THE LEASES OF THE LAUREION MINES

(Plates 83-97)

URING the excavation of the Athenian Agora seventy-five fragments of the poletai inscriptions which record the leases of the silver mines at Laureion and the sale of confiscated property have been found. Two have already been published in *Hesperia* (V, 1936, no. 10, pp. 393-413, and X, 1941, no. 1, pp. 14-27). Eight fragments of this same series, all also found in Athens, are published in *I.G.*, II², 1582-89. These previously published pieces have been included in the numerical series of texts here, which is arranged chronologically in so far as possible, and the data from them included in the index and chart.

Amazingly few facts are known about the Laureion mines, so generally, and undoubtedly correctly, believed to have played a very important part in the rise and supremacy of Athens. What revenue did Athens get from them and how and when was this revenue collected? How were they administered? What was the term of the lease? What is the meaning of the different classifications? Who were the men who leased the mines?

Any information that can be gained from these new texts is most welcome. It will be limited, by the inscriptions themselves, to the problems of the leases in the fourth century. All generalizations and conclusions are most tentative, based on the limited evidence now available from these very fragmentary texts. One or two relatively complete stelai from the third quarter of the fourth century, with dated heading preserved, would provide positive solutions to many questions and quite possibly solutions different from those suggested here. This warning is intended to take the place of the many qualifying phrases that otherwise must have been included below.

The most useful general work on the Laureion mines is Les Mines du Laurion dans l'Antiquité (Paris, 1897) by E. Ardaillon. This is a comprehensive study of the mines from all angles, including history, geology, mining methods, legal procedures, etc. New evidence from the inscriptions has, however, made the work somewhat out of date on the questions of the fourth century leases.¹

¹ Ardaillon includes most of the relevant material from earlier studies, of which the two most comprehensive are Boeckh, "Über die Laurischen Silberbergwerke," in *Abhandlungen Ak. Berlin*, 1815, pp. 85-140 and A. Cordella, *Le Laurium*, 1871.

The more recent publications include: K. Fitzler, "Steinbrücke und Bergwerke in Ptol. und Röm. Ägypten," Leipziger Hist. Abhandlungen, 1910, XXI, pp. 13-15; Oikonomos, Ath. Mitt. XXXV, 1910, pp. 274-322, the original publication of I. G., II², 1582, with full commentary and discussion; Orth, in P. W. K., R.E., Suppl. IV, 1924, s. v. Bergbau; Ernst Schönbauer, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaurechts," Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung, XII, 1929, 13-31;

Curiously enough the only two stones with dated headings preserved, No. 1 of 367/6 and No. 34 of 307/6, roughly represent the limits of the period to which the inscriptions are to be assigned. At least one stele preceded our No. 1, but perhaps only one, for the renewals of leases are there recorded simply ἐκ τῆς στήλης without an archon's name to tell which stele is referred to. In the later texts (see 13, 16, 18, 19, 20), renewals are always recorded $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa$ της στήλης της $\dot{\epsilon}m\dot{\epsilon} - - \dot{\alpha}\rho\chi \rho\nu\tau$ ος. At the other end, the latest fragments can be dated by their letter forms to the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century.2 The single column non-opisthographic stelai, with relatively few leases (such as 1, 2, 3, 28, 34) are found at the beginning and end of the series, whereas the large opisthographic stelai with several columns to each face (13, 14, 15, 16) can all be dated in the third quarter of the century. Thus the stones themselves, fragmentary as they are, give a clear picture of the rise and fall of the mining industry at Laureion in the fourth century. The industry was slow in recovering after the Peloponnesian War and the disastrous escape of the slaves, on whom the mining operations were dependent; it flourished in the years of attempted recovery following the Social War, and then declined sharply at the end of the century when the gold released by Alexander's conquests brought a reduction in the value of silver.3

The absence of inscribed fragments of mining leases from other periods 4 does

George M. Calhoun, "Ancient Athenian Mining," in *Journal of Economic and Business History*, III (1931) pp. 333-361, a useful summary of recent material; Arnaldo Momigliano, "Sull' Amministrazione delle miniere del Laurio," in *Athenaeum*, Pavia, n. s. X, 1932, pp. 247-258; M. Cary, "Sources of Silver for the Greek World," in *Mélanges Glotz*, I, 1932, pp. 133-142; Ulrich Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, 1934, pp. 19-31, 49-58.

² The latest specific reference to the poletai, apart from the lexicographers who clearly derive their information from the fourth century orators and Aristotle, is in their record of 307/6, No. 34 below (I.G., II², 1589). It seems not impossible that some time in the first half of the third century with the decline in the mining industry and the cessation of the inscribed records of the leases the office passed out of existence and that the other half of their job, the sale of confiscated property, was handled by some other officials.

³ See Ardaillon, op. cit., pp. 150-158, for full references and discussion, and Cary, Mélanges Glotz, I, pp. 139-142. It may be noted that the marked increase in the number of leases falls in the period in which Euboulos was the dominant financial adviser, ca. 354-340, rather than in the time of Lykourgos, 338-326. No basic change in the methods of leasing the mines, however, is found between 367 and 307 (the two dated headings). Therefore if the fourth century revival is due to the financial planning of any one man, Kallistratos of Aphidna, dominant between 373 and 366, might be suggested. (cf. [Aristotle], Oecon., II, 1350 a, for his financial reforms in Macedonia). There is no evidence that the proposals made in Xenophon's Πόροι, iv (see below, p. 203), were put into effect.

⁴ In Attic inscriptions of the fifth century I have found only two references that may apply to the Laureion mines. Both the Parthenon and Propylaia building inscriptions list receipts from the treasurers of the Hephaistikon from Laureion: $[\pi a \rho \hat{\alpha} \tau a \mu] \iota \hat{o} \nu h \epsilon \phi a [\iota] \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \hat{o} \hat{\alpha} \pi \hat{o} \Lambda a \nu \rho \epsilon [i_0 - -] (I.G., I^2, 347, line 15; 348, line 60; and 366, line 14). The Hephaistikon is probably a mine (cf. ['Hφaι] στιακ [όν] in No. 8, line 14), but possibly a sanctuary (cf. Dinsmoor, A.J.A., XXV, 1921, p. 239, and Kahrstedt, op. cit., p. 51, note 3). The second reference is in a fragmentary decree re$

not mean that similar methods of leasing the mines were not used both earlier and later.⁵ It seems clear however that it was only in the fourth century that the records were inscribed on marble stelai and set up in the Agora at Athens. The provenience of the inscriptions suggests that these stelai must once have stood near the Bouleuterion and the Tholos, probably either in the open square just south of the Bouleuterion or in the area to the east of the Tholos.⁶ The functions of the poletai were closely connected with the Boule,⁷ and their records might logically have been put up near the Bouleuterion.

Form of Record

A separate stele was set up each year by the poletai at the end of their term of office, recording the mines leased and the confiscated property sold. Wherever both are found on the same stele, the text is divided by subject matter. On No. 1, the sale of confiscated property precedes the leases of the mines; in Nos. 13, 14, and 16, the sales follow the leases.

⁵ The boast of the sausage seller in Aristophanes, Knights, line 362, "ἀνήσομαι μέταλλα" suggests similar leases at least as early as 424 B.C.

⁶ Fifty-seven pieces, representing 25 of the 32 stelai of which fragments have been found in the Agora, are from this general region (sections B and Z). Twenty-three pieces, assigned to six stelai (2, 4, 11, 13, 16, 34) are from the Bouleuterion Square. No. 13 was clearly broken up there, where all but one of the 19 fragments were found; the two joining pieces of 13d were in the foundation packing for the Fountain House built on the south side of the Square in the time of Augustus (Hesperia, Suppl., IV, pp. 102-103). Nos. 4, 13m, 13n, and 16b, were used in the Screen Wall at the south and west of the square, dating from the first century A.D. (ibid. and Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 168). Fourteen pieces assigned to eight stelai were found east of the Tholos, 5, 6, 12, 16, 20, 23, 29, 31; one of these, near the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa, was in a context of the end of the fourth century, and five were in late Roman contexts. The complete stele, No. 1, was found under the floor of the Tholos in a context of the late fourth and early third centuries. No. 17 was found further south among the working chips for the Propylon of the Tholos Precinct, which dates from the time of Augustus (Hesperia, Suppl. IV, p. 121).

⁷ See Aristotle, 'Aθ. Πολ., 47, 2. The Boule may have had to approve each mining lease. The text 47, 2 is somewhat ambiguous and the phrase καὶ κυροῦσιν ὅτφ ὰν ἡ βουλὴ χειροτονήση may apply either to the preceding clause, or to the one that follows on mining leases (see below, p. 199).

⁸ Sales of confiscated property are recorded on the same stelai with the mining leases in Nos. 1, 7, 13, 14, 16, and probably Nos. 17, 24, and 30. The hitherto unpublished pieces form a very small part of the new material and will be discussed only in the commentary on the texts.

⁹ These three are incomplete opisthographic stelai with more than one column to a face. In No. 16 the text dealing with confiscated property is in the two right-hand columns of one face; the two other columns of this face, in so far as the text is preserved, deal with the mines. The same is

In two of the four preserved headings, after the archon, the poletai are listed by name (Nos. 1 and 24); in the other two (Nos. 34 and 37) from near the end of the century their names are clearly omitted. In the only complete record (No. 1 of 367/6) the leases are arranged in chronological order according to the prytany, and in that year mines were leased in every prytany except the sixth, eighth, and tenth. A prytany date is preserved in three other texts including that of 307/6. Thus it seems probable that throughout the century mines were leased at various times throughout the year. The day of the month, the second, is also given in the record of 307/6 (No. 34, lines 2-3, 11-12). The evidence from the large stelai of the 'forties and 'thirties suggests, however, that the bulk of the leases may have been made at the beginning of the year in the first prytany. On a given date of registration the normal practice seems to have been for the poletai to list first the higher priced mines (probably all of these were renewals) and then the new leases district by district. There are a few exceptions, but a glance at the chart will show this to be the usual procedure.

Typical Lease

A typical record for the individual mine includes the name of the lessee (or purchaser),¹² the price, sometimes the name of the man who registers the mine, the name, place, and classification of the mine, and it lists the boundaries on the four sides. It also often includes the name of the owner of the property in which the mine was situated and notes the presence (and rarely the absence) of a marker. For example, lines 6-13 of No. 20 read: ¹⁸

At Thalinos, Thoutimides of Sounion registered from the stele of Euboulos, the ergasimon mine Artemisiakon in Nape (which is) in the property

true of the three legible columns of the other face. In Nos. 13 and 14 the records of confiscated property are from the right-hand column of one face. Thus I have called these face B in each case, and assigned these texts to the last columns of the stelai.

¹⁰ No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582, lines 61-62), first prytany; No. 32 (= I.G., II², 1587, line 10), second prytany; No. 34, lines 2-3, 10-11, first and third prytanies.

¹¹ In No. 16, the heading introducing the *ergasima* mines leased in the first prytany is in the middle of the third column. Six and a fraction of the eight columns of this stele recorded mining leases. At least two and a half columns would thus contain leases made in the first prytany. The absence of preserved prytany date in Nos. 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, and 20 suggests that dates did not appear frequently and therefore perhaps only a few are named in each record.

¹² I have consistently translated the Greek ωνητής as lessee rather than purchaser. There is no doubt that the mining rights were state-owned and the mines leased for a given period of years (see below). See Ardaillon, op. cit., pp. 169-170, for other examples of the use of words denoting

buying or selling, where the instrument involved is a lease.

¹³ I have not indicated the restorations in the translation. The fact that no record could be found (as an example of the normal lease) which was not partly based on restorations is an indication of the incompleteness of these texts.

 $(\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\acute{a}\phi\eta)$ of --, of which the boundaries are, at the north, the Artemisiakon mine which is being worked by --, at the south, the gully which runs from Nape and the workshop of Epikrates, at the east, the property $(\chi\omega\rho\acute{a})$ of Teleson and his house, at the west, a workshop, the lessee, Thoutimides son of Phanias of Sounion, (the price) 150 drachmai.

This lease varies from the norm in apparently having two place names Thalinos and Nape and in the omission of the patronymic of the registrant in the first line.

The order of the items usually included in the first half of the lease (the name of the mine, the place, the classification) varies not only in the leases recorded on different stelai, but between one lease and another on the same stele. In the earliest text, No. 1 of 367/6, the records are somewhat simpler and briefer with registrant and classification both regularly omitted.

Names of Mines

The individual mines were named for a divinity, a hero, an operator, a deme or perhaps its mythical hero, e. g., Artemisiakon, Archegeteion, Diphileion, Kerameikon, Hagnousiakon, etc. The endings -eion and -kon are the neuter forms of the common adjectival endings -eios and -(i)kos. By the fourth century they have no specific meaning beyond an indication of general relationship. As used in the mine names they probably imply under the protection of, owned by, discovered by. From our distant point of view, these names seem to have little significance, for the same name is clearly used for different mines, both in the same district and in different districts. Note two Hermaikons at Laureion recorded on the same stele, and two Archegeteions, one at Thorikos, and one at Besa, and Artemisiakons at Thorikos, Thrasymos, Sounion and Anaphlystos. Artemisiakon seems to have been the favorite name. Perhaps there was an early very successful mine of that name. Perhaps Artemis was believed to favor miners.

Location

The location of each mine is given usually in relation to the nearest town or village. 16 It seems clear that the ἐπὶ Σουνίωι, Θορικοῖ, etc., of the texts refer to towns

¹⁴ Chantraine, La Formation des noms en grec ancien, pp. 60, 391.

¹⁵ No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582, lines 62-69, 75-83); No. 1, lines 65-67, 72-76; No. 6, lines 8-12 et al.; No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582, lines 142-144); No. 13, lines 61-66; No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582, lines 112-117).

¹⁶ Cf. Hesperia, X, 1941, pp. 28-30. John Young also suggests that the place named in the texts may at times be the place of registration rather than the approximate location of the mine. This hypothesis would explain the last record on No. 1, which records a mine at Sounion at Besa. The roads and property named in the boundaries make it clear however that in most of the leases

rather than demes, inasmuch as no one of the demes in the district (notably $\Phi \rho \acute{e}a\rho\rho\sigma$) which did not have a corresponding town name is ever given as the location of a mine, whereas other towns such as Laureion, Thrasymos, Aulon, and Maroneia, which must have belonged to one of the demes, are given as locations.

The items describing the precise position of each mine are largely self-explanatory. The stele named in most of the texts is probably a marker, like that used on mortgaged property. Eight of these markers ¹⁸ of mines have been found. Some have only the name of the mine; others name the lessee as well.

The owner of the property in which the mine was situated is normally given. This property is called $\chi\omega\rho i\alpha$ in No. 1 ¹⁹ and $\epsilon\delta\dot{\alpha}\phi\eta$ in the other texts. It is doubtful if there is any very real distinction between the two words as used in these texts. $\chi\omega\rho i\alpha$ and $\chi\omega\rho i\alpha$ do, however, continue to be named in the boundaries, after $\epsilon\delta\dot{\alpha}\phi\eta$ has become the word regularly used to describe the property in which the mine lay. One might suggest that $\chi\omega\rho i\alpha\nu$ has a somewhat rural agricultural connotation and for this reason the more general word $\epsilon\delta\dot{\alpha}\phi\eta$ ²⁰ came to be used in the mining district where much of the property must have been non-agricultural.

Boundaries

The most frequent items named in the boundaries of the mines are workshops, ἐργαστήρια, and other private property. A workshop is named or can be restored in 83 cases, and other private property in about 72 cases.²¹ It is not surprising to find the workshops heading the list, for the separation of the ore from the extraneous stone would naturally be made as close to the mine as possible to avoid transportation costs. The impure ore, galena, was broken up into small pieces, and then placed on washing tables in which the heavier ore would be deposited and the lighter impurities carried away by the flow of water. Many of these washing establishments are still extant in the mining district.²² The smelting of the ore, on the other hand, was

in which $B\eta\sigma\hat{\eta}\sigma\nu$, for example, is found, the mine was in the region of Besa. Since there is only that one record of a double location in which the two places are mutually exclusive (see Chart), I assume that to be an exception or error.

- ¹⁷ Mines at Maroneia and Aulon are described ἐν Μαρωνείαι and ἐν Αὐλῶνι, which suggests that they may have been district names also, but since roads leading to or from them are named I assume that there was at least a village center.
 - ¹⁸ I. G., II², 2634-2638; Ath. Mitt., LXII, 1937, pp. .11-13, nos. 11-13.
- ¹⁹ The use of $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ τοῖς χωρίοις in No. 1, line 67, makes it fairly certain that the word χωρίοις is the one to be supplied in the other records on this text which read $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ τοῖς $\Delta\eta\mu$ οφίλο, etc.
- ²⁰ Cf. Demosthenes, XXVI, 11, and Isaios, XI, 42, where the word is used to describe property in general; it is used by Isaios for property which included both land and houses.
- ²¹ This includes property described as $\delta\delta\phi\eta$ (when named in the boundaries) or as $\chi\omega\rho\delta\nu$, the occasional house, and also the examples of a proper name in the nominative case.
- ²² Ardaillon, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-74. The mills, figs. 19 and 22, pp. 61 and 69, which he illustrates as examples of mills in which the ore was broken, seem rather to be ordinary flour mills.

presumably concentrated in a relatively few places, requiring not only special metallurgical knowledge, but also a more elaborate establishment with furnace and chimney.²³ A smelting furnace, $\kappa \acute{a}\mu \iota \nu o s$, is named only six times in the boundaries of the mines.²⁴ Since the proportion of $\acute{e}\rho \gamma a \sigma \tau \acute{\eta} \rho \iota a$ to $\kappa \acute{a}\mu \iota \nu o \iota$ in the texts fits well with the probabilities, we can assume that in most cases the $\acute{e}\rho \gamma a \sigma \tau \acute{\eta} \rho \iota o \nu$ was a washing establishment.²⁵ Wherever possible each mine or cutting would have had one beside it.

Mines are named as the boundary of another mine in only 33 cases. This relatively low number of directly adjacent mines is not surprising, if, as seems probable, most of the "mines" were small units, probably single cuttings.

Lastly, natural features of the landscape, such as roads, gullies, and occasionally a hill, are given as the boundaries of a mine. Many details of considerable topographical interest are found in this new material, particularly in that related to the roads. A careful survey of this region, with this new evidence in mind, might make it possible to establish the definite location of some of the towns and villages, roads and gullies, mines and property, named in the texts.

There are no two records preserved in the inscriptions that can with certainty be said to refer to the same mine. Undoubtedly there are repeats that are not recognized as such. This is partly due to the incompleteness of the texts and the uncertainties in restoration. The minor variations in the form of the records and the use of different abbreviations for the same word on the same stone ²⁶ make the restorations in these texts, in spite of the *stoichedon* line, even more suspect than those on many other types of inscriptions.

There are other factors that make it difficult to recognize repeats. Not only was the same name used for different mines but also, if one assumes that many of the mines were leased as a speculation and worked perhaps for only one term, the adjoining land, whose chief value must have been for use in connection with the mines, may have been bought and sold at short intervals. Thus the workshop of Lysitheides in one text may be the same as that of Phanostratos in another text.

The difficulties of positive identification of repeats are best pointed up by a glance at the seven records of mines called Artemisiakon at Thorikos.²⁷ Property of Lysi-

²³ See Ardaillon, op. cit., pp. 59-89, for a description of the different steps in extracting and refining the ore.

²⁴ No. 1, line 54; No. 5, line 85; No. 13, lines 11 and 57; No. 19, line 25; No. 32 (— *I.G.*, II² 1588), line 6. A furnace is named once on a mortgage stone, *I. G.*, II², 2750. In only three cases is the location preserved, one at Laureion, one at Thrasymos, and a third at Maroneia.

²⁵ See, however, Demosthenes, XXXVII, 28; the implications of the text are that the silver was smelted from the ore in the much mortgaged ergasterion which is the subject of the oration. If true, it is perhaps an exception. The $\kappa\epsilon\gamma\chi\rho\epsilon\omega\nu$ named in the same oration (§ 26) is not to be confused with the smelting furnace; it is the place where the ore was crushed or broken and so probably to be associated with the washing establishments. Cf. Ardaillon, op. cit., p. 62.

²⁶ Cf. on No. 20 ήλίου δυομέ: in line 5; δυομένου in line 12; and προς ήλίου δυο: in line 16.

²⁷ No. 6, lines 8-12; No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582), lines 135-139; No. 18, lines 71-75; No. 19,

theides of Kikynna (or his children) is named in three, the workshop of Pheidippos in three, and a road or roads in several. It seems probable that at least two or three of the records are of the same mine, but since identical boundaries are not found in any of them, one cannot be certain.

That partial identity of boundaries is insufficient for the identification of two mines is clear from a glance at two leases recorded on No. 1, lines 44-47, 79-81. Both are unnamed mines at Sounion, both are leased by Pheidippos of Pithos, both are in the property of the children of Charmylos, both bounded on the south by property of Leukios of Sounion, and on the north by property belonging to a man from Aigilia, Pyrrakos in one, and Kleokritos for the other. The east and west boundaries are not given. If these two records had been found on separate pieces, instead of on the same stele, the identity of the mines would have seemed certain.

Thus until further evidence is found, either from a survey of the district, or from the discovery of more and better preserved texts, one cannot decide whether two records in which some of the boundaries correspond are of the same mine or of two separate mines near each other.

Classification, Form of Registration, Length of Lease, Prices.

The leases can be divided into two types. In the first, the smaller group, the phrase $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa \tau \eta \hat{s} \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta \hat{s}$ or $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa \tau \eta \hat{s} \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta \hat{s} \tau \dot{\eta} \hat{s} \dot{\epsilon} \tau \dot{h} - - \ddot{\epsilon}\rho \chi \sigma \nu \tau \sigma \hat{s}$ is always included, and in the second it is regularly omitted. In the records of the third quarter of the fourth century, these mines registered or brought forward from an earlier stele are classified as ergasima, and this word is never used without a reference to an earlier stele. In the record of 367/6, No. 1, no classifications are named, but the five leases there recorded $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa \tau \eta \hat{s} \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta \hat{s}$ are certainly to be included in the group of ergasima mines. In the second type of lease in which an earlier record is not mentioned, the mines are classified as anasaxima or palaia anasaxima (again absent in No. 1 and probably in Nos. 2 and 3). A kainotomia, new cutting, is named in five of the late texts of which none can be earlier than the fourth quarter of the century. The texts are too fragmentary to indicate what type of lease was used, and except in one case too fragmentary to show whether the kainotomia was a mine being leased or a cutting named in the boundaries of another mine.

Before discussing the meanings of these terms (which I have called classifications) it will be well to look at the different methods of registration and at the prices.

Three forms of registration are used:

A. No registrant is named and the verb ἀπεγράψατο or εἰσήνενκε is omitted.

lines 4-9; No. 32, (=I.G., II², 1587), lines 17-19; and probably No. 20, lines 25-30; No. 29, lines 2-9.

- B. Both a registrant and a lessee are named and are the same person. A variant of this form is found in two texts, Nos. 14 and 15, in which a registrant and verb are present, but a lessee as such is not named and the price is introduced by the word $\tau \iota \mu \dot{\eta}$.
- C. Both registrant and lessee are named and are different persons.

Form A, in which no registrant is named, is the only one used in the early stele of 367/6, No. 1 (and perhaps also in No. 3). There it is used both for the five leases "from the stele," and for 12 leases for 20 drachmai each. Since in the later texts both the *ergasima* mines and those leased for 20 drachmai are registered with form B, it can be assumed that here the absence of registrant is equivalent to the form in which registrant and lessee are the same. But in the later texts this form is also used for some of the higher priced *anasaxima* and *palaia anasaxima* mines.

Form B, in which registrant and lessee are both named and are the same, is used for *ergasima* mines in the more developed phraseology of the third quarter of the century. In the single exception, No. 18, lines 18-22, where registrant and lessee are different, a previous operator is named in the text, a fact which suggests some irregularity in this renewal (see below, commentary on No. 18). It is also used for *palaia anasaxima* mines (and one *anasaximon*) leased at 20 drachmai. Note that in no case in which a price of 20 drachmai is preserved are the registrant and lessee different. The only examples of *anasaxima* mines registered and leased by the same person at a price higher than 20 drachmai are in one of the later texts, No. 32.

Form C, in which registrant and lessee are different, is not used for *ergasima* mines, save for the one exception noted above, but is found in the records of mines classed as *anasaxima* and *palaia anasaxima*. Note that the prices correspond closely to those of the *ergasima* mines. The registrant in this form must be the man who had the former lease.

A comparison of the methods of registration with the classifications and the prices paid thus suggests that a mine originally registered as *palaion anasaximon* if re-registered by the same person would be classed as *ergasimon*, if by a different person usually as *anasaximon* but occasionally still as *palaion anasaximon*.²⁸

²⁸ There is only one certain example of a mine registered and leased by the same person listed as anasaximon (No. 16 = I.G., II² 1582, lines 123-129). This could easily be explained as an accidental omission of palaion on the part of the stone cutter. See also No. 26, lines 1-7, where normal restorations suggest another example of the same registrant and lessee for an anasaximon mine. There are two certain examples of mines listed as palaia anasaxima leased for 150 drachmai which are apparently new leases of a concession already granted, and in one of which the registrant and lessee are different (No. 16 = I.G., II², 1582, lines 45-51, 56-60). There are four other cases in which restorations suggest that palaion was included in leases of this group: No. 9, lines 10-16; No. 10, lines 6-14; No. 18, lines 33-37; and No. 20, lines 53-58.

The distinction between *ergasimon* and *anasaximon* thus seems to be only a question of whether the same or a different man continues the work on the mine. These two differ from a *palaion anasaximon* in that work has already been started.

The word *ergasimon* seems to be used in its active sense, i. e., applied to a mine that is working, that is a going concern, rather than in its more common passive sense "capable of being worked." ²⁹

Anasaximon is found only in these texts and the meaning is not known. The word is defined in Liddell, Scott and Jones, Greek-English Lexicon, as "a mine that is reopened and worked." 30 A palaion anasaximon mine would then be an "old mine that is re-opened" (or is to be re-opened). If, however, palaion anasaximon was normally used only in new leases, and anasaximon in renewals in which the lease changed hands, a broader meaning for the term is not excluded. It need not be limited to the old mines, but might be applied to any mine on which work was being done. What the word actually meant in the mining jargon of the fourth century we do not know; it apparently could be applied to any of the mines that were being operated in the third quarter of the century. The fact that anasaxima mines and a new cutting, kainotomia, appear on the same stone, No. 32 (= $I.G. \text{ II}^2$, 1587, lines 5-6, 13) does not necessarily mean that the two terms were mutually exclusive. A lease in which the mine was described as a new cutting would presumably be a new lease, and registered in the same way as the new leases of palaia anasaxima. When the original lease came up for renewal the classification would change just as in the other leases, probably to ergasimon if the same man renewed it, and possibly to anasaximon if another operator took over.

The meaning of kainotomia at least seems clear, "a new cutting," that is, a new mine. Both inscriptions and literary references suggest that very few new mines were opened during the second and third quarters of the fourth century. In the inscriptions the word is found only in five of the late texts. Few or no new mines were being opened in the 'fifties (Xenophon, Πόροι, iv, 27-28). In Hyperides' Fourth Oration (which is dated to the period of 330-326 B.C.) we are told that ai καινοτομίαι, πρότερον ἐκλελειμμέναι διὰ τὸν φόβον, νῦν ἐνεργοί (36). The statement is part of a rhetorical plea praising the jurors for the wisdom shown in past cases in which mine operators

²⁹ L. S. and J., *Greek-English Lex.*, sub. v., second meaning; cf. I.G., II², 2498, line 17, for a comparable contemporary use.

³⁰ Kahrstedt, op. cit., p. 54, suggests that the anasaxima are pits or shafts, and the ergasima open workings; the present texts however suggest a distinction in type of lease rather than in type of working. For further discussion, see Oikonomos, op. cit., pp. 300-301, and Kirchner, I.G., II², commentary on 1582.

³¹ No. 28, line 6; No. 32 (= I.G., II², 1587), lines 5-6; No. 33, line 2; No. 35, line 3, and No. 38, lines 1 and 8. The word is also found on two boundary stones, Ath. Mitt., LXII, 1937, pp. 11-12.

had been acquitted of false charges brought by sycophants, and therefore somewhat suspect. Yet there seems to be some truth in it, for it is just about this same time that new cuttings first appear on the inscriptions.

Three other kinds of "cuttings" appear in the texts: κατατομή, ἐπικατατομή, and συντομή. ³² They never are the subject of a lease themselves, but are named in the lease of a mine, μέταλλον καὶ κατατομήν. We do not know the meanings of any of them. Apparently they are some kind of additional cutting which is specifically named as included with the mine.

The only contemporary account of the mining leases is found in Aristotle's description of the duties of the poletai, 'Aθ, Πολ., 47, 2: μισθοῦσι δὲ τὰ μισθώματα πάντα, καὶ τὰ μέταλλα πωλοῦσι καὶ τὰ τέλη μετὰ τοῦ ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν ήρημένων ἐναντίον τῆς [βουλῆς] καὶ κυροῦσιν, ὅτω ἂν ἡ βουλὴ χειροτονήση, καὶ τὰ πραθέντα μέταλλα τά τ' ἐργάσιμα τὰ εἰς τρία ἔτη πεπραμένα καὶ τὰ συγκεχωρημένα $\tau \dot{\alpha} \epsilon is [\cdot] \xi \eta \pi \epsilon \pi \rho \alpha \mu \epsilon \nu a$. There has been great diversity of opinion in the efforts to correlate the classifications found on the inscriptions with those in Aristotle, chiefly due to the uncertainties of the exact meaning of the terms ergasima and anasaxima and to the conviction that the kainotomiai should form one of Aristotle's two groups. With the increased number of texts now available, two types of leases are distinguishable in the inscriptions which clearly must be equated with the two groups given by Aristotle. The ergasima mines of Aristotle will of course be the ergasima recorded from earlier stelai of the inscriptions; the συγκεχωρημένα, those "that have been conceded," i. e., for which concessions are being granted will include both the anasaxima and palaia anasaxima, which for most of the period covered by the inscriptions represented the bulk of the leases, and probably the occasional kainotomia.⁸³ Actually the word kainotomia does not appear on any inscription that need be earlier than 325 B.C., the terminus ante quem for the composition of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία.

There is no definitive evidence on the duration of the leases in the texts, for no stone preserves both a dated heading and the record of a renewal in which an archon's name is preserved. According to Aristotle the *ergasima* mines were leased for a period of three years, those that were conceded for a different term of years. Unfortunately the number is illegible on the papyrus. The traces of the letter preceding $\xi \tau \eta$ are said to resemble either a gamma (3) or an iota (10).³⁴ Three is excluded since that is the number given for the first category and ten has been restored in many of the editions.

The slight evidence from the inscriptions suggests a term of seven rather than

³² κατατομή: No. 1, lines 53, 72; No. 2, lines 18-19; No. 5, lines 75-76; No. 16 (= *I.G.*, II, 1582), line 70. ἐπικατατομή: No. 6, lines 5, 14; No. 16, Face A, Col. II, line 50 and Col. IV (= *I.G.*, II², 1582, line 137). συντομή; No. 32 (= *I.G.*, II², 1587), line 15.

⁸³ Cf. Calhoun, op. cit., p. 354, and Schönbauer, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

³⁴ Kenyon, Oxford text 1920, et al.

ten years for the longer leases.³⁵ In this case the papyrus reading would have been Z (or I).³⁶ In interpreting the evidence from the inscriptions I have assumed that each stele was the record for one year only, that Aristotle's three year term for the short lease is correct, and that a mine recorded as *ergasimon* on one stele could be either a renewal of a long term lease or of a short term lease (see above).

In the nine renewals of leases from earlier stelai in which a verb is preserved, ἀπεγράψατο "registered" is used four times, εἰσήνενκε "brought forward" five times, απα in two of the latter a previous operator or lessee is named. In the two inscriptions in which records with both verbs are preserved they are used for different types of renewals.

In No. 16, in the records of the two leases from the stele of Kallimachos (349/8), the verb ἀπεγράψατο is used. In that from the stele of Theophilos (348/7) the verb is εἰσήνενκε and the former operator or lessee is named. Similarly in No. 19 the first and third leases, which are renewals from the stele of Sosigenes (342/1), have εἰσήνενκε (but no reference to an earlier lessee), and in the second the verb ἀπεγράψατο is used, and the available space makes the restoration of Sosigenes as archon of the earlier stele, mentioned in this lease, impossible.

The sales of confiscated property recorded on No. 16 make 342/1 the most probable date for the stele; an earlier date is precluded and a date more than two or three years later is highly improbable. Further, the stele cannot date from 340/39.37

This gives a minimum of seven years for the leases renewed from the stele of Kallimachos, and a probable maximum of eight or ten. Nine is excluded. They cannot be Aristotle's short term leases of three years, and will be his long term lease, in which the mines in the original lease were presumably registered as anasaxima or palaia anasaxima and are now being re-registered as ergasima. Apparently when the classification was changed, the act of recording was considered a new registration, and the same verb was used as for the new leases.

With ἀπεγράψατο tentatively assigned to the long term leases, let us assume that εἰσήνενκε (when used without mention of a previous operator) was used for the short

35 That the period for the second group was longer than the three years of the first is confirmed by a passage in Hyperides, IV, 35-36: Epikrates who had already worked his mine for three years was brought to trial but acquitted and the dikasts, την ὑπόλοιτιον ἐργασίαν τοῦ μετάλλου ἐβεβαίωσαν.

³⁶ Blass, in his fourth edition (1903) of the 'A θ . Ho λ ., notes that the lacuna before the second $\xi \tau \eta$ is somewhat wide and that there may have been a vacant space after the numeral. A zeta would better fit such a space than an iota.

³⁷ Penalties are being imposed for payments in default due in the ninth prytany of 343/2, and the property of Philokrates of Hagnous is being sold in the fourth month. The trial in which his property was confiscated is dated to the winter of 343/2 (Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, III², i, p. 544; Schäfer, *Demosthenes*, II² p. 368, note 1). The following year 342/1 would seem the probable date for the sales in both these cases, although a delay of a year or two is not impossible (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 412). In 340/39, the tribe Kekropis held one of the prytanies near the end of the year (*I.G.*, II², 233); since it is named as the first prytany in No. 16 (III^2 , 1582, lines 61-62) this cannot be the stele of 340/39.

term leases, i. e. for renewals of records in which the mine had already been classified as ergasimon in the earlier record. Since no change of classification was to take place, the record was simply "brought forward." In No. 19 then the two leases brought forward from the stele of Sosigenes will be three year leases, and the stele will date from the year 339/8. The other renewal on this same stone, in which ἀπεγράψατο is preserved, would be a long term lease. The name of the archon from whose stele the lease was registered is limited to 5-8 letters (No. 19, line 10). The names of the archons for 349/8 and 347/6, Kallimachos and Themistokles are both too long. If the stele is from 339/8, a term of ten or eight years is thus impossible. The archon for 349/8 would be improbable anyway since that is the year used in No. 16 for long term renewals. A nine year term was excluded in No. 16. Archias, archon in 346/5, can be restored and the seven year period, seen to be the most probable in No. 16, thus fitted into this text.³⁸

In No. 34, of the year of Anaxikrates (307/6), either a seven or ten year period is possible in the restorations on fragment b.

The two records of ergasima mines where the former lessee is specifically referred to in the text (No. 16 [= I.G., II², 1582, lines 75-83], and No. 18, lines 18-22) are probably renewals which for some reason came up before the expiration of the original lease. Perhaps the former lessee had died, perhaps he had lost his rights as a result of court action of some sort before his lease had expired.

