

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1-13)

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE BOEOTIAN-ATHENIAN ALLIANCE OF 395 B.C.

1. Fragment of Pentelic marble, preserving the right side and back, found in the wall of a modern house in Section ΘΘ on December 18, 1936, during the period of demolition.¹

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 4352.

ca. August 395 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 30

a [Θε]οί

vac. 0.03 m.

	[Συμ]μαχία Βοιω[τῶν καὶ Ἀ]θηναί[ων ἐς τὸ]	b
	[ν ἀεὶ] χρόνον vacat	
	[ἐὰν τ]ις ἴη ἐπ' [Ἀθηναίος] ἐπ[ὶ] πολέμω[ι ἦ]	
5	[κατὰ] γῆν ἢ κατ[ὰ θάλαττ]αν βοηθῆν Βοι[ω]	
	[τὸς π]αντὶ σθέ[νει καθ]ότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλ	
	[ωσιν] Ἀθηναί[οι κατὰ τὸ] δυνατὸν καὶ ἐ[ά]	
	[ν τις ἴ]η ἐπὶ [Βοιωτὸς ἐ]πὶ πολέμωι ἢ [κα]	
	[τὰ γῆν ἢ] κατὰ [θάλατταν] βοηθῆν Ἀθηνα[ί]	
10	[ος παντὶ σθένει καθότι] ἂν ἐπαγγέλλ[ω]	
	[σι Βοιωτοὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνα]τόν· ἐὰν δέ τ[ι δ]	
	[οκῆν ἢ προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖ]ν Ἀθην[αίο]	
	[ις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς κοινῆι βουλευομένο]	
	[ις -----]	

The new fragment from the excavations in the Athenian Agora belongs to the Boeotian-Athenian alliance, which was consummated about August, 395 B.C.,² and necessitates certain changes in the text as it is now presented in the *Editio Minor*, *I.G.*, II², 14. In lines 4 and 8 the prepositional phrases within the clauses ἐπ[ὶ πολέμωι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίος] and ἐπὶ [πολέμωι ἐπὶ Βοιωτός] must be reversed. These fragments are similar to *I.G.*, II², 15 and come in all probability from the end of the decree. The restoration of lines 11-14 is suggested on analogy with the regular formulae to be found in treaties of alliance regarding the formal termination or change of any provision within the agreement.

When the "King's Peace" was made in 386 B.C., the alliance of the Boeotians and the Athenians was not formally abrogated. No doubt the pro-Spartan party,

¹ Section numbers may be located on a map by reference to *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 335.

² Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 1, pp. 69-70; Glotz-Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, III, p. 81.

to gain the upper hand in Thebes in the post-King's Peace period. The democratic anti-Spartan party was led by Ismenias, Androkleidas, and Melon, while Leontiadas was the leader of the oligarchical pro-Spartan party.¹ At what time could Thrasyboulos have conspired against the government? Little enough evidence remains to show which party was in the ascendancy; no doubt there were many fluctuations of control. On the surface Thebes like Athens was quiescent, resigned temporarily to a peace policy; and the Boeotian League had been broken up and Thebes forced to become a member of the Spartan Confederation.² The anti-Spartan party in resentment against the enforced dissolution of the League and eager to raise Thebes once more to its former position, would have welcomed aid from Thrasyboulos, and cultivated the alliance with Athens. Thrasyboulos was moreover an outstanding democrat, popular at Thebes, and the friendly attitude of the Theban government to the party of Phyle and Peiraeus was fresh in his mind.³ The conspiracy failed, and served as an excuse to the triumphant oligarchical party to terminate the existent treaty with Athens. By the winter of 383/2, however, the government was attempting to negotiate an alliance with Olynthos and intriguing against Sparta. This is evidence that the party of Ismenias must have had control (*Xen. Hell.*, V, 2, 15), for the pro-Spartan party would not have desired alliance with the Olynthians. The party of Ismenias had become so strong that Leontiadas conspired with Sparta to overthrow it by the winter of 383/2 B.C. The most suitable period for the end of the alliance lies between the spring of 386 and the winter of 383.

A STATUE-BASE FOR THRASYBOULOS OF KOLLYTOS, 373/2 B.C.

2. Two joining fragments of Pentelic marble from a large base, found in the wall of a modern house in Section 99 on December 30, 1936; in the top is a square cutting for a statue and a smaller round cutting, perhaps for a support; the right side is preserved.

Height, 0.31 m.; width, 1.07 m.; thickness, 0.34 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m. and 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4373.

¹ *Plut. Pelopidas*, V; *Xen. Hell.*, V, 2, 25, and 4, 2 ff.

² Thebes provided a small contingent to Sparta in the campaign against the Mantineans, *Paus.* IX, 13, 1; *Plut. Pelop.*, IV, 5; Plataea was restored as a buffer state against Thebes, *Paus.* IX, 1, 4, and received a Spartan garrison, *Isocrates*, XIV, 13; Tanagra was allied to Sparta, *Xen. Hell.*, V, 4, 49. Cf. *ibid.*, V, 1, 36.

³ Thrasyboulos was one of those patriots who took part in the opposition to the Thirty, *Demosthenes*, XXIV, 134. His popularity at Thebes is attested by the numerous occasions on which he served as ambassador of the Athenians at Thebes; see *Aeschines*, III, 138; cf. *I.G.*, II², 43, A, 77. The friendly attitude of the Theban government to the Athenian resistance to the Thirty



No. 2. Statue-base for Thrasyboulos of Kollytos

373/2 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Δόξαντος τῆι βο]λήι [ἐπὶ] Ἄστειο ἄρχοντο[s] ὕ ὕ ὕ
 [Θρασύβουλος Θ]ράσων[ος] Κολλυτεὺς στρατηγῶν
 [ἀνέθηκεν ὕ ὕ ὕ] vacat

	[Ἐρεχθίδος]	[Λεων]τίδος	Οἶν[η]ίδος	Διαντίδος
5	. . . . οκλή[s]	[Ἄν]τίμαχος	Θρασυμήδης	Κλεώνυμος
	. . . τίο	[. . . .]ο	Καλ[λ]ιστράτο	Κλεοξένο
	[ἐκ Κ]ηδῶν	Πήλη[ξ]	Ἀχαρνεὺς	Μαραθώνιος
	[Πα]γδιονίδος	Ἀκαμαντίδος	Ἴπποθωντίδος	Ἄντιοχίδος
	. . . . as	Θεόφιλος	Χαρ[ίδη]μ[ος]	Φιλίνος
10	. . . . ἴμο	Εὐα[γγέλο]	[Ε]ὐνι[κ ----]	. . . . nos
	[Μυρρι]γόσιος	Ἐρμ[ειος]	-----	[Ἄναφλύσ]τιο[s]

This inscription on a statue-base is concerned with the well-known statesman Thrasyboulos of Kollytos (*P. A.*, 7305; also no. 1 above). That the cause of the honor and praise of Thrasyboulos and the eight men whose names are listed by tribe below was of a military character is disclosed by the use of the active participle *στρατηγῶν*. Thrasyboulos in the capacity of general together with these eight men had performed a service to the state deserving honor. Who are the eight men? They are listed by tribe, and only the tribe *Κεκροπίς* is missing (Thrasyboulos represents *Αἰγίς*). The little that is known of several of the men yields no clue as to the underlying cause of the dedication of the statue.¹ From their close juxtaposition to the

made a deep impression everywhere. In his speech of justification at Sparta Leontiadas alludes to it, *Xen. Hell.*, V, 2, 33; the Athenians gave asylum to the Theban exiles of 382 largely because of their memory of the Theban decree which forbade any interference with the Athenians then plotting in Boeotia against the Thirty, *Plut. Pelop.*, VI, 4.

¹ For Θεόφιλος Ἐρμειος cf. *P. A.*, 7138, 5225; for Θρασυμήδης Ἀχαρνεὺς *P. A.*, 7365, 8158-8159, 3223; for Κλεώνυμος Μαραθώνιος *P. A.*, 8607; for Φιλίνος Ἀναφλύστιος *P. A.*, 14321, 3212.

name of Thrasyboulos one may deduce that they were military aides; and of all the possibilities either taxiarchs or phylarchs seem most probable (see Aristotle, *Ἄθ. Πολ.*, 61, 3 and 5). Little is known about the military campaigns of the year 373/2 with the exception of Iphikrates' successful expedition in the spring around Corcyra. The probabilities are that the campaign of Thrasyboulos, aided as he was by eight commanders, was independent and not part of the expedition in the west. Hitherto nothing whatever was known about Thrasyboulos after his embassy to Thebes in 378 (cf. *P. A.*, 7305), and his only other known use of the office of general was a failure (387 B.C.; *Xen. Hell.*, V, 1, 26, 27; *Lysias*, XXVI, 23). His interest in Boeotia and the capture of Plataea in the spring of 372 B.C. may have fostered a little known, but successful campaign from the military point of view in or near Boeotia.

The reading ΔΗΙ of line 1 is difficult and uncertain because of the worn and battered state of the stone; but if the letters are ΔΗΙ they may be part of [δόξαντος τῆι βο]λῆι.¹

A DECREE CONCERNING THE AETOLIAN LEAGUE, 367/6 B.C.

3. Two fragments of Pentelic marble from a pedimented stele of unusually good workmanship of which fragment A, found on April 26, 1937, in modern fill in Section ΘΘ, preserves the pedimental top with acroteria, the back, and the right side; fragment B, found on January 17, 1937, in the wall of a modern house in Section ΘΘ, preserves the back and the left side. The thickness of the stele decreases rapidly from the right side to the left.

Frag. A: Height, 0.433 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.127 m.
Height of letters, 0.006 m.
Inv. No. 4384 b.

Frag. B: Height, 0.151 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.101 m.
Inv. No. I 4384 a.

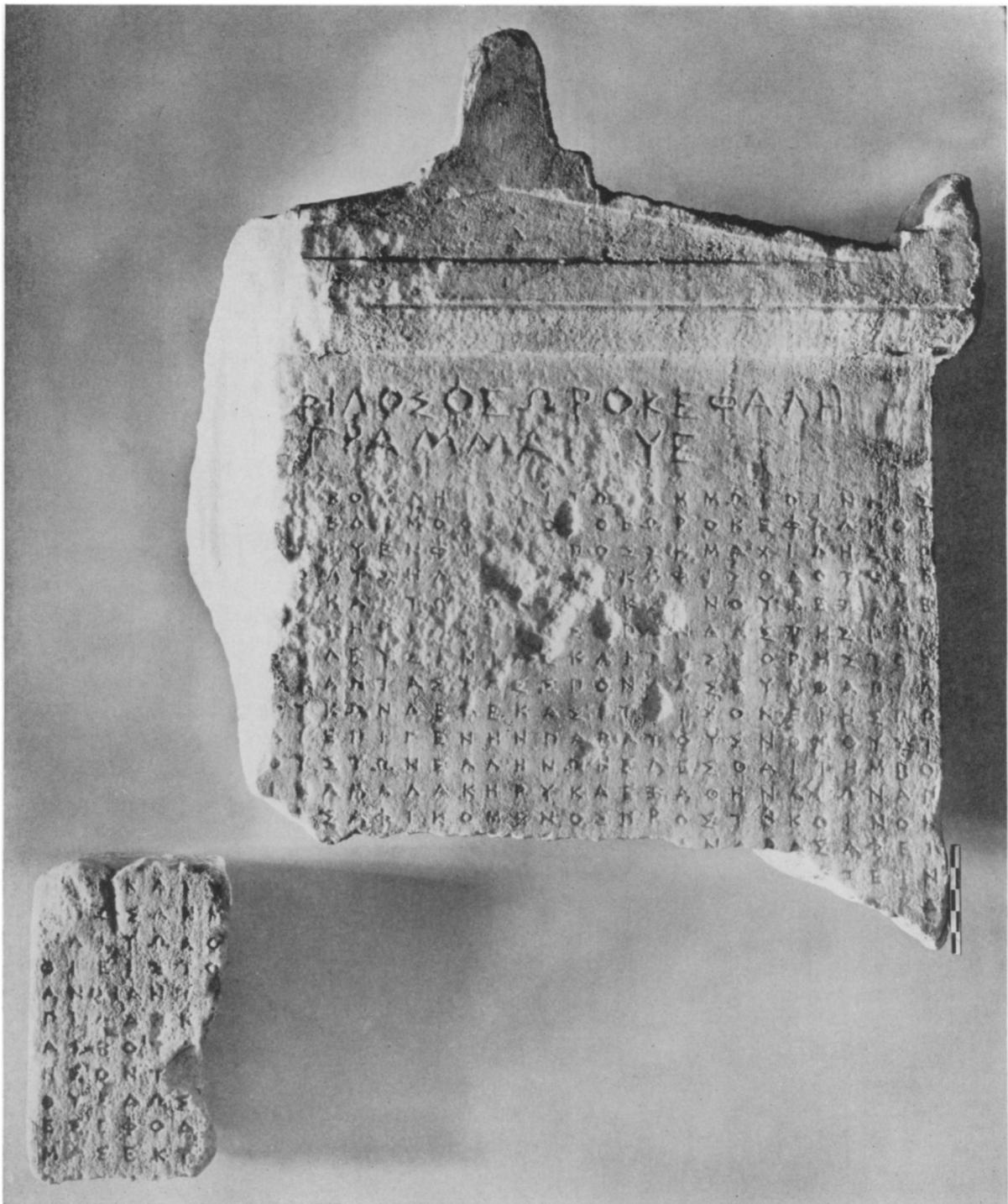
367/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32

A

[Θε]οί
[Δημό]φιλος Θεώρο Κεφαλῆ
[θεν] ἔγραμμάτ[ε]νε vac.
[Ἔδοξεν τῆ]ι βουλῆι καὶ τῶ[ι] δῆμωι· Οἰνηὶς
5 [ἐπρυτάν]ε[υ]ε· Δημόφιλος Θεώρο Κεφαλῆθε
[ν ἔγραμμ]άτευεν· Φί[λι]ππος Σημαχίδης ἐπ
[εστάει· Π]ολύζηλος [ἦρχ]ε· Κηφισόδοτος ε

¹ Suggested to me by Meritt.



