THE SIXTH CENTURY LAWS FROM ERETRIA

(PLATES 67–69)

TWO large poros blocks carrying four boustrophedon inscriptions in four different hands were found in 1912 built into the western limb of the ancient city wall of Eretria near the point where it reaches the sea.[1] The inscriptions on these blocks, although brief and not entirely intelligible, have excited some interest; this is especially true of one of them, the restoration of which by Hiller von Gaertringen makes it appear to deal with customs dues imposed upon traffic in the Euboean strait.

Doubtless as a result of working entirely from photographs (see note 1), both editors were confused about the number of the blocks and the position of the inscriptions upon them. This confusion is indicated by Ziebarth's reference to "*fragmenta parietis porini, in partes fere sex fracti*"[2]—there are in point of fact two blocks each broken into two pieces[3]—and by the extraordinary numeration of *I.G.*, XII, 9, where two numbers, 1273 and 1274, cover "three" inscriptions distinguished as I, II, and III, of which "I" is really composed of two different inscriptions, one above the other.

[1] The inscriptions are "1273.1274, I, II, III" on pages viii and ix of the *Addenda Ultima* of *I.G.*, XII, 9, edited by E. Ziebarth, Berlin, 1915; plates V and VI of this volume present more or less adequate reproductions of the magnificent photographs which accompanied the original publication by G. Papabasileiou in the Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς for 1913, pp. 210-214. These same photographs are reproduced, less well, on pages viii and ix beside the texts in *I.G.*, XII, 9. The inscriptions have apparently been edited entirely from these photographs; neither Papabasileiou, nor Ziebarth, nor Hiller who made most of the restorations, claims either to have seen the stones or to have used a squeeze.

The place of finding is discussed clearly and with good diagrams by Athanasios Georgiades in Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1913, pp. 214-215; Mr. Georgiades was the owner of the property crossed by this section of the Eretrian wall.

[2] The erroneous figure is taken from the original publication, in which Papabasileiou refers to "six poros blocks" and says of the inscription which he numbers "3" (number 4 in this paper): ὁ λίθος οὗτος . . . . . Εὑρέθη, ὡς γνωρίζει ἡμῖν ὁ κ. Γεωργιάδης, κείμενος πλαγίως τοῦ δευτέρου λίθου. This seems a rather pointless observation; presumably what Georgiades said (or wrote) about the inscription on the ends of the blocks was erroneously supposed by Papabasileiou to apply to one of the *stones*.

[3] The dimensions are as follows:

Block one: length, 68.5 cm.; thickness, 25+ cm. (22 cm. on right); height, 25 cm. (21 cm. on left); end, 22 x 25 cm.; letter heights, inscription 1: 3-5 cm., inscription 2: 2.5-3 cm.

Block two: length, 69 cm.; thickness, 26-27 cm.; height, 25 cm. (23 cm. on left); end, 27 x 25 cm.; letter heights, inscription 3: 2.5-3 cm. The letters of inscription 4 (across the ends of the blocks) are mostly about 2 cm. high, but vary from 1 to 3 cm.

The dimensions given in *I.G.*, XII, 9 were no doubt calculated somehow from the photographs, and are quite erroneous; Papabasileiou (presumably with no better evidence) had been much more accurate. The stones are so rough and so much damaged that it is difficult to measure them to a centimeter.

The block carrying inscription " II " on its front face is labelled " 1274 "; the block carrying both parts of inscription " I " on its front face is not explicitly numbered, but its two halves are labelled " A " and " B," while the photographs of the ends of the two blocks are labelled " C " and " D," the inscription on them being numbered " III." This suggests that A, B, C, and D are all parts of the same stone, whereas in point of fact " C " is the end of one block and " D " is the end of the other. Plate 67 shows the relation of the blocks and the inscriptions (although the amount of space between the two blocks as photographed is more or less arbitrary).[4]

The *I.G.* numbers, once given, can hardly be neglected for purposes of reference, and yet Ziebarth's use of them is too confused to be easily corrected. It seems best to number the inscriptions as follows:

1273.1274, 1—first inscription on front face of top block
1273.1274, 2—second inscription on front face of top block
1273.1274, 3—inscription on front face of lower block
1273.1274, 4—inscription across the ends of both blocks

The retention of " 1273.1274 " keeps *I.G.*'s basic numeration, and the use of Arabic numerals will help to avoid confusion with Ziebarth's impossible " A, B, C, D " and " I, II, III."

The blocks have obviously been re-used; they must have stood originally at the corner of a building or wall the material from which was later built into the city wall of Eretria. That the first one was originally placed immediately above the second one is made clear by the inscription which runs across the ends of both. That they come from a corner is obvious, not only from the inscriptions on surfaces at right angles to each other, but also from the clamp cuttings at right angles to each other on the top surface of the first block (Pl. 67, d). The ends of both blocks, the top of the first one, and the bottom of the second one present their original surfaces (this is doubly certain in the case of the ends, for the inscriptions make it obvious that the length has not been changed). And although the backs are rather less smoothly finished, the clamp cutting makes it fairly clear that the thickness must also be original (except on the right-hand side of the top block). The bottom of the first block, however, and the top of the second one have been rather roughly worked away.