The sequence for a particular lease would seem to be something like this:

A man wishing to lease a new concession (not necessarily and not usually a new mine) would register it with the poletai giving a description of the mine and its location. If approved by the Boule, the lease would be granted and the man listed both as registrant and lessee. If the mine in question was an old working, it would be classified as palaion anasaximon and the price would be 20 drachmai. Towards the end of the century the price for new leases of old workings seems to have risen to 150 drachmai.³⁹ This original lease would last for seven (possibly ten) years. If at that time the same man renewed his lease, the mine would be classified as ergasimon, the term of the lease would be three years, and the price would be 150 drachmai or more.⁴⁰ Since the classification of the mine had changed, this was considered a new registration and the same verb was used as in the new leases. If the same man renewed his lease a third time, three years later, there would be no change in classification and the lease would be recorded as "brought forward," not as "registered." If, however, the

³⁸ So far as the text itself is concerned, either Euboulos (345/4), Lykiskos (344/3), or Theophilos (348/7) could equally well be restored.

³⁹ See the two examples of anasaxima mines registered and leased by the same person of which the price was 150 dr.: No. 32 (I.G., II², 1587, line 19, and I.G., II², 1588, line 8).

⁴⁰ 150 is the only price preserved for leases of *ergasima* mines in the 'forties and 'thirties. The higher prices preserved in some of the fragmentary texts, however, are probably for *ergasima* mines. In 367/6 two were leased for 1550 dr. each.

original lessee did not renew his lease and another operator wished to take it over immediately, the first would be named as registrant, and the new man as lessee; the earlier lease would not be specifically referred to in the inscription, the mine would be classified as *anasaximon*, the term of the lease would be seven years and the price might be the same as it would have been had the original lessee renewed his own lease, i. e., ca. 150 drachmai.

If our hypothetical original lessee did not renew his lease, and if no one else took the lease at that time, a year or two later some other operator might lease the mine. When he registered it, since he was neither the previous lessee, nor was the concession entirely unworked, he would be enrolled as lessee, but no registrant named, the mine would be classified as anasaximon, and the price would be about 150 drachmai.

The prices of 76 leases are preserved in the texts, and, of these, thirty are 150 drachmai, twenty-two are 20 drachmai.⁴¹

Thus most of the concessions seem to have been of about the same size, probably only a single cutting or gallery, of which the normal price for a new concession was 20 drachmai, and for many of the renewals 150 drachmai. The higher priced leases, perhaps all of them renewals, will be either of the occasional larger unit or less probably of a mine in which a more productive vein has been found.

A price of 9000 drachmai for a mine is mentioned in one of Demosthenes' speeches (XXXVII, 22). In another speech the plaintiff complains that he owed the city three talents, one talent for each of the three shares he held in a mine that had been confiscated (Demosthenes, XLII, 3). In this case a fine was probably involved and so the price of each share may have been 3000 drachmai (half a talent).⁴² Although these are higher prices than any found in the inscriptions, of which the two highest are 6100 and 2000 drachmai,⁴³ there is no good reason to assume that they represent another kind of payment. In the only other contemporary literary evidence, Mantitheos claimed that he and his father had borrowed 2000 drachmai for the purchase of some mines (Demosthenes, XL, 52), which corresponds closely with the average prices on the inscriptions. The higher prices are clearly the exception and it would be the holders of these more expensive leases who would be most apt to become involved in a law suit.

The inscriptions and the three references in the contemporary speeches are the

⁴¹ A charge of having extorted 20 drachmai from each lessee was brought against Moirokles (Demosthenes, XIX, 293). There seems to be no direct connection with the prices.

⁴² Ardaillon, op. cit., p. 186.

⁴³ No. 16 (= Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 404, line 299) and No. 18, line 3. In each case the preceding text is very fragmentary and the word μέταλλον is not preserved. Since there is no available space in the lines that follow for an introductory phrase to indicate a change in subject from sales of confiscated property to mining leases (as in No. 1, line 40, and No. 16 [= Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 398, lines 10-12]) the sums can safely be assumed to be the prices of mining leases.

only existing records of revenue received by the city from the mines in the fourth century.⁴⁴ If as seems probable these prices represent the total direct revenue, the question of what the figures actually stand for is of considerable interest. Is the recorded price a single payment for the full duration of the lease, is it a payment due each year, or is it a payment due perhaps each prytany? ⁴⁵ If the price is a single payment for the full duration of the lease, the state received only 3690 drachmai from the mines in 367/6; if the price is a payment due anually, the record for that year would represent an income to the city of something over 12,000 drachmai, or two talents; if it was a payment due ten times each year it represented a revenue of some 20 talents. On No. 16, perhaps of 342/1, the prices that are actually preserved add up to 8060 drachmai; from the size of the stone one can safely assume a minimum of 18,000 drachmai or three talents for this year on the basis of a single payment, of at least 16 talents on the basis of annual payments, or of 160 talents if the prices are payments due ten times a year.⁴⁶

An argument ex silentio against the theory that the prices were to be paid each prytany can be found in Xenophon's Hópou. In that pamphlet, of ca. 355 B.c., a long chapter (iv) is devoted to proposals for increasing the state revenues from the mines. The author, after proving to his own satisfaction that the silver at Laureion is inexhaustible and that silver can never be a glut on the market, makes two specific recommendations: one, that the state purchase slaves to be rented to the mine operators, and second, that companies be formed so that the financial risk in making new cuttings would be reduced and thus the expansion needed to absorb the slave labor would take place. He estimates that if the state start with 1200 slaves, the annual revenue would be 60 talents, if a total of 10,000 were reached the revenue would be 100 talents (iv, 23-24). No mention whatsoever is made of the revenue from the leases. The omission

44 A tax of one twenty-fourth of the ore produced is mentioned by Suidas: 'Αγράφου μετάλλου δίκη' οἱ τὰ ἀργυρεῖα μέταλλα ἐργαζόμενοι . . . ἀπεγράφοντο τοῦ τελεῖν ἔνεκα τῷ δήμῷ εἰκοστὴν τετάρτην τοῦ καινοῦ μετάλλου.

There is no trace of the methods by which such a percentage was collected nor of officials responsible for checking and receiving this metal in fourth century Athens, and a twenty-fourth was the percentage collected from mines in Roman Imperial times. Therefore this text is in itself no evidence for such a tax in the fourth century B.C. If correctly referred to Athens, it probably describes the conditions in a later period. Cf. Momigliano, op. cit., pp. 257-258, and Ardaillon, op. cit., pp. 188-198.

A five drachma tax $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ roîs $\tilde{\epsilon}\rho\gamma$ ois found in No. 16 (— Hesperia V, 1936, p. 401, lines 129-130) is probably related to the mining industry, but is probably not a tax on the mines. It may be a tax on workshops, water rights, or something of the sort.

⁴⁵ Momigliano, op. cit., p. 254, argues for the first, Ardaillon, op. cit., p. 191, for the second, and Calhoun, op. cit., p. 360, for the third.

⁴⁶ These estimates are made on a basis of a long term lease of seven years, and a short one of three. For No. 16 I have assumed a minimum of 141 leases (see below, commentary on No. 16), seventy at 150 and seventy at 20, plus the one at the high price of 6100, that ten of those at 150 were short term leases, and that the long term period was seven years.

of this direct source of revenue is more easily understood if the income from the leases is relatively small, as would be the case if the prices represent either lump sums or annual payments. The omission is almost incomprehensible if the direct income from the leases is assumed to have been 20 talents in 367/6 and at least 160 in ca. 342/1.

The annual income of Athens is known to have increased markedly in the second half of the fourth century. It is said to have risen from a low of 130 talents in the 'fifties after the Social War, to a high of 1200 talents in the fourth quarter of the century. Clearly there was a marked increase in the direct revenue from the mines between 367/6 and 342, but since most of the components of the budget are unknown the probable amount received from the leases cannot be established. The question of what the figures on the inscriptions represent must be left unanswered. I do not believe that they were payments due each prytany, as explained above, and there is no real evidence on which to base a choice between the theories of a single payment or an annual payment.

Persons Named in Mining Texts

Many prominent Athenians of the fourth century are found among those who operated the mines and owned workshops and other property in the mining district. About half of the lessees whose names are sufficiently preserved to be identifiable are persons known from other sources (49 out of 106). Politicians such as Polyeuktos of Sphettos or Kallimedon the Crab, Hypereides the orator, Meidias and Thrasylochos of Anagyrous who helped Aphobos in his efforts to rob Demosthenes of his patrimony and against whom Demosthenes' 21st oration is directed, Nikias and Nikeratos of Kydantidai, grandson and great-grandson of the general, Phaidros of Sphettos and his father Kallias, all are found in these texts.

Many of these same men appear on the naval records as trierarchs. Mining operations were no doubt the source of the wealth which made them liable for trierarch duty, even though we know that an exemption of some sort ⁴⁹ was granted for property in the mines, in assessing the wealth on which the various liturgies depended. In some of these cases an interest in the mines had been a family undertaking, extending over more than one generation. Pheidippos of Pithos, whose name occurs eight times, served himself as trierarch, and his two sons, of whom Diphilos appears in the texts, likewise served in the same way.

⁴⁷ The evidence for the state revenues in the fourth century is assembled and discussed in Andreades, *History of Greek Public Finance* (English translation, 1933), pp. 352-355.

⁴⁹ Cf. Demosthenes, XLII, 18, and Ardaillon, op. cit., pp. 198-200.

⁴⁸ The single payment theory finds some support from the fact that the lessee is described as the purchaser, $\dot{\omega}\nu\eta\tau\dot{\eta}s$ thus suggesting that the price named is the total payment. A theory of several payments, however, gets some slight support from the use of the word καταβολή (Demosthenes XXXVII, 22) to describe the payment due on the mine. This word is normally used for part payments: cf. Aristotle, $A\theta$. Πολ., 47; No. 16 (Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 401, lines 128, 131, et al.).

One may sometimes see an indication of the growth of a family fortune. Diodoros, son of Simos of Paiania, was trierarch in 334/3 and 325/4, but the origin of his wealth was unknown. In the mining texts, his father Simos appears as lessee of a mine and as the owner of a workshop, and another son of Simos occurs also as a lessee.

Leukios of Sounion, although not known as a trierarch, must also have been a wealthy man, since he presented to the Sounians a piece of property sufficient for a public square. Not only lessees such as Leukios, but also owners of property in the mining regions were men of taxable substance. Lysitheides of Kikynna and Antisthenes of Kytheros appear in several texts as property owners and are likewise known as trierarchs. The few references to non-Athenians, all of them Siphnians, may apply to two men, Kallaischros and his son Stesileides, who are among the few non-Athenians to appear also on the trierarch lists.

The various demes of Attica are well represented by the men found in these texts. The material shows more men from the larger demes and fewer from the smaller, in a proportion roughly corresponding to that in the material from other sources. ⁵⁰ Members of the demes located in the mining districts ⁵¹ are found in disproportionately high numbers only among those men who are named as owners of property but not as owners of workshops or lessees of mines. In the 52 cases where a demotic of an owner of property is preserved, 20 are men from local demes, of whom two had mining interests, whereas of the 32 from other parts of Attica 16 are named also as owners of workshops or lessees. The only local deme of which no member is found in the texts is Besa, for which a small population is attested elsewhere (Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 65).

TEXTS AND COMMENTARY

The texts are arranged in chronological order in so far as possible. Most of them are inscribed in the small letters typical of Athenian records of the third quarter of the century. Except in a few cases, however, where an archon is named, the relative dates of the fragments cannot be established with certainty. Where no other evidence is available, texts with a stoichedon line of the same length or in which similar abbreviations are used are placed in consecutive positions.

⁵⁰ See below, List of Names arranged by Demotics; cf. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries*, Notes A and B on pp. 49-73.

⁵¹ The mining region formed part of the coastal ridings of Leontis, Akamantis, and Antiochis, which included the demes Sounion, Phrearrhoi, Deiradiotai, and Potamioi Deiradiotai; Thorikos, part or all of Kikynna and Kephale, Prospalta, and Hagnous; Amphitrope, Anaphlystos, Besa, Aigilia, Atene, Thorai, and perhaps Semachidai. Prospalta, Hagnous, Aigilia, and Thorai are north of the mining district, and Atene probably at the southeast tip of the peninsula outside the oreproducing hills (cf. Löper, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 335 and Ardaillon, *op. cit.*, p. 19). See Gomme, *loc. cit.*, for a recent discussion of the demes.

- 1 Hesperia, X, 1941, p. 14, no. 1. The poletai record for the year 367/6 B. c. This is the only complete record we have. The first part of the text records the sale of a confiscated house and the settlement of the claims brought against it. The rest of the inscription, lines 40-83, records the leases of 17 mining concessions. Lines 40-49 are reprinted here for convenience of comparison with the more developed phraseology of the later texts:
 - 40 μέταλλα ἐπράθη ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος πρώτης, Δε ξιακὸν ἐν Νάπει ἐπὶ Σκοπιᾶι ὧι γεί πανταχόθεν Ν ικίας Κυδαν, ὧνη Καλλίας Σφήττι ΔΔ: Διακὸν ἐπὶ Λα υρείωι ὧι γεί: πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιόντος τὰ χωρία τὰ Ἐξω πίου, δυομένο τὸ ὄρος, ὧνη Ἐπιτέλης ἐκ Κερα ΔΔ ἐπὶ
 - 45 Σουνίωι ἐν τοῖς Χαρμύλο παίδων ὧι γεί: βορρᾶ Κλε όκριτος Αἰγι, νοτό: Λεύκιος Σουνι, ἀνη: Φείδιππος Πιθεύς ΔΔ: Ποσειδωνιακὸν ἐν Νάπηι τῶν ἐκ τῆς στή λης ἐν τοῖς ᾿Αλυπήτου, ὧι γεί Καλλίας Σφήττι καὶ Δ ιοκλέης Πιθεύς, ἀνητὴς Θρασύλοχοςςς ᾿Αναγυρά: ΧΙΡΑ

2 (Plate 83). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with left side and rough-picked back preserved, found on March 4, 1935, at the southeast corner of the Bouleuterion Plateia in a late disturbance just above bedrock.

Height, 0.237 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.006-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 2964.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern in which ten units measure 0.096-0.098 m.

	ΣΤΟΙΧ.
	[]μπιακὸ[ν]
	$[\beta o \rho \rho] \hat{a} \theta \epsilon \nu$ No $[]$
	[άπ]εγράψατ $[o]$
	[μϵ]ταλλον Θο[ρικοῖ]
5	$[\ldots]$ αικὸν ἐν $[$ ωι $]$
	$[\gamma \epsilon i] au \omega u \beta o ho ho \hat{a} \theta [\epsilon \nu\delta \nu]$
	[ομέ]νο ἱερὸν Μ[]
	[]ικὸν ἐν Αὐλ [ῶνι – – – – – –]
	[] κριτος Σου [νι μέταλλον ἐπὶ Θ]
10	$[ho]$ ασύμωι ὧι $\gamma[\epsilon$ ίτων eta ορρ $\hat{a} heta\epsilon u \dot{\eta}\lambda]$
	[ί]ο δυομένο Σ[ἀνη]
	ας Θορίκ [Δ['Aπο]
	λλωνιακόν [[ἐν τῶι λόφωι τῶι]
	$Baβιδείω[ι \chi?]$
15	ρήματα τς [Ποσ]
	ειδωνια [κὸν]
	ον έμ Μαρ [ωνείαι έμ Πα?]
	γγαίωι [κατατ]
	$\circ \mu \acute{\eta}, \mathring{\omega} \nu [\eta]$
20	$\mathcal{S} \stackrel{\text{E\'e}}{=} [\nu \nu \mu \mathring{\omega} \nu \eta]$
	$HP\Theta\omega[]$
	ον ε[]
	$ u \stackrel{\circ}{\omega} \nu [\eta]$
	Il. []

I have placed this text after the dated stele of 367/6, because of the use of the word $d\pi \epsilon \gamma \rho d\psi a\tau o$ (line 3). There is no mention of the act of registering or a registrant in No. 1, whereas both appear frequently in the later texts. Assuming a consecutive development in the phraseology, this stone should be later than that of 367/6. It cannot be much later because of the letter forms and because of the consistent use of O for the genitive masculine singular.

The preserved text contains the fragmentary records of eight to ten leases.

Lines 4-5: The last preserved letter in line 5 is definitely the left hasta of a letter. $N[\acute{a}\pi\eta\iota]$ could be restored. Since Nape however was apparently a part of Sounion, and since the two lines probably apply to the same lease, an unknown name in Thorikos is equally probable.

Line 8: This is the only record of a mine located in Aulon. It is known as a place name in the mining district (Aischines, I, 101) and roads leading to and from it are mentioned in Nos. 8 and 10.

Lines 11-12: Mantias of Thorikos (P.A., 9667) could be restored as lessee. His son Mantitheos (P.A., 9676) claimed that he and his father had borrowed twenty minas for the purchase of mines (Demosthenes, XL, 52). Both father and son served as trierarchs (cf. Sundwall, N.P.A., p. 123).

Lines 13-14: After Apolloniakon either Θ[ορικοῖ] or a relative clause introduced by δ is possible. For the hill of Ba(m) bideion see No. 16 (I.G., II², 1582, lines 56-60).

Lines 17-18: [Πα] γγαίωι, see No. 18, lines 6-7.

Lines 18-19: [κατατ]ομή, "cutting"; see above, p. 199.

Line 21: A man's name, such as Θωρυκίων or Θωμυρίων, is probably to be restored.

3 (Plate 83). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with right side and rough-picked back preserved, found in a modern wall in section Λ on March 2, 1935.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.162 m.; thickness, 0.074 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 2503.

The writing is stoichedon, but the columns are not absolutely true, curving slightly to the right in the lower lines. The checker pattern is not square; 10 horizontal units measure 0.085 m., ten vertical units 0.098 m.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. [----]10[.]H[..] $[-----]\nu \in M$ $[----]\nu \in M$ [-----]ν το Προκλέ $[ovs(?) -----\epsilon] \iota ov \epsilon \pi[i] \Sigma o[v] v$ $[i\omega\iota -----]H\Sigma[...]NE[...]$ $[-----]\nu$ καὶ τὰς Y[..] $[------\beta o \rho \rho] \hat{a} \theta \epsilon \nu \dot{\eta} \chi [a] \rho [\dot{a} \delta]$ $[\rho\alpha - - - - - - - \dot{\eta}\lambda$ ίο $\dot{\alpha}]\nu$ ιό $\dot{\nu}$ τῶν ΕΟ[..] $[-----]\hat{\omega}\iota \gamma\epsilon\iota[\tau\omega]\nu \nu\sigma[\tau]$ 10 $\left[\delta\theta\epsilon\nu - - -\dot{\omega}\nu\eta - - -\right]a\mu\beta^{v} \left[\Pi^{v} \Delta\iota \left[\delta\right]\tau \left[\iota\right] \right]$ [μος -----]ρης Απολλωνί $[ov ---- T\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\alpha\rho(?)]\chi$ os Ai $\xi\omega$. AKA [----- Αἰσ] χύλο θυγ[ά] τηρ $[-----]^{v} \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha [\lambda] \lambda o \nu [.]$ 15 [[------

The genitive in 0 in line 13 and the use of a Pentelic stele with rough-picked back suggest a date before the middle of the century.

The inscribed surface of the stone is badly pocked and the readings are difficult.

Line 10: $[-\Sigma \kappa] \alpha \mu \beta(\omega \nu i \delta \eta s)$ or $[\Pi] \alpha \mu \beta(\omega \tau i \delta \eta s)$.

Line 12: A Telesarchos of Aixone is lessee of Hagnosiakon in No. 1, line 50.

4 (Plate 83). Two joining fragments of an opisthographic stele of Hymettian marble, with part of a smooth-picked flat top surface preserved, broken at the sides and bottom. They were found in section B on February 1 and April 13, 1934, the smaller piece in surface fill, and the larger in late fill but with traces of reddish cement on it that suggest it was once built into a Roman wall around the open square south of the Bouleuterion (see above, p. 191, n. 6). The smaller piece preserves only one inscribed face.

Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.158 m.; thickness, 0.086 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 1261.

The writing is stoichedon. On face A the checker pattern is square with ten units measuring ca. 0.072 m.; on face B the pattern is not square, with ten vertical units measuring 0.069-0.07 m., ten horizontal 0.073-0.074 m.

	Face A ΣΤΟΙΧ.
	$[\ldots 2^{2},\ldots 2^{2},\ldots]/.\Sigma \Lambda \Sigma K []$
	[K] εραμεικ [ον]
	$[\ldots 16,\ldots 16,\ldots 3$ Αρτε $]$ μισιακὸν $[]$
	$[\ldots \ldots^{18}\ldots \Pi]$ υρρίειον $[]$
5	$[\dots \dots]^{17} \dots \dots]$ ωνη Φιλοκλ $\hat{\eta}[s]$
	$[\ldots \ldots \overset{13}{\ldots} \ldots \overset{6}{\omega} i]$ γεί βορρ \hat{a} Διονυ $[]$
	$[\dots^7\dots]$ Η $^{\square}$ v έπ $^{\imath}$ $[\Sigma]$ ουνίωι ἄνω Νυμ ϕ $[αικὸν δ]$
	$[\dots^7\dots]$ Θορί ἠργάσατο ἀνη ἀντίμ $[aχος(?)$ ὧι γεί $$
	$[\dots^7\dots]$ τὸ ἐργαστήριον ὁ Πολύξε $[u \circ \varsigma]$
10	$[.^3$ ὧι $\gamma \epsilon]$ ί βορρ \hat{a} Θεμιστίο ἐργασ $[\tau \eta$ ριον $\dot{\omega}$ νη $]$
	$[\dots^{7}\dots]$ Δ v Μνησίλοχος Σουνι ά $[\pi$ εγράψατο μέταλλον $-$ ὧι γεί $-]$
	$[\dots^6\dots au]$ ὸ ἐρ $\gamma[a]$ στήριον τὸ Διοτ $[$ ίμο $$ ἀνη $$
	$[\ldots$ ΄Λ(?)] γήν $[\omega]$ ρ Φρεάρρι ἀπεγρ $[$ άψατο μέταλλον — $\tilde{\omega}$ ι γεί $$ $]$
	$[\dots^8\dots]\sigma[o~\chi\omega]$ ρίον δυομένο $[\dot{\omega}\nu\eta]$
15	$[\dots^{9},\dots^{9},\dots^{9}]$ οῦ ἐν τοῦς ἐ $[\delta$ άφεσιν τοῦς $$ οῦι γεί $$
	$[\ldots 1^4 \ldots \dot{\dot{\eta}} \dot{\delta}] \delta \dot{\delta} \dot{\varsigma} \dot{\dot{\eta}} \dot{\epsilon} \pi \dot{\iota} [\phi \dot{\epsilon} \rho o v \sigma a]$
	$\left[\ldots \ldots \right]^{18} \ldots \left[\dot{\eta} \lambda \acute{\iota}o \right]$

	Face B
	$[]$ TO Λ E $[\dots \dots 26$
20	[]\IK[²⁷]
	$[\delta]vo[\mu]\epsilon[\nu]o \text{ Kol}[\ldots 20,\ldots 20]$
	$[μέταλλον]$ ἀνασάξιμον $[^{19}]$
	[
25	$[\dot{a}$ πεγρ $]\dot{a}$ ψ $[a]$ τ $[o]$ μέταλλο $[v$]
	$[$ ὧι γ εί $$ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ] ἀστικὴ Βήσαζε $[$ φέρουσα \dots . 10 \dots $]$
	[
	$[]$ ον στήλην ἔχον $[\ldots 16$]
	$[\dot{\eta}$ όδὸς $\dot{\eta}$ ἐπὶ Λαύ]ρειον φέρουσ $[a$]
30	$[]$ ν ἀνασάξιμο $[ν \ldots 16 \ldots 1]$
	[Λα]μπτ μέταλλ[ον ἀπεγράψατο]
	$[\dot{\eta}$ όδὸς $\dot{\eta}\phi \epsilon ho v] \sigma$ α καὶ τὸ $[\ldots \ldots^{19}\ldots \ldots]$
	$\begin{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} O \Sigma \stackrel{\cdot}{E} P \begin{bmatrix} \dots & 2^2 & \dots \end{bmatrix}$
	[]X[²⁴]

The restored left edge of the column on face A and right edge on face B indicate the relative position of the texts on the two sides of the stone. The first line on face B (line 18) is in the position of line 2 on face A; the surface above, although somewhat broken, is sufficiently preserved to suggest that this line 18 was the top one on face B. No trace of a heading is found on either face.

The text seems to require a rather long line, well over fifty letters. Note lines 11-12. Assuming that the ergasterion is the first boundary and that the shortest direction is restored $\delta \iota \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu o \tau \delta$, 45 letters are used with neither the name of the mine, nor the place, nor the classification included. Again in lines 22-23 at least one boundary, the name of the lessee, the price, and the registrant of the following lease fall within one line space. This relatively long line and a thickness of only 0.083 m. at the top suggest that the stele had only one column on each face.

- Lines 2-4: The names Kerameikon, Pyrrieion, and Artemisiakon are all attested for Sounion.
- Line 7: See No. 5, lines 53-58, and No. 14, lines 3-9, for a mine named Nymphaikon.
- Line 9: \hat{o} , possibly an error for $\tau \hat{o}$. If not, this is the only example in the texts of a workshop described by a relative clause.
- Line 15: Enough surface is preserved to the left of the omicron to preclude the restoration of a tau and so $[\Lambda \nu a \phi \lambda \nu \sigma \tau] \hat{o}$ is excluded; $[\Theta o \rho \iota \kappa] \hat{o}$ would be possible.
- 5 (Plates 84, 85). Seven fragments of Hymettian marble, joined to form six, apparently from the same stele.

Fragment a: height, 0.122 m.; width, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.03 m. Part of the smooth picked top surface is preserved.

Inv. No. I 1851.

Fragment b: height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.206 m.; thickness, 0.055 m. It is broken on all sides.

Inv. No. I 679.

Fragment c: height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.03 m. It is broken on all sides.

Inv. No. I 631 f.

Fragment d: height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.33 m.; thickness, 0.115 m. Made up of two fragments that join on the inner surfaces. A smooth uninscribed original back surface is preserved on the larger piece at the right.

Inv. No. I 1570 + I 2738.

Fragment e: height, 0.062 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.03 m. It is broken on all sides.

Inv. No. I 631 d.

Fragment f: height, 0.109 m.; width, 0.058 m.; thickness, 0.025 m. It is broken on all sides.

Inv. No. I 810.

Three of the fragments were found in section Z: a, on April 14, 1934, beside the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa in a context of the late fourth century B.C.; b, on April 11, 1933, in a late wall some 14 meters north of a; and f, in late fill about 12 meters west of b. Three were found in section B: c (which forms a textual but not physical join with b), on January 31, 1935, in a late wall south of the Tholos; part of d, and e, in March and April, 1934, in late fill within a few meters of each other along the east side of the Tholos. The larger fragment of d was found in section Ξ , on April 8, 1935, in a modern cellar wall.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern in which ten units measure 0.072 m.; one such unit is left uninscribed between the columns.

Tentative positions for the fragments in the stele, based on the lines of breakage, are suggested in the sketch in Fig. 1. Note that those assigned to the upper part of the stele, a, c, e, and f, are thin fragments with broken surfaces at the back roughly parallel to the face. This same vertical split is found in b, (made up of two pieces which join along the line of the vertical break). Fragment d, with part of the original back, will fall below the line of the split; the broken surface at the right projects far enough beyond the end of the second column to suggest that the stele had still another column to the right. The text is published fragment by fragment, rather

than column by column since the positions of the pieces are not certain. The original stele had a flat top, an uninscribed back, and at least three columns.

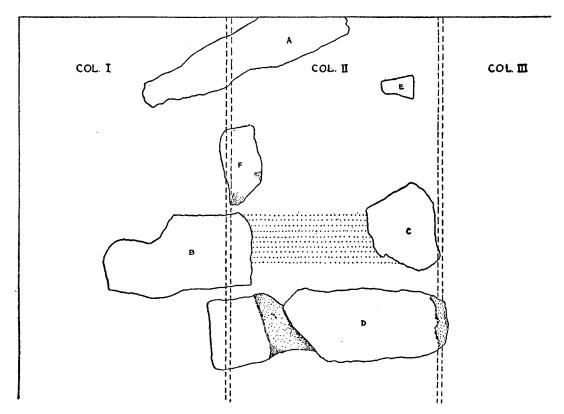


Fig. 1. Position of the Stones Assigned to No. 5

	Frag. a
	Col. I STOIX. 39
	[] ∪ ωι
	[] $\varsigma \Sigma i \phi \nu$
	[ι ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ἀνασάξιμον(?) Ποσ]ειδωνια
	[κὸν στήλην ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς Χ] αρμύλο πα
5	[ίδων ὧι γεί βορρᾶ Πύρρακος(?) Αἰγιλ νοτ]ό Λεύκιος Σ
	[ουνι ώνη]ι ΧΗΗΔ ἐπὶ Σο
	[υνίωι μέταλλον] ἀνασάξιμον Κ
	[
	[υνι χωρίον νοτό] Σουνι χωρίον πρὸς
10	[ήλίο δυομένο ή όδὸς ή ἐπὶ Θρά]συμον φέρουσα στή[λ]
	[ην ἔχον ἀνη] ίππο ἀΑφιδναῖ Η[]
	$[\ldots 1^9,\ldots 3^{19},\ldots 3^{19}]$ á $\xi \iota \mu [o \nu \ldots 1^0,\ldots]$
	$[\ldots] P[\ldots]$

15 20	Col. II [
	lacuna
	Frags. b & c Col. I
20	[] σιάδης ' $\Omega \nu \eta \sigma o$ [
30	
35	[
	lacuna
	Col. II
40	[
45	τ[οῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς { Ἐπιζήλο } ὧι γ]εί βορ Δημοφίλ[ο]

50 55	[
	lacuna
	Frag. d.
	Col. I
60	$[]$ κλ $\hat{\eta}$
	[s]00K
	[Λί]γιλ
	[μέταλλον ἀπ]έγρ
	[άψατοτο]îς [.]
65	[]Λ0
	[]π
	lacuna
	Col. II
	$[\ldots]^{10}\ldots]$ \\[\ldot\]\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\
	[¹¹] ς Ἐρχ . ΗΗ Βησαι Χαιρέας Αἰσχ [⁵]
	[4 μέταλλο]ν ἀπεγράψατο Βήσησιν 'Απολλων[ιακ]
70	ον [στήλην έχ]ον ἀνασάξιμον, ὧι γεί βορ Καλλίου [ἐρ]
	γαστήριον νοτό 'Ανδρίου χωρίον καὶ πρὸς ἡλίο[υ ά]
	[ἐρ]γαστήριο[ν] ν[ιόν ^τ] ἀνη Διότιμος Μνησιστράτο ἀΑχαρ[ν .]
	[] ώρο Πόρι ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλο[ν στ]
	ήλην ἔ[χον Βήση]σιν ἀνασάξιμον 'Αθηναικὸν ἐν [τοῖ]
<i>7</i> 5	ς ἐδάφ[εσιν τοῖς] Ἐπιζήλο Φρεαρρί, ὧι γεί βορ κα[τα]
	τομὴ τ[ô *] ακοῦ μετάλλο νοτό τὸ ᾿Αρτεμ[ίσι]
	ον τὸ ϵ[ν * ω]ν καταβαίνοντι πρὸς ἡλ[ίου ἀν]
	ιόν τὸ ἐρ[γαστήριον] τὸ Φιλοκράτους Εὐω[νυμ ἡλίο]
	[υ] δυο ἐργ[αστήριον Έ]πιζήλου Φρεαρ[ρί ἀνη Θεόδωρ]
80	[ο]ς 'Ολυμπ[ίχου Μελι

lacuna

	Frag. e	
	[² ⁷] ΛΚΛΕ[⁸]
		αλλον ἀπεγράψατο 'Αθ]ηναικὸν [*]
		$\dots^{20}\dots\dots$] ήργηκὸς ὧι γε $[ίβορ$]
85	[νοτό ἀν]δρίο κάμινος π[ρὸς ἡλίο ἀ]
	[νιόν	ἐργαστήρ]ιον πρὸς ἡλίο δ[υομέ]
	-	$[-\dot{\omega}\nu\eta]$ άτους 'Ο $\hat{\eta} heta\epsilon u$ Η $^{oxed{\square}}[\dots^{st}\dots]$
	L	$ \frac{16}{16} \dots \mu$ έταλ] λον ἀπεγράψ [ατο $\frac{16}{16} \dots$]
	-	ἐν τῶι λόφωι τῶι] Βαμβιδεί[ωι ⁸]
90	[$\dots \dots 2^{29} \dots \dots] A \Lambda [\dots ^{8} \dots]$
		lacuna
	Frag. f.	
	Col. I	Col. II
		$EMOY[\;\ldots\;$
	<u>\</u> ^ ⊤	ψατο $μ[έταλλον$
		τοῖς ἐ[δάφεσιν τοῖς δι γεί βορ]
95	0	$^{\circ}$ E $\pi\iota\theta\epsilon[\tau ov(?)\nu o\tau\delta]$
	A	ΟΔHMO[]
	!	$\pi \rho \delta s \dot{\eta} \lambda [ioυ ἀνιόν$
	A	δυο ἐργ [αστήριον
100	Ү Т	$\Lambda\Omega$ NC[]
100	!	PPI[]
		E C $[\ldots \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ $
		lacuna

A date near the middle of the fourth century is suggested. Note the use of both o and ov for the masculine singular genitive ending and the absence of the colon to mark abbreviations and to set off numbers (except for one occurrence in line 15).

Fragment a

Lines 2-6: Poseidoniakon probably at Sounion. See No. 1, lines 44-47 and 79-81 for the records of two mines at Sounion also located in the property of the children of Charmylos and bounded on the south by the property of Leukios of Sounion. Neither mine is named in that text. The Poseidoniakon of the present record may be one of those two or a third near by. Leukios of Sounion presented a plot of land to his fellow demesmen to use as an agora about the middle of the century (*I.G.*, II², 1180). The inscription which contains the terms of the gift and which was to be set up in

this agora was found in an ancient slag heap at Agrileza (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, p. 241; the place of finding is marked on the map in Ardaillon). The land which he donated to his deme was perhaps part of the property named in the mining inscriptions. He is known from a liturgy list (*I.G.*, II², 417) where his father's name Theokles is preserved. He has been restored as lessee of a mine in two other texts, where the patronymic (or part of it) and demotic are preserved: No. 20, lines 5-6, and No. 16, Face A, II, line 20. His father Theokles son of an earlier Leukios has been restored in the list of the Heroes of Phyle in 403 (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 155 and X, 1941, pp. 284 ff.). His son Leukios must have lived to a ripe old age, and been well on in his seventies when he held a liturgy, for *I.G.*, II², 417, cannot be earlier than 330 B.c. (see commentary in *I.G.*, II², ad loc.). He first appears in the mining inscriptions in 367/6. The texts in which he has been restored as lessee have been tentatively dated to the years 342/1 and 338/7. The registrant from Siphnos (line 2) is perhaps Kallaischros; cf. No. 20, lines 1-6.

Lines 6-11: A mine at Sounion. Property of Diokles of Sounion is named in two other leases on this stele (lines 18 and 32). He can be identified with the Diokles of Sounion whose son is named on a tax record of the second half of the century, I.G., II², 1596. By restoring $\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}[\lambda\eta\nu\ o\dot{\nu}\kappa\ \dot{\epsilon}\chi\sigma\nu]$ in line 11 (cf. No. 1, lines 72-73; No. 19, lines 19-20) the lessee could be restored as $[\Delta\rho\omega\pii\delta\eta s\ \dot{\epsilon}\rho\mu]i\pi\pi\sigma\ \dot{\epsilon}\Delta\rho\omega\hat{\epsilon}(\sigma s)$ and identified with $\Delta\rho\omega\pii\delta\eta s\ \dot{\epsilon}[\rho\mu i\pi\pi]ov\ \dot{\epsilon}\Delta\phi\iota\delta\nu(a\hat{\iota}\sigma s)$, lessee of a concession at Maroneia, in No. 19, line 22. See the commentary thereto for Dropides.

