

THE ARGIVES AT TANAGRA

18. The monument which commemorated the Argives who fell fighting as allies of the Athenians at Tanagra has been enriched by seven new fragments discovered in the excavations of the Agora. Five fragments have been previously known and published. They appear now as *I.G.*, I², 931/932, and more recently a transcript has been given by Tod in his *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 28. Another fragment was found some years ago in the German excavations of the Kerameikos. It provides little new evidence except part of the list of names. Werner Peek has now published this new fragment, together with two of the pieces from the Agora and all five of the other fragments. I present these fragments here again with the five fragments from the Agora which Peek did not include in his study, and suggest a pattern for the reconstruction of the stele.¹

Because of differences in the thickness of the known fragments Adolf Brueckner, in 1910, argued that there must have been two stelai and he suggested that the thicker monument might be ascribed to the fallen Argives and the thinner to their fallen allies from Kleonai.²

The notion of a separate stone for the Kleonaians goes back to Boeckh's publication in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, no. 166. His interpretation, however, rested upon a misunderstanding of the text of Pausanias (I, 29, 7-9). Boeckh thought that Pausanias, who mentioned the grave of the Kleonaians, made no mention of an Argive grave so, in spite of his demonstration that the letters of the inscription, as known to him, were Argive letters, he attributed the monument to the dead of Kleonai.³ There has been a general recognition that Boeckh's interpretation of

¹ Peek's publication is in *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, III, pp. 34-40 (no. A29), with Plates 10 and 11. Permission was granted to Peek in 1935 by the excavators of the Athenian Agora to publish the fragments discovered in the Agora together with the new fragment from the Kerameikos.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 196. This division of the fragments has been followed in Hiller's publication in the *Corpus* and also by Tod who gives again Brueckner's suggestion that one stone belonged to the Argives and one to the Kleonaians. Cf. also L. Weber, *Rh. Mus.*, LXXV, 1926, p. 311.

³ Commentary on *C.I.G.*, 166: non dubito hunc catalogum esse Argolicorum hominum, qui Atheniensium exercitui coniuncti in proelio ceciderint, et ab illis publica sint sepultura conditi. --- Nec quidquam obest, quominus hic titulus Cleonaeorum sepulchrorum nomina referat. Adolf Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, II, 1899, p. 226, note 16, remarked: von der Totenliste der Kleonäer sind uns bekanntlich 5 Bruchstücke erhalten. H. B. Walters, in the *British Museum Guide to the Select Greek and Latin Inscriptions*² (London, 1929), p. 13, speaks of the monument as belonging to Kleonai.

Pausanias was not correct,⁴ but references to Kleonai have persistently lived on. When Koehler published the fragment which names the city of Tanagra, he referred it to the list of the dead who had fallen there and who had been buried in the outer Kerameikos, but he was uncertain whether they were Argives or Kleonaians.⁵ We have noted above Brueckner's interpretation in assigning the thick fragments to the Argive monument and the thin fragments to the people of Kleonai.

The new fragments from the Agora show that the criterion of thickness cannot be used to distinguish one group of fragments from another. Where the original thickness is preserved it shows more than normal variations; for example, the new fragment from the upper left corner of the stele is relatively thin near the edge and at the top but increases in thickness toward the middle and toward the bottom. The fragment from the Kerameikos is thicker than any other known piece and would have to be taken as evidence for a third stele if the criterion of thickness is to be the deciding factor. It seems preferable to regard the monument as one of variable thickness and to unite all the known fragments on the basis of their distinctive stoichedon pattern and the Argive alphabet into one inscription in honor of the fallen Argives.

As Boeckh remarked, it might be possible that the monument for the men of Kleonai was cut in Argive letters. But one might with reason expect it to be cut either in Attic or in the alphabet of Kleonai, which differed in significant respects from that of Argos. The alphabet of Kleonai, for example, did not have the Argive lambda but it did distinguish between long and short E. It had also beta and delta like the Corinthian, and distinct from the Argive forms.⁶ Obviously no one of the preserved fragments assigned to the monument here under discussion can be claimed as Kleonaian; where the distinguishing letters are preserved they are always Argive. Argive attribution is further confirmed now by the word 'Αργε[ῖοι] (or some oblique form of it) on the fragment from the upper left corner. Whether Argive influence over Kleonai was so strong by the mid fifth century as to impose the use of the Argive alphabet remains an unanswered question. Even if the old alphabet persisted in Kleonai it is conceivable, as Boeckh and Dickerman suggest, that the Kleonaian monument at Athens may have been inscribed by an Argive. But this remains mere hypothesis.

