

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 63, 64)

EXCAVATIONS in the Athenian Agora continue to produce epigraphical material of considerable interest and the following is a brief account of three recent discoveries. The first two pieces join long-known fifth-century documents—the Athenian Tribute Lists and the Attic Stelai—and the third is a new text, a proxeny decree of the fourth century.¹

ATHENIAN TRIBUTE LISTS—LIST 2

1 (Plate 63, b, c). Fragment of Pentelic marble preserving parts of both the obverse and right lateral faces of the *Lapis Primus*.² The piece contains text from columns VII and VIII of List 2, recording the quota payments of 453/2 B.C. Found in modern fill to the southeast of the Stoa of Attalos (T 14), on June 24, 1972.

There is a physical join with fragment 10 below, and a textual connection with fragment 11 on the right lateral face, though no join.³

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.152 m.

Height of letters, 0.007–0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 7398

a. 453/2 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Obverse Face (column VII⁴)

Right Lateral Face (column VIII)

Γ₁

ΔΔΓ

[---]

[HHH]

[H]

[Α]β[υδανοί]

Κεβ[ρένιοι]

Σκάφ[σιοι]

¹ I am indebted to T. L. Shear, Jr., Director of the Agora Excavations, for permission to work on these inscriptions, as well as for his help and encouragement at various stages. E. Vanderpool has also been unstinting in his advice. These acknowledgments and others noted below do not, of course, imply complicity in such errors as may remain. Eugene Vanderpool, Jr. took the photographs.

² The basic publication of the tribute lists is by B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (hereafter *A.T.L.*), I–IV, Cambridge (Mass.) and Princeton, 1939–1953. B. D. Meritt has made several useful suggestions for which I am grateful, and I owe a special word of thanks to M. F. McGregor for his helpful advice and criticism throughout.

³ See the drawings in *A.T.L.*, I, plates I–III, showing the placement of the fragments. With the friendly cooperation of Dr. D. Peppas-Delmouzou and the staff of the Epigraphical Museum the new piece has been added to the reconstruction of the *Lapis Primus*.

⁴ The lines are numbered in accordance with their proper positions within List 2, with the heading as line 1.

5	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Ναρ[ισβαρῆς]	[ΔΓ]ΗΙΙΙ	Παισε[νοι]
	ΓΗΗΗ	Θασσθ[αρῆς]	[Η]Ὶ	Κλαζομέν[ιοι]
		ἴγρες	Η	Φ[ο]καῖῆς Η[Ὶ]
	Ὶ	Καύνιοι		παρὰ [.]ε[.]κ _ο ῚῚ
	[Ὶ]	Πασσανδ[ῆς]	ΗΗῚ	Φ[ο]καῖῆς
10	ΔΔΔΗΗΗ	Κρυῆς	[Χ]Η[Η]	Τορον[αῖοι]
	Η	Στρεφσαῖ[οι]	[Η]	Μυρι[ναῖοι]
	ῚΗΗΗ	Χαλχεδ[όνιοι]		Λ

The stone displays all the signs of heavy weathering so characteristic of the upper parts of the obverse and right lateral faces of the first stele. Much of the original surface of the obverse has worn off, leaving a sugary texture, and there are vertical scars caused by water wear. The right lateral face is even more damaged, scarred vertically by water and heavily pocked as well. Fortunately, the pockmarks often reflect the shapes of the letters, thereby permitting accurate readings.

COLUMN VII

Line 3: Part of the quota figure is preserved, a clear Ὶ and the bottom of a vertical stroke of the next numeral to the right. The form of the figure for fifty drachmas is characteristic of List 2, Ὶ rather than the more common Ὶ found in the other lists of the first assessment period. Elsewhere on the first stele, only Lists 5 and 7 have the form Ὶ.

Line 4: The lower right corner of the first delta is visible. The alignment of the figures suggests that the full quota here was twenty-five drachmas.

Line 6: The reduplication of the sigma of *Θασσαρῆς* is characteristic of the mason or scribe responsible for this part of List 2; it occurs again in line 9.⁵

Line 9: The quota for Pasanda is restored on the basis of List 4, III, 23. For the spelling see the commentary above, line 6.

Line 11: The full spelling of *Στρεφσαῖοι* will not fit the space available on the stone and there must have been some adjustment at the right.⁶

Line 12: As only the upper tips of the letters are visible the reading of this line is not absolutely secure. In the first stoichos of the name the ends of two splaying strokes are clear. In the second stoichos there is the apex of a triangular letter. In the third, there is the top of a vertical stroke, slightly off center to the left. In the fourth letter space the traces are faint, though there is a diagonal stroke rising toward the left, suggesting a chi or perhaps upsilon. The epsilon is clear in the fifth stoichos and there is what can be taken as the tip of a letter in the middle of the sixth. Of the quota the Ὶ is clear, followed by six vertical strokes, tentatively read as HHH.

⁵ For a collection of variant spellings, see *A. J. A.*, XXIX, 1925, pp. 259 ff. For other examples of reduplication of the sigma, cf. *ἡεσσι[αῖῆς]* (List 8, II, 36) and *ἑφαισσι[αῖῆς]* (List 8, I, 96). Also *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, p. 411, note 29.

⁶ List 2 displays various solutions to the problem of limited space: crowding (*Στόλοι*: VIII, 15), writing suprascript (*Πελειᾶται*: X, 2) or infrascript (*Δικαιοπολιῖται*: IX, 8), and omission (*Χερρονεσίται*: X, 6).

