# GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS

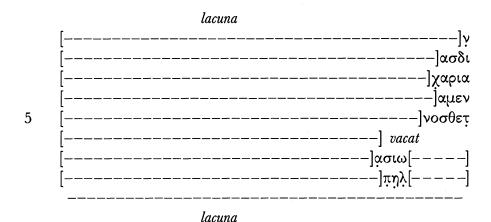
(Plates 83–88)

N THIS ARTICLE are collected several unpublished fragments of inscriptions apparently dealing with financial affairs, found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora between 1931 and 1967. These fragments are mostly small and unrelated to one another and, with the probable exception of 15 and 21, cannot definitely be attributed to any published series of financial documents. Nevertheless, I hope that their publication here may be of use to scholars in the future, when new materials come to light.

1 (Pl. 83). A fragment of bluish Pentelic marble (I 1779), found on April 14, 1934, in a late context in the Bouleuterion Square (F 11). The stipple-dressed right side is preserved, with a drafted edge 0.01 m. wide where it joins the face. There is a vertical uninscribed space of 0.015 m. between lines 5 and 7.

P.H. 0.091 m.; p.W. 0.053 m.; p.Th. 0.022 m. LH. 0.007 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.01 m.

fin. s. V a. (?)



Line 1: The bottoms of the verticals of nu survive, 0.006 m. apart, as in the nu of line 4.

I am grateful to Professor Homer A. Thompson, the Director Emeritus of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for permission to study and to publish these documents, and to Mrs. C. Peppas-Delmousou, the Director Emerita of the Epigraphic Museum in Athens, for permission to study related material in the Epigraphic Museum. I am also very grateful to Professor Christian Habicht for making it possible for me to study and make use of the extensive collection of squeezes at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, particularly during 1987, when he facilitated my appointment as a Summer Visitor at the Institute, and to Professor T. L. Shear Jr. for allowing me to work in the Agora in 1988 and 1990. Throughout, my text and commentary have been improved as a result of comments made by the anonymous referees to whom this work was submitted by the Editor of this journal.

Hesperia 65.4, 1996

- Line 2: Perhaps [ $\tau \tilde{\eta} \zeta \pi \rho \upsilon \tau \alpha \upsilon \epsilon i ] \alpha \zeta \Delta \iota [----]$ ?
- Line 3: Perhaps part of the name Charias?
- Line 4: Perhaps part of a name?

Line 5: The theta is greater in diameter than is the omicron. The horizontal of tau survives, perhaps also part of its vertical, in the abraded area to right of epsilon. The reading may be [---]voς  $\theta = \sqrt{[--]}$  or perhaps parts of a name and patronymic, thus [---]voς  $\Theta = \sqrt{[--]}$ .

Line 8: The letter traces in this line could be letters or numerals. The first partially preserved letter seems to be a pi, but the area below the horizontal is abraded and could possibly conceal part of a 500-symbol. The eta is complete but could just as easily be a 100-symbol. Traces of what may be the apex of a triangular letter survive in the abraded area to right of the eta, and this could be either a letter, such as a delta, or a 10-symbol. The correct reading, therefore, may be  $\P H \Delta$ .

From lines 7 and, perhaps, 8, it appears that at least the lower part of this document is inscribed in Ionic script. It may be part of the Erechtheion accounts of ca. 407–405 B.C. (IG I³ 477 = E.M. 9997), which is inscribed in Ionic script and which lines 1–5 resemble closely in marble type, letter forms, and spacing, except that IG I³ 477 is inscribed stoichedon. (Note especially the diameter of theta greater than that of the omicron; the same characteristic is found in IG I³ 477.) Lines 7–8 seem to be by a different hand and most closely resemble in letter forms those of IG I³ 479 (E.M. 12778), which is also Ionic and inscribed non-stoichedon and which is likewise attributed to the Erechtheion accounts of the late 5th century B.C.; however, it has a different vertical spacing from that of the present document.

If, indeed, this is part of the Erechtheion accounts, it may be similar in text to  $IG I^3$  478, in which a series of payments to workmen is recorded: the names of these workmen would be in the dative; line 5 may argue against such a reconstruction, if it contains the end of a name in the nominative. Other possible contexts for this document are the construction of the New Bouleuterion and the repair of the Tholos.<sup>2</sup>

2 (Pl. 83). A fragment of an opisthographic stele of Pentelic marble (I 5647), found on February 24, 1939, in a modern context southwest of the Eleusinion and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 22). The rough-picked top and both inscribed faces are preserved. The stoichedon pattern on both faces is cramped and slightly irregular.

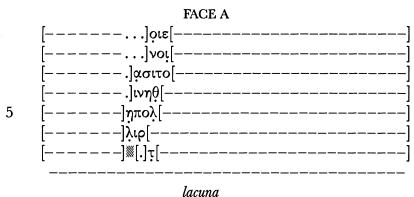
P.H. 0.155 m.; p.W. 0.118 m.; Th. 0.147 m.

Face A, lines 1–4, LH. 0.01–0.011 m.; semi-stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of ca. 0.0085 m. and a vertical checker of 0.015 m.; lines 5–7, LH. 0.009 m.; semi-stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of ca. 0.0085 m. and a vertical checker of 0.014 m.

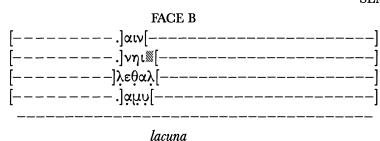
Face B, LH. 0.007–0.008 m.; semi-stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of ca. 0.0098 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0122 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the New Bouleuterion, see *Agora* XIV, pp. 31–33; its date is placed "towards the end of the 5th century" (p. 31). For severe damage to the Tholos in the late 5th century and its subsequent repair, see Thompson 1940, pp. 48, 77, 128, and 154, and also *Agora* XIV, p. 43. I owe these suggestions to Professor Thompson.

fin. s. V a. (?)



SEMI-ΣΤΟΙΧ.



These two faces are related to one another as follows: the alpha of line 1 on Face B is in line with the partial omicron of line 1 on Face A.

Face A, line 1: On the photograph a vertical stroke appears directly above the right hasta of the nu of line 2. On the squeeze this is replaced by a circular depression, while on the stone itself there seems to be a diagonal edge to a circular depression. I should be inclined, on comparison of all three, to read a dotted omicron here but not to eliminate the diagonal entirely from consideration. The photograph shows a clear vertical stroke at the right edge, with an equally clear horizontal at the top of the stoichos, but it also shows a much less distinct horizontal below this bar, where the center bar of an epsilon would lie; on the squeeze and on the stone, it is clear that this central bar exists and is the upper edge of a rectangular depression: thus, an epsilon is to be read here, not a pi or a gamma. Perhaps, if this is part of a prescript, [---oi taulal] of  $i \in [\pi i ----i approved]$ ?

Line 2: After the omicron, there is the top of a left vertical (visible on the photograph and also on the stone and on the squeezes). Iotas on this stone seem to be placed at the left edge of their stoichoi, so this is probably an iota too, although, since the lower part of this is destroyed, it could be part of an eta or even of a nu.

Line 3: Before the sigma, there is the tip of a horizontal at the bottom (photograph), thus perhaps part of an epsilon, zeta, or xi; in the squeezes and from autopsy this mark conceals a better-defined diagonal, which should be part of a triangular letter, probably an alpha; the presence of the sigma after this probably eliminates either lambda or delta from consideration.

Line 4: Before the nu, there is a clear left vertical; since iotas on this stone seem to be placed at the left edge of their stoichoi, this is probably an iota. The pi that is so clear in the photograph is actually an eta, with a sloping stroke at its top that is enhanced in the photograph but is actually a random mark. The circular letter seems to have a central dot and thus may be a theta.

- Line 5: To the left of the pi the stone breaks away on a vertical, probably the right hasta of an eta or a nu. To the right of the omicron is the top of a letter, perhaps the upper diagonal of a sigma (photograph) or (squeezes and autopsy) the apex of a triangular letter: lambda or alpha seems the likeliest reading.
- Line 6: To the left of the iota there is a diagonal stroke, perhaps the top of a lambda or, since it lies quite far to the right, perhaps the right diagonal of a mu.
- Line 7: This area is much abraded and damaged, but there appear to be the tops of two verticals in the stoichos below the (hypothetical) mu and a horizontal bar below the rho of line 6.
  - Face B, line 1: There may be more letters here, but they are too much damaged to provide any certainty. Line 2: After the iota the stone breaks on a vertical, perhaps of an eta or a nu.
- Line 3: The bottom of a right diagonal is preserved before the epsilon. It is possible that the omicron is neither an omicron or a theta (it seems to have a central dot) but a phi whose central vertical is faint and does not extend above or below the circle. If so, the reading  $[\dot{\epsilon}]\lambda\epsilon\varphi\alpha[v\tau v-]$  would be very attractive. There are traces, however, that suggest the bottom of the left diagonal of a triangular letter in the abraded area to right of the alpha; if these are really part of a letter, any mention of ivory is eliminated.
- Line 4: The surface is badly damaged, but on the photograph there are traces that suggest the tops of a triangular letter, a mu, and an upsilon (both squeezes and the stone are unhelpful here).

