

AN EARLY ATHENIAN DECREE CONCERNING TRIBUTE ¹

In 1938 Gorham P. Stevens discovered a new fragment of a fifth-century Attic inscription in the south jamb of the east doorway of the Parthenon. This piece belongs with three others most recently published as D7 by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor in the first volume of *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, and preliminary notice of it was given in the foreword of that volume (p. xi). A photograph and a statement about the place of discovery have now been made public by Stevens in *Hesperia*, Suppl. III, p. 78.

The stone is 0.82 m. high, 0.20 m. wide, and 0.148 m. thick. The thickness is the only original dimension fully preserved, and it corresponds exactly with the fully preserved original thickness of D7, frag. 3.² A photograph is here presented in Fig. 1, showing the stone as it was used in the jamb of the door. The length of the block, as seen in the photograph, extends left to right from south to north. The north end, completely visible, is the original top of the stele and the lower band along the side, also completely visible, is the original left edge. When the photograph was taken in 1936 it was not known that the original obverse surface, face down in the photograph, was inscribed.

It is clearly for its use here in the Parthenon that the block was cut to its present form and dimensions. Its right side and lower end were very roughly chiseled, and in the rear half of the left side was cut a rabbet 0.015 m. deep and 0.083 m. wide. This was cut with some precision, though the finish is distinctly inferior to the band of original surface (0.065 m. wide) left intact.

It may be seen in the photograph that this band continues the lines of the low wall-base, which projects 0.015 m. from the face of the orthostates, while the newly cut surface (the rabbet) is aligned with the face of the orthostate itself. The otherwise rough lower end of the block (the left, or south, end as seen in Fig. 1) has a

¹ It was the original plan of the authors to study together the problems of this inscription until they had reached agreement on all significant points. This collaboration was rendered impossible by the outbreak of war, so rather than wait longer to publish this important text, Meritt has decided that it should be set in type without waiting for further advices from Hill, with whom he is not now able to correspond. Both authors have had the inestimable advantage of discussion with Wade-Gery and McGregor, and indeed it was Wade-Gery who first observed the correct position of D7, fragment 2, in the new textual arrangement. Such inaccuracies of restoration as exist should not, however, be attributed to our collaborators, and Meritt wishes here to say specifically that the troublesome later lines have not had the benefit of Hill's full criticism. He publishes the entire text because he is convinced that the fragments should all be published together, and because he hopes that early publication may lead to early improvement.

² See Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, p. 47.

narrow anathyrosis where it was in contact with the wall-base and the lowest eight centimeters of the orthostate. The contact surface on the base and orthostate has been broken away.

The north side of this Parthenon doorway is less well preserved, but enough remains to show that repairs were effected there in just the same manner as on the south, with a block like the one here under discussion in width and thickness, though



Fig. 1. The New Fragment As It was Used in the South Jamb of the East Door of the Parthenon

only 0.755 m. long (see Fig. 2). It is quite probable that this block (now lost) came from the lower left side of the same stele; that its southern end (the left, as seen in Fig. 2) was the original bottom; and that a rabbet 0.083 m. wide and 0.015 m. deep was cut in the rear half of the original left lateral face.

These observations lead to some speculation about the total height of the inscription, for if they are correct the total height cannot have been less than 1.575 m. (0.82 m. + 0.755 m.). With some allowance for cutting one might estimate a minimum of 1.60 m. This is sufficient for at least 81 lines, more probably for 82 or 83. It must be noted, however, that the lower portion of the British Museum fragment (D7, frag. 3) is uninscribed. We do not know whether the original base of this

fragment is preserved,³ but in any case we may assign to this piece a position so high in the stone that only four lines intervene between the last letters of D7, frag. 2 and the first line of D7, frag. 3. These stones cannot be moved closer together. Inasmuch as D7, frag 2 is tied to the new piece from the Akropolis by its restorations, an absolute minimum of 71 lines is determined for the inscription.