COLUMN VIII

Line 2: The lower half of the beta is clear in the photograph (Pl. 63, c) and Abydos is the only tributary city with a beta as the second letter of its name.⁷ The quota for Abydos is so irregular throughout the lists that no restoration is attempted.

Line 3: The quota figure HHH is restored on the basis of List I, IV, 26.

Line 4: The restoration of *Σκάφσιοι* is made in preference to *Σκαφσαῖοι*, whose quota (ΔΓΗΙΙΙ) should appear at least in part on the stone (cf. for example, *Παισενοί* in line 5); the quota of the *Σκάφσιοι*, however (H: restored on the basis of List 3, IV, 27), would have been further to the left, on part of the stone now missing.

Line 5: The lower ends of the diagonal strokes of the alpha are visible below the pockmark, as is the lower half of the iota. The quota is restored on the basis of List 3, V, 21.

Line 6: The left hasta of the nu is clear. The quota should perhaps be restored ΗϞ on the basis of List 3, I, 11, and the position of the Ϟ suggests that it is the second of two numerals; it is possible, however, that Klazomenai appears twice in List 2; see the discussion below.

Lines 7–8: The top and bottom of the vertical stroke of the phi are visible above and below an oblong pockmark. In the place of the omicron there is a large round pockmark. Despite scarring, the upper half of the kappa can be read from a squeeze, and the lower part of the vertical hasta is clear. The alpha is preserved as a triangular pit, with the right diagonal enlarged but visible. In line 8 the rho is pocked but both the vertical and top strokes are partially visible. A triangular scar occupies the position of the second alpha, with the tips of both diagonal strokes visible at the bottom. Squeezed in below the kappa and slightly to the right is the arc of a round letter, presumably an omicron. These two lines comprise a single entry, as indicated by the quota figure H midway between the two. There is room for one numeral to the left, where the stone is broken away, and several to the right, within the heavily pocked area.

Line 9: In the second stoichos there is a large round pockmark. Though scarred, much of the upper half of the kappa in the third position can be read from a squeeze. The alpha is obscured by a large triangular pockmark, but both diagonals are clear. The figure Ϟ is visible as part of the quota, along with three vertical strokes to the left, apparently part of HH.⁸

Line 10: The quota of Torone is restored on the basis of List 1, II, 15.⁹

Line 11: The quota of Myrina is restored on the basis of List 3, III, 7.

Line 12: The first stoichos of the name has the apex of a triangular letter.

If, as suggested above, the full quota in line 4 of column VII is twenty-five drachmas then the number of possible restorations is greatly reduced. They are: *χαισόνιοι*, *Ἴκιοι*, *Μυδονῆς*, *Σίλιοι*, and *Σύριοι*.¹⁰ Of these, *Μυδονῆς* is perhaps the preferred restoration; it lay close geographically to Narisbara (line 5) and Thasthara (line 6) and often appears in conjunction with these two cities on the other lists.¹¹

Ἰγρες in line 7 of column VII is previously unattested in the ancient sources. A possible explanation is that this is an alternate spelling of *Πίγρες*, the Karian dynast of

⁷ The only other possibility, Abdera, is aspirated in the first assessment period (List 1, V, 5 and List 3, V, 17).

⁸ The usual quota of the Phokaiaans is HHH (List 3, V, 4 and List 4, II, 13). The unusual payment here is perhaps due to the additional payment by the Phokaiaans of lines 7–8.

⁹ This in turn depends on Lists 7, IV, 16; 8, II, 71; and 8, II, 101.

¹⁰ The other possibilities (*A.T.L.*, II, p. 122) are all too late or else twenty-five is an irregular quota. The Lephsimanioi, whose quota is also twenty-five, already appear twice in List 2.

¹¹ Cf. *A.T.L.*, I, p. 490, and *A.T.L.*, III, p. 12.

Syangela, whose name is spelled a variety of ways throughout the lists.¹² A bit of evidence in favor of this suggestion is the fact that the entry comes in the middle of a group of five Karian cities, perhaps reflecting envoys traveling together and therefore some geographical proximity.¹³

The appearance of Klazomenai in line 6 of column VIII is troublesome as the name is already restored in column IX, line 9, of List 2.¹⁴ The Lephsimanioi also appear twice in List 2, but theirs is a special case, the first entry apparently recording a late payment for the previous year. This explanation cannot be applied to Klazomenai as the name is preserved on List 1 as well.¹⁵ Nor is the possibility of payment in two installments likely as the position of the Ϝ in the quota figure suggests that it was the second of two numerals and that the full quota ΗϜ should be restored. A third possibility requires a revised reading of column IX, line 9. As shown in Plate III of *A.T.L.*, I, the traces on the stone are read [...⁶...]ενιοι and Klazomenai has been restored as the only tributary city which fits the traces. The endings of both this name, however, and that of line 8 (Δικαιοπολῖται) are cut vertically due to crowding and the letters run together. It is possible that the first iota is in fact weathering or a mason's error and that what was read as [...⁶...]ενιοι should be read [...⁶...]ενοι, in which case [Κυζζικ]ενοί would be a possible restoration.¹⁶

The quota of Chalchedon (ϜHHH) in line 12 of column VII requires a reinterpretation of payments within the first assessment period. In List 3, V, 19, the quota recorded is ϜHHϜ and it must now be assumed either that there was a reduction of tribute within the first assessment period, between 453/2 and 452/1, or else that the quota recorded in List 3 reflects a partial payment.¹⁷

In addition to Ἰγρες, there is a second previously unattested entry recorded in the new fragment: the Phokaians listed in lines 7 and 8 of column VIII. Entries of known people in a variety of shifting places and/or situations are not at all uncommon in the lists,¹⁸ but hitherto the Phokaians have not been among them. The problem is

¹² Πίκρες—List 1, V, 16; Πίγρες—List 23, I, 66–67; and Πίτρεις—List 28, VII, 8. The dropping of the initial pi might be regarded as a greater anomaly than those listed above, but cf. also Πίστασος (List 21, VI, 77), spelled Ἰστασος in A 10, V, 16 (*A.T.L.*, II, p. 44). It should be pointed out, however, that elsewhere in the lists Pigres always appears with some reference to Syangela.

