# THE EPHEBIC INSCRIPTION, ATHENIAN AGORA I 286.

(PLATE 78)

HE major parts of this inscription have been published by Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 36-37, no. 24; Dow, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 71-81, no. 37 (including *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1032, 991, 1960, and 2453); Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 201-213, no. 41; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 169-170, no. 66.

Study of the fragments of this inscription in Athens, the joining of new fragments from the Agora and the placement of others, all small, and the addition of two fragments already published from the Epigraphical Museum in Athens (*I.G.*, II², 1007 and 1032, fgt. v) as indubitable parts of this inscription make it possible to fix the length of the *lacuna* in Decree I and to bridge it, to reconstruct Decrees IV and V with a considerable degree of definiteness, to supply parts of seven names from the tribe of Aiantis, to fix the arrangements of wreaths after Decrees I and V and to present minor corrections and improvements at several points. All previously published pieces have been re-read from the stones in Athens with the help of squeezes and photographs. The accuracy of earlier readings can be judged from the relatively few emendations which need to be made in this final publication. The readings of several smaller pieces which unquestionably belong to the stone, but which cannot be definitely placed, are herewith presented.

All five decrees are capable of restoration *in toto* except for names and dates. Only four lines in Decree IV are not represented by readings. Since the analogy of Decrees IV and V of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> 1011 makes it reasonably certain that Decrees III and IV of this inscription were essentially similar in content, the length and restorations can be accepted with confidence.

The names of all but four of the 107 ephebes who are known to have been listed (line 89) are represented in whole or in part. Seventy-three are given here, 68 (plus one name which cannot be read) occur in the Delphic inscription (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 24), of which 37 are common to both lists.

The following stones are parts of this inscription. The designation of the various fragments by previous editors is retained. Inventory numbers have been corrected, or supplied when the original publication omitted them, and, in particular, all pieces previously designated by Sigma and a number have been given the new numbering

¹ I wish to express my thanks to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt for his permission to republish this inscription on which he has done the major part of the work and for his kindness in placing at my disposal the facilities of the Epigraphical Center at the Institute for Advanced Study. Professor Sterling Dow kindly sent me his squeezes of several fragments. I should like also to mention with gratitude the helpfulness of the Agora staff, and especially of Miss Lucy Talcott and Professor Eugene Vanderpool, in facilitating my work in Athens. Mrs. Reinmuth prepared Fig. 1.

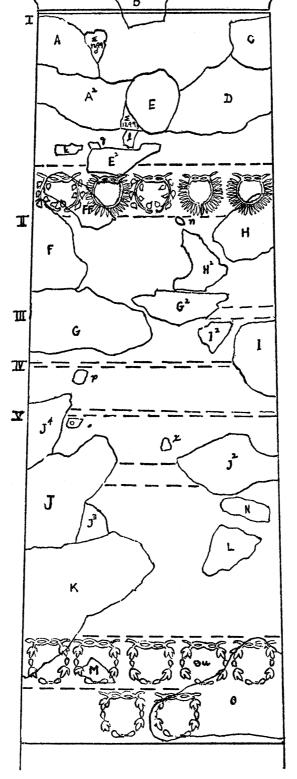


Fig. 1

(I 286 a, b, c et cetera) assigned to them by the Agora Museum. The old Sigma designation is given in parentheses only in those cases in which it has been employed in earlier publications. References to illustrations are added. Braces indicate joins. The listing follows the inscription from top to bottom and from left to right, section by section (Fig. 1).

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(A, I 989 c with new join $1299 d, now attached to I 989 c (Pl. 78).
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A<sup>2</sup>, I 286 e with new join Σ1299 s, now attached to it between E and A<sup>2</sup> at lines 22-29 (Pl. 78).

[E, I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1032 (E.M. 7605) (Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 72).

B, I 992 (Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 72).

(C, I 958 (Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 72).

D, I 286 a which joins E at lines 21-24 (Hesperia, III, 1934, p. 37; IV, 1935, p. 72).

I 286 1 (Pl. 78) belongs below Σ1299 s which is now a part of I 286 e and with

I 286 k (Pl. 78) makes possible the restoration of lines 30-36.

(Pl. 78) to I 286 g joins, and is now attached (Pl. 78) to

E<sup>2</sup>, I 286 j (Pl. 78; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 203). Meritt numbers this Σ1299. The lateral position of E<sup>2</sup> is determined by I 286 g and I 286 k.

FF, I 286 d (Hesperia, XV, 1946, p. 203). Dow numbers this I 286 a.

I 286 n, lines 78-80 med. (Pl. 78).

F, I 989 b (Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 72).

(G, I 286 b (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 72). Meritt's suggestion of a join between G and G<sup>2</sup> is confirmed.

G<sup>2</sup>, (Σ1299 b) (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 204) is attached to G, I 286 b. Meritt numbers this Σ1299 also.

H<sup>2</sup>, I 286 i ( $\Sigma$ 1298) (Hesperia, XV, 1946, p. 203) does not join H as Meritt states, but the lower part of H<sup>2</sup> joins G<sup>2</sup>.

H, I 286 c (Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 72).

(I<sup>2</sup>, I 286 h (Hesperia, XV, 1946, p. 204).

I, I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 991 (E.M. 5296) (Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 72).

I 286 p (Pl. 78) yields letters of five consecutive lines which fit best the sequence demanded by space considerations and by the text in lines 116-120 and, if correctly placed, give two letters of the patronymic of the proposer of Decree IV.

I 286 o (Pl. 78) may be placed in lines 129-130 to fill out the demotic of the proposer of the decree and give the first three letters of  $\pi o \mu \pi \eta \nu$  in the next line, although it does not join I 989 d.

I 286 x (Pl. 78) does not join anywhere, but the 2 to 3 letters from four consecutive lines agree spatially with the normal reconstruction of lines 133-136 med.

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J*, I 989 d (Hesperia, XVI, 1947, pl. XXXII, no. 66).
J, I 989 a (Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 72; XVI, 1947, pl. XXXII, no. 66).
K, I.G., II², 1960 (E.M. 564) (Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 72).
J*, I 286 f (Hesperia, XV, 1946, p. 205).
J², I 286 g (Hesperia, XV, 1946, p. 205).
N, I.G., II², 1039, fgt. v (E.M. 5259) (Pl. 78).
L, I.G., II², 2453 (E.M. 5238) (Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 72).
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M, I 3457 (Hesperia, XV, 1946, p. 213).

I 286 u (Pl. 78). consisting of one letter only, mu corrected to pi, which can only be a part of the name of the toxotes, Pystilos in the citation.

O is the designation I give to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1007 (E.M. 7604), which is without question a part of this inscription (Pl. 78).

I 286 m, q, r, s, t, v, w, y can not be definitely placed (Pl. 78).

It will serve no useful purpose to repeat the measurements of the separate pieces or the over-all measurements of joining fragments. The measurements of the assembled fragments from the Agora and plaster casts of the larger pieces from the Epigraphical Museum form the basis for the over-all dimensions which are given below.

Of the hitherto unpublished pieces (I 286 k through y), only two are more than chips: I 286 k with a maximum width of 12 cm. and I 286 l with a maximum height of 9 cm. The others vary from 5 cm. to 1 cm. in height and only the inscribed surfaces are original.

Professor Eugene Vanderpool has succinctly summarized the provenience of the Agora fragments in the following statement. The grid references in parentheses are to the over-all 20-meter grid which appeared as Plate 12 in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953 and are here used for the first time to mark the place of discovery of inscriptions. The conclusions which Professor Vanderpool draws from the finding place of the small pieces as to the location of the original stele should be particularly noted.

"Most of the fragments of this inscription were found near the southeast corner of the Agora. The stele appears to have stood originally in front of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos, about opposite Pier 7 from the south, and to have been broken up after the Herulian invasion for use as building material in the Late Roman Fortification. A quantity of small fragments and chips from it (I 286 k through y) found all together in a filling of Roman times opposite Pier 7, and presumably left behind when the stele was broken up for building use, give a clue as to its original position (P 11).

"Some of the main fragments were used in the filling of the south tower of the gate of the Late Roman Fortification (Q 13; cited in earlier publications as Section

Iota, north tower). Other main fragments came from modern house walls in this neighborhood, no doubt extracted from the Late Roman Fortification; and a few were found in modern construction 100 m. and more to the north and west of the tower. One fragment, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1960 (E.M. 564) is reported to have come from a considerable distance to the east, east of the Tower of the Winds."

