

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 42–44)

SEVERAL INSCRIPTIONS found in the Athenian Agora in recent years can be joined to or associated with documents found before 1969.¹ In several instances significant changes must be made to proposed restorations. In the following reports descriptions are supplied only for previously unedited fragments, but the texts are complete and are based upon autopsy of all fragments.

In 1968 B. D. Meritt published a fragment of a circular base of Pentelic marble (I 4363) commemorating an initiate from the hearth.² Two additional fragments,³ the one joining and the other not joining but aligning, force a reconsideration of the restoration.

1 (Pl. 42). Fragment of a large drum of Pentelic marble joining to the right of I 4363 and preserving a portion of the inscribed face only; broken away to the right, above, below, and behind. The face is dressed to a matt finish. The cavetto crowning an ovolo molding beneath the inscribed face continues across this fragment also (Fig. 1). Incised lines above and below guide the placement of the letters of each line and correspond with the guidelines on fragment I 4363, except that there is a single additional guideline 0.013 m. below line 5 close above the top of the molding. The fragment was found on March 15, 1939 in a Turkish context west of the Panathenaic Way where it passes the Eleusinion (S 20).

H. 0.195 m.; W. 0.115 m.; Th. 0.105 m.

H. of letters (measured on guidelines) 0.013 m., except line 5, which is 0.015 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 5715

2 (Pl. 42). Fragment of a large drum of Pentelic marble preserving portions of the inscribed face, which is dressed to a matt finish, and of the top, which is dressed with a toothed chisel; broken away on both sides, below, and behind. Vacant spaces indicate that this fragment preserves the right edge of the text. A molding corresponding to that on the other fragments

¹ This is the year when H. A. Thompson retired as Director. The current Director, Professor T. Leslie Shear, Jr., generously allowed access to the recent materials and has given permission for the publication of the following. The author is preparing *The Athenian Agora*, XVIII, *Inscriptions: Dedications and Correspondence with Roman Officials*, which will include materials found from the opening of excavations in 1931 through 1968. He wishes to thank also Dr. John S. Traill who examined and verified the joinings and associations on the spot in 1979, Dr. John McK. Camp II, Assistant Director of the Agora Excavations, and Mrs. Dina Peppas-Delmousou, Director of the Epigraphical Museum, who also offered valuable assistance. Personal consultation of the stones was made possible by grants from the Canada Council in 1975 and from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada in 1980.

Works frequently cited will be abbreviated as follows:

Agora XV = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora*, XV, *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*, Princeton 1974

Follet = S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle*, Paris 1976

² "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 289–290, no. 29.

³ J. S. Traill confirmed the joining and association.

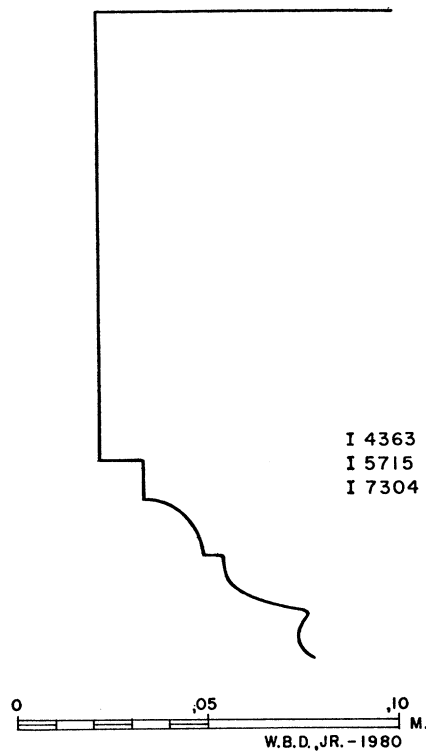


FIG. 1. Profile of molding, 1 and 2

(Fig. 1) runs across below the face, but there is no trace of the additional guideline. It was found on May 14, 1971 in the basement of a modern house at S 14.

H. 0.177 m.; W. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.091 m.

H. of letters (measured on guidelines) 0.013 m., except line 5, which is 0.015 m.

Agora Inv. Nos. I [4363] + 5715, 7304

inter a. 138–96 a.

ca. 41

3 [----- Θεοφ]ίλου Ἀ^νλα[ιεύς καὶ -----] *vac.*
 [-----]σίλου θυγά[τ]ηρ [----- τήν ξαν]τῶν *vac.*
 [θυγατέρα μνηθε]ῖσαν ἀφ' ἑσ[τ]ίας [καὶ κανηφορήσας]αν *vac.*
 [τὴν Πυθαίδα τῶι] Ἀπόλλων[ι] τὴν [ἐν τῶι ἐπὶ ----] *vac.*
 [ἄρχοντας ἐνιαυτ]ῶι^ν Δῆμ[η]τρ[ι]^ν καὶ^ν Κόρηι ἀνέθηκα]ν *vac.*
vacat

Line 3. Iota, the upper end of a vertical stroke; sigma, the uppermost elbow but somewhat obscured by chipping.

Line 4. Nu, a small bit of the uppermost portion of the initial vertical.

Line 3 betrays the nature of the document, the base for a statue of a *παῖς ἀφ' ἑστίας*. The normal format for such a base includes: (1) the name(s) of the dedicator(s) in the

nominative (they are frequently parents or grandparents), (2) the name of the child depicted in the statue, given in the accusative; it is usually qualified by the phrase *μνηθεὶς ἀφ' ἐστίας*; and the relationship to the dedicators is usually indicated as a noun in apposition; (3) the names of the Eleusinian goddesses in the dative as recipient, usually followed by *ἀνέθηκε*. The three elements of the format do not always occur in the same sequence.

Line 3 preserves parts of the identity of the hearth initiate; the statue depicted a young girl, and either *[μνηθεῖσαν ἀφ' ἐσ[τ]ίας [---]* or *[-^{name}-].σαν ἀφ' ἐσ[τ]ίας [μνηθείσ]αν* might be restored. The latter will not suit the length of line, so the former must be preferred. The word *ἐαν[τῶν]* restored in line 2 betrays a reference to the relationship to the dedicators (more than one!) either in line 2 or at the beginning of line 3. The name of the initiate herself might be sought in either of these same two spots or at the end of line 3.

Because in line 2 *θυγά[τ]ηρ* can only be nominative, it must belong to the onomastic formula of a dedicator; the four letters before it would terminate the paternal demotic. Therefore, this dedicator's own name and patronymic must be sought toward the end of line 1 and at the beginning of line 2. The name of another dedicator would fill the left-hand portion of line 1.

The names of the Eleusinian goddesses in the dative case are found in line 5. The need to restore Kore's name and to avoid non-syllabic line division at the end of the line give the first indications of the width of the gap between the main fragments and I 7304.

The preserved letters of line 4 and at the beginning of line 5 introduce unexpected elements. The new fragments show that Meritt's eponymous dating by the priestess of the goddesses cannot be correct. In fact the phrase *[ἐν τῶι ἐπὶ --- ἐνιαυτ]ῶι* would be very unusual in the formula of eponymity of a priest or priestess. There is no convincing alternative to the reading *Ἀπόλλων[ι]* in line 4. A monument of a similar type, but using a different format, offers readings for the last three lines: *IG II², 3477* records the crowns awarded by the Council and Demos to a young lady on her having served as hearth initiate, having been *kanephoros* at the Panathenaia, and *[κ]ανηφορήσασαν [τ]ῶι Ἀπόλλωνι [τῇ]ν Πυθαίδα*. Only a few known documents (*IG II², 3477*; *FdD III, ii, nos. 29–31*) record the last of these offices: a form of participation of young girls in the four great *Pythaidēs* to Delphi of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C. The phrase *καὶ κανηφορήσασαν* should be restored at the beginning of line 4 or at the end of line 3 (where, to avoid non-syllabic word division, it would have to be given complete); *τῇν Πυθαίδα* might come at the end of line 4, where the proper form of the article is preserved, or at the beginning of that same line. The placement of these phrases must take into account the problematic letters preserved at the beginning of line 5. The best resolution sees the article in line 4 modifying *Πυθαίδα* but introducing a formula of eponymous dating (as Meritt recognized), although by the archon in the manner natural to the *Pythaidēs*. The restorations of the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4 then fall into place, and the placement of fragment I 7304 and the length of line are determined. The name of the hearth initiate can fit neatly after her mother's onomastic formula, and *θυγατέρα* (*υἰδῆν* and probably *θυγατριδῆν*, would upset the length of line) fits nicely at the beginning of line 3. If iota is counted for only half a letter space, the regularity of the letter spacing matches that evident on the preserved portions of the text; but line 5 is the exception, where larger lettering and a single preserved unscripted letter space reveal the

stonecutter's concern to extend his line. (Why the uninscribed half letter space splits the demotic in line 1 remains unexplained.)

