

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 66, 67)

1 (Plate 66). Fragment of gray marble with left side preserved (claw chiseled) found in a modern wall (Q 21) on March 31, 1971.¹

Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. no. I 7254.

ca. a. 220 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 37

- 1 [ἐπαι]νέσα[ι ----- ^{name 25-30} ----- εὖ] -
 [νοί]ας ἔνεκα τῆς ε[ἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ]
 [φιλ]οτιμίας· δεδόσθ[αι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πολιτείαν δοκι]-
 4 [μα]σθέντι ἐν τῷ δικα[στηρίῳ καὶ γράψασθαι φυλῆς]
 [κα]ὶ δῆμον καὶ φρατρίας [ἧς ἂν βούληται· τοὺς δὲ θε]-
 σμοθέτας εἰσαγαγεῖ[ν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ παρόντι τὴν]
 7 δοκιμασίαν ὅταν καὶ ᾧ[ς πληρῶσιν δικαστήριον τῆς πο]-
 λιτογραφίας· τὸν δὲ Γ[----- ^{ca. 16} ----- τόδε]
 τὸ ψήφισμα τοῖς δικασ[ταῖς· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφι]-
 10 σμα τὸν γραμματέα τ[ὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στή]-
 λῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐ[ν ἀκροπόλει· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα]
 τὸ εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν κ[αὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στή]-
 13 λης με[ρ]ίσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τ[ῇ διοικήσει]
 vacat 0.032 m.

Line 4. Of dotted alpha, only a small segment from the bottom left survives at the edge of the break.

Line 7. The stone is worn down nearly smooth in the first letter space so that only an insubstantial outline of the letter appears on a squeeze. In the left part of the last preserved letter space appears part of an omega; it is so damaged by the breakage and wear at the edge that the dot seems necessary.

¹ I wish to thank Professor T. Leslie Shear, Jr., Field Director of the Athenian Agora Excavations, for permission to study and publish these fragments. A grant-in-aid from the College of Humanities at the Ohio State University supported this study in part. I am particularly grateful to Sterling Dow for reading this paper in its entirety and to M. J. Osborne for advice on the problems presented by Agora I 7254.

Line 8. In the worn area to the right of delta, there appears an epsilon plus the letter read as dotted gamma. The vertical and the horizontal are definite; the right side of the letter is worn so that pi is also possible.

Line 12. A single vertical stroke paralleling the edge of the break is all that survives of dotted kappa.

Line 13. Only the horizontal of dotted tau is discernible for certain.

The date of this fragment has been determined by the hand and by the formulae employed in recording the grant of citizenship. The granting formula of line 3, *δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ πολιτείαν κτλ.*, suggests a date in the late 3rd century B.C. and afterwards.² In addition, the language of this fragment reveals a close affinity to that of *I.G. II², 851* which Osborne has shown is in transition and belongs to the period well before 200 B.C.³

I.G. II², 851 records the steps of the grant in the following order:

1. statement of the grant (line 14);
2. provision for enrollment in a tribe, deme, and phratry (line 15);
3. the instructions that the thesmothetai are to see to the judicial scrutiny, etc. (lines 15-18).

The present fragment preserves the same order, though the wording is not exactly the same:

1. statement of grant (line 3);
2. provision for enrollment (lines 4-5);
3. instructions to the thesmothetai for the judicial scrutiny (lines 5-8).

The developed and, once developed, apparently invariable order (seen in *I.G. II², 850, 893 b + c, 922, 925*, etc.) belongs to the years after 200 B.C.⁴ and is as follows:

1. statement of grant (*I.G. II², 850*, lines 14-16);
2. instructions to the thesmothetai (lines 16-21);
3. provision for enrollment (lines 21 ff.).

The similarity of the present fragment to *I.G. II², 851* is obvious and leads to the conclusion that it belongs to about the same time, i. e. *ca.* 229-210 B.C. The hand

² Cf. M. J. Osborne, "Attic Citizenship Decrees," *B.S.A.* 67, 1972, pp. 144-155.

³ M. J. Osborne, "An Athenian Decree of the Early 220's B.C.," *Zeit. Pap. Ep.* 11, 1973, pp. 157-159. The present writer in a study of the cutter who inscribed *I.G. II², 851* has joined to it Agora I 5871, originally published in *Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 219-220. The study of the cutter and a publication of the join will appear in a forthcoming article. The cutter's dated work spans the years 212/1-174/3; thus, I think the early 220's for *I.G. II², 851* is a trifle early.

