

A RECONSTRUCTION OF I.G., II², 1628

(PLATE 74)

SINCE the discovery in Peiraieus in 1834¹ of the first group of inscriptions containing the records of the ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων, one of the continuing obstacles to the understanding of their contents and nature as monuments of the Second Athenian Confederacy has been the difficulty of identifying all the fragments of each document and establishing accurately its physical character.² During the current year I have had the opportunity of subjecting these inscriptions to the closest possible scrutiny in the hope at least of clarifying the evidence, and at most of reaching new conclusions with adequate documentation. The effort has not been fruitless, largely, I am sure, because the conditions under which I worked were very nearly ideal.³

¹ Almost all that we know of the circumstances of the discovery has been set out in the letter of Ludwig Ross to August Böckh that has been included in the foreword of the latter's *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates*, Berlin, 1840, pp. viii-xii. Ross describes there the discovery of the quadrangular Late Roman or Byzantine portico during the excavation of the foundation of a modern building on the south side of Kantharos harbor. On the inner side of this portico was found a series of marble catch-basins whose connecting water channels had been made from these inscribed slabs. This re-use has proved helpful in reassembling the fragments into individual stelai, since the continuation of the hollow gutters on the backs of most of the fragments provides an important criterion for recovering their original positions. See below, pp. 249-250 and Figure 1.

² Böckh, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2, was much exercised by this problem. From his experience with inscriptions of other types and periods he was well aware that at Athens more than one document might be published on a single stone, or a long text might be continued through several surfaces of one or more stones in various spatial arrangements. Two conditions aggravated his difficulties. First, these texts proved to be very repetitive, thus reducing the number of distinguishing characteristics. Second, he was working wholly from the copies and notes of Ludwig Ross and, in a very few cases, one or two others, so he had no personal acquaintance with the stones themselves. The remarkable work that he produced is a testimony to his acumen and diligence. Subsequent efforts have largely built on Böckh's foundation. Ulrich Köhler worked in the presence of the stones, comparing previous texts with what he himself could read, achieving good results for his publication of this class of lists (which by then numbered twenty-seven entries) in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, II, 789-812. He had, however, encountered difficulties in the working conditions in the "Theseion," where the inscriptions were then kept, and he mentions this in his preface to the class. The republication of this group by J. Kirchner in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, II², 1604-1632, although it included two fragments not known to Köhler, did not depend on autopsy and added little to the work of those on whom he depended.

³ I am very grateful for the time and facilities that I have been generously afforded by the individuals and institutions that have made my work possible and pleasant. The financial support of the Olivia James Travelling Fellowship administered by the Archaeological Institute of America, sabbatical leave from Case Western Reserve University, the hospitality of Associate Membership

The purpose of this article is two-fold. Primarily I wish to report a new join that I have made to the known fragments of *I.G.*, II², 1628 (EM 10384), the statement of inventory and *παράδοσις* of the supervisors of the dockyards in the archonship of Chremes, 326/5; through this join we may now calculate the original size of the stele that bore the text. Secondly, while working on this problem I have discovered parts of headings on the re-used backs (originally, of course, the fronts) of this stele and another, *I.G.*, II², 1631 (EM 10382); this discovery, when combined with the other evidence now available, leads me to conclude that this entire class of texts was opisthographic.⁴

Eugene Schweigert properly located Agora Inv. No. I 5419 at the base of cols. *b* and *c* of *I.G.*, II², 1628 (EM 10384), and published the new fragment whose text continues the list of "hanging equipment" for *τετρήρεις* that the *ἐπιμεληταί* of 326/5 were transferring to their successors.⁵ EM 10384a (*I.G.*, II², 1630) is part of the same document and joins firmly with the bottom surface of Agora Inv. I 5419, so concluding column *b* of *I.G.*, II², 1628, and continuing uninscribed to the preserved bottom of the stele (Pl. 74, c).⁶ Since I have many new readings to offer for the Agora fragment, I present here the complete textual unit from line 323 of *I.G.*, II², 1628, columns *b* and *c*, across both joins. I have restricted my commentary to necessary explanations of the new readings.

of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the cooperation of the staff at the Epigraphical Museum under the direction of Mrs. Peppa-Delmouzou, and the encouragement of my colleagues, D. W. Bradeen, M. F. McGregor, and E. Vanderpool, who frequently gave their time for consultation and discussion, contributed substantially to my work.