⁴ See, e. g., Brueckner, *loc. cit.* The Argive grave mentioned by Pausanias must have been for those who fell at Tanagra.

⁵ *Ath. Mitt.*, IX, 1884, p. 389.

⁶ Early monuments from Kleonai are rare. Cf. *I.G.*, IV, p. 376. A welcome addition to our evidence comes from the agonistic inscription discovered in the American excavations at Nemea. Aristis, who made the dedication, was the son of Pheidon of Kleonai. This inscription is now published by W. Peek in *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1931, pp. 103-104. S. O. Dickerman, in *A.J.A.*, VII, 1903, pp. 147-154, has ably pointed out the significant features of the Kleonaian alphabet. It is no longer possible to speak of an early Argive-Kleonaian script, as, for example, in Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets*⁴, p. 97, note 1.

Peek realized that the varying thickness of the fragments could not be used as proof that they belonged to two stelai, but he found other reasons for perpetuating the erroneous attribution of some of them to Kleonai. The two fragments with moulding differ in that the space above the list of names has in one instance one line of large letters and in the other two lines of an epigram in smaller letters. Although Peek notes that both stones have the same treatment, he concludes from the text that they cannot belong to one stele.⁷ On the contrary, the similarity of treatment shows that they do belong to one stele, and some reconstruction must be found which will allow the two lines of the epigram to continue the one line of larger letters. Although Peek quotes Brueckner's judgment that all fragments known to him "in Schriftgröße und -charakter völlig gleich sind," he attempts in a detailed analysis to show that the criterion of lettering indicates also a division into two groups. This is illusory. There are variations, but no significant differences.⁸ The discovery of the new pieces only serves rather to strengthen the validity of Brueckner's judgment, and even Peek must admit that some of the variations occur on single fragments. The fact is that we possess no known fragment from the monument of the Kleonaians, and that all the pieces here grouped together should be assigned to the monument honoring the Argives.⁹

In numbering the fragments I follow here Tod's notation from *a* to *e* for those already published and number the new fragments from the Agora from *f* to *l*. The piece from the Kerameikos (*m*) belongs at the left margin. The disposition which I have suggested for the text gives an inscription with names arranged in four columns and in general with the thicker fragments falling relatively low in the reconstruction.

a. *I.G.*, I², 931, fragment *Ia*. (E.M. 10276, discovered on the Acropolis near the Parthenon and now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens). Peek, in *Kerameikos*, III, p. 35, with a photograph on Plate 11, 3. Kirchhoff, in *C.I.A.*, I, 441, gives the dimensions as follows: height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.16 m. Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 196, says the thickness is 0.155 m. Pittakys published

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 36. Peek does not say that the mouldings are the same, but I assume that they are. They look the same in his illustrations (*op. cit.*, Plates 10 and 11) and were they otherwise Peek would have needed no other argument for two stelai. Looking forward to Peek's publication I made no comparative study of the stones in Athens; Peek says that he has made his revision before the stones themselves. Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 213, described the moulding as having an "eigentümliche Form mit scharfkantigem Abschluss nach unten."

⁸ Peek does not mention one of the differences which he might have been expected to note, namely, the different form of the aspirate on fragments *f* and *e* as here published. Peek's photograph of *e*, which is not here repeated, shows the form Ξ .

⁹ One other attempt to make two monuments out of these fragments should be here noted for the sake of the record. When Kirchhoff published the second of the two pieces found on the Acropolis (*I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 132) he was convinced that the fragments from the Acropolis represented a stele which had been erected there and different from the stele in the Kerameikos.

this fragment in the Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, in 1852, as no. 1118, where he says that he found it in 1832 in the explorations north of the Parthenon. The fragment was republished by Rangabé in *Antiquités Helléniques*, II, no. 367, who says that it was discovered in 1851 east of the Parthenon. Rangabé associated this fragment with the piece published by Boeckh as *C.I.G.*, 166.

