

TWO ATTIC LETTER CUTTERS OF THE THIRD CENTURY: 286/5–235/4 B.C.

(PLATES 85–87)

THE TWO ARTISANS presented below were, if not the most productive, two of the most productive inscribers of decrees during the 3rd century.¹ The first of these cutters was discussed in an article which I published fifteen years ago.² Since then I have found enough other examples of his writing that I offer this second and, I hope, now quite complete dossier of his inscriptions. Identifying epigraphical hands is no easy matter. My method and criteria have been presented in detail in *GRBS* 11, 1970, pp. 321–328; *Hesperia* Supplement XV, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason*, Princeton 1975, pp. 1–11, 90–95; and *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow* (Greek Roman and Byzantine Monograph 10) 1984, pp. 277–279 and, in consequence, are not repeated here.

Archon dates during the period covered by this study are troublesome, particularly after 261.³ I have tended, for convenience, to accept the lists as published by B. D. Meritt in *Historia* 26, 1977, pp. 161–191 for the archons of 286/5 to 266/5 and in *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 94–96 for those of 265/4 to 235/4. Unless otherwise indicated a single date in parentheses will be that assigned to the archon by Meritt. Where necessary, I add alternative dates, cumbersome though it is to do so, in order to remind the inexperienced, and not only

¹ The following abbreviations will be used for works cited frequently in this article:

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|---|---|
| <i>Agora</i> XV | = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , XV, <i>Inscriptions. The Athenian Councillors</i> , Princeton 1974 |
| Habicht, <i>Untersuchungen</i> | = C. Habicht, <i>Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.</i> (<i>Vestigia</i> 30), Munich 1979 |
| Kirchner-Klaffenbach, <i>Imagines</i> | = J. Kirchner, <i>Imagines inscriptionum atticarum</i> , 2nd ed., G. Klaffenbach, ed., Berlin 1948 |
| Osborne, <i>Naturalization</i> | = M. J. Osborne, <i>Naturalization in Athens</i> (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, no. 98, 1981 [= vol. I], no. 101, 1982 [= vol. II], no. 109, 1983 [= vols. III and IV]), Brussels |
| Pritchett and Meritt, <i>Chronology</i> | = W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, <i>The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens</i> , Cambridge, Mass. 1940 |
| Wilhelm, <i>Att. Urkunden</i> II, III | = A. Wilhelm, "Attische Urkunden, Teil II," <i>Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-historische Klasse</i> 180.2, Vienna 1916, pp. 3–37; "Teil III," 202.5, Vienna 1925, pp. 3–64. |

I am deeply indebted to the faculty of the Institute for Advanced Study for granting me membership during 1987/88 and especially to Christian Habicht for his warm encouragement and advice. The opportunity to consult extensively the squeeze collection at the Institute has greatly facilitated this study. I also thank Professor Homer Thompson for his kind permission to study and publish epigraphical fragments from his excavations in the Athenian Agora.

² "Identifying Epigraphical Hands, II," *GRBS* 14, 1973, pp. 190–192, and pl. 4.

³ See Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 113–146 and M. J. Osborne, "The Archonship of Nikias Hysteros," *ZPE* 58, 1985, pp. 275–295, esp. pp. 287–295.

the inexperienced, of just how uncertain the list in this period is. Fortunately the archons who provide the temporal parameters of this study, Diokles (286/5) and Lysanias (235/4), seem to be firmly dated.

In the first list which follows, an asterisk (*) marks items new to the cutter's published dossier. In both lists, a double dagger (‡) beside an inscription signifies that additional comments are offered in the subsequent discussion.

THE CUTTER OF AGORA I 3238 AND I 4169 (286/5–245/4)

This cutter was one of the most prolific working in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. I therefore take the opportunity here to illustrate his lettering again (Pl. 85:a) and to describe its salient features. With the exception of omega, he makes his round letters with straight strokes. Omikron and theta have straight sides; occasionally the lower part may curve somewhat. The loop of rho is almost always square. The central part of phi is usually quite rectangular. The hand is very distinctive and easy to recognize.

List of inscriptions

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|-----------------------------------|--|
| ‡IG II ² , 525 and 675 | |
| IG II ² , 661 | archon Menekles (267/6) |
| ‡*IG II ² , 662 and | archon Diokles (286/5). Osborne, <i>Naturalization</i> , no. D74A |
| Agora I 6560 | |
| *IG II ² , 664 | archon Menekles (267/6) |
| ‡IG II ² , 665 | archon Nikias Otryneus (266/5). Agora I 3370 and probably I 6801 (published below, 1a) join. |
| ‡*IG II ² , 666 | archon [Nikias] Otryne[us] (266/5). Osborne, <i>Naturalization</i> , no. D78A. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, <i>Imagines</i> , no. 83 |
| ‡*IG II ² , 667 | Osborne, <i>Naturalization</i> , no. D78B |
| IG II ² , 668 | archon Nikias Otryneus (266/5) |
| ‡*IG II ² , 670 | archon [Gorgias] (280/79) |
| ‡*IG II ² , 672 | archon [Anaxikrates] (279/8) |
| IG II ² , 677 | Kirchner-Klaffenbach, <i>Imagines</i> , no. 85 |
| ‡IG II ² , 686 + 687 | archon Peithidemos (265/4 or, more probably, 268/7 [see discussion]). For the join and text, see K. K. Smith, "A New Fragment of the Chremonides Decree," <i>CP</i> 9, 1914, pp. 225–234; for a recent text and bibliography, see H. H. Schmitt, <i>Staatsverträge</i> III, Munich 1969, pp. 129–133. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, <i>Imagines</i> , no. 84 |
| ‡IG II ² , 700 | archon Thymochares (257/6). <i>Hesperia</i> 7, 1938, pp. 110–114 |
| IG II ² , 707 | Osborne, <i>Naturalization</i> , no. D88 |
| IG II ² , 712 | <i>ibid.</i> , no. D79 |
| *IG II ² , 717 | <i>ibid.</i> , no. D83 |
| *IG II ² , 718 + 804 | <i>ibid.</i> , no. D80 |
| IG II ² , 724 | |
| *IG II ² , 728 | |
| IG II ² , 746 | For some probable restorations, see Wilhelm, <i>Att. Urkunden</i> III, p. 57. |
| *IG II ² , 760 | part of IG II ² , 662, <i>q.v.</i> |

- IG II², 772 archon Diogeiton (268/7 or ?. Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 116, note 11). Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*, no. 82
- ‡IG II², 777 archon Kallimedes (250/49 or 249/8. Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 143).
- IG II², 780 archon Thersilochos (248/7 or 247/6. Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 143). Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*, no. 88
- IG II², 782 archon Ther[s]ilo[chos] (248/7 or 247/6). Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*, no. 89
- IG II², 784 archon Athenodoros (256/5 or, alternatively, 258/7, 254/3, or 250/49. Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 140)
- ‡*IG II², 792 archon [Ol]bios (275/4)
- *IG II², 801 J. Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions* (Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica et Historica Monographia XV), Prague 1966, pp. 110–112
- *IG II², 819
- ‡*IG II², 823
- IG II², 860 This text should be dated *ca.* 265 B.C.
- *IG II², 1165
- *IG II², 1219 + 1288 *BCH* 89, 1965, pp. 344–348; cf. *SEG* XXII, 127. The date should be *ca.* 265 B.C.
- IG II², 1272 archon Menekles (267/6)
- *IG II², 1283 archon Polystratos (260/59). Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*, no. 87
- ‡*IG II², 1287
- ‡*IG II², 1534B archon Diomedon (245/4 or 244/3. Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 143)
- ‡*IG II², 2431a This is probably a list of prytaneis of the tribe Demetrias.
- IG II², 2437 *Agora* XV, no. 125. This text belongs *ca.* 265 B.C. On the date, see the discussion under IG II², 665 below
- *IG II², 3079, lines 5–20 archon Nikias (282/1)
- *Agora I 15 + 96 archon Olbios (275/4). *Hesperia* 2, 1933, p. 156
- Agora I 202 *Agora* XV, no. 110. This text should be dated, as the suppression of the reference to King Antigonos and his family reveals, to a year after 261.
- Agora I 625 *ibid.*, no. 77. This text includes Agora inventory numbers I 811, I 818, and I 820.
- Agora I 1024 *ibid.*, no. 86
- *Agora I 1533 *Hesperia* 16, 1947, pp. 155–157. This text includes inventory numbers I 1777, I 1778, I 1971, and I 2014.
- *Agora I 1764 + 4890 *Agora* XV, no. 109; it should be dated *ca.* 265 B.C.
- *Agora I 2455 archon Diog<n>e[tos] (264/3). *Hesperia* 23, 1954, pp. 242–243
- Agora I 3048 *Hesperia* 37, 1968, p. 270
- Agora I 3238 and archon Athenodoros (256/5 or, alternatively, 258/7, 254/3, or
- I 4169 250/49). *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 444–448
- *Agora I 3370 joins IG II², 665, *q.v.*
- Agora I 3394 archon Phanomachos (251/0). *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 9–14
- Agora I 3605 *Hesperia* 23, 1954, pp. 234–235