The probable explanation of these facts is that the two blocks come from a single original block, the dimensions of which must have been about 69 x 60 (see below) x 27 cm. This large block was probably specially prepared to carry inscriptions, and

[4] Miss L. H. Jeffery, in *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford, 1961, discusses these inscriptions on page 84, and presents texts of the inscriptions which we number 1, 2, and 3 on page 402; her plate 5 gives small photographs of the front faces of the blocks. She is the first to describe the relation of the blocks correctly. She suggests 550-525 B.C. as the date of the inscriptions.

was set into some conspicuous wall corner; at a later date it was cut in two horizontally and the two halves (after each of *them* had been broken in two) were used in the building of the city wall. If there had originally been two blocks of identical dimensions, it seems unlikely that the top of one and the bottom of the other should have been dressed down, and rather unlikely that an inscription should have been cut on the ends of the two blocks, running across the division between them. Even more surprising would be the fact that the two blocks were set directly on top of each other, as the inscriptions show they would have been, instead of being staggered as wall blocks always were. If, however, we suppose a single original block, these difficulties disappear. The bottom of the first or upper block has, for some reason, been cut back more deeply on the left side than on the right (Pls. 67, a; 68, a), while on the right side it has been cut in a little at the back to make it thinner (Pl. 67, d; the shortness of the clamp shank here indicates that this irregular cutting at the back was subsequent to the original use of the block). To summarize, what we now have is four pieces of an original large block which was first chiselled in two horizontally; then each half was broken vertically; finally, the left-hand part of the top half was made shallower, and the right-hand part was made narrower. It is easier to understand the situation from the photographs on Plate 67 than from a description.

It is important for the restoration of the inscriptions to determine, if possible, how much is missing from the bottom of the first block and from the top of the second one, that is, from the center of the original large block. Since the taller letters in inscription 3 are just 3 cm. in height (omicron, iota, and sigma are shorter), and since almost all of the first line of letters has been chiselled away at the right-hand end, at least 3 cm. of stone is missing at this point. The letters of what is now the bottom line on block one (inscription 2) are complete on the right hand side; at least 1 cm. must have separated them from the line below. Thus a minimum interval of 3 or 4 cm. must have separated the present front surfaces of the two blocks on the right-hand side. With this minimum interval no line of letters would be completely missing on the front face, and about two letters would be missing in the middle of each line in the inscription across the ends of the blocks, for the letters of this very uneven inscription occupy, to take a rough average, about 2 cm. apiece. The space between the blocks as they were set together for photographing (see Plate 67) is slightly greater than this minimum interval.

But this minimum interval is possible only if there is no line missing, and this can be shown to be improbable. Inscriptions 2 and 3 are fairly clearly different from each other, and do not form one continuous text. In the first place the letter forms of the two inscriptions, though similar, are by no means identical. The most obvious difference is that a compass was used in the cutting of O, P, and Φ in inscription 3, but *not* for the three O's and two P's which have been preserved in inscription 2. Then the alpha of inscription 2, with its curved second hasta and its high crossbar,

has no counterpart in the alphas of inscription 3; and the nus of inscription 2, with a shallow, slightly obtuse, second angle (so much of the two in the second half of line 1 is clearly visible, and there is one in line 2) seem distinct from the bolder, sharper-angled nus of the third inscription.[5] The second difficulty about supposing that the texts are directly continuous is that one cannot see how any sense could have run right on from the last preserved line of 2 into the first line of 3. The first line of inscription 3 ends with a penalty, and must have begun with the appropriate crime—a crime for the expression of which only about 15 letter spaces are available. In inscription 2 whatever was to happen τῆι *ἡνστέρει* may have filled the 15 to 20 letter spaces at the beginning of line 2, but δύϝε must have modified something which followed it, and there is no room for that something at the beginning of the first preserved line of inscription 3; at least one line is needed to complete the elusive sense of inscription 2. Altogether it seems necessary to conclude that inscriptions 2 and 3 are separate texts.

There must accordingly have been at least one line on the front of which no traces now remain, and it must have belonged to inscription 2. It will have occupied about 3 cm., with about 1 cm. of space above it and 2 cm. or more of space below it (since inscriptions 1 and 2 are separated by about 2.5 cm., it is probable that inscription 3 began a similar distance below inscription 2). Then will have come the top line of inscription 3 of which traces still remain—about 2.5 of the 3 cm. of stone originally occupied by these letters is now missing. Altogether almost two whole lines of letters (6 cm.), one space between lines (1 cm.) and one space between inscriptions (2 cm. at least), or about 9 cm. of stone at a minimum estimate, was chiselled away when the original block was cut in two. A gap of about 9 cm. on the front means a similar gap on the side; thus about 5 letter spaces should be restored between the two parts of inscription 4 on the ends of the existing blocks.