In the fifth line part of the initial digamma was read by earlier editors, and is now attested also by Peek. In the last line Kirchhoff suggested [Κλέοβ]ις as a possible restoration; Peek is in error when he says that only four letters are missing from this name.

b. *I.G.*, I², 931, fragment Iβ. (E.M. 10274). Peek, in *Kerameikos*, III, p. 35, with a photograph on Plate 10, 3. This fragment is described by Kirchhoff, *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 132, no. 441e, as broken on all sides. Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 196, says that it was thicker than 0.14 m. It was reported to Kirchhoff by Lolling as having been found on the Acropolis east of the Erechtheion.

c. *I.G.*, I², 931, fragment Iγ. Peek, in *Kerameikos*, III, pp. 35-36, with a photograph on Plate 10, 2. This piece has been longest known. It was published by Boeckh as *C.I.G.*, 166, on the basis of a publication by Daniel Wray, Esq. in *Archaeologia*, II, 1773, pp. 216-221 (with Plate XIII, facing page 216). From the same source the inscription was also published by H. J. Rose.¹⁰ Wray gave his account of the inscription at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, on April 18, 1771, and said in part: "I take the liberty to communicate to the Society *an ancient inscription*, which I met with some months ago in the possession of Mr. Jones, of Finchley, a worthy old gentleman, who is retired from business to a pleasant spot in that village.

"Walking with him in his garden, I saw lying in several places broken bas reliefs, and other fragments of antiquity. My friend, observing me look at them with an eye of curiosity, said, he had something more of that kind to shew me; and pointing to the inscription, wished me to explain it; for those, who had yet seen it, could make nothing of it. I immediately saw the letters were in general Greek; but there were some characters intirely new to me; and I begged he would indulge me with the loan of the marble, that I might consider it more at leisure. --- The list was originally longer, the stone being broken at the top and bottom, and parts of letters remaining in both places. There is also IMAPNAN at some distance, and in a different direction; of which, I confess, I can make nothing. ---

"Give me leave to add a word about *the fate of our marble*; it is rather singular. All I could learn from Mr. Jones was, that a captain in his majesty's navy, who had made many voyages to Italy and the Levant, brought home this stone, with those others which I saw at Finchley, some years ago; presented them to him, and died soon after. As soon as I had considered the characters, and reduced them to what

¹⁰ *Inscriptiones Graecae Vetustissimae* (1825), pp. 70-72 (with Plate VIII, facing p. 66).

I supposed was their alphabetical order, I consulted Dr. *Bernard's Table*, republished, with improvements, by our learned brother Dr. *Morton*, to see whether any of his alphabets agreed with this: when I found an imperfect one, exactly corresponding both in number and shape of the letters, communicated to the Doctor by Mr. *Stuart*, who has done this society and this country so much honour by his *Antiquities of Athens*. This discovery sent me directly to my old friend, who very kindly looked over his papers, and found that with which he had favoured Dr. *Morton*. This now lies upon your table; and Mr. *Stuart* assures me, it is a transcript from a marble, which he found at Athens (near the ruins of a magnificent portico, which he takes to be the *Poikile*) and embarked with some other fragments for Smyrna, where he proposed to meet the cargo; but it miscarried, and he never got any tidings of it, till I shewed him the stone in my custody. — — —"

The stone was apparently lost to epigraphists in the 19th century, for Hicks, in his *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1882), p. 23, speaks of it as "now existing somewhere in England, one would be glad to know where." The same wish was repeated in the second edition by Hicks and Hill in 1901. It was soon realized, for A. S. Murray was able to report to the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1902 that the stone had been found.¹¹ He stated that a clergyman had sent him a copy of the larger half of the fragment which he had seen in a rockery in Essex. Murray at once recognized it and wrote to inquire about the smaller piece which had been broken away. Subsequently the son of the owner of the estate where the piece was discovered found the smaller fragment as well. It had been completely buried in the rockery. Murray thought the fragments might ultimately come to the British Museum, and he was unwilling to name the whereabouts of the estate.¹² However, he did give a clue to the location by suggesting that the distinguished antiquary, Thomas Astle, who certainly knew of the inscription soon after its arrival in England, was "presumably the sort of person who would like to possess the beautifully inscribed stone," and he remarked that it was on an estate in Essex once belonging to that scholar that the inscription had been recognized.¹³ In 1904 the two fragments from Essex were loaned to the Burlington Fine Arts Club. They were there put on display, and separate photographs were published in the catalog of the exhibit.¹⁴ The loan was in the name of J. D. Botterell, Esq.