⁴ *I.G. II², 850* was enacted in the archonship of Dionysios, who is currently dated by Meritt (*T.A.P.A.* 95, 1964, pp. 239-240) to 198/7 B.C. The association of fragment *a* of *I.G. II², 893* with fragments *b + c* cannot be maintained (see my article, "Five Cutters of Hellenistic Athens," in preparation) and thus a valuable date is lost for *I.G. II², 893 b + c*.

provides some further help. The lettering is distinctive for its serifs which are unusual in Attic lettering before 166 B.C.⁵ Though I have made no systematic study of the cutter, I have noted the hand on several fragments, most notably that of Agora I 7181 which has been edited by O. W. Reinmuth⁶ and dated to 229/8.⁷

The restorations in lines 1-6 and 9-13 have numerous parallels and appear certain; see, for example, *I.G.* II², 851 and II², 808. The spacing necessitates the restoration of line 7 without the phrase *εἰς ἓνα καὶ πεντακοσίους δικαστάς* (*I.G.* II², 851, line 15); this omission is very unusual but does find some parallel in Agora I 1541, lines 3-4 (*Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 55 f.) and in *I.G.* II², 663, line 29. The provision of lines 8-9 is unparalleled and remains unclear. Perhaps these lines instructed the secretary of the demos to read the provisions of the grant to the dicasts.⁸ A full study of this decree must be left to others. It suffices to reiterate that Agora I 7254 and *I.G.* II², 851 appear to be two of the earliest citizenship grants which reflect the change from making someone an Athenian (*εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον*) to giving someone Athenian citizenship (*δεδοσθαι αὐτῷ πολιτείαν*). Both texts have formulaic elements of the preceding period, both leave out words that are normal in later grants; thus together they reveal that, although the change may have occurred as a result of the activities of Mikion and Eurykleides in the early 220's, the development of the procedures and language to describe them took some years to be worked out, perhaps as many as 15 or 20.

2 (Plate 67). Fragment of gray marble, face only preserved, found in an early Byzantine disturbance in foundations along the Panathenaic Way (K2) on May 2, 1971.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.018 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. no. I 7286.

a. 197/6 *a.* *vel a.* 180/79 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 60-70(?)

- 1 [-----^{*ca.* 33}-----]ν ἐπὶ [τῆς -----]—
 [-----^{*ca.* 30}-----]ἐγρα[μμάτευε[ν -----]
 [-----^{*ca.* 30}-----]ἐκκ[λησία ἐν τ[ῶι θεάτρῳ? τῶν προέδρων *etc.*]
 4 [-----^{*ca.* 32}-----]ης καὶ συμπρ[όεδροι. ἔδοξε *etc.*]

⁵ See S. Dow in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason*, Princeton, 1975, pp. xiii-xiv.

⁶ *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 246 ff.

⁷ Although I have made no independent investigation, I am skeptical of the precise date. It appears unlikely that Diodotos (230/29) and Diodotos after Phanarchides (180/79) were separated by half a century. [See J. S. Traill, "A Revision of *Hesperia*, XLIII, 1974, "A New Ephebic Inscription from the Athenian Agora," in this issue.—Ed.]

⁸ Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 54, 5 and *I.G.* II², 223, line 10.

[-----ca. 74-----] Σημαχίδης εἶπ[εν. ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι ----]
 [-----ca. 85-----] Ν ἔθυσάν τε τ[ὰς θυσίας ? -----]
 7 [---ca. 24---] μετὰ τοῦ κοσ[μ]ητοῦ καὶ τοῦ [ιερέως? -----]
 [-----ca. 35-----] ἐτέλεσαν[-----]
 [-----ca. 36-----] καὶ τῇ Α[-----]
 10 [-----ca. 36-----] καὶ τῇν [-----]
 [-----ca. 36-----] Σ τοῖς [-----]
 [-----ca. 39-----] Ε[-----]

This cutter rarely inscribes the crossbar of alpha and the central horizontal of epsilon.

Line 1. Only the bottom half of dotted iota is preserved.

Line 2. The bottom left corner of dotted epsilon is preserved at the edge of the break.

Line 4. The upper third of a vertical stroke is visible at the edge to the left of the initial sigma; this is the basis for dotted eta.

Line 7. To the left of eta in the upper part of the letter space occurs a small segment of a slanting stroke, exactly in the correct position to be part of mu, thus the dotted mu.

Line 9. The dotted alpha could also be a lambda.