Although line 1 cannot be securely restored, the preserved letters recall a family prominent in religious affairs during the late 2nd and the 1st centuries before Christ. The appendix which follows attempts an account of the family and documents its involvement both in the *Pythaidēs* to Delphi and in the Eleusinian cult. Two known *kanephoroi* to Delphi might be members of that family: Eurydike, daughter of Diodoros,⁴ in the *Pythais* of Timarchos (138/7 B.C.; *FdD* III, ii, no. 29) and [Ἀρι]στίππη Θεοφ[ί]λ[ο]υ in the *Pythais* of Argeios (97/6 B.C.; *BCH*, 93, 1969, pp. 375–379, no. 31, line 6). Because no complete lists of *kanephoroi* are preserved for the *Pythaidēs* of the years of Dionysios (128/7 B.C.) or of Agathokles (106/5 B.C.), other possible candidates for restoration are not excluded. Either of the preserved names can be restored with no damage to the format of the monument.

[Διόδωρος Θεοφ]ίλου Ἀ^υλα[ιεύς καὶ -----]
 [-----]σίου θυγά[τ]ηρ [ὑ Εὐρυδίκην τὴν ἔαν]τῶν
 3 [θυγατέρα μνηθεῖ]σαν ἀφ' ἐσ[τ]ίας [καὶ κανηφορήσασ]αν
 [τὴν Πυθαίδα τῶι] Ἀπόλλων[ι] τὴν [ἐν τῶι ἐπὶ Τιμάρχου]
 [ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτ]ῶι^υ Δῆμ[η]τρ[ι]^υ καὶ^υ Κόρηι ἀνέθηκα]

If Aristippe's name is to be restored, it is necessary to suppose a collateral branch of the family in order to supply a grandfather named Theophilos, unless we can suppose her a child of Diodoros' (I) mature years.

[----- Θεοφ]ίλου Ἀ^υλα[ιεύς καὶ -----]
 [-----]σίου θυγά[τ]ηρ [Ἀριστίππην τὴν ἔαν]τῶν
 3 [θυγατέρα μνηθεῖ]σαν ἀφ' ἐσ[τ]ίας [καὶ κανηφορήσασ]αν
 [τὴν Πυθαίδα τῶι] Ἀπόλλων[ι] τὴν [ἐν τῶι ἐπ' Ἀργείου]
 [ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτ]ῶι^υ Δῆμ[η]τρ[ι]^υ καὶ^υ Κόρηι ἀνέθηκα].

APPENDIX: The Family of Diodoros/Theophilos of Halai⁵

The question whether this family can be traced back to the 4th century B.C.⁶ need not be raised here. Closer to the time of its emergence to prominence is the dedication of a statue by King Attalos I

⁴ See the appended stemma, p. 161. Eurydike's age there is calculated to be greater than 10. It seems best to assume that she is the daughter of a Diodoros otherwise unattested, although Diodoros (I) and his predecessor can all be assigned earlier dates. In the same *Pythais* Gorgo, daughter of Philanthes, also served; and her father's name occurs in the family.

⁵ The family's stemma has been worked out by J. Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica*, Helsingfors 1910, p. 56; see also A. Wilhelm, in a letter to *AnzWien* 1924, pp. 119–126, no. 2 (reprinted *Akademischeschriften zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* II, Leipzig 1974, pp. 163–170) and B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 86–96. This account offers some minor adjustment to Sundwall's stemma, incorporates evidence more recently published, and refers to up-to-date editions of the remaining pieces of evidence.

⁶ J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971, pp. 155–156, no. 3933. To the names of possible ancestors can be added those of Diodoros, father of Breton (*Agora* XV, pp. 74–77, no. 62, line 214, of 303/2 B.C.); Diodoros, father of Archedemos (*ibid.*, pp. 97–99, no. 89, line 45, of 254/3 B.C.); and Theophilos, father of [---]σ[τ]ι[λ]ος (J. S. Traill, "Greek Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 278–280, no. 7, line 12).

and Queen Apollonis of Attalos' *syntrophos* [Θ]εόφιλον Θε[οφίλον Ἀλ]αί[α], whose brother Apollonides was similarly honored Delos and at Pergamon.⁷ This Theophilos may well be the father (III) or grandfather (II) of Diodoros, son of Theophilos, who is recalled in numerous documents.⁸ But consideration of Diodoros' children may suggest a tentative chronology.

Three sons of Diodoros of the tribe Kekropis named Theophilos (IV), Philanthes, and Diopeithes (I) were θεωροὶ Κεκροπίδος in the Delphic *Pythais* of the year of the archon Argeios (97/6 B.C.).⁹ Although neither patronymic nor demotic distinguishes them, the sequential appearance of identical names in the tribal list of *hippeis* of Kekropis for the *Pythais* of the year of Agathokles (106/5 B.C.) suffices to identify the same three brothers.¹⁰ Can we presume that the *hippeis* would already have completed their ephebic training? Then they would have been aged 20 or more years in 106 and probably 30 or more nine years later to be *theoroi*. This suggests a birthdate for the youngest of before 127 B.C. By allowing the traditional 30 years for each generation it is possible to project their father's birthdate backwards to before 159 B.C. and their grandfather's to before 189 B.C. This would probably make the latter some 20 or 30 years younger than Attalos; the *syntrophos* would then have to have been Theophilos (II), the great-grandfather of the three sons of Diodoros. Diodoros' father, Theophilos (III), might possibly have been the third magistrate on the New Style coins of 115/4,¹¹ or this magistrate might have been a homonymous son, otherwise unknown.

How do Diodoros' own dates fit this scheme? When listed in a catalogue of prominent men (*IG* II², 2452, line 56, between *ca.* 140 and 100 B.C.) he could have been in his thirties, forties, or fifties;¹² when the shippers and traders who cultivated Zeus Xenios honored him as the elected *epimeletes* of the harbor (*IG* II², 1012, of 112/1 B.C.) and when he was designated to prepare sets of weights and measures (*IG* II², 1013; see *SEG* XXIV, 148, line 39) he would have been in his mid-forties; when his three sons were *theoroi* and he *pythaistes* to Delphi (*FdD* III, ii, no. 17, line 11) he would have been in his early sixties; in the same year another relative served as *kanephoros*;¹³ another young girl of the family had served the same function in 138/7 B.C.¹⁴

Diodoros' son Philanthes is known also through the record of the *ephebeia* of his son Diopeithes (II) in the archonship of Apollodoros, 80/79 B.C.¹⁵ If Diopeithes (II) completed his *ephebeia* at around 19 years of age, he would have been born in 99/8, just about 30+ years after his father (this appears almost too neat). This in turn suggests that the projected dates for Diodoros' sons cannot be far off the mark.

As might be expected, the line of descent through the eldest son is the best attested. Theophilos,

⁷ B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 23, 1954, pp. 252–253, no. 33. *Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1937, no. 1554; *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, Berlin 1890, no. 179 (*OGIS* 334).

⁸ *PA* 3935; Sundwall, *Διόδωρος* (I).

⁹ *FdD* III, ii, no. 10, lines 1–4 of column 2. The tribal name and the homonymy of the eldest with his grandfather suggest the identification.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 28, lines 26 Θεό[φιλ]ος, 27 Φιλά[νθης], 28 Διοπει[θης].

¹¹ M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York 1961, pp. 232–237 and for Diodoros (II), *ibid.*, pp. 390–391; the dates are those following the suggestions of H. B. Mattingly, "Some Third Magistrates in the Athenian New Style Silver Coinage," *JHS* 91, 1971, pp. 91–92.