¹³ Cf. *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 7 and 12.

¹⁴ See *A.T.L.*, I, for a photograph (p. 15) and a line drawing (pl. III).

¹⁵ List 1, IV, 21.

¹⁶ For the proposed reduplication of the zeta, see above, lines 6 and 9 of column VII. I am indebted to M. F. McGregor for this suggestion. The stroke in question is fairly prominent and an error by the mason while carving the tau of Δικαιοπολῖται seems a likelier explanation than does weathering.

¹⁷ The tribute of Chalchedon was increased between the first and second assessment periods; in the second the quota was ϜHHHH (Lists 7, III, 26 and 8, I, 56). This increase in tribute between periods perhaps indicates that the payment recorded in List 3 was partial rather than that it represents a reduction. Note also List 5, V, 17, where the quota HHH must also be a partial payment. See the comments on Dikaiopolis below and note 23.

¹⁸ *A.T.L.*, I, pp. 442–443 and 457–460.

aggravated by the fact that the reading of line 8 is far from clear. The *παρά* is straightforward, but the actual location reads [.]ε[.]κφ. A possible clue to its whereabouts may be deduced from the juxtaposition of this entry with that of the regular Phokaiaians (line 9), perhaps suggesting that the two groups were on friendly terms and in fairly close proximity to one another.¹⁹ Regrettably, there is no obviously suitable location near to Phokaia which fits the traces on the stone. One possibility would be Leukonia, an unidentified site in Ionia which was a bone of contention between Chios and Erythrai before the Ionian revolt,²⁰ though this should presumably be sought somewhat further to the south. More appropriate, though requiring an otherwise unattested alternate spelling, would be Leukai, a headland within the territory of Phokaia, some fifteen kilometers to the south, where the Hermos river reaches the sea. Pliny tells us that Leukai was once an island, Strabo refers to it, and ancient remains have been reported there.²¹ As noted, however, despite the suitability of the site, one must either assume a variant of the name or perhaps associate it with Leukonia, as the name Leukai does not conform to the traces on the stone.²² One would dearly like to know the economic or political situation which explains the two groups of Phokaiaians, but unfortunately such knowledge is not available at the present time.

To the right of line 7 of column VIII the preserved figure H is the proper beginning for the quota of Galepsos, previously restored in line 7 of column IX: [H Ϟ] [Γαλέ]-*φσιοι*.

To the right of line 8 of column VIII is the quota figure Ϟ. This would seem rather high for Dikaiopolis, restored in line 8 of column IX: [Δικαιο]πολίται. The quota in 454/3 was HHHH (List 1, IV, 19/20). The readings of both the quota in List 1 and the name in List 2 seem secure, and Dikaiopolis is the only known tributary city which fits the space available on the stone. This leads to the probable conclusion that an increase in tribute was levied against the city within the first assessment period, an increase of at least a talent between 454 and 453.²³

The new fragment is of interest not only for its dual listing of the Phokaiaians, but also for the light shed on payments made by Chalchedon and Dikaiopolis, indicating further irregularities or disturbances within the first assessment period.²⁴

¹⁹ *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 7 and 12.

²⁰ Plutarch, *Moralia*, 244e–245a, and Polyainos, VIII, 66.

²¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, V, 31, 119, and Strabo, XIV, 1, 38; also Diodorus Siculus, XV, 18; Mela, I, 17; and Scylax, 98. The site can best be located on Philippson's 1:300,000 map of Asia Minor; for a description see J. Keil and A. v. Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und den Südlichen Aiolis*, Wien, 1908, pp. 91–92.

²² The omicron added below and to the right of the kappa in line 8 precludes the restoration of *παρά Λευκάς*.

²³ Cf. Ouranion (Lists 2, I, 16 and 4, V, 27) for an adjustment made to tribute payments within the first assessment period; see also the discussion of Chalchedon above and note 17.

²⁴ For additional evidence of 'disaffection' within the empire, see R. Meiggs, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, LXVII, 1963, pp. 1–36, and R. Sealey, *Phoenix*, XXIV, 1970, pp. 13–28, especially pp. 26–28.

ATTIC STELAI—STELE II

2 (Plates 63, a; 64, a, b). Fragment of Pentelic marble from the lower left corner of Stele II of the Attic Stelai;²⁵ broken above, at right, and at the back. Found in modern fill on the north slope of the Areopagus (Q 21), *ca.* 65.00 m. west of the Eleusinion, on May 15, 1971.