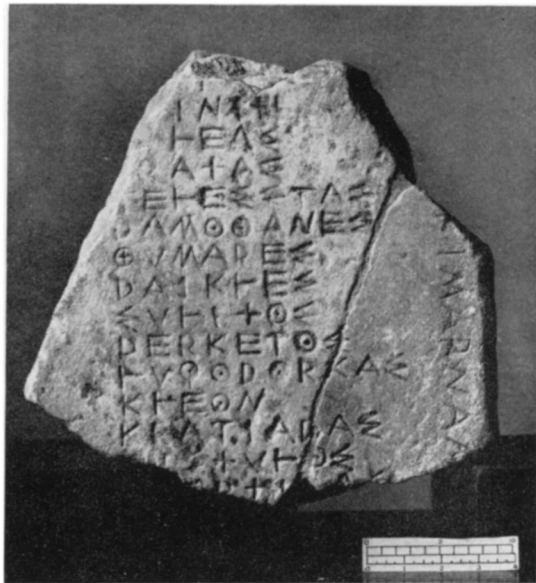
¹¹ See *The Architectural Journal*, X, 1903, pp. 31-32 and 37. Murray's paper was read at the meeting of November 17, 1902 and published under date of November 22, 1902.

¹² Murray's remark was made about a fragment of sculpture, but presumably it applied also to the inscription. One notes that he followed the lead of Boeckh in assigning the monument to Kleonai.

¹³ Astle's interest in ancient script is well documented by his illustrated volume, published in London in 1784, on *The Origin and Progress of Writing*.

¹⁴ *Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* (published for the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1904), Plate LXXXVIII, no. F 109.

In Hiller's publication of 1924 the stone was still described as being in Colne Park, White Colne, Essex, but A. H. Smith reported later that it had been given to the British Museum by Mr. Dumville Botterell in 1923.¹⁵ The stone has been mended and is now again published in a Guide to the *Select Greek and Latin Inscriptions — in the British Museum*² (London, 1929), p. 13. Boeckh described it in 1828 as "titulus — ex omnibus partibus mutilus," but the photograph here reproduced shows clearly the line of the right margin of the stone.¹⁶ The original fragment has suffered damage since its earlier publication, for it has been broken in two and much of the reverse surface of the lesser half has been flaked off. The maximum height is 0.325 m. and the maximum width 0.34 m. The thickness varies from 0.085 m. at the top right to 0.067 m. at the lower left, and the right-hand piece which has been flaked off has an even greater thinness of 0.048 m. This is the only fragment which preserves with certainty the entire width of any of the columns of names, and is of considerable importance in making a reconstruction possible because it shows that the column had a width of approximately 0.265 m.



No. 18: Fragment c

(Photograph by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

The photograph shows in the first line of the fragment part of one letter which was first noted in the drawing published in the British Museum Guide. I interpret this as part of a lambda. It also shows at the right margin part of the rho in $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$ before $\mu\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu[ενου]$, and makes almost certain the restoration $[\gamma\eta\varsigma \pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota \mu\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu[ενου]$ as half of the pentameter line of the couplet. This rho was partially noted also in the British Museum Guide.¹⁷

d. *I.G.*, I², 932, fragment IIδ. (E.M. 10275). Peek, in *Kerameikos*, III, p. 36, with a photograph on Plate 11, 1. Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.*, IX, 1884, p. 389, describes

¹⁵ *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, p. 256, note 12.

¹⁶ I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for their courtesy in permitting the publication of the photograph, and in particular to Mr. Harold Mattingly for his kindness in sending it to me and in supplying information about the stone. Mattingly's measurements differ slightly from those supplied to Peek by F. N. Pryce (disguised by Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 35, as J. N. Payce).

¹⁷ Peek made the unhappy claim that the first preserved letter was clearly kappa. This led him to extraordinary suggestions about the restoration.

the stone as having "oben Rest eines Giebels," and Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 196, gives the thickness as 0.107 m. This relatively thin dimension is suited to the position of the fragment near the top of the stele. The stone is now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens. The lowest preserved letter on this fragment was phi, not omikron.

e. *I.G.*, I², 932, fragment IIε. Peek, in *Kerameikos*, III, p. 36, with a photograph on Plate 11, 2. This fragment has been known heretofore only from a copy made by Koehler when he saw the stone in the private possession of Mr. Konstantinos Karapanos in Athens. Peek supplies a much improved text.

f. Peek, in *Kerameikos*, III, p. 34, with a photograph on Plate 10, 1. Fragment of Pentelic marble with the left side and possibly the back preserved but broken at the top, right, and bottom.¹⁸ The thickness is greater near the right and bottom than it is near the top and at the left edge. The fragment was found in the wall of a modern house in Section N, on March 13, 1935.



No. 18: Fragment *f*

Height, 0.245 m.; width, 0.305 m.
thickness, 0.177 m.