- 3 [μμ]άτευνεν· Βοηδρομιῶ[νος ἔκ]τει μετ' εἰκάδας, ἔκτει καὶ εἰκ-
[οσ]τεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας[ς· ἑκκλ]ησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισε-
[ν Λ]εωκράτης Λεωστρά[του Οἰ]ν[αῖ]ος καὶ συμπρόεδροι ὕ ἔδοξ-
6 [εν] τεῖ βουλευεῖ καὶ τῶι [δήμωι] ὕ [. . . σ]τρατος Μυννίσκου Περ-
[γα]σῆθεν εἶπεν· ἐπειδ[ὴ οἱ ἐ]φηβ[οι οἱ ἐ]φηβεύσαντες ἐπὶ Μεν-
[εκ]λέους ἄρχοντος πο[λέμο]ν κα[τέ]χοντος τὴν πόλιν διέμει-
9 [ναν] πάντες εὐτακτο[ῦντες] καὶ [πε]ιθόμενοι τοῖς τε νόμο[ις]
[κα]ὶ τῶι κοσμητῇ[ι κ]αὶ [διετέ]λε[σα]ν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰς τε [φυλ]-
[ακ]ῆς λειτου[ρ]γοῦντες κ[αὶ τ]ὰ ἄ[λλα] τὰ παραγγελόμενα ὑπὸ
12 [τοῦ σ]τρατηγοῦ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ΜΟΥ[σ]είου φυλακὴν, καθάπερ ἐτά-
[χθησαν ὑ]πὸ τοῦ δήμου ὅπως ἂν [ο]ῦν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ δ-

Line 6. Unfortunately the new fragment does not give us the name of the speaker, but it does allow us to determine the letters lost a bit more precisely.

Line 11. The restoration of the bland [τ]ὰ ἄ[λλα]α is required by the spacing and the presence of AA on the Agora fragment.

Line 50 (I). The eta falls under the left side of phi in line 47. There was thus room for three letters at most. The cutter or the secretary seems to have spelled this name [᾽Ασκ]ητάδης.

Here in the register of names the cutter inscribed short horizontal lines just above each tribal rubric as a device to articulate them visually. These lines are not recorded in *IG*. He did not do this nearly a decade later in his other surviving ephebic inscription, *IG* II², 700, of 257/6. This practice seems to provide some indication for dating his prytany lists. Agora I 7043 of shortly before 254/3 (*Agora* XV, no. 89) does not have them. Two other lists have them before demotics, *IG* II², 2431a and 2437, and two others, Agora I 1024 (*Agora* XV, no. 86) and I 1764 + 4890 (*Agora* XV, no. 109), do not. On this basis, we may tentatively date the first two in the mid 260's or before and the second two in the 250's.

Adnotatiunculae

IG II², 525 and 675

In first listing these fragments as by this cutter, I had failed to note Wilhelm's association of them in *AM* 39, 1914, p. 266 and Pritchett's subsequent article in *AJP* 58, 1937, pp. 329–333, where he attributes this text to 306/5, the archonship of Koroibos. He there offers new texts of the fragments. The only modification to his readings is that, in line 5, the *stoichos* directly under the first kappa of line 4 is preserved and it is blank. Otherwise, I am in agreement with Pritchett's readings, especially that of the all-important demotic in line 3. The stroke read as iota is, as Pritchett reports, on the right edge of the *stoichos*, and it clearly slants. Under the circumstances, dotted mu is the only possible reading.

The hand on all these fragments is undoubtedly that of the present cutter, whose dates are approximately 286/5 to 245/4. There will certainly be some adjustments as we acquire more evidence for the dates of some of these archons, but I do not think it will be possible to push this cutter's career back to 306/5. Rhamnous, the deme of the secretary, belongs to Aiantis, the eleventh tribe in the official order at this period. With the archon list as currently established by Meritt, the eleventh tribe furnished the secretary in 291/0, 279/8,

267/6, 255/4, and 239/8. The secretaries, the published lists lead us to believe, are known for these years; none is from Rhamnous, and so Pritchett's choice was the natural one. But the evidence needs full examination, for as I have pointed out below in discussing *IG II*², 670, there is no real evidence for the demotic of the secretary in 279/8. There is thus a temptation to place this text in 279/8, the year of Anaxikrates. But this temptation should be resisted, for I think the situation is sufficiently in flux that we must await new evidence. The present text, then, becomes a warning signal of problems in the generally accepted lists.

*IG II*², 662

The text published as *IG II*², 760 belongs to this inscription. Kirchner's text was inaccurate in several places. A new text in capitals reads:

ΤΕ
ΑΙ^υΚ
ΟΣΤΟΜΒ
ΑΛΩΣΙΝ
ΡΟΥΣΟ

This piece does not join but gives us the initial preserved letters in lines 11 to 15 of Osborne's text as follows:

- 11 [παντὶ καιρῷ δια]τέ[λει καὶ λέγων (?) ὑπ]ὲρ τοῦ δήμου ἀγαθ-
[ὸν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται^υ κ[αὶ ταῖς πρεσβείαι]ς ταῖς ἀποστελ-
[λομέναις προ]ῶς τὸμ β[ασιλέα συναγωνί]ζεται εἰς ὅ τι ἂ[ν]
[αὐτὸν παρακ]αλῶσιν [^υ τύχηι ἀγαθῇι δεδόχθαι] τῇι βου[λ]-
15 [ῇι τοὺς προέδ]ρους οἱ[τίνες ἂν προεδρεύωσιν, κτλ. ---]

*IG II*², 666 and 667

These two inscriptions are copies of the same citizenship decree for Strombichos, a commander of mercenaries. The lettering of these two texts stands out as being somewhat sloppy. Strokes are not placed precisely. Instead of being neatly rectangular, the central part of phi has sides that slant because the two horizontal strokes are not carefully placed one above the other. Omikron is often square rather than hexagonal. In general, however, and all this notwithstanding, the letter shapes closely conform to those of this cutter. It appears that he indeed did inscribe them, probably, for whatever reason, in great haste. The lettering of these two texts alone is not up to his usual standard of neatness.

*IG II*², 670B

Meritt now restores (*Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 9, note 15) the secretary in line 20 as [. . . .⁹]ιδη[s] Ν[ίκων]ος [Ο]ἱ[ναῖος]. On the squeeze available at the Institute for Advanced Study the following traces only are clear: delta, the first vertical of eta, nu (under the first preserved omikron of line 19) and omikron sigma (under epsilon pi of line 19). Thus we may read conservatively

- [----- ἄρχ]οντος ἐπὶ [-----]
20 [----]δη[.] Ν[. . .]ος [-----]

I can discern no certain letter stroke after sigma; the stone in that area, in fact, is deeply worn, and I suspect that no letter strokes can have survived. In any case, the crucial demotic cannot be restored with any degree of probability. Note also that there is nothing which positively connects this secretary, whatever his name and demotic, with Anaxikrates.