This may be part of a treasure inventory, but the terminology is obscure. The findspot and context suggest that the stele from which this fragment derives may originally have stood upon the Akropolis. The difference in letter heights on Face A suggests that the first four lines may represent a prescript, while the remaining lines would be either an account or a list of treasures; Face B is different again, and line 3 might be part of a description of an inventory item. There is some resemblance to the Erechtheion accounts (IG I<sup>3</sup> 474-479): of these, IG I<sup>3</sup> 475 (E.M. 6690), in particular, resembles it closely in thickness and in letters but is in Attic script, not Ionic; also, more appropriately, there is some resemblance to the late-5th-century accounts of the Treasurers of the Goddess, IG I<sup>3</sup> 381 and 382. The character of the letters, with a tendency to splay at the ends of straight strokes, is matched by several late-5th- and early-4th-century inventory documents, but IG I<sup>3</sup> 381 (Agora I 6970 = Hesperia 3, 1963, p. 170, no. 7) seems particularly close (in spacing and marble type as well) to Face A, lines 5ff., of this document, while IG I3 382 (E.M. 7996) is very much like Face B. I am therefore inclined to see this fragment as part of the late-5th-century accounts of the Treasurers of the Goddess Athena, perhaps those of 406/5 B.C., if IG I<sup>3</sup> 378 is removed from this year to 407/6 B.C., as its most recent editor seems willing to admit.<sup>3</sup> Face A of 2 would thus be part of IG I<sup>3</sup> 381, and its Face B part of IG I<sup>3</sup> 382. If I am correct, we should restore here the name of the archon of 406/5 B.C. [Καλλίο].

3 (Pl. 83). A fragment of Pentelic marble (I 6414), found on July 4, 1951, in a marble dump in the southeast part of the Market Square (N-Q 12-14). The right side and back may be original, but the stone has been reused as a threshold block, and the face and left side have been reworked and the back rough chiseled for this purpose. There seems to be a horizontal uninscribed space to the left of lines 6-10, which may have extended the full height of the stone, so that the text here is likely to have been arranged in columns, as may also be the case with lines 11ff.; these, however, are set off well to the left of the text of lines 1-10.

P.H. 0.292 m.; p.W. 0.438 m.; Th. 0.11 m. (right)-0.12 m. (left).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Lewis in IG I<sup>3</sup>.

LH. (lines 1–10) 0.006–0.007 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern,  $0.0102 \times 0.0102$  m; (lines 11ff.) 0.009 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern,  $0.016 \times 0.016$  m.

fin. s. V a. (?)

	lacuna
Attic script?	[vacat $?$ ] $\delta[]$ $\iota$ []
-	[vacat ?]τροφ[.]μοσ[]
	[vacat ?] vev[] xiii []
	[vacat ?6] eut[]
5	$[vacat\ ?]\alpha[^5]$
	vacat ×α[]
	vacat ες πρυτα[ν]ευόσε[ςπρυταν]-
	vacat εία[ς] Δ: δραχ[μ]ὰ[ς]
	vacat οσχ[.]ρ[.]μ[]
10	vacat κεφάλα[ιον] Δ[]
Ionic script?	κεφάλα[ιον?]
•	αχαιο[]
	τοε[]α[]
	Έκα[το]μβαι[ῶνος?]
15	ωσι[]ι[]
	αναστ[]
	μενων[]
	·
	lacuna

- Line 1: The apex of a triangular letter survives over the first omicron of line 2, and the bottom of a central vertical above the mu.
- Line 2: The bottom of the vertical and the right tip of the horizontal of tau survive; the left side of phi is preserved. At the right side the two upper diagonals of a sigma survive. The word may be  $\tau \rho \delta \phi[\iota] \mu o \varsigma$ , but the context is obscure.
- Line 3: The diagonal and right hasta of nu survive, followed by a complete epsilon and the left vertical and diagonal of another nu; four stoichoi to the right are the tips of the diagonals of a kappa(?), the bottom of a central vertical, and the upper apices of a mu.
- Line 4: There are faint traces of letters here: the upper left corner of epsilon or pi (?), the top of a central vertical, and the bottom of another central vertical.
- Line 5: Again, there are faint traces of letters: the upper left corner of an epsilon or pi survives, followed in the sixth and seventh stoichoi by the bottom of a central vertical and the diagonals of an upsilon(?).
- Line 6: The bottom of kappa and the bottoms of the diagonals of an alpha or Attic gamma survive. The space to left of the kappa seems to be uninscribed, as is the case in lines 7–9.
- Line 7: The first seven letters are reasonably complete; the eighth has perished. After this, the lower left corner of epsilon is preserved, followed by the diagonals of upsilon. At the right, the vertical and part of the middle horizontal of epsilon survive.
- Line 8: The text of lines 6–8 may be compared, and partially restored by analogy, with the Erechtheion accounts, IG  $I^3$  477, lines 4–8, of ca. 407–405 b.c.: [ἐπὶ τῆς (phyle name)ίδος (number)]|ες πρυτα[ν]ευόσε[ς λῆμμα παρὰ ταμιῆν τῆς Θεῆ (name + demotic) καὶ συναρχόντον (date) τῆς πρυταν]|εία[ς]  $\dot{\Omega}$ : δραχμ[ὰς ---]. This is likely to require a fairly long line, of ca. 70 letters, such as is found in IG  $I^3$  379 and 380.

Line 9: The mu is faint but fully preserved. Presumably a name and demotic:  $[---]o_{\zeta} K[\epsilon]\rho[\alpha]\mu[\epsilon \acute{\upsilon}_{\zeta}]$ , but not necessarily in the nominative.

Line 10: The vertical of an Attic lambda survives, followed by the apex of a triangular letter. By comparison with IG I³ 477, lines 2–3, one might restore [λέμματος καὶ σύμπαντος ἀναλόματος]| κεφάλα[ιον (number)].

Line 11: The apices of two triangular letters, probably Ionic lambda and alpha, survive.

Line 12: A circular letter, either omicron or theta, is preserved in the fifth stoichos.

Line 13: Perhaps  $t\tilde{o} \notin [v_1]\alpha[v_1\tilde{o}]$ ?

Line 14: The feet of the diagonals of an alpha or lambda and the bottom of a central vertical survive at the edge of the circular depression. These traces suggest that the month Hekatombaion is named here, perhaps in the context of a calendar reference, as I have restored it, but the condition of the stone is such that the restoration  $\dot{\epsilon} \times \alpha [\tau \dot{\delta}] \mu \beta \eta \gamma$  cannot be completely ruled out.

Line 15: A central vertical survives below the beta of line 14. I can detect no trace of any other letter stroke in this stoichos.

Line 16: The upper three diagonals of sigma are preserved. Some form of the word ἀνάστ[ασις]?

Line 17: After nu there is a trace of a curved letter, which I interpret, from its shape, as omega rather than omicron; in the next stoichos to the right the diagonal of nu is preserved. Perhaps [γενο] | μένων or some other middle-passive participle?

The evidence for the use of Attic script in lines 1–10 and of Ionic script in lines 11ff. is not very secure. In line 7 the first epsilon is clear on the stone and is best explained as part of an Attic genitive singular, either the article  $[\tau]\tilde{\epsilon}\zeta$  or the end of an ordinal number, probably, in this context,  $[\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau]\epsilon\zeta$ . Thus, although the third epsilon in this line is only partly preserved, the reading  $\pi\rho\upsilon\tau\alpha[\nu]\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\sigma}\epsilon[\varsigma]$  becomes virtually certain. The rest of the evidence for Attic script lies in the preserved vertical shaft of an Attic lambda in line 10: this, on its own, is not very conclusive, since it could well be a random mark, given the condition of the stone; taken in conjunction with the epsilons in line 7, however, it must be regarded as a reasonably secure reading. The use of Ionic script in lines 11ff. is also not very secure: the primary evidence is the omega in the first stoichos of line 15, which is quite well preserved. The Ionic lambda of line 11 is not well preserved, but, taken in conjunction with the omega of line 15, it can be regarded as reasonably secure. The spelling  ${}^{\epsilon}E\kappa\alpha[\tau\sigma]\mu\beta\alpha\iota[\tilde{\omega}\nu\sigma\varsigma]$  (or  ${}^{\epsilon}E\kappa\alpha[\tau\sigma]\mu\beta\eta\nu$ )? in line 14 is also an Ionicism, unless an aspirate was inscribed at the (missing) right end of the line above.

Towards the end of the 5th century B.C., Ionic script increasingly intruded into public documents:<sup>4</sup> in some accounts, notably *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 377 (the reverse face of the "Choiseul Marble"; see note 5 below), Ionic text is inserted into a mainly Attic document (lines 1–11 and 28–52 are Attic, though with some Ionicisms, and lines 12–27 are Ionic, though with some Atticisms). **3** may be another example of this phenomenon, but in this case, Ionic script seems to be used only for the final section, which may be a summary of the entire document. In any case, the apparent use of Attic script in lines 1–10 and of Ionic script in lines 11ff. indicates that the document should be placed towards the end of the 5th century B.C.; the lettering and spacing, as well as the surviving text, suggest that this block might derive from the stele recording the accounts of the Treasurers of the Goddess (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 477), responsible, among other things, for payments made in connection with the completion of the Erechtheion in the late 5th century B.C. Neither in letter size nor in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For the evidence, see IG I<sup>3</sup>, passim.

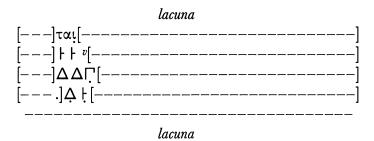
checker pattern, however, do lines 1–10 (the Attic portion of this text) correspond to IG I<sup>3</sup> 477, which, in any case, is inscribed in Ionic script; nor do they match other fragments of the series, such as IG I<sup>3</sup> 478 or 479. On the other hand, they are close in letter size and in checker pattern to lines 5–362 and 436–442 of IG I<sup>3</sup> 476, but the 23-letter line employed in that document is at variance with the ca. 70-letter line apparently required here. Thus, even if it does derive from the accounts of the Treasurers of the Goddess, this fragment must be regarded as a completely new document. The apparent line length is reminiscent of another late-5th-century account, IG I<sup>3</sup> 377, the record of the Treasurers of 407/6(?) B.C.,  $^5$  which has a line length of ca. 73 letters; to judge from photographs and other published details, the letter forms, height, and spacing of lines 1–10 of  $^3$  are much like those of IG I<sup>3</sup> 377, too, although its thickness appears to be considerably less. What can be made of the text of this fragment, however, does not correspond well with what is found in IG I<sup>3</sup> 377, where prytany dates are followed by lunar dates, or with IG I<sup>3</sup> 379, which does not employ lunar dates. Thus, whatever the explanation of this fragment, it should be regarded as part of something completely new.

