## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA THIRD TO FIRST CENTURIES B.C.

(Plates 23 and 24)

1 (Pl. 23). Fragment of grayish white marble, face only preserved, found in an early Byzantine context along the Panathenaic Way (Agora grid square K 5) on April 30, 1971.<sup>1</sup>

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.037 m. Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 7287  $ca. \ 229/8-210/09 \qquad \qquad \text{NON-STOIX}.$   $1 \quad [----]\Pi O I \cdot \Lambda [-----] \\ [-----]XOMEN[ ------] \\ [-----] \Lambda \pi o] \lambda \lambda \dot{\omega} \nu \iota o s^{\upsilon} \cdot \Lambda \pi [----]$   $4 \quad [-----]\Pi H \Sigma T H T T I \Lambda \Sigma \Sigma [---] \\ [------] \delta \eta s \quad \Pi \alpha \iota \alpha \nu \iota \epsilon \dot{\nu} s \quad -----] \\ [------] \epsilon \dot{\xi} O \dot{\iota} o] \nu^{\upsilon} \Lambda \nu \sigma \dot{\iota} \sigma \tau \rho \dot{\alpha} [\tau o s ---]$   $7 \quad [------] \Sigma \Theta \Omega T O \Delta H M [----] \\ [------] \pi o \nu \quad \Lambda \mu \alpha [\xi \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon \dot{\nu} s --]$   $10 \quad [-----] N \iota \kappa \kappa \lambda \hat{\eta} [s ------]$ 

This cutter inscribes his letters in a very inexact and sloppy manner, probably because he was cutting very rapidly. It is difficult because of the imprecise placement of the letter strokes to differentiate alpha, delta, eta, nu, and pi from one another.

- Line 1. Dotted pi could also be eta or perhaps nu. Dotted omikron is read on the basis of a curving stroke in the upper half of the letter space. Of dotted lambda the bottom of the left slanting stroke alone is preserved.
  - Line 3. The letters read as 'A $\pi$  could also be  $\Delta \iota \kappa$  or  $\Delta \eta$ .
  - Line 4. The upper right part of dotted pi appears at the edge of the break.
  - Line 5. Only the lower third of dotted iota is preserved.
- Line 6. In the blank space following the initial upsilon there appears a slanting hasta, *viz.*, the initial stroke of lambda. This is a misstroke which the cutter did not bother to erase. He simply left the desired blank space and then inscribed lambda. Only the initial slanting stroke of dotted alpha is visible at the break.

Line 10. There appears only a small portion of the top right hasta of dotted nu and the first vertical of dotted eta.

This fragment was inscribed by the Cutter of IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1706 who was at work in Athens from 229/8 to 210/09 B.C. See S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 247–255 for a description of his lettering and a list of inscriptions which may be assigned to him. On the present

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor T. Leslie Shear, Jr., Director of the Athenian Agora Excavations, for permission to publish these fragments and to Professor S. Dow for helpful comments on Agora I 7287. A small grant from the Graduate School at The Ohio State University has supported this work in part.

fragment five lines plus five interlines occupy 0.053 m. This fragment cannot be associated with any of the other known fragments.

The exact nature of this list of persons is not apparent. Line 4 in particular puzzles. In line 6 it would also be possible to restore  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa$   $Ko\lambda\omega\nu o\hat{v}$ . The demotics possible in line 7 are  $O\hat{\eta}\theta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $Olva\hat{l}os$ , and  $Or\rho\nu\nu\epsilon\hat{v}s$ .

**2** (Pl. 24). Fragment of grayish white marble, right side preserved, found in a Byzantine wall (Agora grid square N 6) on June 10, 1970.

Height, 0.224 m.; width, 0.158 m.; thickness, 0.085 m. Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 7138

ca. a. 185 a.

NON-**Σ**ΤΟΙΧ. ca. 77

## (For the text of I 7138 see p. 59)

The surface of the stone has suffered much wear and flaking which render it exceedingly difficult to read at places.