No. 3. A Decree concerning the Aetolian League

10 [ἴπεν· ἔπει] δὴ Αἰτωλῶν [τ]οῦ κ[ο]ινοῦ δεξαμέ
 [νου τὰς μν]στηριώτιδ[α]ς [σ]π[ο]νδὰς τῆς Δήμ
 15 [ητρος τῆ]ς [Ἐ]λευσινίας καὶ τῆς Κόρης τοῦ
 [ς ἔπαγγε]ίλαντας τὰς σπονδὰς Εὐμολπίδ
 [ῶν καὶ Κη]ρύκων δεδέκασι Τ[ρ]ιχονειῆς Πρ
 [οφήτην (?) κ]αὶ Ἐπιγένην παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τ
 [οὺς κοιν]οὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἐλέσθαι τῆμ βο
 20 [υλὴν αὐτ]ίκα μάλα κήρυκα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπ
 [άντων ὅστ]ις ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν
 [τὸ τῶν Αἰτω]λ[ῶν ἀξιώσει τὸς] ἀνδρας ἀφεί
 [ναι²¹..... δικ]άζειν
 [.....²⁹.....]σκα
 25 [.....³¹.....]ο

B

[...] καὶ [.....²⁶.....]
 [ὄ]πως ἂν μ[.....²⁴.....]ο
 ἰ Αἰτωλο[ἰ²⁴.....]
 οὐ εἰς το[.....²⁵.....]
 25 ἀν οἱ ἂν τ[.....²¹..... Εὐμολ]
 πίδας κ[αὶ Κήρυκας¹⁷.....]
 ας βουλ[.....²⁶.....]
 ἦσοντ[αι²⁵.....]
 οὺς δώσ[ουσι²².....]
 30 ἐς ἐφόδ[ια τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμον ΔΔΔ δραχ]
 μὰς ἐκ τ[ῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομέν]
 ων τῶι [δήμωι]

TRANSLATION OF FRAGMENT A

Gods.

Demophilos, the son of Theoros, of Kephale was secretary. It was resolved by the Council and the Demos; Oineis held the prytany; Demophilos, the son of Theoros, of Kephale was secretary; Philip of Semachidai was chairman; Polyzelos was archon; Kephisodotos made the proposal: whereas the Aetolian League has accepted the sacred truce of Eleusinian Demeter and Kore; and whereas the Trichoneians have apprehended contrary to the universal laws of the Greeks those of the Eumolpids and Kerykes who announced the truce, namely, Prophetes and Epigenes; the Council is to elect at once a herald out of all the Athenians who is to go to the Aetolian League and demand the release of the men — — — — —

COMMENTARY

In the year 367/6 B.C. the Aetolian League accepted the Sacred Truce proclaimed by the Athenians for the celebration of the Greater Eleusinian mysteries, but broke it soon thereafter when the Trichoneians, members of the League, arrested the *σπονδοφόροι*. This act was a breach of international law, and called forth a formal protest on the part of Athens. The present decree is concerned with the decision of the Athenian people to select a herald to be sent to the League for this purpose. It is therefore of considerable importance for the history of the League and the significance of the Mysteries in Central Greece. Students of Aetolian history have long lamented the lack of evidence concerning Aetolia in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. With this new evidence it is now possible to revise our previous conception of the rôle of the League in the fourth century.

The new text from the Agora contains the earliest reference to the Aetolian League (*τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν*). Hitherto there had been no mention in literary evidence before the year 314 in which the Aetolians became temporary allies of Antigonos (Diod., XIX, 66, 2). It has been an assumption on the part of some scholars, a fixed conviction on the part of others, that the League had not come into existence until the time of Alexander, and perhaps not before his death.¹ Almost no regard was paid to an Athenian honorary decree for an Aetolian in which the name of the League was restored thus: *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν* (*I.G.*, II², 358, line 13). The restoration is certified by the word *βουλαρχησα-* (line 14), a verb referring to the functions of the *βούλαρχος*, an official of the League. Unfortunately the name of the archon is almost entirely gone together with the greater part of the name of the secretary; but despite these deficiencies the decree must be dated before 318/7, because no *συμπρόεδροι* are mentioned, and the archon's name is limited to names with *ος* or *ους* in the genitive. The possible candidates can be reduced to two: Hegemon (327/6) and Nikokrates (333/2). Dinsmoor has adduced good reasons for dating it in the year of Nikokrates (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 357-358; cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, p. 4). The chief evidence against the existence of the League before 335 has been the passage in Arrian (*Anab.*, I, 10, 2) in which he states that ambassadors were despatched by the Aetolians to Alexander *κατὰ ἔθνη* (*Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πρεσβείας σφῶν κατὰ ἔθνη πέμψαντες ξυγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἐδέοντο*). The phrase *κατὰ ἔθνη* has occasioned considerable debate. Usually it is interpreted with the meaning that the loosely-knit *Stammstaat* of the Aetolians had selected representatives from each of its tribes, and

¹ Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalter.*, II, p. 22; Klaffenbach, *I.G.*, IX², p. xiii, 6-19, who suggested tentatively the year 334 for the founding of the League; Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 208, places the change from the "cantonal League, or rather Commune" into the strongly-knit League of the third century after the Lamian war; Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens*, p. 42, like Klaffenbach, places the founding between 335 and 326.

that the League, as it was known in the third century, was not yet in existence.¹ Had it existed the League would have sent ambassadors selected from the whole nation, laying thereby no emphasis on its tribal divisions. This interpretation is intrinsically open to objections, for our knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the selection of these men is very meagre; and it may have been deemed expedient to choose an ambassador from each tribe.² It may also be that the League had suffered under the strain of the war an internal schism which split the League temporarily. In any case, the League is now known to have been in existence in the years 367 and 333/2, and most probably remained unchanged. A clue to its organization is to be found in the word *βουλαρχησα-* mentioned above, which makes it probable that the structure was the same as we know it from third century evidence. It may be assumed that the general Alexander, who led the campaign in Thessaly in 321, was a league-general (Diod., XVIII, 38, 1; cf. Klaffenbach, *I.G.*, IX², p. xlix).

In line 8 there can be no ambiguity about the meaning of the phrase *τοῦ κοινοῦ*: it means "league," not "assembly." The Demos of Athens sent its herald to the *κοινόν* of the Aetolians to complain of the breach of international law by one of its subordinate members, the Trichoneians. Had the Trichoneians been independent, or had the Aetolian nation possessed only a cantonal organization, the Athenians would have sent their herald directly to the Trichoneians: i. e., the machinery of the League was used. The phraseology of lines 8-9 finds many good parallels: e. g., in the decree about the city of Lamia (*I.G.*, II², 778; *Hesperia*, VII, p. 120, lines 9-11): [*ἔπε*] *ιδὴ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ [τοῦ κοινοῦ] ὑ τοῦ Βοιωτῶν σύμβολον ποιησαμ[ένων]*; and again in Diodoros (XX, 99, 3) concerning the events of 304 B.C.: *τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀποστείλαντος πρεσβευτὰς περὶ διαλύσεων οἱ Ῥόδιοι συνέθεντο πρὸς Δημήτριον*.

The usage of the word *κοινόν* is of considerable interest, for when it is used in connection with a league, it usually means only "league," and the meaning "assembly" is eschewed in formal usage in order to avoid confusion. Its meaning in official documents is completely analogous to that of *δῆμος* in Attic decrees. The distinction between *δῆμος* and *ἐκκλησία* is clear in the following common Athenian formula: *προσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν* (e. g., *I.G.*, II², 110, 10-11) and it is maintained in such phrases as *δεδοχθαι τῷ δήμῳ*. Admittedly in every-day usage *δῆμος* may be loosely synonymous with *ἐκκλησία*, but one never finds *ἔδοξεν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* in Attic inscriptions.³ The relationship of *κοινόν* to its assembly is closely analogous. No clear epigraphical example of *κοινόν* meaning "assembly" can be found in connection with Aetolia. The expression used by Polybios (IV, 5) is *ἡ κοινὴ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν σύνοδος*, and elsewhere the regular assemblies were called *Θερμικά* and *Πανατωλικά*.⁴ Similarly with regard to other *κοινά* (leagues) the same distinction is pursued.

¹ Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalter.*, II, p. 22, n. 1; Klaffenbach, *I.G.*, IX², p. xiii, 6-19; Swoboda, *Griech. Staatsalter.*, p. 327, n. 10, p. 328; Hohmann, *Aitolien u. die Aitolier*, p. 37.

² Cf. Freeman, *Hist. of Federal Gov't in Greece*, p. 256, n. 1; recently, too, Flacelière, *op. cit.*, p. 42, has expressed doubt about the previously accepted interpretation of this passage.

³ Cf. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 1109, lines 93-94: *ἔδοξεν [τῇ βουλῇ] καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*.

⁴ Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsk.*, p. 1521-1522 and note 8; Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens*, p. 43.

In Acarnanian decrees the following prescript ἔδοξε τῶν βουλῶν καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν Ἀκαρνανῶν (cf. the Attic formula) is normal (*I.G.*, V, 1, 29), and its assembly was called κοινή ἐκκλησία (Polyb., XXVIII, 5, 1). The Boeotian Assembly was called by Hypereides (I, 18) κοινὸς σύλλογος, by Polybios (XXVII, 1, 12) ἐκκλησία.¹

The new decree sheds further light on the importance of the Eleusinian mysteries and their sphere of influence; for during both the Greater and Lesser Mysteries of Demeter and Kore a period of truce was declared which lasted fifty-five days. Evidence for this exists in the following passages from an inscription of the fifth century (*I.G.*, I², 6): ἀρχε[ν δ]ὲ τὸν χρόνον[ν τ]ὸν σπονδῶν [τὸ] Μεταγειτυ[θ]νός μενὸς ἀπ[ὸ] διχομενίας [κ]αὶ τὸν Βοεδρ[ο]μιῶνα καὶ τὸ [Π]υανοφσιῶνος μέχρι δεκάτης ἡισταμένο (lines 57-67, col. B); and again in lines 76-87; τοῖσι δὲ ὀλείζοσι μυστηρίοισιν τὰς [σ]πονδὰς εἶνα[ι] τὸ Γαμελιῶνος μενὸς ἀπὸ δ[ι]χομενίας κα[ὶ] τὸν Ἀνθεστε[ρι]ῶνα καὶ τὸ Ἐλαφεβολιῶνος μέχρι δεκάτης ἡισταμένο. This sacred truce was called in literary and epigraphical sources αἱ μυστηριώτιδες σπονδαί.² Special messengers, the σπονδοφόροι, proclaimed it throughout Greece and the islands. Its importance may be realized from a perusal of the following passage in the second speech of Aeschines (133); καὶ τοῖς σπονδοφόροις τοῖς τὰς μυστηριώτιδας σπονδὰς ἐπαγγέλλουσι μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Φωκεῖς οὐκ ἐσπέισαντο. These messengers were despatched, of course, to their various destinations with sufficient time to arrive and come to an agreement with that state. In the year 329/8 the σπονδοφόροι to the islands for the truce of the Greater Mysteries departed in the first prytany (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1883, p. 110, l. 4). The σπονδοφόροι of the Greater Mysteries of 328/7 were sent out in the tenth prytany of 329/8, thereby leaving a minimum of forty-five days for their journey. In 367/6 they had already delivered their proclamation and received the acceptance of the League, when they were arrested by the Trichoneians. An unpublished inscription of the same year found in the Agora gives us the number of the prytany Oineis. Since it was the third prytany the σπονδαί are concerned with the Greater Eleusinian Mysteries.

The σπονδοφόροι were selected from the *gene* of the Kerykes and the Eumolpids. An inscription dated approximately in the first half of the second century contains the following provision: δεδόχθαι τοῖς γένε[σι]ν ἐξ ὧν οἱ σπονδοφόροι ἐκπέμποντ[αι] (*I.G.*, II², 1236, line 14). They received their instructions in written form, sometimes as a decree (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1914, p. 168, 35-38) from the *hierophantes*, who was chosen from the Eumolpids (Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 71; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatsk.*, p. 1174, n. 2). An inscription of the third quarter of the third century B.C., passed in honor of the hierophantes Χαϊρήτιος Προφήτου Ἐλευσίνιος describes his duties: ἐπειδὴ — — Χαϊρήτιος — — τοῖς ἀποδημοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδοφορίας διατελεῖ μετ' εὐνοίας ἀπογράφων τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν κτλ. (*I.G.*, II², 1235; cf. Dow, *A. J. A.*, XL, 1936,

¹ Xenophon uses κοινόν with both meanings, VII, 4, 34; 35; 38.

² Ael. Aristides, *Eleusinius*, 258 (Dindorf): μόνοι δ' αἱ μυστηριώτιδες σπονδαὶ τοῦνομα ἔσωσαν; Aesch., II, 133; Pollux, I, 36.

pp. 60-62). The name of the father of this hierophant is of interest in view of the fact that he is a Eumolpid, for if we recede three or five generations from this *Χαιρήριος* (ca. 230 B.C.), we arrive at a hypothetical great-grandfather or great-great-grandfather named *Προφήτης* in the early fourth century. In the broken portion of line 13 there is space for six letters following *Πρ* (line 12) in which the proper restoration seems to be *Πρ[οφήτην]*. The name *Ἐπιγένης Λυσανίου Ἐλευσίνιος* (*P. A.*, 4794) probably belonged to the same family as the Epigenes of line 13.

Several of the men mentioned in the decree were well-known. Philip of Sema-chidai (line 6) is probably the orator of the decree providing for the sending of cleruchs to Potidaea, 362/1 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 114). The orator of the present decree was the well-known statesman Kephisodotos (line 7), who served as ambassador in Sparta (in 371: *Xen. Hell.*, VI, 3, 2). It was on his motion that Athens decided to share the five-day hegemony with Sparta in 369 (*ibid.*, VII, 1, 12-14). The proxeny-decree passed in honor of Straton, king of Sidon, was also moved by him (*I.G.*, II², 141); and it was he who urged the Athenians to make the expedition into Euboea in 357 (*Arist. Rhet.*, III, 10, p. 1411a). The secretary of this decree, Demophilos, is otherwise unknown.

