# GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

This report on the epigraphical discoveries made in the American Excavations of the Athenian Agora continues those which have appeared in previous volumes of *Hesperia*, and gives a preliminary discussion of seventeen texts arranged approximately in chronological order.

## HARMODIOS AND ARISTOGEITON

**1.** Two contiguous fragments, forming part of a base of Pentelic marble, found on March 23, 1936, in a modern or Turkish fill in Section P. The upper surface and a small portion of the right lateral face have been preserved.

Height, 0.104 m.; width, 0.323 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.
Height of letters, 0.019 m.
Inv. No. I 3872.

The inscription is not *stoichedon,* but the last eleven letters of line 2 (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space on the stone of 0.230 m. The tops of the letters in line 1 are 0.015 m. below the level of the top surface of the stone.
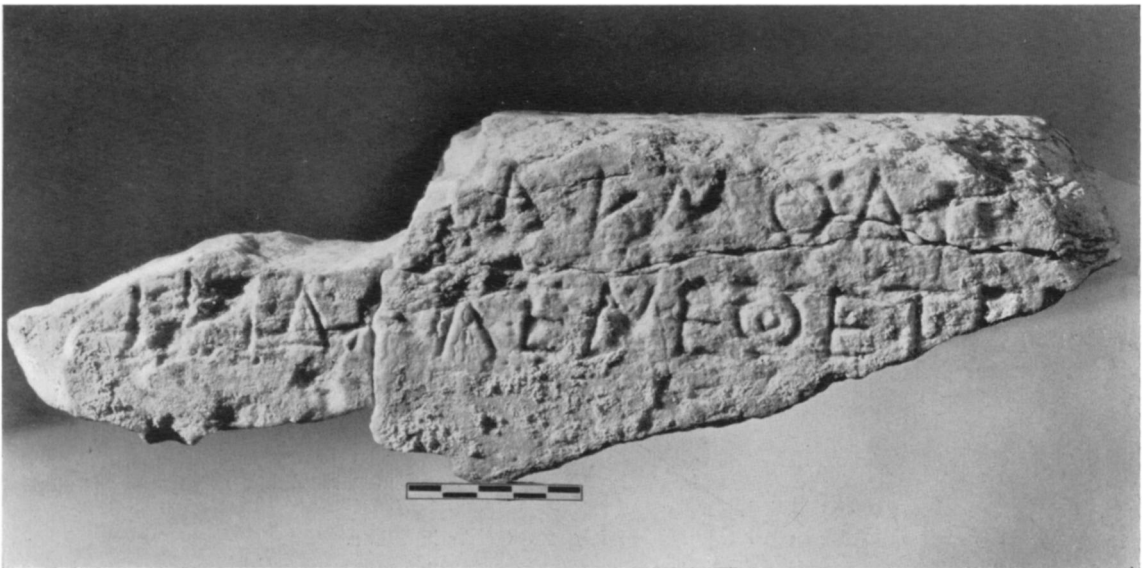


No. 1.   Upper Right Corner of the Tyrannicide Base

Line 1   [ἒ μέγ᾽ ᾿Αθεναίοισι φόος γένεθ᾽ ἐνίκ᾽ ᾿Αριστογείτον hίππαρχον κτεῖνε καὶ] hΑρμόδιο[ς]
Line 2   [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - πα]τρίδα γῖν ἐθέτεν

The inscription contains the ends of the pentameter lines from two elegiac couplets, and is to be identified as the dedicatory epigram cut on the base which carried the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton in the Athenian Agora. The first couplet of this epigram has been preserved in Hephaistion's Ἐγχειρίδιον in the chapter entitled περὶ ἀποθέσεως μέτρων (Hephaistion, 16 [29] = Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, III⁴, Simonides 131), where it is quoted to show the metrical difficulty of using the name Ἀριστογείτων in hexameter verse:

> Πᾶν μέτρον εἰς τελείαν περατοῦται λέξιν· ὅθεν ἐπίληπτά ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα Σιμωνίδου
> ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων
>
> ἦ μέγ' Ἀθηναίοισι φόως γένεθ', ἡνίκ' Ἀριστο-
>         γείτων Ἵππαρχον κτεῖνε καὶ Ἀρμόδιος
> καὶ πάλιν Νικομάχου τοῦ τὴν περὶ τῶν ζωγράφων ἐλεγείαν πεποιηκότος
>         οὗτος δή σοι ὁ κλεινὸς ἀν' Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν Ἀπολλό-
>         δωρος· γινώσκεις τοὔνομα τοῦτο κλύων.
> ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀνάγκην—οὐ γὰρ ἐνεχώρει.

Hephaistion's quotation makes possible the restoration of the first couplet of the Agora text, and the Agora text supplies part of the second couplet which was not quoted by Hephaistion. The discovery of the inscription shows that the epigram was genuinely ancient, but its attribution to Simonides does not rest on good authority, and it should be classed with those anonymous epigrams collected by the compilers of anthologies and grouped under the name of the great poet.[1]

For the present text, especially, the long-standing association between Simonides and Hipparchus makes Simonidean authorship more than usually dubious.[2]

The approximate width of the base which carried the inscription can be determined by the spacing of the letters, for we know that the first couplet was written entirely on one line, and that it contained (in Attic script) sixty-six letters. Since eleven letters can be measured from the stone as requiring 0.230 m., the sixty-six letters of line 1 must have required approximately 1.38 m. This is ample width for a statue base for two statues, and indeed would be an argument, if there were no other evidence, that the base with which we have to deal supported a group rather than a single figure. Probably the inscription began with the left edge of the stone, just as it ended with the right,

---

[1] See Geffcken's article on Simonides in Pauly-Wissowa and the extensive bibliography there quoted; also Oliver, *Hesperia*, II (1933), p. 490.

[2] Aristotle, Ἀθ. Πολ., § 18, 1; [Plato], *Hipparchus*, 228 C; Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, VIII, 2. Sandys, in his commentary on Aristotle, makes what seems to me a misleading statement when he says that Simonides (with this poem) "celebrated the death of his patron Hipparchus." Many stories have been told of Simonides' love of wealth (cf. Aelian, *loc. cit.*) but so far as is known he was not by the ancients accused of ingratitude. Geffcken (Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* Simonides 2) follows Wilamowitz (*Sappho und Simonides*, p. 211) in claiming these verses as a toast, a "Trinkspruch," but the discovery of the epigraphical text vindicates them, as they were claimed in antiquity, as a dedicatory epigram.

and the spacing of the letters was so calculated as to span the available distance evenly.[1]  A further deduction may be made that the two figures, which must have faced the spectator as he read the inscription, stood side by side[2] and not one behind the other.

The question naturally arises whether the base now in part preserved should be associated with the earlier group of the tyrannicides made by Antenor or with the later group made by Kritios.  The choice of date for the inscription must thus be either 510/09 (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.,* XXXIV, 17) or 477/6 (Marmor Parium: ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀδειμάντου). In spite of the fact that letter forms alone cannot give formal proof one way or the other in the last years of the sixth century or in the very early years of the fifth century, there are certain close similarities between the inscription here published and the Marathon epigrams, the Hekatompedon inscriptions, and the Leagros base (No. 2, below) which make the later date the more probable.  There are also differences between this inscription and known earlier documents, like the first Attic decree (*I.G.,* I², 1) and the Kallimachos dedications (*I.G.,* I², 609) which seem to exclude it from a date so early as 510.

The Leagros base can be dated with great probability not long before the Persian capture of Athens.[3]  Leagros died while serving as general in 464, he was a contemporary of Themistokles, his name appears on καλός-vases of the late sixth century, and he could hardly have been of age to make an important dedication by the altar of the Twelve Gods in the very centre of the Athenian market before the time of Marathon.  This is, of course, somewhat hypothetical reasoning, but the span of his life is well-known, and it is fairly well established that Leagros could have been only about thirty-five years of age in 490.[4]  His dedication to the Twelve Gods is recorded below as No. 2.[5]  One can see in the photograph that the letter theta is made with a circle which contains at its centre another much smaller circle.  This very exceptional form of the letter occurs also on the Harmodios inscription here published, and gives the first close link in time between them.  Furthermore, this theta is not a variant of the cart-wheel theta (⊕) but an elegant form of the dotted theta (☉), in which the dot was replaced by the small circle.  This again is an argument for the late date of the Leagros base and of the Harmodios dedication, for the cart-wheel theta was still being used in the first Attic decree (Kirchner, *Imagines,* no. 12) which was passed after the dedication of Antenor's group of the tyrannicides, and it continued to have favor down into the fifth century, appearing in both the verses for Kallimachos, before and after Marathon (cf. Kirchner, *Imagines,* no. 17).[6]

---

[1] As, for example, was done with the Peisistratid inscription on the altar of Pythian Apollo.  Cf. *I.G.,* I², 761 = Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum,* no. 11.

[2] For this judgment see also Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks,* p. 199.

[3] For Leagros, see *P.A.,* 9028.

[4] See E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik,* pp. 48—54.

[5] See also Shear, *Hesperia,* IV (1935), pp. 356—357.

[6] Cf. Wilhelm, *Anz. Ak. Wien,* 1934, pp. 111—117.

But in private dedications, the dotted theta can be found in the late sixth century,[1] though it is rare, and one would have to content himself with the admission that the letter-form is not necessarily characteristic of 477 as against 510, were it not for the fact that this very exceptional form found on the Leagros base and in the Harmodios dedication has the elaborate small-circle dot, which in a more elaborate form still is also found in the punctuation of two other definitely dated inscriptions, both of them after Marathon, where we wish (from our knowledge of Leagros' life) to put the Leagros base. Instead of the usual dot-punctuation both the Marathon epigrams (Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 18) and the Hekatompedon inscriptions (485/4: Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 19) use the tiny circle with a compass point in the centre. All the known examples on stone of a very peculiar epigraphical eccentricity are thus dated after the battle of Marathon,[2] one date being definitely 485/4. It is probable, therefore — and so much may, I think, be legitimately claimed — that the Harmodios and Aristogeiton base here published was made for the new statues of Kritios to replace the old base which had been destroyed or damaged when the Persians carried off the first group made by Antenor. The other letters are not so significant, but they are not out of place in 477.

The epigram on Antenor's base, like the epigrams of Simonides and of Aeschylus on the cenotaph for those who fell at Marathon, was not available to the collectors who made the anthologies.[3] But the Marathon monument was not replaced after the Persian destruction, as were the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. The natural assumption is that the inscription from the old base was carved again on the new, so that even though the stone and the lettering of the epigram are of 477 the epigram itself is probably the same as that of 510.


### DEDICATION BY LEAGROS TO THE TWELVE GODS


**2.** Inscribed statue base of Pentelic marble found on March 19, 1934 *in situ* set against the west face of a poros foundation, the temenos wall of the altar of the Twelve Gods, in Section H'.

Height, 0.56 m.; width, 0.56 m.; length, 0.785 m.

Height of letters (not *stoichedon*), 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 1597.

---

[1] See Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 13; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, especially p. 115.

[2] Two inscriptions on bronze bowls from the Acropolis, published with facsimile drawings in *J.H.S.*, XIII (1892/3), pl. VI, nos. 11 and 12, show the same form of theta, but give no help in fixing the date. Precise comparison between stone and bronze is hazardous. I am indebted to Mr. Raubitschek for calling these bronzes to my attention. He also informs me (by letter) that the same theta appears in *I.G.*, I², 745.

[3] Oliver, *Hesperia*, II (1933), p. 490.

For the topographical significance in identifying the altar of the Twelve Gods, see Shear, *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 356, and photograph, p. 357.



No. 2
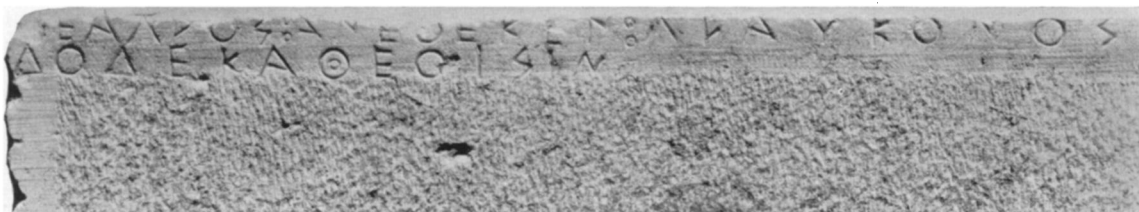
*ca.* 490–480 B.C.

[*Λ*]έαγρος : ἀνέθεκεν : Γλαύκονος
δόδεκα θεοῖσιν

The date of the inscription, and the identification of Leagros, have been discussed in the commentary on No. 1. The following notes are added in order to give a more detailed description of the stone itself. About the bottom of the stone a band about 0.13 m. high was left unfinished on the three exposed sides. This projects *ca.* 0.025 m. beyond the finished surfaces above, which would seem first to have been dressed smooth all over, and then to have been stippled by a fine pointed chisel driven with short vertical strokes. Along every edge, however, a band (0.025–0.03 m.) was left smooth. The back of the stone was treated differently, being first picked fairly smooth and then given a drafting of *ca.* 0.04 m. along the edges.

The top of the stone is smooth; in its surface are dowel cuttings for a statue which stood facing west with right foot slightly advanced. For each foot there were two dowels, one from the heel and one from the ball. The lower ends of the bronze dowels for the balls of the feet remain in place imbedded in lead; of the other dowels only the lead packing remains. It appears that the statue was carefully removed, with the rear dowels chipped free and those in front broken off.

It is evident from the hard-packed stratification that was found by the excavators above the base that the removal had taken place not later than early Roman times;[1] it may well have been at the time of the Persian invasion.

The inscription runs along the smooth band at the top of the front face. In the upper line the tops of the letters have been worn away by traffic over the base after the disappearance of the statue. The writing starts at the extreme left edge of the stone, but the upper line occupied only 0.48 m. of the total length of 0.785 m.

---

[1] I am indebted to Homer Thompson for this report.

## PRAISE OF THE SIGEIANS

**3.** Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the original back and left side preserved and also a part of the moulding above the inscribed face, found on January 31, 1934 in the loose earth close to the surface in Section K.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.112 m.
Height of letters, in line 1, 0.014 m.; in lines 2 ff., 0.009 m.
Inv. No. I 1276.

The inscription is *stoichedon*. Five lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.077 m. and five columns (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.071 m.

The fragment belongs with a piece already published as *I.G.*, I², 32 and now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (EM 6800), though there is no point of contact between them. Photographs of both fragments are given on the opposite page.

451/0 B.C.            ϹΤΟΙΧ. 23

$$\Sigma \iota \gamma [\grave{\varepsilon} \iota \acute{\varepsilon} o \nu]$$
$$[\overset{\acute{}}{\varepsilon}] \delta o \chi \sigma \varepsilon \nu \ \tau \tilde{\varepsilon} [\iota \ \beta o \lambda \tilde{\varepsilon} \iota \ \varkappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \ \tau \tilde{o} \iota \ \delta \acute{\varepsilon}]$$
$$[\mu] o \iota \cdot \ O \grave{\iota} \nu \varepsilon [\grave{\iota}] \varsigma \ [\grave{\varepsilon} \pi \varrho \upsilon \tau \acute{\alpha} \nu \varepsilon \upsilon \ \ldots]$$
$$[.] \varsigma \ \grave{\varepsilon} \gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \acute{\alpha} \tau [\varepsilon \upsilon \varepsilon \ \ldots ? \ldots \grave{\varepsilon}]$$

5    $$\pi \varepsilon \sigma \tau \acute{\alpha} \tau \varepsilon \ \acute{A} \nu [\tau \acute{\iota} \delta o \tau o \varsigma \ \overset{\overset{}{}}{\varepsilon} \varrho \chi \varepsilon \ldots]$$
$$[o] \chi \acute{\iota} \delta \varepsilon \varsigma \ \varepsilon [\overset{\overset{}{}}{\iota}] \pi [\varepsilon \ ^{\upsilon} \ \grave{\varepsilon} \pi \alpha \iota \nu \acute{\varepsilon} \sigma \alpha \iota \ \mu \grave{\varepsilon} \nu]$$
$$[\Sigma \iota] \gamma \varepsilon \iota \varepsilon \tilde{\upsilon} [\sigma] \iota \nu \ [\acute{o} \varsigma \ \overset{\overset{}{}}{\upsilon} \sigma \iota \nu \ \grave{\alpha} \nu \delta \varrho \acute{\alpha} \sigma \iota]$$
$$[\nu \ \grave{\alpha} \gamma] \alpha \theta o \tilde{\iota} \varsigma \ \grave{\varepsilon} \varsigma \ [\tau \grave{o} \nu \ \delta \tilde{\varepsilon} \mu o \nu \ \tau \grave{o} \nu \ \acute{A} \theta]$$
$$[\varepsilon \nu \alpha \acute{\iota} o \nu \ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]$$

          lacuna

10   $$[- - - - - - - - - - - - \grave{\varepsilon} \nu \ \sigma]$$
$$[\tau \acute{\varepsilon} \lambda \varepsilon \iota \ \lambda \iota \theta \acute{\iota}] \nu \varepsilon \iota \ \tau [\acute{\varepsilon} \lambda \varepsilon \sigma \iota \ \tau o \tilde{\iota} \varsigma \ \Sigma]$$
$$\iota \gamma \varepsilon [\iota \tilde{o}] \nu \ \varkappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \ \varkappa \alpha \tau \alpha \theta \acute{\varepsilon} \tau o \ \grave{\varepsilon} \mu \ \pi \acute{o} [\lambda \varepsilon]$$
$$\iota \ \varkappa \alpha \theta \acute{\alpha} \pi \varepsilon \varrho \ \alpha \grave{\upsilon} \tau o \grave{\iota} \ \delta \acute{\varepsilon} o \nu \tau \alpha \iota \ \overset{\overset{}{}}{o} \pi o$$
$$\varsigma \ \overset{\overset{}{}}{\alpha} \nu \ \overset{\overset{}{}}{\varepsilon} \iota \ \gamma \varepsilon \gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \acute{\varepsilon} \nu o \nu \ \varkappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \ \mu \grave{\varepsilon} \ \grave{\alpha} \delta$$

15   $$\iota \varkappa \tilde{o} \nu \tau \alpha \iota \ \mu \varepsilon \delta \grave{\varepsilon} \ \acute{\upsilon} \varphi' \ \acute{\varepsilon} \nu \grave{o} \varsigma \ \tau \tilde{o} \nu \ \grave{\varepsilon} \nu \ \tau$$
$$\overset{\overset{}{}}{\varepsilon} \iota \ \grave{\varepsilon} \pi \varepsilon \acute{\iota} \varrho o \iota \ \ \ \ \ \text{vacat}$$

The lettering is characteristic of the middle of the fifth century, and the three-barred sigma indicates a date earlier than 447/6. Within the available period the only archon whose name begins with Ἀν - - - (line 5) is Ἀντίδοτος, and the inscription may thus be dated definitely in 451/0.

In lines 5–6 one is tempted to restore the name of the orator as [Ἀνδοκ]ίδες, who was general in 446/5 and one of the envoys sent to Sparta to negotiate the Thirty
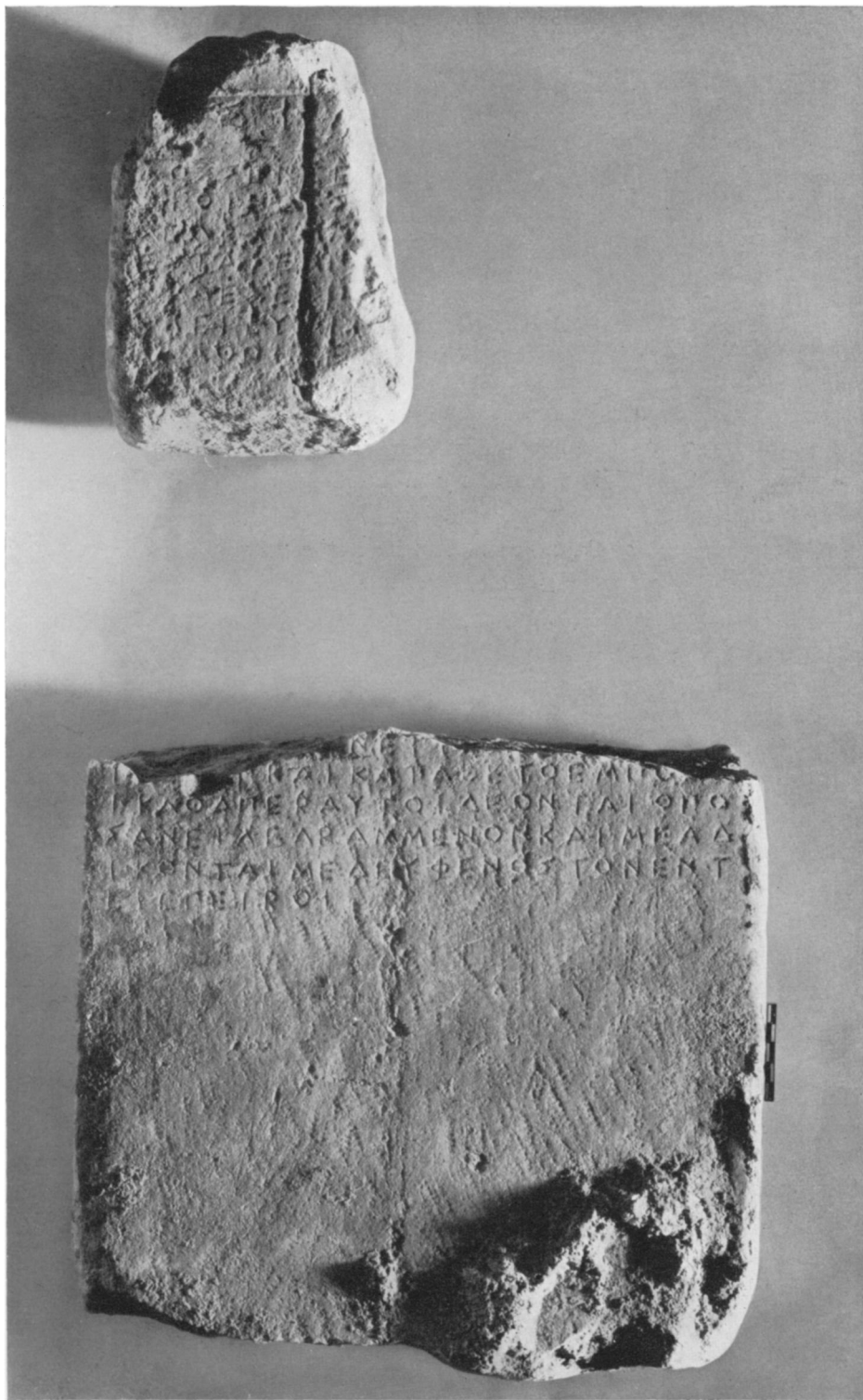
No. 3.  Praise of the Sigeians (Agora I 1276 above and EM 6800 below)

Years' Peace in the same year (cf. *P.A.*, 827). But the letter before the iota, though only faintly discernible on the stone, seems to have been chi rather than kappa, and I attempt no restoration.

In lines 11–12 more can be read than is given in the *Corpus*, and I restore [Σ]ιγε[ιõ]ν. The contracted form here is normal for the fifth century,[1] though I suspect that the uncontracted form appears in the heading, where a symmetrical arrangement of the letters demands Σιγ[ειέον] rather than Σιγ[ειõν].

From lines 13–16 it is evident that the Sigeians were anxious to secure and have always a ready chance for appeal to Athenian protection. The prospective enemy was not named, nor in such decrees was it the practice to name him, but the danger was expected from the landward side, where effective encroachment that would need Athenian help would be most apt to come from the king of Persia or his satraps, and doubtless the Sigeians had the Great King especially in mind when they asked for a guarantee of protection from Athens.

Inasmuch as protection against Persia had been the very reason for the founding of the Delian League, it is surprising that Sigeion should have to make such a point of protection in 451/0 if she were already a member of the League, and it is a fact worth noting that the name Sigeion first appears in the tribute-quota lists in 450/49 (cf. *S.E.G.*, V, 5 [col. IV, line 25]), just one year after the date of the decree here published, and in the first year of the so-called second assessment period. Although the body of the decree is lost, the preserved beginning and end make it seem possible that we possess part of the official documentation which attended Sigeion's entry into the League. The decree shows at the same time how Athens extended her control at the expense of Persia before their relative spheres of influence were fixed in Anatolia by the Peace of Kallias.

### THE STATUE OF ATHENA PROMACHOS

**4.** Two fragments of Pentelic marble containing part of the accounts for the statue of Athena Promachos (*I.G.*, I², 338).

Fragment X was found on November 28, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section II. It is broken on all sides and at the back.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.093 m.
Height of letters, 0.01–0.012 m.
Inv. No. I 2228.

The writing is *stoichedon*, with some irregularities. Five lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.06 m.; eight letters, measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.10 m.

---

[1] Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, pp. 141–142.

Fragment Y was found on October 1, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ. It is broken at the back and on all sides except the right, where the badly battered surface seems to represent the original edge, though none of the actual smooth surface is now preserved.