Line 11. At the edge of the break occur some marks which appear to be letter strokes; they conform to the shape of sigma.

Line 12. Of dotted epsilon only the top quarter is preserved, thus gamma is also a possibility.

This fragment may be recognized as part of a decree praising epheboi. It was inscribed by a cutter whose hand is very distinctive; his work is known in Athens between 197/6 and 155/4 B.C.⁹ Ephebic texts from the end of the 3rd century B.C. and the first half of the 2nd are relatively rare;¹⁰ thus another one, no matter how fragmentary, adds welcome information.

The first part of line 1 may be restored either [ἐπὶ Διοδότου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ

⁹ The Agora I 247 Cutter; see *Gr. Rom. and Byz. Stud.* 14, 1973, pp. 192-195, pl. 5 for a description of his hand and a list of the fragments inscribed by him.

¹⁰ A list follows arranged in chronological order: *Agora I, 7181 of 229/8 (*Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 246-259); Agora I 4171, I 4992, I 5175 of 219/8 (*Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 190-193); *I.G. II², 794 of 216/5 (*Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.* 48, 1937, pp. 107-110); Agora I 6982 of 210/09 (*Hesperia* 34, 1965, pp. 90-92); Agora I 2944 of ca. 200 (*Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 53); I.G. II², 930 of ca. 200; Agora I 3658 of ca. 200 (*Hesperia* 23, 1954, pp. 235-236); I.G. II², 944b of ca. 200; *Agora I 1003 of ca. 200 (*Hesperia* 36, 1967, p. 63); *Agora I 5722 of ca. 195 (W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1940, pp. 110-111); Agora I 6512 of ca. 187 (*Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 12-13); Agora I 979, I 1015, I 1017 of 186/5 (*Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 193-197); I.G. II², 901 (Agora I 2861 [*Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 219] is a part of it) of ca. 185; I.G. II², 900 of 184/3; *Agora I 5131 of ca. 178 (*Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 15-17); *Agora I 166 of 171/0 (*Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 198-201); Agora I 175 of 161/0 (*Hesperia* 2, 1933, pp. 503-505). The asterisked fragments contain parts of the opening lines and thus may be compared with the wording on the new fragment. The present list is derived in part from those which Ch. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique*, Paris, 1962 provides on pages 165, 174, and 184. *Agora I 3675 of ca. 200 (*Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 10-11). This list is not stoichedon and was inscribed by a cutter who was active in Athens around 200 B.C.

Φαναρχίδη]ν¹¹ or [ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Διονύσιο]ν.¹² These restorations allow a determination of the position of the left margin. There appears to be no way to determine the right margin.

Lines 6-12. The extant ephebic documents (listed in footnote 10) provide no sure parallels which allow restoration of long phrases. We may observe that the mention of sacrifices among the first activities for which the ephebes are praised follows the pattern of Agora I 7181 (*Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 246-259) and I 166 (*Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 198-201). The verb in line 8 probably should be restored as διετέλεσαν, though, in the absence of a certain formula of restoration, συνετέλεσαν cannot be ruled out.

3 (Plate 67). Upper right part of a stele of white marble, found in destruction debris in the southwest corner of the peristyle of a Roman house (P 21) on July 2, 1970. The top (which is flat and claw chiseled), the right side (claw chiseled), and the back (rough picked) are preserved. A molding runs across the front and right side.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.165 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. no. I 7156.

a. 117/6 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 48

- 1 [---ca. 12--- ἐπὶ Μενοίτου ἄρχο]ντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὕ
[-----ca. 26-----]άδης Ἀττάλου Βερενικίδης
[ἐγγραμμάτευεν-----ca. 13-----]τετράδι ἱσταμένου ὕ τετάρτη
4 [τῆς πρυτανείας· βουλὴ ἐν βουλευτ]ηρίῳ τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφι-
[ζεν-----ca. 14----- καὶ συμπρό]εδροι vac. 3-4 τὸ κοιν[ὸν τῶν Ἀμφι]-
[κτιόνων Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ] τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν [vac. ca. 4-ca. 5]

Line 3. Of dotted tau only the serif at the right end of the horizontal is visible at the edge of the break.

Line 6. The bottom half of dotted rho has been broken away; thus, the remains in isolation could be those of a beta.

The date of this fragment may be determined by the hand of the cutter and by the name of the secretary. The Agora I 286 Cutter, whose dated work belongs to the years 130/29-117/6, inscribed this fragment.¹³ The secretary is a new one, not

¹¹ Cf. *The Athenian Agora*, XV, *Inscriptions*, *The Athenian Councillors*, Princeton, 1975, no. 187 for the secretary.

