

### XXIII. *Hoi Peri To Diogeneion Again*

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The reply of Sterling Dow (*TAPA* 91 [1960] 381–409, hereafter referred to as **1960**) to the arguments I presented (*TAPA* 90 [1959] 209–23, hereafter **1959**) against his interpretation of *hoi peri to Diogeneion* (*HSCP* [1958] 63 423–36, hereafter **HSCP**) does little to advance our understanding of the phrase. In the first part it does not join issue on the validity of the evidence to establish the existence of younger-than-18 *ephēboi* in the *ephēbia* to whom the phrase might apply, which is the basic point in question. In the second part, dealing with the meaning of *hoi peri* phrases, it is indecisive, since the persons habitually associated with an institution, in the case of the *Diogeneion*, may, so far as the meaning of the phrase *per se* is concerned, be a group of students as well as a group of instructors.

Further, Dow has apparently misunderstood my position and has, as a result, misinterpreted and wrongly represented it. He has even implied that my interpretation was advanced for “brilliance” when “truth is what is wanted,” because, among other things, I do not accept the simplest explanation, viz., negligence, error, and other reasons for the absence of demotics in ephebic rosters (1960, 389, note 7). He makes me a proponent of the traditional interpretation of Dumont–Graindor–Marrou, although I had specifically argued against it in “A ‘Diogenes’ College’ in Athens?” (1959) and had clearly stated the conclusions I drew from the evidence in answer to the question of the title: no separate school, as Marrou interprets his “Diogenes’ College,” which he creates on the basis of Graindor’s interpretation of *hoi peri to Diogeneion* alone, as note 28, page 503 (H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l’éducation dans l’antiquité* [Paris 1948]) clearly proves; no staff separate from the ephebic staff; *hoi peri to Diogeneion* are the younger-than-18 *ephēboi* in the *ephēbia* and not a separate group outside the *ephēbia* waiting to get in.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Dow’s note 3 (1960, 384) on the meretricious nature of my title and his statement, “The reader finds to his surprise that after the first paragraph there is

Instead of discussing my interpretation of the facts, Dow largely confined himself to pointing out my errors of citation, my failures to observe and notice. While there is no excuse for mistakes, we all make them; and I am humbly grateful to have them pointed out.<sup>2</sup> But it behooves us to be careful in ascribing carelessness where none exists. Two examples must be cited before going on, both to set the record straight and to rectify mistakes in the readings and description of two inscriptions.

Dow devotes a page (1960, 387–88) to show that *IG II*<sup>2</sup>.1967 is *not* a continuous text, but that it is inscribed on two sides of the stone, which fact, he writes, is clear from the photograph itself of the upper part in Graindor's *Album*, Plate 12, and the plain statement in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, all of which, it is three times stated, I had failed to observe. He actually prints the beginning of "Side B" as follows:

nothing more in answer to the question." The readers, if such there were, must certainly have found this to be without basis.

<sup>2</sup> Even Dow. In the *HSCP* article, p. 426, he corrects Graindor's 20 "testimonia about the Diogeneion," presumably to make that list, which included references to the *epi Diogeneiou*, complete. Dow's additions, Nos. 21 and 22, read: "21. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>.2018, line 142; and 22. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>.2067, lines 223–224; each of which mentions an *epi Diogeneiou*." Yet in 1960, 395, note 9, he states, "The *HSCP* article, however, has no list at all for this office (*epi Diogeneiou*), and for a reason which Reinmuth has not even tried to refute: '... the office is mentioned here [I wrote] only to say that to the present study his position and title have no relevance.'" This was in reply to my addition of five references to the *epi Diogeneiou* which Dow did not record, although they were not in Graindor's list. There is no difference of opinion about the *epi Diogeneiou*, so why "refute" Dow's restatement of the interpretation universally held? I corrected Dow's list in the same spirit in which he amended Graindor's references. "To omit as many as five important references [Dow further avers] would be a grave defect in any article." Yes, if important. But the five additional references do not affect our understanding of the *epi Diogeneiou*. Nor do mistakes and omissions, regrettable and even deplorable as they are, in connection with demoticless names or likely brothers in ephebic rosters invalidate the fact that there was an abrupt change in the way in which demotics were used and a great increase in the number of homopatronymics. As Dow himself has said (*HSCP*, 426) concerning his correction of Graindor's testimonia (and the same can be said about mine of his): "None of these makes a crucial difference; the essentials have all been accessible since . . . 1860."

The question at issue, as I see it, is whether an *ad hoc* and limited interpretation of the phenomena of names without demotics and brothers in the *ephêbia* of the empire is tenable and more likely than one based largely on the historical development of the *ephêbia*. With this historical method of mine, Dow also finds fault (1960, 385, note 4). In spite of this he complains that I (in my 1959 article) make "no sustained effort to extend the range of discussion, much less to improve actual Greek texts." The first part of this statement hardly agrees with his other references to my work in the same article, "a theory elaborately worked out and fully committed to print with formidable footnotes" (385), and "he has a tremendous theory" (390).