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.
Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.
Inv. No. I 2181.
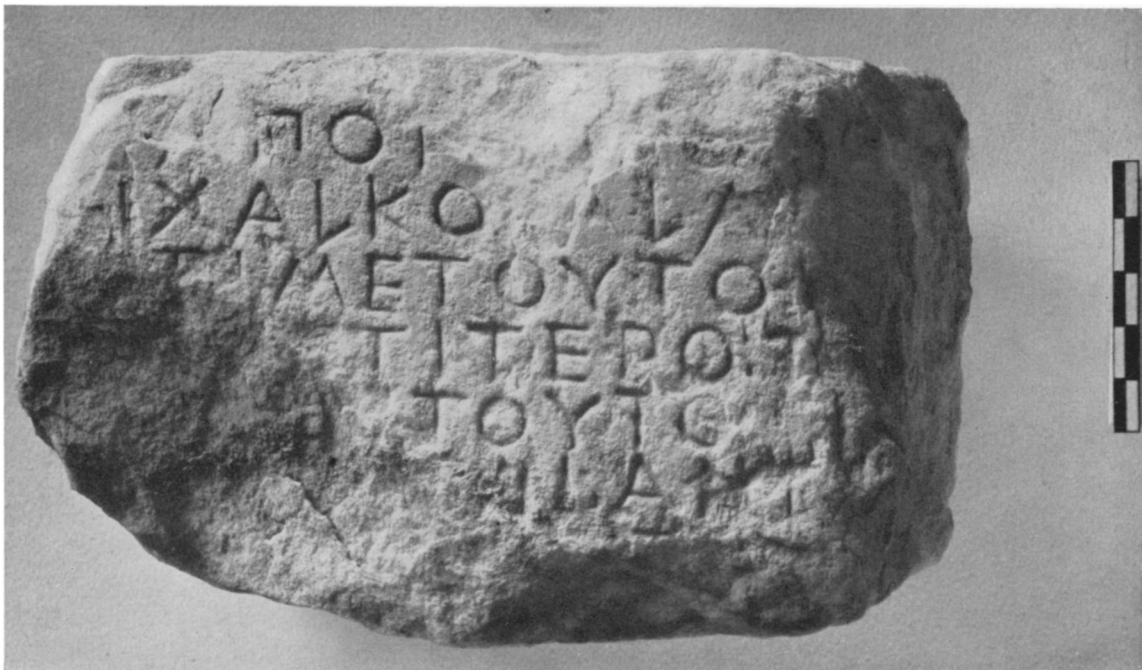


Fragment X of No. 4, belonging with *I.G.*, I², 338

The writing is *stoichedon*, with irregularities. Ten lines occupy a vertical space of 0.133 m.; eight letters, measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.09–0.10 m.

The discovery of these two fragments makes possible a more satisfactory reconstruction of the entire document than has been attempted hitherto. In particular, Fragment X exhibits along its upper surface the same curiously smooth line of cleavage in the marble that has already been observed along the upper surface of Fragment B and the lower surface of Fragment A of *I.G.*, I², 338. Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, XXV [1921], pp. 118–129) showed the significance of this fracture for the correct placing of the fragments, and these two pieces have been correctly disposed in relation to each other in the text now published in the *Corpus*. Four years ago Meritt identified two additional pieces of the same stele (*A.J.A.*, XXXVI [1932], pp. 473–476), and by virtue of the same fracture

Fragment Y of No. 4, belonging with *I.G.*, I², 338

along the bottom surface of one of them (EM 6722) was able to place them accurately in the composite inscription. The small piece now published as Fragment X under the present number can also be placed by means of this line of fracture, and in its proper position it unites the text of the old fragments in the *Corpus* by bridging the gap between the last column and the column immediately preceding it. The single omicron preserved in the first line of Fragment X is, in fact, the first omicron of the word πϱοτέϱο in line 13 of the text in the *Corpus,* and the numerals of lines 15 and 17–18 in the *Corpus* represent the value of the copper and tin, respectively, described in Fragment X. The proper disposition of the fragment is shown in the facsimile on p. 366.

Fragment Y does not make any contact with the other pieces of the inscription, but its position along the right edge of the stele seems assured, and I have given to it in the facsimile drawing and in the text here published a location which must be approximately correct, though it might well be shifted either higher or lower by a few lines. Aside from the fact that the battered right surface seems of itself to represent the original edge of the stone, one may note that the proximity of the edge is indicated also by the crowding of letters in the word ἔλαβ[ον] in the third line from the bottom. The lines of text throughout the document were so arranged as to end regularly in complete words or syllables, and account of this fact must be taken in making the restoration.

Inasmuch as the new fragments can hardly be studied apart from their relation to the old, I have thought it best to present a drawing which shows the relative position of the eight pieces which can be definitely placed. This drawing, with the restorations shown in dotted letters, appears on p. 366. The mere physical process of arranging the drawing has contributed much to the determination of restorations, for, even though the inscription is in large part *stoichedon*, the irregularities are numerous and the spacing (both horizontally and vertically) varies considerably in different parts of the document. Almost every line must, in consequence, be considered as a separate problem. Fragment D is so preserved as to show that at least one column must have existed to the left of it. Since the drawing here given represents the last two columns of the inscription, it is clear that there were originally at least three columns in all. One small group of numerals from the first column has been preserved (Fragments F + E: *I. G.,* I², 338, Col. I, lines 1–11), but I have made no attempt to include these in the drawing. They play no part in the restoration of the rest of the inscription, and in any case the fragment could not be accurately placed, even laterally, because it is not certain whether there were merely three columns, or perhaps more. I believe three the probable number, but it cannot be considered absolutely certain. For the sake of completeness, however, I give the text of these numerals from Col. I here:[1]



The text of *I. G.,* I², 338 must be supplemented by reference to *A. J. A.,* XXXVI (1932), pp. 473–476, where two additional fragments were published, and where some changes in restoration and reading of the already known pieces were suggested. One of these new pieces seems to preserve the rough top of the stele, and the numbering of the lines in the present text, which for convenience will be called Cols. II and III, has been made with reference to this original top of the stone.

---

[1] In line 3 the numeral following X was either ⊓̄, H, or Γ̄. The left hasta is preserved.

EM 6722

ANΘPAKEΣKAIXSYLAKAYΣIMA
KAΘEMEPANMIΣΘOEMIΣΘOIKATAPPY
TANEIANMIΣΘOIAPOPAXS
TPIX
MIΣΘOIEPIΣTATEΣI
ΔIH
ΛEM
KEΦAΛAIONANAΛOMATOS
ΣYNPANTOS
PEPIEΛENETOTOΛEMMATOS
EΣTOHYΣTEPONETOS

TEIAPXEIKAΛΛIΣTPATOΣEAPAMMA
TEYE
A            ΣEPIΣTATAI
EΛABONPAPAKOΛAKPETON
ΛEMMAPEPIΛENOMENON
EKTOPPOTEPOENIAYTO

EM 4498

MIΣΘOIEPIΣTATEΣIKAIΛPAM            A
MATEIENTOIETEI
KEΦAΛAIONANAΛOMATOS
ΣYNPANTOS
PEPIEΛENETOTOΛEMMATOS
EΣTOHYΣTEPONETOS

TEIAPXEI            ΣEAPAMMATEYE
                    NEPIΣTATAI
EΛABONPAPAKOΛAKPETON
ΣYNPAN
ΛEMMAPEPIΛENOMENONEKTO            X
PPOTEPOENIAYTO
APOTO  TON
IXAΛKOTAΛANTA:
TIMETOYTO
KATTITEPO:TAΛANTA
TIMETOYTO
TAΛANTA:
TIMETOYTO

B
                ENTOIEPAΣT
        EΣOIKOΔOMIANXP
KAMINON
ANΘPAKEΣKAIXSYΛAYΣIMA   HH
                        ΔΠ
MIΣΘOIKAΘEMEPANMIΣΘOIKATA  HH
PPYTANEIANMIΣΘOIAPOPAXS

MIΣΘOIEPIΣTATEΣIKAIΛPAM
MATEIENTOIETEI
APΛYPIONASEMONESPOIKIΛI
ANTOAΛAΛMATOS
KEΦAΛAIONANAΛOMATOS
ΣYNPANTOS
PEPIEΛENETOTOΛEMMATOS
EΣTOHYΣTEPONETOΣ

TEIAPXEI            EAPAMMATEYE
                    EPIΣTATAI
C
EΛABONPAPAKOΛAKPETON
ΛEMMAPEPIΛENOMENON
EKTOPPOTEPOENIAYTO
                    PΛ
XAΛKOTAΛANTA:ATTTTEYΘOIKA
TIMETOYTO
KATTITEPOTAΛANTA:PTT
TIMETOYTO

            ENTOIEPAΣI
        EΣOIKOΔOMIANKAMINON
    ANΘPAKEΣKAIXSYLAKAYΣIMA
MIΣΘOIKAΘEMEPANMIΣΘOIKATAPPY
TANEIANMIΣΘOIAPOPAXS
APΛYPIONASEMONESPOIKIΛIAN
TOAΛAΛMATOS
MIΣΘOIEPIΣTATEΣIKAIΛPAMMA
TEITOIENTOIETEI
KEΦAΛAIONANAΛOMATOS
PEPIEΛENETOTOΛEMMATOS
EΣTOHYΣTEPONETOS

D
ΔΔΔ
PHII
ΔΔΔ
HHΔΔΔ
ΗΙΙ
XPHHHH
ΔΔΗΙΙ
MXXHHΔPΠH
ΔHHΔΔΔ

ANΘPAKEΣKAIXSYΛAKAYΣIMA            Y
MIΣΘOIKAΘEMEPANMIΣΘOIKATA
PPYTANEIANMIΣΘOIAPOPAXS

MIΣΘOIEPIΣTATEΣIKAIPAMMA
TEIENTOIETEI
KEΦAΛAIONANAΛOMATOSSYNPAN
PEPIEΛENETOTOΛEMMATOS
EΣTOHYΣTEPONETOS

TEIAPXEI            EAPAMMATEYE
                    EPIΣTATAIEΛABON
PAPAKOΛAKPETONΣYNPAN
TOPEPIEΛENOMENONEKTOPPO
TEPOENIAYTO

Drawing of *I.G.*, I², 338

TEXT OF *I.G.*, I², 338

| Col. II | Col. III |
|---|---|

12 lines lost

[ἄνθρακε]ς κ[αὶ χσύλα καύσιμα]
[καθ' ἐμέ]ρα[ν μισθοί, μισθοὶ κατὰ πρυ]
15  [τανεί]αν, μ[ισθοὶ ἀπόπαχς]
[. . .⁵. . .]τριχ[- - - - - - - - - -]
[μισθοὶ] ἐπ[ιστάτεσι - - - - - -]
[. . .⁵. . .]αι  h[- - - - - - - - - -]
[. . .⁵. . .]λεμ[- - - - - - - - - -]
20  [κεφάλ]αιο[ν ἀναλόματος]
[σύνπα]ντο[ς]
[περιε]γέν[ετο] τὸ λέ[μματος]
[ἐς τὸ h]ύστ[ερ]ον ἔτο[ς]
     vacat
25  [τἐι ἀρχἐι Κ]αλ[λίστ]ρατος ἐγραμμά
[τευε . . .⁶. . .]α[ς . . .⁵. . .]ς ἐπι[στάται]
[ἔλαβο]ν π[αρὰ κολακ]ρε[τῶν]
[λἔμμα] πε[ριγενόμενον]
[ἐκ τὸ π]ρο[τέρο ἐνιαυτὸ]
30  [. . .⁶. . .]τ[- - - - - - - - -]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
35  - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[. . . . .ᶜᵃ·¹³. . . . . . ἐν τῶι ἔργ]οι
[. . . . .ᶜᵃ·¹³. . . . . ἐς οἰκο]δομίαν
[καμίνον]
40  [ἄνθρακες καὶ χσύλα κ]αύσιμα
- - - - - - - - - - - vacat
[μισθοὶ καθ' ἐμέραν μι]σθοὶ κατὰ
[πρυτανείαν μισθοὶ ἀ]πόπαχς
     vacat
45  [μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτεσι κ]αὶ γρα[μ]
[ματεῖ ἐν τῶι ἔτει]
[ἀργύριον ἄσεμον ἐς] ποικιλί
[αν τὸ ἀγάλματος]

Col. III

22 lines lost

[. . . . . . .¹⁵. . . . . . .] vacat
[μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτε]σι καὶ γρ[αμ]
[ματεῖ ἐν τῶι ἔτ]ει [[ἔτει]]   25
[κεφάλαιον ἀν]αλόματος
[σύνπαντος]
[περιεγένετ]ο τὸ λέμματος
[ἐς τὸ hύστε]ρον ἔτος
     vacat   30
[τἐι ἀρχἐι . . .⁶. . .]ς : ἐγραμμάτευε
[. . . . . . .¹⁴. . . . . .]ν : ἐπιστάται
[ἔλαβον πα]ρὰ κολακρετὸν
[σύνπαν]
[λἔμμα περιγ]εν[όμεν]ον : ἐ[κ τὸ]   35
[πρ]ο[τέρο ἐνιαυτὸ]
Γ - - -   ἀπὸ το . το - - - - - -
ΧΗ - - - ⼀Ι  χαλκὸ : τάλα[ντα : - - - - - -]
vacat  τιμὲ τούτο vacat
ΗΗ - - -  [κα]ττιτέρο : τ[άλαντα - - -]   40
ΔΓ - - -  [τιμ]ὲ τούτο vacat
ΗΓ - -   [. . . .] τάλαντα [- - - - - -]
- - - -   [τιμὲ το]ύτ[ο]
- - - -   - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - -   - - - - - - - - - - - -   45
- - - -   - - - - - - - - - - - -
Μ - - -   - - - - - - - - - - - -

[κεφάλαιον ἀναλόματ]ος    H - - -    - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

50   [σύνπαντος]                Δ - - -    - - - - - - - - - - - - - -   50

[περιεγένετο τõ λέμμ]ατος    X - - -    - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

[ἐς τὸ hύστερον ἔτος]

           vacat                 [ἄνθρακες καὶ χσ]ύλα καύσιμ[α]

[τε͂ι ἀρχε͂ι . . . ⁷ . . . ἐγραμμ]άτενε       [μισθοὶ καθ᾽ ἑμέραν] μισθοὶ κατ[ὰ]

55   [. . . . . . . ¹⁶ . . . . . . . ἐπισ]τάτ[αι]    [πρυτανείαν μισθ]οὶ ἀπόπαχς   55

[ἔλαβον παρὰ κολα]κρετ͂[ον]           [. . . . . . . ¹⁵ . . . . . . .] vacat

[λε͂μμα περιγενό]μενον              [μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτεσ]ι καὶ γραμμ[α]

[ἐκ τõ προτέρο ἐν]ιαυτõ             [τε͂ι ἐν τõι ἔτει]

[. . . . . . ¹³ . . . . . .]ρα               [κεφάλαιον ἀναλόμ]ατος σύνπα[ν]

60   [χαλκõ τάλαντα:] ⟑TTTT E[ὐβοϊκά]      [περιεγένετο τõ λέμ]ματος

[τιμὲ τούτο]                         [ἐς τὸ hύστερον ἔτος]   60

[καττιτέρο τάλ]αντα: ⊓TT - -                vacat

[τιμὲ τούτο]                 [τε͂ι ἀρχε͂ι . . . . ⁸ . . . . ἐγραμ]μάτευε

[. . . . . ¹³ . . . . . ἐ]ν τõι ἔργο[ι . . ⁵ . .]   [. . . . . . ¹⁴ . . . . . ἐπιστάτ]αι ἔλαβ[ον]

65   [. . . . ⁸ . . . . ἐς οἰκ]οδομίαν κα[μίνον]   [παρὰ κολακρετõν σύν]παν   65

[. . . .]ΔΔΔΓⱵ [- - - ἄνθρακες κ]αὶ χσύλα κα[ύσιμα]   [τὸ περιγενόμενον ἐ]κ τõ πρ[ο]

[. X]ⱮHII  μ[ισθοὶ καθ᾽ ἐμέ]ραν μισθοὶ κ[ατὰ πρυ]   [τέρο ἐνιαυτõ] vacat

              τα[νείαν μισθο]ὶ ἀπόπαχς          - - - - - - - - - - - -

[.]ΔΓⱵ   γ[- - - - - -]    vacat              - - - - - - - - - - - -

70  [.]HHⱤΔΔΔ  ἀ[ργύριον ἄσεμ]ον ἐς ποι[κιλίαν]

[.]ⱵII   τõ [ἀγάλματος]

XⱮHHHH  μ[ισθοὶ ἐπιστ]άτεσι κα[ὶ γραμμα]

ⱤΔⱵⱵII  τ[ε͂ι τõι ἐν τõι] ἔτει

MXXHHΔΓⱵⱵ [. κεφάλαιον] ἀναλόματ[ος]

75  ⱮHHⱤΔΔΔ  π[εριεγένετ]ο τõ λέμματ[ος]

[. .]I   ἐ[ς τὸ hύστερ]ον ἔτος

             vacat                  remainder of Col. III lost

     Dinsmoor's interpretation of the inscription (*A.J.A.*, XXV [1921], pp. 118–129) as the record of the overseers who had charge of the statue of Athena Promachos is made even more secure by the discovery of the new fragments.[1] For the first time copper and tin are actually mentioned among the supplies purchased for the work (Col. III, lines 38 and 40), and the purchase of coals and firewood, evidently used in the smelting operations, was continued at least as late as the eighth year of the record. If it is granted that

---

    [1] E. Pfuhl, " Die große eherne Athena des Phidias," *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII (1932), pp. 151–157 (especially 156), doubts Dinsmoor's attribution of the inscription. On stylistic grounds which depend largely on representations on coins and on possible adaptations in terracotta he argues for a date for the Athena Promachos in the 'forties shortly after the Peace of Kallias. The difference in date is slight, but the epigraphical evidence places the statue quite definitely in the 'fifties, before the Peace of Kallias.

the disposition of the inscription in three columns is correct the making of the statue occupied nine years, for each column seems to contain the accounts of three years. This is certainly true of the last two columns, of which the text is given here.

From year to year there are recurring phrases which give aid in restoring the text. The verb ἔλαβον, which appears in Col. III, line 63, may now be restored in Col. II, lines 27 and 56 and in Col. III, line 33. Of more importance is the fact that the first purchases of the eighth year were copper and tin, and that the formulae of the record may also be restored in Col. II, lines 60 and 62, where the weight of the copper and the tin purchased in the sixth year has been preserved.

These items belong to the expenses of the year, not to the receipts as Dinsmoor supposed. Surely, the calculations of amounts of metal required could hardly have been so far wrong during the early years of purchasing as to make possible the sale of unnecessary material in quantity as early as the sixth year and again in the eighth year, especially since the use of coals and firewood (Col. III, line 52) shows that smelting was still going on in the eighth year. There is, I believe, no separate rubric heading dividing receipts from purchases unless one can be restored in Col. II, lines 30 and 59, and in Col. III, line 37, by a combination of the readings to give π[. . .⁶. . .] ἀπὸ το[ύ]το [. .⁵. .]ρα.[1] Expenditures are also recorded in Col. II, lines 37–39 and 64–65, where the two entries in the record can be given an identical wording by utilizing the space at the end of lines 64–65. The expense was concerned with the construction of something (κα - - - -) intimately connected with the making of the statue, for which the conjecture κα[μίνον] "furnaces" may be hazarded as probable. There is exactly room for five letters after the preserved κα - - - - of line 65; the word appeared alone in the more generously spaced text of line 39 above.

The text here given differs from that of Dinsmoor in the numerals of Col. II, lines 66, 67–68, and 69. In line 66 the offset of the phrase [ἄνθρακες κ]αὶ χσύλα κα[ύσιμα] toward the right can be explained only by the assumption of a long numeral. Since the space between the preserved portion of the numeral and the words cannot all be filled with obol signs (no more than five would be allowable), the vertical stroke immediately after Γ must be interpreted as Ⱶ. In lines 67–68 the numeral occupies a bracket position before both lines and two figures are to be restored before the preserved ⲘHII. There is no cross-bar cut on the stone to justify the reading ⲘHH and the reading of two obols is preferable to assuming here, for no apparently good reason, an error for one hundred drachmai. In line 69 only one figure is to be supplied before the preserved ΔΓⱵ.

The second of the two missing figures in the numeral of lines 67–68 can be restored exactly. Neglecting for a moment the unknown expense of the copper and tin of lines 60 and 62 and of the building of the smelting furnaces in lines 64–65, one finds that the

---

[1] The initial letter pi in Col. III, line 37, is very uncertain. I have thought also of kappa or tau, neither one of which is possible here as a numeral showing an amount of money. If either is correct, it should be interpreted as part of a word in some heading defining the expenses listed below it.

minimum of the preserved figures in lines 66–73 amounts to 2898 Dr.  The sum is
obtained by the following addition:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Line | 66 | 36 Dr. |
| Lines 67–68 | | 600 $\frac{1}{3}$ Dr. |
| Line | 69 | 16 Dr. |
| Lines 70–71 | | 282 $\frac{1}{3}$ Dr. (restoring Ⱶ) |
| Lines 72–73 | | 1963 $\frac{1}{3}$ Dr. |
| | | 2898 Dr. |

When this amount is subtracted from the total expenditure (maximum, restoring Ⱶ) of
12218 Dr. in line 74, the remainder (maximum) is 9320 Dr.  It is obvious, therefore, that
the complete numeral in lines 67–68 cannot be supplied as [MX]ⱵHII, for the figures
thus restored would exceed the maximum possible.  The only restorations that can be
made are [XX]ⱵHII and [ⱵX]ⱵHII; the supplement is given in the text now published
as [. X]ⱵHII.

After the numeral of weight in line 60 appears the letter epsilon, which can be no part
of the record of the following line, for that must have contained the phrase τιμὲ τούτο
(cf. Col. III, line 39).  This unique epsilon must modify in some way the expression
χαλκῶ τάλαντα ΔΤΤΤ of the line in which it stands, either as adding some further
fraction of a talent to the weight expressed in figures, or as defining the standard or
kind of talent employed.  The normal way to express the weight of half a talent after
the figures ΔΤΤΤ would be by the addition of the figures XXX, so the possibility of
reading ἥμισυ or ἡμιτάλαντον seems excluded.  In any case the word ἡμιτάλαντον is too
long for the space left at the end of the line, and for both ἥμισυ and ἡμιτάλαντον an
initial rough breathing should be written.  The alternative explanation is the more prob-
able.  The copper was bought and weighed out with talents of the Euboic standard,
and the epsilon in question is the initial letter of the word Ε[ὐβοϊκά] which defines
the standard and exactly fills the available space at the end of the line (cf. drawing
on p. 366).

It is of interest to find in the sixth year that fourteen talents[1] of copper were pur-
chased together with seven talents of tin.  The amount of tin may, of course, have been
greater, for the numeral may be restored to show a weight as high as nine and a half
talents (ⱵΤΤ[ΤΤXXX]).  There is no room here to supply the word Εὐβοϊκά after the
numeral, even assuming that the numeral was ⱵΤΤ; the conclusion is, then, that the
copper was purchased in a market that used the Euboic standard and that the tin was
purchased on the Attic standard.  In this case the difference of standard does not affect
seriously the relative proportion of the metals, for the Euboic was only slightly heavier
than the Attic talent.

---

[1] It should be noted that Pittakys, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1859, no. 3481, read a second Δ in this line.  If more
of the stone was preserved when he saw it, I believe the letter must have been the final Α of τάλαντα.

An alloy of bronze made with fourteen talents of copper and seven talents of tin is extraordinarily high in content of tin. It is practically bell metal. Donald Liddell in *The Metallurgists and Chemists' Handbook* (New York, 1930) gives a table of bronze alloys showing for the old bell metal of Rouen the following analysis:

Copper 71%, zinc 1.8%, tin 26%, lead 1.2%.

In the same table for the bell metal of Harbohn he gives the analysis:

Copper 60%, zinc 5%, tin 35%.

Kurt Kluge (*Die antike Erzgestaltung*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927) laments our lack of knowledge about the alloy of large ancient bronzes (*op. cit.*, p. 217), but he does give the alloy of certain mirrors, which contained two-thirds copper and one-third tin (*op. cit.*, p. 218). The color of this alloy is bright yellow; its melting point is low; it is more easily poured than modern statue bronze; it is hard, not malleable, but may readily be engraved.[1]

It is, of course, not necessary to infer from the proportions of the metal purchased in any given year that this was the proportion of the alloy. Both copper and tin may have been left over from some earlier year, and out of the present purchase some part at least of either or both might not have been used until a subsequent year. Fortunately a control over our deductions as to the alloy is given in the records of the eighth year of work on the Athena Promachos, in the prices paid for the copper and tin as recorded in Col. III, lines 38–41. The copper cost **X H - - - ⊢I**, not less than 1100 Dr. and not more than 1500 Dr.; the tin cost **H H - - - Δ Γ - -**, over 200 Dr. but less than 500 Dr.

It is fortunate that we no longer have to depend for our knowledge of the value of copper on the Homeric ox-talent and the ratio of gold to copper of about 3000 to 1.[2] It is also fortunate that we do not have to follow the chain of evidence outlined for Italy and Sicily by Ridgeway,[3] by which he sought to show that the ratio of silver to copper was as 300 to 1. Our interest is in Athens of the fifth century, before the influx of Persian gold raised relatively the value of silver,[4] and there are preserved two very valuable references, one giving the price of copper, and the other the price of tin, in the record of expense for the statues of Athena and Hephaistos about 420 B.C. In *I.G.*, I², 371, lines 3–4, we find that a talent of copper was worth 35 Dr. and in lines 7–8 we find that a talent of tin was worth 230 Dr. It is probable, therefore, that the amount

---

[1] I am indebted to S. Casson for the additional information that a high content of tin makes the bronze hold its surface and patina better. The gleam when seen from afar, for which the Athena Promachos was famed in antiquity, may have been due in part to the high percentage of tin in the alloy.

[2] Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 5.

[3] William Ridgeway, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 135 and p. 348.