The new piece joins fragment j (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 25, pl. 6) at the right. It has been set in plaster with the other fragments of Stele II and the result may be seen in Plate 64.²⁶

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.367 m.; preserved thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.007–0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 7307

a. 415/4 aut 414/3 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	Column I ²⁷	Column II	
	[... ⁶ ...]ιαι		
	[ἐλαί]ο	[Ἀχσιόχο τ]ὸ Ἀλκιβιάδο	
	[ἀμφ]ορῆς ^Π ΔΔΔΓΙΙΙ	[Σκαμβονίδ]ο ἀνδράποδα	
	[τ]ιμὲ ἐκάστο ΙΗΗΗ	ΗΗ[Η ^Π Δ ^Ι Ἀ]ρῆτε Θραῖττα	
5	[^Π ΔΓ]ΙΗΗ		
	τὸ ἀμφορεὸςΔ ^Ι	[Γρ]υλίων Θραῖχς	
	καὶ ἐπελφεΔ	[Ἀβ]ροσύνε Θραῖττα	
	κλῖναιΓΙ	ΗΗ Η ^Π Γ Δ[ιο]γύσιος	
	τράπεζαιΙΙΙ	χαλ[κ]εὺς Σκύθες	20
	κιβοτόΙΙ	μίσθοσις ἀπ[εν]ῆνχθε	
10	δίφροΙΙ	Η ^Π ἐκ τὸ χορίο τὸ ἐν θο[—]	
	θρόνος	κεφάλαιον τὸ Ἀχ[σιόχο]	
	λυχνεῖον	^Π Η ^Π ΔΔ ^Ι Η	
	σίδερων	Παναιτίο Φιλοχά[ρος]	25
	ἐμέδιμνον	Ἀφιδναῖο ἀνδράπο[δα]	
15	χσύλινον	Η ^Π Σοσιμένες Κρε	
		[ὁ]γελάτες	

²⁵ The Attic Stelai have been dealt with in impressive detail by W. K. Pritchett in two long articles: *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 225–299; *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 178–317 (with a note on Pollux, X by A. Pippin, pp. 318–328) and by D. A. Amyx in a separate article on vases and other containers: *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 163–310. I have benefited from M. Lang's preliminary notes made at the time of the discovery of the piece as well as from advice and suggestions from W. K. Pritchett.

²⁶ The piece was set by Spyro Spyropoulos, the Agora technician, and required a new placement of fragment b; see *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 249 and pl. 70, and *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 25, and pl. 6. When fitted, the επι— of line 97 in fragment b and the —ιαι in line 1 of the new fragment did not align properly, and fragment b has accordingly been raised somewhat and allowed to float.

²⁷ The overall height of the stele is uncertain, and the lines have therefore been numbered in accordance with their positions on this fragment alone. In column II, the top two lines and the right part of lines 16–22 are preserved on fragment j (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 25, pl. 6).

The lettering and surface of the stone are generally very fresh, except for a band *ca.* 0.05 m. high along the bottom, characteristic of Stele II and noted by Pritchett in his discussion of the placement of fragment i.²⁸ The band is not actually raised, but can more accurately be described as an area where the original surface of the stone has been damaged. As this strip is confined to the bottom, it seems likely that the damage occurred during the removal of the stele from its base.

Line 1: The bottom half of a vertical stroke is visible just to the left of the alpha, presumably an iota or a tau; the close spacing suggests an iota.

Line 2: The lower right quadrant of a round letter can be seen in the fifth stoichos; see below for the restoration.

Lines 9, 10: Note the use of the dual in these two lines.

Line 14: The contracted form of *ῆμμεδιμνον* is not uncommon,²⁹ though the aspirate has been omitted here.

Line 16: See below for the restoration of the price.

Line 20: The lower left corner of the lambda is visible.

Line 22: Part of the arc of a round letter is clear in the lower right corner of the fourteenth stoichos; the omicron in the next space to the right is preserved on fragment j.

Lines 27, 28: The upper stroke of the sigma is visible. *Κρε* may well have been the entire entry.³⁰ The right hasta of the nu is clear in line 28. There is the outline of a pi in the second numeral of the price, which lies midway between the two lines.

The new piece lists the sale of items from the estate of an unknown offender (lines 1–15), perhaps Alcibiades,³¹ the sale of slaves and money received from the rent of property belonging to Axiochos (lines 16–24), and the sale of a slave of Panaitios (lines 25–28).

The lot of eighty-eight amphoras recorded in lines 2–5 at eleven drachmas apiece would bring 968 drachmas. The high price of each amphora indicates that they were full and both wine and oil are possibilities, though the price of wine is generally somewhat lower than that recorded here. Various sources for the fifth and fourth centuries record prices ranging from three to eight drachmas the metretes.³² A metretes of oil, on the other hand, cost twelve drachmas in the early fourth century.³³ Furthermore, the slight traces in line 2 favor the restoration of oil (*ἐλαίο*).

²⁸ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 256; the placement is questioned by D. M. Lewis in *Ancient Society and Institutions*, Oxford, 1966, p. 185.

²⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1672, line 265: *ῆμμεδιμνα*. Also *I.G.*, IV², 40, lines 8–9 (from Epidauros): *ἡμμεδιμνον*, where there is a similar reduplication of the mu.

³⁰ Cf., for example, Stele II, line 77, where *Καρ* is used as an abbreviation of Karian. Sosimenes was presumably a Cretan, the first one attested in the Attic Stelai.

³¹ *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 184, note 58.

³² *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 199 ff. The price seems somewhat high for a local wine and too low for an imported one.

³³ *I.G.*, II², 1356; also *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 184.

ἐπελφε in line 6 is a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. It may in some way derive from ἔλφος, a Cypriot word for butter,³⁴ in which case line 6 would refer to the sale of ten butter-dishes. It could also be the second aorist of ἐπι + ἀλφάνω, to be translated “yielded in addition” or something of the sort.³⁵ The use of the connective καί would seem to indicate that line 6 refers to the sale of amphoras recorded immediately above in lines 2–5. If so, then the latter interpretation is probably to be preferred, though exactly how the ten additional drachmas would be obtained is not clear.