*vacat* to moulding

Line 15 Χαβρέας Τιμοκράτος Πειραιεύς

Line 16 Ἀριστοτέλης Τιμοκράτος

But Dow is absolutely mistaken. The text of 1967 is in fact continuous and inscribed on one side of the stone, as the photograph of the squeeze of the lower part (Plate 1)—fortunately preserved at The Institute for Advanced Study—irrefutably proves. There is no *vacat* above the name *Chabreas Timokratos Peiraiæus*. It follows directly below *Philémôn* > (*ek*) *Myrinountês*. *Philémôn* is on the lost portion of the stone (see Plate 1) and part of the demotic, - - - *nountês*, can still be read from Graindor's photograph. It is to be regretted that the stone suffered further attrition before the squeeze was made, so that it does not show the readings which are given in the Corpus beyond *Tim* - - - of the patronymic in line 15 and to the corresponding point on a vertical break in succeeding lines, so that the presence or absence of demotics cannot be confirmed by it, or by the additional readings for lines 20–24, which were seen by Vernon and reported by Meritt (*Hesperia*, Supplement 8.225), who states that "These readings (of Vernon's) are confirmed by Wheeler's notes made in 1676." But Boeckh, Dittenberger, and Vernon do not report demotics for the names in lines 16–19; and we may reasonably conclude that they had none, whatever our interpretation of that fact.

In my horrendous footnote citing occurrences of possible brothers in ephebic rosters (*TAPA* 79 [1948] 216, note 17) I entered 1996, lines 151–52. Not so, says Dow (1960, 392, note 8), because 151 is not an *ephēbos*, but the *hypopaidotribês*. The text in the Corpus might support that interpretation; and Graindor's photograph (*Album*, Plate 18) is too illegible to aid us in arriving at the actual arrangement and readings. Miss Alison Frantz kindly took time to photograph this portion of the stone for me (Plate 2), which makes both clear; and it will be well to offer an emended reading here. I had noted this locus, along with many others calling for corrections of the Corpus readings, when in my Fulbright year in Greece I made a transcription—now unfortunately destroyed—of this text and all other ephebic inscriptions I could find from the stones themselves.

In the Corpus, the number 210 opposite -α[ς] Χαρικ[λέους] - - - indicates that this and the following name, Ἀ[πολ]λώνιος Δρόσος

