



FIVE LETTER-CUTTERS OF HELLENISTIC ATHENS

(230-130 B.C.)

(PLATES 63-71)

Sterling Dow: πέντε καὶ ἑβδομηκονταετῇ

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR has recently published the first study devoted to a single letter-cutter.¹ This article presents some of the most important results of the next phase of work on Attic cutters, namely the study of the inscriptions of a closed period in an attempt to assign as many as possible to individual workmen.² The century from *ca.* 230 to *ca.* 130 B.C. was chosen for study because the epigraphical remains are abundant and the period, though an important transitional one, is relatively neglected. At the beginning of this one-hundred-year period the Athenians threw off the yoke of Macedonian domination for the last time, and at the close of it they were enjoying renewed importance and prosperity as a result of the acquisition in 166 B.C. of the island of Delos. Although the entire project is far from complete, the inscriptions of the period have been studied intensively from the point of view of hand, and the results seem significant enough to warrant this presentation of the major findings. The eventual result will be a monograph on all of the cutters and inscriptions of the

¹ *Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason*, Princeton 1975. A note on terminology: there exists in English no accurate term for workers who inscribe letters into stone. The most frequently employed term, mason, has rather broad connotations associated with brick laying and general stone working. I have, therefore, settled on the terms "letter-cutter" and "cutter" to refer to the ancient workmen who inscribed the texts on stone which have come down to us. I trust that the reader will pardon this bit of jargon.

The following abbreviations will be used for other publications frequently cited in this article:

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

Agora XVI = A. G. Woodhead, *The Athenian Agora*, XVI, *The Decrees* (in preparation)

Hesperia, Suppl. I = S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, *Prytaneis*, Athens 1937

Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines* = J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, 2nd. ed., G. Klaffenbach, ed., Berlin 1948

Meritt, *Athenian Year* = B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1961

Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology* = W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass. 1940

Ruck, *Victors* = C. A. P. Ruck, *IG II² 2323, The List of the Victors in the Comedies at the Dionysia*, Leyden 1967

² Significant support for this phase of my research has come from the National Endowment for the Humanities and from the grant-in-aid program of the College of Humanities at The Ohio State University, whose support I gratefully acknowledge here.

period, but the appearance of that volume, due to limitations of time and help, will be some years in the future.

In the meantime, five cutters have emerged on numerical grounds as the leading makers of inscriptions in Attica during the years 230–130 B.C. Together they produced nearly one third of the inscriptions assignable to the period. To give specific numbers: of the 171 decrees listed in *IG II²*, 832–1002, these five workmen inscribed 53, or slightly more than 30%; of the estimated 590 fragments (excluding grave monuments) which can be assigned to this period, they inscribed approximately 180, or nearly one third. The cutters and the number of inscriptions cut by each follow:

<i>Cutter</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Number of Inscriptions</i>
Cutter of II ² 1706	229/8–210/09	studied below	49
Cutter of II ² 912	226/5–192/1	<i>GrRomByzSt</i> 11, 1970, pp. 328–330, pls. 25–26, figs. 1–3	21
Cutter of II ² 913	212/1–174/3	studied below	33
Cutter of I 247	194/3–155/4	<i>GrRomByzSt</i> 14, 1973, pp. 192–195, pl. 5	45
Cutter of I 6006	148/7–135/4	studied below	33

(The dates have been revised to conform with Meritt's most recent archon list published in *Historia* 26, 1977, pp. 161–191.)

This is a surprising and important discovery, for it reveals that at any one time there were relatively few cutters working³ and that one or two tended to produce a relatively large percentage of the work. It does not seem advisable, however, to take this further and to conclude that these men were official cutters. The growing body of evidence instead supports the picture of a few highly skilled workmen producing their specialized product (i.e., marble stelai with long texts inscribed on them) for the state and the few semi-official organizations which required them.⁴ Furthermore, there exists no evidence of large workshops, for there are no observable schools of lettering (i.e., groups of four or five individuals who follow the style of lettering of one master cutter), a phenomenon one would expect if large shops had been the norm. On the contrary, each cutter has a highly individual style and apparently worked alone or with a single apprentice. Some evidence does begin to emerge of a master cutter influencing the lettering of another, presumably younger, cutter, i.e. a master–apprentice relationship. Treatment of this matter will form part of the full study.

The five cutters listed above are by no means the only ones known from this period, but they are clearly the major ones. The dossiers of the others whom I have been able to identify contain no more than ten fragments each. Moreover, the entire study has advanced far enough to conclude that no other cutter of the period emerges

³ Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, p. 86, note 4.

⁴ Cf. on this subject *Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, pp. 85–86, 121–122 and *GrRomByzSt* 11, 1970, pp. 324–325.

or seems likely to emerge as comparable to these in output. Making the most economical assumption, namely that excavation has provided us with a random sample of inscriptions from the years 230 to 130, we may conclude that these five cutters were the most prominent and did, in fact, produce the most inscriptions. What is more important from a practical point of view, we may also draw the further inference that the likelihood is about 1 in 3 that a newly discovered fragment which belongs to the years 230 to 130 B.C. will prove to have been inscribed by one of these five cutters.

How and why a cutter came to be a leading one can, for the most part, only be surmised. Talent and skill played, it is to be supposed, some part—to do the job well, after all, required considerable expertise.⁵ No doubt factors such as personal connections, shop location, etc., also played their parts, indeterminable by us now. In the case of two later cutters, namely the I 286 Cutter of 130/29–117/6 and the II² 1028 Cutter of 131/0–98/7, a connection with a particular group accounts for at least some of their prominence.⁶ No such connection can be established with probability for the five cutters of this study. Each seems to have cut a wide range of documents, primarily decrees of the Boule and Demos and for organizations such as the Dionysiac Artists, the Orgeones, etc.⁷ It does appear meaningful, however, to observe that the work of the II² 1706 Cutter and of the II² 912 Cutter is not seen in Athens prior to the liberation in 229 B.C. These two cutters clearly came into prominence only with the new regime of Mikion and Eurykleides.⁸ This may be saying no more than that those who had worked for the Macedonians lost favor in the change of government. If, however, the careers of these two cutters provide an accurate barometer, 229 B.C. will be an important demarcation point in the study of individual Attic letter-cutters, for it appears to mark a clean break.

The lettering of these five cutters also provides an important clue related to the matter of the prominence of certain cutters over others. Even a casual observer will note that the lettering of the II² 912 Cutter, of the II² 913 Cutter, and of the I 6006 Cutter is in general neat and made with care, in the sense that strokes are carefully and exactly placed with respect to one another. Neat lettering of this type is deliberate and requires time to inscribe. By contrast the lettering of the II² 1706 Cutter and of the I 247 Cutter is sloppy in appearance; strokes not only are not carefully placed, they are, at least by the latter, often omitted. Both of these cutters cultivated a style of lettering which was designed for speed rather than legibility and, in fact, both scripts are quite difficult to read if one is not familiar with them. It is just these two cutters, however, who were the most prolific by far. Why? It seems probable that they could inscribe significantly more quickly and, thus, more economically than their

⁵ See *Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, pp. 85–122.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁷ I again note that despite special searches, I have found no grave monument assignable to any of these cutters. For the significance of this see *Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, pp. 85–86 and note 3, and *GrRomByzSt* 11, p. 325, note 35.

⁸ On their regime, see in general W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London 1911, pp. 207ff.

contemporaries. Inevitably the conclusion from this must be that speed of production, getting the job finished promptly, was (for financial reasons?) often more important to the persons who commissioned stelai than a final copy of neat appearance. Until much more work is done, however, on the costs of *stelai*, etc., these remarks should be treated as merely more or less plausible suggestions.

The lists which follow are, in so far as possible, exhaustive.⁹ They are the result of painstaking searches of the epigraphical collections in Attica.¹⁰ I offer here preliminary editions of the few unpublished *frustula* from the Athenian Agora which are by the three cutters presented below and add a few notes and suggestions on already published inscriptions.¹¹

THE CUTTER OF II² 1706¹²

Dates: 229/8–210/09

General characteristics of the lettering (Pls. 63:b, 64:a)

This cutter inscribed a plain alphabet which conveys an impression of sloppiness due to the fact that the letter strokes often do not meet precisely and are frequently not aligned. Vertical strokes are not vertical, horizontals are not horizontal. He tended to render “round” letters with one or more straight strokes and habitually left a gap at the top of alpha, delta, and lambda. It was also his normal practice to leave interlines equal to or larger than the height of the letters; this practice sets him apart from most cutters. The over-all impression is of lettering done very rapidly and hastily.

A. Wilhelm first described this hand and listed seven inscriptions as examples.¹³ S. Dow expanded this list to 26 inscriptions and characterized it as the “official disjointed style.”¹⁴ Study of these inscriptions leads to the conclusion that this is not a general style as Wilhelm and Dow thought, but the work of one individual.

Peculiarities of individual letters (Pl. 63:a)

Alpha In addition to the gap at the top, the left hasta is usually shorter than the right and inclines more or, to put the converse, the right tends to be longer

⁹ Thanks in great measure to Professor Sterling Dow who put his magnificent squeeze collection at my disposal during the course of this work.

¹⁰ I owe a great debt of thanks to the staff of the Epigraphical Museum and to the two successive directors of the museum, Dr. M. T. Mitsos and Dr. D. Peppas-Delmousou, who have graciously supported my researches at every phase.

¹¹ I wish to thank Professors Homer Thompson, Director Emeritus of the Agora Excavations, and Benjamin Dean Meritt for their many kindnesses in allowing me to work on the fragments found during the years 1932–1969 in the Athenian Agora.

¹² For the theory and method which underlie the present study, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, pp. 1–11 and *GrRomByzSt* 11, 1970, pp. 321–327. Please note that inscriptions from IG II² are marked simply II².

¹³ *Urkunden dramatischer Auffuehrungen in Athen*, Wien 1906, pp. 63–64.

¹⁴ *AJA* 40, 1936, pp. 58–60. The only inscription in Dow’s list (on p. 60) which I judge to be neither by this cutter nor in this general style is II² 1536. In addition, I have not included in my list below II² 849, though it is definitely very close in style, because it is so worn as to preclude certainty.

and is more nearly vertical. The crossbar usually slants and often bisects the right vertical. N.B. The gap at the top is sometimes so large that it is difficult to distinguish alpha from eta.

- Beta* This letter seems to be made essentially as a converted epsilon; see Figure 1:a. It usually has a very awkward appearance and is often difficult to distinguish from both theta and omikron.
- Delta* See the comments on alpha. The horizontal stroke often slants downward from right to left. In addition, the cutter sometimes failed to place it at the bottom of the letter, with the result that alpha and delta are not always easily distinguishable.
- Kappa* The slanting strokes tend to be as long as or longer than the vertical, making this a relatively wide letter.
- Lambda* See the comments on alpha.
- Xi* This letter is never made with a central vertical; the central horizontal tends to be somewhat shorter than the other two.
- Rho* The loop tends to be misshapen and awkward in appearance. Very often it is flat and thin with one or more sides of the loop made with straight strokes.
- Tau* The crossbar is placed off center, usually to the left; the vertical stroke tends to lean to the left.
- Phi* The central section is usually rendered by a straight horizontal surmounted by an arc; see Figure 1:b.
- Omega* This cutter placed inverted v serifs at the bottom of omega. The upper part of the letter tends to be fairly round. The letter can make a remarkably different impression depending on how precisely the serifs are placed, from very neat to very sloppy.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

An asterisk signifies that the inscription is discussed below. A "D" in parentheses marks the inscriptions which Dow assigned to the "official disjointed style"; a "W" in parentheses indicates the inscriptions which Wilhelm cited in first identifying this hand.

- II² 786 (W) cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 5, 1936, pp. 427–428 and J. Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions*, Prague 1966, pp. 106–110 for a discussion of the date.
- II² 794 (D) archon Hagnias (216/5). Re-edited by S. Dow, *HarvStClPhil* 48, 1937, pp. 108–109, fig. 1.
- II² 833 (W, D) archon Heliodoros (229/8). Kirchner–Klaffenbach, *Imagines* 92.