If more lines are missing on the front face, then the gap in the inscription across the ends of the blocks would, of course, be wider yet. But to put *two* lines in the interval between the blocks would add another 4 or 5 centimeters, making the missing area some 14 centimeters wide and increasing the size of the gap in inscription 4 to about 7 letter spaces. This seems rather improbable, partly because it would hardly be necessary to remove so much stone in dividing the original block, and partly because, although the lines of inscription 4 are by no means straight or a regular distance apart, they yet correspond with each other very well on either side of the gap; the wider the gap was the more surprising it is that the lines on the two blocks should fit each other so neatly.

[5] Miss Jeffery treats inscriptions 2 and 3 as forming a single text with one line completely missing, and calls this text "A2," referring to our inscription 4 as "B." She remarks on the use of a cutting compass in "A2," but seems not to notice that it is employed only on the second block, and she does not mention the alphas and the nus. Her treatment is, of course, of necessity extremely brief.

To sum up, if inscriptions 2 and 3 were one text with no lines completely missing, then about two letters would be missing in each line of inscription 4; this, as has been shown, is very improbable. If there is just one line wholly missing between the two blocks, then there are about 5 letters missing in each line of inscription 4. This is the probable conclusion, for it does not seem likely that 14 cm. or more was chiselled away in dividing the original block. In no case can Hiller's restorations of inscription 4 be correct, for they assume that only a single letter is missing in six of the seven lines: it is impossible to approximate the stones closely enough to justify these restorations.

It should be added, to avoid confusion, that the small poros fragment (16.5 x 9.5 cm.) published as *I.G.*, XII, 9, 1275 (here Pl. 68, b) has no relation to our *boustrophedon* texts, although it was found with them. The letters are much smaller, about 1.5 cm. in height, and both lines read from left to right. The text (incorrectly given in *I.G.*, XII, 9) reads:

– – προς τε – –
– – α̣μ̣· με πρ – –

The four texts read as follows:

1273.1274 ← δίκεν:ἐπεὰν:κατομόσει:τίν[υ-]
1 → σθα(ι):τρίτει hεμέ[ρ]ẹι:χρέματα
← δόκιμα:κα[ὶ φ]υγία ἰὰν:μὲ τείσ-
→ ε⟨ι⟩ ⟦:hέρ̣α̣ι⟧

1273.1274 ← vvv ἐπὶ Γόλο:ἄρχ[ο]ντος:ἐν π̣ολ̣ε̣ [.]ι̣[.]
2 → [– – – – – ca. 15-20 – – – – –]ιν:τêι hυστέρει:δύρε
← [– –]

1273.1274 ← [– – ca. 7 – –]ει̣[. . . .]ει̣:δέκ[α:σ]τ̣α̣τ̣ệρας:ὀ̣φέλεν̣[:]
3 → ἰὰν·μὲ τείσει:ἀρχὸς:ἀπὸ ρ̣ετôν:ποιêσ̣α̣[ι]
← vv hόστις ἂν:μὲ ποιêι·αὐτὸν:ὀφέλεν

1273.1274 ← τὸς πλέοντας:ἀρ[– ca. 5 –]θαι μισθὸν
4 → hοίτινες ἂν·π̣[– ca. 2 – Πε]τ̣αλας:ἓ Κέναιον
← [ἀ]μείπσονται:φε[– 4-5 –]ε̣ν δὲ πάντας v
→ vvvvvv τος ἐπι[– – ca. 6 – –]μος·ε̣ο̣ν [– – ca. 6 – –]
5 ← [– – ca. 6 – –]ον·γνοι̣ [– ca. 5 –]νασεν *vacat*
→ 8-10 *vacats* hόσ̣[– ca. 5 –]ν hελοι̣ [– – ca. 7 – – –]
← [– 7 or 8 –]ιαρφιν[– – ca. 6 – –]νἀναφισβετεει

Notes on Readings

1273.1274, 1

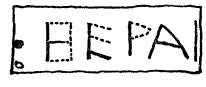
Line 2. After σθα the interpunct follows immediately; the iota was omitted.

Line 3. Two letters have been completely lost between the two parts of the block.

The gamma in this line was read as beta both by Papabasileiou and by Ziebarth. Injuries to the stone which show dim and light-colored in our photographs (Pl. 67, a, lighted from above, and Pl. 68, a, lighted from below) for some reason showed much darker in Papabasileiou's, giving the letter the remarkable form of ⅃ (retrograde). Ziebarth, followed by Hiller, reads beta without comment (a beta of the form ꟾ — ꟾ retrograde—occurs at *Thera*, but the beta in line 7 of inscription 4 is normal enough). Examination of the stone leaves no doubt that the injuries *are* injuries, and that the letter is gamma. Miss Jeffery's ingenious attempt (*loc. cit.*) to read this gamma and the following iota, together, as a pi will not do either; the letters are clearly separate, and the iota would make much too long a third stroke for a pi.

Line 4. The second letter in the line was clearly tau, presumably by mistake for iota; the letter puzzled Papabasileiou, but Ziebarth reads iota without comment. It seems possible that the stonecutter himself recognized his error and tried to erase the crossbar, for the stone above and around it seems to have been rubbed away.