⁴ I have recovered numerous readings in almost every one of these texts, in addition to new joins and associations. I believe that the only satisfactory method of presenting these results will be in a comprehensive republication of the texts in a single volume. At the moment, however, a prompt statement of results is due interested scholars: *I.G.*, II², 1604 (EM 10394) and 1605 (EM 10384 Γ) are very probably two parts of the same stele; 1613 (EM 10392) and 1614 (EM 10390) have been joined and form the upper and lower parts respectively of a stele 1.91 m. in height; 1615 (EM 7971), 1618 (EM 10391), 1619 (EM 10388, now lost), and 1617 (EM 10389) are four parts of a single document of which the last probably forms the lower right corner and the first three, firmly joined by their texts and physical characteristics, present the left half of the text higher on the stele; 1620 (EM 4656) and 1621 (EM 10387) are from a single stele and should be dated together, probably in 348/7.

⁵ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 43, pp. 343-345. Schweigert also published the only other recent additions to this class of inscriptions (five fragments bearing Agora Inventory Nos. I 2012a, b, c, I 2542, and I 3227) in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 17-25, where he argued that they belonged to a copy of *I.G.*, II², 1611 (EM 10393) that had been set up in the Agora.

⁶ Böckh, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 416-417, considered it likely that *I.G.*, II², 1630 (his document XII), was a part of his documents XIII (*I.G.*, II², 1628) or XIV (*I.G.*, II², 1629) because of its contents and the character of its script, but he could not make a better case for one than the other, nor has anyone else subsequently. Note the roughening on the face of *I.G.*, II², 1630 (Pl. 74, c, bottom) where it was to be inserted into a socket of its base. Similar marks are visible on several other fragments of this class where they preserve the lowest extremities of the stelai.

326/5

Col. *b*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Col. *c*

τετρήρων σκεύη κρεμα[σὰ]
 παρελάβομεν καὶ ἀπε[λά]

325 βομεν ἐν νεωρίοις
 ὑποζώματα ἐπὶ τετρ[---]
 ἰστία ἐπὶ τετρήρη[---]
 παραρύματα λευ[κὰ]
 ἐπὶ τετρήρηις: Δ[---]
 330 παραρύματα τρί[χίνα]
 ἐπὶ τετρήρηις[: ---]
 καταβλήματα ἐπ[ὶ τετρ ---]
 τοπεία ἐπὶ τετρ[---]

335 ἐκάστης καλωιδ[ίων]
 μηρύματα: Δ[ΠΙΙΙ]
 ἱμάντας δύο[: ἄγκοιναν]
 διπλῇ[ν: πόδας] δύο χαλινόν
 [ἀγκύ]ρας ἐπὶ τετρή: ΔΠΙΙ
 340 [σχοι]ρία ἐπὶ τετρήρηις: ΠΙΙΙΙ
 καὶ παρὰ ταμίον κρεμα
 στῶν ἀπελάβομεν
 Ἀριστοκλείδου τοῦ Θρασυκλέου
 Μελ<ι>τέως *vacat*
vacat

345 ὑποζώματα ἐπὶ τετρ[ή]: Π
 ἰστία ἐπὶ τετρήρη[ι]ς: Π
 παραρύματα λευκὰ
 ἐπὶ τετρήρηις: Π
 παραρύμα[τ]α τρίχίνα
 350 ἐπὶ τετρήρηις: Π
 καταβλήματα ἐπὶ τετρήρ: Π
 τοπεία ἐπὶ τετρήρηις: Π
 ἐκά[σ]της καλωιδίων μηρύματα: ΔΠΙΙΙ
 ἱμάντας δύο: ἄγκοιναν
 355 διπλῇν: πόδας δύο
 ὑπέρας δύο: χαλινόν
 ἀγκύρας ἐπὶ τετρήρηις: Π
 [σ]χοινία ἐπὶ τετρήρηις: Π
 ἐφ' ἐκάστην ὀκτωδάκτυλα

