

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA FINANCIAL AND OTHER PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

(PLATES 9–13)

IN THIS ARTICLE ARE COLLECTED several unpublished fragments of inscriptions found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora between 1931 and 1967.¹ These fragments are mostly small and unrelated to one another and cannot definitely be attributed to any published documents. Nevertheless, I hope that their publication here may be of use to scholars in the future, when new materials come to light. The findspots of **1**, **6**, and **7** suggest that these may have originated on the Akropolis, while both the findspot and a possible reference to Salam's in **8** suggest that it may derive from the Eurysakeion.

1 (Pl. 9). A fragment of white, micaceous marble (I 5362) found on March 30, 1938, in a marble dump outside the Market Square, west of the Post-Herulian Wall (Q–R 22–24). The pick-dressed left side and flat, roughly picked back are preserved.

PH. 0.516 m; p.W. 0.124 m; Th. 0.156 m.

L.H. 0.013–0.014 m; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.020 m. There appears to be an uninscribed space of 0.025 m after line 6.

ca. a. 445–435 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	<i>lacuna</i>	
	[. .]E[-----]	
	[-----]	
	[.]EA[-----]	
	[.]Φ[-----]	
5	[.]E[-----]	
	[.]PM[-----]	
	[.] \ EA[-----]	
	[.]ΙΣ[-----]	
	[.] <i>vacat</i> [?]-----	
10	[.]EΛΛ[-----]	
	[.]ΣΤ[-----]	
	[.]ΠΛ[-----]	
	[.]ΥΡ[-----]	

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2 (Pl. 9). A fragment of creamy white, slightly micaceous marble, probably Pentelic (I 4682), found on April 19, 1937, in a marble dump in the area southeast of the Tholos (H-I 12-13). It is broken all around and at the back. The face is polished.

P.H. 0.044 m; p.W. 0.058 m; p.Th. 0.056 m.

L.H. 0.008 m; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.008 m and a vertical checker of 0.01 m.

fn. s. V/init. s. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[---.]κον[-----]
 [---]ενησβ[-----]
 [---. .]ηλη[-----]

lacuna

Line 1: The bottom of a central vertical survives, followed by the bottom of the vertical and the right tip of the lower diagonal of kappa. After omicron the left vertical and perhaps the lower part of the diagonal of nu are preserved.

Line 2: The right tip of the top bar of epsilon survives at the left; at the right the upper part and perhaps part of the lower loop of beta are preserved: [---]ένης Β[---]? Possibly a name and patronymic or a name and demotic.

Line 3: The upper right quadrant of the space before eta is preserved without any trace of a letter stroke; thus, if a letter was inscribed here, it must have been either a round or a triangular letter, or else an iota. The top two-thirds of lambda are preserved, so that alpha or delta cannot be ruled out. After this the stone is badly damaged, but part of a left vertical may survive.

This is inscribed in Ionic script, but the character of the letters suggests an early date. The polished face is a characteristic that many accounts, such as treasury inventories, share, but few, if any, decree stelai are so polished. What survives suggests a list of names in the nominative.

The hand is much like that of parts of the record of the confiscation and sale of the property of the Thirty Tyrants in 403/2 B.C. (*Agora XIX*, P2, fragments *f* and *g* = *Agora I* 627 a + 1092), and the horizontal spacing is the same; the vertical spacing is less. It is possible that this fragment derives from the same stele as *Agora XIX*, P2, but toward the bottom of the stone. If so, the name in line 2 may be that of a purchaser of a confiscated property, rather than of the original owner, and line 1 may contain part of the description of the property.

3 (Pl. 9). A fragment of bluish white, micaceous Pentelic marble (I 4808) found on April 27, 1937, in a dump on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios (D-G 3-6). The smoothly dressed right side is preserved, with a margin of 0.009 m (line 2) to 0.011 m (line 9).

P.H. 0.142 m; p.W. 0.049 m; p.Th. 0.034 m.

L.H. 0.007-0.008 m; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.008 m and a vertical checker of 0.0125 m.

fn. s. V/init. s. IV a.?

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[-----.]κεν
 [-----.]ραργ
 [-----.]ροτο
 [-----]σιαπα
 5 [-----.]υσστ
 [-----]γυριο

10 [-----]ληνο
 [-----]ωνχι
 [-----]λωνκ
 [-----]ρ[. .]

lacuna

Line 1: The bottoms of these letters survive: [δν/ήν/δ --- ἀνέθη]κεγ?

Line 2: The right side of omicron survives: [---]ο ἀργ[υρ---]? Cf. *IG* II² 1397, line 4, and 1396, line 30: καλύπτρα τούτο τῷ θυμιατηρίῳ ἀργυρᾷ; or 1393, line 27: ὑπάργυροι; or 1393, lines 32–34, and 1401, line 38: γοργόνειον χρυσὸν ὑπάργυρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ νεώ; or 1393, line 24: κρατήρ ὑπάργυρος ἐπίτηκτος ἄσταθμος; or, perhaps, Θαργ[ηλιῶνος]?