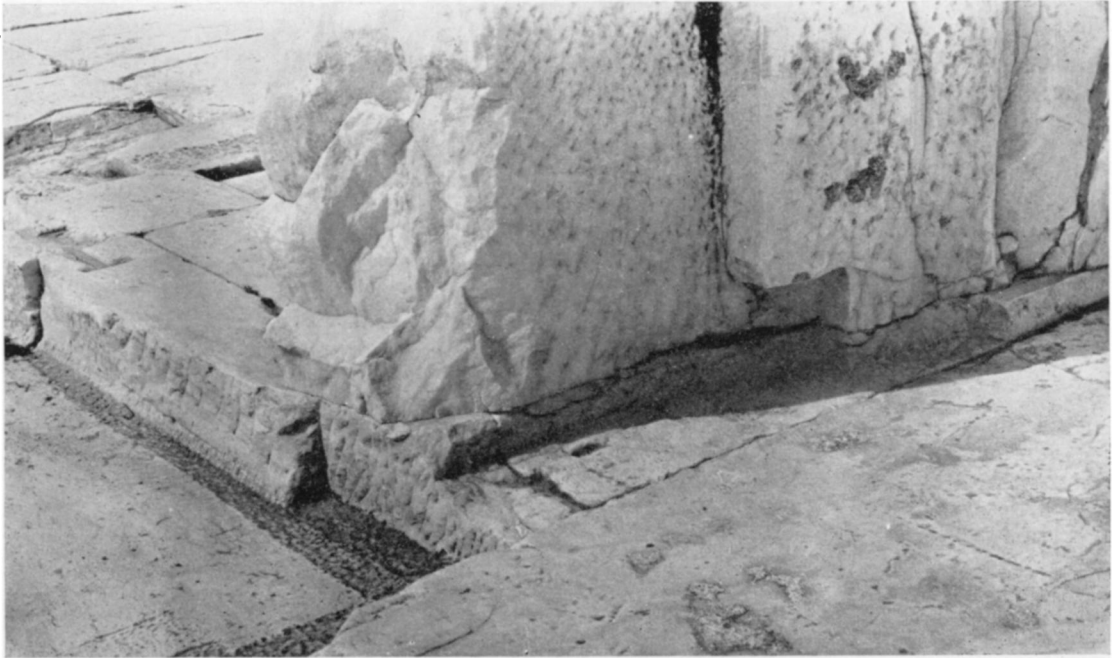


Fig. 2. The Front Wall of the Parthenon at the Foot of the North Jamb of the East Doorway

If one adds to these 71 lines an additional five lines to represent the bottom part of the British Museum fragment⁴ which is still visibly uninscribed, a minimum theoretical height in lines for the original stele may be determined as 76. This figure comes so near to the height in lines of 82 or 83 which was suggested by adding the lost fragment from the north jamb of the Parthenon door to the preserved fragment from the south jamb, that we believe that disposition substantially correct.⁵ Trans-

³ E. L. Hicks, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, I, p. 16, says that it was; but cf. Meritt, *D.A.T.*, p. 47. Since Hicks was mistaken about the left edge of the fragment it would be desirable for someone to make a new examination of the bottom.

⁴ To all appearances the addition should be $70 + 6 = 76$, for no part of the last line of the inscription appears on the British Museum fragment.

⁵ The bottom of the British Museum fragment is set in a socle, to what depth we do not know. The height here suggested for the original stele implies either additional uninscribed surface at the bottom of the British Museum fragment or a wider spacing between D7, fragments 2 and 3, or perhaps a combination of both.

lated into terms of textual reconstruction this means that we assume a lacuna of about ten lines between the upper and the lower halves of the inscription.

A photograph of the new stone in its relation to D7, frag. 1, is shown here in Fig. 3.⁶ Photographs of the three fragments of D7 may be found in *A.T.L.*, pages 121-122, and in Meritt, *D.A.T.*, pages 44, 46, and 48. It is at once apparent that the square uninscribed space in the upper right corner of the stele⁷ was not balanced by a similar uninscribed space in the upper left corner. This was assumed by Meritt in his first publication of D7, frag. 1. The consequence is that restorations must now be proposed after the invocation in line 1 which give 23 letters per line in lines 2-14 and 40 letters per line in lines 15 ff. The new text of the inscription is published here:

A.T.L., I, D7

448/7 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 23 and 40

Θ ε ο ί

- ἔδοχσεν τῇ βολ[ῇ καὶ τῷ] δέ
 μοι, Οἰνεῖς ἐπρῶ[τάνευε, Σπ]ου
 δίας ἐγραμμάτε[νε, . . .⁶ . . .]ον
 5 ἐπεστάτε, Κλενί[ας εἶπε· τὲ]μ β
 ολὲν καὶ τὸς ἄρχ[οντας ἐν] τῆσ
 ι πόλεσι καὶ τὸς [ἐπισκό]πος ἐ
 πιμέλεσθαι λόπ[ος ἂν χσ]υλλέ
 γεται ἡ φόρος κ[ατὰ τὸ ἔ]τος ἡ
 10 ἑκάστον καὶ ἀπά[γεται] Ἀθῆνα
 ζε· χσύμβολα δὲ π[οιέσα]σθαι π
 ρὸς τὰς πόλεις λό[πος ἂ]μ μὲ ἔχσ
 ῇ ἀδικῆν τοῖς ἀ[πάγο]σι τὸμ φ
 ὀρον· γράφσασα δ[ὲ] ἡε] πόλις ἐς
 15 γραμματεῖον τὸ[μ φό]ρον ἰόντιν' ἂν ἀποπέμπει σεμε
 ναμένε τῷ συμβ[όλο]ι ἀποπεμπέτο Ἀθῆναζε· τὸς δὲ ἀ
 πάγοντας ἀποδο[να]ι τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐν τῇ βολῇ ἀ
 ναγνῶναι ἡόταμ[πε]ρ τὸμ φόρον ἀποδιδοῖσι· ἡοι δὲ πρ
 υτάνες μετὰ Διο[νύ]σια ἐκκλησίαν ποιεσάντων τοῖ
 20 ς ἡελλενοταμία[σι ἀ]ποδείχσαι Ἀθηναίοις τὸμ πόλ
 εον τὰς ἀποδόσα[ς τὸμ φόρον ἐ]ντελῇ καὶ τὰς ἐλλιπῶ

⁶ Both of these fragments have been transported to the Epigraphical Museum. Our latest advice is that a copy of the Parthenon block was to be made in marble without the inscription and substituted in the south jamb of the door, and further that a plaster cast of the entire block including the inscription is to be kept in the Museum on the Akropolis.

