THE BOUSTROPHEDON SACRAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE AGORA[1]

(PLATES 29-32)

BETWEEN the years 1936 and 1939, the Agora excavations produced a collection of 26 similar fragments of Pentelic marble inscribed boustrophedon, all found within a limited area on the northwest slope of the Akropolis,[2] immediately east and west of the Panathenaic way at the point where it makes a marked bend, preparatory to skirting round the steep northwest angle of the citadel and ending at the Propylaea. Two isolated fragments had been found previously farther to the northwest,[3] bringing the total number found in the Agora to 28. Judged by the circumstances of discovery and the general similarity of material, content and letter-forms, they all appear to belong to a limited number of closely related documents, which from their content, fragmentary though it is, and epigraphical technique are of peculiar interest to all students of early Athenian history.

To summarize briefly the conclusions drawn tentatively below, they belong apparently to two monuments (altars?) erected *ca.* 510-480 B.C. in the precinct defined in inscriptions of the fifth century and later as the Ἐλευσίνιον ἐν ἄστει, or simply the Ἐλευσίνιον;[4] although they are inscribed boustrophedon, the appearance of the letter-forms, coupled with the use of Pentelic marble,[5] indicates a date when this method of writing had already ceased as a normal practice in Attica; in the history of Athenian *leges sacrae*, they form a link approximately midway in time between the lost prototypes of the early sixth century, generally ascribed to Solon, and the comprehensive re-edition of the calendar by Nikomachos in 403-399 B.C.; and finally, they provide at length companionship for the lone fragment of Attic boustrophedon preserved since 1781 in the British Museum (B.M. 74 = *I.G.*, I², 839), over the restoration of which there raged a Homeric duel between Boeckh and Hermann in the early nineteenth century.[6]

[1] I wish to express my gratitude to Professor B. D. Meritt for permission to study these fragments and to publish the results here, and to the members of the staff at the Agora, especially E. Vanderpool and Miss L. Talcott, for their kind and unfailing assistance in every problem that arose. I also owe a further debt of gratitude to Professor Meritt, E. Vanderpool, and A. E. Raubitschek for their kind offices in reading this article in MS; their helpful suggestions are acknowledged in the notes, but the responsibility for errors must remain solely my own.

[2] The area shown as Sections AA, BB, ZZ, ΘΘ, and II on the City Plan, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 335, fig. 2.

[3] Nos. 66 *a* and 67 *n*, found in Sections O and Π of the same plan.

[4] *I.G.*, I², 6, line 129; 313, lines 14, 20; 314, lines 19 (restored), 26; *I.G.*, II², 204, line 7; 333, line 20; 661, line 32; 1072, line 3; 1078, lines 14 f., 41; 1672, col. I, line 6 (?—at Eleusis?), col. II, lines 162, 166, 167 f., 171, 183, 194-5, 203; Ἐλευσινιακά, Α', 1932, p. 177, lines 25-6.

[5] Cf. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*², pp. 137 f., note 11.

[6] Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, I, no. 9 and pp. xxv f.; Hermann, *Leips. Lit. Zeitg.*, nos. 238-241; cf. Hicks, *B. M. Inscr.*, I, p. 137.

The exact provenance of *I.G.*, I², 839 is not known. In the year 1765 Richard Chandler returned to England from a tour of Greece made at the expense of the Society of Dilettanti, bringing back with him for the Society several inscriptions acquired in Athens and the Peiraieus, our fragment being among them. In the first publication of the stone, nine years after its acquisition, Chandler gives only the following account:[7] En! fragmentum *βουστροφηδόν* inscriptum; in muro repertum; nunc penes Societatem Dilettanti. The wall into which it had evidently been built may have been almost anywhere in the eighteenth-century area of Athens; but, inscribed as it is boustrophedon on Pentelic marble in letters which correspond in size and shape with those of the Agora fragments, and containing subject-matter of the same detailed nature, the probability that it comes from the same monument or group of monuments seems so strong that it is included here with the rest. A cast, made by the technical staff of the British Museum with the kind permission of the Trustees, was brought out to Athens for comparison, but no actual join could be made.

Chandler further reported that he had seen another boustrophedon fragment built into the wall of a house in a square not far from the Capuchin monastery where he was staying,[8] but evidently he made no copy. Another fragment, *I.G.*, I², 838, was copied by Ross and first published from his copy by Boeckh in 1835,[9] no provenance being given. This piece, never rediscovered, is known only from Ross' copy, but from the content of the surviving lines it was clearly of the same type as *I.G.*, I², 839, as subsequent editors have agreed.[10] Indeed, it appears likely that it joined the left-hand side of one of the Agora fragments (No. 67 *f* below).

A further minute piece (No. 67 *i* below) is preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens. Its original provenance is unknown,[11] but here again a close similarity with the Agora fragments seemed to justify its inclusion with them, although no join could be made.

This provides us with three more additions to the series from the Agora, and raises the total number of fragments attributed to the inscriptions to 31.[12] In spite

[7] Chandler, *Inscriptions*, II, 1774, no. 28, pp. xxv and 54.

[8] *Inscriptions*, II, p. xxv: Aliud, sed minutum, vidi in platea non longe a monasterio capuchinorum, in pariete infixum. The monastery occupied the area immediately round the monument of Lysikrates, below the southeast slope of the Akropolis.

[9] *Hall. Allgemein. Lit. Zeitg.*, 1835, 3-5, p. 18, no. 36. It may possibly have been the one seen by Chandler, but can hardly have merited the description " minutum."

[10] Franz, *Elementa Ep. Graec.*, 1840, p. 99; Kirchhoff, *I.G.*, I, 532.

[11] E.M. 101. For permission to publish it here, I am indebted to M. Mitsos, Ephor of the Epigraphical Museum. G. Stamires, who kindly verified the details of its acquisition for me, tells me that it was presented by C. G. Oikonomopoulos, with no further recorded information except that it came from the estate of A. Postolakis.

[12] I was unable to find the fragmentary inscription *I.G.*, I, 529 (not published in *I.G.*, I²) in the Epigraphical Museum, and cannot venture a reading from the *I.G.* illustration. It is said, however, to be inscribed boustrophedon on Pentelic marble, and to have been found in Athens, so that there may be a connection here.

of this, only ten certain [13] and three probable [14] joins have been made, which leads to the conclusion that the main parts of the monuments may still be scattered below the built-over site adjoining the excavated area in question on the east and northeast sides.

This area was first identified as the site of the Eleusinion in 1938,[15] a conclusion which has since been confirmed by further discoveries, though the limits of the precinct are still unknown.[16] The boustrophedon fragments bring further proof, since No. 66 mentions the Greater (and Lesser?) Mysteries, and also one of the officials of the Eleusinian cult, the φαιδυντής (see below, pp. 92 f.). No. 67 *n* mentions μύστο-, and other references to μύστης or μυστήρια can be tentatively restored on No. 67 *b* and *d*.

In the list of fragments which follows, some explanation is needed for the method of grouping adopted. No. 66, Frags. *a-d* evidently belong to a single stone (Block I), of which only parts of one wide and one narrow face are preserved, the wide containing the end of the inscription with a *vacat* of 0.155 m. below, while the narrow, as far as it remains, is blank. These fragments are distinguished from the rest by the lettering, which is appreciably larger and more deeply cut, being mostly 0.02 m. high, with an occasional diminution to 0.015 m. Apart from this diminution, the appearance of the letters on the fragments of No. 66 is fairly uniform; the most characteristic is the acute-angled rho, which on *a* is Ρ until the penultimate line, which has Ρ (compare 67 *c*, where the variants Ρ and Ρ are both used). No. 66 *c* also has Ρ. In general, the letters agree with those on certain public monuments usually dated in the late sixth or early fifth century (see below, p. 102); it may well be that the same stonemason was responsible for them all. The punctuation : is used between phrases. To hazard any reconstruction of its original proportions from the present measurements of its lower left-hand corner, which is all that is left to us apart from three small floaters, is hardly profitable. On an average, 8 letters occupy *ca.* 0.22 m., and the fragmentary readings suggest that at least another 8, and probably more, are missing; so that the existing width (0.24 m.) may represent only half, or less, of the original front face. Among the other fragments, it may be noted that the combined width of Nos. 67 *f-h*, if they indeed belong together, gives a restored front face at least 0.54 m. wide (pp. 97, Fig. 2, and 102, Fig. 3).

The remaining fragments show certain minor differences in the letter-forms. They also vary in the way in which they have split away from the main core. They may be all from a single block, inscribed on three of its faces, the fourth face being

[13] Nos. 66 *a* (3 fragments), 67 *a* (2 fragments), 67 *j* (3 fragments) and 67 *p* (2 fragments).
[14] Nos. 67 *f* + *g* + *h*.
[15] *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207 ff.
[16] *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 97 ff., and 268; X, 1941, p. 258; XI, 1942, pp. 251 and 260 ff.; XIV, 1945, pp. 81 and 89. For earlier theories as to its position, cf. Judeich, *Topographie v. Athen*[2], pp. 287 ff.

still blank when the stone was broken. In view of this, the fragments are listed in three groups A, B, and C, tentatively assigned to the three inscribed faces of a hypothetical Block II (see Fig. 3); but it must be stressed at the outset that this arrangement is in no sense suggested as final, since the discovery of further fragments, or a better interpretation of these, may well result in a different restoration. We know definitely from the corner fragments 67 *n* and *o* that there was at least one block inscribed on at least two faces, and from the corner fragments 67 *c* and *d* that there was at least one block with at least one blank face; and of these alternatives, either to postulate an unknown number of similarly inscribed monuments all from this area, or to attribute all the fragments to a single monument, the latter course has been adopted here, the grouping being as follows.

No. 67 *a-e* (Face A) have all broken away irregularly at the back. The letter-forms are neat, somewhat shallowly cut, and fairly closely spaced; the forms P and X of rho and chi are used, except on 67 *c*, where they change halfway down to ꟾ and + (cf. No. 66 *a*, with ꟾ and ꟿ; also 67 *q*, which has ꟾ at the top and X lower down, indicating that here too the lettering changed as on 67 *c*). No. 67, Frags. *a* and *b* are badly discoloured, *c* is also dark, *d* has a good colour still. The latter pair, both right-hand corner fragments, show a blank adjacent face, and as *d* also preserves part of the top; it follows that this whole face of the stone was uninscribed. Face A was therefore one of the wide faces, since the mason would begin his cutting on one of the wide sides, and, whether he continued onto the adjacent narrow face and thence round to the other wide face, or whether he inscribed both wide faces before resorting to the narrow, the face left uninscribed at the end would still be one of the narrow ones.

No. 67 *f-o* will then be from the other wide face (B), since the conjectural restoration $f + g + h$ gives a minimum width of 0.54 m. for the original face. These fragments have split off smoothly from the core, in flat slabs whose width exceeds their thickness, the straight-sliced breaks resembling the right-hand break of Frag. *q* (Face C). Because of this, the first attempt at restoration put C on the left-hand side of B. No joins, however, could be made, and this disposition of the faces was given up; firstly, because if the flat backs of the B fragments were indeed to be laid against the right-hand side of *q*, it would follow that *q* must be very close to the right-hand edge of Face C, with only a few letters missing from the line-endings—which is evidently not the case (see below, p. 101); secondly, because the corner fragment *d* cannot belong to B, according to the present restoration (Fig. 2, $f + g + h$)—as it would have to, if the face between A's right side and B's left were inscribed; and thirdly, because the lettering of *c* and *d* seemed closer to the A than to the B fragments, and that of the wider faces of *n* and *o* closer to the B fragments. The third reason can hardly be pressed, however, since such judgments, based only on the general appearance of lettering on fragments whose surfaces vary greatly in their state of preservation, are bound to be open to question. The polished surface of most of these

fragments is preserved, but the actual grooves of the letters, which are more deeply and widely cut than those of A and C, are considerably corroded. The exceptions are *f*, *g*, *i*, and *o*, whose surfaces are much more worn. The letters are slightly larger and more widely spaced than those of A and C, and the forms of rho and chi are ⋌ and +; the epsilon has a small tail; *k* preserves part of a one-line *vacat* about halfway down it (cf. also *s*), after which the lettering begins again in the same direction (R. to L.) as the last line above it. Three lines from the bottom of *k*, the lettering becomes noticeably smaller and neater, though no less deeply cut, as though towards the bottom of the face the mason was trying to fit in as much as possible. No. 67 *n* and *o*, the two right-hand corner fragments preserving part of the adjacent Face C, show the same characteristics in the few remaining letters of their C sides. The most noticeable is the neat epsilon, with its vertical bar tall in proportion to the horizontal crossbars.