Line 3: Perhaps part of the name of a husband of a dedicator: [---- β]ρότο?

Line 4: The right tips of the outer diagonals of a sigma survive.

Line 6: [ἀρ]γυρί[ν]? Cf. *IG* II² 1393, line 33: ἀργύριον κίβδηλον τὸ Ἐλευσινόθεν; or 1401, line 61: ἀργύριον σύμμεικτον καὶ ἐπίτηκτον; or 1401, line 35: ἀργυρίο Δ Δ Δ.

Line 7: Perhaps part of a name?

Line 8: The omega is tall and narrow; the final letter is certainly engraved as an iota, but this may be an incomplete rho or some other letter. If so, we might restore, for instance, [χλιδ]ὼν χρ[υσία ξχων], as in *IG* II² 1388, line 85, or else we might restore [ξχ]ὼν χι[---]; part of a name is also possible: [---]ων Χι[---].

Line 9: The top of a central vertical may be preserved before the omega: following *IG* II² 1395, line 14, we might restore [πλινθ]ίων κ[αὶ τετρίων].

Line 10: The upper part of the loop of a rho or beta survives below the omega of line 9.

This appears to be a list of sacred treasures. The hand seems to be the same as that of *IG* I³ 380 (= Agora I 5799 a, b), the accounts of the Treasurers of Athena for 404/3 B.C., but the horizontal spacing is slightly less and the vertical spacing slightly greater. However, *IG* I³ 380 should provide an approximate indication of the date of this fragment.

4 (Pl. 10). A fragment from the top of an opisthographic pedimental stele of Pentelic marble (I 4362) found on December 18, 1936, in modern house walls over the area of the southwestern part of the Eleusinion (S–T 20). The right lateral is preserved; part of a crowning molding survives above face A.

P.H. 0.11 m; p.W. 0.091 m; Th. 0.082 m.

Face A, L.H. 0.006 m; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.0135 m.

Face B, L.H. 0.006–0.007 m; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.0135 m.

fin. s. V/init. s. IV a.?

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Face A
lacuna
 [-----]ανται[⁴⁻⁵-----]
 [-----]διο¹¹[⁴⁻⁵-----]
 [-----]υντε[⁴⁻⁵-----]
 [-----]ιφ[⁶⁻⁷-----]

lacuna

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Face B
lacuna

απολ[-----]
ταχυλ[-----]
αικαν[-----]
τιτ[-----]

lacuna

Face A, Line 1: The bottom of a right diagonal survives at the left.

Line 2: After the omicron, which is very faint, there are two separate vertical strokes, the left one slightly higher than the right one. These might be obol symbols: ΙΙ.

Line 3: The middle horizontal of epsilon is missing.

Line 4: The top of a vertical survives at the left; the top of the vertical and the left half of the loop of phi are preserved.

Face B, Line 1: The bottom of the right diagonal of alpha survives at the left; at the right, the bottom of the left diagonal of lambda is preserved: perhaps ἀπὸ λ[---], indicating the beginning of a rubric that identifies the source of materials or funds. Ἀπολ[λων---] seems unlikely. Since this may be the reverse of the stele, there was probably more text above this, now lost.

Line 2: The bottom of a left diagonal survives at the right, perhaps κύλ[ινδρος]?

Line 3: καν[ών] or καν[ονις]? Cf. *IG* II² 1678, line 4, and 1672, line 155, for these terms.

This is part of an opisthographic stele, more likely to be an account than a decree; the language of face B indicates, perhaps, a record of building operations. The marble, lettering, and spacing suggest that this may derive from the same series as Agora I 5647⁴ but not from the same stele, since the thickness is considerably less than that of I 5647 and the top seems to be pedimental, whereas that of I 5647 is plain. Nevertheless, the date should be about the same as that of I 5647, that is, late in the 5th or early in the 4th century B.C.

5 (Pl. 10). A fragment of Pentelic marble (I 6417) found on September 21, 1951, in modern house walls on Klepsydra Street, east of the Agora. Two adjoining faces and the back are preserved. The left lateral carries an inscription, perhaps of much later date, cut at right angles to the original axis of the stone.

P.H. 0.155 m; p.W. 0.20 m; Th. 0.085 m.

Face A, L.H. 0.005 m; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.011 m and a vertical checker of 0.0105 m.

Face B, L.H. 0.009 m; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.022 m.

ca. a. 350–335 a.?

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Face A
lacuna

[ca. 4 -----]πα[-----]
[ca. 4 -----]μον[-----]
[ca. 4 -----]τηστ[-----]
[ca. 4 -----]ημ[.....]λοι[-----]
5 [ca. 4 -----]ης σ[τ]αθμόν [-----]

⁴ Walbank 1996, pp. 434–436, no. 2.

