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Thucydides 7.13.2 and the Crews of Athenian Triremes: An Addendum*

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Introduction

In 1992 I published a paper[1] in which I sought to show that the correct understanding of two passages in Th. 7.13.2 proved, firstly, that slaves certainly formed part of the complement of rowers on Athenian triremes, and, secondly, that their masters were not confined to the officers and marines of the triremes (as often thought) but could include fellow rowers. Those conclusions naturally led me to consider the great triremes inscription, then referred to as *IG* II/III^2 1951, which provides our unique epigraphical evidence for the composition of the complements of Athenian triremes. In that inscription I found examples of slaves whose masters seemed to be rowers, but some of those identifications were questionable, because, according to the accepted reconstruction of the inscription, slave and master did not serve on the same ship.[2] The reconstruction accepted is that proposed by Laing in his Cincinnati dissertation of 1965, which has been followed by D. M. Lewis in the new publication of the inscription as *IG* I^3 1032. As I had not at that time been able to examine the fragments of the inscription in Athens, I had to leave those questions open until I could check by autopsy the evidence and arguments used for the reconstruction of the inscription. Since then I have had the opportunity to study all the fragments in Athens,[3] so I can now return to the topics I had to leave open in 1992. It will be recalled that the inscription contained a very numerous list of names in a regular

*My sincere thanks are due to Harold Mattingly, who kindly read this paper in draft and made a very important suggestion for its improvement, which I have been glad to follow up; to Alexandra Coucouzeli for her assistance; and to Jorge Moreira for creating FIG. 1.

[1]"Thucydides 7.13.2 and the Crews of Athenian Triremes." *TAPA* 122 (1992): 257–70.

[2]Graham 266–69.

[3]I am deeply grateful to the Director and Staff of the Epigraphical Museum for permission to study the inscription and for making the conditions for my work ideal. I must also thank the research foundation of the University of Pennsylvania for a grant to finance my travel.

order assigned to four categories: 1) officers (including marines and archers); 2) citizen sailors; 3) foreigners; 4) slaves.

The fragments and their arrangement

Eleven fragments, all now preserved in the Epigraphical Museum, have been regularly attributed to this once large inscription: *a* = EM 8060, *b* = EM 8063, *c* = EM 8062, *d* = EM 8064, *e* = EM 8061, *f* = EM 438, *g* = EM 438α, *h* = EM 12366+12366α, *i* = EM 12365, *j* = EM 12743, *k* = EM 12762. In addition, it has been proposed that EM 12894 and Agora I 4682 also belonged.[4] It was my great good fortune to have the advice of Professor Norman Herz, the expert on ancient marble,[5] when I was in Athens. He pronounced that the eleven fragments ascribed to the trireme inscription show the same fine-grained white marble, with the same angle of fault lines, no observable mica and very few intrusions generally. The geological character of these stones allows their association. EM 12894, however, is very different. The angles of fault lines are not the same; there is much mica and other intrusions.

In addition, there are small but definite differences in the lettering of EM 12894 and that of fragments *a–k*,[6] which are particularly observable in *mu* and *sigma*. On fragments *a–k* the *mu*s have all four strokes of equal length, and the bottom of the V is generally on a line with the bottom of the two outer strokes. These *mu*s are rather spread out, except where the letters are crowded. The sigmas are rather tall and spread, so that the upper and lower strokes sometimes extend beyond the other letters above and below. All four strokes are of equal length. Both of these shapes are maintained very consistently throughout the extant fragments. On EM 12894, on the other hand, the *mu*s are slightly different; the outer strokes are longer than the two middle ones, and the bottom of the V does not reach the same level as the two outer strokes. The *sigmas* on EM 12894 are also definitely distinguishable from those of fragments *a–k*. The upper and lower strokes are significantly longer than the two middle ones, and the whole letter is flatter. It is certain, therefore, that this fragment cannot belong in the trireme inscription.

[4]See Lewis' note, *IG* I^3 1032.

[5]Cf. Herz and Wenner 1070–72.

[6]These differences were briefly noted by Stroud 427–28 no. 59. The fragment was already excluded from the triremes inscription by Laing 94–95. I repeat what I wrote earlier (Graham 263 n. 24), that, since Laing's dissertation has been taken into account by all serious students of the subject, and is freely available from University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, I treat it as exactly equivalent to a published work.

The tiny fragment in the Agora is, however, very clearly of marble similar to fragments *a–k*, so its geological character allows it to belong to the trireme inscription. Its lettering is also identical. Thus it seems to me virtually certain that it once formed part of *IG* I^3 1032. Unfortunately, the very few letters preserved can hardly add greatly to our knowledge. Its finding place, however, "marble dump SE of the Tholos," i.e., some 400 m. NW of the Acropolis, is interesting. Most of the other fragments were found on the Acropolis or nearby, so that this one shows we should allow a rather wider provenance for the remains of the inscription.

To return to fragments *a–k*, joins have long been recognized between fragments *h+a+b+i* (Laing 13) and *c+f+j* (Laing 21–22). My own inspection confirms that all these joins are well justified, either by contact or epigraphically, and in many cases by both. One of the chief contributions of Laing was to show how the two joined clusters were related to each other when the inscription was complete.

The beginning of his demonstration was the recognition that the slaves of the officers on a trireme were listed in a group at the end of the total complement.[7] Parts of the complements of four triremes (Triremes I to IV) are certainly preserved on the fragments. (That is shown by the initial heading, τριηράρχω, which occurs at lines 21, 141, 276 and 407). Of these triremes, two, Triremes II and III, have sufficient officers' names and names of slaves' masters preserved to show the connection that Laing observed.[8] We thus have the beginning and end of the complements of Triremes II and III.

Since the beginning and part of the end of the complement of Trireme III occur in adjacent columns, the third and fourth of *h+a+b+i*, or columns VIII and IX[9], on the same fragment, *a* (the rest of the end is on the joining fragment, *i*), these two columns are unquestionably linked. Thus on the complete inscription the complement of Trireme III extended over parts of two adjacent columns. The known complement of a trireme was 200.[10] Rather more than 200 lines are required on this inscription to allow for the headings and any two-line entries necessitated by long names. So the complement of Trireme III has

[7]This had been noticed earlier; see, e.g., Pope 16–23; but Laing refined and developed the interpretation. Many of the agreements between officers and slave masters, but not all, are noted by Lewis ad *IG* I^3 1032. It is not clear to me what criteria he used to make his selection.

[8]See especially Laing 126–28.

[9]I use Laing's numbers for the columns, which were adopted by Lewis in *IG* I^3.

[10]This is established by abundant literary evidence; see Morrison and Coates 107–8.

yielded an approximate computation of the number of lines per column of the complete inscription.[11]

In the light of these conclusions, the complement of Trireme II reveals the relationship between the two joining clusters *h+a+b+i* and *c+f+j*. Its beginning is in the second preserved column of fragment *f* (line 141), and its end is in the third preserved column of fragment *a* (line 275). Accordingly, this complement proves a link between the two clusters. That link could in theory imply one of two relationships: either *c+f+j* was above *h+a+b+i* on the original inscription, or it was below. Laing used his measurements of column widths to exclude the first possibility.[12] While the width within a column is very consistent, the width from column to column varies slightly, and to a measurable extent (Laing 19–21).