All the items listed below the amphoras in column I are given without price and were presumably sold collectively. This is unfortunate as we learn nothing about the price of the two previously unattested items: the iron lampstand (lines 12–13) and the wooden half-medimnos measure (lines 14–15). The two other lampstands listed in the Attic Stelai were both of wood,³⁶ and this is the first reference to a half-medimnos measure of any sort.

The total of Axiochos' property recorded in line 24, some 672 drachmas, agrees well with the three available figures: the rent of property (line 22), the price of the Scythian metalworker Dionysios (line 19), and the price of the Thracian Arete (line 16). In order to yield the preserved sales tax of four drachmas, Arete's price must fall between 350 and 399 drachmas, 5 obols.³⁷ Given the other two preserved amounts, the sales taxes, and the total, her price can be restored with certainty as 361 drachmas (311 drs. [4 + 2 + 155 + 150] from 672 drs.). She therefore commanded the highest price for a slave preserved on the Attic Stelai, edging out the Karian goldsmith Potainios (Stele II, lines 77–78), who brought 360 drachmas.

The absence of any price for Γρυλίων and Ἀβροσύνη, the two other slaves belonging to Axiochos, is somewhat troublesome. The satisfactory manner in which the totals work out as preserved suggests that these two were not, in fact, sold.³⁸

The new piece records for the first time the patronymic and demotic of Παναίτιος Φιλοχάρους Ἀφιδναῖος.³⁹ His slave Sosimenes brought 150 drachmas, ten more than the only other donkey-driver preserved in the Attic Stelai (Stele II, lines 74–76).

³⁴ Hesychios, ἔλφος· βούτυρον. Κύπριοι.

³⁵ I am indebted to M. Lang for her suggested recognition of this word.

³⁶ Stele II, lines 199–200. For bronze lampstands, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1425 (treasure-lists of Athena), lines 348, 368, 370, 413.

³⁷ For the sales tax, see *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 226–230. The taxes would be included in the total.

³⁸ Their appearance on the list suggests that they were offered for sale. Perhaps such unsold slaves remained the property of the State. For a general discussion of the slaves, see *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 276–281.

³⁹ It is not clear whether this is the Panaitios condemned for profaning the Mysteries (Andokides, *De Myst.*, 13) or that condemned for mutilation of the Herms (Andokides, *De Myst.*, 52, 67). Cf., R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1969, p. 246.

PROXENIA FOR SOPATROS OF AKRAGAS

3 (Plate 64, c). Three joining fragments of Hymettian marble; broken at top and bottom, both sides and rough-picked back preserved. Found in late Roman fill on the North Slope of the Areopagus (Q 21), on August 12, 1970.⁴⁰

Height, 0.458 m.; width (upper), 0.318 m.; width (lower), 0.349 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.006–0.01 m.; stoichedon pattern: horizontal spacing, 0.014 m.; vertical spacing, 0.0135 m.

Inv. No. I 7178

a. 331–324 a. (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 22

ἔδοξ[εν τῶι δήμῳ· Λυκοῦργο]-
 ς Λυκό[φρονος Βουτάδης εἰπ]-
 εν· περ[ὶ ὧν ἡ βουλή προεβούλ]-
 ευσεν ἐψ[ηφ]ίσθαι τ[ῶι δήμῳ·]
 5 ἐπειδὴ Σώπατρος Φιλιστ[ίω]-
 νος Ἀκραγαντῖνος ἐνδεί[κν]-
 υται τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν ἔχει π[ρ]-
 [ο]ς Ἀθην[αί]ους ἐπιμελούμε[ν]-
 [ος], καὶ π[ρ]άττων ὅπως ἂν ὥς ἀ[φ]-
 10 [θο]νώτα[τ]ος Ἀθήναζε κομίζη-
 ται σίτ[ο]ς ἐπαινέσαι αὐτὸν
 εὐνοίᾳς ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν δ-
 [ῆ]μον τ[ὸ]ν Ἀθηναίων εἶναι δ[ε]-
 [π]ρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην α[ὐ]-
 15 [τ]ὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους τοῦ δήμο[υ]
 [τ]οῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἶναι αὐ[τ]-
 ῶι ἔγκτησιν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ [τ]-
 ὁδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λ[ι]-
 θίνῃ τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κ[α]-
 20 τὰ πρυτανείαν καὶ στήσαι [ἐ]-
 ν Ἀκροπόλει· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀνα[γ]-
 ρ<α>φὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸ-
 ν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου :ΔΔΔ: ὁρ-
 αχμὰς ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφ-

⁴⁰ I am grateful to F. W. Mitchel and M. Walbank for helpful advice and have benefited also from correspondence with D. M. Lewis and, through him, with P. J. Rhodes.

- 25 ἰσματα ἀναλίσκομένον τῶι
 δήμῳ· καλέσαι δε καὶ ἐπὶ ξέ-
 [ν]ια Σώπατρον εἰς τὸ πρυταν[ν]-
 [ε]ῖον εἰς αὖριον καὶ καταν[ε]-
 [ί]μαι θέαν αὐτῶι τὸν ἀρχιτέ-
 30 κτονα εἰς τὰ Διονύσια υνυ

Line 5: The bottom of the vertical hasta is clear in the patronymic.

Line 16: The theta of *Ἀθηναίων* has not been dotted.

Line 22: The third alpha of *ἀναγραφὴν* has no cross-bar.