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{[ca. 4} \text{---} \dots \text{]} \epsilon \chi \omicron \nu \tau \epsilon \text{[} \text{-----} \text{]} \\ \text{[ca. 4} \text{---} \dots \text{]} \Gamma \text{[} \text{-----} \text{]} \end{array}$$

$$\text{-----}$$

lacuna

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Face B (Left Lateral)

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{[} \text{-----} \text{]} \tau \eta \sigma \theta \epsilon \omicron \text{[} \text{-----} \text{]} \\ \text{[} \text{-----} \text{]} \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon \sigma \tau \text{[} \text{-----} \text{]} \end{array}$$

vacat

Face A, Line 1: The right vertical of pi is preserved, followed by what appears to be the bottom of an alpha (the erasure begins on the line of the crossbar).

Line 2: The right diagonal and perhaps part of the third diagonal of mu survive; at the right, the left hasta and part of the diagonal of nu are preserved. The latter is set low, as is the diagonal of the nu in the previous stoichos, but so little of this survives that it could also be interpreted as the horizontal of an eta. Thus, $[- -] \mu \omicron \nu \eta [- -]$ or $[- -] \mu \omicron \nu \eta [- -]$.

Line 3: Probably $[- - -] \tau \eta \varsigma \tau [- -]$.

Line 4: The right side of eta is preserved, followed by a clear mu. Six spaces to the right, the bottom of a right diagonal survives, perhaps part of an alpha or lambda but possibly a little too far to the right to be part of a letter. The omicron appears to have a central dot but is smaller in diameter than the theta of line 5, so that this dot is probably unintentional.

Line 5: The right side of eta is preserved, followed by a clear sigma. The bottom diagonal of the next sigma is preserved, but the tau has perished. The bottom of the right diagonal of alpha survives.

Line 6: The right tip of the top bar of the first epsilon is preserved. The top left corner of an epsilon survives (it is unlikely to be part of a gamma or a pi). The reading may thus be $\epsilon \chi \omicron \nu \tau \epsilon [\varsigma]$.

Line 7: The top left corner of a gamma, epsilon, or pi survives below the tau of line 6.

Face B, Line 1: The upper left part of a circular letter survives at the right: it is tempting to read $\tau \eta \varsigma \Theta \epsilon \omicron [\omicron]$ here, but in view of the reuse of the stone, perhaps part of a personal name is more likely: $[- - -] \tau \eta \varsigma \Theta \epsilon \omicron [- -]$.

Line 2: The left tip of the horizontal of a tau survives at the right.

This is a fragment of an opisthographic stele, probably an account or inventory. Face A has been partially erased. The marble, letter forms, and spacing closely resemble those of *IG II² 1451* and *1453*, the records of the Treasurers of the Other Gods, dated before the mid 4th century B.C., but this stele is thicker. Close, too, is *IG II² 1651*, an account of the Delian Amphiktyony, but that stele is Hymettian marble. Nevertheless, the language of this face suggests that it, too, may be part of the accounts of the Delian Amphiktyony. Whatever was originally inscribed on face B has also been erased; a new text was inscribed at right angles to the text on face A, perhaps after the original stele was broken up into smaller pieces. The precise nature of this new text and its date are unclear. It seems to be considerably later than the text on face A, but line 1 suggests a possible link with the affairs of the Goddess (Athena), and if so, it may have to do with the record of her treasures.

6 (Pl. 11). A fragment of pale, blue-gray Hymettian marble (I 5298) found on March 11, 1938, in a modern cellar wall just to the southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 18). The fragment is opisthographic but is otherwise broken all around.

P.H. 0.07 m; p.W. 0.096 m; Th. 0.121 m.

Face A, L.H., lines 1–4, 0.004 m; lines 5–7, 0.005 m; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern 0.0075×0.0075 m.

Face B, L.H. 0.004 m; apparently stoichedon, with a square checker pattern 0.0075×0.0075 m.

a. 344/3 a.?

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Face A
lacuna

5 [---] γατ[---] [---] ΠΔΠ [---] [---] ἀναγέγ[ραπτ[α] [---] [---] τεττα[ρ] [---] [---] ΔΔΔ [---] [---] γραπ[---] [---] τ[ε]ττα[ρ] [---]

lacuna

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Face B
lacuna

[---] ωντα[---] [---] νη: τ[---] [---] αο[---]

lacuna

Face A, Line 1: The bottom of the right hasta of nu survives on the break at the left; at the right, the abrasion to the right of tau suggests the bottom of an omicron but also seems rather low: [ῥ]γατ[ος-], or [ἔ]γατ[ος], or part of a name?

Line 2: At the left, the break has a clean edge that may be part of a right vertical of the numeral H before the Π: [--- στα(θμον)--- H ?] ΠΔΠ [---]?

Line 3: The left foot of alpha survives at the right: [ἐφ' ἥ (or ἵνα τὸ ---) ἐπιγέγ]ραπτ[α] [---]?

Line 4: There is no trace of a letter at the top of the stoichos before the first tau; this suggests that this space was occupied by an omicron or a punctuation mark, or was left blank: [---:] τεττα[ρ-]?

Line 5: The upper right corner of the stoichos before the first Δ is uninscribed, suggesting that there may have been another numeral Δ here: [--- Δ] ΔΔΔ [---]?

Line 6: [ἐφ' ἥ (or ἵνα τὸ ---) ἐπιγέ]γραπ[τα] [---]?