The place of discovery of the other pieces from the Epigraphical Museum are given as follows: E.M. 5296 (*I.G.*, II², 991), Hadrian's Arch; E.M. 7605 (1032), Stoa of the Giants; E.M. 5238 (2453) and E.M. 7604 (1007), place not given; E.M. 5259 (1039, fgt. v), "ad Panagiam Pyrgiotissam, ut videtur," i. e. near the tower at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos, but whether Kumanudes actually found this fragment with the 69-70 other pieces which Koehler put together as parts of *I.G.*, II², 1039, is quite uncertain.

The small pieces (Pl. 78) whose readings are given below can not be definitely placed.

I 286 m ΟΥΣΚ Α 'Αλέξιδο[s]

I 286 m is a puzzling fragment. The readings in line 2 suggest the name in the accusative case and the patronymic of Nikon, son of Alexis, of Berytos, the paidotribes, whose patronymic is known only from the Delphic inscription. In lines 39 and 137 of this inscription, the name is followed immediately by the ethnic. The only other place where his name can occur is in the citation at the end of Decree V. There the omega of the name is preserved, but spatial considerations and the fact that the patronymics of the teachers are not otherwise given in this inscription, exclude the readings of this fragment in that place. We must conclude that it is a part of the roster of names, in which case the doubtful alpha should with more probability be read doubtful sigma.

I 286 q vac. 0.025 m. NAB

The uninscribed space in line 1 of I 286 q makes it impossible for this piece to supply the missing letters in the citation of the *paidotribes*, Nikon of Berytos.

I 286 r	I 286 s	I 286 t
ΥΔEĶ	v.	v.v. A
АΛ	ΥΗΣΤ̈́Ι	ΗΣ
A v.		vac.

The uninscribed spaces before the *alpha* in line 1 of fragment I 286 t and the position of the two letters in line 2 would indicate the head of a column of names with the name of a tribe above it. The only *alpha* of a tribal name which is lacking is that of Antiochis. Fragment t does not belong there, however, because the letters of line 2 do not fit with the readings of line 248 and there is no uninscribed space in line 249 to correspond with that below the preserved letters of line 2 of this fragment.

I 286 v	I 286 w	I 286 y
ḤΔP	НО	ΟΣ
ΩΙΘ	N	

All these pieces of Hymettian marble formed a large rectangular stele with a horizontal cavetto-crowned cyma reversa moulding on top, a part of which is preserved, comparable in general shape, magnitude and arrangement of inscription with *I.G.*, II², 1006, 1008, 1009 and 1011, all of the second century before Christ. Its height from top of moulding to bottom of lowest wreath can be closely estimated at 2.35 m., its width tapers from 0.65 m. under the moulding to 0.73 m. at line 144 and 0.75 m. at line 166. Its thickness varied from 0.175 m. at the top to 0.195 m. at the bottom. Its back and sides were rough-picked.

The line interval (center to center) is 0.011 m. to 0.013 m. in the body of the inscription, 0.009 m. to 0.01 m. between the names in Col. I of the catalogue, with somewhat wider spacing of lines in Cols. II and III.

The variation in size and spacing of letters has already been commented upon. Lines containing proper names are usually more widely spaced, as Meritt has pointed out, but capriciousness in size of letters and in spacing is found in other lines as well, as can be clearly seen by comparing  $\delta\iota\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon[\nu]$  near the beginning of line 88 with  $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\delta\nu$  in the line below it,  $\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\iota$  koop at the beginning of line 91, with  $\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  of the same word, and many other examples. Indeed it may be said that the writing is regularly irregular.

Hence the lines vary in length. Lines 1-14 contain 53 to 63.5 letter spaces (counting *iota* as one-half letter space); lines 15-28, where the readings are virtually complete, 65 to 73.5; lines 29-42 have 64 to 74, while line 43 counts 77.5 letter spaces. In Decree II, lines 78-99 have from 74 letters in line 85 to 84.5 in line 96. The average length of the restored lines in Decree III is 82 letters which conditions both the estimate of the extent of the *lacuna* in lines 113-114 and the length of line to be restored in Decree IV. Omitting the first and last lines, Decree V yields an average length of only 76.5 letters (preserved readings and restorations) in spite of the greater width of the lower part of the stele.

This inscription falls into the third of five fairly well established schemes of ephebic inscriptions in the period from the fourth through the first centuries before Christ.

- I a. One or more general decrees honoring the ephebes and their teachers, especially the sophronistes, of a single tribe, followed by the roster of ephebes under deme captions. In I.G., II², 1156 (334/3 B.C.) we find decrees by the boule, by the tribe, and by the people of Eleusis, where the ephebes had performed guard duty. I.G., II², 1189 of the same year, but for another tribe, preserves only a decree of the Eleusinians. This decree or a similar one by the people of a place where the ephebes had been stationed was apparently not normative in this or in later schemes. A third example of this type is Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 59-66, no. 8 (333/2 B.C.). The decree beginning in line 10 of Col. III, I should prefer to interpret as a tribal decree and, therefore, to supply  $\tau o s \phi \nu \lambda \epsilon \tau a s$  in place of  $\tau o s \lambda \lambda \alpha a \gamma a s$  not only because the heading states that the sophronistes was honored a) by the boule and demos and b) apparently also by the phyle, but also because of the analogy in I.G., II², 1156. Furthermore there seems to be no parallel for the inclusion of a resolution of praise by groups other than political units.
- 1 b. No honorary decrees. The roster of the ephebes of a single tribe under deme captions.  ${}^{\circ}E\phi$ .  ${}^{\circ}A\rho\chi$ ., 1918, p. 75, no. 95 (324/3 B.C.); Hesperia, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 273-278 (ca. 330/29 B.C.) and Hesperia, XVI, 1947, pp. 184-185, no. 91 (fin. s. IV a.) are of this kind. A variety of this type was the dedicatory inscription set up to honor the sophronistes of a single tribe, presumably by the ephebes of that tribe, such as we have in A.J.P., LXVI, 1945, pp. 234-239 (333/2 B.C.) and Ath. Mitt., LXVII, 1942-51, p. 21, no. 24 (ca. 289/5 B.C.).
- II. A general decree honoring the ephebes and their teachers, followed by the names of the ephebes of all tribes under separate deme captions with the name of the *sophronistes* under each tribal name.

The change in scheme was apparently in conformity with a decree of the first years of the third century which regulated the honor to be paid the ephebes and their officials, a fragment of which we have in I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 556. It seems to have provided that the names of all ephebes of a given year be inscribed on one stone, that the name of the sophronistes be placed at the head of the roster of his tribe (line 13) and that an official (the kosmetes?) be awarded a crown  $[--\sigma\tau\epsilon]\phi a\nu\omega\sigma \acute{a}\tau\omega$   $\acute{a}\dot{\nu}\dot{\tau}\dot{\nu}\dot{\nu}$   $\acute{o}$   $\delta\eta\mu$ [os ---] (line 12). The only inscription which shows all these features is I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 478 (305/4 B.c.). The name of the sophronistes was preceded by the abbreviation  $\Sigma\omega$  which is preserved in Col. III, line 33 and which Sundwall correctly equated with "sophronistes."

With declining numbers of ephebes, the *sophronistai* for individual tribes were dropped and their titles and names disappear from the inscriptions (first in *I.G.*, II², 665 of 268/7 B.C.), and the ephebes were no longer listed under deme headings (*I.G.*, II², 681 of the year 249/8 B.C.). The type, however, remains distinctive: one general honorary decree followed by the names of the ephebes of all tribes.

III. Two decrees, one general, honoring the ephebes and their teachers followed

by citations for the *kosmetes* and the ephebes, the other, honoring the *kosmetes* alone. The catalogue of all ephebes by tribes follows. Below this are given the citations for the individual teachers. Although not complete, *I.G.*, II², 1027 (174/3 B.c.) seems to be the first of this category. The normative form from this time until the latter part of the first century can be seen complete in *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 198-201, no. 40 (171/0 B.C.); *I.G.*, II², 1006 (122/1 B.C.) and 1008 (118/7 B.C.). The distinctive features are two honorary decrees (excluding an adventitious third by the people of Salamis or Eleusis), the list of all ephebes by tribes, and the placement of the citations.