When in the Epigraphical Museum I checked Laing's measurements of these widths[13] as carefully as I could, and found them entirely dependable. The width of the second column of *c+f+j* is different from that of the second column of *h+a+b+i*. On the other hand, the widths of the third and fourth columns of *c+f+j* agree perfectly with those of the second and third columns of *h+a+b+i*, and, although there are fewer measurable lines to compare, the second column of *c+f+j* has the same width as the first column of *h+a+b+i*. So the second column of *c+f+j*, where the complement of Trireme II begins, is the same column as the first of *h+a+b+i*, and the third column of *h+a+b+i*, where the complement ends, is the same as the fourth column of *c+f+j*. We know, therefore, that the complement of Trireme II spread over three columns of the original inscription, VI to VIII. Since we know from Trireme III that a complete complement could be contained in parts of two columns, the only way the required number of lines for Trireme II could be attained is if the beginning were fairly near the bottom of the second column of *c+f+j* (VI) and the end were fairly near the top of the third column of *h+a+b+i* (VIII). Thus the relationship between the two joining clusters shows that *h+a+b+i* reached to near the top of the original inscription, and *c+f+j* reached to near the foot (see FIG.1).

My own examination of the fragments has consequently confirmed that Laing correctly perceived and proved the original relationship between the two joining clusters. That relationship is the basis for our understanding of the

[11]Laing's attempted precise calculation (44–50) is discussed below.
[12]Which had been advocated by Pope 18–19.
[13]For his precise measurements, see 120–24.

nature and arrangement of the original inscription. The placing of the individual fragments which do not join (*d*, *e*, *g*, *k)* is less important for this purpose. With the exception of *k*, whose position he regarded as completely uncertain, Laing had good arguments for the likely positions of these fragments (30–34), but it is unnecessary to pursue those questions here. Once the two joining clusters are correctly related, we have parts of six columns, his V to X, and the placing of the complements of Triremes I to IV on the original inscription is clear.[14]

The only matter where my examination of the fragments led me to differ from Laing concerned the uninscribed parts of the inscription, or *vacat*s. Some of these are unmistakable and have been generally recognized. To the right of the third column (X) on fragment *i* there is a clear *vacat*, which extends over the whole height of the fragment (where perceivable), and has a width of as much as 0.07 m. when measured from the ends of the lines of the inscribed column (see FIG. 2). It is this *vacat* which has led scholars to conclude that there were no names to the right of column X, and that it was the final column of the original inscription.

There is also an undoubted *vacat* on the same fragment, *i*, at the top of the same column, X, above line 449. This is marked on *IG* I^3 1032 (p. 689), and its preserved height is 0.08 m., as stated there (see FIG. 3). This *vacat* extends to the preserved top of the fragment. On its basis scholars have concluded that there were no inscribed lines in column X above 449, and that, therefore, column X began anomalously well below the tops of the other columns.[15]

There are also definite *vacat*s on the individual fragments *e* and *g*. On fragment *e* there is a big uninscribed space to the right of the preserved lettering (lines 413–18), 0.18 m. high and 0.14 m. wide (see FIG. 4).[16] On fragment *g* Laing (38) was able to show by measurement that the space to the right of line 428 would be expected to contain letters from the next column, if that had been inscribed (see FIG. 5). His measurements here and his conclusion are certainly correct. Laing has persuasive arguments to show that the inscribed columns on fragment *g* were parts of columns VIII and IX, and the inscribed part of fragment *e* was part of column IX (37–41). So the *vacat* on fragment *e* not

[14]Laing represented that graphically in his fig. 3, p. 87.

[15]See Laing 29–30; cf. Pope 20. By placing three dashes above the indicated lacuna in *IG* I^3 1032, Lewis seems to imply that there were once an uncertain number of letters above it; cf. ML, the table of *sigla* on p. xiii. If so, he did not agree that column X began anomalously at line 449.

[16]Cf. Laing 39.

only confirms the evidence from fragment *i* that there was no column to the right of column X, but also shows that that column did not reach to the bottom of the original inscription. The latter conclusion also follows from the *vacat* on fragment *g* to the right of line 428. It was this evidence which showed that column X, the last column of the inscription, not only began well below the tops of the other columns, but also ended well above their feet. Laing's suggested explanation for this anomalous arrangement (29–30) is that it was done for aesthetic reasons: the mason knew that he had fewer names to inscribe than would fill a column, so he chose to put them in a roughly central position in the middle of the column. While that explanation may be right, Laing offered no parallel, nor do I know of one.

The *vacat*s discussed so far are all indisputable and Laing's conclusions from them that column X was the final inscribed column, and that it was not a full column, seem likely to be right. There are two cases where it seems to me uncertain whether there is a *vacat* or not. At the top of the first column (V) of fragment *c* Lewis indicates *vacat*s at the right ends of lines 17, 18 and 20. The *sigma* which is the last letter of line 19 is, however, clear (if faint). The position of that letter in *IG* I³ 1032 is slightly misleading. It is in fact aligned above the χ of [τριηράρ]χω in line 21. Since that is itself a short line, line 19 must also have been short. If we have short lines hereabouts, it may be wrong to indicate *vacat*s at the ends of lines 17, 18 and 20. In any case, the letters preserved in lines 15, 16 and 19 exclude the possibility of a substantial *vacat* before the beginning of the next trireme complement at line 21.[17]

The second uncertain case occurs at the top of the first column (VI) on fragment *h*. *Vacat*s of two letter spaces at the right end of line 69 are indicated in *IG* I³ 1032 (p. 688). Laing (67–68) did not see a *vacat* here, but assumed a short line 69 (his line 203), which ended somewhat to the left of the present break. The question whether we should recognize a *vacat* here seems to me beyond certain solution, and is only significant because there are other problems in this area.

From lines 72 onwards we have the clear remains of a list of foreign sailors, and the restoration of line 71 as the heading [ξένο]ι is attractive.[18] One would expect the lines above 71 to contain the names of citizen sailors, but the

[17]Laing 24–26 discusses the problems of these lines. He argues that they contain the names of slaves and masters, which are to be expected in this position.

[18]Laing 68–69.

only preserved letters are in line 70, at its right end, viz. -χος, which does not form part of any demotic. Laing suggested that in this case the demotic was not written, and the three letters represent the end of a name.[19] For that he offered the parallel of line 193 (his line 259), where the name Νίκανδρος, in a list of citizen sailors, lacks a demotic. But the analogy is not perfectly apt. There is a space on the same line for the demotic after Νίκανδρος, so it was clearly missed for one reason or another. In line 70 -χος are the last letters of the line, so in that case the assumed demotic would have had to be on the next line. Not only is it not there, but it is also to be noted that the great majority of extant two-line entries are for slaves and masters. Two examples of citizen's name plus demotic exist: Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀθμονεύς (lines 145–46) and Ἀριστοφαν - - Κυθήρριο[ς] (200–201). It is also just possible that the part of a name in line 61 implies a two-line entry. The shortage of parallels deprives Laing's suggestion of cogency. His alternative suggestion, which he did not find attractive, was to regard the *sigma* as a mistake for *lambda,* thus obtaining the abbreviation for Χολαργεύς or Χολλείδης.[20] Some degree of special pleading is thus required to make line 70 part of an original list of citizen sailors.