[4] With gold to silver as 14 to 1 in 440/39 (*I.G.*, I², 355; cf. Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 41), the gold to copper ratio of 3000 : 1 corresponds to a silver to copper ratio of 215 to 1 (approximately). In 409/8 (*I.G.*, I², 301; cf. Wade-Gery, *Num. Chron.*, X, Series V [1930], pp. 16–38 and 333–334; Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, pp. 61–62) the gold to silver ratio of 10 to 1, combined with a gold to copper ratio of 3000 to 1, gives a silver to copper ratio of 300 to 1.

of tin recorded in the present text in Col. III, line 40, was two talents.  Allowing for some variation in price between the middle of the century and 420, the numerals of lines 40–41 can best be interpreted as representing the value of two talents of metal. A close estimate of the amount of copper recorded in line 38 is more difficult, but the weight probably lay between 31 and 42 talents.  Inasmuch as the space on the stone at the end of line 38 is limited it seems probable that, if the talents were still weighed on the Euboic standard, the exact amount was either thirty-five or forty talents.  If the word Εὐβοϊκά is restored after the numeral, then the numeral itself can hardly have had more than four letter spaces (ΔΔΔ⊓ or ΔΔΔΔ).  It is perhaps not surprising that the copper was bought on the Euboic standard at a time which was earlier than the Athenian decree for uniform standards of coinage, weights, and measures, especially since Euboea was one of the very early and prolific sources of copper in the Aegean area.[1]

Now, the fact that in the eighth year of work on the statue at least thirty-five talents of copper were purchased and only two talents of tin shows that the proportion of fourteen to seven found in the record of the sixth year does not give a direct key to the metal alloy of the statue itself.  It is only legitimate to say, I believe, that the inscription will give no evidence for the actual alloy used until (if ever) further fragments are found with the records of purchase of copper and tin in other years.

The restoration of Col. III, line 42, is difficult, and I offer here a suggestion in the hope that others may find, perhaps, some way of confirming it, or of substituting another and better word.  The commodity, whatever it was, must have had four letters in the genitive of its name; it must have been sold in bulk and used in sufficient quantity by a bronze caster so that it could be measured in talents; and the price must have been (I believe) less than 100 Dr. per talent.  Possibly πελõ " clay " might be restored.[2]  Clay must have been required in considerable quantities for both the inner and outer cores of each part of the statue before casting.

There is, I believe, one other item of the inscription which can be interpreted with reference to the technical process of making the statue.  In Col. II, line 16, occur the letters [. . ⁵ . .]τριχ[- - - -], which seem to be part of the word τρίχες, meaning " hair." If this supposition is correct, the explanation is probably that the hair (presumably goat's hair) was mingled with the clay of the statue's inner core to prevent its

---

[1] Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 16, calls Euboea the " Greek copper-island."  The mines were near Karystos (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *s. vv. Euboia* and *Karystos*).

[2] A possible restoration is κερõ " wax."  An objection to this supplement is, however, that the amount seems unduly great—especially in view of the fact that the wax used for modeling the statue over the clay core could be recovered after each separate part was cast, and then (unlike the clay) it could be used again.  Most of the wax purchased, surely, must have been bought in the early years.  I am much in debt throughout this discussion to Mr. Stanley Casson for helpful suggestions about the technique of bronze-casting.  Mr. T. Leslie Shear informs me that the bronze head from the Agora in Athens (*Hesperia*, II [1933], pp. 519–527) contained a core of clay mixed with a high percentage of beeswax.  Could this be the " cire perdue " which took the place of the combustible material of the core during the process of casting?  See note on p. 373.

solidifying into a solid lump that could not be broken up and removed after the bronze was cast. The hair itself would be carbonized, leaving a somewhat porous clay mass, easier to break to pieces and remove when the bronze had cooled. Also, for the making of the outer core the addition of hair would add tensile strength to the clay and help to hold it together.[1]

The date of the inscription is a matter of some concern, and the only evidence from the stone itself is that of the forms of letters. Dinsmoor (*A. J. A.*, XXV [1921], p. 127) quite correctly assigns it to the period earlier than 447/6 because of the three-barred sigma. His judgment is that the series of accounts belongs " slightly earlier than the middle of the century." Later (*op. cit.*, p. 129) he attributes it to the period from 465 to 456 B.C. I cannot escape the feeling that the letters belong in the late 'fifties and that the accounts represent the very last years of that period when the three-barred sigma was used. Unfortunately the characteristic letter phi which might help to decide as between 455 and 450 or 449 does not appear a single time in the preserved fragments. But the letter alpha does occur many times. The cross-bar has surprisingly little slope (if any) for a date in the early 'fifties, showing even in the accounts of the fourth year a less antiquated form than, for example, the alphas of *I. G.*, I², 191 of the year 454/3. Rho and beta are consistently rounded. So far as one can tell from the lettering itself the whole document may well have been cut by one hand at the conclusion of work on the statue, a recapitulation on stone of the yearly records kept by the several boards of epistatai. The fact that there is no change in the character of the writing, although the nine years of the record must come at just that time in the middle of the century when changes in letter forms should be particularly noticeable, is an argument in favor of this view. So also is the fact that the inscription is symmetrically spaced upon the stone, as though the stone-cutter knew before he began to cut the first list just how much stone would be required and just how to dispose his text upon it. It must be admitted that such evidence is not conclusive, but from the purely epigraphical point of view it would be most satisfactory to include the whole series of accounts within the span from 460 to 450 rather than to push them back to an earlier date, and to assume that the entire stele was inscribed about 450.

Admittedly non-probative in any formal sense, the evidence for date, such as it is, deserves consideration, for it seems to show that Pheidias, who made the Athena Promachos, had the responsibility for it in the period immediately before his work on

---

[1] I owe the following information to a communication from Casson. Even today in old-fashioned foundries hair, rope, tow, straw, and hay are used in making the core of some hollow castings. The outer core (or mould) is lined on the inside with a mixture of special sand and clay, and then stuffed with hair, tow, and rope. The outer matrix is then removed and the inner core cleaned down on the outside to make room for the poured metal. When the outer matrix is replaced and the metal poured, the core thus stuffed allows gases to escape and permits the casting to cool on the inside at the same rate as on the outside. Blow-holes are reduced to a minimum. When the casting has cooled it is shaken to break the inner case, which is removed through holes at the top and bottom.

the Parthenon and on the Athena Parthenos, and that the famous Zeus at Olympia, also the work of his hand, must be dated either before 459 (which seems improbable) or after the Parthenon. This problem would here lead us too far afield, and I give the evidence of the present inscription as I understand it and refer the reader for further discussion to Miss Richter's book, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, pp. 220–225.

The arrangement of the fragments has made possible a correction of the long accepted restorations κατα[μένια] in Col. II, lines 42–43, and κ[αταμένια?] τα - - - - in Col. II, lines 67–68. In fragment Y (Col. III, lines 53–54) a new rubric dealing with the expense of wages has been discovered, with the reading κατ[- - - - - -], which might of course be interpreted as κατ[αμένια] also, but I suspect a similar rubric in Col. II, lines 14–15 where the restoration seems to end with a word in - - - - αν. The items are regularly of two lines each and (without restoration) may be tabulated as follows:

Col. II, lines 14–15:       [- -ca. 5- -]ρα[- - - - - - - - - - - -]
                             [. . 5 . .]αν μ[- - - - - - - - - -]

Col. II, lines 42–43:       [. . . . . . . .17. . . . . . . .]σθοι κατα
                             [. . . . . . . .17. . . . . . . .]πόπαχς

Col. II, lines 67–68:       μ[. . . . . .11. . . . .]ραν μισθοὶ κ[- -]
                             τα[. . . . .10. . . .]ι ἀπόπαχς

Col. III, lines 53–54:      [. . . . . . .15. . . . . . .] μισθοὶ κατ[.]
                             [- - - - - -ca. 14- - - - - -]οι ἀπόπαχς.

It is, I believe, apparent that the reading καταμένια is in every case incorrect, and that in its place must be substituted the phrase κατὰ πρυτανείαν. This fills the space perfectly in Col. II, lines 42–43 and lines 67–68, where we read:

and

[μισθοὶ καθ᾽ ἐμέραν μι]σθοὶ κατὰ
[πρυτανείαν μισθοὶ ἀ]πόπαχς

μ[ισθοὶ καθ᾽ ἐμέ]ραν μισθοὶ κ[ατὰ πρυ]
τα[νείαν μισθο]ὶ ἀπόπαχς.

In Col. III, lines 53–54 the actual *stoichedon* order is violated, but not seriously so, and the restoration can be safely made:

[μισθοὶ καθ᾽ ἐμέραν] μισθοὶ κατ[ὰ]
[πρυτανείαν μισθ]οὶ ἀπόπαχς.

In Col. II, lines 14–15, not only is the *stoichedon* order violated, for six letters have to be put into the space of five in the uppermost of the two lines, but the order of words is different. It may be observed, however, that the crowding of letters in the

upper line is in one to one correspondence with the next line above: [ἄνθρακε]ς κ[αὶ χσύλα καύσιμα], and that even though the order of words is different the phrases remain the same. The restoration seems certain, as follows:

$$[καθ' ἐμέ]ρα[ν μισθοί, μισθοὶ κατὰ πρυ]$$
$$[τανεί]αν, μ[ισθοὶ ἀπόπαχς].$$

Each rubric records the summation of the yearly wages given for work by the day, by the prytany, and by the job. Whereas the overseers of the Parthenon and the overseers of the Propylaea made payments of wages by the month (*I.G.*, I², 339, line 30; *I.G.*, I², 346, line 67; *I.G.*, I², 352, line 37; *I.G.*, I², 363, line 48; *I.G.*, I², 364, line 31) the overseers of the statue of Athena Promachos made payments of wages by the prytany. It follows from this that the year of the accounts was coterminous with the year of the prytanies, the conciliar year. The knowledge of this fact is a step forward of considerable significance in our understanding of the nature of the Athenian calendar in the fifth century B.C., and its importance is enhanced by further evidence from this same inscription which has been for years at our disposal, but which I, for one, have not until recently recognized.

Side by side with these items of expense, which may properly be called "wages," was given in each year the item of "salary" for the epistatai and their secretary. The record was listed under the rubric: μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτεσι καὶ γραμματεῖ (τõι) ἐν τõι ἔτει.[1] Now the money thus paid out as salary was not for labor by the day, or prytany, or job, but for the entire year during which the epistatai and their secretary were responsible, and the annual character of the expense is emphasized not only by the fact that the money was listed separately from the mere "wages," but also by the addition of the phrase ἐν τõι ἔτει. Such salary was reckoned on a daily basis, and accumulated steadily day after day throughout their year of office. In the year 408/7, for example, we may determine from the building accounts of the Erechtheion the number of days in the sixth prytany of the year as thirty-seven because we know that the architect received a salary of one drachma a day and the assistant secretary a salary of five obols a day for thirty-seven days, and similarly we may determine the number of days in the eighth prytany of 408/7 as thirty-six because the same officials received the same daily wage for thirty-six days.[2] In the inscription here under discussion we could determine the number of days in the year for which the epistatai and their secretary were responsible if we could know the amount of salary which they received and the daily basis for its computation.

The accounts for the statue of Athena Promachos were more compendious than those for the Erechtheion, and the pay of the epistatai and their secretary was summarized in one item. Fortunately, however, the total figure for the sixth year is preserved in Col. II,

---

[1] In Col. III, line 25, the word ἔτει was cut twice, and then the superfluous word was imperfectly erased. There is no room for the traditional restoration ἐν τούτοι ἔτει. I suspect here merely [ἐν τõι ἔτ]ει, as seems required by the spacing, and similar restorations in Col. II, lines 46 and 73 and in Col. III, line 57.

[2] *I.G.*, I², 374, lines 108–112, and lines 256–260; cf. Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 99–100, and *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 108; cf. also Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 28.

lines 72–73, as XᴨHHHHᴦΔⱵⱵⱵII. All the numerals are clear on the stone and there is no need for restoration and its attendant uncertainty. The yearly salary amounted to 1963 $^1/_3$ Dr. This sum should represent, therefore, the exact product of the daily rate multiplied by the number of days in the year. We know neither, but the number of days in the year must surely have been somewhere between 330 and 400, and one expects the daily rate to come out at least to an even number of obols. It is a comparatively short exercise in arithmetic to reduce the 1963 $^1/_3$ Dr. to obols and then to divide the resultant number (11780) by every integer in succession from 330 to 400 to see how many even quotients can be obtained. The discovery is that there is only one: $11780 \div 380 = 31$. The number of days in the year was 380 and the daily rate was thirty-one obols. Even if one were to assume that the daily rate may have been some figure ending in half-obols, or even quarter-obols, the result is no different, for $4 \times 11780$ divided by any integer between 330 and 400 except 380 does not yield an even quotient. It is perhaps problematic how the thirty-one obols were divided between the two epistatai and their secretary, but I suggest two drachmai each per day for the epistatai and seven obols for the secretary. Reference should be made to the fact that in 408/7 the architect of the Erechtheion received one drachma a day and the assistant-secretary received five obols a day (cf. *I.G.*, I², 374, lines 108–112 and lines 256–260). In the latter part of the fourth century an overseer of building operations at Eleusis received two drachmai a day and the antigrapheus received two obols a day (*I.G.*, II², 1673, lines 60–61).

The year of 380 days cannot be interpreted as a conciliar year of the type now known to exist in the period of the Archidamian War, and yet we have just found that these records were kept on the basis of the year of ten prytanies. The conclusion is, I think, inevitable that at the time of this inscription—shortly before the middle of the century—the separate conciliar year had not been introduced and that the conciliar year was regularly equated with the civil year, just as it was after 409.[1] I have long argued that there was definite evidence for the separate existence of the conciliar year as early as 447 B.C., and in the absence of evidence to the contrary I have postulated its introduction by Kleisthenes at the time of the creation of the ten tribes.[2] It now appears that the evidence for which I had searched in vain from the first half of the fifth century has been found. We have to deal in the present instance with an intercalary civil year of thirteen months coterminous with the year of the ten prytanies. The separate conciliar year was introduced at some time between the year VI of the Athena Promachos accounts and year I of the Parthenon accounts. The date of its introduction is thus removed from the time of Kleisthenes, but rather definitely fixed to a time very close to 450 B.C., perhaps a year or two later, or even several years earlier.

It is true that the number of days in the intercalary civil year was 384 and not 380, but the explanation of this discrepancy in the inscription is that the year was reckoned

[1] Cf. Meritt, *Clas. Phil.*, XXV (1930), p. 243.
[2] Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 153.

by prytanies for the purpose of calculating salaries. Since the normal prytany of the intercalary year had thirty-eight days (there were six prytanies of thirty-eight days and four of thirty-nine days) the total reckoning was $10 \times 38 = 380$. In the late fourth century (*I.G.*, II$^2$, 1673, lines 60–61) thirteen months at two drachmai per day were reckoned as 780 Dr., indicating a year of 390 days. This of course was not correct, and the figure was obtained by multiplying the number of days in a " normal " month (there were seven months of thirty days and six months of twenty-nine days) by thirteen. In the late fourth century, the paymaster used a more generous method of computing the salary and paid for more days than there were; in the fifth century the paymaster was less generous, and in an intercalary year underpaid by four days. The difference in results obtained may, of course, be due to the fact that the prytany-count of our Promachos inscription gave a " normal " $10 \times 38 = 380$, while the month-count of the fourth century gave a " normal " $13 \times 30 = 390$. Whatever our explanation of the details may be, I consider the fact established that the epistatai of the sixth year in the Promachos inscription held office for the period of the civil year, that this particular year was intercalary, that it was coterminous with the prytany year, and hence that the conciliar year which we find in the period of the Archidamian War corresponding closely to the solar year and containing approximately 365 or 366 days had not as yet been introduced in Athenian political institutions.

The evidence that the separate conciliar year existed as early as 446 is found in the formula of date of the expense account for the second year of work on the Parthenon (*I.G.*, I$^2$, 340). It seems probable that the dating of the years of the Parthenon record by the name of the first secretary of the Council began in 447, for in 437/6 appears the phrase [ἐπὶ τῆς hενδεκάτε]ς βολῆς, hῖι Π[ε]ιθιάδες πρῶτος ἐ[γραμμάτευε], implying that the record of the first year (447/6) was dated also by the βουλή and its first secretary. There is no need here to give the argument in detail again, for I have presented it in *The Athenian Calendar* (pp. 124–126), and reference has been made to it elsewhere.[1]

It is now possible, I believe, to add still another argument to show that the separate conciliar year, which did not exist at the time of the Promachos accounts, did exist when the Parthenon accounts began. This depends on the observation that the divisions of the year for purposes of scaling pay were made by month in the Parthenon and Propylaea building inscriptions, and by prytanies in the Promachos and Erechtheion inscriptions. In all four cases the public work involved was under the direction of epistatai. There were, then, four separate boards of commissioners, all with similar responsibilities, and two of them divided their year by prytanies and two of them divided their year by months. We now know that the separate conciliar year did not exist at the time of the Promachos and Erechtheion records (where the division was made by prytanies), and the change to a monthly division of the year at the time of the Parthenon and Propylaea records can best be explained as motivated by the existence of a separate

---

[1] Meritt, *Clas. Phil.*, XXV (1930), p. 243; Glotz, *Rev. Arch.*, XXIX (1929), p. 196.

and distinct conciliar year which no longer coincided exactly with the term of office of
the epistatai. If the epistatai were chosen throughout for the period of the civil year,
a prytany division for purposes of calculating pay was possible before the separate
conciliar year was introduced and again after the separate conciliar year had been
abandoned. When, however, the year of the Boule was not coterminous either at beginning
or end with the civil year, the epistatai (holding office for the civil year) could not
without confusion make payments by the prytany. This explains the change of system
which is observable in the Parthenon and Propylaea records, and is further evidence
that the separate conciliar year had actually been introduced as early as 447, for the
first record of monthly payments occurs in the very first year of the Parthenon accounts
(*I.G.*, I², 339, line 30). This agrees too with the fact that these Parthenon and Propylaea
records were awkwardly dated; we have now not only the awkward date but also the
monthly division as evidence for the introduction of the new conciliar year.

From this time on to the end of the century the citation of a year caused trouble
to the Athenians. In 446/5 (*I.G.*, I², 340) the date ἐπὶ τε͂[ς δευτέρας ἀρχε͂ς] h̃ι E[....⁸....
ἐγραμμάτευε] hαλαι[εύς] was correct, but it could not be equated accurately with the
conciliar year defined in the same inscription as [τε͂ι βολε͂ι Ἀντ]ίδο[ρος προ͂τος ἐγραμμάτευε].
None the less, the mention of the first secretary of the council served the practical
purpose of confirming more specifically in point of time the δευτέρα ἀρχή. The confusion
was here not quite so great as in the date of the borrowings in the Archidamian War
(e.g., *I.G.*, I², 324, lines 2–5) where the year was defined in three different ways, only
one of which was actually exact,[1] and by 437/6 a more correct denomination was given
by adding the name of the archon, who spanned in his term of office the same civil
year as the epistatai. The text of *I.G.*, I², 349 reads:

[τοῖς ἐπιστάτεσι h]οῖς Ἀντ[ικλε͂ς χσυ]νγεγραμμάτε[υε],
[ἐπὶ τε͂ς hενδεκάτε]ς βολε͂ς, h̃ι Π[ε]ιθιάδες προ͂τος ἐ[γραμ]
[μάτευε, ἐπὶ Εὐθυμέ]νος ἄρχοντος Ἀθεναίοισιν.

The actual date by ἀρχή is gone, for Antikles was secretary for more than one year,
but the approximately equivalent βουλή is mentioned and the exactly equivalent ἄρχων.

At this point it may be well to consider the calendar character of the year 433/2
in Athens, for the above arguments have a direct bearing upon it. Once granted that
the separate conciliar year was in existence from the middle of the century, its projection
back from 426 and its known correspondences with the civil year, particularly in 433
(*I.G.*, I², 295) and in 432 (the Milesian parapegma) show that the Attic year 433/2
must have been intercalary. For the proof of this, reference may be made to Meritt's
*The Athenian Calendar*, p. 88. Recently, however, West has given a much needed study
of the Delian accounts preserved in *I.G.*, I², 377 and has drawn the conclusion that

---

[1] Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 95.

the year 433/2 must have been ordinary.[1]  There exists, thus, a paradox which must be resolved unless our conception of the calendar is to remain hopelessly confused.

West has been able to establish from the equations between Delian and Athenian months recorded in *I. G.*, I², 377 the following set of correspondences:

|  | *Athens* |  | *Delos* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Archon Krates) | Posideion | —*I.G.*, I², 377, l. 17— | Lenaion (Archon Eupteres 433) |
| 434/3 | Gamelion |  | Hieros |
|  | Anthesterion |  | Galaxion |
|  | Elaphebolion |  | Artemision |
|  | Mounichion |  | Thargelion |
|  | Thargelion |  | Panamos |
|  | Skirophorion |  | Hekatombaion |
| (Archon Apseudes) | Hekatombaion |  | Metageitnion |
| 433/2 | Metageitnion | —*I.G.*, I², 377, ll. 14–15— | Bouphonion |
|  | Boedromion |  | Apatourion |
|  | Pyanopsion |  | Aresion |
|  | Maimakterion |  | Posideion |
|  | Posideion |  | Lenaion (Archon - - - ros 432) |
|  | Gamelion | —*I.G.*, I², 377, ll. 21–22— | Hieros |

These equations depend on restorations in the text of *I.G.*, I², 377, as follows:

1. Lines 16–18: [χρόνος ἄρχ]ει Ποσιδηιὼν μὴν Ἀθήνησι ἄρχοντος Κράτητος, ἐ[ν Δήλωι δὲ Ληναιὼν μὴ]ν ἄρχοντος Εὐπτέρος.

2. Lines 14–15: χρόνος ἄρχει Μεταγειτνιὼν μὴν Ἀθήν[ησιν ἄρχοντος Ἀψεύδος, ἐν] Δήλωι δὲ Βουφονιὼν μὴν ἄρχοντος Εὐπτέρος.

3. Lines 21–23: χρόνος [ἄρχει Ἀθήνησιν Γαμηλιὼν] μὴν ἄρχοντος Ἀψεύδος, ἐν Δήλωι Ἱερὸς [μὴν ἄρχοντος . . . . ᶜᵃ·¹¹ . . . .]ρο

The arguments which have been advanced by West for changing the restorations of the *Corpus* are cogent, and with the text of equations (1) and (2) I can see no possibility of error.  The conclusion that 433/2 must have been ordinary depends, however, on equation (3).  As West observes, the year can be made intercalary at Athens only by equating Hieros (Delian) with intercalary Posideion (Athens).  Since this month would have to be written Ποσιδηιὼν ἐμβόλιμος (or Π. ὕστερος or Π. δεύτερος) West concludes that the space available for restoration is too small to allow its substitution for Γαμηλιὼν, and hence that the month following Posideion was not in fact a second Posideion, and that the year must have been ordinary.

It must be noted, however, that in the lacuna available for restoration West has supplied not only the word Γαμηλιὼν but also the word Ἀθήνησιν.  The normal place for Ἀθήνησιν to appear, as is shown by equations (1) and (2) where this particular part

---

[1] *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII (1934), pp. 1–9.

of the text does not depend on restoration, is after the word μήν.  As a matter of fact the word Ἀθήνησιν does not occur after the word μήν in equation (3), and whether or not there is room to supply it out of order in the preceding lacuna must depend on what other words are to be restored there.  With our knowledge that the conciliar year existed as early as 447, and with the further knowledge that this necessitates an intercalary year in 433/2, the restoration of equation (3) should give the name of the intercalated month in the lacuna, reading χρόνος [ἄρχει ἐμβόλιμος Ποσιδηιὼν] μήν.  The fact that Ἀθήνησιν does not appear in its proper position after μήν is no proof that it must be restored elsewhere, but merely evidence that it was omitted.  Normally, as in equations (1) and (2), the contrast was drawn between the month at Athens and the month at Delos by the antithetical Ἀθήνησιν,— ἐν Δήλωι δέ.  But in equation (3) where Ἀθήνησιν was omitted the appositive particle δέ was also omitted after ἐν Δήλωι, and we have merely χρόνος [ἄρχει ἐμβόλιμος Ποσιδηιὼν] μήν ἄρχοντος Ἀψεύδος, ἐν Δήλωι Ἱερὸς [μὴν ἄρχοντος . . . . ^{ca.}11 . . . .]ρο.  In spite of the omission of Ἀθήνησιν there is no ambiguity about this definition of time, for the name of the archon Apseudes shows that the month Posideion II belonged to the Athenian, and not to the Delian calendar; and the Delian calendar is specified in its turn adequately by the modifiers ἐν Δήλωι and [ἄρχοντος . . . . ^{ca.}11 . . . .]ρο.

The table of correspondences for 433/2 which West has given for the two calendar systems should be revised to read as follows:

|  | *Athens* | *Delos* |
|---|---|---|
| (Archon Apseudes) | Hekatombaion | Metageitnion (Archon Eupteres |
| 433/2 | Metageitnion—*I.G.*, I², 377, ll. 14–15—Bouphonion | 433) |
|  | Boedromion | Apatourion |
|  | Pyanopsion | Aresion |
|  | Maimakterion | Posideion |
|  | Posideion | Lenaion  (Archon - - - ros 432) |
|  | Posideion II —*I.G.*, I², 377, ll. 21–22—Hieros |  |
|  | Gamelion | Galaxion |
|  | Anthesterion | Artemision |
|  | Elaphebolion | Thargelion |
|  | Mounichion | Panamos |
|  | Thargelion | Panamos II |
|  | Skirophorion | Hekatombaion |

The reconstruction of 433/2 in Athens as an intercalary year indicates that 434/3 was ordinary, and the year 432 in Delos should probably be made intercalary to prevent too great a divergence between it and the Athenian calendar and the dates of the solstice.  On both counts, the Delian year 433 should be ordinary, not only to preserve the correspondence indicated by *I.G.*, I², 377 with the Athenian months, but also to avoid at Delos a succession of two intercalary years.
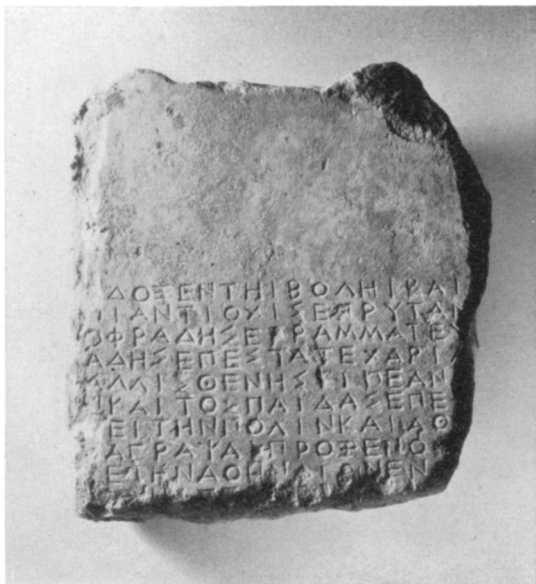
## PROXENY DECREE

**5.** Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the smooth-picked left side and rough-picked back preserved, but otherwise broken, found on March 25, 1934 in the wall of a late Roman building in Section Z.