Line 15: An Aischylos of Thria of the late second century is known (P.A., 444). Lines 15-20: Theo -- perhaps at Sounion.

Lines 20-24: Heroikon. In line 20 Archestratos son of Phanostratos of Gargettos could be restored as registrant and identified with the Archestratos of Gargettos, trierarch in 377/6, I.G., II^2 , 1604, line 15. His son Phanostratos, trierarch in 353/2 and again in the 'twenties (P.A., 14100) registered a mine at Thorikos in No. 16 (= I.G., II^2 , 1582, line 45) and owned a workshop and property (*ibid.*, line 49, and No. 20, line 27). The patronymic of Archestratos is not elsewhere attested.

Fragments b and c form a textual but not a physical join. Column I, lines 26-39, preserved only on b, contains the records of three leases.

Lines 26-29: A fragmentary record. In lines 27-28 Anaphlystos could be restored instead of Aulon and the $\pi\rho\delta$ s omitted. Simos of Paiania, son of Diodoros, is named as lessee in two texts, No. 13, lines 45-46, and No. 16 (Face A, II, line 62) and as owner of a workshop in No. 13, lines 44-45, and No. 12, line 7. His son Diodoros, trierarch in the third quarter of the century (P.A., 3953), has tentatively been restored as owner of a workshop in No. 14, lines 11-12. The lessee of the present text could be another, perhaps an older, son.

Lines 30-36: A mine probably at Sounion.

Lines 31-32: Perhaps

Note that property of Diokles of Sounion and a road to Thrasymos are also named in the boundaries of a mine at Sounion in lines 6-11 of this same text.

The letters in line 33 are difficult to read, as elsewhere on this stone. Apparently the road from Thrasymos led to Maroneia. See commentary on No. 14, line 19, for Maroneia. Epikles of Sphettos, father of the lessee, leased a mine in Nape in 367/6 (No. 1, line 71).

Column II, lines 40-58: The left edge is preserved on fragment b, and the right end on c, containing four leases.

Ameinias, son of Philinos of Sounion, tentatively restored as lessee in lines 43-44, is known from a decree of the Salaminioi of 363/2 (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 4, no. 1, line 73). His father Philinos leased Hermaikon at Maroneia in 367/6 (No. 1, line 60).

Lines 44-47: Aphrodisiakon perhaps at Besa. The restorations in lines 44-45 are very tentative. An Aphrodisiakon at Besa is recorded in No. 18, lines 33-37. Both Epizelos and Kallias were owners of *edaphe* at Besa (line 75 of the present text, and No. 1, line 74).

Lines 47-53: Lysikrates of Kikynna was probably related to Lysitheides, named as property owner at Thorikos in several texts (discussed under No. 6, line 9). The lessee Eudraon son of Eudraon of Thorikos appears as lessee of Heraikon at Thorikos in No. 20, line 17. He is probably to be identified with the Eudraon of Thorikos who served as trierarch in 342/1 and 323/2 (P.A., 5444).⁵²

Lines 53-58: Nymphaikon at Maroneia(?). Compare No. 14, lines 3-9, for the restorations. The two records may be of the same concession.

Fragment d, lines 60-80, preserves parts of two columns. Only the last three letters are preserved of the first column. Parts of three records are preserved on column II.

Lines 68-73: Apolloniakon at Besa. The repetition of the place (lines 68 and 69) suggests that the preceding mine was not at Besa. The registrant, Chaireas son of Aisch ---, is perhaps to be identified with the registrant of Ktesiakon at Besa in No. 10, line 6, where the text reads $Xai\rho[\ldots^{17},\ldots^{17},\ldots^{1}]$ is. In the present text the demotic would be abbreviated. See also $--\rho$ ias $Ai\sigma ---$ of No. 15, line 32. Kallias who owned a workshop to the north is perhaps to be identified with Kallias of Lamptrai, trierarch in 353/2 (P.A., 7873), whose property at Besa is named in No. 1, line 74. In line 72 the stone mason apparently omitted $\epsilon \rho \gamma a \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \rho \iota \sigma \nu$ and so inserted it

⁵² Eudraon son of M --- of Thorikos was prytanis in 327/6 (Hesperia, Suppl. I, no. 1, line 72). An identification of the trierarch with a lessee of mines seems more probable than with a prytanis.

between the lines. The lessee Diotimos son of Mnesistratos of Acharnai is probably to be identified with Diotimos of Acharnai (*P.A.*, 4382: symproedros *ca.* 346) and his father with Mnesistratos of Acharnai (*P.A.*, 10368, choregos early in the fourth century, *I.G.*, II², 3092). Granted a Diotimos now connected with the family of Mnesistratos, it seems possible that Theotimos (*P.A.*, 7058) son of Diotimos also named as choregos on *I.G.*, II², 3092 is from Acharnai and related to Mnesistratos. Whether Diotimos son of Diomnestos of Acharnai (*P.A.*, 4383) and his brother Diomedon (see below, No. 14, line 43) are members of this same family, perhaps cousins of the lessee, is uncertain.

Lines 73-80: Athenaikon at Besa. The registrant, $---\omega\rho_0$ $\Pi\delta\rho\iota(0s)$ appears in another text as lessee of a mine at Besa (No. 18, line 22); by allowing three spaces at the beginning of line 73 for the price of the preceding lease, the length of the name is the same. A Philokrates of Euonymon, probably a descendant of the man named here, is known for the third or second century (P.A., 14610); see also No. 18, line 21. Theodoros, son of Olympichos, of Melite is lessee of a mine Apolloniakon at Anaphlystos; cf. No. 16 (=I.G., II², 1582, lines 99-100). He may be related to the family of Theodoros son of Eudemides of Melite (P.A., 6882), trierarch in 357/6. The name of the mine, whose katatome, "cutting," is the northern boundary of Athenaikon is of 11 or 12 letters, depending on the restoration $\tau[\hat{o}-]$ or $\tau[o\hat{v}-]$. This is the first reference to a sanctuary of Artemis in the mining region. The last two hastas of the nu, following the break in the text in line 77, are perfectly clear. Probably a proper name of a family or genos is to be sought, and a phrase such as $\epsilon \mu \Phi \iota \lambda o \mu \eta \lambda i \delta \omega \nu$ (No. 16 = I.G., II², 1582, line 71; and No. 20, lines 40 and 44) to be restored. Two dedications to Artemis have been found in the district (Solders, Die Ausserstätischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas, p. 29, no. 55 = I.G., II², 4633, and 56 = Ath. Mitt., LXII, 1937, p. 8, no. 6). The first was found at Agrilesa and the other further north at Kamaresa, which is slightly southeast of the probable location of Besa. The dedication found there may well have stood originally in the Artemision of our text.

Fragment e, lines 82-90, contains the partial records of two leases.

Lines 83-87: An Athenaikon. The word $\mathring{\eta}\rho\gamma\eta\kappa\acute{o}s$ "having been lying idle" or "not being worked" seems to apply to the mine. Demosthenes, XXVII, 19, uses the verb of a work shop $\mathring{a}\lambda\lambda$ $\mathring{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\iota}o\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\mathring{\phi}\eta\sigma\iota\nu$ $\mathring{a}\rho\gamma\mathring{\eta}\sigma\iota\iota$ $\tau\grave{o}$ $\mathring{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\mathring{\eta}\rho\iota\upsilon\nu$. An Andrios appears also as property owner at Besa (cf. above, line 71). For $\kappa\acute{a}\mu\nu\upsilon s$, a furnace for smelting the ore, see above, p. 195.

Fragment f, lines 92-102, preserves the last letter of one column and only a few letters in each line of a second column.

6 (Plate 85). Three fragments, of which two join, of whitish Hymettian marble, found in April and May of 1937 to the east of the Tholos, the two pieces of fragment a in a late Roman disturbance of the classical floor of the Agora, and fragment b in later disturbed fill. The inscribed face only is preserved; at the lower edge of a, however, there are chisel marks from a later recutting of the stone.

```
Fragment a: height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.027 m. Inv. No. I 4782
```

Fragment b: height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.038 m.; thickness, 0.038 m. Inv. No. I 4942
Height of letters, 0.004 m.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern of which ten units measure 0.07-0.071 m.

	Frag a. ΣTOIX. 48
	[⁹ ὧι γ : β ορ]: Έρ[μα]ι[κὸν μέταλλον νοτ: ¹¹] [⁵ π ρὸς ἡλίο ἀν]ι: Κη[ϕ]ισοδ[
	$[\ldots 14 \ldots]$ ώνη: Ἱκέτης $E\lambda[\ldots 22 \ldots]$
5	$[^{7}$ ἀπεγρά]ψ: Θορικ: μέταλλ $[ον^{19}]$ $[^{12}]$ νιακ: καὶ ἐπικατατ $[ομὴν ὧι γ: βορ: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐχ]$
J	$[\Theta$ ορικ: ἐπὶ Λ α]ύρειον φέρου: νοτ: ἐδ $[άφ:]$
	[8 $^{n}\rho$] $\delta s \dot{\eta} \lambda i o \dot{\alpha} \nu i : \kappa \alpha i \dot{\delta} \nu o : OKI[\dot{\omega} \nu \eta :]$
	[
	[νασάξιμ: 'Αρ]τεμισιακ: στήλην έχον Θο[ρικ: ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ: τ]
10	$[\hat{ois} \ \Lambda v \sigma \iota \theta \epsilon \hat{i} \delta \hat{o}] v \ \hat{\omega} \iota \ \gamma \colon \beta \hat{o} \rho \colon \hat{\epsilon} \delta \hat{a} \phi \colon \Lambda v \sigma \iota \theta \epsilon [\hat{\imath} \delta \hat{o} v \ \dots \ \mathring{s} \ \dots \ \mathring{\eta} \ \delta \delta \hat{o}]$
	[ς ἡ ἐχ Θορίκ: φ] έρου: ἐπὶ Θράσυμ: νοτ: Ν[]
	$[\ldots \overset{11}{\ldots}]$: ἀνη: Θέωρος Θεαίο Παλλη $[\nu : \ldots \overset{15}{\ldots}]$
	$[\ldots]^{11}$ 'A]ναφλύ: ἀπεγράψ: μέταλλ $[ον \ldots]^{14}$]
15	$[\dots]^{12} \dots]$ ον καὶ ἐπικατατομὴν ἐν $[\dots]^{17} \dots]$
15	$[\ldots \ldots]$ ς πρὸς ἡλίο $[\mathring{a}]$ νι $[\ldots \ldots]$
	lacuna
	Frag. b
	·OT
	OI
	NA
	20 IK
	OY
	ΩΦ
	^

lacuna

A date near the middle of the fourth century is suggested by the use of o as genitive masculine singular ending (lines 7, 12 and 15) and the single appearance of ov in line 10. Note also the omission of the patronymic of the registrant in line 8. The 48-letter line is suggested by line 9.

Line 3: The name Hiketes is new in Attic inscriptions, but is found as a $\kappa \alpha \lambda \delta s$ -name on several vases of the early fifth century (A.R.V., p. 925). The letters which follow may belong either to a patronymic or a demotic.

Lines 4-8: A mine and cutting at Thorikos. The exact meaning of ἐπικατατομή is unknown. See above, p. 199. The word is found only in this text (lines 5 and 14) and in No. 16, Face A, II, line 50 and IV (=I.G., II², 1582, line 137). A mine Poseidoniakon and *katatome* are recorded for Thorikos in No. 16 (=I.G., II², 1582, line 70) but our present text is too fragmentary to suggest an identification.

Lines 8-12: Artemisiakon at Thorikos registered by Smikros of Lamptrai and leased by Theoros son of Theaios of Pallene. For the restorations compare No. 19, lines 4-9, perhaps another record of this same concession. At least one renewal intervenes between the two records, for the lessee in this text is not the registrant of the later one. The demotic of Lysitheides, Kikynneus, is there preserved. He was one of the wealthy Athenians prominent in the middle of the fourth century, and trierarch in 355/4 (P.A., 9395; Demosthenes, XXI, 157, et al.). He has been restored as property owner in three other texts: No. 5, line 55; No. 14, line 5; and No. 20, line 27. His children are named as owners of edaphe in No. 29, lines 4 and 7, a text which presumably postdates the death of Lysitheides. He is known as one of the early pupils of Isokrates, who began teaching ca. 393, and he served as mediator in 369/8; his son, Lysikrates (P.A., 9461) was choregos in 335/4 and trierarch in 325/4. He must have been in his forties to act as mediator, so his death cannot have been much later than 335.

The only other name from Kikynna in these texts is $[\Lambda \nu \sigma \iota \kappa] \rho \acute{a}\tau \eta s$ $K\iota \kappa \nu \nu (\nu \epsilon \acute{\nu} s)$ of No. 5, line 49, who is probably a member of the same family, either the son of Lysitheides or a hitherto unknown brother of Lysitheides. Line 10 could read either $\Lambda \nu \sigma \iota \theta \epsilon [i \delta o \nu K\iota \kappa \nu : \kappa a \dot{\eta} \dot{\delta} \delta \delta s]$ or $\Lambda \nu \sigma \iota \theta \epsilon [i \delta o \nu \dot{\eta} \lambda \iota o \dot{\alpha} \nu \iota : \dot{\eta} \dot{\delta} \delta \delta s]$.

7. I.G., II², 1583. Two non-joining fragments of Hymettian marble found in the Kerameikos during the winter of 1909/10. Both pieces have a smooth picked flat top surface and an uninscribed back.⁵³ The two fragments are from different columns;

⁵³ Fragment a: height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness at top, 0.107 m., at bottom, 0.089 m. Fragment b: height, 0.093 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.

Note that on the larger piece (a) there is a marked tapering towards the bottom; the top surface is at right angles to the back, not to the inscribed surface.

The letters, 0.004 m. high, are set in a square checker pattern of which ten units measure ca. 0.074 m.

the text of (a) contains the records of perhaps five mines, that of (b) applies to confiscated property. A few new readings based on an examination of the stones and several suggested restorations follow.⁵⁴

Line 4: Probably to be restored ['A] $\rho \iota \sigma \tau \dot{\nu} \lambda [\lambda o -]$ not $[\pi \epsilon] \rho \iota \sigma \tau \dot{\nu} \lambda [o -]$.

Line 14: The letters which are $0! \dots M! \wedge do$ not support the restoration $\delta v] o [\mu \acute{\epsilon} v :] \mu [\acute{\epsilon} \tau a \lambda \lambda o v]$.

Line 16: The space corresponding to the first four letters of the next line is uninscribed.

Lines 17-27 can be restored with a stoichedon line of ca. 39 to 40 letters:

See No. 21, line 15, for the gully to Anaphlystos, and line 19 and commentary thereto for the mine Eudoteion. The name Simylos is attested for the deme Potamos in the fifth century (P.A., 12683).

Fragment b, lines 30-42, deals with confiscated property.

```
Line 30: [--]v\epsilon: \tau \hat{\eta} s oἰκία [s--]
Line 37: [--]ov \dot{\epsilon} v \tau [---]
```

Lines 39-40:

$$[----]$$
καὶ $[\mathring{\omega}]\phi[\lambda]\eta[$ κότος τῶι δημοσίωι $---]$ [ἔδοξε δὲ ἐν]επίσκημ $[$ μα εἶναι $-------$]

Compare No. 16 (= Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 402, line 183).

8. I.G., II², 1584. An inscribed fragment of Hymettian marble found on the eastern

⁵⁴ Werner Peek, in Attische Inschriften, p. 28, no. 14 (an unpublished article designed for Ath. Mitt.) gives most of these corrections to the text as published in the Corpus.

part of the Acropolis. In letter forms and marble this fragment ⁵⁵ closely resembles Nos. 9 and 10. The length of line cannot be established with any certainty, but was probably either of 37 or 39 letters.

The text contains the record of two leases, an Aphrodisiakon and a Dionysiakon. The mine Hephaistiakon (line 14) seems to be named as one of the boundaries of Dionysiakon.

9 (Plate 85). A fragment of Hymettian marble with the inscribed face and a smooth back surface preserved, found in a modern wall in section BB on March 30, 1939.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness at top, 0.061 m., at bottom, 0.054 m. Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 5749.

The writing is stoichedon, with a square checker pattern of which ten units measure 0.072 m.

```
ΣΤΟΙΧ. 37
       \left[ \, \ldots \ldots \, \right]^{23} \cdots \cdots \, \left] \, \Phi \mathsf{O} \Sigma^{\mathsf{T}} \left[ \, \ldots \, , ^{11} \cdots \, , ^{11} \cdots \, \right]
      \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \dots & \dots \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \omega \nu \eta \tau \begin{bmatrix} \dot{\eta} \varsigma \dots & \ddots & \dots \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
       [..... ^{16}..... N_{\iota}] κοδήμου 'A[\thetaμονε: \mathring{a}\pi\epsilon\gamma\rho]
       [άψατο μέταλλον παλα]ιὸν ἀνασάξι[:........]
 5 \left[\ldots \stackrel{12}{\ldots} \stackrel{12}{\ldots} \stackrel{\epsilon}{\nu}\right] \tau \circ \hat{i} s \stackrel{\epsilon}{\circ} \delta \acute{a} \phi \epsilon : \tau \circ \left[\hat{i} s \ldots \stackrel{9}{\ldots} \ldots \right]
       [\ldots] σιακὸν στήλην \tilde{\epsilon} [χον \tilde{\omega}ι γε\tilde{\iota}: \betaο]
       [\rho: \tau \grave{a} \dots \overset{\tau}{\ldots}]ου καλούμενα ἐδά\phi[\eta νοτό: . . ^{5}\dots]
       [....] v_s: \chi \omega \rho i \alpha \pi \rho \delta s \dot{\eta} \lambda i [ov ....]^0
       [... ώνητης] Κηφισόδωρος Αθμο [νεύς .........]
     [.......]ος Λουσιεύς μέτ [αλλον ἀπεγράψατο]
       [παλαιὸν ἀ]νασάξι: στήλην [ἔχον . . . . . ἐν το]
       [ îς ἐδάφ] ε: τοῖς Νικίου Θο [ρικ: ὧι γεί: βορ:...]
       [.... καὶ] Σμίκυθος Θορίκ[: πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνι: χαρ]
       [άδρα(?) νοτ]ό: ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἡ ἐπὶ <math>[....^{10}..... ἄγουσα]
      [πρὸς ἡλί]ου δυομέ: Αρχεστ [ράτου ἐργαστήριον]
15
       [ώνητης Πο]λύευκτος Σφήττ [ιος . . . . . . . . . . ]
       [....^8....]ς 'Αμφιτροπ\hat{\eta}\theta: ἀπ[εγράψατο μέταλλο]
       [ν παλαιὸν ἀνα] σάξι: Έρμαι [κὸν στήλην ἔχον ἐν]
       [τοῖς ἐδάφε: τοῖ]ς Τεισάνδ[ρου .........]
       20
```

⁵⁵ The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern in which ten units measure ca. 0.072 m.

The letter forms and spacing are very like those in No. 8.

Lines 3-9: The restorations in line 3 are made on the assumption that the father of the registrant is the Nikodemos of Athmonon (P.A., 10863) who was epistates at Eleusis in 356/5-353/2. Euphemides, son of the lessee, Kephisodoros of Athmonon, is named as registrant and lessee of an Artemisiakon at Thorikos in a later text (No. 32 = I.G., II², 1587, lines 17 and 19) located in the property of Epameinon of Thorikos (cf. No. 28, lines 1 and 6-7). Lines 4-6 could be restored:

```
[ - - μέταλλον παλα]ιὸν ἀνασάξι [ : καὶ ἐπικατ] [ατομὴν Θορικ : ἐν] τοῖς ἐδάφε : τοῖ [ς Ἐπαμείνον] [ος Θορι : Ἡρτεμι]σιακὸν
```

and the two mines leased by father and son considered the same or adjacent mines. ⁵⁶ See above, No. 6, line 5, for ἐπικατατομή.

Lines 10-16: Cf. No. 20, lines 48-52, a record of the same or of an adjacent mine. The lessee Polyeuktos of Sphettos (P.A., 11950) is a well-known Athenian, active in politics in the third quarter of the century.

10 *I.G.*, II², 1585. A fragment of Hymettian marble found on the south slope of the Acropolis.⁵⁷

The text has been restored with a line of 37 letters. In lines 8 and 17, however, I would suggest $\pi a \lambda a \iota \partial \nu \dot{a} \nu a \sigma \dot{a} \xi \iota$: rather than $\pi a \lambda a \iota \dot{a} \nu a \sigma \dot{a} \xi \iota \mu o \nu$, for the former is found in other texts, the latter never.

The text contains the record of three leases of which the second is Ktesiakon at Besa, the third Apolloniakon at Besa.

The name of the operator of the Artemisiakon mine, which is to the west of the mine in the first lease, can be restored as Euthydikos. Line 5 and 6 thus read:

```
[α] λλον τὸ ᾿Αρτεμισιακὸν ὃ [ἠργάζετο Εὐθύδικος]
[Μν] ησιθέου Σφήττιος — — — —
```

For Euthydikos son of Mnesitheos of Sphettos see No. 18, lines 20-21.

The registrant of the second lease Xaip --- (line 7) is perhaps the same man as $Xaip\acute{e}as$ $Ai\sigma\chi ---$, registrant of Apolloniakon at Besa, in No. 5, line 68.

The restoration in line 15 of Epilykos son of Nikostratos of Gargettos as regis-

⁵⁶ The fact that the later record seems to be a new lease argues somewhat against an identification.

⁵⁷ Part of the left edge, a flat top, and a smooth back are preserved. The upper part of the inscribed face is missing. The stone tapers from left to right; the thickness at the left is 0.095 m., at the right 0.07 m. The stoichedon writing is set in a square checker unit of which ten units measure ca. 0.073 m.

trant is probably not correct, for Epilykos is now dated close to the end of the fourth century (*Hesperia*, Index I-X, s. v.). I should prefer to restore a member of the family of Phanostratos of Gargettos, known to have had interests in the mines (discussed above under No. 5, line 20).

11 (Plate 86). A fragment of Hymettian marble found in late fill in section B on April 27, 1934. The inscribed face only is preserved.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.084 m.; thickness, 0.027 m.; height of letters, 0.004 m. Inv. No. I 1879.

The writing is stoichedon set in a square checker pattern of which ten units measure *ca.* 0.072 m.

This may be part of the same stele as No. 10.

Lines 4-10: A mine at Thrasymos.

Diophanes, the registrant, might be Diophanes of Sounion, property owner in Maroneia and at Sounion (No. 1, line 51; No. 13, line 68) or Diophanes of Gargettos, owner of a workshop (?) (No. 16, Face A, Col. II, line 73). In either of these cases, the lessee, whose demotic apparently is Anaphlystios, Anagyrasios or Anakaieus (line 10) will not be the same as the registrant.

12 (Plate 86). Two inscribed fragments of Hymettian marble almost certainly from the same stele. The inscribed face is the only original surface preserved on either piece, but both show signs of reworking. On piece (a), note the drafting line between the last two lines and the horizontally trimmed surface at the bottom, cutting into the letters of the last line. On piece (b), the top is finished smooth and horizontal but again this cuts through the letters of line 1. Both were found in the disturbed

surface of the classical floor of the Agora, northeast of the Tholos, in Section Z; fragment a on May 19, 1937, fragment b on June 5, 1937.

Fragment a: Height, 0.053 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.02 m. Inv. No. I 4870.

Fragment b: Height, 0.037 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.015 m. Inv. No. I 4930.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern of which ten units measure 0.071 m.

```
ΣΤΟΙΧ.
   Frag. a
   [.....] EIT[-----]
   \left[\ldots 15\ldots 10^{15}\ldots 10^{15}\right] or a\nu a \left[\sigma a\xi \iota \mu o \nu -----\right]
   [ .....^{12}.....]αιικον έ[------]
   5 [....<sup>8</sup>.... \pi]ρὸς ἡλίου ἀ[νιόν: -----]
   [....*...] νοτόθεν Xaρ[-----δυομένου]
   [έργαστήρ]ιον Σίμου Πα[ιαν: ώνη: - - - - -]
   [\ldots^8\ldots]v...ov \Pi a \lambda \lambda [\eta v: -----]
                      lacuna
   Frag. b
   \left[\ldots \right]^{12}\ldots \left[\ldots \right]
  [... \eta \lambda i \circ v \circ ] \mu \epsilon : \Delta \iota \circ \phi [-----]
                      lacuna
```

The letter forms, spacing, marble, and marks of recutting correspond very closely with those in No. 6; but the difference in use of abbreviations and the consistent use of -ov for genitive singular suggest these fragments are from a different stele.

If the horizontal cuttings at the bottom of (a) and at the top of (b) are the two sides of one cutting, fragment b, because of the text, must be from a different column from (a).

Lines 3-7:- -aiikon. For the two iotas in the ending, see No. $32 (= I.G., II^2, 1587, lines 14-15, and 1588, lines 4-5). Either Diotimos or Philokrates of Euonymon might be restored as property owner. The former owned property named in the boundaries of a concession Hermaikon at Laureion (No. <math>16 = I.G., II^2, 1582$, lines 65-66), and the latter a workshop listed as the eastern boundary of Athenaikon at Besa (No. 5, line 78). Simos of Paiania is discussed above under No. 5, line 29.

13 (Plates 86-88). Nineteen non-joining fragments of a badly shattered opisthographic stele of Hymettian marble. Seventeen were found in the area of the Bouleuterion Plateia, one a few meters to the southeast of the Plateia and one in late fill in a well in the Bouleuterion Porch. Four were found in ancient contexts: fragment d in the foundation packing for the Fountain House, of the Augustan period, at the south side of the Plateia (*Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 102-103), part of fragment j in firm ancient earth a few meters further north, and fragments m and n, judging from the cement on them, were once built into the Roman screen wall around the Plateia (cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 168; fragments of two other mining stele were found in this wall, No. 4 and part of No. 16). The rest were found in late or disturbed fills.

Fragments a, f, g, i, k, l, m, n, o, and s, were found during April and May of 1934; b on May 27, 1937; c and d on May 10 and 11, 1935; e, h, p, q, r, and half of j, were all found together in a late disturbance on bedrock at the southeast corner of the Plateia on May 4, 1935; the other half of j, on July 22, 1936.

Unless otherwise stated only the inscribed face of the fragments listed below is preserved.

- Fragment a: Two joining opistographic fragments with an original right edge preserved on face A, left edge on B.

 Height, 0.335 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.115-0.117 m.

 Inv. No. I 1750a.
- Fragment b: An opisthographic fragment broken on all sides. Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.115 m. Inv. No. I 1750j.
- Fragment c: Height, 0.066 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.045 m. Inv. No. I 1750i.
- Fragment d: Two joining fragments.

 Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.082 m.; thickness, 0.013 m.

 Inv. No. I 1750h + I 2968.
- Fragment e: Height of inscribed face, 0.043 m.; width of inscribed face, 0.069 m.; thickness, 0.046 m.
 Inv. No. I 1750g.
- Fragment f: A fragment made up of two joining pieces, the original left edge preserved.

 Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.047 m.

 Inv. No. I 1807 + I 1940.
- Fragment g: Height, 0.084 m.; width, 0.055 m.; thickness, 0.012 m. Inv. No. I 1854.

Fragment h: Height of face, 0.037 m.; width of face, 0.137 m.; thickness, 0.074 m.

Inv. No. I 1750b.

Fragment i: Height, 0.03 m.; width, 0.023 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Inv. No. I 1959.

Fragment j: A fragment made up of two joining pieces, with inscribed face and original right edge preserved.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.077 m.; thickness, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 1750f.

Fragment k: Height, 0.058 m.; width, 0.061 m.; thickness, 0.02 m. Inv. No. I 1855.

Fragment 1: Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.014 m. Inv. No. I 1807a.

Fragment m: Height, 0.036 m.; width, 0.03 m.; thickness, 0.057 m. Inv. No. I 1869a.

Fragment n: Height, 0.061 m.; width, 0.016 m.; thickness, 0.026 m. Inv. No. I 1869b.

Fragment o: The inscribed face and the original left edge are preserved and there is a vacant space below the last line.

Height, 0.035 m.; width, 0.056 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Inv. No. I 1944.

Fragment p: Height of inscribed face, 0.046 m.; width of inscribed face, 0.017 m.; thickness, 0.004 m.
Inv. No. I 1750c.

Fragment q: Height of inscribed face, 0.019 m.; width of inscribed face, 0.028 m.; thickness, 0.048 m.
Inv. No. I 1750d.

Fragment r: Height, 0.04 m.; width, 0.054 m.; thickness, 0.033 m. Inv. No. I 1750e.

Fragment s: Height, 0.05 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.042 m. Inv. No. I 1937.

Height of letters (all fragments), 0.004 m.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern of which ten units measure ca. 0.081 m.

Fragment a		
Face A		Σ ΤΟΙΧ. 32
[. ²⁶] H[5]
-	²⁴	-

	[. ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ Θουδή]μο ἄρ[χοντο] [ς ἐργ]άσι: []	353/2
5	$ \left[\ldots \ldots^{22} \ldots \right] $	
	$[\dots]^{s}$ ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆ]ς ἐπὶ Θο $[v]$ δ $[ημ]$	353/2
	$[o \ \mathring{a}\rho \chi o \nu \tau o s \dots \dots]^{1} \lambda o [v \] \lambda \omega [\dots]$,
	[¹¹ μέταλλον ἐργά]σιμον []	
	$[\hat{\omega}\iota\gamma\epsilon\dot{\iota}:]:\pi ho\grave{\circ}[\S]\dot{\eta}[\lambda]$	
10	[ίου ἀνιόν: τὸ μέταλλον τὸ Διον]υσια[κὸν]	
_ •	[πρὸς ἡλίου δυομέ: * κά]μιν[ος]	
	$\begin{bmatrix} \dots & \dots & \dots & \dots & \dots & \dots \end{bmatrix}$ $\kappa lpha \hat{i} \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \dots & \dots & \dots & \dots \end{bmatrix} \gamma \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \dots & \dots & \dots \end{bmatrix}$	
	[]	
15	[]ΟΣΦ	
	[$\ldots \ldots$ 23 $\ldots \ldots \pi \alpha \lambda$] $\alpha i \partial \nu$ $\Phi \rho$	
	[] έν τοῖς ἐδ	
	[άφεσιν τοῖς]ς Φρεαρρ : ὧι γεί	
	[βορρᾶ:]ρον νοτόθ: ὁ λόφος	
20	[¹⁰ δ ἠργάσ]ατο Κηρυκίδης ἐκ Κο	
	$[\lambda\omega\nu:\ldots:{}^{10}\ldots\Delta\iota_0]\pi\epsilon i\theta[\eta\varsigma]\Delta\iota_0\kappa\lambda\epsilon i\delta_0$	
	$[\Phi \rho \epsilon: \dots^{\circ}.\dots \hat{\alpha} \nu \alpha \sigma \hat{\alpha}] \xi \iota \mu [o] \nu \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta \nu \check{\epsilon} \chi o$	
	$[\nu \ldots^{10} \ldots \dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\epsilon} \hat{\delta} \hat{\alpha}] \phi \epsilon \sigma [i] \nu \tau \hat{\epsilon} \hat{\delta} \hat{\alpha} \Pi \rho \omega$	
	$[$ ω̂ι γεί: β ορρâ: $$]άνης Έρχι	
25	[νοτό: ἐργαστή] ριον καὶ σ	
-0	[⁸ πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν: ἡ χ] αράδρα ἡ	
	$[$ $\mathring{\eta}$ η	
	$[\epsilon \tau o \ldots]^{25} \ldots]\alpha : \dot{\omega} \nu$	
	$[\eta\colon\ldots\ldots^{26}\ldots\ldots]$ if κ $\tau[\hat{\eta}]$	
3 0	[$s \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta s \tau \dot{\eta} s \dot{\epsilon} \pi \dot{\iota} \dot{a} \rho \chi o \nu \tau o s]$	
00		
	Face B	
31		
31	P[] H []	
	lacuna of eight lines	
41	ΙΕ[δι γεί: βο]	
	$ ho ho\hat{a}[:\Sigma]$	
	ουνι [: ἐργαστήριον ἡλίου ἀνιόν : Διοκλ]	
	έους Σουν[ι: χωρίον πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: Σίμ]	
45	ου Παιανι: [ἐργαστήριον ἀνη: Σῖμος Διο]	
	δώρου Παιανι : Δ [Δ : Λυσάνιας Λυσικλέου]	

```
ς Κεφαλή: ἀπ[ε]γρ[άψατο μέταλλον παλαιὸ]
       \nu ἀνασάξιμο [\nu ..... ἐν τοῖς ἐδά]
       [\phi]\epsilon[\sigma\iota]\nu \tau o[\hat{\iota}]s![\dots^{12}\dots]
                        lacuna
       Fragment b
       Face A
     50
       \lceil \dots \rceil : \mathring{\eta} \rho \gamma \lceil \acute{\alpha} \zeta \epsilon \tau o \dots \rceil^{14} \dots \rceil
       [\ldots^8\ldots] ἐργα [\sigma \tau \eta \rho \iota o \nu \ldots^{13}\ldots\ldots]
       [.. Σο] vvi: έργα [στήριον καὶ -- ώνη: --]
       [..] \eta_S K \eta \phi \iota \sigma [o] \kappa [\lambda \acute{\epsilon} o \nu_S - - - \mu \acute{\epsilon} \tau a \lambda \lambda o \nu - - -]
55
     [...]ακὸν ϵ[π]ὶ Θ[ρασύμωι ἀνασάξι: ἐν τοῖς]
       [\epsilon \delta \hat{a} \phi] \epsilon \sigma i \nu A \nu \delta [\rho - - - \delta i \gamma \epsilon i : \beta \rho \rho \hat{a} : - - -]
       lacuna
      Face B
[\dot{\eta}\lambda iov \ \dot{a}]\nu[\iota\dot{o}]\nu[:\ldots]
       [\ldots \dot{\eta}λί]ου δυομ[\dot{\epsilon}:\ldots 18,\ldots 18]
       [.... \dot{\omega}]\nu\eta: 'Ay\nu\dot{\alpha}\theta[\epsilon0\varsigma ..........]
       [\Delta i\phi\iota(?)] \(\lambda \) \(\Phi\eta\infty\) \(\Phi\eta\infty\) \(\phi\eta\infty\) \(\phi\eta\infty\)
65
       [ράψ] ατο έπὶ Σουνί[ωι παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον]
       [ 'Αρ] τεμισιακὸν στ [ ήλην ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ]
       [εσι]ν τοις Εὐαγγέ[λου . . . . δι γεί: βορρά]
       [: \Delta\iota] \circ\phi\acute{a}\nu\eta$ \Sigma\circ\nu[\nu]\iota[: \nu\circ\tau\acute{o}: . . . . . . . . . . ]
       [...] \pi \rho \delta s \dot{\eta} \lambda i \sigma v \dot{a} \nu [i \acute{o} \nu : \dots : 14 \dots : 1]
      [\pi\rho\delta]s \dot{\eta}\lambdaίου \deltaυο\mu[\dot{\epsilon} \ldots 1^3 \ldots \dot{\omega}\nu\eta:]
70
       [Δίφι]λος [Φειδίππου Πιθ:....]
       \begin{bmatrix} \dots^5 \dots \end{bmatrix} O \begin{bmatrix} \dots \dots \dots \\ 26 \dots \dots \end{bmatrix}
                                     lacuna
       Frag. c
       \left[\ldots\ldots^{13}\ldots\right]\Sigma\left[\ldots\ldots^{18}\ldots\right]
       [\ldots 1^{12}\ldots 1^{12}\ldots 1]\iota:\pi\rho\delta[s\,\dot{\eta}\lambdaίου ἀνιόν: \mu\epsilon\tau]
```

MARGARET CROSBY

75	[αλλον ο ἠργάζ] ετο Φαι [δυομέ :] $ [ἡ όδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Λα] υρίον ἐ [πὶ φέρουσα] $ $ [ἀνη :$
	lacuna
	Frag. d
80	$ \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \overset{10}{10} & \dots & & \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \dots & & \overset{21}{10} & \dots & & \\ & & \overset{10}{10} & \dots & & \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \overset{20}{10} & \dots & & \\ & & \overset{20}{10} & \dots & \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \overset{10}{10} & \dots & & \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \overset{10}{10} & \dots & & \\ & & \overset{10}{10} & \dots & \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \overset{10}{10} & \dots & \overset{19}{10} & \dots & \\ & & & & & & \end{bmatrix} $
85	[18]
	[⁷]υ Εὐωνυ: μ[έταλλον ἀπεγράψατο]
	[ἐπὶ Σουνί]ωι ἐν τ<ο>ῖς [ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Διοκλ]
	[έους Σου]νι: ὧι γεί: [βορρᾶ:]
00	[¹⁰] Κόνων Α[¹⁶]
90	$\left[\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
	$\begin{bmatrix} \dots & 13 & \dots \end{bmatrix} X I \Delta \begin{bmatrix} \dots & 16 & \dots \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \dots & 14 & \dots \end{bmatrix} N \begin{bmatrix} \dots & 17 & \dots \end{bmatrix}$
	lacuna
95	Frag. e [⁷]νι: N[
	lacuna
	Frag. f
100	
	lacuna

105110	$ \begin{bmatrix} \dots^{8} \dots \Sigma \end{bmatrix} ov\nu\iota : \begin{bmatrix} \dots^{18} \dots \end{bmatrix} \\ [\dots^{9} \dots] o : \mathring{\omega}\nu\eta [: \dots^{17} \dots] \\ [\dots^{9} \dots] HHP : \mu [\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\sigma\nu \dots^{11} \dots] \\ [\dots^{8} \dots] \text{ $IAΣTAΣ} [\dots^{17} \dots] \\ [\dots^{9} \dots] \tau\eta s \ \nu\sigma\tau [\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu \ \acute{\eta} \ \acute{\delta}\delta\grave{\delta}s \ \acute{\eta} \dots^{7} \dots] \\ [\dots^{6} \dots \acute{\epsilon}\rho] ov\sigma\alpha \ \pi\rho [\grave{\delta}s \ \acute{\eta}\lambda\acute{\iota}ov \dots^{10} \dots] $
	$[^5$ ϵ ργα σ]τήριο $[ν]$
115	Frag. h [] ΗΠν [] [] κὸν στήλην ἔχον []
	lacuna
120	Frag. i [30] I O [30] \lambda I '' [30] \lambda I ''
	lacuna
125 130	Frag. j [
	lacuna

135	Frag. k [¹⁵ Επὶ Θρασύ	$[\mu]$
140	A EA	λον] 	
	lacuna		
	frag. m μω : δδ[ὸς] " βορ[ρᾶ:] ΙΣ		
	lacuna		
150	Frag. n Y P M Σ I K ΔΩ	155	Frag. o ^v Σ TX vacat lacuna
	Frag. 5		
	Frag. p [⁵ ἡλίου ἀ]νιό[ν: [⁸ ο]υς Σφ[ηττ: ¹ [⁸] ΑΝ~[²¹		
lacuna			

```
Frag. q
                                      -- PA --
160
                                      -- EL --
                                           lacuna
         Frag. r
                                      -- OK v
                                      -- Σ .
                                           lacuna
         Frag. s
         \left[\ldots\ldots^{15}\ldots\right] 'O\hat{\eta}	heta: \left[\ldots\ldots^{13}\ldots\ldots\right]
         [..... \mathring{a}\nu] a\sigma \acute{a}\xi\iota[\mu o\nu ....\theta....]
          [\ldots 11 \ldots]ον ὧι γεί: \beta[ορρ\hat{a}: .....]
          [\ldots^7,\ldots,\nu_0\tau] \delta: \dot{\eta} \chi a \rho \acute{a} \delta \rho [a \ldots 1^2,\ldots]
         \left[\ldots \stackrel{\scriptscriptstyle 10}{\ldots} \right] or \mathring{\omega}\nu\eta: \left[\ldots \stackrel{\scriptscriptstyle 16}{\ldots} \right]
         [\ldots^{10}\ldots]_{S} O\Lambda[\ldots^{19}\ldots]
                                            lacuna
```

The archon Aristodemos (352/1 B.C.) is named in line 130, in a part of the text which deals with confiscated property, not with mines. In lines 3 and 6, mines, apparently two, are recorded from the stele of Thoudemos (353/2 B.C). Therefore this stele probably belongs to one of the years between 350/49 and 345/4. See above pp. 199-202 on renewals and length of leases.