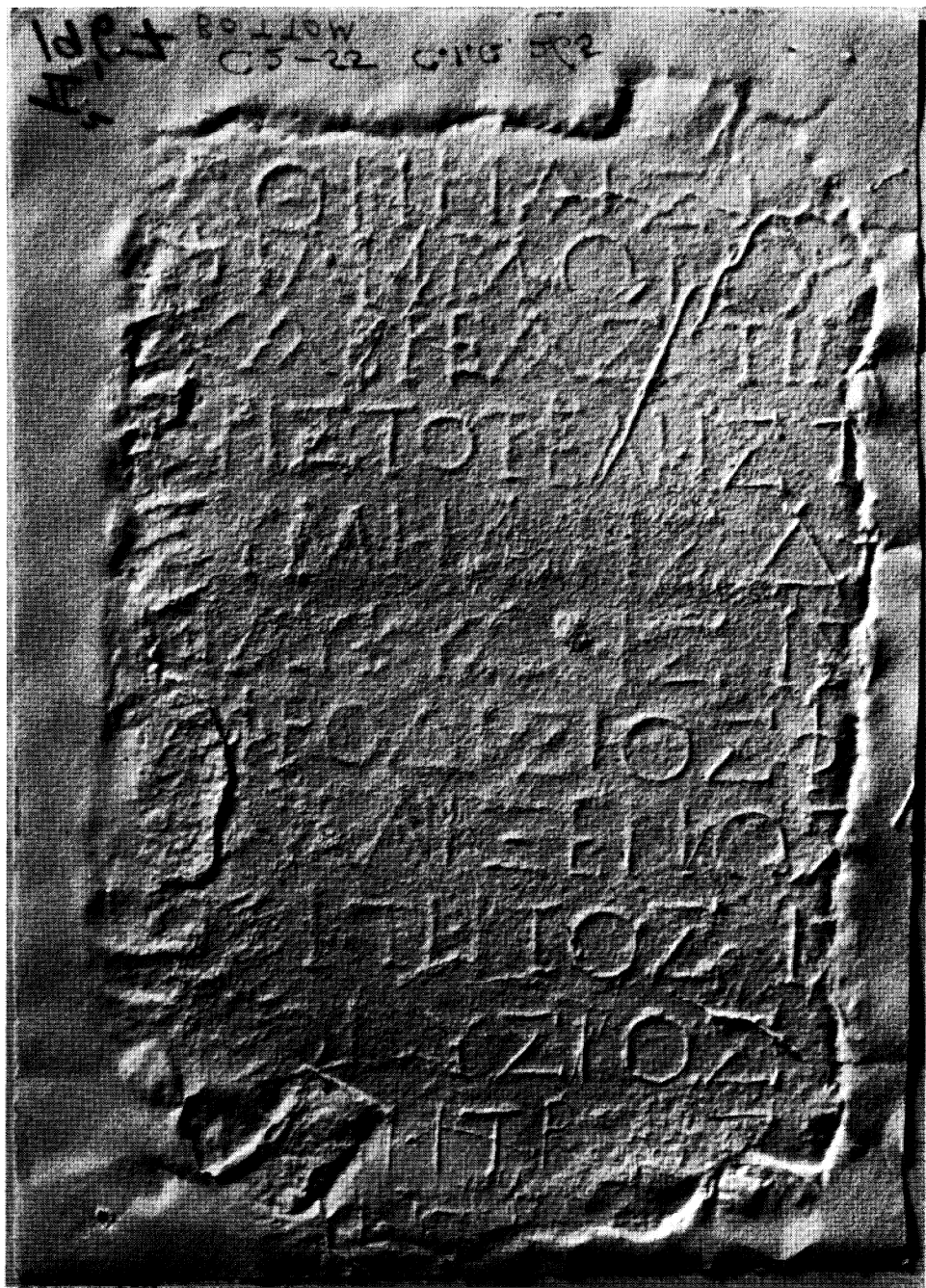


Plate 1

IG II<sup>2</sup>.1967. Squeeze of lower portion. Lines 13-24.



(no brackets around  $\sigma$ ), were wrongly thought to be the first two names of Col. iv, and that in printing they were inadvertently displaced to the left. A square bracket has fallen out before -ου above the line numbered 210, and the reading should be -]ρου Με[λιτ] - - -. The -ανδ[ρος] of this line belongs to the next line, which is omitted in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>. Then follow the line numbered 210 and the line following it in the Corpus. These lines are part of a section of the inscription containing the names, patronymics, and demotics of the *paideutai* in line 148 (the last line of the preceding column is numbered 147) to line 153 (numbered 150 in the Corpus, which clearly run across the width of Cols. iii, iv and part of v. Measurements on the squeeze show that in line 148 there are *ca.* 14 cm. to a point in vertical alignment with the beginning of Col. iii available for restorations. This would equal *ca.* 17 letters on the basis of the existing crowded letters in this line for the title (perhaps *hégemôn*, who, as in 2021 of *ante* 112/13, preceded the *paidotribês*), name, and demotic before *Mara paidotribês*. That the line beginnings of this section were thus aligned with Col. iii is confirmed by the position of [*hypopaidot*]ribês (*sic*; the rho can be clearly read) in line 150. It should be noted that *A[pol]lônios* in line 149 does not, therefore, begin the line. It runs across the break between Cols. iii and iv. Finally, Q.E.D., the same is true of the following line. Hence the *hypopaidotribês* is *Leonas Eudo-*, whose name begins immediately after the title and continues over the break between the two columns of *ephêboi* below. Line 151 of the Corpus (actually, 155), [...<sup>5</sup>...s]tratos *The-*, records the name of an *ephêbos* and the brother, in all likelihood, of the Milesian with the same patronymic in the next line. The reading of this part of 1996 is then:

148	[ἡγεμῶν . . . . .]	Μαρα παιδοτριβης·
	[-----]	Μαρα - παιδευ[ταί]
150	[-----]	ρου Με[λιτ]
	[-----]	ανδ[ρος] -----
	[-----]	ας Χαρικλ[έους] -----
	[ - ]	Ἀ[πολ]λῳνιος Δρόσος[-----]
		[ὑποπαιδοτ]ρίβης Λεονῶς Εὐδο[-----]
155	[... <sup>5</sup> ...σ]τρατος Θε	Ζήνων Ἱερω =
	Ε...λος Θεοδῶ	Ἑρμογένης Ἐπι

The first of these two inscriptions, 1967, dated 36/37, is of more importance for the argument. Here, for the first time, names of

*ephēboi* clearly appear without demotics, seven consecutive names with them, the following eight without them.<sup>3</sup> What is Dow's explanation of this new phenomenon? The scribe, he thinks, coming to the name of the second brother, saw that "he needed no demotic," since, "as anyone could see," his brother had it, and then, since "he also realized that all demotics could be dispensed with, he did not bother to list any more"! (1960, 388).

