοβούλου
51	Εὐθύδομος Ἐπικράτους		Σωκράτης Εὐκράτους
	[. . . .] . NE . . [-----]	69	Εὐθήμων Εὐκλέους
	[-----?-----]		Λύσις Τιμ[-----]
			Καλλ[ί]στ[ρα]τος [-----]
		72	[-----]
			[-----?-----]

*Right Side:*

	ὁ δῆμος	ἡ βουλή	ἡ φυλή
75	Ἐλε[υσίν]ιοι		Ῥαμνούσιοι

## Clinton

The surface is worn with numerous pits, scratches, and marks. Many letters are very difficult to read, especially the top and bottom of the front face which are chipped and broken. Clinton remarks that “dotted letters in the list are therefore open to a much wider range of possibilities than usual, and names with multiple dotted letters are rather uncertain”. The deme captions on the roster are inscribed one letter to the left of the epebes’ names. Columns 1–11 are aligned but 111–114 (from line 46) become increasingly disordered. Perhaps the cutter miscalculated the space required for the remaining epebes. A vacant line follows the stoichedon text, with the exception of Ἀλαίεης at the top of column 114 || 4 Final nu omitted from the demotic (should have been the first stoichos of the next line) || 9 Both stoichos 18 (νε) and stoichos 21 (τε) have two letters. Stoichos 48: Mu clearly visible (Friend) || 30 Omicron omitted || 32 Alpha omitted. Clinton reads a “crowded” iota and sigma before the tau rather than an epsilon || 48 Ἀρχέδικος Traill || 63 Omicron visible after lambda (Friend) || 65 Faint traces of perhaps two letters between the nu and the alpha but the identification is uncertain (Friend).

As preserved, the roster lists 50 names arranged into four columns. As Clinton saw, there is insufficient space for another at the bottom of the first column, but there is room for one and perhaps for two more after Χ[ι]ωνίδης Ἐριώτου (Col. 11, l. 36) and Καλλ[ι]στ[ρ]ατος (Col. 11, l. 71) respectively. It is uncertain whether line 53 was inscribed. The total number of epebes in the Ceropid contingent for 333/2 thus ranged somewhere between 52 (likely) and 54 (doubtful), the same as Clinton’s estimate. The distribution of epebes by deme was 6 from Pithos, 5 from Athmonon, 7 from Aixone, 4–5 from Xypete, 1 from Trinimeia, 7 from Phlya, 3–4 from Melite, and 17–19 from Halai.

*Translation*

- 1 The epebes of Cecropis [enrolled] in the archonship of Ctesicles [334/3] and their *sophronistes* Pericles son of Periclides of Pithos made this dedication, having crowned [the following] with a gold crown for their excellence and care towards themselves. The *strategos* of Piraeus Conon son of Timotheus of Anaphlystos, the *strategos* of the countryside Sophilus son of Aristotle of Phyle, the *sophronistes* Pericles son of Periclides of Pithos,

the *taxiarchos* Synbulus son of Eubulus of Phlya, the *lochagoi* Thrasippus son of Phrynaius of Athmonon, Eubulus son of Eubulus of Phlya, Epicrates son of Archidemus of Pithos, Atarbion son of Tunnus of Aixone, Stephanus son of Aisimidus of Halai, Aristomachus son of Demochares of Melite, Simon son of Theocles of Athmonon, and the *didaskaloi* Chairestratus of Pallene and Agathanor of Syracuse.

[Col. I]

From Pithos, Epicrates son of Archedemus, Archias son of Thrasyllus, Apollodorus son of Apollophanes, Euphranor son of Euthydicus, Archinus son of Pantacles, —archus son of Biottus; From Athmonon, Thrasippus son of Phrynaius, Simon son of Theocles, —tratus son of Mnesimachus, —son of Lyciscus, — son of —us.

[Col. II]

From Aixone, Atarbion son of Tunnus, Callias son of Deinocrates, Polycrates son of Phanius, Demetrius son of Eucles, Cleostratus son of Cleophantus, Diphilus son of Nausichares, Phileratus son of Panaristus; From Xypete, Timostratus son of Menon, Hegias son of Agapaius, Chionides son of Eriotus, — son of —.

[Col. III]

Meneclis son of Menon; From Trinemeia, Thougenes son of Philocles; From Phlya, Synbulus son of Eubulus, Eubulus son of Eubulus, Phaidrias son of Rodon, Philodemus son of Nicomachus, Pheidostratus son of Ameinocles, Timonides son of Athenocles, Archedicus son of Archedicus; From Melite, Aristomachus son of Demochares, Euthydomus son of Epicrates, —ne— son of —, — son of — (?).

[Col. IV]

From Halai, Stephanus son of Aisimidas, Socrates son of Sthenocrates, Stesarchus son of Nicomachus, Hedylyus son of Dryon, Bryon son of Dryon, Areias son of Atarbides, Sosicrates son of Sosippus, Epigonus son of Diodorus, Eubulus son of Philocles, Epicrates son of Semiades, N—ai—us son of Hierophon, Calliades son of Kallias, Philostratus son of Nicobulus, Socrates son of Eucrates, Euthemon son of Eucles, Lysis son of Tim—, Callistratus son of —, — son of — (?), — son of — (?).

*Right Side:*

The Demos

The Council

The Tribe

The Eleusinians

The Rhamnusians

## T7 The Ephebes of Pandionis

- Date: Enrollment: 333/2. Inscription: 331/0.  
 Inventory Number: *EM* 3590  
 Find-spot: Unknown  
 Description: Fragment of Pentelic marble stele, broken on all sides except for bottom.  
 Measurements: Stele: H. 0.22 m., W. 0.19 m., Th. 0.07 m. Letters: 0.005 m. (lines 5–17) non-Stoich. ca. 53.  
*Editio Princeps*: Kirchner 1927, 198–199, no. 2.  
 Bibliography: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2976; *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4 334; *SEG* 21.682, 37.233; Roussel 1941b, 224–225, no. 2; Meritt 1945, 234–239; Mitchel 1961, 351, n. 9; Pélékidis 1962, 123–124, no. 4; Reinmuth 1971, 22–24, no. 8; Lewis 1973, 256; Traill 1975, 32, n. 20; Clinton 1988, 30, n. 13.

## NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Col. I	Col. II
	-----
	[------]ου
	[------]δου
3	[------]ίδου
	[------]οφώντος
	[------] Λυσίου
	<i>vacat</i>
6	[οί ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος ἔφηβοι τῆς Πανδι]ονίδος καὶ ὁ σωφ[ρο]- [νιστῆς αὐτῶν ἀνέθεσαν τῶι ἥρωι σ]τεφανῶ[σαντε]ς χρ[υσ]ῶι σ[τ]εφ[άνωι] [ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῆς εἰ]ς ἑαυτ[οὺς]. <i>vacat</i>
9	[στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆι χώραι Σώφιλον Ἄριστ]οτέλους [Φυλάσ]ιον <i>vacat</i> [στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶι Πειραιεῖ Κόνωνα] Τιμοθέου Ἄ[ναφ]λύστιον <i>vacat</i> [κοσμητὴν . . . <sup>ca. 7</sup> . . .]ο[ς Μνησιστρά]του Ἀχαρνέα <sup>v</sup> [Μν]ῆσον Ἄριστω[νος]
12	[. . . <sup>ca. 27</sup> . . . Π]αιανία, [Χ]α[ρί]αν Ἀρκέωνος [. . . <sup>ca. 28</sup> . . .]ους Μυρρινούσιον <i>vacat</i> [λοχαγὸν . . . <sup>ca. 19</sup> . . . Παι]ανία, λοχαγὸν Εὐκλεία <i>vacat</i>
15	[. . . <sup>ca. 24</sup> . . . λοχαγ]ὸν Αἰσχύλον Πυθέου Παιαν[ιέα], [λοχαγὸν . . . <sup>ca. 22</sup> . . .] Ὀαθεν, λοχαγὸν Ἐτεοκλέα <sup>v</sup> [νν] [. . . <sup>ca. 24</sup> . . . λοχαγ]ὸν Φανόστρατον Φανίου νν [νν]
18	[. . . <sup>ca. 8</sup> . . . λοχαγὸν . . . <sup>ca. 14</sup> . . .]γίτου Παιανία. <i>vacat</i> <i>vacat</i>

Meritt || 6 Clinton, [ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος οἱ ἔφηβοι τῆς Πανδι]ονίδος καὶ ὁ σωφ[ρο] Reinmuth, [ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Πανδι]ονίδος καὶ ὁ σωφ[ρο] Mitchel, [ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος ὁ ταξίαρχος τῆς Πανδι]ονίδος καὶ ὁ σωφ[ρο]nis Meritt, but the *taxiarchos* was an epebe T9, Col. 1, ll. 20–22, Col. 11., ll. 15–16 || 7–8 Lewis with [αὐτῶν ἀνέθεσαν τῶι ἦρωι] Friend T6, l. 2, [τῆς τούσδε ἀνέ- γραψαν στεφανωθέντες χρυσῶι στ]εφ[άν]ωι [ὑπὸ τῶ]ν ἐφή[βων ἀρε] || [τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὴν φυλὴν καὶ σωφροσύν]ης ἔνε[κα] Meritt, [νιστῆς ἀνέθησαν στεφανωθέν- τες χρυσῶι στ]εφ[άν]ωι [ὑπὸ τῆ]ς φυ[λῆς] || [ἀρετῆς εἰς τὴν φυλὴν καὶ σωφροσύν]ης ἔνεκα Reinmuth || 9–10 Meritt || 11 Friend Μνησιστρά]του T9, Col. 11, l. 13 || 12–18 Meritt.

Meritt noticed that “the stone was used at some late date, in an inverted position, to carry the outline of a human head in profile”. The two lines following [- - - - -] Λυσίου are uninscribed. The bottom edge is intact with a *vacat* after line 18 || 1 Reinmuth read ου but these letters are no longer visible || 10 1st preserved letter: dotted tau (Reinmuth); 9th preserved letter: left oblique stroke of alpha or lambda. 13th preserved letter: right oblique stroke of lambda.

A fragmentary end of service dedication for the epebes of Pandionis enrolled in the archonship of Nicocrates. Meritt’s suggestion that a tribal decree preceded the roster is implausible (by analogy to the format of T4 rather than T9). Among the officials listed are four Athenian citizens (two of whose demotics came from the same tribe as the epebes) without titles (ll. 11–13). As Rous- sel saw, they are *didaskaloi* (cf. T4, ll. 3–4, 7–8). The absence of the *sophronistes* is surprising given his importance (see Ch. 4.1). Perhaps it was an oversight of the cutter or (less likely) he was one of the “*didaskaloi*”. As preserved, column 11 lists five patronymics. Reinmuth estimates a total of 30–32 names (with deme captions) on the roster if the “outline of the chin, neck, and shoulders for a bust sketch continued on the same scale”, but Traill challenges this assumption about the relationship between the extent of the sketch and the size of the *stele*, because we cannot infer from the fragment with any confidence whether more of the human form was in fact portrayed. Nor is it certain whether the roster would have also included the 6 epebic *lochagoi* (cf. T6, T9, T14, T15, and T19). Consequently there is no certain method to estimate how many epebes would have belonged to this Pandionid contin- gent.

*Translation*

[Col. I]

[Col. II]

— son of —us, — son of —des,  
 — son of —ides, — son of —  
 ophon, — son of Lysias.

- 6 The ephebes of Pandionis [enrolled] in the archonship of Nicocrates [333/2] and their *sophronistes* dedicated to the hero having crowned [the following] with a gold crown for their excellence and care towards themselves.
- 9 The *strategos* of the countryside Sophilus son of Aristotle of Phyle, the *strategos* of Piraeus Conon son of Timotheus of Anaphlystos, the *kosmetes* —us son of Mnesistratus of Acharnai, the [*didaskaloi?*] Mnesus son of Ariston of —, — son of — of Paiania, Charias son of Arkeon of —, — son of —es of Myrrhinous, the *lochagos* — son of — of Paiania, the *lochagos* Eucleias son of — of —, the *lochagos* Aeschylus son of Pytheus of Paiania, the *lochagos* — son of — of Oa, the *lochagos* Eteocles son of — of —, the *lochagos* Phanostratus son of Phanius of —, the *lochagos* — son of —gites of Paiania.

**T8 The Ephebes of Leontis**

- Date: Enrollment: 333/2. Inscription: 332/1?
- Inventory Number: Rhamnus 1385
- Find-spot: Rhamnus
- Measurements: Marble base with a rectangular cutting for a herm. Smooth on all sides except for rough picked back and bottom. Front broken in top right center and left bottom corner.
- Bibliography: *SEG* 46.237; 54.237; Petrakos 1996 (1997), 19; Petrakos 2004, 167–176.

Petrakos provides some details of this recently found but as yet unpublished tribal dedication from Rhamnus. There is no transcript. Personal autopsy of the stone corrects and supplements his brief description. There is a heading with the name of the tribe (Leontis) and the archon (Nicocrates) clearly visible. There are no honorific decrees. Eight painted wreaths appear below the heading, four of which list the following: στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῇ χώρῃ Σώφιλος Ἀριστοτέλους Φυλάσιος (Petrakos has στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῷ Περαιῶν Κόνων Τιμοθέου Ἀνα-

φλύστιος), κοσμητής Θουγείτων Ἀριστοκράτου Ἀρχαρνεύς, σωφρονιστής Φιλόθεος Φιλοκλέου(ς) Σουνιεύς, and ταξίαρχος Φιλοκλέης Φιλοθέου Σουνιεύς. Petrakos also mentions two *lochagoi* and two *didaskaloi*, which are attested on T9, an end of service dedication belonging to the same enrollment year (cf. Col. I, ll. 34–36; Col. I, ll. 16–17, 21–22). There are seven *didaskaloi* inscribed on the left (four—all foreigners) and right (three—all Athenians) sides of the base which do not appear on T9 (for a discussion of these *didaskaloi*, see Ch. 4.4). Beneath the eight wreathed officials on the front is a complete roster of ephebes with abbreviated patronymics arranged under deme captions. It lists 32 names, which are most likely the same as those on the partially preserved roster on T9 (Col. II, ll. 22–38, Col. III, ll. 3–9). We must add the *taxiarchos* and two *lochagoi* discussed above, and the three *lochagoi* which appear on T9 but not on T8 (Col. I, ll. 22–28). This yields Petrakos' total of 38 ephebes for the Leontid contingent, correcting Reinmuth's estimate of ca. 44 ephebes for T9.