The inscription Agora I 286 introduces a change in the pattern by the addition of two decrees, III and IV. The opening words of Decree III, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ κοσμητής τῶν ἐφήβων, and the preserved readings demonstrate its kinship with Decree IV of I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1011 (107/6 B.c.). Decrees IV and V in I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1011 are a pair of decrees identical in length, language and content, proposed by the same man, the first, in the month of Gamelion in an ἐκκλησία κυρία, the second, in Thargelion in a called assembly of the same year. Kirchner described them as decrees "in honor of the ephebes and of the kosmetes," but their content belies this description as well as the fact that the ephebes were honored in Decree I and the kosmetes in Decree II. Without detailed analysis, one may say that these decrees are clearly the formal and official acceptance of the report of the kosmetes regarding the sacrifices which he and the ephebes under him had offered for the well-being of the state. The assumption that Decree IV of Agora I 286 forms a similar pair with Decree III is supported by the analogy of I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, which is the only other inscription exhibiting this innovation, by the preserved readings, and by the spatial relations of the fragments which permit restorations in accordance with this assumption. The variation of language in the closing lines of Decree IV, lines 126-127 from that of Decree III, lines 112-114 of Agora I 286 is to be accounted for by the additional statement concerning the dedication of a phiale in Decree IV. The recognition of this offering is found in both decrees in I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1011 and is a stock part of the "acceptance decree" found in the inscriptions of the next category. The problem posed by two almost identical decrees separated by a few months' interval in the year of the ephebes' service can not be discussed here.

IV. Although the inscriptions of the first century, all dating from after Sulla's visit to Athens, reveal several modifications in the administration of the ephebia, the form of the inscription is modified in only one respect. An "acceptance decree" is added to the general decree and the decree honoring the *kosmetes*. Its content and formulae parallel the pairs of decrees in Agora I 286 and in *I.G.*, II², 1011. This "acceptance decree" is the first of the three decrees in *I.G.*, II², 1039 (83-73 B.C.); 1042 (ca. 41/0 B.C.) and 1043 (39/8 B.C.). *I.G.*, II², 1041 (47/6-43/2 B.C.) and *I.G.*, II², 1040 plus 1025, the concluding portion of 1040 (21/0 B.C.) preserve fragments of the general decree only.

I

127/6

35

V. With I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1963 (13/2 B.C.) the inscriptional records of the ephebes assumed a form which in its essentials they retained throughout the Imperial Period. They contain no honorary decrees and are apparently set up at private expense, as many of them specifically indicate. After the superscription  $\dot{a}\gamma a\theta \hat{\eta} \tau \dot{\nu}\chi \eta$  and the dating by archon, the officials and teachers, sometimes also those who had borne the expenses of the gymnasium, the victors and agonothetai of various contests are named. There follows the catalogue of all ephebes, usually under tribal captions.

Έπὶ Θεοδ [ωρίδου ἄρχοντος] ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγε [ίδος τρίτης πρυτανείας] ἢ Σωσικρά νυ της Εὐφρο [νίου Θριάσιος ἐγρ]αμμάτευ [εν· Βοηδρομιῶνος πένπτ]η ἱσταμένου

NON-∑TOIX. ca. 53-74

πένπτη τη [ς π] ρυτα [νείας · ἐκκλη] σ [ία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι · τῶν προ] έδρων ἐπε ψήφιζεν 'Ανδρόνικος ['Ανδρονίκου Βουτάδης · ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι · ] vacat 5 Πολύχαρμος Πολυκρ (ίτου 'Αζηνιεύς εἶπεν' ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐφηβεύσ αντες ἐπὶ vΔιονυσίου ἄρχοντος θ [ύσαντες ταις έγγραφαις τὰ εἰσιτήρια] έν τῶι πρυ τανείωι  $\epsilon \pi i$  τ $\hat{\eta}$ ς κοιν $\hat{\eta}$  ς  $\epsilon$ στίας μετά τε τοῦ κοσμητοῦ καὶ τοῦ  $i\epsilon$   $\rho \epsilon$ ως τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρ[ί]των [ἡκολούθουν τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμ]ασιν διετέ λεσαν δὲ πειθαρχοῦν [τες τῶι κοσμητῆ καὶ τοῖς διδασκάλοις "ἔθυσ] αν δὲ καὶ τὰς 10 θυσίας άπάσας τοις θε οις και τοις εὐεργέταις εποήσαντο δε και την άπά [ν] τησιν τοις ίεροις και π[ροέπενψαν αὐτά · ἤραντο δὲ και τοὺς β]οῦς δι ἐαυτ<math>[ων]τοις Μυστηρίοις ώσαύ [τως ἐν Ἐλευσινι · συνετέλεσαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς δρ ]όμους π [άν] τας εὐσχημόνως τούς τ[ε ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ τὰς λανπά]δας ἔ[δρα] [μον καὶ] τὰς πονπὰς ἐπόντπ $[ευσαν κατά τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ] δήμου <math>θε[^v]$ οῖς  $\epsilon$ ίσ $[\dot{\eta}\gamma$ αγο]ν δὲ καὶ τὸν  $\Delta[ιόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆ]ς ἐσχάρας κ<math>[αὶ$  εὐσεβῶς τὴν ἑαν]τῶν φιλοτιμίαν ἀπ[ο]15 δεικνύμενοι ταθρο[ν ἔπενψαν καὶ ἔθυσαν τῶι] θεῶι ὡς ὅτι μά[λιστα εὐπρεπέ]στατα· ἐποήσαντο δὲ κ[αὶ] μελέτην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλο[ις καὶ ἀπεδείξαντο] ἔν τε τοῖς Θησεί[οις καὶ ἄλλ]ως κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ <sup>υ</sup> ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου· ἐπ[οήσαντο δὲ κα]ὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τ[ὴν εἰς Δελ]φοὺς ἀξίως ἐκατέρων τῶν πόλε ων εὐτάκτως καὶ εὐσχημ[όνως] ἀνασ[τρ]αφέντες $\cdot$  ἐλειτούρ $_{Y}[$ ησαν δ]ὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις ἀπάσαις εὐ $^{v}$ σεβῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως οὐθὲν [ἐν]λείπον[τε]ς τῶν ἀναγκαίων κα[ὶ ἐστ]εφανώθησαν τῶι τοῦ θεοῦ στεφά ν [ν]ωι δμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ κοσμητ[ης] καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι αὐτῶν · ἐποιήσα[ντ]ο δὲ καὶ τὸν εἰς Σαλαμίνα πλοῦν <sup>υ</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Αἰαντ [είω]ν· ἔθυσάν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίου [τῶ]ι Διὶ καὶ παραγενόμενοι ἐπόνπευσαν καὶ ἔθυσαν τῶι Αἴαντι κα[ὶ τῶι] ᾿Ασκληπιῶι · ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ τὴν [λα]νπάδα καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως · υ [ἔ] θυσαν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρ [ίων] καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς κατέχουσ[ιν] τὴν ᾿Αττικὴν · ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς <sup>νυ</sup>  $[\Pi \epsilon \iota]$ ραίοις τῶι Διονύσωι  $[\kappa a \iota]$  εἰσήγαγον τὸν θεὸν παρακ $[a \theta \iota]$ σαντες ἐν τῶι  $\Pi \epsilon \iota$ ραε $\iota$  ἡμέρα $[s]^v$ 

[τέτταρ] ας εὖτάκτως · ν ε[λει] τούργησαν δε καὶ ταῖς σε[μναῖ] ς θεαῖς ἀνεγκλήτως · [παρήδρευ] [σαν δε καὶ ταῖς] ἐκκλησ[ία] ις ἀπάσαις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοι[ς εὖσχ] ημόνως · ἀνέθηκαν δ[ε καὶ φιάλην] [τῆ μητρὶ τῶν θ] εῶν κα[τ] ὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ἀπὸ δρ[αχμῶν ἑκατ] όν · συνετήρησαν δ[ε καὶ τὴν πρὸς] [ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν κα] ὶ φιλίαν ἐν ὅλωι [τῶι ἐνιαυτῶι · ὅπως οὖν ἥ τε βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνωνται]

[τιμῶντες τοὺς πειθαρχοῦντας τ]οῖς τ [ε νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν νν ἀγαθῆ τύχη δεδόχ]
[θαι τῆ βουλῆ τοὺς λαχόντας προ]έδρο [υς εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ]
[τούτων· γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλε]σθαι τῆς [βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆ βουλῆ ἐπαινέσαι]
[τοὺς ἐφήβους τοὺς ἐπὶ Διον]υσίου ἄ [ρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Λυκίσκον καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς]
[χρυσῶι στεφάνωι εὐσεβείας ἔν]εκεν [ῆς ἔχοντες διατετελέκασιν ἐν ὅλωι τῶι ἐνιαυτῶι τῆς]
[εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φι]λοτιμ[ίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνει]

[πεῖν τὸν στ] έφα [νον τοῦτον Διονυσί] ων τε [τῶν ἐν ἄστει τῶι καινῶι ἀγῶνι καὶ Παναθηναίων καὶ 'Ε]
[λευσινίων κα] ὶ Πτολεμαίω [ν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶ] σιν· τῆς δ[ὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπι]
[μεληθῆνα] ι τοὺς στρατηγ [οὺς] καὶ τὸν [ταμίαν τῶν] στρατιω [τικῶν· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους]
[αὐτῶν τόν] τε παιδοτρ [ίβην Νί] κωνα Βηρύτιον καὶ τὸν ὁ [πλομάχον Σωτάδην Σολέα καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστην]
[Νίκανδρον Εὐων] υμ [έα κ] αὶ τὸν τοξότην Πυσ [τίλον 'Οῆθεν καὶ τὸν ἀφέτην Πεδιέα ἐκ Κεραμέων]
[καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Θαρ] ρῦνον Λανπ<τ>ρέα καὶ τὸ [ν ὑπηρέτην Ἱέρωνα 'Αναγυράσιον ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε]
[τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα] τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεί [αν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀγορῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν]
[ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθε] σιν τῆς στήλης τ [ὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν.]