⁷ Dow, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 602, noted that the space was square. For a similar uninscribed space in the upper right corner of a stele, cf. *I.G.*, II², 2496.

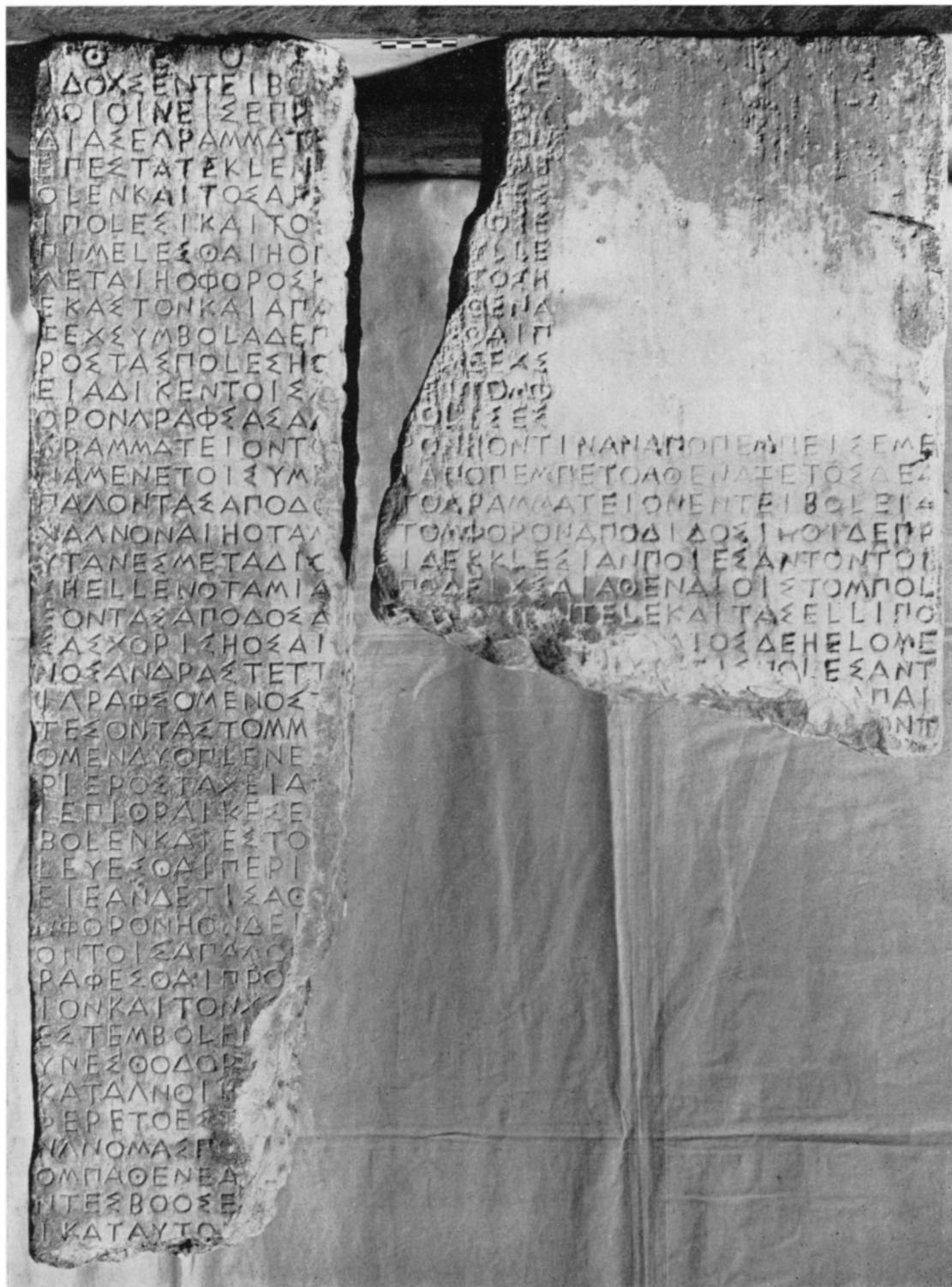


Fig. 3. The New Fragment of D7, Shown in Its Relationship to the Fragment Discovered in 1926