Given a possible anomaly here, it is natural to wonder if there was not another, i.e., that the possible *vacat* in line 69 in fact indicates that there was a larger *vacat* at the top of column VI. And that possibility immediately leads to the question of whether there was a substantial *vacat* at the bottom of column V on fragment *f,* below line 68, which is part of a list of citizen sailors (see FIG. 6).

In *IG* I^3 1032 Lewis indicates *vacat*s here at the ends of at least thirteen lines (p. 690), in which no letters are preserved. Although he did not claim that that might imply a generally uninscribed space at this point,[21] it was that possibility that was addressed by Laing (26–29).

The break at the left edge of fragment *f* means that only the ends of the lines of column V are preserved. Because the line of the break inclines inwards (to the right) at the lower end of the fragment, Laing argued that the uninscribed

[19]Ibid.

[20]See Whitehead 117–18 nos. 26 and 27.

[21]His exact words are "*lacuna saltem 13 vv., quorum fines vacant.*" *Lacuna* indicates material once inscribed but missing from the extant fragments. In an inscription whose contents dictate irregular length of line, there are bound to be lines where there is uninscribed space to the right of the lettering. In such cases it would be misleading to indicate *vacat*s, and generally Lewis does not do so. Laing never regarded the uninscribed space at the end of a complete line as a *vacat,* so when Lewis indicates a *vacat* where Laing does not, Laing is envisaging a short, but complete, line.

space can be explained by the loss of whole lines of lettering at this point. There is no need, therefore, to assume that a substantial area was completely uninscribed. He admits that this argument does not account for the *vacat*s in the few lines immediately following 68, and explains those by the assumption that the original lines here were unusually short and terminated to the left of the broken left edge of our extant fragment.

My own examination of the stone confirms the validity of Laing's argument for the very lowest lines of column V. So I regard Lewis' indication of *vacat*s in at least thirteen lines as certainly exaggerated. In my view there are definite *vacat*s at the ends of eight lines after line 68. In these eight lines Laing's assumption that the original lines were very short is necessary if we are to exclude the possibility of a generally uninscribed space at this point.

Laing offered two possible reasons for such short lines. First, a very short name was followed by a short abbreviation for a demotic. While he is able to show that such an entry is a theoretical possibility, he has no precise parallel in the extant parts of the inscription. Alternatively, these lines contained two-line entries. Here his suggested analogy is from a list of slaves in column IX, where at lines 374–75 we seem to have the use of two lines for two relatively short names:

374 Ἀγάθων
375 Λάκωνο[ς]

Since the stone breaks off immediately to the right of the *nu* in line 374 and the *omikron* in line 375 (see FIG. 7), it is possible that either of the names was in fact longer, and so required a two-line entry. Although longer names which begin with the preserved letters exist,[22] Λάκων seems all but certain, and Ἀγάθων is a common slave name, which occurs on this inscription in line 460. But there is another (and better) possibility, oddly enough pointed out by Laing himself (81), namely that Ἀγάθων was followed by a master's name (these are often abbreviated) on the same line, and Λάκων was followed by a master's name beginning with Ὀ. In that case we would have two single-line entries of the normal type.

[22] Ἀγαθωνίδης and Ἀγαθώνυμος are both attested at Athens (*LGPN* II s.v.v.). Λάκων is attested at Athens (*LGPN* II s.v.), and the only pertinent longer name attested is Λακωνίδης, which is not possible here.

If lines 374–75 are correctly read as 'Αγάθων Λάκωνο[ς], the mason used two lines for a total of thirteen letters. The lowest number of letters in any certain or very probable two-line entry on our extant fragments[23] is seventeen at lines 237–38. As we saw above, the great majority of extant two-line entries are for slaves and masters. Only two certain examples of two-line entries for citizen's name plus demotic appear, but in neither of these cases would short lines have resulted. So Laing's suggested analogy for a two-line entry for a citizen's name plus demotic is hardly compelling.

If we look at the rest of column V, preserved higher up, we find an average of one line in eight sufficiently short to leave uninscribed space comparable to the *vacat*s at the ends of the presumed eight lines after 68. Altogether, therefore, the actual evidence on the stone makes it hard to exclude the possibility of a substantial uninscribed space at the bottom of column V on fragment *f*, and Laing's argument against it reads like special pleading. It is presumably not impossible that he is right, just as it is not impossible that he is right about the letters -χος in line 70. Since both assumptions seem improbable, however, the only argument that remains is that we should expect the list of citizen sailors in column V to continue unbroken until the list of foreigners beginning at line 71. And that is an argument from *a priori* probability alone.

These matters do not affect only columns V and VI. If there was substantial uninscribed space either at the bottom of column V on fragment *f*, or at the top of column VI on fragment *h*, or in both places, that bears on the question of the reconstruction of the inscription as a whole.

On the basis of what results from the recognition of the relationship of the two joining clusters, Laing was able to make some precise calculations about the size and layout of the original inscription and concluded that it contained the complements of eight triremes and that the names were listed in ten columns, each of which (except X) contained about 204 lines.[24] These calculations are in themselves acceptable and convincing, and Laing's reconstruction was followed by Lewis in his edition in *IG* I^3.

[23]These are lines 117–18 (21 letters), 145–46 (19), 200–201 (at least 20), 228–29 (22), 235–36 (20), 237–38 (17), 245–46 (20), 250–51 (20), 268–69 (21), 270–71 (19), 272–73 (20), 362–63 (19), 364–65 (20+1 or 2), 367–68 (17+ probably 3), 369–70 (19), 379–80 (20), 384–85 (18), 392–93 (19).

[24]Laing 44–50. On p. 47 he writes "about 203 or so lines in length"; on p. 50, "about 204 lines."