One line uninscribed

40

85

90

45	$[\dot{\eta} \; eta$ ουλ $\dot{\eta}]$		$[\dot{\eta} \ eta$ ουλ $]\dot{\eta} \ \dot{\delta} \ \delta \hat{\eta}$ μος		$[\dot{\eta} \; eta o v \lambda \dot{\eta}]$	65	$[\delta \delta\hat\eta\mu$ os $\delta]$		$[\dot{\eta}  eta o v \lambda \dot{\eta}]$
	ὁ δῆμος		[τὸν κο]σμητήν		[ὁ δῆμος]		[Σαλαμινίων]		[ὁ δῆμος]
	In an ivy wreath τὸν		In a golden wreath	60	$[In \ an \ ivy \ wreath] \ [ au\delta v]$		[In a golden wreath] [τοὺς ἐφή]	75	In a golden wreath $[\tau \hat{o}v]$
	κοσμητὴν 'Απολλώνιον	55	[καὶ τοὺς]	60	[κοσμητὴν		[βους καὶ τὸν]	75	[κοσμητὴν]
<b>5</b> 0		33	L J		['Απολλώνιον]	70	[κοσμητὴν]		['Απολλώνιον]
50	Σουνιέα καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους		<b>ἐ</b> φήβ[ους]		[Σουνιέα] [καὶ τοὺς] [ἐφήβους]	70	['Απολλώνιον] [Σουνιέα]		[Σουν]ιέα

II NON-\(\frac{1}{2}\)TOIX. ca. 74-85

127/6 Ἐπὶ Θεοδω [ρίδου ἄρ] χοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Α [ἰγείδος τρίτης πρυτανεία]ς ἢ [Σωσικράτης Εὐφρονίου] Θριάσιος ἐγραμμά

τευεν· Βοη [δρομι] ῶνος τετράδι με [τ' εἰκάδας κατ' ἄρχοντα κατὰ] θεὸν [δὲ . . . . . . μετ' εἰκάδα]ς τετάρτη καὶ ε [ὶ]

πυρίδης καὶ  $[\sigma v v \pi \rho \delta \epsilon \delta \rho o i \cdot \epsilon \delta o \xi \epsilon v \tau \hat{\omega} i \delta \eta \mu \omega i \dots c^{a} \cdot c^{25} \dots \epsilon \hat{i} \pi \epsilon v \cdot \epsilon \pi \epsilon i \delta \eta \cdot A] \pi o \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} v i o s$   $\Sigma_0 [v v i]$ 

εὺς χειροτονη [θεὶς κοσμητὴς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχον] τος τοῦ μετὰ Δυ κίσκον ἦρξεν τὴν [ἀρχὴν κατά τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δή] μου πρ [οέστη δὲ κ] αὶ τῆς εὐταξίας τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τ [ῆς ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν γενομένης ἐπιστασίας ἐπεμ] ελήθη· ἔ [θυσεν δὲ κ] αὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀπά σας μετ' αὐτῶν τ [οῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις· ἐποήσατο δὲ κ] αὶ τὴν ἀποδ [ημίαν] μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς Δ[ελ] φοὺς ἀξίως ἑκατέ [ρων τῶν πόλεων εὐτάκτως καὶ εὐσχημόνως ἀναστρ] αφείς· ἐλειτ [ούργ] ησεν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις ἀπάσα [ις εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως οὐθὲν ἐνλείπων τῶν ἀναγκ] αίων καὶ ἐστ [εφανώθη τῶι τοῦ θεοῦ]

στεφάνωι· διετήρησε [ν δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλί]αν δι' ὅλου το [ῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὅντας τὸν] ἀριθμὸν ἑκατὸν ἑπτὰ [καὶ πάντας διεφύλαξεν· ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἔ]φηβοι χρυσῷ στ[εφάνῳ ἐστεφάνωσαν] ἀποδεικνύμενοι τὴ [ν γεγονυῖαν εἰς αὐτοὺς δικαιοσύνην καὶ εὔνοι]αν· ὅπως ἐφάμιλ [λον ἢ τοῖς καθιστα] μένοις κοσμηταῖς δικ [αίως καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διεξάγειν καὶ ἐκε]ῖνοι τοῦτο πράττ [ωσιν ὅπως τιμῶνται] καταξίως ὑπὸ τῆς β[ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους·] ἀγαθῆ τύχη δ[εδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆ τοὺς λα] χόντας προέδρους [εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ το]ύτων· γνώμ [ην δὲ συνβάλλεσθαι τῆς βου]

λης εἰς τὸν δημον [ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆ βουλῆ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν κοσμητὴν τῶν ἐ] φήβων [᾿Απολλώνιον ᾿Απολλωνίου Σουνι]

5 έα καὶ στεφανῶσ[αι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμ]ον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν κ[αὶ δικαιοσύνης ἡν ἔχων διατελεῖ] πρ[ὸς τοὺ]ς ἐφήβους κα[ὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνειπεῖ]ν τὸν στέφανον τοῦτον Διον[υσίων τε τῶν ἐν ἄστει καινοῖς τρα]

[γ] φδοῖς καὶ Παναθηναί [ων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων καὶ] Πτολεμαίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς [ἀγῶσιν· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στε