4 (Pl. 84). A fragment of bluish white, micaceous Pentelic marble (I 4219), found on June 6, 1936, in a Byzantine context west of the Post-Herulian Fortification Wall and north of the Eleusinion (S 17). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.065 m.; p.W. 0.042 m.; p.Th. 0.017 m.

LH. 0.006 m.; stoichedon(?), with a horizontal checker of 0.011 m. and a vertical checker of 0.012 m. (lines 2-4 contain numerals, engraved non-stoichedon).

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



Line 1: The lower two thirds of a vertical survive, 0.003 m. to right of the right diagonal of alpha; it could be the left hasta of a nu, a gamma, or a pi, or it might be an iota, if we could be sure that iota was regularly inscribed at the left edge of its stoichos.

Line 2: The drachma signs are engraved non-stoichedon and are followed by an uncut space without punctuation.

Line 3: These numerals, too, seem to be engraved non-stoichedon. The numeral pi is much damaged, but all three letter strokes seem to survive in part. There are several horizontal marks that, depending on what is selected and what rejected, make this letter resemble either an epsilon or a drachma sign, but I believe that they are random marks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The "Choiseul Marble", now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. For a good photograph of *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 377, lines 82–91, see Meritt 1978, pl. 35.

Line 4: The right apex of delta survives, somewhat to right of the first delta of line 3; the top of a vertical is below the center of the second delta of line 3: the spacing suggests that these are numerals, not letters, engraved non-stoichedon, as are the numerals of lines 2 and 3.

This probably derives from a treasure inventory in which the numerals are included in the text rather than being set out in a separate column. For this reason, despite the similarity in spacing and letter sizes, I doubt whether it derives from the late-5th-century Law Code (IG I³ 239, 240, or 241). Some of the 5th-century accounts of the Treasurers of Athena (IG I³ 359–382) do employ numerals in the text, but what little can be made of the letter forms here does not suggest an obvious connection, nor do their heights match. Many of the inventories of the Treasurers of Athena in the early 4th century employ continuous text as this seems to do, and it thus likely derives from one of these (IG II² 1370–1420). Too little is preserved for it to be possible to make a confident ascription.

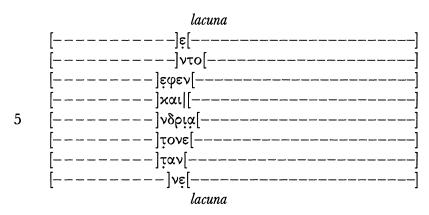
The drachma signs are engraved non-stoichedon and are followed by an uncut space without punctuation, as also occurs in SEG XXI 547 (Agora I 4996 = Hesperia 32, 1963, pp. 168–169, no. 6), a treasure inventory, also Pentelic marble, which, so far as can be determined from so small a sample of letters, shares the same letter shapes and spacing and whose date should be between 384/3 and 376/5 B.C. It is possible, therefore, that this fragment may derive from the same stele as SEG XXI 547.

5 (Pl. 84). A fragment of Pentelic marble (I 4799), found on May 6, 1937, in a mixed Late Roman to Dark Ages context over the Panathenaic Way, west of the Eleusinion (T 20). It is broken on all sides. The face was once highly polished.

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P.H. 0.142 m.; p.W. 0.04 m.; p.Th. 0.07 m.
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LH. 0.006-0.007 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.0114 m.

ΝΟΝ-ΣΤΟΙΧ.



Line 1: The right tip of the bottom bar of epsilon survives, above the tau of line 2.

Line 3: There is an apparent horizontal at the bottom of the stoichos before the phi: if this is part of a letter it must be an epsilon. It seems a little high, however, compared with the bottom bar of the epsilon to right of the phi; thus, I have omitted this possible letter from my text. A possible restoration, disregarding this "epsilon", is  $[\delta \rho \delta] \varphi \epsilon \nu$  (cf. IG I³ 476, lines 27 and 41: hop $\delta \varphi \epsilon \nu$ ). Another restoration, assuming that

this is inscribed in Attic, rather than Ionic, script, might be [χάρτες εἰς ἐγγρα]φὲν [ἀντιγράφων] (cf. IG I³ 477, lines 1–2).

Line 4: The "kappa" has very widely separated arms, and the remains of its vertical are quite short and perhaps illusory: if so, this letter is a chi, rather than a kappa. After the iota there is another vertical stroke, a little taller than the iota, perhaps a drachma or obol sign.

Line 5: Perhaps [α]νδριά[ς]; cf.  $IG II^2$  1500, line 16 (ανδριάς α[γένειος]) and 1501, line 5 (ανδριάς γενειῶν).

Line 6: The right tip of the bar of tau survives at the left.

Line 7: The right tip of the bar of tau is preserved. Perhaps  $[\dot{\epsilon}\pi l \ \tau \tilde{\eta}\varsigma ---- \pi \rho \upsilon] \tau \alpha \upsilon [\epsilon l \alpha \varsigma]$ .

Line 8: Before the nu, there is a diagonal mark that could be the bottom of the right diagonal of an alpha, if it is not a random mark. After the nu, the upper left corner of an epsilon survives. Perhaps  $[\pi \rho \nu \tau] \alpha \nu \epsilon [\alpha \varsigma]$ .

There is no clear indication whether this is engraved in Attic or Ionic script, since the epsilon of line 6 could be an Attic or Ionic epsilon or could stand for an Attic eta. The spacing and character of the script, in particular the up-and-down manner of the lines, resemble parts of the Erechtheion building accounts (IG I³ 476), as well as of other late-5th-century accounts, such as IG I³ 291 and 369. There is no obvious parallel in any of these, however; the differences, unless it is inscribed in Attic script, suggest that this belongs early in the 4th century, rather than in the late 5th century, and is some sort of treasure inventory.

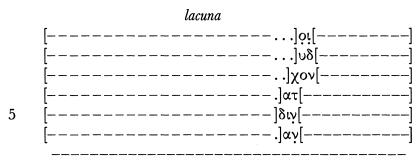
SEG XXI 565 (Agora I 6101 = Hesperia 30, 1961, pp. 242–243, no. 38) is by a similar hand, but the spacing is different. There are some similarities with **1** and **3** but not enough to link either of them directly with this fragment.

6 (Pl. 84). A fragment of Pentelic marble (I 2104), found on November 28, 1934, in a modern house wall over the southeastern part of the Odeion (M-N 11). It is broken on all sides and at the back. The face is highly polished and the letters deeply cut.

P.H. 0.055 m.; p.W. 0.036 m.; p.Th. 0.021 m.

LH. 0.005–0.007 m.; apparently stoichedon or semi-stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of ca. 0.01 m. and a vertical checker of 0.009 m. Numerals in line 5, if they are numerals, are cut non-stoichedon.

fin. s. V/init. s. IV a. SEMI- $\Sigma TOIX.$ ?



lacuna

Line 1: The lower right quadrant of a circular letter survives, followed by the lower part of a vertical. Perhaps the end of a participle, such as [παραδεξάμεν]οι, or a word such as [κληρόχ]οι, or the definite article

oi, or the relative oi. However, the vertical stroke is set well to the left of the apex of the delta of line 2, so, if this fragment is, indeed, inscribed stoichedon, this may be part of a gamma, nu, or pi.

Line 2: Perhaps part of a name such as  $[\Theta]$ ού[δημος].

Line 3: Perhaps part of the word  $[\tilde{\alpha}\rho]\chi ov[\tau o\varsigma]$  or  $[\sigma uv\alpha \rho]\chi \acute{o}v[\tau \omega v]$ .

Line 4: There are many possible interpretations of these letters: for instance,  $[\sigma\tau]\alpha\tau[\tilde{\eta}\rho\epsilon]$ ; for this, see the rubric found in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1382, etc.: Φωκαϊκὼ στατ $\tilde{\eta}\rho\epsilon$ : II: ἔκται Φωκαΐδες: ΔII, which would fit if the line length were ca. 20. Another possible restoration is  $[(\dot{\epsilon}\nu)\delta\epsilon\kappa]\dot{\alpha}\tau[\eta\iota \tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma \pi\rho\iota\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon(\alpha\varsigma)]$ .

Line 5: These may be letters or numerals. The vertical of either an obol sign or a nu survives after the first vertical stroke: the area to its right is abraded on a diagonal that suggests that this is a nu, rather than an obol sign, and, if so, the reading will be  $\Delta IN$  rather than  $\Delta II$ .

Line 6: The apex and crossbar of an alpha survive slightly to the right of the delta of line 5. To its right the top of a vertical is preserved, under the second vertical of line 5, and there seems to be the beginning of a diagonal joining this at its upper right. If I am correct in interpreting the traces in lines 5 and 6 as letters rather than numerals, this part of the stone, at least, was engraved non-stoichedon.

This resembles somewhat in marble type, letter forms, and spacing IG I<sup>3</sup> 476 (the Erechtheion building accounts of ca. 407–405 B.C., E.M. 6667); perhaps more likely, however, it may be part of an early-4th-century treasure inventory, such as IG II<sup>2</sup> 1382 (E.M. 7798, 7799). In fact, the hand and spacing (unless it is entirely non-stoichedon) seem identical to those of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1382. If it derives from IG II<sup>2</sup> 1382, it might be restored as follows, with a line of 30 letters:

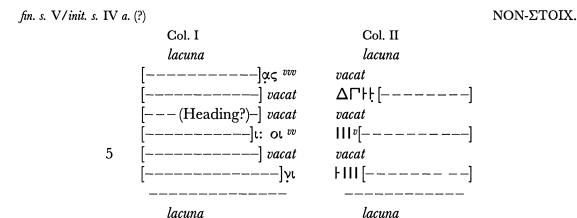
```
[παραδεξάμεν]οι [παρὰ τῶν προτέρων τα]-
[μίων οἱ ἐπὶ ...]υδ[-- ἄρχοντος ----]-
[...καὶ συναρ]χόν[των, οἷς .........]
[.... ἐγραμμ]άτ[ευεν, ἀριθμῶι καὶ σταθ]-
[μῶι ἐκ τοῦ ..]ΔΙΙ[-----]
```

This is by no means the only possible restoration, however, and since no archon name of the period would fit this reconstruction, it is probably better not to attempt a match with  $IG II^2$  1382 but to leave this fragment unrestored. Despite some similarity in letter forms, marble, and possible subject matter, I doubt whether this fragment has any link with any of 1, 3, or 5.