- II² 834 (W, D) re-edited by F. G. Maier, *Gr. Mauerbauinschriften*, Heidelberg 1959, pp. 76–80. Kirchner–Klaffenbach, *Imagines* 93.
- II² 836 (D)
- II² 839 (W, D) archon Thrasyphon (221/0). For a discussion of the calendar, see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 437–438. Kirchner–Klaffenbach, *Imagines* 94.
- II² 846 (D) archon [Diokle]s (215/4). Re-edited by Dow, *HarvStClPhil* 48, 1937, p. 117
- *II² 847 (W, D) archon Diokles (215/4).
- II² 852 S. Dow re-edited this text in *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 364–365.
- II² 863 (D)
- *II² 869 (D)
- II² 871 (D)
- II² 877 (D)
- *II² 878 (D)
- II² 917 (D) This text was re-edited by S. Dow (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 76–77). W. K. Pritchett (*Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 115–118) attributed Agora I 3425 (frag. c) and I 5031 (frag. d) to it. Most recently B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill (*Agora* XV, no. 128) have provided a new edition of the whole. See below for a new fragment, Agora I 4033 (frag. e).
- II² 927 (D) change date in *IG* II² to ca. a. 215 a.
- II² 993 (D) re-edited by Dow in *HarvStClPhil* 48, 1937, pp. 120–121, figs. 2, 3.
- II² 1235 (D) change date in *IG* II² to ca. a. 215 a.
- II² 1292 (D) re-edited by S. Dow in *HarvThRev* 30, 1937, pp. 188–190, fig. 1.
- II² 1314 (D) archon Herakleitos (213/2). Kirchner–Klaffenbach, *Imagines* 95.
- II² 1315 (D) archon Aischron (211/0). Kirchner–Klaffenbach, *Imagines* 96.
- II² 1319 (D)
- II² 1320 (D)
- II² 1537/38 (D) W. K. Pritchett (*Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 244–246) first associated these two fragments and also added Agora I 4342. For a join and new text of these fragments, see the Appendix below by S. T. Edmunds.
- II² 1706 (W, D) archon Herakleitos (213/2). S. Dow (*Hesperia* 2, 1933, pp. 418–446) exhaustively restudied this text and provided an important new edition. B. D. Meritt (*Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 244) joined Agora I 4076 to it and made several corrections.
- II² 1709 +
- II² 2863 (D) archon So[stratos] (210/09). S. Tracy (*Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 43–46) joined II² 1709, Agora I 1126, and II² 2863, provided a new edition of the whole, and suggested that 209/8 is also a possible date for Sostratos' archonship.
- II² 2323, lines
- 81–96 (W, D) These line numbers are those of the new edition of this text by C. A. P. Ruck (*Victors*, p. 12). Ruck designated this cutter as the first hand and characterized his lettering on page 1. Ruck restored the archon Ankylos in line 83, but this hardly seems possible if Meritt is correct in his latest assignment of Ankylos to 197/6 (*Historia* 26, 1977, p. 179).
- Agora I 79 (D) archon Chairephon (219/8). B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pp. 160–161. Cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 299 for a correction of the reading in line 6.
- Agora I 245 B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 10–11; *Agora* XV, no. 133.

- Agora I 524 B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 214–215.
 Agora I 1126 Cf. II² 1709 above.
 Agora I 1423b *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 79; *Agora* XV, no. 142.
 Agora I 1640 *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 71–73; *Agora* XV, no. 127.
 Agora I 1692 See below for a preliminary publication.
 Agora I 1860 + I 2451 *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 77–79; *Agora* XV, no. 132.
 Agora I 1920 See below for a preliminary publication.
 Agora I 2361 M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 448–453.
 Agora I 3658 B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, pp. 235–236. Change the date to *ca. a.* 215 *a.*
 Agora I 4033 Part of II² 917; see below for preliminary publication.
 Agora I 4171 archon [M]enekrates (220/19). B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 190–193.
 Agora I 4342 See Appendix, below, by S. T. Edmunds.
 Agora I 4541 B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 57–58.
 Agora I 4992 Part of Agora I 4171, *q.v.*
 Agora I 5090 To be published by A. G. Woodhead in *Agora* XVI. Cf. S. Dow *Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 337 for a preliminary notice.
 Agora I 5175 Part of Agora I 4171, *q.v.*
 Agora I 5446 See below for preliminary publication.
 Agora I 5996 B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 33, 1964, pp. 179–180; *Agora* XV, no. 145.
 Agora I 6256 B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 220–221; *Agora* XV, no. 151. A date of *ca. a.* 215 *a.* would seem preferable.
 Agora I 6461 B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 41–42; *Agora* XV, no. 203. A date *ante fin. saec.* III *a.* would be more accurate.
 Agora I 6563 B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 41; *Agora* XV, no. 146.
 Agora I 6756 B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 13; *Agora* XV, no. 117.
 Agora I 6979 See below for preliminary publication.
 Ἀρχ'Εφ, 1971, pp. 127–128,
 no. 22 The date "*ca. med. saec.* III *a.?*" appears to be a little early.
AthMitt 67, 1942, p. 22,
 no. 25 The indication of date should be changed to *ante fin. saec.* III *a.*

PRELIMINARY PUBLICATION OF FRAGMENTS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

1 (Pl. 64:b). Fragment of gray marble, right side preserved, found in a late context in the square to the south of the New Bouleuterion (F 11) on March 27, 1934.

H. 0.129 m.; W. 0.088 m.; Th. 0.033 m.; LH. 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 1692

ca. a. 215 *a.* NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

1 [----]ΑΙΙΑΝ
 [----]ΗΗ
 [----]Α[Γ.]
 4 [----]ΗΗ
 [----]Ο
 [----]ΓΟ
 7 [---]

This is part of a list of contributions or perhaps an account of some type.

Line 3. Gamma is inscribed over an erased alpha; an erased gamma is clearly visible in the space following gamma.

Line 4. Only the top half of the right vertical of dotted eta survives.

Line 7. This line for its entire preserved length is erased. There are no traces of the erased letters.

2 (Pl. 64:c). Fragment of bluish white marble, inscribed face only preserved, found in a Byzantine context under the floor of a Byzantine building east of the Stoa of Zeus (I 6) on May 3–5, 1934.

H. 0.091 m.; W. 0.075 m.; Th. 0.028 m.; LH. 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 1920

ca. a. 215 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

1 [^{2t}] *PI* [-----]
 [^{2t}] *AN* [-----]
 [^{3t}] *ρ* *ε* *ι* *δ* *η* [*s* -----]
 4 [^{3t}] *ων* *Εὐ* *α* *ι* [-----]
 [*Δ* *ι* *ον*] *ύ* *σ* *ι* *ος* *H* [---]
 [*Εὐ* *αν*] *δ* *ρ* *ος* [-----]
 7 [^{ca. 4}] *Σ* *T* *E* [-----]

Line 3. The top of a round letter is alone visible in the first preserved letter space. Theta is also possible. Of dotted eta only the lower third of the verticals remains. [*Εὐ* *μα*] *ρ* *ε* *ι* *δ* *η* [*s*] appears to be the most probable restoration.

Line 4. The alpha could also be read as delta, giving *Εὐ* *δ* *ι* [---] or *Εὐ* *δ* *η* [---]. A short segment of a vertical at the edge of the break forms the basis for reading dotted iota. What appears in the photograph to be the bottom of a second vertical is merely a shadow thrown by the lighting across the uneven edge at the break.

Line 4 reveals that this list included patronymics; beyond this observation, it does not seem possible to specify what type of list this is.

3 (Pl. 65:a). Fragment of gray marble, right side preserved, found in a marble dump near the Eleusinion on April 24, 1936.

H. 0.195 m.; W. 0.055 m.; Th. 0.105 m.; LH. *ca.* 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4033

This fragment joins *IG* II², 917 (republished by B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill in *Agora* XV, no. 128) and gives the ends of lines 58–62 plus parts of three lines of the register. I provide a new text only of the lines affected by the join and offer two corrections of readings in the register of names.

[ματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Φι]λίσκον Ἰππίου ἐκ *K*[εραμέων κ]αὶ
 59 [τὸν ὑπογραμμάτεια Τιμοκρά]την Τιμοκράτου Κυ[δαθηναίε]α κα[ὶ]

[τὸν ἀλλητὴν Δεξίλαον Ἀλαιοῦ] ὁ ἀναγράφει δὲ τόδε [τὸ ψήφισ]μα τὸν
 [γραμματεῖα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεῖ]αν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στῆσαι
 62 [ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀν]αγραφὴν τῆς στήλῃς [μερίσας] τὸν
 [ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον] ἀνάλωμα. *vacat* [Εἰρεσί]δαι
 110 Οἱ [ca. 8] ΠΙΣΙ [2?]]
 Σ [ca. 10] ΕΙ [2?]]

Line 58. Of dotted alpha only the bottom of the right diagonal appears at the edge of the break.

Line 109. If the demotics in this column were indented the same amount as in lines 96 and 103, there were about 4 or 5 more letters in this demotic. Given the space, therefore, [Εἰρεσί]δαι seems a probable restoration. [Ἰφιστιά]δαι is also possible, however. N.B. This line changes the line numbering of Meritt and Traill in the fourth column of the register.

Line 110. The top right part of a round letter read as dotted rho could also be a beta, theta, omikron, or even possibly omega. The dotted iota's in this and the following line appear at the edge of the break and could be the leading vertical stroke of another letter, nu or eta for example.

Line 101. The patronymic of this line reads Εἰ[--], not Ερ[--].

Line 98. Read Στέφ<α>νος, for the cutter inscribed eta instead of alpha.

4 (Pl. 65:b). Fragment of grayish white marble, face only preserved, found in the wall of a Byzantine building south of the Altar of the Twelve Gods (K 6) on May 20, 1938.

H. 0.108 m; W. 0.085 m.; Th. 0.02 m.; LH. 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5446

ca. a. 215 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

1 [----]Ι[-----]
 [-----]ΚΟ[-----]
 [----]ΑΤΩΝ Χ[----]
 4 [---Αἶσ]χωρωνα[-----]
 [-----]ΟΥΚ[-----]
 [-----]ΕΑΝΔ[-----]
 7 [-----]ΤΗΚΟ[-----]
 [-----]ΡΑΤ[-----]
 [-----]τῶι[-----]
 10 [-----]Ο[-----]

Small fragment of an honorary decree. Line 6 contains, perhaps, part of the name Alexander.

Line 1. Above the interspace of alpha and tau in line 3 appears a vertical stroke, which serves as the basis for dotted iota.

Line 2. Part of a curving stroke, omikron (?), seems to be preserved at the bottom of the letter space following kappa.

Line 4. Only the top of dotted chi is preserved; thus, in isolation the letter could be upsilon.

Line 6. In the worn area to the right of nu appear parts of two slanting strokes, thus dotted delta.

Line 8. Of dotted tau, only part of the crossbar is visible.

Line 9. At the edge of the break appears a vertical stroke which is read as dotted iota. It could also be part of gamma, eta, kappa, or nu.

Line 10. Directly below the right side of omega in line 9 appears the top of a round letter.

5 (Pl. 66:a). Fragment of gray marble, inscribed face alone preserved, removed from the cement underpinning of the pavement of marble slabs in the Tholos, at a point a little south of the modern cellar cutting in the floor, on December 10, 1963.

H. 0.065 m.; W. 0.075 m.; Th. 0.02 m.; LH. *ca.* 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 6979

ca. a. 215 *a.* NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

1 [---]ΥΣ[-----]

2 [--ε]πιγραφ[---]

Line 2 appears to contain some form of ἐπιγραφὴ or ἐπιγράφω. The verb occurs commonly in the aorist. For occurrences of the present form in Attic inscriptions, see *IG* II², 141, line 36 of *ca.* 365 B.C., *IG* II², 1046, lines 22–23 of 52/1, and *IG* II², 1050, line 12 of *ca.* 80 B.C.