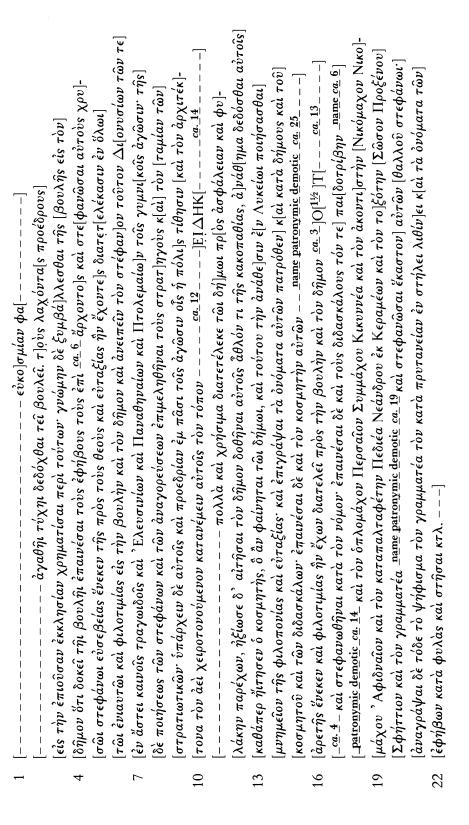
- Line 2. Only a bit of the bottom of the dotted omikron is discernible; a gash obliterates all but the bottom right tip of dotted chi.
  - Line 5. Dotted epsilon is very indistinct; in isolation, the remains could be taken for a sigma.
- Line 10. Dotted epsilon could be a xi. Dotted iota is read on the basis of a very light vertical which appears, or seems to appear, before delta.

This ephebic decree very closely parallels IG II<sup>2</sup>, 900, from which, in large measure, it can be restored. The hand also is very close to, if not identical with, that of IG II<sup>2</sup>, 900. It is, however, clearly a separate fragment and not certainly part of any other ephebic text known from the period.

- Line 1. The formulaic wording of this phrase does not survive; see *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 900, lines 3–4 for similar, though fragmentary, wording at the same point in the decree.
- Line 4. The only archon names which suit the spacing in the years 190 to 180 B.C., according to the list of B. D. Meritt in *Historia* 26, 1977, pp. 180–181, are Zopyros and Hippias. A decree honoring the ephebes in the year of Zopyros survives (*Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 193–197). That decree appears to be separate and distinct from the present fragment; thus, the restoration  $\Pi\pi\pi i ov$ , archon in 181/0, seems quite probable here.
- Line 10. The letters  $\Delta HK$  seem certain and do not admit of a ready restoration. Perhaps we may restore  $^{2}E\pi ]\epsilon i\delta \dot{\eta} K[-$ . The kappa would then in all probability be the first letter of the name of the kosmetes.

Lines 16–17. See IG II<sup>2</sup>, 900, lines 19–20.

Lines 17–20. The names of the instructors have been restored from IG II<sup>2</sup>, 900 except for the kosmetes whose name may have begun with a kappa (above, line 10) and the paidotribes.  $E\rho\mu\delta\delta\omega\rho\sigma$   $E\rho\rho\tau\delta\sigma$   $A\chi\alpha\rho\nu\epsilon\delta\sigma$  is attested as paidotribes in 186/5 (Hesperia 15, 1946, p. 196, line 16), in 185/4 (IG II<sup>2</sup>, 900, line 22) and in another year at about this time (IG II<sup>2</sup>, 901, line 8). His name has also been read in Hesperia 30, 1961, p. 12 (line 10), an inscription dated by the editor to paullo ante 186/5. The reading is incorrect; the first



preserved letter of line 10, read as dotted nu, is an upsilon.<sup>2</sup> The bottom of the central vertical and the upper right slanting stroke are clearly preserved at the edge of the break. The demotic therefore must have been  $[--\Phi\lambda]v\dot{\epsilon}a$  and not  $[--\dot{A}\chi a\rho]v\dot{\epsilon}a$ . The inscription then apparently dates to sometime after 185/4 when the paidotribes was no longer Hermodoros of Acharnai.