The erasure is deepest at the beginning, where an attempt was apparently made to erase an interpunct. Five letters followed, of which the first was perhaps ⊟ (most clearly seen in Pl. 69, c), the second was probably epsilon, and the last two seem to have been alpha and iota (the iota is quite clear in Pl. 69, c, d); of the remaining, central, letter the vertical stroke is still visible. What appear to be diagonal strokes which make the first letter look as if it might have been a digamma of sorts are too long to be the sloping hastae of epsilon or digamma, and must be injuries to the stone (Pl. 69, d). The traces, in short, suggest the reading ⟦:*héραι*⟧, and may be drawn as follows:



If this is right, and means " to Hera," perhaps the stonecutter had his mind on fines a tenth of which was paid to Hera, and so, because he had just written τείσει he may have started to write *héραι δὲ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον* (cf. *I.G.*, XII, Sup. 549B), but realized after inscribing the first word, that this addition belonged only after specified fines; he accordingly erased *héραι* and the interpunct before it, for the text was complete with τείσε⟨ι⟩.

This theory, however, has its difficulties. Although the first vertical and the central crossbar of the ⊟ seem discernible, there is no sign of the bottom bar; the rho, if it is one, is very close to the alpha; and finally, and most serious, the form *héραι* would be surprising in an early Ionic inscription, even in a place so close to Athens as Eretria (see H. W. Smyth, *The Greek Dialects*: *Ionic*, New York, 1894, section 172).

1273.1274, 2

Line 1. The first letter of the archon's name is certainly gamma (and is so given by Miss Jeffery, *loc. cit.*).

The nu of ἄρχοντος is quite clear on the stone; by a freak of the lighting it does not show in Papabasileiou's photograph. The traces of the tau, omicron, and sigma are also clear enough to make the letters certain quite apart from the restoration. The top dot of the interpunct and the tops of all but two of the remaining letters in the line are visible: nu and omicron seem certain. In the rest of the text we have " dotted " all broken letters, but in this line, and in the first line of inscription 3 where every letter is broken, we have printed the letters that seem to us certain without dots, to distinguish them from the others.

Line 2. Papabasileiou's certainly correct reading δύϝε was accepted by Hiller; see *Phil. Woch.*, 1931, p. 416.

1273.1274, 3

Line 1. There are traces of most of the letters in the top line; photographs of a good squeeze and drawings of the proposed restorations are presented on Plate 69. Here in Plate 69, b we have pencilled in on a photograph the missing letters and parts of letters which seem to us reasonably certain; the actual traces of letters on the stone have not been retouched in the photograph. Plate 69, a is a photograph of a squeeze of the same part of the stone. A comparison of Plate 69, a and b should make it possible to check our readings. The last three words in the line are practically certain—δέκα στατῆρας ὀφέλεν. The first half of this line obviously contained the crime for which this is the penalty; the two epsilons here are certain, and each seems to be followed by iota; they are separated by four letters each of which has a long vertical stroke. We have no restoration to suggest.

Line 2. The iota (very short and high) before the alpha is certain.

The interpunct after nu is a single dot; there was no room for the upper dot, probably because the mu was cut first, and too close to the nu.

The lower hasta of the sigma of ποιῆσαι is clear (the word cannot be ποιῆν as read by both Ziebarth and Miss Jeffery), and there is a trace of the following alpha.

The interpunct after ποίει is, surprisingly enough, formed by a single dot which is too high to be the bottom and two low to be the top member of a double interpunct.

1273.1274, 4

Line 1. It should be noticed that nothing could have preceded this line.

There is no doubt about the final nu.

Line 2. The last letter before the gap is either pi or gamma; the first letter after it is either gamma or tau.

Line 3. Two hastae of the epsilon at the right hand edge of the gap are clear on the stone.

There was room for more letters in this line, and the surface of the stone was good. It is thus apparently no accident that every line where the reading is clear ends with a complete word, and this principle should be followed in attempting to restore the others.

Line 4. The deep indentation of lines 4 and 6, the displacement and abrupt ending of line 5, and the irregularity of line 7 are all obviously explained by the extreme roughness of the stone in the middle of this block, a roughness which can be seen clearly in the photographs. On the other block the surface in the lower right-hand corner has been scraped or chiselled away; the tops, however, of the first letters of line 3 show clearly just above the chisel marks, and it is obviously probable that all of the lines were continued to the edge of the stone. There is no reason for supposing that the lines on this block were indented to correspond with the chance arrangement of the lines on the other block, as Ziebarth and Hiller do. Thus the restorations of *I.G.*, XII, 9 from line 4 on presume a highly improbable arrangement on the stone, as well as an impossibly small gap in the middle of the lines.

The ọ in this line should perhaps be read as θ̣; it is hard to say whether the slightly off-center mark in the middle of the circle is intentional or not.

Line 5. The ṿ might equally well be μ̣; the break comes exactly at the end of the third hasta.

The last letter is certainly nu, as Papabasileiou read it, not lambda.

Line 6. It is perfectly clear from the stone (and indeed from Papabasileiou's excellent photograph) that the word λιμένι, which is restored here by Hiller, could never have been inscribed at the beginning of this line. The injury to the stone which Hiller presumably supposed to have obliterated the letters (although it is too small to have covered them) must obviously antedate the inscription of line 5 which has been displaced to avoid it.