¹² For the date see H. B. Mattingly, "Some Problems in Second Century Athenian Prosopography," *Historia* 20, 1971, pp. 33–34.

¹³ [Ἀρι]στίππη Θεοφ[ίλ]ο[υ]. S. V. Tracy, "Notes on the Inscriptions of the Pythais of 98/7 B.C.," *BCH* 93, 1969, pp. 375–379, no. 31, line 6. The number of representatives of the family participating in this *Pythais* lends support to the identification.

¹⁴ *FdD* III, ii, no. 29, lines 3–4.

¹⁵ *IG* II², 1039, line 87 of the central column; see *SEG* XXII, 110. For the date see B. D. Meritt, "Athenian Archons 347/6–48/7 B.C.," *Historia* 26, 1977, p. 189.

son of Diodoros, is named in a document of 37/6 B.C.¹⁶ If he were the *theoros* of 97/6 (Theophilos [IV]), he would be in his nineties by 37/6, and Sundwall is probably correct in interposing Diodoros (II), who could have been born around 99 B.C. or earlier; this makes the Theophilos of 37/6 Theophilos (V), son of Diodoros (II); he would have been born around 69 B.C. or earlier. The only records of Diodoros (II) would be his mint magistracy after 53/2 (see footnote 11 above), when he would have been in his fifties or sixties, and a statue (*IG* II², 3883) set up about the same time.

The document of 37/6 is noteworthy for the family's history; it records the embassy to Delphi by Theophilos (V), son of Diodoros (II), of Halai and by Pammenes, son of Zeno, of Marathon as representatives of the *genos* of the Gephyraioi to ask *καθώς ἐστὶν τῷ γένει πατριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βουζύγου* | *καὶ ἱερέως Διὸς ἐμ Πα[λλαδίῳ Διοτίμου τοῦ Διοδώρου]* | *Ἀλαιέως*. His tombstone (*IG* II², 5477) reveals that Diotimos' father, Diodoros (III), was the natural son of Pammenes of Marathon, adopted by Theophilos (V) of Halai. As Meritt suggested, the ambassadors must have been the adoptive and natural grandfathers of Diotimos sent to consult about his status in a hereditary priesthood (the supposition that both ambassadors belonged to the *genos* is probably then not correct). Here Sundwall's stemma must be corrected to make Diotimos the grandson of Theophilos (V), and Theophilos (VI) must be added as a brother of Diotimos; the documents cited for these three must be redistributed.

If 30-year intervals continue to be allotted to successive generations, Diodoros (III) would have been a newborn at the time of the embassy to Delphi. But his father was born into another family, and his age at the time of adoption is not known. Diotimos' *ephebeia* is recorded around 40 B.C. (*IG* II², 1961, line 3), and so his birth may be placed roughly around 59 B.C.; the consultation at Delphi then would have followed on his coming of age by a few years. He is included in the *dodekades* sent to Delphi during the reign of Augustus as *ἐξηγητῆς ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καθεστάνων*;¹⁷ he would have filled this office in his thirties through sixties. He was archon himself in 26/5 (*IG* II², 2996, lines 2–3); in 20/19 he was orator of the decree honoring the *daidouchos* Themistokles, and he is catalogued as one of the *hymnagogai* appointed to a special commission of the Kerykes.¹⁸ He and his brother Theophilos were members of the committee of married men "selected by the *Hierophantes* to care for making the bed and setting the table for Pluto" near the end of the 1st century B.C.¹⁹ Certain documents might cite either Diotimos or his brother Theophilos; one of them was honored with a statue toward the end of the 1st century (*IG* II², 3884), and the daughter probably of one of them was hearth initiate.²⁰ Theophilos (VI) is cited in a crown on a prytany document of around 30 B.C.²¹

¹⁶ Meritt, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 86–96, no. 17: see Wilhelm, *loc. cit.* (footnote 5 above). The text is reproduced with apparatus by J. H. Oliver, "From Gennētai to Curiales," *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 40–41, who restores line 22 to accord with his belief that the Gephyraioi by this embassy were renewing a customary annual or periodic consultation of Delphi "on behalf of the Bouzyges and priest of Zeus in Palladion" (p. 42). My interpretation sees no immediate connection between the traditional *phylai* and the consultation over the priesthood, although the latter may have provided the occasion for the former.

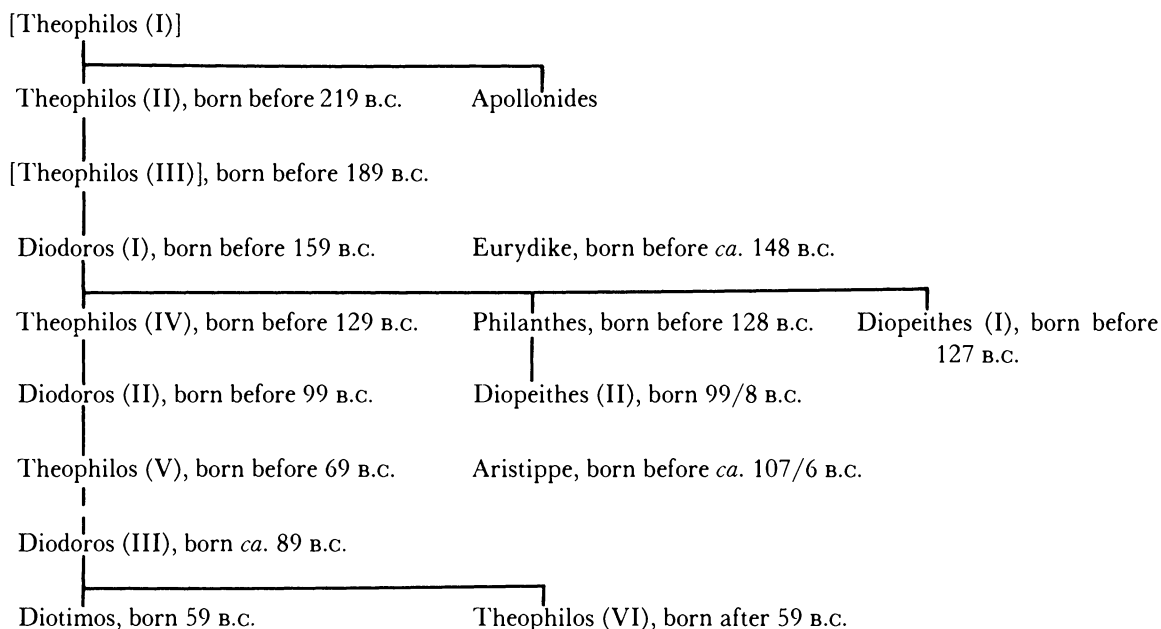
¹⁷ *FdD* III, ii, nos. 59–64; in the archonships of Architimos (30/29), Apolexis (22/1?), Theophilos (Diotimos' own younger brother; see also *IG* II², 1713. 11/10), Apolexis, son of Philokrates (between 8/7 and 1 B.C.) and Nikostratos, son of Nikostratos. For the highly speculative dating of Apolexis, see D. J. Geagan, "The Third Hoplite Generalship of Antipatros of Phlya," *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 59–68; his archonship certainly falls between 25/4 and 18/7; for Apolexis, son of Philokrates, see O. W. Reinmuth, "The Attic Archons named Apolexis," *BCH* 90, 1966, pp. 93–100.

¹⁸ K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (*TAPS* 64, iii), Philadelphia 1974, pp. 50–53, lines 7, 20.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29 and note 122, citing *IG* II², 1935, which may be the same document as *IG* II², 2464.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 100–101, no. 7.

²¹ Traill, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 295–297, no. 21, lines 46–48.



In 1943 A. E. Raubitschek edited a pair of dedications to Zeus Boulaios and Hestia Boulaia by treasurers of the *prytaneis*;²² both texts were included among the testimonia of R. E. Wycherley.²³ Despite similar restorations by Raubitschek, only the second (no. 17) was re-edited by B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill.²⁴ The text of the first (no. 16), I 5797, can now be augmented by a new fragment which joins to its right.²⁵

3 (Pl. 42). Fragment of a votive base of Pentelic marble preserving portions of the smoothly dressed inscribed face and right side and of the roughly picked bottom; broken away above and behind. A bevel runs across the forward bottom edge of the stone and aligns with the bevel on the other fragment. Found on April 23, 1972 in modern fill in the area over the Eleusinion (U 20).²⁶

H. 0.24 m.; W. 0.26 m.; Th. 0.22 m.

H. of letters 0.012 m., but occasionally up to 0.015 m.

²² "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 12, 1943, pp. 63–66, nos. 16, 17.