The decree, proposed by the orator and statesman Lykourgos,⁴¹ contains the standard provisions of an award of proxenia. Sopatros is praised for his good will and help in providing grain; he is named *πρόξενος* and *εὐεργέτης* and the honor is extended to his descendents. He is granted *enktesis*. Provision is made for the setting up on the Akropolis of a stele bearing the decree. Finally, Sopatros is invited to dine at the prytaneion and he is awarded a seat of honor at the Dionysia.

Though missing the prescript and dating formulae, the decree should perhaps be dated to the years 331 to 324 B.C., when there is ample evidence of a grain shortage at Athens.⁴² Demosthenes gives a vivid account of the famine, describing the rationing of grain and the accompanying tumult as well as the severe measures adopted to insure the supply.⁴³ The difficulties are reflected also in the make-up of the board of sitophylakes. The ten sitophylakes before Aristotle's time had risen to thirty-five by the second half of the fourth century, the larger board presumably necessitated by the increased difficulty in providing and regulating a steady supply.⁴⁴ In addition, there is considerable epigraphical evidence for the shortage of grain during this period.⁴⁵

Sopatros is hitherto unattested, and he must be among the earliest Akragantines known after the refoundation of the city by Timoleon in 340 B.C. He is also the first attested Sicilian supplier; though literary sources refer to the importation of grain from

⁴¹ Other decrees moved by Lykourgos include: *I.G.*, II², 328, 333, 337, 345, 351, 452, 1672 (line 302), and *S.E.G.*, XXI, 276. Lykourgos' care in honoring the city's benefactors has already been noted by F. W. Mitchel: *Lykourgan Athens 338-322*, *Seiple Lectures*, second series, Cincinnati, 1970, p. 39.

⁴² For a recent bibliography on the famine see Jan Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions*, Prague, 1966, pp. 70-72.

⁴³ Demosthenes, XXXIV (vs. Phormio), 37, 39.

⁴⁴ *Ath. Pol.*, 51, 3. That this was not just normal bureaucratic accumulation is indicated by the fact that the board was back to ten members (plus two secretaries to represent the two new tribes) at least by 240 B.C. and perhaps as early as 300: *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 444-448, no. 2, and *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 243-246, no. 8. See also John J. Keaney, "The Date of Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia*," *Historia*, XIX, 1970, pp. 326-336, especially pp. 330-332.

⁴⁵ The most complete document is *I.G.*, II², 360, honoring Herakleides of Salamis for his benefactions during this period. Other decrees of a similar nature are: *I.G.*, II², 363, 398, 400, 407, 408, 416, and possibly 423 and 479; also *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 27-30, no. 7 and *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 332-333, no. 9.

Sicily,⁴⁶ most of the known suppliers come from the Black Sea and eastern Aegean. His invitation to dine at the prytaneion is of interest, indicating his presence at Athens and suggesting that perhaps he accompanied the grain he is being honored for supplying.

The formula for lines 3–4 is restored on the basis of *I.G.*, II², 552, line 10. The procedure here is somewhat unusual; the boule, having put the matter on the agenda with no proposed draft nor any expressed opinion of its own, apparently left the proposal open, with the wording of the decree to be made by Lykourgos in the assembly.⁴⁷ A parallel of sorts would be *I.G.*, II², 337, also proposed by Lykourgos, though in that case an open probouleuma is included at the beginning. As the upper part of the new Agora stele is broken away it is possible that an entire probouleuma is missing, but this seems unlikely as the stele would then be disproportionately tall. Presumably no more than the prescript, with perhaps a small relief above, is missing.⁴⁸

The abbreviated reference in line 17 to enktesis, the right to own property in Athens, is unique in Attic epigraphy; all other examples refer specifically to land and/or a house.⁴⁹ This curtailed version may well in some way be due to the unusual procedure noted above, with the wording of the honors being done in the assembly.

The formula for the assigning of the honorary seat in the theater is paralleled in *I.G.*, II², 466, lines 52–53 and *I.G.*, II², 500, lines 33–35⁵⁰.

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ATHENIAN AGORA EXCAVATIONS

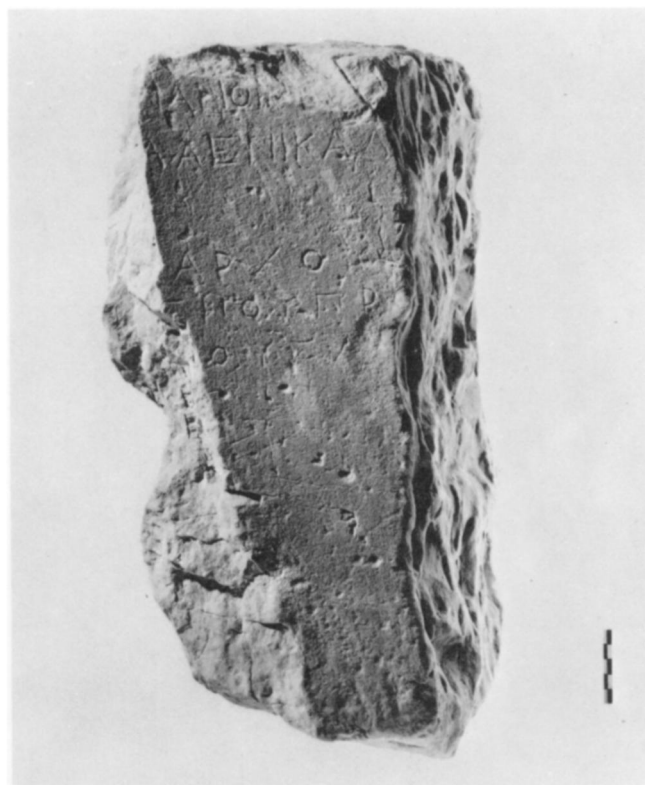
⁴⁶ Demosthenes, XXXII (*vs. Zenothemis*) and LVI (*vs. Dionysodoros*), 9. See also *I.G.*, II², 1629, lines 217–220 (Tod, *G.H.I.*, no. 200), referring to a colony sent by Athens to the Adriatic in 325/4 B.C. in part to help secure the grain supply.