Some of the pieces are badly calcinated as a result of burning; this is especially noticeable on Face A of fragment a and on e, j, p, and q. Face B on a and b shows distinct traces of a roughened picked surface, which also is found on fragments h, i, and j. There were at least two columns, more probably three or four, on each face, and part at least of the last column of face B dealt with confiscated property. A 32-letter line can be restored with considerable probability in two of the better preserved pieces, Face B on a and b, and is probably to be restored throughout. Lines 122-134, however, from the last column of face B, are not strictly stoichedon (see photograph, Pl. 88, fragment j); the seven letters in lines 127-129, stoichedon in relation to each other, occupy the space of eight letters in lines 122-124. Other irregularities on the part of the stone cutter are:

Line 18: Last two letters eq in space of one.

Line 56: τοῖς omitted between ἐδάφεσιν and owner's name.

Line 87: An omega by mistake for omicron in roîs.

Line 115: Lambda apparently omitted in Κτησικλής.

Thus I do not hesitate to restore thirty-three letters in lines 87 and 96.

Lines 1-30 from the right hand column of face A contain the fragmentary records of five or six leases of which the first two and perhaps the last are of *ergasima* mines; the fifth and perhaps fourth *anasaxima*.

Lines 7-8: One could restore either $- - \lambda o[v] A] \lambda \omega [\pi \epsilon \kappa | \hat{\eta}]$: εἰσήνενκε μέταλλον ἐργά σιμον or $- - \lambda o[v] \Pi] \lambda \omega [\theta \epsilon \hat{v} | s]$ εἰσήνενκεν (or ἀπεγράψατο) μέταλλον ἐργά σιμον.

Line 20: $\eta \rho \gamma \delta \sigma$] $\alpha \tau \sigma$; see No. 4, line 8, for this form. Kerykides is a new name for Attic prosopography.

Lines 21-22: Diopeithes, son of Diokleides, of Phrearrhoi (P.A., 4329) was trierarch in 325/4. The text cannot be restored with any certainty; he is either lessee of the preceding mine or registrant of the following.

Lines 31-49 from the left hand column of face B contain part of the records of two leases.

Lines 43: Diokles of Sounion is known as a property owner at Sounion; cf. No. 5, lines 8, 18, and 32.

Lines 44-45: For Simos son of Diodoros of Paiania, see No. 5, line 29 (and other references in commentary thereto).

Lines 46-47: Lysanias son of Lysikles of Kephale is named as lessee of a mine at Laureion in No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582, lines 76 ff.).

Fragment b, Face A, lines 50-59: Parts of two leases, one of which is at Thrasymos. The line of break along the top of Face A may be the same line of break as that across the top of the lower half of fragment a. If this be the case this fragment then would be slightly below and to the left of a, and the text would be part of another column.

Fragment b, Face B, lines 60-72, contains the fragmentary records of two concessions of which the second is Artemisiakon at Sounion.

Line 63: The lessee Hagnotheos is perhaps Hagnotheos son of Thrasippos (P.A., 147), brother of Hagnon, who appears as lessee in No. 20, line 42 (cf. also commentary thereto).

Line 64: Pheidippos son of Phayllos of Pithos, father of the registrant, appears more often than anyone else in the mining texts, as registrant or lessee of 6 mines, and as property owner in two other leases. In 367/6 he leased two adjacent unnamed mines at Sounion (No. 1, lines 46-47, 81). He is named as registrant of two mines of which, neither the name nor place is preserved (line 103 of the present text and No. 15, line 42). He owned property at the north of the second of these and can be restored as owner of the property in which the mine was located (No. 15, lines 44-45). He registered an Artemisiakon at Thorikos and can be restored as owner of the workshop at the north (No. 18, lines 70 and 72). In No. 20 he again is found as lessee of one

Artemisiakon and as owner of property to the south of another (lines 25, 28). His property is given as the northern boundary of a mine at Sounion in No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582, line 43). And in No. 19, lines 4-9, his workshop is named as part of the southern boundary of an Artemisiakon at Thorikos. (See above pp. 195-196 for the possible identification of some of these mines). His son Diphilos, who has been restored as registrant in the present text, is named as owner of the property in which an Artemisiakon was located and of a workshop to the south of it in No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582, lines 125, 126). Another son Phayllos could equally well be restored here. Pheidippos, (P.A., 14164), and his two sons Diphilos (P.A., 4485) and Phayllos (P.A., 14129), all served as trierarchs in the third quarter of the century. It now seems relatively clear where their money came from.

Line 67: Diophanes of Sounion was a property owner in Maroneia in 367/6 (No. 1, line 59). He is a member of the well-known family to which Diopeithes the general (P.A., 4327 and Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 14) belonged. He is perhaps uncle of Diophanes son of Diopeithes (P.A., 4413), a prytanis ca. 330 B.C.

Lines 73-104, fragments c, d, e, and f, are probably from face A; fragment f preserves an original left edge and therefore belongs in the first column.

Line 75: The last letter is either iota or upsilon; $\Phi \acute{a} \ddot{v} [\lambda \lambda os \Pi \iota \theta \epsilon]$: or $\Phi \acute{a} \tilde{\iota} [\delta \rho os \Sigma \phi \acute{\eta} \tau]$ could be restored (cf. lines 64 and 94).

Line 79: Either $\Lambda \mu \phi \iota \tau \rho o \pi (\hat{\eta} \theta \epsilon \nu)$ or $\Lambda \mu \phi \iota \tau \rho o \pi (\hat{\eta} \sigma \iota)$; i. e., demotic of the owner of edaphe (with $\tau o \hat{\imath}_s$ omitted as in line 56) or location of the mine.

Lines 86-88: See above, line 43, for Diokles, property owner in Sounion.

Line 89: The alpha is probably the first letter of the demotic. A Konon of Anaphlystos (P.A., 8708) was trierarch in the third quarter of the fourth century.

Line 94: $\Phi a \iota \delta \rho = --$, possibly Phaidros (P.A., 13964) son of Kallias of Sphettos, general and trierarch in the third quarter of the century. He can be restored in No. 16 $(=I.G., II^2, 1582, lines 180-181)$ as lessee of a mine at Thrasymos. His father Kallias (P.A., 7891) leased two concessions in Nape in 367/6 and owned property there (No. 1, lines 42, 48, 65). The Thymochares who appears without demotic on a boundary stone as lessee of an Artemisiakon (Ath. Mitt., LXII, 1937 p. 11, no. 12) may well be a member of this same family (P.A., 7411-13).

Line 103: See above, line 64.

Lines 105-134, fragments g, h, i, and j, are all assigned to face B. The right end of a column is preserved on h and i. Fragment j, with the right edge preserved, belongs in the last column.

Lines 122-134: Compare No. 1, lines 6-39, and No. 16 (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 398-403, lines 10-203) for similar texts dealing with confiscated property sold by the poletai.

Line 129: For ἀλόντ[os] see No. 1, lines 13 ff.

The remaining nine fragments, k through s, lines 135-169, give no indication of the face to which they belong. I have placed fragment s, lines 163-169, at the end because of some hesitation over whether it belongs to this stele: it was found outside the area of the Bouleuterion Plateia and could belong equally well to No. 14.

14 (Plate 89). Two fragments of an opisthographic stele of Hymettian marble. Fragment a, made up of two joining pieces found in modern context in section Ξ on March 21 and 22, 1935, has an original edge, the left on Face A, the right on B. Fragment b, found in late fill in section N on March 12, 1936, preserves only one inscribed face; it makes a textual but not physical join with Face A of Fragment a.

```
Fragment a: Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.128-0.130 m. Inv. No. I 2639.
```

Fragment b: Height, 0.213 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.079 m. Inv. No. I 3738.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

The writing is stoichedon set in a square checker pattern of which ten units measure 0.082 m.

	Face A Σ TOIX. 40
	$[\ \ldots \ \pi ho$ ος ήλίου δ $]$
	$[vομέν]$: Φιλίνου έργασ $[τήριον ωνη:^{12}]$
	$[\dots]$ του Θυμαιτά: $\Delta\Delta$: $\mu\epsilon[au$ αλλον παλαιὸν ἀνασάξι μ]
	[ον] Νυμφαικὸν στήλην ἔχ[ον Μαρωνείαι ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ]
5	εσιν τοῖς Αὐτοφ<ά>ντου [ὧι γεί: βορρᾶ: χωρίον Λυσι(?)]
	θείδου καὶ ἡ χαράδρα ἡ [
	[τό] * Αὐτοφάντου Κυθή [ρρ: ἐργαστήριον πρὸς ἡλίου]
	[ἀν]ιόν: Διοφάνους Γ [αργηττ: (?) ἐργαστήριον ἀνη:]
	[.]οφῶν Ξενοκλέους $[]: \Delta[\Delta: ^{11} μέταλ]$
10	λον ἀνασάξιμον Ἡρ[ωι]κὸν στή[λην ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ]
	εσιν τοῖς Τιμησί [ου Σ]ουνι: ο(ῗ)ς [γεί: βορρᾶ: Διοδώρ(?)]
	ου Παιανι: ἐργα [στήρι]ον νοτόθ [:
	ἐργαστήριον π[ρὸς ἡλίο]υ ἀνιόν[:¹]
	πho ος ἡλίου δυο $[\mu \epsilon: \ldots^6 \ldots]$ οχ $[\ldots \ldots^{13} \ldots \ldots \omega u \eta:]$
15	Παυσίστρατο[ς Φιλιστίδου Αἰξω: : Διοχάρης Δι]
	οκλέους Πιθε[: ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον παλαιό]ν ἀν[α]
	σάξιμον στήλ [ην ἔχον ἐπὶ Σο] υνίωι ἐ
	$ u$ τοῖς ἐδά ϕ ε $[\sigma$ ι $ u$ τοῖς \dots
	v tois eoupe [o iv tois] wi yet. pop

```
χωρία Διοχ [άρους νοτόθ: ἡ όδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ ..] ρωνείου εἰ
      ς Πάνορμ[ον \phiέρουσα .....]έργαστήρ[:]
20
      πρὸς ἡλί [ου δυομέ:... τ... ἐργαστήρι]ον τιμή:\Delta[\Delta]
      [\ldots]ι στήλην \mathring{\epsilon}[\chi]
      [ o\nu \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon}\nu \tau o \hat{i}s \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \delta \acute{a} \phi \epsilon \sigma \imath \nu \tau o \hat{i}s \dots \stackrel{1}{\ldots} \stackrel{1}{\ldots} ]\nu \epsilon : \mathring{b}\imath \gamma \epsilon [\acute{i}:]
      [\beta \circ \rho \rho \hat{a} : ----\nu \circ \tau \delta : ----] \circ \Sigma \circ \nu \nu \iota : \pi[\rho]
25
      [
η:..: Φρεάρ]ρι: 
απεγρά[ψα]
      [το μέταλλον ....... ^{16}..... ^{16}Αθη ]ναικὸν στή [λη]
30
      [ν ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Λεωχά]ρου[ς] Κοπρεί[: ὧ]
      [ι \gamma \epsilon i: \beta o \rho \rho \hat{a} \dots i^{0} \dots \dot{\epsilon} \rho \gamma a \sigma \tau \eta] \rho ι o \nu \Lambda \epsilon \omega \chi [\dot{a}] \rho [o v]
      [\varsigma ----- \nu o \tau \acute{o}: ---- \Lambda] \epsilon \omega \chi \acute{a} \rho o \nu \varsigma: \pi [\rho \grave{o}\varsigma]
      [\dot{\eta}\lambdaiov ... \dot{\eta} \dot{\delta}\delta\dot{\delta} \dot{\eta} \dot{a}\pi\dot{\delta} ... \dot{\tau} ... ] \phi\dot{\epsilon}\rhoov\sigmaa \tau \uparrow [....]
      [....] \eta \nu \alpha \gamma o[...]
      [.....\dot{\epsilon}\nu \tau \hat{ois} \dot{\epsilon} \hat{\delta} \hat{a} ] \phi \epsilon \sigma [ \iota \nu \ \tau \hat{ois} .]
35
      Face B
                                                                  ΣΤΟΙΧ. 40
     [....] \pi \rho \delta s \dot{\eta} \lambda i [ov...^{7}...]
      [..... Ai\nu(?)]\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau[o...<sup>7</sup>....]
      40 [....<sup>11</sup>......τωι] δημοσίωι καὶ ἐκγεγραμμ[ένου ἐν]
      [ ἀκροπόλει :κ: Ε] ὕδιος Μελιτ: 'Αρχίας Κόπρει [ : . . . ]
      [\dots, 1^2, \dots, \tau] η̂ι πόλει τὰ τρίτα μέρη τιμή TH[\dots]
      [\ldots 1^3,\ldots] ώνη: Διομέδων Διομνήστου [\Lambda \chi \alpha] [\rho \nu]
      [\dots].... \tau \acute{a} \delta \epsilon \acute{\epsilon} \pi \rho ] \acute{a} \theta \eta \acute{a} \theta \rho \acute{o} \langle \iota \rangle as \tau \acute{\eta} s \tau \iota \mu \acute{\eta} s \acute{\epsilon} \pi [\grave{\iota}] \tau \acute{\eta} s \acute{A} [\nu]
    [τιοχίδος ἐνάτης (οτ ὀγδόης)] πρυτανείας Μουνιχιῶνος δικα[σ]
45
      [τήριον τὸ Παράβυστ]ον κυρωτής
      [..... ^{18}..... ^{18}..... ^{18}ιγιλι: \mathring{a}πέγραψεν ^{18}Καλλι^{18}.]
      [....]λίου ἔχουσαν ἱπποσ
     [τάσιον(?).....θ]υγατέρα τοῦ Βουτά
50
      [.....δι] γείτ: βορρ\hat{a}θε[\nu]
      [.....] ^-^[....10
```

Face A: The last letter of the column is preserved on fragment b, lines 17-19; the fact that the stone is broken along this edge clearly suggests that the stele had at least two, probably more, columns on each face. The thirty-five preserved lines

from column I contain the record of six or seven leases. Note that in the three cases where the price is preserved in whole or part (lines 3, 9, and 21) it seems to be twenty drachmai.

Lines 3-9: Nymphaikon at Maroneia(?); see No. 5, lines 53-58, an earlier lease of perhaps the same concession. The price and absence of registrant would suggest that the earlier lease or claim had lapsed before the present lease. In line 5 the text reads $A\nu\tau\sigma\phi\omega\nu\tau\sigma$ s with an upsilon written over the sigma at the end. With the name Autophantos appearing below in line 7, it seems probable that the owners of edaphe and workshop are the same, i. e., Autophantos of Kytherros. In line 5 the stonecutter wrote the familiar Autophon, and corrected only the last letter. I have found no other example of Autophantos, but such names as Diophantos and Antiphantos are well known. For Lysitheides, see No. 6, line 10. For Diophanes of Gargettos see below No. 16 (Face A, II, lines 73-74). A Xenokles of Kopros (P.A., 11225) is known as owner of a workshop at Besa (Isaeus III). One could restore $K[\delta\pi\rho\epsilon]$: in line 9, and assume that the lessee was the son of that Xenokles.

Lines 9-15: Heroikon (or Heraikon). The location to be restored in line 9 could be either ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι, ἐπὶ Λαυρείωι, οτ ἐν Μαρωνείαι.

Line 11: Timesios of Sounion, owner of the *edaphe*, is perhaps to be identified with the Timesios, without demotic, named as property owner in Nape (No. 1, line 57). Diodoros son of Simos of Paiania was trierarch in the third quarter of the century (*P.A.*, 3953); the tentative restoration is suggested here because his father Simos appears elsewhere in these texts as lessee and owner of a workshop (see commentary on No. 5, line 29). The lessee has been identified with Pausistratos son of Philistides (*P.A.*, 11743), named on a list of the mid fourth century; for the demotic see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 410, where his brother was acting as bondsman *ca.* 343.

Lines 15-21: A mine with a twelve letter name at Sounion. Compare the following text, No. 15, lines 23-29: the record of a mine, also of 12 letters, with the northern and southern boundaries the same as in this text. Diochares son of Diokles of Pithos can be restored as lessee in both texts and as registrant here. The price in this text is 20 drachmai, in No. 15, at least 150 drachmai. The owner of the *edaphe* in the two texts could be the same assuming that an abbreviated demotic was included in one and not in the other. The eastern and western boundaries do not seem to correspond. Thus the evidence is insufficient to decide whether the two leases are of the same concession or of contiguous ones. I am inclined to take the latter choice because the stones seem closely contemporary, perhaps from consecutive years, and so with an interval too short for a renewal. Diochares of Pithos is hitherto unknown. His father Diokles was a prominent Athenian of the first half of the fourth century, served as trierarch in 377/6 (I.G., II², 1604, 91; cf. P.A., 4048; to the references

there should be added *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 167, no. 28, line 5), and is named as property owner in Nape in 367/6, (No. 1, lines 48-49 and 58).

Line 19: Perhaps $[\dot{\eta} \ \delta \delta \delta \delta \ \dot{\eta} \ \dot{a}\pi \delta \ Ma]\rho\omega\nu\epsilon i\omega\nu$, either a variant of or error for Mapoveias. See, however, No. 5, line 33, where a road from Thrasymos $M[a]\rho\dot{\omega}\nu a\zeta\epsilon$ is named. The geographical requirements in the two texts lend support to the suggestion that the same place is referred to, probably the town or district of Maroneia, the site of the famous silver strike in the early fifth century.⁵⁸

Line 21: For $\tau\iota\mu\dot{\eta}$ see below, line 27, and No. 15, lines 36, 41, and 47. This form of registration is probably a variant of the form in which registrant and lessee are the same person (see above, p. 197). This record and that in lines 3-9 seem both to be new concessions leased for twenty drachmai.

Line 28: Three lessees from Phrearrhoi with name and patronymic in 19 letters are known: Diopeithes son of Diokleides (No. 13, line 21); Timokleides son of Hypsichides (No. 16 = I.G., II², 1582, lines 118, 122); and Kephisophon son of -10 - (No. 20, lines 16-17). The texts are too fragmentary to suggest any connections.

Face B, lines 36-52. With part of the right edge of the stone preserved, these lines are from the last column. They contain the fragmentary records of two sales of confiscated property.

Lines 40-41: See No. 16 = Hesperia, V, 1936, pp. 401-402, lines 149-150 and 159-160. The person in question apparently owed a fine to the public treasury and had been so listed on the acropolis. The kappa is restored from the parallel phrase (loc. cit., line 150); but I suggest that in both places it is an abbreviation for $\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\eta\rho\epsilon$, not for $\kappa\nu\rho\omega\tau\alpha$. Compare No. 1, line 15, where two $\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\eta\rho\epsilon$ are named. Eudios of Melite is known from a catalogue of the tribe Kekropis, I.G., II², 2383, of ca. 360-350 B.C. Eudios is the only fourth century name in Melite ending in -dios or -aios listed in P.A., a fact which supports the forty letter line, which, already established on face A, one would normally expect also on this face since the letter units are of the same size.

Line 42: The offender seems to owe three parts to the city. For a similar use of $\tau \iota \mu \dot{\eta}$ "penalty," see No. 16 (= Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 402, line 183).

Line 43: The purchaser of the confiscated property Diomedon son of Diomnestos of Acharnai was a brother of Diotimos (P.A., 4383) son of Diomnestos (P.A., 4073) known from a grave stone of the second half of the fourth century. See commentary on No. 5, line 72, for their possible relationship to Diotimos son of Mnesistratos of Acharnai.

Lines 44-46: With a line of forty letters (see above, lines 40-41) the Para-

⁵⁸ Aristotle, 'Aθ. Πολ., 22, 7. Maroneia would then be somewhat further south than the position suggested on his map by Ardaillon. Both Panormos and Maroneia may have been part of the deme of Sounion.

byston is the only name of a court I have found that will fit the space (Lipsius, Das Attische Recht, I, pp. 167 ff.). The Eleven brought cases before the Parabyston (Pollux, VIII, 121), and the Eleven handed over confiscated property to the poletai (Aristotle, 'Aθ. Πολ., 52, 1, and Hesperia, X, 1941, p. 14, lines 6-7). Therefore it seems logical enough to have a case before the Parabyston reported in a poletai record. The δικαστήριον τὸ Παράβυστον is named in a fragmentary Delian Amphictyony record of the mid fourth century (I.G., II², 1646, line 12).

In the record of 367/6 (No. 1) no court was named; the poletai sold property received from the Eleven (lines 6-7), which had been confiscated as a result of a charge of sacrilege, and the defendant did not await his trial.

In No. 16 (342/1[?]) confiscations resulting from an εἰσαγγελία were handled in the [δικαστήριον] πρῶτον τῶν καιν[ῶν]; cf. Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 398, lines 12-13. In the same text confiscations following mishandling of tax farming and collection of sacred money were handled in the δικαστήριον τὸ μέσ [ον τῶν καινῶν]; cf. Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 401, lines 116-117. It is interesting to note that these two types of cases were handled in the same court, for Demosthenes specifically states (XXIV, 96) that if those in charge of sacred or public money fail to make the proper payments the senate shall bring action against them "using the tax collectors' laws": χρωμένην τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς τελωνικοῖς. According to Aristotle, Aθ. Πολ. 52, 3, the apodektai bring into court cases involving tax farmers. He does not name the court, but it well may be the δικαστήριον τὸ μέσον τῶν καινῶν.

Line 46: The name of the κυρωτής, "ratifier," is omitted.

Lines 47-52: These lines seem to contain the fragmentary description of the property involved in the second case.

Line 48: Following the mention of property and house registered for confiscation one would expect the location (cf. No. 16 = Hesperia, V, 1936, pp. 401-403, lines 119, 155, 187). I can find no name corresponding with the letters TOBIQNEIO.

15 (Plate 90). Five fragments of Hymettian marble probably from the same opisthographic stele. Fragment a, the only one which preserves two inscribed faces, is made up of three joining pieces, of which one was found in a late wall in section E on Oct. 5, 1933, the second in section B in late fill north of the Tholos on March 9, 1934, and the third in late fill in section Ξ on Feb. 5, 1935. Fragment b was found in late fill in section Ξ on March 22, 1933. Fragments c, d, and e were all found in section B: c, in late fill south of the Tholos on April 18, 1934; d among the marbles from the section on May 29, 1934, and e above the Tholos floor on March 16, 1934. No original edges are preserved.

Fragment a: height, 0.275 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, at top, 0.119 m.; at bottom, 0.115 m.

Inv. No. I 1095 + I 2381.

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Fragment b: height, 0.064 m.; width, 0.038 m.; thickness, 0.036 m. Inv. No. I 2639b.
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Fragment c: height, 0.045 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.025 m. Inv. No. I 631b.

Fragment d: height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.06 m. Inv. No. I 631e.

Fragment e: height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.042 m. Inv. No. I 1577.

Height of letters (all fragments), 0.004 m.

The letters are stoichedon, set in a square checker pattern of which ten units measure 0.08-0.082 m. The unit and the letter forms correspond with those of the preceding text. It is possible that they are from the same stele, with No. 15a from the upper thinner part of the stele. Because of a possible repetition of a concession (lines 15-21 on No. 14 and 23-29 here) I have given them separate numbers. Fragments b-e can be assigned equally well to either No. 14 or No. 15.

```
Frag. a
      Face A
                                                                          ΣΤΟΙΧ. 40
      \begin{bmatrix} \dots & 13 & \dots \end{bmatrix}
      \left[\ldots \ldots \stackrel{12}{\ldots}\ldots \right] \circ \Theta \epsilon o \left[\ldots \ldots \stackrel{24}{\ldots}\ldots \right]
      \lceil \dots \rceil^9 \dots \rceil \tau \circ \lceil \hat{\imath} \rceil \varsigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \lceil \dots \dots 2^4 \dots \rceil
      [....<sup>9</sup>....] AAI. XPO[..........<sup>2‡</sup>...........]
     [\ldots^8\ldots o]v 'Axa[\rho]v:[\ldots^23\ldots\ldots]
      [\ldots]^9\ldots μέταλλον [\ldots]^{23}\ldots
      [ . \dot{\epsilon}\nu \tau o i s \dot{\epsilon} \delta] \dot{a}\phi \epsilon \sigma \iota \tau [ o i s -----\dot{b}\iota \gamma \epsilon \dot{\iota} -----]
      [\pi\rho \delta s \, \dot{\eta} \lambda i \sigma v] \, \dot{\alpha} \nu i \dot{\sigma} v : [ \dots ^{24} \dots ]
     [\ldots^9\ldots]ς Σί\phi \nu \iota: [\ldots^{24}\ldots
      [\dots^7,\dots\Phi\iota(?)]λοκλέου[\varsigma\dots\dots^{23},\dots\dots]
      [\dots^6\dots\Pi\epsilon\iota]\rho\alpha\iota: HP[\dots\dots\dots^{24}\dots\dots]
      [...^{9}....] or \dot{\epsilon}\nu \tau[ oîs \dot{\epsilon}\delta\acute{a}\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu \tauoîs ....^{11}.....]
       [... & \gamma \epsilon i:] \beta \circ \rho \rho \hat{a}[:....]
      [\dots^7\dots N]ικηρ [\acute{a}του \dots^{24}\dots
15
      [\ldots^8\ldots] os K[\alpha]\lambda\lambda/[\ldots\ldots^{21}\ldots\pi\rho\delta s]
       [\dot{\eta}λίου \dot{a}]νιόν[:] \dot{\epsilon}ργαστή[ριον ......<sup>18</sup>.....]
       [\ldots:]: Βή[\sigma]ησι ἀνασά[ξιμον \ldots 17,\ldots]
       [.... \delta.] \delta \iota \gamma [\epsilon] i: \beta \circ \rho \rho \hat{a}: \Sigma [\ldots 2^2 \ldots 2^2]
       [\ldots]ρος \Pi[a]ιανι: νοτό[\ldots\ldots^{14}\ldots\piρὸς ἡλί]
20
       [oυ \dot{a}ν]ιόν: Aσπέτο[v] Kυ[θηρρ: ........................]
```

25 30	[πρὸς] ἡλίου [δυ]ομέ: ἐρ[γαστήριον – – – ἀνη: – – –] []ς Κηφισοδότου Α[ἰθα:: μέταλλον ε] []ν ἐν τοῖς [ἐ]δάφεσι[ν τοῖς ιι ὧι γεί: β] [ορρ]ᾶ: Διοχά[ρ]ης Πιθε[: νοτό: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ ρωνείο] [ν εἰ]ς Πάνορμο[ν] φέρου[σα ιι] []έου πρὸς ἡ [λί]ου δυ[ομέ: ιι] [Σ]ουνιῶς σ [τή]λην ἔχ[ον ἀνη: Διοχάρης Διακλέου] [ς Πιθ(?):] Η [: μέτα[λλ]ο[ν] Β[ήσησι ιε] [δ] ὧι γεί: β[ορρᾶ: ιε]
30	[6] δ $\lambda \delta \phi$ os $[$ 27] [6] $\rho \iota \alpha$ s $A \iota \sigma [$]
	$\begin{bmatrix} \dots \mu \acute{\epsilon} \tau \end{bmatrix}$ αλλον $\mathbf{B} \begin{bmatrix} \acute{\eta} \sigma \eta \sigma \iota & \dots ^{22} \dots \end{bmatrix}$
	lacuna
	Frag. a
	Face B STOIX. 40
35	$[\dots \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \rho \gamma a \sigma \tau] \mathring{\eta} \rho$ ιον $[\dots \dots \stackrel{26}{\dots} \stackrel{26}{\dots}]$ $[\dots \stackrel{8}{\dots}] \Lambda$ ον τιμ $\mathring{\eta} [\dots \stackrel{12}{\dots} \dots \stackrel{12}{\dots} \stackrel{\epsilon}{\dots} $ μέταλλον $\mathring{a}]$
	[] κον τιμη[
40	$[\dots]$ ς Σφήττι: πρὸς ἡ $[$ λίου ἀνιόν: \dots 13 . \dots $]$ $[\cdot$ πρὸς $]$ ἡλίου δυομέ: Na $[\dots$ 14 . \dots τιμή $(?)$: \dots : $]$
	[Φείδι]ππος Φαύλλου Πιθ[ε: ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον .] [⁵]ι παλαιὸν ἀνασάξι[μον στήλην ἔχο] [ν ἐν τοῖς] ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Φ[ειδίππου Πιθ: ὧι γεί: βο]
45	[ρ: Φείδιπ] πος Πιθ: νοτόθ [: ¹³ πρὸς ἡλ] [ίου ἀνιόν:] Νικήρατος Κ[υδαντ: πρὸς ἡλίου δυομέ:] [⁹] Προσπάλ: τ[ιμή :: ¹⁵]
50	[μέταλλ]ον ἀπεγρά[ψατο
50	$ \begin{bmatrix} \dots^9 & \dots \end{bmatrix} $
55	$\begin{bmatrix} \dots & 10 & \dots & 1 & & & & & & & & & $

lacuna

```
Frag. b
     [----]0[----]
     [----]\Delta [----]
     [----] \alpha \kappa \delta \nu [----]
     [---] \Lambda E[\Sigma[---]
60 [----]:E I[----]
      [----]\Pi[----]
                lacuna
     Frag. c
     \left[\ldots^{11}\ldots\right]\mathsf{H}\Sigma\left[\left[\ldots^{26}\ldots\right]
     \left[\ldots^{10}\ldots\right]\eta
u \Delta\eta\mu o\left[\ldots^{24}\ldots\right]
     65
      [\ldots^{8},\ldots\Delta\epsilon_{l}]\rho\alpha\delta_{l}:H^{\square}[\ldots^{2},\ldots^{2}]
      [\ldots^8\ldots ἀνα ] σάξιμον [\ldots^2
      [\dot{\epsilon}\nu \ 	au\hat{o}\hat{i}s \ \dot{\epsilon}\delta\hat{a}\phi\epsilon\sigma]\nu \ 	au[\hat{o}\hat{i}s \ \dots \dots ]^2
                                   lacuna
     Frag. d
      [..4.. \pi \rho] \delta s \, \dot{\eta} \lambda \acute{\iota}ov \, [----------]
      [....<sup>9</sup>....]|Σ||¬||-----|
      [\ldots\ldots]\iota: E\dot{v}[------]
                                   lacuna
      Frag. e
      [ἐργαστήρι]ον νοτό[:] Η[..... πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιό]
      [\nu: \dot{\eta} \ \delta\delta\delta \ \dot{\eta} \ \dot{a}\pi\dot{o} \ \Lambda] αυρείου \delta v [\ o\mu \dot{\epsilon}: \dots 1^{5} \dots]
      \left[\ldots \ldots^{12}\ldots \dot{\omega}\nu\eta\right]: Meidías \left[\ldots \ldots^{17}\ldots\ldots\right]
      \left[\ldots\ldots^{17}\ldots\ldots\right]\iota\theta\epsilonos \Phi\left[-----\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda o\nu\right]
      [\dot{a}\pi\epsilon\gamma\rho\dot{a}\psi a\tau o -----]\rho a[.....^{19}....]
                                   lacuna
```

Fragment a, Face A, lines 1-34, contains the records of perhaps six leases.

Line 10: For -- $\varsigma \Sigma i\phi \nu \iota$ see No. 5, line 2, and No. 20, lines 3-4.

Line 15: For [N] ικηρ [άτου] see below, line 46.