²³ *The Athenian Agora*, III, *The Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957, pp. 136–137, nos. 431, 432.

²⁴ *Agora* XV, pp. 216–217, no. 269.

²⁵ Confirmation of the association and the actual joining were accomplished by J. S. Traill in Athens in March of 1979.

²⁶ Homer Thompson has called to my attention that modern streets in the area of the Eleusinion were named after the Bouleuterion, the Tholos, and the Metroon because of large numbers of inscriptions apparently from those buildings found there in early Greek excavations. Like the lot of material from near the Stoa Basileios and Stoa of Zeus, these must have been transported for use in the post-Herulian Wall. See K. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen in Altertum* I, Leipzig 1874, pp. 160–161; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich 1931, p. 346, note 2; S. Dow, "The List of Archontes, I.G.² II 1706," *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pp. 426–430.

Agora Inv. Nos. I [5797 + 5543 +] 7387

a. 55/4 p.

29–30

[-----]
 ταμיעύσας πρυτά[νεων τῆς -----]
 τίδος ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ἀ[ριστο]ξέν[ου ἄρχον]
 3 τος ἐνιαυτῷ ὑπὲρ [αὐτ]οῦ καὶ τῇ[ς φύλης]
 Διὶ Βουλαίῳ καὶ Ἐ[σ]τίαι Βουλαίαι
vacat 0.105 m.

The restoration of the archon's name²⁷ reveals that this dedication was set up only two years before the other which Raubitschek edited. Unfortunately the first line, presumably containing the name of its dedicator, is entirely missing. The preserved letters at the beginning of line 2 admit for restoration the names of four tribes; Leontis and Aiantis are short enough that they could have been easily included completely within line 1; Akamantis or Hippothontis might have been restored without falling very short of the end of line 2. The other dedication edited by Raubitschek was indeed set up by a treasurer of Akamantis, Μηνόδωρος Ἀρ[-----].²⁸

The unexpected element introduced in the new fragment is the word αὐτ]οῦ restored in line 3. The relative positioning of the stones excludes restoring the longer [τοῦ δῆμ]ου or almost any phrase that would include the definite article.

The cult of Zeus Boulaios and Hestia Boulaia at Athens was centered in the bouleuterion.²⁹ Similar cults are attested in a number of other states,³⁰ usually closely associated with public deliberative functions.

In 1973 the author³¹ added to an already frequently edited text a new fragment (I

²⁷ For the dates see Meritt, *op. cit.* (footnote 15 above), p. 190.

²⁸ S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, *Prytaneis*, Athens 1937, p. 173, no. 104 (see now *Agora* XV, p. 219, no. 274) suggests that another document, preserving only the citation from a prytany decree, may honor the same secretary, but "there are slight but decisive differences in style between this inscription and 111. The hand may, however, be the same . . ."

²⁹ Wycherley, *op. cit.* (footnote 23 above), p. 128; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II, Cambridge 1925, pp. 258–261, esp. p. 259, note 3; P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford 1972, p. 34.

³⁰ For Hestia's relationship to public buildings see P. Bernard and F. Salviat, "Inscriptions de Thasos," *BCH* 86, 1962, p. 590, note 1. Evidence for joint cults of Zeus Boulaios and Hestia Boulaia has been found at Thasos (*ibid.*, pp. 588–590), Aigai in Aiolis (Stephen G. Miller, *The Prytaneion*, Berkeley 1978, pp. 225–226, who cites the text edited by R. Bohn and C. Schuchhardt, *Altertümer von Ägä*, *JdI* Ergänzungsheft II, 1889, pp. 33–35), Sparta (*IG* V 1, 62), Pergamon (*Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, pp. 153–159, no. 246 [*OGIS* 332], lines 48–49), Milētos (*Milet*, I, iii, *Das Delphinion in Milet*, Berlin 1914, pp. 182–185, no. 37, lines 43–44). A dedication from Ambrakia to Hestia and Zeus was set up by a [prytanis] and his synprytanie[s], but no epithets are cited (P. Cabanes, *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine*, Paris 1976, p. 548, no. 19).

³¹ D. J. Geagan, "A Decree of the Council of the Areopagus," *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 352–357. The reader is referred to this edition for photographs, description of the other fragments, lemma, and the remainder of the text. For the date of Alkamenēs (Face A, line 11) see now D. J. Geagan, "The Great Catalogue from the Eleusinion at Athens," *ZPE* 33, 1979, pp. 96–97, 104–108. A very fruitful correspondence with J. H. Oliver has resulted in many improvements in the restoration and treatment of this text. The views stated here are the author's own and ought not necessarily to be attributed to Professor Oliver.

6783) bearing a portion of the preamble of a decree of the Areopagus. S. Follet³² has offered more complete restorations, including the identity of the eponymous archon. A new fragment has now been found in the Agora excavations which forces a reconsideration of all previous attempts to restore the preamble and which can be used to reconstruct the format of what is now only the second preserved preamble of a *hypomnematismos* of the Council of the Areopagus. The text which follows includes only the preserved five lines of the preamble.

4 (Pl. 43). Fragment from a large base of Pentelic marble preserving portions of the inscribed face and top, both lightly picked with a toothed chisel; broken away on both sides, below, and behind. The traces of molding, now chipped away from the upper edge of the face, align perfectly with similar traces on Face A of I 6783. A number of letters in each line on the left-hand side of the face have been lost because of either corrosion or intentional defacement. Found on August 20, 1970 in a marble pile area, N-Q 19-22.

H. 0.214 m.; W. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.422 m.

H. of letters 0.011-0.012 m.

Agora Inv. Nos. I 7184 [and I 6783]

a. 195/6 p.

Face A

40

[ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Γα 'Ελβιδίου Σεκούν]δο[υ Παλλ]ηνέως, κηρυ
[κεύοντος -----]ας Ἀμφί[ου το]ῦ Ἀμφίου^v
3 [ἐξ Οὔρου, .¹⁰(month) . . . δεκάτη ὑ]στέρα[ι, ἔδο]ξεν τῇ ἐξ Ἀ
[ρείου πάγου βουλήι . . . ⁸ . . . ἐ]πὶ τοῖς [δογ]μασιν τοῖς
[βουλής καὶ δῆμου ----- κ]λείδου [. . . ⁶ . . .]ιλο[---]
6 [----- lacuna -----]

Fragments d and e of Face A follow.

Line 2. Initial alpha, the lower portion of the descending foot with its apex; the stroke is clearly not vertical.

Line 4. Mu, the short rising central leg and the final descending leg.

Line 5. Lambda, the descending leg of the lambda.

The mason observes a uniform right margin, except for the first line, where the final upsilon obtrudes, probably to avoid non-syllabic line division. The letter space *vacans* at the end of line 2 also seems to have served the same purpose. The lettering is remarkably uniformly spaced where it can be measured by relatively certain restorations. A count of 40 characters to the line seems consistent, if iota is given a value of ½.

The relationship between the two fragments can be established by the name of Amphias in line 2. Geagan³³ recognized the family from the preserved patronymic; Follet³⁴ would restore the name of Eisarchos, but the new fragment guarantees that of his brother Amphias. The preserved letters of line 3 suggest the preamble of a decree. If the proper demotic for Amphias is supplied at the beginning of the line, the varying lengths of the names of the Athenian months indicate a length of between 39½ and 42 characters to this

³² Follet, p. 228, note 3.

³³ *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 356.

³⁴ Follet, p. 228, note 3.

line. If a uniform length of line of 40 characters is correct (see below), the name of Mounichion fits precisely, those of Thargelion and of Poseideon B' run over by half a space, and that of Gamelion falls half a space short. The remainder of the name of the Council of the Areopagus may be restored at the beginning of line 4; if the epsilon of ἐ|πὶ and the three missing letters in the small gap are included, then 32 letter spaces can be accounted for. Eight letters, probably a single word, are still missing in the lacuna at the left half of the line.