Before one can assume with the scribe that the demotic can be dispensed with in lists of Athenian-born *ephēboi*, one must explain why it was indispensable, so far as we can judge without a single exception, in previous lists. For in every ephebic list, from the tribal lists of the period of Aristotle's constitution, through the composite lists inscribed with honorary decrees, to the year of the second extant list headed simply *hoi ephēbeusantes* (1967), from 334/33 to 36/37 (if not 107/6), it regularly appears. The uniform use of the demotic with every name in all extant rosters of Athenian *ephēboi* prior to 36/37 stands in striking contrast to its random use elsewhere.

Indeed the writing of the names in a certain manner was prescribed by decree. Koehler restored *kat[a dêmous kai patrothen - - -* in the inscription of 305/4, the earliest extant after the term was reduced to one year (478.28), but the reading in *Hesperia* 30 (1961) 12, No. 8, line 14 (*paullo ante* 186/85), *kata phy[las - - -*, makes it almost certain that the phrase in 478 must be similarly restored. Cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.556, which Koehler dated *ca.* 305/4, for regulations apparently governing the honors to be paid ephebic officials and students which may have included provisions for recording the names.

<sup>3</sup> The first occurrence is in the fully preserved inscription of 107/6 (1011, Col. II. 106) but in the case of one name only. I had cited this case as an indication of the practice of admitting men younger than 18 to the *ephēbia* (*TAPA* 79 [1948] 221-22). Dow (1960, 386-87) reminds us that 143 years elapsed before another occurrence. The omission in 1011 may have been an oversight, and the practice of dropping demotics may not have begun as early as this. But it did begin. It is for this fact that we seek an explanation. If we do not accept the occurrence in 107/6 as a beginning, we must accept 36/37. Between 107/6 and 36/37, there is only one fairly complete list to give us information (1028 of 101/100), and there are only four others extant, which yield merely a few names in each case from the tribal lists: 1039, 1961, 1043 and 1963.

The demoticless names in 1967 could conceivably be foreigners, since the dedication to Hermes suggests an athletic victory which Athenians and foreigners might join in commemorating, but there is no parallel in the previous inscriptions of the same type in the first century B.C., 2981-85 among others. The next parallel to 1967 in time is 3004 (*post med. s. I p.*).

In any case, whether by regulation or by the force of habit and tradition, the demotic occurs without exception even in stones set up at private expense and presumably not subject to regulation in this respect. We have only two lists to give us this information. The first dated 38/37 (1043), is in all respects like the series 1006–39, all of which precede it in time, except that the heading states that Sosis, the son of Sosis, of the deme of Oë erected the inscription *hyper tôn [synephēbō]n*. The second and the next succeeding in time (1963 of 13/12) is of the *hoi ephēbeusantes* type. In both, the names of the Athenian *ephēboi* are trinominal and arranged by tribes.<sup>4</sup>

To draw conclusions about age or citizenship from the absence of the demotic in any name occurring anywhere in literary or epigraphic sources would be sheer folly; to do so from their absence in ephebic lists is imperative.<sup>5</sup> Dow apparently assumes that all Athenian *ephēboi* continued to be demesmen after 36/37, and, without making his position on the critical issue clear, viz., whether the demotic, when used, indicated the attainment of the minimum age of 18, as I believe, he proceeds to give many “common-sense” reasons for its omission in the lists of the period of the Empire.

In the first place, it is of significance to point out that all the reasons Dow gives—lack of space, clerical or masonic carelessness, “malicious” omissions, “the person failed to meet a requirement,”

<sup>4</sup> To introduce the absence of demotics for the *hypoéphronistai* in 2193 (ca. 200/201), lines 95 and 98 (1960, 389), and to write that this is “virtually fatal” to my “theories” is to miss the whole point of the argument. Dow might just as well have adduced the almost universal absence of the demotic in the name of the *archôn ephōnymos* (who here exceptionally has it) with the same ridiculing but pointless effect. His mention in note 6 on the same page of the gymnasiarchs in 1996, lines 14 and 16, is more pertinent. They were *ephēboi*, but they may have been foreigners. The *ephēbos* without demotic in line 32 was missed. Lack of space might be the reason, but the squeeze shows 1 cm. of space between columns. If Dow had looked farther down the column, he would have seen that in line 57 this space is used for the demotic of the long name there, as well as in line 189 for the last two letters of the comparatively short name which runs in large letters to the beginning of the next column.