Height, 0.245 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.073 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 1674.

The letters are arranged *stoichedon*. Eight lines occupy a vertical space of 0.095 m. on the stone, and fifteen letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.175 m. The letters are made with chisels of 0.008 m. and 0.006 m. in breadth.



No. 5

415/4 B.C.                       ΣΤΟΙΧ. 23

[ἔ]δοξεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ [τῶι δήμ]
ωι· Ἀντιοχὶς ἐπρυτάν[ευε . . .]
οφράδης ἐγραμμάτευ[ε . . ⁵ . .]
άδης ἐπεστάτε· Χαρία[ς ἦρχε· Κ]
αλλισθένης εἶπε· Ἀν∠[. . .⁶. . .]
ν καὶ τὸς παῖδας ἐπε[ιδὴ εὖ πο]
[ι]εῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ Ἀθ[ηναίος ἀ]
ναγράψαι πρόξενο[ν καὶ εὐερ]
[γ]έτην Ἀθηναίων ἐν [στήληι λι]
[θί]νηι τε[λεσ]ι[ν το]ῖ[ς ἑαυτῦ . .]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(lines numbered 5 and 10 in left margin)

The inscription may be dated in the eighth prytany of 415/4 because of the name of the archon, which appears in line 4, and because it is known that in this year the tribe Antiochis (line 2) held the eighth prytany.[1] The name of the man, however, who received the rights of proxeny cannot be restored. The first two letters appear in line 5 as **AN**, and these are followed by the tip of a stroke which may be interpreted as **A** or **Δ**; only the lower left corner is preserved. The end of the name appears in line 6 with the letter **N**.

---

[1] See the text of *I. G.*, I², 302 in Meritt's *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 163, lines 71–77.

Whoever the new proxenos and benefactor may have been, we know that he had the stele inscribed at his own expense (line 10). This circumstance accounts for the fact that Ionic letters were used and indicates that the man himself came from some part of the Greek world where Ionic letters were regularly employed.

I should like to point out here the coincidence that in the eighth prytany of 415/4 an Athenian general was at Eph - - -. Unfortunately the name is broken away after the partially preserved φ in the inscription where it appears (*I.G.*, I², 302, line 79; cf. text as given by Meritt, *op. cit.*) but a probable restoration gives the reading Eph(esos). The coincidence lies in the fact that in the same prytany we have an honorary decree for some man who had been a benefactor to Athens and who was himself accustomed to the Ionic alphabet. There is of course no proof, but the suggestion should be made that the recipient of honors in the text here published may have been an Ephesian who had rendered some service in the early days of the prytany to the Athenian general stationed at Ephesos.

If the restoration of the name in *I.G.*, I², 302 as Ephesos is correct, it is the last reference we have to this city as loyal to Athens before it went over to Tissaphernes at some time before 412.[1] Perhaps the Athenians with an army on guard and with a diplomatic use of proxeny decrees from Athens, were trying to hold a wavering city, which ultimately took advantage of the exhausting preoccupation of the Athenians with Sicily to break away from the empire.

### SALE OF THE PROPERTY OF ALCIBIADES

**6.** A. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, but with the back preserved, found on January 22, 1934 in the wall of a cellar of a modern house in Section K.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.
Height of letters, 0.008 m.
Inv. No. I 236 b.

Ten lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.11 m., and five rows of letters (mostly *stoichedon*) occupy a horizontal space of 0.046 m.

```
      - -   - - -        - - - - - - - - -            - - - - - -
      - -   - - -     [- - -ᶜᵃ· ⁸ - - -]      25     - - - - - -
      - -   - - -     [. . .⁶. . .] vacat            I[II - - - -]
      - -   - - -     [προσκ]εφάλαια                  vacat
  5   [vacat]         [σκύτι]να ΓΙΙ                   III Δ - - -
      - -   - - -     [κνέ]φαλλον                     vacat
      - -   - - -     [κν]έφαλλον               30     III ΔΓ - -
      - -   - - -     [φ]σίαθοι ΓΙΙ                    vacat
      - -   - - -     τραπέζα ΙΙ                       III Γ - - -
 10   - -   - - -     τράπεζα                          III Ι - - -
```

[1] Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* Ephesos, p. 2790.

|       |            |            |        |    |            |
|-------|------------|------------|--------|----|------------|
|       | – –        | I– – –     | δίφρος |    | III △ – – – |
|       | – –        | ⊢III       | ὕπερα III |  35 | III – – – – |
|       | [II]I      | ⊢IIII      | δόρυ ἄνευ στύρακ(ος) |  | III – – – – |
|       | – –        | ⊢⊢IIIII    | δοράτιον |  | – – – – – – |
|  15   | – –        | [I]II      | δίφρος |    |            |
|       | – –        | [.]⊢       | σανίς  |    |            |
|       | – –        | – – –      | κάρδοπος |  |            |
|       | [vacat]    |            | κεραμι[κέ] |  |            |
|       | – –        | – – –      | κάρδοπ[ος] |  |            |
|  20   | [vacat]    |            | λιθίνε |    |            |
|       | – –        | – – –      | λοτ[έριον] |  |            |
|       | [vacat]    |            | [λ]ίθ[ινον] |  |            |
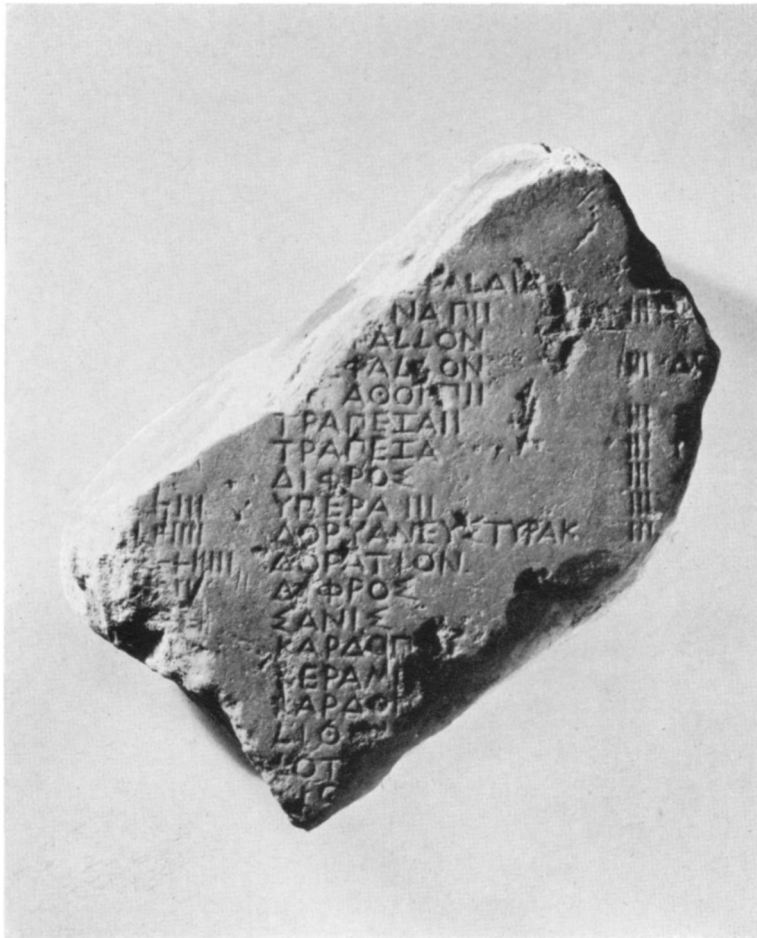


No. 6 A

This fragment belongs to the same inscription as that found in Section ΣΤ in 1932, and now published as *Hesperia*, III, 35. It is a record of the poletai from the latter part of the Fifth Century, recording the sale of the confiscated property of one of the Hermokopidai, quite probably of Alcibiades. When the fragment first discovered was published, it was found possible to unite as parts of one monument the new piece and several other pieces already known and now preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (*I. G.*, I², 329, 330, and 334). The fragment here recorded has no point of contact with any of the other pieces, but probably belongs to the middle and last columns of the stele as reconstructed in *Hesperia*, III, p. 48. Some question has been raised as to whether the two fragments of *I. G.*, I², 330 do actually join each other as I have claimed, and as shown in the photograph in *Hesperia*, III, p. 49, or whether they should be kept in the relative positions assigned to them by Wilhelm in his publication in the *Jahreshefte* (1903, p. 236). I wish to take this opportunity to state that I have again examined the stones in Athens, and that Sterling Dow has also examined them independently for me. The disposition as indicated in *Hesperia* is correct, for the stones do join with a very considerable area of contact between them.

Restorations in the present text, where necessary, may be made with reference to Pollux. I owe lines 21–22 to a suggestion of Woodward. The entry in lines 4–5 may have been, in part, the occasion for the statement (cf. Pollux, X, 40): ἐν τοῖς ᾽Αλκιβιάδου πέπραται προσκεφάλαιον σκύτινον καὶ λινοῦν καὶ ἐρεοῦν. The ψίαθοι of line 8 are also mentioned by Pollux (X, 43). In front of each item was the price of sale, preceded by the amount of the ἐπώνιον. The figures of lines 26–36, as here printed, belong consequently to items listed in a column to the right where the stone is now broken away.

Another fragment from the Agora and still a further piece from the Epigraphical Museum may be added to the composite document, and I give them here as fragments B and C under the present number.

B. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on October 10, 1934 during the demolition of a modern house in Section O.

Height, 0.163 m.; width, 0.093 m.; thickness, 0.118 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 2040.

Five lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.058 m., and four rows of letters, measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.034 m. The writing is *stoichedon*.

The back of the stone is rough, but the original thickness seems to be preserved. The fragment makes no join with any other piece of the inscription, and its exact place in the original document cannot be determined. The restoration of the word τρίβον has been given in the text; an alternative and equally possible suggestion is τριβόν[ιον].

$[\tau]\varrho[\acute{\iota}\beta o\nu]$
$[\tau]\varrho\acute{\iota}\beta[o\nu]$
$\tau\varrho\acute{\iota}\beta o[\nu]$
$\tau\varrho\acute{\iota}\beta o\nu$
5  $\tau\varrho\acute{\iota}\beta o\nu$
$\tau\varrho\acute{\iota}\beta[o\nu]$
$\tau\varrho[\acute{\iota}\beta o\nu]$
$\underset{.}{\pi}$ - - - - -

No. 6 B



No. 6 C

C. EM 2765. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides. Wilhelm has noted in the inventory in the Epigraphical Museum that the piece belongs with the poletai records, but no indication of its association with this particular document is given.

Height, 0.225 m.; width, 0.166 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.
Height of letters, 0.005–0.007 m.

Ten lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.097 m.

I have suspected a join with *I.G.*, I², 329, but it cannot be considered certain. When the stones are so placed that line 26 of *I.G.*, I², 329 (in the first column) falls at the same level with line 12 of EM 2765 (which thus becomes column II, the middle column of the document) there may be a slight contact surface. If so, the line which carries the item *Κὰρ παῖς* in the first column is continued in the second column with the item Ⱶ ⲘΔΔΔ – –.

With reference to the present publication, to the *Corpus*, and to *Hesperia*, III, 35, the various fragments of the inscription may be noted as follows:

|  Col. I | Col. II | Col. III |
|---|---|---|
| *I.G.*, I², 329    +(?) | 6 C | *Hesperia*, III, 35 |
| | 6 A ————— | 6 A |
| | | *I.G.*, I², 330 |
| | | (cf. *Hesperia*, III, p. 49) |

No. 6 B and *I.G.*, I², 334 cannot be accurately assigned.

## THE TRIBUTE ASSESSMENT OF 410 B.C.

**7.** Five small fragments of Pentelic marble, found between May 15 and 25, 1933 in Section H′ in front of the Stoa of Zeus. Fragment A was found in a burnt stratum, fragments B, C, and D just above the classical floor, and fragment E just above bedrock. They have no point of contact in common, but are obviously part of the same original monument.

Frag. A: height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.
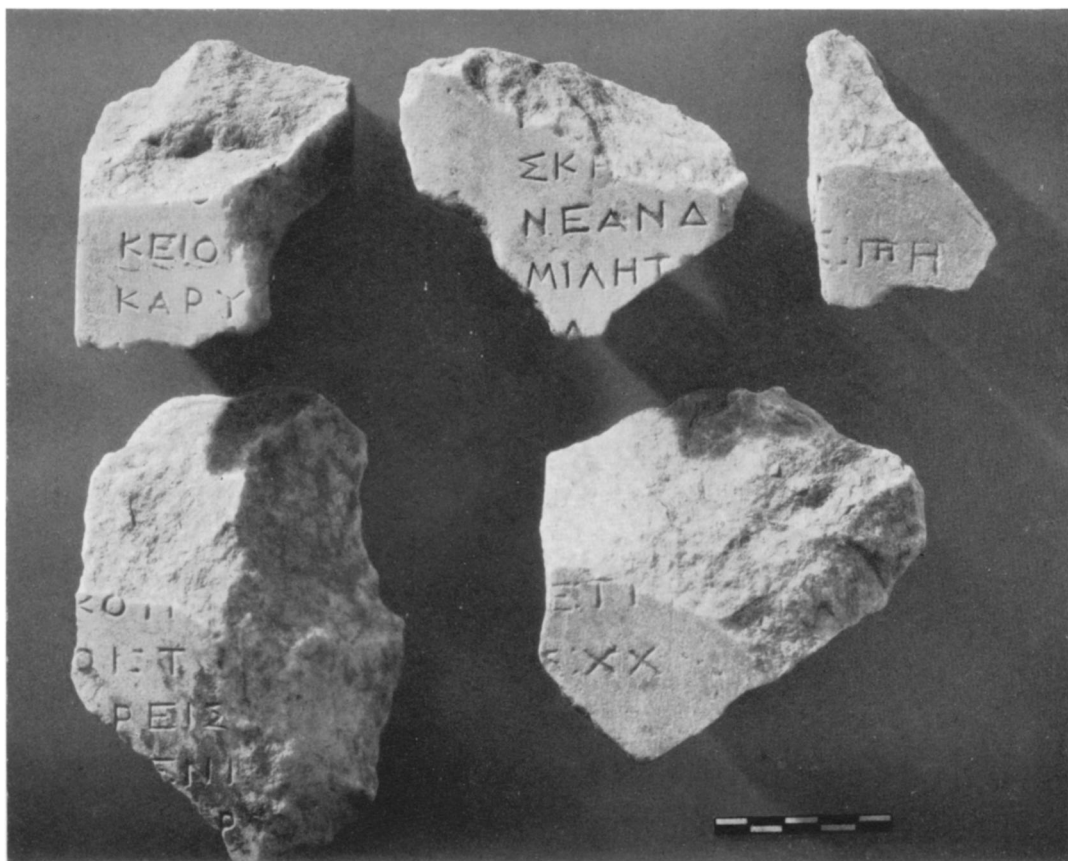Frag. B: height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.
Frag. C: height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.
Frag. D: height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.033 m.
Frag. E: height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.071 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.
Inv. No. I 832.

The height of letters is *ca.* 0.006 m., and four lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.06 m., while five letters (in *Νεανδρ[ειῆς]* of Fragment D) occupy a horizontal space of 0.057 m. The strokes of the letters are made with chisels of 0.006 m. or 0.004 m. in breadth.

No. 7

A     - - - - ς : ꟿH

D     ι - - - - -
10    Σκή[ψιοι : - - -]
      Νεανδρ[ειῆς : - - -]
      Μιλητο[πολῖται : - -]
      [.]Λ́ᵢ - - - - - -

B     - - - - ε : ΤΤ̣
      - - - - ς : XX

C     - - - χοιιι - -
5     - - - - οι : Τ
      - - - - ρεις - -
      - - - - - ενι - -
      - - - - - - ρ - -

E     [Κ]ύθν[ιοι : - - -]
15    Κεῖοι[ : - - -]
      Καρύ[στιοι : - -]
      ! - - - - - -

The readings from the stone are fairly clear, so far as they are preserved at all, and show that the fragments belong to an assessment list of the Athenian empire distinct from that of 425/4 (*I. G.*, I², 63 = Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*) or of 421 (*I. G.*, I², 64, fragments y + z″). In this document the amounts of tribute followed the names and were separated from them by marks of punctuation. The writing shows some Ionic characteristics, like the etas in Σκή[ψιοι] and Μιλητο[πολῖται] of fragment D and the lambda of Μιλητο[πολῖται] in the same fragment. In fragment C (line 6) the letters - - - ρεις must be taken as the ending of a name, nominative plural, in place of the usual - - - - ρε̄ς or - - - - ρῆς. This form is attested only after 378 B.C. in the examples collected by Meisterhans-Schwyzer,[1] but any other restoration here seems difficult. Possibly the form Νεανδρ[ειῆς] in fragment D should be read as Νεανδρ[εῖς].[2] The form - - - - ε in fragment B shows that η was not always employed for ε̄. The restoration here may be [Βισάνθ]ε, for this city was supposed to pay also in 421 a tribute of two talents (*I. G.*, I², 64, line 87).

Other readings call for some comment. In line 4 the letters after - - - - κο are represented only by three vertical strokes which are broken away at the top. The first two cannot be combined to make a single letter but the last two may represent either one letter or two. The letters in line 7 may form part of the word [Κλαζομ]ένι[οι] or perhaps of the phrase [Θερμαῖοι] ἐν ᾽Ι[κάροι] or [Οἰναῖοι] ἐν ᾽Ι[κάροι]. In any event the names of fragment C seem to belong to the Ionic-Caric group, while those of fragment D belong to the Hellespont, and those of fragment E to the Islands. This consideration renders the restoration Μιλητο[πολῖται] rather than Μίλητο[ς] necessary in line 12. In line 14 the traces of letters preserved are so spaced as to make necessary the supplement [Κ]ύθν[ιοι].

All the fragments except E are mere chips broken on all sides. Along the left edge of E is an ancient beveled cutting very much like that which appears along both sides of *I. G.*, I², 63, but in the present instance the marble once continued toward the left even below the depth of the beveling. It is now broken away, and the original left edge of the stone is not actually preserved—only the line of margin which was decorated by the beveled surface. The arrangement suggests, however, that the names of the Island district were listed in Column I of the catalogue, as was the case also in *I. G.*, I², 63.

In date the document is the latest of its kind that we now possess. The numerous Ionicisms make a date in the latter part of the century almost inevitable, and I suggest that it represents the assessment of 410/09 B.C. It is known from Thucydides that there was no assessment in 414/3, for in that year the φόρος was abandoned in favor of a five per cent tax on commerce.[3] The normal time for a new assessment after this date was the Panathenaic year 410/09, when a restoration of tribute payment by the "allies"

---

[1] *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 141.

[2] Cf. Pape, *Gr. Eigennamen, s. v.* Νεανδρεύς.

[3] Thuc., VII, 28, 4; cf. Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, pp. 16—17.

may have seemed particularly appropriate after the great victory of Kyzikos in the spring or early summer of 410. Indeed, it must be assumed that an assessment had taken place before 409/8, for we read in Xenophon's *Hellenica* (I, 3, 9) of the imposition of φόρος on Chalkedon in that year on the old scale and the exaction of arrears. This reassessment of tribute was recognized by Koehler years ago,[1] and the epigraphical evidence for it has now come to light in the fragments here published. The new item Μιλητο[πολῖται] from the Hellespont reflects the victory of Kyzikos and lends additional support to the date here suggested in 410/09. The site of Miletopolis lay not far to the southeast of Kyzikos. The restored democracy evidently planned a restored assessment of the tribute, including cities within their sphere of interest, some of which, like Miletopolis, had not—so far as we know—been assessed before.

The fate of the five per cent tax is uncertain. Aristophanes (*Frogs*, line 363) speaks of an εἰκοστολόγος in Aigina in 406/5, but Aigina did not pay tribute and had not, in fact, payed tribute since 431 (Thuc. II, 27). Whether the allied cities were compelled to pay the tax as well as the tribute after 410 we do not know. Evidently the tax was continued where tribute was not collected. Incidentally, the resumption of tribute assessment after a lapse of four years shows that the substitute tax was not so great a financial success as the Athenians in 414 had hoped it would be.


## TREASURES OF ATHENA AND THE OTHER GODS


**8.** Fragment of grayish-white marble, found on January 9, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section Λ. It is broken on all but two faces, which have independent inscriptions.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.197 m.; thickness, 0.077 m.
Height of letters (on the principal face) 0.007 m., (on the lateral surface) 0.047 m.
Inv. No. I 1182.

The original thickness of the stele is preserved, with the back rough-picked. The lateral surface was used as a horizontal band for a later inscription, of which only two letters (- - - **EA**) are preserved.

In the principal inscription the letters are arranged *stoichedon*. Four lines occupy a vertical space of about 0.06 m., and eight letters, measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.11 m.

I am indebted to Woodward, who has studied my copy, for the information that the new fragment must join fragment *c* of *I.G.*, II², 1395. When trial was made in Athens it was found that the stones actually do join, as Woodward surmised, and a photograph of the two pieces together is given here.

---

[1] *Urkunden und Untersuchungen*, pp. 152–153.

No. 8.  *I.G.*, II², 1395 *c* + Agora I 1182

$$[- - - - - - - - γ]ρῖπε\ [δ]ι[α]λ[ί]θῳ\ χ[ρυσὼ\ \text{II}\ σταθ]$$

20  $[μὸν\ \triangle\triangle\triangle\ ..\ κυμ]βία\ λεῖα\{\text{I}\}\ χρυσ[ᾶ\ ...]\ στα[θμὸν]$

$[...^6...\ χρυ]σίον\ ἐπίτηκτον\ σταθ[μ]ὸ[ν\ \triangle]\text{ΓΙΙΙΙ}\ ὑάλ$

$[ιον\ ἀργυρὸγ]\ κοῖλον\ σταθμὸν\ \text{ΓΙΙΙ}\ π]έταλα\ χρυσ$

$[ᾶ\ \text{ΙΙΙΙ}\ ἀπὸ\ τὸ\ στεφ]άνο\ ὃν\ ἡ\ Νίκη\ ἔχει\ [ἐ]πὶ\ τῆς\ χερὸ$

$[ς\ τὸ\ ἀγάλματος]\ σταθμὸν\ \text{ΓΗΙΙ}\ δακ[τ]ύλιος\ στρε$

25  $[πτὸς\ χρυσὸς\ Ἀρτέ]μιδος\ Βραυρωνίας\ σταθ[μὸ]$

$[ν\ \text{ΗΙΙΙΙΙ}\ συβήνη\ ἐλεφα]ντίνη\ παρὰ\ [Μ]ηθυμνα[ίων\ ἐ]$

$[πίχρυσος\ ἀκινάκης\ ἐ]πίχρυσο[ς]\ ὄνυξ\ ἄ[νευ\ δα]$

$[κτυλίο\ ἄστατος\ ἐν\ κυλι]χνίδ[ι - - - - - - - -]$

The right margin of the stele is determined by the new fragment, and the lines have been numbered as in the text of *I.G.*, II², 1395.  New readings in lines 19, 20, 22, 23, and 28 of the old fragment have been made by Woodward and Meritt.

The record is an inventory of the treasures of Athena and the Other Gods from the Parthenon taken over by the board of treasurers of 395/4 from their predecessors.

## SALES OF CONFISCATED PROPERTIES

**9.**  Two fragments of Pentelic marble which belong together, but which do not join. The piece on the left has the left edge preserved but is otherwise broken.  It was found in January of 1934 in Section Θ.

Height, 0.163 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 1092.

The piece on the right is broken on all sides.  It was found on March 30, 1933 in Section Z.  On it the ends of the lines of text are preserved, but the stone has no margin. It extends beyond the break to the right enough to indicate that the inscription originally contained another column of text in addition to that which is partially preserved in the two fragments here published.

Height, 0.112 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 627.

The inscription is *stoichedon*.  Five lines of text occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.05 m.; six letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.05 m.



No. 9

<pre>
        First half of the Fourth Century          ΣTOIX. 32
     ι[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - κα]
        ταβολή Δ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ΗΗΗ     τὰ ἐπώνια - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
        Πλάτων Ἀφ[ιδναῖος ἀπέγραψε . . . . ? . . . .]
5       ς καὶ σύμβο[λοι κατεκύρωσαν . . . . ? . . . .]
        το Δαιδαλ[ίδο συνοικίαν καὶ ἐσχατιὰν(?) ἐ]
ᵐΗΔ     πὶ τῆι Θρί[αι κειμένας αἷς γεί]τωμ πρὸς ἥ
        λίο ἀνιόντ[ος . . . . . ¹² . . . . .]δες βορρᾶθ
        εγ Κηφισόδω[ρος . . . . ¹⁰ . . . .]ς πλέθρα ΙΙ ΙΙ
10      ἐπρίατο Ἀρέ[σαιχμος (?) Τληπο]λέμο Εὐωνυμ
        εὺς ἐγγυ· κατ[αβολή ΗΔΔΗΗ(?)] vacat
ΓΙΙΙ    τὰ ἐπώνια θε[. . . . . ¹² . . . .]ει vacat
        Ἀρχέδημο[ς . . . . ¹¹ . . . . . ἀπ]έγραψε Χαρί
        σιος κα[ὶ σύμβολοι κατεκύρω]σαν Δρακον
15      τί[δο . . . . . . . . . . ²¹ . . . . . . . . .]ωι αὐτομ
ᵐΗΗᵐ    - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ϙσακ[.]
        - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
</pre>

The document is a record of the πωληταί containing accounts for the sale of confiscated property. It belongs in the same category with *I.G.*, II², 1579 and *Hesperia*, IV (1935), no. 41, with which the text here given should be compared. The length of line is determined as thirty-two letters by the restoration of line 14, where the verb κατεκύρωσαν is taken from Aristotle, Ἀθ. Πολ., § 47, 3 and the noun σύμβολοι = σύμβουλοι from line 5 above.