In general, it should be pointed out, the evidence for the instructors at this time is thin and fragmentary. The inscriptions involved are six in number if we include the present text. The following table provides in chronological order a summary of the certainly preserved incumbents recorded on each of the other five.

	186/5 Hesperia 15, 1946, pp. 195–196	185/4 <i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> , 900	ca. 185 IG II², 901	ca. 180 Hesperia 30, 1961, p. 12	171/0 Hesperia 15, 1946, pp. 199–201
kosmetes	not preserved	Θεόβουλος Θεοβούλου 'Ελευσίνιος	not preserved	not preserved	$[]O\Lambda . O[\Sigma]?$
hoplomachos	Περσαῖος Συμμάχου Κικυννεύς	Περσαῖος Συμμάχου Κικυννεύς	Περσαῖος Κικυννεύς	Περσαῖος Συμμάχου Κικυννεύς	΄ Εστιόδωρος Προβαλίσιος
akontistes	not preserved	Νικόμαχος Νικομάχου 'Αφιδναῖος	not preserved	not preserved	Νικόμαχος ' Αφιδναΐος
paidotribes	΄ Ερμόδωρος ΄ Εορτίου ΄ Αχαρνεύς	΄ Ερμόδωρος ΄ Εορτίου ΄ Αχαρνεύς	΄ Ερμόδωρος ΄ Αχαρνεύς	$[\Phi\lambda]v\epsilon \dot{v}$ s	not preserved
katapaltaphete	s not preserved	not preserved	not preserved	Πεδιεὺs Νεάνδρου ἐκ Κεραμέων	Νέανδρος ἐκ Κεραμέων
toxotes	Σῶσος Προξένου Σφήττιος	Σῶσος Προξένου Σφήττιος	not preserved	not preserved	"Αλεξις Χολαργεύς
grammateus	not recorded	not recorded	not recorded	[] Πειραιεύς	Κρώμαχος Παλληνεύς

The only continuous incumbent between 185/4 and 171/0 was the akontistes, Nikomachos of Aphidna. Change in the instructional staff of the Ephebeia was apparently not infrequent, and the assumption implied by wholesale restoration that the group as a whole continued for years at a time seems hazardous. With this then in mind, the restoration in the new fragment of the hoplomachos, the akontistes, and the katapaltaphetes may be regarded relatively certain, the restoration of the toxotes merely probable.

3 (Pl. 24). Upper left corner of a white marble stele, left side (claw chiseled) and (probably) back at the left preserved, found in a modern wall (Agora grid square T 14) on May 10, 1973. The molding from top to bottom has a fillet, a cavetto, and a flattened ovolo.

Height,  $0.32~\mathrm{m}$ .; width,  $0.245~\mathrm{m}$ .; thickness just under molding,  $0.145~\mathrm{m}$ ., including molding,  $0.185~\mathrm{m}$ . Height of letters,  $0.005-0.008~\mathrm{m}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This was called to my attention by one of my graduate students, Mr. L. T. Hollern.