The new evidence presented by this decree opens the way toward speculation about the previous history of the League. When did the transformation from cantonal state to League take place, and under whose influence? No conclusion, however plausible, is susceptible of formal proof owing to the lack of evidence. But one attractive possibility is at least worthy of consideration. The reorganization may have been brought about under the guidance of Epaminondas and the Boeotian League. The policy of that statesman was the creation of a strong Boeotian front against Sparta.

The rapidity with which states like Messenia and Arcadia were erected and organized as leagues makes the organization of the Aetolian League in the same years possible. It is known that the Aetolians became members of the Central Greek Boeotian alliance in 370 (*Diod.*, XV, 57, 1) and that Epaminondas handed over the city of Kalydon, which had been in the hands of the Achaeans since 389, to the Aetolians in 367 (*Schol. B to Il. B 494*; *Wilamowitz, S.B. Berl. Akad.*, 1921, p. 730; *Klaffenbach, I.G.*, IX², p. xii, ll. 39 ff.). This generosity is not without significance, for Aetolia was, figuratively speaking, under the wing of the Boeotian League. Admittedly, these facts are not specific evidence; they only lend plausibility to this explanation of the origin of the Aetolian League. No occasion and no agency for the consolidation of the Aetolian League existed before Leuctra and Epaminondas' league-making proclivities. Ancient authors are silent about the inception of the League; but so far as they are preserved, they are also silent until 314 B.C. about the League, and so the *argumentum ex silentio* proves nothing. Mention of the League escapes the account of Diodoros because that nation took no prominent part in international affairs until the Lamian war; and, unless a state was closely involved in an historical event, it

escapes notice in Diodoros. The silence of Xenophon is the result of his prejudice against Thebes. No act which redounds to the glory of Thebes receives full attention from him. He barely mentions Epaminondas and does not allude directly to the founding of the new Arcadian League. No doubt the reorganization of the state of a semi-barbarous race like the Aetolians was regarded with indifference by historian and layman.

The year 367/6 was a critical one in the history of the period. The growing coldness between Thebes and Athens, which began soon after the short-lived peace of 374, had changed into hostility by 367/6. The Congress at Thebes (366) failed largely through Athenian and Arcadian opposition. In that year Oropos was again lost to Athens. The feeling in Athens was one of exasperation against Thebes. The tone of the above decree seems curt and sharp; and although the cause of the arrest may have been slight, it threatened to develop into an international incident. The fact that Kephisodotos, who interested himself largely in diplomatic and international affairs, was orator of the decree, and that a herald, not an ambassador, was sent reveals the gravity of the situation. It is quite likely that the general hostility of Athens toward Thebes extended also to her allies.

A DECREE CONCERNING ELAIOUS, 357/6 B.C.

4. A large fragment of Pentelic marble which is broken away at the base and sides. The back of the fragment is rough-picked and the face of the moulding above the text of the decree is badly battered. It was found on October 20, 1937 in Section AA during the period of demolition.

Height, 0.457 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.; width, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5030.

357/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

[ἐπὶ Ἀγαθο]κλέος ἄ[ρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰ]
 [πποθωντ]ίδος ὀγδόης [πρυτανείας ἦ]
 [ι Διόδοτο]ς Διοκλέος Ἀ[γγελῆθεν ἐγ]
 [ραμμάτε]υεν· ἐνάτε[ι] κ[αὶ εἰκοστῆι τ]
 5 [ῆς πρυτα]νείας· Δύσιππ[....¹⁰....]
 [. . Μαρ]αθώνιος ἐπεστά[τει· ἔδοξεν τ]
 [ῆι βο]λῆι καὶ τῶι δῆμω [ι . . .⁷... εἰπ]
 [εν· πε]ρὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ [Ἐλαιόσιοι ἐψ]
 [ηφί]σθαι τῆι βολῆι το[ῦς μὲν προέδρ]
 10 [ους] οἱ ἂν τυγχάνωσι [προεδρεύοντ]
 [ες] προσαγαγῆν τὸς πρ[έσβες τῶν Ἐλα]
 [ιο]σίων εἰς τὸν δῆμον [εἰς τὴν πρώτη]



No. 4. A Decree Concerning Elaious, 357/6 B.C.

[ν ἐ]κκλησίαν πρώτου[ς μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, γ]
 [ν]ώμην δὲ συμβάλλουσ[θαι τῆς βολῆς ε]
 15 [ἰ]ς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δο[κεῖ τῆι βολῆι ἐπ]
 [ε]ἰδῆ Ἐλαιόσ[ι]οί ε[ἴσιν ἄνδρες ἀγαθ]
 [οὐ περι]ῖ τὸ[ν δ]ῆμο[ν τὸν Ἀθηναίων . . .]

The new decree concerning the Elaiousian ambassadors was passed on the twenty-ninth day of the eighth prytany of the year of Agathokles (357/6 B.C.) in the same prytany as the fragmentary decree, *I.G.*, II², 122, and falls approximately two weeks before the well-known decree providing for the defence of Andros, *I.G.*, II², 123.¹ In the new decree the ambassadors from Elaious reiterate the friendship and loyalty of their state to Athens. Both decrees are to be related to the Social War.

The installation of the garrison on the island of Andros has been accepted as clear evidence that the war must have just begun, for the Athenians would hardly have left so important a post unguarded for a long time after the opening and decisive battle of the war. Therefore the sea-battle of Chios, which initiated the war, has been dated in the spring of 356;² but it is quite likely that these decrees belong in the period of great concern occasioned by the attacks on the islands Imbros and Lemnos, and by the siege of Samos, while Chares was operating in Hellespontine waters against the Byzantians. The statement of Diodoros that the expedition into Euboea was undertaken and successfully brought to a swift conclusion under the archonship of Kephisodotos (358/7), and that subsequently Athens became involved in a serious war with her allies, has not been accepted, because it is believed that he has forced the events of several seasons into one year. The contemporary evidence which is preserved in a fragmentary speech of Isaeus corroborates the statement of Diodoros.³ The speaker states that he had been trierarch in the archonship of Kephisodotos and that a rumor had reached his relatives that he had been slain "in the sea-battle" (*τριηραρχούντος γάρ μου ἐπὶ Κηφισοδότου ἄρχοντος καὶ λόγου ἀπαγγελθέντος πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ὡς ἄρα τετελευτηκῶς εἶπν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ*). This is clearly to be related to the statement of Diodoros: *ὁ δὲ Χαβρίας προσπλεύσας τῷ λιμένι ναυμαχίαν καρτερὰν συνεστήσατο*. The phrase *ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ* with its definite article refers to a particular well-known event. Both Isaeus and Diodoros are in accord in assigning one sea-battle to the archon Kephisodotos. It may be that owing to the unexpected crises which had arisen the

¹ *I.G.*, II², 122 may be restored in line 5 as follows: [εὐεν· ἔκει ἰσταμέ]νον [. . .⁵. .] without the name of the month, as in *I.G.*, II², 330, 331. This restoration removes the last objection to dating *I.G.*, II², 404, the important decree concerning Keos, in 356 B.C. (see note at *I.G.*, II², 404), for in these decrees we have the two earliest examples of the day of the month in the prescript of a decree. The subject-matter, phraseology, and letter-forms of II², 404 are eminently suitable to the year 356 (cf. Hiller, *I.G.*, XII, 5, p. xv, note 1278).

² Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 2, pp. 258-259; Glotz-Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, III, p. 198.

³ Diod., XVI, 7; Thalheim, *Isaei Orationes*, frag. 15, 2.

trierarchs of that year had been compelled to remain in service after the expiration of their official year; but it is highly improbable that they remained in service until the spring of 356. The evidence of the fragmentary speech of Isaeus is contemporary and should outweigh any arguments *a priori* against the dating of the sea-battle in the year 358/7.

The date of the expedition into Euboea is a matter of some moment, for it is closely connected with the beginning of the Social War (usually dated 357/6 B.C.: Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 2, p. 258; Glotz-Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, III, p. 187; Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 124, note). At the time of the Euboean expedition Demosthenes himself is known to have been a trierarch, for in his speech *Against Meidias* he boasts that when the voluntary trierarchs were requested he and not Meidias had volunteered, and that his colleague had been Philinos of Lakiadai. This statement is supported by the epigraphical evidence of the naval record of 356/5, which in a list of the debtor-trierarchs for previous years yields the names of Demosthenes and Philinos.¹ Philinos is known to have served again as a trierarch with Pheidippos in the year 357/6 in which they were debtors also.² There are only two possible years, 358/7 or 357/6. Since neither he nor Demosthenes nor Pheidippos was able to equip even one trireme completely in his year as trierarch, it must be regarded as highly unlikely that Philinos would have volunteered to undertake the syntrierarchy with Demosthenes in the same year in which he was also serving as trierarch with Pheidippos (357/6). This eliminates the year 357/6 and leaves 358/7 as the only possible year for their syntrierarchy during the Euboean campaign. Beloch noticed in the speech of Demosthenes *Against Meidias* that Meidias was steward of the Paralos at the time of the Euboean expedition and that while he was steward he had plundered the Cyzicenes of some five talents. The Scholiast on this passage rightly attributes these plundering activities to the Social War. Since the stewardship of the Paralos is an elective office, it is clear that these two incidents must belong in the same Attic year.³ The evidence adduced so far, namely, that of Diodoros (XVI, 7, 2-3), of Isaeus (frag. 15), of the naval records (*I.G.*, II², 1611 and 1612), points to the year 358/7 for the Euboean campaign and the battle of Chios.

One more important source for the date of the Euboean expedition remains to be

¹ Dem., *Against Meidias*, 161; *I.G.*, II², 1612, 301 ff.

² *I.G.*, II², 1611, 363-364; *I.G.*, II², 1612, 282-284. The date of *I.G.*, II², 1611 is certain, for the inventory of special ships, which is presented in column b, gives the archons under whom select triremes had been built. This list ends with the archon Kephisodotos, 358/7, line 121. The trireme of that year was not finished, but it was taken over by the *epimeletai* of the current year in its half-finished state and completed. Compare the following statement from lines 130-133: *ταύτην ἡμίεργον παραλαβόντες ἐκ τῶν Τηλεγονείων [ναυπηγί]ων ἡμεῖς*. Compare also the formula in *I.G.*, II², 1612, lines 232-235: *σύμπας ἀριθμ[ο]ς τριήρων ὧν ἡ[μ]εῖς ἐπισκευάσ[α]μεν* ΠΔ.

³ Demosthenes, *Against Meidias*, 171-173; Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 61, 7; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 2, p. 258. For the scholiast see Dindorf, *Demosthenes*, vol. IX, p. 638, schol. *ad* 570, 15.

considered. There is extant an inscription recording the treaty between the Carystians and Athens, *I.G.*, II², 124, which states that the Council of the year 357/6 together with eight generals swore the necessary oaths for this treaty. The name of Chabrias headed the list, but was erased subsequently (not totally, for it can still be read). This has been interpreted as meaning that he had been cashiered in the year 357/6 for some unknown reason. It is clear, however, that oaths which a general had taken in full powers would not have been invalidated by subsequent dismissal or death. Beloch has given the correct explanation of this erasure: the name was expunged because he had been expected to swear the oaths for the treaty, but before he could do so he had been slain at Chios.¹

It has been assumed that since the treaty was signed and sworn in the year 357/6 and since the campaign itself was of such short duration—for it lasted only thirty days—and the Euboeans were so favourable to Athenian intervention, that a long period between the end of the campaign and the signing of the treaty is unlikely. Therefore the whole campaign is placed in 357/6. But all the evidence so far adduced dates this event in 358/7. The conclusion to be drawn is that the battle of Chios falls at the very close of 358/7, probably in the month of Skirophorion. The newly-elected general Chabrias had gone off with Chares to Chios. In their absence the treaty with Carystus had been concluded and Chabrias together with seven other generals was expected to swear the oaths. His death disappointed them of his participation, and through inadvertency his name was inscribed on the stele. If the battle of Chios is placed tentatively in Skirophorion, there is time in the spring of 357 for the Euboean campaign, the beginning of the siege of Amphipolis, and Chares' campaign in the Chersonese. No more than a month need be allotted for the making of the Euboean alliances.

The defeat at Chios was a great blow to the prestige of Athens. The city did not recover swiftly. No relief expedition was sent out until 356/5 under the generals Iphicrates and Timotheos (*I.G.*, II², 1612, 232-235; *Diod.*, XVI, 21, 1). Chares had sailed to the Hellespont and was occupied throughout the summer and winter in carrying out military operations against the Byzantians.² The trade route had to be

¹ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 1, p. 238. There is a conflict in the statements of Nepos and Diodoros. In his life of Chabrias (ch. 4) Nepos relates that Chabrias had served in a private capacity at Chios, but that his influence had been so great that the soldiers regarded him with greater respect than the actual commander. Diodoros on the other hand (XVI, 7, 3) says that Chares and Chabrias were generals. I suspect that Nepos would not have said that he served in a private capacity unless there had been some ancient authority for that statement. The opinion of Diodoros sounds more like a deduction than a statement of fact, for he probably assumed that a general whose reputation was as great as that of Chabrias could not have been sent out in a private capacity. It is probable that he had not been elected general for the year 358/7 owing to his failure in the Chersonese in the preceding season (*Dem.*, *Against Aristocrates*, 171-172).

² *I.G.*, II², 1611, lines 288, 291, 292, 325 contain the names of trierarchs who, according to *I.G.*, II², 1953, distinguished themselves in the Hellespont. They must have served with Chares during this period.

protected at all costs. During the following winter and spring the rebellious cities engaged in attacks on the islands Imbros, Lemnos, and Samos (Diod., XVI, 21, 2). It is at this time that the ambassadors from Elaious arrived in Athens. Their city occupied a point of great strategic importance on the Hellespont, and it is quite likely that the Byzantians had attempted to win them over to their confederacy. It was to the advantage of Athens to make certain that this city remained loyal.

The lost portion of the inscription probably continued with praise of the Elaiousians (for a similar decree, cf. *I.G.*, II², 107 [368/7 B.C.], lines 8-16).

FRAGMENTS OF THE NAVAL RECORD OF 357/6 B.C.