Aristotle speaks of the sale of the property of those who have been exiled by the court of the Areopagos and of debtors, remarking that the poletai conducted the sale in the presence of the Council, and that the nine archons ratified it (κατακυροῦσι δ' οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες). Our document contains one record of such a sale and parts of two others, reflecting the procedure as described by Aristotle. It is improbable that the words ὁ δεῖνος καὶ σύμβουλοι (cf. lines 4–5 and 13–14) are the equivalent of the board of nine archons; rather the named official was one of the board and the σύμβουλοι were his advisers. Presumably any one of the nine archons had authority to ratify such a sale. The three major archons had each two paredroi[1] who were sometimes called σύμβουλοι as were also the advisers of the six other archons, though these had no official status and were not recognized in the constitution.[2]

In the record given in lines 4–12 of the present inscription Platon of Aphidnai registered the property for sale, (. . . . ? . . . .)s and his advisers ratified the sale, and the

---

[1] Cf. Ἀθ. Πολ., § 56, 1 and *I.G.*, II², 1696. In the very early fourth century (394/3) the number was only one. See *I.G.*, II², 2811.

[2] See Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s. v. paredri.

property belonged to some one from Daidalidai (lines 4–6). One can only conjecture the real nature of the property, it must have been in part at least land, for the dimensions of the plot are given in line 9 as four plethra. It was located in Thria, and the restoration suggested here tentatively in the text assumes that it was a large house and estate. A further definition of the locality of the property is given by the bounding properties on the east and north (lines 7–9). Then follow in order three items: the name of the man who made the purchase, the amount of his deposit, and the record of the sales tax (lines 10–12).

Recently, in discussing another record of the poletai, I have argued against connecting ἐγγυ with καταβολή.[1] The argument still seems to me valid, especially in view of the fact that in I.G., II², 1579 the words ἐγγυ and καταβολή are separated by blank spaces upon the stone. I wish, however, to suggest still another possibility for explaining ἐγγυ as ἐγγυ(ητής). The bondsman may have been himself the purchaser, so that in lines 10–11 of the present inscription the reading should be ἐπρίατο Ἀρέ[σαιχμος(?) Τληπο]λέμο Εὐωνυμεὺς ἐγγυ(ητής): "Aresaichmos, son of Tlepolemos (the name is uncertain), of Euonymon, the bondsman, bought up the property." Such must have been a common event when the first purchaser failed to meet the instalments on his payment when they became due. With this interpretation one can understand why no space was left for a new name after ἐγγυ in line 11, and why ἐγγυ might appear in abbreviated form, which would be most odd if the sense to be reconstructed demanded ἐγγύης καταβολή.

## LEASES OF MINES AND SALES OF CONFISCATED PROPERTY, INCLUDING THAT OF PHILOKRATES THE HAGNOUSIAN

**10.** An opisthographic stele of Hymettian marble, with one edge preserved, found on April 2, 1934 in a heavy Roman wall in Section **B**.

Height, 0.735 m.; width, 0.445 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. at the top and 0.094 m. near the bottom.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 1749.

The inscription is *stoichedon* on both faces. On the obverse face (the one better preserved) ten lines occupy a vertical space of 0.075 m. and ten rows (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.075 m. On the reverse face (less well preserved) ten lines occupy a vertical space of 0.067 m.; and ten rows (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.067 m.

---

[1] *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 570–571.
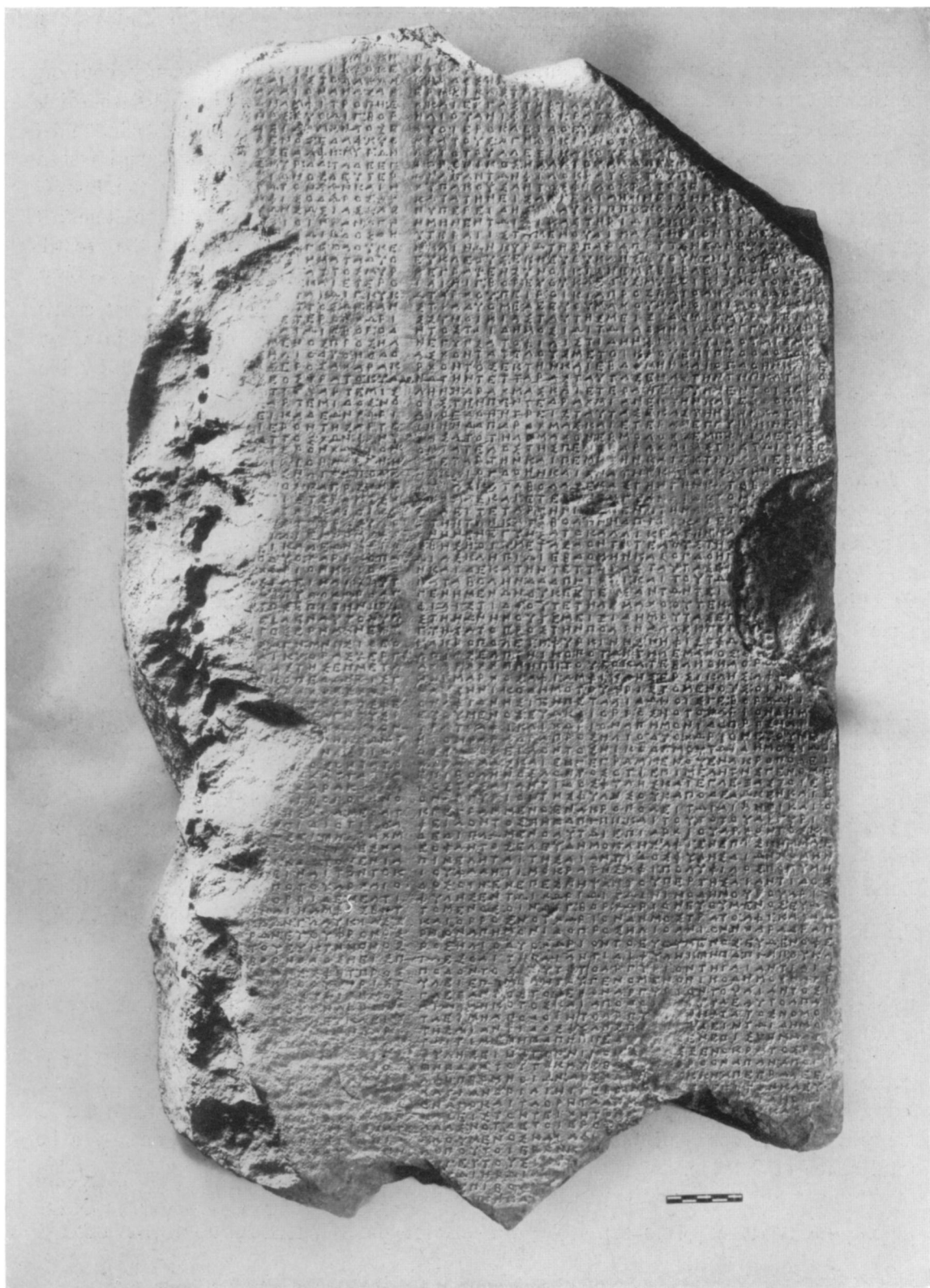
No. 10.  Obverse Face

No. 10.  Reverse Face

The stone is part of the same original stele with a fragment already known and published as *I. G.*, II², 1582, which has the same slightly tapering thickness,[1] the same marble, and the same writing on both its obverse and reverse faces. The better preserved face of *I.G.*, II², 1582 has the closer script and belongs with the face less well preserved in the present text.

The tapering thickness (*ca.* 0.09 m. at the top to *ca.* 0.094 m. at the bottom) shows that these two large fragments must be placed side by side rather than one above the other in any attempted reconstruction. Along the left edge of Face A of the Agora piece (cf. photograph on p. 394) there are drill holes made by some post-classical workman who wanted to cut the stele in two. On the right edge of Face B of *I.G.*, II², 1582 there are still discernible one or two similar holes, and they determine the line of cutting when the stone was divided. The two and one half columns of *I.G.*, II², 1582 must be added to the one and one half columns of the Agora fragment to give a reconstructed stele four columns in width. This is, in fact, the disposition of the stone which Oikonomos deduced from the spacing of the columns on the original fragment, where his very shrewd observation of a minute epigraphical detail gave the conclusion now here confirmed.[2]



Inv. No. 817 (obverse)

Fortunately it is possible to estimate the original width of the stone, for the distance from one margin to the centre can be measured on Face A of *I.G.*, II², 1582 as 0.533 m. The total width was therefore 1.066 m. This determination plays an important part in the reconstruction of the text of the Agora fragment. On the better preserved face the last column and one interspace take 0.27 m., so there is left a span of 0.263 m. for the original Col. III and half the interspace preceding it. This width is exactly right for the restoration of Col. III with a *stoichedon* line of thirty-five letters, and shows that in fact Col. III had the same number of letters in each line as Col. IV.

The text now published in the *Corpus* as *I. G.*, II², 1582, lines 140–187, becomes Col. I of the obverse face of the Agora stone, and should be restored with a *stoichedon* line of thirty-five (not thirty-nine) letters. The text of the *Corpus* now published as Cols. I, II, and III of Face A of *I.G.*, II², 1582 becomes Cols. II, III, and IV of Face B of the Agora stone, which preserves in legible form only a part of Col. I. Each of these four columns should be restored with a *stoichedon* line of thirty-nine letters.

---

[1] The thickness of the stone is erroneously recorded in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV (1910), p. 274, and also in the *lemma* in the *Corpus*, *I. G.*, II², 1582.

[2] Oikonomos, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV (1910), p. 274.

To this same stele belongs also a small fragment found in the Agora on May 16, 1933 in a late fill in Section Z.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.128 m.; thickness, 0.094 m.
Height of letters, 0.004 m.
Inv. No. I 817.

The stone has one edge preserved, is opisthographic, and belongs below the large piece (I 1749) described above. It makes no join. The text of the obverse face is given below in lines 200–203, and of the reverse face in lines 295–308.
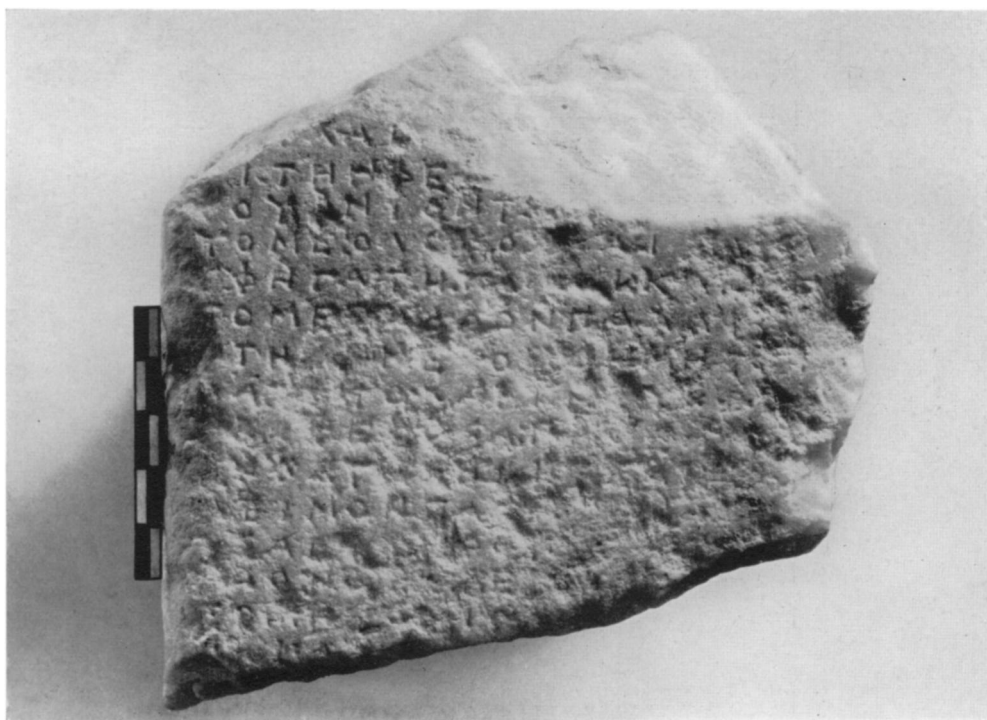


Inv. No. 817 (reverse)

## TEXT

Col. III (Face A)

342/1 B.C.(?)             CTOIX. 35

[- - - - - - - - - - -³¹- - - - - - - - - -]: Νικη

[. . . . . . . . . . .²⁴. . . . . . . . . . .]Σ: Κτησιβίο: με

[. . . . . .¹⁴. . . . . . Μνησιδάμ]ας: Ἀριστοδάμαν

[τος: Μυρ: . . . .⁸. . . . μέταλλον] παλαιὸν ἀνασάξ

5    [ιμον στήλην ἔχον . . . .⁹. . . .]ον Ἀμφιτροπῆ: ἐ

27

[ν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς ...⁶...]νος: Κυθ: ὧι γ: βορ

[........¹⁷........ νοτό: Μν]ησιδάμαντος ἐ

[δάφη: Μυρ: πρὸς ἥλιο ἀνι: ..⁵..]θένος: ἐδάφ: Κυθ

[πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: Μνησιδάμαντ]ος ἐδάφη: Μυρ: ὦν

10 [Μνησιδάμας Ἀριστοδάμαντο]ς: Μυρ: ΔΔ: τάδε ἐπ

[ράθη τῶν δημιοπράτων· Πυανο]ψιῶνος δευτέρ

[αι ἱσταμένου δικαστήριον] πρῶτον τῶν καιν

[ῶν: κυρωτὴς παρὰ πρυτάνεων Κ]ηφισόδωρος: Ἀγ

[νοθέου: (?) ...: ........¹³......: Εὐ]ων Σωσίας Κλε

15 [ινίου: ...: ἀπέγραψεν χωρίον κ]αὶ οἰκίαν: Ἀγν

[οῦντι .........²².........]ωι ὁδὸς δη

[μοσία ..........²².........]ΓΕΙΑΟΥΚΕ

[...........²⁷..........]ήματα δύο

[...........²⁷..........]αττος Μυρ

20 [...........²⁷..........]: καὶ ἕτερο

[ν χωρίον .........¹⁹.......]ται: ὧι γ: κυκ

[.........²⁵.........]αττος: ὦν: Φαν

[ύλλος ........¹⁶.....: .: καὶ ἕτερον χωρί

[ον .........²².........]ται ὧι γ: βορ: δδ

25 [ὸς .........²¹.......]εμένος πρὸς ἡλ

[ίο ἀνι: .......¹⁵....... πρὸ]ς ἡλίο δυο: ἡ ὁδὸ

[ς .........²³........] φέροσα χαρακ

[........²⁴........]εοστράτο: Κυδαθ

[........²⁴........]τι ὑπ' Ἀρτεμισ

30 [ίωι .........²¹.......] Ἀρτέμιδος: νο

[τό: .........²¹.......]: Εἰκαδέων χωρί

[ον .........²¹.......] ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέ

[μιδος .......¹⁸......]αττος: Χ: ὦν: Φανύ

[λλος .......¹⁶.... καὶ ἕ]τερον χωρίον

35 [.........²³........]ὧι γ: βορ: Κλέων: Κ

[.......²².......: πρ]ὸς ἡλίο ἀν: ὁδὸ

[ς ........²⁴.......]ος: πάγος: ὦν: Ε

[.......²³......· κα]ὶ ἑτέραν ἐσχ

[ατιὰν ........¹⁹......]ιται καὶ οἰκί

40 [αν .......²².......] νοτό: Θρασύλο

[χος . . . . . . . . . . .²¹. . . . . . . . . .]ι: ΔΙΕΓΝΟΜΟΣΟ̤

[. . . . . . . . . . . . . .²³. . . . . . . . . . . . .] Εἰκαδέων καὶ ο

[ἰκία . . . . . .¹². . . . . πρὸς ἡλί]ο δυο: Χαρίνο: πα

[. . . . . . . . . . . . .²³. . . . . . . . . . . .]: χωρίον καὶ ὄρο

45  [ς . . . . . . . .¹⁸. . . . . . . δημό]σια εἶναι ταῦτ

[α ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ Φιλοκράτος τ]οῦ Πυθοδώρου: Ἀγ

[ν: οὐχ ὑπακούσαντος Φιλοκρά]τος ἐπὶ τὴν κρί

[σιν τῆς γραφῆς εἰς ἣν εἰσήγ]γειλεν αὐτὸν Ὑπ

[ερείδης τῶι δήμωι ἀλλ᾽ ὀφλό]ντος ἐρήμην ἐν τ

50  [ῶι δικαστηρίωι . . . .⁹. . . .]ς: Ἀγν: Μνησίθεο

[ς . . . . . . . . . . .²². . . . . . . . . .] Ἀγκυ: Θρασυεργ

[. . . . . . . . . . . .²³. . . . . . . . . . .]ιας τῆς ἐμ Μετα

[. . . . . . . . . . .²². . . . . . . . . . οἰ]κοπέδων: οἷς γ

[. . . . . . . . .²⁰. . . . . . . . . Θρασ]ύλοχος ΛΧΑΤΙ

55  [. . . . . . . . . . . .²⁷. . . . . . . . . . . .] τὸ ὄρος φέ

[ροσα . . . . . . . . . . .²³. . . . . . . . . . .]ς: Ἁγνουσι

[. . . . . . . . . . . . .²⁸. . . . . . . . . . . . .]Δ χωρίον

[. . . . . . . . . . . . .²⁸. . . . . . . . . . . . .]ληνεων: τ

[. . . . . . . . . . . . .²⁸. . . . . . . . . . . . .]ΝΟΣΣΙΩΝ

60  [. . . . . . . . . . . .²⁶. . . . . . . . . . . .]ΙΟΣΟΝΤΑΤΟ

[. . . . . . . . . . .²⁵. . . . . . . . . . .ἐ]σχατιὰ[ν] κα

[. . . . . . . . . . . .²⁶. . . . . . . . . . . .] χάρακας κα

[. . . . . . . . . . .²⁵. . . . . . . . . . .]λιθον ὀρινο

[. . . . . . . . . . .²⁵. . . . . . . . . . .]ης: Ἁλα: μετὰ τ

65  [. . . . . . . . . . .²³. . . . . . . . . . .]ν ἐπὶ Διοτίμο: ἄ          354/3

[ρχοντος: ὧν: . . . .¹⁰. . . . Ἀναφλ]ύστι: ⌐ΗΗ: δραχμ

[άς: . . . . . . . . .¹⁸. . . . . . . . . ἐμί]σθωσε τὴν ἐσχα

[τιὰν . . . . . . . . .²⁰. . . . . . . . .]ι: ΗΔΔ: τοῦ ἐνια

[υτõ . . . . . . . . . .²¹. . . . . . . . . .] εἶναι τὸν τόκ

70  [ον . . . . . . . . . .²¹. . . . . . . . . ἀ]πὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίο

[. . . . . . . . . .²¹. . . . . . . . . ἐμ]φορβίδε: Μελ: Τι

[. . . . . . . . . . .²⁴. . . . . . . . . . .]αι ἢ ἀμφισβητ

[ῆι . . . . . . . . . .²⁰. . . . . . . . . .]ι: δαν: Γλαυκίας: Ξ

[. . . . . . . . . . .²². . . . . . . . . . .]ρων Εὐθύφρονος

75  [. . .: ἀπέγραψεν . . . . .¹⁰. . . .]: τοῦ Εὐκτήμονος

[. . .: χωρίον καὶ οἰκίαν οἶς: γ]: βορ: ἡ ὁδός: ἡ εἰς Π

[ειραιᾶ φέροσα: νοτό: . . . .⁷. . .]ίδης: Σφήτ: πρὸς

[ἡλίο ἀνι: . . . . .¹². . . . . πρὸς ἡ]λίο δυο: Ἀριστ

<──────────²⁵──────────>
[- - - - - - - - ὀφείλοντος - - - - -]ος τῶι δημοσ

80 [ίωι: Χ: δραχμὰς καὶ ἐκγεγραμμέν]ου [ἐ]ν ἀκ[ροπό]

[λει . . . . . . . . . . .²⁵. . . . . . . . . . .] Εὐκλει.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ν . . . .

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

85 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ΟΣΟ

[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΟΝ.

90 [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]Ι . . . τ.

[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΙΑ.

[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]Ν.

(Lacuna of uncertain length at the end of Col. III and beginning of Col. IV)

Col. IV (Face A)

CTOIX. 35

101 π[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - πρὸς ἡ]

λίο[υ ἀνι: . . . . . . . .¹⁷. . . . . . . .: πρὸς ἡλίου δυ]

ο: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ εἰ[ς . . . . .¹². . . . . καὶ Ἱεροκλείδο]

Ἑρμ: ἐργαστήριον [: ὦν: - - - - - - - - - - - -]

105 Χ: καὶ ἐργαστήρια δύο ἐ[μ Μελίτηι οἶς γε: πρὸς]

ἡλίου ἀνι: Φιλοκράτο[ς: Ἀγν: οἰκία: πρὸς ἡλίου]

δυο: Ἱεροκλείδο: Ἑρμ: [ἐργ]α[στήριον: βορρ: Φιλο]

κράτους: Ἀγν: οἰκία: νοτό: ἡ ὁ[δὸς ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακ]

λείο τοῦ Ἀλεξικάκου εἰς ἀγο[ρὰν φέρουσα: ὦν]

110 Ἱππόνικος: Καλλίου Ἀλωπεκ: ΧΜ̄[: δημοσίων ὄντ]

ων ἀπάντων Φιλοκράτος τοῦ Πυ[θοδώρο: Ἀγν: οὐ]

χ ὑπακούσαντος Φιλοκράτος εἰ[ς τὴν κρίσιν]

κατὰ τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν ἣν εἰσήγγει[λεν αὐτὸ]

ν Ὑπερείδης: [Γ]λαυκίππο: Κολ: ἀλλ' ὀφλό[ντος ἐρ]

115 ήμην ἐν τῶι δικαστηρίωι: Σκιροφοριῶ[νος δε]

υτέραι ἱσταμένου δικαστήριον τὸ μέσ[ον τῶ]

ν χαινῶν χυρωτὴς παρὰ πρυτάνεων: Εὐθυκλ[ῆς]

Εὐκλέους: ἐκ Κ: Εὐθυκλῆς Εὐθυμενίδου Μυρρ[: ἀ]

πέγραψεν συνοικίαν ἐμ Πειραεῖ ὑπὸ Μουνιχ

120  ίαι: ἧι γ: βορ: Εὐθυκλέους: Μυρ: οἰκία: νοτό: δὲ Πρ

ωτάρχου: Πειρ: οἰκία πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιό: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀ

στία δυομέ: δὲ Εὐθυμάχου Μυρ: οἰκία οὔσης τῆ

ς συνοικίας ταύτης Μειξιδήμου Μυρ: ὀφείλο

ντος τῶι δημοσίωι τῶ Ἀθηναίων ἐγγύην [ἣ]ν ἐ

125  νεγνήσατο Φιλιστίδην: Φιλιστίδου: Αἰξ: μετ

ασχόντα τέλους μετοικίου ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου ἄ          343/2

ρχοντος ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμην καὶ ὀγδόην καὶ ἐ

νάτην τέτταρας ταύτας ἑκάστην τὴν καταβο

λήν: Η: δραχμὰς καὶ ἑτέραν ἐγγύην ἐν τοῖς ἔργ

130  οις τὴν πεντεδραχμίαν ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμην κ

αὶ ὀγδόην τρεῖς ταύτας ἑκάστην τὴν καταβ[ο]

λήν: ΗΔΔΓ: δραχμὰς καὶ ἑτέραν ἐγγύην ἣν ἐνε[γ]

νήσατο Τηλέμαχον: Ἑρμολόχο ἐμ Π: οἰκ: μετασ[χ]

όντα τέλος τῆς πεντεδραχμίας τῆς τῶι Θησε

135  [ῖ] τετάρτην καὶ πέμπτην καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμ

ην καὶ ὀγδόην καὶ ἐνάτην καὶ δεκάτην ἑπτ[ὰ τ]

[αύτ]ας καταβολὰς ἑκάστην τὴν καταβ[ολήν: Η: δ]

[ραχ]μὰς καὶ ἑτέρ[α]ν ἐγγύην λιθοτομ[ίαν ἐμ Πε]

[ιρ]αεῖ τετάρτην κ[αὶ] πέμπτην δύο ταύ[τας ἑκά]

140  [σ]την τὴν καταβολήν: ΗΔΓ ΙΙΙ: καὶ ἑτέ[ραν ἐγγύ]

[η]ν ἣν ἐνεγνήσατο Καλλικράτην: Κα[λλικράτο]

[ς]: Βήση: οἰκ: μετασχόντα τέλους τῆς [δραχμῆς τ]

ῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι ἑβδόμην καὶ ὀγδόην [καὶ ἐνάτη]

ν καὶ δεκάτην τέτταρας ταύτας ἑκ[άστην τὴν]

145  καταβολήν: ΔΔΔΓΗΙΙΙΙ: καὶ τούτων [διπλῶν γε]

γενημένων οὐκ ἐκτεισάντων τεῖ [πόλει οὔτε]

Φιλιστίδο: οὔτε Τηλεμάχο: οὔτε Κα[λλικράτο]

ς τὴν ὠνὴν οὔτε Μειξιδήμου τὰς ἐγ[γύας ἃς ἠγ]