The most consistent element included in preambles of Athenian decrees and indeed also in documents of other types is the dating by archon; its position as the initial element is similarly consistent. Therefore the name of the archon eponymous should be restored in line 1. Follet³⁵ knows only three archons with the correct demotic appropriate to the estimated date of the document: Titus Flavius Sosigenes in 184/5; Ga(ius) Helvidius Secundus in 195/6; and Aelius Apollonios between 190/1 and 210/1. She suggests³⁶ restoring the name either of Secundus or of Sosigenes. Any of the three names would suit the estimated length of line, but only that of Secundus bears the two letters preserved on the new fragment and fits precisely the positioning of the two stones (see above). If Secundus' praenomen is abbreviated as it is in other documents, the first line is precisely 40 characters long.

The format of the preamble might at this point be compared with that of the only other³⁷ preserved text of an action of the Council of the Areopagus. The preamble of the decree found at Epidauros of honors for T. Statilius Lamprias³⁸ includes the date by eponymous archon, the date by month, identification of the decreeing body with the location of its session, the name of the proposer, and finally the word ἐδοξε (= censuere?).³⁹ The only elements not yet accounted for in the preamble from the Agora are the identification of the decreeing body (but cf. the fuller ἐδοξε formula) with the location of its session and the

³⁵ Follet, pp. 507–518.

³⁶ Follet, p. 228, note 3.

³⁷ For a possible third example, see B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 26–30, who would restore lines 21–22 as the heading of a decree of the Council of the Areopagus. He is followed by J. H. Oliver ("The Areopagus and the Whole City Honor M. Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus," *ZPE* 38, 1980, pp. 107–114, lines 23–24), in his edition of the other copy of the document, but with certain exceptions: line 21, Meritt [ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνηίδος] = lines 22–23, Oliver [ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ vacat. Line 23, Oliver ἄνρ [Ἑρμῶνακ]τος [κήρυκος τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς]. Lines 21–22, Meritt [ἐν τῷ σεμνοτάτῳ τῷ συνεδρίῳ] = line 24, Oliver [ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ]. Meritt's restoration of line 21 at the beginning of the supposed Areopagite document would be out of place, and Oliver suppressed it. The author (Geagan, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 355) questioned the attribution of this document to the Council of the Areopagus and continues to believe that the document cannot be attributed with certainty to any of the organs of the Athenian polity. Restored as a decree of the Council of 500, the document would begin with a prytany date (as Meritt in line 21 = Oliver, line 23); punctuation might follow the name of Hermonax (Oliver, line 23), and then the name of the *grammateus* might fill the lacuna following it. In line 24 (Oliver = Meritt, lines 21–22) a phrase like ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς should fit neatly. In the latter part of line 24 (Oliver = Meritt, lines 21–22) the phrases [καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ] probably would fit.

³⁸ *IG* IV² 1, 83 (*Syll*³, 796, B, II), lines 7–9.

³⁹ The heading of the corresponding decree of the *ekklesia*, *IG* IV² 1, 84 (*Syll*³, 796, B, III), lines 21–25, can be contrasted. The format is strikingly similar, except that it contains certain items peculiar to the function of the democratic Council and Demos: the prytany date, identification of the prytany secretary, and identification of the *prohedroi* responsible for "putting to the vote." The frequent formula ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ is lacking in this document. On the preambles of the Council and Demos see now A. S. Henry, *Mnemosyne*, Suppl. XLIX, *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees*, Leiden 1979, pp. 95–103.

identification of the proposer (but see the preserved letters of line 5). The citation of the herald is a new feature. What then is to be made of the gaps remaining in lines 2 and 4?

The final letters of line 1 suggest the restoration κηρυ|κεύοντος τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς.⁴⁰ This would result in a length of line of 43½ characters; more important, the preserved portion of the first letter of line 2 on the new fragment makes such a restoration very unlikely. The only reasonable reading of the initial two letters of line 2 suggests the genitive singular of a limited number of words or an accusative plural. From the 2nd century after Christ the phrase οἱ Ἀρεοπαγεῖται often was substituted for the full name Council,⁴¹ and possibly the preposition governing an accusative plural is to be restored here despite the normal expectation of a genitive immediately following the participle.⁴²

An alternative is offered by the text of the decree itself, lines 8–9, in which the *argyrotamiai* together with the herald are to surrender the hypothecs. If the herald of the Council of the Areopagus was presiding at this session together with the *argyrotamiai* because of their special interests, the restoration [μετὰ τοὺς ἀργυροταμί]ας⁴³ might also be possible.

Line 4 represents different problems. In 1973 the author read -]λασιν. Re-examination of the stone and of a squeeze now suggest that the first letter is more probably to be read a mu. Elsewhere on the stone vertical strokes are not always truly vertical, the angle of the fully preserved stroke is not acute enough for lambda, and the angle of the connecting bar now seems more consonant with mu. The lacuna allows only three letters to complete the word.

The possible restorations are limited. An approach from the nature of document⁴⁴ and the related attested responsibilities of the Council of the Areopagus⁴⁵ might suggest [χρή]μασιν, [κτῆ]μασιν or [κρί]μασιν. The preposition ἐπί governing the dative can be used “of persons in authority” (*LSJ*, s.v., B, III, 6) and thus can designate a person’s office (as ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει), although usage commanding the genitive was by far the more common

⁴⁰ Follet, p. 228, note 3.

⁴¹ As recognized by D. Geagan, “Ordo Areopagitarum Atheniensium,” ΦΟΡΟΣ, *Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt*, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1974, p. 53. Dedicatory monuments were set up κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῶν σεμνοτάτων (or κρατίστων) Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν (*IG* II², 3607, 3637, 3656, [3760], [*Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 49, no. 72], [*Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 49, no. 73]), καθ’ (or κατὰ τὸν) ὑπομνηματισμὸν Ἀρεοπαγεῖτων (*IG* II², 3584, [3946], [3947], 4054, 4245, [*SEG* XVIII, 82], [*Hesperia* 5, 1936, p. 95], *Δελτ* 27, 1972 [1973], pp. 10–11, no. 4), δόγματι (τῶν κρατίστων) Ἀρεοπαγεῖτων (*IG* II², 3697, [3698], 3705, 3995, *Hesperia* 16, 1947, p. 67, no. 9, [*Δελτ* 25, 1970 [1971], p. 30, no. 31]), κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα (τοῖς) Ἀρεοπαγεῖταις (*IG* II², 3521, [3812], [*IG* III, 965d]), or using other formulae (*IG* II², 3571, 3667, 3737, *TAM* 2, no. 910). In two apparently legislative texts (*IG* II², 1103, lines 8–9, 1118, line C4; possibly also 1055, line 15) and in several texts of authors of the period (Gellius, *NA* 12.7; Athenaeus, iv.64.66 [167e–168b]; Valerius Maximus, viii.1, Amb. 2) Ἀρεοπαγεῖται is used to mean ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου. Numerous other texts cite the collected members of the corporation with phrases like ἡ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν βουλή or εἰς τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν (Athenaeus, xiii.58 [591e]). I know of only one other instance of such phrasing in the title of the herald (κηρυξ Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν, S. Dow, “The First Enneëteric Delian Pythais *IG* II², 2336,” *HSCP* 51, 1940, pp. 116–124, line 105).

⁴² *LSJ*, s.v. κηρυκεύω; the dative is also possible.

⁴³ *LSJ*, s.v. μετὰ C IV.

⁴⁴ E. A. Bodnar, *Collection Latomus*, XIII, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, Brussels 1960, pp. 145–150; J. H. Oliver, “The Athens of Hadrian,” *Les empereurs romains d’Espagne*, Paris 1965, pp. 129–130.

⁴⁵ Geagan, *op. cit.* (footnote 41 above), pp. 55–56; *idem*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XII, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla*, Princeton 1967, pp. 48–52; and *idem*, “Decree” (footnote 31 above), p. 357.