The same epsilon occurs on the next and last group, *p-t*, attributed to Face C. Most of this latter group have broken away in tall, narrow slivers whose thickness sometimes exceeds their width; the most obvious example is *q*, with a width of 0.095 m., which extends back to a depth of 0.22 m. The letters are slightly more crowded than those of the other faces, and smaller than those of B. The form P of rho is used on *p*, ⋌ on *q* and *r*, and X for chi on *q* and *s*; the mason was evidently using the variant types at will.

One last but important point must be raised in this preliminary survey: that is, the nature of these two blocks. It will be observed that in both cases the lines are restored as running horizontally, whereas one might rather expect them to run vertically, like the lettering on the two contemporary secular documents known to us;[17] particularly since it appears probable that the lines, on the two wider faces at least, were of considerable length. In the case of Block I it seems most unlikely that it should be read vertically (the blank face being then the top), with so large a *vacat* between the last line and the left-hand edge; it is, however, not impossible. But in the case of Block II, the evidence of the four corner fragments makes it impossible for the inscriptions to be read in any way but horizontally.

The full width of Block I must remain conjectural, but may have been at least 0.48 m., or more. The minimum restored width of Block II (Face B) would be 0.54 m. (pp. 88 and 102); it may well have been much wider, since 0.54 m. would leave only

[17] Salamis decree, *I.G.*, I², 1 (for latest literature, cf. Wade-Gery, *Cl. Qu.*, XL, 1946, pp. 101 ff.); legal text from Marathon, side A (Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 329 ff.). Horizontally cut inscriptions occur on stelai of the archaic period in other States; cf. one side of the Chios "kurbis" (Tod, *G.H.I.*², no. 1), the stele from the precinct of Herakles at Miletos (*Milet*, I, 3, pp. 276 f., no. 132), and two sides of the "hymn to Athena" from the Akropolis at Sparta (*B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927, pp. 45 ff., no. 69).

room for a six-letter word, e.g., χριθῶν, to precede the [*hεμ*]ιεκτέα of line 1, and so abrupt an opening seems unlikely, unless of course B were a direct continuation of A. The thickness of Block I (incomplete) is 0.235 m.; that of Block II (incomplete) is 0.185 m. In short, if these blocks are stelai, they are abnormally thick (Block I) and wide (Block II).[18] It is therefore suggested that they are, in fact, not stelai but altars,[19] consisting each of a squared block of Pentelic marble, probably mounted on a low step or steps, and bearing ritual instructions cut on their vertical faces. The closest parallel would be the contemporary example at Eleusis, *I.G.*, I², 5; this is best interpreted as the top slab of a plain altar, which has no architectural crowning feature, but only three hollows, a rectangular betweeen two circular, cut in the top,[20] and ritual instructions, headed by a preamble, cut horizontally in five long lines from L. to R. across the wide vertical face, which has a restored length of 1.509 m. Similar cuttings appear on the tops of both fragments of *I.G.*, I², 596, which likewise formed the top slab of an altar.[21] No traces of cuttings are visible on the preserved top fragments of Block II (67 *d* and *f*); but as little more than the edge remains, this is hardly to be expected.

Only in this way, I venture to think, can we account satisfactorily for the abnormal length of line indicated by the restoration of Block II. One further point may strengthen the case. If the lower edge of 66 *a* is original, as it appears to be (see Plate 29), the smoothing of the inscribed surface right down to the bottom indicates that the stone was not bedded into a base or into the ground, as a stele would be, but set directly on the ground or on another stone.

I know of no other certain examples of an altar containing such long and detailed instructions on its vertical faces; but the Eleusis altar shows that the idea at least existed, and there are several later examples bearing shorter inscriptions, from Athens

[18] The proportions of the contemporary stelai are: Marathon stele: width (original), 0.44 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.; height, 1.20 m. Salamis decree: width (average), 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.135 m.; height (existing), 0.54 m. (*ca.* 1.00 m. as restored by Meritt, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 305, fig. 1). The famous decree concerning the Mysteries, *I.G.*, I², 6 + 9 (Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 61 ff., and XV, 1946, pp. 249 ff.) has width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.; height (existing), 0.85 m.

[19] For archaic altars, cf. the literature in Reisch, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, I, *s.v.* Altar, 1640 ff.; inscribed altars, Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalt.*², 1898, p. 15; Reisch, *loc. cit.*, 1681 f.; Welter, *A.A.*, 1939, 23 ff.

[20] Described as the lowest slab in the publication by Prott, *A.M.*, XXIV, 1899, pp. 241 ff., the cuttings being interpreted as for supports for a top slab; but it seems more likely that they have some connection with the ritual offerings made on the top of the altar. Professor Meritt notes: "The two altars in the Eleusinion at Athens remind one that there were also two altars at Eleusis, *I.G.*, I², 5 being a doublet of *I.G.*, I², 818 (Raubitschek). The number is undoubtedly significant, and related to the worship of the 'Goddesses'." Cf. Ἐλευσινιακά, Α', p. 177, lines 16-17 (ὀμόσαντας μεταχσὺ τοῖν βομοῖν Ἐλευσῖνι), and p. 179.

[21] To be published, with Agora I 5220, as no. 331 in Raubitschek's forthcoming work on the archaic dedications from the Athenian Akropolis.

and elsewhere;[22] and, if detailed written instructions are demanded at all, it is undeniably a reasonable place on which to inscribe them.[23]

66. BLOCK I.

a (Plate 29). Agora I 2470 *a* + *b*. *a*: two joining fragments, found 21 February, 1935, in modern fill, Section O, and 13 October, 1938, in house, Section BB. *b*: found 22 February, 1939, in modern wall, Section BB. Maximum[24] width, 0.24 m.; height, 0.52 m.; thickness, 0.235 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m. Height of *vacat* at bottom 0.155 m. Broken at top, right side, and back; part of left side preserved (uninscribed); the bottom edge appears to be original, since it is parallel to the lowest line of letters, the underside roughly finished; but the stone was evidently re-used later (cf. socket near lower edge), and might have been recut then.

\- - - - -
\- - -].I . . ←
κ̣ας: δ[- - - →
\- - - μυστερίον: τô]ν με-
ζ̣όνο̣ν [- - -
\- - - χρι]θôν hε-
μέδιμν[ον? - - -
\- - -]ν̣: hετέρον
hεμέδιμ[νον? - - -
\- - -]ενίον hεκ-
[τ]εύς: το φε[- - -
\- - -]ρας: μυσ[τε-
ρίο]ν: τôν [- - -
\- - - τὲν h]ιέρε[α]ν̣ [καὶ
τὸν] φαι̣δυ[ντὲν τοῖν θεοῖν - - -
vacat

Line 1. Nothing is visible but the tip of a vertical stroke above the sigma in line 2.

Line 2. The first letter may be K or Ʀ; K is perhaps more likely, since the next two rhos are tailless. Perhaps [K]ε̣[ρυ]|κ̣ας: δ[έ].

Lines 3-4. For the comparative form μέζων in early Attic, instead of the later μείζων (derived by analogy from ὀλείζων), cf. *I.G.*, I², 22, line 65. In *I.G.*, I², 6, lines 93-5, the spellings are reversed, to μείζοσι and ὀλέζοσι; cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 66 f.

Lines 5-6. Or hεμέδιμ[να τρία]? Cf. the sacral inscription from Kos, Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze*, no. 3, line 11: κριθâν τρία ἡμέδιμνα καὶ σπυρῶν τρεῖς τεταρτῆς. On the amounts of grain mentioned, see below, p. 105, note 52.

Line 12. After the ν of τôν I thought I could see the left side of a curved letter just visible in the break, ο̣[λειζόνον]; but this is very uncertain.

Line 13. Part of a slanting stroke is visible above the phi of line 14, which prevents the otherwise possible restoration here: [τὸν ἐπὶ τôι βομôι h]ιερέ[α] κ[αὶ | τὸν] φαιδυντὲν τοῖν θεοῖν, as in *I.G.*, I², 6, lines 130 f. (restored).

Line 14. The restoration of the φαιδυντής here and in 66 *b*, line 3, refutes the theory first advanced by Robert in connection with the φαιδυντής of Zeus at Olympia (*Hermes*, XXIII, 1889, pp. 452 ff.), and maintained by Hanell (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XIX, s. v. Phaidryntes, 1559 f.), that the title, both at Olympia and in

[22] Athens, *I.G.*, II², 4986-8; Paros, *I.G.*, XII, 5, 1027; Thasos, *I.G.*, XII, 8, 358. The fourth-century ritual calendar of Kos (Herzog, *Heil. Gesetze*, nos. 1-4, pp. 5 ff.) was inscribed on four (originally twelve) slabs of marble, which Herzog suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 5) may be from either a "Tempelwand oder Altarsockel," pointing out that one or other would be the most suitable place for an official calendar of offerings.

[23] I would suggest further that the corner fragment from Corinth, inscribed horizontally with part of a sacral inscription, may be from a similar altar of poros (*Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 1; *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 69 ff.); also the archaic inscribed blocks with peculiar cuttings from Phleious (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 235 ff.), containing apparently instructions for oaths, may be from a large altar to Apollo, rededicated in the Augustan period.

[24] The width and height in all cases are those of the fragment as a whole, not of the inscribed face alone.

the Eleusinian cult, is a late creation of the Imperial period. The Eleusinian official is mentioned without detail in *I.G.*, II², 1092, line 29, and in the decree passed *ca.* 220 A.D. for the restitution of the ancient Eleusinian ritual, *I.G.*, II², 1078, lines 16 ff.: Ὁ φαιδυντὴς τοῖν θε[οῖν] ἀγγέλλει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῇ ἱερείᾳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὡς [ἥκει τὰ] ἱερὰ καὶ ἡ παραπέμπουσα στρατιά. The use of the phrase κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, to which Hanell maintained that little importance need be attached, is thus vindicated. For the general duties of the φαιδυντής, cf. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, 1914, pp. 206 ff., and Toepffer, *Att. Geneal.*, 1889, p. 159.

b (Plate 29). Agora I 4724. Found 16 April, 1937, in surface fill, Section ΘΘ. Maximum width, 0.073 m.; height, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m. Broken on all sides.

---]α̣ι̣[--- ←
---]ν: κ[--- →
---]φαιδ[υντές?---
---]*h*ο.[---
---]σ̣τ̣[---

Line 1. The end of a vertical is visible, followed by two slanting strokes, as for alpha or gamma.

Line 3. Cf. 66 *a*, line 14.

Line 4. There are traces of a slanting stroke in the right-hand break.

c (Plate 29). Agora I 2470 c. Found 20 March, 1939, in a modern house, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.135 m.; height, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m. Broken on all sides.

---]ν̣[--- ←
---]: πα[--- →
---]ν: εὐ[---
---]ρια κα̣[---
---]ον ἀρχ̣[---
---]νισκο[---
---]ν̣κ̣ι̣[---

Line 1. The letter might also be gamma.

Line 3. Εὐ[μολπιδ-]?