The most enigmatic aspect of T8 is that it is clearly not a victory monument set up at Rhamnus after the torch-race at the Nemesia (cf. T10). Instead, it has a layout similar to other end of service dedications in the corpus (e.g. T4, T6, T7, T14, T17, T19). Petrakos suggests that the date of erection for T8 would have predated T9 and favors 333/2. We can infer 332/1, however, from the attestation of Σώφιλος Ἀριστοτέλους Φυλάσιος but not Κόνων Τιμοθέου Ἀναφλύστιος. Exactly why T8 was erected at this time is uncertain, but Petrakos, with much plausibility, thinks that Θουγείτων Ἀριστοκράτου Ἀρχαρνεύς had died (or something else may have happened to him which prevented him from carrying out his duties) and was later replaced as *kosmetes* by [. . .<sup>7</sup>. . .]ο[ς] Αἰνησιστράτου Ἀχαρνεύς (T7, l. 10 and T9, Col. II, ll. 12–13). If so, T8 was dedicated in honor of the now dead(?) Θουγείτων by the ephebes of Leontis who were based at Rhamnus in their second year of service.

## T9 The Ephebes of Leontis

- Date: Enrollment: 333/2. Inscription: 331/0.  
 Inventory Number: *Agora* I 3068a, I 3068b, I 3068c  
 Find-spot: Agora Section Σ  
 Description: Base of Hymmetian marble with a rectangular cutting for a dedication. Inscription consists of fragments forming a composite group (*a*) and two more fragments forming the upper right half (*b* and *c*).  
 Measurements: Fragment *a*: H. 0.63 m., W. 0.57 m., Th. 0.345 m. Fragment *b*: H. 0.13 m., W. 0.18 m., Th. 0.082 m. Fragment *c*: H. 0.25 m., W. 0.13 m., Th. 0.11 m. Letters: 0.01 m. (lines 1–2), 0.006 m. (Col. I, lines 3–38; Col. II, lines 3–38, and Col. III, lines 3–19). Stoich. 72 (lines 1–2), 26 (Col. I–II, lines 3–38), 34 (Col. III, lines 3–9), 42 (Col. III, lines 10–18).  
*Editio Princeps*: Meritt 1940, 59–66, no. 8.  
 Bibliography: SEG 21.513; Roussel 1941b, 222–226; Pélékidis 1962, 124–127, no. 5; Reinmuth 1971, 25–33, no. 9; Clinton 1988, 30, n. 13.

### ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[τῶι ἤ]ρωι ὁ σ[ω]φρονιστ[ῆς τῆς Λεωντίδος ἐπὶ]  
 Ν[ι]κ[οκράτους καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι] σ[τεφανωθέντ]ε[ς νν]  
 ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς φυλῆς  
 ἀρετῆς ἔνε[κα καὶ σωφρο]σύνης. *vacat*

#### Col. I:

- 3 Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου Λευκονο[εὺς]  
 εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Φιλόθεος ὁ σωφ[ρον]-  
 ιστῆς τῆς Λεωντίδος φυλῆς τ[ῶν ἐ]-  
 6 φήβων ἀπαγγέλλει περὶ τῶν ν[εαν]-  
 ἰσκων καὶ φησιν εἶναι εὐτα[χτὸν]-  
 τας καὶ πειθόμενος τοῖς τ[ε νόμο]-  
 9 ις καὶ ἑαυτῶι, δεδῶχθαι τ[ῆι Λεω]ν-  
 τίδι ἐπαιέσαι τὴν Λεωντίδα φυ-  
 λὴν τῶν ἐφήβων τῶν ἐπὶ Νικοκράτ-  
 12 ουσ ἄρχοντος καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρ-  
 οσῶι στεφάνωι ἕκα[στ]ον αὐτῶν ἀρ-  
 ετῆς ἔνεκα, ἐπαιν[έσ]αι δὲ καὶ τὸν  
 15 σωφρονιστὴν Φι[λόθ]εον Φιλοκλέ-  
 ουσ Σουινιά καὶ σ[τε]φανῶσαι χρυσ-

- 18 ὦι στεφάνωι ἀπ[ὸ χι]λίων δραχμῶν  
 ἐπειδὴν τὰς ἐ[ὐθύ]νας δῶι ἀρετῆς  
 ἔνεκα τῆς ἐ[ἰς τὴν] φυλὴν καὶ τοὺς  
 21 ἐφήβους, [ἐπαιν]ῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν τα-  
 ξίαρχον [τῆς φ]υλῆς Φιλοκλέα Φ[ιλ]-  
 οθέου Σ[ουნი]ᾶ καὶ τοὺς λοχαγο[ύς]  
 Πανδαί[την Π]ασικλέος Ποτάμ[ιον]  
 24 Ἐπικρά[την] Πεισιάννακτος Σ[ουნი]-  
 ᾶ Καλλ[ιχάρ]ην Καλλιφάνος [Σουნი]-  
 ᾶ Νικό[ξεν]ον Νικοκλέος Χ[ολλη]ίδ-  
 27 ην Τι[μοκρ]άτην Τιμοκλέος Π[ιστάμ]-  
 ιον κ[αὶ σ]τεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι [στεφ]-  
 ἀν[ωι ἕκα]στον αὐτῶν ἀπὸ πεν[τακο]-  
 30 [σίω]ν δρα[χμῶν] ἀρετῆς καὶ σω[φροσ]-  
 [ύνης ἔνε]κα, δοῦναι δὲ αὐτοῖς [κα]ί  
 [ἀνάθημα] ἀναθεῖναι ἐ[ν] τῶι ἱε[ρῶ]ι  
 33 [τοῦ ἥρω, ἐ]παινεῖσαι [δὲ καὶ] τὸς [δ]ιδ-  
 [ασκάλου]ς τῆς φυλῆ[ς . . .<sup>6</sup> . . .] τὴν Α-  
 [. . .<sup>7</sup> . . .]υ Παλλην[έα . . .<sup>7</sup> . . .]ν Ἄρ-  
 36 [. . .]αινέ[ο] Μεθων[αῖον καὶ στεφ]ανῶ-  
 [σ]α[ῖ] θάλ[λ]οῦ στ[εφάνωι ὅτι καλ]ῶς ἐ-  
 [π]εμεληθήσαν τ[ῶν ἐφ]ή[βων] *vacat*

## Col. 11:

- 3 [ἀναγράψαι δὲ] τόδε τὸ ψήφισμ[α τῆ]-  
 [ς φυλῆς τὸν γρ]αμματέα τῆς φυ[λῆς]  
 [καὶ στήσαι ἐν] τῶι ἱερῶι, τὸ [δ' ἀνάλλ]-  
 6 [ωμα εἰς τὴν γρα]φὴν δοῦνα[ι τοὺς ἐ]-  
 [πιμελητὰς τῆς φ]υλῆς, ἀ[ναγράψαι]  
 [δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τ]ὸ [ἀν]άθημα *νιν*  
 9 [στ]ρα[τ]ηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶι Περαι[εῖ Κόνω]-  
 ν Τιμοθέο Ἄναφλύστιος [στρατηγ]-  
 ὸς ἐπὶ τῆι χώραι Σώφιλ[ος Ἄριστο]-  
 12 τέλος Φυλάσιος κοσμη[τῆς . . .<sup>5</sup> . . .]  
 [. . .]ο[ς] Μνησιστράτου Ἀχ[αρνεὺς σω]-  
 [φρον]ιστῆς [Φι]λ[όθ]εο[ς Φιλοκλέου]  
 15 [ς Σουნი]εὺ[ς ταξίαρχος Φιλοκλέη]-  
 [ς Φιλ]οθέου [Σουნიεὺς λοχαγοὶ Πα]-  
 [ν]δαίτης Πα[σικλέος Ποτάμιος Ἐπ]-  
 18 [ι]κράτης Πε[ισιάννακτος Σουნიεὺ]-  
 ς Καλλιχάρ[ης Καλλιφάνους Σουν]-



Meritt || 1 Reinmuth, ἐπι] N[ι]κ[οκράτος και ὁ ταξιάρχος] σ[τεφανωθέντ]ε[ς Meritt (see below) || 2 Meritt || Cols. I–II Meritt || Col. II, 13 [...] Αἰνησιστράτου Meritt, Reinmuth, [...]ο[ς] Μνησιστράτου Friend T7, l. 11 || Col. III, 10–11 Friend, [...]7... ἔδοξεν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς τῆς Λεω]ντίδος Παν[δα][ίτης Πασικλέος Ποτάμιος] Meritt, [...]7... ἔδοξεν τοῖς φυλῆταις τῆς Λεω]ντίδος Reinmuth (see below) || Col. III, 12 Meritt || Col. III, 13–14 Friend, [γται τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς και χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸ]ν παρέσχηκε[ν][τῶν τε ταξιάρχων και τοῖς λοχαγοῖς Meritt || Col. III, 15–18 Meritt || Col. III, 19 Reinmuth || 39 [οἱ ἔφηβοι] [οἱ λοχαγοι] Meritt, [Ῥαμνοῦσιοι] [-----] Friend.

The first two columns are fully aligned, with column III located on the top right-hand corner || Col. I, 31, 26th stoichos: Meritt remarks that “the final iota ... is not a vertical stroke. One must assume that the chisel which cut this letter lost its position when the stroke was made and that in consequence the iota was cut away” || Col. I, 32, 17th stoichos: top horizontal and the vertical of epsilon || Col. I, 37, 2nd stoichos: right oblique of an alpha but no crossbar visible; 8th stoichos: faint trace of omicron; 26th stoichos: clearly an epsilon || Col. II, 13, 3rd stoichos: upper half of omicron; 4th and 5th stoichoi: Merritt and Reinmuth read AI, but clearly a mu with the central v and oblique strokes visible || Col. II, 14, 5th stoichos: vertical of iota; 12th stoichos: both oblique strokes of lambda || Col. II, 20, 9th stoichos: Horizontals and verticals of xi || Col. II, 22, 8th stoichos: top horizontal and upper part of vertical of epsilon, confirming Meritt’s conjecture of ἔφηβοι || Col. II, 27, 2nd stoichos: upper half of both oblique strokes of alpha or lambda.

An end of service dedication for the ephebes of Leontis enrolled in the archonship of Nicocrates. There is a heading (ll. 1–2), a decree of Leontis (Col. I–Col. II, l. 8), a catalogue of officials and a roster of ephebes (Col. II, l. 9–Col. III, l. 9), and a decree by an unknown group (Col. III, ll. 10–18). It was set up after T8, a dedication erected at Rhamnus from the same enrollment year and tribe (cf. T11–T12). We can restore this deme in line 39 and we can assume that the fifth honoring corporation was also a deme. This would mean that the ephebes were stationed at two forts on the Attic-Boeotian frontier (cf. T6, T14). Reinmuth 1971, 31–32, estimates that there was sufficient room in the fragmentary roster (under deme captions) to accommodate ca. 38 names, to which he added the *taxiarchos* and the 5 *lochagoi* (Col. II, ll. 15–22). The latter do not appear among the list of names after ξ[φηβοι] (Col. II, l. 22). But the recent discovery of T8 by Petrakos suggests a total of 38 ephebes for the Leontid contingent. Scholarly interest has centered on who honored the *sophronistes* in Col. III, ll. 10–18. Reinmuth 1955, 226, thought that they were *phyletai*, but, as Pélékidis saw, it would mean that there were two honorific decrees of the parent associ-

ation on the same inscription (1962, 125, n. 4). Pélékidis suggests ephebes, but the corpus preserves no instance of ephebes passing decrees. Meritt restored Παν[δραΐτης Πασικλέος Ποτάμιος], who was listed twice as *lochagos* (Col. I, l. 23; Col. II, ll. 16–17), suggesting a decree of the *lochagoi* (accepted by Reinmuth) since Πανδραΐτης Πασικλέος Ποτάμιος matches the lacuna exactly. This identification, however, is uncertain. It is tempting to compare this decree to Reinmuth 1971 no. 19 = *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1159, dated to 303/2: ἀποφ[αίν]ουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς|τὴν φυλὴν [ο]ἱ πατέρες τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπιμεμε[λ]ήσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τῶν [ἐ]φήβων (ll. 11–14). We know that the fathers of the ephebes played a prominent role in the selection of the *sophronistai* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2) and it is likely that they would have also honored him at the end of his service (See Chs. 4.1 and 5.7).

### Translation

The *sophronistes* of Leontis [enrolled] in the archonship of Nicocrates [333/2] and the ephebes [dedicate] to the hero, having been crowned by the Council and the People and the tribe for their excellence and self-discipline.

[Col. I]

- 3 Theodorus son of Theodorus of Leukonion proposed: since Philotheus the *sophronistes* of the Leontid tribe of ephebes makes an announcement concerning the young men and says that they are well-disciplined and obedient both to the laws and to himself, Leontis resolved to praise the Leontid tribe of ephebes [enrolled] in the archonship of Nicocrates and to crown each of them with a gold crown for their excellence, and also to praise the *sophronistes* Philotheus son of Philocles of Sounion and to crown him with a gold crown of 1,000 drachmas when he gives his scrutiny for their excellence to the tribe and the ephebes, and also to praise the *taxiarchos* of the tribe Philocles son of Philotheus of Sounion and the *lochagoi* Pandites son of Pasicles of Potamos, Epicrates son of Peisianax of Sounion, Callichares son of Calliphan of Sounion, Nicoxenus son of Nicocles of Cholleidai, and Timocrates son of Timocles of Potamos, and to crown each of them with a gold crown of 500 drachmas for their excellence and self-discipline. And to grant to them also to make a dedication in the sanctuary of the hero. And also to praise the *didaskaloi* of the tribe —tes son of A—us of Pallene and —s son of Ar—aineus of Methone and to crown them with a laurel crown because they looked after the ephebes well.

[Cols. II–III]

- 3 The secretary of the tribe is to inscribe this decree of the tribe and to set it up in the sanctuary. And the *epimeletai* of the tribe are to allocate the expense for the inscribing, and to inscribe the decree on the dedication.
- 9 The *strategos* of Piraeus Conon son of Timotheus of Anaphlystos, the *strategos* of the countryside Sophilus son of Aristotle of Phyle, the *kosmetes* —us son of Mnesistratus of Acharnai, the *sophronistes* Philotheus son of Philocles of Sounion, the *taxiarchos* Philocles son of Philotheus of Sounion, the *lochagoi* Pandites son of Pasicles of Potamos, Epicrates son of Peisianax of Sounion, Callichares son of Calliphan of Sounion, Nicoxenus son of Nicocles of Cholleidai, and Timocrates son of Timocles of Potamos.
- 22 Ephebes: —es son of So—, — son of —uge—, — son of —i—, — son of —ie—, — son of —ar—, —ees son of Ci—, — son of —odorus, Presbuchares son of —us, Sanneides son of —; From Lower Potamos, —; From Upper Potamos, —s son of —Philinus; From Leukonoion, Cedeides son of Thrasymedes, Chaire— son of —dus, Thrasynon son of Satyrus; (From ?), Eutelides son of Menestratus; (From ?), Niceratus son of Nicodemus; (From ?), Euaion son of Peithon, Theangelus son of —, —rotheus son of —, Atheno— son of —, —esides son of —dotus, —s son of Ni—; From Painonidai, —eas son of Mnesi—, — son of Smicythus, Ais— son of —, —us son of Ameipsia—, —kesias son of Ni—.