(*LSJ*, s.v., A, III, 1) particularly for translating, into Greek, titles rendered in Latin by *ab* with the ablative.⁴⁶

An approach from a procedural viewpoint suggests [δόγ]μασιν. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ, δόγματι Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν became a technical term indicating the authority for setting up statues. A decree of the Boule⁴⁷ can identify itself as τόδε [τὸ δόγ]μα (lines 14–15), and one of the decrees of the series honoring M. Ulpius Eubiotos similarly identifies itself (see footnote 37 above, line 18 Meritt; line 20 Oliver). The procedures for transmission of actions of the Boule and Demos to the Areopagus or from the Council of the Areopagus to the Boule and Demos are not clear. *IG* II², 1069⁴⁸ is an action of the ekklesia apparently citing precedents of the Council of the Areopagus and of the Council of the 500; the honors for Ulpius Eubiotos (see above, footnote 37) clearly involves two separate meetings over the same proposal; the honors on the elevation of Geta⁴⁹ incorporates into a prytany document the Boule's decree, which is based upon a proposal (*gnome*) already passed by all the organs of the Athenian polity; *IG* II², 1078 was an action of the Demos, but the proposal (*gnome*) was to be presented to the Council of the Areopagus, to the Council of the 500, to the Hierophant and to the Genos of the Eumolpids; no record is preserved of their response. This restoration of [δόγ]μασιν would justify the restoration of the name of the Boule and Demos at the beginning of line 5.

Eight spaces remain in the large lacuna of line 4. Two grammatical constructions seem possible: The first would supply a participle or its equivalent modifying βουλήν and governing the prepositional phrase. To restore συνκλήτῳ results in a line of 41 characters, but the usage has good precedent from the 2nd century before Christ;⁵⁰ συνηχθέντι⁵¹ gives a line of 42 characters and κληθέντι one of 40 characters. The second would punctuate after βουλήν and consider the missing word as introducing the clause which follows. The preserved letters of line 5 probably belong to the name of the speaker of the proposal; in this case restorations like γνωμῇ⁵² or ἀνέγνω⁵³ are possible. Either would yield a line of 39 characters.

⁴⁶ H. Mason, *American Studies in Papyrology*, XIII, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, Toronto 1974, pp. 140–142.

⁴⁷ For δόγματι Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν see Geagan, *Constitution* (footnote 45 above), pp. 44–45, 149. For the decree, J. J. Pollitt, "The Egyptian Gods in Attica," *Hesperia* 34, 1965, pp. 125–130.

⁴⁸ C. P. Jones, "Three Foreigners in Attica," *Phoenix* 32, 1978, pp. 222–228 argues for an Augustan date, while E. A. Kapetanopoulos, "Gaius Julius Nikanor, Neos Homeros kai Neos Themistokles," *RivFC* 104, 1976, pp. 375–377 prefers one under Claudius or later.

⁴⁹ *Agora* XV, pp. 320–321, no. 460. If from the times of Sulla prytany documents were the exclusive preserve of the Boule (Geagan, *Constitution* [footnote 45 above], pp. 71–72); and if the Council of the Areopagus bore ultimate responsibility for the text of joint actions (*ibid.*, pp. 33–35; see above, footnote 37, where the sequence is unresolved) then procedure κατὰ [τὰ] πάτρια (line 17) may have required the circuitous routing whereby the decree was presented a second time to the Boule (for a variant explanation, see *ibid.*, pp. 161–162).

⁵⁰ Henry, *op. cit.* (footnote 39 above), pp. 86–87.

⁵¹ *Agora* XV, pp. 320–321, no. 460, line 5.

⁵² Γνωμῇ is used regularly to denote a "proposal" before Boule or Demos or both; there is no secure precedent for its use to describe a proposal before the Council of the Areopagus.

⁵³ This is commonly used to denote the presentation of the action of one corporation to another. See *Agora* XV, pp. 320–321, no. 460, lines 7–9; the decrees for Eubiotos (above, footnote 37), Oliver, line 22. See also the decree of the Iobakchoi (F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969, pp. 95–101, no. 51), line 22.

A fragment from the top of a stele (I 5222) edited by B. D. Meritt⁵⁴ now appears to involve a much more elaborate text and to require new restorations in the light of a fragment found in 1974.⁵⁵

5 (Pl. 43). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble preserving portions of the smoothly dressed inscribed face and of the roughly picked back; broken away above, below, and on both sides. The upper limit of the inscribed face is indicated by a pair of horizontal grooves 0.025 m. apart; the lower of these rests 0.01 m. above a guideline for the upper tips of the first line of text. No other guidelines were used. The grooves and guideline align with similar ones on the fragment edited by Meritt. The lower part of a large boss above the grooves is the only element of decoration preserved from the crowning part of the stele and indicates clearly the central point. Found on June 17, 1974 in the foundations for a wall of the Roman Round Building (K-L 5).

H. 0.278 m.; W. 0.229 m.; Th. (top) 0.075 m., (bottom) 0.07 m.

H. of letters 0.015 m. (but down to 0.013 in places).

Agora Inv. Nos. I [5222 +] 7469

a. 209/10 p.

ca. 45 (lines 1, 2)–55 (lines 3, 4)

- [τῶν μεγί]στων κ[αὶ θειοτά]των Ἀὐτοκρ[ατόρων · Λ · Σεπτ · Σεουήρου]
 [Περτίνακος ·] καὶ · Μ · Ἀὐ[ρ] · Ἀντω[νίνου] · [[καὶ · Π · Σ[επτ · Γέτα]] Σεβαστῶν]
 3 [Ἀὐτοκρατ]όρων κα[ὶ τῆς Ἱερ]ᾶς Συνκλήτο[υ καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων Δήμου καὶ]
 [τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου] Πάγου βο[υλῆς κ]αὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶ[ν Φ καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δήμου]
 [ἐπ' ἄρχοντ]ος Φλ Δ[ιογένου Μ]αραθωνίου [-----]

Punctuation takes the form of small right angles pointing either right or left.

Line 1. Kappa, the lower third of the forward leg; rho, the back is preserved on the break.

Line 2. Dotted nu, a vertical stroke on the break; a small midline dot after the upsilon may be punctuation. The erased letters: kappa, the vertical only; alpha, the three extremities with a short part of the upper portion of the descending leg; iota, traces of the extremities (the linear distance occupied by the kappa, alpha, and iota coincides exactly with that occupied by kappa, lambda, and the nearer leg of the eta immediately below in line 3); pi, the bottoms of two vertical bars with their apices; at the top of the erasure a horizontal bar might be the top of the pi, the sign of abbreviation, or a chisel mark from the erasing; sigma, a clear horizontal bar at the base and a less secure one at the top, both coinciding in length with those of other preserved sigmas.

Line 4 gives the securest indicator of length of line and of the relative spacing of the two fragments. The traces in the erasure in line 2 permit the reading of no name except Geta's. Thus the dating is restricted to the period between A.D. 209 and 211. In line 1 the preserved letters -στων probably do not belong to σεβαστῶν.⁵⁶ The των may well be the definite article and the sigma the final letter of a word in the genitive case;⁵⁷ yet at Athens at this

⁵⁴ "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 48–49, no. 58.

⁵⁵ J. S. Traill verified the association of the two pieces of stone in March of 1979 in Athens and has supplied several elements of data necessary for this publication.

⁵⁶ Σεβαστῶν is much more likely to follow the other imperial titles. For Athenian documents see *Agora* XV, pp. 294–296, no. 411; *IG* II², 1088, 2065, 2113, 3404, but cf. *Agora* XV, pp. 270–271, no. 371.