⁴⁷ For an excellent recent discussion of probouleumata see P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford, 1972, chapter II, especially pp. 66–68, and Table D. (In note 3 on page 68 read *I.G.*, II², 552 for *I.G.*, II², 352.) Also R. A. de Laix, *Probouleusis at Athens*, University of California Press, 1972, pp. 109 ff.

⁴⁸ Other proxenies with reliefs include *I.G.*, II², 339, 419. The prices of stelai vary tremendously and cannot, regrettably, be used as an accurate guide for how much may be missing; *I.G.*, II², 240, of 337/6 B.C., a text comparable to this in length, with no relief, also cost thirty drachmas, whereas the ‘Law against Tyranny’ of the same year cost ten drachmas, though it is both a longer text and crowned by a relief (Agora Inv. I 6524; *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 355–359).

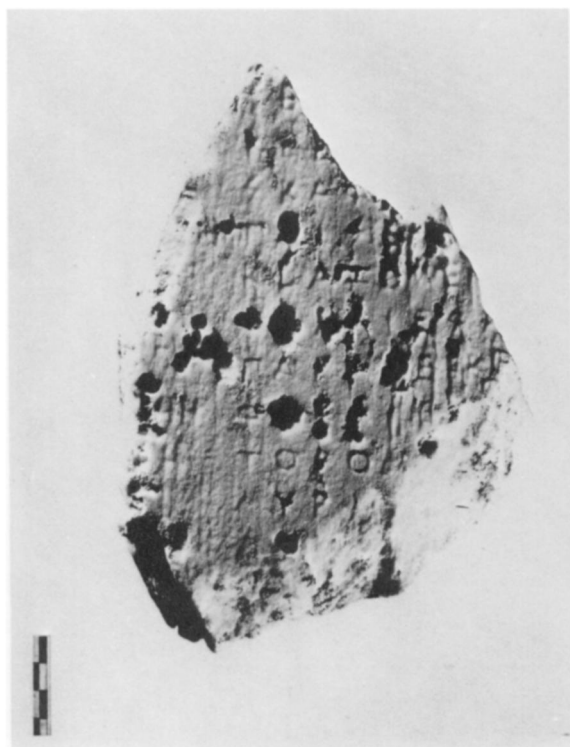
⁴⁹ Jan Peçirka, *op. cit.* (above, note 42), pp. 152–159. This new reference should serve as a warning about drawing firm conclusions concerning the development of formulae. Cf., for example, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 159–160, no. 16, and F. W. Mitchel, *op. cit.* (above, note 41), p. 32, note 123, on the phrase *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* in other grants of enktesis in this period.

⁵⁰ Also Demosthenes, XVIII (*de Corona*), 28, and Aischines, II (*on the Embassy*), 55. For the *ἀρχιτέκτων* and the assigning of honorary seats generally, see A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd edition, revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford, 1968, pp. 266 ff. and especially note 3 on p. 266.