Two fundamental assumptions underlie Laing's calculations: 1) that the entire complements of the triremes were listed; and 2) that all the space on the stele was inscribed as far as the unmistakable *vacat*s in column X. All students of the inscription are likely to agree with the first assumption, but the second is vulnerable to the possibility that there was uninscribed space earlier than the *vacat*s in column X. Once that possibility is admitted, calculations about the missing parts of the original inscription become tentative. Laing's reconstruction may be right, but we cannot be sure that it is "established."[25]

Slaves and their masters

Doubts about the reconstruction of the original inscription as a whole could only be definitely resolved by the discovery of further fragments, but the general correctness of the arrangement of columns V to X can be regarded as established. So we have basically good and reliable information about the complements of Triremes I to IV, which enables me to return to the questions about slave/master relationships raised in my earlier discussion.[26]

In addition to the slave-masters among the officers, to whom the earlier scholars had confined their attention, I pointed out that we have preserved the names of seven slaves, whose masters bear the same names as those of members of the citizen sailors and foreigners (including metics). Two of the putative masters served on the same trireme as the slave in question: the metic Euphronios, living at Sunium (line 226), and Euphron, slave of Euphronios (line 244), both served on Trireme II; the foreigner Archedemos of Peparethos (line 85) and Timagenes, slave of Archedemos (line 134), both served on Trireme I.[27] In the other five cases, however, the slave and his putative master did not serve on the same ship. Aristodemos, slave of Lysistratos (lines 364–65) served on Trireme III, while Lysistratos P(aianeus) or P(alleneus) or P(itheus) or P(rospaltios)[28] (line 178) served on Trireme II. Agathon, slave of Eudikos (line 460), served on Trireme IV, while Eudikos Marathonios (line 184) served on Trireme II. Euarchos, slave of Lysippos (line 458), served on Trireme IV, while Lysippos (line 203, in a list of citizen sailors) served on Trireme II.

[25]Laing 50.

[26]Graham 266–69.

[27]There is a marine Archedęmos from Oion on Trireme II (line 151), but his slave is certainly Euphron, slave of Archedemos (line 267), also on Trireme II; see Laing 127–28. It is very probable, Laing shows at 135–36, that each marine had one slave.

[28]These are the four demes for which the abbreviation Π is recorded; see Whitehead nos. 89, 91, 104 and 110.

Thraix, slave of Nikoboulos (line 248), served on Trireme II, while Nikoboulos from Melite (line 428) served on Trireme IV. Eubios, slave of Phan- (line 348), served on Trireme III, while Phanostratos from Kythnos (line 88) served on Trireme I.

It is very clear that it would have been most advantageous and desirable for a slave master to have his slave on the same ship. In the first place, he could then keep an eye on his slave and prevent any attempt at slave flight. The Thucydides passage 7.13.2 proves that desertion by a slave serving on the triremes was a possibility, and that it was the duty of the slave's master to prevent it.[29] Secondly, the personal services that the slave would perform for his master—foraging, preparing food and so on[30]—would only be guaranteed if they both served on the same ship, since the individual triremes in a fleet could easily be detached.

While these considerations may be obvious, Laing's reconstruction of the complements of Triremes I to IV makes it virtually impossible for all the slaves to have had masters on the same ship. His calculation (89) that the slaves on Trireme I occupied 134 lines of the inscription[31] depends on his reading θεράπον]τες in line 100 (Laing's line 234).[32] The possible *tau* was a new reading by Laing. All that remains on the stone is a horizontal upper stroke with a definite upward slope. Laing argued that this slope was less steep than was normal for *sigma*, the letter read by earlier students of the inscription. My own inspection confirms that Laing was justified in seeing a possible part of a *tau* here, but his reading was not accepted by Lewis, who merely printed an upward-sloping horizontal stroke in *IG* I^3 1032. Laing's argument for the heading θεράπον]τες also requires that the letters were generously spaced. The reading results not only in a very large number of slaves in this complement but also in a very small number of foreign sailors, only twenty-

[29]Especially οἱ δὲ θεράποντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐς ἀντίπαλα καθεστήκαμεν, αὐτομολοῦσι, "the slaves, since we are on terms of equality, desert," and οἱ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτομολίας προφάσει ἀπέρχονται, "some go away on the excuse of slave flight." See my remarks in Graham, especially 260–62.

[30]See Welwei 1974: 88–89, who acutely points out that these personal services would be performed on land, when the trireme was berthed for the night; while the ship was at sea, the slave would be free to row.

[31]There is a small discrepancy between this figure and the 136 slaves for Trireme I given at 90 n. 19. In any case, we know from the better attested complements that the number of slaves was possibly fewer than the lines they occupied, because of two-line entries.

[32]Laing 70–71.

eight according to Laing (71). There are sufficient uncertainties here for caution in accepting Laing's reading, even if it may be right. Without his proposed heading there is no way to estimate the number of slaves on Trireme I. So the high number of slaves postulated by Laing for this trireme is not sufficiently secure to form the basis for an argument.

The number of slaves proposed by Laing for Trireme IV is ninety-three or above.[33] Thirty-five are actually attested in lines 449–83 in column X on fragment *i*. The suggested total is reached by calculation. We have the beginning of the complement of Trireme IV at line 407 in column IX on the same fragment, *i*, and Laing calculated that the complement occupied 147 lines in column IX.[34] Since we know that the average number of lines required for a full complement was c. 240,[35] we can postulate that column X originally contained about ninety-three lines. The *vacat* at the top of the column was estimated to be of about thirty lines; we have thirty-five inscribed lines preserved; therefore there were about fifty-eight inscribed lines below what we possess. Since all the lines preserved in column X contain names of slaves, we have to allot all ninety-three lines to the slave list, and since the heading of the list of slaves is not preserved, there may have been more slaves listed at the bottom of column IX, where Laing (90 n. 20) calculated a *lacuna* of sixteen lines.[36] So there are justifiable reasons for calculating the number of slaves of trireme IV as about ninety-three,[37] but a calculated figure is a little too insecure to support an argument.

The numbers of slaves on Triremes II and III are better attested. For II the beginning of the list is clearly given by the heading θεράποντες in line 227, and the end is established by the heading τριηράρχω in line 276. We have forty actual slaves attested. Laing (142–43) would add a very few more to take account of the small gap between the lowest preserved line on the joining cluster *c+f+j* and the highest in the joining cluster *h+a+b+i*. The total number

[33]Laing 90 gives ninety-four or above, but see the discussion below.

[34]Laing gives his distribution of the complement of Trireme IV at 90–91 with n. 20. Although his arguments are not set out clearly and comprehensively in any one place, the remarks on pp. 30, 38–39, 41 and especially 48–49 provide sufficient indication of his thinking.

[35]Laing 45.

[36]Although not argued, the calculation follows from the rest of the reconstruction of column IX and the estimated length of a column, i.e., about 204 lines; see above, n. 24.

[37]There are no two-line entries in the preserved part of the list of slaves on Trireme IV, but that does not absolutely exclude the possibility of two-line entries in the postulated lost part of the list.

of slaves on Trireme II is thus at the maximum forty plus a very few. Of these, twenty-two or more were owned by the officers,[38] so the masters of the remaining eighteen or more could easily have been among the free sailors on the same ship.

It is a different story on Trireme III. The preserved list of slaves begins at line 320 in column VIII (fragments *j* and *f*), and ends at line 406 in column IX (fragment *a*), which is the original end of the list, since line 407 has the heading τριηράρχω. There are thirty-seven preserved lines in column VIII, 320–56, but the fragments *j* and *f* are broken in such a way here that one cannot tell if there were any two-line entries. There were seven certain or very probable such entries in column IX,[39] and thirty-six very probable one-line entries. These figures give us a maximum of eighty slaves. To these we have to add the slaves whose names will have been (certainly) in the seventeen lines which Laing (90 n. 19) estimates as missing at the bottom of column VIII and top of column IX, and (possibly) in the ninety-nine lines which Laing (ibid.) estimates were lost in the gap in column VIII between the bottom of fragment *i* and the top of fragment *j*. Within those ninety-nine lines we have to fit the names of the remainder of the citizen sailors, of which fourteen are preserved, and of all the foreigners.[40] So it seems unlikely that there were many slaves here. Thus the maximum number of slaves on Trireme III was about ninety-seven.