γνήσατο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀλλ᾽ ἐκγεγ[ραμμένο ἐ]

150  ν ἀκροπόλει: κ: Φυακίνης: Κηφισοφῶ[ντος: ...: Χ]

αρίας Ἐλπινίκο: Ποτ: ὢν: Τηλέμαχος: Θ[εαγγέλο]

Ἀχαρ: XXXႼHHΓΙΙ: τοῦτο κατεβλήθη ἄθρο[ον ἅπα]

ν: [Τ]ίμαρχος: Ἀφι: Ἀμφικλῆς: Ἐρσικλῆς: Ἀφι: [ἀπέγ]

ραψεν Νικοδήμο τοῦ Ἀριστομένους: Οἰν: χω[ρί]

155 ον Ἀφίδνησι ἐν Πεταλιδῶν οἶς γε: βορ: χωρί[ον]

Εὐθυμένος: Εὐω: καὶ ὅρρος: νοτό: χωρίον Δημ[οσ]

τράτο: Ἀφι: καὶ χωρίον Ἀπημονίδο πρὸς ἡλίο [ἀ]

νιό: ἡ: χαράδρα πρὸς ἡλίο δυο: χωρίον Εὐθυμέ[ν]

ος Εὐω: ὀφείλοντος Νικοδήμου τῶι δημοσίωι

160 Χ: δραχμὰς καὶ ἐκγεγραμμένου ἐν ἀκροπόλει

ἐπιβολὴν ὀφλόντος ὅτι ἐπιμελητὴς γενόμε

νος τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς καὶ ἐγλέξας τὸ ἱερ

ὸν ἀργύριον τῆς φυλῆς οὐκ ἀποδέδωκεν καὶ ἐ

κγεγραμμένο: ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῶι Αἴαντι καὶ ὀ

165 φείλοντος: ႼHႼΔΓΗΙΙΙ: καὶ τούτο τοῦ ἀργυρίο

δεδιπλωμένο αὐτῶι ἐπὶ Ἀρχίου ἄρχοντος: κ: [Θ]      346/5

εόφαντος: Ἐλευ: Δημοκλῆς: Ἀφι: ἐνεπίσκημμα: ἐ

πιμεληταὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς Δίων Νομην

ίου: Φαλη: Τιμοκράτης: Ἀφι: Πολύφιλος: Πολυμή

170 δος: Οἰν: ἐνεπεσκήψαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς Αἰαντίδος

φυλῆς ἐν τῶι χωρίωι τῶι Νικοδήμου τοῦ Ἀρισ

τομένος: Οἰν: ὧι γ: βορ: χωρίον Εὐθυμένος: Εὐων

καὶ ὅρρος: νοτ: χωρίον Δημοστράτο: Ἀφι: καὶ χω

ρίον Ἀπημονίδο πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιόν: ἡ χαράδρα π

175 ρὸς ἡλίο δυο: χωρίον τὸ Εὐθυμένος: Εὐω: ἐνοφε

ίλεσθαι τῆι Αἰαντίδι φυλῆι: ႼHႼΔ: ΓΗΙΙΙ: οὐκ ἀ

ποδόντος τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον τῆι Αἰαντίδι φ

υλῆι ἐπιμελητοῦ γενομένο Νικοδήμου καὶ ἐ

γλέξαντος τὸ ἱερὸν ἀργύριον τοῦ Αἴαντος κ

180 αὶ ὠφληκότος καὶ ἀπολο[μένο]υ τὰ ἑαυτõ ἅπα[ν]

τα εἰ μὴ ἀποδοίη τὸ ἀργύ[ριο]ν κατὰ τὸς νόμο[ς]

τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς π[ροσο]φλεῖν τῶι δημο[σ]

ίωι τιμή: ႼHႼΔΓΗΙΙΙ: ἔδ[ωκε δ]ὲ ἐνεπίσκημμα τ[ὸ]

φυλῆς εἶναι: ὢν: Νικοχ[ράτη]ς Ξενοχράτος: Ῥα[μ]

185 ႼHႼΔΔ: τοῦτο κατεβλ[ήθη ἄ]θροον ἅπαν: ἀπο[γρ]

αφή: Προμηθίων: Αἰσχ[ρα]ί[ου] ἐκ Κη: ἀπέγραψε: ἐ[σ]

χατιὰν Θρίαι: ἧι γε: βορ: [ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ] ἐπὶ τὸν κλευσ

ον ἄγο: καὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ δύ[ο ....⁹....]ατὰ νομο.

χαὶ εἰς τὸν τειχητὸν .....¹² ..... κασ ...

190    αθας: νοτ: δὲ τὸ ἱερὸ[ν - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

    [. .]ουμενος καὶ αφη - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

    α: ὅπου τὸ ἱερὸν κ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

    [- -]γέττου ΣΙ[.]ΤΗ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

    [. . τ]ῶι ἥρωι ω - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

195    [. . .] ἐπιβολη - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

    [. . . .]ΗΗΗ⊢Δ: - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

    - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Lacuna of uncertain length

    - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

200    - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - IE . . . .⁸. . . .

    - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - AP: ΧΟΤΩΙ . . .

    - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Ν: Τ: ΚΑΙΕ . . .

    - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ΟΣ: ΑΝ . . .

Col. I (Face B)

CTOIX. 39

.: Σφε - - - - - - - - - - -        γει: πρὸς ἥλιο - - - - - -

ΑΝΩΝ - - - - - - - - - - -        ΛΙΝΗΣ - - - - - - - - - -

. ΑΙΟΝΙ - - - - - - - - -        ΓΡΙΑ - - - - - - - - - - -

. . ΟΣΕΦΟ - - - - - -        . . Ρ: Δ - - - - - - - - - -

210  . . . Ο . ΤΙΕ [- - - - - π]    225  - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

ρὸς ἥλίο[: ἀνι: - - - - πρὸ]      . ΑΣ - - - - - - - - - - -

ς ἥλίο δυο - - - - - - - -      ΜΕ - - - - - - - - - - - -

ος: Μεγαχ - - - - - - - -      ΕΙΣ - - - - - - - - - - - -

.: Εὐωνυμ [- - - - - μέταλ]     ΙΛΟ . . .⁶. . . ΑΙ: - - - - -

215  λον ἀπε[γράψατο - - - - -]   230  ΙΠΠ - - - - - - - - - - -

ν: ῶι γεί - - - - - - - - -      ΕΣ - - - - - - - - - - - -

ΗΜΟΥ. ΛΟ[- - - - - - Σο]     ΧΑΡ - - - - - - - - - - -

υνί[ωι - - - - - - - - - -]      26 lines illegible

Σουνίωι [- - - - - - - - ἐ]      . Λ - - - - - - - - - - - -

220  δάφεσιν τοῖς - - - - - - -  260  . Ν - - - - - - - - - - - -

                        Φ . ΕΝ [- - - - - - στήλην]

ἔχον ὧι [γεί: – – – – – –]

ΙΣΠΑΝ– – – – – – – – – –

. . Ι – – – – – – – – – – – –

265　. ΝΒΟΡ – – – – – – – – –

. ΟΙ: Τ – – – – – – – – – –

. ΡΑΣ – – – – – – – – – –

– – – – – – – – – – – –

ΙΟΙ – – – – – – – – – – –

270　. . Τ – – – – – – – – – –

. Ρ – – – – – – – – – – –

– – – – – – – – – – – –

. Τ – – – – – – – – – – –

. Τ – – – – – – – – – – –

275　Τ – – – – – – – – – – –

. ΓΛΡ – – – – – – – – – –

. ΥΕΙ – – – – – – – – – –

. ΥΣΟΥ – – – – – – – – –

. ΕΙΑ – – – – – – – – – –

280　– – – – – – – – – – – –

. Ν – – – – – – – – – – –

. Υ – – – – – – – – – – –

. ΙΟΝ – – – – – – – – – –

. Υ – – – – – – – – – – –

285　. ΤΟ – – – – – – – – – –

Ο . . <sup>5</sup> . . Ο – – – – – – –

ΕΟ – – – – – – – – – – –

ΜΟ – – – – – – – – – – –

ΩΡ – – – – – – – – – – –

290　. Λ – – – – – – – – – – –

. Σ – – – – – – – – – – –

. Ι – – – – – – – – – – – –

– – – – – – – – – – – –

Lacuna of uncertain length

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

295　. . ιΛΑϜ – – – – – – – – – – – –

. ΙΤΗΝΦΕΣ [– – – πρὸς ἠλ] – – – – – –

ἰον ἀνιόντ: [– – – πρὸς ἡλίου δ] – – – – –

νομέ: ΟΛΟΣΟ . . ΑΝΣΑΚΛ – – – – – –

υ: Φηγα: ΤΗ: ΠΛΛΙΚΚΛ . . Γ – – – –

300　το μέ[τα]λλον παλαιὸν – – – – – – – –

[σ]τήλ[ην] ἔχον Δημητρι[αχὸν – – ἀπεγ]

[ρ]άψατο Χαρίν[ο]υ Χ – – – – – – – –]

[. . . φ]έ[ρ]οσα π – – – – – – – – – – –]

. ΧΛΑΤ . . . Ι[– – – – – – – – – – ἀνασ]

305　ἀξιμον πα[λαιὸν – – – – – – – – – – –]

. ΣΑΜ . – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

. ΑΘ: νοτό: ΔΕ – – – – – – – – – –

ΕΡ – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

## TRANSLATION

Lines 3–10: Mnesidamas son of Aristodamas of Myrrhinous ⟨listed⟩ an old [mine] re-opened (name lost) in Amphitrope, [with a column, in the fields of] (– – – – – – –)on of Kytheros, bounded on the north by [– – – – – – –, on the south] by the fields of Mnesidamas [of Myrrhinous, on the east by the fields of] (– – –)thenes of Kytheros, [and on the west by the] fields of Mnesidamas of Myrrhinous. The lessee was Mnesidamas, son of Aristodamas, of Myrrhinous, the amount being twenty drachmai.

Lines 10–16: The following [of the confiscated properties were sold].

On the second day of Pyanopsion: first [court] sitting for the new ⟨offences⟩; [ratifier from the prytanes] Kephisodoros, son of Hagnotheos(?), [of – – – –].

## Case I

[- - - - -, son of - - - -, of] Euonymon and Sosias, son of Kleinias(?), [of - - -, registered for confiscation a plot of ground] and house situated in Hagnous, etc.

Lines 45–50: - - - - to be [confiscated all] these above-mentioned [properties of Philokrates, son] of Pythodoros, of Hagnous, [since Philokrates did not appear] for the trial [of the indictment to which] Hypereides had summoned him by laying information [before the demos, but] was convicted *in absentia* in the [court - - - - -], etc.

## Case III(?)

Lines 74–81: (- - - -)ron, son of Euthyphron, [of - - - -, registered for confiscation a plot of ground and a house belonging to - - - - -,] son of Euktemon, bounded on the north by the road leading to the Peiraeus, [on the south by the property of] (- - - -)ides of Sphettos, on the [east by - - - - -, and on the] west by the property of Aristo (- - -) [of - - - -, this (name of owner of the house lost) owing] to the public treasury [one thousand drachmai and being] written down on the Acropolis - - - - etc.

## Case (?)

Lines 101–115: [- - - bounded on the] east [by - - - -, and on the west] by the road [leading to - - - - and the] workshop of [Hierokleides] of Hermos. [The purchaser was - - - -, son of - - - -, of - - - -, the amount being] one thousand drachmai. In addition, two workshops in [Melite, bounded on] the east by [a house] of Philokrates [of Hagnous, on the] west by a workshop of Hierokleides of Hermos, [on the north] by a house of Philokrates of Hagnous, and on the south by the road [leading from the sanctuary] of Herakles Alexikakos to the Agora. [The purchaser was] Hipponikos, son of Kallias, of Alopeke, the amount being fifteen hundred drachmai—all the properties of Philokrates, son of Pythodoros, [of Hagnous, being confiscated] since Philokrates did not appear for [the trial] according to the public indictment which was brought against [him] by Hypereides, son of Glaukippos, of Kollyte, but was convicted *in absentia* in the court.

Lines 115–190: Skirophorion second; the middle court sitting for the new ⟨offenses⟩; ratifier from the prytanes Euthykles, son of Eukles, from Kedoi.

## Case I

Euthykles, son of Euthymenides, of Myrrhinous, registered for confiscation an apartment house in Peiraeus below Mounichia which is bounded on the north by a house of Eukles of Myrrhinous, on the south by a house of Protarchos of Peiraeus, on the east

by the road to the city, and on the west by a house of Euthymachos of Myrrhinous—
this apartment house belonging to Meixidemos of Myrrhinous who owes to the public
treasury of the Athenians a bond which he guaranteed for Philistides, son of Philistides,
of Aixone who shared in levying the metic tax in the archonship of Pythodoros (343/2):
the sixth and seventh and eighth and ninth payments, these four, each of 100 drachmai;
and another bond on the mines for the five drachmai tax: the sixth and seventh and
eighth payments, these three, each of 125 drachmai; and another bond which he guaran-
teed for Telemachos, son of Hermolochos, dwelling in the Peiraeus, who shared in levy-
ing the five drachmai tax for Theseus: the fourth and fifth and sixth and seventh and
eighth and ninth and tenth payments, these seven, each [of 100] drachmai; and another
bond for a stone-quarry in the Peiraeus: the fourth and fifth payments; these two, each
of 115$\frac{1}{2}$ drachmai; and another bond which he guaranteed for Kallikrates, son of [Kalli-
krates], dwelling in Besa, who shared in levying the [one drachma] tax for Asklepios:
the seventh and eighth and ninth and tenth payments, these four, each of 36$\frac{2}{3}$ drachmai;
these sums having been [doubled], since neither Philistides nor Telemachos nor Kallikrates
paid to the [city] the purchase price of their tax-farming nor did Meixidemos pay the
bonds which he had guaranteed to the city, but was written down on the Acropolis.
R(atifiers): Phyakines, son of Kephisophon, of - - - -, and Charias, son of Elpinikos, of
Potamon.  The purchaser was Telemachos, son of Theangelos, of Acharnai, the amount
being 3705$\frac{1}{3}$ drachmai.  This sum was deposited in full in one payment.

## Case II

Timarchos of Aphidnai, Amphikles, and Ersikles of Aphidnai registered for confiscation
a field of Nikodemos, son of Aristomenes, of Oinoe, situated in Aphidnai in the district
of the Petalidai, which is bounded on the north by the field of Euthymenes of Euonymon
and the rump, on the south by the field of Demostratos of Aphidnai and the field of
Apemonides, on the east by the ravine, and on the west by the field of Euthymenes of
Euonymon—this Nikodemos owing to the public treasury 1000 drachmai and being written
down on the Acropolis as having incurred a penalty in that after he became steward
of the tribe Aiantis and had collected the sacred money of the tribe he has not paid it
back, and being written down on the Acropolis as owing also to Ajax 666$\frac{2}{3}$ drachmai,
this sum, furthermore, having been doubled for him in the archonship of Archias (346/5).
R(atifiers): Theophrastos of Eleusis and Demokles of Aphidnai.  Claim: the stewards of
the tribe Aiantis, Dion son of Noumenios of Phaleron, Timokrates of Aphidnai, and
Polyphilos son of Polymedes of Oinoe laid a claim on behalf of the tribe Aiantis that
there was due to the tribe Aiantis a sum of 666$\frac{2}{3}$ drachmai secured on the field of
Nikodemos son of Aristomenes of Oinoe, which is bounded on the north by the field
of Euthymenes of Euonymon and the rump, on the south by the field of Demostratos of
Aphidnai and the field of Apemonides, on the east by the ravine, and on the west by
the field of Euthymenes of Euonymon, since Nikodemos did not pay back this money to

the tribe Aiantis when he had become steward and had collected the sacred money of Ajax, Nikodemos having incurred also the penalty (even after losing all his possessions if he should not pay back the money according to the laws of the tribe Aiantis) of owing in addition to the public treasury a fine of 666 $^2/_3$ drachmai. Nikostratos, son of Xenokrates, of Rhamnous as purchaser paid off the claim so far as the tribe was concerned, the amount being 680 drachmai. This sum was deposited in full in one payment.

### Case III

Registration for confiscation. Promethion son of Aischraios of Kedoi registered for confiscation an estate in Thria which is bounded on the north by the road leading to the - - ? - - and the two mountains - - - - - - and to the walled - - - -, on the south by the sanctuary - - - - - etc.

### COMMENTARY

It is probable that the inscription on face B is earlier than that on Face A, for the latest archon mentioned there is Theophilos (348/7: *I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 76, 79) while the name Pythodotos (343/2) appears in line 126 of face A. In any case the records of the Laureion mines seem to have preceded on the stone the records of sale from confiscated properties. The better preserved face of *I.G.*, II², 1582 is entirely concerned with the mines, beginning even in the first column now published as Face B, lines 201—287, of the present text and continuing over to the other side of the stone in lines 140—187 of *I.G.*, II², 1582, Face B. This first Column of Face B in the *Corpus* text is continued by Col. II (illegible) and Col. III of Face A in the Agora stone, where the record of the Laureion mines is continued down to line 10. These first nine lines of the present text have been restored so far as possible with reference to *I.G.*, II², 1582. Mnesidamas son of Aristodamas of Myrrhinous registered the mine (lines 3–4), owned property on the north (line 7) and west (line 9) and himself purchased the lease (lines 9–10). The man who listed and the man who bought the lease were frequently the same (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1582, *passim*). The verb ἀπεγράψατο should be restored in line 4 but the space is too short by two letters; I hesitate to restore ἀπέγραψε. The lease price was the customary figure of 20 drachmai, a sum which appears frequently in *I.G.*, II², 1582. Mnesidamas was probably the son of that Aristodamas listed in the *Prosopographia Attica* as no. 1794 and brother of Polydamas (*P.A.*, 11917). His grandfather was Kallisthenes, also a Myrrhinousian (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1152 add.).

From line 10 to the conclusion of the document as preserved are the records of confiscated properties introduced by the phrase τάδε ἐπ[ράθη τῶν δημιοπράτων]. The restoration is made from Pollux, where the recurring phrase ἐν τοῖς δημιοπράτοις (e.g. X, 36, 96, etc.), particularly with reference to the posted lists of Alcibiades' property, gives justification for the epigraphical use of the word δημιόπρατα here. The subdivisions

under  this  general  heading  were  made  first  by  the  date  and  specification  of  the  court,
as  in  lines  11–13  and  115–117,  and  then  by  the  individual  registries  for  confiscation,
several  registries  appearing  under  each  date.   With  each  registry  the  verb  ἀπέγραψεν
appears  in  the  singular,  although,  as  in  lines  152–153,  as  many  as  three  people  may
have  listed  the  properties  to  be  sold.   These  separate  registries  I  have  called  " cases "
in  the  translation  above,  and  different  case  beginnings  may  be  distinguished  for  the
confiscation  of  Pyanopsion  2  in  lines  14  and  50,  and  for  confiscations  of  Skirophorion  2
in  lines  118,  153,  and  185.

Lines  12–13:  The  court  was  called  [δικαστήριον]  πρῶτον  τῶν  καινῶν,  and  this  item  is
to  be  compared  with  that  of  lines  116–117  where  the  court  which  sat  in  Skirophorion
was  called  δικαστήριον  τὸ  μέσ[ον  τῶ]ν  καινῶν.   As  τὸ  μέσον  is  known  as  one  of  the  Athenian
law  courts,[1]  so  πρῶτον,  or  τὸ  πρῶτον,  which  is  here  attested  for  the  first  time,  should
(I  believe)  be  taken  as  the  name  of  a  court.   The  words  τῶν  καινῶν  seem  to  refer  rather
to  the  function  of  the  court  than  to  its  location,  and  I  quote  with  reference  to  them
the  grammarians'  note  on  the  εἰσαγγελία:  κατὰ  καινῶν  καὶ  ἀγράφων  ἀδικημάτων.  αὕτη  μὲν
οὖν  ἡ  Καικιλίου  δόξα  (Lexicon  Cantabrigiense;  cf.  Lipsius,  Das  attische  Recht,  p.  185,  note  26).
The  connection  is  doubtful,  as  is  also  the  relation  to  τὸ  Καινόν  of  Aristophanes,  Wasps,  120.
From  the  context  of  this  inscription  it  is  evident  that  in  Pyanopsion  the  court  mentioned
dealt,  inter  alia,  with  cases  referred  to  it  in  consequence  of  an  εἰσαγγελία  (line  48).[2]   The
cases  which  came  before  the  δικαστήριον  τὸ  μέσον  τῶν  καινῶν  in  Skirophorion  (lines  116–117)
were  concerned,  so  far  as  the  evidence  of  this  inscription  shows,  either  directly  or
indirectly  with  tax-farming  and  the  collection  of  sacred  money.

Line  13:  The  restoration  κυρωτὴς  παρὰ  πρυτάνεων  is  taken  from  line  117.   The  ratifier
from  the  prytanes  was  in  attendance  at  the  session  of  the  court.   This  word  κυρωτής
appears  also  in  I.G.,  II²,  1678  A  27,  where  the  restoration  should  be  given  as  κυρωτὴς
ἐ[κ]  τῶν  π[ρ]υ[τάνεων  τ]ούτω[ν - - -  etc.,  and  where  also  a  court  action  involving  monetary
transactions  is  recorded.   In  the  present  instance  the  ratifier  was  Kephisodoros.

Lines  14–15:  The  men  who  registered  for  sale  the  properties  of  the  following  lines
were  two  in  number,  but  the  verb  to  be  supplied  in  line  15  was  probably  ἀπέγραψεν.
Cf.  line  154.

Lines  15–16:  The  final  three  letters  of  line  15  have  been  restored  as  part  of  the
locative  Ἁγνοῦντι.   From  line  16  down  to  line  45  there  are  no  preserved  designations
of  ownership  of  the  properties  sold,  while  the  recurrence  of  ἕτερον  and  ἑτέραν  (lines  20,
23,  34,  39)  and  the  summation  with  ταῦτ[α  ἅπαντα]  in  lines  45–46  imply  that  they  all
belonged  to  one  man.   If  so,  it  is  clear  from  line  46  that  he  must  have  been  Philokrates
the  Hagnousian,  for  whom  the  location  of  the  house  and  property  in  Hagnous  (line  15:
Ἁγν[οῦντι])  is  not  inappropriate.   Probably  the  name  Philokrates  is  to  be  restored  in

---

[1]  See  scholia  on  Aristophanes,  Wasps,  120;  also  Pollux,  VIII,  121.
[2]  For  such  reference  to  a  dikastery  see  Lipsius,  op. cit.,  p.  182  (also,  e.g.,  Pollux,  VIII,  51).

line 16. It may be inferred from the item ἕτερο[ν χωρίον] of lines 20–21 that the noun χωρίον should also be restored in line 15 (cf. also lines 23 and 34).

Lines 22–23: ὠν = ὠν(ητής). The purchaser was apparently the same both in lines 22–23 and lines 33–34, the difference in the entries being that the price paid was listed after his name in line 23 and before it in line 33.

Line 28: The letters **ΑΘ** in *Κυδαθ* are cut very small in the interspace to the right of the column, and lie outside the *stoichedon* framework of the inscription.

Lines 29–32: The property described in these lines was bounded by the sanctuary of Artemis (lines 29, 30, 32) and the field of the Εἰκαδεῖς (line 31). These Εἰκαδεῖς were a religious club dedicated to the worship of Apollo (cf. Poland, *Gesch. des griech. Vereins-wesens*, p. 64), with their sanctuary in the neighborhood of the modern Markopoulo in the Mesogeia.[1] Since Markopoulo marks the site of the deme Hagnous, we are justified in making the deduction that the Hagnousian property of Philokrates is here being sold (cf. commentary on lines 15–16), and that the Εἰκαδέων χωρίον of lines 31–32 is in fact the same as that delimited by the boundary stone *I.G.*, II², 2631: ὅρος χωρίον κοινοῦ Εἰκαδείων.

Line 37: The fact that the property is described as a χωρίον (line 34) and that it probably lay in Hagnous (cf. commentary on lines 29–32) militates against the tempting restoration [- - -᾿Αρει]ος πάγος.

Line 42: See commentary on lines 29–32.

Lines 45–46: The word ταῦτα here summarizes the properties of Philokrates listed in the lines above (15–44). The appearance of [δημό]σια lends color to the restoration [δημοσίων] in line 110, while the appearance of ἁπάντων in line 111 gives credence to the restoration [ἅπαντα] in line 46.

Lines 46–50: These lines may be restored by comparison with lines 111–115, though the exact wording in both cases is not the same. Philokrates, son of Pythodoros, of Hagnous (*P.A.*, 14599) was the celebrated Athenian whose name is connected with the Peace of 346 B.C., and who fled into exile rather than stand trial when indicted by Hypereides. These facts are known from the literary tradition (Hypereides, IV [III], 29; Demosthenes, XIX, 116ff.; Aischines, II, 6 and III, 79, 81; Dinarchus, I, 28). That Philokrates was tried *in absentia* and condemned, and that his property was confiscated, is also known. The present inscription gives a concise statement of the facts of indictment, trial, and condemnation, and records the sale of the confiscated property. It also adds to our knowledge the name of Philokrates' father, Pythodoros (lines 46 and 111). Hypereides son of Glaukippos of Kollyte (lines 48–49 and 114) was the famous orator (*P.A.*, 13912).

Line 50: With this line a new rubric begins. The restorations for the rest of Col. III are difficult and for the most part no attempt has been made to give supplements in the text.

---

[1] Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1258, about which some uncertainty exists whether it was found at Markopoulo in the Mesogeia or near Oropos. The document *I.G.*, II², 2631 was found near Markopoulo in the Mesogeia.

Lines 67–73: The record is involved with rentals, yearly rates, interest, principal, and loans. In line 73 δαν = δαν(ειστής).

Line 71: Possibly ἐμ]φορβίδε, related to ἐμφόρβιον. I have no satisfactory explanation.