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Inv. No. I 7453
a. 178/7 a.
                                                                             NON-ΣTOIX. ca. 36
                 έπὶ Φίλωνος ἄρχοντ[ος τοῦ μετὰ Μενέδημον, Πυανο]-
        1
                 ψιῶνος ἐνάτει ἱστ[αμένου, ἐβδόμει καὶ δεκάτει]
                 της πρυτανείας [έκκλησία κυρία έν τῶι θεάτρωι]
                 vac. 6 - ἔδοξεν τεῖ [βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι vac. 5]
        4
                  'Αριστογείτων Πολυ\left[-\frac{ca}{2} \frac{11}{2} - \epsilon \hat{i} \pi \epsilon \nu \cdot \hat{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \dot{\eta}\right]
                  ' Αντίοχος ὁ τοῦ Βα[σιλέως ' Αντιόχου υίος, ἀδελφὸς]
                 [δ] Σελεύκου τοῦ [βασιλέως Φιλοπάτορος vac. 2]
        7
                 παρειληφώς την [προς τον δημον εύνοιαν καί]
                 [\dot{a}]\gamma a\theta \dot{b}s \, \ddot{\omega}\nu \, \dot{\epsilon}\mu \, [ -----
                 10
                 \begin{bmatrix} -\frac{21/2}{2} \end{bmatrix} \mathring{a}\lambda\lambda \mathring{a} \ \kappa [\mathring{a}\mathring{i} - - - - - - - \frac{ca.}{26} - - - - - \end{bmatrix}
                 \begin{bmatrix} -\frac{ca}{4} - \end{bmatrix} P \Lambda I \begin{bmatrix} -\frac{ca}{4} - \frac{28}{4} - \frac{28}{4} - \frac{28}{4} \end{bmatrix}
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This cutter very often fails to inscribe the crossbar of alpha and the central horizontal of epsilon.

Line 4. Just the bottom tip of dotted iota is preserved.

Line 5. Only the right slanting stroke of dotted alpha is visible along the break. Dotted upsilon is read on the basis of a tip of a slanting stroke which appears in the upper left part of the letter space.

Line 8. Of dotted eta, the top of the first vertical alone survives.

Line 10. Only the right slanting hasta of dotted alpha appears at the break. Dotted pi could be epsilon or gamma.

Line 12. Beta could be read for dotted rho.

Line 2. The first letter of line 2 seems to be a psi beyond doubt. The vertical and right slanting stroke are definitely preserved on the stone and no other reading, therefore, seems possible. A meeting on the 9th of Pyanopsion, a festival day, is not heretofore certainly attested<sup>3</sup> and was surely unusual. We may suppose that an extraordinary meeting called for the 9th, the day of the Stenia, a festival for women,<sup>4</sup> and the day following the Theseia, provided a suitably special occasion to honor Antiochus, a philhellene and scion of the house of the Seleucids.<sup>5</sup>

Agora XV, no. 194 provides the calendar equation 22nd day of Pyanopsion equals the 30th day of the Prytany. Assuming regularity, the 9th day of Pyanopsion would then be the 17th day of the Prytany.

Line 5. This man is not attested elsewhere.

Lines 6–7. The rulers involved are (in order of mention): Antiochus IV Epiphanes who ruled Syria from 175 to 164, Antiochus III Magnus (223–187), and Seleucus IV Philopator (187–175). This text reveals that Antiochus, who in 189 went to Rome as a hostage,<sup>6</sup> had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. J. D. Mikalson, The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year, Princeton 1975, p. 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> On the Stenia, see H. W. Parke, Festivals of the Athenians, London 1977, p. 88 and L. Deubner, Attische Feste, Berlin 1956, pp. 52-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Among Antiochus' benefactions to Athens, we hear of a golden aegis (Pausanias, v.12.4) and the building of the temple of Olympian Zeus on a grandiose scale (Livy, xll.20, Velleius Paterculus, 1.10.1, Polybios, xxvi.1.11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Livy, XLII.6.9 for his treatment in Rome.

been exchanged by 178/7 and was living in Athens. Previous to this it had only been established that in the year of his brother Seleucus' death (176/5) Antiochus was in Athens.<sup>7</sup>

Line 8. For the restoration, see  $IG II^2$ , 905, lines 9–10.

 $\bf 4$  (Pl. 23). Fragment of gray marble, face only preserved, found in modern fill (Agora grid square Q 21) on March 22, 1971.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.085 m. Height of letters, 0.006–0.008 m.

