

# GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 86–88)

IN THIS ARTICLE are gathered nine unpublished fragments of inscriptions that were found in the excavations carried out in the Athenian Agora by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.<sup>1</sup>

Of these, two probably belong to already published documents; the remainder derive from hitherto unknown documents. Their dates range from the first half of the 4th century through the end of the 3rd century B.C.

1 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 138 + ). Two non-joining fragments of bluish, micaceous Pentelic marble, found at different times and places.

Fragment *a* (Pl. 86). Found on the Akropolis before 1877. The smooth-dressed left side and convex, rough-picked back are preserved. Above the inscribed face, an olive wreath, 0.19 m. in width and 0.165 m. in height, is carved into the flat surface: it is probable that there was a similar wreath carved level with it at the right side, where the stone is lost. Above the wreath is the lower part of an inset panel in relief, in which survive the legs of two draped figures, that on the left advancing towards the right, with his weight on the left leg and his right leg trailing; that on the right has his weight on the right leg and his left leg flexed at the knee, with the foot placed flat on the ground. The preserved height of the relief is 0.05 m. and its width is 0.18 m.; the framing pillar at left is 0.25 m. in width.

P.H. 0.365 m.; p.W. 0.238 m.; Th. (top left) 0.095 m., (bottom right) 0.115 m.

*Ed. princeps*, U. Koehler, *IG* II, 72 (= *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 138).

Epigraphical Museum Inventory E.M. 6988

Fragment *b* (Pl. 86). Found on February 5, 1937, in a modern house wall in the Agora (U 22). The smooth-dressed right side and convex, rough-picked back are preserved.

P.H. 0.124 m.; p.W. 0.242 m.; Th. (left) 0.104 m., (right) 0.09 m.

Agora Excavations Inventory I 4477

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Professor H. A. Thompson, the Director Emeritus of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for permission to study and to publish the Agora fragments. I am also grateful to Mrs. D. Peppas-Delmousou, the Director of the Epigraphical Museum, Athens, and to her assistant, Mrs. C. Karapa-Molisani, for permission to study and to republish the E.M. fragments. Photographs have been provided by the authorities concerned.

References frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Agora* XV = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora*, XV, *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councilors*, Princeton 1974  
Henry = A. S. Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1983  
Meritt, 1977 = B. D. Meritt, "Athenian Archons 347/6–48/7 B.C.," *Historia* 26, 1977, pp. 161–191  
Osborne = M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* I, Brussels 1981  
*PA* = *Prosopographia Attica*, J. Kirchner, ed., Berlin 1901–1903  
*PAN* = *Nachtraege zur Prosopographia Attica*, J. Sundwall, ed., Helsinki 1910  
Pečírka = J. Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions*, Prague 1966

Height of letters, both fragments, line 1, 0.01 m.; lines 2–11, 0.008–0.009 m.; semistoichedon, with a horizontal checker of *ca.* 0.008 m. in lines 3ff. and a vertical checker of 0.019 m. (line 2 is more widely spaced than is line 3, and is set closer to line 1 than it is to line 3; the horizontal spacing averages 0.002 m. in lines 3–11).

## HONORS FOR XENNIAS

a. 353/2 a.

Relief

Semi-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 49

| a  | Wreath  | [Wreath] |
|----|---|----------|
|    | ἐπὶ Θουδήμον ἄρχ[οντος]   |          |
|    | ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ, . . . 7-8 . . . ἐπρυτάνευεν, . . . 4-5 . . . ]- |          |
|    | ἤδης Δωροθέο Παλλην[εὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν, . . . 17 . . . ]                        |          |
|    | ἔπεστ[ά]τει, Εὐθύμα[χος] . . . 18 . . . εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ξε]-                    |          |
| 5  | ννίας ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ [ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ νῦν]                 |          |
|    | καὶ ἐν τῶι πρόσθ[εν χρόνῳ, δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳ ἐπαινέσαι μὲν]                   |          |
| b  | [Ξε]ννία[ν Ἀνδ]ρ[ . . . 34 . . . ]α[ . 3 . ]                                  |          |
|    | [ . . . 14 . . . στεφανῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν θαλ]λοῦ στεφάνῳ δι[ . 2 . ]              |          |
|    | [ . . . 35 . . . δ]ε Ξεννίαν Ἀθ[ . 3 . ]                                      |          |
| 10 | [ . . . 35 . . . ] ἀντοῦ Ἀνδρον[ . 3 . ]                                      |          |
|    | [ . . . 38 . . . ]ΙΑΣ[ . 3 . ]ΝΒΟ[ . ]Λ                                       |          |

a, 1–4, Koehler (*IG* II, 72); 5, Walbank; [Με]ννίας, Koehler; 5–6, Koehler; 6, Walbank; [Με]ννίαν Ἀνδρ[---] (or ἀνδρ[αγαθίας ἔνεκα, κτλ.?), Koehler. b, Walbank.

[Fragment a], line 7: Less is visible here today than was reported by earlier editors: the stone appears to have suffered recent damage. The top of the right hasta of the first nu survives; then the stone breaks along the line of the left diagonal of alpha; the upper left corner of rho is preserved at the right.

[Fragment b], line 7: Most of this alpha survives, above the delta of line 8.

Line 8: The right foot of lambda is preserved, followed by an almost complete omicron; the vertical of upsilon survives, and the stone is abraded above this in a shallow “V” that should correspond to the arms of upsilon. Enough is preserved of each of the next five letters to make the reading certain in each case.

Line 9: Before xi the stone is abraded, except at the upper right corner of the stoichos where there are faint marks that suggest the ends of the two upper bars of epsilon. Other letters reported in this line are all complete.

Line 10: The right foot of the first alpha survives. At the right end, the upper parts of rho and omicron and the top of a left vertical, joined, apparently, by a diagonal, are preserved.

Line 11: Under the first omicron of line 10 the top of an iota is preserved; the apex of a triangular letter follows this, with a shallow-angled stroke sloping up to the right in the next stoichos, under the left foot of the alpha of line 10. Further to the right, under the omicron of line 10, is the top of a vertical, and then the upper left corner of a right-angled letter. To the right of this, the stone breaks on the top of a curve; about one full space to the right of this is a triangular break that may be the apex of a triangular letter. Other marks and scratches resemble parts of letter strokes but seem too high or too far to the right or left to be parts of letters. Any restorations offered for this line, however, must be extremely tentative.

There is no join between the fragments, but the distance between them must be minimal: a prominent greenish mark of foliation, not quite parallel to the face in both the horizontal and the vertical axes, is visible at the bottom right of a and at the top left of b, at the same level on both. As a has suffered damage to its lower edge since it was first published,

the bottom, too, may have become abraded or damaged, and I consider it probable that there was originally a join between these two fragments. The nationality of the honorand is unknown: the stele may well have had a title inscribed above the relief, which would have given his full name. Koehler restored a name in line 7 ('Ανδρ[---], either a patronymic or an ethnic) but cautioned that the restoration ἀνδρ[αγαθίας ἔνεκα] was also a possibility. The repetition of the letters ANΔP in line 10 and their position make it clear that a name is involved in both line 7 and in line 10 and that this is a patronymic, not an ethnic. The new fragment also makes it certain that the honorand's name was Xennias, rather than Menias. This name is, so far, unattested in any Athenian context.<sup>2</sup> To this point, it is uncertain whether Xennias was an Athenian or a foreigner, but there are certain pieces of evidence that suggest that he was, indeed, a foreigner and that he was granted Athenian citizenship by the terms of this decree. These pieces of evidence are to be found in lines 9–11.

