

# I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1477 AND 3046 REDISCOVERED

(PLATES 105-106)

PRESENTED below are two inscribed stones which have nothing in common with one another save a remarkably similar modern history. Both stones were seen and published by Pittakes in 1835. Thereafter they both were lost and were not seen by another scholar for nearly a century and a half. As we are now in a position to know, both stones had been built into house walls subsequent to their notation by Pittakes. Texts for both inscriptions reappeared in new editions of the *Corpus* and elsewhere, but frequently with a marked hesitancy on the part of editors to accept some of the readings of Pittakes. Such hesitancy was justified for, as will be seen, there are many corrections and additions to be made in his texts.

Because of this, it may seem that we wish to join the ranks of those who enjoy finding fault with Pittakes the epigraphist. Nothing could be further from our intention, for we both sense (and believe that every student of Athenian history in all its areas should sense) a debt to a man who preserved so many antiquities for later generations. We feel no need to document the many services performed by K. S. Pittakes (any student of the antiquities of Athens will be well aware of them); we do feel a need to dedicate this study to his memory.

## I. I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1477

There now exists in the Roman Agora a fragment of an opisthographic stele (Pl. 105), one side of which was seen long ago by Pittakes.<sup>1</sup> Although Pittakes appears not to have seen the back, and although there are differences between our text and his, there are enough similarities to be certain that this stone is the same, as will be pointed out below.

The wandering of the stone after Pittakes saw it is of some interest. In his day it was near Hadrian Street just north of the so-called Diogeneion. It was rediscovered in 1965 in the debris of a house at 8 Tripod Street which was razed to create an automobile parking lot. Had it not been for the alertness of Mr. George Karipides, an employee of the Greek Archaeological Service, the stone would surely have vanished forever. While walking through the Plaka, Karipides saw the demolition of the house on Tripod Street. Upon asking whether any antiquities had been built into its walls, he was told that the last truck had taken away a stone which was "full of letters." Karipides took a bus to Helioupolis, the Athenian suburb where the material from the house was being dumped. A search through the dump revealed the stone which Karipides then brought back to the Roman Agora.

The stele is of bluish Hymettian marble with its original left side and top sur-

<sup>1</sup> K. S. Pittakys, *L'ancienne Athènes*, Athens, 1835, pp. 137-138. The Roman Agora inventory number is PA 1065.

faces preserved. The side is worked smooth, while the top has clear traces of anathyrosis.

Preserved height, 0.575 m.

Preserved width, 0.267 m.

Thickness, 0.188 m.

Letter height: Face A, lines 1-8: 0.007-0.008 m., lines 9-50: 0.005 m.; Face B, lines 1-12: 0.005 m., lines 13-18: 0.006 m., lines 19-34: 0.005 m.

Our text, read from the stone, is as follows:

## FACE A

a. 303 a.

- [— —] Πυθαρατο[— — —] NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.  
 [— — ο]υ Ἀχαρν : Θξ[— — —]  
 [— ταμία]ις τοῖς τῆ[ς θεοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ Λεωστράτου ἄρχοντος]  
 [—]κ. δῆμωι Χαιρεδή[μον — —]  
 5 [.]ροσ[θ]έ[ν]ου Ἐρχι : Με[— — —]  
 [Ἄρι]στείδημι Ἀρίστ[ωνος Περγ ? — —]  
 [Π]ειραε : Τιμοστρά[ται — —]  
 [γ]ραμματεῖ : Δ[— — — — —]  
 [Ἐκατ]όμπεδον ΣΤΟΙΧ. 22  
 10 [Τὸ ἄγα]λμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τ[ὸ] ἐν  
 [τῶι Ἐ]κατονπέδωι καὶ ἡ ἀσπί  
 [ς καὶ] τὸ βάθρον ἐντελή [ῶν]τα  
 [ἐδείχθη] κατὰ τὴν στήλ[ην τ]ῆ  
 [ν χαλκ]ῆν. ὁ στέφανος ὁ χρυσο[ο]  
 15 [ὕς ἐξ]ητάσθη, ὃν ἡ Νίκη ἔχε[ι ἡ]  
 [ἐπὶ τῆς] χειρὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶ[ς .]  
 [....]Δ : [....]ελαι : ΔΔΔΔΔ : φύλ[λα .]  
 [..<sup>5</sup>...]Α : ΗΗΠΔΔΙΙΙΙ : ὑποφυ[λλ ..]  
 [..<sup>5</sup>...]ΔΠ. στέφανοι χρυ[σοί, ο]  
 20 [ὕς παρ]έδοσαν ἡμῖν [τ]αμ[ίαι ο]  
 [ἰ ἐπ' Ἐ]ξενίππου ἄρχον[τος, ο]  
 [ὕκ ἐπι]γράψαντες οὗτ[ε τὸν ἄ]  
 [ρχοντ]α [ἐ]φ' οὗ ἀνετέθη[σαν, οὔ]  
 [τε τὸν ἀ]ναθέντα : στ[έφανος]  
 25 [ἐφ' ὧι τ]ὸ : Α : στα : ΗΗΗ [: στέφαν]  
 [ος ἐφ' ὧ]ι τὸ : Β, στα : [ΗΗΗ : στέφα]  
 [νος ἐφ'] ὧ[ι] τὸ <Γ>, στα : [ΗΗΗ : στέφα]  
 [νος ἐφ'] ὧι τὸ Δ, στα : [ΗΗΠΗ : στέ]  
 [φανο]ς ἐφ' ὧι τὸ Ε, στ[α : ΠΔΔΔΠΗ]