<sup>5</sup> The most casual acquaintance with the sources, even if one had not studied the evidence on the naming of Athenian citizens collected by scholars like Kahrstedt (U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen* [Stuttgart–Berlin 1934] 199–214), would convince anyone that there was little uniformity and a great deal of diversity in the use of both the patronymic and the demotic from the earliest period, although Aristotle (*AP* 21.4) reports that Cleisthenes prescribed the designation of citizens by name and deme. The use of the demotic in ephebic rosters was an exception to its random use elsewhere. The use of the patronymic, to which Dow gives space (1960, 385–86), has no relevance here.



the scribe simply "put off getting the data" or "felt that it (the demotic) was not needed," and other possible explanations one might reasonably conjure up—were potentially operative in the period before 36/37 (in spite of the official nature of many of the inscriptions), and yet produced only one clear case of a demoticless name (1011, Col. II.106, dated 107/6) in three centuries.

These reasons doubtless accounted for occasional omissions and irregularities, and they would be much more likely to occur, as anyone will admit, in stones which were set up privately. The inadequacy of these explanations to explain *all* missing demotics, however, will appear from an examination of three rosters from among the relatively few in which they appear in the period after 36/37. And, if one still has recourse with Dow (1960, 388) to the conclusion that "All that can be said (about missing demotics) is that thereafter (after 36/37) diversity of practice is the rule," one should give cogent reasons for rejecting an interpretation which reasonably explains its usage, when used, its total absence in many rosters, and its diversity of use in the same roster. Our examination will also show the force of the argument from the increasing number of possible brothers in a given year, against the assumption, which Dow apparently makes, that all *ephēboi* were over 18 years of age.

There is only one fairly complete roster from the first century A.D., 1996, which is dated between 84/85 and 92/93. The only other extant inscription which seems to have given the full list, 1990 of 61/62, is fragmentary and preserves only *ca.* 16 names. In 1996, there are no fewer than 11 groups of consecutive homopatronymics and homodemotics under the caption *politai*, and four groups of consecutive homopatronymics among the *Meilēsioi*, a considerably higher proportion than we find in earlier lists. With one exception, already noted, all *politai* have the demotic. The one exception might have been a mistake. But we must not forget the demoticless names in 1967, also of this century, and such examples as 3004, not previously mentioned.

But the reasons for omission and an explanation for diversity of practice must also apply to the ornate inscription (2051) dating from some year between 144/45 and 148/49, which gives the names of Athenian *ephēboi* only, precisely cut within a circular shield. Of the 84 names under tribal captions, 44 have the

demotic, 40 do not. Space is amply available for the demotic; the secretary has had a year in which to get the data; fewer than 100 names are involved; the stone-cutter, to judge from his work is not a careless man; and it is inconceivable that malice, delinquency, forgetfulness or oversight were responsible for the omission in 40 out of 84 names. Surely 40 men who were demesmen would not be indifferent to the inclusion of the demotic with their names, when 44 men did have it added to their names.

The inscription dated between 197/98 and 199/200 (2128) even more strikingly shows the difficulty of applying these reasons to rosters in which a large proportion of the names have demotics, and also gives significant evidence to support the argument of brothers younger than 18 in the *ephêbia*.

First, among *ca.* 94 Athenian *ephêboi*, there are 17 (plus two doubtful) cases of names without a demotic. By comparison, 2245 (254/55, the date advanced by L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* [1953] 202) shows some 15 demotics in the roster of 291 Athenians.<sup>6</sup> Dow suggests that the demotic is used here to give these names distinction; and the context surely supports some such interpretation *in this case*, since the overwhelming majority of names do not have it. Conversely, the absence of the demotic *in this case* (and instances in a similar context) does not necessarily mean that the *ephêbos* was not a demesman and hence younger than 18. Demoticless names here, as in the numerous instances in which no demotics at all are given for Athenian *ephêboi*, doubtless included the names of younger and older *ephêboi*. But that explanation cannot apply to the use of the demotic in 2128. Its addition to two-thirds of the names cannot possibly make them stand out.

Secondly, in four instances the abbreviated demotic (in one case, part of it) is written above the end of the patronymic, showing that space was found for it when it was to be inserted.

Thirdly, there are 12 groups of consecutive homopatronymics among the 94 Athenians, two of them consisting of three *ephêboi*. These two also have the same demotic, while of the remaining

<sup>6</sup> This is my count. Dow gives "some 373 epeheboi," but this number includes 52 *epengraphoi* in the roster, and 17 names with demotics. He apparently counts the second names in line 49, *Eklektos Euônym-*, and line 73, *Asklepiadês Leonte-*, as demotics, but the second at least is clearly proved to be the patronymic from the occurrence in the second line above, line 71, of *Aur Leonteus* ; but this really does not affect the argument.

groups three have no demotics, and the remainder have the same demotic; the remainder, that is, save one. For the pair in lines 100–101 shows one name with the demotic (written above the line), the other without, duplicating the occurrence in lines 15 and 16 of 1967 of two consecutive homopatronymics, in all likelihood brothers, one with, the other without the demotic.