Line 7. The strokes of the ν̣ are cramped together, as if the mason were trying to correct an error here.

d (Plate 29). Agora I 4721 c. Found 17 April, 1937, in surface fill, Section ΘΘ. Maximum width, 0.045 m.; height, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.; height of letters, 0.018 m. Height of *vacat* at bottom, 0.04 m. Broken on all sides.

---]:ι̣ [--- →
vacat

The fragment is assigned to Block I because the punctuation-dots and letter-stroke are more widely and deeply cut than those of Block II.

67. BLOCK II.

FACE A.

a (Plate 30). Agora I 4721 j. Two joining fragments; upper found 14 March, 1939, in modern wall, Section BB; lower found 23 May, 1938, in east wall of Hypapanti church, Section II. Maximum width, 0.16 m.; height, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

---]ιν̣[--- →
--- πέν]τε χ[οίνικες?--- ←
--- ἀλ]φίτο̣[ν: *h*?---
--- οἴ]νο τε[τάρτε?---
---]ν: : : κορ̣[οτρόφοι?---
---]*h*ιερέαι̣[---
--- ο]ἶνο τετ[άρτε? ---
---] ἕτνος Ι[---
--- ἀλ]φίτον: *h*[---
---]ρτε *h*ε[---
---]ν̣ πέντ[ε ---
---]: χριθο̣̂[ν ---
---? βασι]λεῦσι: ν̣[---
---]λυτρο̣[---
---]ει: δι Ι[---
---]::: ἐ[---

Line 1. The final letter starts with a stroke, slanting at the angle of the nu as elsewhere written.

Line 3. Cf. line 9. The amount of barley-meal may have been one (or more) ἡμιεκτέον (= 4 χοίνικες), ἡμιτεταρτέον (= 6 χοίνικες), or ἑκτεύς (= 8 χοίνικες);[25] for ἀλφίτων ἑκτεύς, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1358 b, lines 45 ff.

Line 4. Cf. line 7, where the amount of wine must be one or more τέταρται. The τετάρτη (= 3 χόες) was ¼ of a μετρητής or ἀμφορεύς. It is not attested elsewhere as an Attic measure, but it was used in the Doric states of Thera (*I.G.*, XII, 3, 450, line 18, οἶνο τετά[ρτ−−]), Kos (*Heil. Gesetze*, p. 10, no. 2, lines 18 and 25, οἴνου τετάρτα), and Lakonia, where the wine offered in sacrifice by a Spartan king was a τετάρτη Λακωνική (Herod., VI, 57); the qualifying Λακωνική here indicates that there was a τετάρτη of a different standard elsewhere. The Peloponnesian measure was probably 1½ times the Attic (cf. Johnston, *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 181).

Line 5. The triple punctuation is evidently used throughout to mark the beginning of a new clause (for paragraphing, see p. 99 below), and from the evidence of No. 67 *b* and *c* it appears likely that we should restore the name of a deity here. Κόρ[ει is equally possible. Traces of the bottom of a vertical stroke occur after the omikron, so that the rho, though not certain, seems reasonably likely. On the connection of Kourotrophos with Demeter, cf. Prehn, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XI, *s. v.* Kurotrophos, 2215, and Kern, *R.E.*, IV, *s. v.* Demeter, 2737 f. She received a sacrifice, with other minor deities, before the Skira (*I.G.*, II², 1358 b, lines 30 ff., 51 ff.; cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 40 ff.), and possibly also before the Mysteries (*I.G.*, II², 1358 b, lines 5-6); she was also connected with the Thesmophoria (Ar., *Thesm.*, 296 ff.; Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, II, p. 8); cf. also Herzog, *Heil. Gesetze*, p. 22, no. 8, III B, lines 24-5, where the priestess of Demeter (?) performs the ritual to Kourotrophos in cases of pollution of sacred ground.

Line 6. The final letter appears to be a vertical stroke, but is uncertain.

Line 8. The ἔτνος was a thick pulse soup, an everyday form of diet (Ar., *Acharn.*, 246; *Batrach.*, 62, 506; *Hipp.*, 1171); but it could also be offered to a deity, since it formed the offering which gave its name to the festival Puanopsia in honour of Apollo (Photius, *s. vv.* Πυανοψία, Πυανεψιών).

Line 13. The only possible restoration here seems to be [φυλοβασι]λεῦσι or [βασι]λεῦσι; the simple term seems to have been used for the compound in the archaic period (Plutarch, *Solon*, 19, 4; Andokides, Περὶ τῶν Μυστ., 78; cf. Arist., Ἀθ. Πολ., 8, 3, ed. Sandys, 1893, pp. 31 ff.). For the duties of the φυλοβασιλεῖς, cf. Arist., *Pol.*, VI, 8, 20; Pollux, VIII, 111 and 120; Prott-Ziehen, *L.G.S.*, II, pp. 63 ff.; Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, no. 111 (= *I.G.*, I², 115), line 12; Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 26. As they had no specific connection with the Eleusinion, the reference here may be to the γέρα or perquisites to be given to some other officials [ὅσα τοῖς βασι]λεῦσι.

Line 14. No satisfactory restoration can be offered. In a late fifth-century list of accounts of the Eleusinian deities (Hondius, *Nov. Inscr. Att.*, 1925, pp. 91 ff., no. XIII; cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 35, and Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 34 ff.), one of the items is [δεκάτε] λύτρον, which Hondius suggests may be from the ransom of captives in the Peloponnesian war; but whether there was a custom of apportioning one-tenth of all ransoms to the Eleusinian goddesses, and, if so, whether it dates back as far as the early fifth century, and so could be referred to here, is pure conjecture. The final letter might possibly be alpha, not omikron; the stone is damaged at this point.

[25] On the subject of dry and liquid measures, cf. Hultsch, *Gr. u. Röm. Metrologie*², 1882, pp. 99 ff.; Segre, *Metrologia*, 1928, pp. 130 ff.; Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 222 ff.; S. Young, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 278 ff.

Line 16. Here presumably was the name of another deity, now lost but for the initial E – – –.

b (Plate 30). Agora I 4721 h. Found 26 February, 1938, in modern wall south of Hypapanti church, Section II. Maximum width, 0.13 m.; height, 0.245 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.; height of letters, 0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

– – –
– – –]ο[– – – ←
– – –]α: [– – – →
– – –]στε̣[– – –
– – –] : : : Ἐρε̣[χθεῖ? – – –
– – –] *vacat* οἰν[– – –
– – –]εντ[– – –
– – –]οινε̣[– – –
– – –

Line 3. Faint traces of a slanting stroke appear in the break before the ≷; [μ]υστε̣[– – –? Cf. 67 *d* and *n*.

Line 4. Although the cult of Erechtheus belongs properly to the Akropolis, he appears to have had a certain connection with the Eleusinian deities. Thus the Eleusinian rites were, according to one tradition, established during his reign (*Marmor Parium*, lines 28-9; Escher, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, VI, *s. v.* Erechtheus, 408 f.); and in the Skira the priest of Erechtheus, or Poseidon-Erechtheus, took part in the procession (Schol. Ar., *Ekkl.*, 18; cf. Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 45, note 6, and 46, note 13).

Line 5. The unoccupied space here may be only an oversight by the mason, if (e. g.) he left his spaces for punctuation to be filled in subsequently with the punch, and overlooked this.

c (Plate 30). Brit. Mus. 74. Purchased in Athens, exact provenance in the city unknown. Maximum width, 0.07 m.; height, 0.285 m.; thickness, 0.185 m.; height of letters, 0.015 m. Broken at top, bottom, back and left side; the right edge is preserved, with part of the adjoining face (uninscribed).[26] Width of right margin, 0.013 m.

Chandler, *Inscriptions*, II, 1774, no. 28, pp. 54 and xxv; Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, I, no. 9, pp. 22 ff.; Rose, *Inscr. Graec.*, 1825, p. 22, pl. III, 3; Franz, *El. Ep. Graec.*, 1840, pp. 98 f.; *I.G.*, I, 531; Hicks, *B.M. Inscr.*, I, no. lxxiv, pp. 136 ff.; *I.G.*, I suppl., p. 53; Mommsen, *Feste*, 1898, pp. 512, note 1, and 521, note 1; *I.G.*, I^2, 839; Deubner, *Att. Feste*, 1932, p. 162; S. Young, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 279, note 34.

– – –
.ια[– – – ←
– – –]χρ- →
ιθ[ὸν – – –
– – – hεμιε]κτ-
έο[ν – – –
– – –]ουρ-
ιοι[– – –
] : κα-
ὶ τôι[– – –
– – – βο]τύπ-
οι : χ[– – –
– – –]α : : : Δ-
ὶ Πολ[ιεῖ – – –
– – –]τρῖς χ-
οίνι[κες – – –
– – –]ε : μ-
– – –

Lines 4-5. The forms ἡμιέκτεων and ἡμιεκτεῖον were both used in the fourth century and later; cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik*^{3}, p. 128, 15 and note 1146; Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*^{3}, no. 83, p. 105, note 3; Michon, *Mém. Acad. Inscr.*, XIII, 1923, p. 6. The form ἡμιεκτέον is used, however, in Ar., *Neph.*, 643, 645. Cf. also *I.G.*, I^2, 76, line 7, and *I.G.*, II^2, 1184, lines 8-9.

Lines 5-6. As Hicks suggested (*op. cit.*, p. 137), this may be a reference to the Proarktouria (= Proerosia; Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 f.) which, as a pre-sowing festival, had particular reference to Demeter and Kore.

[26] In the top break of this side are visible the marks ·/·, which at first sight suggested to me the remains of a final line of letters; but they are more shallow than the decisive chisel-strokes of the inscribed face, and similar in general appearance to the other casual scratches on this side. The photograph on Plate 30 is by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Lines 10-11. I leave Hicks' acute restoration here, because I cannot suggest a better one; but one would expect to find the *βουτύπος*, as an official of the Dipolieia, following the reference to the latter deity, rather than in the preceding clause.

Lines 12-13. Δὶ Πολιεῖ is restored here in preference to Διπολιείοις (Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 137), because the other two similar clause-openings (67 *a* and *b*) suggest the names of deities rather than festivals. For the old dative form Δί, cf. Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 138, and Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

Lines 14-15. The form τρῖς, usually taken as an accusative τρίς, is restored here and *passim* as the nominative form; cf. Boisacq, *Dict. Etym.*², p. 981, *s. v.* τρεῖς.

If this fragment is indeed to be connected with the others, the inclusion of Zeus Polieus in any Eleusinian list of sacrifices seems curious. It can only be suggested that, as members of the Kerykes clan undoubtedly took part in the Dipolieia (*I.G.*, I², 843; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 166; Ferguson, *Studies presented to E. Capps*, 1936, p. 148, note 20), they may have made an offering to Zeus Polieus on that account in the Eleusinion as well. Even if the fragment should prove finally to belong to another contemporary monument, it would still be necessary to reject Hicks' restoration of it as part of the narrow side of a stele, with only 2-3 letters lost in each line:

---]χρ|ιθ[ôν hε|μιhε]κτ|έο[ν, Προ|αρκτ]ουρ|ίοι[ς (?) ...|...]: κα|ὶ τôι [β|ο]τύπ|οι:
χ[συ̂|λ]α : : : Δ|ιπολ[ίοι|σι or -ιεί|οις], τρίς, χ|οίνι[κες | πέντ]ε: μ|[---

Not only is the sense dubious, but the spacing of the letters would be impossible, since we should then have a length of line varying between 4 letters (lines 9 or 10) and 7 (lines 5 or 6, 13 or 14, 15 or 16).

d (Plate 30). Agora I 4721 m. Found 29 April, 1939, in Byzantine fill, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.105 m.; height, 0.245 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.; height of letters, 0.013 m.-0.015 m. Broken at left side, back, and bottom; top and right edges preserved, with part of adjacent face (uninscribed). Width of right margin, 0.01 m. Inscribed face and right side very much worn. The fragment has the appearance of tapering slightly towards the top, but this may be due to the battered state of the top right-hand corner.