Height of letters, (line 1) 0.025 m.-
0.03 m., (lines 2-4) 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 2006b.

This fragment provides new evidence that the list contained names of the Argive fallen. The beginning of the first column has the name of one of the Argive tribes (Ἱλλεῖς) named after Hyllos, the son of Heracles.¹⁹ The measurement from the moulding to the tribal name at the head of Column I is 0.057 m., which is the

same as the measurement from the moulding on fragment *d* to the beginning of its column of names. The heading which commences with Ἀργε[---] in large letters on fragment *f* thus takes the same amount of space as the two smaller lines of the epigram on fragment *d*, and this is some slight additional reason for the belief that the two fragments come from the upper part of the same stele. Peek (*Kerameikos*, III, p. 34) reads the second name as [Σο]σισθένης. I prefer [Ἀλ]κισθένης.

¹⁸ Peek erroneously reports: "auf allen Seiten gebrochen."

¹⁹ See Cauer in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. Argolis, cols. 732-733.

g. A fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a modern wall in Section H, on March 6, 1933.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 551a.

h. Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, found on June 23, 1931, in Section E.

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 39.

If one may judge from the photographs, it seems possible that this fragment joins fragment *i*. The text is given below as though there were a join.

i. Peek, in *Kerameikos*, III, p. 35, with a photograph on Plate 11, 4. A block of Pentelic marble broken on all sides and at the back, found in the wall of a modern house in Section B, on June 1, 1934.

Height of face, 0.17 m.; width of face, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.225 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 2006a.

A large mass of marble is preserved behind and to the right of the inscribed surface. It has been suggested above that fragment *h* may join the upper portion of this stone. It is possible also that fragment *j* may be combined with the text in its lower lines. Not being able to make a test for the contact between the two fragments we have, however, represented *j* in our transcript a short distance below fragment *i*. The thickness of this latter indicates that it comes near the bottom of the inscription.

j. Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, found in a modern wall in Section K, on February 26 or 27, 1934.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 551b.

k. Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, now badly burned and eaten by acid, found in the wall of a modern cesspool, on May 17, 1937, in Section II.

Height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.151 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4893.

l. Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides and at the back, found in a wall of a modern house in Section T, on January 17, 1936.

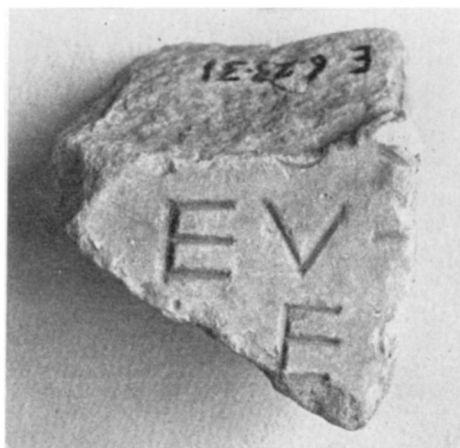
Height, 0.212 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.057 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

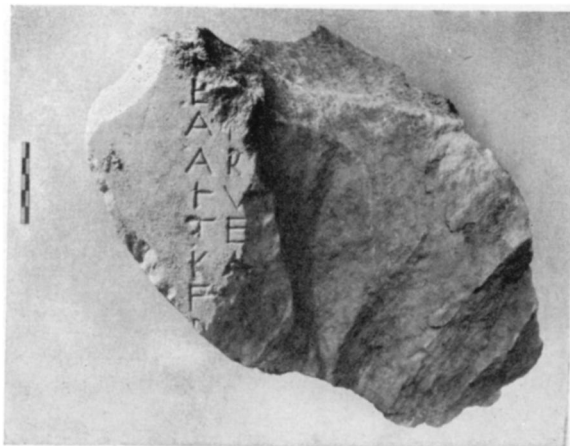
Inv. No. I 3285.