- σας χορὶς ἰόσαι [ἄν τινες ὄσιν· Ἄθ]εναίος δὲ ἡελομέ
 νος ἄνδρας τέττ[αρας ἀποπέμπεν ἐπὶ] τὰς πόλεις ἀντ
 ιγραφιστομένους τ[ὸμ φόρον τέσσι ἀποδόσεσι κα]ὶ ἀπαι
 25 τέσσοντας τὸμ μὲ [ἀποδοθέντα παρὰ τὸν ἑλλιποσ]όν, τ
 ὃ μὲν δύο πλὴν ἐπ[ὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Νέσον καὶ ἐπ' Ἰονίας ἐπὶ] τ
 ριέρος ταχείας [τὸ δὲ δύο ἐπὶ τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλεσπόντο κα]
 ἰ ἐπὶ Θράικες· ἐ[σάγειν δὲ ταῦτα τὸς πρυτάνες ἐς τὴν]
 βολὴν καὶ ἐς τὸ[ν δέμον εὐθύς μετὰ Διονύσια καὶ βο]
 30 λεύεσθαι περὶ τ[ούτον χσυνεχὸς ἡέος ἂν διαπραχθ]
 εἶ· ἐὰν δέ τις Ἄθ[εναίος ἢ χσύμμαχος ἀδικεῖ περὶ τὸ]
 ν φόρον ἡὸν δεῖ [τὰς πόλεις γραφσάσας ἐς γραμματεῖ]
 ον τοῖς ἀπάγοσ[ιν ἀποπέμπεν Ἀθέναζε ἔστο αὐτὸν γ]
 ράφεσθαι πρὸς [τὸς πρυτάνες τῷ β]ολομένο[ι Ἀθένα]
 35 ἴον καὶ τὸν χσ[υμμάχον· ἡοὶ δὲ πρυτάν]ες ἔσαγ[όντον]
 ἐς τὴν βολὴν [τὴν γραφὴν ἡέν τι]ς ἄγ γράφσεται[ι ἢ εὐθ]
 ννέσθο δόρο[ν μυρίασι δραχμ]ῆς[ι ἡ]έκαστος· [ἡὸ δ' ἂν]
 καταγνῶι ἡ[ε βολέ, μὲ τιμᾶν αὐτ]ῶι κυρία ἔστο [ἀλλ' ἔσ]
 40 φερέτο ἐς τ[ὴν ἐλιαίαν εὐθύ]ς· ὅταν δὲ δόχσει [ἀδικέ]
 ν γνόμας πο[ῖόντον ἡοὶ πρυ]τάνες ἡό, τι ἂν δοκ[εῖ αὐτ]
 ὃμ παθὲν ἢ ἀ[ποτεῖσαι· καὶ ἐ]άν τις περὶ τὴν ἀπα[γογῇ]
 ν τῆς βοδὸς ἢ [τῆς πανηοπλία]ς ἀδικεῖ τὰς γραφὰ[ς ἑνα]
 ι κατ' αὐτῷ κ[αὶ τὴν ζεμίαν κ]ατὰ ταῦτά· τὸς δὲ [ἡελλεν]
 ο[ταμίας ἀναγράφσαντας ἐ]ς πινάκιον λελ[ευκομέν]
 45 [ον ἀποφαίνειν καὶ τὴν τάχσι]ν τὸ φόρο καὶ [τὰς πόλεις]
 [ἰόσαι ἂν ἀποδοσιν ἐντελέ κα]ὶ ἀπογ[ράφσαι . . .⁶ . . .]

about 10 lines missing

- [.⁹ χρεματίσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν] βολὴν τὴν ἐσι[ὸσ]
 [αν περὶ τὸν ἀπαγόντον τὸμ φόρον· ἡ]όσοι δὲ τὸν ἀπα[γ]
 [όντον Ἀθέναζε ἐς τὸ πινάκιον ἂν]αγεγράφεται ὀφέ
 60 [λοντες ἐν τῇ βολῇ τὴν βολὴν ἐπ]ιδεῖχσαι τῷ δέμ
 [οὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡεκάσταν· ἐὰν δ]έ τις τὸμ πόλεον ἂ
 [μφισβετῇ περὶ τὸ φόρο τῆς ἀποδ]όσεος φάσκοσα ἀπ
 [οδεδοκέσαι¹⁶]θαι τὸ κοινὸν τῆς
 [πόλεος·²⁰]ας τὰς πόλεις καὶ τ
 65 [.²⁰ γράφει]θαι δὲ μὲ ἐχσῆναι
 [.¹⁶ τὸ δὲ γραφέν]τος ὀφελέτο ἡο γρ
 [αφσάμενος τὴν τιμὴν ἐὰν φεύγει·] τὴν δὲ γραφὴν ἑνα
 [ι πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον μενὶ Γαμε]λιῶνι· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀ
 [μφισβετῇ¹⁷] κλέσες ἡε βολέ βο

- 70 [λευσαμένε¹⁷.....] ἔσαγοντον δὲ ἡοι
 [ἔσαγογῆς ἐς τὴν ἐλιαίαν τὸς Ἀθε]ναίους τὸμ φόρον
 [ὀφέλοντας ἡεχσῆς κατὰ τὸμ πῖνα]κα τῆς μενύσεος· ἐ
 [.....²¹..... τῶ νέο] φόρο καὶ τῶ περυσ
 [ινὸ¹²..... τὴν δὲ βολὲν π]ροβολεύσασαν ἔχ
 75 [σενεγκέν¹⁸.....] πέρι τῆι ἡυστέρα
 [ἰαί ἐς τὸν δῆμον·¹²..... τ]ῆς ἡαιρέσεος χρε
 [ματίσαι -----] vacat

NOTES ON READINGS

The discovery of an initial line necessitates a complete renumbering of lines throughout the document.

Near the end of line 3 it is clear that the letter previously read as theta is really omicron. What seemed to be the central dot must be set down as a mark of weathering, for the restoration [Σπ]ουδίας seems clear. In line 18, Hill detects part of the letter rho just at the left edge of D7, frag. 1. In line 34 we now restore [τῶι β]ολομένο[ι]. An omicron once read in the text where we have restored the iota of τῶι was accepted in the publications in *D.A.T.* and *A.T.L.* on the authority of Koehler who first printed it in his text of *I.G.*, I, 39. It does not appear in the publications by Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, I, no. 277, and Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1854, no. 2071. We do not believe that this omicron or any part of it was ever seen upon the battered upper left corner of D7, frag. 2.