Lines 79–80: The formula of lines 159–160 can be recognized here.

Line 103: The name Ἱεροκλείδο is restored from line 107.

Line 105: The restoration ἐ[μ Μελίτηι] fills exactly the available space, and is justified by the fact that the southern boundary was the road leading from the sanctuary of Herakles Alexikakos to the Agora. This shrine was in Melite, and a boundary stone which may belong to it was found recently in the Agora excavations (Hesperia, III [1934], no. 56).

Lines 106 and 108: For Philokrates (P.A., 14599) see the commentary on lines 46–50.

Lines 108–109: The course of the road is uncertain but it probably entered the Agora south of the Tholos.

Line 110: For Hipponikos son of Kallias of Alopeke see P.A., 7659. The present text gives the first sure evidence for the deme of the famous family of Hipponikos and Kallias. They belonged to Alopeke of the tribe Antiochis, and not to Ankyle of Aigeis as has been thought hitherto (cf. Kirchner, Hermes, XXXI, pp. 258–259). The grandfather of the present Hipponikos, also called Hipponikos, son of Kallias, was general in 427/6. Our knowledge that he belonged to Antiochis (X) instead of to Aigeis (II) enables us to avoid the assumption of double representation for Aigeis in the strategic list of this year (cf. Beloch, Gr. Gesch., II², p. 263), and to secure a more nearly correct basis of evidence for the study of tribal representation in the Athenian strategia.

Lines 110–115: See the commentary on lines 46–50. With these lines a second section dealing with the confiscated properties of Philokrates is brought to a close.

Lines 115–118: See the commentary on lines 12–13 and on line 13. A new subdivision of the record is begun by the new date, the name of the court, and the name of the ratifier from the prytanes. Euthykles son of Eukles from Kedoi may be the grandson of that Euthykles listed as P.A., 5583 and nephew of the Pythokles listed as P.A., 12443.

Lines 118 and 120: For Euthykles son of Euthymenides of Myrrhinous see P.A., 5644 (s.v. Εὐθυμενίδης). Euthykles was a brother of Eupolemos (P.A., 5928), who was active ca. 340–330 B.C.

Lines 121–122: The " city road " was evidently the main road from the Peiraeus to Athens, leading out through the " City gate " in the walls of Peiraeus. Cf. Judeich, Topographie (1931), pp. 430–431 and Plan III.

Lines 124–125: ἐγγύην [ἣ]ν ἐνεγνήσατο. The verb is usually ἐνεγνήσατο (lines 125, 133–134, 141) but once ἠγγνήσατο (lines 148–149). Cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v. ἐγγυάω.

Line 125: Philistides son of Philistides of Aixone was probably the son of that Philistides listed as P.A., 14441 and brother of Pausistratos (P.A., 11743) who is known to have belonged to the tribe Kekropis.

Line 126: Philistides had been one who participated in the collection of the metic tax in the archonship of Pythodotos (343/2). The purchase price which he was supposed to pay for the privilege of gathering the taxes is described in line 148 by the technical word ὠνή. For the farming out of taxes, see Aristotle, Ἀθ. Πολ., § 47, 2 (Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, p. 1230). An informative passage which illustrates the text of this inscription is found in Andokides, I, 133–134:

Ἀγύρριος γὰρ οὑτοσί, ὁ καλὸς κἀγαθός, ἀρχώνης ἐγένετο
τῆς πεντηκοστῆς τρίτον ἔτος, καὶ ἐπρίατο τριάκοντα ταλάν-
των, μετέσχον δ' αὐτῷ οὗτοι πάντες οἱ παρασυλλεγέντες ὑπὸ
τὴν λεύκην, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἴστε οἷοί εἰσιν· οἳ διὰ τοῦτο
ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι συλλεγῆναι ἐκεῖσε, ἵν' αὐτοῖς ἀμφότερα ᾖ,
καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλωσι λαβεῖν ἀργύριον καὶ ὀλίγου πραθείσης
μετασχεῖν. κερδάναντες δὲ τρία τάλαντα, γνόντες τὸ
πρᾶγμα οἷον εἴη, ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιον, συνέστησαν πάντες, καὶ
μεταδόντες τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐωνοῦντο πάλιν τριάκοντα ταλάντων.
ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀντωνεῖτο οὐδείς, παρελθὼν ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν
βουλὴν ὑπερέβαλλον, ἕως ἐπριάμην ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα ταλάντων.
ἀπελάσας δὲ τούτους καὶ καταστήσας ὑμῖν ἐγγυητὰς ἐξέλεξα τὰ
χρήματα καὶ κατέβαλον τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐζημιώθην,
ἀλλὰ καὶ βραχέα ἀπεκερδαίνομεν οἱ μετασχόντες· - -.

In this passage from Andokides it appears that several people had grouped themselves together, first with Agyrrhios and then others with Andokides, to pay the price of the ὠνή, and that Andokides in overbidding Agyrrhios and getting the contract for himself had furnished guarantors. Meixidemos, in the present inscription, was a guarantor for Philistides, who was in turn one of the group that bought the privilege of farming the metic tax. This tax falls in the category which Aristotle describes as τὰ τέλη τὰ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν πεπραμένα, for Philistides was collector only in 343/2.

Lines 127–129: Aristotle (Ἀθ. Πολ., § 47, 2–3 and 5) tells how the records of the taxes farmed out were kept. If the payments were to be made in instalments, one for each prytany, the amounts were listed on ten whitened tablets and each record expunged only when payment was made. The present document lists payments that were due evidently in ten instalments (καταβολαί) and records those instalments that remained unpaid (cf. Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities*, pp. 352–355).

Line 130: Reference to a five-drachmai tax on the mines.

Lines 132–134: The form of the name shows that Telemachos was a metic. He participated in collecting a five-drachmai tax for Theseus, here attested for the first time.

Lines 141–143: The form of the name shows that Kallikrates was a metic. He participated in collecting the one-drachma tax for Asklepios.

Lines 145–150: Aristotle (Ἀθ. Πολ., § 48, 1) says that if a payment is not made when due the record of it still stands and it must be paid double.  This doubling of the amount is recorded in line 145, where the word διπλῶν may be shown from the computation of the items to be a necessary restoration.

The calculations are:

| Reference | Amount of Instalments | Number of Instalments | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| line 129 | 100 | 4 | 400 |
| line 132 | 125 | 3 | 375 |
| line 137 | [100] | 7 | 700 |
| line 140 | $115\,^1/_2$ | 2 | 231 |
| line 145 | $36\,^2/_3$ | 4 | $146\,^2/_3$ |
|  |  |  | $1852\,^2/_3$ |

The figure $1852\,^2/_3$ when doubled (line 145) amounts to $3705\,^1/_3$, the sum preserved on the stone in line 152.

In giving possible reasons for ἀτιμία Andokides (I, 73) lists those people ὁπόσοι - - - ἢ ὠνὰς πριάμενοι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου μὴ κατέβαλον τὰ χρήματα, ἢ ἐγγύας ἠγγυήσαντο πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον· τούτοις ἡ μὲν ἔκτεισις ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας, εἰ δὲ μή, διπλάσιον ὀφείλειν καὶ τὰ κτήματα αὐτῶν πεπρᾶσθαι.  Although two of the principals concerned in our present document were metics, the classes are the same.  Philistides (line 125), Telemachos (line 133), and Kallikrates (line 141) were the ὠνὰς πριάμενοι who did not pay their instalments (lines 146–148) and Meixidemos (line 123) was the ἐγγύας ἐγγυησάμενος (lines 148–149).  Andokides uses the word ἔκτεισις for the settlement of the debt; the inscription (line 146) has οὐκ ἐκτεισάντων.

These lines give our best evidence for the date of the inscription on the better preserved face of the stone.  Instalments as late as the ninth prytany of 343/2 were overdue (line 128).  It is probably true, though not absolutely certain, that the overdue instalments of the tenth prytany (lines 136, 144) belong also to 343/2.  In any case, there was a period of grace before the confiscation of the property, and it is difficult to date Skirophorion of line 115 earlier than 342/1.  Pyanopsion of line 11 probably belongs to the same year, and it thus appears that the property of Philokrates was being condemned and sold as early as the autumn of 342.  This agrees well with other evidence for the date of Hypereides' indictment which Schaefer dates not earlier than the autumn of 343.[1]  If there were no undue delays in the proceedings against Meixidemos as described in lines 118–153, then the εἰσαγγελία brought by Hypereides against Philokrates can be dated in 343/2.

Line 150: κ = κ(νρωταί).  Phyakines is a name new to Attic prosopography.  Cf. line 166.

---

[1] Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, II², p. 368, note 1.

Lines 151–152: Telemachos, son of Theangelos, of Acharnai is already known (*P.A.*, 13562).

Line 153: Three men registered the property of Nikodemos, the record of whose case begins in this line.

Line 155: ἐν Πεταλιδῶν: cf. *I.G.*, II², 1594, lines 46, 48. For the genitive, cf., e.g., ἐγ Κυδαντιδῶν and ἐγ Κοθωκιδῶν in *I.G.*, II², 1597.

Line 161: As epimeletes Nikodemos was one of a board of three. See lines 167–170.

Line 166: Archias was archon in 346/5. κ = κ(νρωται); they were two in number, as in lines 150–151.

Line 167: Demokles of Aphidnai is known (*P.A.*, 3495). The tribe Aiantis was interested in the property of Nikodemos registered for sale by the state and made a claim (ἐνεπίσκημμα) in order to guarantee the payment of its own debt. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, p. 934 and note 17, also pp. 464, 493.

Lines 168–170: The epimeletai of the tribe were three in number.

Lines 176–185: The amount of money which Nikodemos owed to the tribe Aiantis was 666²/₃ drachmai. Nikokrates evidently had purchased from the city the privilege of collecting the 666²/₃ drachmai due to Aiantis and also the 666²/₃ drachmai due the public treasury when the amount of the debt was doubled in 346/5. He paid for this privilege 680 drachmai to the public treasury and satisfied also the claims of Aiantis. The city profited slightly by the transaction, and we may be sure that Nikokrates did not lose. Either Aiantis was satisfied with a sum less than its original debt, or (more likely) Nikokrates collected more than enough to pay the amount in full and to reimburse himself for the 680 drachmai listed in line 185. The restoration of line 183 is uncertain. Nikokrates son of Xenokrates of Rhamnous was apparently of the same family as Xenokrates son of Xenokrates of Rhamnous (*P.A.*, 11250).

Lines 187–188: The letters at the end of line 187 and the beginning of line 188 give the word ΚΛΕΥΣΟΝ. I have no satisfactory explanation, but the context calls for a topographical definition near Thria.

Lines 206–308: These lines belong with the record of the Laureion mines and are the first column on that face of the stone for which *I.G.*, II², 1582 gives columns II, III, and IV. Only a few letters can be made out in that part of column II which appeared on the Agora fragment.

## DECREE

**11.** The upper right corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, with mouldings and part of the pediment preserved, but broken away at the left and at the bottom. The stone was found on May 15, 1933 in the curbing of a late well in Section H′.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.122 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.
Height of letters, 0.006 m.
Inv. No. I 830.

Four lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.05 m., and six letters (*stoichedon*), measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.075 m.



No. 11

332/1 B.C.                                    CTOIX. 31

[Θ        ε        ο]                  ι
['Επὶ Νικήτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς] Κεκροπί
[δος πέμπτης πρυτανείας ἧι 'Αρ]ιστόνου
[ς 'Αριστόνου 'Αναγυράσιος ἐγρ]αμμάτε[υ]
5 [εν· Ποσιδεῶνος ἐνδεκάτει, πέμπ]τει καὶ
[δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας· τῶν πρ]οέδρων
[ἐπεψήφιζεν nomen . . . . 16 . . demoticum] υ ἔδ[οξ]
[εν τῶι δήμωι - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

The inscription may be assigned to the year of Niketes because of the name of the secretary which appears in line 3. The spacing of the letters (*stoichedon* 31) shows that the number of the prytany was either fifth, seventh, or tenth and that the date by prytany in lines 5–6 must have fallen between the thirteenth and nineteenth day of the prytany. In the year of Niketes (cf. *I.G.*, II², 344–347) such dates in the seventh and tenth prytanies would yield corresponding dates in Anthesterion and Skirophorion which could not be restored in line 5. For the fifth prytany, however, a restoration is possible, and has been made in the text here given.

DECREE

**12.** Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, made up of two contiguous fragments and of one piece which can be placed exactly in relation to them. One piece, already published as *Hesperia*, III (1934), no. 7, was found in the wall of a modern cistern in Section Δ; the smaller piece adjoining it was found on May 23, 1933 in a late fill in Section Z.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness of the inscribed portion below the mould-ings, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.007 m.

Inv. Nos. I 219 (see also *Hesperia,* III, no. 7) and I 860.

Four lines occupy a vertical space of 0.057 m. on the stone, and ten letters (*stoichedon*), measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.149 m.

The second new piece, with left edge preserved, was found on February 26, 1936 in a mediaeval storage pit in Section KK.

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.047 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 3619.
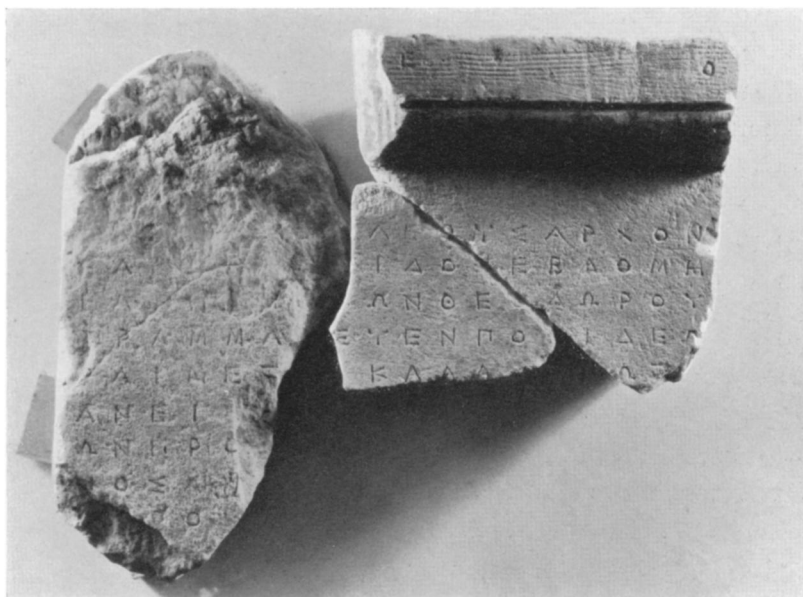


No. 12

302/1 B.C.                    ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

[Θ]          ε          ο          [ί]

['Επὶ Νικοκ]λέους ἄρχον[τος ἐπὶ τῆ]

ς Ἀν[τιγον]ίδος ἑβδόμη[ς πρυτανε]

ίας ῇ[ι] Ν[ί]κων Θεοδώρου [Πλωθεὺς ἐ]

5    γραμμά[τ]ευεν· Ποσιδεῶ[νος δευτέ]

ραι μετ᾽ [εἰ]κάδας [πρ]ώτ[ηι τῆς πρυτ]

ανεία[ς· ⁙ ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσου· τ]

ῶν προ[έδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν . . .⁶. . .]

[.]ος Ἀν[. . . . .¹². . . . . καὶ συμπρό]

10   [εδρ]ο[ι - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

28*

The discovery of the new fragments confirms the attribution of the inscription to the year of Nikokles, and makes certain the reading of the date by month in lines 5–6 as Ποσιδεῶ[νος δευτέ]ραι μετ᾽ [εἰ]κάδας, with backward count in the reckoning of the days. This was suggested in restoration in *Hesperia*, IV, p. 546, and is now proved correct by the new fragments here published. The calendar equations of this inscription and of *I.G.*, II², 499 give again a formal proof of the backward count, such as was first afforded by *Hesperia*, IV, no. 39 and *I.G.*, II², 838 (see *Hesperia*, IV, pp. 529–531).

## PRAISE OF AN ARCHON AND HIS PAREDROI

**13.** Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on April 29, 1933 in a loose fill above bedrock in a Roman building of Section H′. The left margin of the inscription is determined by a beveled edge, to the left of which the flat surface of the stone is still partially preserved on a lower plane.

Height, 0.169 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.057 m.
Height of letters, 0.005 m.–0.006 m. (Φ = 0.008 m.).
Inv. No. I 749.

Eight lines occupy vertically a space of 0.10 m., and ten letters (measured on centres) occupy horizontally a space of 0.113 m. The letters are arranged *stoichedon*, but with syllabic division at the ends of the lines.
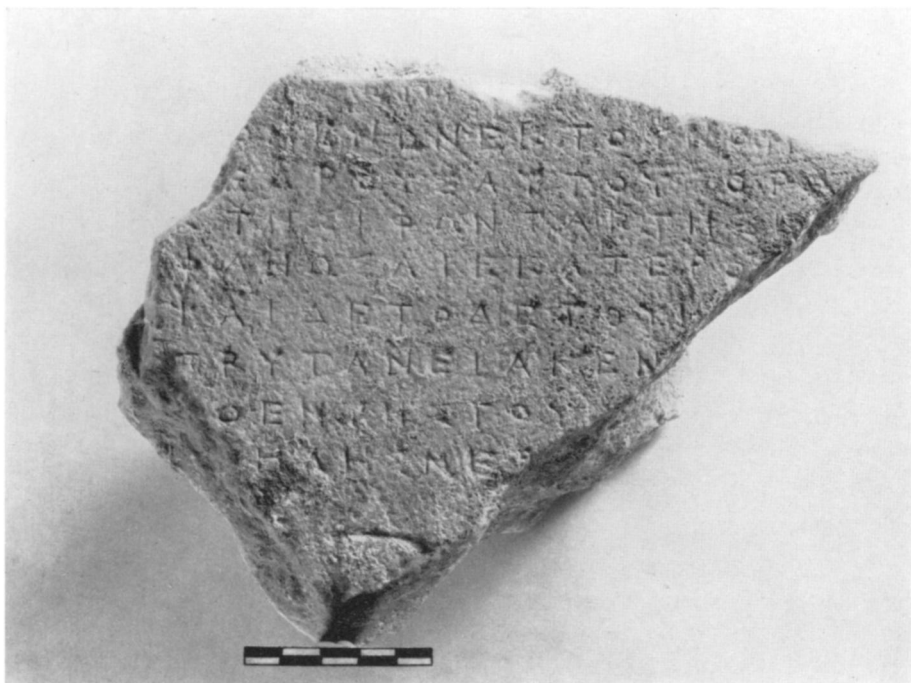


No. 13

288/7–263/2 B.C.                                    CTOIX. 39

[το]ὺς ἐπὶ [τῆ]ι [διοικήσει . . . . . . . . . .²⁰. . . . . . . .]
[.]όμενον ἐκ τοῦ νόμ[ο]υ [ᵛ ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πα ᵛ]
[ρ]έδρους αὐτοῦ ᵛ Θρα[. . . . . . . . . .²³. . . . . . . . . .]
Κτησιφῶντα Κτησι[. . . . . . . .¹⁸. . . . . . . . καὶ στε]
5   φανῶσαι ἑκάτερο[ν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ἀναγρά ᵛ]
ψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή[φισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ ᵛ ᵛ]
πρυτανείαν ἐν [στήληι λιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἔμπρο]
[σ]θεν τῆς τοῦ Δ[ιὸς στοᾶς· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς]
[σ]τήλης μερ[ίσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆι διοικήσει ᵛ Δ ᵛ δραχ]
10  [μάς]                   vacat

The character of writing is eminently suitable for the first half of the third century B.C., and the payment of money by the administrative board (line 1) serves to date the inscription more accurately between 288/7 and 263/2, when Athens was free from Macedonian control.[1]

The specification of the number of drachmai for the inscribing of the stele (line 9) is also characteristic of the early third century (see, e.g., *Hesperia*, IV [1935], p. 562, no. 40, line 32).   There is no room in the last lines of the present document for the formula τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα.

The name of the man in whose honor the decree was passed has not been preserved, but evidently he had two paredroi (lines 3–5), and they were given praise along with him and had their names inscribed on the same stele.   The Athenian officials who had two paredroi were, *par excellence*, the three major archons (Ἀθ. Πολ., § 56, 1), and I suggest that the present decree was in honor of one of these.   The decree was to be erected " before the Stoa of Zeus " (line 8).   It is natural to suppose that the decree honoring an archon would be erected before his political office.   For the Archon Basileus this was the Royal Stoa,[2] and it follows that if this decree was in his honor the Stoa of Zeus should then be identified with the Royal Stoa, as has recently been argued by N. Valmin.[3]   However, the Archon Eponymous also had his office in the Agora,[4] and it is probably premature to draw conclusions concerning the topography of the Agora from this document, other than to say that if the Stoa of Zeus and the Royal Stoa are not to be identified, then this document belongs to the Archon Eponymous and is *prima facie* evidence that his office was in the Stoa of Zeus.

---

[1] Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 65.

[2] Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie, s. v.* Basileus, Vol. III, p. 73.

[3] " Die Zeus-Stoa in der Agora von Athen," *Kung. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Årsberättelse*, 1933–1934, pp. 1–7.

[4] [Andocides], IV, 14; cf. Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, II, p. 1074, n. 3.

## THE YEAR OF PEITHIDEMOS

**14.** Large stele of Hymettian marble, which has been preserved almost entire in its over-all dimensions, but which has been foot-worn and battered until the surface is almost completely lost. The opening lines of the decree can be partially read. The stone was found on July 8, 1933 built into the wall of a Byzantine building in Section H′, where it had served as a threshold.

Height, 1.40 m.; width of face across the top, 0.46 m., and across the bottom, 0.53 m.; thickness, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 1051.



No. 14

267/6 B.C.                                CTOIX. 43

[Θ]            ε              [ο               ι]

Ἐπὶ Πε[ι]θιδή[μ]ου ἄρχ[ον]τος ἐπὶ τῆ[ς Ἀ]καμαντίδος τρ[ι ᵛ ᵛ]

[τῆς πρυταν]εί[ας]              vacat

[Βοηδρομιῶνος] ὀ[γ]δόει [ἐπ]ὶ [δ]έκα [ᵛ ἑβδόμε]ι καὶ δ[εκάτει]

5   [τῆς πρυτανείας - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

<div align="center">Remaining lines illegible</div>

The determination of the year of Peithidemos as 267/6 was made by Ferguson (*A.J.P.*, LV [1934], pp. 330–331). Cf. *Hesperia,* IV, p. 584. The name of the secretary was not inscribed on the stone either in the document here published or in the other known decree of Peithidemos' year where the opening lines have been preserved (*I.G.*, II², 687).

<div align="center">DECREE IN HONOR OF KEPHISODOROS</div>

**15.** An inscribed stele of Hymettian marble, together with three small pieces, two of which join together but no one of which joins the larger block of stone.

The stele proper was found on March 24, 1933 in a hard earth filling in front of the South Byzantine building in Section H′.

Height, 0.85 m.; width of pediment, 0.526 m.; width at line 1 of the inscription, 0.468 m.; width at line 29 of the inscription, 0.479 m.; greatest thickness, 0.15 m.; thickness of the dressed edges, 0.075 m.

Inv. No. I 605.

A fragment which contains parts of lines 44–54 was found on May 9, 1933 in Section E. It bears the inventory number I 605 c and has the following measurements: height, 0.132 m.; width, 0.091 m.; thickness, 0.032 m.

The two fragments which join together, and which give parts of the text in lines 47—56 were both found in Section H′. One piece bears the inventory number I 834 and was found in the lowest layer above the classical floor on May 18, 1933; the other piece bears the inventory number I 909 and was found in a burnt layer on May 29, 1933. The combined fragments have the following measurements: height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.171 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

A small piece inventoried as I 605 b was found at the same time with the stele proper, but does not, apparently, belong with this inscription.

The marble of all the fragments has a mottled coloration, shading irregularly from milky white to a very dark bluish slate-grey. The top of the stele is ornamented with a pediment with central and lateral finials; the back is rough, thinned at the edges; and the sides are picked with a fine-toothed chisel.

The height of letters throughout is *ca.* 0.006 m. Ten lines of the text occupy on the stone a vertical space of 0.116 m.; the writing is not *stoichedon*. Between clauses of the text a space of one or sometimes two letters is left uninscribed. The writing is characteristic of the early second century B.C., alpha having consistently the cross-bar with its centre depressed but not angular.

Reference to this text has already been made in *Hesperia,* IV (1935), p. 556, note 1.

No. 15

No. 15.   Inv. No. I 605 c



No. 15.   Inv. Nos. I 834 + 909

196/5 B.C.