¹² Cf. *I.G.* II², 888.

¹³ For a detailed description of his lettering and a list of inscriptions cut by him, see *Gr. Rom. and Byz. Stud.* 11, 1970, pp. 330-331, pls. 26-28, figs. 4-7. I wish also to record here my thanks to one of my students, T. Scanlon, who did some helpful preliminary work on this fragment in the course of a seminar on Greek epigraphy.

heretofore attested, for he can not, it appears, be identical with the secretary of 129/8, whose name was read by Peek as Ἡγ¹⁰ νο[υ] Βερενικίδης.¹⁴ He must, therefore, be the secretary of 117/6. The father, Attalos Berenikides, is not attested elsewhere nor can any known Berenikid be identified for certain with the son.¹⁵ It is not, therefore, possible to restore the *nomen*.

This text may be associated with the important group of inscriptions from Athens and Delphi which provide the evidence for the dispute between the Athenian guild of Dionysiac artists and the Isthmian and Nemean guilds.¹⁶ The present fragment belongs to 117/6, a year during which the Amphiktyonic council passed a fulsome decree supporting the Athenian guild (*Fouilles de Delphes* [*F.D.*] III, 2, no. 69), and almost certainly represents a phase in that process. It begins with a copy of a letter from the Amphiktyonic council,¹⁷ perhaps the original transmission of the decree published as *F.D.* III, 2, no. 69 to the Athenians. *I.G.* II², 1134, passed in the 11th prytany near the end of the year, records the official Athenian acceptance of *F.D.* III, 2, no. 69. The action of the Amphiktyons was taken at their fall meeting (*F.D.* III, 2, no. 69, line 1), i. e. six months or so before the Athenians responded with *I.G.* II², 1134. The date of the new fragment cannot be accurately determined; however, it belongs very probably to an earlier part of the year and thus reflects an earlier part of the process.

Line 1 should almost certainly be restored ἐκ τοῦ Μητρώου, which would then signify that the present fragment is from a copy set up by the Dionysiac artists to commemorate the action of the Amphiktyons. *I.G.* II², 1132, lines 1 and 40, provides a parallel.¹⁸

STEPHEN V. TRACY

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

¹⁴ *Ath. Mitt.* 66, 1941, pp. 181-195.

¹⁵ Lysiades Berenikides (Kirchner, *P.A.* 9344 *cum* *P.A.* 7910) and Asklepiades Berenikides (*Agora* XV, p. 369 *sub nomine*) are demonstrably not identical with our secretary; the Asklepiades Berenikides listed as *P.A.* 2599 could be identical, but does not have to be.