From that figure we should probably deduct the ten slaves who did not regularly row but served the helmsman (*kybernetes*) and bow officer (*proirates*) in two gangs of five.[41] If we do, we thus have eighty-seven rowing slaves. Since

[38]Laing 127.

[39]See above, n. 23.

[40]On Trireme II the citizen sailors and foreigners occupied about 178 lines (198 minus twenty for the officers); see Laing 89; but that was in a trireme with a small number of slaves.

[41]Cf. Laing 146–47, but for a detailed and authoritative treatment, see rather Morrison and Coates 112–14. The evidence for these men, though not rich, seems sufficient. X. *An.* 5.8.20 shows that there were men (plural) who were under the orders of the *kybernetes* and *proirates*. On a Rhodian warship, probably a *tetreres* of the Mithridatic War, we have five workers, ἐργαζόμενοι, in the prow, ἐν πρώραι, and five in the stern, ἐν πρύμναι. See Segre; the workers (line 15) ἐν πρώραι are at lines 16–22, ἐν πρύμναι at 23–29; cf. Morrison 55–56. On our inscription the officers, including trierarchs, number twenty or twenty-one. The rowers are known to number 170 (next note). So we need ten men to make up the well-attested complement of 200 (n. 10 above), and these should be the slaves who worked for the *kybernetes* and *proirates*.

the full complement of oarsmen totalled 170,[42] we have eighty-three free rowers. On Trireme II we know that officers were masters of at least twenty-two slaves. Of those, ten will have served the *kybernetes* and *proirates*, which leaves twelve rowers. We thus reach a figure of about seventy-five slaves who might have had masters among the free rowers. There is really no chance that the masters of those seventy-five could all have been in the eighty-three free oarsman on board this trireme.

Trireme III is, therefore, important in providing good evidence for the large number of slaves on board, and thus increasing the credibility of the large numbers proposed by Laing for Triremes I and IV. We therefore know that, on some of the triremes whose complements were listed in this inscription, not all the masters of the slaves could have been on the same ship.

The action celebrated and date of the inscription

That consideration obviously contributes to the conclusion, reached by many scholars, that these triremes formed part of the Athenian fleet at Arginusae or Aegospotami, but both those battles are unsatisfactory occasions to have generated this honorific inscription.[43] We must look elsewhere. The time period is confined to the late fifth and early fourth centuries by epigraphical criteria.[44] In the period after 404 the Athenians were restricted to twelve triremes by the terms of the peace treaty with Sparta (X. *HG* 2.2.20; And. 3.25). Even though they sent equipment and naval officers to Conon in 397/6, they still had only twelve triremes at that time, and felt unable to support Demaenetus, who sailed with one of them to join Conon (*Hell.Oxy.* VII.1; Is. 11.8). The earliest time when they might theoretically have put more warships into service is summer 395, when they joined the allies against Sparta (X. *HG* 3.5.16; Lys. 16.13; And. 3.25; Tod 101, 102), and, it has been suggested, broke the treaty by beginning to rebuild their defences.[45] In fact, however, no build-up of their navy is attested. Conon's victory at Cnidus in 394 was won with a Persian fleet.[46] In the 390s and early 380s there is no occasion in our record of a naval action carried

[42]That is established by the number of oars in the fourth-century inventories; see Morrison and Coates 111.

[43]Graham 263–69.

[44]Graham 265–66.

[45]See Seager 98–103.

[46]Cf. X. *HG* 3.4.1. For the reasons why Laing's attempt to associate the triremes inscription with Cnidus was a failure, see Graham 265 n. 33.

out by Athens that would have justified such a celebratory inscription.[47] We are bound, therefore, to look rather to the late fifth century.

Some have thought that the inscription cannot be earlier than 411, in the belief that the shared trierarchy (syntrierarchy) did not exist before that date.[48] But that is to misread our literary evidence. What we have is not a *terminus post quem* but a *terminus ante* of 409.[49] The mistaken idea that 411 is the earliest possible date for the inscription led Pope to the very unconvincing suggestion that "the hurried and disastrous expedition under Thymochares to Eretria" was the action commemorated.[50] There is no need to waste time on that idea. A much more promising possibility is the eight triremes which sailed from blockading Peiraion[51] to Samos under Strombichides (Th. 8.15.1–16.1).[52] These ships were part of the navy which the Athenians built up after the Sicilian disaster, and they were the first to sail to Ionia to try to defend Athenian interests there. A large number of slaves might well have been recruited to serve in the ships at this time of great emergency. We are not restricted, however, to an argument from general probability, because there is internal evidence in the inscription that seems to point to the expedition under Strombichides.

The first of the pair of trierarchs of Trireme III is Πρωτόμαχος Κηφι(σεύς) (line 277). The name is not very common at Athens[53] and it is a reasonable hypothesis[54] that he is the same man who was elected general after the Athenian defeat at Notium, was one of the generals at Arginusae, and had the good sense not to return to Athens after that battle (X. *HG* 1.5.16; 6.30; 7.1). Kephisia is an Erechtheid deme.[55] The tribe of the general Protomachos is not recorded, but Erechtheis is not one of the four, or possibly five, tribes

[47]The expedition under the command of Thrasybulus in 390–389 had its successes; see Seager 113–15; but he had forty ships; X. *HG* 4.8.25; D.S. 14.94.2.

[48]Pope 22, but her citation of Brillant 445 with n. 16 in favor of that date is unfair to that author, who does not state this. Pope has, however, been followed by Laing 105 and Garlan 1972: 38.

[49]Jordan 70–71 represents the position correctly; cf. also Graham 265 n. 34.

[50]Pope ibid.

[51]For the name Peiraion/Speiraion, see Andrewes, *HCT* ad Th. 8.10.2.

[52]I owe this very important suggestion to Harold Mattingly.

[53]*LGPN* II s.v.

[54]Though not made in the prosopographical literature; see *PA* 12318, 12321; *LGPN* II s.v. 2 and 11.

[55]See, e.g., Traill table I.

known to have been represented in the board of generals elected after Notium.[56] So the identification of the trierarch of *IG* I^3 1032 and the general Protomachos is not excluded by our existing evidence.

If the proposed identification is correct, there is no chance that Protomachos served as a trierarch between Arginusae and the peace treaty of 404. Since there are distinguished Protomachoi at Athens, who may be descendants of the general,[57] he may have returned to Athens, along with other prominent exiles, according to the terms of the peace treaty of 404 (X. *HG* 2.2.20). If he did, it is theoretically possible that he could have served as a trierarch at some time after 404. A trierarchy was a liturgy, not a rank, so there was no theoretical bar to a man serving as a trierarch after being a general, and we know that that did actually happen from the well-known cases of Theramenes and Thrasybulus.[58] We have already seen, however, that a naval action likely to have generated our honorific inscription does not seem to have occurred in the early fourth century. So, if the trierarch of that document and the general Protomachos were the same man, the occasion which generated the inscription must be before Arginusae.