- 30 [HH III] |· στέφανος [ἐφ' ὦι τὸ Ζ, σ]  
 [τα : Η : στ]έφανος ἐφ' ὦ [ι τὸ Η, στα :]  
 [Η· στέφ]ανος ἐφ' ὦι τ]ὸ Θ, στα . . . ]  
 [ . . . σ]τέφανος ἐφ' ὦ [ι τὸ Ι, στα . ]  
 [ . στέ]φανος ἐφ' ὦι [τὸ Κ, στα . . . ]
- 35 [ . . . . ] IIII· στέφαν[ος ἐφ' ὦι τὸ ]  
 [Δ, σταθμὸ]ν : Η : στέφα[νος ἐφ' ὦι τ]  
 [ὸ Μ, σ]ταθμὸν ΓΔΔΔΔ [ . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . σ]  
 [τέφανο]ς ἐφ' ὦι τὸ Ν, [στα . . .<sup>5</sup> . . . ]  
 [στέφαν]ος ἐφ' ὦι τὸ [Ξ, στα . . .<sup>4</sup> . . ]
- 40 [ . στ]έ[φαν]ος ἐφ' ὦι τ[ὸ Ο, στα . . . ]  
 [ . . . ] Η : στέφανος ἐφ' ὦ [ι τὸ Π, στα]  
 [ . . . ] Γ : στέφανος ἐφ' [ὦι τὸ Ρ, στα]  
 [ . . . σ]τέφανος ἐφ' ὦ [ι τὸ Σ, στα . ]  
 [ . . . ] IIII : στέφανος ἐ[φ' ὦι τὸ Τ, στ]
- 45 [αθμ]ὸν : ΔΔΔΔΓΗΗΗIII : στ[έφανος ἐ]  
 [φ' ὦι] τὸ Υ, στα : Η : στέφα[νος ἐφ' ὦι]  
 [τὸ Φ, σ]τα : ΔΔΔΔΓΗΗΗIII : σ[τέφανος]  
 [ἐφ' ὦι τὸ] Χ, στα : ΔΔΔΔ[ . . .<sup>4</sup> . . στέ]  
 [φανος ἐφ' ὦ]ι τὸ : Ψ [ : στα . . .<sup>4</sup> . . στ]
- 50 [έφανος ἐφ' ὦι] : τὸ : [Ω, στα . . .<sup>6</sup> . . ]

For ease of reference in the establishment of the identity of our stone with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1477 we present the first nine lines of the latter in which the letters have not been changed from Pittakes' readings.

.. [ΔΙΟΣ] ΕΛΕΤΘΕΡΙΟΥ . . . .  
 . . . ΤΣΑΤΤΙΚΟΥ . . . .  
 . . . ΑΚΑΡΝΙΟΥ . . . .  
 . . Κ . . ΔΗΜΩΙΧΑΙΡΕΑΔΗΣ  
 5 . . . ΡΟΞΕΙΟΥΓΡΑΜΜΑΤ . . . . .  
 . . . ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΣ . . .  
 . . ΕΙΔΕΤΟΜΟΣΤΑ . . .  
 . . . ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΤΣΑΝΤΑ  
 . . ΕΤΜΟΛΠΗΔΟΝ . . . .

Between our text and that of Pittakes there are areas of extremely close correspondence (see commentary on lines 4 and 6) and the readings which differ can usually be explained by the substitution of similar letters, the omission of a letter in Pittakes' text, or the supposition that Pittakes did not see all that he claimed to have seen. We give only two examples although many others exist.

Pittakes' reading of ΕΥΜΟΛΠΗΔΟΝ in line 9 becomes immediately explicable if one assumes that the stone was no better preserved along the left margin than it is today. This contention is supported by the fact that, with the exception of this line, Pittakes does not read any letters left of the area preserved today. Thus, the letter spaces occupied by our ΜΠΕΔΟΝ were all that were extant 140 years ago. One has only, then, to substitute Pittakes' lambda and eta for our mu and epsilon respectively. This is an easy substitution. The side strokes of the mu are, like those of a lambda, oblique rather than vertical; the epsilon of the stone has all strokes preserved, but the best are the vertical and the central horizontal which could be taken as the left half of an eta.

In line 7, the actual ΕΙΡΑΕ:ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑ becomes Pittakes' ΕΙΔΕΤΟΜΟΣΤΑ if we omit the two rhos and the punctuation (which Pittakes does elsewhere, e.g. line 26), and substitute delta for the first alpha. The photograph (Pl. 105) shows the scar on the surface of the stone between tau and mu which led Pittakes to read omicron rather than iota.

#### FACE A

Line 3. In the space where we read a dotted eta only the lower parts of two vertical strokes are preserved. Pi is also possible epigraphically, but eta makes perfect contextual sense.