No. 18: Fragment *g*



No. 18: Fragment *h*

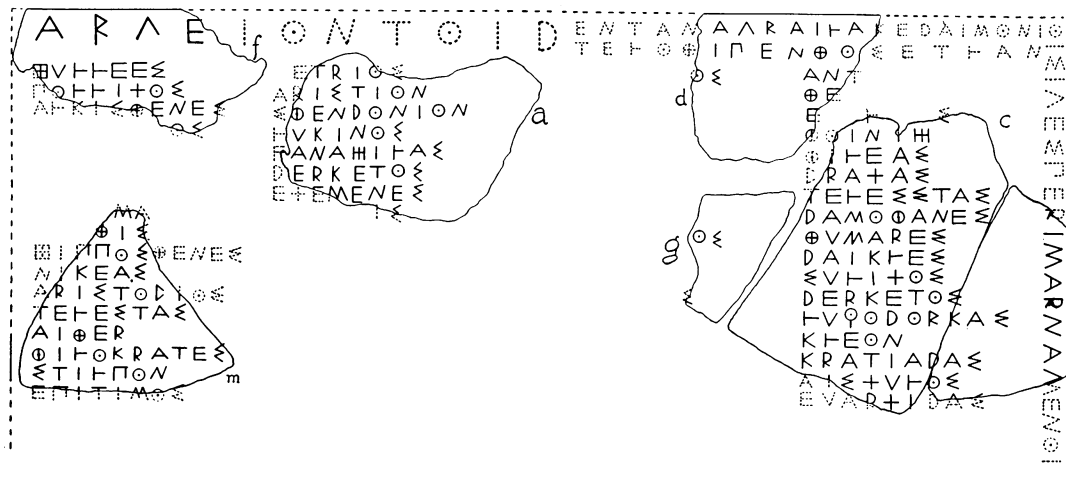


No. 18: Fragment *i*



No. 18: Fragment *j*

This fragment is placed in the text near the bottom of the inscription. Parts of three lines are preserved but there is a considerable uninscribed area above them. One might expect here, on the analogy of Column I, a group of names from one of the Argive tribes, but the preserved letters of the first line do not represent the name

No. 18: Fragment k No. 18: Fragment l 

No. 18: Drawing showing the suggested disposition of the principal fragments of the stele

(Drawing by A. E. Raubitschek)

of any known tribe. It is barely possible that these lines belong to a second epigram or to some appendix which came after the columns of names.

m. Peek, in *Kerameikos*, III, p. 34, with a photograph on Plate 10, 4. This fragment is from the left edge of the stele. I suggest [...] $\mu\alpha$ [-] in line 1 rather

thanμα[s] as by Peek, and [η]πποσ[θένης] in line 4 rather than [hί]ππος. In line 5 Peek reads the name as Ἀριστόδι[φος], and he notes that the shape of the delta is in this instance unique.²⁰ Peek has mistaken the letter, which is not delta, but an Argive beta of the same form which appears in *I.G.*, IV, 554. The restoration should be Ἀριστόβι[ος].

457 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ., except lines 1-2

Ἀργε[ίον τοῖδ' ἐν Ταν]άγραι Λακ[εδαιμονίοισι]
[γῆς πέ]ρι μαρνάμ[ενοι τελόθ]ι πένθο[s ἔτλαν]

		c			
		I	II	III	IV
f			a		d
		ηυλλεῖς	35 [.]έτριος	70 [..?....]ος	Ἀντ[---]
		[Π]όλλιχος	[Ἀ]ριστίον	-----	Θε[----]
5		[Ἀλ]κισθένης	[Σ]φενδονίον	-----	Ε[.]λ[.]s ^c
		[...?....]ος	[Λ]υκῖνος	-----	115 Φοῖνιξ
		-----	Ἰαναξίλας	-----	[Φ]ιλίας
		lacuna	40 [Δ]έρκετος	75 -----	[Β]ράχας
		-----	[Ἐχ]εμένες	-----	Τελέσστας
10		[....]αι --	[.....]ις	-----	Δαμοφάνες
k		[...]οκας	-----	[----]ος	120 Θυμάρες
		[Σ]πινθερῶς	lacuna	----- g	Δαϊκλῆς
		[Ἐπ]ιμένες	45 -----	80 -----	Σύλιχος
		[Δαμ]άρετος	h Ποσ[---]	[----]ς	Δέρκετος
15		-----	Εὐχ[---]	lacuna	Λυφοδόρκας
		-----	Λεο[---]	-----	125 Κλέον
		-----	Ε[---] i	e Αἰσ[χ---]	Κρατιάδας
		-----	50 Ἀλ[---]	85 Δάμ[ν]η[ππος]	[Α]ισχύλος
		-----	Ἀρ[---]	Πανται[---]	[Εὐ]αρχί[δ]ας
20		-----	Λυ[---]	Δορυ[---]	-----
		lacuna	Τε[---]	Μυσπε[---]	-----
		-----	Κα[---]	Ἀρχε[---]	
		-----	55 F[---]	90 Λυ[---]	
m		[....]μα[---]	ἸΡ[---]	-----	
25		[...]θιο[---]	-----	lacuna	
		[η]πποσ[θένης]	lacuna	-----	
		[Ν]ικίας	----- j	-----	
		Ἀριστόβι[ος]	60 [-----]ς	95 [..]λοσ[---] b	

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 37: Delta: überall D, nur auf dem neuen Kerameikosstück eckig mit nicht ganz geschlossenen Schrägen.