vacat

[καὶ παρελά]βομεν παρὰ
 [νεωρίω]ν ἐπιμελητῶ[ν]
 445 τῶ[ν ἐφ' Ἡγ]ήμονος ἄρχον[τ]ος
 ΔΔ[ΔΗΗΠΙ]: τοῦτο παρέδο
 μεν [νεω]ρίων ἐπιμελη
 ταῖς [τοῖ]ς ἐπὶ Ἀντικλέους
 ἄρχο[ντ]ος
vacat

- 360 IIII: ἐγδάκτυλα: IIII
καὶ παρέδομεν ἐν νεωρίῳ
σκεύη κρε[μ]α[σ]τὰ τετρήρων
ὑποζώματα ἐπὶ τετρήρ: ΔIII
ἰστ[ί]α ἐπὶ τετρήρησι: ΔIII
- 365 παραρύματα λευκὰ
ἐπὶ τετρήρησι: ΔIII
παραρύματα τρίχινα
ἐπὶ τετρήρησι: ΔIII
καταβλήματα
- 370 ἐπὶ τετρήρησι: ΔIII
τοπέια ἐπὶ τετρήρησι: ΔIII
ἐκάστης καλωιδίων
μηρύματα: ΔΓIII
ἱμάντας δύο: ἄγκοιναν
- 375 διπλῆν: πόδας δύο
ὑπέρας δύο: χαλινόν
ἀγκύρας ἐπὶ τετρήρησι: ΔIII
[σχοινία] ἐπὶ τετρήρησι: [---]
[*vacat*]
καὶ π[αρελά]βομεν
- 380 καταβε[βλημένον ὑπὲρ τριή]
ρους ἀ<ρ>γύρ[ιον ---: ---]
μον Δημάδου [--- καὶ συν]
τριήραρχον Αἰσ[χραῖον]
Ποληκλέους Ἀναγ[υράσιον]
- 385 ὑπὲρ τῆς τριήρους ἥ[ς ὦ]
φειλεν ἥι ὄνομα Αἶαν
τεία Παμφίλου ἔργον
τοῦτο παρελάβομεν
καταβεβλημένον
- 390 ἀποδέκταις τοῖς ἐπ[ὶ]
Εὐθυκρίτου ἄρχοντ[ος]
vacat

COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Line 323: For easy reference to the existing publication, I have continued the line numbers of the text of *I.G.*, II², 1628, columns *b* and *c*, although the addition of the fifty-one new lines of the joined fragments disrupts the older sequence beyond line 338. In column *c* an adjusted system would enumerate the final entry as lines

504-510 rather than 453-459 as in the present text. The adjustment will be made in my comprehensive study of these documents.

Line 326: Here and elsewhere there is more than one possibility as the abbreviation of *τετρήρης*.

Line 337: *δύο* is the first line on Agora Inv. I 5419. Its last is the completion of line 379, which is the first on EM 10384a.

Line 352: There are several slight traces of color (see note on lines 357-363) that might be parts of single units following the Π ; since they are ambiguous and the context suggests Π , I have discounted them as accidental.

Line 354: The reading *ἀνκουαν* seems certain, but compare line 374 for the normal spelling.

Lines 357-363: I have recovered many new readings from the stone, as well as confirming or emending lines previously restored, by utilizing one of the characteristics of the fragment. It has acquired a rust-colored deposit in the cracks, scratches, and letter strokes; this becomes more readily visible after the stone has been thoroughly wet and has begun to dry. At this stage the contrast between the natural gray of the Hymettian marble and the orange to dark-brown deposit is greatest. Schweigert read almost nothing here, apparently because he was relying on the use of charcoal to bring up the letters; it must rather have obscured the valuable contrast in coloring. On his photograph in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 344, the shaded area where the charcoal had been applied is clearly visible.