Line 7: The top bar and possibly the right tip of the central bar of epsilon survive: [---:] τ[ε]ττα[ρ-]?

Face B, Line 1: The tau and alpha are clear; the rest of this line is badly abraded.

Line 2: The left vertical of eta is clear, but the rest of this letter has perished. The nu is very faint.

Line 3: The apex of a triangular letter survives before the omicron, which is badly abraded, so that a theta cannot be ruled out: αθ[ην ---]?

This is part of an opisthographic account. It strongly resembles the series of records of leases of the silver mines from the mid 4th century B.C., but the surviving text suggests, rather, some sort of treasury inventory. Its findspot, close to the Post-Herulian Wall, suggests that it may have originated on the Akropolis.

The surviving traces suggest that face A contains a list of similar objects that are inscribed with some sort of identification (lines 3 and 6), are numbered (lines 4 and 7), and are weighted (lines 2 and 5). One restoration proposed for line 1 ([ῥ]γατ[ος-]) may indicate an inscription or other identifying mark on one of these objects, a form of identification that may be repeated in lines 3 and 6.

In IG II² 1436, 1437, and 1438, *passim*, the rubric δν --- ἀνέθηκεν ἄρχων οὐκ ἐπεγέγραπτο, στέφανος σταθμόν --- appears. In IG II² 1496, the rubric στέφανος ἐφ' ὧι τὸ ---

ἐπιγέγραπται often appears. In *IG II*² 1443, column II, we find the rubric ἑνατος ῥυμός, ἵνα τὸ: I: πρῶτος φθοῖς: ΧΗ^ΡΔΔΔ†††††: --.⁵ Variations of these formulas appear in many of the Parthenon and associated treasury inventories of the mid 4th century B.C.

The marble type may match that of *IG II*² 1443, which is described as “subcaerulean” in *IG* but which is probably a form of pale Hymettian marble, as this fragment is; the spacing and letter forms are the same as in *IG II*² 1443, and the letter sizes of lines 5–7 correspond to those of *IG II*² 1443. Thus, this fragment might be a part of *IG II*² 1443 or may date to the same period, that is, in the late 340s B.C. *IG II*² 1443 is described in *IG* as a fragment of a stele: that is, its back is not preserved. Its preserved thickness is 0.06 m, and so the fragment discussed here might be part of the same stele but with both the obverse and the reverse faces preserved: if so, I suggest that face A of this document may, in fact, correspond to the lost face B of *IG II*² 1443. My reasons for suggesting this rest in my proposed reconstruction of the text of face A of this fragment (see below).

Column I of *IG II*² 1443 consists of a list of twenty-eight ῥυμοί (shelves or cabinets), each holding five φθοίδες (ingots) of unmarked silver (ῥσημον ἀργύριον) that were earmarked for military purposes (εἰς τὰ στρατιωτικά) and lodged in the Hekatompedon in the accounting period 344/3–343/2 B.C. The value of these ingots varies, in the surviving portions of the inscription, between 1183 drachmai and 1210 drachmai, and each shelf held five ingots: thus, each shelf probably held one talent of uncoined silver, which could be converted eventually into 72,000 coined drachmai, a total overall of 2,016,000 coined drachmai, or 336 talents (see the commentary in *IG*). Although other reconstructions may be possible, I suggest that this fragment should be restored as follows:

[----- ῥυμός, ἵ]να τ[ὸ: numeral: ἐπιγέγραπται: πρῶτος φθοῖς: weight: ---]
 [-----: --- Η]Ρ^ΔΔ††† [----- ῥυμός, ἵνα]
 [τὸ: numeral: ἐπιγέγ]ραπ[α[μ: πρῶτος φθοῖς: -weight-: δεύτερος: -weight-:]
 [τρίτος: -weight-:] τέττα[ρτος: -weight-: πέμπτος: -weight-: πρῶτος φθοῖς:]
 5 [-weight-: --- Δ]ΔΔΔ†[---: ----- ῥυμός, ἵνα]
 [τὸ: numeral: ἐπιγέ]γραπ[ται: πρῶτος φθοῖς: -weight-: δεύτερος: -weight-:]
 [τρίτος: -weight-: τ]έττα[ρτος: -weight-: πέμπτος: -weight-: -----]

If this is correct, either this fragment should be placed at the bottom of column I of *IG II*² 1443, relating to a hypothetical ῥυμός that numbers twenty-nine or above, or it derives from a separate and, I believe, earlier stele. That it is earlier and probably from a different stele is, I think, supported by the use of the word ἐπιγέγραπται in the description of each ῥυμός and the spelling of the ordinal τέτταρτος. In *IG II*² 1443, as it survives, ἐπιγέγραπται is omitted and the ordinal is spelled τέταρτος. It is, however, extremely difficult to match up the surviving letters and the hypothetical space available, as there are so many variables.

SEG XV 120 (= *Agora I* 2260), a treasury inventory dated after 346/5 B.C., has the same letter size, shapes, and spacing and is the same type of stone, but its surviving text does not seem to match that of this fragment.