ADNOTATIUNCULAE

II² 847

Kirchner describes this as a stele of Pentelic marble; the marble is gray, almost certainly from Mt. Hymettos.

II² 869, Pl. 65:c

As Kirchner recognized (*loc. cit.*), there are several more lines of text above the line which he numbered 1. The stone in that area, however, is badly worn and pocked, apparently by water damage. The present text gives an account of these lines, fragmentary though they are, and makes some corrections in the text of *IG* II². The right side of the fragment is preserved.

ca. a. 215 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 33

1 [-----^{ca. 30}-----]ΟΣΟ

[-----]

[-----^{ca. 24}-----]Ο[-³-]ΠΙ[^{ca. 4}]

4 [^{ca. 12}- ὁπως ἂν οὖν ὁ δ]ῆμος το[ι]ς ἐ[ύ]-

[εργετειν? --^{ca. 15}--]φαίνεται προ-

[--^{ca. 17}-- δεδόχθαι] τεῖ βουλεῖ

7 [τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους εἰ]ς τὴν ἐπιούσαν

[ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τ]ούτων, γνώμην

[δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰ]ς τὸν δῆμον ὅ-

- 10 [τι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλευεῖ ἐπαινέσαι Ν]ίκωνα Νικο-
 [---^{ca. 12}--- καὶ στεφανῶσαι] θαλλοῦ στ[ε]-
 [φάνωι δικαιοσύνης ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοία]ς τῆς
 13 [πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀ]θη-
 [ναίων -----]

This is perhaps a proxeny decree.

Line 1. Although traces of three or four letters appear in the worn area before ΟΣΟ, none seems identifiable with any probability.

Line 2. Very worn and illegible traces occur here.

Line 3. Above mu in line 4 occurs an indistinct, but I think certain, round letter.

Line 4. See II² 835, line 16 for a parallel.

Line 5. I am unable to find a parallel for this wording.

Lines 12–13. The restorations in these lines suit the spacing but are necessarily *exempli gratia*.

II² 878, Pl. 66:b

ca. a. 215 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- 1 [-----]ΙΣ[-----]
 [-----]ΟΣΔΙ[-----]
 [-----ἐκκλησί]α κυρία[----]
 4 [-----μ]έδων Φιλ[-----]
 [-----]ἔδοξεν τῇ[ι βουλῇ]
 [-----]Κλεινίας[-----]
 7 [-----] *vacat*
 [---οἱ αἶρεθέντε]ς ἐπὶ τὸν Ε[-----]
 [-----τῶν ἀνα]θημάτων [-----]
 10 [-----ὑπὸ τοῦ δ]ήμου *vacat*
 [-----Ἀθ]μονεύς *vacat*
 [-----]Θριάσιος
 13 [-----]Φυλάσιο[ς]
 [-----]ΟΥ[---]

The initial lines form part of a preamble; so little remains, however, that reliable restoration seems impossible. Line 2 probably preserves part of the month date. Lines 3–4 could be restored *exempli gratia* [-----ἐκκλησί]α κυρία [τῶν προέδρων ἐπειρήφιζεν⁻³⁻⁵-μ]έδων, giving a line length of ca. 31 letters. Line 6 appears to contain the *nomen* of the speaker; his patronymic and demotic probably ran over into line 7. I have accepted Kirchner's restorations in lines 8–10. The vacant spaces at the ends of lines 10 and 11 mark either the end of a first column or indicate the proximity of the right margin of the fragment. There seems no way to determine the left margin accurately.

Line 2. Only the lower half of dotted iota survives.

Line 4. The omega has been all but obliterated by a gouge in the inscribed surface. Of dotted lambda only the lower half of the left hasta is visible.

Line 6. Just a small segment of the upper left part of sigma is discernible at the edge of the break.

Line 13. The upper half of dotted upsilon alone is visible.

Line 14. Dotted omikron and upsilon are broken away at the bottom; for the former, theta and omega are also possible, for the latter, chi.

THE CUTTER OF II² 913

Dates: 212/1–174/3

General characteristics of the lettering (Pl. 67:b, 68:a)

This cutter inscribed texts which have a very neat, clean appearance. The individual letter strokes appear as thin, sharply cut lines which are very clear despite having a minimum of depth. The letters themselves are spaced out, with a uniform amount of space left between each letter. Although this cutter does not cut his texts in *stoichedon* style, the spacing of the letters suggests that he cut them with a unit of space in mind for each letter. That is to say, he seems to be under the influence of the *stoichedon* style, which had been very much in use down to a short time before he began inscribing.¹⁵ The general impression of his lettering is such that editors, when they have no evidence other than the style of the letters, tend to date inscriptions cut by him in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. Except for a definite tendency to leave an opening at the apex of alpha, delta, and lambda, the II² 913 Cutter places his letter strokes carefully so that they meet quite neatly, one with another. Another sign of his careful craftsmanship is that his “round” letters are usually round. The most idiosyncratic letters of this cutter are alpha, delta, lambda, beta, xi, pi, rho, phi, and omega.

Peculiarities of individual letters (Pl. 67:a)

<i>Alpha</i>	} These three letters are all made in approximately the same way. The slanting vertical strokes are placed rather close together so that the space between them at the bottom is wide enough to accommodate only a short stroke; thus, these letters have a tall, slender appearance. In addition there is usually an opening at the apex and the left vertical stroke is significantly shorter than the right.
<i>Delta</i>	
<i>Lambda</i>	
<i>Beta</i>	Beta tends to be a rho (cf. below) with the lower loop added by extending a short straight stroke down from rho (similar to capital <i>R</i> in the Roman alphabet) and by placing a curving stroke at the bottom; see Figure 1:c.
<i>Xi</i>	This letter is always made with a central vertical stroke.
<i>Pi</i>	This cutter usually begins the crossbar at the first vertical and extends it past the second.

¹⁵ Cf. R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford 1938, pp. 101–112. *Stoichedon* did not go out of style completely until about 225 B.C.

- Rho* The loop makes a nice round sweep back to the vertical, curving perceptibly in towards it.
- Phi* This letter is made about the same height as the other letters. The central part is a single ellipse, which is placed over the vertical at the mid-point or a little nearer to the bottom than to the top.
- Omega* Omega is a nicely rounded letter with an opening left at the bottom. Small horizontal strokes are always attached to both sides; the one on the right tends to be larger than the one on the left.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

An asterisk signifies that the inscription is discussed below.

- II 398 See the comments below on II² 978.
- *II² 702 = Agora I 1125 *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 63–64; *Agora* XV, no. 87.
- II² 785 archon Charikles (196/5). For a discussion of the calendar, see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 235–236. Kirchner–Klaffenbach, *Imagines* 98.
- II² 844 archon Phanarchides (193/2)¹⁶
- *II² 851 M. J. Osborne (*ZeitPapEpig* 11, 1973, pp. 157–159) provides a new text. His date, 229–224 B.C., seems a trifle early.
- II² 854
- II² 855
- II² 864 archon Phanarchides (193/2). *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 95–96; Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 111–112 assigned Agora I 5573 to this text; *Agora* XV, no. 186. Cf. also B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 16–17 for further discussion of the calendar equation.
- *II² 893, frag. *a* only archon [Symmachos] (188/7). See Meritt, *Athenian Year*, pp. 157–158, for a new text of lines 1–7.
- II² 896 archon [Z]opyros (186/5)
- II² 913 *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 85–86; *Agora* XV, no. 137.
- II² 914 *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 116–117; *Agora* XV, no. 193.
- *II² 978 archon [Euthykritos] (189/8). For the date and restoration of the opening lines, see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 65.
- II² 1243 Kirchner's date "*med. s. III.*" should be changed to *ca. a. 200 a.*
- II² 1293 R. O. Hubbe, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 178–179. Kirchner's date, "*med. s. III a.,*" which was simply repeated by Hubbe, but without conviction (cf. p. 179 esp.), should be adjusted downwards.
- II² 1327, lines 1–29 archon Philon (178/7)
- *II² 2314, lines 1–56 (col. I)
- II² 2323, lines 128–235 These line numbers are those of the new edition of this text by Ruck (*Victors*, pp. 12–13). Ruck designated the present cutter as the second hand and characterized his lettering on pages 1–2.

¹⁶ On the archon dates, I accept for convenience the archon list supplied by B. D. Meritt in *Historia* 26, 1977, pp. 161–191.

II ² 3211	The date in <i>IG</i> II ² should be changed to <i>fin. s. III a.</i>
II ² 4441, lines 1–7	archon Euandros (212/1)
Agora I 1553	B. D. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> 16, 1947, p. 161.
Agora I 1966	B. D. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> 10, 1941, pp. 58–59.
Agora I 2334	archon Ankylos (197/6). B. D. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> 11, 1942, pp. 292–293.
*Agora I 2499	O. W. Reinmuth, <i>Hesperia</i> 30, 1961, p. 11.
Agora I 2527	B. D. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> 10, 1941, pp. 59–60.
Agora I 3142	B. D. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> 37, 1968, p. 270 (change the date from “ <i>saec. III a.</i> ” to <i>ca. a. 200 a.</i>).
Agora I 3675	O. W. Reinmuth, <i>Hesperia</i> 30, 1961, pp. 10–11. The date should be changed to <i>ca. a. 200 a.</i> N.B. This text is not <i>stoichedon</i> ; see line 4 on plate 3, no. 6.
Agora I 5224	To be published by A. G. Woodhead in <i>Agora</i> XVI.
Agora I 5722	Pritchett and Meritt, <i>Chronology</i> , pp. 110–111. See the comments below on II ² 702.
Agora I 5871	B. D. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> 30, 1961, pp. 219–220. For a join and new text, see below on II ² 851.
*Agora I 6057	B. D. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> 17, 1948, p. 17; <i>Agora</i> XV, no. 169.
Agora I 6329	B. D. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> 33, 1964, pp. 184–185; <i>Agora</i> XV, no. 162.
Agora I 6420	G. V. Lalonde, <i>Hesperia</i> 46, 1977, pp. 268–276.
Agora I 6589	archon [Alexandros] (174/3). B. D. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> 32, 1963, p. 20.
Agora I 6982	archon Sostratos (210/09 <i>vel</i> 209/8). ¹⁷ B. D. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> 34, 1965, pp. 90–92. See the discussion below concerning I 2499.

ADNOTATIUNCULAE

II² 702 = Agora I 1125

In *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 63, Dow suggested 238/7 as the date of this text. Meritt (*Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 125–126) placed it in 250/49 and then Meritt and Pritchett (*Chronology*, p. xxi) assigned it to 256/5. Meritt retains this date in his latest contributions to the problem (*Athenian Year*, p. 234, and *Agora* XV, no. 87). The positive evidence for the assignment in each case has been the secretary cycle.

The dates of the cutter's known work, 212/1–174/3, now provide some evidence in addition to that of the secretary cycle and lead to the conclusion that II² 702 is presently dated about two generations earlier than is possible. Accepting the archon list as constituted by Meritt in *The Athenian Year*, the only possible years according to the secretary cycle for II² 702 are 213/2 and 195/4. Fortunately, it is possible to determine with great precision the length of the archon's name in the first line of II² 702. It was estimated by Dow as 7 letters and by the present writer, independently, as 7 to 7½ letters at most. Herakleitos, the name of the archon of 213/2, is two letter spaces too long. II² 702 should, therefore, be assigned to 195/4. Agora I 5722 (Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 111), now assigned to 195/4, should then be

¹⁷ On the date, see S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 44–45.

removed to 213/2, where, be it noted, the archon names Herakleitos and Euphiletos, which are to be restored in lines 1 and 8, suit the requirements of space very well.

II² 851, Pl. 68:b

This inscription, recently re-edited by M. J. Osborne,¹⁸ is composed of two fragments from the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 7493, E.M. 7510). Agora I 5871, originally published by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 219–220, joins E.M. 7493, providing improvements in the readings of lines 18–25. There is no join with E.M. 7510.¹⁹ A new text of the last eight lines will serve as a preliminary publication of the join. (The Agora fragment preserves the letters in the middle of the lines.)