7 (Pl. 84). A fragment of bluish, micaceous Pentelic marble (I 6760), found in the winter of 1956/1957, among marbles from near the southeast corner of the Market Square (N-Q 17-19). It is broken on all sides and at the back.

P.H. 0.101 m.; p.W. 0.092 m.; p.Th. 0.048 m.

LH., col. I, 0.008 m.; col. II, 0.006-0.007 m.; non-stoichedon, with vertical spacing of 0.011 m. in each column.



Line 1: The bottom of the right diagonal of an alpha or lambda survives at the break.

Line 2: After the drachma sign the bottom of a vertical stroke is preserved; this could be either another drachma sign, as I have restored it, or an obol sign.

Line 3: I assume that Column I contained an inset subheading here (see below).

Line 4: The space between the first iota and the omicron is very large. To its right, there are two very light dots, perhaps a punctuation mark or, perhaps, merely random marks. The omicron has been made using a tubular drill.

Line 6: The tops of the verticals of a nu survive, with what may be a trace of a diagonal at the top of the left-hand one. This entry is carried out to the extreme right-hand end of the line, unlike those of lines 1 and 4.

This appears to be part of an account. It is not clear what the relationship is, if any, between Column I and Column II: I have assumed that the two columns are set out parallel to one another and are related, and that lines 2 and 5 were filled by shorter rubrics that have not survived. The rubrics, to judge by Column II, line 8, may have involved some item listed by number or area, followed by a cost, value, or weight. Thus, this document may be part of a Lex Sacra, such as the late-5th-century Law Code (IG I<sup>3</sup>) 239, 240, or 241), or of a record of the expenses of sacrifices, such as IG I<sup>3</sup> 383. Or else, this may be like IG II<sup>2</sup> 1421, etc., in which a column of weights is set to the left of an inventory column. The letter forms, so far as one can tell from so small a sample, seem best suited to the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th century B.C.; both they and the vertical spacing resemble those of  $IG II^2 1579 + (= Agora XIX, no. P2)$ , part of the record of the confiscation and sale in 403/2 B.C. of the property of the Thirty Tyrants and their adherents; in that series prices and taxes are set out in a separate column to the left of the entries, as might be the case here, but there are several features of this document that do not tally with anything found in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1579, etc. I am therefore inclined, rather, to view this document as a series of one- or two-line entries, each entry occupying about a line and a half, with a number set out in a separate column to the right at the end of each entry. Line 3, which is uninscribed as it survives, may have held an inset heading in Column I, as happens in the case of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1579, etc., where inset subheadings identify the property of the Eleven and other adherents of the Thirty. The sums of money, if that

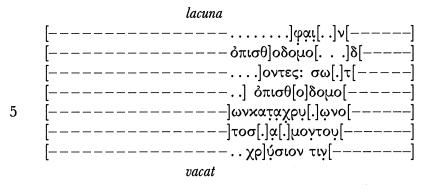
is what they are, in Column II are all quite small, thus, perhaps, representing a tax of some sort, rather than alternating prices and taxes. The closest parallel for such an arrangement is provided by the series of *Rationes Centesimarum*,<sup>6</sup> but in none of these documents is the *hekatoste* tax set out in a separate column to the right of the individual entries; also, the *Rationes Centesimarum* are, of course, of much later date than this fragment.

8 (Pl. 85). A fragment of micaceous Pentelic marble (I 2156), found on November 28, 1934, in a modern house wall over the Odeion (M 11). It is broken on all sides and at the back. There is an uninscribed vertical space of 0.048 m. below the last line.

P.H. 0.206 m.; p.W. 0.162 m.; p.Th. 0.076 m.

LH. 0.006-0.007 m.; semi-stoichedon, with horizontal spacing of ca. 0.003-0.005 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0120-0.0125 m.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.



Line 1:  $[\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon]\phi\alpha\gamma[\tau \iota]\nu[\eta]$ ?

Line 2: [ἀριθμῶι καὶ σταθμῶι ἐκ το ἀπισθ]οδόμο?

Line 3: [καὶ συνάρχ]οντες:  $\Sigma \omega[.]\tau[-]$ ? The beginning of a name, such as Sostratos?

Line 4: [ἀριθμῶι καὶ σταθμῶι ἐκ το̃] ὀπισθ[ο]δόμο? This seems unlikely, if the restoration of line 2 be correct.

Line 5: The letters preserved here are much abraded and damaged, so that all readings are insecure: omega and nu are reasonably clear, presumably the end of a word in the genitive plural. After these, kappa and alpha are quite clear, but the next letter could be either an iota or a tau: the apparent horizontal is shallower than the vertical and is irregularly placed. The next letter appears on the squeeze to be an epsilon, but there are other marks as well that resemble a chi or an alpha; possibly, the mason made an error here and corrected the original letter strokes to something else. After this letter, the traces most resemble a lambda or an alpha, but, again, other marks suggest a chi. The next letter could be a rho with a somewhat triangular loop, but there are traces that suggest a lambda or an alpha here. In the next space there also seems to be the bottom of a central vertical, perhaps of an upsilon or an iota. The next stoichos has perished. After this, a circular mark may be an omega, an omicron, or a theta, and this is followed by a fairly clear nu and an omicron. Thus, the correct reading may be  $[---]\omega\nu$  καταχρύ[σ]ων νο[-] or καταχρύ[σ]ων ο[-] (cf. the rubric ἄνευ δακτυλίων περιχρύσω σφραγίδε δύο in IG II² 1396, lines 25–26).

Line 6: After sigma the next stoichos has perished; after this the apex of a triangular letter survives. The next stoichos has perished. After this mu, omicron, and the left vertical of nu survive, followed by tau, omicron, and the tip of the left diagonal of upsilon. The reading is thus likely to be  $[--]\tau o \sigma[\tau]\alpha[\theta]\mu \dot{\rho}\nu$   $\tau o \nu[\tau - -]$ .

 $<sup>^{6}</sup>$  IG II<sup>2</sup> 1580 + 1594–1603 + SEG XXI 578–579; see also **21**, below.

Line 7: The tip of the right diagonal of upsilon survives at the left; the bottom of the first vertical of nu is preserved at the right.

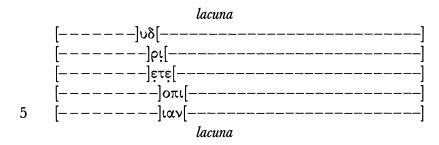
This may be part of a late-5th-century or early-4th-century treasure inventory, such as  $IG II^2 1370 + 1371 + 1384$ . Mention of the Opisthodomos (lines 2 and 4) suggests that this has some connection to the Parthenon, perhaps to the treasures kept in the Opisthodomos, but neither letters nor spacing correspond to those of any published fragment of the Parthenon inventories.

9 (Pl. 85). A fragment of blue-white Hymettian marble with white streaks (I 1615), found on March 19, 1934, in a modern context outside the Tholos, to the north (G 11). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.078 m.; p.W. 0.042 m.; p.Th. 0.036 m.

LH. 0.005–0.006 m.; non-stoichedon, with vertical spacing varying between 0.002 m. (lines 1–3) and 0.005 m. (lines 3–5).

med. s. IV a. (?) NON- $\Sigma$ TOIX.



Line 1: The right diagonal of upsilon and the left diagonal and base of delta are preserved.

Line 2: The second letter may be the vertical of a gamma, rather than an iota, since there seems to be a horizontal mark at the top of the stoichos, extending to the right of the vertical. Several possible readings come to mind:  $[\dot{\alpha}]\rho_{!}[\sigma\tau\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\sigma]$  or  $[\theta\nu\mu\iota\alpha\tau\eta]\rho_{!}[\sigma\nu]$ , if the second letter is iota, or  $[\dot{\epsilon}\pi\dot{\alpha}]\rho\gamma[\nu\rho\nu]$ , if the second letter is gamma (for this sort of entry, cf. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1436, passim).

Line 3: The letter traces here are ambiguous. I print what seems likeliest; the first letter could be either an epsilon, a sigma, or an upsilon, much obscured by random marks. If it is an epsilon, the reading may be  $\dot{\xi} \uparrow \dot{\xi} [\rho - -]$ ; if it is a sigma, the reading may be  $\dot{\varphi} \uparrow \dot{\xi} [\phi \nu \sigma \zeta]$ .

Line 4: After the vertical of iota there are three very faint horizontals, one above the other; they are probably random marks as they seem too shallow for the horizontals of an epsilon. Thus, the reading may be  $\delta\pi\iota[\sigma\theta\circ\delta\circ\mu--].^8$ 

Line 5: The bar of alpha is set very low, and its diagonals are widely splayed, as in  $IG II^2 1436$ . The vertical of nu is clear, but the diagonal is very faint.

The variations in vertical spacing suggest that this may be a document containing items listed in a series, such as an account of some sort, rather than part of a decree. The spacing and letter forms are closest to those of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1433 and 1436; if there is any link,

 $<sup>^7</sup>$  For a photograph, see West and Woodward 1938, pl. VI. They identify  $IG II^2$  1399, 1378 + 1398, 1392, 1396, 1397, and, perhaps, 1374 as records of the Opisthodomos.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For the Opisthodomos, see 8 and note 7 above; all these documents are probably too early in date for this fragment.

since IG II<sup>2</sup> 1433 is Pentelic marble, IG II<sup>2</sup> 1436 is the likeliest candidate for the home of this fragment. If so, the date is 350/49-349/8 B.C. **24** may be by the same hand and, possibly, part of the same stele.