7 (Pl. 11). A fragment of Pentelic marble (I 6495) found on April 7, 1952, in a Byzantine context south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (P 16). The right side is preserved. There is an uninscribed vertical space of 0.046 m below the last inscribed line.

P.H. 0.10 m; p.W. 0.10 m; p.Th. 0.058 m.

L.H. 0.005–0.006 m; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.011 m and a vertical checker of 0.0118 m.

⁵ Eugene Schweigert (1940, pp. 328–330) thought *Agora I* 5605 belonged to *IG II*² 1496; Diane Harris (1995, p. 256, no. 101) places *IG II*² 1443 in 344/3 B.C.

post med. s. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[-----]	ιωιδεχ[-----]
[-----]	υκονοε[-----]
[----- . .]	ινλιτοε[-----]
[----- . .]	υαμφορι[-----]
[-----]	<i>vacat</i> [-----]

lacuna

Line 1: [- -]ιωῖ δέχ[α - -]? The bottom of a central vertical survives at the left.

Line 2: [Λε]υκονοε[ύς]? The bottom of the left vertical of epsilon survives and perhaps also part of the lowest horizontal, the tip of the vertical projecting slightly below it; in some lights, however, this letter looks like a mu.

Line 3: The bottom of a central vertical survives before nu. There is no trace of a crossbar on the triangular letter, so that a lambda seems the better reading; otherwise, this could be restored as [ε]ῖναι τὸ ε[- -]? If so, this may be a decree.

Line 4: [το]ῦ ἀμφορί[σκού]? Cf. *IG II*² 1640, line 19.

Line 5: It is unclear whether this marks the end of the document or merely a gap before the entry of a new rubric.

This appears to be a treasury inventory. The spacing, letter forms, and sizes are almost the same as those of *SEG XXI* 558 (= Agora I 6458), also a treasury inventory, which was found in an adjacent grid square (P 15). Thus, this fragment may be the bottom of the same stele, but since *SEG XXI* 558 is thinner than this and yet, apparently, preserves its back, it seems at first sight unlikely that these two fragments derive from the same stele. However, the first editor of *SEG XXI* 558, Arthur Woodward, commented upon “the unusual thinness of this stele (assuming that the back has not been cut down).”⁶ My own examination of *SEG XXI* 558 suggests that it may, in fact, have been “cut down” and that its original back does not survive.

An approximate date is provided by the letter forms, which are the same as those of *IG II*² 1560A (dated to the 330s or 320s B.C.), *IG II*² 1532a (likely to be dated to 343/2 B.C.), and Agora I 226 (= *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 3–4, no. 5), dated to 327/6 B.C., but neither this stone nor *SEG XXI* 558 can be part of any of these documents. It is thus best to treat it, as Woodward did (*SEG XXI* 558), as a treasury inventory of unusual type. Woodward also suggested (p. 184) that its findspot “not far from the Eleusinion” might indicate that it derived from the Eleusinion itself; if so, the same might be true of the fragment discussed here. Alternatively, its findspot, close to the Post-Herulian Wall, suggests that it may have originated on the Akropolis.

8 (Pl. 11). A fragment of Pentelic marble (I 2958) found on May 3, 1935, in a late wall at the southwest corner of the Bouleuterion (F 10). The left side is preserved. Faint horizontal guidelines are preserved above and below the lines of inscription.

P.H. 0.125 m; p.W. 0.08 m; p.Th. 0.051 m.

L.H. 0.006–0.007 m, line 5, 0.007 m; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.013 m.

s. IV a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[.]ιοτιμ[-----]
^υ εἰς το[-----]
ενεδη[-----]

⁶ Woodward 1963, p. 184.

Line 4: The top of a central vertical survives at the left; at the right, after the eta, the surface is worn away, so that it is unclear whether a letter was inscribed here or not. Since the corresponding space in the next line is uninscribed, however, it is likely that an intercolumnar space occurs here: perhaps [.]: πρὸς η|[---].

Line 5: To the left of the eta the top of a right vertical survives. The eta is wider than the eta above it in line 4; thus, perhaps it is a numeral.

This appears to be a columnar treasury inventory (lines 3 and 5), but other restorations would suit a lease or poletai record: for instance, a name, such as Kephalos, in line 3, and a topographical reference, such as πρὸς ἡ[λίου ἀνέλιοντος], in line 4 (cf. *IG* II² 1582, *passim*).

Note especially the shapes of epsilon, sigma, and phi. The letter forms are very close to those of *Agora* XIX, P29 (= *Agora* I 631 a + 686 + 939) and P28 (= *Agora* I 2205), both poletai records; *Agora* I 3235 (= *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 170–171, no. 8), a Brauronian treasury inventory, is similar, but not so close; so, too, is *IG* II² 1517A. Closest is the treasury inventory *SEG* XV 120 (= *Agora* I 2260), dated after 346/5 B.C., which is, however, Hymettian marble.

10 (Pl. 12). A fragment of very pale, blue-gray Hymettian marble (I 5452) found on May 20, 1938, in the the original filling of the Post-Herulian Wall, south of the Eleusinion (T 21). The stipple-dressed right side is preserved, with a right margin of 0.013 m. Below the last inscribed line there is a vertical uninscribed space of 0.04 m. The roughly picked back is unlikely to be original, given the preserved thickness of this stone.