? *vacat*
1 ---] ca. 4 ⟶
ca. 5 [--- ⟵
---] ca. 5-6
ca. 6 [---
5 ---] ca. 4-5 τ̣ο-
φ . . ca. 6-7 [---
---] .ἐλαίο

:τετ[---
---] .ν:
10 λει[---
--- μ]ύστ-
ε[ς? ---
---]ν-
ε̣[---
15 ---

The topmost line here is restored as a *vacat* (height 0.016 m.) on the analogy of the similar *vacat* at the top of fragment *f*, lines 11-12. For the restoration μύστε- here, cf. fragments *b* and *n*.

e (Plate 31). Agora I 4721 e. Found 23 April, 1937, in late wall, Section ΘΘ. Maximum width, 0.025 m.; height, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.015 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

---
1 ---]ρο[--- ⟶
---]: ο[--- ⟵
---]αλ[---
---]ελ[---
5 ---]σ[---

FACE B.

f + *g* + *h*. Agora I 5318 *c* + Agora I 4721 f + *I.G.*, I², 838 (lost).

f (Plate 31). Found 19 November, 1938, in modern house, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.095 m.; height, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken at both sides, bottom, and back: top edge preserved, with part of top surface (uninscribed), extending back 0.025 m. Height of margin at top 0.016 m.

g (Plate 31). Found 12 May, 1937, in modern fill, Section ΘΘ. Maximum width, 0.11 m.; height, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

h (Fig. 1). Seen by Ross in Athens (exact spot unknown) before 1835, built into a wall. All subsequent publications are based on Boeckh's transcription of the copy in Ross' notebook, which is given in majuscule type in *I.G.*, I, 532

Fig. 1. Frag. *h*

(Fig. 1). Boeckh, *Hall. Allgemein. Lit. Zeitg.*, 1835, 3-5, p. 18, no. 36 (= *Kleine Schriften*, VI, 1872, xix, p. 431); Franz, *El. Ep. Graec.*, 1840, p. 99; *I.G.*, I, 532; Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik*³, p. 127, note 1137; *I.G.*, I², 838; Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 176, note 3. Maximum width (of combined three), 0.32 m.; height (= of *I.G.*, I², 838, as restored here), 0.185 m.; thickness unknown.

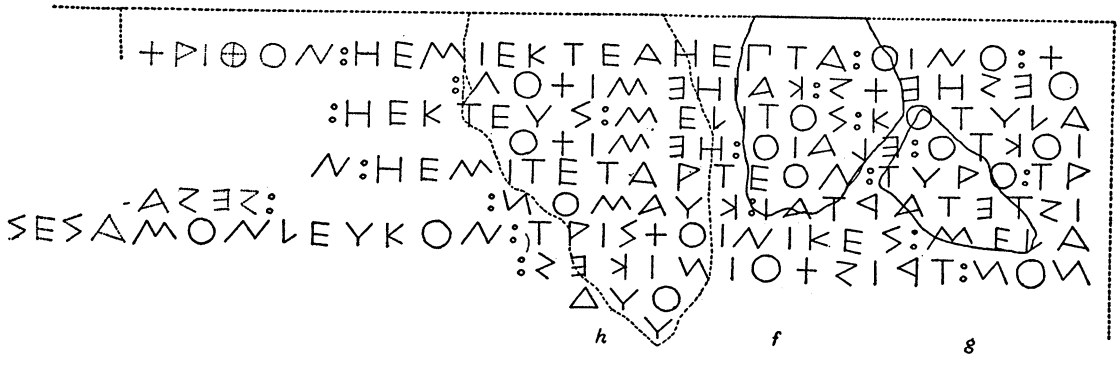


Fig. 2. Frags. *f*, *g*, *h*

vacat

1 χριθῶν?: *hεμ*]*ιεκτέα h*[*ε*]*πτὰ*: *o*[*ἴνο*: χ- ⟶
óες hé]*χς*: *κα*[*ὶ h*]*εμίχον*[: --- ⟵
--- *hεκ*]*τεὺς*: *μέ*[*λ*]*ιτος*: *κο*[*τύλα-*
ι ὀκ]*τὸ*: *ἐλαίο*[:] *hεμίχο*[*ν*? ---
5 --- *ν*: *hεμ*]*ιτεταρ*[*τ*]*έον* [:] *τυρῶ* [*τρ-*
ῖς] *τέτα*[*ρ*]*ται*: [*κ*]*νάμο*[*ν* --- *σεσά-*
μον λευκῶν: *τ*]*ρῖς χο*[*ίνικες*:] *μελ*[*ά-*
νον: *τρῖς χοί*]*νικε*[*ς* ---
--- *δ*]*ύο*[ca. 11-12
10 ca. 11-12]*υ*[---

As Plate 31 shows, the join of Frags. *f* (I 5318 c) and *g* (4721 f) is not certain; the break at the back is not continuous, *g* being the thicker of the two. Nor is there any direct evidence that the top edge of *I.G.*, I², 838 was preserved; it seems reasonably likely, however, from the fact that no traces of any letters were copied by Ross above his first line, although the line is 7 letters long; also, it is described by Kirchhoff in *I.G.*, I, 532 (quoting from Boeckh or Ross) as "Frustulum tabulae marmoreae," and the existence of a top edge might account for

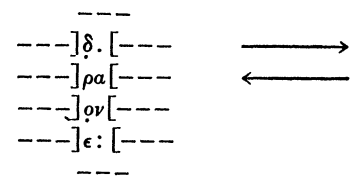
the use of the word "tabula." The hypothesis of the triple join rests mainly on the similarity of the lines as restored to those of *I.G.*, II², 1184, a decree of the fourth century B.C. defining the amounts to be contributed to the priestess for the sacrifices at the Thesmophoria by the two women chosen to be the ἄρχουσαι from the deme Cholargos (lines 3 ff.): Τὰς δὲ ἀρχούσας κοινεῖ ἀμφοτέρας διδόναι τῆς ἱερείας (*sic*) εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἡμιεκτεῖον κριθῶν, ἡμιεκτεῖον πυρῶν, ἡμιεκτέον ἀλφίτων, ἡμιεκτέον ἀλ[ε]ύρων, ἰσχάδων ἡμιεκτέον, χοᾶ οἴνου, ἡμίχουν ἐλαίου, δύο κοτύλας μέλιτος, σησάμων λευκῶν χοίνικα, μελάνων χοίνικα, [μ]ήκωνος χοίνικα, τυροῦ δύο τροφαλίδας μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ στατηρια[ί]αν ἑκατέραν καὶ σκόρδων δύο στατῆρας καὶ δᾶιδ[α] μὴ ἐλάττονος ἢ δυεῖν ὀβολοῖν, καὶ ἀργυρίου ΗΗΗ δραχμάς.

Line 1. If we restore (e.g.) χριθῶν before [*hεμ*]ιεκτέα, this would give a minimum width of 0.54 m. for the whole face; but there may be considerably more missing from the left-hand side (see above, pp. 90 f.). H is restored for the 7th letter instead of Ross' P, on the assumption that the break cut across the letter (Fig. 2). Three and a half ἑκτεῖς (= 28 χοίνικες) is a larger amount than any identifiable on the rest of these fragments; the same applies to the amounts of the other offerings as restored here—6 (or 6½?) χόες of wine, 8 κοτύλαι of honey, 3 τέταρται of cheese, 6 χοίνικες of sesame seeds. They may perhaps represent a sum total of smaller amounts; but whether they are to be connected specifically with the Thesmophoria is uncertain.

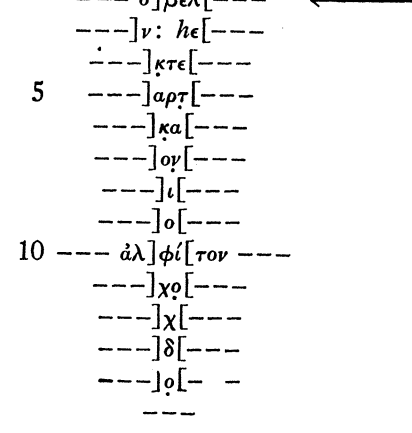
Line 5. The ἡμιτεταρτέον (for accent cf. ἡμιεκτέον) occurs *passim* in the fifth-century *lex sacra* from the deme Paiania (cf. Peek, *loc. cit.*, where the restoration *hεμ*]ιτετάρ[τεον is suggested independently for *I.G.*, I², 838).

Line 6. Cheese is usually specified by weight (cf. Michon, *Mém. Acad. Inscr.*, XIII, 1923, pp. 12 ff.; Kroll, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, X, *s.v.* Käse, 1489 ff., esp. 1494). The Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie, *Greek-English Lexicon*, *s.v.* τετάρτη quotes only a late source (*Pap. Mag. Leyd.*, V, 6, 24) for an example of the word used for a weight.

i (Plate 31) E.M. 101. Provenance unknown; presented to the Epigraphical Museum by C. G. Oikonomopoulos. Maximum width, 0.04 m.; height, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.; height of letters, 0.015 m. Broken on all sides.



j (Plate 31) Agora I 5318 b. Joined from three fragments, found 6 and 11 October, 1938, in modern houses, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.11 m.; height, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.



Line 2. [ὀ]βελ-, if correct, may refer either to a money payment, as in *I.G.*, I², 6, lines 88 and 95, or to the price of one of the requisites, as the torch for the Thesmophoria in *I.G.*, II², 1184, lines 13-14; or it may refer simply to a spit or spits, as in the provisions for the Antheia and Pr(o)erosia, in the Paianian *lex sacra*, Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 174.

k (Plate 31). Agora I 4721 l. Found 20 March, 1939, in Turkish fill, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.12 m.; height, 0.295 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 0.014-0.016 m. (lines

1-13), 0.012-0.014 m. (lines 14-16). Height of *vacat* in centre 0.02 m. Broken on all sides.

– – –
– – –]ν[– – – ←
– – –]ε̣τ[– – – →
– – –]ελ[– – –
– – –]υσ[– – –
– – –]α̣: [– – –
– – –]ν̣π̣[– – –
– – –]: hε̣[– – –
– – – κοτ]υλα[– – –
– – –] ḥεμικ[ότυλα? – – – ←
vacat
– – –]οτολ̣[– – – ←
– – –]ν: π[– – – →
– – –]νο: [– – –
– – –] ἐλα[ίο – – –
– – –]ς̣: το[– – –
– – –]ε: ἐλ̣[– – –
– – –]ο̣ιν̣[– – –
– – –

This is one of the key-fragments, showing as it does how the cutting changes on the same face from the coarser appearance, as on Frags. *f-g*, *i-j*, to the smaller, finer lettering typical of the right-hand adjacent Face C (see above, p. 90).