In line 9 the letters AΘ that follow the name Xennias, which is in the accusative case, suggest irresistably the formula [εἶναι δὲ] ἔξ Ξεννίαν Ἀθ[ηναίων]. This is the normal formula for the grant of citizenship during the period of this decree,<sup>3</sup> although the absence of καί after [δ]έ is, perhaps, unusual. If Xennias is being granted citizenship, it would also be normal for his descendants to share in the honor: thus, one can restore the beginning of line 10 as follows: [αὐτὸν καὶ (τοὺς) ἐγγόνους (αὐτοῦ)]. Further to the right in this line, however, we find the word αὐτοῦ, followed by Ἀνδρον[---]. I believe that the usual formula must therefore be expanded and that Ἀνδρον[---] was the father, or, perhaps more likely, the fully grown son of Xennias and was also granted Athenian citizenship by this decree;<sup>4</sup> this, indeed, might explain the offset position of the single surviving wreath above the inscription, which, I have suggested above, may have been matched by a similar wreath on the right. I therefore restore tentatively as follows: [εἶναι δὲ] ἔξ Ξεννίαν Ἀθ[ηναίων αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους τε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν] αὐτοῦ Ἀνδρον[---]. Finally, in line 11, the letter traces suggest the formula that normally follows the grant: [καὶ γράψασθαι (or γράψασθαι δὲ) αὐτοὺς φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρ]ῖ[ας] [ῆς] ἁ[ν] β[ο] [υ]λ[ώνται]. There is no single document in which all these formulas occur exactly as I have restored them here, but the various parts are mostly well attested in documents of the first half of the 4th century B.C.<sup>5</sup>

The grant of a crown of olive leaves, rather than one of gold (line 8), is unusual in a citizenship decree of this period, but the letter traces are unequivocal (moreover, the crown actually engraved on the face of the stele above the inscription is an olive wreath).

<sup>2</sup> [Plutarch], *vit. X orat.*, 850 B names a 4th-century Athenian archon Xenias, but there is no other record of an archon of this name, and it is thought that Xenias may be a mistake for Archias (346/5 B.C.), or, less likely, Euxenippos (305/4 B.C.). I owe this reference to Professor Christian Habicht.

<sup>3</sup> See Osborne, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> M. J. Osborne (*per ep.*) comments that all recipients in a multiple grant of citizenship normally would be named in the motivation clause; this is not the case here, and so he suggests that the second honorand was the grown son of Xennias, who "would become a citizen virtually immediately by extension of the grant to the ἐγγονοι." A possible analogy for such a procedure is *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 113 (Osborne, D 3), for Evagoras. Alternatively, Osborne suggests that this line may contain the text of an exclusion, similar to that found in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 222 (Osborne, D 22), lines 18–20. I believe, however, that in such a case the reasons for the exclusion would have been stated in the motivation clause, as they may have been in the missing upper part of D 22.

<sup>5</sup> See Osborne, D 7–20.

The principal honorand bears a name that seems to be fairly common in the northwestern part of Greece, although no instance of it is as early as its occurrence here.<sup>6</sup> There is also one instance of a name very similar to it on a gravestone found at Eleusis: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 7004, which records the death of *Ξεννέας ἐξ Οἴου* (*PA* 11186). The date of this is given in *IG* as “s. II a.”, but in *PA* it is given as “*post fin. s. IV a.*” Thus, Xenneas and Xennias may be one and the same man, or Xenneas a descendant of Xennias.

The form of this stele is interesting. It would seem that there existed in Athens during the first part of the 4th century several workshops that produced stelai on which the relief was inset in the face of the stele, with flanking and crowning members in the same plane as the inscribed face, below a crowning molding, fascia, and pedimental top. About half of the surviving decree reliefs of the period fall into this category: the only other example of a carved wreath placed between the inset relief and the text of the decree is *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 23.<sup>7</sup>

**2** (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 272 + ). Two non-joining fragments of micaceous Pentelic marble, found at different times and places.

Fragment *a* (Pl. 87). Found on the Akropolis before 1913. It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.113 m.; p.W. 0.081 m.; p.Th. 0.039 m.

Height of letters 0.007–0.008 m.; stoichedon. Lines 1–4 have a horizontal checker of 0.0135 m. and a vertical checker of 0.015 m.; lines 5–8 have a square checker pattern, 0.0135 × 0.0135 m.

*Ed. princeps*, J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 272.

Epigraphical Museum Inventory E.M. 2633

Fragment *b* (Pl. 87). Found on March 6, 1935, in a late context over the inner foundation of the Odeion (O 14). The right side is preserved.

P.H. 0.077 m.; p.W. 0.058 m.; p.Th. 0.036 m.

Height of letters 0.007–0.008 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.0135 × 0.0135 m.

Agora Excavations Inventory I 2580

#### PROXENY FOR AN UNKNOWN MAN

*ante a.* 336/5 *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 43

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| <i>a</i> | [. . . <sup>7</sup> . . .]εἰ[. . . . . <sup>34</sup> . . . . .]             |
|          | [. . . <sup>5</sup> . . .]οἷε[ <i>νο</i> . . . . . <sup>31</sup> . . . . .] |
|          | [. . . <sup>6</sup> . . .]᾽Αθηναί[. . . . . <sup>33</sup> . . . . .]        |

<sup>6</sup> Professor Christian Habicht has given me several instances of the name Xennias in inscriptions from Delphoi and Aitolia. Under the spelling Xenias it occurs in Akarnania and Arkadia and at Amphipolis, as well as at Delphoi and in West Lokris. It occurs also with the spelling Xennias in Akarnania, Arkadia, Achaia, and at Elis. The name Xenneas is also found on Delos in 274/3 B.C.: see *IG* XI, 199A, line 55: *Ξεννέαι τὸν θεσανυρὸν ἀνολίξ[αντι μ]ετὰ Βακχίον*. None of these instances seems to occur earlier than the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C.

<sup>7</sup> I have not made an exhaustive study of decree reliefs of this period, but, of the 42 examples included in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1–327, there are 21 instances of this general type of relief: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1, 23, 24, 28, 77, 86, 99, 101, 112, 128, 133, 137, 157, 161, 162, 163, 165, 167, 231, 248, and 263.

|          |  |
|----------|--|
|          | [. . . . . <sup>5</sup> ...] τοὺς τ[. . . . . <sup>18</sup> ..... ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε]   |
| 5        | [τὸ ψήφι]σμα τ[ὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν εἰς στ]-<br>[ήλην λι]θίνην[ν καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγ]-<br>[ραφήν τῆς σ]τή[λης δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου εἴκοσι]<br>[δραχμὰς ἐκ τ]ῶ[ν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῶι δῇ]-<br>[μωι . . . . . <sup>40</sup> .....] |
| <hr/>    |  |
| <i>b</i> | [. . . . . <sup>40</sup> .....] αθη-   |
|          | [. . . . . <sup>40</sup> .....] αιε-   |
|          | [. . . . . <sup>41</sup> .....] α[.]   |
| <hr/>    |  |

*a*, 1–7, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>; 7–9 and *b*, Walbank.

Fragment *a*, line 1: The foot of the vertical and parts of the bottom horizontal of epsilon are preserved. The iota is virtually complete. To the right of this there is a faint, slightly diagonal mark that may be the left foot of a mu.

Line 4: The letter at the right-hand edge was printed by Kirchner as an undotted tau. If it is a tau, only the left half of the bar is preserved, and I am not completely convinced that this is a letter stroke, since there is also a faint diagonal mark at bottom right that might be the right foot of a triangular letter.

Line 8: The partially preserved circular letter here has too small a diameter for omicron or theta; thus, it might be part of a rho, a beta, or an omega.

Fragment *b*, line 1: The right foot of alpha survives. The surviving letters suggest some such restoration as [ἐπειδὴ δὲ κ]αθη[ιρέθη ἐπὶ τῶν Τριάκοντα ἢ στήλη ---], but the formulas restored in lines 5–9 of fragment *a* indicate that the date of this document is likely to be after the middle of the 4th century, perhaps close to 336/5 B.C., so that a restoration involving some form of the word Ἀθηναῖοι or the locative Ἀθήνησι is, perhaps, more likely.

Line 2: [πρόξενον καὶ ἐ]υεργέτην], or [στήσ]αι ἐ[ν ἀκροπόλει], or [ἀναγράψ]αι εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην]?

Line 3: The apex of a triangular letter is preserved.

The first four lines of fragment *a* may involve a simple grant of *proxenia* or else, perhaps, conferral of *isoteleia*, such as was granted to other *proxenoi* and *euergetai* while they lived in Athens; this may be followed by an *epimeleia* clause, but no suitable restoration comes to mind.