⁵⁷ Examples include ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας (*IG* II², 3403, 5205), νίκης (*IG* II², 3403, 3404, 5205), ὑγείας (*IG* II², 3404), or διαμονῆς (*IG* II², [3404], 5205), sometimes in combination; the same nouns are used in clauses in the dative case. In this document spacing would favor a word of few letters, preferably ὑπὲρ νίκης].

time the adjectives μέγιστοι καὶ θειότατοι (e.g. *IG* II², 3419, 3420) are common before the imperial names. The genitive case of the imperial names is probably dependent upon the phrase ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ or some other formula in a pedimental crowning and divided by the preserved boss;⁵⁸ the appearance of the *senatus populiue Romani* and the organs of Athenian government make the restoration of a prepositional phrase introduced by ὑπέρ or another clause in the dative case unlikely. The space at the beginning of line 5 would seem too long for a praenomen (which probably would have been abbreviated), so the archon dating has been restored as might be expected in an ephebic text. Diogenes is the only archon from Marathon known to Follet⁵⁹ from the period of this document; he served in the year 209/10. The restoration of the name of Flavius Dorotheos of Marathon, hoplite general, can be excluded by reason of the date and of the length of the lacuna at the beginning of line 5. Flavius Diogenes is best known from the heading of the decree passed upon Geta's accession.⁶⁰

What sort of document might have borne such a heading? Ephebic lists frequently began with a reference to the ruling emperors, usually in a clause such as those described above.⁶¹ Similar ones occur in prytany documents and in some decrees, but very rarely.⁶² And altars of Marcus and Lucius use phrasing such as this.⁶³ The extraordinary nature of the heading, particularly the inclusion of the Roman Senate, ought to signal a significant occasion. The same Athenian year produced the elaborate decree prefixed to a prytany catalogue celebrating the association of Geta with Septimius and Caracalla in the imperial power,⁶⁴ but these fragments belong to a different document.

In 1934 B. D. Meritt⁶⁵ edited three fragments from the base for a statue of Geta (I 436a + 607, I 436b, I 439). Some twelve years later a fourth fragment could be added (I 808),⁶⁶ joining below I 436a + 607 and supplying the opening letters of lines 7–9. Recent excavations have produced still another fragment⁶⁷ which supplies portions of lines 3–5 near the right side and confirms Meritt's reconstruction of the text.

6 (Pl. 44). Fragment of a block of Hymettian marble preserving a portion only of the inscribed face; broken away on both sides, below, and behind. The face is smoothly dressed;

⁵⁸ E.g. *IG* II², 2113; *Agora* XV, pp. 270–271, no. 371.

⁵⁹ Follet, pp. 54, 310.

⁶⁰ *Agora* XV, pp. 320–321.

⁶¹ *IG* II², 1990, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2017, 2024, 2030, 2040, 2041, 2044, 2052, 2065, 2090, 2113, 2114, 2126.

⁶² *Agora* XV, pp. 270–271, no. 371; 294–296, no. 411; *IG* II², 1069, 1088.

⁶³ *IG* II², 3403–3405, A. E. Raubitschek, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 250–251, no. 12, possibly *IG* II², 3414, of Septimius and Caracalla.

⁶⁴ *Agora* XV, pp. 320–321, no. 460. For the dating see Follet, p. 54. For other documents at Athens associated with Septimius' reign see D. J. Geagan, "Roman Athens: Some Aspects of Life and Culture," *ANRW* II, 7, 1979, pp. 406–408, 434–435; 4, pp. 162–166 above; and 6, pp. 168–169 below.

⁶⁵ "The Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 76, no. 75. Essentially the same text appears as *IG* II², *add.* 3416 a.

⁶⁶ B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 237–238, no. 70.

⁶⁷ J. S. Traill confirmed the similarity of this piece to the others in Athens in April of 1979.

the letters are elegantly, but not deeply, cut between upper and lower guidelines. Found on August 8, 1972 in modern fill at T 14.

H. 0.268 m.; W. 0.22 m.; Th. 0.117 m.

H. of letters 0.035 m.

Agora Inv. Nos. I [436a + 607, I 436b, I 439, I 808 and I] 7436

ca. a. 209–212 p.

14–16

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]
 [Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου]
 3 [Σ]εϝη[ρου Εὐσε]β[ος]
 Περτί[ακος] Σεβα
 στοῦ Ἀ[ραβικοῦ] Ἀδ[ι]
 6 αβην[ικοῦ Παρθικοῦ]
 Μ[εγίστου] Εὐτυχ[οῦ]
 ϝ καὶ Ἰουλίας Δόμν[ας]
 9 Σε[βαστῆς υἱὸν] Πό[πλι]
 [ον Σεπτίμιον Γέταν]
 [--lacuna --]
 12 [---]ου[---]
 [---]ρα[---]
 [-----]

Line 3. Beta, the lower portion of the lower loop; omicron, the bottom of the circumference.

Line 4. Alpha, a portion of the rising leg.

Line 5. The tops only of the two letters; in front of them a portion of an apex on the upper guideline is visible.

Several fragments of a revetment plaque, all unedited,⁶⁸ offer little text, but certain preserved words and phrases arouse interest. The fragments all preserve portions of the smoothly dressed inscribed face and back. Other edges are preserved only on fragment 7 (the top) and on fragments 8 and 10 (one side each). The major group of fragments were all found within a fortnight's period (April 12–25, 1952) in the area north of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O–P 15) in a late Roman context and bear the same inventory number (I 6499). The other fragments were found at various other points, as indicated below.

7 (Pl. 42). Broken away on both sides and below. The top surface is decorated with a double torus molding toward the outer edge with a cavetto behind.

H. 0.06 m.; W. 0.11 m.; Th. 0.04 m.

H. of letters is not preserved.

Agora Inv. No. I 6499b

⁶⁸ J. S. Traill examined the fragments in Athens in March and April of 1979. He found I 1041, realized that I 7430 and I 6660 joined, and was able to send assurance that several other fragments did not belong.

8 (Pl. 43). Two joined pieces, broken away above, below, and to the right. Running down the forward edge of the left side is a bevel; behind it is a narrow, smoothly dressed contact surface; the remainder recedes below the contact surface and is roughly dressed. The joint between this plaque and the one to its left thus would have been concealed by a V-shaped groove. I 5739 was found in a modern wall west of the Panathenaic Way, southwest of the Eleusinion (S 22).

H. 0.095 m.; W. 0.30 m.; Th. (left edge) 0.038 m., (right edge) 0.04 m.

H. of letters 0.02 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 5739 + 6499a

9 (Pl. 42). Broken away on both sides, above, and below.

H. 0.08 m.; W. 0.025 m.; Th. 0.04 m.

H. of letters 0.022 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 6499c

10 (Pl. 43). Broken away above, below, and to the left. The right side is dressed as the left side of fragment b.

H. 0.125 m.; W. 0.205 m.; Th. 0.04 m.

H. of letters 0.02 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 6499d

11 (Pl. 44). Two joining pieces; broken away on both sides, above, and below. Found the one on July 12, 1972 in a well (T 13:1) at a depth of around 5 meters and the other on April 7, 1954 in a late Roman context in a plundering trench of the south and median walls of the East Stoa (O 15).

H. 0.11 m.; W. 0.175 m.; Th. 0.041–0.042 m.

H. of letters 0.02–0.023 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 6660 + 7430

12 (Pl. 44). Broken away on both sides, above, and behind. Found on August 9, 1949 in a late context in the southeastern part of the Market Square.

H. 0.06 m.; W. 0.145 m.; Th. 0.039 m.

H. of letters 0.02 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 6224

13 (Pl. 44). Broken away on both sides, above, and behind. Found on June 28, 1933 in a late Roman context next to the late Roman millrace west of the Library of Pantainos (Q 14).

H. 0.032 m.; W. 0.08 m.; Th. 0.043–0.044 m.

H. of letters (preserved) 0.012 m., (estimated) 0.02 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 1041

Third century after Christ, probably the first quarter

- 7 *vacat* 0.04 m. to top
 ----]ος δ[---

- 8 *vac.* ὁ ἀνείκητος [καὶ (?) ----- Αὐτο]
vac. κράτωρ ὁ Σε[-----] or ὁς ε[----]

- 9 ----]σ[ι[-----
 ----]οντης[-----

- 10 ---- τῆς π]όλεως *vac.*
 -----]ων κε *vac.*
 -----]αδία Κλ *vac.*

- 11 ----] καὶ Π[.]λε[----
 ----] λαμ^{υυ}πρ^{υυ} ὕ[πατικός(?) --
vacat
- 12 ---- ^{traces} ----
 ----]ορωπο[-----

- 13 ----]ι[-----
 ----]ησα[-----

7. Omicron might also be theta, the delta any triangular letter.

8. Line 1: the rough breathing was probably indicated above the omicron, but the break is close above the top of the letters. Line 2: Omicron, the rough breathing is indicated by a short horizontal line with a vertical crossing at the left end; epsilon, the upper corner is preserved.