[Col. III]

- 10 The fathers of Leontis voted, Pan— proposed: since Philotheus the *sophronistes* of the Leontid tribe rightly looks after the young men and has made himself useful to the ephebes [enrolled] in the archonship of Nicocrates, to praise Philotheus son of Philocles of Sounion and to crown him with a gold crown of 1,000 drachmas for his excellence and self-discipline towards the tribe, and to inscribe this decree upon the dedication which the ephebes dedicate to the hero.

## T10 The Ephebes of Erechtheis

- Date: Enrollment: 333/2. Inscription: 333/2 or 332/1.  
 Inventory Number: *EAM* 313 N  
 Find-spot: Below the east retaining wall of the *temenos* of Nemesis at Rhamnus  
 Description: Rectangular cutting on a rounded base with moldings top and bottom. Palagia and Lewis 1989 suggest that one (*NM* 313) of the four hip herms (*NM* 314, 315, 316) found alongside the base fitted into the cutting.  
 Measurements: Base: D. 0.42 m., H: 0.27 m. Letters: 0.009 m.  
*Editio Princeps*: Staes 1891, 56–60.  
 Bibliography: *IG* II 5 1233b; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3105; *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4 336; *SEG* 30.334, 31.162, 34.208, 37.233, 39.185; Pouilloux 1954, 111, no. 2; Davies 1967, 40, n. 84; Reinmuth 1971, 51–55, no. 13; Lewis 1973, 256; Petrakos 1976 (1978), 51–52; Petrakos 1979 (1981), 68–69, no. 21; Petrakos 1982 (1984), 161; Palagia and Lewis 1989, 333–344; *IRhamn.* 98 (= Petrakos 1999, Vol. 11, 84–85); Friend 2014.

## NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- [ό σωφ]ρονιστής Περικ[-----]Ἄναγυρ]άσιος  
 [καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἐρε]χθειδος ἐφήβων γ[υμ]νασάρχοι ἀνέθεσαν,  
 3 [οἱ ἐπὶ] Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος λαμπάδι νικήσαντες  
 [- -]ανδρος Τιμ[-----] Εὐωνυμεύς, Χαρικλῆς Ἀλεξιμένου Περγασῆθεν.  
 Λ Α Μ [Π] Α Δ Η Φ Ο Ρ Ο Ι  
 Col. I Col. II:  
 6 Ἄγακλῆς Περγασῆ [[-----]]  
 [[-----]] 18 φανόμα[χος ---]  
 Ἀρχάγαθος Λανπτρ Ἄλκιμαχίδης Περ  
 9 Σόλων Ἀγρυλῆθεν Κίμων Περγασῆ  
 Πυθοκλῆς Λανπτρε 21 Τιμοκράτης Κηφι  
 Δημοκρίνης Περγα Σωσίβ(ι)ος Εὐωνυμ  
 12 Δικαιοκράτης Περ Διοκλῆς Λανπτρε  
 Χαριναύτης Λαν 24 Ἴέρων Λανπτρε  
 Φιλῆμων Ἀγρυλῆ Πολυκράτης Εὐων  
 15 Ἄριστοκλῆς Λανπ 27 Ξενοφῶν Λανπτ  
 Φιλοχάρης Ἄναγυ [Διοπ]εῖθης Λαμ  
*vacat*  
*vacat* *vacat*

	Col. III:		Col. IV:
	Ἵπέρβολος Παμ		Ἐπικράτης Ἄναγ
30	Φιλοκλῆς Ἄνα	42	Θηραμένης Κηφισι
	Ἄριστιῶν Περγας		Φίλων Λαμπτρ
	Τελένικος Περγας		Θεόφιλος Ἀ(να)γυρά
33	Εἴδων Ἀγρυλῆθεν	45	Ἄγωνίδης Κηφισι
	Φίλιππος Ἄναγυρά		Φιλόστρατος Λαμ
	Φιλόδημος Λανπτ		Κάλλιπ(π)ος Λαμπτ
36	Ἄντιφημος Περγας	48	Γλαῦκος Εὐωνυ
	Ἄντιφάνης Κηφισι		Νικόφημος Εὐω
	Φιλόνεως Περγασῆθ		Φιλωνίδης Εὐων
39	Νικίας Κηφισιεύς	51	Κηφισογένης Κηφ
	Φανοτέλης Εὐων		Πολυμήδης Λαμπτ
	<i>vacat</i>		Col. V:
		53	Λεωχίδης Εὐων

Staes || 1–4 Petrakos, [Ἄναγυρ]άσιος Köhler, [ό? στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῆι χώρῃ Σώφιλος Ἀριστοτέλους Φυλ]άσιος | [καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἐρεχθείδος φυλῆς γυμ]νασίαρχοι ἀνέθεσαν | [οἱ ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρ]χοντος λαμπάδι νικήσαντες | [----- Εὐ]ωνυμεύς, Χαρικλῆς Ἄλεξιμένου Περγασῆθεν Pouilloux || Col. I, 6 Χαϊρέφιλος Περγ Palagia and Lewis, Petrakos TII, Col. II, l. 4 || Col. II, 28 [Διοπ?]εἰθης Pouilloux, [--- π]εἰθης Reinmuth, [Διοπέι]θης Διοπέιθου TII, Col. II, l. 20 || Col. III, 29 Λαμ Staes, Köhler, Παμ Kirchner || Col. V, 53 Λεω(τυ)χίδης Staes.

The lines of columns II–V are aligned, but the first column has a *vacat* after Φιλοχάρης Ἄναγυ. The two erasures in lines 7 and 17 were not recut (see below). The roster omits the patronymic and is not arranged under deme captions. After each ephebe is an abbreviated demotic, varying in form (e.g. Εὐωνυ vs Εὐω) and does not distinguish between Upper and Lower Lamprai or Upper and Lower Pergase || 22 iota omitted || 44 nu and alpha omitted || 46 pi omitted.

As Reinmuth and Pouilloux had argued, despite the reservations of Pélékidis and others (e.g. Davies), Petrakos' discovery of two fragments which joined the heading of IG II<sup>2</sup> 3105 (ll. 1–4) confirmed that the dedication was ephebic and the enrollment year was 333/2 (the archonship of Nicocrates), which Pouilloux had guessed correctly but Reinmuth had rejected in favor of 329/8 or 324/3. Along with T12, our inscription is the earliest example of a victory-monument commemorating an ephebic *phyle* in the torch-race. The roster is complete, listing 46 names under *lampadephoroi* with two erasures. As Palagia and Lewis

saw, we can infer one of the erased names from the roster of T11, an end of service dedication for the same Erechtheid contingent. Not only were the *gymnasiarchoi* ephebes (Χαρικλῆς Ἀλεξιμένου, T11, Col. 11, l. 9) but also Χαίρεφίλος N[-----] of Upper Pergase appears on T11 (Col. 11, l. 4) but not on T10. Perhaps the cutter had mistakenly inscribed the names of the *gymnasiarchoi* on lines 7 and 17 rather than Chairephilus (and another ephebe) as intended, but, having removed the error, did nothing further. This suggests a total of 50 ephebes for Erechtheis, 48 in the roster and the two *gymnasiarchoi* in the heading. Friend 2014, 99, wrongly states that the date of erection was 333/2 or 332/1. If the *agon gymnikos* at the Nemesia was held on 19 Hekatombion (cf. *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 1 1281 = *SEG* 41.75, ll. 8–9) the dedication was set up in 332/1 or 331/0 because the ephebes of Erechtheis would have celebrated and competed in the Nemesia in both years (see Ch. 5.6).

### Translation

The *sophronistes* Pericl— of Anagryous and the *gymnasiarchoi* of the ephebes of Erechtheus made this dedication. Those [enrolled] in the archonship of Nicocrates [333/2] who had gained victory in the torch-race, —andrus son of Tim— of Euonymon, Charicles son of Aleximenes of Pergase

#### *Lampadephoroi:*

[Col. 1]	[Col. 11]
Agacles of Pergase	[-----]
Chairephilus of Pergase	Phanomachus of —
Archagathus of Lamptrai	Alcimachides of Pergase
Solon of Agryle	Cimon of Pergase
Pythocles of Lamptrai	Timocrates of Kephisia
Democrines of Pergase	Sosibius of Euonymon
Dicaiocrates of Pergase	Diocles of Lamptrai
Charinautes of Lamptrai	Hieron of Lamptrai
Philemon of Agryle	Polycrates of Euonymon
Aristocles of Lamptrai	Xenophon of Lamptrai
Philochares of Anagryous	Epicrates of Euonymon
	—peithes of Lamptrai

[Col. III]

Hyperbolus of Pambotadai  
 Philocles of Anagyrous  
 Aristion of Pergase  
 Telenicus of Pergase  
 Eidon of Agryle  
 Philippus of Anagyrous  
 Philodemus of Lamptrai  
 Antiphemus of Pergase  
 Antiphanes of Kephisia  
 Philoneus of Pergase  
 Nicias of Kephisia  
 Phanoteles of Euonymon

[Col. IV]

Epicrates of Anagyrous  
 Theramenes of Kephisia  
 Philon of Lamptrai  
 Theophilus of Anagyrous  
 Agnonides of Kephisia  
 Philostratus of Lamptrai  
 Callippus of Lamptrai  
 Glaucus of Euonymon  
 Philonides of Euonymon  
 Kephisogenes of Kephisia  
 Polymedes of Lamptrai

[Col. V]

Leochides of Euonymon

### T11 The Ephebes of Erechtheis

Date: Enrollment: 333/2. Inscription: 331/0.  
 Inventory Number: *EM* 4112  
 Find-spot: Unknown  
 Description: Fragment of Hymettian marble stele with rough picked back. Right side smooth but other edges broken.  
 Measurements: Stele: H. 0.25 m., W. 0.11 m., Th. 0.09 m. Letters: 0.005–0.006 m.  
*Editio Princeps*: *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 2401 (Kirchner).  
 Bibliography: *SEG* 39.184; Palagia and Lewis 1989, 333–337.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Col. I:

[-----]  
 [-----ο]υ

3

6

Col. II:

[-----]  
 [-----]  
 Περγασε[ῖς καθύπε(ρθε)]  
 Ἀλκιμαχίδης Α[-----]  
 Χαιρέφιλος Ν[-----]  
 Φιλόνεως Φίλοσ[-----]  
 Κίμων Κίμωνος  
 Τελένικος Τελε[-----]

	Περγασεῖς ὑπέ(νερθε)
9	Χαρικλῆς Ἄλεξ[ιμένου]
	Ἄριστιων Ἄριστονί[χου]
	Δικαιοκράτης Εὐμ[-----]
12	[Δ]ημοκρίνης Δημοκρ[-----]
	Ἀντίφημος Θερσίου
	Ἀγακλῆς Πασικλεί(δου)
15	Λαμπτρεῖς [καθ]ύπε(ρθε)
	Ἰέρων Λυσίου
	Ξεγοφῶν Θεοδότου
18	[Φί]λων Θεοδώρου
	[Φ]ιλόδ[ημος] Φρύωνο[ς?]
	[Διοπεί]θης Διοπέιθου
21	[Διοκλ]ῆς Διοκλείδου
	[Χα]ρινάυτης Χαριξένο[υ]
	[Κάλλ]ιππος [Δ]ιοπε[-----]
24	[-----]ο[-----]

Palagia and Lewis || Col. II, 2 . . . . . εσ—Kirchner || Col. II, 8 Περγασεῖς Kirchner  
|| Col. II, 15 Ἀγγελ Kirchner, Ἀγγελ(ῆθεν) Leonardos.

Kircher suspected that there was a relationship between T10 (= IG II<sup>2</sup> 3105) and T11 (= IG II<sup>2</sup> 2401) because the same names appear on both inscriptions (e.g. Cimon of Pergase, T10, Col. II, l. 20; T11, Col. II, l. 6). Palagia and Lewis subsequently confirmed that T11 was an end of service dedication for the ephebes of Erechtheis enrolled in the archonship of Nicocrates. The roster lists the names of 23 ephebes arranged in two columns. One line is inserted before the preserved text. A deme caption may well have preceded [----- ο]υ in column I. We can infer the number of ephebes and demes originally represented on the roster from the list of ephebic *lampadephoroi* and the two ephebic *gymnasiarchoi* on T10: Upper Pergase (6), Lower Pergase (5), Upper and Lower Lamptrai (13), Anagrous (5), Euonymon (9), Upper and Lower Agryle (3), Kephisia (6), and Pambotadai (1). Two ephebes are without demotics (T10, Col. II, ll. 17–18). This would mean that the roster was ca. 30 lines in length with 50 ephebes drawn from ca. 10 demes.

*Translation*

[Col. I]

— son of —us

[Col. II]

From Lower Pergase,  
 Alcimachides son of A—  
 Chairephilus son of N—  
 Philoneus son of Philos—  
 Cimon son of Cimon,  
 Telenicus son of Tele—  
 From Upper Pergase,  
 Charicles son of Aleximenes  
 Aristion son of Aristonicus  
 Dicaiocrates son of Eum—  
 Democrines son of Democr—  
 Antiphemus son of Thersias  
 Agacles son of Pasicleides  
 From Lower Lamptrai,  
 Hieron son of Lysias  
 Xenophon son of Theodotus  
 Philon son of Theodorus  
 Philodemus son of Phrynon  
 Diopeithes son of Diopeithes  
 Diocles son of Diocleides  
 Charinautes son of Charixenus  
 Callippus son of Diope—  
 — son of —o—

**T12 The Ephebes of Aiantis**

- Date: Enrollment: 333/2. Inscription: 332/1 or 331/0.  
 Inventory Number: Ceramicus 1 64  
 Find-spot: South of Propylon to the Pompeium in Ceramicus  
 Description: Marble fragment of base, smoothed top and sides (rough picked back) but broken below, with a rectangular cutting for a dedication.  
 Measurements: Base: H. 0.17 m., W. 0.325 m., Th 0.232 m. Cutting: H. 0.15 m., W. 0.16 m., D. 0.08 m. Letters: 0.01 m. (ll. 1–6), 0.007 m. (ll. 7–9).  
*Editio Princeps*: Habicht 1961 (1962), 143–146, no. 2.  
 Bibliography: *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 335; *SEG* 21.680. Reinmuth 1971, 17–19, no. 6; Lewis 1973, 256.

## NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- [Αἰ]αντίδος ἔφηβ[οι οἱ]  
 ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντ[ος]  
 3 [κ]αὶ σωφρονιστῆς Ἐπιχάρης  
 Ἐπιγένους Οἰναῖος λαμπάδι  
 νικήσαντες ἦρωι Μουνίχῳ  
 6 *vacat* ἀνέθεσαν *vacat*  
 Οἰναῖοι *vacat*  
 [Π]ολυμήδης Πολυφίλου [-----]  
 9 νην Πυθόδωρ[ος Ἀπ]ολλοδώρου  
 [---]α[---]ο[-----]

## Habicht

8 There is an erasure after the last preserved letter (see below) || 9 *init.* Habicht reads [κα]ἰ but no iota is visible (Lewis). The first three spaces were uninscribed (Friend) || 10 first preserved letter: an oblique stroke of an alpha or lambda. Second preserved letter: upper half of omicron or theta visible.

This dedication commemorates the victorious ephebic *lampadephoroi* of Aiantis enrolled in the archonship of Nicocrates. As Habicht suggests, Munichus was clearly one of the 42 eponymous heroes in the system of conscription by age-classes (see Ch. 2.2). If the ephebes had competed in the Panathenaic torch-race, T12 would have been erected in 332/1 or 331/0 (see Chs. 5.6 and 6.4). As preserved there is a prescript and the first four lines of the roster.



Dimensions: Base: H: 0.535 m., W: 0.42 m., Th: 0.24 m. Cutting: W: 0.165 m.; B: 0.115 m.; D: 0.04 m. Letters: 0.007 m. Stoich. 43 (ll. 1–8), Non-Stoich. (ll. 9–22).

*Editio Princeps:* Peek 1942 (1951), 21–22, no. 24.

*Bibliography:* *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 342; *SEG* 30.334, 34.150, 37.233, 46.248, 51.149; Pouilloux 1954, 107, no. 2; Pélékidis 1962, 149–151, no. 9; Reinmuth 1971, 34–38, no. 10; Davies 1971, 319, no. 8674; Petrakos 1982 (1984), 161, no. 6; Petrakos 1984a, 336; *IRhamn.* 102 (= Petrakos 1999, Vol. 11, 88–89).

	[...]ΙΑΛΛ[.]ΡΟ[..... <sup>20</sup> .....]ΦΗΜ[..... <sup>11</sup> .....]		
	[.]ΚΛΓΙΟΓΙ [ταξί[αρχος Ἄν]τικλείδη[ν] Ἀντικλέο[υς]		
3	[λο]χαγόν Κλεαίνε[τον . . <sup>5</sup> . .]δρου Κυδαθ[η]ναιέα λοχ[αγὸ]- [ν . . . <sup>8</sup> . . .]γην Διοφῶν[τος Π]ρασιέα λοχαγόν Ἡγε[. . . <sup>5</sup> . .]		
	[. . . . <sup>9</sup> . . .]τωνος Κυ[δ]α[θ]ην[αι]έα λο[χ]αγ[ὸ]ν Ἐ[. . .]		
6	[. . . <sup>6</sup> . . Παι]ανιέα λοχαγόν [.]φιλον[ Σω]κράτους Κυ[δαθ]- [η]ναιέα δι[δ]ασκάλον ἢ Κάλ]λαισ[χρ]ον Καλλίου Παιανιέ[α]		
	[ἐξ ἐπιμελ]ητων Φιλοκρά[τ]η[ν Σ]ωστρά[α]το[υ] Φρεάρριον [.]		
	<i>vacat</i>		
9	[ή βου]λή Ῥαμνού- Ἐλευσί- Φυλάσι- [ὀ δῆ]μοσ σιοι νιοι οι		
	<i>vacat</i>		
	Col. I:	Col. II:	Col. III:
	[Πρασ]τεῖς	[-----]	[Κυδ]αθηναίεις
12	[ - ]ΛΙΟ[.]ΛΗ[... ]Σ	[-----]	Ἄ[ρ]κέδημ[ο]ς Εὐξένο[υ]
	[ - ]Γ~Ο[-----]	[-----]	Ἰσόδημος Ἰσιφίλ[ου]
	[ - - - ]Φιλιστ[ί]ωνος	ΛΗΝ[-----]	Ἀντιχάρης Ἀντικλέο[ς]
15	[ - - - ]ος Ζωπύρου	[-----]ωνος	[. . . <sup>5</sup> . .]οτης Αἰνησίου
	[ - - ]ωρ Θεοφάντου	Ἄντ[-----]	[Ἡ]γησ[ι]κλής Φιλέου
	[ - - - ]ς Δημητρίου	Ἄντ[ι]σ[-----]	[.]ΥΑ[-----]
18	[-----]	Λακρ[-----]	Ἀντιγένη[ς . . .]ων[ος]
	[-----]	Αἰν[-----]	Πρώταρχ[ο]ς ΔΙΧΙΡΑ
	[-----]	[-----]	Μεγ[.]ων [Φ]ορμίωνος
21	[-----]	[-----]	Φανόμα[χ]ος Μ[.]ν[ - - ]
	[-----]	[-----]	[ - - ]ρ[ - - ]τη[.]ομο[ - - - ]

Peek, Pouilloux, Reinmuth || 2 Λ/////////Ε///ΓΛ//////// Peek, [ταξί[αρχος] Reinmuth T6, l. 6; T9, Col. I, ll. 20–21, Col. II, l. 15 || 3 [Μενάν]δρου Peek, Τεισάν]δρου Davies

|| 4 [γον . . .<sup>6</sup> . . .]εγην Peek, Π]ρασιέα Pouilloux, Ίχαριε[α] Peek, [Ἡ]γε Peek, Ἡγη  
 Pouilloux || 5 [. . . .<sup>9</sup> . . .]τονος Peek, Pouilloux, Γλ(α)ύκ[ο]υ Νε[. . .] Peek, Σάτυ-  
 ρον Ε[. . .] Pouilloux || 6–7 Κυδ[α]||[ντιδην γυμ]νασιαρχο[υ] Peek, Κυ[. . .]||[. . .<sup>6</sup> . . .  
 δι]δάσκαλο[υ] Pouilloux, Κυ[δαθ]||[ηναία δι]δασκάλο[υ]ς Reinmuth, Κυ[δαθ]||  
 [ηναία δι]δασκάλο[υ] Friend (see below) || 8 [. . .<sup>6</sup> . . .]λοχ]αγων Peek, ]ιξων Pouil-  
 loux, [ἐπι τῶν ἐφ]ήβων Πέλέκιδις, [ἐξ ἐπιμελ]ητῶν Reinmuth (see below) || 9 βουλ]ή  
 Peek, βου]λή Pouilloux, Reinmuth || 10 δ]ήμος Peek, Pouilloux, δῆ]μος Reinmuth  
 || Col. I, 11 ιεις Peek, Pouilloux, [Πρασ]ιεις Reinmuth || Col. I, 14 ΠΙΚ]////ΩΝΩΞ  
 Peek || Col. I, 15 Peek, ος Ἐλεοι Pouilloux || Col. I, 16 Peek, ωρ Θεοφάνου Pouil-  
 loux || Col. II, 14 Λοχ Peek, ΛΗΝ Reinmuth || Col. II, 15, Pouilloux || Col. II, 16–19  
 Reinmuth, (16) /\| Pouilloux, (17) ON Peek, |ITI| Pouilloux, (18) Λαχ Peek, Ἄλκι  
 Pouilloux || Col. III, 12 [. . .]έδημ[ο]ς Pouilloux || Col. III, 13 ΣΙΧΙΤ]//// Peek, Ίσι[-  
 ] Pouilloux || Col. III, 16 [Ἡ]γησ(ι)κλέ[η]ς Peek, Σιλέου Pouilloux || Col. III, 17 ΟΙΑ  
 Pouilloux, ΙΑ Reinmuth, Peek, ΥΑ Petrakos || Col. III, 18–22 Petrakos.

The base is quite difficult to read. Many letters are now faint and some have all but disappeared. The stoichedon text ends at line 8. The lines of the three columns are aligned || 2 Cutter omitted the demotic after last preserved stoichos || 7 16th Stoichos: traces of vertical and oblique stroke of nu visible. The next stoichos was probably unscribed || 8 9th and 10th Stoichos: the eta and tau are clear, confirming Reinmuth's reading over Pouilloux's iota and kappa.

By analogy to T4, T6, and T7, this end of service dedication for the ephebes of Pandionis would have begun with a prescript before the fragmentary list of officials (ll. 1–8). As Reinmuth saw, Ἄν]τυκλείδη[υ] Ἄντυκλέο[υ]ς was probably an ephebic *taxiarchos* (or *lochagos*?) and the brother of Ἄντιχάρης Ἄντικλέο[ς] [Κυδ]αθηναίε[υ]ς (Col. III, l. 2). He would have been listed after the *strategos* of Piraeus, the *strategos* of the countryside, the *sophronistes*, and the *kosmetes*, though these titles do not appear in lines 1–2. Confirming Pouilloux, Κάλ]λαισ[χρ]ον Καλλίου Παιανιέ[α] was a *didaskalos*, not a *gymnasiarchos* (cf. T12) as Peek suggests. Reinmuth's δι]δασκάλο[υ]ς is implausible. The identity of Φιλοκρά[τ]η[υ] Σ]ωστρ[ά]το[υ] Φρεάρριον is uncertain. Reinmuth “with some hesitation” proposed that Philocrates was “one of the *epimeletai* ([ἐξ ἐπιμελ]ητῶν)”, specifically one of the ten who had supervised the first quadrennial Amphiarraia at Oropus (*IOrop.* 298). More likely is that he was a superintendent of the fortifications in Attica, attested among the officials honored in T15 (ἐπιμεληται οἱ ἐν τοῖς [φ]ρουρίοις: L.S., ll. 7–9). If Philocrates was the same man who was *diatetes* in 329/8 (Davies 1971, 499, no. 13374F: *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4 34, ll. 5–6), who had already completed his term of office as *epimeletes*, it would mean that the ephebes were enrolled in 332/1 or 331/0. Reinmuth, who was wrong

to assume that Philocrates was *didaskalos* and *epimeletes*, favored ca. 332/1, whereas Pélékidis dated the dedication to 349/8–329/8, Pouilloux “environs de 330”, and Petrakos 333–324. As preserved, the roster lists 23 ephebes arranged in three columns under deme captions. The demes of Prasiai and Kydathenaion sent at least 6 and 11 respectively. In column two there are 6 names (without patronymics) from an unknown deme, perhaps Lower Paiania, Myrrhinous or Probalinthus. We can infer a minimum of 35 ephebes for this Pandionid contingent if the *taxiarchos* and the 5 *lochagoi* were not listed in the roster and 7 out of 11 demes were represented. Previously Reinmuth had estimated 28–31 and 55(?) ephebes (1971, 23, 35–36).

### Translation

--- (the *taxiarchos*?) Anticlides son of Anticles (of Kydathenaion?), the *lochagos* Cleainetus son of —drus of Kydathenaion, the *lochagos* —nes son of Diophon of Prasiai, the *lochagos* Hge— son of —ton of Kydathenaion, the *lochagos* Satyrus son of E— of Paiania, the *lochagos* —philus son of Socrates of Kydathenaion, the *didaskalos* Callaischrus son of Callias of Paiania, —eton Philocrates son of Sostratus of Phrearrhioi.

The Council The Demos	The Rhamnusians	The Eleusinians	The Phylaeans
[Col. I] From Prasiai, — son of —lio—le—s, —go— son of —, — son of Philistion, —us son of Zopyrus, —or son of Theopphantus, —s son of Demetrius	[Col. II] Len— son of —, — son of —on, Ant— son of —, Antis— son of —, Lacr— son of —, Ain— son of —	[Col. III] From Kydathenaion, Arcedemus son of Eux- enus, Isodemus son of Isiphilus, Antichares son of Anticles, — otes son of Ainesias, —ya— son of —, Antigenes son of — on, Protarchus son of LICHRL—, Meg- on son of Phormion, Phanomachus son of M—n—, —p—tes son of Ono—	

## T15 The Ephebes of Leontis

- Date: Enrollment: 332/1–326/5. Inscription: 330/29–324/3.  
 Inventory Number: Oropus 344  
 Find-spot: East of statue base for Agrippa in the Amphiareum at Oropus  
 Description: Limestone base with moulding top and bottom.  
 Measurements: Base: H. 0.73 m.; W. 0.485 m.; Th. 0.335 m. Letters: Front 0.012 m. (l. 1), 0.004–0.007 m. (ll. 2–84). Left and Right Sides 0.008 m.  
*Editio Princeps*: Leonardos 1918, 73–100, nos. 95–97.  
 Bibliography: SEG 37.233, 39.186; Pélékidis 1962, 127–147, no. 6; Reinmuth 1971, 58–82, no. 15; *IOrop.* 353 (= Petrakos 1997, 270–281); Humphreys 2004–2009.

## NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	Λ	Ο	Χ	Α	Γ	Ο	Ι
	Ἡγέστ[ρ]ατος Κλείππου, Ἀ[γ]νίας Μακαρτά[τ]ου, Πασιφῶν Παντήνορο,						
3	Ἀρχέπολις Παντήνορος, Παράμυθος Ἀντιγένου, Σωσίστρατος Σωσιστράτου, Λυσανίας Μόλωνος, Δ[ω]σί[θ]εος Ἀντιγένου, Φο[ρ]ύσκος Τιμοκράτου, Σωσικλῆς Σωσιστράτου, Τιμήσιος Σημωνίδου.						
	Col. I:			Col. II:			
6	Φρεάριοι Εὔπολις Καλλιάδου			<i>vacat</i>			
	Ἀλκίμαχος Καλλιμάχου			42	Ποτάμιοι ὑπένερθεν		
	Διόδωρος Καλλιμάχου				Παράμυθος Ἀντιγένου		
9	Πασιφῶν Παντήνορος				Ἐπικράτ[η]ς Ἀριστοκράτου		
	Ἀρχέπολις Παντήνορος			45	Σκαμ[β]ωνίδαί		
	Ἑρμιππος Πυθέου				Δωσίθεος Ἀντιγένου		
12	Εὔπολις Καλλιάδου				Ταυρέας Αἰσίμου		
	Ξενοκράτης Ἀντιρήτου			48	Ποτάμιοι καθύπερθεν		
	Σώστρατος Φιλοκῆδου				Δημοφάνης Ἀρ[ι]στ[ο]φάνου		
15	Ἀρχιάδης Ἀρχίππου				Αἰθαλίδαί		
	Θρασυκλῆς Θράσωνος			51	Ἐξώπιος Φαιδρίου		
	Πυθόδωρος Δημ[ο]κλέους				Ποτάμιοι Δειραδιῶται		
18	Σμικρίας Ἐπι[. . .]ου				Πύρρος [Π]ανγκλέους		
	[Υ]βά[δ]αι			54	[Φ]ιλόφρων Πανγκλέ[ου]ς		
	Μενεστρατίδης Ἴπποστράτου				[. . .]μων Ξενο[κ]λ[έ]ους		
21	Λύκαιος Λυκαίου				[Ε]ὔανδρος [Ε]ὔαν[δρ]ου		
	Φρύνιχος Φρυναίου			57	Σωσιγένης Σώ[σο]υ		
	Ἡγίας Ἡγίου				Σουνιε[ῖς]		

24	Ἀπολλόδωρ[ος] Λυσιστρ[άτ]ου Χολλείδαι	60	Ἦγέ[στρατος Κλείππ]ου Σωσικλῆς Σωσ[ιστ]ρά[τ]ου Σωσίστρατος [Σωσισ]τ[ρά]του
27	Φί[. . .]ος Αἰσχύνου Ἀμύντης Σωδάμου Ναύσις Γνάθωνος	63	Τ[ιμ]ήσιος Σ[ημωνίδ]ου Ναυσίφιλος Κίμωνος Διονύσιππος Εὐαγγέλου
30	Ἐκαλείς Λυσιφῶν Φιλί[σ]κου Πήληκες	66	Μειδωνίδης Περικλέους Ἀρχέδειπνος Νικοδήμου Θάλλιππος Εὐαγγέλου
33	Ἴεροκλῆς Φεί[δ]ωνος Φιλίνος Χαιρεστράτου Κήττιοι	69	Δημοφῶν Εὐξένου Δειραδιῶται Λυσανίας [Μ]όλωνος
36	Λυσίστρατος Ε[ὐ]ξένου Ἀπφιτελίδης Φιλοκράτου Σμίκυθος Ξενοκλέους	72	Λευκονοῆς Φο[ρ]ύσκος Τιμο[κρ]άτους Δήμαρχος Ἀριστάνδρου
39	Σωσίστρατος Σω[σ]τράτου Τιμόστρατος Τιμοκράτου Ἐπικράτης Σπο[υ]δίου	75	Θαρρέας Σατύρου Χαιρεφῶν Καλλιστράτου Καλλίστρατος Σωτέλου

## Col. III:

*vacat*

ἐξ Οἴου

78	Ἀγνίας Μακαράτου Στράτων Στρατωνίδου Εὐπυρίδαι
81	Εὐκτίμενος Εὐκτιμέν Κολωνῆς Αἰσχύλος Πρωτομάχο
84	Θεόδωρος Ἀμφιμάχο[υ]

## Left Side:

[τούσ]δε ἔστεφ[ά]νωσαν οἱ ἔφηβοι·

*vacat*

3	στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τεί χώραι Λεωσ(θ)ένην Λεωσ(θ)ένου	σωφρονιστὴν <i>vacat</i> Θυμοχάρην 12 Δημοχάρου
6	Κεφαλήθεν <i>vacat</i> ἐπιμεληταὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς	Λευκονέα <i>vacat</i> διδάσκαλον 15 Πυθα[- -]

9	[φ]ρουρίοις	[. . . <sup>ca.5</sup> . . .]οκλέου Δεκελέα
	<i>vacat</i>	
18	Λυσίστρατον Εὐξένου Κήττιον	

## Right Side:

	τούσδε ἐστεφάνωσαν οἱ ἔφηβοι	
	<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>
	στρατηγὸν	στρατηγὸν
3	ἐπ[ι] τῶι Πειραεῖ	12 ἐπὶ τει Ἄκτει
	Δικαιογένην (Μνεξένου)	Φερεκλείδην Φερεκλέους
6	Κυδαθηναέα	15 Περιθοίδην
	<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>
	κοσμητὴν	ἐπιμελητὴν
	<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>
	Φιλοκλέα	Νικόδωρον
9	Φορμίωνος	18 Φιλοθήρου
	Ἐροιάδην	Ἄχαρνεά

Leonardos **Front** || **Col. I, 27** Φί[λ±2<sup>1/3</sup>]ος *vel* Φί[λιππ]ος Leonardos, Φί[. . .]ος Reinmuth || **Col. II, 44** [Ἀ]ριστοκράτου Leonardos, Ἀριστοκράτου Reinmuth || **Col. II, 57** Σώ[±2<sup>1/3</sup>]υ Leonardos, Σώ[σο]υ Reinmuth, Σώ[. . .]υ Petrakos **Left Side** || 7–9 ἐπιμελητᾶ(ς) | (τούς) ἐν τοῖς | [φ]ρουρίοις Reinmuth || 13 Λευκονοέα Leonardos, Λευκονέα Reinmuth, Πέλέκιδις || 15–16 [5–5<sup>1/2</sup>]οκλέου Leonardos, Πυθα[. . . .]οκλέου Reinmuth, Πυθα[- -] | [. . .<sup>ca.5</sup>. . .]οκλέου Petrakos **Right Side** || 5 (Μνεξένου) Reinmuth.

**Front** The ephebes' names are indented one letter to the right of the deme captions. The officials honored on the left and right sides are in inscribed circles || 6 The cutter omitted Εὐπολις Καλλιᾶδου from the list of *lochagoi* and the deme caption (Φρεᾶριοι). They were inserted between lines 5 and 7, with smaller letters **Left Side** || 7–9 Nominative inscribed instead of the accusative **Right Side** || 5 Patronymic omitted.

As preserved, this end of service dedication for the ephebes of Leontis lists 11 *lochagoi* (ll. 1–5), to whom we must add Εὐπολις Καλλιᾶδου because he also appears in the roster (Col. I, ll. 6, 12). The names of 62 ephebes are arranged in three columns under deme captions. 17 out of 20 demes are represented: Phre-

arrhioi (12), Hybadai (5), Cholleidai (4), Hekale (1), Pelekes (2), Kettos (6), Upper Potamos (2), Skambonidai (2), Lower Potamos (1), Aithalidai (1), Potamioi-Deiradiotai (5), Sounion (10), Deiradiotai (1), Leukonion (5), ex Oiou = Oion Kerameikon (2), Eupyridai (1), and Kolonai (2). On the left side the officials crowned by the epebes were the *strategos* of the countryside, the *epimeletai* of the forts, the *sophronistes*, a *didaskalos*, and the epebe (without title) Λυσίστρατον Εὐξένου Κήττιον (cf. Col. I, 1. 36), who was probably the *taxiarchos* (Reinmuth 1971, 67). On the right side the officials are the *strategos* of Piraeus, the *strategos* of Acte, the *kosmetes*, and probably an *epimeletes* of the tribe (cf. T9, Col. II, ll. 6–7)] rather than one of the ten *epimeletai* who supervised the Amphiaraiia (cf. *IOrop*. 298 = IG VII 4254).

Lewis observed, rightly, that “the inscription is certainly incomplete as it stands, with no dedicatory formula” (1973, 255). Originally there would have been a crowning moulding, upon which the prescript was inscribed. In the absence of an archon-date scholars have traditionally assigned our inscription to the enrollment year of 324/3. The arguments adduced in support of this date, however, are hardly compelling.

First, it is maintained that Dicaioenes of Cydathenaion was *strategos epi ton Peiraiea* in 324/3 because he is independently attested as *strategos* on IG II<sup>2</sup> 1631 (ll. 380–381). Although this entry omits his demotic and his area of military responsibility, the identification is reasonable because the entry for the next year has στρατηγῶ[ι] τῶι ἐπ[ὶ] τῶι Πειραεῖ Δικαιογένε[ι] Κ]υδαθ (ll. 214–215). But if Dicaioenes was *strategos* in 324/3, it would mean that the dedication was set up at the Amphiareum in 322/1, when Oropus was no longer under Athenian control and after the *ephebeia* had been abolished (see Epilogue). Moreover, if we identify Leosthenes son of Leosthenes of Cephale with the Leosthenes (patronymic and demotic unknown) who commanded the Athenian army in the Lamian War (e.g. Davies 1971, 342–344, no. 9142; doubted by Jaschinski 1981, 51–54; Matthaiou 1994, 181), he clearly could not have been *strategos epi ten choron* in 323/2 when he also was active at Taenarum (D.S. 17.111.3) and had died at the siege of Lamia (D.S. 18.13.5) (Bosworth 1988a, 293–294). As Humphreys saw, the case for identifying the two is strong if the Leontid inscription is not dated to the class of 324/3 (2004–2009, 86; cf. Worthington 1987, 489–491, on IG II<sup>2</sup> 1631, ll. 601–604, where the heirs of Leosthenes of Cephale discharged their father’s debts on the trireme *Hebe*). We should note that Phereclides son of Phericles of Perithoidai, the *strategos* of the Acte on T15, was also honored as a *strategos* on a garrison inscription found at Rhamnus (337–334: *IRhamn*. 96 = IG II<sup>2</sup> 2968). Perhaps Dicaioenes’ career was similar to Phereclides in not being limited to the late 320s.

Second, it is assumed that the *kosmetes* Philocles son of Phormion of Eroia-dai was the same man as the Philocles (patronymic and demotic unknown)

who as *strategos* of the Munychia in 325/4 had permitted Harpalus to enter Athens against the order of the *demos* (e.g. Goldstein 1968, 277–281). Philocles the *strategos* was prosecuted for accepting bribes, convicted, and exiled (Din. 3 *Against Philocles*; Dem. *Ep.* 3.31–32). When Dinarchus says that Philocles was removed from ἐπιμελεία τῶν ἐφήβων (3.15), the orator means that he was no longer in charge of those ephebes based at Piraeus (see Ch. 4.2). As Hamel 1998a, 213–214, observes, we should not infer from this passage that Dinarchus was referring to Philocles as *kosmetes* because ἐπιμελεία was also used in the corpus for the *sophronistes* and the *strategoí* (e.g. T6 [331/0], ll. 3–11). Others also point out the chronological difficulties in associating Philocles the *strategos* with Philocles the *kosmetes* (e.g. Reinmuth 1971, 73–76; Worthington 1986; 1989). It is scarcely credible that Philocles was first dismissed from the *strategiea* by the end of 325/4 but was then elected *kosmetes* early in 324/3 after he was recalled from exile (Dem. *Ep.* 2.15–17), or that the Athenians would have elected this Philocles if he was already under suspicion of bribery and known to have disobeyed the *Demos*. If Dinarchus' Philocles was not the son of Phormion, there is no compelling reason to date this dedication to the events of the Harpalus affair and the Lamian War.

The *terminus post quem* for the ephebes' enrollment, then, is 332/1 because the ephebic *taxiarchos* and *lochagoi* first appear in 333/2 and there are two dedications of Leontis which date to Nicocrates' archonship (T8–T9). The *terminus ante quem* is 326/5 because Dinarchus' Philocles was *strategos* of Munychia in 325/4. Clearly any date is possible within this interval (cf. Pélékidis 1962, 120, 127). Recently scholars have favored 329/8 or 325/4 as the date of *erection* for the dedication, when the quadrennial Amphiaraia was celebrated at Oropus in the Lycurgan era (e.g. Reinmuth 1971, 70–72; Tracy 1995, 26). This would mean that the ephebes of Leontis belonged to the class of 331/0 or 327/6. We do not know, however, in what month the Amphiaraia was held: i.e. whether it was before or after Boedromion 329/8 or 325/2, at which time the ephebes would have received their end of service honors (See Ch. 5.7). Perhaps the dedication was set up at the Amphiareum because the ephebes *had* already participated in the Amphiaraia and were impressed with the festivities. If so, the enrollment year was 330/29–329/8 or 326/5–325/4. In any case we cannot infer a single date from the prosopography. Unless new evidence is discovered (i.e. the crowning moulding with the prescript) further precision in dating this dedication is unlikely.

*Translation*

*The Lochagoi:* Hegestratus son of Clippus, Hagnias son of Macartatus, Pasiphon son of Pantenor, Archepolis son of Pantenor, Paramythus son of Antigenes, Sosistratus son of Sosistratus, Lysianus son of Molon, Dositheus son of Antigenes, Phoryscus son of Timocrates, Sosicles son of Sosistratus, Timesius son of Semonides.

[Col. I]

From Phrearrhioi, Eupolis son of Calliades, Alcimachus son of Callimachus, Diodorus son of Callimachus, Pasiphon son of Pantenor, Archepolis son of Pantenor, Hermippus son of Pytheus, Eupolis son of Calliades, Xenocrates son of Antiretus, Sostratus son of Philocedes, Archiades son of Archippus, Thrasycles son of Thrason, Pythodorus son of Democles, Smicrius son of Epi-us; From Hybidai, Menestratides son of Hippostratus, Lycaius son of Lycaius, Phrynichus son of Phrynaius, Hegias son of Hegias, Apollodorus son of Lysistratus; From Cholleidai, Lysistratus son of Lysicrates, Phil-us son of Aeschynus, Amyntes

[Col. II]

From Upper Potamos, Parathymus son of Antigenes, Epicrates son of Aristocrates; From Skambonidai: Sositheus son of Antigenes, Taureas son of Aesimas; From Lower Potamos, Demophanes son of Aristophanes; From Aithalidai, Euxopius son of Phaidrius; From Potamioi-Deiradiotai, Pyrrhus son of Pancles, Philophon son of Pancles, —mon son of Xenocles, Euandrus son of Euandrus, Sosigenes son of So-us; From Sounion, Hegestratus son of Clippus, Sosicles son of Sosistratus, Sosistratus son of Sosistratus, Timesius son of Semonides, Nausiphilus son of Cimon, Dionysippus son of Euangelus, Meidonides son of Pericles, Archideipnus

[Col. III]

From Oion Kerameikon, Hagnias son of Macratatus, Straton son of Stratonides; From Eupyridai, Euctimetus son of Euctimetus; From Kolonai, Aeschylus son of Protomachus, Theodorus son of Amphimachus

son of Sodamus, Nausis son of Gnathon; From Hekale, Lysiphon son of Philiscus; From Pelekes, Hierocles son of Pheidon, Philinus son of Chairestratus; From Kettos, Lysistratus son of Euxenus, Amphitelides son of Philocrates, Smycythus son of Xenocles, Sosistratus son of Sosistratus, Timostratus son of Timocrates, Epicrates son of Spoudias;	son of Nicodemus, Thallippus son of Euangelus, Demophon son of Euxenes; From Deiradiotai, Lysianus son of Molon; From Leukonoion, Phoryscus son of Timocrates, Demarchus son of Aristandrus, Tharreas son of Satyrus, Chairephon son of Callistratus, Callistratus son of Soteles;
---	--

## Left Side:

The ephebes crowned these men: The *strategos* of the countryside Leosthenes son of Leosthenes of Kephale, the epimeletai of the forts, the *sophronistes* Phymorchaes son of Demochares of Leukonoion, the didaskalos Pytha— son of —ocles of Dekeleia, Lysistratus son of Euxenus of Kettos.