5. Five fragments of Hymettian marble; fragment A, found on January 9, 1936 in the wall of a modern house, is broken away at the back and on all sides except the left, which bears traces of anathyrosis; of fragment B, found on November 3, 1937, in the wall of a modern house, the left side, which also has anathyrosis, the back, and the base of the stele are preserved; the two small fragments C and D, which are broken all around, were found in Section OE on June 8, 1934, in the disturbed fill beneath the exedra to the west of the Metroön; fragment E, found on a marble pile in the southwest area on February 26, 1935, is broken on all sides.

Fragment A: Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.086 m.
Height of letters, 0.005 m.
Inv. No. I 3227.

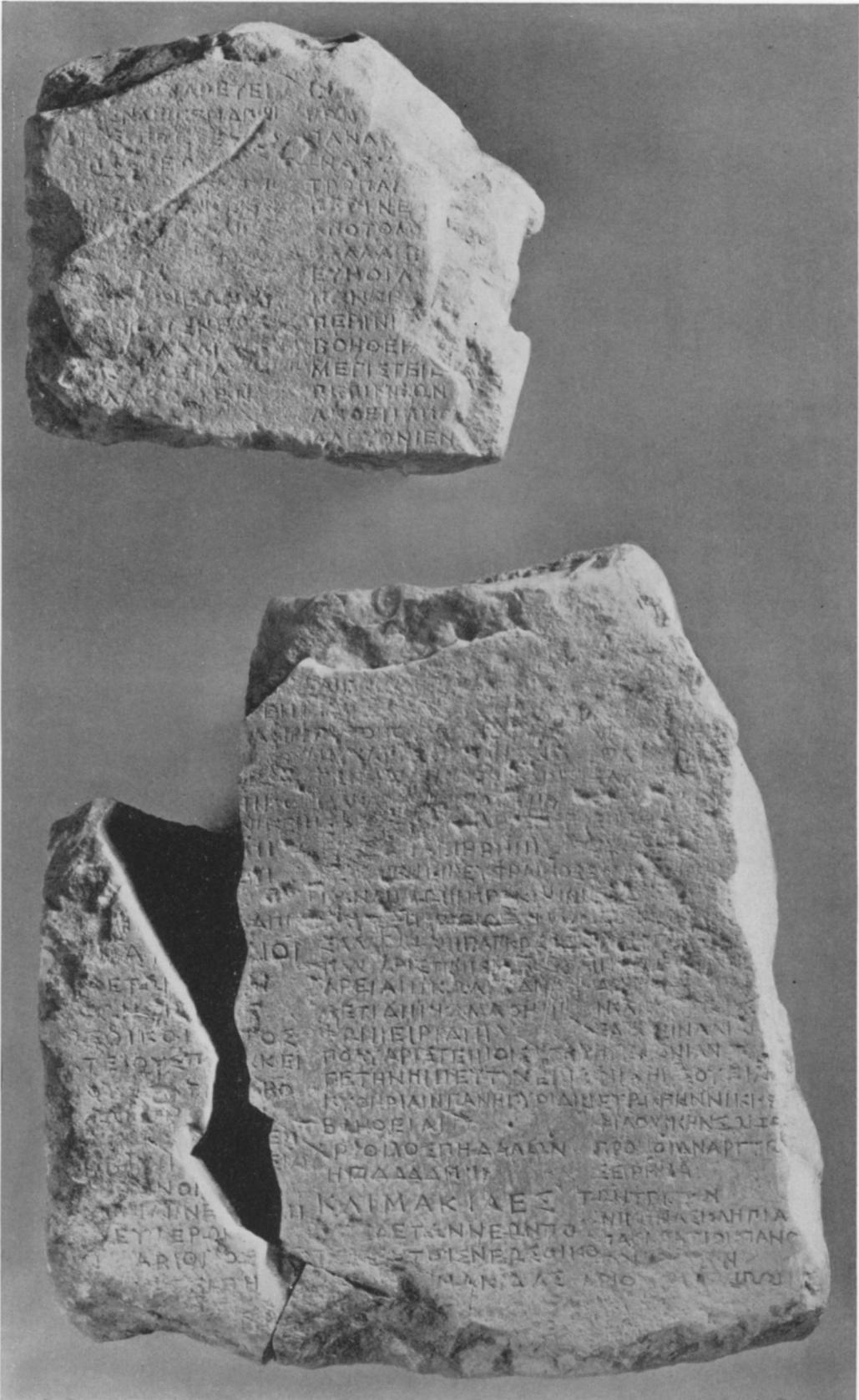
Fragment B: Height, 0.276 m.; width, 0.269 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.
Inv. No. I 2012 c.

Fragment C: Height, 0.082 m.; width, 0.077 m.; thickness, 0.021 m.
Inv. No. I 2012 b.

Fragment D: Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.032 m.
Inv. No. I 2012 a.

Fragment E: Height, 0.088 m.; width, 0.057 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.
Inv. No. I 2542.

The inscription is not stoichedon, and no very serious attempt was made by the stonecutter to balance the lines of one column against the lines of columns on either side. The disposition of the inscription on the stone, therefore, must be made out from the photographs, for it can be shown only approximately in the printed text. The weathering of the surface has been particularly severe in col. a of fragment A and in the upper part of col. c in fragment B; many of the readings on these parts of the stone have been made with great difficulty.



No. 5. Fragments A and B

FRAGMENT A

357/6 B.C.

*Munychia**Zea*

col. a

col. b

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--------------------|
| | [-- ⁸⁻⁹ --]ει Ἀρετῆι | | Ἴππ[οθωντίδι ---] |
| | [-- ^{ca. 5} --]ι ἐνδεῖ περί ΔΠ\|\|\| |  | Ῥώμη[ι Ἴκανῆι] |
| | [Με]λίττε[ι] Πρώτε[ι] | | Πανδία[ι vac.] |
| | [. . .]ρῦπ.α[^{ca. 3}]-Ἔωι | | τῶν δευτ[έρων] |
| 5 | [. . .]αμοσο[-----] | 20 | Τροπαί[αι ἐνδεῖ] |
| | [. . .]εγεμο. . νεων | | περίνε[ων -----] |
| | ἐ[νδεῖ] θάλα \|\|\| |  | Ἀποτομ[άδι ἐνδεῖ] |
| | [ἀριθ]μός · Η | | θάλα ΔΠ\|\| [-----] |
| | [Πη]δάλια | | Εὐνοῖαι [-----] |
| 10 | [ταῖσδ]ε τ[ῶν] νεῶ[ν τ]ο | 25 | Πανθήρ[αι ἐνδεῖ] |
| | [ύτων] ἐν [τ]οῖς νεωσ | | περίνε[ων -----] |
| | [οἴκοι]ς [π]ηδάλια | | Βοηθεία[ι vac.] |
| | [παρα]κείμενα | | Μεγίστει ἐ[νδεῖ] |
| | [κατ]ελάβομεν | | περίνεων Δ[----] |
| 15 | [τῶν πρώ]των | 30 | Ἀκοῆι Ἴππο[κάμπει] |
| | | | Ἀλκυόνι ἐνδ[εῖ] |
| | | | [περίνεων -----] |

FRAGMENT B

col. a

col. b

Kantharos

col. c

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------|----|-------------------------------|----|-------------------------|
| | [-----] | | Αἴγλη \|\| [-----] |  |  |
| | [-----]ει \|\| |  | Εὐν[ομίαι \|\| -----] |  |  |
| | [-----]άδι \|\| |  | Ὀ[ρθ]οπόλει \|\| -----]ι \|\| |  |  |
| | [-----] vac. | | Εὐχάρι[δι \|\| Νικ]ησῶι \|\| |  |  |
| 5 | [-----]Νικηφ[όρωι \|\| | 30 | Γενναῖαι \|\| Ἐριδι \|\| |  |  |
| | [-----]ηι \|\| |  | Μακ[αρίαι \|\| Ἡ]πίονηι \|\| |  |  |
| | [-----]Πολυ[νίκει \|\| |  | Σφε[νδόνηι \|] \| Ἀρίσ[τ]ηι \|\| | 55 | Ἀγαθῆν [-----] |
| | [-----]ε]ι \|\| |  | Εὐ[νο]ίαι \|\| Ἡβηι \|\| |  | Ἐρωμ[ένην -----] |
| | [-----]ει \|\| |  | Ἐ[ρ]ωμένηι \|\| Εὐφραϊνόσει \|\| |  | τῶν δ[ευτ]έ[ρων] |
| 10 | [Ἀριθμός] vac. | 35 | Πανδήμωι \|\| Πρόκνηι \|\| |  | ----- |
| | [κεραιῶ]ν μ[εγάλων] ΔΠ\|\| |  | Ἀγύσει \|\| Εὐνοῖαι \|\| | 60 | [-----]ε[-----] |
| | [ἴστο]ι ἀκ[άτ]ειοι | | Σαλαμινῖαι \|\| Παγκρα[τίωι \|\|] |  | Δορκ[άδα -----] |
| | [ταῖσ]δε τῶν [νεῶ]ν | | Πανταρίστηι \|\| Σα[λ]αμινῖαι \|\| |  | Ἐὐπ[ορί]αν [-----] |
| | [τούτ]ων ἐν [τοῖ]ς | 40 | Ἀρείαι \|\| Κωλιαδί \|\| |  | . . . [-----] |
| | | | Θέτιδι \|\| Ψαμάθηι \|\| |  | Δ[ελφι(?)]νῖαν [-----] |
| | | | | | Ἴκανῆν Μεγίσ[την] |

FRAGMENT B—*continued*

	col. a	col. b	col. c
15	[νε]ωσοίκοι[ς ἰσ]τὸς [ἀκ]ατείους πα[ρ]ακει [μέ]γους κατε[λ]άβο [μεν] τῶν πρ[ώ]τῳ[ν] [-----]υο[-----]ει |	Φῶι || Εὔριδι || Πολυαρίσται || Οἰστῶι || Πετηνῆι || Εὐτυχέι || Κυθηρίαι || Πανηγύριδι || 45 Βοηθείαι || <i>vac.</i>	65 Ἐλ[ευ]σίνα Αἶαν[τα] Ἑγεμονίαν Φυλ[λίδα] Φήμην Σουνιά[δα] Εὐρώπην Νίκην Φιλονίκην Σωίσο[μένην]
20	[Προθ]υμίαι | Ἄ[νθιππα]σίαι | [-----] || οἱ[-----] | [-----]είαι || Νε[-----]ι || [τῶ]ν δευτέρων [---] | Ἄριθμός	Ἄριθμός πηδαλίων Η ^Α ΔΔΔΔΔΓ||| Κλιμακίδες [τ]α[ί]σδε τῶν νεῶν τού 50 τῶν ἐν τοῖς νεωσοίκο [ις κλ]ιμακίδας <i>vacat</i>	70 Πρόνοιαν Ἄργυρ[ᾶν] Σειρήνα <i>vac.</i> τῶν τρίτων Νίκην Ἀσκληπιά[δα] Παγκράτιον Πανθ[ήραν]
25	[ἰστῶν ἀ]κατεί Γ||| |		75 Τρί[αινα]ν Ἄριθμὸ[ς τρ]ιήρων <i>vac.</i>

FRAGMENT C

	col. d	col. e
	[-----]ει | [Σειρ(?)]ῆνι | Ἄριθμ[ός] [ἰ]στῶν ἀκατεί Δ | [κε]ραῖαι ἀκάτει 5 [τα]ἰσδε τῶν νεῶν [το]ύτων ἐν τοῖς [νε]ωσοίκο[ις] [κερ]α[ί]ας ἀκα [τείου]ς παρα 10 [κειμένας κ]α [τελάβομεν]	π[αραρ]υμάτων λευκ] ἀρ[ιθμός -----] τα[ῦτα γίγνεται] 15 ἐπὶ [ναῦς -----] παραρ[υμάτων τριχ] ἀριθμὸ[ς -----] ταῦτα γίγ[νεται] ἐπὶ ναῦς [-----] 20 [παραρ]υμ[άτων (?)]---- [-----]Λ[-----]

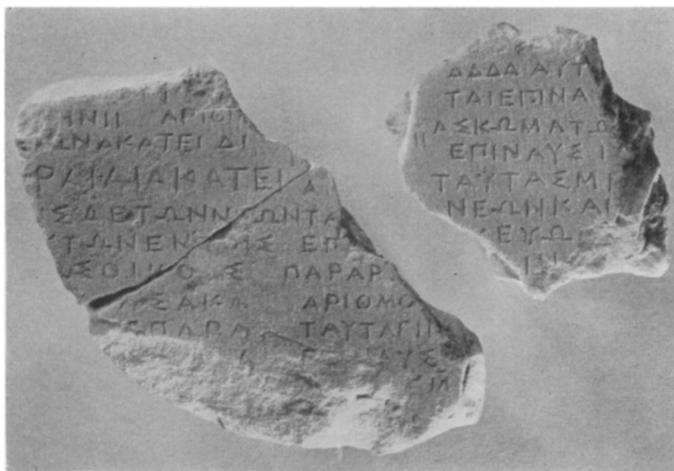
FRAGMENT D

[ἀγκυρῶν ἀριθμός]
ΔΔΔΔ ἀντ[αι γίγνον]
ται ἐπὶ ναῦ[ς -----]
ἀσκωμάτω[ν ἀριθμός]
5 ἐπὶ ναῦς ι[-----]
ταύτας μι[-----]
νεῶν καὶ [-----]
σκευῶ[ν -----]
[---] | Ν[-----]

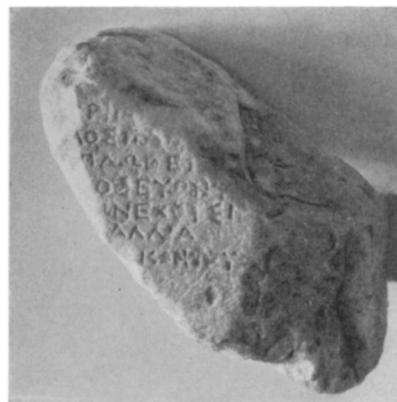
FRAGMENT E

[--^{ca. 6}---] τριή[ραρχοι]
[--^{ca. 6}---]μος Παμ[βωτάδης]
[--^{ca. 7}---] Πλωθεύ[ς]
[--^{ca. 8}---]ος Εὐωνυμεύς
5 [τῶν ξυλίν]ων ἔχουσι
[ταρρὸν πη]δάλια *vac.*
[παραστάτα]ς κοινούς
vac.
vac.
10 [-----]ς

These fragments are part of a copy of the naval record of 357/6 B.C., already partially represented by *I.G.*, II², 1611, which had been set up originally in the Peiraeus and is now to be found in the Epigraphical Museum. It was not suspected that another copy of the same record existed. The new fragments which have been found in the excavations belong to such a copy and presumably had been placed in or near the Agora. The workmanship and the letter-forms of the new fragments are almost identical with those of the stele in the Epigraphical Museum; but the fragments can not possibly belong to the same stele. The order and disposition of the columns in the two records are quite different. The left face of *I.G.*, II², 1611 was



No. 5. Fragments C and D



No. 5. Fragment E

inscribed, but the left faces of fragments A and B bear unmistakable traces of anathyrosis, as if the intention had been to erect the stele next to similar stelae. Column a of fragment B ends with the list of *ἰστοὶ ἀκάτειοι* (small-boat's masts), and the top of column b would have continued the list of *κεραῖαι ἀκάτειοι*, but the top of column b of *I.G.*, II², 1611 contains part of the introductory list of the first-class triremes of the harbor Zea, and therefore can not possibly be identified with column b of fragment B.