IG II², 672

Schweigert (*Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 338–339) has published an apparent copy of this decree found on the north slope of the Acropolis (E.M. 12967). He asserts that it is by the same hand. The lettering is somewhat similar but neither the rho's nor the phi's are squared. The hand is very close to that of the Cutter of *IG II², 788* discussed below.

IG II², 686 + 687

Osborne (*Naturalization II*, pp. 165–167) discusses the date of this important inscription. He argues that it must come at the beginning of the Chremonidean war, i.e., before hostilities had flared into open fighting. He points out that *IG II², 665, 666, and 667* reveal that the war was in progress in 267/6. He suggests, I think sensibly, that the historical situation demands a date in 268/7 for the archon Peithidemos and not 265/4. This seems very likely, but the proposed change cannot be accommodated easily into the archon lists as now constituted. There is, then, no place for Diogeiton and his secretary from the tenth tribe (*IG II², 772*). Osborne was anticipated in much of this by H. Heinen (*Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden 1972, pp. 115–117, 213); see also Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 116, note 11.

IG II², 700

Line 36. There is one full letter space left blank after the first alpha.

Lines 32 and 63. Peek (*AM* 67, 1942, p. 163) reads and restores, correctly I think, [‘Αγ]υωνίδην and [. . . ? . . .] ‘Ηνιόχο[υ--].

IG II², 777

Habicht (*Hypomnemata* 73, 1982, p. 202, no. 8) convincingly restores the proposer of this decree as Lykomedes son of Diochares of Konthyle and points out that he is known as Priest of Asklepios (*IG II², 1534B*, line 221) and as the proposer of two other decrees which are to be dated to about mid-century, namely, *Agora XV*, no. 89, line 23 (archon Philinos) and *IG II², 441 + 769⁴* (archon Antimachos). On the date of the latter, see p. 321 below.

IG II², 792

Meritt suggested (*Hesperia* 4, 1935, p. 564, note 1) for the lacuna which included part of the archon's name in line 5 [τοὺς κατασταθέντας ἐπὶ Ὀλ]βίου, 20 plus 2 letters, instead of Kirchner's [τοὺς σιτωνήσαντας ἐπ . . .]βίου, 18 letters plus 4; Meritt's seems to have been the better solution. Pritchett and Meritt himself, however, rejected it on inadequate prosopographical grounds (*Chronology*, p. 99) and asserted that this inscription and *IG II², 774* gave evidence for the same archon. The argument is based on Eriotos of Melite

⁴ These fragments were brought together by A. Wilhelm (“Bürgerrechtsverleihungen der Athener,” *AM* 39, 1914 [pp. 257–315], p. 266).

(line 20), whom they identified with the contributor of the same name in *IG II*², 791, line 62 (I) as re-edited in *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 287–291. *IG II*², 791 belongs to the archonship of Diomedon (245/4 or 244/3), and so they concluded that [Ol]bios (275/4) could not be the archon in line 5 of *IG II*², 792. It is, however, not at all impossible that Eriotos of Melite served as *sitones* in the archonship of Olbios (275/4) and contributed 200 drachmas, the highest amount allowed, in the archonship of Diomedon 30 years later (*IG II*², 791, line 62). This contributor could also have been a descendant. We simply have no way of knowing. One of the other *sitonai* of this inscription, Deinias of Erchia, is attested as *agonothetes* in 266/5 (*Hesperia* 37, 1968, p. 284). This bit of prosopographical evidence would tend to point to the earlier date. Habicht (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 125–126) has also examined the prosopographical evidence and concludes that this decree for the *sitonai* must be assigned to the third quarter of the 3rd century. With regard to the suggestion that *IG II*², 792 and 774 refer to the same archon, there was never any real evidence for this idea.⁵ Meritt nevertheless repeats his arguments in *Hesperia* 50, 1981, p. 91 and reasserts that *IG II*², 792 and 774 together provide evidence for an archon of 249/8 [. . .]βιος and his secretary [---]ιεύς. This archon should be expunged from our lists and these two texts separated.

*IG II*², 792 should be restored as Meritt suggested in 1935: [τοὺς κατασταθέντας ἐπὶ Ὀλβίου ἀρχοντος. *IG II*², 774 with the archon [. . . .]ος and secretary's demotic [---]ιεύς⁶ must be dated, as Habicht has shown (*Untersuchungen*, p. 125), no earlier than 249.

*IG II*², 823

Robert (*Hellenica* XI–XII, Paris 1960, pp. 175–176) shows that this decree refers to pirates and their punishment by a royal officer; he compares it with *IG II*², 1225.

*IG II*², 1287

Habicht (*Untersuchungen*, p. 132, note 91) has sought to associate this text with *IG II*², 3460 and thus to restore the archon Antimachos in line 1. Stroud (*SEG* XXIX, 137) rightly rejects the association.

⁵ E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* I, Nancy 1966, p. 287.

⁶ After examining the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study I am not at all convinced of this reading. Kirchner read NOYΣEIT; Meritt (*Hesperia* 4, 1935, p. 552) read IEYΣEII, which he then transcribed as [---]ιεύς ἐγρ[αμμάτευεν]. I can see only I . YΣEII. The stone is preserved after the final iota, so that Meritt's shading after it was deceptive. Moreover, the crucial second letter space, where Kirchner read omikron and Meritt epsilon, is badly abraded. In differing lightings either reading could be defended, but I think, in fact, that neither is certain. In order to read ἐγραμμάτευεν one must posit two successive broken letters; this seems special pleading. The reading Εἰτεαῖος requires only that the crossbar of tau was forgotten. In support of this reading, at the edge of the break in the bottom of the letter space following the broken tau there appears what is an all but certain short segment of a vertical with a short bit of horizontal at the bottom. I would read this line as [---]π[ο]ύς Εἰ<τ>ε[αῖος] or, with less conviction, [---]ι[ε]ύς Εἰ<γ><ρ>[αμμάτευεν]. If the former reading is correct, as I think it is, a secretary from tribe I or XII can not easily find a place around 249 B.C. in the archon lists now current. One could also read the demotic as Εἰ<ρ>ε[σίδης] VII or Ε<ρ>ι[κεεύς] IV. These seem less probable, for the complete omission of the loop of rho is a much less common mistake than the omission of a crossbar.

IG II², 1534B

For a new text, translation, and commentary for this and all the inventories from the Asklepion, see Sara B. Aleshire, "The Athenian Asklepion: The People, Their Dedications and The Inventories" (diss. University of California, Berkeley 1986). Aleshire discusses the date of this text with admirable clarity on pp. 372–379.

IG II², 2431a

The Habron of line 1 is very probably "Αβρων ἐξ Οἴου, a descendant of a family well known in the 5th and 4th centuries (see *PA*, nos. 16 and 2921 with stemma; J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971, no. 2921, especially pp. 86–87). He will have been a member of the *boule* around 265 B.C.

Δελτ 18, 1963, A' (1964), pp. 109–110

Improvements may be made in the readings of the names in the first column as follows:

Line 15. Before iota there appears the end of a horizontal stroke at the top of the letter space and the tip of another at the mid-point. The upper stroke is definitely horizontal, and so sigma seems to be ruled out as a possible reading. Dotted epsilon or xi alone are possible. The only name recorded in F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Berlin 1957, which suits the remains and the space is [Πρα]ξικύδης. This name, if correctly restored, is new to Attic prosopography.

Line 19. G. R. Bugh has kindly pointed out that the first two letters in this line are not --ος but --ων.

Line 20. An alpha is visible before the initial nu.

E.M. 12671

This text should be dated to about 265 B.C. rather than to the end of the 4th century. The letter in the line above line 1 (*sic*) which Kourouniotes read as alpha is clearly sigma. It appears directly above psi. This text has been republished by W. Peek ("Attische Inschriften," *AM* 67, 1942 [pp. 1–217], p. 10) with new restorations. He did not correct the first line.