- 18 [τῆς δωρεᾶ]ς· [εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι κα]ὶ εἰς [τὸ λο]ιπὸν [[ἐπα]ύξον[τι]
[τὴν π]ρὸς Ἀθ[ηναίους εὔ]νοιαν καθότι ἂν [εἰ δ]υνατὸς καὶ ἄλ-
[λ]αῖς μείζουσ[ι τιμαῖς τιμηθῇ]ναι καταξίως τρ[ὶ δῆμον. τῆς δὲ] π[οιήσε]-
- 21 ως τοῦ στεφ[άνου κ]αὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσ[εως ἐπιμεληθῆναι]
τοὺς στρατη[γούς· ἀ]ναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τ[ὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στή]-
λει λιθίνῃ τ[ὸν γραμ]ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρ[υτανείαν καὶ στή]-
- 24 [σ]αι ἐν Ἀκροπ[όλει· τὸ δὲ] γενόμενον [ἀνάλωμα εἰς αὐτὴν με]-
[ρ]ίσαι τὸν τ[αμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν].

Line 18. Dotted sigma is Osborne's reading; the single squeeze which I have of this part of the stone is poor—so I accept Osborne's reading, but cannot corroborate it. Traces of erased lambda, omikron, and iota appear in the erasure, indicating that the cutter began to repeat *λοιπόν*.

Line 19. Of the last preserved letter, part of a slanting stroke appears at the edge of the break.

Line 20. Of dotted alpha only the bottom tip of the right diagonal survives. For dotted omikron Meritt read (undotted) omega; all that appears to be discernible in the worn area to the right of tau is an indistinct round shape. The top of pi is sufficiently preserved directly under the second kappa in line 19 that no dot is necessary. The restorations, all needed either for sense or reasons of spacing, give a line with 48½ letters (counting iota as one half), six more than any other line. Line 18 had 41½ letters, line 19, 42½; line 21, 41½; line 22, 42; line 23, 42; and line 24, 42½. It would appear that the cutter crowded the beginning of this line somewhat.

Although Osborne's date of "the early 220's B.C." for this text now appears to be somewhat early, his observation remains valid that this text represents one of the earliest grants of citizenship which reflects the apparently important change from making someone an Athenian (*εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον*) to giving him citizenship (*δεδόσθαι αὐτῶι πολιτείαν*). A new fragment from the Athenian Agora, inv. no. I 7254 (S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 45, 1976, pp. 283–285), also appears to reflect an early stage in the change. Concerning the whole matter of this change in wording and procedure, see M. J. Osborne, "Attic Citizenship Decrees," *BSA* 67, 1972, pp. 144–155 and now

¹⁸ "An Athenian Decree of the Early 220's B.C.," *ZeitPapEpig* 11, 1973, pp. 157–159.

¹⁹ I am indebted to J. McK. Camp II, Assistant Director of the American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, for confirming the join for me in Athens and to Dr. Delmousou and her staff at the Epigraphical Museum for their kind help in this matter.

“Athenian Grants of Citizenship after 229 B.C.,” *Ancient Society* 7, 1976, pp. 107–125, esp. pp. 113–118.

II² 893

Wilhelm associated the three fragments which are published as II² 893. The association cannot be maintained. Fragments *b* and *c* are cut in a very different style of lettering from fragment *a*, which is by the present cutter. In addition, fragment *b* has its original back preserved and is 0.10 m. thick. Fragment *a*, which does not have its back preserved, is 0.11 m. thick. This difference precludes their being part of the same monument. Fragments *b* and *c* do in fact appear to be part of the same text. There may even be a physical join between them.

II² 978, II 398

Kirchner included along with II² 978 the fragment published as II 398 and noted Wilhelm’s (unpublished) opinion that they belonged to the same text. Dow (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 105) commented “A disparity in vertical spacing forbids the union.” To this it may be added that the original backs of both fragments are preserved. Their thicknesses (as published in *IG*) are sufficiently different to preclude their belonging to the same monument.

II² 2314

The second column of this inscription was incised by a different cutter and thus (probably) at a later time than column I.²⁰ The cutter of column II (lines 57–97) is identical with the I 247 Cutter (*GrRomByzSt* 14, 1973, pp. 192–195 and pl. 5) who was active in Athens between the years 197/6 and 155/4. A separate fragment (E.M. 8071) containing lines 98–103, which was originally associated with II² 2314 by U. Koehler, was cut by still another hand and does not belong to II² 2314. A. E. Raubitschek has recently shown that this fragment belongs with II² 13121 (*Klio* 52, 1970, pp. 379–381).

Agora I 2499

This fragment, originally published by O. W. Reinmuth in *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 11, is part of Agora I 6982 (B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 34, 1965, pp. 90–92); there is no physical join. The combined text of lines 2–15 is as follows: [Note that the lines of column II must be renumbered as lines 16–30]

2 [[*Ἀντιγονίδος*]]
 [---^{ca. 14}---] *ου Κυδαθηναί*
 [^{ca. 5}] *Α* [^{ca. 8}] *μου Κυδαθ[ην]αι*

²⁰ W. S. Ferguson, “Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents. II,” *Klio* 8, 1908, pp. 350–355, dated col. I to 182 B.C. and col. II to 178 B.C.

- 5 $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} 3-3\frac{1}{2} \\ \text{ca. } 5 \end{smallmatrix}\right] \omega\rho\sigma \left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ca. } 5 \\ \text{ca. } 7 \end{smallmatrix}\right] \text{Κυδα}] \theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$
 $[\Phi\iota\lambda] \alpha\gamma\rho\sigma \left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ca. } 7 \\ \text{ca. } 6 \end{smallmatrix}\right] \text{Κυδ}] \alpha\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$
 $[Μ\epsilon] \nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha [\tau\omicron\varsigma \text{ca. } 6 - \Lambda] \alpha\mu\pi\tau\rho\epsilon\upsilon$
- 8 $\llbracket [\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma] \rrbracket$
 $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ca. } 4 \\ \text{ca. } 5 \end{smallmatrix}\right] \omicron\varsigma \text{Αριστ} \left[\begin{smallmatrix} 3-4 \\ \text{ca. } 4 \end{smallmatrix}\right] \text{Ξυπετα}] \iota\acute{\omega}\nu$
 $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ca. } 5 \\ \text{ca. } 5 \end{smallmatrix}\right] \iota\delta\eta\varsigma \text{Εϋ} \left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ca. } 4 \\ \text{ca. } 5 \end{smallmatrix}\right] \text{Αγνού} \sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$
- 11 $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ca. } 5 \\ \text{ca. } 7 \end{smallmatrix}\right] \rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \text{Α} \left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ca. } 7 \\ \text{ca. } 10 \text{ at most} \end{smallmatrix}\right] \text{Μελι}] \tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$
 $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ca. } 7 \\ \text{ca. } 10 \text{ at most} \end{smallmatrix}\right] \text{Κεφάλ} [\omicron\upsilon \text{ca. } 10 \text{ at most} -]$
 $\text{'Ερεχ} [\theta\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma]$
- 14 $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ca. } 8 \\ \text{ca. } 6 \end{smallmatrix}\right] \text{Κα}] \lambda\lambda\iota\sigma \left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ca. } 11 \text{ at most} \\ \text{ca. } 6 \end{smallmatrix}\right] \text{Δημη} \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron \left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ca. } 11 \text{ at most} \\ \text{ca. } 6 \end{smallmatrix}\right] \nu \text{-----}]$

Line 4. Dotted mu is read on the basis of one clear apex and what appears to be part of another at the edge of the break. Concerning the erasure, an erased alpha is partially visible under the nu. The cutter appears to have omitted eta originally.

Line 5. Only the top of dotted theta survives at the edge of the break.

Line 6. In the top of the letter space of dotted alpha, the apex of the letter is clearly preserved. Cf. *PA* 14211 (second half of the 4th century B.C.) for a possible ancestor.

Line 7. At the right edge of the first preserved letter space occurs a completely preserved vertical stroke which could be part of eta, iota, or nu. The arc visible in the photograph published as plate 3, no. 7 in *Hesperia* 30, 1961 is only faintly visible on the squeeze and does not seem to be a letter stroke. Thus, I prefer to read dotted nu in place of the undotted rho read by Reinmuth in the initial publication. This young man is doubtless related to $[\text{Μενέ}]^{\text{?}} \mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma \text{Μενεστράτου Λαμπτρεύς}$, secretary in the archonship of Phanarchides (181/0); cf. *Agora* I 6156 (*Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 31), *II*² 886, and *Agora* XV, p. 157.

Line 9. *Αρίστων* and *Αριστέας* appear to be the only probable restorations of the patronymic. Neither *nomen* is attested for the deme Xypete.

Line 11. Of dotted rho only the upper right part of the loop survives and of dotted tau only the right half of the horizontal.

Line 12. Only the lower part of the left slanting stroke of dotted lambda is visible at the edge of the break.

Line 15. Just a small segment of the top of dotted omikron survives.

Agora I 6057

Meritt and Traill (*Agora* XV, no. 169) accept G. Stamires' suggestion that *Agora* I 6676 (*Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 32–33) belongs to this text. Stamires' grounds were (p. 32) "the character of the marble, the spacing and shapes of the letters, and the weathering of the surface." I do not believe this association should be allowed to stand, for the lettering of I 6676 is markedly different from I 6057. To specify: the omega in line 3 (see plate 5, no. 5 in *Hesperia* 26) has serifs at the bottom which are uncharacteristic of this cutter, in that the left one is larger than the right and the right one extends into the center of the letter and *not* away from it (see the description of omega above). No similar omega appears in the texts inscribed by the present cutter. Furthermore, and more damaging to the association, the space left at the bottom of alpha, delta, and lambda is uniformly wider by a good deal than the space which the *II*² 913

Cutter *habitually* leaves (see my discussion of these letters above). This difference appears to be a meaningful one, for the eight well-preserved examples on I 6676 *all consistently* reveal this wide spacing. These differences in lettering are significant and lead to the conclusion that I 6057 and I 6676 were inscribed by different workmen.²¹

THE CUTTER OF AGORA I 6006

Dates: 148/7–135/4

General characteristics of the lettering (Pls. 69:b, 70:a)

This cutter inscribed a neat, plain alphabet. The letter strokes are comparatively thick and the letters are evenly spaced. A thickening or point at the ends of strokes suggestive of serifs appears frequently. See, for example, the lower diagonal of sigma and kappa, the right vertical of pi, and the horizontals of epsilon. The end result is a lettering which gives a strong, solid impression. This cutter also tends to leave the apex of alpha and lambda, and delta less frequently, slightly open; thus his lettering is often assigned to the so-called “disjointed style,”²² i.e., to a period around 200 B.C. or earlier. In addition to alpha his most distinctive letters are epsilon, pi, sigma, tau, phi, and omega.

Peculiarities of individual letters (Pl. 69:a)

Alpha There is normally a slight gap at the apex (so also lambda and, less often, delta). The crossbar varies, with about an even frequency, between a straight, horizontal bar and a curving stroke. It is never sharply broken.

Epsilon This letter reveals a surprising amount of variety, all related to the positioning and size of the horizontal strokes. The three strokes are often the same size. About 50% of the time, the central stroke is somewhat shorter than the other two. In addition, the central stroke is sometimes placed noticeably nearer one of the others. Occasionally all three strokes intersect the vertical giving the letter the appearance of a xi with a central vertical (note that this cutter usually makes a xi *without* a central vertical).

Pi The initial vertical tends to extend up beyond the horizontal.

Sigma The upper and lower strokes are always slanting, never parallel. The letter appears to be leaning backwards, due to the fact that the central and bottom strokes tend to extend slightly further to the right than the upper stroke. In addition, there is a tendency for the angle of the gap to be wider in the lower half of the letter than in the upper. Finally, this letter tends to be slightly taller than the other letters.

Tau The crossbar is very often off center to the left and slanting (upwards from left to right).