Of the record *I.G.*, II², 1611 only parts of eight columns are preserved and the stele has been broken away at the right side; but since no other naval record is so precise nor so hierarchically rigid in its composition, it is possible to determine approximately what each column contained, including the lost portions. Thanks to this efficient and regular arrangement the new fragments can be proved to be part of a copy of the naval record of 357/6 and can be assigned to their proper places in the

record. A preliminary analysis of the record as it was preserved in *I.G.*, II², 1611 will be necessary.

The inventory was intended to be most complete. It presents a list of all the triremes in the Athenian navy, whether in the ship-sheds or in the docks in the open air or on the high seas, together with a complete list of the equipment on or intended to be placed on each of those ships.¹ The order in which both the ships and the equipment are mentioned is almost invariable and unique. The first column contained a summary of the triremes in the Athenian navy, followed by a statement of the equipment by category.² The inventory proper was then divided into four large sections: a list of the ships by class according to the harbor in which they were stationed, always followed by a list of their equipment by category; a list of equipment lying on the docks or in the storage-rooms; a list of the triremes on actual service presented according to the harbor from which they had sailed; and finally a list of the equipment which certain officials and trierarchs owed the state. The first of these sections is divided into three main parts according to the harbors Munychia, Zea, and Kantharos, and each part contains a complete introductory list of triremes by class, followed by a complete list of equipment.

The new fragments preserve this same unique arrangement and order. In fragment A parts of two columns are preserved. The rubric of lines 9-15 of fragment A introduces the list of rudders (*πηδάλια*) for the triremes of a certain harbor. Above this formula is to be found the conclusion of a list of oar-blades (*ταρροί*) for ships of the same harbor. In the second column of this fragment a similar list of oar-blades is partially preserved, but the ship-names are demonstrably different from those of the first column, and therefore belong to a different harbor. A comparison of column b, lines 74-79 of *I.G.*, II², 1611 with column b, lines 20-31 of fragment A will prove that these are second class ships of Zea, and, moreover, that they are listed according to the form recorded in *I.G.*, II², 1611:

¹ The order and composition of the whole record is summed up in the introductory sentence (*I.G.*, II², 1611, lines 3-18):

<p>[ἀ]ριθμὸς τριήρων ὄν [ἐ]ν τοῖς νεωσοίκους ἀν- 5 [εἰλ]κυσμένων κατελά- βομεν καὶ τῶν ὑπαιθρί- [ω]ν καὶ τῶν ἐκπεπλευ- [κ]νῶν παραδο(θ)εισῶν· ΗΗ^ΠΔΔΔΙΙΙ· 10 [ἀρ]ιθμὸς σκευῶν ξυλί-</p>	<p>[νω]ν καὶ κρεμαστῶν, [ῶ]ν ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις [καὶ] ἐν τῇ σκευοθήκῃ [κατ]ελάβομεν, καὶ τῶν 15 [ἐκπ]επλευκῶν καὶ [τῶ]ν ὀφειλομένων πα- ρὰ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς τριηράρχοις.</p>
--	---

² The order in which the equipment is mentioned is established by this summary. The order is as follows: *ταρροί*, *πηδάλια*, *κλιμακίδες*, *κοντοί*, *παραστάται*, *ἱστοὶ μεγάλοι*, *κεραῖαι μεγάλαι*, *ἱστοὶ ἀκάτειοι*, *κεραῖαι ἀκάτειοι*, *ὑποζώματα*, *ἱστίον*, *τοπέα ὑποβλήματα*, *καταβλήματα*, *παραρῦματα λευκά*, *παραρῦματα τρίχυνα*, *σχοινία*, *ἄγκυραι*.

I.G., II², 1611, lines 74-79

Tropaia
 Apotomas
 Eunoia
 Panthera
 Boetheia
 Megiste
 Sphendone
 Theoris
 Akoe
 Hippokampe
 Alkuon

Frag. A, col. b, lines 20-31

Tropaia
 Apotomas
 Eunoia
 Panthera
 Boetheia
 Megiste
 Akoe
 Hippokampe
 Alkuon

The first column is part of a complete list of triremes; the other is a partial list of ships included in the list of equipment. But the order of mention in both lists is identical, for the order of ships in the list of equipment follows that established by the introductory list of ships. Likewise, the ships of lines 16-18 of fragment A belong to the first-class ships of Zea (compare with *I.G.*, II², 1611, lines 71-72, col. b).¹ In fragment B the ships of column b are proved by a similar comparison to belong to the list of special triremes of Zea (compare col. b, lines 26-45 with col. b of *I.G.*, II², 1611, lines 105-128; col. c, lines 135-140; 157-170), and the ships of lines 53-56, col. c of fragment B are demonstrably first-class ships of the harbor Kantharos (compare *I.G.*, II², 1611, col. d, lines 216-221), followed in lines 57-75 by the triremes of the second and third classes of the same harbor (cf. col. d, *I.G.*, II², 1611). The ships of column a of both fragments A and B must belong to the harbor Munychia because the order of harbors as established by *I.G.*, II², 1611 is Munychia, Zea, and Kantharos. The position of fragment A with regard to fragment B is determined from the order of equipment. It must precede fragment B because the latter preserves the bottom of the stele and in any case the lists of oar-blades and rudders precede the list of ship-ladders (see p. 22, n. 2). The positions of fragments C and D are determined from a comparative study of the formulae of *I.G.*, II², 1611 and those of the new pieces. Not only are the order and arrangement of this record unique, but the formulae are unusual. Column e of fragment C preserves a partial list of equipment (*παράρύματα*) which was ready for certain ships. The formulae are to be compared with those of columns e and f of *I.G.*, II², 1611. A similar formula is also to be found in column a of *I.G.*, II², 1611 in the preliminary statement of equipment, lines 25 ff.; but there can be no confusion between the two formulae, for in column d of fragment

¹ The ship Pandia was accidentally omitted from the list in 65-72 of *I.G.*, II², 1611, but is mentioned in line 406. There are similar omissions: the *Σώτεια* is missing from lines 65-66, but is to be found in line 149 in its proper place.

C there is a partial list of equipment of ships in a certain harbor. A comparison of this column with columns d and e of *I.G.*, II², 1611 proves that the harbor must be Kantharos. Fragment D preserves a similar formula, and similarly it must be determined whether the formula corresponds to that of column a or columns e and f of *I.G.*, II², 1611. It will be excluded from column a because the two remaining numerals between lines 4 and 5 prove that there was a preceding column. It must belong therefore in a position corresponding to columns e and f of *I.G.*, II², 1611. It will be excluded from the end of the list of equipment in the storage-rooms, because column f, lines 279-281, of *I.G.*, II², 1611 contains no mention of askomata, which fragment D includes; nor is the number of anchors the same as that of line 2 of fragment D. It must, then, belong in a position corresponding to the lost portion of column e, below line 273 of *I.G.*, II², 1611.

The columns of the new copy must have been slightly shorter than the corresponding columns of *I.G.*, II², 1611. For example, column a of fragment B ends with the list of small-boat's masts (*ἱστοὶ ἀκάτειοι*), but column a of *I.G.*, II², 1611 concluded with that list and the list of *keraiiai akateioi*, and part of the list of first class ships of Zea. The stele must therefore have been considerably shorter, and there must have been more columns.

In fragment B, line 5, restore [*Νικηφ*]όρωι and compare *I.G.*, II², 1613, line 55 (of which columns c and d belong to Munychia; cf. lines 41, 60, 68). Again, in line 7 of fragment B the only possible restoration is [*Πολυ*]νίκει (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1611, lines 285-286, 427).

Fragment E must be assigned to a position corresponding to the list of triremes on active service, columns f and g, *I.G.*, II², 1611. The ship of line 1 can not belong to Munychia, for the list is complete (*I.G.*, II², 1611, 285-326) and the trierarchs here named do not occur in this list. Therefore, the ship belongs either to Zea or Kantharos. This ship had three trierarchs (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1611, 384-385; 1613, 212-214).

For information about the history of single ships the reader is referred to the dissertation of K. Schmidt, *Die Namen der att. Kriegsschiffe*, 1931. The following list of ships presents supplementary information:

Ἄγαθή,	line 55, frag. B, first class ship of Kantharos
Αἴας,	line 65, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
*Ανυσίς,	line 36, frag. B, special ship of Zea
*Αργυρά,	line 70, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
*Αρετή,	line 1, frag. A, ship of Munychia
*Αρίστη,	line 32, frag. B, special ship of Zea
*Ασκληπιάς,	line 73, frag. B, third class ship of Kantharos
Δορκάς,	line 60, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
*Ελευσίς,	line 65, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos

Ἐρις,	line 30, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Ἐρωμένη,	line 34, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Εὐνομία,	line 27, frag. B, special ship of Zea; cf. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1612, line 44 also listed among special ships of Zea.
Εὐρώπη,	line 68, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos. This proves that Schmidt is right in affirming that there was more than one trireme named Εὐρώπη (K. Schmidt, <i>Die Namen der attisch. Kriegsschiffe</i> , p. 19).
Εὐφραίνουσα,	line 34, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Ἡβη,	line 33, frag. B, special ship of Zea. This ship proves that the ships of <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1611, lines 351-373 belong to the list of triremes of Zea which begins in line 327. In line 361 restore Εὐτυχ[έλ, a special ship of Zea.
Ἡγεμονία,	line 66, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Θέτις,	line 40, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Ἰκανή,	line 64, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Μακαρία,	line 31, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Μέλιττα,	line 3, frag. A, ship of Munychia (cf. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1616, 24 [Μέ]-λιττα, also of Munychia)
Νίκη,	line 73, frag. B, third class ship of Kantharos
Παγκράτιον,	line 37, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Παγκράτιον,	line 74, frag. B, third class ship of Kantharos. In <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1604*, line 6, the restoration should be Παγκ[ράτιον], and in <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1612, line 294 Παγκράτ[ιον]; cf. Schmidt, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 8.
Πάνδημος,	line 35, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Πανθήρα,	line 74, frag. B, third class ship of Kantharos
Πολυαρίστη,	line 42, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Πρώτη,	line 3, frag. A, ship of Munychia
Σειρήν,	line 71, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Σουνιάς,	line 67, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Σωιζομένη,	line 69, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Τρίαίνα,	line 75, frag. B, third class ship of Kantharos
Φήμη,	line 67, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Φιλονίκη,	line 69, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Φυλλίς,	line 66, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos

For a complete knowledge of the original naval record of 357/6 B.C. the reader must consult these new pieces from the Agora excavations together with *I.G.*, II², 1611.

A PROXENY DECREE IN HONOR OF AN ABDERITE, 332/1 B.C.

6. Five small fragments of Pentelic marble making up this inscription, broken on all sides, were found over a short period of time on February 10 and 12, and on March 18, 1936, among the débris of the demolished Church of Christ.

Height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.108 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 3364.



No. 6. A Proxeny Decree

Spring 332/1 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

- [Ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄντιο]
 [χίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανείας ἢ Ἀριστό]
 [νο]υ[ς Ἀριστόνου Ἀναγυράσιος ἐγγραμ]
 [μά]τευ[ε]ν· Ἐ[λαφηβολιῶνος ἐνάτη ἐπὶ]
 5 [δέ]κα ἐβδό[μη τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλη]
 [σία] ἐν Διο[νύσου· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή]
 [φιζ]εν Ν[ικ]όστρατος Κόπρειος· ἔδοξεν
 [τῶι δ]ήμωι· Ε[ὕβοιος Κρατιστόλεω Ἀνα]
 [γυρ(?)]άσιος εἶ[πεν· ἐπειδὴ⁹..... ὁ Ἄ]
 10 [βδη]ρίτης [.....²¹.....]
 [...]ε προα[.....²¹.....]
 [...] τῶι δ[ήμωι¹⁵..... δεδ]
 [όχθαι] τῶι δ[ήμωι ἐπαινέσαι⁷...]
 [.]ν Ὀν[ο]μά[ρχου Ἀβδηρίτην καὶ στεφαν]
 15 [ώσ]αι χρυσ[ῶι στεφάνωι· εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν]
 [κ]αὶ πρόξε[νον καὶ ἐνεργέτην τοῦ δήμ]
 [ο]ν τοῦ Ἀθη[ναίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους]
 [α]ὐτοῦ· ἀνα[γράψαι δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφισμα]
 <τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν>
 20 [έ]ν στηλίη [λιθίνηι καὶ στησαι ἐν ἀκρ]
 [ο]πόλει, εἶ[ς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στη]
 [λη]ς δοῦνα[ι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου ΔΔΔ]
 [δρ]αχμὰς ἐ[κ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ]
 [ισ]κομένων [τῶι δήμωι]

vacat

This document belongs to the year of the archon Niketes, 332/1 B.C., in which three other Attic decrees were passed on the same day and in the same assembly as this new decree (*I.G.*, II², 345, 346, 347). The assembly was held in the theatre of Dionysos just after the Dionysiac festival, when many illustrious foreigners were wont to be present and when the Demos voted numerous honorary decrees.