φάνου ἐπιμεληθήναι το [ὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τ]ὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν· [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν] γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυ[τανείαν εἰς στή]λην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀγορ[ậ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ την ἀνά] 100 θεσιν της στήλης το γενό [μενον αν] άλωμα μερίσαι τον ταμίαν των [στρατιωτικών.] Two lines uninscribed III NON-TOIX. ca. 82 128/7 Έπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ  $\mu\epsilon\langle \tau\dot{a}\rangle$  Αυκίσ $[\kappa$ ον ἐπὶ τ $\hat{\eta}]$ ς Ἱππο $\theta[\omega v]$ τί $\hat{\delta}[$ ος ἐνάτης πρυτανείας  $\hat{\eta}_i$ .... ca. 11 ... vos Keda]  $\lambda$ η̂θεν ἐγραμμάτενεν· ἀντιγραφεὺς 'Ηφαι $[\sigma \tau \ ... ^{ca. 6}..]^{\Lambda} [ ... ... ^{ca. 12}....]$ ι[o s κατασταθεὶ s ἐπὶ τὸΜητρῶιον 105 κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ Τίμαρχος Ἐπηρατίδου  $\mathbf{\Sigma} \phi [$ ήττιος εἶπεν ....  $\mathbf{^{ca}}$ .  $\mathbf{^{12}}$ .... Ἐλαφη]  $\beta o [\lambda \iota]$  ῶνος δ[εκάτ]ει ὑστέραι μ[ιᾶι] καὶ εἰκοστῆι τῆς πρυτανείας · ἐκκλησία $\llbracket\iota
rbracket$  ἐν  $\llbracket$ τῶι θεάτρωι . . . .  $ho^{ca}$  .  $ho^{17}$  . . . . . ho ho Βερενικίδhohoς εἶ $\pi$ hoεν · ύπ ερ ων ἀπα[γ]  $\gamma \dot{\epsilon}(\lambda) \langle \lambda \rangle \epsilon \dot{\iota}$  δ κοσμητής των ἐφήβων 'Απολλώνιος 'Α [πολλωνίου Σουνιεύς ὑπὲρ τῆ]ς θυσίας ἡς ἔθυσ[εν έν τηι π ομπηι vacat μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων τῶι τε Διονύσωι καὶ τοῖς ἄλ [λοις θεοῖς· δεδόχθαι ἀγαθῆι] τύχηι τῶι δήμωι τ[ὰ μὲν άγ ] αθὰ δέχεσθα [ι] τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυεν ἐφ' [ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς τε β]ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμ[ου καὶ π]αίδων καὶ γυνα ι 110 κῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμ[άχων τοῦ δήμου· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν κοσμητὴν] 'Απολλώνιον 'Απ[ολλωνίο]υ Σουνιέα καὶ | auοὸ|ς ἐφήetaους καὶ στεφαν $\hat{\omega}$ [σαι αὐτοὺς κιττο $\hat{\omega}$  στεφάνωι εὐσεetaείας] ἔν $[\epsilon \kappa]$ εν [ au]ής  $\pi[
ho$ ὸς τοὺς heta]εοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμ[ί] ας της πρός [την βουλην καὶ τὸν δήμον ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ π ρυτανείαν έν [στήληι λιθίνηι καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγορᾶι· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης μερί]σαι τὸν ἐπλ τεί δ[ι] [οικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα. 1 vacatvacat115 One line uninscribed IVNON-STOIX. 128/7 [ Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄ] ρχο [ ντος τοῦ μετὰ Λυκίσκον ἐπὶ τῆς ... ε. δεκάτης πρυτανείας ἡι ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ] vos Ke τὸ ] Μητρωιον [κατὰ τὸ ψήφι] σμα [δ Τίμαρχος Ἐπηρατίδου Σφήττιος εἶπεν· Μουνιχιῶνος τετράδι ἱσταμένου τετά] ρτει [πρυτανεί] as · τ [ῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν . . . . . . . . . . . . . . καὶ συμπρόεδροι · ἔδοξεν τῶι δή ]μωι · Χαρ 120 Διονύσωι καὶ τ]οῖς ἄ[λ] [λοις θεοις ης έθυσεν μετά των έφήβων άγαθηι τύχηι δεδόχθαι τωι δήμωι τὰ μὲν άγαθὰ δέχεσθαι ἃ ἀπαγγέλλει δ [κοσμητης γεγονότα εν τοις ιεροις οις εθυεν εφ' υγιείαι και σωτηρίαι της τε βουλης και του δήμου και

[καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Αθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν κοσμητὴν

'Απολλώνιον 'Απολ]

[λωνίου Σουνιέα καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ]

125 [τον δη]μον κ[αὶ στεφανῶσαι κιττοῦ στεφάνωι ἐπειδη αἰρούμενοι προνοησαι μὲν της εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας πε]

[ρι] στείλαι δὲ τὸ [ἱερὸν τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἀνατεθείκασιν τῆι θεῶι φιάλην ἀπὸ δραχμῶν ἔκατὸν κάλλιστον ὑπόδειγμα]

πρὸς πάντας ἀ[ποδεικνύμενοι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήληι λιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀγορᾶι. vacat]

One line uninscribed.

NON-∑TOIX. ca. 77

Δάμων Σίμου [Σο] υνι[εὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Λυκίσκον παραγενό]
130 μενοι ἐπὶ τὴν πομ[πὴν καὶ θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Αἰαντείων καὶ ἔθυσαν τῶι Αἴαντι· ἐποιήσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐν]

τῶι ἀγῶνι ἄμ [ιλλαν τοῖς πλοίοις · ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ τὴν λαμπάδα καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως · ὅπως οὖν ἀπάντων] τούτων ὑπά [ρχηι αὐτοῖς ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων · δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι · ἐπαινέσαι] τοὺς ἐφήβου [ς τοὺς ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετ]ὰ Λ [υκίσκον καὶ τὸν κοσμ]ητὴ [ν] 'Α [πο]λλ [ώνιον 'Απολλωνί]

ου Σουνιέα κ[αὶ στεφανώσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσώι στεφά] νωι κ[ατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ἀνε]ιπεῖν τὸν στέφανον τοῦτο[ν Διονυ]

135 σίων τῶν ἐν [Σαλαμῖνι τραγωιδῶν τῶι καινῶι ἀγῶνι· τ]ῆς δ[ὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ σ]τεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως [ $^v$ ]

ἐπιμεληθ [ῆναι τόν τε στρατ] ηγὸν [καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμε] λη [τάς · ἐπαινέσαι] δὲ καὶ τοὺς παιδευτὰς αὐτῶν τόν τε παιδοτρίβ [ην Νίκων] α Βηρύτιον κ[αὶ τὸν ὁπλομάχον Σωτάδην Σο] λέα καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν Νίκανδρον <sup>ν</sup> Εὐωνυμ[έα καὶ τὸ] ν τοξότην Πυσ [τίλον 'Οῆθεν καὶ τὸν ἀφέτην Π] εδιέα ἐκ Κεραμέων καὶ τὸν γραμμα

τέα Θαρ[ρίνον Λ] αμπτρέα καὶ τὸν [ὑπηρέτην Ἱέρωνα ᾿Αναγυρά] σιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἔκαστον αὐτῶν θαλ 140 λοῦ στεφά[νωι ] ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ [ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δ] ήμου εἰς ζσ>τήλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι ζέ>ν τῶι

τεμένει τοῦ Αἴαντος· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγ[ραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς σ]τήλης μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰ[ς] τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀποτεταγμένων [τῶι δήμωι.] Vacat

One line uninscribed

OI ΕΦΗΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΈΣ ΕΠΙ [ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟ]Σ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟ[N]

#### Three lines uninscribed

150 155	Ἐρεχθείδος Τιμοκλής Δημοκλείδου Κηφισεύ[ς] Πλειστίας Διονυσίου Κηφισιεύς Ἐπικράτης Τίμωνος ἐκ Κηδῶν Αἰγείδος Λυσίμαχος Φιλοξένου Φιλαί[δης] Σώφιλος Σωφίλου Ἐρικεε[ύς] Μηνόδωρος Διογένου Ἐ[ρικεεύς] Φιλων Σωφίλου Κολλυτ[εύς] Πύρρος Δημοκλείδου Τ[ειθράσιος] Σωτάδας Σωτάδου Φι[λαίδης] Στησαγόρας Εὐμήλο[υ Φιλαί]δη[ς]	194	[Olvείδος]  Thirteen lines  missing	<ul><li>231</li><li>235</li><li>239</li></ul>	$ \begin{array}{c c} A i a ν τ ίδο s \\ \hlineNEM$
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160	Καλλίστρατος 'Αριστ[]υ 'Ερικεεύ Πανδιονίδο [s]	[s]					About the	_
165	Χάρης Χάρητος Παιανιεύς ' Απολλοφάνης Ληναί [ου] Κυδαθηναιεύς Κάστωρ ' Αρχίππου Κυδαθηναιεύς Καλλίμαχος Καλλιμ [ά] χου Παιαν [ιε] ύς Θάρσανδρος Νικοστ [ράτου] Πα [ια] νιεύς Δημήτριος Μητρο [δώρου Π] αιανιεύς Σωφά [ι] νης Δημοκράτου Παιανιεύς Λεωντίδος		'Αντιγ [ –	χος Νικίου — — — · · — — — — — · Κεκροπίδος] ωρος [Δημητρίου ·	]	$\begin{bmatrix} \Delta \iota o \nu \dot{\upsilon} \sigma \iota o s \\ - \frac{ca.7}{ca.6} \\ - \frac{ca.6}{ca.6} \end{bmatrix} $	] Διογ[έν]ου   -	] [] ους 'Pa [μνούσιος] του 'Paμ[νούσιος] οδότ[ου]
170	Μηνόδωρος 'Ηρακλείδου Κολονήθεν Νικίας Εὐφημίδου Κρωπίδης 'Αγέλαος 'Αγελάου ἐξ Οἴου Πολυαίνετος 'Αμύκλου Σκαμβωνίδης 'Απολλόδοτος Σθενίου Κήττιος	215	Διονύσιος Ζηνόδοτο "Ατταλος	'Ηρακλε[ίδου 5 Διονυσ[ 5 Θεοδ[ 3 'Αδράστο[υ νιος Διονυ[σίου -	] ] ]	$\left[\frac{ca}{a}, \frac{6}{a}\right]$	]λωνος Παλ[λη ]ος Εὐανδρ 'Ατταλί[δος 'Απολλ[ωνί οι 'Απ[ολλοδώρου	[]
175	Τιμοκράτης 'Αλεξάνδρου Ποτάμιος Αἰσχύλος Αἰσχύλου Ύβάδης Σωσίβιος Τέλωνος Ύβάδης Πτ[ο]λεμαΐδος Διοσκουρ[ίδ]ης 'Αριστοκλέου Φλυεύς	220	'Αριστίω Δεινοκλῆ Φανοκλῆ	ν Εὐδόξου Μ[ελιτ s Φιλοστ[ράτου - s Πρωτογ[ένου – 'Ίππά[ρχου – –	·eús] ] ]			
180	'Αθηναγόρ [a] ς Πυρρίνου Κυδα ντίδη ς Νέων Φιλοκράτου Οἰναῖος Θεοκλῆς Εὐθυκλέους Βερενικίδης Νικοκλῆς Δημητρίου Φλυεύς		'Αριστόνι Τεΐσις Φι	το [θωντίδος] ικ[ος Αυσιμάχου - ι[	]		About thir	teen
185	Φιλωνίδης 'Αριστομένου Προσπάλτιος Εὐμαχίδης 'Αριστάνδρου 'Εκαλῆθ(ε)ν Διονύσιος Διονυσίου Προσπάλτιος 'Ακαμαντίδος Τιμοκράτης Θεοδώρου Χολα<ρ>γεύς	225	'A[	pas Εὐθυδόμου – 	-		lines miss	ing
190	Θεόδωρος Διονυσίου Κεφαλ <u>ηθεν</u> Μενεκράτης Λυκόφρονος Χο <u>λ</u> [αργεύς] 'Ολυμπιόδωρος Αὐτοκλέους <u>Θο</u> [ρίκιος] Εὐνικίδης Δημητρίου Εἰτε[αῖος] Στρατόνικος Θεογένου Έρ[μειος]							
267	One line uninscribed		_				20#	T4.0 \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \
	ή βουλή ὁ δῆμος	[ή βουλι [ό δῆμος		280	[ἡ βουλή] [ὁ δῆμος]		28,5	[ἡ βουλή] [ὁ δῆμος]
	Citations in olive wreaths		-					
270		[τόν ὁπλ [μάχον] Σωτάδη[ Σολέα	-		[τὸν ἀκοντ [τὴν Νίκο [δρον Εὐω [νυμέα]	ιν] ]		[τὸν τοξότην] Μ̄[υστίλον] ['Οῆθεν]
	290 [ἡ βουλή] ὁ δῆμο[s] τὸν ἀφέτην Πεδιέα ἐκ Κεραμέων		295	[ἡ βουλή] [ἡ δῆμος] [τὸν γραμμα] [τέα Θαρρῖ] [νον Λανπ]		301	[ή βουλή] [ό δή] μος τὸν ὑπηρέτην 'Ιέρωνα 'Αναγυράσιον	
	εκ Λεραμεων		300	[νον Λανπ] [τρέα]		505	<b>Αναγυμαυιον</b>	