At the end of line 36 the last alpha should be dotted. Only the tip of the left lateral stroke is visible. In line 37, the letters have been read to give the restoration [ἔσα]γέσθ[ο]. The necessities of restoration make it practically certain that the correct reading here is [μνρίασι δραχμ]ῆσ[ι]. The stone has been again examined by Hill who reports that he can see no trace of the slanting stroke which Meritt thought to be the right bar of gamma, but which might equally well have been the right bar of mu. In view of the doubt as to whether any stroke exists here, we include mu entirely within the brackets. The reading of theta has depended upon an examination made some years ago by Meritt. Early in 1940, Hill thought that the "top of theta might perhaps be made out," and this is the way the letter appears in the drawing on plate XXIV of *A.T.L.* Our confidence that the letter must have been iota leads us to reject a reading which the treacherous surface of the stone has probably distorted and made incorrect.

In line 38, the first omicron read on D7, frag. 2, must be dotted, as must also the first tau in line 40, the last alpha of line 42, and the first alpha in line 43, of the same fragment.

Hill reads part of iota at the end of the preserved section of line 45.

In line 46, it is uncertain whether the last preserved letter should be gamma or delta. We restore gamma with a dot beneath it.

The position of D7, frag. 2, is now definitely fixed in its relation to D7, frag. 1, because the half lines in both of them are tied by restoration to the new fragment from the Akropolis. The lateral position of D7, frag. 2, is known from the fact that its right margin is preserved. This lateral position is correctly shown in *D.A.T.*, plate II, and in *A.T.L.*, plate XXIV. Dow, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 602, has urged that it be moved one space toward the right. This suggestion is not valid, as is made quite clear from the restorations of the continuous text here proposed. It was made by Dow on the basis of his observation of the published photographs and exemplifies one type of error to which students are liable if they do not remember some of the necessary limitations of photography.⁸

COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Line 1: It may be noted that the reading $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota[\sigma\nu]$ would give a perfectly symmetrical arrangement of the letters in line 1 over the letters of the preamble in line 2, one letter of the invocation falling over every third letter of the succeeding line. We prefer to read simply $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ because there is as yet no evidence from the fifth century that the dative form was used over Athenian decrees. There are numerous examples of the nominative.

Line 5: The orator was Kleinias. Unless it is to be supposed that he is some man otherwise completely unknown to us, this Kleinias must be a representative of the famous family from Skambonidai to which Alkibiades belonged. In the last half of the fifth century there were three men of this name: the father of Alkibiades, who lost his life at the battle of Koroneia in 447; the brother of Alkibiades; and the cousin of Alkibiades (*P.A.*, 8510-8512). Inasmuch as one may gather from lines 26-28 of this inscription that the date of it must be during those years when there were four administrative divisions of the Athenian Empire, it is evident that it must be placed either between 450 and 446, or after 438.⁹ As a lower limit this decree must not be dated later than 426 because it must precede D8 which also deals with the collection of tribute and which may now be assigned to that year.¹⁰ This later decree provides for local boards of collectors in the various cities of the empire and represents a more advanced stage in administrative development than the present text.

Furthermore, the lettering of this decree seems to be older than the lettering of D8. A study of this purely epigraphical evidence has been made by A. E. Raubitschek¹¹

⁸ This problem is discussed in Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 37-41.

⁹ Mario Segre, *Clara Rhodos*, IX, 1938, p. 168.

¹⁰ Now published by Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I.

¹¹ *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 477-479.

and he has come to the conclusion that the document must be dated on this evidence in the early forties of the fifth century. Such a determination means that the only Kleinias who can be considered orator of the decree is the father of Alkibiades. And inasmuch as he died in 447 the prosopographical argument serves to fix the date still more precisely in the very early forties. Surely the brother and the cousin of Alkibiades can be ruled out. Alkibiades himself was born about 450 (*P.A.*, 600), and his brother Kleinias was younger than he (Plato, *Protagoras*, 320a). Consequently he can hardly have attained the necessary age of thirty years to entitle him to a seat in the Council before 426. Nor is it probable that the cousin belonging to the younger branch of the family should have been sufficiently old to act as councillor at any time when this decree may have been passed. Epigraphical and prosopographical evidence both point to the identity of the orator with the father of Alkibiades and to the date of the inscription before his death in 447.

The decree is thus brought into that period of time when the Athenians were reorganizing their empire after the Peace of Kallias. It is now known that there is no preserved list of quotas from the tribute in 449/8 (*A.T.L.*, I, p. 175).¹² Meritt and his collaborators suggested that there was no tribute collected in that year. This interpretation possibly pushes the negative evidence of the tribute lists too far.¹³ We have evidence only that there was no record of any quota of the tribute consecrated to the goddess Athena. Possibly tribute was collected, but if one may judge from the scant returns that were published in the following year it may be doubted that any sum was realized even approaching the normal assessment. This decree therefore was passed at a time when there was need for vigorous action on the part of Athens to make sure that the cities of the empire did pay. Along with the monetary decree, now published as *A.T.L.*, T69 (cf. the text in *I.G.*, XII, Suppl., pp. 215-217), it was one of the measures taken by the Athenians to tighten economic control over the empire and it represents one of the last links in the swift chain of events that transformed the Delian League into the Empire of Athens.¹⁴ The decree should be dated before the resumption of publication of the tribute-quota lists at the end of 448/7, and we suggest a date for it about the time of the Dionysiac festival of that year (cf. lines 19 and 24 of the text). One will note the insistence in the decree on the normal completion of payments at the time of the Dionysia and on a public record of cities in default after that date. List 7 in the series of the tribute quota records is the first document—so far as we know the only document—which has a separate rubric for cities that paid after the Dionysia. It is possible that this appendix of the quota list which must be dated in 448/7 was brought into being by the provisions of the decree here under consideration.