Line 360: Both sets of numerals and *ἐγδάκτυλα* are clear, but between the fourth numeral stroke and the epsilon are a few traces of what may be a letter or two or punctuation and random marks. They are not conclusively letters, hence I have preferred punctuation alone on the pattern of lines 586-587 (old numbers) of this inscription. If the conjunction *καί* intervened here, as in *I.G.*, II², 1627, lines 121-132, it was extremely crowded. Compare *I.G.*, II², 1629, 425-441 and 1061-1063. In the latter passage a better restoration of the last part of line 1062 is $\text{||||}:[\epsilon\gamma]$, the spelling that seems to have been favored in that document.

Line 378: The spacing of the letters and the punctuation preserved at the end confirm the presence of a numeral ($\Delta\text{III}?$) followed by one vacant line before the new entry in line 379.

Lines 379-380: The new text across the join now requires several changes in Köhler's restoration (*I.G.*, II, 810, adopted by Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 1630). The widely spaced $\text{]}βομεν$ on Agora Inv. I 5419 seems to preclude the reading of more than one letter, and I have rejected even that, between *καί* and $\pi[\alpha\rho\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}]βομεν$. The spacing at this point on the stele is consistently generous. The lower tips of hastas in the third and fourth positions in this line are consonant with the later spacing. I have identified them as ι and π respectively. In line 380 there are clear traces of the lower left corner of the epsilon in the sixth position. This requires the perfect *καταβεβλημένον* (in agreement with *ἀργύριον*), which is repeated in line 389.

Lines 381-382: The mason realized his error in the spelling of ἀργύριον and tried to transform his beta into the required rho by making its upper half much deeper than the rest, but he was unsuccessful in obscuring the superfluous strokes. A number of drachmai followed ἀργύριον, then punctuation, after which the beginning of the primary debtor's name concluded the line. For the use of the accusative to list the debtors, see lines 527-551 (old numbers) of this inscription. Compare also *I.G.*, II², 1612, column *d*, *passim*; 1627, 368-395; 1629, 1004-1029, especially 1007 where punctuation both precedes and follows the name; 1631, 233-251. The syntax of these passages leaves something to be desired.

Now that there is a firm reckoning point at the lower edge of this stele as a consequence of the new join, it is necessary to determine how closely the present dimensions approximate the original size of this stele.⁷ Since this depends on the extent to which it may have been trimmed for its re-use, a few general remarks on that subject will clarify the relevant evidence.

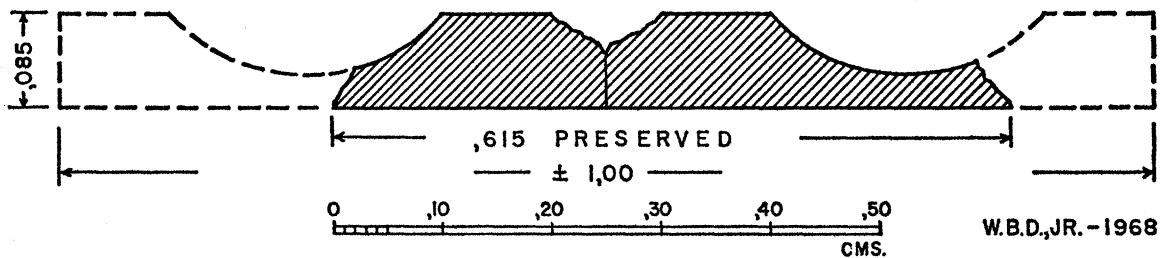


FIG. 1. Section of EM 10382 (*I.G.*, II², 1631) showing original size.

As mentioned above,⁸ most of the extant fragments had been converted into water channels which measure about 0.45 m. in width in their finished form,⁹ with a gutter approximately 0.25 m. wide and 0.055 m. deep hollowed out through the length of its upper surface. Figure 1 provides a section of the one of these stelai (EM 10382) that shows most clearly the way in which it was re-used. The slab was chiselled and broken apart down the middle, then each half was further dressed to produce, in this case, about 2.13 m. of guttering. Now that the preserved parts of

⁷ The present height is 2.12 m. including the added fragments. The maximum width is 0.626 m. (0.268 m. below the present upper edge). The present thickness is 0.103 m. at the top of column *d* and 0.113 m. at the base of EM 10384a.