The square checker pattern on fragment *b* corresponds to that of lines 5–8 of fragment *a*. I suggest that the mason may have learned that he was to inscribe an amendment to the principal decree after he had engraved most of the document and thus decreased his vertical checker in order to be able to accommodate the new text. This amendment might have referred to an earlier grant of *proxenia* to an ancestor of the present honorand (fragment *b*, line 1) and to the destruction in 404/3 B.C. of the stele upon which this was recorded.<sup>8</sup>

3 (Pl. 87). A fragment of bluish Pentelic marble, found on February 10, 1936 in a modern context on the north slope of the Akropolis (T 17). It is broken all around and at the back.

<sup>8</sup> For examples of the formula relating to destruction of stelai by the Thirty, see *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 4, 9, 52, and 66c, and *SEG* XXIII, 48. All these examples are proxyen decrees.

P.H. 0.030 m.; p.W. 0.062 m.; p.Th. 0.079 m.

Height of letters 0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.0105 × 0.0105 m.

Agora Excavations Inventory I 3367

#### PROXENY FOR AN UNKNOWN MAN

ca. a. 350–300 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[πρόξενος ὦν καὶ ἐνεργ]έτης [τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ---]  
[-----] καὶ π[ -----]  
-----

Line 2: The upper left corner of pi is preserved; gamma or epsilon are equally likely readings.

The hand, spacing, and letter heights are identical with those of E.M. 12736, the treaty with Aitolia, dated to 323/2 B.C.,<sup>9</sup> but I doubt whether any attempt should be made to associate this fragment with that document.

For the restoration offered here, see *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 400, lines 10–13. The honorand, already holding the Athenian *proxenia*, would have been praised for further services to Athens (perhaps, as in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 400, in connection with the supply of grain) and would have been given further honors: the honorand of *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 400 received Athenian citizenship.

4 (Pl. 87). A fragment of bluish, slightly micaceous Pentelic marble, found on May 25, 1937 in a late Roman context in a well outside the Market Square to the southwest (E 15:5). It has been reworked as a stone basin; the right side, however, is partly original. The mason who reworked it scribed a vertical mark and two rough circles as aids to chiseling out the bowl. The full diameter of the bowl, of which the right quadrant survives, would have been ca. 0.20 m., and so the stele must have been at least 0.25 m. wide.<sup>10</sup>

P.H. 0.147 m.; p.W. 0.092 m.; p.Th. 0.068 m.

Height of letters 0.005–0.006 m.; stoichedon, with an almost square checker pattern, in which the horizontal checker is 0.0091 m. and the vertical 0.0093 m.

Agora Excavations Inventory I 4914

#### PROXENIA FOR UNKNOWN PERSONS

fin. s. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 41?

[.....<sup>39</sup>.....]αυ  
[.....<sup>35</sup>.....]ἐν] στήλ-  
[ηι λιθίνηι.....<sup>28</sup>.....]νατα  
[.....<sup>38</sup>.....]ἐν ὦ-  
5 [ι.....<sup>35</sup>.....]τὸν μὲ-

<sup>9</sup> Published by O. Broneer, "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia* 2, 1933 (pp. 329–417), pp. 397–398, no. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Professor H. A. Thompson comments (*per ep.*): "The well in which this basin was found was at the north edge of an extensive district of marble workers. (*cf.* R. S. Young, *Hesperia* 20, 1951, p. 269f.; T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 383–394). For another basin carved from an old stele, *cf.* *Agora* XIV, p. 188, pl. 95b (ST 532), found at the east end of South Stoa II in an early Roman industrial context."

|    |                     |    |           |                              |
|----|---------------------|----|-----------|------------------------------|
|    | [ν . . . . .        | 34 | . . . . . | τοῦ]ς πρ-                    |
|    | [υτάνεις? . . . . . | 30 | . . . . . | ]λαρι                        |
|    | [ . . . . .         | 38 | . . . . . | ]ους                         |
|    | [ . . . . .         | 29 | . . . . . | κατὰ τὸν ν]όμον              |
| 10 | [ . . . . .         | 36 | . . . . . | ε]ὺς ἐν                      |
|    | [ . . . . .         | 37 | . . . . . | ]ιονος                       |
|    | [ . . . . .         | 36 | . . . . . | ] ἄριστ-                     |
|    | [ον? . . . . .      | 33 | . . . . . | ]νουςαι                      |
|    | [ . . . . .         | 33 | . . . . . | ] Ἀθηναίων                   |
| 15 | [ . . . . .         | 32 | . . . . . | ]ας τοῦ δήμο-                |
|    | [ν . . . . .        | 31 | . . . . . | ]σα[ . <sup>3</sup> .]ν εἰν- |
|    | [αι . . . . .       | 39 | . . . . . | ] .                          |

Line 1: The bottom of the right leg of alpha and the bottom of the left hasta of nu are preserved.

Line 2: The right tip of the bottom stroke of sigma and the left foot of lambda survive.

Line 3: The surviving vertical at the left is too far to the right to be an iota; the stone breaks on a suspiciously straight diagonal, so that I think that a nu must be read here. The second letter, therefore, must be an alpha, but the crossbar is missing. At the right edge, the left foot of alpha is preserved.

Line 4: The left half of omega is preserved; the phrase to be restored here might be a genitive plural, such as [προξ]ένω[ν], or, as I have restored it here, a relative pronoun preceded by ἐν.

Line 7: These letters are best explained as part of a name, either the middle of a forename or patronymic, or of an ethnic, such as some form of Λαρισαῖος, and thus might identify the honorands as citizens of the Thessalian state of Larisa.<sup>11</sup>

Line 8: The traces here are ambiguous: the omicron has a very odd shape and might, just possibly, be a poor attempt at correction to a rho. The final sigma is very faint, and I am inclined to suspect a mason's error here: either an intrusive sigma, partially erased, or a sigma omitted and added by scribing rather than by engraving. Thus, one might read here ΟΥΣ, ΟΥ{Σ}, or <P>ΥΣ.<sup>12</sup>

Line 9: The mason seems initially to have omitted the second omicron and to have inscribed an iota in the stoichos after mu; subsequently, he inserted the omicron and, apparently, altered the iota to nu: the diagonal of this nu extends into the margin, but the second vertical has been destroyed by the reworking of the stone. [κατὰ τὸν ν]όμον is the likeliest restoration, a phrase that is found in citizenship decrees before ca. 229 B.C.,<sup>13</sup> in grants of *enktesis* between ca. 350 B.C. and the first half of the 2nd century B.C.,<sup>14</sup> and in awards of gold crowns after ca. 304/3 B.C.<sup>15</sup>

Line 10: The surviving letters could be restored as a masculine accusative plural (of a noun or of the article) or as the end of some such word as ἀναγραφεύς, followed in each case by ἐν (or by the beginning of a verb).<sup>16</sup>

Line 11: The word division is probably [--]ιον σ[---], but no satisfactory restoration comes to mind.

<sup>11</sup> If so, this decree may provide a link with IG II<sup>2</sup>, 39, a proxeny decree in honor of four citizens of Larisa that is dated to 379/8 B.C.

<sup>12</sup> [(αὐ)τ]οὺς, [(αὐ)τ]οῦ, [χ]<ρ>υσ[ῶι], for instance.

<sup>13</sup> See Osborne, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> See Pečírka, pp. 154–159.

<sup>15</sup> See IG II<sup>2</sup> 4, *Index*, s.v. στεφανοῦν. See also Henry, pp. 22–62, esp. pp. 25–28.

<sup>16</sup> Thus, perhaps, justifying some such restoration as [ἀναγραφάτω δὲ ὁ ἀναγραφε]ὺς ἐν [στήλῃ λιθίνῃ]. The *anagrapheus* replaced the *grammateus* in decree prescripts dated between 321/0 and 319/8 B.C. and between 294/3 and 292/1 B.C. (see Meritt, 1977, pp. 170 and 172). Only during the first of these two periods was the *anagrapheus* also designated as the official responsible for having stelai inscribed. In the second period no official is designated.