P.H. 0.086 m; p.W. 0.126 m; p.Th. 0.041 m.

L.H. 0.005 m; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.011 m and a vertical checker of 0.01 m. (Punctuation marks and numerals are *not* evenly spaced.)

post med. s. IV a.?

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[----- :] ποδες: Γ'ΙΙ[.]
 [-----]ιχ: ΙΙΙ: σει[.]
 [-----] *vacat*

Line 2: The alpha lacks any trace of a crossbar, but unless we are dealing with an abbreviation, it is difficult to envisage a lambda here. What the word may be that begins after the numerals is a puzzle: the only possible word that might remotely be connected with building operations is σελταρος, the awning of a theater.

This seems to lay out specifications for some kind of building but does not appear to belong with any of the known documents of this sort. The hand suggests that it should be dated to the middle of the 4th century B.C. or a little later.

The surviving text seems to be concerned with the dimensions of building blocks.⁹ The mid-4th-century inscription *Agora* I 5903 (= *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 245, no. 41) records building operations in what seem to be the same kinds of terms; likewise, *Agora* I 3247 (= *Hesperia* 6, 1937, p. 456, no. 6) and *IG* II² 1684 (= E.M. 8702) exhibit similar wording; again, *Agora* I 7458 (= *Hesperia* 61, 1992, p. 375, no. 1), perhaps a contract or lease, appears superficially similar in wording. None of these, however, can have been part of the stele to which the fragment discussed here belonged. The phraseology is closest to that of certain grave *horoi*, in which the dimensions of the grave plot are listed (*Agora* XIX, H66, H67, and *IG* II² 2561–2566); however, no published inscription of this sort has letters so small as those found here.

11 (Pl. 12). A fragment from the top of a stele of Pentelic marble (I 6408) found on June 1, 1951, in fill of the 4th century B.C., over the outer west wall of the Square Peristyle (P 7). It is broken on all sides and at the back. An inscribed fascia is preserved, with receding moldings above and below it.

⁹ Cf. Lalonde 1992, pp. 374–379, no. 1 (*Agora* I 7458).

P.H. 0.07 m; p.W. 0.095 m; p.Th. 0.02 m.

L.H. 0.006–0.007 m; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0092 m and a vertical checker of 0.011 m.

fin. s. IV a.?

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[-----]	]ος ἐβδόμ[-----]
[-----]	]ευγεραι[-----]

lacuna

Line 2: The gamma may be an error for tau: if so, the reading may be [δ]ευτέραι.

This may be the preamble of a decree, in which the dating formula is placed on the fascia of the pediment; in this case, line 1 might read [ἐπὶ τῆς ----[δ]ος ἐβδόμ[ης πρυτανείας], and line 2, [δ]ευτέραι [τῆς πρυτανείας], or it might be a similar dating formula above an account of some sort. *IG II²* 1493 and 1497 are very similar and are Pentelic marble, as this is; perhaps one of these may be its home. *IG II²* 1485 is even closer in appearance: note the thickening of straight letter strokes at the terminal end and the distinctive shapes of epsilon, sigma, and upsilon, as well as the diameter of omicron. This suggests a date near the end of the 4th century B.C. The notes on the inventory card suggest that the fill in which this fragment was found, “over the outer west wall of the Square Building” (that is, the Square Peristyle), dated to the 4th century B.C. The most recent study of the Square Peristyle indicates that its construction “was begun at the turn of the 4th to 3rd century B.C.E., and not around 325 as previously suggested.”¹⁰ This fill, therefore, cannot derive literally from “over the west wall” of the Square Peristyle but may have fallen back onto the lower foundations of the west wall when its superstructure was removed after its demolition in the 2nd century. Whatever the case, if the fill in which this fragment was found is correctly dated, it will have been earlier than the construction of the Square Peristyle. It may therefore have had some link to one of its predecessors, Building A, which does date to the 4th century B.C. and whose remains underlie the western side of the Square Peristyle. Building A appears to have served some sort of legal function, as did the Square Peristyle.¹¹

12 (Pl. 12). A fragment of badly abraded, pale gray Hymettian marble (I 2791) found on April 19, 1935, in an area previously dug behind the eastern Giants of the Odeion (M 9). It is broken on all sides and at the back. There is an uninscribed vertical space of 0.015 m above line 2.

P.H. 0.06 m; p.W. 0.067 m; p.Th. 0.026 m.

L.H. 0.006 m; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.015 m.

s. IV a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[-----]	] vacat [-----]
[-----]	] || ΗΣ [-----]
[-----]	] πινυλ [-----]
[-----]	] ιδι [-----]
[-----]] [-----]

lacuna

¹⁰ *Agora XXVIII*, p. 109, quoting *Agora XXVII*, pp. 90, 143–153.

¹¹ See *Agora XXVII*, pp. 25–49, and *Agora XXVIII*, pp. 104–105, 110–113.