Line 4. Perhaps [Ἄ]κ[α]δήμου Χαιρεδή[μου]. This is one of the closest correspondences between our text and that of Pittakes. Its importance lies, obviously, in the fact that we have to do with a proper name from among the annual treasurers of Athena which assures the identity of our text with that of Pittakes.

Line 6. [Ἀρι]στείδηι Ἀρίστ[ωνος Περγ]; cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1669, line 4. This, like the name in line 4, is one of the more important correspondences with the text of Pittakes for the establishment of the identity of our stone with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1447.

Lines 12-13. Only the left vertical stroke of the eta of ἐντελή is preserved. There is an alpha in the fourth space after this (i.e. the 22nd stoichos of line 12), and we obviously need a verb in these two lines to complete the sense of the clause of lines 10-14. Although there may be other possibilities, the restored ὄντα ἐδείχθη nicely fills both the physical and contextual gap.

Line 15. The use of ἐξήτάσθη can be paralleled in the treasury lists of Athena (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1463, line 13), but not otherwise with regard to the crown of Nike.

Lines 16-17. One possible restoration in this area would be ΗΗΗΔΔΔ, or 330 drachmai. This would represent the sum of the various components of the crown of Nike which follow: 41 drachmai, line 17; 274 drachmai, line 18; 15 drachmai, line 19.

Line 17. Δ: . . . ελαι: In this area comes the first of the three subdivisions of the crown of Nike. Just to the left of the epsilon is what appears to be the top dot of another punctuation mark. In the space before this mark and following the first

punctuation of this line are four vertical strokes partially preserved (the lower half of the first, the upper halves of the next three). These are exactly evenly spaced with the same distance separating them from one another and the first and last strokes from the adjoining punctuations. We might read  $\Delta:|III:\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota:$ ; the four letters  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota$  would be an abbreviation for  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota$  which we know to have been part of crowns elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> and the sense would be "four olives, 41 drachmai."

If this interpretation is incorrect, then one has to restore a word ending in  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota$  in this area. We have been unable to find any suitable known word.

The gaps between the leaves mentioned in this line and their weight and between the "underleaves" in line 18 and their weight are probably to be understood as the positions of quantitative adjectives or of numerals.

Line 18. The third and last category of parts of the crown of Nike can not be assigned a specific term, although one possible restoration would be  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}\phi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$  or underleaves. This word is not, however, otherwise attested. The restoration of the two lambdas, as given in the text, can be considered certain on the basis of the reading of a companion text (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1476, line 11). This text supplies, in the proper position, the letters  $\Pi\text{O}\Phi\Upsilon\Lambda\Lambda$ .

Line 21. This line was previously restored as  $[\text{'}\text{A}\rho\chi\acute{\iota}] \pi\pi\upsilon\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu[\tau\omicron\varsigma]$ . The proper reading, however, is  $[\text{E}\acute{\nu}] \xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\pi\pi\upsilon\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu[\tau\omicron\varsigma]$ . As is visible in the photograph (Pl. 105) both epsilon and nu are clear, as well as the upper horizontal stroke of xi.

This reading gives the date of the text as a whole as 303 B.C. The authors of the text are the treasurers of the year following that of Euxenippos (i.e. from the year of Pherekles, 304/3 B.C.) who are handing over the treasures to their successors of the archonship of Leostratos (303/2 B.C.).

Line 26. The weight is restored from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1476, as are those weights restored in lines 27, 28, 29, and 31.

Line 27. The alphabetic numeral to be expected here is gamma. The letter was never completed, however, for the ninth letter space of this line has only a vertical stroke on the left half of the stoichos.

This side of the stone is of some intrinsic interest because of its use of the alphabetic numerals in succession from alpha to omega,<sup>3</sup> and it is helpful to a better understanding of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1476. The latter can now be more completely restored with security. Of particular importance are lines 13 and 14 of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1476 which should now be restored as follows:

[οὗς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν] ταμίαι οἱ  
 [ἐπὶ Κοροίβου ἄρχο]ντος  
 or [ἐπὶ Καιρίμου ἄρχο]ντος

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1417, A, col. II, lines 60-63.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. Tod, "Letter-labels in Greek Inscriptions," *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, pp. 1-8, for a discussion of the various means utilized in enumerating the treasures of Athena.

Since *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1477 now clearly had, in the same relative position, the archon of 305/4 B.C., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1476 should be closer to this date.<sup>4</sup> From the period of the last decade of the fourth century B.C. only Kairemos (308/7 B.C.) or Koroibos (306/5 B.C.) fits the stoichedon requirements.

Of interest to the historian of politics, economics, and art is the clause in lines 14 ff. of our text where it is quite clear that, in 303 B.C., the gold crown on the Nike which stood on the hand of the Athena Parthenos was dismantled and weighed.<sup>5</sup> This would not be surprising if it were not for the fact that Nike's crown seems not to have been weighed since the 390's B.C. This is an argument from silence in part, but there is sufficient evidence to show that the crown was weighed less frequently in the course of the first decade of the fourth century B.C. than previously and was not weighed at all in the 380's B.C.<sup>6</sup> The crown is not mentioned again during the remainder of the fourth century<sup>7</sup> until 320 B.C.<sup>8</sup>, but we can not tell in what context (i.e. weighed or not). Might there be some significance in the resumption of the examination during the last decade of the fourth century B.C.? Is the renewed weighing of the crown not a foreshadowing of the fate which was soon to overtake the gold of the Parthenos,<sup>9</sup> and the crown of Nike along with it?