[56]We know the tribes of Archestratos (Leontis), Pericles (Akamantis), Aristocrates (Kekropis) and Conon (Antiochis). Erasinides' may have been Hippothontis; cf. *IG* I^3 102.1–5: Erasinides is the proposer when Hippothontis is in prytany (I owe this point to Harold Mattingly).

[57]The only descendant regarded by Davies as probable is Πρωτόμαχος Πρωτο(μάχου) Κη[φισι]εύς, a councillor in 259–255 B.C.E.; Davies 12321 and *LGPN* II s.v. no. 12. However, two Protomachoi are attested as generals in the fourth century: one who failed at Amphipolis in 364/3, see Σ Aeschin. 2.67a (Dilts); and another who succeeded Chares in Thrace in 339/8 (?); see Hsch. Mil., *FGH* 390 F1.31. Although Develin gives the latter, he excludes the former, who is absent not only from the year 364/3, but also from the Appendix and Index. I can see no reason for that exclusion.

[58]Theramenes is *strategos* in 411/410, see Th. 8.76.3 and X. *HG* 1.1.12, and in subsequent years, see Fornara 68–69. He was a trierarch at Arginusae; see X. *HG* 1.6.35 and D.S. 13.98.3. Thrasybulus was a general in 411 (Th. 8.76.3), chosen by the military in Samos, i.e., late in the archon year 412/411, but also in the next year and subsequently by regular decisions of the people. See Fornara 67–69, who says that Th. 8.97.3 implies that the authority of the generals chosen at Samos was confirmed. He was a trierarch at Arginusae; see X. *HG* 1.6.35. There may have been other examples, but, unfortunately, the many trierarchies recorded in the Naval Lists *IG* II^2 1604–32 are not exactly dated. The character of these documents means that we only have *termini ante quem.* That was shown already by Boeckh in his detailed study. For important new discoveries about these lists, see Laing 1968.

Another potentially interesting person is the marine [Ἱππ]οδάμας Ἀγρυ(λῆθεν) of line 284.[59] Pope argued (21–22; more fully in Pope 1953) that this marine was the grandson of the Erechtheid general Ἱπποδάμας of the casualty list of 459, ML 33.62–63. That is an obvious prosopographical hypothesis, and we have another possible grandson of a casualty of 459 in the marine [Φρ]ούραρχος Ἀγρυ(λῆθεν) of line 282; compare ML 33.49. More adventurously, Pope also argued that Archeptolemos, who was condemned for treason in 411 ([Plu.] *X Orat.*, *Antiphon*, 834a–b), was the son of the general of 459 and the father of the marine on our inscription. She pointed out that our marine, Archeptolemos, and Hippodamas, the eponymous archon of 375/4, all belonged to the same deme, Agryle, and that for Archeptolemos to be the son of the general of 459 would be appropriate in the aristocratic circles to which he clearly belonged.

We have two attestations of the patronymic of Archeptolemos: in Ps.-Plutarch he appears as Ἱπποδάμου[60] and in Aristophanes also as Ἱπποδάμου.[61] Since the expected genitive of Hippodamas would be Ἱπποδάμαντος,[62] many scholars have taken the father of Archeptolemos to be the famous town-planner Ἱππόδαμος Εὐρυφῶντος Μιλήσιος.[63] Pope rightly stated that the Erechtheid general of 459 is a much more probable father of Archeptolemos than the Milesian town-planner. She therefore suggested that the genitive in -ου used by Aristophanes should be taken as the genitive of Ἱπποδάμας and stated that "the manipulation of the meter adds to the comic effect."[64] This explanation is not easily intelligible, so it represents a weak point in Pope's argument, which was used by Laing (76–79) in his "refutation" of Pope's hypothesis.

The best evidence for the genitive of Ἱπποδάμας comes from the epigraphic records of the eponymous archon of 375/4.[65] On all of these, and

[59]The restoration is made certain by his later appearance as the owner of a slave, Θρᾷξ Ἱπποδάμα, in line 391; cf. Laing 128.

[60]Ἀρχεπτόλεμος Ἱπποδάμου Ἀγρυλῆθεν.

[61]*Eq.* 327: πρῶτος ὢν· ὁ δ' Ἱπποδάμου λείβεται θεώμενος.

[62]See below.

[63]Arist. *Pol.* 2.1267b.22. See, e.g., Fabricius, *RE* s.v. Hippodamos 1732. All the commentators on the line of Aristophanes follow this interpretation. For a full treatment, see Falciai 85–121 and 126–38.

[64]Pope 1953: 1048.

[65]The eponymous archon could be the same man as our marine. If the marine had been about twenty years of age, he could easily have been archon in his fifties.

they are numerous, the genitive is Ἱπποδάμαντος.[66] On the other hand, this archon appears in Diodorus as Ἱπποδάμου.[67] It is certain that the list of Athenian archons' names used by Diodorus is much older than his own time. Archon dating by historians was established as early as Hellanicus,[68] and the form of Diodorus' wording is already found on the *Marmor Parium*, e.g., ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι(ν) Μίκωνος.[69] We may be confident, therefore, that the list used by Diodorus is as early as the third century,[70] and that the form of the genitive that he attests was established in the archon list by that time.

So we find attested two forms of the genitive of Ἱπποδάμας. But were both those forms available in the fifth century? Against that possibility stands the epigraphical evidence, not only the genitives used for the eponymous archon of 375/4, but also the genitive of the marine on our inscription, Ἱπποδάμα.[71] Meritt (465, his line 173) made no expansion to his name here, evidently taking it as a genitive in -α. But these owners' names are often abbreviated in this inscription, and the genitive in -α is only found in the names of non-Athenians in the Archaic, Classical and early Hellenistic periods.[72] Thus it is probably preferable to print Ἱπποδάμα(ντος). In its favor, however, is the very marked preference for genitives in -ου for names ending in -ας in the fifth and fourth centuries.[73] If Aristophanes had the choice of writing Ἱπποδάμου or Ἱπποδάμαντος, the short form obviously better suited his poetic needs.

It does not seem to be excluded, therefore, that the nominative of the name given by Aristophanes and Ps.-Plutarch was in fact Ἱπποδάμας. So Pope's hypothesis remains possible. And if the marine Ἱπποδάμας was the son of Archeptolemos, there is no chance that he could have served after the late summer of 411.[74]

[66]Tod II.126.2; *IG* II^2 99, 100, 1424.27, 1424a.371, 1425.321, 1445.5–6, 1446.1, 1622.491; *IG* XIV 1098.6; *SEG* 26.72.51.

[67]15.38.1: Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἱπποδάμου.

[68]Jacoby 171.