Line 8. For ḥεμικ[ότυλα], cf. the commentary on *o*, Face B, lines 2-3. Whether the *vacat* is part- or whole-line is uncertain (cf. *s*, where the line below, as here, runs in the same direction as that above). In boustrophedon inscriptions of any considerable length, where the sense requires that there shall be a pause, e. g., between a preamble and a following paragraph, or between two paragraphs, the mason would complete the first sentence, and then begin again in the same direction as the line above, to denote the beginning of a fresh point. For examples of this practice, cf. the Dreros laws, *B.C.H.*, LXI, 1937, pp. 333 ff. and *Rev. Phil.*, XX, 2, 1946, pp. 131 ff.; the Gortyn laws, *Mon. Ant.*, III, 1893, pp. 1 ff.; the Eltynia law, *I.C.*, I, x, pp. 90 ff., no. 2 (unless the top line here is to be interpreted as an omission, rectified by insertion at the top); the sacral law-fragment from Miletos, *Milet*, I, 3, pp. 276 ff., no. 132; the temple-accounts from Ephesos, Hogarth, *Excav. at Ephesus*, pp. 120 ff.

l (Plate 32). Agora I 4390. Found 17 January, 1936, in modern house, Section ΘΘ. Maximum width, 0.10 m.; height, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.; height of letters, 0.012-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

– – –
– – –]ν[– – – →
– – –]ρ̣ε[– – – ←
– – –? χρι]θὸν [– – –
– – –]τε[– – –
– – –]ια: ἀ̣[– – –
– – –]υσ[– – –
– – –]τ̣ιδ[– – –
– – –]ε[– – –
– – –

Line 6. The strokes of the upsilon are curved, as in *m* and *n*. The lettering of this fragment resembles the finer cutting of Face C, but the corrosion of the strokes is similar to that on Face B. It is therefore concluded that it came from the lower part of B, as typified in the last 3 lines of *k*.

m (Plate 32). Agora I 4432. Found 26 January, 1937, in débris of modern house, Section ΘΘ. Maximum width, 0.082 m.; height, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 0.013 m. Broken on all sides.

– – –
– – –]. .[– – – ←
– – –]. . .[– – – →
– – –]. . .[– – –
– – –]εδ[– – –
– – –]δύ[ο – – –
– – – ἀλφ]ίτο[ν – – –
– – –]χ̣ο[– – –
– – –]φ[– – –
– – –

The surface is very battered, but the deep cutting and small size of the letters indicate that it may belong, like *l*, to the lower part of B.

Line 5. The strokes of the upsilon are curved as in *l* and *n*.

n (Plate 32). Agora I 2253. Found 22 December, 1934, in modern house, Section Η. Broken at top, left side, back, and bottom; right edge preserved, with part of adjoining Face C (inscribed). Maximum width, 0.085 m.; height, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.; height of letters of B, 0.015-0.017 m., and of C, 0.012-0.014 m. Width of right margin of B, 0.014 m., and of left margin of C, 0.01 m.

Frag. *n*

B		C
---		---
⟶ --- *hεμ*]*ι̣τ̣*-	1	---
⟵ *ετα*[*ρτέον*? ---		*o*[---
---]*τεο*-		---]*ι*
s: *oἳ*[*νο* ? ---		---
---]*o* : *μύ*-	5	---

Frag. *o*

	B		C
	---		---
⟵	*ε*..*ι*[---	1	---].. ⟵
⟶	--- *hεμι*]*κότυ*-		*εν̣*[--- ⟶
	λα: *h*[*επτά*? ---		---]*s*: *γ*-
	--- *ἀ*]*λφίτ*-		*oρ̣*[---
	ον: [---	5	---]*π̣*.
	---]: *συ*-		---

B, lines 2-3. The form *ἡμικότυλον* is not otherwise attested; later writers give *ἡμικοτύλη* and *ἡμικοτύλιον*. There is no doubt about the reading here, however; hence in *I.G.*, I², 842, a sacral inscription of the first half of the fifth century, the readings of faces A, line 2, and D, line 4 should probably be *τρι*]*hεμικότυλ*[*ον* and *τριhεμικότυλ*[*ον*. The reading of D, line 4 as *τριhεμικοτύλι*- in *I.G.*, I², is incorrect; it should be *τριhεμικότυλ*—, as given in *I.G.*, I suppl., p. 5, and confirmed by an examination of the stone itself in the Britism Museum.

C, line 3. If the last letter is gamma, there may be a reference here to *γοῦρος*, an archaic word for a form of cake flavoured with lentils, which occurs in Solon's verse (Athen., XIV, 645 f.; Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.*, I, p. 38, no. 6).

FACE C.

p (Plate 32). Agora 4721 b + d. b: found 16 April, 1937, in surface fill, Section ΘΘ. d: found 20 April, 1937, in sand fill, Section ΘΘ.

στο[---	---
---]*ο̣τ̣*.-	
..*ν̣*[---	

B, lines 5-6. The reference is undoubtedly to a mystes or mystai, but in what connection it is impossible to say. For the curved upsilon, cf. *l* and *m*.

o (Plate 32). Agora I 5318 *a*. Found 14 March, 1938, in east wall of Hypapanti church, Section Η. Broken at top, left side, back, and bottom; right edge preserved, with part of adjoining Face C (inscribed). Maximum width, 0.104 m.; height, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.; height of letters of B, 0.015 m., and of C, 0.011-0.015 m. Width of right margin of B, 0.015 m., and of left margin of C, 0.01-0.015 m.

C		

---]..	1	⟵
εν̣[---		⟶
---]*s*: *γ*-		
oρ̣[---		
---]*π̣*.	5	

Combined maximum width, 0.08 m.; height, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

---]*ε̣λ*[---	1 ⟵
---]*τ̣ε*[---	⟶
---]: *το* ! [---	
---]*s*: *ε̣λ*[---	
---]*αν*[---	5
---]*γερο̣*[---	
---]*μο*[---	
---]*εανδ*[---	
---]*αλογ̣*[---	
---? *κέρ*]*υκα*[---	10
---]*απ* ---	
---	

q (Plate 32). Agora I 5033. Found 3 November, 1937, in modern house, Section ΑΑ. Maximum width, 0.095 m.; height, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.; height of letters, 0.014 m. Broken on all sides, the break on the left side

being slightly irregular, that on the right almost flat.

---]α̣ς : π[--- ←
---]ιασ[--- →
---]ρε[---
---]ν̣ : : θ[---
---]υ̣γε[---
---]τ̣οσα[---
--- hεμ]ιεκτ̣[έον ? ---
---]ο : χο̣[---
---]οκο[---
---]εκ[---

The height and narrow face of this fragment are typical of those grouped under Face C, and in particular its thickness should be noticed. No joins, however, could be made between either its left side and the backs of the B fragments, or its right side and the backs of the A fragments, nor *vice versa*, although the flat backs of the B fragments resemble the break on the right side. This was perhaps to be expected, since, had there been a join, it would have meant that this fragment came from near the left or right edge of C, whereas, as far as one may judge from the remaining letters, there is a good deal of the line missing on either side, indicating that it came from somewhere nearer the centre of C.

Line 3. The use of ᚠ here, and X in line 8, suggests that the mason varied his letters here as in 67 *c*.

Line 4. The double punctuation here may be an error for the triple.

r (Plate 32). Agora I 4721 k. Found 24 February, 1939, in Turkish fill, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.05 m.; height, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

---]ι̣[--- →
---]σκο[--- ←
---]κ̣ασ[---
---]μν[---
---]ραν̣[---
---]ατ[---
---]ντ[---
---] : hι̣[---
---]ε̣ν[---
---

s (Plate 32). Agora I 4721 *g*. Found 9 February, 1938, in modern fill Section AA. Maximum width, 0.08 m.; height, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Height of *vacat* in centre 0.018-0.02 m. Broken on all sides.

---]hι[--- ←
--- τρ]ῖς χ[οίνικες ? --- →
vacat
--- hε]μιεκτ[έον ? --- →
---]θ̣υς : σ[--- ←
---]εμα[---
---]σ̣πο[---
---]ε[---

For the *vacat*, cf. *j*.

t (Plate 32). Agora I 4721 i. Found 16 April, 1938, in modern fill, Section AA. Maximum width, 0.07 m.; height, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.; height of letters, 0.012 m. Height of *vacat* at bottom 0.07 m. Broken on all sides.

---]οβ[--- →
---]α ἐ.[--- ←
vacat

Presumably from the bottom of one of the faces. As far as can be judged, it resembles most the fragments from C.

u (Plate 32). Agora I 4721 *a*. Found 15 April, 1937, in surface fill, Section ΘΘ. Maximum width, 0.025 m.; height, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 0.014 m. Broken on all sides.

---]α[--- →
---]λο[--- ←
---]φ[---
---]οι[---
---] : : [---
---]σ̣[---

This fragment may belong to any of the three inscribed sides.

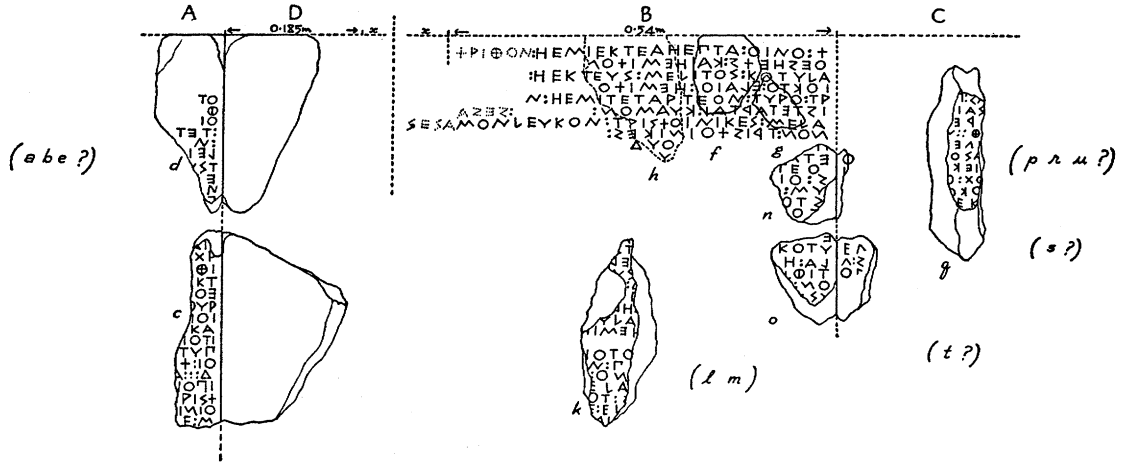


Fig. 3. Block II

The date of these blocks, judged by the letter-forms, falls somewhere at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries. Material for comparison is provided by: (1) an Agora boundary-stone, dated by the pottery in its bedding to *ca.* 510-480,[27] whose letter-forms, including the rho ꟾ and epsilon Ε, compare well with those of our Block I; (2) the archaic stele from Marathon,[28] of which Vanderpool has shown that side A is probably to be connected with the reforms of Kleisthenes; it also has the ꟾ and Ε; Side B, dated shortly after the battle of Marathon, and cut stoichedon, shows already the theta Θ, tailless Ε, and alpha with almost horizontal crossbar; (3) the Eleusis altar, *I.G.*, I², 5, where the form of the preamble suggests a date shortly after the reforms of Kleisthenes, and the lettering resembles that of Block I; (4) the Salamis decree, *I.G.*, I², 1, dated by different authorities as shortly before [29] or shortly [30] after 500, which again resembles Block I; (5) the second epigram for the fallen of Marathon.[31] The first, cut by an unusually gifted mason with a style of his own,[32] cannot be used for comparison, but the second bears a general resemblance to Block II, which itself appears to be slightly later than Block I. On these grounds, a date *ca.* 510-500 is suggested for Block I, and *ca.* 500-480 for Block II. The natural conclusion then would be that they were broken up by the Persians in 480/79.[33]

[27] *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 205 f., fig. 4; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 107 ff., esp. p. 110, where a tentative date is suggested as " last decade of the sixth century."

[28] *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 329 ff., figs. 1-4.

[29] Kirchner, *I.I.A.*, no. 12, pl. 6; H. A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Wade-Gery, *Cl. Qu.*, XL, 1946, pp. 101 ff.

[30] Raubitschek, *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, p. 52.

[31] Kirchner, *op. cit.*, no. 18, pl. 9.

[32] His masterpiece, as is well known, is the Hekatompedon pair, *I.G.*, I², 3-4. Another fragment, unmistakably from his hand, from the Peiraieus area, is published in *Polemon*, III, 1947, pp. 17 ff.

[33] E. Vanderpool points out to me, however, that none of the fragments were actually found in the Agora " Perserschutt," but all in modern walls or fill.