The simultaneous service of brothers of different ages, I think, is accepted by everyone, including Dow (in spite of my mistakes in citing them and without accepting my assumption that consecutive listings of homopatronymics represent brothers).<sup>7</sup> The assumption that some were younger than 18 is *a priori* more likely than that all were older; especially when one compares the use of the demotic here and in 1967 with 2051.7–8, where one might reasonably expect that the only two consecutive homopatronymics without demotics would be distinguished by its use with one of the names, if both young men were demesmen and not brothers.

The use of the demotic and the greater number of brothers in the period after 36/37 receive a tenable and logical explanation when we consider the historical development of the *ephēbia*. In the final analysis it depends on what the word *ephēbos* meant. Before ephebic training became voluntary and of one year's duration, *ephēbos* meant the fixed age of 18. Fixed for what? For (a) registration in the deme, which was prerequisite for (b) membership in the *ephēbia* and for (c) the assumption of the status of citizen (with restrictions). The fixed age is associated with registration in the deme, not with membership in the *ephēbia*, and the demotic is the mark of the fixed age of 18. In practice the name was applied to two age-groups, those 18 and those 19 years old.

When the great majority of Attic youth were no longer required to spend two years in training, I assume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that 18 remained the age for entrance into full citizenship for the relatively small number of *ephēboi* as well as for the great number of non-*ephēboi*, and was marked by registration in the deme and the demotic. What else did the addition of the demotic mean?

<sup>7</sup> Dow exaggerates my errors of citation; e.g., in 2245 he includes in the groups of brothers I missed those whom I specifically excluded, as he admits, "some of them, to be sure, because of the 'rule' of consecutive listing," to make my score 12 misses out of 38 possible groups. Five out of 30 is bad enough! (1960, 392, note 8).

The equation, *ephēbos* = demesman = 18 years of age = citizen of restricted competence, broke down, however, 215 years after our first inscription, when in 119/18 (1008) *xenoi* are listed under the rubric *hoi ephēbeusantes*. They appear for a time under this caption, then are called *Meilēsioi*, finally *epengraphoi*, which remained the designation thereafter for this sub-group of *ephēboi*.

The classification of *ephēboi* from this time forward until the very end of the *ephēbia* into two groups and two groups only, native-born Athenians and non-Athenians, is presumptive evidence that for the first group *ephēbos* is a term applied not as before on the basis of a fixed age, but by virtue of provenience. This, together with birth from legitimate Athenian parentage, had always been a prerequisite for citizenship. The denotation of age 18 or 19 was no longer attached to the word *ephēbos*; it meant simply citizen in the sense in which Aristotle speaks of citizens (*Pol.* 1278A, 3–7, Loeb ed.):

... even the sons of citizens are not citizens in the same sense as the adults: the latter are citizens in the full sense, the former only by presumption [*ex hypotheseōs*; Casaubon reads *ek protheseōs*, "only with a qualification"]—they are citizens, but incomplete ones.<sup>8</sup>

The assumption that *ephēbos* continued to mean "demesman" for Athenian *ephēboi* in this period, and that, therefore, all were at least 18 years of age, is not tenable in such lists as 2051 and 2128. Negligence and other assorted reasons do not account for the diversity of usage. With regard to brothers in the *ephēbia* in the same year, it requires the possible but unlikely explanation that all were older than 18. That the nexus *ephēbos* = 18 years of age or older was dissolved just as the nexus *ephēbos* = Athenian citizen by birth had been broken by the inclusion of foreigners seems to be the most reasonable explanation.

Needless confusion—for which I am partly responsible—has been introduced into the discussion of the question whether *hoi peri to Diogeneion* represent a younger-than-18 group in the *ephēbia* by the use of the expressions "pre-*ephēboi*," "pre-ephebic students," and *mellephēboi* for these younger *ephēboi*. I scrupulously avoided all of them in my first article (1948). Unfortunately in my second article, although I specifically excluded *mellephēboi*

<sup>8</sup> My paper on "The Ephebate and Citizenship" (*TAPA* 79 [1948] 211–31 elaborated the implications of this statement in the naming and listing of *ephēboi*.

from the discussion (1959, 215), I did use the other locutions, but clearly, I thought: pre-*ephēboi*, younger-than-18 *ephēboi*, *ephēboi*, *ephēboi* 18 and older, as was expressly stated several times (e.g. 1959, 215, "... the existence of pre-ephebic students in the *ephēbia*..." and *passim*) and as the whole tenor of the article indicated.

As to *mellephēboi*, in an early study of the *Foreigners* ([1929] 18, note 4) I did use the term once: "This number (of *ephēboi* in 2245) includes ephebi and mellephebi"; and to that extent I did give the impression that I subscribed to the then uncontested interpretation of Dumont-Graindor regarding *mellephēboi*: younger students outside the *ephēbia* and candidates for admission. But even then I felt that the scanty evidence did not warrant this interpretation, tempting as it was from its apparent etymology.