²¹ See the references in footnote 12 for the theory and method employed.

²² See the discussion of the II² 1706 Cutter above.

- Phi* This letter is made the same height as the other letters. The central part makes a rather awkward impression; it normally consists of a lower straight stroke (slanting upwards somewhat from left to right) surmounted by a curving stroke. This whole complex is more or less centered over the vertical. The total effect is awkward, striking, and exceedingly idiosyncratic.
- Omega* This letter is most often rendered by a horseshoe shape. The right side very often extends somewhat lower than the left. Occasionally horizontal strokes are placed at the bottom.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

An asterisk indicates that the inscription is discussed below.

- *II² 736 The date in the *Corpus* should be changed from *ante med. s. III* to *med. saec. II a.*
- II² 853 Note that the date should be lowered from *fin. saec. III* to *med. saec. II a.* as A. Wilhelm pointed out (cf. *IG* II², *addenda*, p. 668).
- II² 868 Change the date from *fin. saec. III?* to *med. saec. II a.*
- II² 907 For a discussion of the reading of line 2 and the date (which should be *med. saec. II a.*), see J. Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis...*, pp. 118–120.
- *II² 960
- II² 961
- *II² 962
- *II² 966
- II² 967 archon Metrophanes (145/4). *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 153; *Agora* XV, no. 238.
- *II² 968 Kirchner–Klaffenbach, *Imagines* 105.
- II² 970 archon [Hagnotheos] (140/39)
- *II² 981
- II² 983
- *II² 1224
- II² 1939
- II² 1940
- II² 2323, lines 386–576 archon [Theaitetos] (143/2). These are the line numbers of the edition of Ruck (pp. 15–17). Ruck characterizes the lettering of the present cutter on page 2 and designates him as the fourth hand.
- II² 2330 The indication of the date should be adjusted downward from *fin. s. IV a.* to *med. s. II a.*
- II² 2334
- II² 2435 The date given in *IG* II² should be moved downward a century.
- II² 3215 = *Agora* I 453 A. E. Raubitschek in *Hesperia*, *Index 1–10*, p. 184 refers to II² 1224, suggesting by implication that this text belongs to II² 1224, perhaps even joins. The lettering is identical and a join seems probable, though I have not had the opportunity to try it.
- Agora* I 1680 *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 94; *Agora* XV, no. 161.
- Agora* I 1720 See below for a preliminary publication.
- Agora* I 2010 *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 94–95; *Agora* XV, no. 198.

- Agora I 2145 + I 6295 archon Dionysios after Timarchides (135/4). B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 359–367; *Agora* XV, no. 243.
- Agora I 3791 See below for preliminary publication.
- Agora I 4234 See below for preliminary publication.
- Agora I 4389 + I 5556 archon Lysiades (148/7). B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 293–298; K. Clinton, "The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries," *Trans-AmPhilSoc* 64, fasc. 3, 1974, pp. 24–27.
- Agora I 6003 archon [Diony]sios [after Timarchides] (135/4). B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 22–23.
- Agora I 6004 B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 231–232; *Agora* XV, no. 143. The date should be lowered to *med. saec. II a.*
- Agora I 6006 archon Hagnotheos (140/39). B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 17–22; *Agora* XV, no. 240.
- *Agora I 6053 In his original publication, *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 25–29, Meritt restored the archon Theodotos (95/4) in the initial line. His primary reasons for suggesting the late date were the formulae in the text and the tribal cycle. Mattingly (*Historia* 20, 1971, pp. 28–32) also discusses the date of this text and concurs with Meritt. Meritt and Traill have now re-edited this text as no. 261 of *Agora* XV; they retain the date 95/4—a date which is approximately half a century too late.
- AthMitt* 66, 1941,
p. 228, no. 4
Hesperia 28, 1959,
p. 186, no. 8
archon Timarchos (138/7)

PRELIMINARY PUBLICATION OF FRAGMENTS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

6 (Pl. 70:b). Fragment of white marble, inscribed face only preserved, found in a late context in the square south of the New Bouleuterion (F 11) on March 29, 1934.
H. 0.09 m.; W. 0.038 m.; Th. 0.02 m.; LH. *ca.* 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 1720

med. saec. II a. NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

1 [-----] *vacat*
[-----] Σ *vacat*
[-----] Σ *vacat*
4 [-----] Ν *vacat*
[-----] ΠΙΟΣ
[-----] ΟΣ
7 [-----] ΗΣ
[-----] ΕΙ[----]

These letters form the ends of a list of some sort, perhaps a list of *nomina*. The remains in line 5 rule out a list of demotics, for there exists no demotic ending in -πός. This may well be part of the register from a decree honoring prytaneis. I am, however, unable to associate it certainly with any of the decrees inscribed by this cutter.

Line 8. Of dotted epsilon only the right ends of the two upper horizontals survive; xi is also possible. The vertical stroke read as dotted iota occurs just at the edge of the break and could be the leading vertical of beta, gamma, epsilon, eta, kappa, nu, pi, or rho.

7 (Pl. 70:c). Fragment of white marble, inscribed face alone preserved, found in a Byzantine wall west of the Odeion (K 11) on March 17, 1936.

H. 0.127 m.; W. 0.067 m.; Th. 0.04 m.; LH. 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3791

	<i>med. saec. II a.</i>	NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.
1	[-----]EO[-----]	
	[-----]ΘH[-----]	
	[-----]ΙΣΑ[-----]	
4	[-----]ΗΜΗΔ[-----]	
	[-----]ΕΥΘΥ[-----]	
	[-----]Κηφισιέ[α? ---]	
7	[---ι]σχύει[ν?-----]	
	[-----]αία Ν[-----]	
	[-----]ΑΙ[-----]	

There seem no plausible restorations.

Line 5. Only the right ends of the horizontals of dotted epsilon remain; thus, xi is also possible.

Line 6. Of dotted kappa, only the two diagonals survive at the edge of the break. Only the lower part of the vertical of dotted epsilon is visible.

8 (Pl. 70:d). Fragment of Hymettian marble, inscribed face only preserved, found in a Byzantine pit east of the altar of Ares (M 7) on June 3, 1936.

H. 0.163 m.; W. 0.103 m.; Th. 0.087 m.; LH. 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4234

	<i>med. saec. II a.</i>	NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.
1	[-----]ΑΕΙ[-----]	
	[-----]τοῦ Π[-----]	
	[-----]ῶσαι ΣΥ[-----]	
4	[-----]Κ καινόν[-----]	
	[-----]ΑΤΑΣΤΑΘΕ[-----]	
	[-----]πάντα κατὰ[-----]	
7	[---?ῆ]γούμενοι Π[-----]	
	[-----]οι δὲ καὶ ΑΡ[-----]	
	[-----]Σ τοῖς θεοῖ[s-----]	
10	[-----]ΙΑΣΚΑΙ[-----]	
	[-----]κ]αὶ τῶν[-----]	
	[-----]ΑΝΤΑ[-----]	

13 [-----]TEΣΔ[-----]
 [-----]ΣΥΣ[-----]

Restoration eludes the present writer.

Line 1. Just the tip of the right diagonal of dotted lambda is visible. The vertical stroke read as dotted iota is nearly completely preserved (only the top of the letter is gone) and occurs in the middle of the letter space. Tau is also a very possible reading.

Line 2. A vertical stroke (the top and right side of which are worn away) is visible in the left part of the fourth letter space. Iota seems unlikely; epsilon and beta are not possible.

Line 3. In the worn area to the right of the second sigma, there seem to be faint traces of the bottom of a central vertical stroke and an upper left diagonal, hence the dotted upsilon.

Line 4. Only the diagonals of dotted kappa are visible at the edge.

Line 6. Of dotted alpha only the bottom tip of the left diagonal survives at the break.

Line 11. Only the top of the dotted alpha survives.

Below line 14 there appears to be (in the photograph) the top of a round letter. Examination of the stone in Athens, however, revealed that the inscribed surface is gone at this point.

ADNOTATIUNCULAE

II² 736

Lines 1 and 18. Read omega for omikron.

Line 13. After epsilon appears a slanting stroke and part of a horizontal crossbar. Alpha seems an almost certain reading.

II² 960

Line a. Above the initial omikron in line 1 appear the lower parts of two vertical strokes; read, therefore, above line 1 'H [Βουλῆ].

II² 962

Column II, line 9. The top of a round letter (rho?) appears in the second letter space and a leading diagonal in the third. Read [‘E]ρμοκράτη[s--κτλ.]. In view of the fact that Hermokrates is a relatively uncommon name in Attic prosopography, this youth is probably related to *PA* 5154.

II² 966

Line 5. There is an alpha clearly visible after pi.

Line 25. Read σ[ε]ως ἐπιμε[ληθῆναι----]. The initial letters are probably part of the noun ἀναγορεύ-σεως. Only part of the right side of dotted omega is visible.

II² 968

Line 68a. Above line 69 in the crown appear an omikron and an eta; read lines 68a–71 as follows:

ὁ [δ]ῆ[μος]
 Μιλτιά[δην]

70 Ζωίλ[οῦ]
[Μ]αρθ[ώνιον]

II² 981

The text of *IG*² has indicated the left margin incorrectly. The last letter of each of lines 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8 should be printed in square brackets as the first letter of each of lines 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9.

Line 7. Read [Θ]ράσιππον. The dotted rho is read on the basis of a badly worn round shape in the upper part of the letter space. The dotted alpha (for Kirchner's [Koehler's] undotted eta) is read on the basis of two slanting strokes. This reading is nearly certain; however, the crossbar and the top of the letter are badly worn.

Below line 17 the surface is preserved blank for 0.045 m.

II² 1224

Line 2. The word κυρία is preserved after ἐκκλησία.

Agora I 6053

Line 60. The reading Σίδωνα should be corrected to Σίμωνα. The letter read as delta is an awkwardly made, unusually thin, mu; nevertheless all the strokes are there and the reading is indubitably mu.

STEPHEN V. TRACY

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APPENDIX

(Plate 71)

An Inventory of the Asklepieion at Athens:

Agora I 4342 + II² 1537 + II² 1538

IG II², 1537 and 1538 are fragments of an inventory of the Asklepieion. In 1942, W. K. Pritchett published a fragmentary inscription from the Agora (inv. no. I 4342), which he recognized as belonging to the same stele.²³ During the course of a seminar given at Harvard in 1969 by S. Dow, it appeared that the new fragment would join the other two. The fragments were assembled in Athens and the photograph (Pl. 71) taken by J. S. Traill.