## Right Side:

The ephebes crowned these men: The *strategos* of Piraeus Dicaiogenes son of Mnexenus of Kydathenaion, the *kosmetes* Philocles son of Phormion of Eroiadai, the *strategos* of the Acte Phereclides son of Pherecles of Perithoidai, the *epimeletes* Nicodorus son of Philotherus of Acharnai.

## T16 The Ephebes of Aigeis

- Date: Enrollment: 331/0. Inscription: 330/29.  
 Inventory Number: Rhamnus 525 N and *EM* 4218  
 Find-spot: Rhamnus  
 Description: Fragmentary Pentelic marble base with molding on the top and a cutting for a herm. Smoothed top, front, and sides, but rough picked back.  
 Measurements: Base: H. 0.53 m., W. 0.29 m., Th. 0.197 m. Letters: 0.006 m.  
*Editio Princeps*: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1181 (Kirchner).  
 Bibliography: *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4 339; *SEG* 34.151, 35.239, 46.248, 49.192; Petrakos 1984a, 336; Schwenk 1985, 227–228, no. 46; Stanton 1996, 344–345; *IRhamn.* 99 (= Petrakos 1999, Vol. 11, 85–86).

### NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

#### Front:

- οί ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Αἰγιίδ[ο]ς οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφάνους ἄρχον-  
 [τος] καὶ ὁ σωφρονιστῆ[ς τοῦ]των Θαρρίας Θαρριάδου  
 3 [Ἐρχιεὺς ἀνέθεσαν. Θαρρίας δὲ] ἔθυσεν ἐφ' ὑγείαι καὶ σωτη-  
 [ρίαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δ]ήμο[υ] καὶ [τ]οῦ δήμου  
 [τῶν Ῥαμνουσίων. ----- ca. 20 -----]λῆς κα[ὶ .]

#### Right Side:

- [-----]ΟΛΕΟΥ[-----]  
 [-----]Φ[.]Ρ[.]ΟΥ[-----]  
 3 [-----]ΝΟ[-----]

**Front** Petrakos (left side) and Kirchner (right side) || 1 οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Αἰγιίδ[ο] Petrakos, ]ς οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφάνους ἄρχον Kirchner || 2 καὶ ὁ σωφρονιστῆ[ς τοῦ]των Petrakos, [τος-----]τωι Θαρρίας Θαρριάδου Kirchner || 3 [Ἐρχιεὺς-----] ἔθυσεν ἐφ' ὑγείαι καὶ σωτη Kirchner, [Ἐρχιεὺς ἀνέθεσαν. Θαρρίας δὲ] Friend || 4 [ρίαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δ]ήμο[υ] καὶ Friend, [ρίαι-----]νίδο[ . . . .τ] Kirchner, Petrakos || 5 [τῶν Ῥαμνουσίων. ----- ca. 20 -----]λῆς κα[ὶ .] Friend, εἰα[ . . .] Kirchner, ]Α[.]ΣΜ[ Petrakos **Right Side** || 1–3 Petrakos, (1) κλεου[ς] Curbera.

**Front** The surface is in poor condition and many letters are now faint and difficult to read || 2 24th letter: nu is clear. Kirchner read iota || 4 1st preserved letter: vertical stroke and horizontal of eta (compare to eta at end of line 3). 2nd preserved letter: mu is clear; 3rd preserved letter: clearly an omicron. 4th preserved letter: faint vertical and top oblique stroke of kappa. 5th preserved letter: both oblique

strokes visible but no crossbar, dotted as alpha. 6th preserved letter: iota is clear  
 || 5 1st preserved letter: peak of lambda or alpha. 2nd preserved letter: eta is clear.  
 3rd preserved letter: top and bottom oblique strokes of sigma. 4th preserved letter:  
 kappa is clear. 5th preserved letter: left oblique stroke and crossbar of alpha.

Kirchner identified *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1181*, the front right of our inscription, as a “Decretum Suniensium”, before Petrakos’ discovery of new fragments at Rhamnus (the front left and the right side) confirmed that the honorific decree was ephebic. Unique to the corpus, the base was not an end of service dedication for the ephebes of Aigeis enrolled in the archonship of Aristophanes, nor was it erected after their victory in the *lampadedromia* (cf. T10). Instead, T16 was probably dedicated after the ephebic *phyle* had celebrated a deme festival of Nemesis, Themis, or some other god(dess). If Nemesis, the festival was not the annual or great Nemesia, which ephebes from both enrollment years would have attended (see Chs. 5.6 and 6.4). This edition assumes that the *sophonistes* Tharrias son Tharrias of Erchia had made the sacrifice and that the *phyle* was stationed at Rhamnus in the second year of service, suggesting a date of 330/29. It is also assumed that τοῦ δήμο[υ] καὶ [τ]οῦ δήμου refers to the Demos and to the deme of Rhamnus. The honorific decree is poorly preserved. The κα[ι] shows that it was not limited to five lines. Perhaps a roster of ephebes was also inscribed on the front, while the fragmentary right side may have listed the ephebic *taxiarchos* and *lochagoi*.

### *Translation*

#### *Front:*

The ephebes of Aigeus [enrolled] in the archonship of Aristophanes [331/0] and the *sophonistes* of them Tharrias son of Tharrias of Erchia made this dedication. Tharrias was sacrificing on behalf of the health and safety of the Council and the Demos and the demos of the Rhamnusians  
 --- —les and ---

#### *Right Side:*

(*Taxiarchos* and/or *lochagoi*?) --- son of oleus --- son of ph-r-us --- —  
 no—

## T17 The Ephebes of Cecropis

- Date: Enrollment: 332/1 or later. Inscription: 330/29 or later.
- Inventory Number: See below.
- Find-spot: Around the Library of Pantainos
- Description: Two-block base of seven fragments of Hymettian marble. Six form the upper block and one the lower block. See also commentary below.
- Measurements: Fragments: *a* = *Agora* I 990, H: 0.15 m.; W: 0.20 m.; Th: 0.09 m.; Letters: 0.006–0.007 m.; *b* = *Agora* I 2301, H: 0.097 m.; W: 0.185 m.; Th: 0.323 m.; Letters: 0.006 m.; *c* = *Agora* I 2259, H: 0.13 m.; W: 0.16 m.; Th: 0.281 m.; Letters: 0.006 m.; *d* = *Agora* I 7479, H: 0.157 m.; W: 0.205 m.; Th: 0.152 m.; Letters: 0.005–0.007 m.; *e* = *Agora* I 929, H: 0.13 m.; W: 0.135 m.; Th: 0.10 m.; Letters: 0.006 m.; *f* = *Agora* I 431, H: 0.14 m.; W: 0.21 m.; Th: 0.15 m.; Letters: 0.006 m.; *g* = *Agora* XV 494 (= I 6954), H: 0.41 m.; W (top): 1.198 m.; Th (top): 0.578 m.; Letters: 0.006 m.
- Editio Princeps*: Traill 1986, 3–5.
- Bibliography: *SEG* 36.155; Meritt 1964, 201–202, no. 53; Humphreys 2010, 78–81.

Non-Stoich. ca. 90 (ll. 1–8);

Non-Stoich. (ll. 9–115)

### Upper Block Front:

- [-----]σθα[ι]
- [----- ἐκκλησίαν] κυρίαν εἶναι
- 3 [----- ἀνάλ(?)ωμα τ[ὸ] παρὰ [...]
- [----- οἱ φυλ]ῆται ἐψηφ[ισαν ν]
- [----- πειθαρχούσιν(?)] αὐτῶν ἐπ[αινέσ]αι ν
- 6 [----- καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐ]τῶν [χρ]υσῶι στε-
- [φάνωι ----- ἵνα ἅπαντες εἰδῶσιν] ὅτι [ἐ]πίσταται
- [----- τὴν φυλακὴν τ]ῆς χώρας. νν

*vacat* to bottom of block

*Lower Block* (uninscribed)

*Right Side* = Roster

*Upper Block*

Col. I:	Col. II:
9 [Ἀλαιεῖς]	[Ἀθμονεῖς]
<i>lacuna?</i>	<i>lacuna?</i>
[-----]	Τει[-----]
[-----ο]υ	63 Μνη[-----]
12 [-----]ου	Εὐφ[ρό]νιος [-----]
[-----]του	Ἄρι[σ]τώνυμο[ς -----]
[-----]νος	66 Αὐτ[ο]μένης [-----]
15 [-----]δόκου	Αἰ[σχ]ραῖος Χ[-----]
[-----]ιάδου	Θε[όξ]ενος Μελ[-----]
[-----] Φ(α)ιδρίου	69 <i>vacat</i>
18 [-----]ς Φυρομάχου	<i>vacat</i>
[-----]ν Ἡφαιστοκλέου	[Φ]λυε[ῖς]
[-----]σιος Εὐφραίου	72 [...]κλείδη[ς ...]ει[--]
21 [-----]ς[...ιος] Θεοφίλου	[Ἄρ]ίμνηστ[ο]ς Ἄριμ[νήστου]
[Αἰξ]ωνεῖς	[...]ελος Κηφισο[δῶρου(?)]
[-----]ς Φ[-----]	75 [Νι]κήρατος Εὐβ[ούλου]
24 [-----]	Ἀπήμαντος Ἀπημ[άντου]
[-----]	Πολύστρατος Πολυ[στράτου]
[.]ι[.]θ[.]ιος [-----]	78 Ἀνθεμίων Ἀντιλ[όχου]
27 Ἐκφ[α]ν[τ]ος [-----]	Ἀρχέδικος Ἀρχε[δίκου]
Καλλίας [-----]	Ἄ[-----]
[Ἐ]ργ[ο-----]	81 [ <i>vacat?</i> ]
30 [-----]	[ <i>vacat?</i> ]
Ἄυσ[-----]	[Πιθεῖς](?)
[.]π[-----]	84 [-----](?)
33 [-----]θου	[-----](?)
Κ[-----]ράτου	[-----](?)
Ε[-----] Μεταλ]ήξιδος	87 [-----](?)
36 Ν[-----]οκλέους	[ <i>vacat?</i> ]
[Σ[-----]] ---- Σωφ[...]μο[υ]	[ <i>vacat?</i> ]
<i>vacat</i>	90 [Ἐπιεικίδαι] (?)
39 <i>vacat</i>	[-----](?)
<i>vacat</i>	[ <i>vacat?</i> ]

<i>Lower Block</i>			
	Col. I:		Col. II:
	[Τρινεμεεῖς]	93	[ <i>vacat</i> ]
42	[- - - - -]ου		<i>vacat</i>
	[- - - - -] Θ[ε]ώρο(υ)		<i>vacat</i>
	<i>vacat</i>	96	<i>vacat</i>
45	<i>vacat</i>		Μελιτεῖς
	<i>vacat</i>		Κηφισοφῶν Πυθοδώρου
	<i>vacat</i>	99	Παυσανίας Χαριδήμου
48	<i>vacat</i>		Ἰερώνυμος Ἰερωνύμου
	<i>vacat</i>		Ἀριστόμαχος Δημοχάρου
	<i>vacat</i>	102	Δημοχάρης Δημοχάρου
51	<i>vacat</i>		Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρο[υ]
	<i>vacat</i>		Πυθόδωρος Ἀγωνίππου
	<i>vacat</i>	105	Εὐφημος Θάλλου
54	Συπαλήττιοι		Ἠγήσιππος Θάλλου
	[Ε]ὐθύβουλος Διογένους		<i>vacat</i>
	<i>vacat</i>	108	<i>vacat</i>
57	<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>
	<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>
	Δαιδαλίδαι	111	Εὐπεταίωνες
	<i>vacat to bottom</i>		Ἀσωπόδωρος [Ι]σχομάχου
			Ἰσχομάχος Ἀριστομάχου
		114	Λυσικράτης Χιωνίδου
			Μεναῖος Θεοδ(ό)του ἐκ Κοίλης

Traill || 2 [ἐκκλησίαν] Friend || 6 [δὲ καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς? τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς τοὺς ἐπὶ - - - - ἄρχοντος καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐ]τῶν Traill || 7 [φάνωι ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων(?) δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἵνα ἅπαντες εἰδῶσιν] Traill || 8 [τὴν φυλακὴν τ]ῆς Friend, τ]ῆς Traill **Lower Block** || Col. I, 43 -]ο[δ]ώρο(υ) *vel* Θ[ε]ώρο(υ) Traill.

The surface is quite worn and some letters are now quite difficult to read, especially on the lower block. The names in column two are right-justified. The roster has numerous *vacats* between the inscribed lines. The deme captions are indented **Right Side** || 17 Alpha omitted by cutter || 21 There is an erasure after the sigma which was not reinscribed || 37 A likely erasure before the sigma || 43 First preserved letter: Traill read omicron or theta, but the latter is clear. || 115 Omicron omitted by cutter.

Traill joined six fragments (*a-f*) to form a base (the upper block) with a maximum height of 0.403 m. and a maximum width of 0.478 m. Personal autopsy is in agreement with his readings, his identification of badly-preserved honorific decree as tribal (l. 4: οἱ φυλ]έται ἐψηφ[ισαν), and his line length of ca. 90 letters. His restoration of the last three lines, however, is highly conjectural and this edition retains part of his text. The right side has a roster of two columns arranged under deme captions. Traill associates *a-f* with *Agora* xv 494 (his fragment *g*). Meritt, the *editio princeps* of the lower block, thought that it was a prytany list and proposed a date shortly after 307/6 or sometime prior to 318/7. But Traill argues that it was ephebic, a possibility which Meritt rejected, pointing out that all the fragments were found separately in the vicinity of the Library of Pantainos (*Agora* areas P-Q-R 14 and 15), were cut by the same hand, and were worked in similar fashion. (1) All sides are smoothly finished. (2) The bottom of upper block and the top of the lower block are tooth-chiseled.