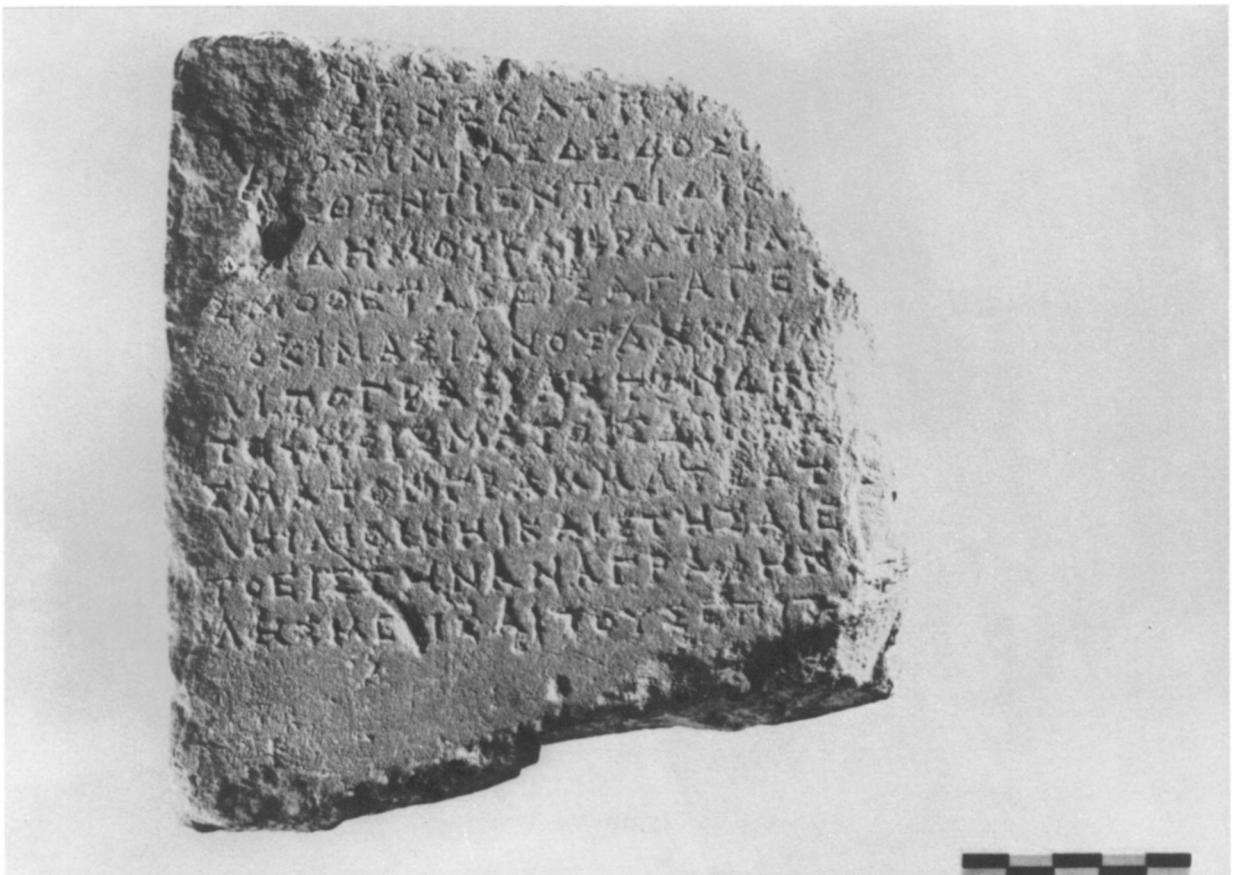
¹⁶ On the entire matter, see especially G. Klaffenbach, *Symbolae ad Historiam Collegiorum Artificum Bacchiorum*, Berlin, 1914, pp. 24-46; G. Daux, *Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle*, Paris, 1936, pp. 356-372; and A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd edition revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford, 1968, pp. 288-291.

¹⁷ For the restoration of lines 5-6 cf. *I.G.* II², 1134, line 77 and *I.G.* II², 1132, lines 41-42.

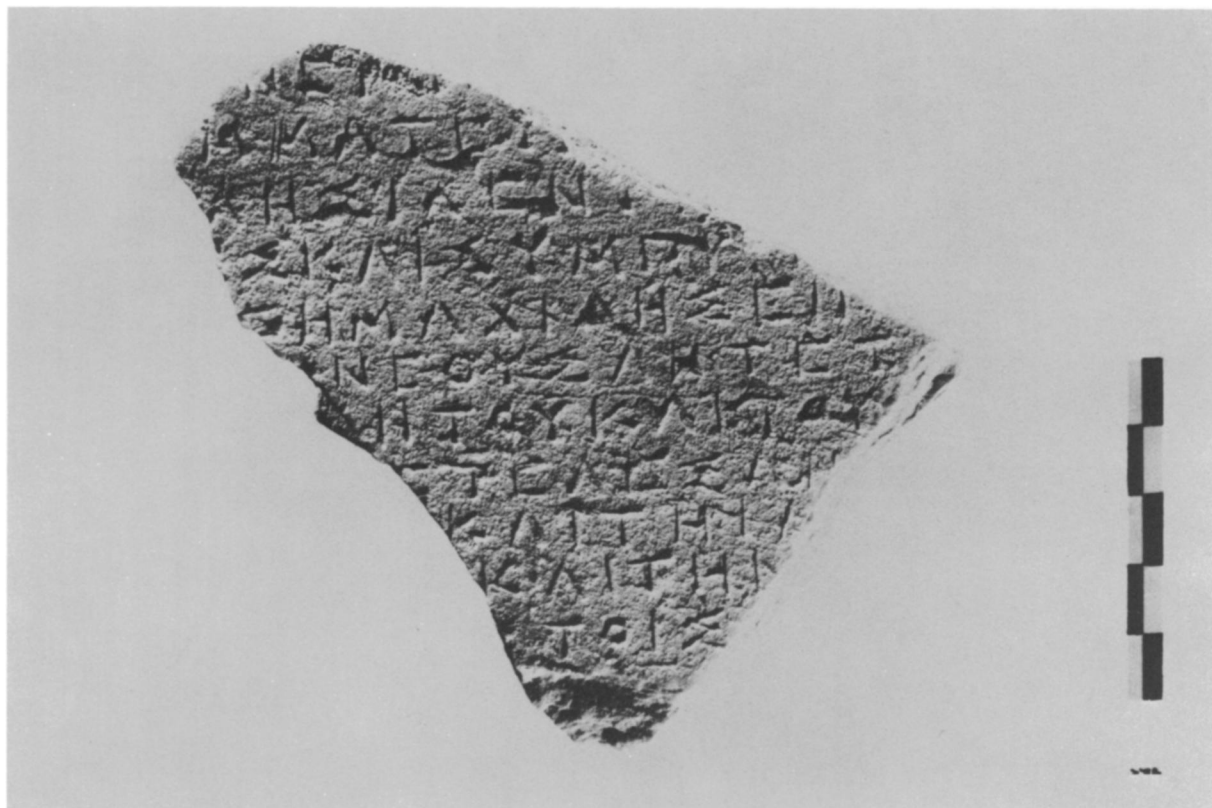
¹⁸ Cf. J. Kirchner, *I.G.* II², p. 530, col. II and S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 39, 1970, p. 310.