⁸ Note 1.

⁹ I arrived at this standard width, 0.45 m., by comparing all the extant fragments that preserve intact water channels on their backs, measured from the undisturbed lateral face of the original inscription to the furthest point on the properly dressed surface across the gutter. The narrowest (EM 10385, *I.G.*, II², 1627) measured 0.435 m. and the widest 0.45 m. (EM 10381, *I.G.*, II², 1632). The rest (nine others were measurable) averaged 0.442 m. This width is a minimum, and the wear on the recut edge may have reduced it slightly, so I have used the largest fragment for my calculations.

the two halves have been reunited,¹⁰ it is evident that very little stone was wasted between the newly prepared edges (about 0.10 m.), and that the original width of this stele was just about 1.00 m. The document of immediate concern here, *I.G.*, II², 1628, was treated in the same way. We are fortunate to possess one small fragment of the left half of this stele from which another water channel was made (Pl. 74, a).¹¹ Variations in the original thickness of these stones do not seem to have affected the procedure of re-use. Apparently it was a simple task to provide a deeper bedding for a channel made from a slab such as EM 10395 (*I.G.*, II², 1607), whose extant thickness is 0.162 m., almost twice that of the one illustrated in the section, EM 10382.

The only surfaces that received special attention in this re-use were those that formed the gutter itself and its ten-centimeter borders, with the exception of anathyrosis on the ends to make a proper join at the gutter-bearing surface. Of the other surfaces, the undersides where our texts are located and the ones that preserved the original lateral face were not altered, while the opposite edges where the stele had been cut apart were dressed only a short distance along the surface of the break and then allowed to remain quite rough below that point. It seems likely that this side of the channel was intended to be covered with earth or some type of floor material. The present condition of the surfaces of the border areas shows the results of differing amounts of wear. Some are worn down quite smooth while others, including EM 10382 (*I.G.*, II², 1631), still preserve the marks of the *φαγάνα* that was used to prepare their surfaces. All the gutters proper show these traces.

Through a fortunate circumstance the water channel into which our text had been transformed was placed where the edge of its "upper" end was so sheltered from wear that part of the original surface has survived, including a line of letters (Pl. 74, b). I read this line as *χοντος*:/[— —]. It is evident from the size and spacing of the letters that this is part of the heading,¹² specifically, the beginning of the second line. This may be the completion of the phrase, [— — — *ἐπὶ Χρέμητος ἄρ*] *χοντος*:/[— —], or part of a patronymic and demotic of one of the *ἐπιμεληταί* who were retiring from office. If I have read the punctuation correctly, the former alternative is preferable, since a stop regularly followed, not preceded, the demotic. It is probable that both the retiring and the incoming boards were listed in the conventional order of the tribes in this heading, each member having his patronymic and demotic as well. It is unlikely

¹⁰ Böckh himself, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18, was the first to see that these two sections, which had come to him as separate texts (Ross's I and K), formed a single document. Although he published them with two numbers (XV and XVI), he treated them as one text.

¹¹ It now forms lines 4-23 of column *a*.

¹² The letters are 0.006 m. high and occupy 0.009 m. lateral space. In the 0.006 m. space above this line I can find no traces of letters. The surface below has been worn very smooth, as has almost the entire surface to the right of the gutter. From the few traces that can be detected, it appears that there were four additional lines below these legible letters, then a small uninscribed space followed by the general text, 0.072 m. below the present upper edge.

that more than one line has been lost from the top since the columns on the better preserved face, which ought now to be called *B*, already have sizeable margins above them, except for the last, column *d*, which was the final column of entries in the entire text.¹³ Furthermore, a six-line heading seems to be characteristic of the documents of this period. We have two good examples, *I.G.*, II², 1623 (EM 8096), very probably from 334/3, and *I.G.*, II², 1631 (EM 10382), from 323/2, the latter newly discovered on the re-used back.¹⁴