Recently, however, Humphreys has made a case for the disassociation of the two blocks. She argues that fragment *g* cannot be ephebic because Ἀριστόμαχος Δημοχάρου (l. 101) of Melite is already attested twice in T6 (ll. 10, 50), the Cecropid dedication for the enrollment year of 333/2. She also identifies Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρο[υ] (l. 103) with the Theodorus who discharged his father's trierarchic debt in 334/3 (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1623, ll. 50–59). Finally, she assumes that Ἀσωπόδωρος [Ἰ]σχομάχου and Ἰσχομάχος Ἀριστομάχου, both from Xypete, were father and son respectively (ll. 112–113). Humphreys, rightly, rejects Traill's implausible suggestion that Aristomachus had repeated the *ephebeia* (for unknown reasons) so that he could serve with his brother Demochares (l. 102) and that both were listed consecutively in the roster "*honoris familiaeque causa*". In her view the lower block was probably a dedication by the *epilektoi* of Cecropis which may or may not have come from the same monument as *Agora* xvi 105, which dates to 318/7, while the upper block would have originally belonged to a different monument, "not necessarily by *epilektoi*" (see Poddighe 2004 on the *epilektoi* of Cecropis during the restored democracy of 318/7). Despite these strong objections, the inclination (admittedly with some hesitation) is to identify both blocks as ephebic which originated from the same dedication and which date to the Lycurgan era. The individuals called Ἀριστόμαχος Δημοχάρου on T6 and T18 were probably homonyms, though the existence of two demesmen from Melite with the same first and last name is unusual (cf. Ἀρχέδικος Ἀρχε[δίκου] in line 79 and Ἀρχέδικος Ἀρχεδίκου on T6, Col. 111, l. 48, both from Phlya). Traill may be right in thinking that the Theodorus in *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1623 was unrelated to his namesake in T17. It is also conceivable that Asopodorus and Isomachus were kinsmen rather than father and son.

Traill maintains that the dedication was not set up in the sanctuary of Cecropis on the Acropolis but in the Agora near the Eleusinion where he had found a base “which is close in dimensions to those of the ephebic monument”. The roster is arranged into two columns on the right side of the upper and lower blocks. According to his reconstruction, the upper block would have had six deme headings with Halai Aixonides, Athmonon, Epieikidai, and Pithos restored, while the lower block had five, with Trinemeia restored. As preserved, there are 58 names on the roster, and he assumes 7 more from the demes of Pithos and Epieikidai. This yields a maximum of 65 ephebes: Halai Aixonides (13), Aixone (15), Trinemeia (2), Sypalettos (1), Athmonon (8), Phlya (9), Pithos (4), Epieikidai (1), Melite (4), and Xypete (3). Traill suggests a date of “332/1 B.C. or shortly after” because Ἀρχέδικος Ἀρχε[δίκου] Φλυεύς (l. 79) and Ἀριστόμαχος Δημοχάρου Μελιτεύς (l. 101) would have repeated the *ephebeia*. But if [Νι]κήρατος Εὐβ[ούλου] Φλυεύς (l. 75) was the younger brother of Σύνβουλος Εὐβούλου and Εὐβουλος Εὐβούλου in T6 (Col. III, ll. 42–43), the *terminus post quem* for the enrollment of the Cecropid contingent was 332/1 or later, and we cannot exclude a date in the early 320s.

### Translation

#### Upper Block Front:

--There is a principal Assembly --- expense from --- the tribesmen decreed --- they obey him --- to praise --- and to crown each of them with a gold crown --- in order that they all know that he knows --- the defense of the countryside.

#### Upper Block Right Side:

[Col. I]  
 (From Halai Aixonides?),  
 — son of —,  
 — son of —us,  
 — son of —us,  
 — son of —tes,  
 — son of —on,  
 — son of —docus,  
 — son of —iades,  
 — son of Phaidrius,  
 —s son of Phyromachus,  
 —n son of Hephaistocles,  
 —sius son of Euphrius,  
 —s son of Theophilus;

[Col. II]  
 (From Athmonon?),  
 Tei— son of —,  
 Mne— son of —,  
 Euphronius son of —,  
 Aristonymus son of —,  
 Automenes son of —,  
 Aeschraius son of Ch—,  
 Theoxenus — son of Mel—;  
 From Phlya,  
 —clides son of —ei—,  
 Arismnestus son of Arismnestus,  
 —elus son of Cephisodorus,  
 Niceratus son of Eubulus,

From Aixone,  
 —s son of Ph—,  
 — son of —,  
 — son of —,  
 -i-th-ius son of —,  
 Ecphantus son of —,  
 Callias son of —,  
 Ergo— son of —,  
 — son of —,  
 Lys— son of —,  
 -p- son of —,  
 — son of —thes,  
 C— son of —ratus,  
 E— son of Metalexides,  
 N— son of —coleus,  
 — son of Sos—mus

*Lower Block Right Side:*

[Col. I]  
 (From Trinemeia?),  
 — son of —us,  
 — son of Theorus;  
 From Sypalettos,  
 Euthybulus son of Diogenes;  
 From Daidalidai.

Apemantus son of Apemantus,  
 Polystratus son of Polystratus,  
 Anthemion son of Antilochus,  
 Archedicus son of Archedicus,  
 A— son of —;  
 (From Pithos?),  
 — son of —,  
 — son of —,  
 — son of —,  
 — son of —;  
 (From Epieikidai?),  
 — son of —

[Col. II]

From Melete,  
 Cephisophon son of Pythodorus,  
 Pausanias son of Charidemus,  
 Hieronymus son of Hieronymus,  
 Aristomachus son of Demochares,  
 Demochares son of Demochares,  
 Theodorus son of Theodorus,  
 Pythodorus son of Agonippus,  
 Euphemus son of Thallus,  
 Hegesippus son of Thallus;  
 From Xypete,  
 Asopodorus son of Isomachus,  
 Isomachus son of Aristomachus,  
 Lysicrates son of Chimnides.  
 Menaius son of Thoudotes from  
 Koile.

## T18 The Ephebes of an Unknown Tribe

- Date: Enrollment: 331/0 or 330/29 or 328/7. Inscription: 329/8 or 328/7 or 326/5.
- Inventory Number: Oropus A 395
- Find-spot: Oropus
- Description: Fragmentary base of white marble, broken on all sides.
- Measurements: Base: H. 0.115 m.; W. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.145 m. Letters: 0.012 m.
- Editio Princeps*: Petrakos 1968, 28, no. 5.
- Bibliography: *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4 344; *IOrop.* 352 (= Petrakos 1997, 270).

### NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ρί[-----]  
 [----- και ὁ σ]ωφρονιστή[ς-----]  
 3 [----- ἀνέ]θεσαν τῶι Ἄμ[φιαράωι-----]  
 [- ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς] καὶ τοῦ δή[μου].

Petrakos || 1 [οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες (*vel* οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ) ἐπὶ Εὐθυκ]ρί[του ἀρχοντος οἱ τῆς]  
 Petrakos, -]ρί[- Friend (see below) || 2 [ἴδος καὶ ὁ σ] Petrakos || 3-4 [στεφανω]||[θέν-  
 τες] Petrakos, [στεφανωθέν]||[τες] Curbera.

3 Right round edge of a theta visible.

An end of service dedication for the ephebes of an unknown tribe erected at the Amphiareum at Oropus. The two extant letters in the first line clearly belonged to the name of an archon. Petrakos' restoration of Εὐθυκ]ρί[του is possible but equally likely are Ἄ]ρί[στοφάνους and Ἄ]ρί[στοφῶντος because the line-length is uncertain. The enrollment year, then, could be 331/0, 330/29, or 329/8. Unless a new join is found, a plausible restoration of the heading (and hence the date and the identity of the tribe) will remain elusive. Petrakos' οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες in line 1 is certainly incorrect because this formula does not appear until the third century (e.g. *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1 986, l. 10).

### Translation

--- in the archonship of —ri— --- and the *sophronistes* --- dedicated to Amphiarus --- by the Council and the Demos.

**T19 The Ephebes of Oineis**

- Date: Enrollment: ca. 330/29. Inscription: ca. 328/7.  
 Inventory Number: *Agora* I 5250  
 Find-spot: Bedrock at bottom of Valerian Wall in Agora  
 Description: Stele of Hymettian marble with crowning molding and cutting for a herm. There is a break across the top front. All sides smoothed.  
 Measurements: Stele: H: 1.154 m.; W: 0.30 m.; Th: 0.152 m. Letters: 0.007 m.  
*Editio Princeps*: Pritchett 1949, 273–278.  
 Bibliography: Pélékidis 1962, 147, no. 7; Reinmuth 1971, 42–50, no. 12.

## NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	Col. I:		Col. II:
	[ <i>demoticum</i> ]	39	[Ἀχαρνεῖς]
	[-----]		[-----]
3	[-----]		[-----]
	[-----]	42	[-----]
	[-----]		[Σώστρατος]
6	Νικομένης		Εὐθόινος
	Βουτάδαι	45	Τιμοκλῆς
	Ἄβρων		Ἴπποθέρης
9	Θεαῖος		Ἀριστοφάνης
	Τυρμεῖδαι	48	Θεόφιλος
	Δημοφάνης		Λέων
12	Φυλάσιοι		Δημόφιλος
	Ἀριστοφῶν	51	Εὐθύμαχος
	Διότιμος		Ἀριστοτέλης
15	Λεπτίνης		Κηφισογένης
	Σωκράτης	54	Ναυκύδης
	Αὐτοκλῆς		Ἀντιφάνης
18	Ἐπικράτης		Διόδωρος
	Περιθοῖδαι	57	Ἐχέμυθος
	Φιλίας		Φίλιππος
21	Ὀῆθεν		Μνησίας
	Ἀριστόδημος	60	Δημοκλήδης
	Νέων		Δεισίθεος
24	Δήμων		Λυσικράτης
	Καλλιφῶν	63	Ἠγήτωρ



Pritchett dates this end of service dedication for the ephebes of Oineis to the enrollment year of ca. 330/29 on the following grounds. (1) Habron of Boutadai (Col. 1, ll. 8 and 74–75) was almost certainly the eldest of Lycurgus' three sons (see Davies 1971, 351–352, no. 9251, on [Plut.] *x Orat.* 843a). Habron, Lycurgus, and Lycophon would have clearly passed through the *ephebeia* before 324, when they were imprisoned after Lycurgus' death ([Plut.] *x Orat.* 842d–e, Phot. *Bibl.* 268 p. 497b). (2) The ephebe Pythocles of Acharnai (Col. 11, l. 65) was probably the same man who was first *trierarchos* in 326/5 (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1628*, ll. 31, 46). For his career, see Davies 1971, 484–485, no. 12440. Additionally, the *sophronistes* Cheimeus (L.S., ll. 1–2) was *trierarchos* in 357/6 (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1628*, l. 9) and was probably about 40 years of age in the late 330s (Reinmuth 1971, 44).

The roster is arranged into two columns under deme captions. There is physical evidence for 52 names, each lacking a patronymic: Boutadai (2), Tyrmeidai (1), Phyle (6), Perithoidai (1), Oe (5), Lakiadai (2), Thria (4), and Ptelea (2+), Kothokidai (4). This leaves 25 unassigned. As Pritchett saw, the 24 in column 11 clearly belonged to Acharnai, to whom the *lochagos* Sostratus must be added (ll. 78–79). His name is inscribed before Euthoinus. In column 1 Nicomenes was a demesman of Epikhephisia, Louisa, or Hippotomadai. There is sufficient room for perhaps five lines on the top front if a margin is assumed between the bottom of the crowning moulding and the first preserved line of the roster. We can infer a minimum of 56 if the *stèle* had a heading and all the demes were represented and a maximum of 60 without a heading and two demes, one of which was Acharnai. This edition assumes a heading on the crowning moulding (cf. T15) and estimates ca. 58, two more than the ca. 56 of Reinmuth (1971, 49–50). The five names on the front were almost certainly ephebic *lochagoi* (ll. 72–82) because four also appear on the roster (Col. 1, ll. 8, 34, Col. 11, ll. 53, 58). The identity of the two officials listed on the left and the right sides of the *stèle* is uncertain (ll. 1–9). The first is Philippus, whose title is omitted. Reinmuth suggests that he was a *kosmetes*, *strategos*, or *didaskalos*. He was not an ephebe, as Philippus of Acharnai is already attested as a *lochagos* (ll. 81–82). Mitchel 1961, 355, is probably right to think that Naucydes son of Diogenes of Acharnai (Col. 11, l. 54), who uniquely has a patronymic, was the ephebic *taxiarchos*.

### Translation

#### Front

	(From Acharnai),
	Sostratus,
Nicomenes;	Euthoinus,
From Boutadai,	Timocles,

Habron,  
 Theaius;  
 From Tyrmeidai,  
 Demophanes;  
 From Phyle,  
 Aristophon,  
 Diotimus,  
 Leptines,  
 Socrates,  
 Autolycus,  
 Epicrates;  
 From Perithoidai,  
 Phileas;  
 From Oe,  
 Aristodemus,  
 Neon,  
 Demon,  
 Calliphon,  
 Agathocles;  
 From Lakiadai,  
 Ctesias,  
 Theopompus;  
 From Thria,  
 Eubulus,  
 Telesibulus,  
 Eubulus,  
 Chionides;  
 From Ptelea,  
 Eupolemus,  
 Sosipolis

Hippotherses,  
 Aristophanes,  
 Theophilus,  
 Leon,  
 Demophilus,  
 Euthymachus,  
 Aristoteles,  
 Kephisogenes,  
 Naucydes,  
 Antiphanes,  
 Diodorus,  
 Echemythus,  
 Philippus,  
 Mneseias,  
 Democedes,  
 Deisitheus,  
 Lysicrates,  
 Hegetor,  
 Euthycles,  
 Pythocles,  
 Olympiodorus;  
 From Kothokidai,  
 Dorceus,  
 Aristonicus,  
 Habrippus,  
 Mnesicles.

Cephisogenes of Acharnai, Chionides of Thria,  
 Habron of Boutidai, Sostratus of Acharnai,  
 Philippus of Acharnai.

*The Left side*

The *sophonistes* Cheimes, Philippus.

*The Right Side*

Naucydes son of Diogenes, the *strategos* Philomonides, the *akontistes* Cephisippus.

## T20 The Ephebes of Hippothontis

Date:	Enrollment: 329/8. Inscription: 327/6.
Inventory Number:	Panactum 1991–350
Find-spot:	Panactum
Description:	Rectangular marble base with rectangular cutting on top.
Measurements:	Base: H. 0.39 m.; W. 0.54 m.; Th. 0.37 m. Letters: 0.014 m. (Heading), 0.006–0.007 m. (Below Heading).
<i>Editio Princeps</i> :	Unpublished (courtesy of Mark Munn).
Bibliography:	SEG 38.67.