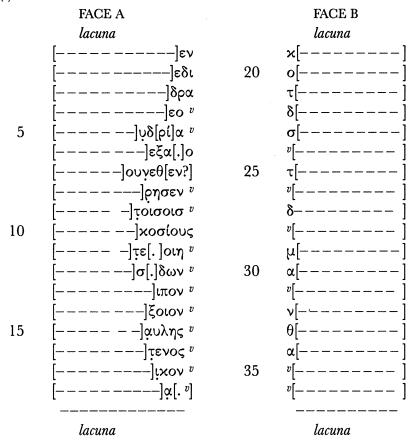
10 (Pl. 85). Three joining fragments of micaceous Pentelic marble (I 1770), found on April 17, 1934, in a late context to the southwest of the Bouleuterion Square (F 11). The stele preserves two adjacent inscribed faces but otherwise is broken on all sides and at the back. The right margin on Face A is 0.002–0.003 m.; on Face B the left margin is 0.007–0.008 m. I have assumed that Face A represents the left lateral and Face B the obverse of the stele.

P.H. 0.20 m.; p.W. (Face A) 0.057 m.; p.Th. (Face B) 0.025 m.

LH.: Face A, lines 1-4, 0.007 m.; lines 5-13, 0.007-0.008 m.; lines 14-18, 0.007 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.011-0.012 m. Face B, 0.005 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.009-0.011 m.

med. s. IV a. (?)

ΝΟΝ-ΣΤΟΙΧ.



Line 6: Between the alpha and the omicron there may be a central vertical.

Line 9: The space between the second iota and sigma is greater than seems appropriate for an iota on its own; the stone is abraded here, but this space may conceal another letter or simply an uninscribed space. Perhaps  $\tau \circ \tilde{\iota} \circ \tilde$ 

Line 7: The space between upsilon and epsilon is perhaps too great for a nu alone.

Line 8: The right part of the loop of a rho, or of an omicron, survives at the left.

Line 11: The right tip of the bar of tau survives at the left; after the epsilon there is sufficient space for perhaps two letters; the tip of the right diagonal and the bottom of an upsilon may be preserved to left of omicron, but the other letter, if it ever existed, has perished. Perhaps  $\tau \varepsilon$ [.]  $\psi \circ \eta$ ?

Line 12: The upper left curve of an omicron may survive after sigma; if so, the reading will perhaps be  $[\pi\rho\sigma]\sigma\delta\delta\omega\nu$ ?

Line 14: The first letter looks like a xi, but in some lights it appears as a delta.

Line 15: The first letter could be an incomplete phi, but in some lights it looks like an alpha.

Line 16: At the left edge there is a mark that, if it is not random, seems to be the right tip of the bar of a gamma or tau; there is also a mark that may be the right diagonal of a mu.

Line 17: Perhaps [λε] ὑκόν?, if the mark to left of kappa is part of an upsilon; but this mark seems, rather, to be the top of a vertical, not of a diagonal.

Line 18: The apex of a triangular letter survives below the omicron of line 17.

This is almost certainly part of an account; what little can be made out suggests that it may deal with sacrificial expenses (see line 9 of Face A, for instance). Documents inscribed on adjacent faces include a Brauronian inventory, IG II<sup>2</sup> 1527; a record of the Delian Amphiktyony, IG II<sup>2</sup> 1641; and several of the naval lists, IG II<sup>2</sup> 1607–1629. In particular, the naval list IG II<sup>2</sup> 1615, which was found on the Akropolis, is said to be inscribed on "subcaerulean marble" and preserves the left lateral and face; line endings on its left lateral are uneven, and the face has insets at several points, as seems to be the case here. Its letters, however, are considerably smaller than those of the present document, whose terminology, so far as it can be made out, does not, in any case, suggest a naval list. Another record of the Delian Amphiktyony,  $IG II^2 1641a$  (E.M.  $6145 = IG II^2$  Addenda et Corrigenda, p. 812), although described in the Corpus as "Hymettian" marble, is, in fact, either Pentelic or a very pale Hymettian-type marble; the spacing, letter forms, and letter sizes of Face B of the present document are very like those of the obverse face of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1641a. Face A, however, bears no similarity to it: if it does derive from the same stele as IG II<sup>2</sup> 1641a, its Face A should derive from the lost right lateral of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1641a, while its Face B will derive from the reverse of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1641a (the left lateral of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1641a survives and is uninscribed). The stele of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1641a is 0.115 m. thick, so that Face A of 10, if it belongs here, will have had a line length of approximately 13-15 letters.

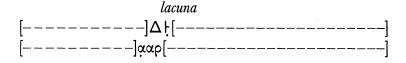
Thus, it is possible that  $IG II^2 1641a$  was inscribed on three adjacent faces, as is  $IG II^2 1641$ , and that **10** was originally a part of it. It is also possible that these two stelai ( $IG II^2 1641$  and 1641a) derived from the same monument, a pair of stelai set up against one another.

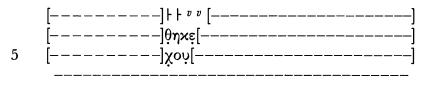
11 (Pl. 85). A fragment of Pentelic marble (I 4644), found on March 22, 1937, southeast of the Market Square, east of the Post-Herulian Fortification Wall (U 22). It is broken on all sides. The face was originally highly polished.

P.H. 0.074 m.; p.W. 0.036 m.; p.Th. 0.074 m.

LH. 0.005 m.; semi-stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, ca.  $0.008 \times 0.008$  m.

med. s. IV a. (?) SEMI- $\Sigma$ TOIX.





lacuna

Line 1: The bottom of the drachma sign survives. In this and line 3, the weight will have been preceded by the word  $[\sigma \tau \alpha \theta \mu \delta \nu]$ .

Line 2: The bottom of the right diagonal of the first alpha survives. Perhaps [ὑδρί]α ἀρ[γυρᾶ] or else [φιάλη λεί]α ἀρ[γυρᾶ] (cf. IG II² 1644, line 8: [φιάλη λεία ἀργυρᾶ ἤν Λεοντίνοι ἀνέθεσαν]: this text, though restored in its entirety, is based on a duplicate text in Delos itself).

Line 4: The right side of the theta and the upper left corner of epsilon are preserved. Perhaps [ἀνέ]θηκε (cf. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1643, line 20: φιά[λη] ἀργυρᾶ λ[ε]ία ἦν Φιλώτας Σικυώνιος [ἀνέθηκε]).

Line 5: This line seems to be placed slightly out of line, to the right. The right tips of the diagonals of chi survive at the left; the tip of the left diagonal of upsilon is preserved, considerably higher on the stone than the upper diagonal tip of the chi. This will, presumably, be part of a name.

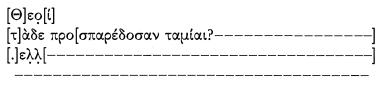
This appears to be part of a treasure inventory; cf. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1492. The spacing and script are close to those of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1643 and 1644, records of the Delian amphiktyons, dated to the mid-4th century B.C., but the text does not quite match either of these, so, if related, this must derive from another stele in the same series.

12 (Pl. 86). A fragment from the upper left corner of a pedimental stele of bluish white, micaceous Pentelic marble (I 6430), found on February 8, 1952, in a demolition marble pile in the southeast part of the Market Square (K-Q 14-17). The left side and roughpicked back are preserved. Above the face are an inscribed vertical fascia and part of the pedimental top.

P.H. 0.112 m. (inscribed face, 0.048 m.); p.W. 0.203 m. (inscribed face, 0.134 m.); Th. 0.074 m. (projection of fascia, 0.01 m.)

LH., line 1, ca. 0.007 m.; lines 2–3, 0.006–0.007 m.; apparently stoichedon, with a square checker pattern,  $0.013 \times 0.013$  m.

med. s. IV a. (?)



lacuna

Line 1: The left side of the omicron survives.

Line 3: The complete epsilon and the apices of the two triangular letters are preserved. A name is probably to be restored here, and an obvious choice is that of the archon Theellos ([οἱ ἐπὶ Θε]έλλ[ου ἄρχοντος] 351/0 в.с.). If so, one should expect the Treasurers of the next year to be mentioned here too, as the recipients of what is being handed on: [ταμίαις τοῖς ἐπὶ ἀπολλοδώρου].

The formula involved in line 2 makes it reasonably certain that this is a treasure inventory of some sort. As a heading, however, this does not resemble closely any other heading of a treasure inventory; nor is the word προσπαρέδοσαν, so far, attested at the

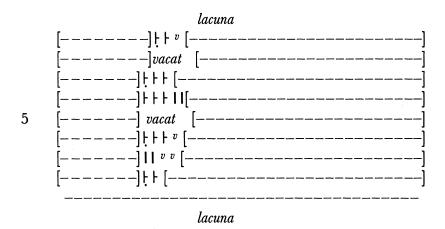
beginning of an account or, indeed, before 340/39 B.C. If I am correct in restoring the name of the archon Theellos here, the Treasurers involved may be either those  $\tau\eta\varsigma$  Θεοῦ or those  $\tau$ ῶν ἄλλων Θεῶν. If the former, the stele should belong among IG II² 1436–1443 and will have been inscribed before IG II² 1445–1454 and will have been inscribed before IG II² 1454 (the Treasurers of 343/2 B.C.). None of the records of either group of Treasurers around this date has the same checker pattern or letter size as this fragment, and so this should be part of an entirely new stele. So far as it may be identified from so small a selection of letters, the hand seems to be the same as that of IG II² 1455 and, as well, that of Agora I 4566 (= Hesperia 32, 1963, pp. 184–185, no. 12), a treasure inventory of the mid-4th century B.C. This is the same type of marble and the same thickness as the text portion of the fragment discussed here but is engraved non-stoichedon. Since only the beginning of the text is preserved on this fragment, it could be a non-stoichedon text overall: the first few letters of a non-stoichedon text can appear to be stoichedon in isolation, particularly if, as here, they are all of approximately the same width.