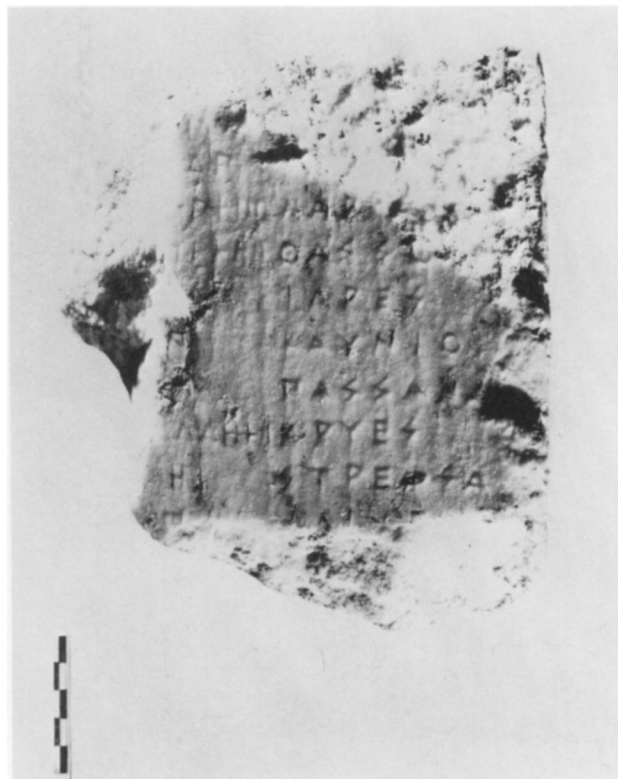


a. Inscription No. 2

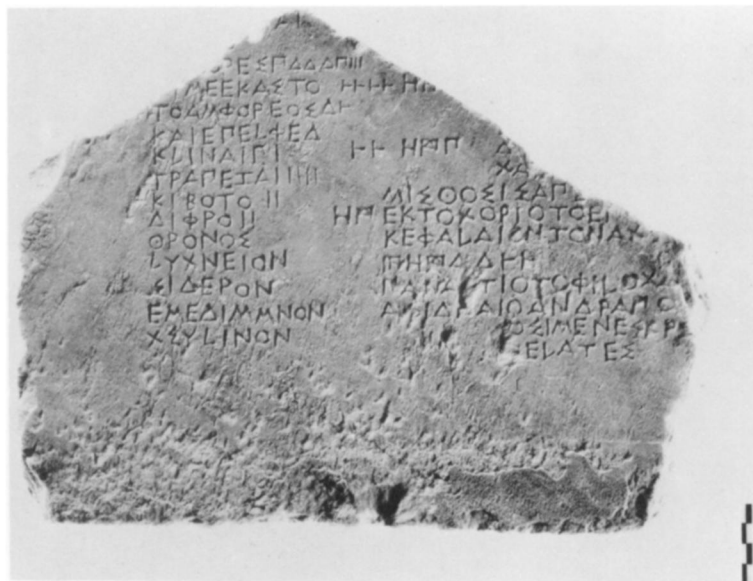
EUGENE VANDERPOOL: VICTORIES IN THE ANTHIPPASIA



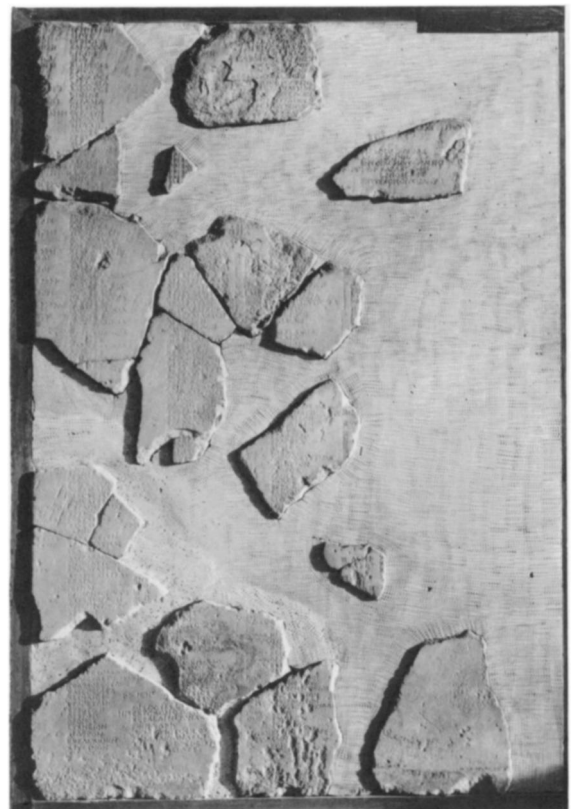
b. No. 1: I 7398, obverse face: column VII of List 2



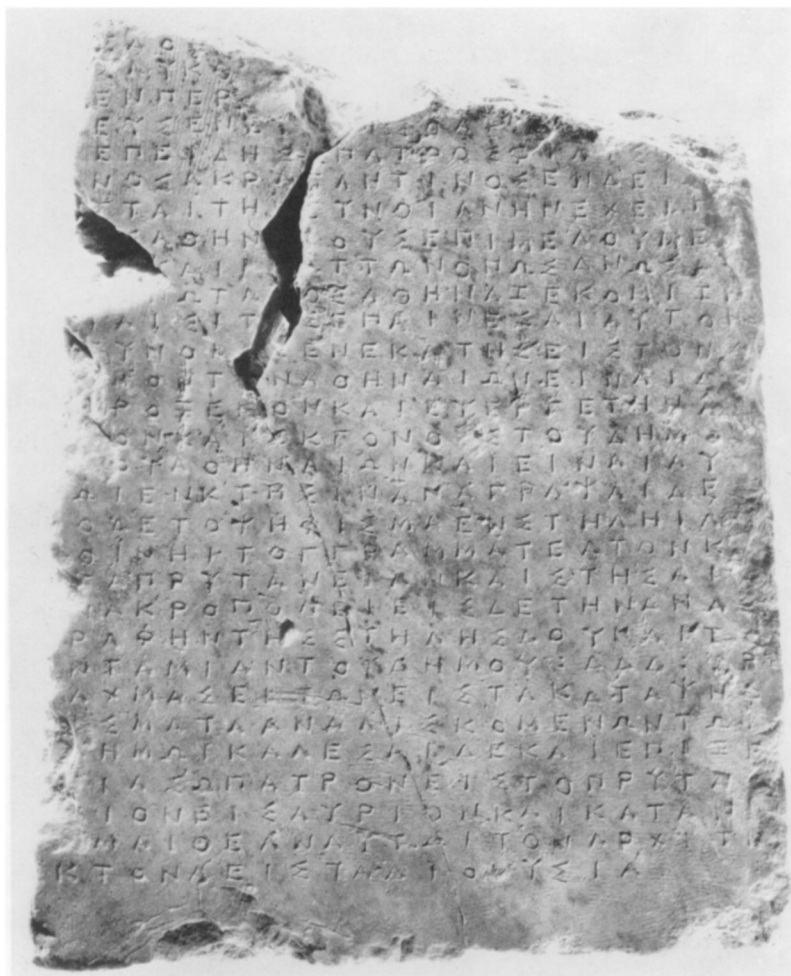
c. No. 1: I 7398, right lateral face: column VIII of List 2



a. No. 2: I 7307: lower left corner of Stele II of the Attic Stelai



b. Reconstruction of Stele II



c. No. 3: I 7178: Proxenia for Sopatros of Akragas