The main epigraphical peculiarity of these inscriptions is that they were cut boustrophedon, at a time when the practice had ceased to be normal in Attica, though not elsewhere.[34] It is true that the impression given by the older textbooks [35] that Attic boustrophedon had ceased entirely by the middle of the sixth century is exaggerated; thus, in some cases, it was still used even in the last quarter of the century to round off an inscription in which the final line was not full length.[36] But the accumulated evidence of two series of monuments—the Acropolis dedications and the grave-monuments of Attica—makes it clear that by *ca.* 530 the practice of writing in consistent left to right was predominating.

How then are we to account for the use of boustrophedon here? The answer seems to lie in the nature of the monuments. They are religious documents, and so may provide an example of religious conservatism such as would not prevail under the same circumstances for secular matters. They deal with the ritual of one of the oldest sanctuaries of the State, and probably replace earlier documents, dealing with the same matters, which were themselves inscribed boustrophedon. It is even possible that our inscriptions—particularly Block I, which has the air of a homogeneous document—may be literal copies, transcribed from earlier texts on wood or poros. But the continual repetition of similar detail on most of the fragments of Block II, and the division into paragraphs and clauses, suggest that it may rather have formed a compilation of various shorter boustrophedon inscriptions dealing with the different sacrifices to be performed in the temenos; that it is, in fact, an early attempt to synthesize various sacrificial instructions into a sort of code, written boustrophedon from religious conservatism because the inscriptions from which it was made up were written in that way.[37] The *lex sacra* from Paiania (second half of the fifth century) offers a later Attic parallel for this kind of synthesis; here too, although the sanctuary from which it came is not known, there is a lack of cohesion among the cults mentioned, which suggests, as Peek points out,[38] an attempt to compress onto

[34] In Crete, as is well known from the famous Gortyn code, it persisted through the fifth and into the beginning of the fourth century, when the Ionic script had already replaced the epichoric; cf. *Annuario*, III, 1916-20, pp. 196 ff., and VIII-IX, 1925-6, pp. 20 ff. In Lakonia also it appears to have lasted into the fifth century (*I.G.*, V, 2 and 721).

[35] Roberts and Gardner, *Introd. to Greek Epigraphy*, II, p. xii; Larfeld, *Handbuch*, II, p. 401.

[36] Cf. *I.G.*, I², 990, where the last line is stoichedon as well as boustrophedon (Raubitschek, *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, pp. 51 f.); also the grave-stele, Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, 1944, pp. 109 ff. There is also the RF sherd by Onesimos, *ca.* 480 B.C., showing a school scene with a papyrus roll written boustrophedon and stoichedon (Beazley, *A.R.F.*, p. 222, no. 55); but in the similar scene by Douris, of the same period, the scroll reads normally L. to R. (Kirchner, *I.I.A.*, no. 21, pl. 11).

[37] A parallel case for such conservatism may be cited in the history of English printing, in which the use of Roman type became general soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, but the old black-letter continued to be used in religious and legal works for some time, retaining its ecclesiastical associations even to the present day.

[38] *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, pp. 180 f. Cf. further M. P. Nilsson, *Eranos*, XLII, 1944, pp. 70 ff.

one stele a series of different instructions, without any editing to form a whole. The same haphazard method suggests itself, as we have seen above (p. 96), for Block II. It is a far cry from such early attempts to the officially edited *συγγραφαί* of 410 and 403 (pp. 106 ff. below); nevertheless, one cannot help being impressed by the amount of matter which the officials of the Eleusinion evidently managed to include in their attempt.

It is an interesting point of comparison that in two other States, Miletos and Thera, similar sacral instructions have been found, of about the same date, and both are also written boustrophedon. The Miletos calendar, dated not long before the destruction of 494, was originally inscribed on the wall of a building in the temenos of Apollo Delphinios, in lines which are over 1.855 m. long.[39] The boustrophedon in this case had a practical advantage, since the amount of walking in store for the conscientious reader was thereby reduced by half; but this advantage was probably only coincidental, since we know from the other monuments, both laws and dedications, found at the same site,[40] that the use of boustrophedon here also lasted to a late period, at least for religious matters. Similarly the fragmentary example from Thera,[41] inscribed boustrophedon on an 18-fluted column whose present height is 1.54 m., can hardly antedate the late sixth century, since it is written in a form of Ionic lettering, not in the epichoric.

For any detailed commentary on the subject-matter, I regret that I have little to offer beyond what has been already noted in the line-commentary.[42] No preamble or heading of any kind has survived, but the measures of food specified are all in the nominative,[43] which suggests that they may have been preceded by a short heading, *e.g.*, *τάδε θύεται ἐν τοῖ Ἐλευσινίοι.*[44] The sacrifices seem to have been listed simply by the names of the deities, as far as can be seen from 67 *a*, *b*, and *c*, divided from each

[39] *Milet*, I, 3, nos. 31 a-c, pp. 162 ff., 401 ff.; Rehm, *Handbuch d. Archaeologie*, I, 1939, pp. 217 ff., pl. 28, 1; for an illustration of a complete block, cf. Kern, *Inscr. Graec.*, 1913, no. 8.

[40] Altar to Hekate (stoichedon-boustrophedon), *Milet*, I, 3, pp. 153 f. and 275 ff., no. 129 (Shoe, *Profiles*, 1936, pp. 18 and 51); Herakles stele, *op. cit.*, pp. 276 f., no. 132; part of an oracle, also written on the wall, *op. cit.*, pp. 397 ff., no. 178.

[41] *I.G.*, XII, 3, 450 and suppl. p. 30 (*I.G.*, XII, suppl., 1939, p. 87); cf. also Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Thera*, I, p. 147; Prott-Ziehen, *L.G.S.*, I, no. 19, p. 41. Similar columns inscribed boustrophedon have been found at Naxos (*I.G.*, XII, 5, 40), and Paros (*I.G.*, XII, 5, 105), evidently of earlier date, but too fragmentary for interpretation. Cf. also the column-drum from Mantineia, *I.G.*, V, 2, 261.

[42] For the ritual offerings in the Eleusinian cult generally, cf. Pringsheim, *Arch. Beitr. z. Geschichte d. eleusin. Kults*, 1905, pp. 101 ff.; Ziehen, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XVIII, *s. v.* Opfer, 583 (*κερνοφορία*); Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalt.*[2], 1898, pp. 160 ff., and *Opferbräuche*, 1910, pp. 108, 111; Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 40 ff.

[43] As in the Miletos inscription, where they are the subjects of the verb *δίδοται*, and in the Paiania inscription, where the heading is lost.

[44] Cf. the headings of *I.G.*, II[2], 1358 and the great recodification of 403 B.C. (pp. 106 f. below).

other by a triple punctuation-sign.[45] The only (and doubtful) indication of price is the [ὸ]βελ- of 67 *j*. None of the fragments shows any mention of months or days, though this system of division had been adopted in the Miletos calendar, and probably also in the earlier sixth-century sacral fragment from Corinth.[46] Block I is certainly to be connected with the Mysteries; in Block II, the only surviving consecutive list of offerings, as restored, resembles the contributions for the Thesmophoria by one deme as recorded in *I.G.*, II², 1184. It should be noted also that similar materials—oil, cheese, and barley-meal— occur on a fragmentary sacrificial inscription of the first century A.D. found in the sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia near Sparta,[47] which is thought to be a copy of an earlier document. The name of the festival concerned has not survived, but an apparent reference to the ceremony of μύησις in line 9 (---σα μυει---) suggests the local Mysteries.

As a whole, the quantities mentioned in the fragments of Block II are fairly modest,[48] as might perhaps be expected for a list of recipients who were subsidiary divinities in the Eleusinian cult, or, in some cases, owned sanctuaries themselves elsewhere. The deities and heroes connected with the Eleusinian cult were undoubtedly numerous. Immarados and Daeiros, the sons of Eumolpos, were buried in the Eleusinion.[49] The great recodification of 403 mentions offerings to be made at the Eleusinia to the five legendary princes of Eleusis, as well as to Demeter and Kore.[50] At the Haloa, the vintage-festival, sacrifices were also made to "the other gods to whom tradition decreed it."[51]

As far as the offerings are identifiable, it is significant that they are all fruits of the earth—barley-corn and -meal,[52] beans, sesame (?), oil, wine, cheese and honey. They were perhaps to be made up into compounds (as the προκώνια[53] or πελανός[54])

[45] In the Miletos inscription, the sign : · : is used for the divisions between both months and deities. The same method of indicating clause-division by trebling the punctuation sign used for phrase-division is adopted by the Hekatompedon stonemason in *I.G.*, I², 3-4.

[46] *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 69 ff.

[47] *I.G.*, V, 1, 1511; for a detailed account, see *B.S.A.*, XVI, 1909-10, pp. 12 ff. and 58 ff., no. 6.

[48] Cf. Hicks, *B. M. Inscr.*, I, p. 137.

[49] Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, p. 13.

[50] *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 26 f. Cf. p. 107 below, note 75.

[51] *I.G.*, II², 949, lines 7-8 and 1299, lines 9-10: τῇ τε Δήμητρι καὶ τῇι Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν. Cf. further O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 274, for cults in the Eleusinion.

[52] Wheat is not mentioned in the existing fragments, but it figures with barley so consistently in later offerings in the Eleusinian cult that it must have been included here on the lost parts of the inscriptions; as the scarcer cereal (cf. Jasny, *The Wheats of Classical Antiquity*, 1944, p. 14), it was probably offered here with barley at the ratio of 1:2; cf. *I.G.*, I², 76, lines 5-7 (½-hekteus of wheat to one of barley); *I.G.*, IV², 1, 40-41, (½-medimnos of wheat to one of barley); Herzog, *Heil. Gesetze*, p. 11, no. 3, lines 11-12 (¾-medimnos of wheat to 1½ medimnoi of barley); Tod, *G.H.I.*², p. 182.

[53] *I.G.*, II², 1672, line 280.

[54] Prott-Ziehen, *L.G.S.*, II, pp. 25 f.; Ziehen, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XVIII, *s.v.* Opfer, 584; Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 56.

of the type described by Plato[55] as *πελανοί . . . καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδευμένοι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἁγνὰ θύματα.*

The chain of evidence on which hang all these conclusions concerning Block II is undeniably scanty, and may well have been stretched too far; but, for what it is worth, it gives us a picture of a block or altar, inscribed with a long series of detailed offerings to be made to various deities, not only those connected definitely with the Eleusinian cult, but also those in whose cult (*e. g.*, that of Zeus Polieus) the clan of the Kerykes had to assist.[56] Block I appears to have been concerned principally with the Mysteries. The *ἱέρεια*, the *φαιδυντής*, and the *βουτύπος* are mentioned (66, 67 *a* and *c*), possibly in connection with the perquisites which they were to receive.

It has already been said that these inscriptions, dating from the turn of the sixth and the early fifth century, stand midway in time between the ancestral religious laws attributed to Solon and the great recodification by Nikomachos at the end of the fifth century. It is now time to examine this statement more closely.

Much new light has been thrown on the subject of Attic *leges sacrae* by the identification of fragments of Nikomachos' code and its immediate predecessor among the inscriptions from the Agora,[57] and their combination with certain similar fragments in *I.G.*, I², and II², until then unidentified. The studies in this field of J. H. Oliver,[58] W. S. Ferguson,[59] and S. Dow [60] have illuminated the literary evidence preserved in the speeches of Lysias XXX (*Κατὰ Νικομάχου*) and Andokides I (*Περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων*), so that it is now possible to trace the history of Athenian sacred laws backwards from 399 B.C. to the period before the Persian sack of the city. The results may be thus set forth:

403-399 B.C. NIKOMACHOS' RECODIFICATION.[61]

Existing fragments of religious code: *I.G.*, I², 845, II², 1357 *a* and *b*; Agora I 727 (reverse),[62] I 687 + 1026 *a* and *b* (reverse),[63] I 4310,[64] "fragment E," [65] I 251 (reverse).[66]

[55] *Nomoi*, VI, 782 c.