The readings of the new pieces have been incorporated in the text. The placement of these fragments in relation to the pieces already published is presented in sequence.

I 989 c with new attached fragment  $\Sigma$  1299 d (consisting of two joined pieces), lines 3-10 *init*:

Line 5: The orator of the decree, Πολύχαρμος Πολυκρίτου is perhaps identical with Π. Π. 'Αζηνιεύς, ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν in a catalogue of officials which Peek places ca. 200-150 в.с. (Ath. Mitt., LXVII, 1942-51, p. 23, no. 25, line 6) and the grandfather of Π. Π. 'A., epimeletes of Delos, ca. 50/49 в.с., P.A. 12, 107. Roussel (B.C.H., XXXII, 1908, p. 357, no. 474) identifies the epimeletes of Delos with the praetor (ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα) in Cicero, ad Att., 5, 11; P.A. 12, 106. Of the same family are Πολύκριτος Πολυχάρμου 'A. (Fouilles de Delphes, III, 2, 61, 62, 63, 64 of 25/4-2/1 в.с.) and his son Πολύχαρμος Πολυκρίτου 'A. (Graindor, Chronologie, 57 and 59; I.G., II², 3120 of the Augustan Age) who is probably the same man as the homonymous individual named in an honorary inscription also of the Augustan Age, I.G., II², 3904.

Line 8: Dow and Meritt read the final letter after the break as epsilon, and Meritt restored [έδήλωσαν τὴν ἑαντῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αἴρ] εσιν, the last word doubtless suggested by κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου προαίρεσιν in Hesperia, XVI, 1947, pp. 170-171, no. 67, lines 9-10 of the year 116/5 B.C. (the upper part of I.G., II², 1009) which occurs at the same point in the decree, and its use, but in different connections, in I.G., II², 1006, lines 33 and 59. But the letter should be read alpha cut over an epsilon or sigma, one of a number of corrections in this inscription,—epsilon cut over rho in the first letter of ἐστ[εφανώθη] in line 87, in addition to the corrections of this kind and the corrections in rasura already noted by Dow and Meritt. The peak of the alpha is somewhat above the upper line level, traces of the broken cross-bar and the foreshortened right slanted stroke ending in mid-line, like the alpha in ἱσταμένον in line 2, can be seen. The restoration expresses the idea frequently associated with the sacri-

fices offered  $\epsilon n \tau \eta s \kappa \omega \nu \eta s \epsilon \sigma \tau i a s$ , that of obedience to the laws and the decrees of the people, I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, line 8; 1011, line 7; 1028, lines 74-75 and passim.

Lines 9 and 38: I restore διδάσκαλοι rather than παιδευταί because of the reading of the former in line 21.

Line 11 fin: The reading  $\dot{\epsilon}a\nu\tau[\hat{\omega}\nu]$  was suggested by Wilhelm to Meritt who passed it on to me.

Two other suggestions of Wilhelm which Meritt communicated to me I have not adopted: line 15 med.,  $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$   $\pi\hat{a}\sigma\iota\nu$  for Meritt's  $\pi\rho\sigma\dot{\epsilon}\tau\iota$  and line 17,  $[\phi\iota\lambda\sigma\dot{\iota}\mu]\omega_S$  for Meritt's  $[\kappa\alpha\dot{\iota}\,\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda]\omega_S$ . In the former, I have preferred to restore  $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\sigma\epsilon\beta\hat{\omega}_S$  because, of the adverbs customarily used in this connection ( $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\sigma\chi\eta\mu\dot{\nu}\nu\omega_S$  I.G., II², 1029, line 9; 1006, line 14; 1028, line 13;  $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\sigma\epsilon\beta\hat{\omega}_S$   $\kappa\alpha\dot{\iota}$   $\phi\iota\lambda\sigma\dot{\iota}\mu\omega_S$  1009, line 38; 1006, line 14; cf. 1011, lines 13-14,  $\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\nu}\delta\partial\epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\tau[\alpha\lambda\iota]\pi\dot{\nu}\nu\tau\epsilon_S$   $\tau\eta\dot{\nu}_S$   $\tau\dot{\nu}$ 009,  $\epsilon\dot{\nu}$ 000, line 14; cf. 1011, lines 13-14,  $\dot{\nu}$ 1000, line latter, Meritt's reading seems to me better, because the ephebes were enjoined by law to make a display under arms not only at the Theseia, but on other occasions and at other places as well.

These ἀποδείξεις must be distinguished from the armor race, δρόμος ἐν ὅπλοις, the attendance as an honor guard at sessions of the ekklesia, ἐφεδρεύειν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐν ὅπλοις, the armed escort of deities and heroes in parade, προπέμπειν ἐν ὅπλοις, the armed marches in Attica, ἐξέρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐν ὅπλοις and αὶ ὑπαντήσεις τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ εὐεργέταις ἐν ὅπλοις.

I 286 e to which is attached the new fragment  $\Sigma$  1299 s, lines 22-29 med:

This fragment resolves the "hitherto enigmatic" letters,  $\beta\lambda$  (Dow) and rightly of (Meritt) at the bottom of E, line 28 med., but they are parts of the phrase and  $\delta\rho[\alpha\chi\mu\hat{\omega}\nu]$  not of the name Theodorides and the restoration of  $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\delta\nu$  is therefore certain.

A reference to the decree of Theodorides in connection with the dedication of a phiale to the Mother of the Gods would not be possible in any case, since Dioskourides, son of Dioskourides, of Phygaia was responsible for that decree while Theodorides proposed the decree which provided for the contribution of a hundred books to a

library, as is clear from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1030, lines 35-37; 1029, line 24; 1028, lines 40-41. In *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 171, no. 67, lines 30-32, the dedication of a phiale and the contribution of books are connected, but the decree of Theodorides was concerned only with the second. Apparently between 127/6 and 95/4 B.C., Metrophanes sponsored a decree which provided that the ephebes place books in the Ptolemaion also, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1029, lines 25-26; 1041, line 23; 1043, line 50.