¹² See Meritt, *Class. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 1943, pp. 223 ff.

¹³ Cf. Gomme, *Class. Rev.*, LIV, 1940, pp. 65-67; Dow, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 642.

¹⁴ Meritt, in *The Greek Political Experience, Studies in Honor of William Kelly Prentice* (Princeton University Press: 1941), pp. 52-56.

The four men mentioned in line 23 of the text set out from Athens late in the year for their visit to the cities of the empire. The nine names of cities at the end of List 7 may appropriately represent the first-fruits of their activity, though the time was undoubtedly too short for the systematic paying of arrears before 447/6, when the concluding lines of List 8 reflect the full force of the provisions of this decree. One notes that the nine names of 448/7 appear in the order of the geographical districts of the empire: Ionia-Karia (2), Thrace (4), the Hellespont (0), and the Islands (3). It is tempting to believe that they were recorded in the order in which they were reported by the returning envoys. The indications are that the main body of the text of List 7 was inscribed at some time after the Dionysia, when most of the payments were in and the hellenotamiai had reported to the Athenian people (cf. lines 19-22 of the present text), and that the last nine names together with their rubric heading were cut at the end of the year. They were inscribed in a different hand, and evidently at a later date than the names which preceded them.

Lines 5-11: The Council, the magistrates in the cities, and the episkopoi were to provide that the tribute be collected each year and be delivered to Athens. General supervision evidently rested with the Council. The principal work of collection and delivery must have rested with the magistrates in the cities. The role of the episkopoi may be inferred from their title as being one of inspection and supervision in the field. These episkopoi were mentioned in speeches of Antiphon and the term has been defined by Harpokration.¹⁵

It is now known that there were boards of Athenian magistrates in many of the cities of the empire¹⁶ or sometimes individual Athenians who bore the title of ἄρχων,¹⁷ but there were doubtless many cities, particularly the less wealthy ones, where the Athenians did not find it advisable to maintain their own magistrates. The present text does not indicate whether or not the magistrates in the cities which were to be responsible for tribute collection were Athenian. Where Athenian boards existed they were probably responsible. Where no Athenian boards existed the local magistrates must have been responsible. The present text applies equally well to both categories. The division of responsibility was probably determined in the case of tribute collection just as it was in the monetary decree of about 449 (*A.T.L.*, T69, § 4): [καὶ εἰ μὴ εἰσι ἄρχοντες Ἀθηναίων ἐ[πιτελεσάντων ὅσα ἐν τῷ ψ]ηφίσματι οἱ ἄρχοντ[ες οἱ ἐκάστης τῆς πόλεως].¹⁸

¹⁵ *A.T.L.*, I, pp. 573 and 578, T14 and T65: ἐπίσκοπος· Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Λινδίων φόρου καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λαισποδίου. εἰόκασιν ἐκπέμπεσθαι τινες ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις. Θεόφραστος γοῦν ἐν α' τῶν πολιτικῶν τῶν πρὸς καιροῦς φησιν οὕτω· πολλῶν γὰρ κάλλιον κατὰ γε τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος θέσιν, ὥς οἱ Λάκωνες ἀρμοστὰς φάσκοντες εἰς τὰς πόλεις πέμπειν, οὐκ ἐπισκόπους οὐδὲ φύλακας, ὥς Ἀθηναῖοι.

¹⁶ Meritt, *D.A.T.*, p. 15.

¹⁷ *I.G.*, I², 118, line 19.

¹⁸ See now *I.G.*, XII, Suppl., p. 217.

Lines 11-14: The Athenians were to furnish seals of identification for the cities so that the men bringing the money to Athens from any individual city might have no opportunity for malpractice. The word ἀπάγοντες as here used is almost a technical term and this inscription makes it clear that when the ἀπάγοντες are spoken of the people named are the couriers who transported the money. Meritt's argument, *D.A.T.*, p. 34, that they were the cities who paid and not the couriers who travelled was correct for the tribute quota lists but it is not applicable here. Presumably it is not applicable either in D8, line 20. The critical passage in that inscription, lines 18-21, may now be translated: "the hellenotamiai shall write upon a tablet the cities that are delinquent in their tribute and the names of the couriers and place it regularly in front of the metröon." With this interpretation Dow's criticism (*A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 602) that the restoration τὰ ὀνόματα in line 20 seems weak loses its validity.