[56] Cf. Toepffer, *Att. Geneal.*, p. 86; Roussel, *Mél. Bidez*, II, p. 823; Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 23.

[57] Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 46, no. 34; Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 5 ff.; Dow, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 30 ff.

[58] *Loc. cit.*

[59] *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps*, 1936, pp. 144 ff.

[60] *Loc. cit.*

[61] The date when the transcription was finished is not clear from Lysias XXX. In 4, he says that Nikomachos was occupied on it for four years (i. e., 403-399); in 21-2, that in two years (i. e., 401-399) the State had already spent 12 extra talents on additional sacrifices, which suggests that, for practical purposes, the code was already finished in 401 (cf. Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, p. 144).

[62] Oliver, *loc. cit.*, no. 2.

[63] Dow, *loc. cit.*, C (reverse).

[64] Dow, *loc. cit.*, F.

[65] Dow, *loc. cit.*, E (no Agora number).

[66] Meritt, *loc. cit.*, no. 34.

This code was written in post-Euclidean Ionic script on the reverse of a set of stelai which, clamped together to form a wall or walls [67] of varying thickness, were first erected in the Royal Stoa in 410-404, by the nomothetai elected by the people after the fall of the Council of Four Hundred. This post-Euclidean calendar on its back, the work of the *ἀναγραφεύς* Nikomachos, was arranged under the headings: (*a*) annual sacrifices (*τάδε ὅσα ἔτη θύεται*), (*b*) trieteric (*τάδε τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος θύεται*), and possibly (*c*) penteteric; [68] within these headings, the individual sacrifices were listed in order under the days of each month in sequence, without (so far as the extant fragments show) the name of the festival itself being given.[69] It was for his work on this code that Nikomachos was brought to trial.

410-404 B.C. *Αἱ θυσίαι αἱ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν κατὰ τὰς συγγραφάς.*

EXISTING FRAGMENTS OF RELIGIOUS CODE: *I.G.*, I², 843, 844; Agora, I 251 (obverse), I 687 + 1026 *a* and *b* (obverse), I 591,[70] I 945,[71] I 590.[72]

This code was written in pre-Euclidean Attic script on the obverse of the stelai when they were first erected. Professor Ferguson has shown [73] that in arrangement this calendar followed on after the political code, and also that, in all probability, whereas the political code was completed (since the religious code followed it) and remained valid when the work was begun again in 403 (the decree of Teisamenos which ordered this resumption specifying that the new nomothetai should concern themselves with additions only [74] to the existing code, which was itself still regarded officially as the work of Drakon and Solon, as we know by the wording both of the decree and of *I.G.*, I², 115), the whole religious calendar was drafted afresh by Nikomachos and his colleagues, since the existing obverse deals with the annual sacrifice of the Dipolieia offered in the last month of the year, Skirophorion (*I.G.*, I², 843), and the existing reverse (Agora I 727) with part of the final column of the annual sacrifices, in which the month Skirophorion must have brought up the rear on the lost lower part.[75] Hence the later calendar cannot merely have completed the earlier, but must have repeated it.

[67] Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 144 and 148, note 19; Dow, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

[68] Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, p. 151.

[69] E. g., for the Synoikia, 16 Hekatombaion, the entry simply records the requisite sacrifices to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria on that day (Oliver, *loc. cit.*, p. 26).

[70] Dow, *loc. cit.*, A.

[71] Dow, *loc. cit.*, B.

[72] Dow, *loc. cit.*, D.

[73] *Loc. cit.*, p. 148.

[74] *Ὁπόσων ἂν προσδέῃ*, Andok., I, 81; Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 144 f.

[75] Ferguson (*loc. cit.*, p. 155, note 52) and Koerte (*Glotta*, XXV, 1936, pp. 136 ff.) have further identified the sacrifices in col. III of this reverse fragment as belonging to the Eleusinia in Metageitnion; hence the lost lower part of col. II contained the end of Hekatombaion and the beginning of Metageitnion. The last surviving month in col. I has 7 letters lost (according to the spacing employed for the heading ΕΚΑΤΟΜΒΑΙΩΝΟΣ in col. II), i. e., ...*ῶνος*, which would

Professor Ferguson suggested that the reason for this abandonment of the earlier calendar and complete redrafting may have been because the arrangement of the sacrifices was perhaps by cults, in a way which Nikomachos considered to be unpractical, and also because it was, in any case, unfinished.[76] Since his article appeared, the publication of the new fragments (Dow, *loc. cit.*) has shown that the arrangement can hardly have been by cults, since in one column[77] the sacrifices for Kourotrophos, Leto, and Athena follow immediately under each other, indicating the various sacrifices of one day. Moreover on the stelai *I.G.*, I², 840 and 842, both before 450, the sacrifices are listed under the months. If they were thus listed on the stelai from which presumably the nomothetai compiled their *συγγραφαί*, it does not seem probable that they would have rejected this obvious arrangement and embarked on the laborious and unpractical business of re-sorting all the material under cult-headings. In this case, the mention of the Skirophorion sacrifices (*I.G.*, I², 843) would mean that the annual sacrifices, at least, were completed.[78] It may be further suggested that the whole of the earlier code was, in fact, completed, for practical purposes, and that Nikomachos on his appointment was intended merely to make any further additions required, as for the political code; instead of which, he redrafted the whole thing under annual, trieteric (and penteteric?) headings, and proceeded to alter the existing text. Hence, at his trial in 399, the accuser attacked him[79] for arrogating to himself the rights of a *νομοθέτης* instead of a mere *ἀναγραφεύς*, and tampering with the traditional sacred laws of the *κύρβεις* and *στῆλαι*, by erasing certain sacrifices and adding others, thus at the same time both insulting the authority of the traditional laws, and involving the already impoverished State in additional expense. Nikomachos then counter-accused the accuser of impiety, for daring to suggest that these additional sacrifices were unnecessary and should be abolished. The accuser retorted that all he was requiring was that Nikomachos should conform to the code already published (*τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ κειμένοις*) as stated in a decree previously passed by the people to the effect that the sacrifices made by the State should be "those stated on the kurbeis and stelai, according to the compilation" (*θύειν τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν κατὰ τὰς συγγραφάς*). Since one of the 410-404 code fragments[80] actually mentions these *συγγραφαί*, in what is apparently either a heading or a post-

exclude Skirophorion. If part of the preceding month, and all Skirophorion, were thus contained in the lost part of col. I (and also possibly a subsequent *vacat*, to allow the trieteric sacrifices to begin at the top of col. II), it seems probable that the sacrifices listed in col. I are to be assigned to the latter part of Mounichion, and the first part of Thargelion, which would fit the 7 letters required in the heading.

[76] *Loc. cit.*, p. 147, note 16, and 150.

[77] Dow, *loc. cit.*, frag. B (Agora I 945).

[78] The earlier code seems to have been drawn up, like the later, in narrow columns with the prices added on the left side of each column; Agora I 251 (obverse), I 945, and *I.G.*, I², 843, col. II.

[79] Lysias, XXX, 17-25.

[80] *I.G.*, I², 844, line 4.

script to the calendar itself, we may conclude that it is to this code that the accuser was referring. The board appointed in 410 drew up a compilation from earlier sacrificial lists, which was approved by the people as being in essence a genuine reproduction of the time-revered laws of the kurbeis and stelai, and was duly inscribed on the wall of stelai erected for the occasion. To the accuser, plainly, it seemed a waste of time, as well as an act of impious arrogance, that Nikomachos should openly condemn this recent and approved compilation as ineffective, by proceeding to draw up the whole calendar afresh under a new system of headings, with such additions and omissions as he himself thought fit.

ca. 479(?)-410 B.C. Αἱ *θυσίαι αἱ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν.*

EXISTING FRAGMENTS OF RELIGIOUS CODES IN ATHENS: *I.G.*, I², 840, 842.

Professor Oliver has shown [81] that in this formula the sacrifices *ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων* are those of antiquity, traditionally ascribed to Solon, while those *ἐκ τῶν στηλῶν* are the later additions or changes, erected on marble stelai like any other decrees, which the Athenians had to admit to be definitely post-Solonic. The statement of the accuser illustrates this well: "I am surprised," he says, "that he [Nikomachos] does not realize that, when he alleges that I am committing an impiety in saying that we ought to perform the sacrifices as stated on the kurbeis and stelai according to the compilation, he is in the same breath accusing the State; for that is what you yourselves decreed. And then, [Nikomachos], if you really think that this act is so dreadful, presumably you think that the people in the old days committed a tremendous crime because they used to perform only the sacrifices as stated on the kurbeis . . . but you must admit that our ancestors, who sacrificed only according to the kurbeis, bequeathed to their descendants a city which was the largest and most prosperous of all in Greece." [82]

In other words, this is the interim period between the good old days of the sacrifices *ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων*, and the official, State-sponsored *συγγραφαί* ordained in 410. The additions on the stelai were increasing rapidly in all the sanctuaries, and doubtless many of them embodied attempts at compilation made by the officials of the sanctuary concerned, as in the case of the deme of Paiania.

The good old days. Αἱ *θυσίαι αἱ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων.*

EXISTING FRAGMENTS OF RELIGIOUS CODES IN ATHENS: *I.G.*, I², 838, 839; Agora I 2253, 2470 *a-c*, 4390, 4432, 4721 *a-m*, 4724, 5033, 5318 *a-c*; E.M. 101.

The fragments listed above may be dated on epigraphical grounds, as we have seen, to the years *ca.* 510-480 B.C. Had Lysias and his contemporaries seen them,

[81] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.

[82] Lysias XXX, 17-8.

one feels that they would certainly have hailed them as relics of Solonic monuments, even as fragments of the famous kurbeis themselves. How far would they have been justified in this? Can we say that they are, in fact, actual copies of any laws of Solon, or that they constitute kurbeis in any of the disputed meanings of the word?

Although the use of boustrophedon suggests that these monuments are either adaptations or even actual copies of older laws, there are no grounds for connecting them in any way with Solon. Plutarch in his *Life of Solon* refers to his laws in the sixteenth axon fixing the prices of ἱερεῖα,[83] which presumably Plutarch himself quoted from one of the current Treatises on the Axones;[84] and he also mentions certain parts of Solon's code "in which the ἱερά and θυσίαι are contained."[85] From other references also, it is clear that the body of laws attributed to Solon did contain references to various religious matters.[86] From this, two different conclusions may be drawn: (*a*) that early in the sixth century Solon had already worked out a comprehensive code or calendar of festivals on the same lines as the later calendars, giving the names of festivals, their dates, the nature of the offerings and their prices;[87] this may have been all contained in the sixteenth axon, or have extended over more; (*b*) that the sixteenth axon specified the prices of things according to his new currency regulations, including prices of offerings with the rest, but may not otherwise have dealt specifically with *leges sacrae*; and that the other references to religious festivals and offerings are taken from different axones (whose context may or may not have directly concerned these matters), and, in the aggregate of quotations, bestow the appearance of a comprehensive religious code upon what was in reality a much more primitive and incomplete affair.[88] But whatever may be the truth concerning the extent of his religious laws, it seems inherently improbable that inscriptions of so detailed a nature as those on our fragments would ever have been drafted by a law-giver whose code had to cover as wide a field as that of Solon. Numerous as were his axones, they would have had to be of incredible size to include such repetitive details as Block II exhibits in dealing with only one sanctuary besides the many others.

[83] *Solon*, 23: Ἃς γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ τῶν ἀξόνων ὁρίζει τιμὰς τῶν ἐκκρίτων ἱερείων, εἰκὸς μὲν εἶναι πολλαπλασίας, ἄλλως δὲ κἀκεῖναι πρὸς τὰ νῦν εὐτελεῖς εἰσίν.