A stroke which is probably part of the lower hasta of a sigma is clear on the stone after the *ho*.

The trace which Ziebarth read here as a sigma is probably only an injury to the stone; one might suppose it to be the upper hasta of a sigma if it were not that it slants in the wrong direction and that the rest of the letter was never engraved; it is also too close to the o to be a letter. It is interesting to notice that, with a single exception, sigma always faces to the right in inscriptions 2, 3, and 4 (but not in the first inscription) no matter which way the other letters go.

The last visible letter is either iota or lambda.

Line 7. The first six letters of this line are reasonably clear, and were correctly

read by Papabasileiou, except that what looks like a koppa is more probably a phi: it should be added to Miss Jeffery's note (*op. cit.*, p. 80) about ϕ^3 at Eretria. The *h* and σ read by Ziebarth are impossible. There is now practically no trace of what looked like a tilted alpha in the seventh place; the stone appears to have been slightly damaged at this corner since Papabasileiou's photograph was taken, but from the photograph it looks as if the supposed letter were probably only an injury to the stone, for it is tipped out of alignment with the other letters. The letters of the first part of this line are small and crowded, which makes it all the more remarkable that the second part should begin with a vacant space where the surface of the stone seems quite good enough.

In the first of our inscriptions the only changes in reading which we propose are gamma (not beta) in line 3, and the letters in the rasura (these changes are discussed above, p. 386). But we suggest a new restoration for the two-letter gap in line 3. Φυγία for φυγή in the sense of " exile " seems not to be met with elsewhere, but the compound ἀειφυγία shows its possibility. Ἰάν for ἐάν is also peculiar, but Miss Jeffery calls attention to a probably Euboean parallel from Leontinoi, and defends the form as a Euboean dialectical variant (see *Local Scripts*, pp. 239, 242). As ἰάν for ἐάν recurs in inscription 3, this conclusion seems almost unavoidable. The first text, then, stands at the head of a group of more particular laws, and lays down the most general rules for judicial procedure:

> Justice is to be done only after oaths have been administered
> Fines are to be paid on (or before) the third day in good money
> Exile is the penalty for non-payment of fines

With δίκεν, εἶναι is no doubt to be understood; the extreme brevity makes the sense, to us at least, rather uncertain; perhaps in a society where divine vengeance was really believed in, the requirement that the parties give their evidence on oath often made further proceedings unnecessary. Φυγία is probably in the nominative (with ἐστί understood) because the statement of which it is the subject is in a sense parenthetical; the law lays it down that fines are to be paid (failure to comply involves exile).

Of the second inscription very little is left, and the general sense must remain obscure. It is clear that the text can not have ended with δύϝε, and that at least one line is missing (see above, pp. 383-384).

In the third inscription, the last three words of line 1 are a considerable gain over earlier readings of the text. The reference to " staters " here, more clearly than " χρέματα δόκιμα " in inscription 1, strongly suggests that Eretria was issuing coin at the date of our inscriptions;[6] so too, perhaps, does μισθόν in inscription 4 where,

[6] In an article Δόκιμα Χρήματα, *Hermes*, LXXIV, 1939, pp. 99-102, H. Volkmann points out that our text contains the first certain use of χρήματα for " money," and makes use of this in a

however, the letter forms seem somewhat later. The term " stater," which properly means a weight, was applied to the usual or standard coin issued by any state whether it was struck in gold, electrum, or silver, and whatever its value might be; thus silver staters may be Euboeo-Attic, Aeginetan, or something else in standard weight, and two, three, or four drachmai in amount. " Ten staters " could have conveyed no definite idea of value unless the kind of stater intended was either specified or understood; as it is clearly not specified here it must be understood, and it is hardly possible that some particular foreign stater was understood. Aeginetic and Corinthian staters, and perhaps Athenian, too, not to mention Lydian and other Asia Minor issues, were circulating in the second half of the sixth century. The staters in question must accordingly be Eretrian, and we have evidence here for Eretrian issues at the date of our inscriptions.

Miss Jeffery's date for the inscriptions, 550-525 B.C., seems reasonable epigraphically; the evidence is very indefinite, but there is quite a large body of fairly consistent indications (any one or two of which must be used with great caution) pointing in this direction, as she shows very clearly. And it seems probable that our four inscriptions are not all of exactly the same date—the lettering of the first one seems earlier, and that of the last one later, than that of 2 and 3; it is accordingly probable that they were not all inscribed together. The natural conclusion would seem to be that Eretria was striking coin fairly early in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.

On the numismatic side, there is very little definite evidence for the date of Eretria's first issues. But, chiefly on the basis of the style of her cow/octopus coins which are the earliest Eretrian issues that have been recognized, most numismatists hold that Eretria began to strike quite late in the sixth century, and this view is supported by the fact that specimens of these coins appear in good condition in a number of early fifth century hoards.