THE CUTTER OF IG II², 788 (ca. 255–235/4)*General characteristics of the lettering* (Pl. 86)

This lettering is plain and neatly inscribed. The ends of strokes often thicken somewhat to suggest nascent serifs. This is particularly so in the case of epsilon, sigma, tau, and up-silon. This cutter tends to align his letters vertically so that, even when not *stoichedon*, his inscriptions give the appearance of being so. He sometimes begins a text *stoichedon* and then abandons the arrangement halfway through. He frequently leaves blank spaces in the body of decrees at the end of sense units. These are clearly a type of visual punctuation and one of his most salient characteristics.

Peculiarities of individual letters

Alpha This letter, and likewise delta and lambda, tends to be relatively wide and is often open at the apex, sometimes quite open. When this is the case, the left slanting

stroke is shorter. This is one of this cutter's most consistent and most distinguishing mannerisms. The crossbar is straight, nearly horizontal or slanting upwards slightly from left to right, and occurs in the middle to lower part of the letter. It often bisects one side of the letter or the other.

- Delta* When the apex is left open, the left side is often shorter and slants at a sharper angle. The horizontal is often not quite horizontal and is occasionally slightly raised so that the letter can be taken for an *alpha* with an extremely low crossbar.
- Epsilon* The central horizontal is normally quite short; the ends of all three thicken perceptibly. The bottom horizontal has a tendency to be longer than the other two and to curve.
- Eta* Occasionally the left vertical is noticeably shorter than the right.
- Kappa* This letter is wide. The lower slanting stroke often extends to the right beyond the upper.
- Pi* The crossbar usually extends slightly beyond both verticals. Occasionally it begins at the first vertical and extends just a bit beyond the second; rarely it does the reverse or touches both verticals without extending beyond either.
- Sigma* The lower half tends to be larger; the angle which composes it is definitely wider than the angle of the two upper strokes. The strokes at the mid-point of the letter do not meet exactly but tend to overlap. The top and bottom strokes usually slant but at times are nearly parallel.
- Tau* The crossbar sometimes appears to have been made in two segments extending to the right and left of the vertical. These strokes often thicken at the ends. This letter can, especially when the inscription is worn, resemble an upsilon which is made with an extremely shallow V-shaped segment.
- Upsilon* This letter is made with three strokes: the vertical is about half the height of the letter or slightly more; the left slanting stroke tends to be longer and to slant more (i.e., towards the horizontal). Occasionally this stroke curves.
- Phi* The central oval is often off center to the left and sometimes squared at the left end.
- Omega* This letter is quite large and round. In fact, it sometimes curves in at the bottom to leave just a small opening. Small straight strokes are attached usually to both sides; they are rarely symmetrical. That on the left is often larger and slants upwards; the one on the right is smaller and horizontal.

List of Inscriptions

‡IG II², 562

IG II², 584 and 679

archon [Polyeuktos] (247/6 or 246/5. Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 143). Wilhelm brought these fragments together and restored them (*Att. Urkunden* III, pp. 50–55)

IG II², 680

archon Polyeuktos (247/6 or 246/5). C. Nachtergaele (*Les Galates en Grèce et les Soteria de Delphes* [Académie Royale de Belgique, Mem. Cl. d. Lettres, 2^e série, LXIII, fasc. 1], Brussels 1977, pp. 211–241, 329–343) argues strongly for 246/5 as the date of Polyeuktos.

- IG* II², 681 archon [Hieron] (246/5 or 245/4. Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 143)
IG II², 682 For a recent discussion of this decree, see T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* Suppl. XVII, *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.*, Princeton 1977, pp. 65–73. See also on the date of this decree P.J. Rhodes, *ZPE* 57, 1984, pp. 201–202. It must, it seems, date somewhat earlier than 250 B.C. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*, no. 86
- IG* II², 683 archon Hieron (246/5 or 245/4)
IG II², 693 This inscription should be dated *ca.* 245 B.C.
IG II², 747 This inscription should be dated *ca.* 245 B.C. For Wilhelm's restoration see the *addenda* to *IG* II², on p. 666.
- ‡*IG* II², 749 This inscription should be dated *ca.* 245 B.C. May include *IG* II², 828
IG II², 750 part of *IG* II², 766, *q.v.*
IG II², 765 archon Philoneos (244/3 or 243/2. Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 143)
‡*IG* II², 766 archon [Kydenor] (242/1 or 241/0. Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 143). *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 4–7. Includes *IG* II², 750, Agora I 3319, I 3722, I 4162, E.M. 12800 + 2463
- ‡*IG* II², 768 + 802 archon [A]ntimachos (*ca.* 250).⁷ Wilhelm, *Att. Urkunden* II, pp. 11–13; Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions*, pp. 104–106
- IG* II², 769 + 441 archon [Antimachos] (*ca.* 250). Wilhelm, *AM* 39, 1914, p. 266
‡*IG* II², 770 archon Kleomachos (240/39 or shortly before 249/8. Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 126–128)
- IG* II², 778 archon Thersilochos (248/7 or 247/6). Agora I 4622 has been joined to it; see *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 118–121 for the combined text. On this text see also P. Roesch, *Études béotiennes*, Paris 1982, pp. 401–402. Roesch, *op. cit.*, pp. 401–403
- IG* II², 779 archon [Thersilochos] (248/7 or 247/6)
IG II², 781 archon [Ekphantos] (236/5). For a new text, see *GRBS* 20, 1979, pp. 334–342.
IG II², 787
- IG* II², 788 archon Ly[s]anias (235/4). Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*, no. 91
IG II², 790 archon Lysanias (235/4). *Agora* XV, no. 115.
‡*IG* II², 791 archon Diomedon (245/4 or 244/3). *Agora* fragments I 4536 *a* and *b* have been joined to this inscription; for a new text see *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 287–292. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*, no. 90
- ‡*IG* II², 793 See Wilhelm, *Att. Urkunden* III, pp. 42–47.
IG II², 795 archon Theophemos (243/2 or 242/1. Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 143)
- ‡*IG* II², 798
IG II², 799 Meritt observed (*Hesperia* 4, 1935, p. 550) that this text is *stoichedon*; Dow (*HSCP* 48, 1937, p. 114, note 2) offers some new readings.
- IG* II², 828 This text may be part of *IG* II², 749, *q.v.*
‡*IG* II², 845 For a new edition, see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 104–108.
‡*IG* II², 857

⁷ For the date of the archon Antimachos, see the discussion of *IG* II², 1285, pp. 320–321 below.

- ‡IG II², 879
 ‡IG II², 1285
 IG II², 1289
 IG II², 1297
 ‡IG II², 1298
 IG II², 1299

 IG II², 1705

 ‡Agora I 23
 Agora I 131
 Agora I 672
 Agora I 922
 Agora I 1497 a, b
 Agora I 1999
 Agora I 3722
 Agora I 3870
 Agora I 4138
 Agora I 4526
 Agora I 4871
 Agora I 4929
 Agora I 5191

 Agora I 6064
 Agora I 7160
 Eleusis, inv. no. E 153

 E.M. 3381
 E.M. 12800 +
 E.M. 2463
- archon Kimon (237/6)
 archon Diomedon (245/4 or 244/3)
 archon [Ekphantos] (236/5). F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, Heidelberg 1959, no. 22.
 Agora I 3951 joins (*Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 45–47). Agora I 922, *q.v.*, also belongs.
Hesperia 3, 1934, p. 9
Hesperia 3, 1934, p. 60
Hesperia 13, 1944, pp. 246–249
 published below, 2
 published below, 3
Agora XV, no. 100
 part of IG II², 766, *q.v.*
 published below, 4
 archon Lysias (239/8). *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 123–126.
Hesperia 29, 1960, pp. 7–8; this text should be dated to about 245 B.C.
Agora XV, no. 108
Agora XV, no. 119
 archon [Ky]denor (242/1 or 241/0). Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 24–27
 archon Kydenor (242/1 or 241/0). *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 3–4
 unpublished
 unpublished. Archon Hieron (246/5 or 245/4). This is a dedication of *thiasotai* to Asklepios and Hygieia.
 unpublished
 part of IG II², 766, *q.v.*

Preliminary publication of fragments from the Athenian Agora

2 (Pl. 87:a). Fragment of gray marble, right side preserved with the edge at the front slightly beveled, found in the tower of the late Roman fortification wall at the southwest corner of the Library of Pantainos (R 15) on May 31, 1933.