#### I 286 1, lines 30-36 med:

Although small, this fragment bridges the *lacuna* in Decree I and fixes it at six lines. Its readings align perfectly with the sequence expected after line 29 and dovetail into the first-line reading of I 286 k, which in turn comes within three letters of linking up with I 286 g, now attached to the piece published as E² without a number, but which is now designated I 286 j. I 286 g was originally glued to E², but had become separated from it before Meritt's reading.

## I 286 k, lines 36-40 init:

This small piece does not join with any other, but with I 286 l and  $\Sigma$  1299 g fixes the lateral position of E<sup>2</sup> and confirms the restorations at the beginnings of lines 36-40.

It should be noted that one line is blank between the end of Decree I and the citations.

This is the earliest inscription honoring the ephebes and the *kosmetes* with five wreaths. The first full citations in *I.G.*, II², 665 (268/7 B.C.) are not in wreaths. The customary number before this inscription seems to have been three (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 5-7, which is a restoration of *I.G.*, II², 766 with new fragments from the Agora of 244/3 B.C.; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 190-193, no. 37 of 220/19 B.C. and in the same volume, pp. 198-201, no. 40 of 171/0 B.C.). *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 193-197, no. 38 of 286/5 B.C. and *I.G.*, II², 1027 of 174/3 B.C. have only one wreath preserved, but its position is such in both cases as to suggest that there were two others. Part of a *thallos* wreath is preserved in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 79, no. 12, with a date probably early in the third century, but it doubtless enclosed the citation of a teacher whose wreaths were commonly of *thallos*.

Each of the wreaths here as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, corresponds to one of the decrees. Meritt noted the parallelism of Decrees III and IV of this inscription with IV and V of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, and in consequence suggested that here too, ivy crowns were voted in recognition of the sacrifices performed by the ephebes and the *kosmetes* in behalf of the state. One of these is the first at the extreme left. The second wreath from the left and the wreath at the far right partially preserve golden leaves (differentiated from the ivy and the olive by stiff ray-like petals) and represent respectively the crowns voted the ephebes in Decree I and the *kosmetes* in Decree II. For the ephebes only are mentioned within wreath two, and the *kosmetes* alone within the wreath at the extreme right (to judge from the spacing of the preserved letters and part of the

wreath). The sequence of wreaths in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011 and 1028 indicates that the other ivy wreath for the *kosmetes* and the ephebes jointly came third and the golden crown voted by the Salaminians in Decree V was represented in fourth place. The use of five wreaths in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006 and 1008, although the stones record only three decrees, the general decree, the decree honoring the *kosmetes*, and an honorary decree of the Salaminians, plausibly leads to the conclusion that the two decrees corresponding to III and IV of this inscription, which I have called "acceptance decrees," had been duly passed, but had not been inscribed upon the stones.

### I 286 n, lines 78-80 med:

The reading  $\theta\epsilon\delta\nu$  in line 2 of this fragment makes it unlikely that it is a part of the list of names. The blank space of at least a line's width above the readings of line 1 suggests that it may then be from the first lines of a decree, in which case  $\theta\epsilon\delta\nu$  points directly to Decree II, in which the preserved readings indicate double dating. Assuming the restoration of line 79 up to  $\theta\epsilon\delta\nu$  to be correct, the position of  $\pi\epsilon$  line 3 of the fragment, would make the readings of line 80 up to this point too long by approximately three letters. Now Pritchett and Neugebauer, Calendars of Athens, p. 77 have pointed out that the restoration of  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma$  in Decree I, line 3 and II, line 80 both in the same prytany can not be correct, and propose a calendar equation which would permit the restorations to stand if  $\kappa\nu\rho$  is dropped in one of the decrees. The discrepancy in line lengths would indicate that it should be omitted here.

Meritt has kindly communicated to me the suggestions of Tod (by letter) of  $\emph{ovtas}$  for the previous restoration  $\emph{ovtav}$  (line 88  $\emph{fin.}$ ), and of Stamires,— $\gamma\epsilon\gamma o\nu v\hat{\iota}a\nu$  for  $\gamma\epsilon\gamma o\nu\epsilon\hat{\iota}a\nu$  (line 90  $\emph{init.}$ ) and  $\pi\rho\acute{a}\tau\tau[\omega\sigma\iota\nu]$  for  $\pi\rho\acute{a}\tau\tau[o\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma]$  (line 91  $\emph{fin.}$ ), all of which I have adopted.

## I 286 p, in the first half of lines 116-120:

The placement of this small piece yielding 2-3 letters of five consecutive lines in Decree IV is doubtful. If it is not a fragment of names, it may well fit here, since the sequence of letters agrees only here with the restorations we should expect. If correctly placed, the last line gives two letters of the patronymic of the man who moved the decree. The proposer of the parallel decrees in I.G., II², 1011 was the same individual. If that was true in this case, we could combine line  $106 \text{ fin.}, [\dots, \frac{ca.17}{2}, \dots]$  to make one name. Since syllabic division is regularly followed, the second syllable of the name must begin with a consonant.  $Xap\mu i \delta \eta s$  'Ayabaíov Bepevikí $\delta \eta s$  would most adequately meet the requirements of space and readings, but the name is not attested.

The language of Decrees III and IV should be much alike according to the analogy of I.G., II², 1011. But lines 125-126,  $[--..]\sigma\tau\epsilon\hat{\imath}\lambda\alpha\iota$   $\delta\hat{\epsilon}$   $\tau o$  [---], is difficult to parallel anywhere. The restoration assumes that the words,  $[\pi\epsilon\rho\iota]\sigma\tau\epsilon\hat{\imath}\lambda\alpha\iota$   $\delta\hat{\epsilon}$   $\tau\hat{\delta}$   $[i\epsilon\rho\delta\nu]$  are synonymous with  $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa o\sigma\mu\epsilon\hat{\imath}\nu$   $\tau\hat{\delta}\nu$   $\nu\alpha\delta\nu$  in I.G., II², 1011, lines 71, 80.

Demosthenes (XXXVI, 47) employed the expression, ταῦτα (referring to citizenship) κοσμεῖν καὶ περιστέλλειν.

The general honorary decree of I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, lines 12-13, records that the ephebes of 107/6 B.C. dedicated three phialai valued at 100 drachmai each to Dionysos in Athens, Dionysos in the Peiraieus and to the Mother of the Gods at the Galaxia. In the two "acceptance decrees," however, notice is taken only of the adornment of the temple of Dionysos (presumably in Athens), lines 71 and 80. Agora I 286 mentions the dedication of only one phiale to the Mother of the Gods, lines 27-28, and therefore her  $i\epsilon\rho\delta\nu$  (there was apparently no  $\nu\alpha\delta$ s, formal temple) must be restored in line 126. Pausanias (I, 3, 5) tells us that it was located near the Bouleuterion and the Tholos, with a statue of the goddess by Pheidias.

I 286 o, lines 129-130 init:

Owing to the nature of the break and the smallness of the piece, this fragment can not be joined with J<sup>4</sup>, I 989 d, but I have little doubt that it belongs here.  $\Delta \acute{a}\mu\omega\nu$   $\Sigma \acute{\iota}\mu\nu\nu$  [ $\Sigma o$ ] $\nu\nu\iota$ [ $\varepsilon \acute{v}s$ ] may be the older brother of  $\Sigma \acute{a}\iota\rho\iota\pi\pi os$   $\Sigma$ .  $\Sigma$ ., ephebe in 107/6 B.C., I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, col. V, line 103.

I 286 x, lines 133-136 med:

This small piece may belong between J, I 989 a, and J<sup>2</sup>, I 286 g, although it joins no other fragment.

N, I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, fgt. v, lines 233-239:

This stone was picked from the shelves of the Epigraphical Museum because of its similarity in appearance, in texture and in lettering to Agora I 286. It is E. M. 5259 and according to Museum records had not been published. It was only after returning to this country that I ran across it as I.G., II², 1039, fgt. v., where, however, it does not belong as an examination of the squeezes will show. The line interval in I.G., II², 1039 is greater, guide lines are visible, theta regularly has the cross-bar and not the dot or vertical stroke. On the other hand, the lettering of E. M. 5259 shows identity with the lettering of Agora I 286 in the theta with the dot, mu with center slanting strokes extending a bit beyond the point of meeting, in the upsilon and in the alpha which exhibits the same variation between the sharply broken and the curving cross-bar. The line interval agrees closely except for the admitted irregularity between lines 229 and 230. The wider spacing of the names in Col. II as compared with Col. I upon which Meritt has already commented, extended to Col. III. The letter height of E. M. 5259 corresponds with the height in the adjoining fragment L.