There is here a conflict of date which can hardly be solved either by putting the coins earlier or by putting the inscriptions later. It is more likely that the staters of inscription 3 are some issue which has not yet been recognized, earlier than the cow/octopus issues. Such an issue is not far to seek. G. K. Jenkins has recently published a rare anepigraphic stater, with a cow scratching its nose on one side and a " Union Jack " incuse on the other, which he attributes to Dikaia in Macedonia; he says, however, that it might be Eretrian instead, and adds that " Eretrian coins of the same date would have been of similar type." Now Dikaia was a colony of Eretria

discussion of the date of the introduction of " money economy " in Greece. He regards *δόκιμα χρήματα*, probably rightly, as meaning primarily " good (not counterfeit) money " rather than " legal tender " or " coin of the realm ": " Daher wird die Vorschrift von Eretria nicht nur auf einheimisches Geld zielen, sondern vor allem gegen Falschgeld gerichtet sein." The phrase is thus not proof that Eretria was striking her own money at the date of the inscription, even if this seems to be its natural implication.

and her *later* issues quite obviously copy the Eretrian types. This first issue seems more likely to belong to the mother city than to the colony (unless indeed both Eretria and Dikaia struck quasi-identical coins in the third quarter of the sixth century) and it is probably to the coins of this issue that our inscriptions refer.[7]

For inscription 4 it has been shown, we think, that the gap between the two blocks was probably about 9 cm., or roughly five letter spaces. But no restorations with this interval occur to us. Ziebarth's Petalae Islands must be considered a distinct possibility (although the name appears as Πεταλίαι in Strabo, 444 and Pliny, IV, 71) for κεναιον remains clearly legible on the stone, and it is hard to see to what it can refer except to Cape Kenaion at the northwest extremity of Euboea.[8] The inscription thus still suggests regulations for the payment of sailors who pass the Petalai Islands in the extreme south of the channel or Cape Kenaion at its northern end, and this is interesting enough even if the outrageous graft of customs appraisers at the harbor has proved to be an illusion.[9] The text remains obscure; it is easier to show that Hiller's ingenious supplements are impossible than to produce acceptable substitutes.[10]

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[7] G. K. Jenkins published the coin in question in "Greek Coins Recently Acquired by the British Museum," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1955, pp. 131-156. The coin is no. 7 on p. 136, and is illustrated on plate 12. In "The Early Coins of Athens and Euboia," *N.C.*, 1962, W. P. Wallace re-examines the chronology, suggesting that the Wappenmünzen at Athens, "Gaebler's series" at Chalkis (these are the coins which Seltman calls "Groups Qi and Qii"; see his *Athens, its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion*, Cambridge, 1924, pl. xxiv), and these first "cows" at Eretria all begin in the third quarter of the sixth century, while the earliest Athenian "owls," the Eretrian cow/octopus coins and the Chalkis eagle/wheel issues should all be dated soon after 510 B.C.

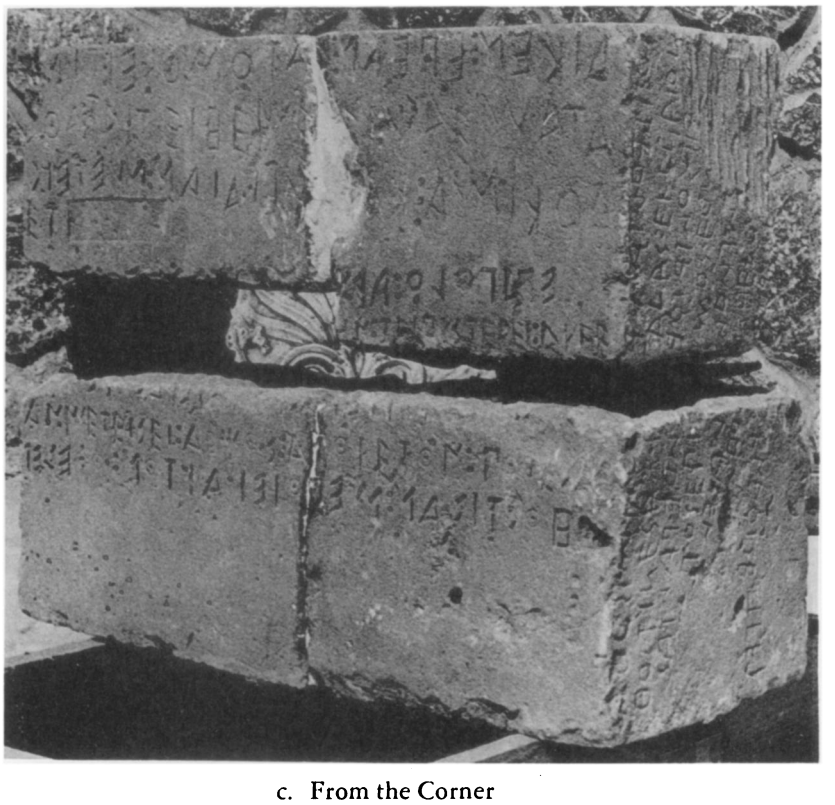
[8] On Papabasileiou's reading of this line:—με]γάλας: ἔ κε ναίον[τας—Kretschmer remarked "Die Partikel κε . . . ist neben oftigen ἄν kaum glaublich" (*Glotta*, VII, 1916, p. 325).