The hand, the marble, and, most of all, the slight bevel along the edge reveal that this piece goes with IG II², 1705 + Agora I 3951 (*Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 45–47). There is no join. Since Mikion and Eurykleides are likely to have been listed near the beginning of this text, the new fragment should be placed below the others. There does not seem to be any way to determine the exact spatial relationship.

H. 0.159 m.; W. 0.058 m.; Th. 0.059 m.; L.H. *ca.* 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 922

ca. a. 245 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Lines 1–10: *IG* II², 1705 + Agora I 3951

lacuna of uncertain length

11 [-----title-----]
 [-----name *ca.* 19-----] Μυρρῖνο(ύσιος)
 [-----title-----]
 14 [-----name *ca.* 18-----] Ἀχαρνενύ(ς)
 [-----title-----]
 [-----*ca.* 22-----] δης
 [-----title-----]
 18 [-----*ca.* 22-----] ης

Line 12. The alternative is [---- ἐγ Μυρρ]ινο(ύττης).

Line 14. Dotted rho is read on the basis of a loop in the upper part of the letter space. Omikron and with it [ᾠθμ]ονεύς are possible but less likely.

The date of this inscription has occasioned some discussion. Raubitschek (*Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 34) restored [Ἀθηνο]κλήης in line 7 and identified him with Ἀθηνοκλή[ς Ἀλ]αίου, a member of the Asklepieion commission in the archonship of Diomedon (*IG* II², 1534B, line 165). He thought that it might be preferable to date *IG* II², 1705 to one of the years soon after Diomedon's archonship. Habicht (*Hypomnemata* 73, 1982, pp. 45–47) argues that this Athenokles is identical with the paymaster of the Boule in 220/19 (*Agora* XV, no. 130, lines 50 and 120). He reconstructs his career as Asklepieion commissioner in 244/3, General ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν in 226/5 or 222/1, and paymaster in 220/19. He also adds that the activities of Mikion and Eurykleides fall best in 226/5 or 222/1, years of the great Panathenaia. As a corollary, he wishes to deny the existence of the Hoplite General as an office in Athens in the years 261 to 230.

This is persuasive, even attractive; but it is, even so, an *argumentum ex silentio*, and I do not believe that it can stand. First, far from being a senior, distinguished position, the office of General ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν was often held by younger men and is associated with temple properties.⁸ It therefore fits much better in Athenokles' career near the time of his service on the Asklepieion commission. Second, and more compelling, this cutter's work is not attested after 235/4.

3 (Pl. 87:b, c). Two fragments of gray marble, left side preserved (smooth), found in late fill north of the Tholos (G 11) on March 10, 1934.

a) H. 0.135 m.; W. 0.04 m.; Th. 0.082 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.

b) H. 0.121 m.; W. 0.04 m.; Th. 0.038 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 1497

ca. a. 245 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

a. 1 E
 N Σ O
 P X \dot{O}

⁸ S. V. Tracy, *IG II² 2336: Contributors of First Fruits for the Pythais*, Meisenheim 1982, pp. 123–124.

- 4 I Δ
 I Π
 I T
 7 K A
 [.] E
 X
 10 I
uncertain number of lines missing, probably many
 b. 11 Y Π
 M A T
 13 Σ A
vacat to bottom 0.055 m.

Line 2. Only the lower left side of dotted omikron is preserved; theta is also possible.

Line 11. Just the first vertical of dotted pi is visible; nu is also possible. The stroke does not seem to be iota, for, if it were, it would appear more towards the center of the *stoichos*.

Line 12. Of dotted tau, the left tip of the horizontal appears at the break; zeta is also possible.

The vertical spacing on these fragments is identical; this fact, along with the findspot, marble, and identical treatment of the left side, seems to make it certain that these two fragments come from the same stele. The margin to the left edge differs; on fragment *a* it is 0.01 m. and on *b* it is 0.015 m. But this is easily and naturally accounted for by the taper of the stele. Fragment *b* clearly contains the final lines of the decree, while *a* comes from somewhere near the beginning. Restoration of *a* does not seem possible. The erasure of the single letter in line 8 has been done thoroughly and neatly. It resembles the erasures of references to the Macedonian kings carried out in 201 B.C.; see *Hesperia* 15, 1946, p. 151 and *IG* II², 790. We may be certain, I think, that lines 7 and 8 originally had some reference to King Antigonos or to King Demetrios. Fragment *b* can be restored at least in part as follows to give a line of 43 *stoichoi*.

- [----- ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων]
 11 ὑπ[ὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ]-
 ματ[έα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ στή]-
 σα[ι ἐν, κτλ.]

4 (Pl. 87:d). Fragment of gray marble, face only preserved, found in a marble pile in the western part of the Odeion on March 28, 1936.

H. 0.055 m.; W. 0.11 m.; Th. 0.055 m.; L.H. 0.005–6 m.

Inv. No. I 3870

ca. a. 245 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- 1 N E A Y T Ω N
 E Σ T O Y Σ A Ξ I
 Y Σ [.] I T

Line 3. Zeta is also possible.

Satisfactory restoration of the three lines escapes the present writer. Some such phrase as [--- *τιμῶν*τ]ε^ς τοὺς ἀξι[ο^ς τῶν---] originally stood in line 2. See, for example, *IG* II², 1028, line 94 and *ID*, 1497, line 21.

Adnotatiunculae

IG II², 562

The chairman's name in line 2 is Ἀντισ[---]. The dotted sigma is read on the basis of the remains at the bottom of the letter space of two strokes which meet, one almost horizontal, the other slanting. The angle suggests sigma, but delta is possible.

Schweigert had suggested a known chairman Anti[machos] (*Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 341–342) and dated the text to 302/1. In addition, this text was republished by Peek with a photograph of a squeeze (*AM* 67, 1942, p. 7 and pl. 20:1); he did not recognize it as *IG* II², 562. Peek saw no trace in line 2 of the alpha of the chairman's name nor is there any on the squeeze available at the Institute for Advanced Study. More recently, Habicht (*Hypomnemata* 73, 1982, pp. 199–205) accepted Schweigert's date and, following it, restored the proposer of the decree.

This text must belong *ca.* 245 B.C. The name of the chairman is very probably Ἀντισ[θένης---], the only common name attested in Attica. The names Antistates and Antistheneides are also possible.

IG II², 749

This fragment has letters 0.006–0.007 m. in height; they are larger than this cutter's norm, 0.005 m., and more liberally spaced. This text also has blank spaces used even more frequently than usual to articulate units of the text. *IG* II², 828, another small fragment, also exhibits these features; moreover, both texts seem to praise someone for his monetary contributions. It is very likely that they are from the same monument. Restoration does not seem possible. See the article in this fascicule by C. Habicht on the probable identity of the man honored in this inscription.

IG II², 766

Meritt republished this text in *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 4–7 and incorporated Agora fragments I 3319 (lines 1–7), I 4162 (lines 14–17 middle), and I 1367 (lines 13–21 end). Pelekidis (*BCH* 85, 1961, pp. 58–59) rejected the association of Agora I 3319 primarily on the grounds that it is *stoichedon* and *IG* II², 766 is not. Meritt rightly countered (in *Χαριστήριον εἰς* Ἀ. Κ. Ὁρλάνδου, vol. I, Athens 1965, p. 193) that *IG* II², 766 for the first seven lines is *stoichedon*. In addition to the hand, letter height, and marble, the most compelling argument for the Agora fragment as part of this inscription is the vertical spacing. Five lines at random, measuring from the top of the first to the top of the sixth line, require 0.071 m. both on I 3319 and on *IG* II², 766. For the sake of comparison, it should be observed that there are two other ephebic inscriptions extant by this cutter, *IG* II², 681 and 787, both of white marble and with letters *ca.* 0.005 m. high (as on the present fragment). Five lines cover on the first *ca.* 0.061 m. and *ca.* 0.057 m. on the second. The vertical spacing does therefore seem a significant indicator. Meritt thus seems correct in his association of the

preamble from Kydenor's archonship with this ephebic inscription. Whether he is also correct about the archon list and the interval of a year and a half before the ephebes were praised is another matter. See the discussion below, p. 321.