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Inv. No. I 7235
ca. a. 175 a.
                                                                                          NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.
        1
                  [----]
                  [-----]\LARNO[-----]
                  [---] \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta [\epsilon v \tau \eta s? ----]
                 \begin{bmatrix} ----- \end{bmatrix} \kappa \alpha \dot{\imath} \alpha \dot{\imath} \dot{\tau} \dot{\sigma} \dot{\varsigma} \begin{bmatrix} ----- \end{bmatrix}
        4
                  [---]\Sigma \hat{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{a}\nu[\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu----]
                  [---- ? ε ] στίαν καὶ ΠΟ[ ----]
               [----] φιλανθρώπως [----]
        7
                  [---\tau_0]\hat{v} \pi \alpha \tau \rho \delta s \operatorname{Bov}[---]
                  [---]IN \tau \eta \nu \tau \epsilon \Lambda \Upsilon \Sigma [---]
                 [---- \dot{a}]\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi o\hat{v} \Pi a[----]
       10
                  [-----]Ι καὶ Γ[-----]
                  [----]OY[-----]
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Line 2. Of dotted lambda only the right hasta is preserved; mu, of course, is also possible.

Line 9. In a worn area to the right of upsilon along the edge of the break appears a stroke which seems to slant upwards slightly. This is the basis for dotted sigma.

Line 10. Only the right slanting hasta of the delta appears at the break.

Line 11. Dotted gamma could also be pi.

The precise nature of this honorary decree remains unclear. The references in lines 3 to 6 seem to suggest that an ambassador and his family(?) are being honored with a crown and perhaps with an invitation to dine at public expense. Extensive restoration does not seem possible. We may restore exempli gratia in line  $5 \left[ --- \hat{\epsilon} \phi \right] \hat{\delta} \hat{l} s \hat{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \epsilon \phi \hat{a} v \left[ \omega \sigma \epsilon v \ a \hat{v} \tau \delta v \ \delta \hat{\eta} \mu o s --- \right]$  and cite as a parallel IG II², 786, lines 12–13.

The date is established by the hand of the cutter, the Cutter of I 247, who was at work in Athens from 194/3 to 155/4. For a detailed description of his lettering and a list of inscriptions by him, see S. V. Tracy, *GRBS* 14, 1973, pp. 192–195 and pl. 5. The present fragment cannot be certainly associated with any of the other numerous fragments from his hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Appian, Syriaca, 45.

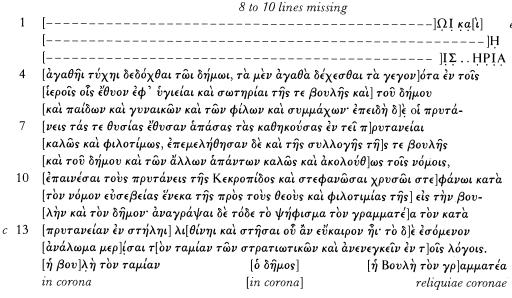
**5** (Pl. 23). Fragment of white marble, right edge preserved, found in a pithos (Agora grid squares R 16–13) on July 8, 1974.

Recognized by the hand (Cutter no. 2 in S. V. Tracy, *GRBS* 11, 1970, pp. 330–331 and pls. 26–28), the present fragment is a non-joining piece (fragment *e*) of *Agora* XV, no. 248. It preserves part of the first decree. I provide a text of the first 15 lines; for the remainder, see *Agora* XV, p. 199, no. 248.

Height, 0.285 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.13 m. Height of letters, 0.006–0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 7478 *ca. a.* 128 *a.* 

NON- $\Sigma$ TOIX. ca. 56



Lines 1–3. The fragment is pockmarked and much abraded at the top. Lines which seem to be strokes of letters conform roughly to the shapes of the dotted letters.

Line 6. In isolation, dotted epsilon could be xi.

The language of line 9 and the formula for payment in lines 13–14 are unparalleled in prytany decrees datable to the years 229 to 86 B.C. The phrase  $\grave{\alpha}\kappa o\lambda o \acute{\nu}\theta \omega s$   $\tau o \acute{\imath}s$   $\nu \acute{o}\mu o \iota s$ , however, is quite common in the language of contemporary ephebic decrees (cf. *IG* II², 1006, line 16, *IG* II², 1008, line 54, and *IG* II², 1011, line 36) and the payment formula finds a close parallel in *IG* II², 1023, lines 21–23 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, pp. 74–77, no. 16, lines 22–24.