On the other hand, the specific impetus for the renewed examination may very well have to do with the expulsion of Demetrios of Phaleron and a desire to take a closer inventory of the assets available. The argument for such a cause for the resumption of the weighing of the crown is not hindered by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1476, if one accepts the suggested date of that text as 306 or 304 B.C. (i.e. after the flight of Demetrios of Phaleron).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1476 should, in any event, have been later than 315/4 B.C. This is the date of a dedication in line 31 which must have preceded the date of the inscription.

<sup>5</sup> The ΠΟΦΥΛΛ of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1476, line 11, indicates that the same process of examining the crown of Nike took place in an earlier year.

<sup>6</sup> The crown is attested as having been weighed in the early 390's down to 394 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1377, line 23; 1394, line 7; 1395, line 23), but already in 398 B.C. the crown was passed on unweighed (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1388, line 41). From the period after the mid-390's B.C., and into the 370's, mention of the crown is preserved nine times. In six of these cases it was not weighed (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1389, line 3; 1390, line 2; 1393, line 22; 1400, lines 18-19; 1413, lines 11-12; 1415, lines 14-15). In the other three cases the stone is poorly preserved so that one can not say with security whether or not the crown was examined. In none of these three, however, is it epigraphically precluded that the crown was handed down unweighed.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1443 where the crown ought, on analogy with our stone and with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1468, to appear in lines 10-11.

<sup>8</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1468, line 8.

<sup>9</sup> That is, the melting down of the gold of the statue by Lachares, perhaps in the year 297/6 B.C.; cf. W. S. Ferguson, "Lachares and Demetrios Poliorcetes," *Cl. Phil.*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>10</sup> The date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1476 should be 304 B.C. if one accepts the restored text of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 482, lines 9-12, as suggested by E. Schweigert, "Epigraphical Notes," *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 175-176. His text of the latter inscription gives a decree providing for repairs to the Athena

## FACE B

a. 303 a.

Column 1

— ΟΝΒΕΛΩ  
 — ΔΔΔΔ :Μ  
 — ΧΧ :ΣΤ  
 — ΜΑΤΩΝΣ  
 5 *rasura*  
 — ΡΟΣΝΕ  
 — — ΑΚΝ  
 — — — :Δ  
 — — ΥΣΑ  
 10 — — — ΧΕ  
 — ΘΕΙΟΥ  
 — ΦΑΝΗΣ  
 — :ΔΔ..  
 — — — Δ  
 15 — — ΚΩΝ  
 — — ΠΙΙ  
 — — :ΣΩ  
 — — ΤΗΚ  
 — — ΤΕΛ  
 20 — — — ΩΝ  
 — — *rasura*  
 — — — Ρ.  
 — — — Δ  
 — — — Τ

Column 2

και τάδε οὐ προ[σπαρέδοσαν] NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.  
 ταμίαι οἱ ἐπὶ Φε[ρεκ]λέ[ους]  
 ἄρχοντος· στ[ε]φά[ν]ου[ς το]  
 υς ἀνακῆρ[υχθέντας Διο]  
 5 νυσίων τῶν τ[ραγωιδῶν]  
 τῶι ἀγῶνι, οὗς ἀ[νεκέρυξε]  
 ν Φίλιππος Νικ[ίου] Ἀχαρ  
 νεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ τ[ῆ]ι [διοικήσει]  
 ι κατὰ τὸ ψ[ή]φ[ισμα τοῦ δή]  
 10 μου, ὃ ἔγ[ρα]ψε [Φίλιππος]  
 Νικίου Ἀχαρν[εύς, ταμίαις]  
 τοῖς ἐπὶ Λεωσ[τ]ρά[του ἄρχοντος]  
  
*vacat* 0.029 m.  
  
 Οἶδε ἀνεκέρυχ[θησαν]  
  
 στέφανοι *vacat*  
 15 Ὁ δῆμος Ἀντίγον[ον] ἀπὸ : [X ?]  
  
 Ὁ δῆμος Δημήτρ[ρι]ο[ν] ἀπὸ : [X ?]  
 Ὁ δ ἦ μ ο ς  
 Ἀντίγονον καὶ Δημήτριον  
  
*vacat* 0.020 m.  
  
 [Ὁ δῆ]μος Δημήτρ[ρι]ον ἀπὸ [: X]  
 20 [Ὁ δῆ]μος Δημήτρ[ριον] ἀπὸ : [X]  
 [Ὁ δῆμ]ος Δημήτρ[ριον] ἀπὸ : X  
 [Πεπ]αρήθιοι τὴν [β]ουλ[ῆ]ν  
 [κα]ὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ : X  
 [ο]ἰ ἰστοτελεῖς τὴν βουλήν  
 25 καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ : X  
 [Ὁ]δῆμος τὴν βουλήν τ[ῆ]ν

Parthenos in 304/3 B.C. It will have been during these repairs that the crown of Nike will have been re-examined for the first time in about 90 years.