Line 12: ἀριστ[ον]? or, perhaps more likely, the beginning of a personal name.<sup>17</sup>

Line 13: The second letter is rather small for an omicron and may contain a central dot: thus, the reading may be [— —]ν θῶσαι rather than what I have printed above.

Lines 15–16: These lines may provide a clue as to the line length, as well as to the meaning of this document. They could be restored as follows, with a line length of 41 letters:

[εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς προξένους καὶ ἐνεργέτ]ας τοῦ δήμο-  
[υ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνου]ς α[ὐτῶ]ν· εἰν-  
[αι δὲ καὶ -----]

Presumably, if this restoration is correct, it will be part of an amendment to the first decree, by which these honorands were further rewarded by the grant of *proxenia*. This amendment will have begun in line 11.

Without internal contextual indicators, this fragment is very hard to date. The script is rather spidery and untidy, with very small omicrons; it would not be out of place as late as the middle of the 3rd century but might also be at home in the latter half of the 4th century B.C. I believe that it was engraved by the same mason as he who inscribed *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1176, whose fragments have been placed by various editors as early as *ca.* 360 B.C. and as late as *ca.* 250 B.C. but which has now been proven to be dated in 324/3 B.C.<sup>18</sup>

Other documents that I believe to have been carved by this mason are *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 361 and 362, dated, respectively, to 325/4 and to 324/3 B.C. Undated documents that may be by this hand are *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 533 and 543.<sup>19</sup>

If the document here discussed is, indeed, dated to the 320's or the 310's B.C., and if some form of the ethnic Larisaïos is correctly restored in line 7, a context may be provided by *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 545, which may, indeed, be by the same hand and whose letter heights and spacing are, in fact, very close to those of I 4914; that decree is dated in or soon after 321/0 B.C. and makes provision for exiles from Thessaly who had fled to Athens after Antipater's operations in Thessaly during the Lamian War.<sup>20</sup> Thus, the honorands of the present document may have been citizens of Larisa, perhaps descendants of one or more of the *proxenoi*

<sup>17</sup> One of the *proxenoi* listed in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 39 (see footnote 11 above) was named Aristippos; the present honorand might be a descendant of this man, if I am correct in suggesting that Larisa is mentioned in line 7.

<sup>18</sup> See R. S. Stroud, "Three Attic Decrees," *CSCA* 7, 1975 (pp. 279–298), p. 292 (with photograph of fragments *b*, *c*, and *d*, pl. 4), on the different dates offered by his predecessors. The inception date of the lease is the archonship of Hegesias, 324/3 B.C. (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1176 + , lines 9–10). *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 361, dated to 325/4 B.C., although its letter sizes and spacing are greater than those found in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1176, must surely also be the work of this mason.

<sup>19</sup> These have a neater appearance and employ a greater vertical spacing, as well as omicrons of slightly larger diameter. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 545, surely dated in 321/0 B.C. or only slightly later, may also be by this hand: it has almost the same spacing as I 4914 but has larger omicrons and a neater appearance. I should judge this mason to have been more accustomed to working with non-stoichedon documents, such as *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1176, than with stoichedon inscriptions; I 4914, indeed, may be a basically non-stoichedon document in which the mason has attempted to "justify" his right margin. This particular mason may have learned his trade from the man who engraved the honorary base *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 223 in 343/2 B.C.: the script of this latter inscription looks, at first sight, remarkably like that of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1176, but its letters are taller and narrower. A pupil of the mason of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1176 might have been responsible for *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 378, whose date has aroused much controversy and has been variously placed in 321/0 or 294/3 (see Osborne, pp. 151–153, D 70, on the various restorations offered for the prescript. On balance, 294/3 B.C. seems more in keeping both with the letter forms and with the absence of a designated official in the publication formula; on this formula, see my remarks above, footnote 16).

<sup>20</sup> For the most recent discussion of the date of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 545, see Pečírka, pp. 83–84, who regards the year 321/0 B.C. as "extremely probable."



of 379/8 B.C.,<sup>21</sup> who fled to Athens and were granted various privileges, including (a reaffirmation of) the *proxenia*. The period 321/0–319/8 B.C. is, of course, the time during which the *anagrapheus* replaced the *grammateus* as the official responsible for the engraving of stelai.<sup>22</sup>

If the date that I have offered here is correct, the most likely explanation of lines 8–9 is that these exiles received *enktesis* of land and house *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*; the exiles of *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 545 seem to have been granted *enktesis* of house alone, on the same terms as metics, and the persons honored here, being presumably among the leaders of the exiled Thessalians, might well have received the right to hold land as well.<sup>23</sup>

5 (Pl. 87). A fragment of micaceous Pentelic marble, found in December, 1934 in a marble pile near the Civic Offices (H–K 11–14). The left side is partly preserved, as are the top and rough-picked back. The top originally bore a crowning molding and projecting fascia, below a rectangular, centrally placed, relief panel,<sup>24</sup> but the fascia and molding have been trimmed off, and only the spring of the central relief panel survives, 0.13 m. from the left edge of the stele and preserved to a height of 0.015 m. The molding and fascia also project outwards above the left lateral, so that it is possible to calculate the original combined height of these as 0.07 m. The stele has split diagonally from top left to bottom right along the planes of foliation, destroying all but the top of the left side. The face is badly abraded and only a few letters are legible.

P.H. 0.38 m.; p.W. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.122 m. (inscribed part, 0.115 m.).

Height of letters 0.007 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0148 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0146 m.

Agora Excavations Inventory I 2173

#### HONORS FOR A FRIEND OF KING DEMETRIOS

*fin. s. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 49?

[ἐπὶ . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . . ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .]  
 [πρυτανείας, ἥτις . . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . . ἐγραμμάτευεν, . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>49</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . . τῆς πρυτανείας ἐκκλησία κυρία τῶν προέδρων ἐ]-  
 5 [πεψ]ήφ[ις]εν . . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . . καὶ συμπρόεδροι ἔδοξεν τῶ]-

<sup>21</sup> See footnotes 11 and 17 above. Another Athenian honorific decree for a citizen of Larisa is *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 353, dated to 329/8 B.C.; the circumstance in which this man was honored is unknown.

<sup>22</sup> See footnote 16 above.

<sup>23</sup> See Pečírka, p. 83: "It is without doubt, however, that this decree [*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 545] gave the Thessalians a similar status to that of privileged metics." A similar case seems to have arisen during the 420's, when Potamodoros and Eurytion, the Athenian *proxenoi* at Orchomenos, came to Athens as exiles, probably in the winter of 424/3 B.C., after the Athenian defeat at Delion (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 73), and again in 412/1 B.C. (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 97; see also M. B. Walbank, *Athenian Proxemies of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Toronto/Sarasota 1978, pp. 252–253 and 383–384); Eurytion may have come back to Athens, once more in exile, in 383/2 B.C., after the Spartan coup in Boiotia (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 37; see also M. B. Walbank, "An Athenian Decree Re-considered: Honours for Aristoxenos and another Boiotian," *Echos du monde classique/Classical Views*, n.s. 1, 1982 [pp. 259–274], p. 271, note 30).

<sup>24</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 91 is an example of this type of stele.

|    |  |    |
|----|--|----|
|    | [ι] δῆμ[ωι· ----- εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ----]-                             |    |
|    | [.]αν[.....]   | 46 |
|    | [.]κλητ[.....]   | 44 |
|    | [.]νειτ[. 4 .]Λ[.....]   | 39 |
| 10 | [τ]οῦ βασιλέως [.....]   | 38 |
|    | [.]Λ[.]ΠΑΚΑΙΥΠ[.]Λ[.....]  | 37 |
|    | [.]με[.]ν[.]Λ[.]Λ[.....]   | 38 |
|    | [.]ενοι[.]ποδ[.....]   | 39 |
|    | [.]συμπ[.]η[.]ι[.....]   | 39 |
| 15 | [.] αὐτῶι καὶ ἐ[κγόνοις? .....]                                    | 31 |
|    | [.]νκεω[.]ι[..... ὅπως]  | 37 |
|    | [ἄν] εἰδ[ῶσι] πᾶν[τες ὅσοι ἄν εἴνοι ὄντες φιλοτιμῶνται ἐς τὸν δῆ]- |    |
|    | [μον] τὸν Ἀθηναί[ων] [ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ἀποδίδωσιν χάριτας κατὰξίας τ]-  |    |
|    | [ῶν] ἐϋερ[γ]ετ[ημάτων· .....]                                      | 34 |

Lines 1–4: Nothing can be read in this space. I have assumed a line of 49 letters (from my restorations of lines 17–19 below).