I.	II	III	IV
(continued)	(continued)	(continued)	(continued)
Τελέστας	[----]ς	[. .]ιος	
30 Αἰθέρ	[----]ας	[.]ύρος	
Φιλοκράτες	[----]ς	[.]ιμοσ[--]	
Στίλπον	[----]χος	[^τ Α]γισ	
Ἐπίτιμος	65 [----]ν	100 Μοσ[χ--]	
-----	[----]λείδας	-----	
	[----]μαχος	<i>lacuna</i>	
	[----]ος	-----	
	-----	<i>vv</i> -----	
		105 <i>vv</i> -----	
		<i>l</i> <i>vv</i> -----	
		<i>vv</i> -----	
		Δα[---]	
		Με[---]	
		110 Δ[----]	

The suggested disposition of the text shows four columns of names. It is clear from fragments *f* and *d* that there were at least three columns, but if these two fragments are placed so close together that the reconstruction allows only three then there is no room for continuing the large letters Ἀργε[---] into an intelligible restoration, for even the simple reading Ἀργε[ῖοι] would extend over the second column where most of the available space is required for the minimum restoration [ἐν Ταν]άγραι from fragment *d*. There must have been at least four columns, and on the evidence of the last column, which appears on fragment *c*, one may assume that the stele was divided into equal panels each about 0.265 m. wide.

Peek (*op. cit.*, p. 35) noted the apparent excess of uninscribed surface above the first line on fragment *a*. This can be explained if the fragment belongs at the beginning of the second column, and it is this evidence which has led us to place it there. The reconstruction with four columns of names leads to so satisfactory a restoration of the epigram in lines 1 and 2 that it may be taken as almost certainly correct. The large letters may be continued over Columns I and II with the restoration Ἀργε[ῖον τοῖδ'] and then, near the center of the stele, the smaller letters continue the first line of the epigram with the words [ἐν Ταν]άγραι Λακ[εδαιμονίοισι]. The twelfth letter of Λακ[εδαιμονίοισι], an omicron, falls at the edge of the stone where the line turns to run down the right margin. Here we have already found on fragment *c* one of the two halves of the pentameter: [γῆς πέ]ρι μαρνάμ[ενοι]. We now know that this was the first half of the line, for it comes along the edge of the stone after Λακ[εδαιμονίοισι]; the second half of the pentameter must be sought in the words [---]ι πένθο[ς ----] of fragment *d*.

The requirements of restoration are here very much restricted by considerations of space and meter, as well as of syntax. The word following $\piένθο[s]$ must have been the main verb of the sentence, for otherwise the epigram will have had no verb. To me the restoration $\piένθο[s] \xiτλαν$ seems inevitable. It satisfies the requirements of space and meter and gives at the same time the meaning desired. Indeed, it is a curious coincidence that Pindar used the phrase to describe the death in battle of the Theban heroes who fought in the same engagement at Tanagra in which the Argives here commemorated lost their lives.²¹

The word $[- - -]ι$, which falls before $\piένθο[s] \xiτλαν$, must have been a dactyl (for the sake of the meter), and must have contained six letters (for reasons of spacing). I suggest $[\tauελόθ]ι$ and read the entire epigram as follows:

'Αργε[ίον τοίδ' ἐν Ταν]άγραι Λακ[εδαιμονίοισι]
[γῆς πέ]ρι μαρνάμ[ενοι τελόθ]ι πένθο[s] ξτλαν].

The disposition of the epigram upon the stone is certainly curious, and one may be permitted some speculation about it. Apparently the equivalent of two lines was left above the four columns of names so that the epigram, when ready, might be inscribed. This was ample room, for it provided two lines of about 50 letter spaces each if the pattern of the inscription below was to be taken as a norm. The epigram finally chosen had only 36 letters in line 1 and 34 letters in line 2. If this had been cut before the names were inscribed, and in letters no larger than those to be used below, there would of course have been any necessary amount of stone available and no reason to run one line down the right edge. But when the stonecutter came to place on the stone the first words 'Αργείον τοίδ' he achieved prominence by using larger letters and involved himself in the difficulty not only of not having room to carry through in the style in which he had begun but of being not even able to carry through normally in smaller letters. The result was the awkward compromise to which our fragments testify.