During the course of the present study of this cutter, I have been able to identify three more pieces of this inscription: *IG* II², 750, Agora I 3722 (*Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 9), and E.M. 12800 + 2463. The join between E.M. 2463 and E.M. 12800 was made by Dr. K. P. Delmouzou, Ephor of the Epigraphical Museum; the connection with *IG* II², 766 was discovered by the present writer. Dr. Delmouzou and the Greek authorities have very generously granted me permission to publish these two previously unedited pieces. It is a very pleasant duty to record here the cooperation and generosity of the staff at the Epigraphical Museum. Without their support, it would be impossible to pursue this work.

IG II², 750 does not join, at least not at the surface; it provides the end of the enactment formula in line 6 and part of the initial lines of the decree. I republish here simply the lines affected; *IG* II², 750 contains the letters to the right.

- 6 [vacat 15 ἔδοξεν τῇ] βουλῇ [καὶ τῶι] δῆμῳ vacat
 7 [.....²².....εἰπε]ν^ν ἐ[πειδὴ] οἱ ἐφηβοὶ οἱ [ἐφηβε]-
 7a. [ύσαντες ἐπὶ Φιλόνω ἄρχοντος διετέλεσ]αν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ---]
 7b. [.....³⁴.....] καὶ τοῖς ἐφ[-----]
 7c. ΤΟΥ

The end of line 7a and beginning of line 7b probably contained the usual reference to the obedience of the ephebes to their teachers, e.g., *πειθαρχοῦντες τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ τοῖς διδασκαλοῖς, κτλ.*

E.M. 12800 + 2463 (Pl. 87:e) joins at the right side of Agora I 4162, giving parts of lines 12–20 as follows (the letters in larger print are on the new fragment):

- 12 ἐφήβ[ους τοὺς ἐφηβεύσαντας ἐπὶ Φιλ]ό<ν>ε[ω ἄρχοντος καὶ τὸν κοσ]-
 [μ]ητῆν αὐ[τῶν⁹.....] Φιλο[κ]λέους [Εὐωνυμέα καὶ στεφ]ανῶ[σαι]
 αὐτοὺς χρυσ[ῶι στεφάνῳι] κατὰ τὸν νόμ[ον εὐταξίας ἐνεκε]ν καὶ φ[ι]-
 λοτιμίας ἣν ἔχ[οντες δι]ατετελέκασι[ν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ^νἐπ]αινέ-
 16 σαι δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδ[οτρίβ]ην αὐτῶν ^νἙρμ[ό]δω[ρον Ἑορτίου Ἀχα]ρνέα ^ν
 καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστῆν [Λυσι]κλῆν Ἀντιπάτρου Σ[υπαλήττιον καὶ τὸν
 ὀπλομάχην Χαρίσανδ[ρον Διο]νυσιάδου Ἀλιμούσ[ιον ^{νν}καὶ τὸν] τοξό-
 την Ἀριστόδημον ^{νν}καὶ τὸν γ[ραμματέα] [Ἑ]ρακλεί[δην Κηφισία] καὶ σ-
 20 τεφανῶ[σαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλ]λοῦ στε[φάνῳι ^νἀναγράψαι δὲ τό]δε τ-

Line 12. The letters preserved on the new fragment are clearly OE. The reconstruction of the line seems certain. Therefore, although I do it reluctantly, I must posit a mistake by the cutter. He apparently omitted the nu from the archon's name.

Line 18. The patronymic is new to Attic prosopography.

Line 19. The name of the secretary is restored from Agora I 61, which was published by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia* 2, 1933, p. 159. Moreover, we can now see that Agora I 61 honored three of the teachers who are honored in the present text and, consequently, is to be dated, as Meritt realized, not long after it.

Agora I 3722 (*Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 9) joins at lines 41–47 of column I and affords us a better reading of the names there preserved. It is sobering to note that two of the four had been restored incorrectly. The letters on the Agora fragment are printed in larger type.

- 41 *Αἰγείδος*
 Δημαίνετος Φορμ[ί]ωνος ἐκ Κολω
 Πολύευκτος Ἀντιφ[ῶν]τος Φηγαιεύ
- 44 *Πανδιον[ί]δος*
 [Δρα]κοντίδης Δράκοντος Παιανιεύ
 Λεωντίδος
- 47 [---^{ca. 8}---] *Κρατίππου Φ[ρ]εάρριος*

The names Phormion (line 42) and Kratippos (line 47) are new to their demes.

IG II², 768 + 802

The man honored in this inscription, . . . *ίας Ἀκροτ[.]ου Περγαμη[νός]*, is almost certainly from a known Athenian family and the name is to be restored [*Αἰσχ[ί]ας Ἀκροτ[ί]μου*]. He (or his father?) acquired Pergamene citizenship; his native city subsequently honored him for his generous contributions to safeguard it.⁹ An ancestor, perhaps his grandfather, is Aischias son of Akrotimos of the deme Ikarion, councillor in 304/3 (*Agora XV*, no. 61, line 45). Other relatives are Akrotimos son of Aischias from Ikarion, proposer of a decree in 268/7 or ? (*IG II², 772*, line 8); Akrotimos of Ikarion, paymaster and contributor to the Asklepion about 245 (*IG II², 1534B*, lines 266, 273); and, lastly, Akrotimos son of Aischias the Athenian, proxenos of the Aetolians about 238 (*IG IX² 1, 25*, line 73).¹⁰

IG II², 770

Line 6. Kirchner read [----]ος [. . . ⁶ . . . Ἀναγν]ράσιος; Dow read [. ¹²]ιος [. . . ⁵ . . . Ἀναγν]ράσιος. The first letter read as omikron is clearly an omega. I can make out nothing that is clearly a letter stroke in the space before omega. At the top of the letter space after sigma appears the tip of a horizontal. I read line 6 then as [*Ἰπποτομάδης υἱὸς ὥστ[ρα]τος Ἀναγν]ράσιος*. I have restored the only demotic for a deme from Demetrias which has eleven letters, the precise length needed to fill the space. The next longest is Daidalides at ten letters. The restored *vacat* is (see the other blank spaces) certain. Πεισικλ[ῆς Ἰπποτομάδης] is not otherwise attested, nor is [*Σ]ώστ[ρα]τος Ἀναγν]ράσιος*.

IG II², 791

Line 60 (I). The first preserved letter, read by Kirchner and Meritt as undotted iota, has a triangular shape. The apex falls just a shade to the right of the space for restored zeta in the line above. Delta is highly probable, although lambda and alpha cannot be ruled out. There is space only for iota before this letter. The unusual proper name [*Ἰ]δμων¹¹* appears to be the only possible restoration. (For this line numbering, see Meritt's text.)

⁹ On this *epidosis*, see A. Künzi, *Epidosis*, Bern 1923, pp. 25, 54–55.

¹⁰ I am indebted to C. Habicht for this identification.

¹¹ Concerning this name see W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Braunschweig 1875, p. 535.

IG II², 793

Line 21. Kirchner read the initial letters as NOY. The first preserved letters are NA followed by a *vacat* of two letter spaces.

C. Habicht (*AM* 72, 1957, p. 223, note 79) expresses reservations concerning Wilhelm's conclusion that this is a copy of a Samian decree.

IG II², 798

Line 20. Following the final nu there is another letter; although worn, it has the shape of chi. I believe that it must be the first letter of the word indicating the amount of his contribution; χ[ιλίας] seems a probable restoration.