Line 5: The right hasta of eta and part of the vertical of phi survive.

Line 6: The apex of delta is preserved, as are both apices of mu.

Line 8: The left tip of the horizontal of tau survives.

Line 9: The left tip of the horizontal of tau is preserved; in the fifth stoichos to right of this the apex of a triangular letter is visible.

Line 10: The top of iota and the left half of omega survive. The King is, presumably, Demetrios.

Line 11: Only the tops of most of these letters survive.

Line 12: The top left corner of epsilon is preserved; in the third and fifth stoichoi to the right of nu the apices of two triangular letters are visible.

Line 13: The left upper corner of epsilon and the top of omicron survive; after pi the tops of omicron and of a triangular letter are visible.

Line 15: The upper left corner of epsilon survives. For the restoration, cf. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 391, line 9. There are, however, no grounds for following this document all the way and thus assuming the validation of an earlier grant of Athenian citizenship.

Line 16: The right hasta of nu survives.

Line 17: The apex of alpha and the right hasta of nu survive. For the restoration, cf. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 423, lines 2–3.

Line 18: The apex of alpha and the left half of omega are preserved. After omega, the bottom of the left hasta of nu survives. For the restoration of this and of line 19, cf. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 586 + 392, lines 6–7 (= 392, lines 2–3).

The hand, letter height, and spacing are identical with those of Agora I 5884.<sup>25</sup> On the assumption that the year is the same but that the date is different, I should restore lines 1–2 as follows:

<sup>25</sup> Published by W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass. 1940, pp. 7–8 (= *SEG XXI*, 334). These editors made no attempt to restore the name of the orator in I 5884, lines 9–10; I suggest that he may have been [Πυθόδωρος Νικ]οστράτ[ου Ἀχαρνέως]. This man was the son of *PA* 11026, Νικόστρατος III; see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971, p. 484.

a. 307/6 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 49

[ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .]  
 [πρυτανείας, ἥτις Λυσίας Νοθίππου Διομεινὸς ἐγραμμάτευεν, . .]

6 (Pl. 88). A fragment of faintly blue, micaceous Pentelic marble, found on March 17, 1932 in a marble pile in the west part of the Market Square (H–K 8–11). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.17 m.; p.W. 0.088 m.; p.Th. 0.021 m.

Height of letters 0.007 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.012 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0146 m.

Agora Excavations Inventory I 200

## HONORS FOR UNKNOWN PERSONS

fin. s. IV a./ init. s. III a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

5 [-----]θ[-----]  
 [-----]νφα[-----]  
 [-----]ιδεκ[-----]  
 [-----]νθεομ[-----]  
 [-----]προβ[-----]  
 [-----]ενοθ[-----]  
 [-----]ροξε[-----]  
 [-----]φ[-----]  
 [-----]  
 10 [-----]ε[-----]  
 [-----]ο[-----]  
 -----

Line 1: The single circular letter surviving here has a definite central dot.

Line 3: The top of a central vertical survives: I restore [κα]ιδεκ[άτει].

Line 4: The top of the right hasta of nu survives at the left; at the right edge is a diagonal stroke that seems too steep to be a part of alpha, delta, or phi; there is no trace of any letter stroke at the bottom of this stoichos, so that the likeliest reading is mu.

Line 5: The upper left corner of this letter survives (gamma, epsilon, or pi are not excluded from consideration, as too little of the top letter stroke is preserved for certainty).

Line 7: The upper part of the loop of rho survives.

Line 8: There are faint traces before and after phi that may be an epsilon (left) and an alpha (right).

Line 9: There are faint traces of what may be the tips of the left horizontals of a xi in the stoichos below and to the left of the phi of line 8.

Line 3 contains part of a dating formula, either by the month or by the prytany. Thus, this document must be part of a decree of the Athenian State; line 1 will contain the names of the Archon and of the prytany, and line 2 will contain the name of the Secretary. The script indicates a date at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. Since, during this period, each secretary served for a year according to a generally fixed rota of phylai, we should probably seek a year in which Aiantis provided the secretary: the likeliest

explanation of the letters ΥΦΑ in line 2 is that they are the end of a patronymic and the beginning of a demotic ([ο]ν Φα[ληρεύς]). In the period under consideration, Aiantis provided the secretary in the years 324/3, 311/0?, 306/5, 295/4, 291/0, 279/8, 267/6, and 257/6 B.C.<sup>26</sup> Of these, if the demotic is, indeed, Phalereus, all are excluded (because the secretary is known to have come from a deme other than Phaleron) except 311/0, 306/5, and 295/4 B.C. The secretaries in the first two of these years are unknown; in 295/4 B.C., however, the secretary was Δωρόθεος Ἀριστο. . νου Φαληρεύς.<sup>27</sup> Thus, this man becomes the obvious candidate for the present document. Of course, it is by no means impossible that the letters preserved in line 2 derive from a simple name or patronymic, for instance, Euphanes: the only occasion during the period under consideration in which this name is attested as that of a secretary is, in fact, 324/3 B.C.,<sup>28</sup> but restoration of this name in line 2, and that of the archon for that year, Hegesias, in line 1, creates insuperable problems of spacing. Another year with an otherwise unknown man of this name as secretary is not to be ruled out, of course, but the simplest and therefore perhaps the best solution is to restore the names of the archon and secretary for 295/4 B.C. The prytany will be either Erechtheis or Hippothontis, since the theta of line 1 is certain.

Such a series of restorations creates further problems in lines 3 and 4, however: there will not be sufficient space in line 3 for the name of the month nor in line 4 for the phrase ἐκκλησία (or a variant of this). It is not unknown during the 330's and 320's for one or both of these to be omitted,<sup>29</sup> but I do not know of any case of either being omitted during the early 3rd century (except *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 680, in which the phrase ἐκκλησία is omitted, along with the proedroi formula).

I therefore restore tentatively lines 1–6 as follows:

a. 295/4 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 42

[ἐπὶ Νικοστράτου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχ]θ[εῖδος ἔκτη]-  
[ς πρυτανείας, ἥι Δωρόθεος Ἀριστο. . νου]ν Φα[ληρεὺς ἐγ]-  
[ραμμάτευεν, ---<sup>5-6</sup>---ἐπὶ δέκα, ---<sup>5-6</sup>---κα]ὶ δεκ[άτει τῆς π]-  
[ρυτανείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισε]ν Θεομ[. . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . .]  
5 [ . . καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξε]ν τῶι δῆμῳ· Πρόβ[ουλος? . .<sup>3</sup>.]-  
[----- εἴπεν·]

The restoration offered here for the end of line 1 is the only one possible: any other combination of prytany and numeral is too long for the space available, if ἐκκλησία is omitted in line 4, and insufficiently long, if it is included. Thus, the month name omitted from line 3 will be <Ποσειδεῶνος>, the sixth month of the lunar year.<sup>30</sup> Only two dates can be

<sup>26</sup> See Meritt, 1977, pp. 169–175.

<sup>27</sup> Meritt, 1977, p. 172.

<sup>28</sup> Meritt, 1977, p. 169.

<sup>29</sup> Month name omitted: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 348, 354, 356, 357, and 360; ἐκκλησία formula omitted: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 351, 353, 360, 365, 366, 380, 382, and 388.