[9] Ziebarth's treatment of the "Alte Schiffahrtsvorschriften" from Eretria in his "Seeraub u. Seehandel" (*Hamburg Univ. Abhand.*, XXX, 1929, pp. 7, 123-124), based as it chiefly is on the *I.G.*, XII, 9 text of inscription 4, must now be considered almost entirely erroneous; there is no reason to suppose that the inscription deals with "harbor regulations" at all.

[10] We are grateful to Dr. John Papadimitriou, the late General Director of Antiquities and Mr. B. Petrakos, Epimeletes of Euboea, for permission to make squeezes and photographs. We are also indebted to Ioannis Skoubris, the *phylax* at Eretria, who assisted in the photography. W. P. Wallace was awarded a fellowship by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, which, with research assistance from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and leave of absence from University College, Toronto, enabled him to spend 1960-1961 in Greece.

a. From the Front

b. From the End



c. From the Corner

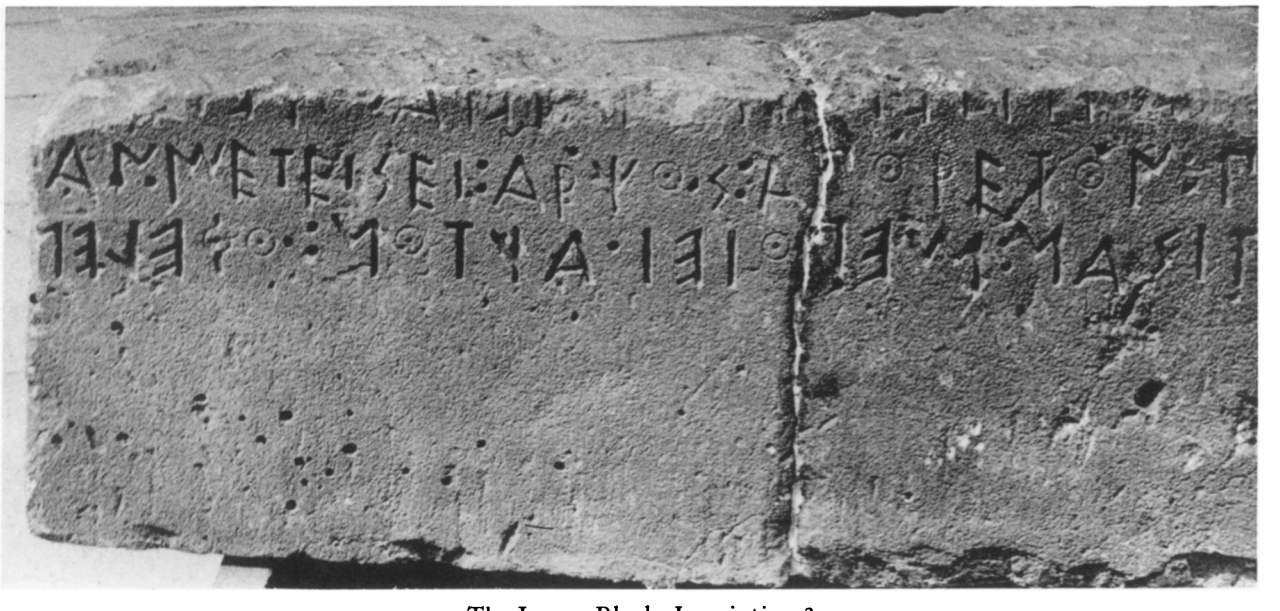
d. From the Top

The Two Blocks in approximately Their Original Relation

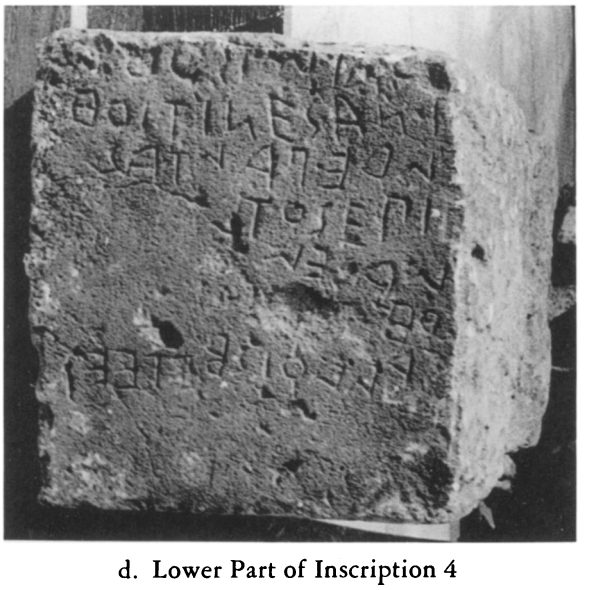
PLATE 68

a. The Upper Block; Inscriptions 1 and 2

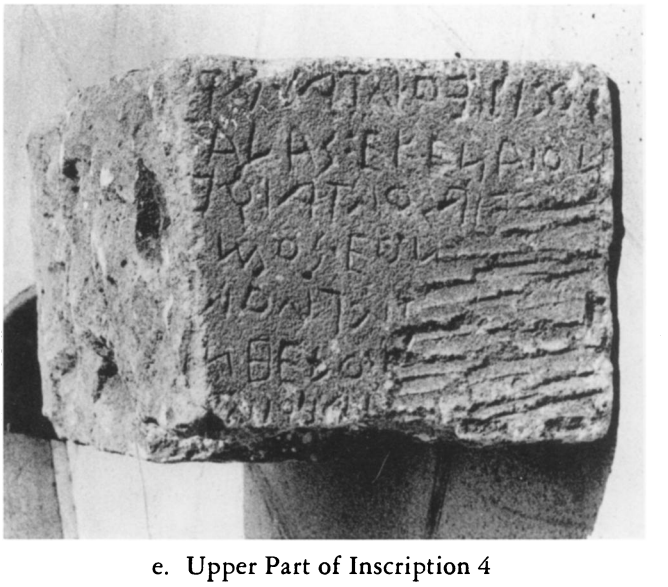
b. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 1275



c. The Lower Block; Inscription 3



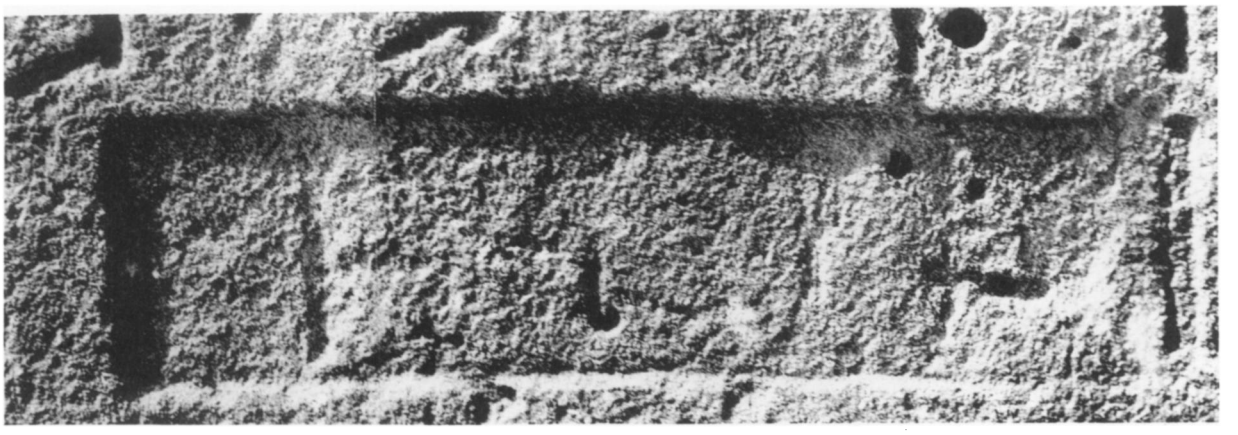
d. Lower Part of Inscription 4



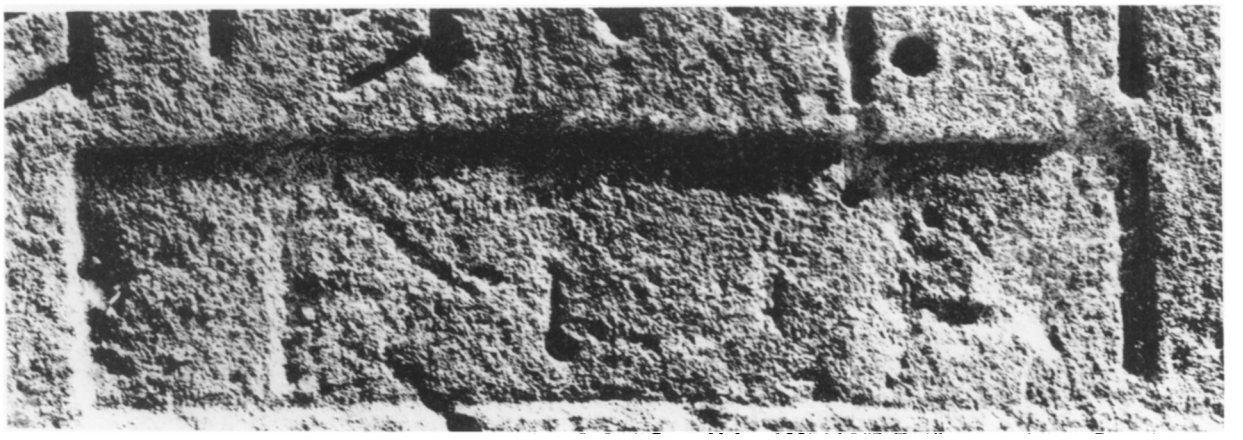
e. Upper Part of Inscription 4

a. Inscription 3, Left Half; Photograph of a Squeeze

b. Inscription 3, Left Half; Photograph of the Stone with Letters Completed



c. Inscription 1, The Erasure (Actual Size) lighted from Upper Left



d. Inscription 1, The Erasure (Actual Size) lighted from Upper Right