13 (Pl. 86). A fragment of bluish, micaceous Pentelic marble (I 6452 a), found on February 27, 1952, in a Turkish grave in Holy Apostles Street, northwest of the Church (O 15). It is broken on all sides and at the back. The face is highly polished.

P.H. 0.126 m.; p.W. 0.044 m.; p.Th. 0.046 m.

LH., lines 1-4, 0.0055 m.; lines 6ff., 0.007 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.012 m.

med. s. IV a. (?) NON- $\Sigma$ TOIX.



Lines 1, 3, 6, and 8: In each case, the bottom of the vertical of the first drachma sign, and in line 8, the bottom of third, survives.

Another fragment (I 6452 b = 25) shares the same inventory number, but it was found at a different time and place and does not necessarily belong with this fragment. The numerals probably indicate the weights of a series of inventoried treasures, forming the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In IG II<sup>2</sup> 1455, lines 49–50. I am grateful to one of my anonymous referees for this observation and reference.

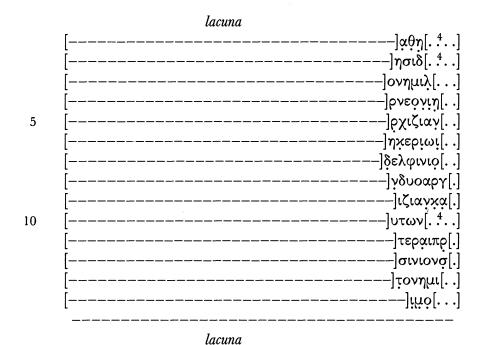
right-hand end of a column of entries, as in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1425, etc., where in each case the description of the individual items occupies one line of text, sometimes two or more. The closest analogy may be provided by IG II<sup>2</sup> 1437, column II, where a series of similar objects owned by a single deity are numbered and weighted: each series is preceded by a subheading naming the owner and describing the class of objects; entries take up one line each, but lines vary in length, depending on the length of the ordinal number and the number of symbols required for the weights. Thus, there may be a series of eight entries or two or three groups of entries here. Alternatively, we may have here a separate column of weights making up the left side of a column of entries, as in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1421, etc.; the uninscribed lines in the weight column would then be matched by the continuation of the description of the objects in the inventory column. Whatever the arrangement, I have not been able to match these entries with any published group of objects. The absence of letters makes dating a problem, but the use of Pentelic marble rather than Hymettian and the spacing suggest an early- or mid-4th-century date.<sup>10</sup>

14 (Pl. 86). A fragment of bluish white, micaceous Pentelic marble (I 4399), found on January 20, 1937, in a modern house wall over the southern part of the Eleusinion (T–U 20). The smooth-dressed right side appears to be original but is badly worn.

P.H. 0.151 m.; p.W. 0.084 m.; p.Th. 0.067 m.

LH., lines 1–6 and 8ff., 0.005 m.; lines 1–6 are stoichedon, with an almost square checker pattern,  $0.0096 \times 0.0090$  m., and lines 8–14 are stoichedon, with a square checker pattern,  $0.0096 \times 0.0096$  m.

post med. s. IV a. (?)



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> It is possible that this belongs with **7** and, if so, that it should be dated to the late 5th or early 4th century B.C.

- Line 1: The bottom of the right diagonal of an alpha or lambda is preserved above the sigma of line 2; next to it is the bottom of a theta or omicron. After this, the stone breaks on the first vertical of what may be an eta. Perhaps  $A\theta\eta v---$ ?
  - Line 2: The right hasta of an eta is preserved before the sigma.
- Line 3:  $[--\tau]$ ον ἡμι $\delta[--]$ ? A fraction of a weight, volume, or value? The stone breaks on the left diagonal of a triangular letter.
- Line 4: The bottom of the vertical and the lower part of the loop of rho survive; after the epsilon the traces may be either an alpha or an omicron, but the latter seems clearer; the verticals of the next letter survive, but its center is abraded, so that it is not clear whether this is an eta or a nu; the lower part of a vertical survives in the next stoichos. At the right the left half of an eta is preserved. No satisfactory restoration presents itself.
- Line 5: The lower part of the loop of what may be a rho survives at the left. The apparent vertical letter stroke in this line between the iota and the zeta, like the similar mark in line 6 between the epsilon and the rho, is a manifestation of a crack that runs down the stele in lines 4–6. The zeta is somewhat erratically positioned but is similar in placing and shape to that of line 9; in some lights, it resembles more a delta. To its right there is a vertical stroke amid a confusion of marks, some of them possibly the remains of letter strokes; after this, a clear alpha is preserved, set somewhat to the left of center, followed by a vertical and an abraded area that may conceal the diagonal of a nu. The same word seems to occur in line 9, but what it may be is not clear.
- Line 6: The right half of eta survives, followed by what may be a simple, much damaged iota or else a kappa; after the rho is a vertical stroke at the edge of an abraded area, then a very small omega, which in some lights resembles an irregular alpha or delta; after this, the bottom of a vertical survives. Perhaps some form of the word ἔριον (wool) may be involved here; less likely, perhaps, the river Eridanos.
- Line 7: The foot of a right diagonal is preserved at the left. After the second iota, the left quadrant of an omicron survives:  $\Delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \ln \rho \ln \rho$ ? This may be a heading since the lettering seems a little larger.
- Line 8: Before the delta, the foot of a right vertical is preserved. Perhaps two silver objects: δύο  $\dot{\alpha}\rho\gamma[\nu\rho---]$ ?
- Line 9: Before and after the zeta, clear iotas survive. After this, the next four stoichoi are all damaged by abrasion: in the first there seems to be an alpha; in the second, two parallel verticals survive, but the center of this letter has perished; in the next there is a vertical to whose center is attached a roughly circular abrasion, perhaps a distortion of the arms of a kappa; and in the last the apex of a triangular letter survives, perhaps too far to the left to be alpha, delta, or lambda. The word in the first part of this line may be the same as is found in line 5 above, followed by  $x \alpha[t]$ .
  - Line 10: [α]ὐτῶν or [σταθμὸν το]ύτων?
- Line 11: After the rho, the next letter could be either an alpha or an omega since its center is abraded; after the pi, the vertical and the lower part of the loop of a rho are preserved: thus, either [δευ]τέρωι  $\pi\rho[---]$  or  $[\delta\epsilon\nu]$ τέρωι  $\pi\rho[\nu$ ανείαι]?
- Line 12: After the second nu the top of a sigma may survive. The restoration ['Eleu] seems likely. Line 13: The right tip of the horizontal of a tau or gamma survives at the left: [--] tov  $\hat{\eta}\mu$ [--]? Perhaps the same word as in line 3 above?
  - Line 14: The tops of these letters may survive, but the traces are highly ambiguous.

The slightly larger letters of line 7, as well as the slight change in vertical spacing here, suggest that this may be some sort of heading. If so, then line 12, although its letters are the same height as the rest of the document, may be a similar heading, identifying the location or source of whatever is being discussed or listed on this fragment. The letter forms are appropriate to the period of the 340's or 330's B.C. and, in fact, are extremely close to those of  $IG II^2 334 + SEG XVIII 13$  (E.M. 7153 + Agora I 5477 = Hesperia 28, 1959, pp. 239–247), one of the series of documents dealing with Lykourgos' reform of

the religious affairs of Athens and Attica. The marble of IG II<sup>2</sup> 334+ is Pentelic, but I doubt whether the fragment discussed here is part of the same document as IG II<sup>2</sup> 334.

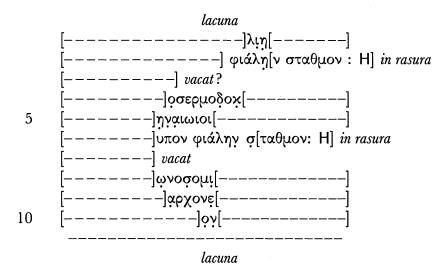
This may have to do with building operations, perhaps on a prytany-by-prytany basis, but lines 3, 8, and 13 suggest some sort of inventory, while lines 7 and 12 suggest that the affairs of Apollo Delphinios and the Goddesses of the Eleusinion are in some way involved. It should be noted that this fragment was found near the Eleusinion. It is possible, therefore, that this is part of yet another Lykourgan decree relating to religious affairs.

15 (Pl. 86). A fragment of bluish marble, probably Hymettian (I 4665), found on March 31, 1937, on the North Slope of the Akropolis, east of the Post-Herulian Fortification Wall (V 23). It is broken on all sides. There are *rasurae* in lines 2 and 6, and a vertical, uninscribed space of 0.009 m. between lines 6 and 7.

P.H. 0.088 m.; p.W. 0.108 m.; p.Th. 0.058 m.

LH. 0.004-0.005 m.; non-stoichedon, with vertical spacing varying from 0.002 m. to 0.003 m.; the vertical checker averages 0.0075 m. in lines 1-7 and 0.007 in lines 8ff.

a. 330–322 a. (?) NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.



Line 1: What seems to appear here is a vertical stroke above the lambda of line 2, preceded by the bottom of a right diagonal and followed by the left hasta and part of the horizontal of an eta.

Line 2: The top of the left hasta of eta survives.

Line 3: There may be traces of letters here, but these are so questionable that it is probably better to regard this line as uninscribed (on SEG XXV 180, which may be part of the same stele as is this fragment, the manumission rubrics all seem to end at the end of a line and not carry over onto the next line).

Line 4: This will be part of the name of the manumitter, in the nominative:  $[----] \circ \varsigma \operatorname{Ep} \circ \circ \times [\circ \circ - \operatorname{demotic} -]$ . The name Hermodokos is not, so far, attested for Athens. After the first omicron there is the top of a triangular letter, followed by a clear omicron, then a vertical stroke, which might be the shaft of a kappa; there is also an apparent diagonal joining this at the halfway point and extending upwards to the right: this could, perhaps, be the upper diagonal of a kappa, but there is no trace of a corresponding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> It does, however, occur in Rhodes and Telos: see LGPN I, p. 165.

lower diagonal. Thus, a less likely restoration would be  $E\rho\muo\lambda\delta\chi[o\nu]$ , which is found in Athens. <sup>12</sup> These marks show up well on photographs but are much less certain on the stone or on squeezes.