<sup>30</sup> Intercalation of a thirteenth month, if it took place, normally occurred after the end of Poseideon (see B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1961, p. 5). Thus, in the period of the twelve phylai, the sixth prytany and Poseideon, the sixth month, would have been virtually conterminous.

restored to fit the space available: <Poseideon>, 13 = Prytany VI, 16 (day 161 in both calendars) or <Poseideon>, 16 = Prytany VI, 19 (day 164).<sup>31</sup> Neither of these is known to be a festival day, but Poseideon 16 is attested as a probable meeting day for the Ekklesia in 352/1 B.C. (and also in 323/2 B.C.?).<sup>32</sup>

Proboulos (the orator of line 5) may be [Πρό?]βουλος Κηφισιεύς or a descendant.<sup>33</sup> The epistates of the proedroi may be one of the several men named Theomnestos who are attested for the period.<sup>34</sup>

It is unlikely, I believe, that the letters ΠΟΞΕ in line 7 derive from any formula involving the grant or holding of the *proxenia*; in the period under consideration grants of *proxenia* are usually placed near the end of the decree, after a recital of the honorand's services. It is possible that the honorand was already a *proxenos* and that this was included in the recital of his services; in this case, we might adapt the formula that is found in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 467, lines 4–6: ἐπειδὴ *nomen* πρόξενος ὦν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων διατελεῖ φίλος ὦν καὶ εὖνους τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Ἀθηναίων. As it stands, however, this formula is too long for the space available, and, in any case, if it is used precisely as it is in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 467, there will be too much space after the name of line 6 for a single honorand to be involved. Even in the plural, this formula will not fit the available space. Thus line 7, I believe, contains the name (or the patronymic) of a second (or even a third) honorand: *proxenia* is not involved. Similarly, in line 8 it is tempting to restore [ἐπαινέσαι καὶ στ]εφά[νῳσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν χρυσῶι (θαλλοῦ?) στεφάνῳι], but I doubt whether this formula would be found so early in such a decree as this.<sup>35</sup>

7 (Pl. 88). A fragment of micaceous Pentelic marble, found on July 17, 1947 in a modern house wall above the Civic Offices (I 11). The stipple-dressed left side and the rough-picked back are preserved, but the face is badly abraded, and few letters are legible. There is an apparent vertical, uninscribed space above line 1.

P.H. 0.26 m.; p.W. 0.18 m.; Th. 0.155 m.

Height of letters 0.005–0.006 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.011 m.; the horizontal spacing is 0.002–0.005 m.

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<sup>31</sup> On the question as to whether 295/4 B.C. was an ordinary or an intercalary year, see B. D. Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–33; he argued there that 295/4 B.C. was an intercalary year. Unfortunately, all that my proposed new equation shows is that no adjustments to the calendar of this year (by the insertion of extra *days*) had been made up to Poseideon 13: the lunar months had alternated 30 and 29 days, and the first six prytanies had each had 29 days (on the lengths of lunar months and prytanies during the period of the twelve phylai, see *ibid.*, pp. 135–166).

<sup>32</sup> On the meeting days of the Ekklesia during Poseideon, see J. D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year*, Princeton 1975, pp. 87–97 (pp. 91–92, for Poseideon 16).

<sup>33</sup> *PAN*, p. 146.

<sup>34</sup> *Agora XV*, p. 406.

<sup>35</sup> The crown formula always seems to follow a recital of the honorand's services, often a recital of some length; see Henry, pp. 7–11.

## A DECREE OF THE YEAR OF CHARINOS

a. 291/0 a.

Non-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 67–71

[ἐπὶ X]αρίνο[υ] ἄρ[χοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς ..... 17–21 ..... πρυτανείας, ἡι Θεότιμος .α. . . λ]-  
 [. . . s Τρ]ικορύσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν, ..... 30–34 ..... τῆς πρυταν]-  
 [είας· ἐκ]κλ[ησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ..... 19–23 ..... καὶ συμπρόεδρου· ἐ]-  
 [δοξε]ν τε[ι] β]ου[λ]ε[ι] καὶ τῶι δῆμῳι· ----- εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ -----]  
 5 [2–3]ΕΛ[-----]  
 [. . . 6–7 . . .]Ο[-----]  
 [-----]  
 [. . . 4–5 . . .]ΙΝ[-----]  
 [. . . 11–12 . . .]Ο[-----]  
 10 [. . . 6–7 . . .]νιος [2–3]Δ[2–3]Ο[-----]  
 [. . . 4–5 . . .]ππος Σωπ[-----]  
 [. . . 8–9 . . .]Χο]λα[ρ]γέυ[ς, -----]  
 [. . . 5–6 . . .]Καλλίον [-----]  
 [. . . 6–7 . . .]ἀτης [-----]  
 15 [. . . 7–8 . . .]ς Λα[-----]  
 [. . . 7–8 . . .]Ι[. . .]Ν[-----]

Line 1: The right foot of alpha survives at the left; at the right, the apex of alpha and the bottom of the vertical of rho are visible.

Line 2: The top of iota survives; the vertical and the tips of the arms of kappa are visible.

Line 3: The tip of the upper arm of kappa survives, as does the apex of lambda.

Line 4: The top of the left hasta of nu survives at the left. After tau, the traces on the stone resemble more the left half of an omega but one that has a vertical side and a flat top. The apparent left foot of this character is, in fact, a much shallower and random cut, and, as the photograph clearly shows, this letter is an epsilon: the central horizontal is partly preserved. Iota has disappeared, but the abraded area to the right of epsilon has a vertical straight edge that may represent the left side of iota. The beta likewise has disappeared, but the abraded area contains depressions at top and bottom that may represent the loops of beta. Omicron is virtually complete, although very faint, and both diagonals of upsilon survive. The lambda has perished, but there are faint traces, apparently of an epsilon, in the next stoichos.

Lines 5–9: Very little is visible in these lines: I print only those letter traces in which I have any confidence at all.

Line 11: The right end of the top diagonal of the second sigma survives: an apparent vertical to left of this is, in fact, a random scratch that extends above and below the stoichos.

Line 13: The tips of the arms of kappa survive; the apex of the second lambda is visible.

Line 15: The upper diagonal of sigma survives.

Line 16: The top of iota survives.

The restorations of lines 1 and 2 derive from the prescript of I 6703,<sup>36</sup> from which the forename and demotic of the Secretary are known. In line 2, it might be possible to restore [ε]ικό[σται] instead of the Secretary's demotic, but this would involve a line of ca. 100+ letters and would also create insoluble problems of space filling in lines 3 and 4.

The nature of this document cannot be ascertained with certainty, but the presence of

<sup>36</sup> Published by B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 26, 1957 (pp. 51–97), pp. 53–54, no. 10; for the date, see Meritt, 1977, p. 172.

forenames, patronymics, and demotics in lines 10–15 suggests that we may have here a decree in honor of a board or college. A partial analogy may be provided by *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 676, a decree of the year 273/2 B.C. that praises a commission that had been elected to cooperate with the Priest in making sacrifices to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira.<sup>37</sup> The text of that decree, which has a line length of 35 letters, occupies 11 lines (after the prescript), and a further 9½ lines are taken up with a list of names, arranged by forename, patronymic, and demotic but not in tribal order. In the present document, whose line length is approximately twice that of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 676, lines 4 (end) to 9 may be taken up with the text of a similar decree, while the next 5, probably 6, lines contain the names of those being praised: only one demotic is preserved (line 12), so that it is not possible to say whether these names were arranged in tribal order. Moreover, these names are in the nominative (lines 10, 11, 12, and 14), whereas those of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 676 are in the accusative; thus, the text of the decree cannot have been exactly like that of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 676.