[ἐ]πὶ Κοροΐβου ἄρχοντο[ς ἀπὸ : .]  
 [Ὅ] δῆμος τὴν βουλὴν τῆ[ν ἐπὶ]  
 [Εὐ]ξενίππου ἄρχοντ[ος ἀπὸ : .]  
 30 [Ὅ] δῆμ[ο]ς τὴν βουλ[ὴν τὴν ἐπὶ]  
 [Φε]ρεκλέους [ἄρχοντος ἀπὸ : .]  
 [Ὅ δῆμ]ος τ[ὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐπὶ]

## FACE B

Line 1. As will be obvious from the photograph (Pl. 105), this line has been reinscribed. Enough of the original strokes are clear to be able to see that the text originally read *καὶ τὰδε προ[σπαρέδοσαν]* and that the reinscription was concerned with the squeezing in of the negative. The following sketch shows the original text (below) and the secondary text with the legible remnants of the first.

Κ Α Ι Τ Ι Α Τ Δ Ε Δ Ο Υ Π Ρ Ο  
 Κ Α Ι Τ Α Δ Ε Π Ρ Ο

This bookkeeping correction in the accounts of the treasurers raises questions as to when and why the correction was necessary. These questions and possible answers will be considered below (pp. 456-457).

Line 5. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 555, line 7; 657, line 62; 1491, lines 12-13.

Line 7. This Philip seems to have been a busy man during the period of the Antigonid ascendancy in Athens. We find him proposing a decree in 306/5 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1492, line 124) and filling the office of *ὁ ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* in 305/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1492, lines 130 and 136). Here, in the following year, Philip appears as the official *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* in which capacity he carries out the provisions of a decree which he himself had originally written up. To call Philip a Macedonian stooge may be more accurate than generous.

Lines 13-14. *οἶδε ἀνεκνήρυχθησαν στέφανοι*; i.e. in 304/3 B.C.

Line 22. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1485, lines 15-16; 1486, lines 10-12. As is shown by the space between lines 18 and 19, we have to reckon with a new category of crown. These are the crowns previously awarded and included annually in the inventory. If, as is normal, these are listed in the chronological order of their granting (note the series granted the Boule, below, lines 27-34), then this crown given to the Athenian Demos and Boule by the people of Peparethos will be the same one which is mentioned in the texts referred to above. That crown was awarded in 307/6 B.C. Such a sequence would provide dating in the same year (at the latest) for the three crowns of lines 19-21 which were awarded to Demetrios. This must have been on the occasion of his liberation of Athens and the expulsion of Demetrios of Phaleron,

and it will explain why Demetrios was honored then exclusively (being the present and thus visible agent by which the democracy was restored), whereas it took somewhat longer for his father to be so recognized.

Line 24. [ο]ἰ ἰσοτέλεις That is, those who had been awarded *isoteleia* in either 307/6 B.C. (the date of the preceding crown, lines 22-23), or in 306/5 B.C. (the date of the following crown, lines 26-27), and probably not all the *isoteleis* of Athens.

Because of the chronological position of this stone, its peculiarities (especially line 1) can be understood only when set against the background of the relationship of Demetrios and Athens at the end of the fourth century B.C. A brief review of the history of this relationship is, therefore, in order.<sup>11</sup>

Demetrios first appears on the Athenian scene as the liberator of the city in 307 B.C. It was on this occasion that the Athenians began the series of extraordinary honors paid to Demetrios and Antigonos (they were called Kings, "savior gods"; their images were woven into the sacred robe of Athena; an altar was dedicated to Demetrios; two new tribes were created and named after them, etc.). Demetrios seems not to have lingered long in Athens to enjoy his honors, however, for we find him in Cyprus later in 307/6 B.C. where he won not only a battle, but also his lady friend Lamia. The next two years were taken up with a campaign in Egypt and with the unsuccessful siege of Rhodes from which Demetrios returned to Athens in 304/3 B.C. in time to relieve the city from a siege by Cassander. This time Athens, straining for bigger and better honors to pay her liberator, awarded him, among other things, free public housing in the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon. This was also the time when the crowns noted in lines 13-18 of our text were awarded to Antigonos and Demetrios.

Perhaps not wishing to seem ungrateful, Demetrios moved up to the Athenian Acropolis to live with at least two ladies, Lamia and his "big sister" as he was wont to call the more permanent tenant of his new home. During this stay in Athens, which lasted with brief interruptions until the summer of 302 B.C., Demetrios played fast and free with both the religious traditions<sup>12</sup> and the money of Athens. On one occasion he is said to have collected 250 talents which he then turned over to Lamia and her friends for the purchase of soap. Philip of Acharnai and others of his ilk (e.g. Stratokles) must have been performing their functions well.

When Demetrios left by way of Thessaly for Asia Minor in 302 B.C., it was together with a fair amount of the wealth of Athens<sup>13</sup> and probably with a sigh of relief from certain elements of the citizen body.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Demetrius*, X-XXX; Diodorus Siculus, XX, 46-53, 73-76, 81-88, 91-100, 102-103, 110-111.

<sup>12</sup> Plutarch, *Demetrius*, XXVI; cf. Diodorus Siculus, XX, 110, 1.