The marble is Hymettian. Label the fragments as follows: frag. *a*, Agora I 4342: *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 244–246, no. 48; frag. *b*, E.M. 7987: *IG* II², 1537; frag. *c*, E.M. 7986: *IG* II², 1538. The three fragments united preserve the left edge, but no other original edge. The preserved thickness is original. The height of the joined fragments is 0.36 m., width 0.32 m., thickness 0.165 m. So great a thickness probably indicates a stele four or five times as wide, *viz.* as much as 0.80 m. or more

²³ "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 244–246.

in width. The length of the lines cannot be determined. There were probably four to five entries per line but the lengths of the entries are so various that they give no indication of the length of lines. The height of the letters is 0.005 m.

ca. a. 215 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- 1 [-----]μ[-----]
 [-----]πε [-----]
 [-----]Ἀρ?}τεμ[-----]
 [ᾶ ἄν]έθη[κε Μά]μμαρον ὕ δ[ραχμ-----]
 τετρᾶχμ[α ᾶ] ἀνέθηκε Μ[-----]
 καὶ δραχμὰ[ς δ]ύο [ν] ἀνέθηκε [------τετρᾶχμον Ἄν]
 7 τιγόνειον ᾶ[ν]έθηκε ὕ ακ[-----ἀνέθηκε]
 Ἄτταλος ὕ δ[ρα]χμαὶ δέκα, ᾶ[ς ἀνέθηκε-----]
 δέκα, ᾶ <ᾶ>νέθ[ηκ]ε Ἡδύλη δραχ[μ-----ἀνέθηκε]
 10 Ἀριστόκλε[ια] δραχμὰς ὀκτ[ώ-----ἀνέθηκε]
 Μηνόδωρος ὕ [τετ]ρᾶχμα εἴκο[σι-----]
 δραχμαὶ δέκ[α] ἕξ ὕ ᾶς ἀνέθηκεν [------δραχμαὶ]
 13 ἑπτὰ ὕ ᾶς ἀν[έθ]ηκεν Εὐφραγόρα[ς-----]
 καρδί[α]ν ὕ [ν] ἀν[έθ]ηκε Μηνόφιλο[ς-----]
 βοίδιον ὕ τε[τρ]ᾶχμα δέκα καὶ [------]
 16 .εο..λη[. .τετ]ρᾶχμα εἴκοσι π[έντε-----]
 [----κα]ὶ τριώβολ[ο]ν καὶ κ[-----]
 [--δραχμαὶ--] κοντα ὕ ᾶς ἀνέθηκ[ε-----]
 19 [----τ]ύπον σκέλος, ὀλκή[-----]
 [--δρα]χμαὶ τετταράκοντ[α-----]
 [---]τρεῖς ὕ ἀνέθηκε Ὠρα[ία-----]
 22 [--ἀνέθηκε Μ]ελίττα ὕ δραχμὰς ε [-----]
 [---ἀνέθη]κεν Μένεια ὕ δεκώβολ[ον-----]
 [-----]μους ὀλκή τριώβολο[ν-----]
 25 Space of one line blank
 [κεφά]λαι[ον τοῦ νομίσμα]τος ἐπισήμου ὕ [-----]
 [ᾶπ]ὸ τούτ[ου εἰς τὸ ἄρε]στήριον εἴκοσιδ[ραχμαὶ-----]
 28 [HHHHΠH] [-^{ca. 10}-----] ὃ ἔχει ὁ ἀργυρο[ῦς-----]
 Space of one line blank
 πέμπτει ἐπὶ δέκ[α φιαλ]αὶ αἱ καθαιρεθ[εῖσαι-----]
 31 .ηλικον, ὃ ἀνέθη[κε Να]υσικρίτη, ὀλκ[ή-----]
 [ᾶν]έθηκε ὕ Νικομ[... ὀλ]κῇ ὕ ΔΔΔ [-----]
 ..ει ὕ φιάλια τρ[ία-----]
 34 ...θη εἰς τὸ σπ[ονδ-----]
 ...τήριον χρ[υσοῦν-----]

An uncertain number of lines, probably many, are missing.

If the conjecture of a width of 0.80 m. is correct, this stele was almost twice as wide as *IG* II², 1539 (0.46 m.). The two blank lines divide the text into three sections, the first of which records coined money (with two exceptions: *καρδίαν* line 14, and *τύπον σκέλος* line 19). The second section records the sum of coined money and an expenditure (expenditures?) from it. The third section begins abruptly with what is apparently a date ("on the fifteenth"), although the absence of the month is odd. Reference is made to bowls which were melted down, and four lines later, after further dedicators and weights, what seems to be another expense, *εἰς τὸ σπ[ονδ---*]. About twice as many women's names appear here as men's. The dedications are not of great value. In these respects the inscription is similar to the other extant inventories of the Asklepieion at Athens. No priests' names appear, nor the places in the sanctuary in which objects were stored. It seems likely, therefore, that this inventory, like *IG* II², 1539, records a melting down and recasting of cult property.

Line 4. The second preserved letter is not omikron, which Pritchett reads, but theta, and an eta can be seen following it. In the letter space preceding the mu, which is the first complete letter in *b*, a portion of a letter consisting of two diagonal strokes which meet at the top (as in *A*, *Δ*, *Λ*, *Μ*) can be detected. The name *Μάμμαρον* precisely fits the available space and is a probable restoration. This name occurs in *IG* II², 6426 and 6739, and *FD* III, ii, no. 31, line 13.²⁴ The name *Εὔμαρον*, read by Koehler and Kirchner, does not appear elsewhere.

Line 6. The first letter in *b* should be corrected, following Pritchett, to upsilon. The nu in the third letter space of *b*, although still visible, was clearly meant to be erased. The reading can be changed from -ν, ὃν ἀνέθηκε το δύο ἀνέθηκε. In his text of *Agora* I 4342 (*a*), Pritchett restored *δραχμα[ί]* for *δραχμὰ[s]* in order to retain the usual form of the entry with the object dedicated in the nominative followed by the relative pronoun as direct object of the verb. His effort to preserve this construction caused him to make similar restorations in lines 7 and 14 (lines 4 and 11 in his edition). For the construction, the object dedicated in the accusative as direct object of ἀνέθηκε, cf. lines 10, 21, and 22.

Line 10. The space available now determines the choice of *Ἀριστόκλεια* over the alternative possibility *Ἀριστοκλείδης*.

Line 14. The second alpha in *καρδίαν* seems to be written over an erasure. Obviously *ἀργυρὰν* cannot be restored, with Pritchett, after *καρδίαν*.

Line 22. The first two letters are not *ΣΑ*, but *ΕΛ*. Thus the name *Εαίττα*, which occurs in no other Attic inscription (although it is known in Asia Minor) can be changed to the common *Μελίττα*.

Line 26. Iota is visible after *ΛΑ*, thus strengthening the restoration of *κεφάλαιον*.

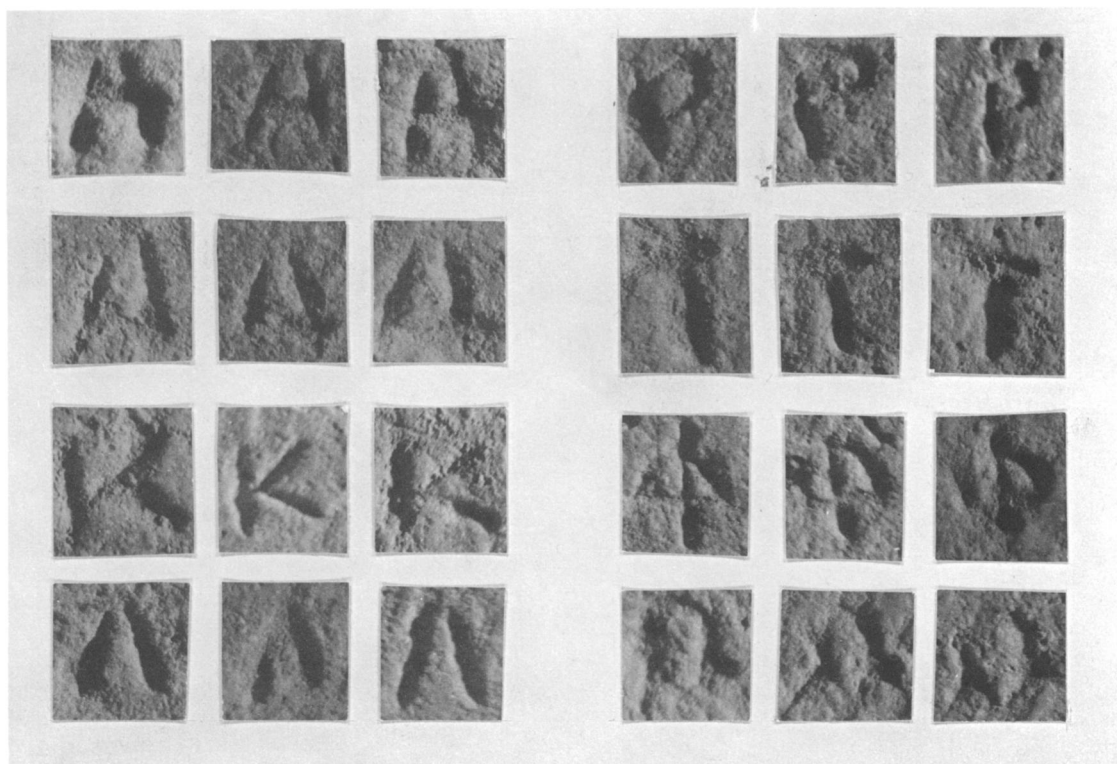
Line 27. The phrase *ἀπὸ τούτου ἀρεστήριον* occurs in *IG* II², 839, but there is no reason to suppose, as Pritchett does when he rules out the possibility of joining *b* and *c*, that the expression is formulaic. I restore *εἰς τὸ ἀρεστήριον* by analogy with *εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα* in II² 839, line 55 (cf. *εἰς τὸ σπονδ-* below, line 32, and *εἰς ἀρεστήριον*, *Ἀρχ'Εφ*, 1923, p. 39). This restoration precisely fits the available space.

Line 31. Part of an upsilon is visible before sigma which is the first complete letter in *b*. The fact that there is space for only two letters at the beginning of this name makes the restoration *Ναυσικρίτη* (cf. *IG* II², 10264) virtually certain.

S. T. EDMUNDS

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

²⁴ Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, p. 54.



a. Characteristic letters



b. *IG II² 1706*, lines 17–23

Cutter of *II² 1706*



a. *IG* II² 1706, lines 2–5

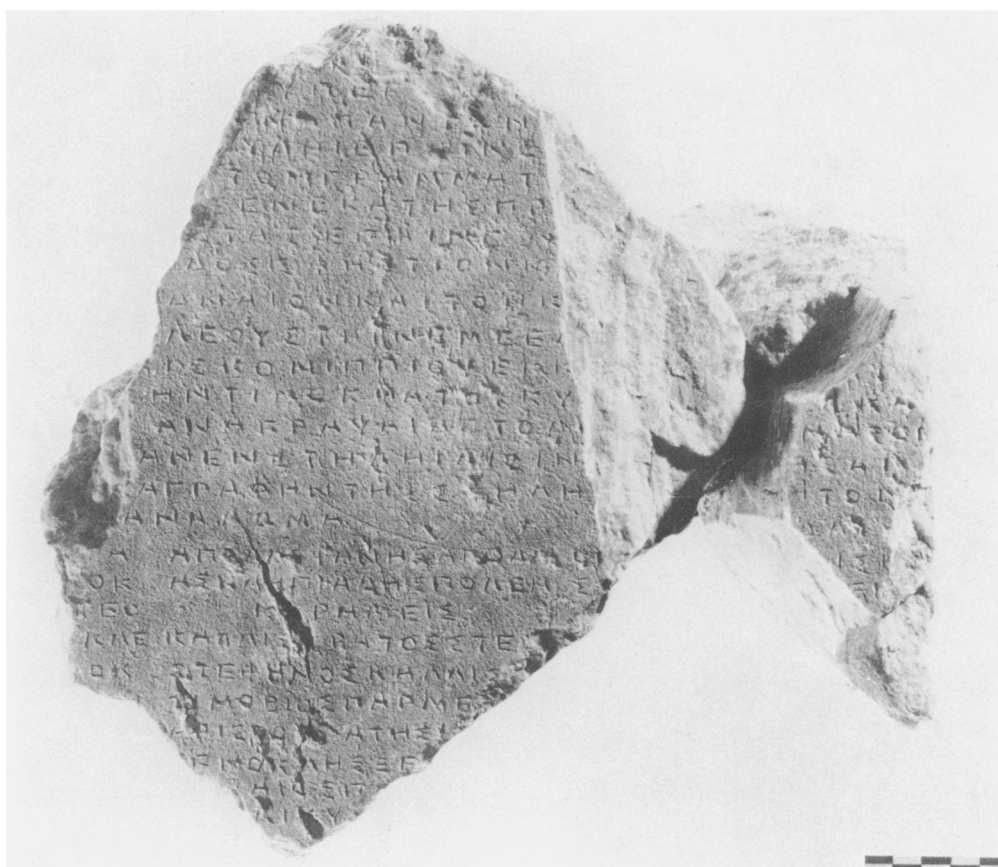


b. Agora I 1692 (No. 1)



c. Agora I 1920 (No. 2)