What we know of them rests on little evidence: three inscriptions (one fragmentary), dedicated to the Muses by ten, eight and some two *mellephēboi* respectively and dated in 95/94, 94/93 and "*init. s. i a.*" (2986, 2991, 2991a = *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 69, No. 64). Perhaps *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 62, No. 27 (II-I a.), should be added. I hesitate because no traces of *Mousais* can be seen on the squeeze or photograph in the 2 cm. between the heading and the first of the two names partially preserved, and because the significant part of the word is entirely restored: [*mellephēb*]oi. The word scratched on a catalogue of *epimelētai* (1940) indicates only that it was current some time after 130-120 B.C.

In the two complete dedications the *mellephēboi* are made up of Athenians and of foreigners, each name with its demotic and ethnic: in 2986, lines 7 and 9, one from Antioch and one from Adana; and one from Miletus in line 4 of 2991. The demotics represent various tribes. The first name in 2991 does not have the demotic, and the editor indicates *vacat* after his name. They obviously represent a cross-section of *ephēboi*, with nothing at all to indicate that they are grouped together on the basis of age. That they were a sub-group of *ephēboi* who had been victors or contestants in musical or oratorial competitions or who devoted themselves primarily to the musical, rhetorical, and philosophical, rather than the athletic aspects of ephebic training, is an inference that may be drawn from the dedication to the Muses, and the fact that they honor *ton didaskalon* in both inscriptions. In 2991, *hoi synephēboi* honor the *tamias* as well.

*Didaskalos* was the generic term for an ephebic instructor in the earliest period and as late as the year before the first of the two dedications, 96/95 (1029.33–34). As the title of a specific instructor its next appearance is much later, sometime after 136/37 (Mitsos, *Arch. Eph.* 1950/51, 37, No. 18, 197), after which it occurs with some regularity until the end of our records.

What one of his functions was can be guessed from the addition to his title in 163/64 (2086.30), *didaskalos ephêbôn tôn aismatôn theou Hadrianou*: he trained the *ephêboi* for participation in musical contests as the *paidotribês* trained them for athletic contests. The dedications to the Muses can be compared with the ephebic dedications to Hermes in the first century B.C., which give the name of the *paidotribês* (and the *hypopaidotribês*) both for winning the *lampas* (e.g. 2992, 2995, 2997), and without specifying a reason (e.g. 2981, 2985, 1967), and the dedications to Apollo for victory in the *lampas* later in this and the following century (e.g. 2999, 3005–7). But it was perhaps a protégé of the *didaskalos*, a *mellephêbos* if the term still survived, who, after acting as *lampadarchês*, made the dedication to the Muses in ca. 39/38 (2994).

Nothing can be clearer than that the *mellephêboi* were not candidates for admission to the *ephêbia*, but a temporary subgroup of *ephêboi*.

It is difficult to understand, therefore, why Dow thinks it is ruinous to my theory that there is no rubric for younger boys. "The phrase *hoi peri to Diogeneion* is never used as a rubric for a list of younger boys. No rubric is" (1960, 394). No rubric is needed. They were Athenian *ephêboi*. There is no rubric in the headings for a part of the staff either.<sup>9</sup>

It begs the whole question to add to the word rubric "for younger boys" and fail to add "in the headings." Aside from the moot phrase, the only distinction commonly made in any heading from 334/33 to 265/66 is the whole staff as opposed to the whole body of *ephêboi*. In the body of all inscriptions there are separate rubrics for Athenian *ephêboi* and foreign-born *ephêboi*. A separate rubric in the body for a part of the *synarchontes* appears too, albeit

<sup>9</sup> This argument is as ruinous to his theory as it is to mine: *ephêboi* consisted of a younger and an older group, precisely analogous to his division of the *synarchontes* into lesser staff members and higher officials, in each case the phrase in question applying to a part of the whole. Except for the five headings in which it occurs, *hoi peri to Diogeneion* never serves as the caption for a list of either group.

late, and then it is not *hoi peri to Diogeneion*, but *taxeis en Diogeneidi* (2221.70, dated 217/18 *aut paullo post*) or *hoi dia biou* (2243.26, dated 243/44; 2245.29, dated by Moretti 254/55; and the last inscription, perhaps to be dated 265/66, *Hesperia* 11 [1942] 71, No. 37, line 12).

Why should it be "preposterous" (1960, 383) for one *ephēbos* to give a dinner for *synephēboi* and *hoi peri to Diogeneion*, i.e. for his fellow students, older and younger, and why should the latter be called "his inferiors, i.e. for a swarm of hypothetical 'pre-*ephēboi*'"? The number of his guests was no greater than the total number of *ephēboi*. The second group was inferior in nothing but age, and socially and economically of the same élite class as their host, and in that respect "superior" to the lower and menial staff members.