<sup>13</sup> It is interesting and highly suggestive that there is no inventory of the treasures of Athena which is securely dated later than our text. Is it possible that this text is in fact the last? One would like very much to know whether the heading on Face A of our stone was reinscribed in the same manner as line 1 of Face B, column 2.

From these same quarters there must have been an outburst of joy when the news was received of the results of the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. Antigonos was dead, Demetrios crushed and in flight. This flight carried Demetrios to Ephesos and then, by ship, toward Athens.<sup>14</sup> He was not, however, to find refuge there, for an embassy from Athens met him in the Cyclades and made it clear that Demetrios would not be welcome in his "big sister's" home town.

It is within this historical framework that we are to understand the reinscription of line 1. Demetrios had helped himself to certain of the treasures of Athena and, with his departure, the accounts were balanced. The discovery of the loss must have been one more contributing factor to the wave of popular discontent with the Macedonian.

We can not be certain, however, just how great the loss was. In addition to items elsewhere on no longer extant parts of the stone (note the erasures in column 1, lines 5 and 21), it is not clear whether the reinscription refers only to the crowns mentioned in the first clause (lines 2-12) or to all the crowns in this column. It is obvious that the original *καὶ τὰδε προσπαρέδοσαν* referred only to the initial clause. On the other hand, it is reasonable to suppose that Demetrios had taken with him at least all those crowns which had been awarded him. Since these include the first three of the third section of the column (lines 19 ff.), it follows that the insertion of the negative *οὐ* in line 1 means that none of the crowns in this column were any longer in the possession of Athena.

## II. I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 3046

This block was found in 1970 in the excavations of the Athenian Agora,<sup>15</sup> having been re-used in the basement wall of the now demolished modern house at 38 Hadrian Street.<sup>16</sup> The top of the block (Pl. 106) has a dowel cutting within a recessed area which runs diagonally to the lines of the block. Given the content of the inscribed face we may fairly conclude that this cutting was for the right front leg of a tripod. Both back and lower surfaces are rough-picked and the latter had a large irregular cutting at the right end which, to judge from the workmanship, must be from a later use. The left end has a joint surface with anathyrosis (Pl. 106), and the right end is roughly broken away. The right front corner has also been broken away, but one

<sup>14</sup> We follow here the movements of Demetrios according to the account of Plutarch, *Demetrius*, XXX, 1-4, in preference to the conflicting version of Diodorus Siculus, XXI, 4. The latter is fragmentary and preserved only in the collection published by Hoeschel in 1603; cf. F. R. Walton, *Diodorus Siculus*, XI (Loeb ed.), Introd.

<sup>15</sup> For permission to study and publish this stone (now Agora inventory number I 7106) we thank the Director of the Agora Excavations, T. L. Shear, Jr.

<sup>16</sup> This house was east and slightly south of the church of St. Philip (Agora Grid P6). Pittakes saw the stone on the other side of the church (*L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 91): "vers le nord-ouest de l'église Saint Philippe j'ai trouvé cette inscription sur une poutre. . . ." We ought to note that Rangabé (*Antiquités Helléniques*, II, Athens, 1855, number 976) took a free hand in quoting Pittakes for he changes the "poutre" of Pittakes to "porte."

small joining fragment was found built into the basement wall of the same house. This makes it extremely likely that the whole of the surface to the right was intact in Pittakes' day and that the large fragment missing from the lower right front corner was broken away at the time when the block was re-used in the position where it was discovered.

The block is of Pentelic marble.

Height, 0.253 m.

Preserved length, 1.03 m.

Thickness, 0.45 m.

The text is in two pairs of two lines. Each pair is stoichedon, but the letter height of the upper pair is 0.024 m. while that of the lower is 0.015 to 0.017 m. The text and illegible letter spaces of the extant surface are easily seen in the photograph (Pl. 106).

It will be immediately apparent that we have to do with one of two blocks which formed the front half of a choregic tripod support. The joint surface at the left end limits the space available to less than the full original text which must have begun on the block to the left of the newly rediscovered one. This fact makes it impossible for Pittakes to have seen the left half of lines 3 and 4.<sup>17</sup> We are thus left without an archon date and the text is to be read as follows:

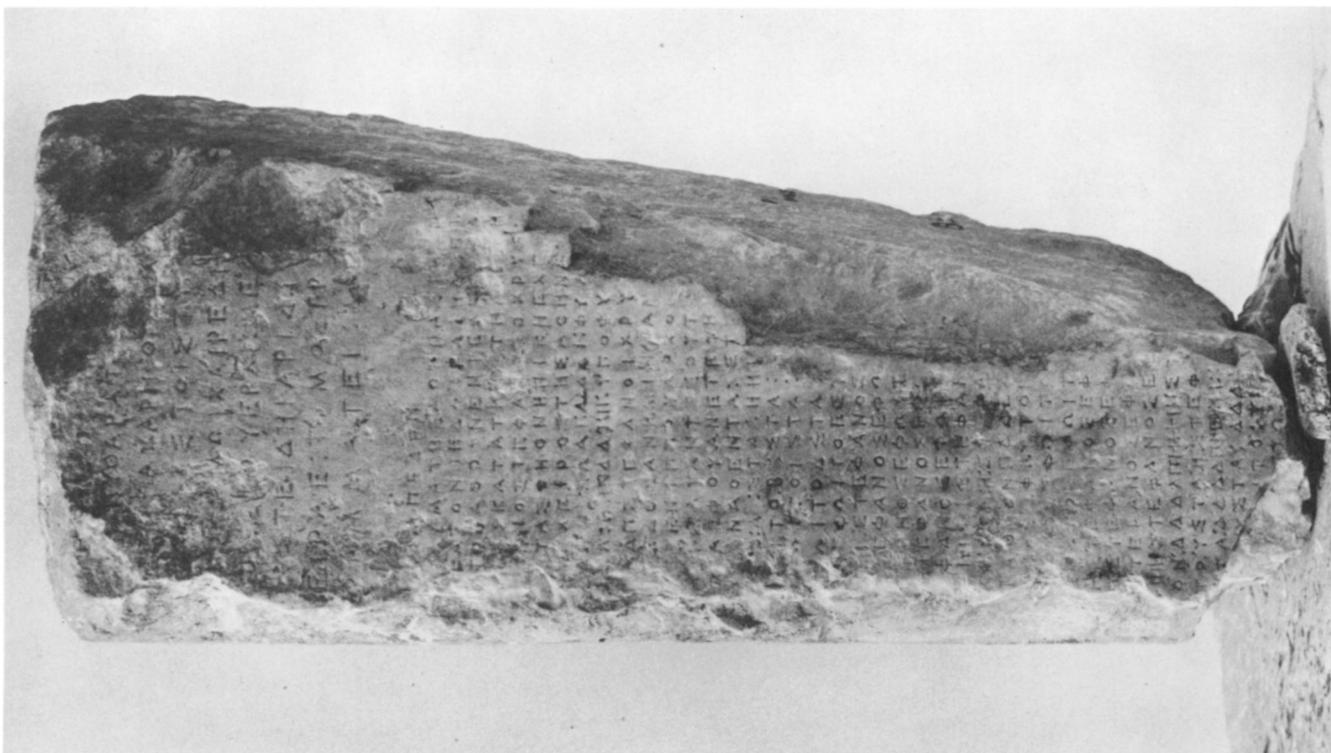
[ . . . . .<sup>ca. 13</sup> . . . . . Λαμπ]τρειὸς ἐχ[ορήγει]  
 [Ἐρεχθῆις ἀν]δρῶν ἐνί[κα]  
*vacat* 0.06 m.  
 [ . . . . .<sup>ca. 18</sup> . . . . . ἐδίδ]α[σ]κεν Λύκος Θεβαῖος ἠϋλει  
 [ . . . . .<sup>ca. 10</sup> . . . . . ]ς ἦρχ[ε]ν

Since the demotic of the victorious choregos is now securely Lamptreus, the restoration of the tribe Erechtheis in line 2 is certain. This means that in line 2 there were 9 inscribed letter spaces on the no longer extant left block and 10 inscribed spaces on the right block. If we were to make the first letter of line 1 begin with the same letter space as line 2, we would have only 7 letter spaces for the name and patronymic of the choregos. It is better to assume a symmetrical arrangement in the layout of the text and to estimate that line 1 had about 13 letter spaces to the left of the demotic; on this same basis we arrive at the estimated missing spaces in lines 3 and 4. Because archon and choregos are missing and because Lykos the Theban flute player is otherwise unknown, we have no evidence for a precise date of the inscription. We can only say that the letter forms indicate a date in the first half of the fourth century B.C.