Line 5: The right hasta of eta survives at the left. This will be part of the name of the manumitted slave, in the accusative, with his or her place of residence:  $[----\dot{\epsilon}v \; Ku\delta\alpha\theta]\eta \dot{\gamma}\dot{\alpha}l\omega\iota \; o\dot{\epsilon}[\dot{\kappa}o\ddot{\nu}v\tau\alpha]$  or  $o\dot{\epsilon}[\dot{\kappa}o\ddot{\nu}\sigma\alpha\nu]$ .

Line 6: The occupation of the freed slave, perhaps abbreviated. The top of the second nu survives at the right, followed by the upper left apex of sigma.

Line 7: There are no letter traces here, so that it is likely that this line was left blank, as, I believe, was line 3.

Line 8: The top of an omega is followed by an untidy nu; omicron is clear, but the letter following this appears to be either a tau or a sigma, badly damaged in either case. The mu appears on the photograph and in the squeeze to be broad and very untidy, so that it might, instead, be a lambda followed by an iota. After this, there are confused marks that suggest an iota or an epsilon, followed, perhaps, by a triangular letter, but I hesitate to identify them as definite letters. Part of the name of the manumitter: the letter traces suggest the end of a name, followed by a patronymic  $[---]\omega vo\varsigma$   $Ou\varepsilon[\lambda--]$  or Ouv[--], possibly  $Ouv[\mu\pi\iota--]$ .

Line 9: The apex of alpha survives at the left, and the upper left corner of epsilon is preserved at the right edge. Part of the name and place of residence of the freed slave, in this case male:  $[---\mu]\alpha\rho\chi$ ov  $\xi[\nu---$  οἰχοῦντα].

Line 10: Perhaps the end of the freed slave's occupation, probably followed by the phrase [φιάλην σταθμόν: H].

Both rasurae apparently contain the word φιάλην; thus, it seems likely that this fragment may be yet another piece of the record of silver phialai dedicated on the occasion of manumissions in ca. 330–322 в.с. <sup>13</sup> SEG XXV 180 (= Agora I 5656) is apparently identical in letter forms, spacing, and marble and also seems to exhibit the same phenomenon of the word φιάλην inscribed in rasura; Lewis explains this as "whoever ordered [the corrections] felt that the accusative φιάλην implied dedication by whichever party started the entry in the nominative, but that the nominative φιάλη did not." As Lewis remarks of Agora I 5656, this fragment, too, is much abraded and readings are very difficult. The text must lie below that of Agora I 5656, in either column I or column II, or in Lewis' hypothetical column III (or even IV, if there was a fourth column); since, too, the presence of uninscribed lines between each entry on this fragment does not match the continuity of Agora I 5656, it is likely that these entries derive from a different column (or even, perhaps, a different stele). For the date, see Lewis (p. 372). The phialai listed in this series of stelai were melted down after 320/19 в.с., and thereafter they appear as the source of silver for new hydriai dedicated and stored in the Parthenon (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1469, lines 32–37 and 1480, lines 9–11). <sup>15</sup>

16–19 may all derive from the same series but most likely from at least two different stelai, whose context is obscure: 16

16 (Pl. 86). A fragment of bluish white, micaceous Pentelic marble (I 5490), found on June 1, 1938, in a Classical context below the fourth course of the west wall of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See *LGPN* II, p. 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1553–1578 + I 4763, I 5656, I 5893, and I 5927 (SEG XXV 177–180) + I 3183 (= Hesperia 28, 1959, pp. 208–238) and I 5774 (= Hesperia 30, 1961, p. 247, no. 43).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Hesperia 37, 1968, pp. 369–374, no. 50, esp. p. 372.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> For the most recent discussion of these, see Harris 1992, pp. 637–638.

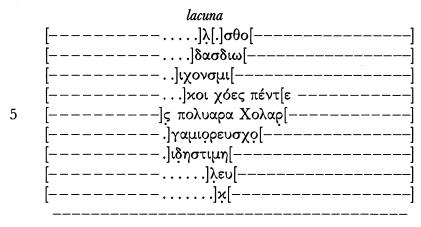
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> I owe their attribution to one another to the late Professor David Lewis.

Klepsydra antechamber (T 27). It is broken on all sides. The face bears traces of the finishing rasp, from top right to bottom left.

P.H. 0.108 m.; p.W. 0.115 m.; p.Th. 0.056 m.

LH., lines 4–6, 0.004–0.005 m.; lines 1–3, the first half of line 7, and line 8, 0.006–0.007 m.; stoichedon, lines 4–7,  $0.0083 \times 0.0096$  m. The vertical spacing is constant throughout. Lines 1–3 and 7–9 break the horizontal checker pattern in whole or in part.

post med. s. IV a. (?)  $\Sigma TOIX$ .



lacuna

Line 1: The bottom of a right diagonal survives at the left edge; at the right edge the left side of a circular letter is preserved. These letters seem to be carved on a larger scale and are non-stoichedon, as are lines 2 and 3, the first part of line 7, and lines 8 and 9. Thus, a name or names may be involved here, as there. The likeliest reading is  $[--]\lambda[\eta]\varsigma \Theta o[--]$ . Since personal names in the nominative and patronymics seem to be employed in this document, as well as demotics, it is likely that the letters  $\Theta o[---]$  are the beginning of a patronymic rather than a demotic.

Line 2: The end of a name in the nominative, followed by a patronymic, such as  $\Delta l\omega[vo\varsigma]$ . The first name, if the letters  $\Delta l\omega$ - are part of a patronymic, may be  $[\Delta l\omega v]\delta \alpha \varsigma$ , and, if so, he may be PA 4524.

Line 3: At the left edge the bottom of a vertical survives. This might be part of a name in the accusative, followed by a patronymic: [---]! $\chi$ ov  $\Sigma\mu$ [[--]. Since, however, all other personal names surviving on this fragment seem to be in the nominative, I think that the letters [---]! $\chi$ ov are more likely to be part of the description of an item, either one with which the individual  $\Sigma\mu$ [[--]] is connected or the end of a previous rubric, followed by the beginning of a new entry. The latter explanation seems preferable.

Line 4: The usual practice in inventories is for the numeral to precede the items, so that the numeral  $\pi \notin \nu \tau[\varepsilon]$  in this case should relate to a new entry. [--] not should describe the choes, but it could, of course, be an abbreviation, perhaps of a demotic:  $[\dot{\varepsilon}x]$  Kou $(\lambda\tilde{\eta}\zeta)$ . It is possible, however, that the word  $\pi \acute{\varepsilon}\nu \tau[\varepsilon]$  is being employed here instead of the symbol  $\Gamma$  and thus that it designates weight or value (cf. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1672, line 200).

Line 5: The right tip of the lowest diagonal of a sigma survives at the left. The end of a name, followed by an abbreviated patronymic; the demotic, too, may be abbreviated: [---]ς Πολυαρά(του) Χολαρ[(γεύς)]. The date of this document is likely, from the letter forms, to be in the second half of the 4th century; thus, this man will be PA 11800, Periandros, son of Polyaratos I and father of Polyaratos II. 17

Line 6: What is signified here, I do not know. The problem may be compounded if, as in line 5, abbreviations were employed. A new word, perhaps  $\chi \delta[\epsilon \zeta]$  again, seems to begin after sigma. The letters

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See also APF, p. 464, for his activities.

γαμι suggest, perhaps, the abbreviated form of the word γαμικός. The letter after this could be either omicron or theta. The personal name 'Ορεύς is, apparently, attested, though not for Athens. If so, then the letters χ $\dot{\phi}$  will be the beginning of a patronymic  $X\dot{\phi}[---]$ .

Line 7: An iota is followed by a triangular letter. The first four letters are cut non-stoichedon and on a larger scale; they may form the end of a demotic: [---]ίδης or  $[\dot{\epsilon} \times Ko]$ ιλῆς. If so, the word following this is probably τιμή = "price". Although the size of the letters τιμη is reduced, however, like the preceding letters they are engraved non-stoichedon, so that it seems more likely that we have here the end of a personal name, followed by a patronymic: [----]ίδης Τιμη $[\sigma\iota---]$ .

Line 8: The bottom of a right diagonal survives. This line, too, is engraved non-stoichedon, like the beginning of line 7; thus, this may be the end of yet another demotic:  $[--]\lambda \epsilon \iota(\varsigma]$  or  $[--]\delta \epsilon \iota(\varsigma]$ .

Line 9: The top of kappa survives; it is placed under the epsilon, so that this line, too, seems to have been engraved non-stoichedon; thus, this kappa may be part of another name.

17 (Pl. 87). A fragment of bluish white, micaceous Pentelic marble (I 4695), found on April 5, 1937, in a modern context north of Klepsydra (T 26). It is broken on all sides.

P.H. 0.104 m.; p.W. 0.066 m.; p.Th. 0.092 m.

LH. 0.004-0.005 m.; stoichedon, with an almost square checker pattern,  $0.0082 \times 0.0096$  m. The first part of line 8 is engraved on a larger scale and non-stoichedon.

post med. s. IV a. (?)  $\Sigma TOIX$ .

	lacuna
	[]λυλ[.]ατ[]
	[] χόες ὀχ[τώ
	[ έ]ννέα φ[]
	[] αμφιδ[]
5	[] γλαμ[]
	[]κοτ[] []κοτ[]
	[]ηστ[]
	[]ÿo[]
10	[]
	7

lacuna

Line 1: The bottom of the right diagonal of an alpha or lambda survives, followed by an upsilon, and then the bottom of a left diagonal.