Lines 18-23: A mine at Besa. Aspetos of Kytherros of line 21 (P.A., 2638) was secretary in 340/39, and his son Demostratos (P.A., 3623) was trierarch in 325/4. His father Demostratos was owner of a furnace named as northern boundary of a

mine at Laureion in 367/6 (No. 1, line 54). In No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582, line 55) Aspetos, without patronymic or demotic, is named as owner of a workshop which was the eastern boundary of Eudoteion at Laureion; he probably is the same man. In the present text the type of property owned by him is undeterminable. Kephisodotos of Aithalidai of line 23, father of the lessee, leased two mines in 367/6, one of which was at Laureion (No. 1, lines 56-57), and the other Archegeteion at Besa (No. 1, line 76). He probably is to be identified with the Kephisodotos of Aithalidai who served as arbitrator for the Salaminioi at Sounion in 363/2 (Hesperia, VII, 1938, no. 1, line 8) and will be one of the two or three Kephisodotoses of Aithalidai known for the mid fourth century; P.A., 8321, son of Apolexis, who made a dedication to Athena, and P.A., 8322 and 8323, one the father of Konon, the other the son of Kyna...., both named on a double statue base on the Acropolis (I.G., II², 5391). It may be noted that Demostratos of Kytherros, father of Aspetos, was owner of a furnace named in the boundaries of a mine at Laureion leased by Kephisodotos.

Lines 23-29: See No. 14, lines 15-21, and commentary thereto.

Line 32: See No. 5, line 68.

Fragment a, Face B, lines 35-55, contains the records of four or five leases.

Line 36: For $\tau \iota \mu \dot{\eta}$ see No. 14, lines 21 and 27.

Lines 42-47: A mine in eight letters. Either [Θορικο]î or [ἐν Νάπη]ι could be restored as the place in lines 42-43. For Pheidippos of Pithos see commentary on No. 13, line 64. Nikeratos of Kydantidai (see above, line 15, and No. 19, lines 24, 25) was owner of edaphe and unspecified property at Maroneia. He is to be identified with Nikeratos (P.A., 10742), trierarch in the third quarter of the century. His father Nikias (P.A., 10809) appears as property owner in Nape in 367/6 (No. 1, lines 41-42, 58). They are grandson and great-grandson of Nikias the general who had the greater portion of his large fortune in the silver mines (Plutarch, Nicias, IV, 2).

Lines 57-80: The four small pieces can be assigned with equal probability to either face of this stone or to No. 14. Meidias in line 76 is perhaps to be identified with Meidias son of Kephisodoros of Anagyrous (P.A., 9719), the prominent wealthy man attacked by Demosthenes, XXI. He is named in the boundaries of two mines in No. 16 $(=I.G., II^2, 1582, lines 44, 82)$. His brother Thrasylochos (P.A. 7347), trierarch in 361, leased two mines in 367/6 (No. 1, lines 49, 51-52).

16 (Plates 91-92). *I.G.*, II², 1582, and *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 393 ff. no. 10, and three small fragments hitherto unpublished. Six fragments from an opisthographic stele of Hymettian marble, of which three have been published, *I.G.*, II², 1582 (fragment a) and *Hesperia* V, 1936, p. 393, no. 10 (b and c). All were found in the Agora.

Fragment a was found in May of 1908 during the Greek excavations east of the Theseion (i. e., in the region of the Metroon and the temple of Apollo Patroos) used as a cover slab for a late pithos (Ath. Mitt., XXXV, 1910, p. 274). The others were found during the American excavations. Fragment b was built into the Roman screen wall around the Bouleuterion Plateia (see above p. 191, n. 6) and fragment c was found in late fill east of the Tholos. Of the three new fragments now assigned to this stele, d was found on April 19, 1934, in section B in a late context about 20 meters south of the Tholos; fragment e was found in a late Roman context some 25 meters further south, in section Γ , on April 12, 1934; and fragment f was found in a modern wall in the southeastern part of the Agora, in section Λ , on March 20, 1934.

The two large pieces, a and b, join (see photograph, Plate 91). The stele had been cut down the center in later times and the edges considerably battered and chipped in the process; so the surface of the actual join is very small, at the most only several square centimeters. Fortunately some of the text is legible on both sides of the join and confirms the position. The two as joined preserve the original sides of the stele, but both are broken at top and bottom.⁵⁹

There are four columns on each face. All the legible text in the four columns of Face A,⁶⁰ and the first column and the first 10 lines of the third column (the second is illegible) of Face B apply to mining leases; the rest of the third column and the fourth column on B record the sales of confiscated property. The stele was the record of the poletai for one year, probably of the year 342/1, but possibly of 341/0 or 339/8 (see above pp. 199-202 on the length of leases).

This stele preserves far more text than any of the others in this series. The stones as actually preserved give a minimum of 130 lines to a column on Face A, and of 110 on Face B.⁶¹ Allowing 5½ lines for the record of each lease, the four columns of Face A would have contained the records of about 96 leases, not including those on the missing pieces above and below, and the two and a fraction columns of B, assigned to the mines, perhaps of 45 leases. The legible and partly legible texts actually contain the records of about 61 leases (see the chart on p. 286, below).

The texts are not being republished, but some new restorations and variant readings are offered. 62

⁵⁹ Dimensions of the two as joined: preserved height, 0.735 m.; width, 1.065 m.; thickness 0.09-0.094 m. Note that the position of the join is approximately that suggested by Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 395.

⁶⁰ I am using the nomenclature of the faces as given in the *Editio Minor* publication, rather than that of *Hesperia*, V, where A and B were reversed.

⁶¹ Both faces are stoichedon. On A there are 39 letters to a line and they are set in a square checker pattern of which ten units measure ca. 0.067 m. On B there are 35 letters to a line set in a square checker pattern of which ten units measure 0.075 m. The maximum preserved height of 0.735 (on fragment b) demands ca. 111 lines on face A. To these must be added the 14 preserved lines on the non-joining fragment (Hesperia, loc. cit.).

⁶² For convenience of reference the line numbers of the original publications are used both in

Face A, Column I. Hesperia, V, no. 10, face B, lines 206-308, on fragments b and c (lines 1-103). No names of mines are preserved in the 87 lines on the large piece. The classification of the second record can be restored as $[\pi a | \lambda] a i \partial \nu$ $\tilde{a}[\nu a \sigma \tilde{a} \xi \iota \mu o \nu]$ in lines 207-208. The location of the fourth is preserved in $\Sigma o \nu \iota \omega \iota$ of line 219. The $\Sigma o] |\nu \nu \iota - -$ of the preceding line is probably demotic of registrant or lessee. A location also at Sounion is probable in lines 262-263 which can be restored:

```
ἔχον ὧι [γεί: . . . . . . . . . . . . ή όδὸς ἡ \epsilon] ἰς Πάνο[ρ]μο[ν φέρουσα – – – – – – – ].
```

In No. 14, lines 15-21, a road to Panormos is named in the boundaries of a mine at Sounion. Lines 295-308 preserved on the small non-joining fragment contain the record of three leases. The price of 6100 drachmai (line 299) is much the highest price found in these inscriptions; therefore it is peculiarly vexing that no consecutive text is preserved. Lines 299-303 may be restored tentatively:

```
υ: Φηγα: ΤΗ: ΠΑΛΙΚΚΛ: Γ [ ..... !*..... ἀπεγράψα] το μέ [τα] λλον παλαιὸν [ἀνασάξιμον ᾿Αμφιτροπῆσιν] [σ] τήλ [ην] ἔχον Δημητρι [ακὸν ὧι γεί: βορ: .... !*....] .α: [νο] τό: Χαρίν [ο] υ χω [ρίον ἡλίου ἀνιόντ: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ Βήσ] [αζε φ] έ [ρ] οσα: πρὸς ἡ [λίου δυομέ ..... !*.....]
```

The restorations are made on the assumption that this mine is in the same area as the Demetriakon at Amphitrope recorded in column IV of the same stele (*I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 92-99).

Face A, Column II. The preserved text of this column is being published in full since a join of the two pieces, a and b, has been found. The scattered legible letters in the left half of the column are being published here for the first time. The letters at the right end of the column are lines 1-32 of *I.G.*, II² 1582 (lines 49 to 80 in this column).

the commentary here and in other references to this stele, except for lines 1-32 of *I.G.*, II², 1582, to which a joining piece has been added. These are lines 49-80 of Face A, col. II, in the present publication.

	[
	12 lines illegible
21	$\begin{bmatrix} \dots & \ddots & \ddots & \ddots \end{bmatrix} \Delta \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \ddots & \ddots & \ddots \\ \dots & \ddots & \ddots & \ddots & \ddots \end{bmatrix} $
25	$ \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \overset{17}{1} & \dots & \end{bmatrix} \text{NM.I} \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \overset{18}{1} & \dots & \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \overset{20}{1} & \dots & \end{bmatrix} \text{OY} \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \overset{17}{1} & \dots & \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \overset{19}{1} & \dots & \end{bmatrix} \Delta Y \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \overset{18}{1} & \dots & \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \overset{18}{1} & \dots & \end{bmatrix} \Sigma H \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \overset{19}{1} & \dots & \end{bmatrix} $
30	
	$ \begin{bmatrix} \dots & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \end{bmatrix} P \dots \Phi \begin{bmatrix} & & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \end{bmatrix} $ $ \begin{bmatrix} \dots & & & \\ & & & \\ \end{bmatrix} A \dots A \begin{bmatrix} & & & \\ & & & \\ \end{bmatrix} $ $ \begin{bmatrix} \dots & & & \\ & & & \\ \end{bmatrix} \kappa \rho \alpha \tau \begin{bmatrix} & & & \\ & & & \\ \end{bmatrix} $
35	
40	$\begin{bmatrix} \dots & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & &$
	$[\dots]^{14}$ μ] έταλλον παλα $[$ ιὸν ἀνασάξιμον $]$ $[\dots]^{17}$ $]$ ακὸν Αν $[\dots]^{15}$ $]$
45	$\begin{bmatrix} \dots & \ddots &$
	$ \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \vdots &$
50	[
	[α πρὸς ἡλίου δυομ:] ἡ [χα]ράδρα ἡ ἀ[πὸ Λαυρ] έου ἐπὶ Θάλ

```
[ννον(?) φέρονσα ἀνη: .......] Λ[.......]ς Ἐλεν: ΗΗΗΗ
      [\ldots 1^8,\ldots 1^8,\ldots] Συ [\pi:\dot{a}] \pi\epsilon[\gamma \rho \dot{a}\psi a\tau]ο μέταλλον
      [.....Δι]ονυσιακὸν
      「.......²º.......] ἡ[λίου ἀνιό]ν τὸ τέλμα τὸ
      \lceil \dots \rceil^{19} \dots \rceil M \lceil \dots \rceil^{10} \dots \rceil \Lambda \alpha \mu \colon H^{\square} \prod \lambda o v
      [\ldots 2^5,\ldots 2^5,\ldots \omega_{\nu}]\eta: Σίμος Διοδώρ
      [ου Παιανι:..: .....]ν [έπὶ] Θρασύμωι ἐν τοῖς
      [έδάφεσι τοῖς . . . . . . . . . . . . ] Έρμαικὸν ἐπὶ Θ
65
      [ρασύμωι παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον ὧι γ]ε: βορρ: Φιλημον
      [ιακὸν μέταλλον νοτό: ....] ἐργαστήριον ώ
      [νη: .....] [Υ [...μέταλλον] έπὶ Θρασύμ
      [ωι .....] [Σ[...<sup>7</sup>.... ἀνα] σάξιμον ὧι γ:
       [ \dots ]^{17} \dots ] \Delta \cdot Y [ \dots ] \betaορ: Διοκλείδ
70
     [ου . . . . ἐργαστήριον ἀ]ν[η: Λεύκιος Θεο]κλέους Σο[υ]
      [\nu: \ldots: \frac{1^2}{2^2}, \ldots, \frac{1^2}{2^n}]εγρά\psi [ατο μέταλ] λον παλαιδ
      [\nu ἀνασάξιμον . . . ^{7} . . . . ] \sigma[\tau \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta \nu ἔχον ἐπ]ὶ Θρασύμωι
      [ \delta\iota \gamma \epsilon : \beta \circ \rho : \dots ] [ \dots ] [ \dots \nu \circ \tau \delta : ] \Delta\iota \circ \phi \acute{a} \nu \circ \nu \varsigma : \Gamma a
      [ργήττ: ϵργαστήριον] ἀνη: <math>[.....^{12}.....]νος Παι[..]
      \lceil \dots \rceil^{17} \dots \rceil^{17} \dots \rceil^{14} \dots \rceil^{14} \dots \rceil^{6} \pi i \Theta \rho a
      [\sigma \dot{\nu} \mu \omega \iota \ldots 1^3 \ldots] \dot{Y} [\ldots 1^4 \ldots \dot{\epsilon} \pi] \dot{\iota} \Theta \alpha \lambda
      [\hat{\imath}_{S} \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \delta \acute{a} \phi \epsilon \sigma \imath \ \tau \circ \hat{\imath}_{S} \ \dots \dots ]^{17} \dots \sigma \tau \acute{\eta} \lambda \eta \nu] \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \chi o
      \lceil 
u \ldots \rceil \dot{\eta} 	au 	au
      [....]H[.]
80
```

lacuna

Lines 49-55: An anasaximon mine and cutting. See No. 6, lines 5 and 14, and Col. IV, line 137, of this stele for ἐπικατατομή. See below, No. 20, line 6, for the suggested place Thalinos.

Lines 56-60: Dionysiakon.

Lines 60-63: Ploutoniakon(?). The name Ploutoniakon is not attested for a mine. The space seems too short for the restoration of a registrant and the reading $\Pi\lambda o\acute{v}\tau[\alpha\rho\chi os ----]$. Simos of Paiania appears in other texts as lessee and property owner (discussed above under No. 5, line 29).

Lines 63-67: Hermaikon at Thrasymos.

Lines 67-71: A mine at Thrasymos. The lessee Leukios of Sounion is also found in other mining texts (discussed above under No. 5, line 9).

Lines 71-75: A mine at Thrasymos. Diophanes of Gargettos (P.A., 4407) named in the boundaries, perhaps as the owner of a workshop, is the father of Apollodoros (P.A., 1413) who served as trierarch in the third quarter of the century. A second son, Aisimedes, is named in Col. IV of this same text, lines 112 and 117, as registrant and lessee of a mine at Anaphlystos.

Lines 75-80: A mine at Thrasymos.

Face A, Column III = I.G., II², 1582, lines 33-84. These lines contain the record of ten leases of which the last four are renewals recorded from earlier stelai. The price is preserved for seven and in each case it is 150 drachmai.

The following variant readings and restorations are based on a study of the stone and squeeze:

```
Lines 36: [----- ἀνη: ----] φι: ΗΕ΄

Lines 38-40:

[......²¹........ ὧι γε: βο]ρρ: τὸ: ᾿Αρτεμισι
[ακὸν μέταλλον πρὸς ἡλίον ἀνι: ἡ] χαράδρα πρὸς ἡλίο
[ν δνομέ: .....¹²......]:καὶ ἡ χαράδρα: ἀνη

Line 43: [---- ὧι γε: βορρ: Φ]είδιππος Πιθ: καὶ τὸ μ

Line 53: αλλίον φελλεὺς νοτό: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐξ Ὑποτραγῶνος ἐπὶ

Lines 80-83:

᾿Αντίξενος Εὐω: [ὧι γε:] πρὸς ἡ[λίον ἀνι: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ εἰς Αὐ]
[λ]ῶ[να φέ]ρονσ[α καὶ τὸ] Διοννσιακ[ὸν μέταλλον δνομ:]

Μειδίον ᾿Ανα[γν: ἐργαστήριον: ἀνη: Λυσανίας Λυσικ]
λέονς: Κεφα: ΗΕ΄
```

Pheidippos of Pithos, line 43, is discussed above (No. 5, line 64). The text of the original publication, Ath. Mitt., XXXV, 1910, p. 277, reads -- EIAIIIIIO Σ , whereas the commentary there and the text in the Editio Minor both read $\Pi o\sigma \epsilon i \delta \iota \pi \pi \sigma s$. I can see no trace of the pi, omikron, and sigma. Line 53 is published as $\epsilon \xi \omega \tau \sigma \hat{\nu}$ Pay $\hat{\omega}\nu \sigma s$. The upsilon (of $\hat{\nu}\pi \hat{\sigma}$) is very clear. Hypotragon is not known as a place name. The tentative restorations in lines 80-83 are made by comparison with No. 8, lines 7, 10, and 12. Antixenos of Euonymon, of line 80, was the man who held the former lease. Cf. Schönbauer, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

Face A, Column IV $\equiv I.G.$, II², 1582, lines 85-139. Nine leases are preserved on this column, and with one exception (No. 8, lines 129-135) all seem to be new leases, registered and leased by the same person, and for which a price of 20 drachmai each was paid. The first two are at Amphitrope, the next six (with the possible exception of No. 7, lines 123-129) are at Anaphlystos, and the last at Thorikos.

Lines 90-91 are perhaps to be read as:

In lines 92 and 98 the name of the registrant and lessee can be restored as [*Ισαν]δρος Στρατοκλέους. Compare No. 18, line 17, where Stratokles son of Isandros is named as lessee of a mine at Besa.

In line 99 'Aναφλυστοι can be restored before the name of the registrant. For similar repetitions of the place, apparently when there is a change from a group of leases at one place to another, see below, lines 135 and 139, and also No. 5, lines 68 and 69.

In line 108 Stratokles might be restored as owner of the *edaphe*; see below line 115.

The location of the mine in the seventh lease (lines 123-129) is omitted. It is between two leases recorded at Anaphlystos but the road from Laureion to Thrasymos, named as its western boundary, argues against a location at Anaphlystos for this mine.

Lines 136-137 are probably to be read:

```
ρα: μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο παλαιὸν ἀνασ [άξιμον κα] 
ὶ ἐπικατατ [ομὴν] ᾿Αρτεμισιακὸν στήλην [ἔχον Θορι]
```

See above, No. 6, lines 5 and 14, and this same stele, Col. II, line 49. The surface of the stone has deteriorated since the original publication and no letters are now legible in these lines.

Face B, Column I = I.G., II^2 , 1582, lines 140-187 (lines 292-339). Only the left half of the column is legible. Note that the columns on this face are of 35 letters (see below, columns III and IV), not of 39 as on Face A and as published in the *Editio Minor*. This shorter line makes possible some new restorations. The records of about eight leases are preserved, of which at least seven are of mines at Thrasymos. No prices are preserved and in no record is it possible to determine the relationship of registrant to lessee.

```
Lines 140-144: [\phi] έρουσα [\mathring{\omega}\nu\eta:\dots^{23}\dots\mathring{\epsilon}\pi] [\mathring{\iota}] Θρασύμ[\omega \dots^{19}\dots\mathring{\epsilon}\pi] ατο μέταλλ[ον παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον ἐπὶ Θρασ] [\mathring{\upsilon}] μωι ᾿Αρτεμισιακὸν [στήλην ἔχον ὧι γε: βορρ: Έ] πικράτης [\dots \dots^{27}\dots\dots] Lines 159-162: [\mathring{E}] πικράτης ᾿Α[\lambdaεξιάδου ᾿Αναφλ:(?) ἀπεγράψατο ἐπ] [\mathring{\iota}] Θρασύμωι μέταλλον [\piαλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον σ] [\tau] ήλην ἔχον [\piροσ[\dots\mathring{\epsilon}ν το[\pi]ς εδάφεσιν το[\pi] [\hat{\iota}]ς Σημωνίδου [\pi]ον: ὧι γε: βορρ: [\pi]ν εργα[\pi]
```

The repetition of ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι in lines 141 and 142 suggests that the mine recorded above was not at Thrasymos; see Column IV, Face A, lines 99, 135.

The restoration of Epikrates son of Alexiades of Anaphlystos, line 159, known from a prytany list (*I.G.*, II², 1750 of 334/3) was suggested by Oikonomos, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 322. The $\Pi\rho\sigma\sigma$ – – of line 160 is probably the beginning of the name of the mine.

For Phaidros son of Kallias of Sphettos, see above, No. 13, line 94.

On Face B, column II and the left half of column III are illegible. Part of the right half of III is preserved on fragment b (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 397-400, lines 1-92). Only the first ten lines are concerned with mining leases. A few new restorations are offered and these ten lines are republished in full:

For the repetition of the place name in lines 3 and 6, see above, Column III, line 141. For another example of the abbreviation $\dot{a}\pi\epsilon\gamma\rho\dot{a}\psi a$: (line 4) on this same stele see above, Face A, Column III, line 64. Antisthenes of Kytherros, owner of edaphe, lines 6 and 8, is a member of a prominent fourth century family and one of the two of that name who served as trierarchs in the third quarter of the century (P.A., 1194, 1197). The same property seems to be named in two other texts: No. 18, lines 57, 59, and 62, and No. 21, line 20.

The lower part of Column III and all of IV (*Hesperia* V, 1936, pp. 398-403, lines 10-92, and 101-204, contain the records of confiscated property sold by the poletai.

The three new fragments 16 d, e, and f, probably from this same stele, deal

⁶³ This identification was suggested by Raubitschek, Hesperia, XI, 1942, p. 304.

with confiscated property and will therefore be from Columns III and IV of face B. Only the inscribed face is preserved on all three.

Fragment d: Height, 0.083 m.; width, 0.067 m.; thickness, 0.052 m. Inv. No. I 1816.

Fragment e: Height, 0.142 m.; width, 0.157 m.; thickness, 0.03 m. Inv. No. I 1782.

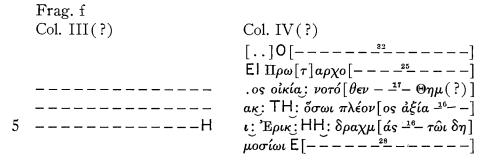
Fragment f: Height, 0.052 m.; width, 0.116 m.; thickness, 0.055 m. Inv. No. I 1664.

Letter height, all fragments, 0.004 m.

The writing is stoichedon (except for line 4 of e) with a square checker unit of which five units measure ca. 0.037-0.038 m. Both e and f preserve part of two columns; the intercolumniation on e, of ca. 0.009-0.010 m., is slightly narrower than that on the large piece of this stele and on f of 0.11-0.12 m. Fragment e, therefore, is probably to be placed above the large piece b, and f, which in marble and wear closely resembles the small fragment c (Hesperia, V, 1936, pp. 397, 404) probably below it. On the broken upper surface of e there are drill holes from a later recutting, similar to those on the sides of a and b (see above).

	Frag. d STOIX. 3	5
	$\left[\ldots^{10}\ldots\right]$: $K:\left[\ldots^{24}\ldots\right]$	
	$[\omega\nu\eta]\eta_{S}: [\ldots 2^{2}]$	
	[τρίτη(?)]ι ἐπὶ [δέκα δικαστήριον]	
	[κυρωτὴς παρ]ὰ πρυτ[άνεων15]	
5	$[\dots \stackrel{\scriptscriptstyle 10}{\ldots}] : ext{Kaλλί} [a s - - \mathring{a} \pi \acute{\epsilon} \gamma ho a \psi \acute{\epsilon} u - -]$	
	[14] εται οἶ [κίαν14]	
	$[\ldots \overset{\scriptscriptstyle 11}{\ldots} \cdots \tau]$ ò τ $\epsilon\mu[\epsilon \nu$ ος $\ldots \overset{\scriptscriptstyle 15}{\ldots} \cdots]$	
	$\left[\ldots ^{12}\ldots \right]$ καὶ $\tau \left[\ldots ^{19}\ldots \right]$	
	$\left[\ldots\ldots^{13}\ldots\ldots\right]\mu\alpha\chi\left[\ldots\ldots^{19}\ldots\ldots\right]$	
10	$\left[\ldots\ldots^{14}\ldots\right]$ OS $\left[\ldots\ldots^{19}\ldots\ldots\right]$	
	lacuna	

lacuna



lacuna

No. 16d. The first two lines seem to be the end of the record of one case. K: for $\kappa(\lambda\eta\tau\hat{\eta}\rho\epsilon s)$, witnesses that a summons has been served. They were usually two in number. Cf. No. 1 line 15 and lines 150 and 166 in Column IV of this stele (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 401-402).

For the restorations in lines 3-4, which introduce a new case, compare lines 11-13 and 115-117 of columns III and IV (Hesperia, V, loc. cit.). The date is restored exempli gratia; any day of the month between the thirteenth and the nineteenth is equally probable. In the other case headings in this text the name of the court appears between the date and the ratifier from the prytaneis. The two courts already named are the [δικαστήριον] πρῶτον τῶν καιν[ῶν] (Col. III, line 12) and the δικαστήριον τὸ μέσ[ον τῶ] ν καινῶν (Col. IV, line 116). In line 3 one might restore δικαστήριον πρῶτον οτ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν καινῶν and assume a second meeting of the same court with either τῶν καινῶν or the word δικαστήριον omitted. Pollux, in listing the Athenian courts (VIII, 121) names the μεῖζον along with the μέσον and the Parabyston. This court might be restored in line 3 instead of the πρῶτον, reading either δικαστήριον μεῖζον οτ τὸ μεῖζον τῶν καινῶν.

No. 16e. Line 4 is not stoichedon; ten letters are crowded into the space of eight. Line 2: perhaps $[\pi\rho\sigma\sigma]o\phi\lambda\epsilon\hat{\imath}\nu$; see Face B, Col. IV (Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 402, line 182). Line 3: $\tau\hat{\imath}\mu\eta\mu a$, probably penalty or fine (Lysias, 27, 16) rather than in its second meaning, rateable property. Line 13: The name Smikylos is new in Attic proso-

⁶⁴ See Lipsius, Das Attische Recht, I, p. 170, for discussion of the various courts.

pography; cf. Σμυκιλίων (P.A., 12799). Line 14: A locative such as ['Aγν]οῦντι, [Μυρριν]οῦντι, either the place of residence of a metic named in the missing portion of the text or the place in which some property is located. Line 15: An ἐξούλης δίκη is an action brought by one who claims property in consequence of a court judgment against a defendant who has refused to surrender the property. For a similar use of the word in the plural see Andocides, I, 73: ὁπόσοι --- ἐξούλας ἢ γραφὰς ἢ ἐπιβολὰς ὧφλον. Apparently two such actions had been brought against the person in question.

No. 16f. Lines 3-4: ['Aν] $\alpha \kappa (\alpha \iota \epsilon \nu s)$ or $[\Lambda] \alpha \kappa (\iota \acute{a} \delta \eta s)$ could equally well be restored as demotic. Compare No. 1, line 14, for $\delta \sigma \omega \iota \pi \lambda \dot{\epsilon} o\nu [os \dot{a} \xi \dot{\iota} \alpha - - -]$.

17 (Plate 93). An inscribed fragment of Hymettian marble found in Section Z on May 16, 1938, in a late Hellenistic context among the working chips for the Propylon of the Tholos Area. The inscribed face only is preserved.

Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.018 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 5511.

The writing is stoichedon set in a square checker pattern of which five units measure *ca.* 0.036 m. The interval between the columns measures 0.008 m.

	Col. I	Col. II	ΣΤΟΙΧ.
		[.] ατης []
	[]K	δουσα α[]
	[] <i>t</i> a	ἔδοξεν [−−−-	$\dot{\epsilon} u\epsilon\pi i]$
	OTO[σκημμα [ἐνεπισκ(?)]
5	[]NAII	ήψατο $\epsilon[$]
	[ρίωι τῶ[ι]
	$[\epsilon\sigma heta a\iota]$	vac	at

The text of the right-hand column applies to records of sale of confiscated property. See above, Nos. 1, 7, 13, 14, and 16 for the vocabulary. The same is true of the left-hand column if the word $[\tilde{\epsilon}\nu\sigma]\phi\epsilon\hat{\iota}\lambda[\epsilon\sigma\thetaa\iota]$ is correctly restored in lines 6-7.

18 (Plate 92). A fragment of Hymettian marble found in a late wall in section Ψ on March 22, 1938. The back surface is smooth, but not parallel to the face; the stone may have been recut after being used as an inscription. It is broken at top, bottom and both sides.

Height, 0.37 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thickness, upper left, 0.09 m.; lower left, 0.092 m.; upper right, 0.08 m.; lower right, 0.076 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m. Inv. No. I 5358.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern of which ten units measure ca. 0.071 m., with two units left vacant between the columns.

	Col. I STOIX. 47
5	
Ü	
10	τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς
15	υ ἀνιόν: ¹² δυομέ: τὸ Ἡρ]άκλειον [τ]ὸ Βησαιῶν ὢνη: ²⁴]ΧΗΗΗΗ: Ναυσικλῆς [.]ΛΛ[.] ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον]ειον Βήσησι στήλην ἔχο υ ὧι γεί: βορ: ¹⁸]νοτό: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ Βήσαζε φ
	έρουσα πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν:]ντος ἐργα[σ]τήριον δυομ έ:
20	νκε μέταλλον
25	κία νοτό: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ εἰς
30	υ ἀνασάξιμ: στήλην ἔχον Βήσησι(?)]ν Κι[θα]ιρωνιακὸν ἐν τοῖς Κ ἐδάφεσιν ὧι γεί: βορ:]ράτ[ο]υς Φαληρε: ἐργαστή οιον νοτό:

35	[ο μέταλλον παλαιὸν ἀνασάξι : Βήσησ] ιν στήλην ἔχον 'Αφροδι [σιακὸν ὧι γεί: βορ: ἐργαστή] ριον νοτόθ : Βησαιῶν 'Α [ρτεμίσιον]λι : πρὸς ἡλίου δυομέ [ἀνη : Λ(?)] υσικλῆς Ζηλάρχου Συπ [αλ : Λα] μπτρε : ἀπεγράψατο [μέταλλον]ΣΕΡΕ : []	
	lacuna	
	Col. II	
40	XO[]	
	$\Delta ext{IO}[\ldots \qquad \pi ho \delta]$	
	ς ήλ [ίου ἀνιόν: πρὸς ἡλίου]	
	$\delta vo[\mu \epsilon; \dots, \frac{41}{2}]$	
4 5	'Ιππίσ [κου	
45	$^{3}A\mu\phi\iota[au ho\sigma$:	
	$\mu \phi \iota \tau \left[ho \sigma \pi \colon \dots \right]$ $\Phi I \Lambda A \left[\dots \right]$	
	$ \Psi i \Lambda \Lambda [\dots] $ $ \nu o \tau \delta [: \dots] $	
	$^{3}A\mu\phi\iota\tau[ho\sigma$:]	
50	$\lceil . \rceil ho lpha au_0 \lceil v \ldots ho ho$	
	[ἀ]πεγρά[ψατο μέταλλον παλαιὸν ἀνασάξι: ἐν το]	
	$\hat{\imath}$ ς ἐδά ϕ [εσιν το $\hat{\imath}$ ς	
	' Λ μ ϕ ιτρο $\left[\pi$: νοτό : τὸ μέταλλον \mathring{o} $\mathring{\eta} ho$ $ brace$	
	$\gamma \acute{a} \acute{\zeta} \epsilon \colon \pi \rho \grave{o} [s \dot{\eta} \grave{\lambda} \acute{o} v \ldots \overset{20}{\ldots} \mathring{\omega} \nu \eta \colon]$	
55	Κομωνίδης [ἀπεγράψατο]	
	μέταλλον πα[λαιὸν ἀνασάξι: στήλην ἔχον 'Αμφιτροπ:]	
	$\hat{\omega}$ ι γ : β ορ: $\mathrm{K}\tau[\^{21}$	
	ομέ: `Αντισθέ[νης ώνη:]	
60	Φανόθεος Λυσ[ί]π[που Παιανιεὺς ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ἐργά]	
	$\sigma\iota\mu$: ἐκ τῆς σ τήλη[ς τῆς ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου(??) ἄρχο:	348/7
	μφιτροπ: ὧι γ: βο[ρ:18νοτό: 'Αντισθέν(?)]	,
	ους ἐδάφη πρὸς ἡλ[ίου ἀνιόν:	
	ή όδὸς ή Βήσαζε φέρ[ου: ἀνη: Φανόθεος Λυσίππου Παιαν: Η [[?]]	
65	Εὐθυκράτης 'Αντιδ[ότου Κρωπί: ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ἐργά]	
	σιμον Θεοδόσιον 'Α[μφιτροπ: ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου(?)]	348/7
	$ \mathring{a}\rho\chi_0: \mathring{\epsilon}\nu \tau_0 \circ \mathring{\epsilon}\delta \mathring{a}\phi [\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu \tau_0 \circ \cdot \mathring{b}\iota \gamma: \beta_0 \rho\rho] $	
	\hat{a} [:] $\hat{\eta}$ $\hat{\delta}\delta\hat{o}\hat{s}$ $\hat{\eta}$ $\hat{B}\hat{\eta}\sigma\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ $\hat{\phi}\epsilon[\rho\sigma\upsilon:\dots^{21}\dots\dots\delta\upsilon\rho\mu\dot{\epsilon}:(?)]$	
70	Φιλόφρων Πειρ: ἀνη: [Εὐθυκράτης 'Αντιδότου Κρωπίδης ⁵] Θορ[ι]κοῖ Φείδιππο[ς Φαύλλου Πιθ: ἀπεγράψ: μέταλλον ἀνασ]	
, 0	oop[1] not recommo[3 recommon tree, anethral, between and	

```
άξι[:] 'A[\rho]τεμισ[ι]ακ: ἐ[ν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς .... ιο ωι γ:] 
βορ: Φ[ε]ι[δίππου ἐ]ργ[αστήριον .... ιδ .... ἡλίου] 
ἀνι[όν:] . ι ... !! [.] P[ .... ιδ .... ... ... ... ] 
[.] I[ .... ... ... ... ... ... ... ]
```

There are a number of irregularities in the stoichedon arrangement. In line 6 $\tilde{\epsilon}\mu$ $\Pi a\gamma\gamma a\ell$ is written in seven instead of eight letter spaces and the $\Gamma\lambda$ of $\Gamma\lambda a\nu\kappa$ is written in one space. In lines 11-12, between the fifth and sixth letters from the right end of the column there is a gap of two letter spaces with a broken surface antedating the inscription; these lines thus are two letters short. In lines 23 and 32 the two last letters are written in one space. In line 69 the $\phi\rho$ of $\Phi\iota\lambda\delta\phi\rho\omega\nu$ and ρ : of $\Pi\epsilon\iota\rho$: occupy only one letter space.

The name of an archon is to be restored in three lines (20, 61, and 66). In line 20, Archias, archon for 364/5, can be restored with some probability, assuming that the word ἄρχοντος is included as it is in line 67, and in the same abbreviated form. This lease, lines 18-22, is the only renewal in which registrant and lessee are not the same and the specific reference to the former operator, Euthydikos, suggests that it may be a renewal out of order: that the son of Diphilos took over the concession before the lease held by Euthydikos had expired. The two renewals recorded in column II are probably of long term leases, for no former operator is named and the verb ἀπεγράψατο fits better in line 60 than εἰσήνενκε. Normal restorations in line 66 suggest seven letters and Theellos of 351/0 could be restored. This, however, would make this text earlier than No. 16, in which long term leases are renewed from the stele of 349/8. The present text is closely associated with Nos. 19 and 20 in the 47-letter line; so I prefer to assume an extra letter at the end of line 66 (as in lines 23 and 32) and suggest that Theophilos, 348/7, is perhaps to be restored. This inscription then may be the record of 341/0 (see above pp. 199-202 on the length of leases).

Column I, lines 1-39, contains the records of perhaps eleven leases of which eight are apparently at Besa, two at Pangaion, and Column II, lines 40-76, of about seven leases of which the second through the sixth seem to be at Amphitrope, the seventh at Thorikos.

Lines 1-8 contain very brief records of four leases. Line 2: A Diokles of Kedoi of the second century is known (N.P.A., p. 57).

- Line 3: See commentary on No. 19, lines 9-13, for Euthykrates of Amphitrope.
- Line 4: Aigiliakon, a new name for a mine; see Prospaltikon, *I.G.*, II², 2635, Hagnousiakon, No. 1, line 50, and Kerameikon, No. 1, lines 77-78, for similar names derived from a deme or its mythical hero.
- Line 5: For $\Lambda \nu \delta \rho o \kappa \lambda \hat{\eta} s$ $\Gamma \epsilon \rho o \kappa \lambda \epsilon [o v s]$ see below, line 8; possibly the same person leased the two mines. Neither name however is attested for Kolonos.