Lines 14-16: Each city was expected to write down upon a tablet the amount of the tribute which it sent, and seal it with its seal, and deliver it to Athens. Nothing is said here about sealing the containers in which the money was transported and it is not necessary to assume that this was done. It was a sufficient guarantee that the proper sum of money would be delivered if the tablet upon which the sum was written down was sealed. This we assume to have been the case and we understand the object of σεμεναμένε to have been γραμματέιον. The tablet was doubtless small and it could be protected in the course of travel so that it might arrive at Athens with its seal unbroken. We do not know how the tribute money was carried, though the sculptured relief above D8 (photograph in *A.T.L.*, p. 123) shows containers which may have been used for this purpose. The actual bulk of silver from some of the larger cities must have been considerable and there would always have been danger that the seal on a large container might be broken through no fault of the courier. The certain method of guaranteeing delivery in full was to seal the tablet and we assume that this was done.

Lines 16-18: The reading of the tablet in the presence of the Council must have been accompanied by the verification of the seal. For this purpose we assume that a counterpart of the seal which belonged to each city was preserved at Athens so that it could be produced and compared with the seal used upon the inscribed tablet when the amount of tribute was delivered by the couriers. These σύμβολα were the recognized guarantees of the authenticity of credentials. In the fourth century the Athenians authorized a similar guarantee of recognition for Straton, the king of the Sidonians. The preserved decree follows so closely the wording of our present text that a full citation makes a pertinent commentary on the provisions here recorded in lines 11 ff.; see *I.G.*, II², 141, lines 18-25: ποιησάσθω δὲ καὶ σύμβολα ἢ βολὴ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Σιδωνίων, ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων εἰδήμι ἕαν τι πέμπῃ ὁ Σιδωνίων

βασιλεὺς δεόμενος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σιδωνίων ὄταμ πέμπητι τινὰ ὡς αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων.¹⁹

Lines 18-22: Opportunity was given to the hellenotamiai to inform the Athenians, in a meeting of the assembly after the Dionysiac festival, which cities had paid in full and which were delinquent. We restore in line 22 *ῥόσαι* [ἄν τινες ὄσιν] rather than *ῥόσαι* [ἄμ μὲ ἀποδόσι] because the latter does not seem to make allowance for partial payments. The use of the word *ἐντελέ* in line 21 implies the distinction between cities that paid in full on the one hand, and cities whose obligations were not completely met on the other.

Lines 22-31: The provision of these lines can be restored with considerable assurance. After the proclamation by the hellenotamiai on the status of tribute collection, four men were to be sent out to visit the cities of the empire to give receipts for the tribute paid and to make demands for the tribute not paid from those in default. Two men were to proceed to the Islands and to Ionia, the other two were to sail to the Hellespont and to Thrace. These lines give the four-fold division of the empire which we find in the monetary decree and the restoration of the names of these four districts has been made on the analogy of that decree (T69, § 11). It must have taken considerable time for these envoys to complete their journeys and one may question whether their report could have been brought back in full to Athens, even with the use of a swift trireme, much before the end of the year, but at least the prytaneis could set in motion the necessary machinery immediately after the Dionysia. This is the purpose which we read into the provisions of lines 28-31.²⁰

Lines 31-35: At this point on the stone so much is lost that one can no longer be certain of the exact wording of the restoration. Nevertheless the general sense seems clear. The verb *ἀδικεῖ* in line 31 seems fairly sure because of the appearance of the same verb in line 42. We assume that the indictments which might be lodged with the prytaneis might have to do with malpractice connected with the tribute money or with the official seal.

Lines 35-37: The restoration in these lines we believe to be certain. The amount of money for which each one of the prytaneis was made liable at his euthyna we have restored as 10,000 drachmai. This is the sum specified under similar circumstances in A9, line 37,²¹ and which we believe desirable also for the restoration of A9, line 30. Our text of lines 29-31 of A9 now returns to readings not significantly different from those of Hiller in *I.G.*, I², 63, except for the specification of money to be paid to the public treasury: — ὁφ[ελέτο χιλίας δραχμὰς *ἡ*ε]ρὰς τῆ[ι Ἀ]θηνά[ιαι *ἡ*έκαστος τὸμ *π*]ρ[υτάνεον *κ*]αὶ τὸ[ι] *δ*εμοσίοι *ἡ*[οσαύτος καὶ *εὐ*θνήσθο *μ*νρί]ασι [*δ*ρα]χμῆ[σι *ἡ*έκαστος τὸμ *π*]ρ[υτάνεον].

¹⁹ Cf. K. Regling, *R.E.*, s. v. Symbolon, no. 4.

²⁰ See commentary above on line 5.

²¹ See also A9, line 15.

Lines 37-41: The indictments were to receive a preliminary hearing in the Council, which acted as a Grand Jury. When a true bill was found against the defendant the Council had no authority to fix the penalty, but was required to refer the case to the regular court. The procedure is in accord with what Aristotle reports on the curtailment by the demos of the powers of the Council ('Αθ. Πολ., 45, 1): ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀφείλετο τῆς βουλῆς τὸ θανατοῦν καὶ δεῖν καὶ χρήμασιν ζημιοῦν καὶ νόμον ἔθετο, ἂν τινος ἀδικεῖν ἢ βουλή καταγνῶ ἢ ζημιώσῃ, τὰς καταγνώσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιζημιώσεις εἰσάγειν τοὺς θεσμοθέτας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ὃ τι ἂν οἱ δικασταὶ ψηφίσωνται, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι.

