

VIII.—The Pyloroi of the Akropolis

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This paper contains a republication (with photograph) of *IG* 2².2304 and a restoration of the similar inscription engraved over the fourth-century decree published by Schweigert (see note 5). Both these texts add to our knowledge of the Pyloroi of the Akropolis. The paper includes also a new restoration of the fourth-century decree first edited by Schweigert and recently republished (in part) by Wilhelm (see note 4).

Our knowledge of the guards of the Akropolis called Pyloroi is based exclusively on a series of inscriptions which are dated in the first century after Christ.¹ The reconstruction of the Panathenaic Road which led from the Agora to the Propylaia belongs apparently to the same period.²

Three of these Pyloroi inscriptions (*IG* 2².2295, 2296 + 2306 + 2307, 2308) are engraved on stones which had served in the fourth century as dedications and which were re-used by the guards to commemorate their names. A fourth text (*IG* 2².2304) was roughly written across a fourth-century decree (*IG* 2².492). The later graffito is republished here (Plate I) in order to call attention to the incised representation of Apollo which does not seem to have been noticed.

Below the center of the inscription there is incised a naked male figure on a pedestal. He holds a bow in his outstretched left hand, while his right arm is bent and raised so that it touches the head. He stands firmly on his right foot, while the left leg is relaxed in the well-known fourth-century pose. To the right of the statue there is a table, and underneath it three votive offerings, a jar and two phialai.

Even if we did not know that the God worshipped by the Athenian Pyloroi was Apollo, we should recognize in the graffito a

¹ *IG* 2².2292–2310 and 2297a (on p. 816). *IG* 2².2307A belongs with *IG* 2².2296, while *IG* 2².2307B and 2306 are engraved on the back of the same stone; see A. M. Woodward, *JHS* 30 (1910) 264, nos. 4054 and 4054A. Pyloroi are mentioned also in *IG* 2².4719. All the evidence has been summed up by P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (Cairo, 1931) 82–84; compare also L. Robert, *RPh* 18 (1944) 17.

² See Graindor, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 83; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens* (New York, 1942) 180–181; A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 245; A. E. Raubitschek, *AJA* 49 (1945) 188–189.



IG 2².2304.

[Πυ]λωροί·

ca. 5

[— —] Φιλάιδης

[Ἀπολ]λόδωρος

[Φιλ]άιδης.

statue of this deity.³ It is idle to speculate about the original date of the statue and about the location near the Propylaia, for our knowledge of statuary representations of this type of Apollo is very limited.

The fourth-century decree (*IG* 2².492) upon which the guards scratched their names and a picture of Apollo (*IG* 2².2304) has recently been made the subject of a study by A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden* v, no. 63.⁴ It is a curious coincidence that Wilhelm discussed and restored in the same article another fourth-century decree which was also re-used by Pyloroi in order to commemorate their names.⁵ This later inscription was not restored by Schweigert (see note 5) and not even mentioned by Wilhelm. Yet a complete restoration of the graffito helps considerably in the better understanding of the fourth-century decree on which it was incised.

15/4 B.C.

Ἐπ[ι]
 Ἀντ[ι]δ[όχου]
 πν[λωροί·]
 Λεύ[κιος]
 5 Πειρ[αιεύς]
 Κλέ[ων]
 Φαλ[ηρ]εύς.

Two crowns were engraved below the text; one of them is preserved on fragment *b*; for the identification of fragments *a* and *b*, see Schweigert's *editio princeps* (note 5). These crowns may indicate that the Pyloroi were honored by crowns after they completed their term of office.

One of the two guards, Leukios from the deme Peiraieus, is already known. He was an ephebe *ca.* 40 B.C. (*IG* 2².1961, line 50), and the stemma of his family has been drawn up by J. Kirchner in the commentary on *IG* 2².3488.

The date of the graffito depends on the restoration of the archon's name. Antiochos held office in 15/4 B.C. (*IG* 2².1713, line 27). It should be noticed, however, that all the other dated Pyloroi inscriptions (see note 1) are about fifty years later.

³ See *IG* 2².4719; compare *IG* 2².4850, 4852, 4995. For the cult of Apollo Agyieus, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (Oxford, 1925) 160–166, and particularly 163, notes 3 and 4; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (Munich, 1931) 216.

⁴ *SAWW*, philos.-hist. Kl. 220, 5 (1942) 175–183; see J. and L. Robert, *REG* 55 (1942) 331, no. 32. I am grateful to Madame Robert for sending me a transcription of Wilhelm's discussion of *IG* 2².492.

⁵ The inscription was first published by E. Schweigert, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 30–32, no. 8.

The restoration of the graffito requires a close association of fragments *a* and *b*. In fact, the line of break at the bottom of fragment *a* continues at the top of fragment *b*. Accordingly, line 16 of the fourth-century decree equals line 17 (in Schweigert's edition; see note 5). It is possible, moreover, to assign a definite place to *IG* 2².535 which Schweigert correctly attributed to the same document. A new text of the whole decree may therefore be suggested.⁶

318/7 B.C.