Line 1: It seems unlikely that this fragment derives from the top of its stele. Thus, this uninscribed space probably represents the end of an entry.

Line 2: The two distinct vertical strokes are not connected, and so they probably represent obol symbols rather than letters. The reading may thus be [---]||ησ[---].

Line 3: The pi seems very wide and appears to have a dot below the midpoint of the horizontal; thus, it may, in fact, be a symbol for fifty: Π. The bottom of the left diagonal of an alpha or lambda survives at the right.

Line 4: The damage to this stone has obliterated the center and bottom of this letter.

Line 5: The tops of three verticals are preserved; they may be parts of letters, or, like the verticals in line 2, they may be obol symbols: |||.

This may be part of a mortgage or a treasury inventory.

13 (Pl. 13). A fragment of Hymettian marble (I 4979) found on June 13, 1937, in a very late Roman context over a drain on the North Slope of the Akropolis, below the Klepsydra (T 26). The left side is preserved, with a margin of 0.022 m. There is an uninscribed vertical space of 0.02 m below the last line.

P.H. 0.078 m; p.W. 0.08 m; p.Th. 0.032 m.

L.H. 0.005 m; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.011 m. The horizontal spacing varies between 0.003 m and 0.006 m.

fn. s. IV/init. s. III a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

ω[]
αυ[]
ημ]
ατ]
ω[]
εα]
ζο[]
5 χωνυ[]

vacat

The crossbars of alphas are routinely omitted.

Line 3: Perhaps [χρ]|ημ

Line 5: This may be the end of a name in the nominative, followed by a patronymic or demotic. The last letter preserves two diagonal arms, which seem a little high to be parts of a chi. This could be part of an archon formula, [ἄρ]|χων ὕ[---], but such a formula at the end of a document seems unlikely.

The inscription is engraved non-stoichedon but gives the impression that it may be stoichedon because it includes the beginnings of lines. The exceptionally wide margin suggests that it derives from the bottom of the stele, or it could be part of a columnar document. *Agora* XIX, P54 (= *Agora* I 4833), a poletai document, is very similar in appearance and in spacing: note the shapes of the epsilon and the very ungainly nu; it is Pentelic marble, however, and so cannot be the home of this document.

14 (Pl. 13). A fragment of Hymettian marble (I 3973) found on April 7, 1936, in a Byzantine context west of the Post-Herulian Wall, outside the Market Square to the southeast (R-S 17). It is broken on all sides. Letters are carelessly cut, with traces of red paint remaining.

P.H. 0.043 m; p.W. 0.056 m; p.Th. 0.034 m.

L.H. 0.004 m; non-stoichedon, with horizontal spacing of 0.003–0.004 m and a vertical checker of 0.0095 m.

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

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[-----]	.] ^v ν α [-----]]
[-----]	.] λ α γ ι δ [-----]]
[-----]	.] ι δ α ς: γ [-----]]
[-----]	.] υ [.] Ϻ ω: Η Γ [-----]]

lacuna

The crossbars of alphas are routinely omitted.

Line 1: The bottom of a right diagonal survives on the break.

Line 2: The bottom of the right diagonal of lambda survives. The order might be reversed, i.e., [—] α λ γ ι δ [—]. The bottom left corner of delta is preserved.

Line 3: After the sigma there is a vertical stroke with two not quite horizontal extensions joining its right side at top and center. I assume that this combination is a form of punctuation mark.

Line 4: Only the tops of these letters survive, and all are extremely difficult to read, both on squeezes and in the photograph, except for the eta/numeral.

I have not been able to find any inscription that matches this. The closest is *Agora* XIX, L14, fragment *b* (= *Agora* I 5775), a fragment of a lease record of the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C., but both this fragment and I 3973 are too small to permit a valid comparison to be made.

15 (Pl. 13). A fragment of Hymettian marble (I 2471) found on February 21, 1935, in a modern context east of the southern part of the Odeion (N 11). The right side is preserved, with a margin varying from 0.006 to 0.008 m.

P.H. 0.12 m; p.W. 0.078 m; p.Th. 0.132 m.

L.H. 0.006 m; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.0132 m.

s. III a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[-----]	. . . . .] ω [.]]
[-----]	. . . . .] ι π α]
[-----]	. . . . .] ν α η α ν]
[-----]	. . . . .] ι μ ε λ ι]
5 [-----]	. . . . .] θ [.] σ ο]
[-----]	] ο ν ν [.] ν ο π]
[-----]	.] χ [.] ι λ]
[-----]	] <i>vacat</i> ?]

The crossbars of alphas are routinely omitted. Letters are crudely shaped, as well as badly abraded.

Line 4: [ἐπ]ιμελεῖ[—]?

Line 6: [κατὰ τ]ὸν ν[ό]μον? If so, this is likely to be part of an honorific decree.

The very little that can be made of this text suggests that it is more likely to be some kind of account rather than a decree.

The hand and spacing are close to those of *Agora* XIX, P54 (= *Agora* I 4833), a poletai record of the 3rd century B.C.