Line 6: Pangaion is hitherto unattested as a place name in Attica. Like the name Maroneia it has been borrowed from the Macedonian mining district where Mount Pangaion was famous for its gold and silver. It probably also applies to a hill or mountain here which seems to lie in the deme of Besa. See also No. 2, lines 17-18.

Lines 9-13: A mine, probably at Besa. I have found no other reference except below in line 21 to a sanctuary of Herakles at or near Besa.

Lines 13-18: A mine at Besa. The available space in line 14 suggests that the patronymic of Nausikles was omitted. The demotic could be restored as ['A] $\lambda \alpha [\iota \epsilon \nu s]$. [$\Pi] \alpha \lambda [\lambda \eta \nu \epsilon \nu s]$, or $[\Phi] \alpha \lambda [\eta \rho \epsilon \nu s]$. He is perhaps to be identified with the Nausikles, of whom neither patronymic nor demotic is known, who is said to have worked unregistered mines (Hypereides, IV, 34). The lessee Stratokles son of Isandros of Sypalettos is either father or son of ["Isav] $\delta \rho os \Sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \kappa \lambda \epsilon ov \Sigma \nu \pi \alpha (\lambda \eta \tau \tau \iota os)$, registrant and lessee of Demetriakon at Amphitrope in No. 16 (=I.G., II², 1582, lines 92-99). Stratokles of Sypalettos (P.A., 12944) is known from a tax record of the second half of the fourth century where a son is named as purchaser of property. Isandros perhaps can be restored in that text (I.G., II², 1598, line 22).

Lines 18-22: An ergasimon mine at Besa. See above for a discussion of the archon and the type of lease. The registrant, son of Diphilos of Gargettos, is perhaps a son of the Diphilos of Gargettos (P. A., 4477) who served as choregos in the early fourth century. Lykourgos convicted a Diphilos, whose demotic is not preserved, of having enriched himself illegally in the mines; cf. [ps.-Plut.], X Orat., 843d. The man charged by Lykourgos may be a member of this family of Gargettos, or may equally well be identified with Diphilos son of Diopeithes of Sounion (P.A., 4487), trierarch in the 'twenties, or with Diphilos of Pithos, both of whose families are known to have had mining interests (see No. 13, lines 64 and 68). The mine called the Diphileion in No. 32 (= I.G., II², 1587) line 11, is probably to be associated with one of these three. The former registrant Euthydikos son of Mnesitheos of Sphettos is named as the lessee of a concession Artemisiakon, named in the boundaries of another mine (No. 10, lines 5-6). By adding a nu at the end of εἰσήνενκε in line 19 one could restore Artemisiakon in the present text and identify the two mines. The evidence from the boundaries is, however, inconclusive. A Mnesitheos of Sphettos is listed in a catalogue of ca. 330 (I.G., II², 2409); it is uncertain whether he is the father or perhaps the son of Euthydikos. Philokrates of Euonymon owned a workshop in Besa (No. 5, line 78). The lessee from Poros is to be identified with the registrant of Athenaikon at Besa (No. 5, line 73). For the archon in line 20, see above.

Lines 22-27: A mine at Besa. The patronymic of the registrant is omitted. Although the restorations would be technically possible I do not believe that the registrant $\Lambda\nu\delta\rho\sigma\kappa\lambda$ — is to be identified with the lessee — $\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}s$ $\Sigma\omega\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\sigma\upsilon$ ' $\Lambda\mu\dot{\phi}\iota\tau\rho\sigma\tau$: since the other records in this column seem to be of the higher priced leases in which the registrant and lessee are not identical except in the case of an *ergasimon* mine. Neither Androkles nor Sostratos is known for Amphitrope. See above, line 5.

Lines 28-33: Kithaironiakon at Besa(?). The name of the mine is new.

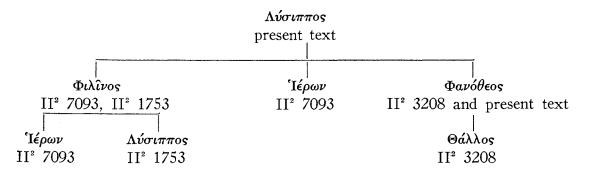
Lines 33-38: Aphrodisiakon at Besa. An Androkles of Halai (P.A., 857) of the late fourth century is known and could be restored as registrant; but the registrant could equally well be identified with either of the men named Androkles of this same text (lines 5, 22) or with Nausikles of line 13, thus reading the demotic there as $[A]\lambda\alpha[\iota\epsilon\dot{\nu}s]$. For the Artemision of Besa restored as southern boundary, see No. 5, line 10. The lessee Lysikles son of Zelarchos of Sypalettos is probably an ancestor of Lysikles of Sypalettos (P.A., 9440) of the third century.

Line 44: $\operatorname{Im}_{\pi \iota \sigma \kappa}[o-]$ is probably the patronymic of the lessee or the name of the registrant. An Hippiskos is named as property owner in Thorikos in No. 16 (= *I.G.*, II², 1582, line 74). The name is uncommon and he may be the same man.

Line 55: Κομωνίδης is a new name for Attic prosopography; but compare Κόμων and Κωμωνίδης (P.A., 8695-6, and P.A., 8959).

Lines 57, 59, 63: Antisthenes, restored as owner of *edaphe* named in the boundaries of this and the following mine, is to be identified with Antisthenes of Kytherros, owner of *edaphe* in Amphitrope in No. 16 (= *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 398, lines 6, 8); see above. The property was probably the same and the three mines were probably close together.

Lines 60-64: An ergasimon mine at Amphitrope. See above for the archon. Phanotheos son of Lysippos of Paiania, registrant and restored as lessee (normally the same for *ergasima* mines), is probably a member of the family of Hieron and Philinos of Paiania, known from a grave stele of the mid fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 7093). A Lysippos son of Philinos served as prytanis near the end of the century, and might be the grandson of the father of the lessee. A Phanotheos father of Thallos of Paiania is known from a fourth century dedication (*I.G.*, II², 3208). The stemma, *sub. P.A.*, 7543, would thus be:



Lines 65-70: Theodosion at Amphitrope. See above for the archon. Euthykrates son of Antidotos of Kropidai, registrant and probably lessee of this mine, also appears as lessee of Heroikon in No. 16 (=I.G., II², 1582, lines 59-60). He is perhaps the Euthykrates (P.A., 5589, without patronymic or demotic) whose property, valued

at more than 60 talents, Teisis of Agryle had registered for confiscation (Hypereides, IV, 34). The property of Euthykrates is not specifically stated to be in mining, but it seems probable since Teisis had also promised to register the property of Nausikles and Philippos who had become rich from unregistered mines (*ibid.*). One of the boundaries of Heroikon leased by Euthykrates of Kropidai was the Teisiakon mine, which may have been named by Teisis of Agryle. Nothing would seem more natural than charges brought against those operating neighboring mines.

Lines 70-75: Artemisiakon at Thorikos. See No. 13, commentary on line 64, for Pheidippos of Pithos, and see above, pp. 195-196, for possible identifications of the various Artemisiakons at Thorikos.

19 (Plate 92). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with inscribed face and smooth-worn back preserved, found during the demolition of modern houses in section N on November 19, 1934. The surface has suffered much from the re-use of the stone as a doorsill with the inscribed face up.

```
Height, 0.37 m.; width, 0.34 m.; thickness, 0.108-0.11 m. Height of letters, 0.004 m. Inv. No. I 2205.
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The writing is stoichedon with a square checker unit in which ten units measure ca. 0.077 m. Two such units are left vacant between the columns.

```
Col. I
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       ΣΤΟΙΧ. 47
                                \begin{bmatrix} \dots & \begin{bmatrix} 28 & \dots & \end{bmatrix} 
                                [\ldots, \frac{13}{3}, \ldots, \frac{13}{6}] \nu \eta [\ldots]ιλο [s X]αριμήδου M[\alpha \rho] \alpha \theta : \ldots : \ldots]
                                [\ldots] ου 'Αλα [ιεὶ]ς εἰ[σ] ήνενκε μέταλλον [ϵ]ργάσ[ιμον]
                                [έκ της στήλης τη]ς έπὶ Σωσιγένους ἄρ[χ]οντος Αρ[τεμ]ισι[ακὸν]
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       342/1
                                 [στήλην έχον Θορ]ικοί έν τοίς έδάφεσιν τοίς Λυσιθείδου [Κι]
                                  [κυν: ὧι γεί: βορ]ρᾶ: Λυ[σι]θείδης Κικ[υ]ν: νοτό; ή όδὸς ή ἐπὶ [..]
                                 [...^6... φέρουσα κ] αὶ Φε[ιδ]ίππου [\Pi]ιθε: ἐργαστ[ηρ]ιον ἀνη:[...]
                                [.....] 'A\lambda \alpha[\iota]: HP: \Lambda[....]'s \Lambda \nu \sigma \iota[\sigma] \tau \rho \acute{a} \tau \sigma \nu \Phi \iota \lambda \alpha[\acute{b}]
                              [ης ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπ' ᾿Αρχίου ἄρχοντ]ος μέταλλον ἀπεγρ[άψ]
10
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       346/5
                                 [ ατο ἐργάσιμον . . . . . . . . . . . . ] ν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι [ ν τ ]
                                [οῖς παίδων Εὐθυκράτους (?) ὧι γεί: παντα] χόθεν παΐδες Εὐθυ [κ]
                                 [ράτους ὦνη: Λ...ς Λυσιστράτου Φιλα]: ΗΓ: Διόδωρος Φερε
                                 [κλέους Θημακ: ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ Σω] σιγένους ἄρχοντος
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        342/1
15
                                [μέταλλον ἐργάσιμον εἰσήνεν] κε Θ[ο]ρ[ικ]οῦ στήλην ἔχον Λαβια
                                [κὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσ]ι τοῖ [ς Φερ]εκλέους Θημακ[:] ὧι γεί: βορρ[â]
```

```
[ή όδὸς ή ἐκ Θορικοῦ] εἰς [Πάνορμ(?)]ον φέρουσα νοτόθ: Αἰσχίν[ης]
                    [Θορίκι: ἀνη: Διόδ]ωρο[ς Φερεκλ]έους Θημακ: ΗΡ: Μαρωνεί[α]ζι>
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    Col. II
                    [μέταλλον . . . . <sup>8</sup>. . . . ]νι [κὸν ἀνασ]άξιμον τὸ ἄντρον στήλη<ν> οὐ
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    0 --
                    [κ ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Σο] υνιάδου ὧι γεί: βο[ρ]ρᾶ: Παυ
  20
                    [-----\nu o \tau \acute{o}\theta : ----]\lambda \acute{e}o v_{S} O\{\iota\} \mathring{\eta}\theta : \chi \omega \rho \acute{\iota}[o \nu \kappa] \alpha[\grave{\iota}] \Phi \iota \lambda
                   [\ldots, 2^2, \ldots, 2^2, \ldots, 2^2, \ldots, 2^2] [\omega \nu] \eta : \Delta \rho \omega \pi i \delta \eta s \in [\rho \mu i \pi \pi (?)] \circ \nu A [\phi] \iota \delta \nu
                   [\ldots: μέταλλον ἀνασάξιμον στ] ήλην ἔχον ᾿Ασο<math>[\ldots^6\ldots]ο[ν έ]ν Μαρ
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    ۸ --
                  [ωνείαι ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν] τοῖς Νικηράτου Κυδ[αν]:[ὧι γ]εί: πρ
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   ΛΗ --
                  [ὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν: . . . . . . . ]ς κάμινος \pi[\rho]ὸ[ς] ἡλίου [δυομ]:[ἡ] ὁδὸς
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   ὧι γ − −
 25
                   [ή ἐπὶ Σούνιον (?) φέρουσα βο]ρρ: Νικήρατος Κυδ[α]ντ[ί]:[νοτ]ό: Δι
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   P0 --
                   [-----\dot{\omega}\nu\eta:----] 'Αντιγένους Κεφ[\alpha\lambda\hat{\eta}\theta]:[\ldots]: 'Απο
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  0 --
                  [\ldots, \frac{19}{2}, \ldots, \frac{3}{4}] γράψατο μέταλ [λο]ν Έρ[μ]α [ικὸν ἀ]ν
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   I --
                  [a\sigma άξιμον ....!].... στ ήλην] ἔχον ὧι [γεί]:βο[ρρ:] ἡ [χ] αράδ
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   NE -
 30
                  [\rho a \dot{\eta} \ldots^{20} \ldots^{20}] \pi \rho \dot{\delta} s \dot{\eta} \lambda i o v \dot{a} [\nu] \iota [\dot{\delta} \nu :] K I [\ldots^{7} \ldots]
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  Σ --
                  [.... \dot{\omega}νη: Εὐθυκράτης (?) Εὐθυ κράτου 'Αμφιτροπ[.... \dot{\omega}....]
                  [\ldots, \mu] [\alpha, \alpha, \alpha] [\alpha, \alpha]
                  [.....]ο[.] στήλην ἔχον ἐν τοῖ[ς ἐδά]
                  [\phi \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu \ \tau o i s \dots ^6 \dots \tilde{\omega} \iota \ \gamma \epsilon i : \beta o \rho \rho : \tau o \ A \phi ] \rho o \delta \iota \sigma \iota a [κ] o \nu [μ \epsilon] \tau a [λλο]
                 [ννοτόθ:....π]ρὸς ἡλίο[ν] ἀν[ιόν:...]
35
                  [----- πρὸς ἡλίου δυομ: ---- ]ιον Διονυσοδώρου [..]
                  [-----]á\deltaovs \dot{\epsilon}\xi O\dot{\epsilon}ov: H\Gamma: [...]
                  [..... μέταλλον ά] πεγράψατο πα[λαι]
                  [ον ἀνασάξιμον . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ] Ο. ΕΑ. Υ. . ΝΙ[ . . . . ]
                  [....]^[.]^PT[...8...]
40
                                                                                                                                                      lacuna
```

This text is perhaps part of the record of 339/8.⁶⁵ In lines 3-9 and 13-18 leases are recorded from the stele of Sosigenes, archon in 342/1. Since the verb εἰσήνενκε is used and no previous operator named, it is assumed that they are renewals of the short term, three year, leases. The third renewal in this text, lines 9-13, in which the verb ἀπεγράψατο is used, was of a long term lease, perhaps for seven years. Therefore Archias, archon for 346/5, has been restored in line 10. See above pp. 199-202 on the length of leases.

⁶⁵ This fragment has the same length of line and the same stoichedon unit as the two pieces assigned to the following text, No. 20. The signs of re-use are different; this piece is broken on a roughly horizontal line across the top and the original back is preserved, whereas the others show signs of having been cut vertically into a front and back part. Furthermore, the archons named in the two texts, if they are assumed to be from the same stele, cannot be fitted into any logical pattern of renewals of leases. Therefore I have given them separate numbers and tentatively assigned them to consecutive years.

The initial letters of a second column are preserved at the right of lines 19-30. The first column contains the records of eight leases of which the first and last are very fragmentary.

Line 3: A Charimedes of the tribe Aiantis is known for the second century (P.A., 15426). Since Marathon belonged to Aiantis, he may be a descendant of the lessee.

Lines 3-9: Artemisiakon at Thorikos. See No. 6, lines 8-12, for another record of an Artemisiakon at Thorikos, also in the property of Lysitheides and bounded on the north by his property. See above pp. 195-196 for the possible identifications of mines in separate leases. The road in lines 7-8 is probably the road either to Laureion or to Thrasymos. Pheidippos of Pithos, named as lessee and property owner in other texts, is discussed above on No. 13, line 64.

Lines 9-13: The name and location of the mine were probably given in line 11. See above for the restoration of Archias as archon. Note that in the preceding lease the demotic of the registrant was apparently written out in full but abbreviated when repeated after the name of the lessee. The name of the registrant and lessee was either Archias or Lysias. The Euthykrates in whose children's property the mine was located was perhaps from Amphitrope; see No. 18, line 3, and commentary thereto. A mortgage stone from Eleusis (I.G., II^2 , 2647) mentions property belonging to the children of Euthykrates of Amphitrope. Both references suggest that he died while some or all of his children were still minors. The Euthykrates of this text and of the mortgage stone might well be the father of the Euthykrates son of Euthykrates, trierarch in 334/3, who is restored as lessee in No. 18, line 3, and in line 31 of this text. The Euthykrates of Amphitrope, owner of a workshop at Thorikos in No. 16 (= I.G., II^2 , 1582, line 71) could be either father or son. For a parallel use of $\pi a \nu \tau a \chi \delta \theta \epsilon \nu$ (line 12) see No. 1, line 41.

Lines 13-18: Labiakon at Thorikos. This is a new mine name probably derived from the proper name $\Lambda \acute{a}\beta \eta s$ (P.A., 8960). The registrant and lessee, Diodoros son of Pherekles of Themakos, was probably a descendant of that Pherekles of Themakos (P.A., 14191) in whose house the mysteries were celebrated in 415. Since the father in our text seems to be the owner of the *edaphe* in which the mine was located, he probably is grandson and Diodoros great-grandson of P.A., 14191. Aeschines of Thorikos appears elsewhere as property owner in Thorikos; cf. No. 16 (=I.G., II², 1582, lines 72-73).

Lines 18-22: A mine at Maroneia. The last letter of line 18 is uncertain; it most resembles a nu or kappa. I have assumed that a nu was written by mistake for an iota. Most of the letters in line 19 are far from clear. The cave, $\tau \delta$ $a\nu\tau\rho\sigma\nu$, seems to be an additional epithet with the actual name of the mine to be restored in the gap further left. The stone cutter wrote $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\eta s$ instead of $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\eta\nu$. Dropides of Aphidna, the lessee, is named on the marker of an anasaximon mine, I.G., II², 2636. The name

of the mine is not recorded on the marker and the place of finding is not known for the marker. The suggested patronymic Hermippos is attested for Aphidna in the second century, *P.A.*, 5113-14. See commentary on No. 5, lines 6-11, where Dropides might be restored as lessee of a mine at Sounion.

Lines 23-27: A mine Aso – at Maroneia. For Nikeratos of Kydantidai, see No. 15, line 46.

Lines 27-32: Hermaikon(?). For Euthykrates son of Euthykrates of Amphitrope, restored as lessee, see above (line 12) and No. 18, line 3.

20 (Plate 93). Two fragments of Hymettian marble from the same stele. Fragment a is made up of three joining pieces, of which one was found in section B in late fill south of the Tholos on Jan. 31, 1935, and two in section Z in 1933, one among the marbles, the other from the foundations of a modern house in the northeast corner of the section. Fragment b was found beside the foundations of the same house on April 19, 1933. Both are broken on all sides. Both have similar marks of recutting on the uneven back surfaces: small drill holes and irregular grooves. Judging from the line of breaks and the relative thickness fragment b falls somewhat below a, but belongs to the same column.

```
Fragment a: height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.34 m.; thickness, 0.088 m. Inv. No. I 631 + I 939.

Fragment b: height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Inv. No. I 686.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.
```

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern of which ten units measure *ca.* 0.077 m. Two such units are left vacant between the columns.

The stele had at least two columns, for the last letters of five lines of one column are preserved at the left.

Col. I O Φ Λ Μ Π	ύλου 'Αρτεμισιακὸν ἐν [Νάπ] ηι ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε [σιν τοῖς] ὅι γεί: βορρᾶ: μέταλλ [ον 'Α] ρτεμισιακὸν δ ἐ [ργάζεται] ιων νοτόθ: ἡ χαράδρα [ἡ ἀπὸ] Νάπης ῥέουσα καὶ τ [ὸ ἐργαστήριο] ν τὸ 'Επικράτους πρὸς [ἡλίου] ἀνιόν: τὰ χωρία τὰ [Τελέσωνος (?) κ] αὶ ἡ οἰκία δυομένου ἐ [ργαστή]ριον ἀνη: Θουτιμ [ίδης Φανίου] Σουνι:ΗΓ: Θορικοῖ [ἐν] μηι ἀνασάξιμον Φ[σ] τήλην ἔχον ὧι γεί: β [ορρᾶ: ἡ ὁ]δὸς ἡ εἰς Θορικὸ [ν νοτόθ: ἡ ὁδὸ] ς ἡ εἰς τὸ Διονύσιον φ [έρουσα π]ρὸς ἡλίου ἀνι [όν :] πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: τὸ .ω [ἀνη: Κη] φισοφῶν [Φρ] εάρρι:ΗΓΔ: Εὐδράων [Εὐδράονος Θορίκι: ἀπεγράψατο μέτα] λλον Θορικοῖ 'Ηραικὸ [ν ὧι γεί:βορρᾶ: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ] φέρου: νοτό: Εὐδράο [νος χωρίον: ἀνη: 'Επικράτης 'Ισοκράτ] ους Εὐωνυ: ΗΗ: Χαρ [μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο 'Αρτ] [ε] μισιακὸν ἀνασάξι [μ]ο [ν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς] [] γε Γαργηττί: ὧι γεί [: βορρᾶ νοτό:
	D. 1
35 40	Frag. b

```
45 [...<sup>7</sup>.... α] \rhoδαμηττὸς νοτόθ: \dot{\epsilon}[ \rhoγαστήριον (?) ...<sup>7</sup>.... ἀνιόν : \dot{\epsilon}]
     [ργαστήρι (?)]ον Ξενοστράτου ἡλ [ίου δυο - - - - ώνη: - - - - -]
     [\ldots^6\ldots\mu\epsilon\tau]αλλον ἀπεγράψατ[o\ldots^2]
     [.....10.....]ιακὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐ[δάφεσιν τοῖς Νικίου ὧι γεί: βο]
    [ρρᾶ: .5... κα]ὶ Σμικύθου Θο[ρικί: χωρίον(?)νοτόθ: ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἡ]
50
     [....] ov ἄγουσα ἀν [ιόν: -----δυο: -----]
     [\ldots 11 \ldots 1]ν καὶ ἡ χαράδρ [a \dot{\omega} \nu \eta : \ldots 120 \ldots 1]
     [.....11.....]ος Κυδιάδου [--- μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο ----]
     [\dots^6,\dots\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha(?)]ον ἀνασάξιμ[ον \dots^{12},\dots στήλην ἔχον \hat{\omega}\iota]
     [\gamma \epsilon i: \beta \circ \rho \rho \hat{a}: \hat{\eta}] δδὸς \hat{\eta} εἰς Θ[\circ \rho i κον φέρουσα νοτόθ:....^{8}....]
55
     [... ἀνιόν: μέτα] λλον δ Κυ[διάδης ἐργάζεται.........]
     \left[\ldots\ldots^{13}\ldots\right]\theta\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma\left[-----\dot{\omega}\nu\eta:-----\right]
     \left[\ldots\ldots^{13}\ldots\right]HP: E\dot{v}\left[\ldots\ldots^{29}\ldots
     [\ldots 15,\ldots 15] OI [\ldots 36,\ldots 36]
                                        lacuna
```

The stele is perhaps the record of the year 338/7, inasmuch as a lease is renewed from the stele of Euboulos, archon in 345/4 (lines 7-8); see above pp. 199-202, for discussion of the duration of the leases.

Fragment a, lines 1-31, contains the records of six leases.

Lines 1-6: Artemisiakon leased by Leukios son of Theokles of Sounion. See No. 5, commentary on line 5, for Leukios. Kallaischros of Siphnos served as an Athenian trierarch ca. 370 (I.G., II², 1609, line 27) and his son Stesileides served in 334/3 (I.G., II², 1623, lines 204, 268). The appearance of the two names here as owners of adjoining property suggests their identification as the two Siphnians.66 One or the other is probably to be restored as registrant in No. 5, line 2, and as property owner in No. 15, line 10, and in No. 25, line 29, where only the ethnic $\sum i \phi \nu i(ov)$ is preserved. Note that in No. 5, line 2, the Siphnian is registrant of a mine bounded by the property of Leukios of Sounion. These are the only non-Athenians who appear in the mining texts. The Epikrates of lines 5 and 11 is probably to be identified with the Epikrates of Pallene who owned property in the mining district in Nape in 367/6 (No. 1, lines 70-71). At least two men of this name from Pallene are known in the fourth century: Epikrates son of Menestratos (P.A., 4909), who served as an amphictyon at Delos in 377 and as a trierarch ca. 342, and Epikrates son of ...otetos, a member of the Council in 335/4 (I.G., II², 1700, lines 200-201). Further, an Epikrates of Pallene (whose patronymic is not

⁶⁶ See Helen Pope, Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions, p. 23.

given) is known as lessee of a mine. A certain Lysander accused him of having worked a mine illegally and claimed that Epikrates and his associates had taken 300 talents from it (Hypereides, IV, 35). The charge was made sometime between 330 and 324.⁶⁷ The Epikrates of our texts who owned property in the mining district is probably the same Epikrates who was operating a mine later. He is probably one of the two whose patronymics are known and an identification with the trierarch (*P.A.*, 4909) would seem more probable than with the member of the Council, because of the implications of wealth; but the dates argue somewhat against this. This assumes a long, but not impossibly long, *floruit* for Epikrates, from 377 at least to 330.

Lines 6-13: Artemisiakon at Thalinos (?) in Nape. Since the lessee and registrant are normally the same in renewals recorded from earlier stelai, I have restored Thoutimides, without patronymic, as registrant in line 6, and assigned the letters to a hitherto unknown place name, Thalinos. This same name can also be restored in No. 16 = I.G., II², 1582, lines 6 and 28) where a place name beginning with $\Theta a \lambda - is$ needed (rejecting the restoration of the Corpus, $\theta \acute{a}\lambda [arrav]$). The lessee and registrant, Thoutimides son of Phanias of Sounion, was prytanis ca. 330 B.C. (I.G., II², 1752). The mine Phaneion at Anaphlystos (cf. No. 16 = I.G., II², 1582, line 130) was conceivably named by his father. Properties owned by Epikrates of Pallene and by Teleson of Sounion are named in the boundaries of another name at Nape (No. 1, lines 69-70).

Lines 13-17: A mine Ph--- at Thorikos. The Dionysion to which a road leads is perhaps the sanctuary of Dionysos associated with the theater at Thorikos, the only known sanctuary of Dionysos in southern Attica (Solders, *Die Ausserstädtischen Kulte*, p. 41).

Lines 17-20: Heraikon at Thorikos. The name Heraikon (the alpha is clear on the stone) is new. The road at the north probably led either to Thrasymos or Laureion. For Eudraon, the registrant, see No. 5, line 52. Epikrates son of Isokrates of Euonymon, restored as lessee, is known as lessee of a mine at Laureion or Thrasymos in No. 16 (=I.G., II², 1582, lines 123-129). He is perhaps to be identified with Epikrates of Euonymon (P.A., 4891), lampadophoros in the second half of the fourth century.

Lines 20-25: Artemisiakon. See No. 13, line 64, for discussion of the mining interests held by Pheidippos of Pithos and his family in Thorikos and Sounion. In spite of the temptation to consider him registrant of the following mine, inasmuch as he appears in the boundaries of it, there are fewer difficulties with the present restoration. See No. 16 (=I.G., II², 1582, line 119) for ἀνασάξιμον παλαιόν.

Lines 25-30: Artemisiakon. The restorations of the northern and southern

⁶⁷ The case was brought to trial in the month before the delivery of Hypereides' fourth oration, which is assigned to the period between 330 and 326; cf. P. W. K., R.E., sub Hypereides.

boundaries are made on the assumption that this mine is close to, perhaps adjacent to, the Artemisiakon at Thorikos of No. 20, lines 4-9. See No. 5, line 21, for Phanostratos of Gargettos. The road (line 28) leads either to Thrasymos or Laureion.

Fragment b, lines 33-59, contains the records of six concessions.

Lines 38-42: Hermaikon in the property of the Philomelidai. See No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582, lines 70 ff.) for the record of Poseidoniakon at Thorikos $\epsilon \mu$ Φιλομηλιδών. The lessee Hagnon son of Thrasippos is to be identified with P.A., 164. He and his brother Hagnotheos were contestants for an estate valued at two talents ca. 374 (Isaeus, IV). A Hagnotheos appears as lessee in two other texts: No. 13, line 63, and No. 32 (= I.G., II², 1587, line 4). The first is perhaps the brother of Hagnon, the second less probably, since the text is to be dated in the late 'twenties at the earliest.

Lines 48-52: For the restorations see No. 9, lines 10-16, the record of the same or of an adjacent mine.

Lines 53-58: Kydiades, father of the registrant (line 53) and perhaps worker of an adjacent mine (line 56) is a new name in Attic prosopography; Kydias, however, is known.

21 (Plates 93-94). Two fragments of Hymettian marble from the same stele. Fragment a is made up of two joining pieces, both found among the marbles from section N, one on April 7, 1936, and the other on July 1, 1947; fragment b was found in modern fill in section P on March 13, 1936. Both preserve part of a rough-picked back surface.

Fragment a: height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.10 m. Inv. No. I 3983 + I 6030.

Fragment b: height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.132 m.; thickness, 0.10 m. Inv. No. I 3806.

Height of letters 0.004 m.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern in which ten units measure ca. 0.075 m. The intercolumniation, preserved only on b, is 0.012 m., i. e., it is not part of the checker pattern.

```
Frag. a
                                                                                                                                                       \SigmaTOIX. 42(?)
             [.....21 .....]
             \left[\ldots\ldots^{20}\ldots\Omega \right]\Omega  N[: A\left[\ldots\ldots^{18}\ldots\ldots\right]
              [....10....][.....11.....]O[......19......]
           \left[\ldots^{9}\ldots\right]\Omega\left[\ldots\ldots\ldots
                                         \left[ \dots \right]^{1_1} \cdots \left[ \phi \right] \left[ \dots \right]^{2_9} \cdots
             [\dots^7,\dots]\Theta[\dots]OY[\dots]I[\dots\dots^{22},\dots\dots]
             [\ldots^7,\ldots]\Omega^{[\ldots^5,\ldots]}[\ldots]
             [aντίδη]ς Θεο[δώρ]ο[v] Δεκελε[:μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο..]
             [\ldots^6\ldots]AI[\ldots]\Sigma\Lambda[\ldots]ITT[\ldots]OYT[\ldots]N[\ldots\ldots^{22}\ldots\ldots
             [... \dot{\epsilon}\nu \tau] \hat{o} \hat{i} \hat{o} \hat{d} \hat{o} \hat{e} \hat{o} \hat{o} \hat{e} \hat{o} \hat{o} \hat{e} \hat{o} \hat{o} \hat{e} \hat{o} \hat{o} \hat{o} \hat{e} \hat{o} \hat{o}
15
             [\chi a \rho \acute{a} \delta \rho] a \acute{\eta} \acute{\epsilon i} s \dot{A} \nu \acute{a} [\phi] \lambda \nu [\sigma \tau o \nu \phi [\acute{\epsilon} \rho o \nu] \sigma a \nu [\sigma \tau \acute{o} \theta : \dots ...]
             [...^6...]ης κ[α]λούμ[\epsilon:]πρ[ος ἡλίου ἀ]νιό[:]Ε[.....^{11}....]
             [\ldots \dot{\omega}] \nu \eta: Ἐκφαν[\tau i] \delta \eta \varsigma \Theta \epsilon ο \delta \dot{\omega} \rho o [v] \Delta \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \lambda [\epsilon : \Delta \Delta : ... ]
             [ . . . . Θ] εοκλέους [ . . . ] [ . : μέταλ] λον ἀπεγ[ράψατο . . . . ]
             [... παλ] αιὸν ἀνασ [άξιμον στή] λη [ν] ἔχον Εὐδώ [τειον ἐν τ]
             [\hat{o}is \hat{\epsilon}\delta\hat{a}] \hat{\phi}\hat{\epsilon}\sigmaiv \hat{\tau}\hat{o}i [s'Av\taui\hat{\sigma}\theta\hat{\epsilon}vovs(?)] \hat{b}i \hat{\gamma}\hat{\epsilon}i[\hat{\tau}]: \pi[\hat{\rho}òs \hat{\eta}\lambdaiov]
20
             [\mathring{a}νιόν:] καὶ νοτόθ :[.....]\phi[.]ιa: πρὸς [ἡλίου δυομ:]
             [καὶ βορ]ρᾶ: ἀντισ [θένους Κυθηρρ: ἐδάφη ἀνη:.......]
             [\ldots,\Theta]εοκλέους [\ldots^5\ldots:\Delta\Delta:\ldots^{20}\ldots^{20}\ldots]
             [\dots^7,\dots]: ἀπεγρ[άψατο\dots^{24},\dots^{24},\dots]
                                                                                            lacuna
             Frag. b
             Col. I
                                                                                                                  Col. II
                                                                                                                  \lceil ------\frac{41}{2} -----\sigma \rceil
25
             \left[-\frac{28}{-} - \dot{\eta}\lambda iov \dot{a}\nu\iota\right] \dot{o}\nu: \left[\ldots\right] \epsilon \left[\ldots\right]
                                                                                                                 \tau [\dot{\eta}] \lambda \eta [\nu \ \check{\epsilon} \chi o \nu - - - \frac{33}{2} - - - -]
             [----^{36}----'E]\lambda \epsilon v \sigma i \nu:
                                                                                                                 v_{S}: E[-----\frac{36}{6}------\frac{2}{6}\rho]
             [----]\iota o \nu: N \iota
                                                                                                                 \gamma \alpha \sigma \tau \left[ \dot{\eta} \rho \iota o \nu - - - \frac{29}{3} - - - - \pi \rho \dot{o}_{S} \right]
             [----]_{S} 'A\chi a \rho
                                                                                                                 \dot{\eta}λίο \left[v - - - - \frac{35}{2} - - - - \Delta\eta\right]
             [-----]E[.]
                                                                                                                 \mu \circ \kappa \rho \left[ \acute{a} \tau \circ \upsilon \varsigma (?) - - - \frac{33}{3} - - - - \right]
30
             [-----\frac{41}{2}-----]0
                                                                                                                 \mu ov \left[ -----\frac{39}{2} ----- \right]
```

lacuna

The inscribed surface, particularly on fragment a, is badly flaked and many of the readings are doubtful.

Lines 11-17: The mine recorded in these lines was probably at Anaphlystos, Besa, or Amphitrope, since the gully leading to Anaphlystos is named in its boundaries. An Epizelos of Phrearroi owned edaphe and a workshop at Besa (No. 5, lines 75 and 79) and is tentatively restored as owner of edaphe here. Since the registrant and lessee are the same, Ekphantides son of Theodoros(?) of Dekelea, and the record does not seem to be that of an ergasimon mine registered from an earlier stele, the price is probably twenty drachmai. A Theodoros son of Euphantides (sic) was priest of Zeus Phratrios in the phratry of the Demotionidai in 396/5 (I.G., II², 1237) and so a demesman of Dekelea (see S.I.G.², no. 439, note 3). In our text the kappa is clear, but it is not improbable that an upsilon was read or written for a kappa in one of the texts and that the lessee of the mine is the son of the priest. See No. 9, line 7, for the use of $\kappa a \lambda o \acute{\nu} \mu \epsilon(\nu a)$ in line 16.

Lines 17-23: Eudoteion, at Amphitrope or Besa. The lease of Eudoteion at Laureion is recorded in No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582, lines 51-56), but the difference in boundaries makes any connection between the two highly improbable. The Eudoteion named as boundary of a mine in the very fragmentary text, No. 7 (= I.G., II², 1583, line 21) conceivably could be the Eudoteion of this text. Either Bήσησιν or 2 Aμφιτρ: could be restored in lines 18-19. Antisthenes of Kytherros, restored in lines 20 and 22, owned property at Amphitrope. See No. 16 (Face B, Col. III, lines 3-10).

Part of the fourth letter of the demotic of registrant and lessee is preserved in line 18, and is either the top hasta of a sigma or the upper right hasta of an upsilon. A relatively short demotic is needed.

22 (Plate 94). A fragment of Hymettian marble, with the inscribed face only preserved, found in late fill south of the Tholos, in section B, on April 19, 1934.

Height, 0.147 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 631c.

The writing is stoichedon; ten horizontal units measure ca. 0.074 m., ten vertical units ca. 0.071 m.