If I am correct in identifying this document as a decree in praise of a board or college, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was passed, as was *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 676, in the last month and last prytany of the year.<sup>38</sup> Another, virtually identical decree of 272/1 B.C. was in honor of a similar commission, and this, too, was passed in the last month and last prytany of the year.<sup>39</sup> Thus, I have tentatively restored lines 1–2 as follows:

[ἐπὶ X]αρίνο[υ] ἄρ[χ]οντος, ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . .<sup>8–12</sup> . . . . . δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας, ἥι Θεότιμος .a. . . λ]-  
[. . . s Τρ]ικ[ο]ρούσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν, Σκιροφοριῶνος . . . . .<sup>17–21</sup> . . . . . τῆς πρυταν]-

If the restoration is correct, we may, indeed, go further. Since the year 291/0 B.C. was a normal, not an intercalary, year,<sup>40</sup> the space available in lines 1 and 2 presents only two choices of restoration: [Αἰγείδος (or Οἰνεῖδος) in line 1, and [ένδεκάτει, ένδεκάτει] in line 2, or [Ἴπποθωντίδος] in line 1, and [ένει καὶ νέαι, τριακόστει] in line 2; an apparent third choice, [δωδεκάτει, δωδεκάτει], in line 2 is ruled out, because Skirophorion 12 was a festival day, on which the Ekklesia did not meet.<sup>41</sup>

**8** (Pl. 88). A fragment of micaceous Pentelic marble, found on June 11, 1947 in destruction debris on the floor of the Civic Offices (I 12). It is broken all around and at the back. There is an uninscribed vertical space of 0.028 m. below the last line.

P.H. 0.062 m.; p.W. 0.041 m.; p.Th. 0.019 m.

Height of letters 0.005–0.006 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.01 m.

Agora Excavations Inventory I 6005

#### DECREE OF THE ATHENIAN STATE

*ante med. s. III a.*

Non-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 70?

[----- εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν] τῆ[s στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει -- δραχμὰς ἐκ]  
[τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλίσκομ]ένων [τὸ ἀνάλωμα -----]

<sup>37</sup> For the date, see Meritt, 1977, p. 173.

<sup>38</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 676, lines 2–6.

<sup>39</sup> Meritt, *op. cit.* (footnote 36 above), pp. 54–55, no. 11.

<sup>40</sup> See Meritt, 1977, p. 172.

<sup>41</sup> See Mikalson, *op. cit.* (footnote 32 above), p. 170. It was the festival of Skira.

[ -----]ον<sup>v</sup>[ -----]  
*vacat*

Line 1: The left hasta of eta survives at the right edge.

Line 2: The third preserved letter is definitely an omega, rather than an omicron: compare this with the omicron of line 3. The feet of the omega have been omitted (or, rather, drawn in to form its base), as often occurs in documents of this date. The left hasta of nu survives. I doubt whether this line should be restored to read [προξ]ένων: apart from the difficulty of devising a restoration that would fit this, the fragment clearly derives from the end of a decree, where the formula for the recovery of the cost of inscription would normally be found. The drachma formula might be omitted, as in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 707, thus allowing for a line length of *ca.* 60 letters, instead of *ca.* 70 letters.

Line 3: It might be possible to restore here the formula by which an honorand is invited to dinner at the Prytaneion: [καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ----- ἐπὶ ξενία (or δείπνον?) εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον]. Depending upon whether he was invited to *xenia* or to *deipnon*, the honorand might be either a foreigner or an Athenian.<sup>42</sup>

9 (Pl. 88). A fragment of blue-gray Hymettian marble, found on March 14, 1936 in late Roman fill north of the Odeion (M 8). The stipple-dressed left side is preserved, with a left margin of 0.006–0.007 m.

P.H. 0.086 m.; p.W. 0.084 m.; p.Th. 0.027 m.

Height of letters 0.006 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.0104 m.

Agora Excavations Inventory I 3755

#### HONORS FOR A PROXENOS

*fin. s.* III *a.*

Non-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

ο[ -----]  
 δύγατ[ται -----]  
 προξένοι[s? -----]-  
 σάντων τῇν [ -----]  
 5 θεωροῦς τοῦ[s? -----]-  
 ρίων ἐπρυ[τάνευεν? -----]  
 [Λ]άπυρι[-----]  
 [.3-4.]σα[ -----]

Line 1: The bottom of omicron is preserved; because of its size, theta is ruled out.

Line 2: 0.003 m. to the right of delta is the bottom of a vertical stroke; 0.004 m. to the right of this is another vertical, preserved almost to the full height of the stoichos. The stone breaks on an angle, but the break seems to preserve parts of the diagonal stroke of a nu. After this break, the bottom of the right leg of a triangular letter survives, followed by a small vertical cut that may be the bottom of a tau.

Line 3: A vertical stroke is preserved to half the height of the stoichos, but it is impossible to say whether this is an iota or the left leg of a nu or other letter.

Line 4: A vertical stroke is preserved to the full height of the stoichos; there is an angled cut on the break to the right of its top that may be a random mark or else the start of the diagonal of a nu.

Line 6: To the right of rho there is an abraded area that contains two diagonal marks whose angles and spacing are appropriate to the arms of an upsilon, but they are so damaged that it is not possible to say whether or not they are letter strokes.

<sup>42</sup> On the invitation formula, see, most recently, Henry, pp. 262–278 (pp. 271–275, for the distinction between *deipnon* and *xenia*).



Line 7: The second preserved letter may be pi or gamma; the second vertical stroke, if it is a pi, is set, not at the end of the horizontal but halfway along it, and is deeper at its bottom than it is at its top. Despite this, it has clearly been made with two separate cuts, as a letter stroke would be, so that I regard it as an intentional, if misplaced, letter stroke, not a random mark. Thus, I print this as a pi, not a gamma. The next letter is clearly an epsilon, while the loop and upper part of the vertical of rho survive in the next stoichos. To the right of this, there seems to be a vertical cut at the top of the stoichos, which I interpret as the top of an iota.

The letter traces in line 7 are best interpreted as parts of a name: an obvious candidate is Lapyris. A man of this name, the son of Kallias of Kleonai, was an Athenian *proxenos* in 323/2 B.C.<sup>43</sup> The name is so rare that it is a reasonable hypothesis to assume that this Lapyris was a descendant of the *proxenos* of 323/2 B.C. This hypothesis is strengthened by the mention in line 5 of *theoroi*: the 4th-century *proxenos*, too, was involved with *theoroi*, probably the Athenian *theoroi* at the Nemean Games.<sup>44</sup>

If I am correct in regarding the honorand of the present document as a descendant of Lapyris son of Kallias of Kleonai, we have here a unique sequence of Athenian proxeny decrees, since the decree of 323/2 B.C. included provisions for its engraving upon the same stele as that on which was inscribed the proxeny of Lapyris' ancestor (probably grandfather) Echembrotos. The stele for Echembrotos also survives,<sup>45</sup> but this is *not* the stele upon which *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 365* was, in fact, engraved. The present document cannot be a part of *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 365* either, since, although the marble types are identical, the stele of *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 365* is virtually complete and preserves all of its left side. Thus, we apparently have three separate stelai: for Echembrotos; for his grandson(?) Lapyris; and for Lapyris' descendant, another Lapyris. The letter forms of the present document are appropriate to the late 3rd century B.C.