16 (Pl. 13). A fragment of Pentelic marble (I 5524) found on June 11, 1938, in a mid Roman context in the water channel north of the Paved Court below the Klepsydra (T 26). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.046 m; p.W. 0.065 m; p.Th. 0.083 m.

L.H. 0.005–0.006 m; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.012 m.

init. s. II a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[-----.]αρ[-----]
 [-----]λαμπ[-----]
 [-----]ιντος[-----]
 [-----.]ωνση[-----]

lacuna

Line 1: The bottom of a right diagonal survives at the left. The bottom of a vertical is preserved in the next space: the stone appears to break on the underside of the loop of a rho.

Line 2: The bottom of a right diagonal survives at the left: Λαμπ[τρε--]? If so, this may be part of a list of names.

Line 4: The top third of omega survives, considerably greater in diameter than the omicron of line 3. At the right edge the left vertical and part of the horizontal of eta are preserved. Perhaps the end of a name, followed by a patronymic or demotic: [--]ων Ση[--].

The hand is perhaps that of Stephen Tracy's "Cutter of I 247,"¹² who was active between 194/3 and 148/2 B.C. Of the documents ascribed by Tracy to this cutter, few are inscribed on Pentelic marble, and fewer still of these exhibit a characteristic that occurs here, a barred alpha. Examples that exhibit both the barred alpha and the required marble type are *IG* II² 997 (E.M. 7578) and 2332 (E.M. 10399) and Agora I 983 (= *Hesperia* 36, 1967, p. 88, no. 19, face A, lines 1–29) and I 3777 (= *Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 18, no. 24). The two Agora documents seem to be eliminated on the grounds that their letters are either too tall (Agora I 983) or too small (Agora I 3777). Thus, one of the two *IG* documents may be the home of this fragment. Of these, *IG* II² 997 is the end of a decree and so does not provide an obvious home, unless this fragment derives from the prescript of the decree. This leaves *IG* II² 2332, a list of contributors to an *epidosis* of 183/2 B.C., in which contributors are listed by name and demotic/ethnic, followed by the amount of their contribution. I am inclined to restore as follows:

[-----.]αρ[-----]
 [-----] Λαμπ[τρεύς -----]
 [-----]ιντος [-----]
 [-----.]ων Ση[μαχίδης -----]

If *IG* II² 2332 is its home, it should derive from the upper part of the stele, where demotics are not always preserved.

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¹² Tracy 1990, pp. 99–103.

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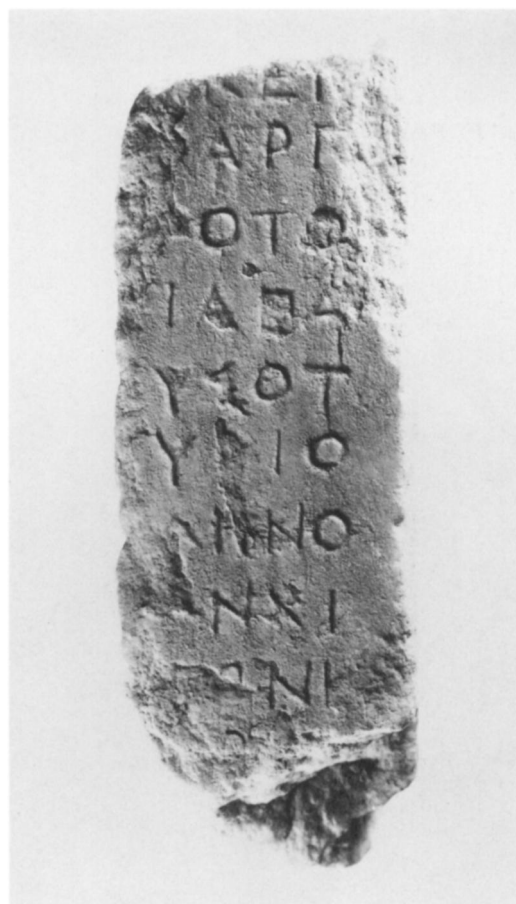
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1 (I 5362)



2 (I 4682)



3 (I 4808)



4 (I 4362), Face A



5 (I 6417), Face A



4 (I 4362), Face B



5 (I 6417), Face B



6 (I 5298), Face A



7 (I 6495)



6 (I 5298), Face B



8 (I 2958)



9 (I 6356)



10 (I 5452)



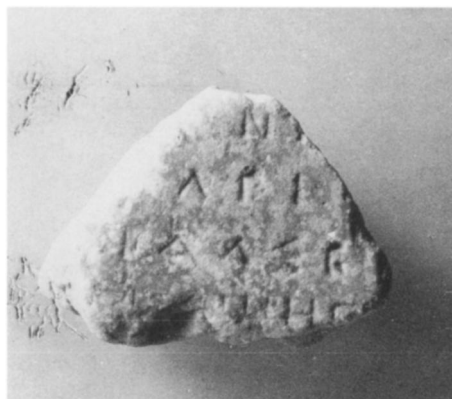
11 (I 6408)



12 (I 2791)



13 (I 4979)



14 (I 3973)



15 (I 2471)



16 (I 5524)