[84] For a list of these, cf. Sondhaus, *De Solonis Legibus*, 1909, pp. 6 f.

[85] *Solon*, 25: Ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἰδίως ἐν οἷς ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίαι περιέχονται κύρβεις, ἄξονας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὠνομάσθαι.

[86] Cf. Pollux, I, 29; Photius, *s. v.* ὀργεῶνες (Sondhaus, *op. cit.*, p. 77); Jacoby, *Cl. Qu.*, XXXVIII, 1944, pp. 65 ff.

[87] For this view, cf. Prott-Ziehen, *L.G.S.*, I, p. 1; Sondhaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 f.; Jacoby, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 and 72.

[88] Cf. Linforth, *Solon the Liberator*, 1919, pp. 278 ff. and 296, on the difficulty of assessing the true Solonic matter amidst the mass of material attributed to him by the later writers.

To answer the second point satisfactorily, everything would turn on the true meaning of the word kurbis, whose etymology has never been satisfactorily explained.[89] Two opposing theories have been advanced: (1) that the word had originally the concrete meaning of a material object on which laws were written[90] (as *ἄξων*, *στήλη*, our English "charter"), which was undoubtedly the belief of the later Greek writers;[91] and (2) that, whatever its origin, the word had already in the fifth century a purely abstract meaning, the ancient Law of the land; it might sometimes be used to designate the material objects on which the laws were written, but no evidence exists that the word itself ever meant anything but an abstraction, and all the later writers' attempts to describe a material object are the results of confusion with actual objects such as the axones.[92]

It cannot be claimed that the Agora fragments offer any help in solving the problem of the actual meaning of the word. The boustrophedon predecessors from which they were taken might have answered it, but even this is doubtful. Whatever may be the true nature—block, stele or altar—of the monuments on which they are written, to identify them as material kurbeis without more evidence would be as unjustifiable as to identify the fragmentary stelai of the 410-404 compilation as material kurbeis because they do in fact record, as well as all the innovations, the core of the old *ἱερὰ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων*. It is these last, the plain "sacrifices as specified by the kurbeis" before the addenda and corrigenda of the later stelai and *συγγραφαί*, that our inscriptions may fairly be claimed to represent.

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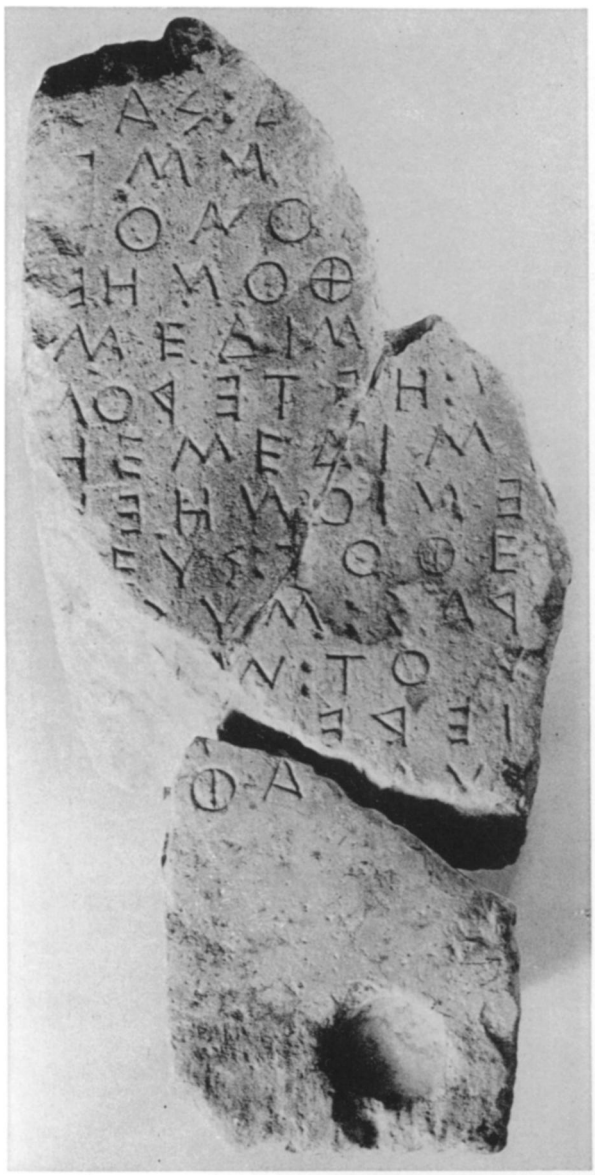
[89] Cf. Boisacq, *Dict. Etym.*,[2] *s. v.* *καρπός* II, p. 416; Swoboda, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XII, *s. v.* *κύρβεις*, 134 ff.

[90] This, the old established view, has been upheld in recent years by M. Guarducci, *Rend. Acc. Pont.*, VII, 1931, pp. 101 ff.; and Holland, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 346 ff.

[91] For a chronological list of their various attempts to describe the kurbeis, see Holland, *loc. cit.*, pp. 360 ff.

[92] Oliver, *loc. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.; Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 67.



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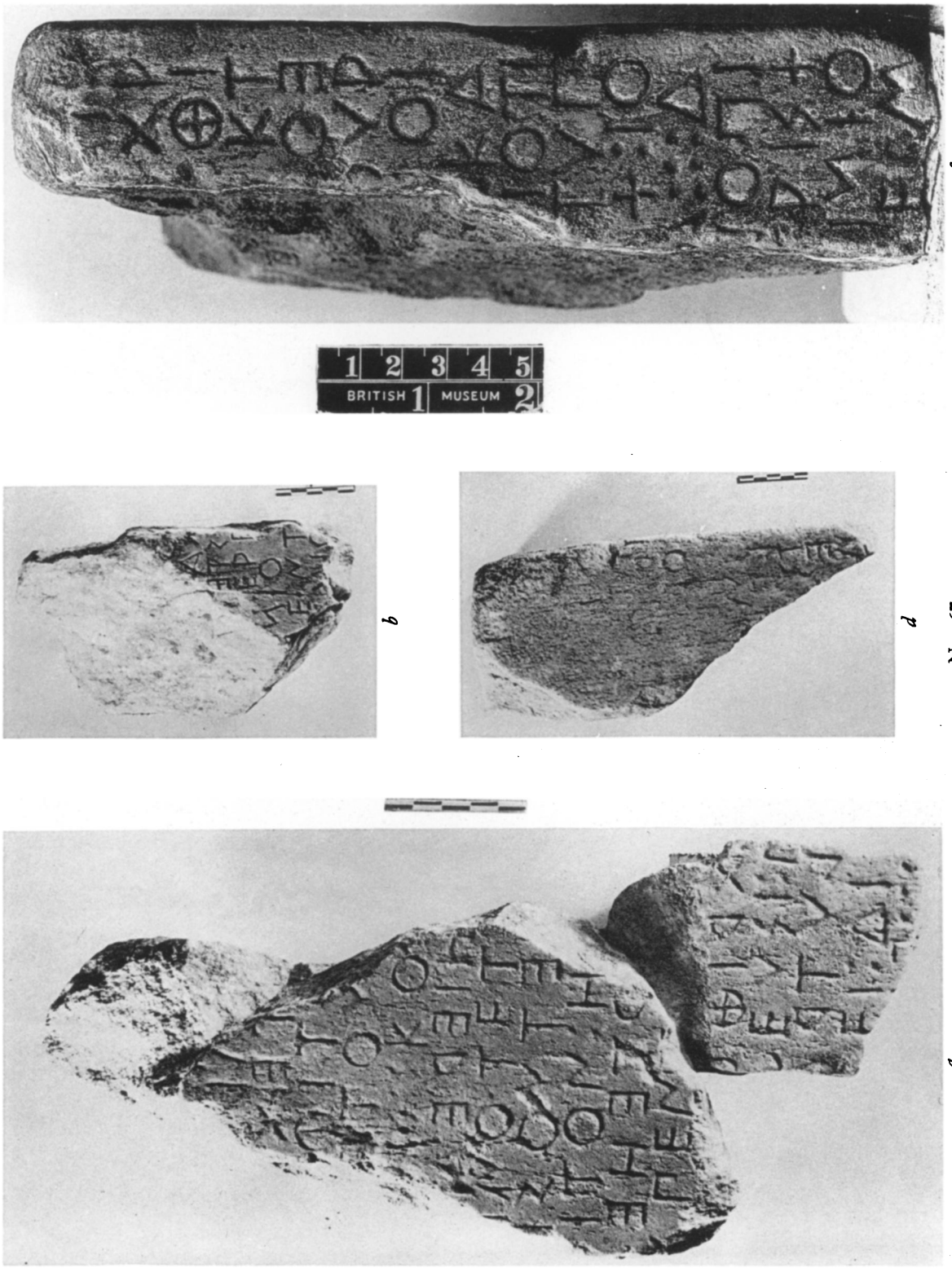
No. 66

L. H. Jeffery: Boustrophedon Inscriptions from the Agora



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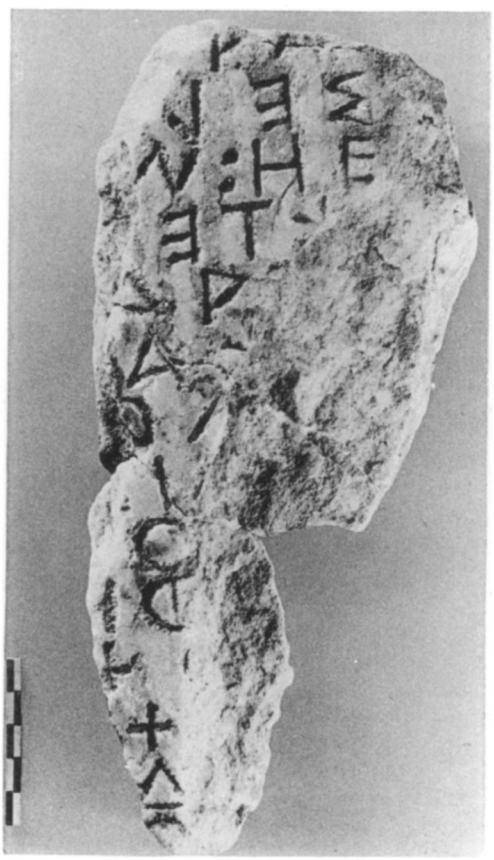

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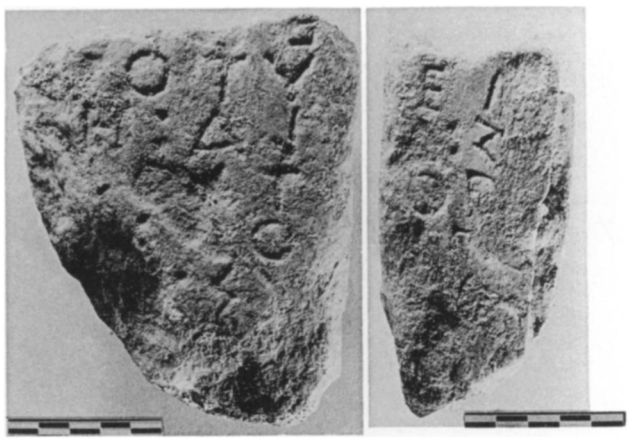

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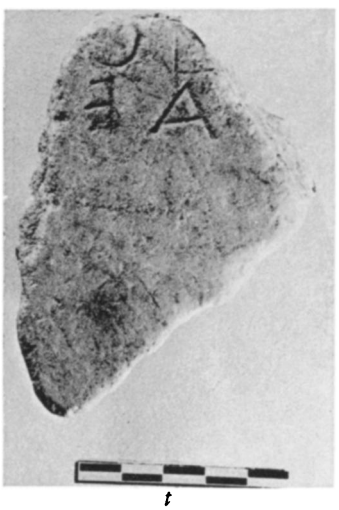

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