I.G., II², 1623 (EM 8096), probably from the year 334/3, offers the best preserved surfaces of all the extant fragments of the fourth-century naval records, in spite of the fact that re-use has reduced it to a small fraction of its original size. It has somehow escaped conversion into a water channel, so its opisthographic nature has not been obscured. Its top and right lateral surfaces are clearly intact, and some of the rubrication survives in the names of ships and in several amounts of money that appear on face *B*. Its heading occupies six lines and includes the names, patronymics, and demotics of both the retiring and the incoming boards of officials listed in the conventional tribal order. Although only the right side of the heading appears, Köhler was able to restore the beginning quite satisfactorily: [τάδε παρέδωσαν ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους ἄρχοντος — —].¹⁵ The listing of the first board continues through the end of line three, the second fills the last two and one-half lines, each of its officials listed in the dative case after the date by archon. Köhler stressed in particular that the texts of faces *A* and *B* were parts of the same document. He calculated also that there must originally have been eight columns on the obverse. This means that the original width of this stone must have been a little more than one meter,¹⁶ like those whose widths were calculated from the size of the water channels.

Since *I.G.*, II², 1623 comes from a time no more than eight years earlier than our text, *I.G.*, II², 1628, it has a natural importance as an example of the style of heading and general disposition of the text likely for the latter. This assumption

¹³ The final column on the principal surface of *I.G.*, II², 1629 (EM 10383), the document of the very next year, is also about two centimeters closer to the top edge of the stele than the other columns, just as column *d* in our text. It is likely that such final columns had anomalous margins. On *I.G.*, II², 1623, where the original top is intact, the margins on the reverse face (*B*) are comparable to those of our text.

¹⁴ There are two other earlier headings among the fragments of the naval documents, but they are very different from the three now being considered. They are found on *I.G.*, II², 1607 (EM 10395), dated securely to 373/2, and *I.G.*, II², 1611 (EM 10393), from 357/6. The former lists only the retiring board (in the order of the tribes with no patronymics) while the latter lists neither the old nor the new board of officials.

¹⁵ *Ath. Mitt.*, IV, 1879, pp. 79-89.

¹⁶ Column *a* of face *A* is 0.131 m. wide and column *b* extends 0.115 m. to the preserved right edge of the stone. These dimensions would produce a stele of about 0.92 m.-1.04 m. in width; the larger size is the more probable.

received striking confirmation from a careful inspection of the re-used surfaces in the hope of finding letters that might have survived. A survey of all the fragments reveals that most of their channel borders, worn smooth and further deteriorated by the elements, although giving some indication of having been inscribed, do not readily yield legible letters. Perhaps further effort may yet produce evidence for identifying parts of these lost texts. *I.G.*, II², 1631, a document of the year 323/2, is an extraordinary exception (Pl. 74, d). It still bears more clearly than any of the others the scars of the *φαγάνα* that was used to roughen the surfaces and trim the gutters. Apparently one of the two channels into which this stele was converted (the one on the right half of the section, Figure 1) received less wear than the others. Near the top part of the fifth line of the heading has survived, as have scattered bits of the four previous lines.¹⁷ In the fifth line we have the conclusion of the patronymic and demotic of the new *ἐπιμελητής* who probably belonged to the fourth tribe, Leontis:

[— — — *ca.* 0.35 m. — —] *έους έξ Οί*: A [— — — *ca.* 0.58 m. — —]

The large space below this line indicates that at least part of a sixth line was required to complete the roster of this board; for this reason the demotic cannot refer to a member from the eighth tribe, Hippothontis. Just before the preserved fragment of line five there must have been listed the members of the board from the first three tribes, who in turn were preceded by the names of the retiring board members with appropriate dating phrases and statements of purpose, as the evidence of *I.G.*, II², 1623, indicates.