```
ΣΤΟΙΧ.
[.....<sup>13</sup>.....] O[------]
[....<sup>12</sup>.....] ΟΛΧ[------]
[....<sup>12</sup>.....] αρωι Ε[------]
[....<sup>9</sup>.....] ΟΕΡ. ΙΤΤΙ[-------]
5 [...<sup>10</sup>....] ΙΟΝΛΗΣ[------]
```

lacuna

The face is badly worn and many of the readings are doubtful.

23 (Plate 94). A small fragment of Hymettian marble found in a late Roman disturbance of the classical floor of the Agora south of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion, in section Z, in May of 1937. The inscribed face only is preserved.

Height, 0.06 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.016 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 4883.

The writing is stoichedon with the horizontal unit of ca. 0.0074 m. and a vertical unit of ca. 0.0071 m.

The letters seem to be cut by the same stone mason who cut number No. 6.

24 (Plate 95). A fragment of white, probably Hymettian, marble with part of the inscribed face, flat top, and smooth back preserved. It was found in a modern wall in section Σ on March 3, 1937.

Height 0.125 m.; width, 0.13 m. (of inscribed face, 0.065 m.); thickness, 0.094 m. Height of letters, lines 1-3, 0.006 m.; lines 4-9, 0.004 m. Inv. No. I 4580.

Both sets of letters are stoichedon, and both are set in square checker patterns; the larger letters of lines 1-3, in a unit of 0.009 m., and the smaller letters of lines 4-9 in a unit of 0.0073-74 m.

The first three lines, in the larger letters, including the heading and the names of the poletai for the year and their secretary, undoubtedly carried the full width of the stele. The next four lines, in the smaller letters, were from one of three or four columns recording the transactions for the year.

No exact parallel for the heading has been found. The sale of confiscated property, $\delta\eta\mu\iota\delta\pi\rho\alpha\tau a$, although not mentioned in the few lines preserved on this stele, is recorded on the same stelai with the mining leases in Nos. 1, 7, 13, 14, 16, and perhaps 17. The word has been restored in No. 16 (= Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 398, line 11 and commentary on p. 407). It has been suggested in the heading here because the text and the position of lines 4-9 seem to demand a lacuna at the left too long for a shorter heading such as

The exact length of lines 4-9 cannot be determined, but normal restorations give a minimum of 39 (line 4) and a maximum of ca. 47 (lines 5-8) letters. Whether they be assigned to the first or to a second column, a minimum of 40 of the smaller letters should be restored to the left of the first letter preserved in line 4.68 Forty letters of

⁶⁸ If these lines be assigned to the first column, and so to the beginning of the text, the name

the smaller unit correspond to 32 or 33 of the larger unit of line one. The first preserved letter of line 4 falls under the sigma of line 1. Thus at least 25 or 26 letters must be restored before the word $\delta \rho \chi o \nu \tau o s$ of line 1. If $\delta \eta \mu \iota \delta \pi \rho \alpha \tau a$ be omitted, thirteen or fourteen letters are left for the name of the archon, which is longer than that of any archon of the years between 340 and 330, to which this stele is probably to be assigned. Therefore the longer heading is suggested and lines 4-9 are assigned to the second column.

The normal number of poletai was ten, one from each tribe. Note however that only eight were named on the stele of 367/6 (No. 1). If one restores three columns of 47 letters each in the text, the inscribed surface of the stele would be ca. 1.058 m. wide; if four columns of 39 letters each, ca. 1.176 m. wide. Under the first hypothesis there would be space for ca. 117 letters in each of the first three lines, under the second for ca. 130. This would give an average of 25 to 28 letters for the name of each poletes including patronymic and demotic (probably abbreviated), assuming a full membership of ten and the secretary.⁷⁰

25 (Plate 95). A fragment of Pentelic marble, with inscriptions on both sides, found in the walls of a late pit north and east of the Tholos in section **Z** on May 25, 1933. The inscription on the back, a prytany dedication of the second half of the second century after Christ, has already been published (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 63). The stone is broken all around.

Height, 0.375 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, at top, including the moulding on the reverse, 0.095 m., of lower part, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 865.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern of which ten units measure 0.076 m.

and number of the prytany should be restored in line 4. By choosing the shortest possibilities, lines 4 and 5 could be restored to a 48-letter line, with forty letters to the left of the first preserved letter:

```
[ἐπὶ τῆς .... 8.... πρώτης πρυτανείας, μέταλλον Ἡρ]αικὸν ἐπ[ὶ] [Σουνίωι ἀνασάξι: ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς ... Σ]φηττί: \hat{\mathbf{ω}}[\iota]
```

If these lines are from the second column the same minimum space at the left is required, for the 39 letters of column one and at least one unit between the columns.

- ⁶⁹ Themistokles, archon of 347/6, could technically be restored. The date seems too early.
- ⁷⁰ In 62 names listed in Dow, *Prytaneis*, nos. 1, 3 and 9, the median for name and patronymic is 18 letters.

```
ΣΤΟΙΧ. 47
           [\ldots, 27, \ldots, 27, \ldots] \delta\iota \gamma \epsilon\iota \beta [o] \rho\rho [\ldots, 10, \ldots]
            [.....] KOY[....]K[....]K[....]
           [.....] TPO[...] O\SigmaI[...] O[....]
           [\ldots, 2^3, \ldots, 7 \text{KO}_{\Sigma}, 8, \ldots] \text{TT}_{[\ldots, 1^2, \ldots, 1]}
           \left[\ldots\ldots^{22}\ldots \right] \mathsf{OSN}\left[\ldots\right] : \mathbf{E} \dot{v} \left[\ldots\ldots^{17}\ldots\ldots\right]
           [.....] Έλευ [.....13
           [\ldots, 2^2, \ldots, 2^2, \ldots, 2^2, \ldots, 2^2] : \Phi \rho \iota [\ldots] \Lambda \mathsf{A} \mathsf{N} \Omega \Phi [\ldots, 1^3, \ldots, 1^3]
10
           [....]Y[.....<sup>16</sup>
           [\ldots, \frac{12}{2}, \ldots, \frac{12}{2}, \frac{12}{
          [-----\dot{\omega}\nu\eta:----]\eta\varsigma\Phi\epsilon.o..\rhoov[...]
15
           [ \ldots 2^4 \ldots 2^4 \ldots ] στήλην ἔχον \epsilon [ \ldots 1^2 \ldots ]
           [δι γεί:βορρ: ἡ όδὸς ἡ ἐκ Θορ]ικοῦ φέρου <math>[σα] ἐπ[ὶ Λαύρειον(?) ἡλί]
           20
          [\ldots, 19, \ldots, 19, \ldots, 19, \ldots] [\dot{a}]\pi[\epsilon\gamma\rho\dot{a}\psi]a[\tau o \mu]\dot{\epsilon}[\tau a\lambda\lambda o\nu \ldots^8, \ldots]
           [.....] \delta \iota \gamma \epsilon \iota : \beta \circ \rho \circ \Phi \alpha \iota [.....^{14}.....]
           [-----νοτό:----Σ]ουνιῶς ἐδάφη πρὸ[ς ἡλίου ἀνιό: .....]
           [.....] ων πρὸς ἡλίου δυ [ομε:....]
           [-----\dot{\omega}\nu\eta:----]\epsilon\alpha\ldots\tauov [K]o\[\lambda\[\lambda\v\ta:\ldot\]
25
           [\ldots, \frac{20}{4}]πεγράψατο \mu [έταλλον .... \frac{9}{4}....]
           [......... παλα [ιὸν ἀνασάξ [ιμον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι]
           [\nu \tau \hat{ols} \ldots 1^7 \ldots ]\iota : \hat{\omega}\iota \gamma \epsilon \iota [:\beta o \rho \rho : \ldots 1^2 \ldots ]
           [νοτό: χωρίον Στησιλείδου(?) Σ]ιφνί: πρ[ὸς ἡλίου ἀνιό: .....]
           [\ldots, 10, \ldots, \pi\rho δς ήλίου δυομέ: ] ή δδὸ [s ή \ldots, 16, \ldots, 16, \ldots, 16, \ldots]
30
```

lacuna

The stele must have been at least a meter wide at the time it was re-used for the Roman prytany dedication (cf. Hesperia, XI, 1942, p. 63; ca. 0.75-0.80 m. for the 25 letters of the text and 0.10-0.15 for the margin on each side). At that time this face was cut down and a projecting pediment left at the top, of which the left corner is preserved. Assuming that the edges of the original stele were kept, the preserved text of the mining inscription would be from the right-hand column, perhaps the

third of a three-column stele. Three columns of 47 letters with two units for the intercolumniations would give a width of ca. 1.09 m., not including the margins.

The surface is badly worn and is partially covered with cement. The letters are difficult to decipher and many of the readings are doubtful.

Lines 17-19: The roads to Thorikos and Thrasymos named in the boundaries suggest that the mine was in the northeastern part of the district, either Thorikos, Thrasymos, or Laureion. At the end of line 17, one might restore $\dot{\epsilon}\mu$ Φιλομηλιδῶν or by lengthening the abbreviations in the next line $\dot{\epsilon}[\pi i \Lambda \alpha \nu \rho \epsilon i \omega t]$ (or Θρασύμωι) ὧι γείτ: $\beta o \rho \rho \hat{a} \dot{\eta} \dot{\delta} \delta o s = --]$. The property of the Philomelidai was apparently near Thorikos (No. 16 = I.G., II², 1582, lines 70 ff. and No. 20, lines 40 and 44). A Hermaikon at Laureion with a road from Thorikos to Laureion at the east, and one from Laureion to Thrasymos at the west, is recorded in No. 16 (= I.G., II², 1582, lines 63-69). Possibly the same mine is recorded in these lines, but the present text is so fragmentary, and the readings are so doubtful, that an identification can neither be supported nor refuted.

Line 25: The traces of letters preserved would support a reading $\epsilon \alpha \gamma [\nu] \eta \tau \sigma v$ or $\epsilon \alpha \mu [\alpha] \nu \tau \sigma v$ for the end of the patronymic of the lessee.

Line 29: For Stesileides of Siphnos, see No. 20, lines 4-5.

26 (Plate 96). An inscribed fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found among the marbles in section K in 1934.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.198 m.; thickness, 0.083 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 2000.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern of which ten units measure ca. 0.074 m.

lacuna

The surface is badly preserved and many of the readings are uncertain. The text contains the records of two leases.

Lines 1-7: An Aphrodisiakon, perhaps at Laureion or Thrasymos. Diotimos son of Diopeithes of Euonymon (P.A., 4384), restored as registrant and lessee, served as general and trierarch in the third quarter of the fourth century. He is named as owner of a workshop and garden at Laureion in No. 16 (=I.G., II², 1582, lines 65-66), where the demotic but not the patronymic is given. His father Diopeithes (P.A., 4318), trierarch ca. 370 (I.G., II², 1609, line 78), also had interests in the mines; he owned a workshop and other unspecified property at Laureion and probably at Thrasymos in 367/6 (No. 1, lines 53-54 and 78). Antimachos of Alopeke, restored as the owner of property at the west is named as lessee of an Aphrodisiakon in No. 8, line 8. It is probably not the same concession as the one in this text, but the two may well be close together.

Lines 7-11: The registrant, Pheidon son of Lysias of Aixone, is almost certainly to be identified with the Pheidon of Aixone who had a mortgage of one talent on a workshop and slaves in *I.G.*, II², 2747. The mortgage stone was found near ancient workings in the plain of Thorikos, north of the church of St. George, northwest of the modern town of Thorikos (Cordella, op. cit., p. 36; cf. map in Ardaillon). Our text is too fragmentary to make it possible to associate the workshop and the mine leased by Pheidon. The name Lysias is attested for the deme Aixone (*I.G.*, II², 5446).

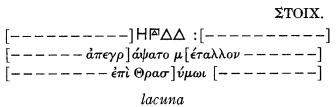
27 (Plate 95). An inscribed fragment of Hymettian marble found in a late Roman context in the pillaged wall trench for the retaining wall of the Middle Stoa, section Θ , on June 18, 1947. The inscribed face only is preserved. Traces of red paint still remain in the letters of the first line.

Height, 0.039 m.; width, 0.042 m.; thickness, 0.02 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 6016.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern of which one unit is ca. 0.0074 m.



28 (Plate 95). A fragment of white, probably Hymettian, marble found built into a Roman wall in section Σ on June 11, 1937. The inscribed face, original left edge, and

a smooth back are preserved. The lower part of the face is uninscribed but none of the original bottom is preserved.

```
Height, 0.195 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.07-0.073 m. Height of letters, 0.004 m. Inv. No. I 4967.
```

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern of which ten units measure ca. 0.072-0.73 m.

This is probably from a single-columned stele, as is suggested by the uninscribed surface at the bottom of a left-hand column, by the relative thinness, and by the requirements for a long line.

Lines 1-6: These lines seem to contain the record of only one lease. The mine was perhaps in Thorikos, as is suggested by the mention in line 1 of Epameinon, a property owner in Thorikos (cf. No. 32 = I.G., II², 1587, line 18), and of a road to Thorikos (line 2). Line 4: In $\tilde{\nu}\delta\alpha\tau$ os $\tilde{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\hat{\eta}$ the left hasta and cross-bar of the eta seem clear. The words $\tilde{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\hat{\eta}$ s and $\tilde{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\hat{\eta}$ s are both used with the meaning drain, but $\tilde{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\hat{\eta}$ has hitherto only been known with the meanings "leading out, exportation, deportation, or eviction." However I do not hesitate to translate it here as drain or waterpipe, especially as there were so many of these in the mining district in connection with the washing establishments.

- Line 5: Aischylides of Thorikos probably was the father of a person named somewhere in the boundaries.
- Line 6: There is a vacant space between the omicron and mu of καινοτομία. The surface of the stone is slightly rough and may represent either an original blemish or

an erasure. The new cutting is probably named as a boundary rather than as a separate lease. See No. 32 (=I.G., II², 1587, line 5-6), No. 35, line 3, and No. 38 (=I.G., II², 1586, lines 1 and 8).

Lines 7-12: The mine recorded in these lines may have been at Laureion. Note the road to Laureion in line 12, and the possible restoration of Exopios (lines 10-11), who is named as property owner at Laureion in No. 1, lines 44, 61-62.

29 (Plate 96). Two inscribed fragments of Pentelic marble, probably from the same stele, found in a disturbed context southeast of the Tholos, in section Z, on June 9, 1937. Fragment a, composed of two joining pieces, preserves the original right edge and bottom. Fragment b is broken all around.

Fragment a: height, 0.097 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.037 m.

Fragment b: height, 0.055 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.013 m.

Height of letters, 0.003 m.

Inv. No. I 4944a and 4944b.

The writing is not strictly stoichedon on fragment a, although it was obviously intended to be so; lines 1-3 are stoichedon in relation to each other, as are lines 7 and 8. The last letter unit of lines 4-8 is left vacant. This suggests that the text was blocked out with lines of equal length and that the stonecutter crowded an extra letter into the left half of a line by mistake and thus had the extra unit at the end. The stoichedon pattern has a horizontal unit of 0.006 m., a vertical unit of 0.006-0.007 m.

	Frag. a	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 39?
	[]E	
	[μέταλλ]ο [γράψατο παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον Θορικοῦ] ᾿Α[ρη	
5	[ακὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε: τοῖς Δυσιθείδου π]αίδων] [υν: ὧι γεί: βορρᾶ: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐκ Θορικο]ῦ ἐπὶ μ	
3	[ον φέρουσα νοτόθ: ἡ όδὸς ἡ ἐκ Θορικο]ῦ Βή	$\sigma a[\zeta] \epsilon \phi \epsilon \rho$
	[ουσα πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν: τὰ ἐδάφη τῶν] Λυσιθ [παίδων Κικυν: ἡλίου δυο: ⁷ Σ]υβρίδοι	
	[ίον ἀνη:]	vacat

Lines 2-8: Artemisiakon at Thorikos (?). For the restorations see above, No. 6, lines 8-12, and No. 20, lines 4-9, both records of an Artemisiakon at Thorikos in the property of Lysitheides. See also pp. 195-196, for discussion of identity of mines recorded in separate texts. The mention of the children of Lysitheides as owners of property shows that he himself had died before the time of this inscription. His death was probably not much later than the mid 'thirties (discussed above under No. 6), which thus would give a terminus post quem for the present text.

30 (Plate 96). An inscribed fragment of Hymettian(?) marble, broken all around, found in a late Roman context east of the Tholos, in section **Z**, on May 5, 1937.

Height, 0.043 m.; width, 0.096 m.; thickness, 0.012 m.

Height of letters, 0.003 m.

Inv. No. I 4783.

The writing is stoichedon in a pattern of which the horizontal unit measures 0.006 m., the vertical 0.007 m.

In letter forms and spacing this stone is very like the preceding text, No. 29. The marble, however, is distinctly grey in color, whereas that of No. 29 is the typical cream-colored Pentelic. Note also that the colon is omitted after an abbreviation in line 3, whereas it is found in line 9 of No. 29.

The text may be from a record of sale of property rather than from a mining lease.

31 (Plate 96). An inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in section Z in the Great Drain on April 11, 1933.

Height, 0.162 m.; width, 0.103 m.; thickness, 0.049 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 680.

The writing is stoichedon. The horizontal unit measures 0.014 m., the vertical 0.013 m.

	ΣΤΟΙΧ.
	$[\ldots \ldots^{10}\ldots O[]$
	$[\ldots \overset{\scriptscriptstyle 10}{\ldots} \ldots \overset{\scriptscriptstyle c}{\epsilon} \pi \grave{\iota} \Theta \rho a] \sigma \acute{\upsilon} \mu \omega [\iota]$
	$[\ldots \ldots^{13}\ldots\ldots\dot{a}\pi]$ εγρά $\psi[a$ το $$]
	$[\ldots \ldots^{11}\ldots \dot{\epsilon}\nu \ \tau o] \hat{\iota}_{S} \ \dot{\epsilon}\delta\acute{a} [\phi \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu \ \tau o \hat{\iota}_{S}]$
5	$[\ldots 11 \ldots \dot{\alpha} \nu \alpha] \sigma \dot{\alpha} \xi \iota \mu \sigma [\nu]$
	[. ὧι γεί: πρὸς ἡλί: ἀ]νιό: Μόσ [χου (?)]
	$[\ldots 11 \ldots \pi \rho \delta]$ s $\dot{\eta} \lambda \dot{\iota}$; $\delta v [o;]$
	[¹⁴] ov vo τ [ϕ :
	[] ν β o ρ ; Δ []
10	$\left[\ldots\ldots^{14}\ldots\right]$: $\mathring{\omega} u\eta$: $\mathrm{E}\mu\left[\right]$
	$[^{12} Ka]$ λλιστρ $[aτο(?)]$
	$[\dots]^{14} \dots]$ Διοκλε $[]$

lacuna

The letters are carelessly cut. The vertical hasta of the epsilon projects below the bottom cross-bar, and similarly the vertical hasta of the gamma extends slightly above the cross-bar. Parallels for the forms of the letters can be found in inscriptions dating from about 320 B.C. (cf. Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 65, 321/0-319/8).

32. I.G., II², 1587 and 1588, two fragments of white marble probably from the same stele. The first is in the British Museum, taken to England by Lord Elgin, and the second is in the Berlin Museum and said to be from the northern part of Athens. Both preserve an original left edge and are apparently otherwise broken all around. The writing is not stoichedon. The measurements as published show that the spacing of letters and lines corresponds closely.⁷¹ The form of the records is identical in

⁷¹ I.G., II², 1587, according to the data in *Inscriptions in the British Museum*, I, no. 36, is 11 inches high and 11 inches wide. There are 22 lines preserved; with a height of ca. 0.276 m. (11 inches), the line unit would be about 0.0125 m. The greatest number of letters preserved in any line is 33; with a width of 0.276 m., ten letters would occupy about 0.083 m. In *I.G.*, II², 1588, 18 lines are preserved to a height of 0.22 m., i. e., ca. 0.0122 m. per line unit, and 27 letters in a width of 0.22 m., i. e., ca. 0.081 m. for ten letters.

both; the record of each lease begins at the left edge of the column, and the colon is used for punctuation, not only, as in the other stones of this series, to mark abbreviations or set off numbers.

A line 65 to 75 letters long seems to be required by the text and so it is probable that the stele had only one column. *I.G.*, II², 1588 should probably be placed below 1587. Three of the four mines recorded on it are anasaxima, and therefore it should be below the heading ἀνασάξιμα in line 13 of 1587. Together the two stones contain the records of seven anasaxima mines, one new cutting καινοτομία, and two or three (lines 1-4 and 9-11 of 1587) which are either new cuttings or in working order.

The internal evidence dates the text in the last quarter of the fourth century.

Telesikles son of Kallias of Araphen (I.G., II², 1587, line 8) is probably brother of the Kallisthenes son of Kallias of Araphen listed with other members of his tribe who appear elsewhere in the 'fifties and 'forties (I.G., II², 2388). The Kallisthenes of Araphen, son of Phanomachos, prytanis in the year of Euboulos III, 256/5 (I.G., II², 678), is probably the grand-nephew of Telesikles the operator of the mine. The floruit of Telesikles would thus be in the 'twenties. (The stemma, sub Kallisthenes I, P.A., 8097, should be adjusted to correspond with the present dating of Euboulos III. Cf. Pritchett and Meritt, Chronology of Hellenistic Athens, pp. xxi and 26).

Kallimedon son of Kallikrates of Kollytos (J.G., II², 1587, line 12) is to be identified with Kallimedon the Crab (P.A., 8032), prominent member of the pro-Macedonian party and friend of Phokion in the 'twenties. During the short-lived democratic régime of 318 he was condemned to death in absentia (Plutarch, Phocion, 35; cf. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, pp. 31-34). There is no record of his return to Athens later, but he may well have returned when Demetrios of Phaleron was established in the next year.

Epikydes son of Philokydes of Acharnai, lessee of two mines $(I.G., II^2, 1588, lines 3, 4, 8)$ appears on a recently discovered stele (now in the Liopesi museum) which is dated by the letter forms in the second half of the fourth century. His father Philokydes was prytanis in 360/59 $(I.G., II^2, 1745)$.

Kephisodoros of Athmonon, father of the lessee Euphemides (*I.G.*, II² 1587, lines 17, 20) appears as lessee of a mine in No. 9, line 9, a text probably dating from the 'forties.

In I.G., II², 1588, lines 13 and 17, one might restore Εὐμηλίδης $\Lambda \nu [κίνου Συβρίδης]$ as registrant and lessee, known from a fourth century grave stell from the Kerameikos, I.G., II², 7476.

The only property owner named in the text who can be identified with any probability is the owner of the *edaphe* in 1587, line 18, where I suggest reading $E\pi a\mu \epsilon i\nu o\nu os$ $\Theta[o\rho\iota\kappa io\nu]$ and identifying him with the Epameinon of Thorikos who appears, probably as property owner in Thorikos, in No. 28, lines 1, 6-7.

A prytany date is named in line 10 of 1587, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθηίδος δευτέρας πρυ

 $\tau av[\epsilon ias]$. Erechtheis is known to have held the second prytany in 320/19 (I.G., II², 380; cf. Pritchett and Neugebauer, Calenders of Athens, p. 61). A date for the stele in that year would fit the prosopographical evidence very well. An inspection of the stones and the letter forms would be necessary, before one could suggest as early a date as that with any assurance.

A few variants from the restorations as published in the Corpus follow: I.G., II^2 , 1587:

Lines 7 and 11: The workshop of line 7 should not be identified with the mine called the Diphileion in line 11. See No. 18, and commentary on line 18 for the Diphileion.

Line 17 can be restored with a line of 71 letters:

['Αρτ] εμισιακὸν: Θορικοῖ Εὐφημίδης Κη[φισοδώρου 'Αθμο: ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ἀνασάξιμον].

Line 18: [ἐν τοῖς] ἐδάφεσι τοῖς Ἐπαμείνονος Θ[ορικ: ----].

Line 21 should probably read $[--\dot{\eta} \ \delta\delta] \delta s \ \dot{\eta} \ \dot{a} [\pi \delta] \ \Lambda a \nu \rho \epsilon [iov ---]$. The eta and alpha were read from a squeeze of this stone.

$I.G., II^2, 1588$:

Line 4: Ἑρμαιϊκὸν: Ἐπικύδης Φ[ιλ]οκύδου[ς ἀχαρνε: ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον παλαιὸν ἀνασάξι].

Line 13: [Β] ήσ<η>σι Λευ[κ] ίππειον Εὐμηλ[ί]δη[ς Λυκίνου Συβρίδ: ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον παλαιὸν].

A Leukippeion at Besa is recorded in No. 1, line 82.

33 (Plate 97). An inscribed fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in the foundations of a late Roman house to the east of the Tholos, in section **Z**, on May 10, 1937.

Height 0.04 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4835.

The writing is not stoichedon.

$[]$ $vos \chi \omega \rho i [ov]$	ĺ
[καινο]τομία ἣν ἀ[πεγράψατο]	
$[\dot{a}]$ πεγράψατ $[o]$	
[] OYSANE $[]$	

lacuna

The new cutting, $[\kappa a \iota \nu o] \tau o \mu \iota a$, of line 2, since it is in the nominative case, is apparently the boundary of a mine.

34 (Plate 97). *I.G.*, II², 1589 and Agora Inv. No. I 1723. *I.G.*, II², 1589, is from the upper left corner of a stele of Hymettian marble with part of the left edge, a pedimented top, and a rough picked back preserved, found near the Tower of the Winds (now in the Epigraphical Museum, E.M. 7959).⁷² The fragment from the Agora assigned to this same stele was found in a late context in the region of the Bouleuterion Plateia, section **B**, on March 30, 1934. It is broken on all sides.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.023 m. Inv. No. I 1723.

Height of letters, both pieces, 0.005 m.

The writing is stoichedon, except for some irregularity in lines 1 and 2, set in a checker pattern of which the horizontal unit is 0.009 m., the vertical 0.010-0.011 m.