9. Line 1: the preserved traces are the forward tip of a horizontal bar on the base line followed by the lower tip of a vertical. Line 2: Omicron, a small portion of the circumference; sigma, the angle at the base.

10. Line 3: the nature of the space between the break and the delta guarantees either a triangular letter or a space *vacans*.

12. Both omicrons, the trace of a circular letter on the break.

13. Line 1: iota, the base only. Line 2: only the tops of the letters.

The date is suggested by two factors. First, the epithet *invictus* becomes common from the time of Caracalla⁶⁹ and later regular in the imperial titulature; nevertheless it was used also of Trajan and Commodus.⁷⁰ Second, the predicate of rank *clarissimus* occurs (11, line 2); *clarissimi consulares* served as *correctores* of the province of Achaia under Septimius and after.⁷¹

Normally the epithet *invictus* should follow the personal names either before or after *Augustus*; here it seems to come at the beginning of the formula, probably modifying *Imperator* and probably coupled with another such adjective.⁷² The emperor's name is cited in the nominative case, and thus grammatically he is the subject of the text, e.g. the dedicator or the author, or he is the person portrayed in a statue. At least two other persons are named, the *clarissimus* and one other (10, line 3).

The nature of the monument is not clear. We can deduce a revetted facade which was at least two plaques wide; it is not clear whether it was more than a single course high. The dressing of the top edge suggests that it was touched by no other surface. Was the revetment the complete height of the structure to which it was attached? Was it merely attached to the side of a building, but covering only a limited area of the surface? What sort of structure bore it: the wall of a building, a monument base, a retaining wall? No certain answers can be offered. Homer Thompson has called my attention to the Nymphaeum at the southeast corner of the Square. It served apparently as the terminus of the aqueduct begun by Hadrian and completed by his successor. "Perhaps the most likely position for the inscribed revetment would be the pedestal of the great monument that stood on the axis of our building just outside the basin."⁷³

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⁶⁹ On the epithet see M. Hammond, "Imperial Elements in the Formula of the Roman Emperors during the First Two and a Half Centuries of the Empire," *MAAR* 25, 1957, pp. 51–52; *idem*, *PAAR*, XIX, *The Antonine Monarchy*, Rome 1959, p. 94, note 24; E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigraphico* IV, Rome 1946, pp. 79–80, *s.v. invictus*, but see also III, 1922, pp. 44–49, *s.v. Felix* for the evidence.

⁷⁰ For Trajan see C. Le Roy, "ΛΑΚΩΝΙΚΑ," *BCH* 85, 1961, pp. 222–223. For Commodus see Hammond, *Monarchy*, *loc. cit.*; *idem*, "Elements," *loc. cit.* and p. 49, note 187; J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire*, I, *La politique religieuse des Antonins (96–192)*, Paris 1955, pp. 400–401, note 7. For examples from *CIL* see de Ruggiero, *s.v. Felix*, pp. 44–49.

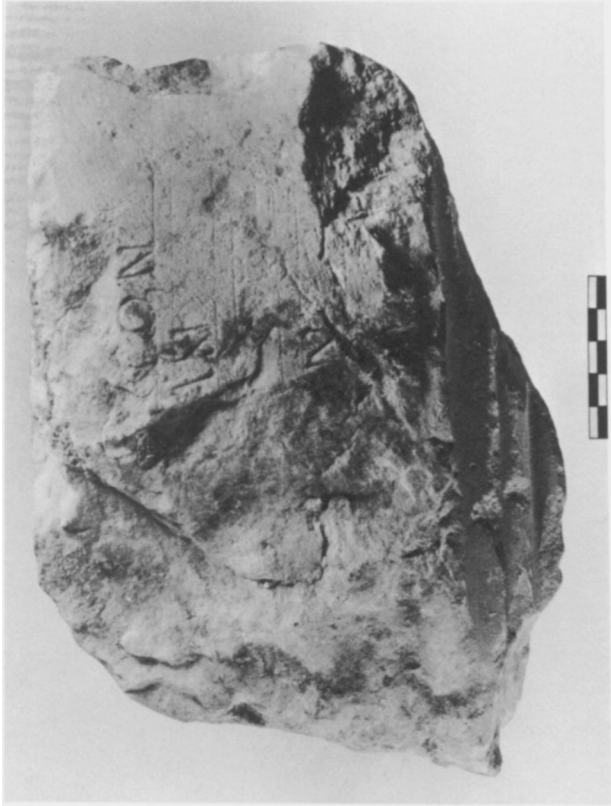
⁷¹ E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, Vienna 1939, pp. 88–90 (Gn. Claudius Leonticus), 131 (M. Claudius Demetrius), 135–136 (L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus), 163; see also Mason (footnote 46 above), p. 171.

⁷² For an example see 5, pp. 167–168 above: *μεγίστων καὶ θειοτάτων*.

⁷³ H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavations and Museum*, 3rd ed., Athens 1976, pp. 151–152, and fig. 77.



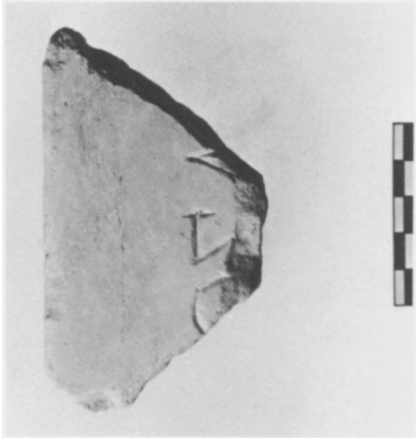
1. I 4363 + 5715



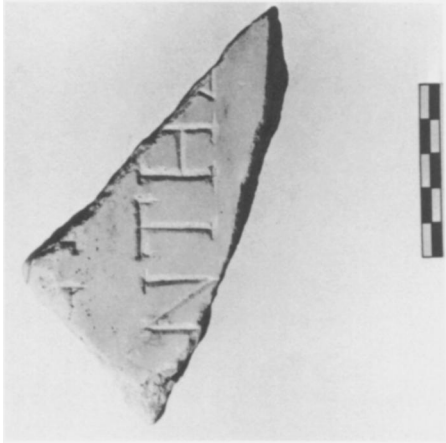
2. I 7304



3. I 5797 + 7387



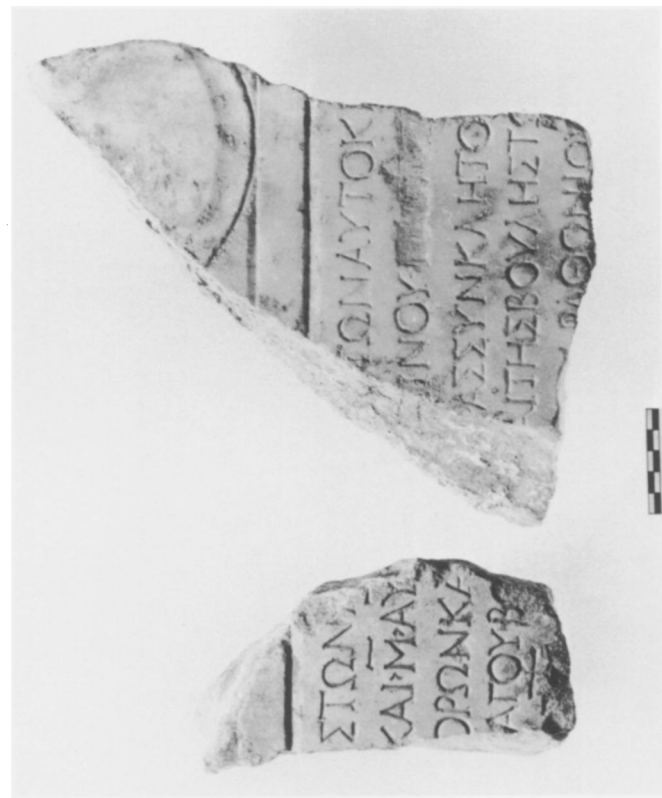
7. I 6499b



9. I 6499c



4. I 7184 as aligned with I 6783 (no join)



5. I 5222 and I 7469



8. I 5739 + 6499a



10. I 6499d



6. I 7436



11. I 6660 + 7430



12. I 6224



13. I 1041