The anomalous meaning of the phrase in either interpretation was doubtless a reason why it was used in only five headings and then discarded.

With the conclusion that *hoi peri* followed by the name of an institution refers to individuals habitually associated with it, there can only be fullest agreement. For the position that the phrase *per se* carries with it connotations of inferiority, remoteness or closeness of attachment, age, or number in the group, I can see no justification. The phrase is "flexible and 'informal'" and the "context" must indicate the meaning (1960, 404). But I should insist that the larger as well as the immediate context must be taken into consideration, as is nicely illustrated in the two inscriptions of the same year, 234/35 (2235 and 3765). In the heading of the former, the *kosmêtês* states that he is recording the names of his *synarchontes*, with no mention of *hoi peri to Diogeneion*. In the latter, one part of the *synarchontes* of the same *kosmêtês*, in an inscription authorized by the Council of the Areopagus, refers to itself, lines 6-7, as *hoi peri to Diogeneion synarchontes*, thus unambiguously giving meaning to the phrase. One could explain this away, if it were not for the fact that in the context of ephebic inscriptions *hoi peri to Diogeneion* nowhere else appears with an explanatory word or phrase, although the expression had been current since 190/91-191/92 (2113). When it appears with an explanatory word in 234/35 (3765), it is evidence to show that alone it normally referred to another group than a part of the staff.

It is not a question of consistency in the sense of using the same word or phrase with no variation, but of each term being “consistent” with itself, not meaning one thing at one time, something else at another. *Ho peri bēma* is not “consistent” in the first sense with *ho grammateus kata prytaneion*, nor in ephebic inscriptions is *didaskaloi* consistent with *paideutai*, *synarchontes hoi dia biou* or *hoi peri tēn tōn ephēbōn epimeleian tetagmenōn*; but the context, both immediate and general, makes it clear what is meant.

That *hoi peri to Diogeneion* referred to part of the *ephēboi* rather than part of the staff is more likely, if for no other reason, because, as previously mentioned, they occupied a higher social and economic position than the lesser staff members and would, on balance, receive greater recognition.

This becomes evident from an examination of the headings in the inscriptions set up by the *kosmētēs*. They usually mention that staff and *ephēboi* are recorded on the stone. But not always. If one group is omitted, it is never the *ephēboi* but the instructors, although the names of the latter along with their titles are listed. So, e.g., in 1990.7.10–13 (61/62); 2050.4–5 (143/44 *aut* 144/45); 2090.5.12–36 (165/66). Especially instructive is 2059.2–3 (147/48 *aut paullo post*), which singles out two instructors for the honor (*timēsas*) of mention in the heading after the *ephēboi*, while the other instructors are relegated to the body of the inscription.

In some stones the *kosmētēs* honors only the *ephēboi* with no mention of the instructors in either heading or body, e.g. 2041.5–8 (128/29); 2051 (144/45–148/49), which, however, has no indication that the *kosmētēs* erected it, and 2052.5 (145/46). It is very likely that in these instances another stone or stones gave a complete record of the ephebic year. (Cf. 2128 and 2129 of the same year between 197/98 and 199/200 and Dittenberger’s comments there.)

But there is no clear example mentioning the officials alone in the heading. Dittenberger’s restoration in the *unicum*, 2054, which is to be dated in the same year as 2052 cited above, [*ho kosmētēs*] *t[ous paideutas] kai t[ous sôphronistas]*, rests on the assumption that, since 2052 gave only the names of the *ephēboi*, and since the fragment 2054 shows only *sôphronistai* and *hyposôphronistai*, 2054 listed only officials and instructors.

The “habitual association” of “those around an institution” is between office and class of persons—not the individual holder of



an office or the individual student—and the institution. While some ephebic instructors were associated with the *ephēbia* for a long time and received the designation *dia biou*, the actual tenure of *hoi dia biou* was often short, as Notopoulos has pointed out (*Hesperia* 18 [1949] 28). Dow expresses the idea exactly with regard to the meaning *aei* applied to an office: it “means ‘for the term of the office, tenure of the office by a series of persons being continuous’” (*Hesperia*, Supplement 1.24). As a class, the younger *ephēboi* were habitually associated with the *Diogeneion* as continuously as the holders of the positions designated *hoi dia biou*.

The position that there were younger-than-18 *ephēboi* in the *ephēbia* of the imperial period does not then rest on the interpretation that *hoi peri to Diogeneion* refers to this group, but on the establishment of the existence of such a group associated with the *Diogeneion* to whom this phrase might reasonably be applied in the heading.