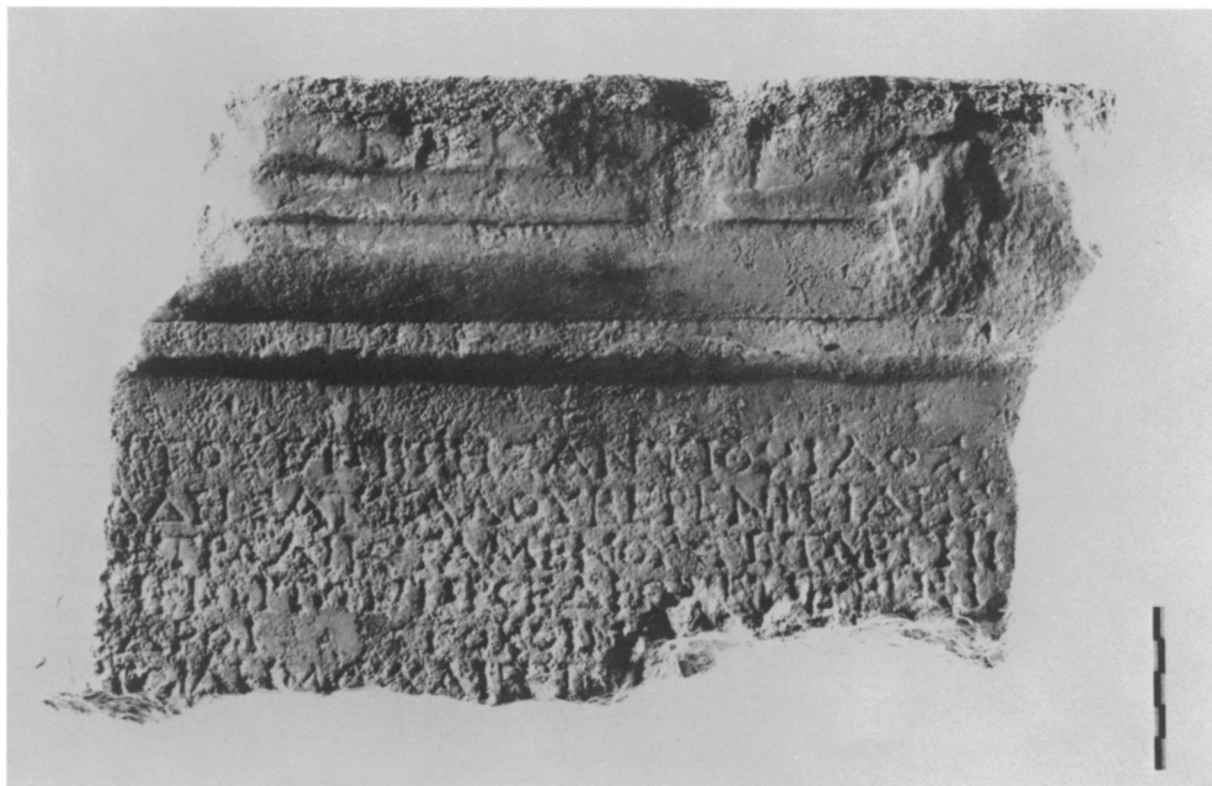
MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR: THE ATTIC QUOTA-LIST OF 453/2 B.C.



STEPHEN V. TRACY: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



2



3