[69]*FGH* 239 F65, but passim.

[70]Cf. Mosshammer 186.

[71]See n. 59 above.

[72]Threatte 82–83.

[73]See Threatte ibid. and Kühner and Blass 386–87 no. 9.

[74]See the provisions about the descendants of Archeptolemos in the decree given in Ps.-Plu. 834a. They were all deprived of civic rights. I am very grateful to Dr. John Chadwick for expert advice on these genitives (even if he might not agree with my conclusion).

A third person of interest in this connection is the slave Στρομβιχίδης Χαριδήμο of lines 272–73. Among free Athenians Strombichides is a rare name and confined to one distinguished family.[75] It is hard to imagine that such an unusual name for a slave had no connection with a homonymous member of that family. By itself, the name would first suggest a home-born slave.[76] But here the slave's owner is Charidemos, who is justifiably assumed to be one of the trierarchs of Trireme II, Χαριδήμος Ξυπε(ταιών) (line 143).[77] If the slave Strombichides was a home-born slave in the family of Strombichides, he must have been acquired in some way by Charidemos. Laing showed that some of the officers' slaves seem to have belonged to the officers' close relatives and suggested that these slaves were lent to serve on the ships.[78] In this case, however, we would have to assume that the slave Strombichides had actually been transferred by some means to Charidemos' ownership. It is worth noting that Charidemos belonged to the city deme Xypete and Strombichides to the city deme Euonymon, and that many of the Athenians on these ships belonged to "aristocratic houses."[79] The exact way in which the slave Strombichides came into Charidemos' ownership is a matter of pure speculation, but it seems unlikely that the homonymy of the slave and the general is a mere coincidence, without any historical significance.

A very striking feature of our document is the prominence of the tribe Erechtheis.[80] In each of the four pairs of trierarchs preserved, the first man is an Erechtheid. Laing calculated that, of the 106 demotics almost certainly identified, thirty-two are from Erechtheis, and the next most frequently attested tribe has only ten.[81] To these very striking facts we may add the two points made, very perceptively, by Pope (21). First, the larger fragments of the

[75]*LGPN* II s.v. and Davies 4386.

[76]There are numerous examples of slaves who bore the same name as their masters, or a closely related one; Lambertz 6–9. The slaves in his list are sometimes actually designated οἰκογενής, and he assumed that in all cases of such nomenclature we should take the slave as home-born or home-reared. On home-born slaves in general, see Garlan 1988 52–53. Such slaves were preferred, it seems, for military service. When Diaeus conscripted a large body of slaves in 146 B.C.E., he specified that they should be home-born or home-reared; see Plb. 38.15.3–4.

[77]Laing 127–28.

[78]Laing 138–39.

[79]Pope 21; cf. Laing 97–98. Charidemos was the son of the Hellenotamias of 434/3; see Lewis' note to line 143, *IG* I^3, p. 687.

[80]See Pope 21–22; Pope 1953: 1048; Laing 98.

[81]Ibid.

inscription were found in or near the Erechtheum; second, our document shares a very marked characteristic with the contemporary Erechtheum building inscriptions: "citizens, foreigners, metics and slaves are engaged in some common enterprise."

It is hard to reject the conclusion that our document was put up at the Erechtheum to celebrate an event which brought special honour to the tribe Erechtheis. Laing was right to observe that only the Athenian *demos* or "the person who commanded them in action" would have "adequate justification and broad enough interest" to put up such an honorific inscription.[82] Strombichides' tribe was Erechtheis.[83]

It is, therefore, an attractive hypothesis that Strombichides, a strong supporter of the democracy, who paid for that with his life under the Thirty (Lys. 13.30–34), turned to his friends and fellow-tribesmen in order to put eight triremes to sea in the great emergency of 412, and that, when those ships had been the first to demonstrate in Ionia that Athenian naval power still existed, he expressed his pride by listing permanently on stone all the members of their complements. Without the heading of the inscription, we shall never know for certain what occasion generated it, but, in both its date and circumstances, Strombichides' expedition of 412 is undoubtedly a good possibility and clearly superior to the unsatisfactory hypotheses advanced hitherto. It is also a hypothesis which supports Laing's calculation that the inscription originally contained the complements of eight triremes.

Conclusion

We may now return to the five possible slave/master relationships where master and slave were not on the same ship. The fact that there were slaves on these ships whose masters could not have served on the same ship does not weaken the force of the arguments given above, that a master *serving in the same fleet* would want to be on the same ship as his slave, and his commanding officer would also want the same arrangement.

When I considered this question earlier, I wrote that the occurrence of possible slave/master relationships where the two were not on the same ship could be explained in three ways:

[82]Laing 103.

[83]His deme was Euonymon; see *IG* I^3 1048.11 and 14; and Euonymon was a deme of Erechtheis; see, e.g., Traill table I.

> 1) The coincidence of master's name and sailor's name is in the five...cases a mere coincidence and does not indicate the same individual...
>
> 2) It was not the rule for slave and master to serve on the same ship.
>
> 3) Laing's arrangement is incorrect.[84]

My study of the inscription has removed the third of these possibilities, and general considerations tell strongly against the second. We are left with the coincidence of names. Every one of the five possible masters under consideration, Lysistratos, Eudikos, Lysippos, Nikoboulos and Phanostratos, bore a name which was very common at Athens.[85] It seems to me very likely, therefore, that these citizen and foreign sailors were not the same men as the homonymous masters of the slaves in question.

What of the other two, Euphronios and Archedemos? The name of the former is strikingly related to the name of the slave, Euphron. One might well think of a home-born slave.[86] The slave and putative master were even recorded close to each other in the list of the complement of Trireme II (lines 226 and 244). So in this case the supposition that the foreign (metic) sailor and the homonymous slave master were the same person hardly seems open to doubt. We do not have the same compelling arguments in the case of Archedemos and Timagoras, slave of Archedemos, but since they both served on Trireme I, we can, even at the risk of circularity, easily accept the identity of the foreign sailor and slave master. These two examples, therefore, do support the conclusion, based on Th. 7.13.2, that slaves and their masters rowed together on the Athenian triremes.

The correct interpretation of Thucydides' words at 7.13.2 showed (1) that the crews of Athenian triremes in the fifth century regularly included slaves, and (2) that some of their masters were fellow-rowers (Graham 269). These conclusions differed from the view, held by many, that slaves did not regularly row Athenian triremes and that the slaves present on those ships were restricted to the personal servants of the officers and marines. In 1992 I argued that the conclusions drawn from Thucydides were supported by evidence from the great triremes inscription, now *IG* I^3 1032, in which I had found seven examples of homonymy between rowers and slave masters. I may have been overbold in

[84]Graham 269.
[85]*LGPN* II s.v.v.
[86]Cf. above, n. 76.

assuming that all those examples were equally significant and in going on to calculate what percentage of citizen and foreign rowers had a slave on board. With the benefit of autopsy I can now assess the evidence of the very fragmentary inscription with more confidence and affirm that it is still in harmony with Thucydides. Slaves regularly formed a substantial proportion of the rowers on Athenian triremes, and their masters included fellow oarsmen.