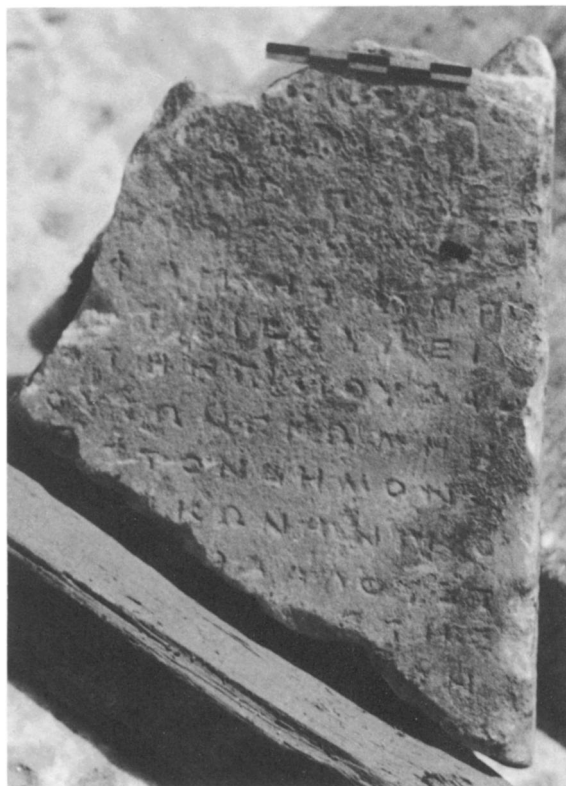
Cutter of II² 1706



a. IG II² 917 (Agora I 5031 + I 4033 = No. 3)

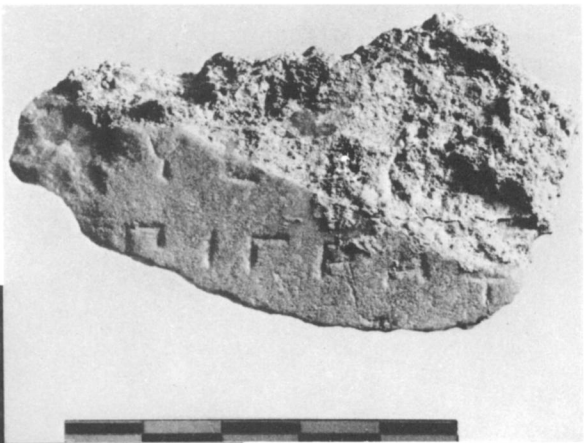


b. Agora I 5446 (No. 4)



c. IG II² 869

Cutter of II² 1706

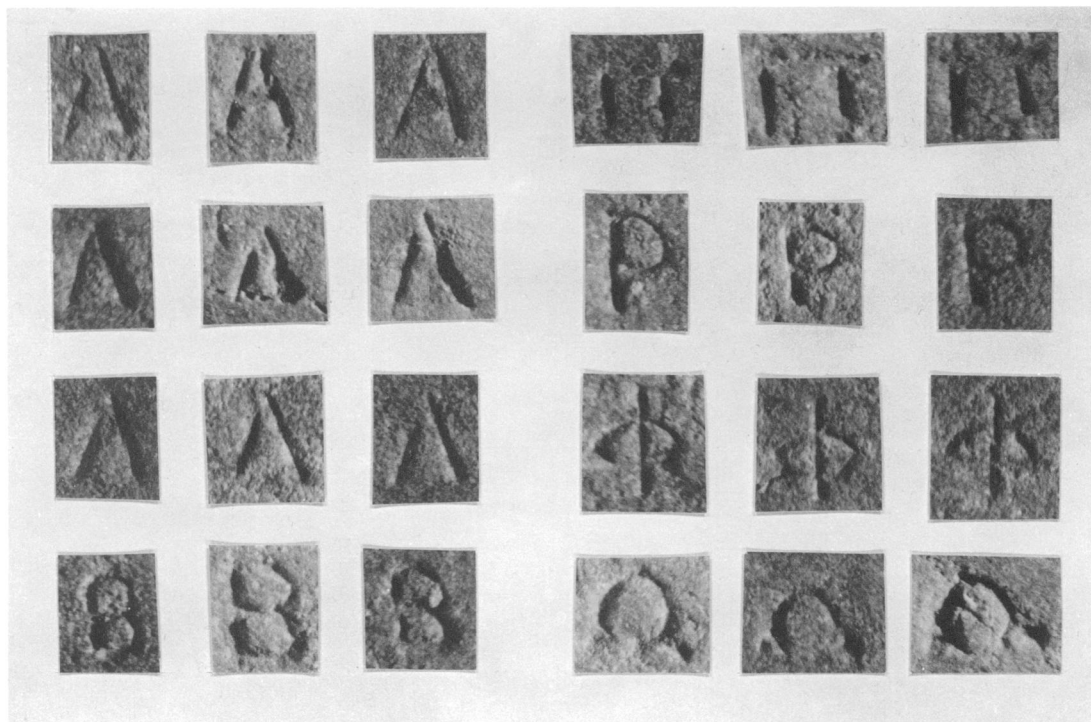


a. Agora I 6979 (No. 5)