```
307/6 в.с.
                                             ΣΤΟΙΧ. 34(?)
     Πωληταὶ οἱ ἐπὶ ᾿Αναξικρ [ άτους ἄρχοντος " " " "]
     μέταλλα τάδε ἀπέδοντο [" επὶ τῆς . . . . . . . . ]
     [ς] πρώτης πρυτανείας [" Έκατομβαιῶνος δευ]
     [τέρ] αι ἱσταμένου π[αλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον 'Αρτ]
     lacuna
     \left[\ldots^{11}\ldots^{1}\ldots^{1}\ell^{v}\hat{\epsilon}\left[\pi\hat{\iota}\tau\hat{\eta}s\ldots^{9}\ldots\tau\rho\hat{\iota}\tau\eta s\right]\right]
10
     [πρυτανεία]ς Πυανω[ψιῶνος δευτέραι ίσταμ]
     [\epsilon \nu o \nu \epsilon \rho \gamma \alpha] \sigma \iota \mu \alpha \Phi [\dots \alpha \pi]
     [εγράψατο μ] έταλλο [ν ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ Ν]
                                                                         314/3
     [\nu \tau \hat{ois} \hat{\epsilon} \delta \hat{a} \phi] \epsilon \sigma \nu \tau \hat{ois} [\dots 18]
     \left[\ldots 1^{2}\ldots \right] \nu \Theta \circ \rho \left[\ldots 1^{8}\ldots \right]
     [.....<sup>14</sup>.....]P[......<sup>19</sup>.......]
                              lacuna
```

Similarity of marble, letter forms, spacing, and length of line, makes it almost certain that these two pieces are from the same stele. About half the width of the original stele is preserved on the larger piece, as is shown by the carelessly incised

 $^{^{72}}$ Height, 0.24 m; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, at top 0.067 m.; at bottom, 0.05 m.

star in the pediment (see Plate 97) which must have been placed in the approximate center. The letters in the left half of lines 1 and 2 are set more closely together than those of the lower lines, with 19 letters in the space of 17. This spacing suggests the two vacant units restored in line 2. By actual count however the number of letters in the line is the same (34) as that suggested for the lower lines.

The new fragment can be restored to fit the most recent reconstruction of the calendar equations for the year 307/6.⁷³ According to that reconstruction the second day of Pyanopsion was the thirtieth day of the third prytany, and the tribal name available for the third prytany is either Akamantis, or Aiantis, or Leontis. The present text suggests that it was held by Aiantis or Leontis, one of which is to be restored in line 10. The first prytany is known to have been held either by Erechtheis or Kekropis.

Lines 10-12 contain a heading for renewals of leases of *ergasima* mines. The space available for the name of an archon in lines 13-14 suggests that the record is a normal renewal of a long term lease.⁷⁴ Nikodemos, archon in 314/3, has been tentatively restored, since other evidence suggested a seven year period (see above, pp. 200-201). In this text, however, Demogenes, archon for 317/6 (with genitive ending in ov) would fit equally well, and the interval could thus be ten years.

 $[\Lambda] \acute{a}\chi \epsilon \iota o \nu$ in line 14 is not otherwise known as the name of a mine. The form derives from the proper name $\Lambda \acute{a}\chi \eta s$ and is similar to attested names like Phaneion, Diphileion, and Pyrrhieion. It is probably used here as an alternate name or epithet of the Demetriakon of the line below.⁷⁵

35 (Plate 97). An inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, broken all around, found among the stones from section B in November of 1934.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.052 m.

Height of letters, 0.004-0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 2015.

⁷³ Pritchett and Meritt, Chronology of Hellenistic Athens (1940), p. 21. Note, however, the reservations expressed on the calendar equations of this year by Pritchett and Neugebauer, Calendars of Athens (1947), p. 69.

⁷⁴ No previous registrant is named and the name of the archon of 310/9, Hieromnemon, who should be named in a normal renewal of a short term three year lease, is too long. On the length of leases, see above, pp. 199-202.

⁷⁵ Only one letter space is available before the preserved letters, since the shortest archon's name in the period between 317/6 and 310/09 is of nine letters. Therefore a restoration $\Sigma_{\eta\mu\dot{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu\nu}$ which is the only word found in these inscriptions with the ending $-\dot{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu\nu$ is impossible. Furthermore, the Semacheion of No. 16 (= I. G., II², 1582, line 54), named as part of the southern boundary of a mine at Laureion, is probably a sanctuary rather than the name of a mine (Solders, *Die Ausserstädtischen Kulte*, p. 41).

The text is not stoichedon; five letters occupy a space of 0.04-0.046 m.; five lines occupy a space of ca. 0.055 m.

	[]01[]
	[]ος τοῦ Καλλ[]
	[ν]οτό καινοτομ $[ία]$
	[] οκλείδου Σουνι[]
5	[]α ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι $[]$
	[] πρὸς ἡλίου δυομ $[]$
	[]
	[]P[]
	[]T[]

The inscribed face is very badly worn and the lower part completely illegible. Line 4: The names Hierokleides and Aristokleides are both attested for Sounion in the fourth century: Hierokleides on his own and his daughter's grave stelai (*I.G.*, II², 7437 and 7412), Aristokleides as secretary of a board of officials ca. 325 (Hesperia, XV, 1946, p. 178). Either could be restored here.

36. Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen, III (Peek, Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchttafeln), p. 13, no. 9 (Taf. 6, 2). This fragment of Pentelic marble with carelessly written stoichedon letters, 0.005 m. high, is very probably from a mining inscription. The original right edge is preserved.

Lines 2-3: cf. No. 20, line 45, where $--\rho\delta\alpha\mu\eta\tau\tau\delta s$ is apparently a place name near Thorikos.

37 (Plate 97). An inscribed fragment of Hymettian marble found in section Z, on May 19, 1937, in a late Roman context southeast of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion. The original top is preserved; the stone is broken at the sides and back.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.083 m.; thickness, 0.026 m.

Height of letters, in line 1, 0.013 m., in lines 2-5, 0.004-5 m.

Inv. No. I 4874.

The text is non-stoichedon. The lines are spaced in a vertical unit of ca. 0.01 m.

[ΤΑΔ' ΕΠΡΑΘΗ ΜΕΤ]ΑΛΛΑ["]

$[\epsilon \pi i \ \tau \eta \varsigma \ \dots \ ^{8-12}_{-12} \ \dots \ \pi \rho \omega \tau \eta \varsigma \ \pi \rho \upsilon \tau a \upsilon \epsilon i a \varsigma \ A \pi o \lambda \lambda] \omega \upsilon i a κ δ \upsilon \ \Theta \rho [a \sigma \upsilon \mu \omega \iota (?)]$
[
$[\tau \hat{\eta}$ ς στήλης τ $\hat{\eta}$ ς έπ $\hat{\iota}$ $\frac{6-12}{2}$ $$ ἄρχοντος έργάσιμο]ν ᾿Απολλωνι $[\alpha$ κὸν έν]
[τοις ἐδάφεσιν τοις – – – – – – στήλην ἔχον] ὧι γεί πρ[ὸς ἡλίον]

lacuna

The carelessly cut letters suggest that this is the latest text in the series. Parallels for them can be found on inscriptions dating from the end of the fourth and early third centuries.⁷⁶ This text is probably from the same period.

The fragment is probably from a single-column stele (cf. Nos. 32 and 34) which seems to be the type of these later records. Normal restorations in lines 3 and 4 suggest 51 to 57 letters to the line. Approximately the same number of letters can be restored in line 2. On this basis nine to twelve of the larger letters of line 1 are to be restored to the left of $\mu \acute{e}\tau a\lambda \lambda a$.

A parallel for the heading in line 1 is found in another poletai record of the late fourth century, I.G., II², 1581,⁷⁷ which reads $\tau \acute{a} \delta \acute{a} \rho \acute{a} \theta \eta \acute{e} \delta \acute{a} \phi \eta$.

The restoration $\dot{\epsilon}\nu \Theta \rho [a\sigma \dot{\nu}\mu\omega l]$ in line 2 is questioned since in all other texts mines at Thrasymos are registered $\dot{\epsilon}m l \Theta \rho a\sigma \dot{\nu}\mu\omega l$.

38. I.G., II², 1586, "ex schedis Fourmonti." The text of this stone, seen and read only by Fourmont, is very uncertain. If $\kappa a \nu o \tau o \mu i a$ be correctly restored in lines 1 and 8, the stele should be dated close to the end of the period. The text as published in I.G., II², should be compared with that in Boeckh's Corpus, No. 163; in the later publication many of the readings and spacings have been shifted to fit possible restorations.

The only registrant or lessee whose name is preserved on the stone, partly in restorations, Herakleides son of Sosistratides of Acharnai (line 15) is unknown. In line 7 one might read the name of the mine as $N[v]\mu\phi\alpha\kappa[\delta v]$; see No. 5, lines 53-54.

⁷⁶ Cf. Kirchner, *Imagines*, nos. 69 and 72 of 303/2 and 299/8; also *I.G.*, II², 378 of 294/3 (Photograph in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 98) and *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 20, ca. 300 B.C. For other references to carelessly cut letters on some of the inscriptions of the end of the fourth century, see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 39.

In the publication in the *Editio Minor*, two lines of erasure are indicated above the first line. An examination of the stone in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (E.M. 7958) shows this to be incorrect. The surface is broken away; a projecting moulding probably has been chipped off, as suggested in the original publication ('Aθήνωιον, VIII, 1879, p. 273).

CHART

The chart gives the place, name, price, relationship of registrant and lessee, and classification for every lease in which any one of these items is preserved. Column II contains any information available about the stele, opisthographic or non-opisthographic, number of columns and the approximate number of leases in the text as preserved. In Column III the numbers at the left are those assigned for convenience to the leases on the particular stone; where no data are preserved about a lease, it is omitted in the record. Wherever an additional cutting is included in the lease (κατατομή, ἐπικατατομή, συντομή), the words "and cutting" are added after the name of the mine in Column IV. A square bracket at the left or right of the price indicates that the text is incomplete on that side and that one or more numbers could be restored. Column VI notes the presence or absence of a registrant and the relationship of registrant to lessee where both are preserved. R = L means that registrant and lessee are the same; R # L, that registrant and lessee are different. R alone means that the name of the registrant or the verb (ἀπεγράψατο) is present but that the text is too fragmentary to show whether he is the same as the lessee. The classification of the mine is shown in the last column. Those "from the stele" of No. 1 are the same as the ergasima of the later texts (see above p. 196). The words "not ergas" indicate that enough text is preserved to preclude a restoration of the phrase ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ – which normally accompanies an ergasimon lease. A question mark at the left of anasaximon shows that the text is too incomplete to support or refute a restoration of palaion before it. Brackets indicate restorations.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Text No.		Place	Name	Price		CLASSIFICATION
1 367/6	non opisth. stele single	1 Nape2 Laureion3 Sounion	Dexiakon Diakon No name	20 20 20	No R named on this	Omitted "
,	column Complete 17 leases	4 Nape 5 Omitted 6 " 7 Laureion	Poseidoniak. Hagnosiak. Artemisiak. No name; and	1550 1550 150 20	stele	" from the stele" " " " Omitted
		8 Nape 9 Maroneia 10 Laureion 11 Sounion- Nape	cutting Demetriak. Hermaikon Theognideion Pyrrhieion	20 20 50 20		" " from the stele" Omitted
		12 Thorikos 13 Nape 14 Besa	Archeget. No name Archeget.; and cutting	20 20 20		. " "
		15 Sounion- Thrasymos	Kerameik.	20		66
		16 Sounion- Nape	No name	20		"
		17 Sounion- Besa	Leukippeion	150		" from the stele'
2	non opisth. stele	1 2 Thorikos	– – mpiak. – – aikon		R	

	I II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Text	No.	PLACE	Name	Price		CLASSIFICATION
	single column	3 Aulon 4 Thrasymos	– – ikon	 60[
	8 leases?	5 Bambideion hill	Apolloniakon			
		6 Maroneia 7	Poseidoniakon]150		
3	non opisth. 5 leases?	2 Sounion 3 4	ion	500 	R	
4	opisth. stele	1	Kerameikon Artemisiak.			
	single column	3	Pyrrhieion	150		
	Face A, 8 leases	4 Sounion 5	Ano Nymphaik.]10	[No R]	
	0 1000	6 7 		- <u>-</u> -	R R	
		8 Thorikos				
	Face B,	2			T)	? ANAS.
	6 leases	3 5 			R	? ANAS.
		6			R	
5	non opisth.	1 (Sounion?)	Poseidoniak.	1210	[R]	[ANAS.]
_	stele at least	2 Sounion	K		No R	? ANAS.
	3 columns	3			[No R]	? ANAS.
	a. Col. I 3 leases					
	Col. II	1	T1]500[IN DI	
	3 leases	2 (Sounion ?) 3	Theo – – Heroikon?		[No R] R	[PAL.]ANAS.
	b.) Col. I	2 [Sounion?]		100[[R#]L	(not ergas.)
	c. 3 leases	3	K		R	(not ergas.)
	Col. II	2 [Besa] 3	Aphrodisiak.		[No R] R#L	[omitted] ANAS.
	4 leases	4 [Maroneia]	Nymphaikon	-	No R	ANAS.
	d. Col. I	2			R	
	2 leases	1		200		
	Col. II 3 leases	2 Besa	Apolloniak.		R # L	ANAS.
	O TOUBOB	3 "	Athenaikon		R # L	ANAS.
	e. 2 leases	1	Athenaikon	150[D	
		2 Bambideion hill			K	

	I II	III	IV	V VI	VII
Tex	r No.	PLACE	Name	Price	CLASSIFICATION
	f. Col. I ? Col. II 2 ?	2		R	
6	a. 4 leases	2 Thorikos	- niak.; and	500 R	
		3 Thorikos 4	cutting Artemisiak. – – and cutting	R # L R	[ANAS.]
7	non opisth.? at least 2 columns 5 leases	2 Thrasymos 4 5 Amphit.		R [R]	? ANAS. [PAL. ANAS.] ANAS.
8	3 leases	1 2	Aphrodisiak. Dionysiak.	R#L R	[ANAS.] [PAL. ANAS.]
9	non opisth.? 4 leases	2 3 4	– siak. Hermaikon	R R # L R	PAL. ANAS. [PAL.] ANAS. [PAL.] ANAS.
10	non opisth.? 3 leases	1 2 Besa 3 [Besa]	Ktesiakon Apolloniak.	150 R#L R	[PAL. ANAS.] PAL. [ANAS.]
11	2 leases	2 Thrasymos		R	PAL. ANAS.
12	a. 1 lease	1	– aiikon		? ANAS.
13	opisth. several columns	2 3 5			ERGAS. ERGAS. ? ANAS.
	a. Face A,	6			[ERGAS.]
	6 leases Face B ca. 4 leases	3		10[R	(not ergas.) [PAL.] ANAS.
	b. Face A 2 leases	2 Thrasymos	– akon	No R	[ANAS.]
	Face B 2 leases	2 Sounion	Artemisiak.	$R = L$	[PAL. ANAS.]
	c. 2 leases	1		10[[R]	(not ergas.) ? ANAS.
	d. 2 leases	2 [Sounion?]		[R]	Omitted
	e. 2 leases	2			PAL. [ANAS.]
	f. 3 leases	1 2 3		500[[R] [R]	
	g. 2 leases	1 2]250 [NoR]	
	h. 2 leases	1	– kon	20	(not ergas.)
	i. scrap				

	I II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Tex	r No.	PLACE	Name	Price		CLASSIFICATION
	j. non mining k. 1 lease l. m. n. o. p. q. r.	1 [Thrasymos]	Artemisiak.			
	scraps s. 1 lease	1				? ANAS.
14	opisth. several col.					
	Face A 7 leases	1 2 [Maroneia] 3 4 Sounion 5 6	Nymphaikon Heroikon Athenaikon	10[No R No R R + τιμή R + τιμή R	(not ergas.?) [PAL. ANAS.] ANAS. [PAL.] ANAS. (not ergas.) (not ergas.)
	Face B non mining	•				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
15	opisth. a. Face A 7 leases	2 4 Besa 5 (Sounion?) 6 Besa 7 "		150[]150 	[No R] No R No R	ANAS. (not ergas.)
	Face B 5 leases	1 2 Anaphlystos 3 4			[R +] τιμή R[+ τιμή] R[+ τιμή] R	[PAL. ANAS.] PAL. ANAS.
	c. 2 leases e. 2 leases	1 2 2		150 	[R]	? ANAS.
16	opisth. 4 columns each face. A. Col. I ca. 14 leases	2 3 4 Sounion 10 (Sounion?)			R	PAL. ANAS.
	on b 3 leases on c	1 2 [Amphit.] 3	Demetriak.	6100 	R	PAL. ANAS. ANAS. [PAL.]
	Col. II ca. 16 leases	2 9 10 (Laureion?) 11 12 13 Thrasymos	and cutting Dionysiak. Ploutoniak.? Hermaikon]400 150	R R [No R] [No R]	PAL. [ANAS.] ? ANAS. (not ergas.) [PAL. ANAS.]
		14 "			[No R]	? ANAS.

I	II	III	IV	V VI	VII
Text N	lo.	PLACE	Name	Price	CLASSIFICATION
		15 " 16 "		R	PAL. ANAS.
	Col. III 10 leases	1 3 Sounion 4 Thorikos 5 Laureion 6 Bambideion hill 7 Laureion	Eudoteion Heroikon Hermaikon	150 150 No R 150 R # L 150 No R 150 No R	(not ergas.) PAL. ANAS. ANAS. PAL. ANAS. ERGAS.
		8 Thorikos 9 Laureion 10	Poseidoniak.; and cutting Hermaikon	150 $R = L$ 150 $R = L$ R	(ERGAS.) ERGAS. (ERGAS.)
	Col. IV 9 leases	1 Amphitrope 2 [Amphitrope] 3 Anaphlystos 4 " 5 " 6 " 7 (omitted) 8 Anaphlystos 9 Thorikos	Dioskourik. Demetriak. Apolloniak. Heroikon Artemisiak. Poseidoniak. Artemisiak. Phaneion Artemisiak.; and cutting	R[=L] R=L R=L 20 R=L R=L 20 R=L 130 R#L R	[PAL. ANAS.] [PAL.] ANAS. [PAL.] ANAS. [PAL. ANAS.] [PAL. ANAS.] ANAS. PAL. ANAS. ANAS. PAL. ANAS.
В.	Col. I ca. 8 leases	2 Thrasymos 3 " 4 " 5 " 6 " 7 " 8 "	Artemisiak. Pros – – – iakon	R [R] R R	[PAL. ANAS.] [PAL.] ANAS. [PAL. ANAS.]
	Col. II Illegible Col. III 2 leases	2 Amphitrope		20 R = L	[omitted] PAL. ANAS.
	then non mining				
18	Non opisth. At least two columns Col. I 11 leases	1 2 Besa 3 Besa-Pangaion 4 " " 5 (Besa?) 6 Besa 7 "	Aigiliakon - tikon - eion	2000[160[]1400 [R?] R # L 150 R # L	ERGAS.
		8 " 9 [Besa] 10 [Besa]	Kithaironiak. Aphrodisiak.	150 R # L R R R # L R	PAL. ANAS. [ANAS.] [PAL. ANAS.]

	I II	III	IV	V VI	VII
Text	r No.	Place	Name	Price	CLASSIFICATION
	Col. II 7 leases	 2 Amphitrope 3 4 5 Amphitrope 6 " 7 Thorikos 	Theodosion Artemisiak.	R [R] R[=L] R[=L] R	[PAL. ANAS.] PAL. [ANAS.] ERGAS. ERGAS. ANAS.
19	non opisth. at least 2 columns 9 leases	2 Thorikos 3 4 Thorikos 5 Maroneia 6 " 7 8 9	Artemisiak. Labiakon Aso – – Hermaikon	150 R = L 150 R = [L] 150 R = L No R No R R # L 150 R R	ERGAS. ERGAS. ERGAS. [ANAS.] [ANAS.] [ANAS.] (not ergas.) PAL. [ANAS.]
20	At least 2 columns a. 6 leases	1 2 Thalinos (?)- Nape	Artemisiak. Artemisiak.	200 $[R] = L$	[PAL. ANAS.] ERGAS.
	b. 5 leases	3 Thorikos 4 " 5 (omitted) 6 (omitted) 1	Ph Heraikon Artemisiak. Artemisiak.	160 No R 200 R # L R # L No R 800	ANAS. Omitted ANAS. [ANAS. PAL.]
	o, e leaded	2 Philomelidon 3 " 4 5	Hermaikon – iakon	100[R R]150 R	(not ergas.) [PAL.] ANAS.
21	non opisth. at least 2 columns a. 5 leases	3 4 5	Eudoteion	R=L R=L R	PAL. ANAS.
22	3 leases	3 Thorikos	Hermaikon	R	
23	2 leases	2		R	? ANAS.
24	non-opisth. 3 or 4 cols. 1 lease	1	– – aikon		
25	3 or 4 cols. ca. 6 leases	5 Thrasymos 6		R R	PAL. ANAS.
2 6	2 leases	1 2	Aphrodisiak.	R=L R	[ANAS.]
27	2 leases	1 2 Thrasymos]170 R	

MARGARET CROSBY

	I	II		III	IV	V	VI	VII
Text No.				PLACE	Name	Price		CLASSIFICATION
28		non-opisth. single col. 2 leases	2				R	
29		1 lease 1 lease	1 1	[Thorikos]	Artemisiak. Hermaikon			[PAL. ANAS.] PAL. ANAS.
31		2 leases	1	Thrasymos			\mathbf{R}^{\perp}	? ANAS.
32	a.	Single col. ca. 7 leases	3	Thrasymos Thorikos	Aphrodisiak. Demetriakon Diphileion			KAINOTOMIA
			-	Amphitrope	Athenaik.;		R	? ANAS.
				Thorikos	Artemisiak.	150[R = L	? ANAS. PAL. ANAS.
	b.	5 leases	3 4	Sounion Besa Sounion	Hermaikon Poseidoniak. Leukippeion		R = L $R = L$ $R = L$? ANAS. ? ANAS. ? ANAS. ? [ANAS.]
33		2 leases	2				R	
34		non-opisth.	1		A		INC DI	DAI TANACI
		1 lease 1 lease	1		Artemisiak. Demetriak.		[No R] R	PAL. [ANAS]. ERGAS.
35		2 leases	2	Thrasymos				
36		2 leases	1]120		
37		single col. 1 lease	1	Thrasymos	Apolloniak.		R	ERGAS.
3 8		ca. 3 leases	2	Thorikos	Nymphaik.	 	R	KAINOTOMIA KAINOTOMIA ? ? ANAS.

LIST OF NAMES ARRANGED BY DEMOTICS AND ETHNICS

All persons named in the mining texts and in the related material of the fourth century whose demotic or ethnic is preserved (or has been restored) are listed below. A man described as a property owner is one named in the boundaries of a mine either in the nominative case, or as owner of a chorion, or in incomplete texts where either the case ending or the type of property is missing. Known owners of edaphe and workshops are described as such, but some no doubt are concealed among the property owners from incomplete texts. The absence of a descriptive word indicates that the text is too fragmentary to show whether the man was an operator or a property owner. A question mark after a name indicates some uncertainty about the name or demotic; a question mark after the descriptive word indicates some uncertainty about the part the man played. Text references are given for broken names and in cases where the demotic only is preserved; for the other references and for details of restorations see the Index of Names.

```
Acharneis
                                                    --- son of -- los (? Alopekethen or Plo-
  Diotimos Mnesistratou, lessee
                                                       theus), registrant, 13 7
  Epikydes Philokydous, registrant and lessee
                                                  Amphitropaieis
  Herakleides Sosistratidou (?), lessee
                                                     Euthykrates, owner of workshop
  --- son of -- s, lessee (?), 15 6
                                                    Euthykrates Euthykratous, lessee
  --s, 21 29
                                                    -- kles Sostratou, lessee, 18 27
Agryleis
                                                    -- kles. 36 1
  Demon, lessee
                                                    -- s, registrant, 9 17
  Teisis, informant against mine operators
                                                    --s, owner of edaphe, 7 = I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1583 24
Aigilieis
                                                    ---, (? abbreviation can be restored either
  Kleokritos, property owner
                                                       as demotic or as location of mine), 13 79
  Pyrrhakos, property owner
                                                    ---, (? abbreviation can be restored either
  ---, registrant, 14 47
                                                       as demotic or as location of mine), 18 45-46
  ---, 5 62
                                                  Anagyrasioi
Aithalidai
                                                     Meidias, lessee and property owner
  Kephisodotos, lessee, owner of workshop and
                                                     Thrasylochos (brother of Meidias), lessee
    other property
                                                  Anaphlystioi
  -- s son of Kephisodotos, lessee, 15 23
                                                     Epikrates Alexiadou (?), lessee
Aixoneis
                                                     -- os, mine operator, 22 10
  Pausistratos Philistidou (?), lessee
                                                     ---, registrant, 6 13
  Pheidon Lysiou, registrant and holder of
                                                     See also commentary on 11 10
    mortgage on workshop and slaves
                                                  Aphidnaioi
  Telesarchos, lessee
  ---, owner of edaphe, 16a = I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1582
                                                     Dropides Hermippou (?), lessee
                                                     Kleonymos Philocharous, lessee
    109
                                                     --- son of -- ippos, lessee, 5 11
Alopekeis
                                                     ---, 30 1
  Antimachos, lessee and property owner
  Hipponikos, owner of slaves used in the
                                                   Araphenios
                                                     Telesikles Kalliou, lessee
    mines
                                                   Athmoneis
  Kallias, property owner
                                                     Euphemides Kephisodorou, registrant and
  lessee
    owner of edaphe
```

```
--- son of -- stratos, registrant, 10 = I G.
  Kephisodoros, lessee
                                                        II<sup>2</sup>, 1585 15
  --- son of Nikodemos (?), registrant, 9 3
                                                      -- es, owner of edaphe, 20 21-22
Deiradiotai
                                                      ---, 13 101
  Timokles Phanok -- (? Deiradiotes or Ma-
                                                    Hagnousios
    rathonios), registrant
                                                      Chairedemos, lessee
    ---, lessee, 15 66
                                                    Halaieis
Dekeleeis-
                                                      Nausikles (?? Halaieus, Palleneus or Pha-
  Ekphantides Theodorou, registrant and lessee
                                                        lereus), registrant
  Menexenos Metaxenou, registrant and lessee
                                                      -- les, registrant, 18 33
Eiresides
                                                      --- son of --s, registrant and lessee, 19
  ---, lessee, 13 77
                                                        4, 9
Eiteaieus
                                                    of Kedoi
  --- son of -- los, registrant and lessee, 16a
                                                      Diokles, owner of workshop (?)
    =I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1582 106-107, 112
                                                    Kephaleis
Eleusinioi
                                                      Lysanias Lysikleous, registrant and lessee
  Hiketes (?), lessee
                                                      --- son of Antigenes, lessee, 19 27
  --s, property owner, 20 23
                                                    Kerameus
  ---, lessee, 16a + b = Face A col. II 55
                                                      Epiteles, lessee
  ---, 21 27
                                                    Kikynneis
  ---, 25 9
                                                      Lysikrates (?), property owner
Erchieis
                                                      Lysitheides, owner of edaphe and unspecified
  -- anes, property owner, 13 24
  --s, lessee, 5 68
                                                      Children of Lysitheides, owners of edaphe,
                                                        29 4, 7
Euonymeis
  Antixenos, lessee (?)
                                                    Kollyteis
                                                      Hypereides Glaukippou, lessee
  Diopeithes, owner of workshop and other
                                                      Kallimedon Kallikratou, lessee
    property
                                                      Mnesikles, owner of workshop
  Diotimos Diopeithous, registrant and lessee,
                                                      --- son of -- ea...tos, lessee, 25 25
    owner of workshop and other property
  Epikrates Isokratous, registrant and lessee
                                                    Koloneis
  Philokrates, owner of workshop and un-
                                                      Kerykides, mine operator
                                                      --- son of -- okles, lessee, 18 8
    specified property
  --- son of --s, registrant, 13 86
                                                    Kopreioi
  --s, 2 20
                                                      Leochares, owner of workshop and edaphe
                                                      Xenokles, claimant of workshop, see com-
  ---, registrant or lessee, 16b = Hesperia, V,
                                                        mentary on 14 9
    pp. 393 ff., 10 214
  ---, owner of edaphe, 12 4
                                                    Kropides
                                                      Euthykrates Antidotou, registrant and lessee
Gargettioi
                                                    Kydantidai
  Aisimides Diophanous, registrant and lessee
                                                      Nikeratos (son of Nikias II), owner of
  Diophanes, owner of workshop
                                                        edaphe and unspecified property
  Phanostratos, registrant, owner of workshop
                                                      Nikias (\rightleftharpoons Nikias I P.A. 10808), owner of
    and edaphe
```

--- son of Diphilos, lessee, 18 18

20-21

--- son of Phanostratos (?), registrant, 5

1,000 slaves used in the mines

property owner

Nikias (=Nikias II son of Nikeratos),

Timokrates (? Kydantides or Kydathe-Paianieis Diodoros, owner of workshop naieus), lessee Phanotheos Lysippou, registrant and lessee Kydathenaieus Simos Diodorou, lessee and owner of work-Timokrates (? Kydathenaieus or Kydanshop tides), lessee Smikythos (?), holder of mortgage on work-Kytherrhioi shop and slaves Antisthenes, owner of edaphe - - les Simo, lessee, 5 29 Aspetos (son of Demostratos), owner of -- ros, property owner, 15 20 workshop and unspecified property --- son of -- on (?), lessee, 16a + b =Autophantos, owner of workshop and edaphe Face A col. II 74 Demostratos, owner of furnace Palleneis Lamptreis Epikrates, property owner, see commentary Kallias, lessee and property owner on 20 5-11 Polymelos, lessee Nausikles (?? Palleneus, Halaieus or Pha-Smikros, registrant lereus), registrant ---, registrant, 4 29 Theoros Theaio, lessee --, lessee, 16a + b = Face A Col. II 60--- son of --u..os, registrant or lessee, ---, registrant 18 28 ---, registrant, 18 38 ---, lessee, 16a = I G., II², 1582 45 Lousieus Pambotades -- os, registrant, 9 10 --- (? Pambotades or Skambonides), lessee Marathonioi Timokles Phanok -- (? Marathonios or Peiraieis Deiradiotes), registrant Philophron, property owner ...ilos Charimedou (?), lessee, 19 3 ---, lessee, 15 12 Meliteis Pelex Onetor Arkesilou, registrant and lessee Aleximachos, lessee Theodoros Olympichou, registrant and lessee Pergasethen --s son of Ktesibios, lessee, 16b = Hes---s, registrant, 28 8 peria, V, pp. 393 ff., 10 2 Phalereis --- son of Theodotos, registrant, 23 2 Nausikles (?? Phalereus, Halaieus or Pal-Myrrhinousioi leneus), registrant Mnesidamas Aristodamantos, registrant and -- rates, owner of workshop, 18 30 lessee, owner of edaphe Phegaieis -- s, lessee (?), 20 30 --- son of -- s, lessee (?), 16b = Hesperia, --- ?(Myrrhinousios or Phrearrhios), reg-V, pp. 393 ff., 10 299 istrant, 14 28 ---, owner of workshop, 24 7 Oethen Philaides -- les, property owner, 19 21 Archias or Lysias Lysistratou, registrant and --- son of -- ates, lessee, 5 87 lessee, 19 9, 13 ---, lessee or registrant (?), 13 164 Phrearrhioi Agenor, registrant of Oion Diopeithes Diokleido, lessee (?) Aristoteles Opsiadou, registrant and lessee Epizelos, owner of workshop and edaphe -- des Theotimo, registrant, 5 47 Kephisophon, lessee --- son of -- ades, lessee, 19 37

Mnesilochos, registrant Timokleides Hypsichidou, registrant and Philinos, lessee lessee --s, owner of edaphe, 13 18 Semonides, owner of edaphe ---, owner of hill (?), 16a = I.G., II², Teleson, property owner 1582 131-132 Thoutimides Phaniou, registrant and lessee --- (? Phrearrhios or Myrrhinousios), reg-Timesios, owner of edaphe -- kritos, registrant, 2 9 istrant, 14 28 --- son of -- okleides, registrant or lessee, **Phylasios** Eubios Eueniou, registrant -- os, property owner (?), 14 25 Pitheis -- chion, 36 4 Diochares Diokleous, registrant and lessee ---, registrant or lessee (?), 16b = Hesand property owner peria, V, pp. 393 ff., 10 217-218 Diokles, property owner ---, owner of workshop (?), 13 42-43 Diphilos Pheidippou, registrant and lessee, owner of workshop and edaphe ---, owner of workshop, 13 53 ---, owner of workshop, 16a + b = Face APheidippos Phayllou, registrant and lessee, owner of workshop, of edaphe, and of uncol. II 5 ---, owner of edaphe, 25 23 specified property Plotheis ---, property owner, 5 9 ---, property owner (?), 13 106 ---, property owner, 15 28 owner of edaphe --- son of -- los (? Plotheus or Alopeke-Sphettioi then), registrant, 13 7 Arizelos, owner of two workshops Porios Epikles, lessee Euetion Autokleidou, lessee --- son of -- oros, registrant and lessee, 5 Euthydikos Mnesitheou, registrant and lessee 73, 18 22 Kallias, lessee and property owner Potamioi Phaidros Kalliou, registrant Nikandrides, owner of house Polyeuktos, lessee Simylos (?), owner of workshop Thymochares (? son of Kallias), lessee Prospaltios son of Epikles, lessee, 5 36 ---, property owner, 15 47 --- son of -- chos, lessee, 10 = I.G., II², Skambonides --- (? Skambonides or Pambotades), lessee, -- es, property owner (?), 13 158 3 10 --s, property owner, 15 40 Sounieis ---, owner of edaphe, 24 5 Ameinias Philinou, lessee Sybridai Diokles, property owner Eumelides Lykinou, registrant and lessee Diophanes, property owner Kephisophon, lessee Diphilos Diopeithous, see commentary on 18 ---, property owner, 29 8 --- (? Sybrides or Sypalettios), registrant, 16a + b = Face A col. II 56workshop Kimon, property owner Sypalettioi Leukios Theokleous, lessee and property Isandros Stratokleous, registrant and lessee Lysikles Zelarchou, lessee owner Stratokles Isandrou (?), lessee Meixiades, property owner

--- (? Sypalettios or Sybrides), registrant, 16a + b = Face A Col. II 56 Themakeis

Diodoros Pherekleous, registrant and lessee Pherekles, owner of *edaphe*

Thorikioi

Aischines, property owner

Epameinon, owner of *edaphe* and other property (?)

Eudraon Eudraonos, registrant and lessee, property owner

Mantias, lessee

Mantitheos Mantiou, lessee

Nikias, owner of edaphe

Smikythos, property owner

--- son of Aischylides, property owner (?),

--- son of Chares, lessee, 20 47

-- as, lessee, 2 12

---, former operator of mine, 4 8

---, lessee, 6 8

---, property owner, 28 3

---, registrant or lessee, 29 10

Thriasioi

--- son of Aischylos, lessee, 5 15

Children of Diotimos (?), owners of edaphe,

Thymaitades

--- son of -- tos, lessee, 14 2-3

Non- Athenians

Siphnians

Kallaischros, owner of edaphe

Stesileides (son of Kallaischros?), owner of workshop and unspecified property

See commentary on 20 1-6

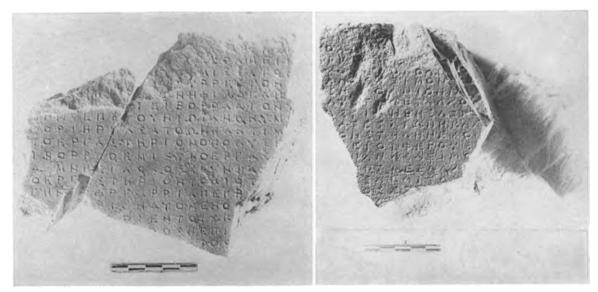
Thracian

Sosias, hired slaves from Nikias for use in the mines









No. 4. Face A No. 4. Face B

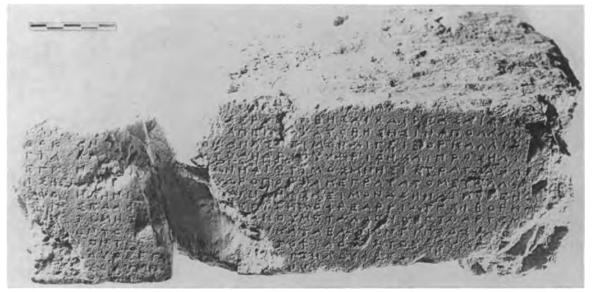
Margaret Crosby: The Leases of the Laureion Mines



No. 5a



No. 5b No. 5c



No. 5d



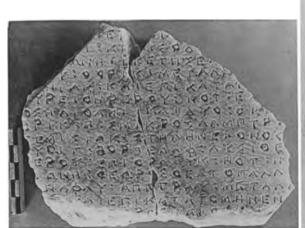
No. 5f



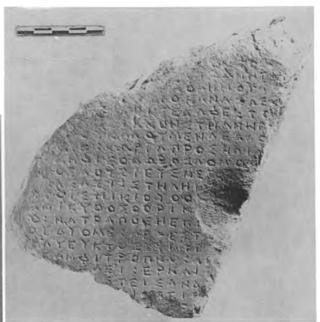
No. 5e



No. 6b



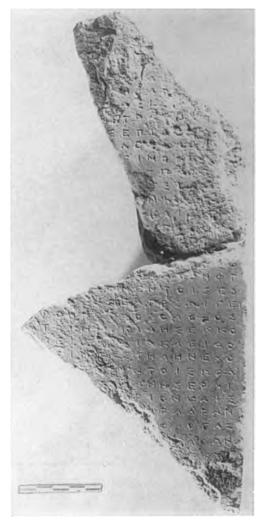
No. 6a



No. 9



No. 11



No. 13a. Face A



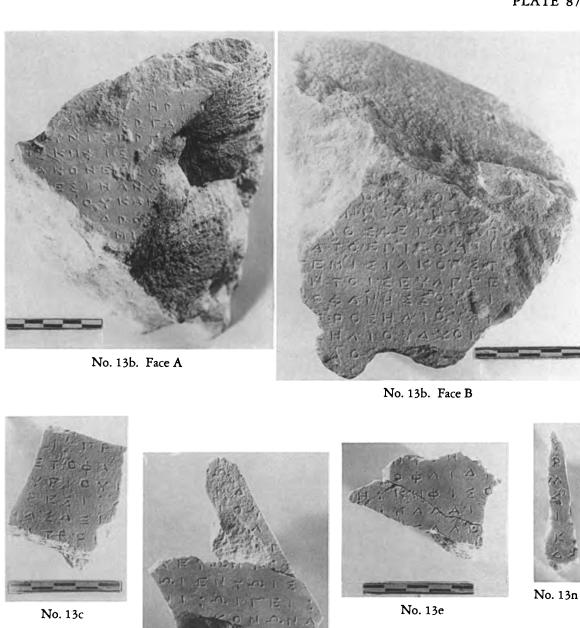
No. 12a



No. 12b



No. 13a. Face B

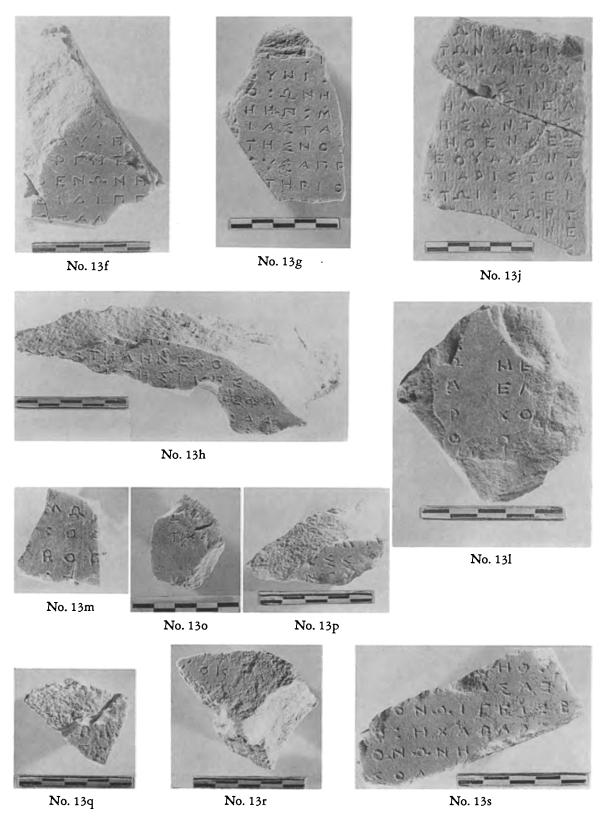


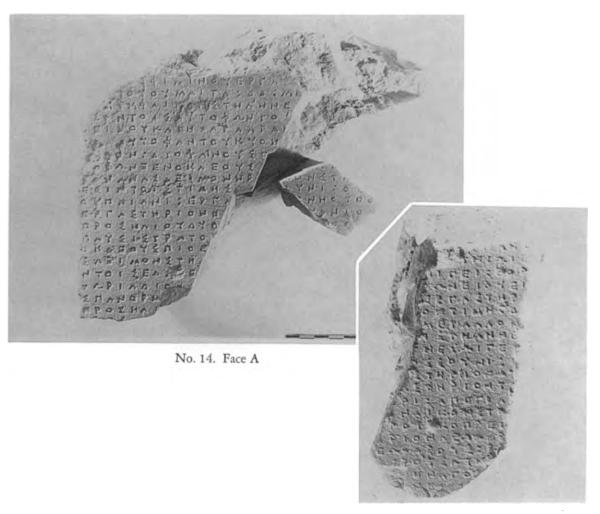
Margaret Crosby: The Leases of the Laureion Mines

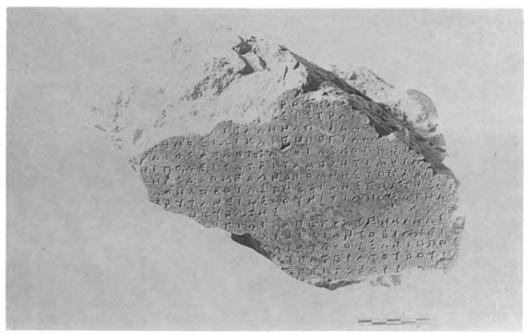
No. 13k

No. 13d

No. 13i



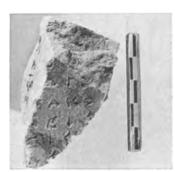




No. 14. Face B



No. 15a. Face A



No. 15b



No. 15c



No. 15a. Face B



No. 15d



No. 15e

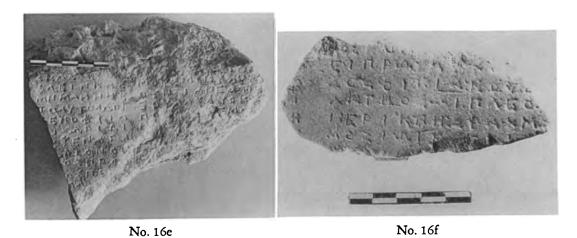


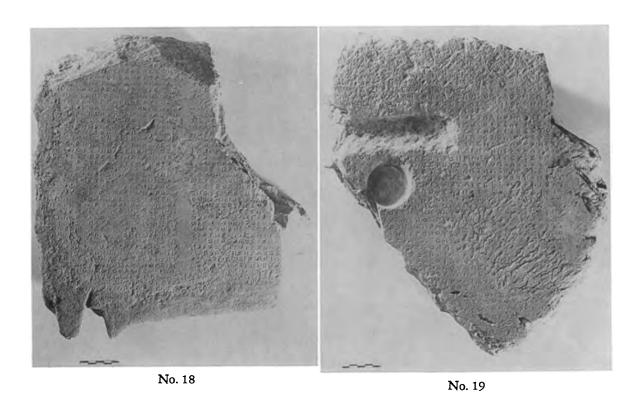
No. 16a (I.G., II², 1582). Face A



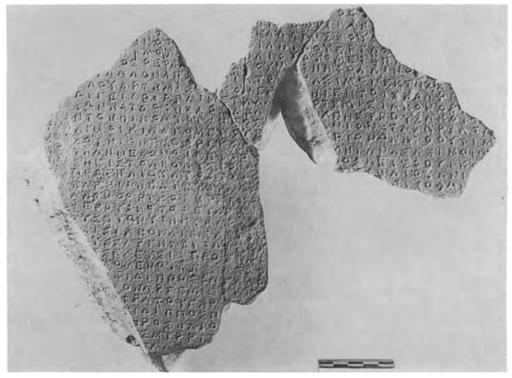
Nos. 16a and b as Joined. Face A

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No. 20a



No. 17



No. 21b



No. 20b



No. 21a







No. 23



No. 24



No. 28

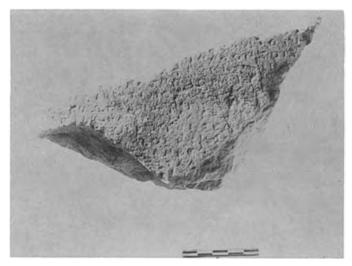


No. 25



No. 27

Margaret Crosby: The Leases of the Laureion Mines



No. 26



No. 29a



No. 29b



No. 30



No. 31



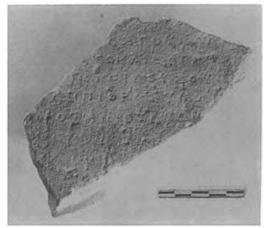
No. 33



No. 34a



No. 34b



No. 35



No. 37