**6** (Pl. 23). Fragment of white marble, inscribed face alone preserved, found in buttress 3 of the Roman round building (Agora grid square J 5) on March 23, 1972.

Recognized by the hand of the cutter in lines 274 and 275,8 this fragment joins *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2336 at the bottom of column II and provides an important new reading in the last line of the text.9 The revised text is as follows. The new fragment provides the underlined letters in each line.

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Height of letters, ca. 0.012–0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 7361
272 \qquad \gamma v \mu \underline{v} \underline{a} [\sigma i a \rho] \chi o s \epsilon i s \tau \dot{o} \epsilon v \Delta \dot{\eta} \lambda \omega \iota \gamma v \mu v \dot{\alpha} \sigma \iota o v
\Delta \dot{a} \mu \omega v ['I \kappa] a \rho \iota \epsilon \dot{v} s \qquad \qquad H
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274 [[δ]]  $\frac{\partial}{\partial n} \frac{\partial n}{\partial n} \frac{\partial n}{$ 

Line 272. The bottom third of the second vertical of dotted nu alone is preserved.

Line 273. Of dotted nu only the first vertical is visible.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Line 275. Only the right slanting stroke of dotted delta is legible; just the left tip of dotted upsilon is discernible at the top of the letter space along the break.

The reading of pi in the final line requires the *nomen* Pyrrhos. The individuals in question are Pyrrhos, son of Pyrrhos, of Lamptrai (PA 12520) and his brother, Buttakos (PA 2934). Before the present join editors had been unanimous in restoring the name Buttakos on the grounds that Pyrrhos was known from line 261 to have been Hoplite General in 97/6. Since the simultaneous holding of more than one annual office was not allowed at this time,  $^{10}$  and since, moreover, this is the last entry on the stele and thus probably the record of a late contribution, it is apparent that Pyrrhos had charge of the bank on Delos in a year prior to 97/6. The years 103/2, 101/0 and 99/8 are possible and, so far as I can determine, equally probable. Pyrrhos was one of the most prominent public figures of his day; he also served as Governor of Delos in 104/3 (ID 2599), as Herald of the Council of the Areopagus in 98/7 (FdD III, ii, nos. 10 and 2, line 26 = Hesperia, Suppl. XV, p. 50), and as Hoplite General in 97/6 (IG II $^2$ , 2336, line 261).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason*, Princeton 1975 for the methodology employed and a complete study of this cutter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The text referred to here is the re-edition by S. Dow, "The First Enneëteric Delian Pythaïs," HSCP 51, 1940, pp. 111–124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> On this, see S. V. Tracy, "Athens in 100 B.C.," HSCP 83, 1979, pp. 221-225.



**1.** I 7287



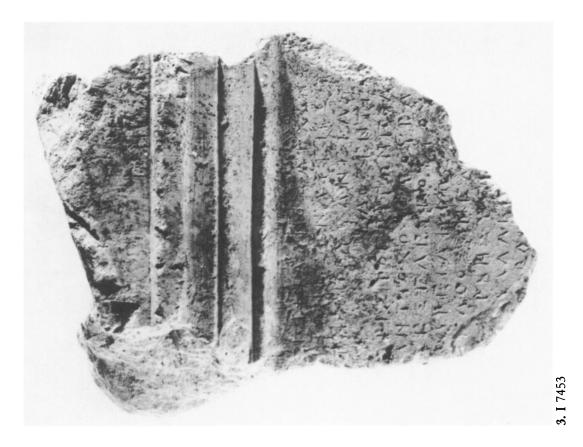
**4.** I 7235



**5.** I 7478



**6.** I 7361





2. I 7138