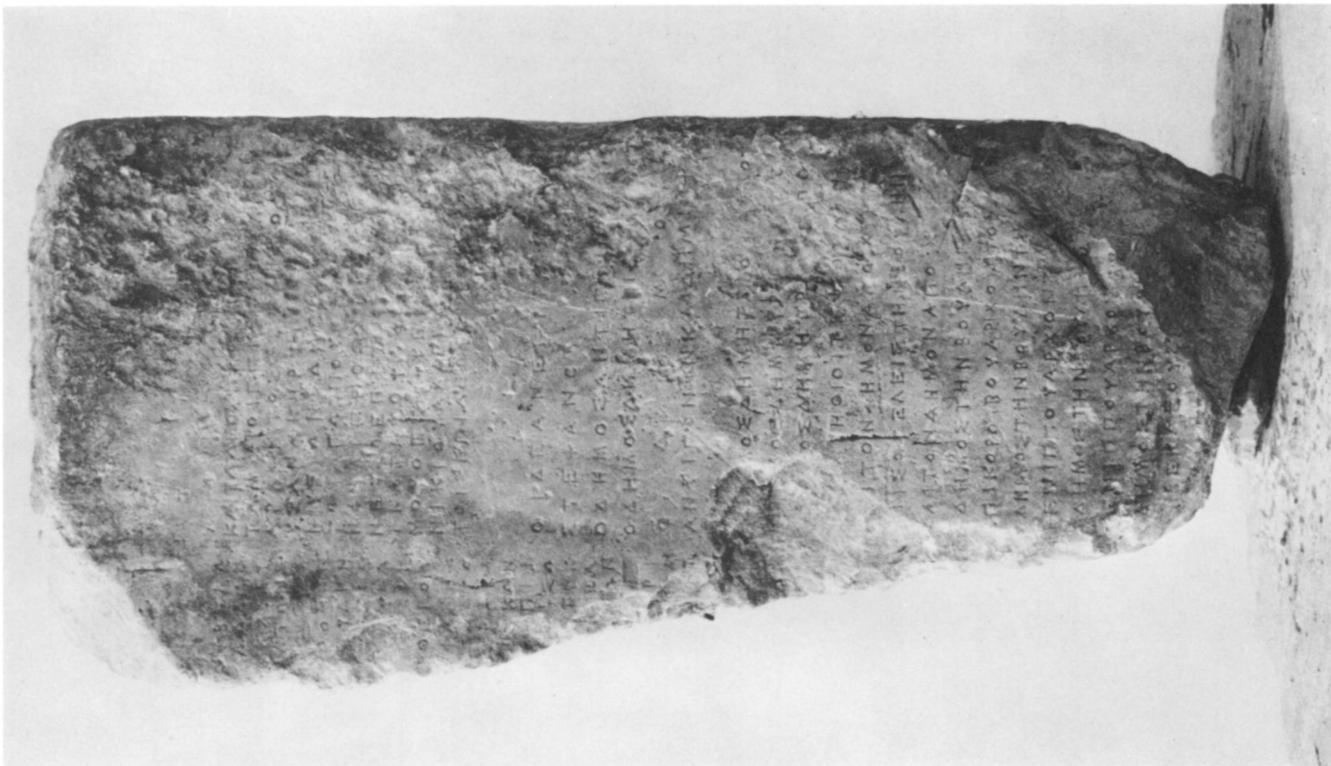
STEPHEN N. KOUMANOUDES  
 STEPHEN G. MILLER

ATHENS

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.*, III, 1878, p. 239. This fact also confirms the suspicion of Koehler that Rangabé had never seen the stone.



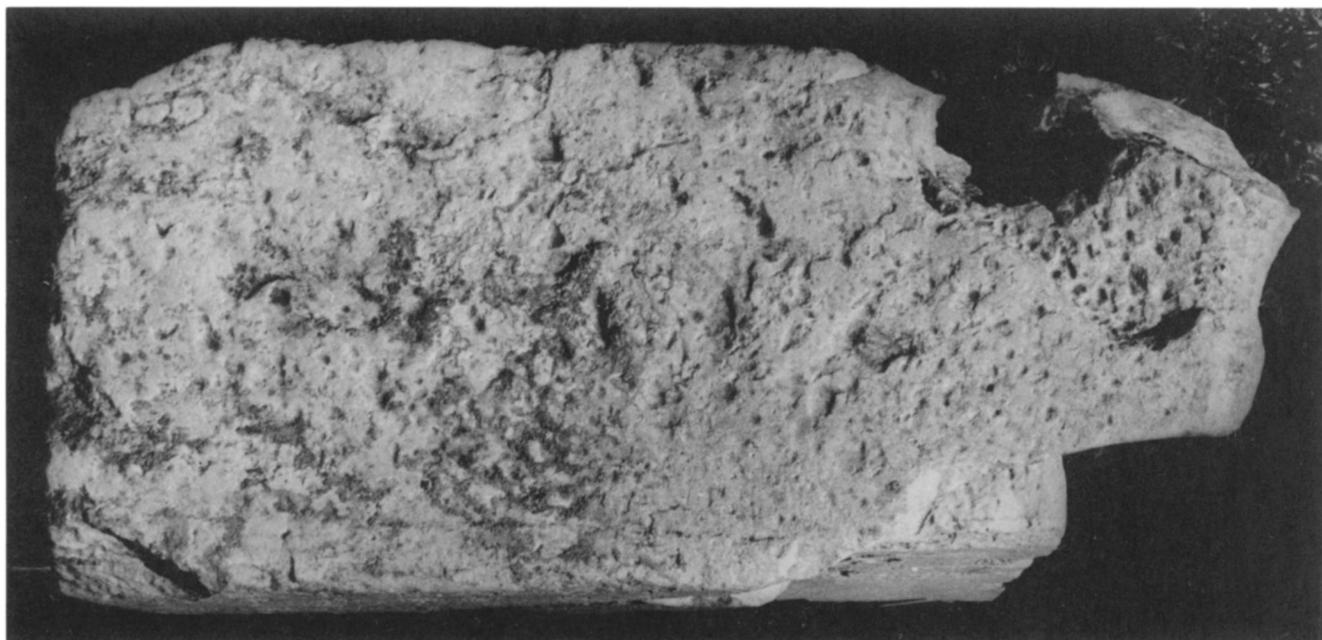
Face A



Face B

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1477

STEPHEN N. KOUMANOUDES AND STEPHEN G. MILLER: *I.G.* II<sup>2</sup>, 1477 AND 3046 REDISCOVERED



Top



Face



Left End

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3046

STEPHEN N. KOUMANOUDES AND STEPHEN G. MILLER: *I.G.* II<sup>2</sup>, 1477 AND 3046 REDISCOVERED