It is a new item of evidence for the historical development of the Athenian judiciary to find the particular restriction of this decree on the competence of the Council as early as the middle of the fifth century.²² The prytaneis, however, were to offer a resolution defining their proposed penalty, and this provision made the Council in effect responsible for the prosecution of each case through the popular court. In case of conviction, the penalty advocated by the prosecution did not come from the man who made the original indictment before the prytaneis, but from the prytaneis themselves.

Lines 41-43: Every city of the empire was required to send a cow and a panoply of arms to the Great Panathenaia. The provision in A9, lines 55-57, reads: *ἡποός[εσι πό]λεσι φόρος [ἐτάχ]θ[ε ἐπὶ τ]ῆς [βολῆς ἡεὶ Πλειστί]ας πρότος [ἐγγρα]μμάτευε ἐπὶ Στρατοκ[λέος] ἄρχοντος βό[ν καὶ πανήοπ]λ[ίαν ἀπάγειν ἐς Παναθ]έναια τὰ με[γάλα] ἡαπάσας.* The present text shows that the decree of 425/4 merely re-enacted an earlier regulation, for it takes for granted this contribution of the allies to the Great Panathenaia, and provides only for procedure in the case of indictments which concern malpractice about the sending of the cow or the panoply. Incidentally, the text proves conclusively that the animal offering was a cow, not an ox, and dispels any ambiguity that may have arisen from scholia on the *Clouds* of Aristophanes (line 386):

a) ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις αἱ Ἀττικαὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πόλεις ἔπεμπον βοῦς.

b) ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποικισθεῖσαι πόλεις βοῦν τυθησόμενον ἔπεμπον.

c) πασῶν τῶν ἀποικισθισῶν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν πόλεων πεμπούσης ἐκάστης ἀνὰ ἓνα βοῦν εἰς τὴν θυσίαν καὶ ἕτερα ἱερέα.²³

²² See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, pp. 45-46.

²³ Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica*, I, p. 177, refers to the sending of an ox, and Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment*, p. 50, also translate βοῦς of A9, line 57, as ox. Ziehen, in *R.E.*, s. v. Opfer, col. 594, maintains that only female animals were sacrificed to Athena, citing the proofs advanced by P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1910), p. 193; see also L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 25-26; D. M. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 46. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 242, had claimed the feminine in spite of the scholia here cited, but later Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig, 1898) p. 118, note 1,

The fact that the tribute-paying cities of the empire were on the same footing as the colonists in the Panathenaic procession seems to be indicated by A9, lines 57-58: *πεμπόντων δ[ὲ ἐν] ᾧ πομπῇ [καθάπερ ἄπο]κ[οι]*. Here the verb *πεμπόντων* probably governs, in thought, the words *βοῦν καὶ πανθοπλίαν*, and may be translated, "They shall escort them in the festival procession in the same manner as colonists."²⁴

Lines 43-77: The concluding four lines of the upper group of fragments and the lines of the lowest fragment are much more difficult to restore and there is, we believe, little prospect at present of reaching anything like certainty about them. The text which is given above is largely for the sake of example in order to show an interpretation of what the meaning might have been. In lines 57-58 there seems to be reference to the incoming Council. Inasmuch as the provisions of earlier lines, notably lines 18-19 with their reference to a meeting of the Ekklesia to be called after the Dionysiac Festival, imply a date for the inscription at about the time of the Dionysia, it is apparent that the action to be taken by the new Council as envisaged in lines 57 ff. can have been begun only in midsummer after a lapse of several months. So far as can be determined, the business of the new Council was to be concerned with disputes as to whether cities had or had not paid their tribute, and to further prosecution of allied representatives who owed tribute money. At least some of these cases were to be brought to trial in the month of Gamelion. This is the earliest month of the new year which can be supplied for the end of the name still preserved in line 68. After this on the stone there is mention in line 73 of current tribute and of tribute from the previous year.

As one looks back over the document he finds that provision is made for getting tribute to Athens normally before the Dionysiac festival, that a report will be made to the Athenians in the present instance by the Hellenotamiai immediately after the festival, and that four men shall then be sent out to the cities of the Empire to give receipts for tribute paid and to try to collect what is still due; that at the beginning of the new year there will still be prosecutions for arrears, and that during the new year current tribute and back payments may both be expected. These are precisely the conditions which seem best met in the tribute lists by the records of 448/7 and 447/6. As pointed out above, the decree was probably necessitated by a general desire on the part of the allies to forego their payments after the Peace of Kallias in 449. The tribute-quota list of 448/7, List 7, is the first to mention payments after the Dionysia, and they are appended at the end of the record. But most of the arrears were probably brought in during the next year, or were to be subject to court pro-

asserted, "Das Geschlecht der Rinder ist nicht zu erkennen." The gender is not indicated by Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (1940), p. 693: "Zu den grossen Panathenaeen sandten die Staedte Attikas und die Kolonien je ein Opferrind. . . ."

²⁴ Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment*, p. 50 suggested an absolute translation of the verb.

cedure during the early part of the next year. It is our belief that the heavy payment of arrears in the concluding lines of List 8 in the tribute-quota records is a measure of the success achieved by the Athenians in carrying out the provisions laid down in lines 57-77 of the present inscription. If this connection between the decree and the quota records is valid, and there is no other period of two years where what we might expect from the decree is so well reflected in the lists, then there is an additional reason for believing the date 448/7 justified for the decree.

ATHENS, GREECE

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

B. H. HILL

B. D. MERITT