Stoichedon 23

- Ἐπὶ Ἀρχίπ[του ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τ]
 ἧς Κεκροπίδ[ος ἐβδόμης πρυταν]
 έας [ῆ]ι [Θέ]ρ[σιππος Ἴππο]⁵
 [.] Κολλυτε[ὺς ἐγραμμάτευε· Γα]
 5 μηλι[ῶ]ρος ἕ[ν]ει καὶ νέαι πέμπ[
 [τ]ει καὶ δε[κάτει τῆς πρυτανέ]
 [ιας· ἐκ]κλ[ησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐ]
 [πε]ψήφισ[ε]¹⁵
 ἔδοξεν τῶ[ι δήμωι· Ἀρχέδικος]
 10 [Ν]αυκρίτου [Λαμπτρεὺς εἶπεν·]
 ἐπειδὴ Ἑρμ[οκλείδης(?)] ἐν τῶι ἕ[
 [μ]προσσθεν [χρόνωι διατετέλ]
 ἐκε εὖνου[ς ὦν τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἀ]
 θηναίων κ[αὶ παρεδέξατο τήν]
 15 γαῖν ἀπὸ Κ[υζίκου ἡκουσαν κα]
 [ὶ στρατ]ηγ[οὺς καὶ στρα]τ[ιώτα]
 [ς φέρουσιν τὰ δὲ ἄλλ]α χρήσι[μ]
 [ον αὐτὸν παρέσχηκ]ε τοῖς ἐκ [τ]
 [ῆς ναυμαχίας ἀνασ]φιζομέν[ο]
 20 [ις καὶ νῦν ἐλθὼν ἐπ]ανγέλλε[τ]
 [αι ἀγαθὸν ὅτι ἂν δύ]νηται ποι
 [ήσειν πρὸς τὴν εἰρή]νην [κ]αὶ ἕ
 [καστον τῶν Ἀθηναίων]ν· δεδόχθ
 [αι τῶι δήμωι ἐπαινέ]σαι Ἑρμο
 [ς]
 25 [κλείδην (?)] Ἑρ[ακλ]ιώτῃ
 [ν καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐ]τὸν θαλ[λ]
 [οῦ στεφάνωι· εἶναι] δὲ Ἑρμ[οκλ]

⁶ This text is based on Schweigert's *editio princeps* and (for lines 17–29) on Wilhelm's suggestions. Schweigert very kindly supplied much additional information.

- [είδη (?) πρόξενον τοῦ δήμου τ[οῦ]
 [Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀναγρ]αψ[άτω τοῦ]
 30 [ψήφισμα τόδε ὁ γραμματεὺς τ]
 [ῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλει λιθίνει]
 [καὶ καταθέτω ἐν ἀκροπόλει· ε]
 [ἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δοῦναι τ]
 [ὁ]ν τ[αμῖαν τοῦ δήμου Δ δραχμὰ]
 35 [ς] ἐκ τῶ[ν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ]
 [ισκομέ]ων τῶι δήμῳ].

Line 2: The pi of *Κεκροπιδ[ος]* stands below the chi of *Ἀρχιπ[ι]π[ου]* (line 1), while the first letter of the tribe's name stands below the iota of *ἐπ[ί]*. The four letters EKPO are squeezed into the space of two letters. The stone cutter probably wrote *Κροπιδος* and corrected the mistake later. This is the only deviation from the stoichedon order which appears in the preserved part of the decree.⁷ The numeral to be restored after the name of the tribe must have had seven letters; there is no reason to assume (as Schweigert does) that there was an uninscribed space of two letters at the end of the line, and that the month Gamelion was repeated in this year. The calendar-equations will have to be studied again.

Line 3: For the spelling *πρυταν[έ]ας* in the same document which contains the spelling *[πρυτανείας]* (lines 6–7), see *IG* 2².373, lines 17 and 19.

Lines 5–6: For the restoration of the date, see above, on line 2. Schweigert's restoration of *IG* 2².350, lines 1–4, is suspect since he disregards the stoichedon order. It may even be that the name of the month was Anthesterion and not Maimakterion; see *IG* 2².448, lines 35–38.

Lines 9–10: For the name of the orator, see *IG* 2².402, lines 1–2, as restored by B. Leonardas, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1 (1915) 202.

Line 11: The nominative form of the name of the honored Heraklean occupied eleven letter spaces, while the accusative form (lines 27–28) had apparently only ten letters. Wilhelm, disregarding the stoichedon order (in his restoration, lines 22 and 28 have 24 letters, line 23 even 25 letters), restored the name of Hermokreon.

Line 15: For the restoration of Kyzikos, see *IG* 2².492, line 12.

The historical significance of this inscription, as well as of *IG* 2².492, has been discussed by Wilhelm, who pointed out that the naval battle in question took place in 323 B.C.⁸ The decree in honor of Hermokleides must have been passed before Demetrios of Phaleron took over power in Athens, that is, before the spring of 317 B.C.⁹

⁷ On *IG* 2².350, which belongs to the same year, the two lambdas of *Κ[ο]λλυτ[έ]ως* occupied the space of only one letter.

⁸ Compare W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911) 16–17.

⁹ See Ferguson, *op. cit.* (see note 8) 36–37; P. Roussel, *Histoire Grecque* 4.1 (Paris, 1938) 294.