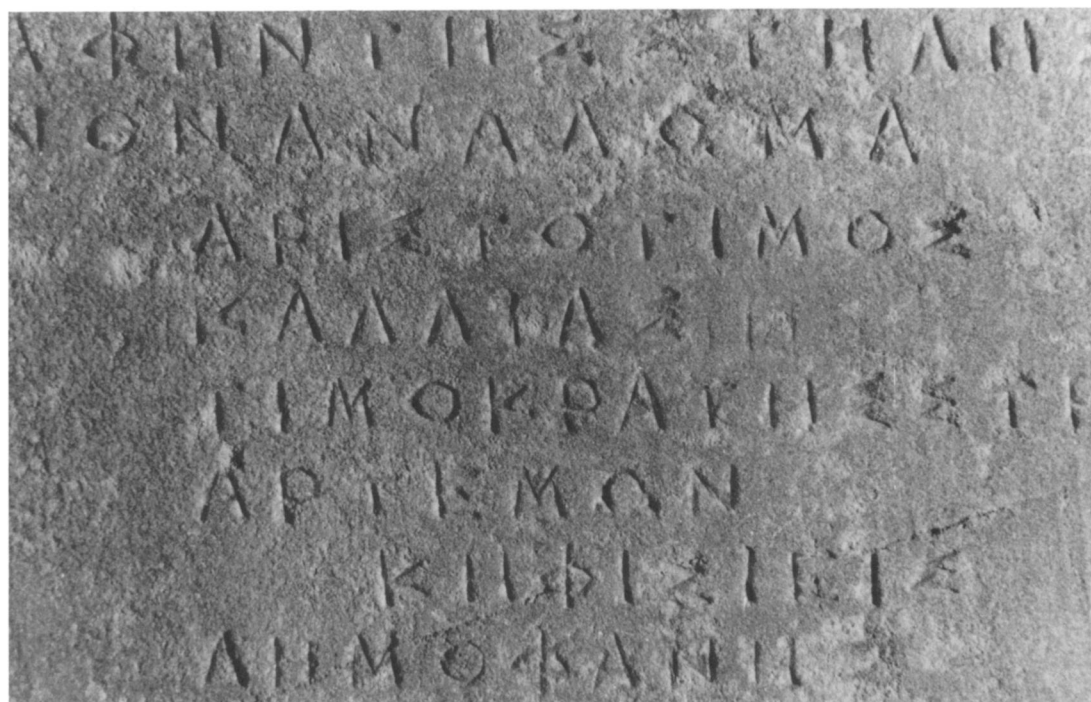


Cutter of IG II² 1706

b. IG II² 878

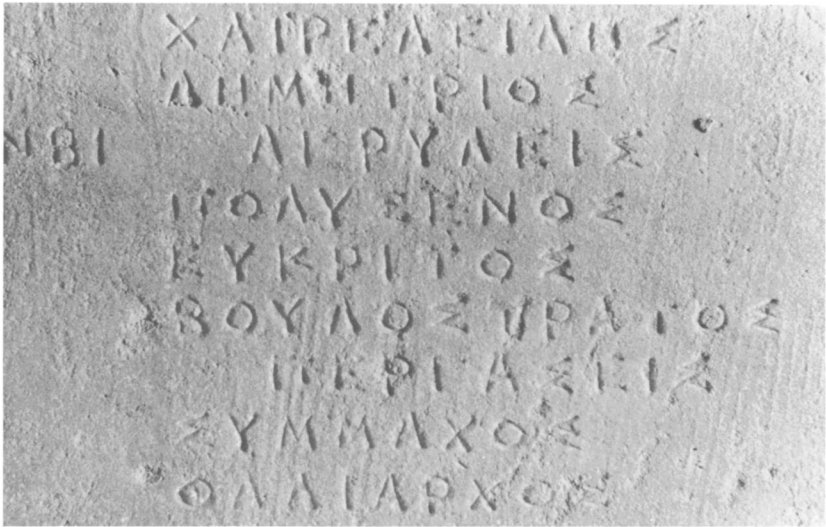


a. Characteristic letters

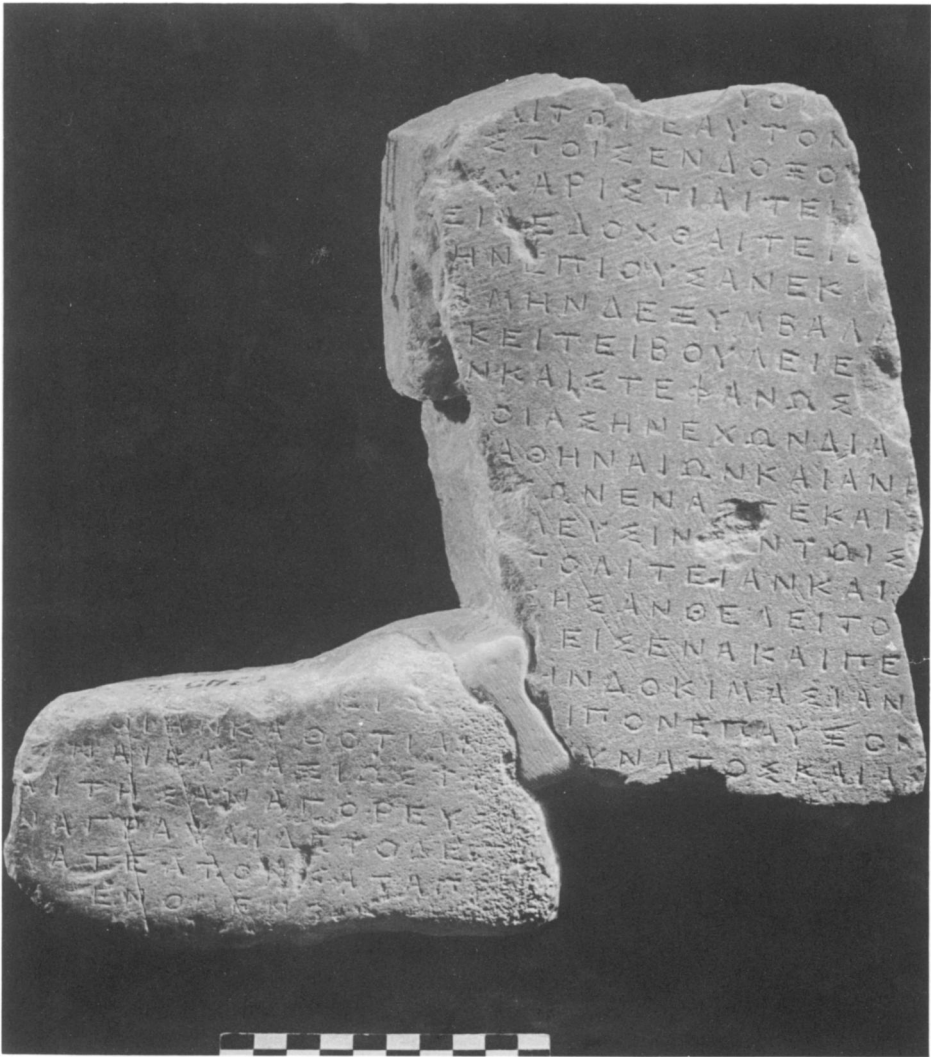


b. *IG II² 913*, lines 11-12, 33-38

Cutter of *II² 913*

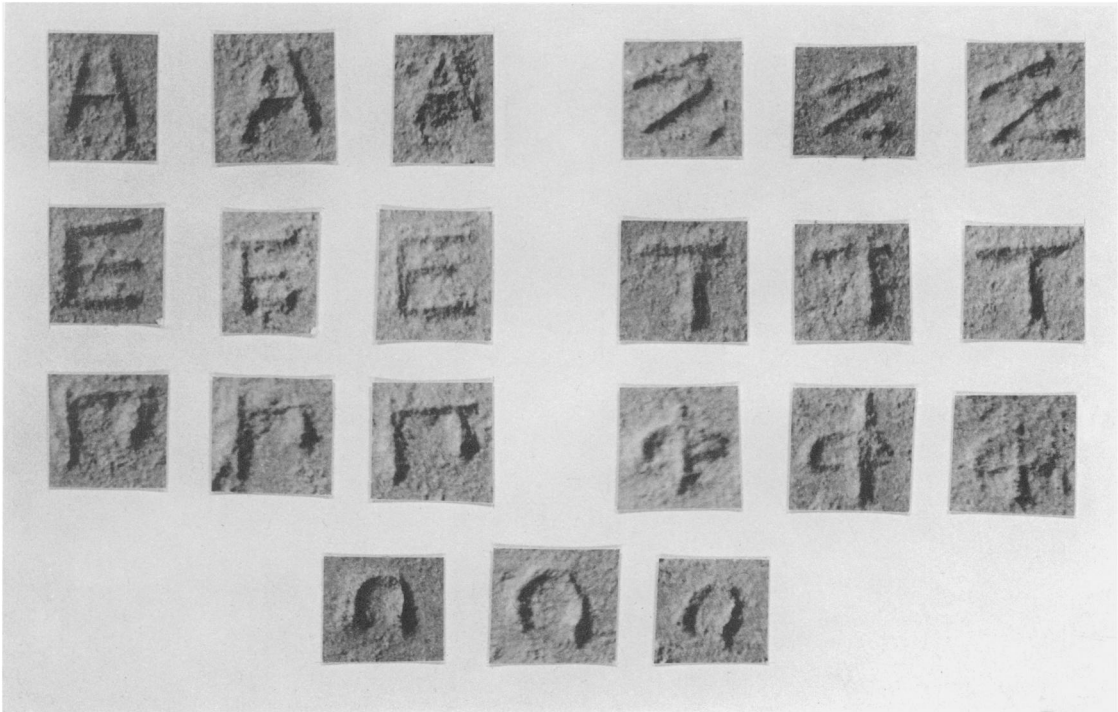


a. IG II² 913, lines 53–61



b. IG II² 851 (Agora I 5871 + E.M. 7493)

Cutter of II² 913

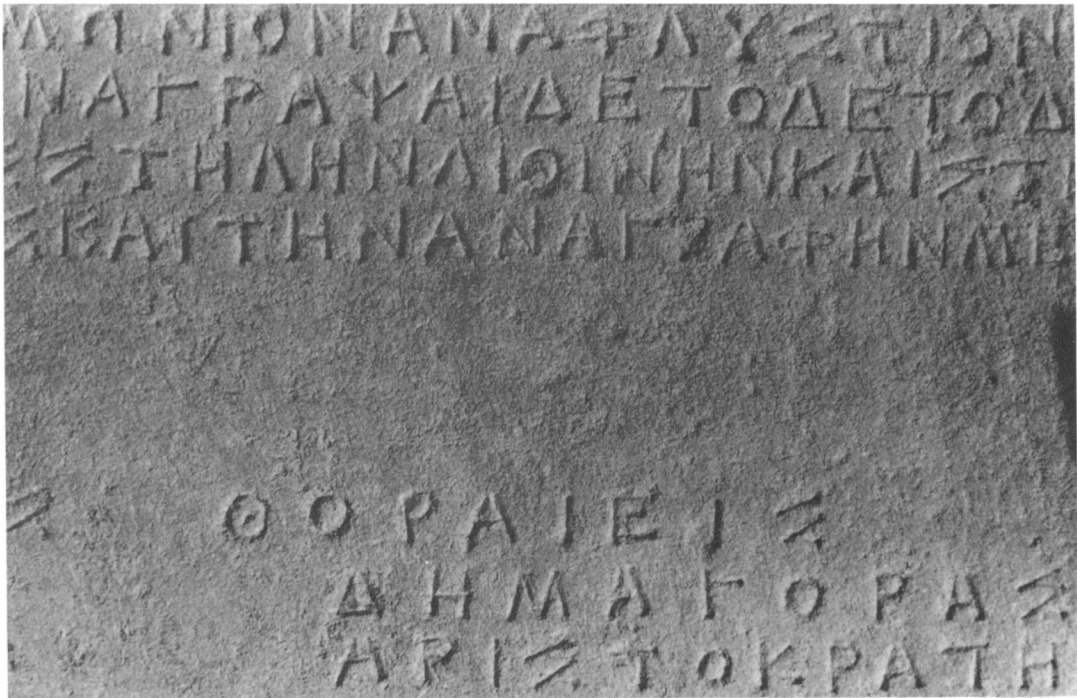


a. Characteristic letters

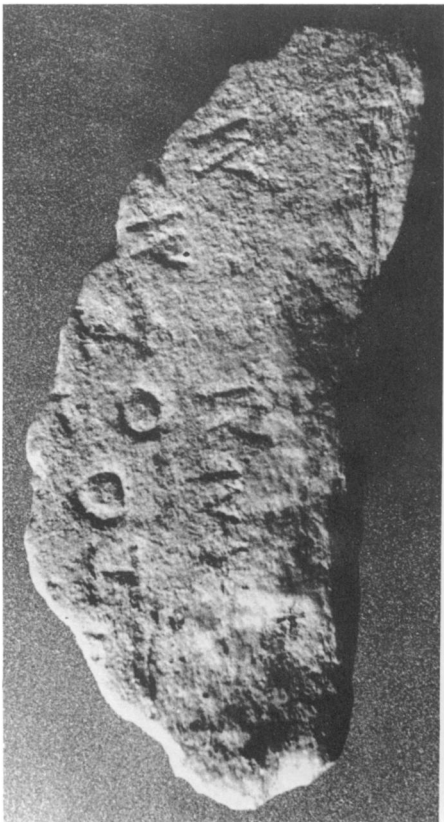


b. Agora I 6006, lines 36-48

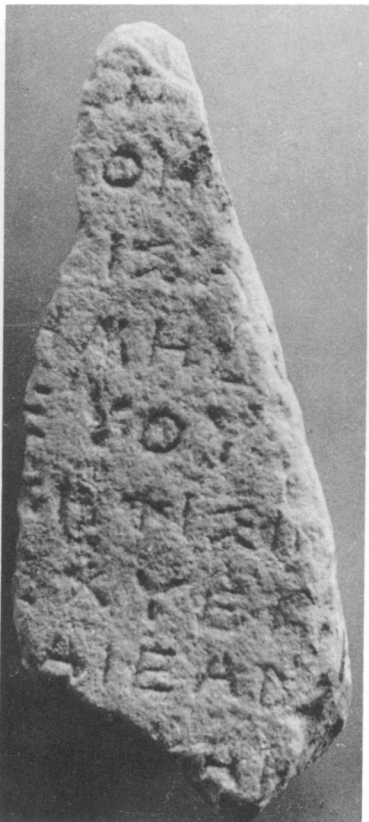
Cutter of Agora I 6006



a. Agora I 6006, lines 51-54, 101-103



b. Agora I 1720 (No. 6)

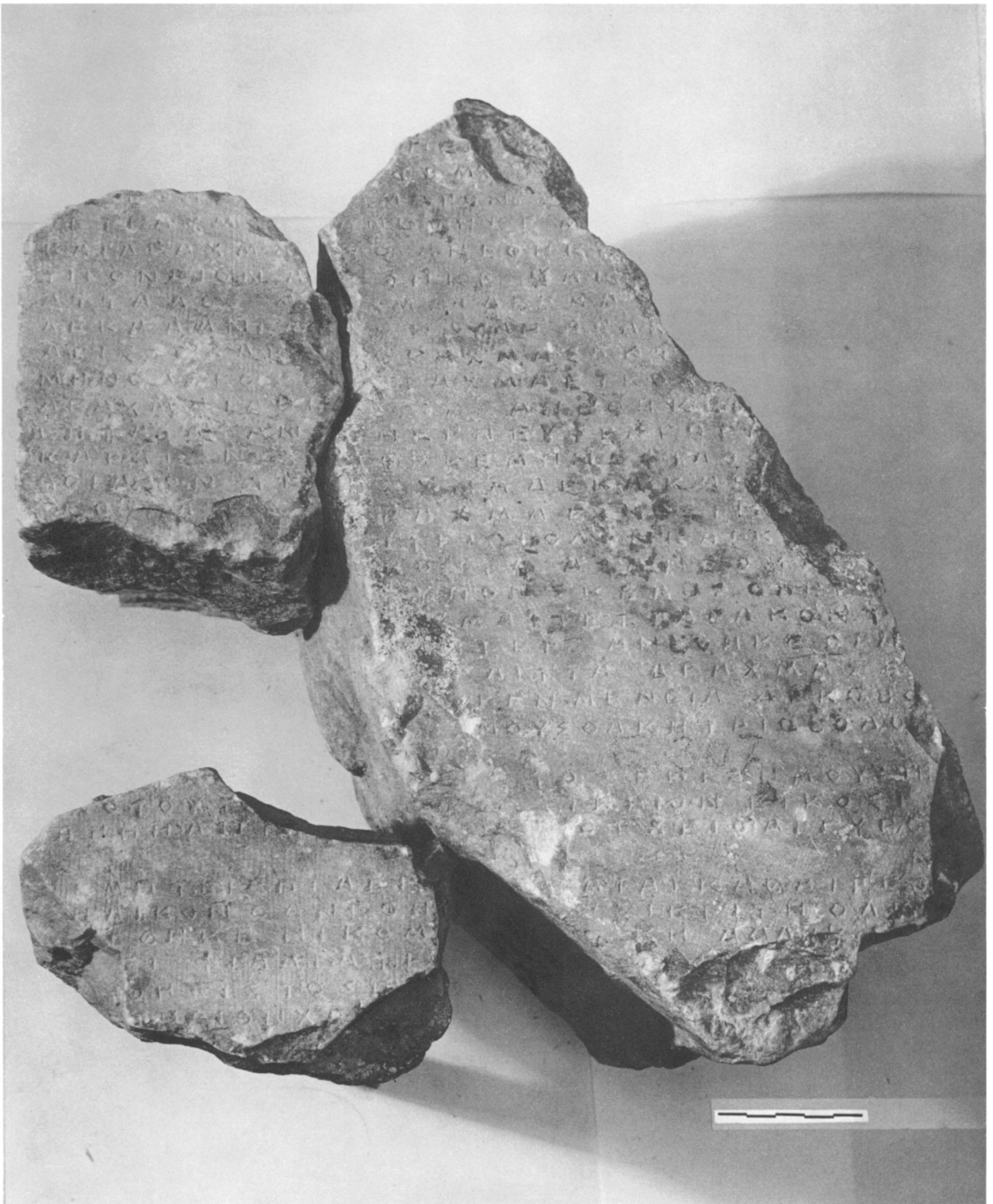


c. Agora I 3791 (No. 7)



d. Agora I 4234 (No. 8)

Cutter of Agora I 6006



Agora I 4342 (a), IG II² 1537 (b), IG II² 1538 (c).

Cutter of II² 1706

Appendix: An Inventory of the Asklepicion at Athens

STEPHEN V. TRACY: FIVE LETTER-CUTTERS OF HELLENISTIC ATHENS