This is an end of service dedication for the ephebes of Hippothontis. The heading is [Ἰπποθων]ῆτιδος [---- ἐπὶ -- ]κ[----][ἄρχου]ντος Διὸς νν [χο]ύροις ἄ[νέ]θε[σαν]. Mark Munn, in a forthcoming article, suggests that the two most likely restorations for the archon (given the dimensions of the stone and the attestation of the kappa) in the Lycurgan era are Cephisophon (329/8) and Cephisodorus (323/2). This book accepts the former because the *ephebeia* probably ceased to function after the Lamian War (see Epilogue), while Munn prefers the latter because he thinks that the institution continued to exist for an indeterminate time during the oligarchy. Nicocrates is implausible because the *kosmetes* for the class of 333/2 was [...].ο[ς] Μνησιστράτου Ἀχ[αρνεύς (T7, l. 11; T9, Col. II, ll. 12–13) or Θουγείτων Ἀριστοκράτου Ἀρχαρνεύς (T8), not Κτησι-κλήν Κόπρειον. Beneath the heading six individuals are honored in inscribed wreaths: the *strategos* (the name and the area of military competence have not survived), the *sophronistes*, the *kosmetes*, the *taxiarchos*, and two *lochagoi*. An incomplete roster (the right side of the front is broken and the lower left side is eroded), arranged in at least two columns, preserves the names of 19 ephebes (Hansen 1994, 302, n. 24, has ca. 34), who have demotics but no patronymics. It is uncertain whether the roster would have included the *taxiarchos* and the *lochagoi*. A minimum of 8 out of 17 demes is represented: Eleusis (3), Azenia (1), Acherdous (1), Peiraieus (3), Deceleia (2), Eroiadaí (1), Kopros (1), and Oinoe (1). The demotics of two ephebes begin with Ἐλ, who could belong to Eleusis or Elaious. Only the first name has survived from 3 ephebes.

**T21 A Dedication to Hermes**

- Date: Inscription: 329/8 or later.  
 Inventory Number: *EM* 12698 Φ  
 Find-spot: Western side of Southern slope at Rhamnus  
 Description: Hymettian marble base with a cutting for the socle of a herm or column.  
 Measurements: Base: H: 0.20 m.; W: 0.647 m.; Th: 0.57 m. Letters: 0.019 m. (ll. 1–2), 0.006–0.01 m. (ll. 3–5).  
*Editio Princeps*: Staes 1891 (1893), 15.  
 Bibliography: *IG* II 5, 1571b; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4594a; *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4 338; *SEG* 12.165, 31.179, 38.188; Peek 1942 (1951), 51, no. 78; Pouilloux 1954, 106–107, no. 1; Pélékidis 1962, 123, no. 3; Reinmuth 1971, 39–41, no. 11; Petrakos 1979 (1981), 56, n. 1; Petrakos 1984c (1988), 208–209, n. 140; *IRhamn.* 100 (= Petrakos 1999, Vol. 11, 86–87).

## NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Θε]οφάνης Ἱεροφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος Ἑρμεί [ἀν]έθηκεν στεφανωθε[ις]  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν σοφρονιστῶν καὶ τῶν κοσμητῶν.<sup>ν</sup>

3	ἔφηβοι	ἔφηβοι	ἔφηβοι
	οἱ ἐπὶ Νικοκράτου	οἱ ἐπὶ Νικήτου	οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφάνου
	ἄρχοντος	ἄρχοντος	ἄρχοντος

Staes || 1 Ἱεράφαντος Staes, Ἱεροφ(ῶ)ντος Kirchner, Pouilloux, Ἱεροφῶντος Peek, Mitsos, στεφανωθεῖς Peek, στεφανωθε[ις] Pouilloux || 3 οἱ ἔφηβοι Kirchner.

1 The first omega is clear, confirming the reading of Peek over Staes.

This is a private dedication of an otherwise unknown Theophanes son of Hierophon of Rhamnus to Hermes. Its inclusion in the corpus is justified because he was honored by three successive enrollment years of ephebes and their officials. Beneath the heading are three wreaths, each with a formula for one entire enrollment year of ephebes, identified by archon-date (cf. T4 and T20). Petrakos dates the dedication to 331/0, but it is more likely that it had a *terminus post quem* of 329/8, since the ephebes enrolled in the archonship of Aristophanes would have completed their term of service in that year (see Ch. 5.7). We do not know why three successive enrollment years of ephebes honored Theophanes. Perhaps he had made a substantial financial contribution towards the Nemesia, such as supplying sacrificial victims for the festival (see Ch. 6.4).





**T23 The Ephebes of Leontis**

Date:	Enrollment: 334/3–325/4. Inscription: 332/1–323/2.
Inventory Number:	Panactum 1988–1
Find-spot:	Panactum
Description:	Fragment of marble stele with all sides broken except for left edge.
Measurements:	Stele: H. 0.24 m.; W. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.055–0.06 m. Letters: 0.0055 m. (lines 1–9, 22–29), 0.004 m. (lines 10–21).
<i>Editio Princeps</i> :	Unpublished (courtesy of Mark Munn).
Bibliography:	SEG 38.67.

The text is non-stoichedon. The layout of this end of service dedication of Lycurgan date for the ephebes of Leontis is similar to T2. There are at least two honorific decrees (each highly fragmentary), whose corporations cannot be identified. The second perhaps belonged to a deme (cf. T2, ll. 45–51). The genitive σ]τρατου was probably the patronymic of the *sophonistes*, who is praised alongside the ephebes in other inscriptions (e.g. T9, Col. 1, ll. 9–17). One out of (two?) columns is preserved, listing at least 16 ephebes under 4 deme headings: Deiradiotai (3), Kropidai (5), ex Oiou = Oion Kerameikon (2), and Potamioi-(Deiradiotai?) (6+).

**T24 The Ephebes of Leontis**

Date:	Enrollment: 334/3–325/4. Inscription 334/3–323/2.
Inventory Number:	Panactum 1992–400
Find-spot:	Panactum
Description:	Fragment of Pentelic marble stele with broken top and left.
Measurements:	Stele: H. 0.315 m.; W. 0.205 m.; Th. 0.095 m. Letters: 0.006 m.
<i>Editio Princeps</i> :	Unpublished (courtesy of Mark Munn).

This end of service dedication for the ephebes of Leontis preserves one column from the roster, which lists 15 ephebes from 8 demes: unnamed (3), Hybadai (1), Paionidai (3), Aithalidai (2), Pelekes (1), Eupyridai (2), Kolonai (1), and ex Oiou = Oion Kerameikon (2). There is a vacat after the roster, suggesting the bottom of the column. The overall layout is uncertain. While the dedication is Lycurgan, the prosopography is inconclusive as to the date.

## T25 The Ephebes of an Unknown Tribe

Date:	Enrollment: 334/3–324/3. Inscription: 334/3–323/2.
Inventory Number:	BE 33
Find-spot:	East of burial mound at Marathon
Description:	Rectangular stone base with top right broken. Rough picked back and sides. Rectangular inset and an incised phiale on the top.
Measurements:	Base: H. 0.81m.; W. 0.43m.; Th. 0.34m. Letters: 0.017m. (ll. 1–2); 0.001m. (ll. 3–5).
<i>Editio Princeps:</i>	Mastrokostas 1970, 19.
Bibliography:	<i>IG</i> 11 <sup>3</sup> 4 348; <i>SEG</i> 32.206; Michaud 1970, 919; Daux 1970, 607; Petrakos 1995, 158–159.

### NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- οἶδε ἀνέθεσαν Σ[...<sup>ca.</sup> 8. . . .]  
 ωνος παιδοτριβοῦν[τος]  
 3 Μοσχίων Κλεομέδ[ων]  
 Πείσων [- -]χ[- - - - -]  
 Οὐλιάδης Ν[- - - - -]  
*vacat*

Mastrokostas || 5 ου διὰ δήμου Mastrokostas, Οὐλιάδης[ς] Michaud.

4 First preserved letter: clearly a pi, confirming Michaud's reading over Mastrokostas' gamma and Daux's tau. Last letter: Faint trace of both oblique strokes of a chi || 5 Third preserved letter: Mastrokostas read a delta but there is no horizontal. Michaud's lambda is preferred. Eighth preserved letter: oblique strokes of sigma visible. Ninth preserved letter: traces of vertical and oblique stroke of a nu.

Mastrokostas associates this base with a candelabra found nearby whose relief depicts several *lampadephoroi*. He identifies it as a fourth-century “ἀνάθεσιν ἐφήβων”, despite the absence of *epheboi*, *sophronistes*, and *lampas*, from the heading (cf. T10 and T12). Daux suggests a third century date, but *if* this victory dedication is ephebic, it must be Lycurgan because the festival program of the *ephebeia* revived after 307/6 would not have included rural Attica (see Epilogue). As preserved, there is a prescript followed by the names of six “ephebes” arranged into two columns without patronymics and demotics. We may infer from the find-spot (i.e. Marathon) that the ephebes perhaps belonged to the *phyle* of Aiantis.

*Translation*

These men made this dedication. S—on was *paidotribes*. Moschion, Cleomedon, Peison, —ch—, Ouliades, N— - - -

**T26 The Son of Autolycus**

Date:	Inscription: 334/3–323/2.
Inventory Number:	Oropus A 310
Find-spot:	Amphiareum at Oropus
Description:	Top smoothed. Right side and back broken.
Measurements:	H. 0.095 m.; W. 0.33 m.; Th. 0.14 m. Letters: 0.01 m.
<i>Editio Princeps</i> :	Leonardos 1892, 54–56, no. 90.
Bibliography:	<i>IG VII</i> 444 (Dittenberger); <i>IG II<sup>3</sup></i> 4 346; <i>IOrop.</i> 348 (= Petrakos 1997, 267–268).

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[...<sup>ca. 8</sup>... A]ῦτολύκου Ἀθηναῖος

[Ἀμφ]ιαράωι

3 [νικήσας] ἐφήβους ἀκοντίζων

Petrakos || 1 Ἀῦτολύκου Leonardos || 2 [Ἀμφιαρ]άωι Dittenberger || 3 ἐ]φήβους Leonardos, [νικήσας ἀφ' ἵππου] ἀκοντίζων Dittenberger.

This is a private dedication of the son of Autolycus to Amphiaraus at Oropus. It commemorates his victory over the epebes in the javelin at a festival held in honor of the god, probably at the annual or quadrennial Amphiaraia (see Ch. 6.4). The date is Lycurgan, between 334/3 and 323/2.

*Translation*

— son of Autolycus the Athenian [made this dedication] to Amphiaraus having defeated the epebes in casting the javelin.

**T27 The Ephebes of an Unknown Tribe**

- Date: Enrollment: 334/3–324/3. Inscription: 334/3–323/2.  
 Inventory Number: Oropus A 563  
 Find-spot: Amphiareum at Oropus  
 Description: Fragment of the top of a Pentelic marble base.  
 Measurements: Base: H. 0.44 m.; W. 0.165 m.; Th. 0.105 m. Letters: 0.014 m.  
*Editio Princeps*: Petrakos 1980, 26, no. 12.  
 Bibliography: *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 345; *SEG* 31.435; *IOrop.* 354 (= Petrakos 1997, 281).

οί ἐφηβ[οι -----]

Friend || 1 οί ἐφηβ[εὐσαντες --] *vel* οί ἔφηβ[οι οί τῆς -- ἰδος --] Petrakos.

Petrakos dates this fragment ca. 335–322. It is uncertain from his description whether it is an end of service dedication for a *phyle* of ephebes or a victory dedication.

**T28 The Ephebes of an Unknown Tribe**

- Date: Enrollment: 334/3–325/4. Inscription: 332/1–323/2.  
 Inventory Number: Rhamnus 930 Φ  
 Find-spot: South of Tower C of the south gate at Rhamnus  
 Description: Fragment of a “Hermiac” Pentelic marble base with incisions on the top and at right-hand face.  
 Measurements: Base: H. 0.76 m.; W. 0.76 m.; Th. 0.185 m. Letters: 0.012 m.  
*Editio Princeps*: Petrakos 1990 (1993), 29, no. 12.  
 Bibliography: *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 347; *SEG* 41.139; *IRhamn.* 104 (= Petrakos 1999, Vol. 11, 90).

[- - οί] ἔφη[[βοι - - -]

[- - -]τος

Petrakos || 1 [- - -] ἔφη[β - - -] Petrakos, [- - οί] ἔφη[βοι - - -] Friend

Little is known about this fragment, probably from an end of service dedication.

**T29 The Ephebes of an Unknown Tribe**

- Date: Enrollment: 334/3–325/4. Inscription: 332/1–323/2.  
 Inventory Number: Rhamnus 1018 Φ  
 Find-spot: Rhamnus  
 Description: Fragment of a base.  
 Measurements: Letters: 0.005 m. (left side), 0.014 m. (right side).  
*Editio Princeps*: Petrakos 1991 (1994), 48, no. 20.  
 Bibliography: *SEG* 43.67, 49.193; *IRhamn.* 101 (= Petrakos 1999, Vol. 11, 87–88).

[ - - ] ι ο ς      ἡ φυλή

Petrakos

Petrakos reports fragments of an end of service dedication whose text was erased on the left and right sides of the base but provides no other details.

**T30 The Ephebes of an Unknown Tribe**

- Date: Enrollment: 334/3–324/3. Inscription: 334/3–323/2.  
 Inventory Number: Rhamnus 523 + 1054 N  
 Find-spot: Rhamnus  
 Description: Base of Pentelic marble  
 Measurements: Base: H. 1.35 m.; W. 0.26 m.; Th. 0.195 m. Letters: 0.015 m.  
*Editio Princeps*: Petrakos 1982 (1984), 129.  
 Bibliography: *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 350; *SEG* 34.195; *IRhamn.* 105 (= Petrakos 1999, Vol. 11, 91).

[ - - ] ε [ . . ] ε θ [ - - - ]  
 [ - - - ] σ α ς [ - - - - - - - ]

Petrakos || 1 [Νεμέσ]ε[ι άν]έθ[ηκεν || 2 νική]σας

Petrakos dates this victory(?) dedication to 333–324.

### T31 The Ephebes of an Unknown Tribe

- Date: Enrollment: 334/3–325/4. Inscription: 332/1–323/2.  
 Inventory Number: Rhamnus 2282  
 Find-spot: Rhamnus  
 Description: Fragment of marble base.  
 Measurements: Base: H. 0.05 m.; W. 0.085 m.; Th. 0.224 m. Letters: 0.01–  
 0.012 m.  
*Editio Princeps*: Petrakos 2000 (2003), 7–8, n. 5.  
 Bibliography: *IG* 11<sup>3</sup> 4 343; *SEG* 51.187.

Θριασι[-----]

Petrakos

Petrakos dates the end of service(?) dedication to ca. 330, but this is uncertain.

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2.3.11	73n
2.6.9-14	73n
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3.4.47	82n
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2.1.7	38
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2.1.22-24	74n
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6.1.14	44
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2.4.12	84
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