The man praised was *agonothetes* during the archonship of A/[-----] (lines 10–11), and it was during this year that he also contributed for the protection of the countryside. Since we know from *IG II²*, 768 + 802 that *epidoseis* of this nature took place in the archonship of Antimachos, it seems most probable that this text refers to them and that A/[ntimachos] should be restored in line 11.

IG II², 845

The archon Apollodoros (204/3) has been restored in line 23 (Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 107 and J. S. Traill, *Hesperia* 45, 1976, pp. 299–300). Unfortunately the stone is so abraded in the area where the end of the archon's name was once inscribed that the reading, and therefore the restoration, must remain in doubt. The only clear letters in the next line are ΠΑΣ (the alpha falls directly under the pi of the preceding line); they are part of either the patronymic or the demotic of the secretary.

The hand is certain (note the liberal use of blank spaces in this text) and suggests a date shortly after the middle of the 3rd century. The peace referred to in line 15 will almost certainly be that concluded by Athens and Argos with Alexander in 249 or shortly after (*IG II²*, 774).¹² The men honored, Aischron son of Proxenos and [Proxenos son of Aischron of Deiradio]tai (if Wilhelm's restoration is correct) are then likely to be the grandson and great grandson of Aischron son of Proxenos of Delphi, who was granted Athenian citizenship shortly after 286/5 (Osborne, *Naturalization*, no. D75).

IG II², 857

Line 5. The next to last letter in this line is almost certainly xi. The top and bottom strokes are parallel, rendering sigma very unlikely; epsilon is possible but there is no evidence of a vertical stroke. No other Polyektos from Xypete is known.

IG II², 879

0.023 m. below the interspace of tau and alpha appears the top half of a single vertical stroke. The stone to the left is preserved and blank; to the right it is broken away. Read ἦ [βουλή].

IG II², 1285

The first of these two fragments preserves the career of this general at Eleusis. The offices he held are apparently listed in chronological order from his earliest to his present

¹² Habicht, *Untersuchungen*, p. 125.

command. He held the first office listed (alas, the title is lost) in the archonship of Antimachos. Meritt now places this archon in 233/2, although he earlier placed him in 251/0. The career of this cutter suggests that the later date is unlikely. His attested work all dates to 235/4 and earlier. Furthermore, exhaustive research in the inscriptions of 229 and after has not revealed one certain example of his work. This was a prolific cutter; if he was still active, the likelihood is high that we would have some specimen of his work datable to the period after 229. If the first office listed on *IG II²*, 1285 were to date to 233/2, it is very likely that he was praised by his soldiers some years later; i.e., this inscription would then have to be dated after 229. An earlier date for Antimachos, therefore, seems very likely. C. Habicht has reached a similar conclusion, based largely on arguments of a prosopographical nature (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 128–133); he dates Antimachos *ca.* 250 B.C.

IG II², 1298

Above line 1 of column I appear traces of another name. Read [M]ενε[---].

Agora I 23

This fragment reveals rather uneven vertical spacing: the interline of lines 1 and 2 is 0.004 m.; that of the other lines is *ca.* 0.007. The space left between lines 4 and 6 is 0.025 m., exactly the vertical space required for lines 1 and 2 plus the interline to the top of line 3. It appears certain, then, that all or part of the word *συμπρόεδροι* occupied line 5 and that the *ἔδοξεν* clause, spaced with the minimal interline, was allotted its own line, line 6. This arrangement, which Dow described in *AJA* 40, 1936, pp. 62–63 as the “perfect design”, was favored by this cutter. Indeed, the evidence clearly suggests that rather than being a style of the time, as Dow thought, it was a mannerism of this particular cutter. Others approximated it, as one can see from the table which Dow published on p. 66, but this man alone produced the decrees listed in the third column which reveal the developed design. Only three are not by him: *IG II²*, 796 and 797, which are now known to belong to the archonship of Euxenippos in 305/4, and *IG II²*, 702, by the Cutter of *IG II²*, 913, who was at work between 212/1 and 174/3 (*Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 255–261, esp. p. 257).

For a restoration of lines 6–8 (now 7–9), see *Hesperia* 13, 1944, p. 248.

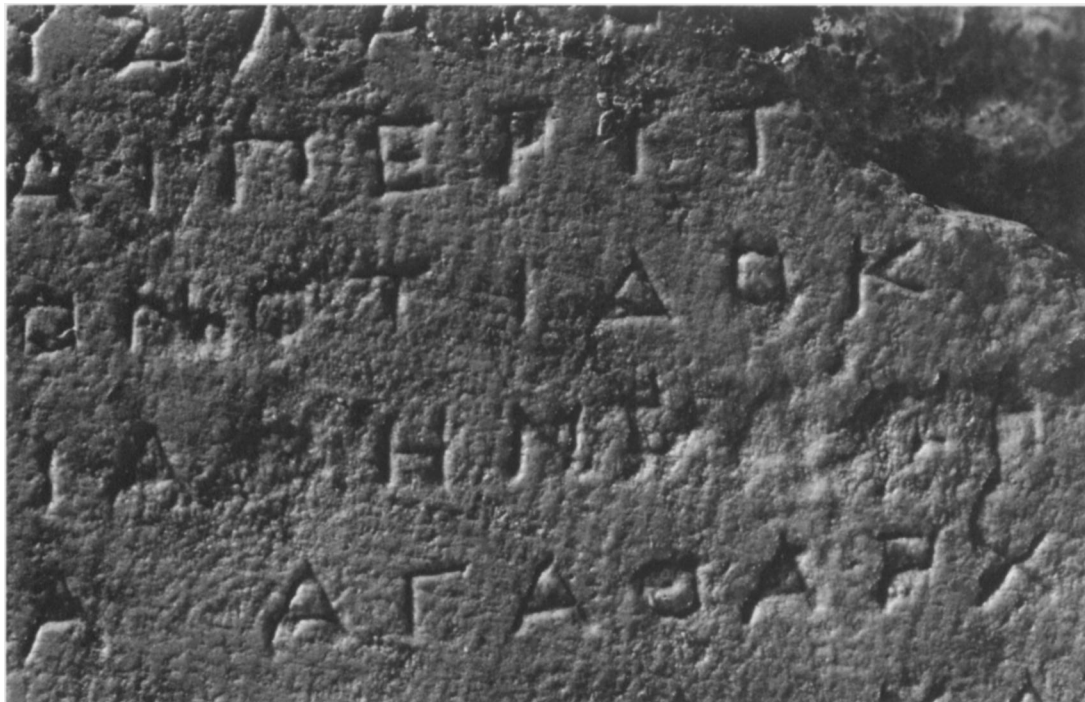
A number of this cutter's inscriptions reflect the turmoil in the decades around 250 B.C. *IG II²*, 679 and 584, 682, 747, 749 and 828, 768 + 802, 791, 798, 845, 857, Agora I 5191, and I 6064 all deal in some way or other with the grain supply and with contributions of money connected apparently with safeguarding the city. The year of Diomedon (244/3) seems to have marked a point of especial crisis. In this year a collection for the safety of the city and guarding of the countryside was taken up (*IG II²*, 791), and the grain commissioners of this year were singled out for special praise for their efforts (Agora I 6064). Whatever the nature of the crisis, it does not seem to have passed until the archonship of Kydenor (241/0), i.e., more than two full years after Diomedon. It is only under Kydenor that the grain commissioners of Diomedon's year (I 6064), the ephebes of Philoneos' year (243/2, *IG II²*, 766), and the *agoranomoi* of Philoneos' year (I 5191) could be praised.