The number of Argives who participated in the battle at Tanagra is given by Thucydides (I, 107, 5) as one thousand. We are not told how many of them perished but we are told that casualties were high on both sides.²² If as many as four hundred died, their names might be arranged in four columns upon a stele about a meter wide and rather more than two meters high.

I do not know whether Peek tested the fragments in Athens for joins. Eventually this must be done, and a cast of the London fragment should also be tried against the other stones. The fracture along the right of *d*, for example, looks in the photographs similar to that along the left of *c*. If the two pieces join, their relative position

²¹ Pindar, *Isthm.*, VII, line 51: $\xiτλαν δὲ πένθος οὐ φατόν$. Sir John Sandys, in the Loeb edition, translates: And they suffered sorrow beyond all telling. I adopt here the identification made by Mezger and Bury of the battle to which Pindar alludes. The various views are set forth by Sandys, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

²² Thuc., I, 108, 1: $καὶ φόνος ἐγένετο ἀμφοτέρων πολὺς$.

is of course fixed. One notes in the drawing that the height in the stele of fragment *c*, as determined by the epigram, allows the phi of fragment *d* to be read as the initial letter of $\Phi\omicron\iota\nu\iota\xi$ (line 115). Possibly also fragment *g* may join at the right with *c* or at the top with *a* or with both. Until this final study is made one can claim with certainty only the place of fragment *m* on the left margin and a general relationship between the top fragments and fragment *c* which permits the restoration of the epigram.²³ Tentative positions have been assigned here to the other pieces merely for convenience in recording the text.

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TWO INSCRIPTIONS NEAR ATHENS

19. Outside the little church of Saint Thomas, which lies several hundred metres west of the main road from Athens to Amarousion and Kephisia, near the localities now known as Paradeisos, Logothete, and Brahami, nine and a half kilometers from Athens and two from Amarousion,¹ there stands an ancient stele (Figs. 1 and 2). It is said by the people in the neighborhood to have been found under the floor of the church covering a tomb when the building was being extensively repaired in 1931. It is a full-sized stele² of Pentelic marble and is preserved entire except for minor breaks around the edges. It had the misfortune, however, to be used for a time face up as a threshold block; hence all the letters except in a few lines at the top have disappeared. It has a high pedimental top with a round shield in low relief at the centre. On the face of the left akroterion is a *theta*, 0.025 m. high. The first two lines of the inscription are in the pediment, the other preserved lines are on the stele proper.

The text so far as it can be deciphered from the worn surface of the stone, is recorded on the following page.

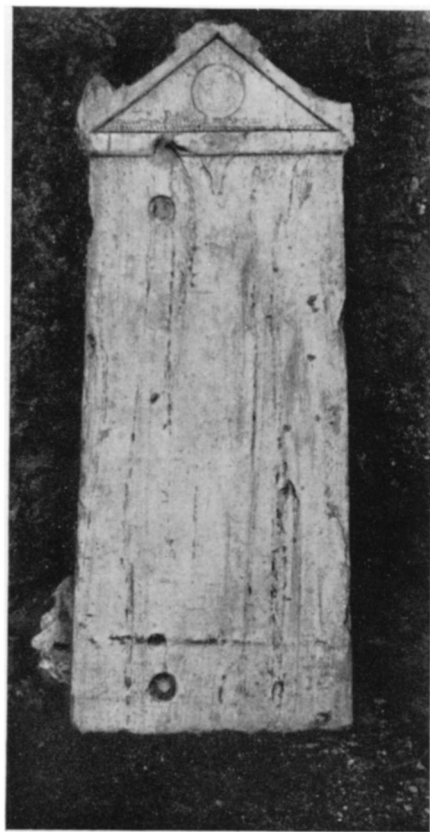


Fig. 1. Inscribed Stele near Athens

²³ If fragment *c* must be placed lower, then a wider spacing would have to be assumed in the restored letters of the epigram.

¹ E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, Blatt V, near centre. The church is briefly described by Professor A. Orlandos in part I, fascicule III, page 200, of the *Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, edited by K. Kourouniotes and G. A. Soteriou.

² Height, 1.56 m.; width at lower part of pediment, 0.595 m.; width of stele, above, 0.545 m.; below, 0.64 m.; thickness, ca. 0.06-0.07 m.; height of letters, average, 0.01 m. The back of the stele is rough-picked.