Our understanding of the original size and composition of *I.G.*, II², 1628, has become more precise. We may now say that the present reconstructed stele is only 0.010-0.015 m. shorter than the original, a little over half as wide, and about the same thickness.¹⁸ It was inscribed on the two main faces, and not, I believe, on the

¹⁷ The disposition of this heading can be recovered though little apart from line five can be read. The letters are 0.005-0.006 m. high and each line and its following space occupy 0.018 m. There is an upper margin of 0.007 m., and below line five an uninscribed area of 0.021 m. In line one I read only three letters with confidence:

[— — — *ca.* 0.35 m. — —] *οϋρ* [— — — *ca.* 0.63 m. — — — —].

After tau there may have been omicron, but the chisel marks are confusing and even epsilon is possible. It is unfortunate that an additional notch was cut out of the back surface at the crucial spot in order to receive an angle rod in an earlier display arrangement in the museum. The surface to the right of this notch is worn and damaged.

¹⁸ The original height, *ca.* 2.13 m., agrees almost exactly with the present height of *I.G.*, II², 1631, but its original width was greater than that document's width. There seems to have been a little more space between the water channels in the re-use, since the mid-point falls in the middle of column *a* of our text, about 0.535 m. from the preserved right edge, giving a total width of about 1.07 m. There were seven columns of text across the reverse, each about 0.153 m. in width, including a small margin on the left. It is likely that the size and number of the columns on the obverse were similar, if we may judge by the evidence of *I.G.*, II², 1623.

lateral surfaces.¹⁹ The great amount of text, especially inventory, that Böckh recognized was missing from the beginning of this document and from the others with which he compared it was inscribed on the other side of the same stele, that is, on the original obverse with its heading.²⁰

The consequences of finding the heading of these two texts on their re-used surfaces are important for this whole class of documents. The thicknesses of stones re-used in this manner are confirmed, for all practical purposes, as original. Moreover, it is most likely that each of the stelai containing these texts was opisthographic. By this evidence alone we must conclude that the five documents that are so similar in size and shape, I.G., II², 1627, 1628, 1629, 1631, and 1632, each of which lacks a heading on its better preserved side, were all opisthographic, free-standing, independent stelai, originally more than two meters each in height, over one meter wide, and about ten centimeters, plus or minus, in thickness.

We cannot limit this similarity in size and disposition of the texts to the period of the late 330's, the date of I.G., II², 1623. There is evidence to the contrary that should be taken into account. As already mentioned (see above, note 4) I.G., II², 1613 and 1614, both of which must now be dated to the year 353/2, have been joined to produce a combined height of 1.91 m., and their width was probably comparable to the others at about a meter or more. The thickness is slightly greater than the others, 0.14 m. at the base, but such variation seems to have been easily overcome. It seems likely that what made these stelai *as a group* so attractive for this adaptation was their size, i.e., the fact that each of them could be made into two water channels of proper width and length. As to the opisthographic format, we have a second example, which, after its initial publications, seems to have been poorly assessed. It is I.G., II², 1615 (EM 7971), published first by Pittakys in a very confusing manner but with the explicit statement that there were some letters on the back.²¹ In his facsimile he mistakenly presented some letters as running vertically rather than

¹⁹ I believe that the lateral faces were inscribed as a last resort, and, when this was necessary, the most natural procedure was to inscribe the right lateral of the reverse face immediately after finishing the reverse itself. If this face has been left uninscribed on a fragment (or only partly filled), it is good evidence that the other lateral face has been left blank as well. Where we have the left lateral of a reverse face preserved, it should end the text if it has been used at all. This is precisely what has been done on two fragments that I have recently joined, I.G., II², 1613 (EM 10392) and 1614 (EM 10390). These two fragments preserve a reverse surface (no heading), and their left lateral surface is inscribed about three-fourths of its length. Its last entries are summary totals of the different types of articles in the inventory, presented in a comprehensive manner. This summation begins at line 284 of 1613 and continues across the join to line 163 of 1614. I conclude from this that the right lateral of this reverse face was already filled with text.

²⁰ See his chart, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 34, comparing the contents of his documents XI, XIII, XIV, XV = XVI, and XVII (our I.G., II², 1627, 1628, 1629, 1631, and 1632 respectively).