In addition to the specific observations on readings and archon dates made above, it seems worth observing, first, that the study of hands does help with the dating of archons

and, second, that the hands do show that the dates reached by others are roughly accurate. That is, the spread for each of these cutters is believable. The dates for the Cutter of *IG II*², 788 are, however, suspiciously close together, and I have reason to believe, on the basis of evidence not yet published, that he began work in 260 or before. Furthermore, I suspect that some of the archons now dated in the 240's will prove to belong a decade earlier. This must, however, remain guesswork until new evidence is forthcoming. It also seems clear that there are more secretaries known for this period than can be accommodated in the various schemes as now presented, namely the secretary from Rhamnous of *IG II*², 525 and 675 (pp. 307–308 above), the secretary from Keiriades in *IG II*², 772 (p. 309 above), the secretary from Eitea in *IG II*², 774 (footnote 6 above), and possibly the secretary from Eleusis of *IG II*², 670A (p. 308 above). At the least, the cycles in this period are less regular than presently constituted lists assume.

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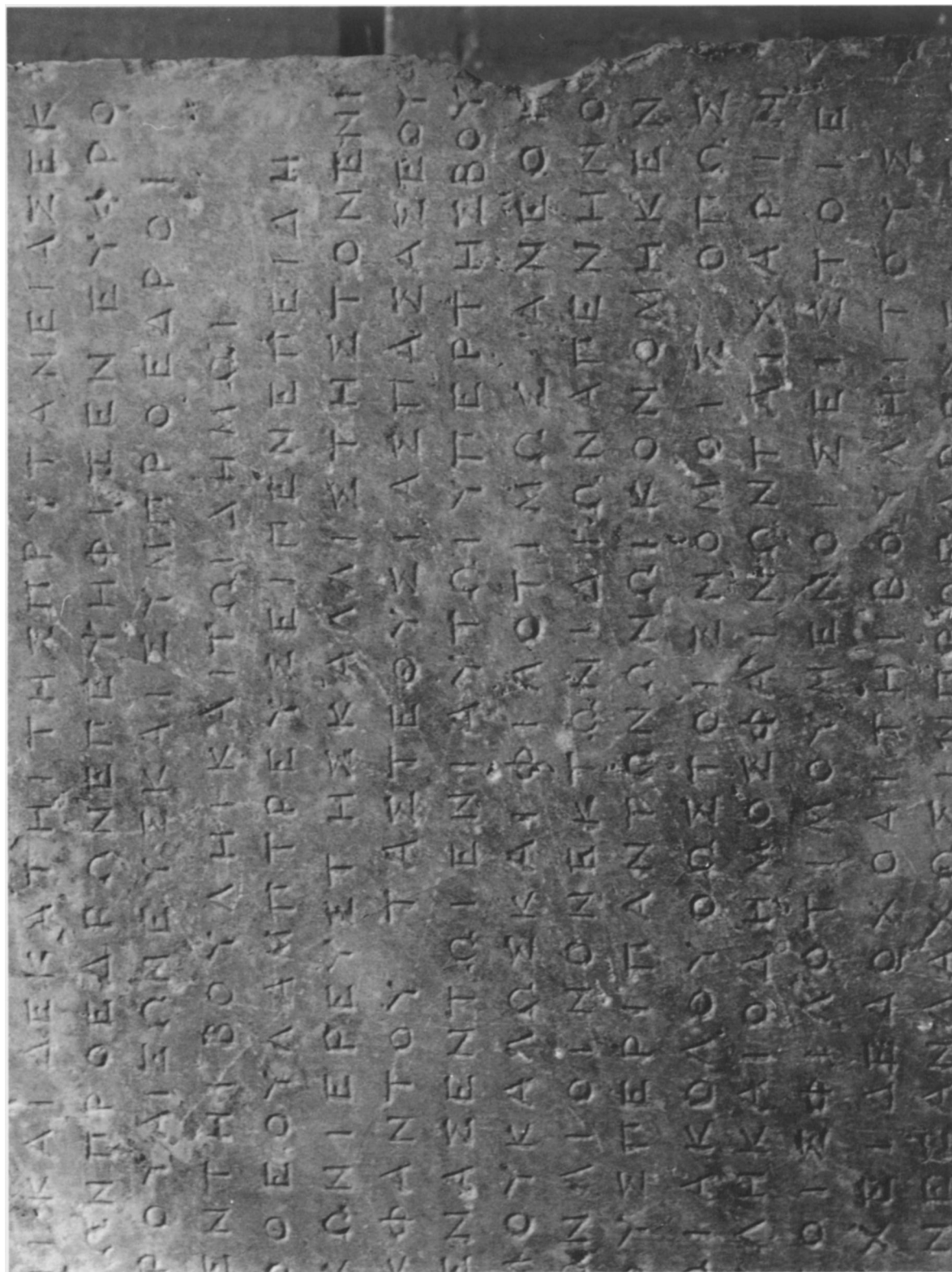
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a. Agora I 3238, detail of lines 3-6



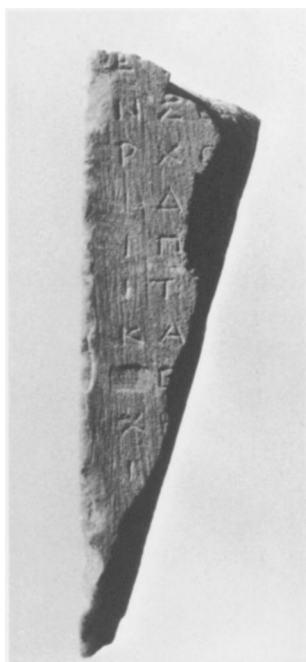
b. 1a: Agora I 6801

IG II², 788, detail of lines 4-18

S. V. TRACY: TWO ATTIC LETTER CUTTERS OF THE THIRD CENTURY: 286/5-235/4 B.C.



a. 2: Agora I 922



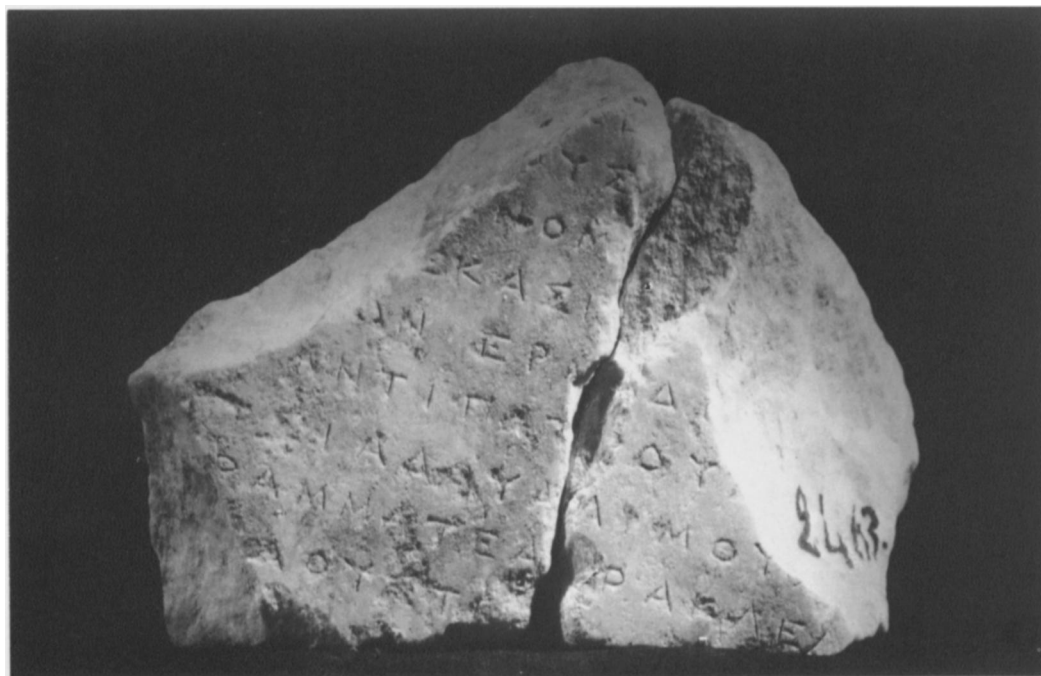
b. 3: Agora I 1497a



c. 3: Agora I 1497b



d. 4: Agora I 3870



e. E.M. 12800 + 2463