The recipient of honors at this time was⁹. . . . , son of Onomarchos, whose ethnic, line 9-10 and 14, has been restored by Meritt. The orator of the decree may have been Euboios, son of Kratistoleos, of Anagyrous, who is known to have been active in public affairs in the 'thirties of the fourth century (*P. A.*, 5313). In line 19 the phrase τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν has dropped out of the text through oversight on the part of the engraver. Although examples of such omissions are to be found, they are very rare (e. g., *I. G.*, II², 508).

AN HONORARY DECREE, 323/2 B.C.

7. Six fragments of Pentelic marble, five of which have been found in the Agora excavations. All except fragment A, which preserves the left margin, are broken on all sides; fragments A and B retain also part of the moulding above the inscription. The height of the letters throughout is *ca.* 0.008 m., except in the first line (invocation) where they are somewhat smaller.

Fragment A: Height, 0.098 m.; width, 0.101 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.
Inv. No. I 4935 e.

Fragment B: *I. G.*, II², 369.¹

Fragment C: Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.082 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.
Inv. No. I 4935 b.

Fragment D: Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.073 m.
Inv. No. I 4935.

Fragment E: Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.042 m.; thickness, 0.066 m.
Inv. No. I 4935 d.

Fragment F: Height, 0.127 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.076 m.
Inv. No. I 4935 c.

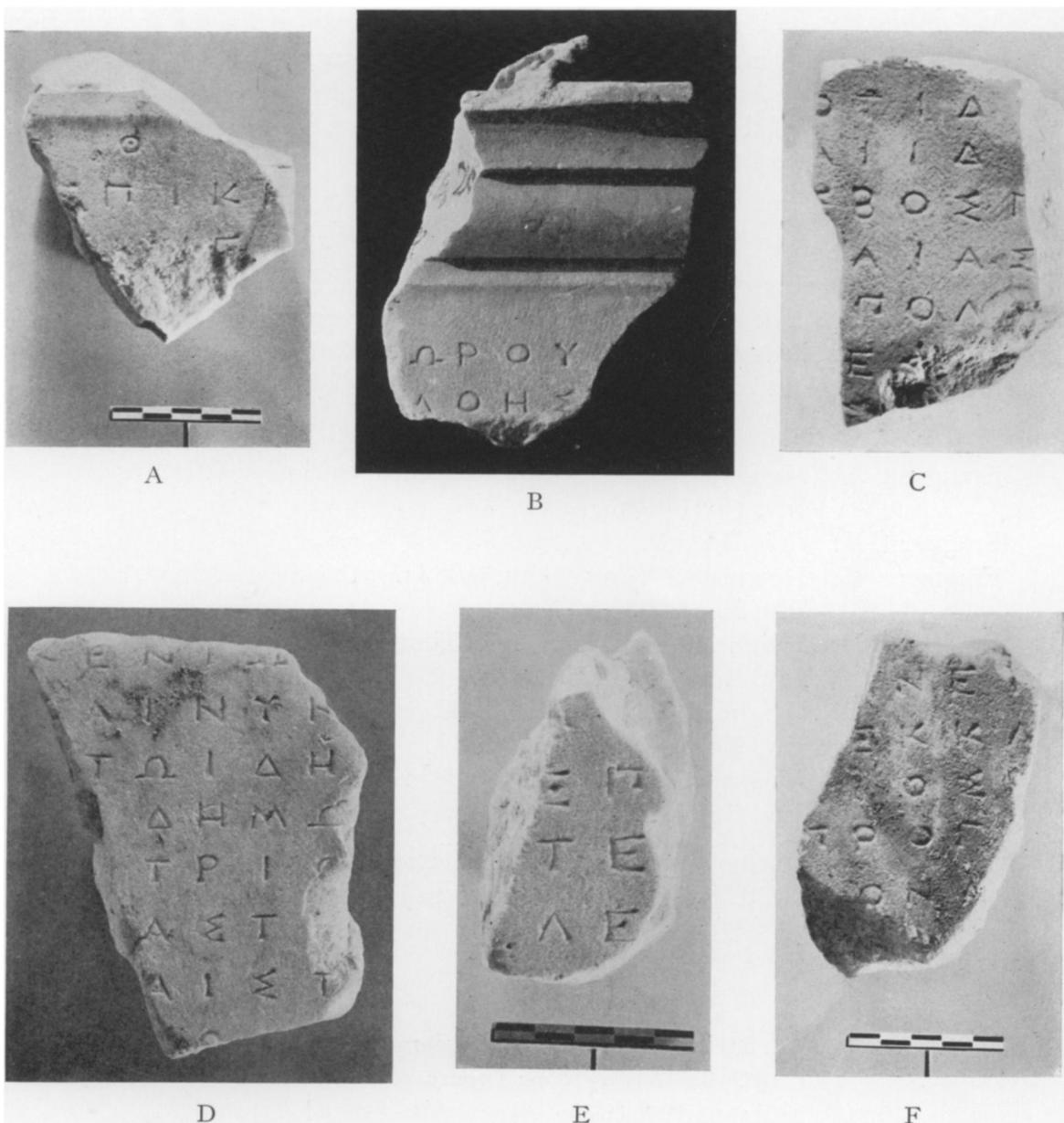
The Agora fragments were all found in Section OA, fragment D on June 3, 1937, and fragments A, C, E, and F from June 6 to June 9, 1938.

Spring 323/2 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

A	θ		ε	[ο	ί]	B
5						

¹ None of the fragments of *I. G.*, II², 414 belongs with either *I. G.*, II², 369 or Inv. No. I 4935 excepting possibly fragment *c*, which the writer has not been able to find in the Museum. See the note of Kirchner on this matter in the *Corpus*. In the opinion of the writer fragment *a* of *I. G.*, II², 414 stands alone; neither of the other fragments, *b* or *d*, belongs with it. The lettering is distinctive and the physical characteristics different. Fragment *d* probably belongs to *I. G.*, II², 285.



No. 7. Fragments A-F

Lacuna

- C [·'Αθ]ην[αίων¹⁹.....]
 [...] ὅτι δ[ύνανται ἀγαθὸν δημοσίαι τ]
 [ε κ]αὶ ἰδ[ίαι τοῖς τε ἀφικνουμένοις]
 [εἰ]ς Βόσπ[ορον καὶ¹⁴.....]
 10 [...]αιας [-----]
 [...]πολ[-----]
 [...]εφ[-----]
 [...]σ[-----]

Lacuna

- D [... ἐπιδέδω]κεν τῶ[ι δήμωι ΧΧΧ μεδίμ]
 15 [νους πυρῶν (?)] καὶ νῦν [ἐπιδέδωκεν εἰς]
 [τὸν πόλεμον] τῶι δή[μωι¹⁰.....]
 [δεδοχθαι τῶι] δήμω[ι ἐπαινέσαι ...]
 [...⁷... Δημη]τρίο[υ εὐνοίας ἔνεκα]
 [καὶ φιλοτιμί]ας τ[ῆς εἰς τὸν δήμον τ]
 20 [ὄν Ἀθηναίων κ]αὶ στ[εφανῶσαι αὐτὸν]
 [χρυσῶι στεφά]νῳι [ἀπὸ --- δραχμῶν]

Lacuna

- E [... ..]ω-----
 [... ..]επ-----
 [... ..]τε-----
 25 [... ..]λε-----

Lacuna

- F [... ..²⁷..... δ]
 [οὔναι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον τοὺς]
 [πρυτ]άνει[ς τῆς Οἰνείδος εἰς τὴν πρ]
 [ώτην] ἐκκλ[ησίαν¹⁵.....]
 30 [...]αιος ε[-----]
 [...] προγ[-----]
 [... ..]ονα[-----]

There are numerous extant examples of Attic decrees passed in honor of citizens and foreigners who had performed outstanding service for the state, either through large donations of money or of corn in time of crisis. In the period 330-326 B.C. a great famine ravaged the major part of the whole Greek world, which, owing to her especial dependency on imported corn, Athens found hard to surmount.¹ The present inscription discloses a common formula signifying more than one bequest; i. e., through the use of the phrase *καὶ νῦν* (line 15). It is impossible because of the loss of so much text to determine positively what gifts had been made. There are, however, several possibilities. Not only were the effects of the famine still to be felt in 323/2 B.C., but they were also aggravated probably by the Lamian war, which was raging at this time. The text of lines 14-16 has been reconstructed therefore on the supposition that the bequest of lines 14-15, introduced undoubtedly by the phrase *ἐπειδὴ ὁ δέϊνα* ----- *πρότερον*, referred to the previous shortage of corn,² and that the other gift alluded to donations made for military funds for the conduct of the war.³

In line 18 only part of the patronymic is preserved;⁴ the ethnic was probably given in an earlier part of the decree, now lost. Geographically it must have been near the Bosporos (line 9).

AN HONORARY DECREE, 318/7 B.C.

8. Two small fragments of Pentelic marble; fragment *a*, preserving only the left side and back, found on April 22, 1937 in the surface fill in Section OA, joins E. M. 2537 (heretofore unpublished); fragment *b*, of which the right side and back are preserved, was found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on April 29, 1937. To these fragments must be added still another, published as *I.G.*, II², 535 (here called fragment *c*).

¹ The dates of the famine are determined from *I.G.*, II², 360. See also *I.G.*, II², 398; Ps. Arist., *Oeconomica*, 1352a; Demosthenes, XXXIV, 39 (delivered in 327/6 B.C.; Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit*, III², p. 578); Ps. Plut., *Mor.*, 851 B. Several good examples among Attic decrees of honors voted to donors of great quantities of grain are *I.G.*, II², 400, 401, 499.

² This is made more probable by the reference to the Bosporus in line 9.

³ The phraseology of *I.G.*, II², 351, lines 11-16 is helpful although obviously connected with different circumstances.

⁴ The omission of the ethnic of the person praised is comparatively rare, but good examples of such practice occur: *I.G.*, II², 373, line 23; 467, line 25; 542, line 5; and 652, line 21.

Fragment *a*: Height, 0.141 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.062 m.
Height of letters, 0.005–0.006 m.
Inv. No. I 4772 a.

Fragment *b*: Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.142 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.
Height of letters, 0.005–0.006 m.
Inv. No. I 4772 b.

All these fragments, with the exception of *I.G.*, II², 535, bear a later inscription of the Roman imperial period.

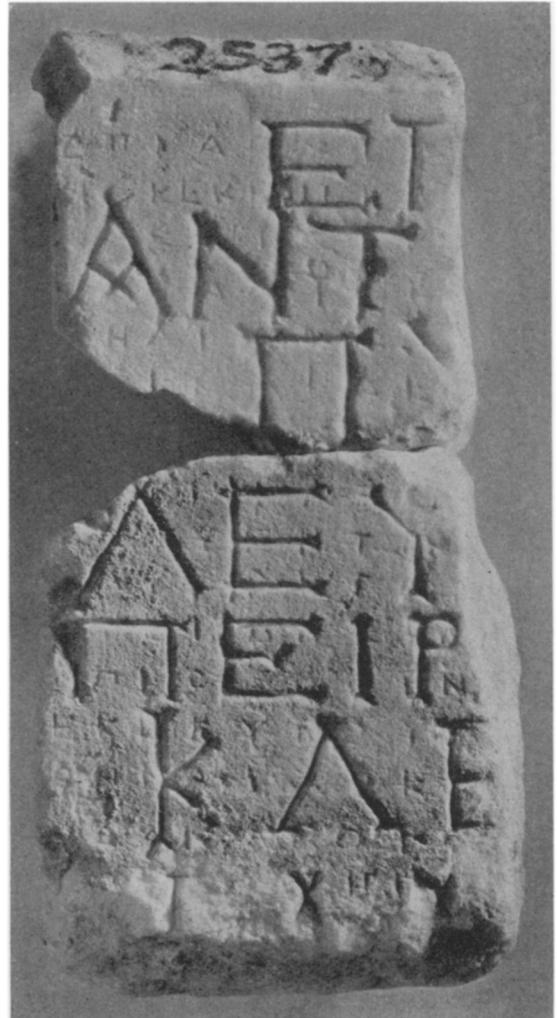
318/7 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 23

E.M. 2537

Ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππ[ου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τ]
ῆς Κεκροπίδ[ος ἕκτης πρυταν^υυ]
έας [ῆ]ι [Θέ]ρ[σιππος Ἴππο...⁵..]
[.] Κ[ο]λλυτε[ὺς ἐγραμμάτενε· Γα]
5 μηλι[ῶ]νος ξ[νει καὶ νέαι πέμπ]
[τ]ει καὶ δε[κάτει τῆς πρυτανε]
[ίας· ἐκ]κλ[ησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐ]
a [πε]ψήφισ[ε¹⁵.....]
ἔδοξεν τῶ[ι δήμωι⁸..... Π]
10 [ο]λυκρίτο[ν⁹..... εἶπεν·]
ἐπειδὴ Ἑρμ[ο].....⁷..... ἐν τῶι ἔ]
[μ]προσσθεν [χρόνωι διατετέλ]
εκε εὔνον[ς ὦν τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἀ]
θηναίων κ[αὶ νῦν¹⁰.....]
15 [Ἀ]θ[η]ναίων [.....¹⁵.....]
..... ΗΡ[.....¹⁵.....]

Lacuna



No. 8. E. M. 2537 + Fragment *a*

- b [.....¹⁸.....]ι[.....]
 [.....¹⁴..... καὶ] χρήσι[μ]
 [ον αὐτὸν παρέσχηκ]ε τοῖς ἐκ[.]
 20 [.....¹³..... κο]μ[ι]ζομεν[.]
 [.....¹³..... ἐπ]ανγέλλε[τ]
 [αι¹⁰..... βού]ληται ποε
 [ἴν (?)¹⁴.....]γην [κ]αὶ ε
 [.....¹⁶.....]ν δεδόχθ
 25 [αι τῶι δήμωι ἐπαινέ]σαι Ἔρμο
 [.....¹⁴..... Ἑρ]ακ[λ] <ε>ώτη
 [ν καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐ]τὸν θαλ[λ]
 [οὔ στεφάνωι· εἶναι δ]ὲ Ἔρμο[. .]
 [.....¹²..... τοῦ δ]ήμον τ[οῦ]
 30 [Ἀθηναίων⁸.....]αυ[.....⁵.....]