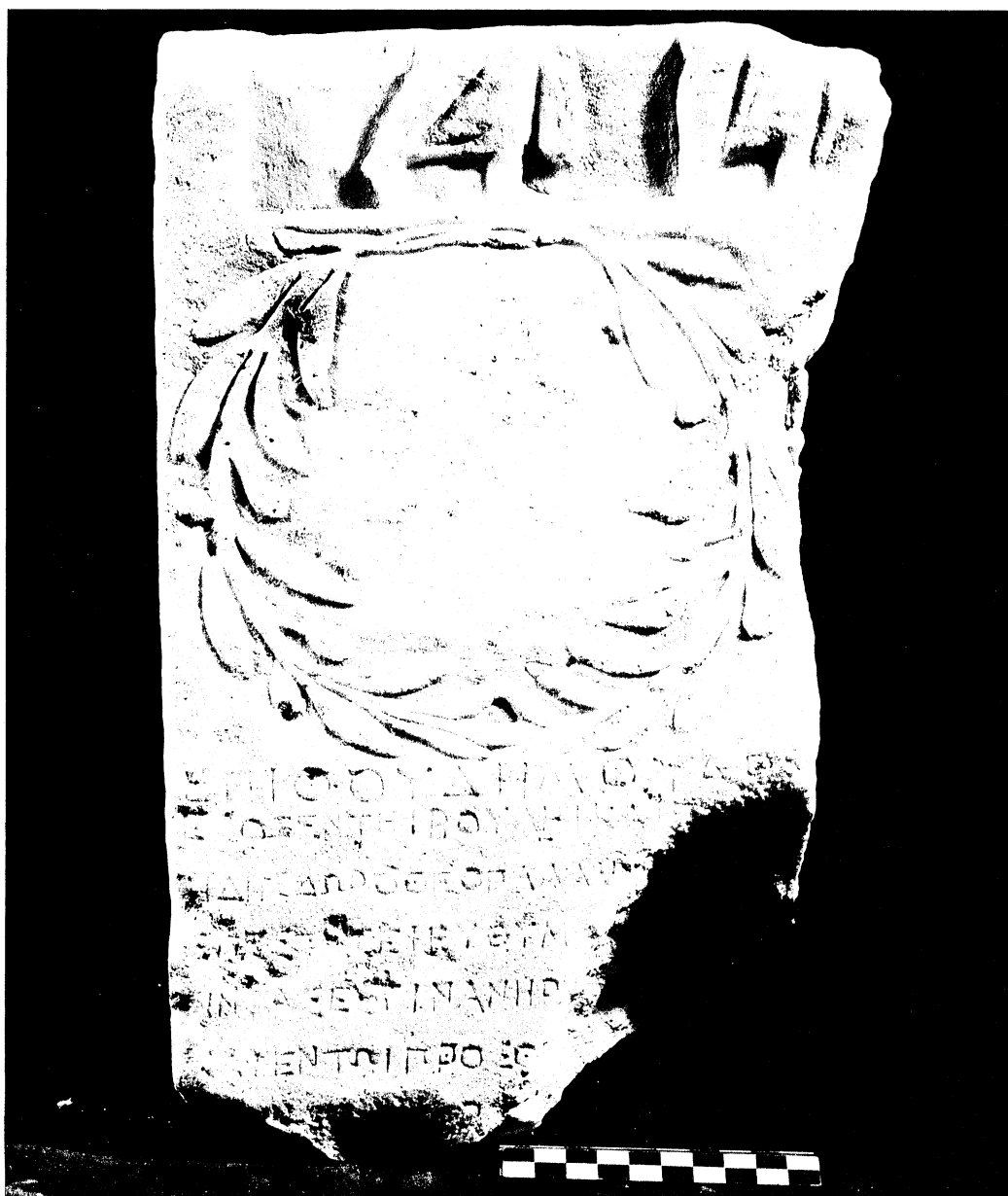
MICHAEL B. WALBANK

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY  
The Department of Classics  
2500 University Drive N.W.  
Alberta, Canada T2N 1N4

<sup>43</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 365*.

<sup>44</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 365*, lines 7–8 and 35–36; see M. B. Walbank, "The Decree for Lapyris of Kleonai (*IG II<sup>2</sup>, 365*)," in *Classical Contributions: Studies in honour of Malcolm Francis McGregor*, G. S. Shrimpton and D. J. McCargar, edd., Locust Valley 1981 (pp. 171–177), p. 174.

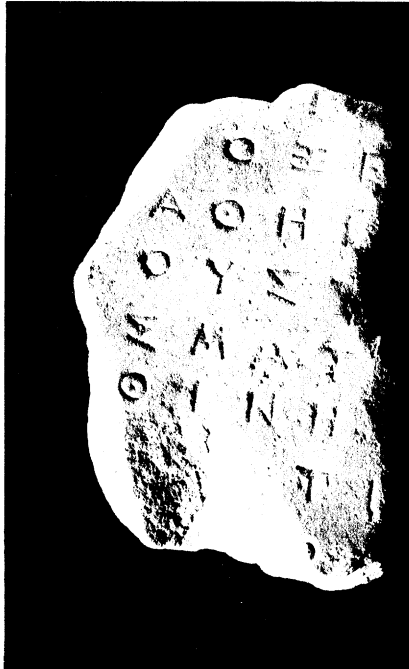
<sup>45</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 63*; for the publication clause in *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 365*, see lines 45–49.



1 a. E.M. 6989



1 b. I 4477



2 a. E.M. 2633



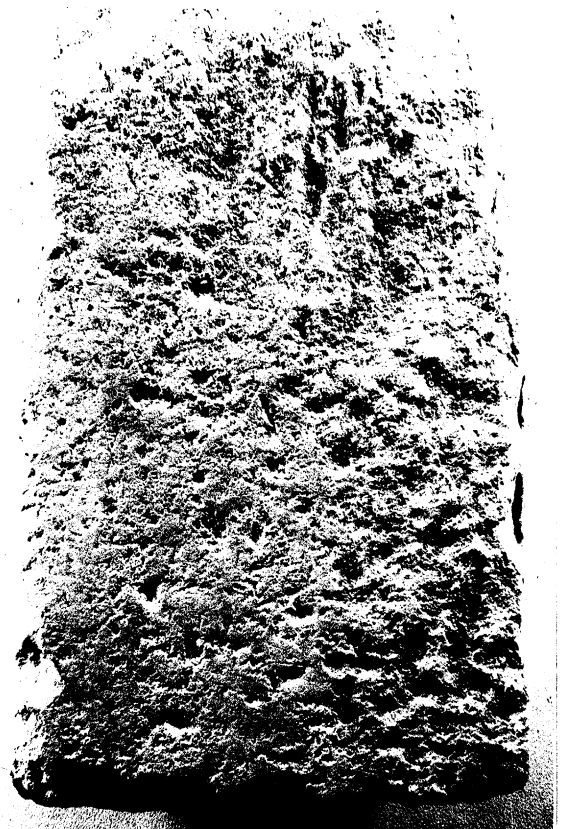
2 b. I 2580



3. I 3367



4. I 4914



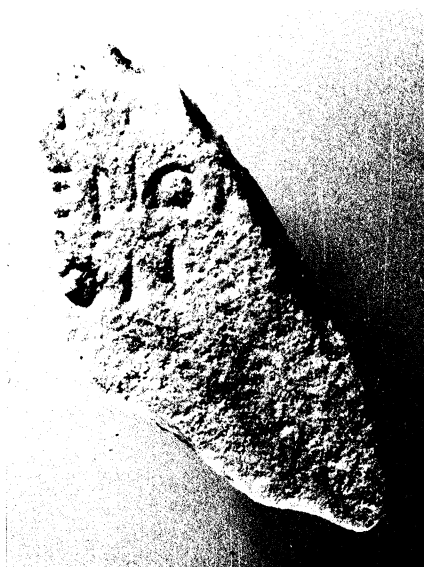
5. I 2173



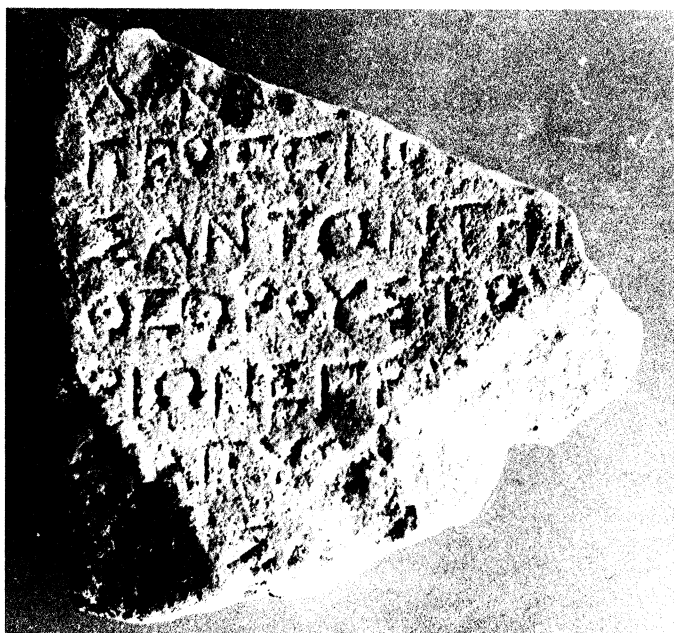
6. I 200



7. I 5923



8. I 6005



9. I 3755