A correction was made in line 236,—under the tau of odórov in rasura an epsilon can be seen and traces of a sigma (?) under the upsilon. Two of the five fragmentary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Homer A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 203-205.

patronymics can be equated with patronymics occurring in the Delphic inscription in names which are not duplicated in this inscription. Line 237,  $[---]\tau\rho$ ίου Μαραθώνιο[s] with Διόφαντος Δημητρίου, F. de D., 2, 24, col. I, 26 (in preference to Δημήτριος  $\Delta\eta[...^7...]$  of Col. II, 19, because of the spacing) and line 235, αραμόνου Τρι [κο-ρύσιος] with Col. II, 40, Χαρμίδης Παραμόνου.

E. M. 5259 does not join J², I 286 g nor L, I.G., II², 2453 (E.M. 5238). With the seven fragmentary names of Aiantis which it supplies, plus the one in J², and the four in L, this tribe, whose roster begins Col. III, has 12 representatives. The *lacuna* indicated in lines 240-242 would provide space for three additional names. It may well have been greater, since Attalis has a relatively weak representation in the preserved catalogues of this century,—five in 171/0 B.C. (assuming that the five lines which can not be read under the tribal name were inscribed, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 201, no. 40); nine in 118/7 B.C. (I.G., II², 1008); five in 117/6 B.C. (I.G., II², 1009); eight in 107/6 B.C. (I. G., II², 1011). Meritt's allocation of 34 ephebes to Col. II is unassailable from the measurements. These, with the 40 of Col. I, leave 33 names for Col. III, three of which belong to Antiochis. It is unlikely that Attalis had the larger share of the remainder.

### O, I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1007:

That the teachers, the secretary and the attendant were honored by citations within wreaths at the end of the catalogue was clear from K (*I.G.*, II², 1960) which gave the wreath for the *paidotribes* and by M (I 3457) which shows parts of two wreaths and gives the name and demotic of the *hoplomachos*. Two complete wreaths giving the names of the *aphetes* and of the *hyperetes* and part of a third wreath can now be added, and the arrangement of the wreaths definitely determined by the discovery that *I.G.*, II², 1007 (E.M. 7604) is a part of this inscription.³ It is a stone of the same kind of marble and of the same texture. The thickness is 0.195 m. as compared with 0.175 m. in the upper part of the stele, and the back and preserved right side are rough-picked. The line interval is 0.015 m. as in M between name and demotic, and 0.018 m. between title and name as in K. The height of letters and letter shapes agree.

Since the right margin is preserved, the citation of the *aphetes* is now shown to have come last in the first row of wreaths. Since the wreaths of the instructors follow the sequence in which they are named in the decree (the restorations of the citations for the *akontistes* and the *toxotes* in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, lines 129-133 should be reversed), only two wreaths remain for the second row. Since there is a *vacat* of 0.24 m. from the right margin to the edge of the preserved wreath in the second row, and the vestiges of the fourth wreath in row one are preserved *ca.* 0.075 m. beyond the edge

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> George A. Stamires had independently worked out the connection of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1007 with Agora I 286 and showed me the paper in which he had brought together the evidence.

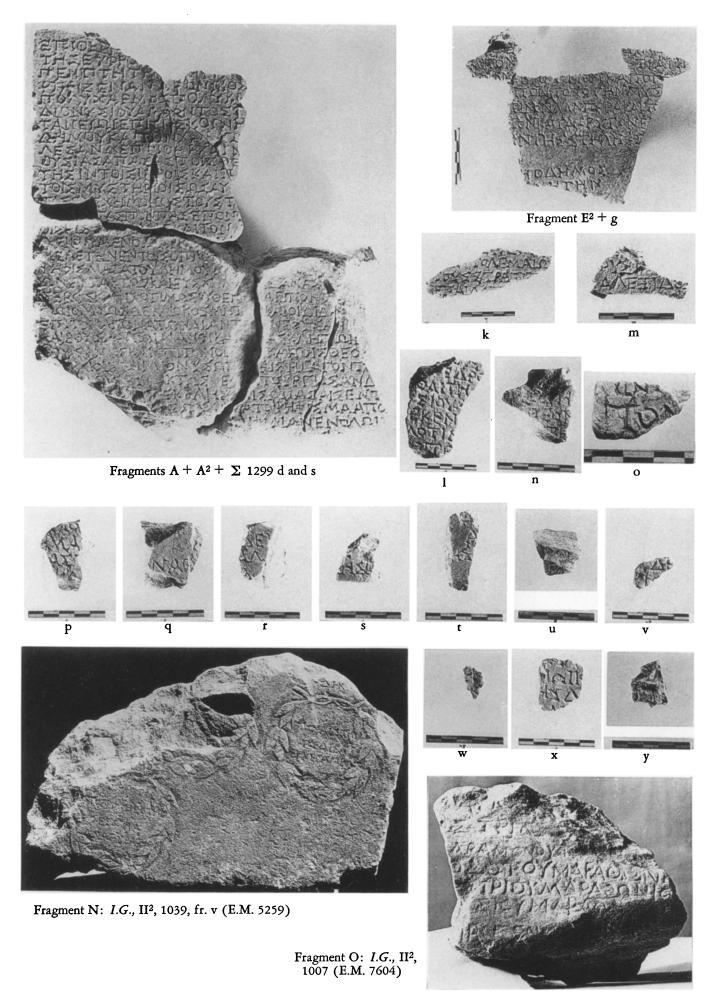
of the wreath below it, the latter was centered between wreaths three and four of the first row. The remaining wreath was doubtless similarly centered between wreaths two and three of the first row. Meritt correctly deduced that the assistant *hoplomachos*, Artemidoros, son of Neon, of Tarsos, who is known only from the Delphic inscription, was not honored by a citation, since he had not been mentioned in the decree.

This arrangement is confirmed by the measurements. From the left margin of K to the beginning of the names in Col. II of the catalogue measures 0.25 m. and from this point to the beginning of the names in Col. III can be closely estimated at the same distance. Assuming the remaining distance to the right margin to be ca. 0.25 m., we arrive at ca. 0.75 m. Measuring on O, we find that the distance from the right margin to the edge at the widest point of the preserved wreath in the second row is 0.24 m. The width of the two preserved wreaths at the widest point is ca. 0.135 m. Assuming a similar distance between the left edge of the stone and the first wreath in the second row, plus the width of the two wreaths (ca. 0.27 m.) and allowing 0.015 m. between the two wreaths we get ca. 0.75 m. for the width of the stone. Similarly for the first row, five wreaths yield ca. 0.675 m., two margins, each ca. 0.015, spaces between wreaths 0.015 each, gives us ca. 0.75 m.

#### I 286 u:

By a curious quirk, the fragment I 286 u, consisting of a single letter, can without question be placed in the missing fourth wreath of the first row, because the mu has a horizontal stroke at the top between the outer sloping strokes. The name of the toxotes in lines 40 and 138 is written  $Mv\sigma\tau i\lambda ov$ , although that fact was not recorded by previous editors. The stonecutter's copy must have read  $Mv\sigma\tau i\lambda ov$  in the three places where the name occurred, which was later corrected to  $\Pi v\sigma\tau i\lambda ov$ . The Delphic inscription, which I have re-examined, reads pi in the one occurrence of the name.  $Mv\sigma\tau i\lambda \eta$  is unmistakably read in a tombstone inscription which Kirchner places after the middle of the fourth century B.C. (I.G., II², 12218). Boeckh recorded  $Mv\sigma\tau i\lambda ov$  in an inscription from Roman times (C.I.G., II, 2140, a, 3) which was, however, later emended to  $Mv\sigma\tau i\kappa ov$  (I.G., IV, 1872). Thucydides (VI, 4) names Pystilos as one of the founders of Akragas. The two names, Mystilos and Pystilos, seem to be otherwise unknown.

It may be added that the *paidotribes*, Nikon, son of Alexis, of Berytos, was succeeded in office in the following year 127/6 B.C. by an Athenian, Apollodotos of Halimous, as we learn from a dedicatory inscription found in the Peiraieus and doubtless set up there by three ephebes of that year, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2982.



O. W. Reinmuth: The Ephebic Inscription, Athenian Agora I 286