Lacuna

- c [----- ε]
 [ἴς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δοῦναι τ]
 [ὸ]ν τ[αμίαν τοῦ δήμου Δ δραχμὰ]
 [ς] ἐκ τῶ[ν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ]
 35 ἰσκομέ[νων τῶι δήμωι]



No. 8. Fragment b

The inscription is dated by the archon Archippos in the year 318/7 B.C. The absence of any mention of the ἀναγραφεὺς in the preamble shows that the Archippos here in question is not the earlier archon of 321/0, and the date 318/7 is confirmed by the fact that the secretary is the same Thersippos whose name appears in *I.G.*, II², 448, line 36. The demotic is here given for the first time, and the restoration in *I.G.*, II², 448 must now be changed to read Θέρσιππος Ἴππο[...⁶... Κολλυτε]|ύς. The restoration in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 5, line 1 must also be changed, and the demotic Ἀχαρνεὺς in *I.G.*, II², 845, line 24 must be eliminated for lack of supporting evidence (cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 138).

It will be observed that after the oligarchy of 321/0–319/8 the secretary cycle was resumed in 318/7 (II) where it was broken off in 322/1 (I). This democratic reform was destined to have short life; there is no evidence for the nature of the secretaryship under Demetrios of Phaleron.¹

This new piece makes it possible to assign still another inscription to the same year. *I.G.*, II², 350 preserves the demotic only of the name of the secretary. It has been assigned to the year 331/0 by Ferguson (*Ath. Secretaries*, p. 40), but since its

¹ Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LIX (1938), pp. 498-499.

the son of Sostratos, and that in *I.G.*, II², 363, lines 7-8, Sostratos of Sphettos is the father of a man whose name is⁷ tos. Also in *I.G.*, II², 350, Polyuektos is of the deme Sphettos. Therefore in *I.G.*, II², 363, line 7 restore [Πολύευκ]τος, in *I.G.*, II², 368, line 8, restore Σωστρά[του Σφήττιος εἶπεν ^v], and in *I.G.*, II², 350, line 8, restore [Σωστράτου].

The calendar problem presented by these three inscriptions of the year 318/7 is difficult and perhaps not to be solved with present evidence. However, the restorations here given represent three equations which indicate an intercalary year, with a second Gamelion rather than a second Posideion, and with the following arrangement of prytanies and months (cf. also Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 375 and 430):

Prytanies	Months
I 37	30 Hek.
II 38	29 Met.
III 38	30 Boe.
	29 Pyan.
IV 40 Pryt. IV, 35 = 148 = Maim. 30	30 Maim.
V 39	29 Pos.
VI 40 Pryt. VI, 15 = 207 = Gam. 30	30 Gam. I
	29 Gam. II
VII 38 Pryt. VII, 13 = 245 = Anth. 9	30 Anth.
VIII 38	30 Ela.
	29 Moun.
IX 38	30 Thar.
X 38	29 Skir.
<hr/>	<hr/>
384	384

The reading of line 26 of the new decree found in the Agora is difficult, but the ethnic appears to be Ἑρ[ακ[λ]<ε>ώτη[ν]. Only the vertical stroke of the Ε was finished. The name of the man may have been either Ἑρμόκλειτος or Ἑρμόστρατος. In Roman imperial times the following inscription was inscribed over the decree of the fourth century B.C.

Ἑπ[---⁵⁻⁶---]
 Ἀντι[---^{ca. 6}---]
 Πύ[---]
 Λευ[---³⁻⁴---]
 Πειρ[αι---]
 Κλε[---⁵⁻⁶---]
 Ἰλά[ρον?]
Lacuna
 [-----]εὐς

AN ATHENIAN-SICYONIAN ALLIANCE, 303/2 B.C.

9. A badly preserved inscription, consisting of many small pieces of Hymettian marble found in the course of the excavations between March 18 and March 23, 1935, on the road level in Section Ξ. Measurements of only the largest fragments will be given. For convenience a table of fragments is here appended:

D = 2636 m	G = 2636 e	J = 2636 k
E = 2636 b	H = 2636 h	K = 2636 f
F = 2636 i	I = 2636 g	L = 2636 j

Frag. A: Height, 0.270 m.; width, 0.257 m.; thickness, 0.098 m.
Height of letters, 0.005 m.
Inv. No. I 2636 a.

Frag. B: Height, 0.190 m.; width, 0.04 m.; thickness, 0.053 m.
Inv. No. I 2636 d.

Frag. C: Height, 0.152 m.; width, 0.062 m.
Inv. No. I 2636 c.

A 303/2 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 50

- [.....¹⁸.....] ξ / [.....³⁰.....]
 [.....¹¹..... Δ]ημητρίωι του[.....²⁷.....]
 [.....⁶..... τοῖς Σω]τήρσιν καὶ γ[.....²⁸.....]
 [.....⁵..... τὴν συμ]μαχίαν ἦν περ [ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τοὺς]
 5 [Σικωνίους] εἰς ἅπ[α]ντα τὸ[ν χρόνον] ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἔστω κατὰ τάδε· ὁ
 [μνώ· Δία, Γῆν], Ἕλιον, Ἀθηνᾶν [Ἀρείαν, Ποσειδῶ, Ἄρη, καὶ θεοὺς πάντα]
 [ς καὶ πάσας· ἔ]σομαι φίλος [καὶ σύμμαχος¹⁹.....]
 [.....⁸..... τῆ]ς πόλε[ω]ς εὐγ[.....²¹..... τὸν δῆμον τ]
 [ὸν Σικωνί(?)]ων καὶ τ[ῆ]ν φιλί[αν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν προτέραν ε]
 10 [ἰς τὸν δῆμο]ν τὸν Σικωνίων δ[ιαφυλάζω ?¹⁹.....]
 [..... ἐλέσθαι] δὲ τὸν δῆμον τρ[εῖς ἀνδρας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων ο]
 [ἴτινες ἀφικό]μενοι εἰς Σικων[ίους²².....]
 [.....¹¹.....] ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσ[θεν χρόνω]¹⁹.....]
 [.....⁶..... το]ὺς ὄρκους ἀπολήψ[ονται παρὰ τῶν Σικωνίων⁷.....]
 15 [.....⁵.....] τὰ ἄλλα το[ῖ]ς Σικων[ίοις²⁵.....]
 [.....]ν τοὺς ταμί[ας]· ε.μ. . . ε[.....⁵..... τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πα]
 [ρασ(?)]κενήν [κ]εχειροτοπ[ημένον]
 [.....]τι[.....]γατων ἐπει[δὴ³¹.....]
 [.....]ειπ[.....]ι [κ]αθὰ ἐψη[φισ³¹.....]
 20 [.....]ατας [.....]κα καὶ πει[.....³⁴.....]



No. 9. Fragment A

.....¹⁴.....]ιον [-----]
¹³.....]οαυ [-----]
¹².....]τεο [-----]
¹².....]ολ [-----]
¹¹.....]λον [-----]
¹¹.....]φευ [γ-----]
¹⁰.....]ομε [-----]
 τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων [-----]
⁷..... ἔδ(?)]οξεν [-----]
⁸.....]ονα εν [-----]
⁶..... Χο]λαργ [-----]
⁷.....]τιχα [-----]

F]ο [-----]
]λ [-----]
]ο [-----]
]ε [-----]
]να [-----]
]ιξ [-----]
 ...]υμ. [-----]
 ..]ρиси [-----]
 ..]ους [-----]
 .]ινο [-----]

G [-----]α [-----]
 [-----]ντ [-----]
 [-----]οιξ [-----]
 [-----]εν [-----]
 [-----]οσοστ [-----]
 [-----]αιπ [-----]
 [-----]ργ [-----]
 [-----]ω [-----]

H [-----]ον [-----]
 [-----]δη [-----]
 [-----]ηλ [-----]
 [-----].σ [-----]
 [-----]ρ [-----]

I [-----]δεδ]όχθαι [-----]
 [-----]Σικ [ωνι-----]

J [-----]ι [-----]
 [-----]σ [-----]
 [-----]υ [-----]
 [-----]ον [-----]
 [-----]πε [-----]

K [-----]ιδι [-----]
 [-----]αν [-----]
 [-----]αι [-----]
 [-----]νο [-----]
 [-----]μ [-----]
 [-----]ν [-----]

L .]εααο [-----]
 τῶ]ι δήμ [ωι-----]
 ..]ιοις [-----]
 ...]σα [-----]

The inscription can be dated on purely epigraphical grounds with considerable certainty at the close of the fourth century B.C. Distinguished for its slovenliness in arrangement and lack of precision in engraving the letters, the hand of the lapidary is easily recognizable and falls in that period when there seems to have been a dearth of good stone-cutters. The various styles of letter-cutting declined noticeably in the years when Demetrios of Phaleron had control over Athens. Many single observations might be made about this hand: e. g., the letters are very loose-jointed, especially E and Σ, the letter P is shaped like an E without the lowest horizontal stroke and Φ becomes in most cases merely a cross (the vast majority of the examples of this kind of Φ occur in the period 310-300; cf., *I.G.*, II², 457, 470, 478, 497, 505, 506, 556, 577). In general appearance this decree resembles very closely *I.G.*, II², 497 (303/2) and 504 (302/1).



No. 9. Fragment B

COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

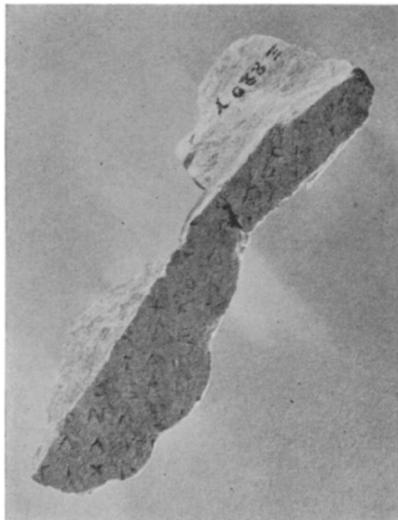
Line 2: Considered in the light of the reading Σω]τῆρσιν in line 3, the name Δ]ημητρίωι can refer only to Demetrios Poliorketes. Following directly upon the heels of his victorious entry into Athens, the Athenians in 307 B.C., on a motion of Stratocles, voted extraordinary honors to Antigonos and Demetrios. Golden statues were to be erected near those of the Tyrannicides, gold crowns worth two hundred talents were presented to them, and they were hailed as Saviour Gods (Diod., XX, 46, 2; Plut., *Demetrius*, X, 3; *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, VI, p. 497).

Lines 6-7: The oath is a significant feature of every Greek alliance. The form of oath used in this alliance was peculiar to the latter half of the fourth century and to the third century B.C., and is not found in treaties (Attic) prior to the year 356/5 (*I.G.*, II², 127). Recently the oath has been restored in this form in the decree concerning Philip's League of Corinth (Schwahn, *Klio*, Beiheft XXI, 1930, pp. 36 ff.), and most of the known Attic treaties involving the several leagues popularized this form, for it is to be found everywhere thereafter.¹



No. 9. Fragment C

¹ Cf. the Aetolian-Boeotian Alliance, *I.G.*, IX², 170, most recently discussed by Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes*, pp. 57 ff.; compare also the constituent act of the League of Corinth, 302 B.C., *I.G.*, IV², 68 and *I.G.*, II², 686, 687.



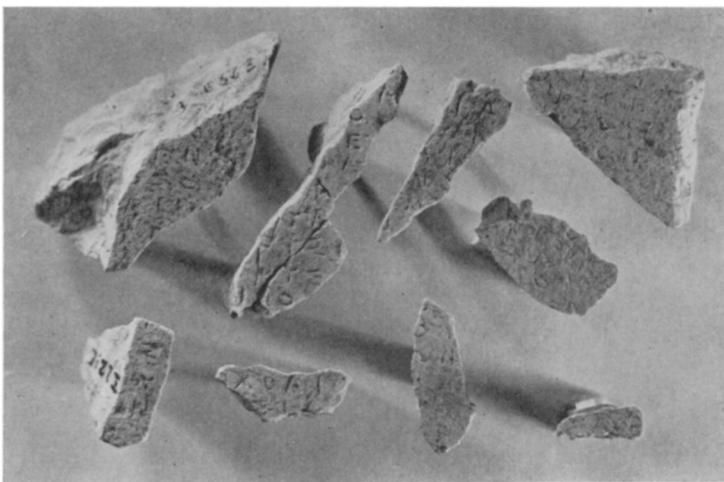
No. 9. Fragment E

Line 11: To judge from this passage the Demos of the Sicyonians had been re-established. It is doubtful if it had been existent under Cratesipolis (313-309) or Ptolemy I (309-303).¹ After it was captured from Ptolemy by Demetrios in 303 (Polyaenus, *Strat.*, 4, 7, 3), the democratic form of government was restored. Demetrios is said to have changed its name to Demetrias (Diod., XX, 102, 2-3; Plut., *Demetrius*, 15 25), yet the new name does not appear in this text. It may be that it had already passed out of existence (for Diodoros says that it did not last long); or perhaps it was not used in official documents. Both these suppositions seem unlikely since Demetrios was at his peak of power and no state would have disregarded his will. Rather, it may be that the name "Demos of the Sicyonians" (line 10) continued in official use

beside the new name for the city. The name of the city itself does not actually occur in the text, only the ethnic derived from it.

Line 26: There is enough unscribed space before the N to determine that the original margin existed there.

Lines 43-47: The formulae of these lines are the strongest reason for creating a *stoichedon* line of 50 letters. All known Attic treaties were set up on the Acropolis, and in all probability the present alliance contained a phrase in lines 44-45 providing that the stele be erected on the Acropolis. For the formula compare Thucydides, V, 23; *I.G.*, II², 43, lines 65-66.