Ἐπὶ Χαρικλέους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγεῖδος ἐνάτης πρυτανείας ἧι ᵛ ᵛ
Αἰσχρίων Εὐαινέτου Ῥαμνούσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· δήμου ψηφίσματα·
Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος τρίτει ἐπὶ δέκα κατὰ θεὸν δὲ ὀγδόει καὶ εἰκοστεῖ
τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή
5      φιζεν | Ἀντίπατρος Ποτάμωνος Λαμπτρεὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι ᵛ ᵛ ᵛ
                 ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι
Σώδαμος Τιμασιθέου ἐξ Οἴου εἶπεν ᵛ ἐπειδὴ Κηφισόδωρος ἐκτενὴν
προσενηνεγμένος τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὔνοιαν ἐμ παντὶ καιρῶι
καὶ πεπολιτευμένος μὲν πρὸς τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδωρο
10     δοκήτως οὐθένα δὲ οὔτε πόνον οὔτε κίνδυνον ἐκκεκλικὼς ἕνεκεν
τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος ᵛ καὶ τάς τε ἄλλας λειτουργίας ὑπομεμενη
κὼς πάσας ἐφ᾽ ἃς αὐτὸν κατέστησεν ὁ δῆμος ᵛ γεγονὼς δὲ καὶ ταμίας
στρατιωτικῶν καλῶς καὶ φιλοδόξως καὶ τὴν τῶν σιτωνικῶν ᵛ ᵛ ᵛ
ταμιείαν συνδιεξηχὼς τρίτος ἔν τε τῶι ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ
15     Προξενίδου ἐνιαυτῶι ᵛ τεθηκὼς δὲ καὶ νόμους συμφέροντας
ἐφ᾽ ὁμονοίαι πάντων Ἀθηναίων ᵛ καὶ πόρους χρημάτων ἴσους καὶ
δικαίους συμβεβουλευκώς ᵛ εἰσηγημένος δὲ καὶ δι᾽ οὗ τρόπου ᵛ ᵛ
τούς τε ὄντας φίλοις ὁ δῆμος διατηρήσει βεβαίους ἐν τεῖ πίστε[ι]
μένοντας καὶ ἑτέρους προσκτήσεται ᵛ καὶ τὰς γινομένας ἐπιβου
20     λὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν προεωραμένος καὶ ἀντιστῆα[ι] πρ[οστ]εταγ
μένος ᵛ καὶ συμμαχίας συμβεβουλευκὼς καλὰς καὶ [συν]ενηγο
χείας τῶι δήμωι ᵛ καὶ πρεσβείας πεπρεσβευκὼς ὑπὲρ [τῶν] μεγί
στων εἰς σωτηρίαν ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ τῆι χώραι ᵛ καὶ χρήματα ἠχὼς
καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἄλλας δωρεὰς οὐκ ὀλίγας ᵛ εἰσενηοχὼς δὲ καὶ ψη
25     φίσματα πολλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντα καὶ πρᾶξιν καὶ εὐ
σχημοσύνην τῶι δήμωι ᵛ καὶ διαμεμενηκὼς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
αἱρέσεως ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον μισοπονηρῶς ᵛ ᵛ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνέ
χειαν τῶν πραττομένων καὶ ἐπινοουμένων μάλιστα αἴτιος γεγο
νὼς μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμενείας τοῦ διατηρῆσαι τὸν δῆμον
30     [τ]ὴν αὐτονομίαν ᵛ οἰκ ὀλίγοις δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων περιπε
[ποηκέ]ναι τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ᵛ ᵛ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πάντα δίκαι
[ον ἀποφαί]νων ἑαυτὸν τυχεῖν τιμῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ᵛ ᵛ αἰτεῖ ᵛ ᵛ
[ται νῦν δοῦν]αι ἑαυτοῦ τὸν δῆμον εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν ἀγορᾶι καὶ
[εἰκόνα χαλκῆ]ν ἐν τῶι ἐμπορίωι καὶ σίτησιν ἑαυτῶι ἐν πρυ
35     [τανείωι καὶ ἐγγόνων ἀ]εὶ τῶι πρεσβυτάτωι καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσι
[τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἡ πόλις τί]θησιν ᵛ ᵛ καὶ τὴν αἴτησιν δέδωκεν πρὸς
[τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον] κατὰ μέρος τῶν πεπραγμένων ᵛ ᵛ ᵛ ᵛ ᵛ
[ὅπως ἂν οὖν ὁ δῆμος φαίνη]ται τιμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ
[ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσιν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ζη]λωταὶ τῆς τοιαύτης αἱρέσεως ὅτι
40     [ἀεὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναί]ων τῆς προσηκούσης τυγχάνου

[σιν τιμῆς ᵛ ᵛ ᵛ ᵛ ᵛ ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δε]δόχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ τοὺς προέ ᵛ
[δρους οἵτινες ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν εἰς τ]ὴν κυρίαν ἐκκλ[ησίαν]
[τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγεῖδος πρυτανείας χρηματίσαι π]ερὶ τού[των κα]
[τὰ τὸν νόμον γνώμην δὲ ξ]υμ[βάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι]
45  [δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ] ἐπαινέσ[αι Κηφισόδωρον - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[καὶ στεφανῶσα]ι χρυσῶι [στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν]
[καὶ εὐνοίας ἣν ἔχω]ν διατελ[εῖ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τ]ὸ[ν Ἀθηναίων ᵛ ἀνειπεῖν]
[δὲ τὸν στέφανο]ν τοῦτον [Διονυσίων τε τῶν ἐν] ἄσ[τει καινοῖς τραγωι]
[δοῖς καὶ Παναθ]ηναίων κ[αὶ Ἐλευσινίων κα]ὶ Πτολ[εμαίων τοῖς γυμνι]
50  [κοῖς ἀγῶσιν ᵛ] ᵛ ᵛ τῆς δὲ [ποιήσεως τοῦ] στεφάνο[υ καὶ τῆς ἀναγο]
[ρεύσεως ἐπιμελ]ηθῆναι τοὺς [στρατηγοὺ]ς καὶ τὸν τα[μίαν τῶν στρα]
[τιωτικῶν ᵛ ᵛ ᵛ]στῆσαι δὲ [αὐτοῦ κα]ὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆ[ν ἐν ἀγορᾶι καὶ]
[ἄλλην ἐμ Πειραι]εῖ ἐν τῶ[ι ἐμπορίω]ι ᵛ ᵛ εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶ[ι καὶ σίτησιν]
[ἐν πρυτανείωι κα]ὶ ἐγ[γόνων ἀ]εὶ τῶι πρεσβυτάτωι [καὶ προεδρίαν]
55  [ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἡ πόλις] τίθησιν ᵛ ᵛ τοὺς [δ]ὲ θεσ[μοθέτας εἰσα]
[γαγεῖν τὴν δοκιμασίαν αὐτῶι ὅ]ταν ἐξέλθωσιν [αἱ] ἐκ τ[οῦ νόμου ἡμέραι]
[τῆς αἰτήσεως; - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]


## TRANSLATION

In the archonship of Charikles, in the ninth prytany of Aigeis for which Aischrion, son of Euainetos, of Rhamnous was secretary; decrees of the Demos; Elaphebolion 13th, according to the god ⟨the 18th⟩, 28th of the prytany; assembly with full power in the Peiraeus. The chairman of the proedroi Antipatros, son of Potamon, of Lamptrai, and his fellow proedroi put the question to a vote. Resolved by the Council and Demos; Sodamos, son of Timasitheos, from Oion made the motion:

Inasmuch as Kephisodoros has on all occasions exerted strenuously his good will toward the Demos, has engaged honestly and incorruptibly in political life for nearly thirty years, and has never avoided either trouble or danger for the common welfare; and has performed all the liturgies to which the Demos appointed him, in particular serving well and honourably as treasurer of the military funds and discharging the duties of stewardship of the grain-fund in the years of Apollodoros and Proxenides respectively; has given advantageous laws for the concord of all Athenians; has advised sources of revenue that were fair and just; has explained how the Demos might keep firm in their faith existing friends and gain also others in addition; has foreseen the plots being prepared by outsiders and has set himself to oppose them; and has recommended good alliances advantageous to the Demos; and has gone on embassies of the greatest importance for the safety of the cities and the countryside; has contributed money and grain and many other gifts; has proposed many decrees that were useful, bringing glory and achievement and adornment to the Demos; has kept magnanimously to the same

policy throughout; and by the continuity of his action and thought has been most particularly responsible, along with the good will of the gods, for the preservation by the Demos of its autonomy and for the conferment on many of the other Hellenes as well of the greatest of blessings; and now for all these reasons [showing] that it is just for him to receive honor according to the law, inasmuch as he asks that the Demos [grant] a bronze image of him in the Agora and [a bronze image] in the harbor-market and food in the prytaneion for himself and for the eldest of [his descendants] forever after him and a front seat in all [the contests which the city] holds, and inasmuch as he has made his request to [the Council and Demos] with due regard to his accomplishments—[in order that the Demos may be seen] to honor good men and [in order that others] zealous in the same policy [may know] that they always receive fitting [honor from the Demos of the Athenians, with good fortune] be it resolved by the Council that the proedroi [who are chosen by lot to preside in] the assembly which meets with full power [in the prytany of Aigeis deliberate] about these matters [according to the law and] submit [the resolution of the Council to the Demos, that the Council resolves] to praise [Kephisodoros, son of - - - - -, of - - - - - -, and to crown him with] a golden [crown according to the law for the valor and good will which he] constantly [holds toward the Demos of the Athenians, and to proclaim] this [crown at the celebration of the new tragedies at the] City-[Dionysia and at the gymnastic contests of the Panath]enaia, [the Eleusinia, and the] Ptol[emaia; that the generals] and the treasurer [of the military funds] care for the [making] of the crown [and the proclamation]; further, that a bronze image [of him] be erected [in the Agora and another in the Peira]eus in the harbor-market; and that he and the eldest of his descendants for ever after him shall have [food in the prytaneion and a front seat in all the contests which the city] holds; that the thes[mothetai shall introduce his scrutiny] when [the days required] by [law for the request] shall have elapsed; - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

## COMMENTARY

The decree honors that Kephisodoros who, as leader of the Athenian Demos in the late third and early second centuries, exerted his efforts against Philip V of Macedon. A memorial to him was seen by Pausanias just outside Athens on the Sacred Way, and a brief account of Kephisodoros' services to Athens is given by Pausanias when he mentions the monument (I, 36, 5).

Lines 1–4: The date of the inscription is definitely fixed as 196/5 by the name of the secretary from Rhamnous who falls into place in the secretary cycle in this year.[1] A more precise date is given in the opening lines of text, as on the twenty-eighth day

---

[1] Cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 28. Ferguson's cycle has been confirmed by the inscription found in the Agora and published first as *Hesperia*, III, no. 18. A more complete text is given on pp. 429–430 below.

of the ninth prytany of the year, and in the month of Elaphebolion. Unfortunately the date by month is not clear, for the actual number of the day κατὰ θεόν seems to have been omitted through oversight, and we are now able to supply the missing words only by inference, with considerable uncertainty because of the lack of real knowledge as to what the calendar counts κατ᾽ ἄρχοντα and κατὰ θεόν signified. From the preserved examples of such double dating (especially I. G., II², 967 and 1006) it is apparent that the first date given was that κατ᾽ ἄρχοντα, even though this distinguishing phrase was here omitted (as also in other early inscriptions with double dating; cf. I. G., II², 946, 947). The date κατὰ θεόν was given after the date κατ᾽ ἄρχοντα, and was contrasted to it by the use of the particle δέ.[1] But in the present instance the date which follows the words κατὰ θεὸν δέ is the date by prytany. I suspect a haplography which may be resolved by the addition of the words ἐπὶ δέκα ὀγδόει after the word ὀγδόει now preserved in line 3. The emended text thus reads: Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος τρίτει ἐπὶ δέκα ⟨κατ᾽ ἄρχοντα⟩, κατὰ θεὸν δὲ ὀγδόει ⟨ἐπὶ δέκα, ὀγδόει⟩ καὶ εἰκοστεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας. Inasmuch as the prytany dates corresponded regularly with the month dates κατὰ θεόν, some support is given to this suggestion by the fact that the equation so established is exactly correct for an intercalary year. If all the prytanies had thirty-two days each, then Pryt. IX, 28 is the two hundred and eighty-fourth day of the year; and if the year began with full Hekatombaion and contained the intercalated month Posideon, then Elaphebolion 18 is also the two hundred and eighty-fourth day of the year. We do know in fact that the year contained intercalated Posideon, because another decree, passed in the sixth prytany (I. G., II², 785) mentions the intercalated month and gives the equation Ποσιδεῶνος ἐμβολίμου ἐν[δεκάτει, ἐνά]τει καὶ εἰκοστεῖ τῆς (ἕκτης) πρυτα[νείας]. A regular succession of prytanies of thirty-two days each brings the twenty-ninth of Prytany VI to the one hundred and eighty-ninth day in the year, but the regular alternation of months beginning with full Hekatombaion brings Posideon II, 11 only to the one hundred and eighty-eighth day of the year. The commentary in the *Corpus* on I. G., II², 785 suggests an irregularity in the lengths of the prytanies, but the assumption of such an irregularity is not necessary; for both the now known equations of this year, that of the present document and that of I. G., II², 785, can be satisfied if it be assumed that the civil year began with full Hekatombaion and that the order of full and hollow months was reversed before Posideon. With the sequence (e.g.): 30 29 30 29 30 30 29 30 29 30 29 30 29 the year still contains three hundred and eighty-four days, and Posideon II, 11 is the one hundred and eighty-ninth day and Elaphebolion 18 is the two hundred and eighty-fourth day. The prytanies may now be disposed with a regular number of thirty-two days in each.[2]

Lines 7–10: The statement that Kephisodoros had been in political life for nearly thirty years makes tempting the identification with [Κ]η[φισό]δ[ω]ρο[ς Ἀρισ]τοδήμου Ξυπετ[αι]ών,

---

[1] In No. 16, published below, the date κατ᾽ ἄρχοντα was not recorded at all.

[2] This type of alternation in length of months has been demonstrated by Dinsmoor (*Archons of Athens*, pp. 309 ff.). The sequence here suggested is earlier by one month, probably, than Dinsmoor's record of the "normal" forecast (*op. cit.*, p. 436), but the sequence is exactly the same.

who was orator of a decree (*I. G.*, II², 832) passed in the year of Heliodoros (229/8), and the name as thus restored would conform well to the requirements of space at the end of line 45. But this earlier decree falls more than thirty years before 196/5. One would not expect the account of Kephisodoros' services in an honorary decree to minimize the extent in time of his political activity, so in the present text the identification has not been made, and the patronymic and demotic are left without restoration in line 45.

Lines 12–15: There is no absolute certainty that the stewardship of the grain funds came in the year immediately following the stewardship of the military funds, but the close association of the names of the archons in the phrase ἔν τε τῶι ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Προξενίδου ἐνιαυτῶι makes it seem probable. The archon Proxenides is already known from *I. G.*, II², 915, to which a new fragment from the Agora has recently been added giving the name of the secretary for the year and the calendar character of the year:[1]

> Ἐπὶ Προξενίδου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος δευτέρα[ς πρυ]
> τανείας ἧι Εὔβουλος Εὐβουλίδ[ο]υ Αἰξωνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευ[εν]
> Μεταγειτνιῶνος δευτέραι ἱσταμένου πέμπτηι τῆς πρυ[τα]
> νείας· - - - - - - - - - - - - κτλ. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

With the calendar equation Pryt. II, 5 = Metageitnion 2 the year was evidently an ordinary year in the period of the thirteen tribes, and the demotic of the secretary serves to fix the date exactly in 203/2.[2] Apollodoros is therefore to be assigned to the year 204/3. What the other liturgies undertaken by Kephisodoros were (lines 11–12) we are not informed, but his treasurership and his stewardship of the grain-funds must have been important services, and in the very last years of the century expensive ones. With them I associate the gifts of money and grain listed in lines 23–24, though naturally all Kephisodoros' contributions need not have been made when he was in office.

Lines 17–23: The preservation of existing friendships probably refers to the Rhodians, Cretans, Attalos, the Aitolians, and Ptolemy; the new allies are principally the Romans. The whole passage must be read in the light of Pausanias I, 36, 5.

Lines 19–21: The plots being made by outsiders were principally those of Philip V, and the orator of the decree must have had Philip in mind when drafting this clause of his citation. The Romans in 201 were afraid that Philip with his naval power would become master of Greece,[3] and Kephisodoros was evidently of the same opinion. His alliances and embassies (mentioned in lines 21–23) bear witness to the vigor—already attested in Pausanias, I, 36, 5 and Polybius, XVIII, 10, 11—with which he opposed the encroachment of Macedon.[4]

---

[1] To be published in full by Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I (1937), no. 40.

[2] See Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 28.

[3] G. T. Griffith, "An Early Motive of Roman Imperialism," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, V (1935), pp. 1–14, especially pp. 8–9.

[4] I have had the privilege of reading this decree with A. H. McDonald of Nottingham, who has prepared a discussion of the historical problems concerned with Athens, Rome, and Macedonia at the

Lines 29–31: The mention of the preservation of the autonomy of the state and of the blessings for the other Greeks which followed the successful outcome of Kephisodoros' policy has here its appropriate historical setting not long after the proclamation of freedom for the Greek states by Flamininus at the Isthmian games in the autumn of 196. The present decree was passed in the early spring next after the proclamation, an opportune time for voting honors to the Athenian statesman who had done most to oppose Philip.

Line 38: For ζηλωταί cf. Ditt., *Syll.*³, 675, lines 27–28.

Lines 42–43: The restoration has been made in such a way as to agree with the facts of date as given in lines 1 and 4.

Lines 43–44: For κατὰ τὸν νόμον cf. *I.G.*, II², 657, line 56.

Lines 50–51: A parallel for the restoration may be found in *I.G.*, II², 900, lines 10–11.

Lines 56–57: cf. *I.G.*, II², 657, lines 54–55.

The restorations throughout the document are fairly certain, except perhaps in line 37, even though the small fragments which carry the text from line 44 do not actually join the larger piece.

The archon Charikles, whose name dates the decree, must now be listed in the chronological tables in 196/5 instead of 239/8 where he has usually been dated hitherto. To the arguments already advanced for a date for this decree in 196/5 may be added still another against the earlier attribution: the Ptolemaia are mentioned in line 49, and they were probably not celebrated in Athens before the introduction of the Ptolemaic tribe in 224/3 or 223/2.[1] The decree praising Aristokreon, the nephew of the philosopher Chrysippos, must also be dated in 196/5 (*I.G.*, II², 785) since archon and secretary are both the same as in the decree for Kephisodoros. This means that the sojourn of Aristokreon in Athens must be placed about forty years later than has until now been customary. Not only *I.G.*, II², 785 but also *I.G.*, II², 786 is involved in the readjustment, for it too is a decree in honor of Aristokreon and, according to Wilhelm ('Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1901, pp. 53–54), must be later than *I.G.*, II², 785. If this is true, the "freedom" mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 786, line 3, and the "strengthening (of the harbors)" mentioned in line 6 probably refer to the defence of Athens in the time of Philip V and the preservation of that "autonomy" which is mentioned also in the decree of Kephisodoros. In any case Λαμπρίας Λαμπρίου Θοραιεύς of *I.G.*, II², 785, line 9, is to be identified with the Lamprias of *I.G.*, II², 2332, line 86, rather than with the father who was one of the proedroi in the archonship of Heliodoros (*I.G.*, II², 832, line 6) and thesmothetes in the year of Ergochares (*I.G.*, II², 1706, line 36).

Taken by itself alone, *I.G.*, II², 786 seems best interpreted as following the recovery of freedom in 229/8 B.C., and I am informed by Dow that the lettering of the inscription

very close of the third century. The paper will, I understand, be published in an early number of the *Journal of Roman Studies*, with reference to the bearing of the present inscription on the events of that period.

[1] See Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 242; *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 53.

seems earlier than that of *I.G.*, II², 785,—in fact, quite appropriate for some year close to *ca.* 215. So for the present it is perhaps best to leave uncertain the exact date of *I.G.*, II², 786 and to say merely that *I.G.*, II², 785 quite definitely belongs in 196/5. The secretary's name should, of course, be restored from the text here under discussion as [Αἰσχρίων] Εὐαινέτου 'Ραμνούσιος.

<div align="center">DECREE</div>

**16.** Fragment of Pentelic marble with the right edge preserved, but broken at the left and bottom and elsewhere much battered. The stone was found on February 10, 1934 in the wall of a cellar of a modern house in Section Λ. It is the upper right corner of a stele with crowning moulding, with the preserved side smooth, and the top and back rough-picked.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.074 m.; thickness, 0.097 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.–0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 1318.

Six lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.06 m. The inscription is not *stoichedon*.
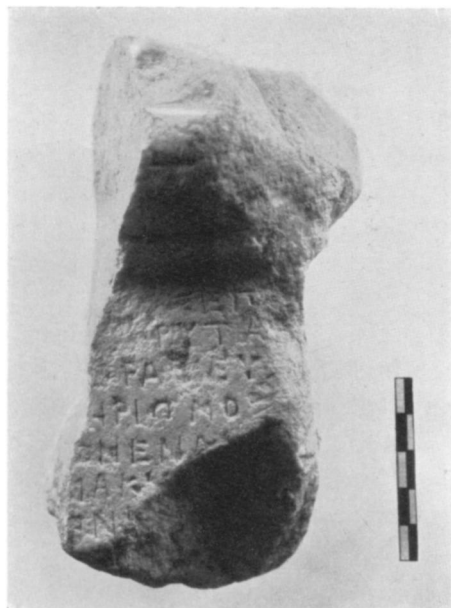


No. 16

179/8 B.C. (?)                                    NON-CTOIX.

['Επὶ - - - -ᶜᵃ· ¹⁰- - - - ἄρχοντ]ος ἐπ[ὶ]
[τῆς - - - -ᶜᵃ· ¹⁰- - - - ὀγδόης π]ρυτα
[νείας ἧι - - - - - ᶜᵃ· ¹³ - - - - -] Πρα[σ]ιεὺς
[ἐγραμμάτευεν· 'Ανθεστ]ηριῶνος
5   [ἐνάτηι ἱσταμένου κατὰ θε]όν, ἐνά[τηι]
[τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησ]ία κυ[ρία]
[τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζ]εν Ε̣[- -]

The inscription seems to belong to the first half of the second century B.C., and is of interest in that it gives the demotic of a secretary hitherto unknown in this period. Since the deme Prasiai belonged to the third tribe in the official order (Pandionis) the years 191/0, 179/8, and 167/6 are available (cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 28–29). At present it does not seem possible to choose among these three years. Nor does the irregularity of the calendar, which is attested in line 5, offer any help. There were similar dates κατὰ θεόν in 196/5

(see No. 15 obove) and in 166/5 (see *I.G.,* II², 946, 947) and obvious irregularities in 178/7 (a new document will be published in *Hesperia,* Suppl. I [1937], no. 64).

## THE BATTLE OF PYDNA

**17.** The honorary decree for Kalliphanes of Phyle, who brought to Athens news of the Roman victory at Pydna in 168 B.C., has been the subject of constant study since its first publication in *Hesperia,* III (1934), no. 18. From the photographs as published there, Woodward was able to read the names βασιλέως Ε[ὐμέν]ους in lines 14–15 and the word παρασκευάζειν in lines 16–17. He very kindly communicated these readings to me by letter, and at the same time pointed out the beginning of the formula of sanction in lines 27–28. Quite independently I had made similar readings from new photographs prepared for the Agora records by Mr. Wagner. Inasmuch as almost nothing can be made out from the stone itself or from a squeeze, these separate determinations are valuable, for the text as given below does not depend entirely on my readings alone from an almost obliterated surface.

<div align="center">

169/8 B.C.          NON-CTOIX. *ca.* 30

Θ    ε    ο    ί

</div>

> Ἐπὶ Εὐνίκου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀτταλί
> δος δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας ἦι Ἱερώνυ
> μος Βοήθου Κηφισιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν,
> 5   Σκιροφοριῶνος ἔνει καὶ νέαι, ἐνάτει
> καὶ εἰκοστεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλη
> σία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφι
> ζεν        vacat
>            vacat
> 10            vacat
> ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι
> Σάτυρος Σατύρου ἐκ Κολ[ων]οῦ εἶπεν· ἐπει
> δὴ Καλλιφάνης Φυλάσιος στρατευόμε
> νος μετὰ Ῥωμαί[ων] καὶ τῶν [τ]οῦ βασιλέ
> 15   ως Ε[ὐ]μένους ἀδελφῶν Ἀττάλου καὶ
> Ἀθηναίου καὶ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρα
> σκευάζειν βουλόμενος τῆι πατρίδι
> συμπ[αρ]ῆν τ[ῆ]ι γενομέ[νη]ι [ν]ίκηι Ῥωμαίοις
> ἐμ Μα[κ]εδ[ο]νίαι καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος ὢν [α]ὐ
> 20   τὸς ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς πολίτ[α]ις τὰ γ[εγο]ν[ό]
> τα – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
> – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
> – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

```
      - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
25    - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
      - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
      [- - - - - - -]ων ᵛ ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δ[ε]δό
      [χθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ τ]ο[ὐ]ς [λ]αχόντ[ας] προέ
      [δρους εἰς τὴν ἐπι]ο[ῦ]σαν ἐκκλησίαν
30    [χρημα]τίσαι περὶ [τού]των, γνώμην δὲ
      [ξυμβάλλε]σθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν
      [δῆ]μ[ον] ὅτι δοκε[ῖ] τεῖ βουλεῖ ἐπαινέσα[ι]
      [Κα]λλ[ιφ]άνην Καλλιφάνου Φυλάσιο[ν]
      [καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ] στε[φάνωι εὐ]
35    [νοίας ἕνεκεν κ]αὶ φιλοτιμίας [- - - - - - -]
      - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
      - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
      [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -] ἀναγρ[ά]
      [ψαι] δὲ τ[όδ]ε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέ[α]
40    [τὸ]ν [κατὰ] πρυτανε[ίαν] ἐν στήλει λιθίνει
      [καὶ στῆσ]αι ἐν ἀγορᾶι παρὰ τὴν εἰκόνα
      [- - - -] τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα
      [εἰς τὴν γραφὴ]ν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς
      [στ]ήλης μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρ[α]
45    [τιωτικ]ῶν.
                   ἡ βουλή
                   ὁ δῆμος
                   Καλλιφάνην
                   Καλλιφάνου
50                 Φυλ[άσιο]ν
```

The new text brings the additional information that Athenaios also was with Attalos at Pydna (line 16), and gives the motivation for Kalliphanes' return to Athens.  He was, in fact, the man who brought the news of the victory (see *Hesperia,* III [1934], p. 21). Whether more of the inscription can be read is problematical, but the effort will surely be made.   In the meantime it seems best to present without delay the results so far achieved.

BENJAMIN  D.  MERITT

*Note:* For the sake of complete final publication, students of the documents here printed are earnestly requested to send suggestions by letter or reprints of articles they may write concerning them to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.