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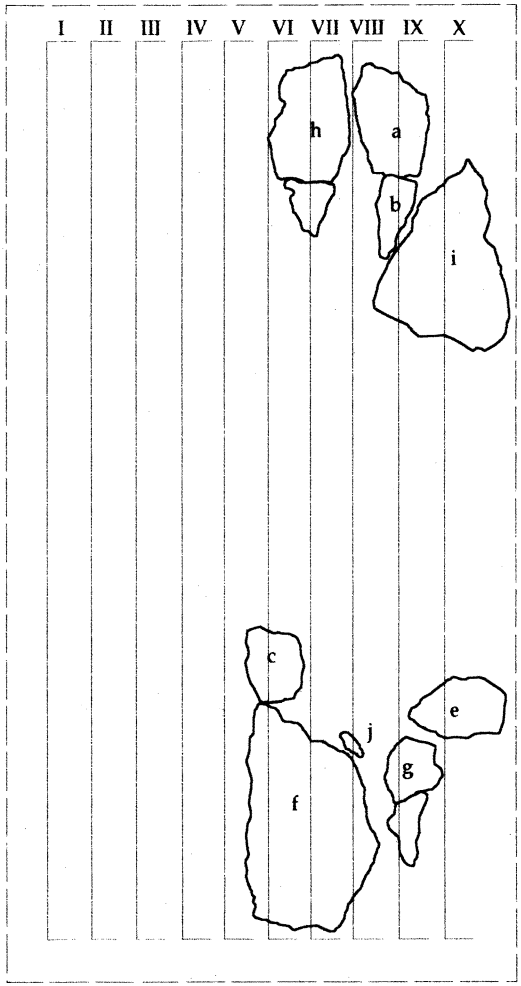

Fig. 1. The reconstruction of *IG* I^3 1032, according to Laing, showing the positions of the two joining clusters and fragments e and g. Scale 1:10.
(After Laing, fig. 2, by kind permission)

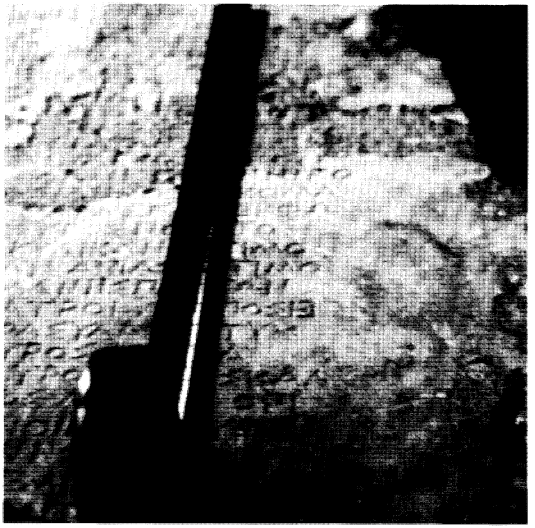

Fig. 2. *Vacat* to the right of the third column (X) on fragment *i*.
Photo by the author.

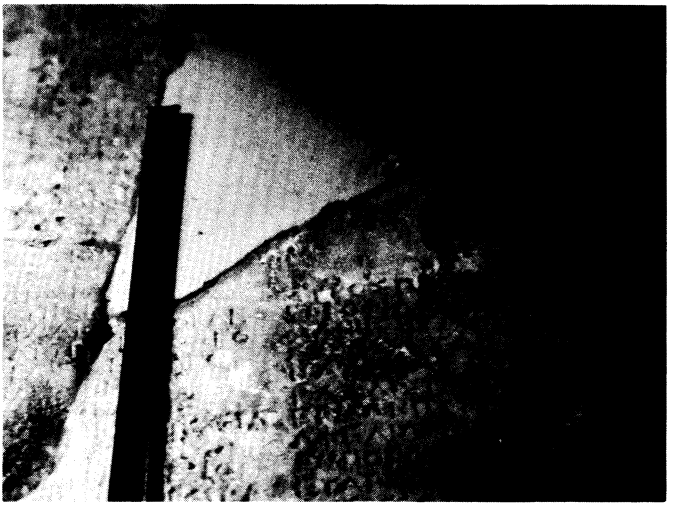

Fig. 3. *Vacat* on fragment *i* at top of column X above line 449.
Photo by the author.

Fig. 4. Uninscribed space to the right of preserved lettering (lines 413–18) on fragment *e*. Photo by the author.

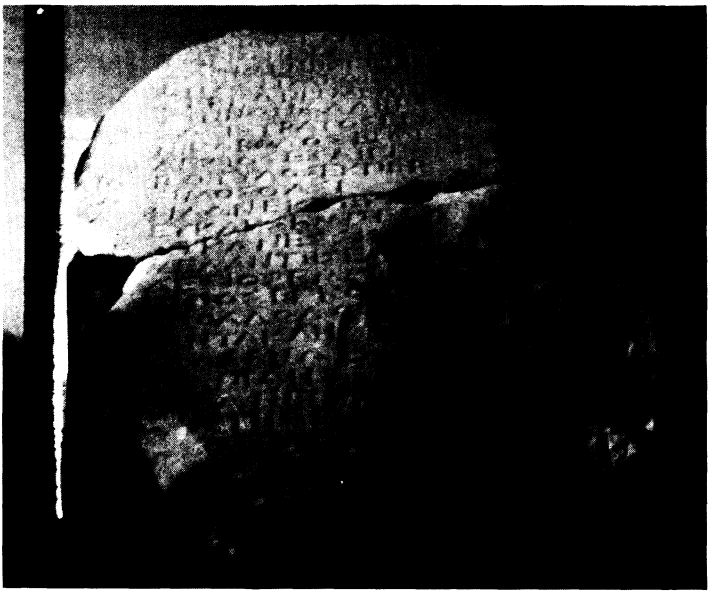

Fig. 5. Space to the right of line 428 on fragment *g*. Photo by the author.

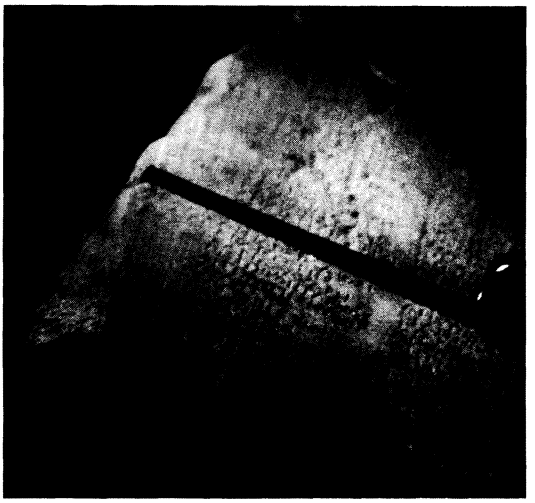

Fig. 6. Bottom of column V on fragment *f*. Photo by the author.

Fig. 7. List of slaves in column IX, lines 374–75. Photo by the author.