No. 9. Fragments D, F-L

This alliance, as the commentary shows, had been contracted under the aegis, so to speak, of Demetrios. A *terminus post quem* is provided by the fact that Ptolemy Soter is known to have occupied Sicyon with troops until 303, for no treaty would

¹ Diod., XIX, 67, 2; XX, 37, 1-2.

have been possible between Athens and Sicyon before that date. It is unlikely that an alliance would have been contracted in the period 294-289/8 B.C., when Demetrios again had control over Central Greece, including Athens and Sicyon. On his return to power Demetrios had altered drastically his policy toward his Greek subjects: "the days of free alliance were over, and henceforth he (Demetrios) would act like Cas-sander."¹ His garrisons occupied Athens and Sicyon; Munychia as well as Corinth were his chief fortresses in Greece. When all Greece was safely in his grasp and he was guiding the foreign policies of the cities under his control there was no need of alliances.

The most suitable period for the contraction of the alliance is in the year 303/2 B.C. In a whirlwind campaign Demetrios had captured Sicyon and Corinth. The League of Corinth had been founded once more and Demetrios hailed as the "Leader of Greece" (*ἡγεμὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος*: Plut., *Demetrius*, 25, 4). Independence and autonomy were not regarded as inconsistent with the compulsion to become members of this new league, and states made voluntary alliances, preparatory to becoming members. Presumably, the constituent members first made inter-state alliances, containing all the necessary guarantees, concessions, and oaths for the allaying of national fears and prejudices. The well-known Epidaurian inscription, an alliance in its form, records the names of a group of Peloponnesian states, including the Eleans, Achaeans, and six or seven other cities, which had entered the league. In it there is a provision which implies that the members of the league could or should make inter-state alliances.² The Peloponnesian cities whose names are recorded in this document probably had made such preliminary pacts. That there are so few names in the text has occasioned discussion. The explanation may be that these cities, gravitating naturally together, had made binding alliances, and therefore only their names were included in that particular copy of the constitutive act. Similarly, other states would have made alliances and their names too would have been inscribed on still other copies of the act.³ The present inscription is probably to be regarded either as a pact preliminary to entrance into the League, or at least as a treaty contracted under the tutelage of Antigonos and Demetrios.⁴ This inscription and the Epidaurian document form a unique group, and add greatly to our scanty knowledge of the important historical events which happened in the years 303/2 B.C.

¹ *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, VI, p. 79; cf. also Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, IV², 1, pp. 223-224.

² The following phrase which is an important feature of almost every alliance signifies that the several parties to the alliance should make formal treaties of friendship with mutual friends and allies: *ὥστε καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ φίλοις*; cf. *I.G.*, IV², 68, I, line 10. Cf. Tarn, "The Constitutive Act of Demetrius' League of 303," *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, pp. 198-206.

³ See Roussel, *Rev. Arch.*, 5th Ser., XVII, 1923, p. 137; Larsen, *Cl. Phil.*, XX, 1925, p. 315.

⁴ The reference to *Σω[τ]ήρων* in line 3 in the plural presupposes a date before the battle of Ipsus and the defection of Athens from Demetrios as a result of that defeat.

FRAGMENTARY PRESCRIPT OF A DECREE, 288/7 B.C.

10. Fragment of Pentelic marble of which only the left side is preserved, otherwise broken all around, found on May 2, 1935 in black fill in Section II.

Height, 0.110 m.; width, 0.055 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 2841.



No. 10

288/7 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

Ἐπὶ [Διοκλέους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Λε]
ων[τίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανείας ἤι Ξεν]
οφ[ῶν Νικέου Ἄλαιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευσ]
ν· Ἄ[νθεστηριῶνος ἐνάτη ἐπὶ δέκα ἐ]
5 ν[άτη καὶ δεκάτη τῆς πρυτανείας]

The decree of which the above fragment is part was passed on the same day and in the same assembly as the text of *I.G.*, II², 651. This identification enables us to restore the name of the prytanizing tribe in lines 3-4 of *I.G.*, II², 651, of which I quote lines 3-8 for purposes of comparison:

[Ἐπὶ Διοκ]λέους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς [Λ]
[εωντίδο]ς ὀγδόης πρυτανείας ἤι [Ξ]
5 [ενοφῶν Ν]ικέου Ἄλαιεὺς ἐγραμμά[τ]
[ευν· Ἄνθ]εστηριῶνος ἐνάτη ἐπὶ δ
[έκα, ἐνάτ]η καὶ δεκάτη τῆς πρυτα
[νείας κτλ.]

A DECREE IN HONOR OF ARISTOMENES OF PAEANIA

11. A small fragment of Hymettian marble of which only the right side is preserved; it was found on May 15, 1937 in the débris of a large monument in the Great Drain of Section Z.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.043 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4848.

This fragment is part of the stele on which *I.G.*, II², 691, also very badly preserved, was engraved.

A

Early third Cent. B.C. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 20

[.....¹⁹.....]α
 [...⁸... ἀγαθεί τυ]χει δ
 [εδόχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ] ἐπαι
 [νέσαι Ἀριστομένην] Ἀ[ρ]ισ
 5 [τ ...⁵... Παιανία ἀρ]ε[τ]ῆς
 [ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύ]ης ἧ
 [ν ἔχων διετέλεσεν περὶ] τ
 [ἦν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον]



No. 11. Fragment A

I.G., II², 691

B

<p>[-----εἰς τὴν πρώτ] [ην] ἐκκλησ[ίαν χρηματίσα] ι περὶ τούτ[ων, γνώμην δὲ ξ] νμβάλλεσθα[ι τῆς βουλῆς] 5 εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅ[τι δοκεῖ τ] εἶ βουλεῖ ἐπα[ινέσαι Ἀρι] στομένην Ἀρ[ι]στ[...⁵... Πα] ιανία ἀρετῆς ἔ[νεκα καὶ] δικαιοσύνης [ἧ]ν [ἔχων διε]</p>	<p>10 τέλεσεν περὶ τῆ[ν βουλήν] καὶ τὸν δῆμο[ν καὶ στεφαν] ῶσαι αὐτὸν [χρυσῶι στεφά] νωι κατ[ὰ τὸν νόμον· ὅπως δ'] ἂν ἐ[.....¹⁶.....τ] 15 ἧς πόλε[ως .....¹².....] ἔχειν [.....¹⁵.....] σ νομ[.....¹⁶.....] ον[-----] τ[-----]</p>
--	---

The two above decrees were passed respectively by Council alone and by the Demos in honor of Aristomenes of Paeania. In fragment A, lines 2-3 the significant phrase is *δεδοχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ* followed immediately by the verb *ἐπαινέσαι*, which introduces the purpose of the bill. It is thus recognized at once as a probouleuma or decree of the Council, of which there are two types: the one authorizes the proedroi or committee on legislation to introduce a bill to the public assembly for final ratification, and the other is an independent administrative order, effective only for the duration of the conciliar year, which required the ratification of the assembly to become a permanent decree. *I.G.*, II², 691, however, is a full-fledged decree passed by the Council and Demos. There is no better example of the relationship that existed between these two decrees than *I.G.*, II², 330, which consists of three short decrees in honor of Phyleus, the state-hieropoios. Decree number one, passed by the Demos in honor of Phyleus, and granting him a gold crown since he had passed his euthynae, is the

latest, dating as it does in the third prytany of 335/4. Decree number two, passed by the Council in the ninth prytany of 336/5, the year of Phyleus' office, granted him a gold crown, providing he passed his euthynae, and authorizes the introduction of the bill to the Demos. Decree number three, passed in the tenth prytany of 336/5 by the Council and Demos, is the ratification of the probouleuma. The new Agora piece (fragment A) is like Decree number two of *I.G.*, II², 330, and *I.G.*, II², 691 is like Decree number three. The following passage from Decree two will illustrate very well how the Agora fragment continued:

[-----δεδό]
 [χθαι τῆι βουλῆι ἐ]παιν[έσαι Φυλέα Πανσανίου Οἰναῖον ἀρετῆ]
 40 [ς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης [τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸ
 [ν Ἀθην]αίων [κ]αὶ στεφανῶσα[ι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ Χ δρα]
 [χμῶ]ν ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας [δῶι· ὅπως δ' ἂν καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν τιμ]
 [ῆσ]ηι τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λ[άχωσι προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν πρώτ]
 [ην] ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι π[ερὶ αὐτοῦ, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθ]
 45 [αι] τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμο[ν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆι βουλῆι εἶναι αὐτῶ]
 [ι ε]ύρεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἀγ[αθὸν ὅτι ἂν δύνηται]

With regard to the phrase ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης it may be said that most usually it is employed in formulae honoring those who have served the state in some official capacity either secular or religious. Since both *I.G.*, II², 691 and Inv. No. I 4848 use this phrase, it may be assumed that Aristomenes had been a state official or priest.¹

A FRAGMENTARY DECREE

12. Two non-joining fragments of Hymettian marble; fragment *a*, found on March 3, 1936 in Section ΠΘ preserves only the left side; fragment *b*, broken all around, was found on April 6, 1935 in the foundation of a house in section B.

Fragment *a*: Height, 0.061 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.017 m.
 Height of letters, 0.005 m.
 Inv. No. I 3687.

Fragment *b*: Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.031 m.
 Height of letters, 0.005 m.
 Inv. No. I 2701.

¹ See, for example, *I.G.*, II², 223, 338, 354. A few isolated examples are to be found where no official relationship is easily detectable. But even these cases if examined closely reveal some remote connection with the state; e. g., *I.G.*, II², 347 in honor of the poet Anphís, who took part in the Dionysiac festival.

Ca. 229 B.C.

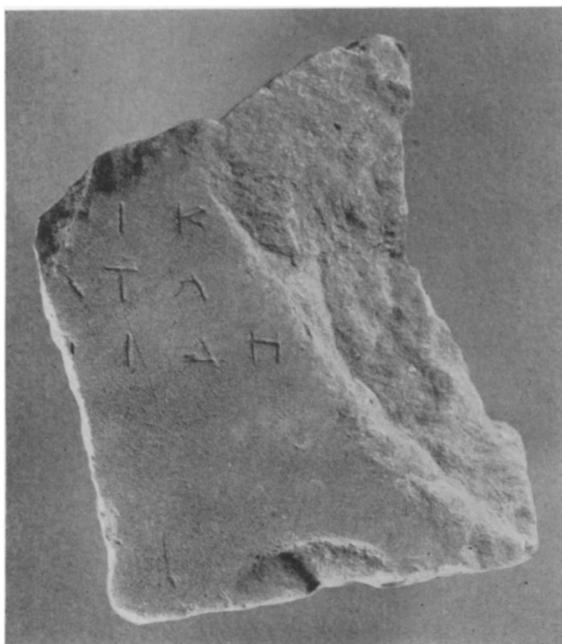
ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

[----- ἀνα]
 [γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γρ]
 [αμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν]
 a [σ]τ[ῆλει λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἔμπρ]
 5 οσ[θεν¹⁵..... εἰς δὲ τ]
 ἦν ἀν[αγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δ]ο[ῦναι] b
 [τ]ὸν ταμ[ίαν τῶν στρατιωτ]ικ[ῶν. . .]
 [.δ]ραχμ[ὰς ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κ]ατὰ ψ[ηφι]
 [σματα ἀναλισκομένων τ]ῶι δῆ[μωι]

vacat



No. 12. Fragment a



No. 12. Fragment b

Epigraphic considerations necessitate a date about the beginning of the last quarter of the third century B.C. Significant, also, with regard to the date of the document is the provision (lines 5-9) that the expense of engraving the decree was to be paid by the treasurer of military funds from the regular fund voted by the Demos (ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῶι δῆμωι; cf. also *I.G.*, II², 806, 809). This treasurer began to pay regularly about 229 B.C. the sums needed for inscribing the decrees (with the exception of decrees concerning the prytaneis), sometimes in conjunction with the plural board (οἱ ἐπὶ τῆι διοικήσει).¹ After ἔμπρ]οσ[θεν there are fifteen letter-spaces in which either τοῦ βουλευτηρίου or τῆς τοῦ Διὸς στοᾶς can be restored.

A FRAGMENTARY LIST OF OFFICIALS

13. Fragment of Hymettian marble of which the right side is preserved, slightly beveled along the front edge, found on April 1, 1936, in Section Σ; it joins *I.G.*, II², 1705.

¹ See Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 12-13. For a convenient summary of the history of this official consult Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 159, note 1, pp. 203-204; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatsk.*, pp. 1145-1146.

Height, 0.124 m.; width, 0.099 m.; thickness, 0.083 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 3951.



No. 13

[-----] ΔΙΟΥ[.] / [-----]
 [ἀγωνοθέτης] Παναθη[ναίων]
 [Μικίων Μι]κίωνος Κη[φισιεύς]
 [σ]τρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τ[ὰ] ὄπλα
 5 [Εὐρυ]κλείδης Μικίωνος [Κ]ηφισιεύς
 [σ]τρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρα[σ]κευήν
 [-----] κλής Σαλαμινίου [Ἄλ]αιεύς
 [ταμία]ς στρατιωτι[κῶν]
 [-----] ροκλείδ[ου -----]
 10 [-----] οὐ[-----]

The new fragment confirms to a large extent the restorations already inserted in *I.G.*, II², 1705. In line 4, although the office of the general remains unchanged, the qualifying phrase ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας is replaced by its more frequent alternative ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. Eurykleides of Kephisia seems to have held this strategia more than

once; he was honored in this capacity by the soldiers stationed at Sounion.¹ The *στρατηγός ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν* held an office not wholly military. He served regularly in a civil capacity on boards supervizing the reconstruction and erection of public and religious buildings (cf. *I.G.*, II², 839-842). The demotic in line 7 seems to be [Ἄλ]αιεύς. There is room for two letters before the Α; although the inscription is not inscribed *stoichedon*, the letters are spaced with a certain uniformity.

EUGENE SCHWEIGERT

¹ *I.G.*, II², 1300, lines 17-23 (date *ca.* 230 B.C.):

Ἄθηναίων οἱ τετα
 γμένοι ἐπὶ Σου
 νίου τὸν στρατη
 γὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 ὀπλίτας Εὐρυκλεί
 δην Μικίωνος
 Κηφισιέα