²¹ Έφ. Ἀρχ., 1853, pp. 835-840, nos. 1355, 1356. A. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, II, Athènes, 1855, pp. 1001-1007, nos 2343 A and B, criticizes the inaccurate references to the texts by the former editor, but he accepts Pittakys' statement that the back was inscribed.

horizontally on the stone, and perhaps it was for this reason that no one seems to have believed him. Köhler (and Kirchner following him) stated categorically *pars aversa inscripta non fuit* in the preface to the text in *I.G.*, II, 797 (and *I.G.*, II², 1615). This is not so. The toothed chisel that was used to obliterate the letters on the present reverse missed a few at the very edge of the line of the final column, as well as a single delta that stands alone among the chisel marks some 0.32 m. from the right edge. As far as I can judge, these letters match those on the obverse in size and appearance. We have, then, another opisthographic fragment, this one dated in the mid-fifties, some twenty years earlier than our previous example.²²

There are two additional points that can be made. There is a distinct possibility that *I.G.*, II², 1604 and 1605, are parts of the same stele, and, if this is so, that it was also opisthographic. These two fragments are the earliest in the series. Secondly, one of the fragments from a fifth-century list of ships whose equipment was in good condition is opisthographic,²³ though its two texts may be by different hands. It is indeed a spare record compared to the later texts but it is not too much to suggest that the format of an inventory had already been established by usage, and that it included an opisthographic disposition of the text when necessary.

As a result of the foregoing discussion, we ought to amend slightly the generous judgment of Ross concerning the re-use of these stones. He wrote to Böckh as follows:²⁴

“Man fühlt sich zuletzt gar den Erbauern der wunderlichen Säulenhalle zu Dank verpflichtet; denn hätten sie nicht die Inschriften zu der Wasserrinne verwandt, und wenigstens soviel Schonung bewiesen, die beschriebene Seite nach unten zu kehren, so möchte von diesem wichtigen Document kaum eine Zeile auf unsere Zeit gekommen sein.”

These unknown builders did not really have the option of sparing these texts since both sides were equally vulnerable, but we can be grateful for an occasional careless chisel whose work has spared a few letters.

DONALD R. LAING, JR.

CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

²² In their most recent publication in *I.G.*, II², 1615-1619, this group of texts has been given an indefinite place “post a. 358/7” on the basis of their references to the trierarchic symmories which did not exist before that year. I should place 1615 and the three others now associated with it (see above, note 4) very close to the date of *I.G.*, II², 1611 (357/6), because of new evidence of close correspondence between their texts.

²³ *S.E.G.*, X, 354 and perhaps also 355 whose reverse surface has not been preserved.

²⁴ Böckh, *op. cit.*, pp. xi-xii.



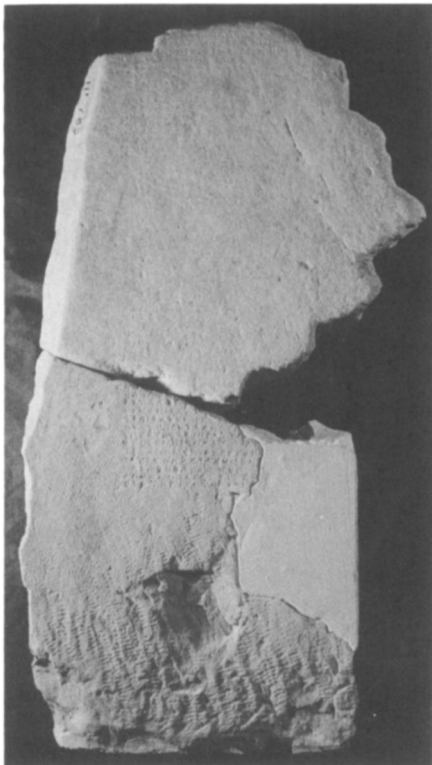
a. *I.G.*, II², 1628 as set up in E.M.



b. Remains of Heading of *I.G.*, II², 1628



d. Remains of Heading of *I.G.*, II², 1631



c. Agora I 5419 + E.M. 10384a



No. 5 I 1097

MABEL LANG: ABACI FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

DONALD R. LAING, JR.: A RECONSTRUCTION OF *I.G.*, II², 1628