Line 2: Since numerals do not usually follow the item(s) that they relate to, the numeral eight should be the beginning of a new entry. But see IG II<sup>2</sup> 1430, lines 11 and 13, and 1432, line 1, for numerals following items.

Line 3: Perhaps [ἐ]ννέα φ[ιάλαι], nine phialai?

Line 4: This could be part of a personal name:  $^{\prime}A\mu\phi\iota\delta[---]$ . Less likely are a word such as  $\mathring{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\delta[\acute{\epsilon}\alpha]$  or  $\mathring{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\delta[\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\nu]$ , or the preposition  $\mathring{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota$  followed by something beginning  $\delta[---]$ , none of which seems appropriate in what can be made of the context of this inscription.

Line 5: Before the lambda the tip of the right diagonal of an upsilon survives. Perhaps the beginning of a name or, more likely, the end of a patronymic, followed by a demotic:  $[---o] \cup \Lambda \alpha \mu [\pi \tau \rho \epsilon \omega c]$ .

<sup>18</sup> See Dornseiff and Hansen, s.v. -ρεύς.

Line 6: A phiale or phialai?

Line 7: Perhaps κοτ[ύλη]?

Line 8: The first two letters are engraved non-stoichedon and on a larger scale. This may be the end of a name or of a demotic, followed by  $\tau[\iota\mu\dot{\eta}]$  = "price", or else, as in line 7 of **16**, a personal name followed by a patronymic, perhaps the same individual as he of **16**: [---]long Tiun $[\sigma\iota--]$ . If this is a demotic, it should be either [---]long or  $[\dot{\epsilon} \times Ko]$ long, as in **16**.

Line 9: The foot of a right diagonal survives, followed by omicron.

Line 10: The top of a central vertical is preserved.

Although this and 16 were found at different times and places, their letter forms and spacing are identical, and I believe that they derive from the same stele. The first numerals inscribed on 17 are  $\dot{o} \times [\tau \dot{o}]$  and  $[\dot{e}] \nu \nu \dot{e} \alpha$ ; thus, unless these numerals refer to the number, rather than the sequence, of the items listed, I assume that this fragment should follow 16 in order on the stele since the first numeral on that fragment is  $\pi \dot{e} \nu [\tau \dot{e}]$ .

The two fragments include both personal names in the nominative, numerals that suggest a series of numbered items, and items such as the measures choes and kotylai and, possibly, vessels such as phialai. The numerals could, instead, designate values or weights.

The terminology and form of this document are puzzling: some treasure inventories list items by description and name(s) of dedicator, but the items that appear to be listed here do not, with the exception of the phialai, fit the descriptions found in the treasure inventories; the choes and kotylai suggest, by contrast, lists of commodities, which do not appear in treasure inventories but do turn up in sacred calendars, leges sacrae, and sanctuary accounts. Leges sacrae and sacred calendars, however, are anonymous: they specify general, rather than particular, personalized offerings. Thus, the most likely home for these fragments may be a sanctuary account of some sort. In this instance, too, however, it seems unlikely that commodities provided for or expended upon sacrifices would be listed under the names of individual providers: the usual rubric indicates the board responsible for these expenditures.

Thus, perhaps we should look for an extraordinary occasion, rather than an annual expenditure. Two examples of such an extraordinary group of sacrifices are those decreed for the worship of Agathe Tyche, when wealthy demesmen of Kollyte were apparently called upon to make "free" loans to the deme to help defray the cost of the sacrifice, at some time after 327/6 B.c., <sup>19</sup> and the sacrifices decreed in thanksgiving for the successful campaign of Demetrios Poliorketes in 304/3 B.c. <sup>20</sup> Each of these sacrifices, however, seems too late to be the context of the fragments discussed here.

The relationship between these two fragments is likely to be very close, perhaps even touching. The hand may be the same as that of E.M. 12961 (= *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 426–427, no. 58), apparently part of a Hekatompedon inventory similar to *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1400 and 1401, in which several silver hydriai are listed, but by ordinal rather than cardinal numerals.

 $<sup>^{19}</sup>$  IG II<sup>2</sup> 1195 + Hesperia 63, 1994, pp. 233–239; but these sacrifices were specified for the State and the Deme of Kollyte alone, and only demesmen of Kollyte itself seem to have been invited to contribute.  $^{20}$  SEG XXV 141 = SEG XXX 69.

Apparently similar in form to 16 and 17 are two more fragments, 18 and 19, found at different times and places, and slightly different from them in horizontal spacing:

18 (Pl. 87). A fragment of micaceous, bluish white Pentelic marble (I 5593), found on October 20, 1938, in a modern house wall southeast of the Market Square, west of the Panathenaic Way (R 22). The stipple-dressed left side and, perhaps, the rough-picked back are preserved. The face still bears the marks of the finishing rasp.

P.H. 0.161 m.; p.W. 0.122 m.; Th. 0.088 m.

LH. 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0096 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0094 m. post med. s. IV a. (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

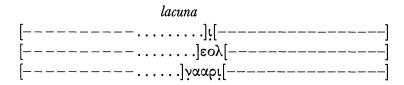
		lacuna	
	[]ΛΙΤΑΙΕ[ [δ]ώδεκα παρα[		 ] l
	ίμοσχυδιμ[		 ]
	[.]ευς κοτύλη[		 ]
5	σ[.]υμηλου[		 ]
	κοντα ὀκτ[ώ		 o]·
	υ [ἐ]ϰ Κοιλ[ῆς		 ]
		 lacuna	 

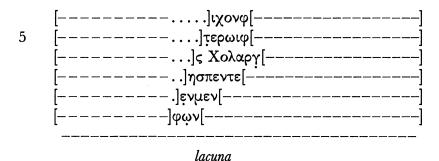
- *Line 1:* The bottoms of these letters survive.
- Line 2: The first, partially preserved letter appears to be an omega, but alpha is not completely to be ruled out. Thus, [δ] ώδεκα is the more likely reading, rather than [.] α δέκα.
- Line 3: Perhaps a name, followed by a patronymic Kυδ[ίμου]. The son's name is likely, therefore, to be  $[Kύδ]_{!!μος}$ , too; PA 8934 is probably either the son or the father in this case. Less likely is a name followed by an abbreviated demotic:  $[-]_{!!μος} Kυδ(αθηναιεύς)$ .
  - Line 4: Possibly the end of a demotic [---]εύς, followed by κοτύλη[-].
  - Line 5: Probably [---]ς [E] μήλου, followed by a (lost) demotic.
  - Line 6: The left tip of the bar of tau of  $dxt[\omega]$  survives. [ $tpt\alpha-/\pi evt\eta$ ] xovt $\alpha$ ?
- Line 7: The tip of the right diagonal of upsilon survives at the left; at the right, the bottom of the left diagonal of lambda is preserved: the end of a patronymic, followed by a demotic:  $[----o]\psi$  [ $\dot{\epsilon}$ ]x Kou $\lambda$ [ $\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ ].
- 19 ( $IG II^2 1667$ ). A fragment of micaceous, bluish white Pentelic marble (E.M. 2627), of unknown provenance. It is broken on all sides. The face bears the marks of the finishing rasp, from top left to bottom right.

P.H. 0.08 m.; p.W. 0.104 m.; p.Th. 0.09 m.

LH. 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern of  $0.0096 \times 0.0096$  m.

post med. s. IV a. (?)  $\Sigma TOIX$ .





Non vidi. The readings are taken from a squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and the dimensions are those given in the Corpus. My line 2 corresponds with line 1 of the Corpus text. In the Corpus the following restorations or interpretations are found:

Lines 4–5: Preuner restored after IG II<sup>2</sup> 1671, line 24, [τὸν μὲν ἕτερον στο]ῖχον φ[ορμηδόν]. Kirchner suggested for line 5 [ἐν τῶ]ι ἱερῶι φ[–––]. I should prefer to restore [δευ]τέρωι here.

Line 6: Kirchner read [---]o $\zeta$  Xo $\lambda\alpha\rho\gamma[---]$ . I doubt the existence of the first omicron and should prefer to restore  $[---o\upsilon]\zeta$  Xo $\lambda\alpha\rho\gamma[\varepsilon\dot{\upsilon}\zeta]$ , the end of a patronymic followed by the demotic. This would be appropriate if the fragment derives from the same stele as **18**.

Line 9: The first letter was read as a rho by Kirchner; to me, it looks more like an incomplete phi.

18 and 19 appear to be parts of a record similar to that comprising 16 and 17, but the terminology is obscure. The hand may be the same as that of Agora XIX, no. P19, a poletai record. The lease record  $IG II^2$  1590 + 1591+ (= Agora XIX, no. L6) is similar in letter sizes, spacing, and hand.

19 was hesitantly attributed to an Eleusinian building account by Kirchner, who noted the similarity of its letter forms and spacing to the Eleusinian account IG II<sup>2</sup> 1666, dated between 356/5 and 353/2 B.C. This attribution is now unlikely to be of any value except as an indicator of the approximate date of 18 and 19.

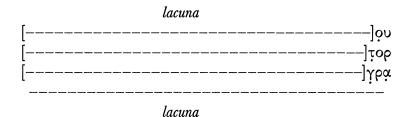
**20** (Pl. 87). A fragment of slightly micaceous Pentelic marble (I 4832), found on May 12, 1937, in a Late Roman context northeast of the Tholos (H 11). The stipple-dressed right side is preserved, with a margin of 0.019 m.; the right side has a drafted edge 0.014 m. wide adjoining the face.

P.H. 0.03 m.; p.W. 0.045 m.; p.Th. 0.071 m.

LH. 0.005 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.012 m.

post med. s. IV a. (?)

ΝΟΝ-ΣΤΟΙΧ.



Line 1: The lower right side of a circular letter survives.

- Line 2: The right tip of a horizontal is preserved at top left.
- Line 3: The upper left corner and top horizontal bar of a gamma or epsilon survive at the left; the bottom of the left diagonal of an alpha is preserved at the right.

The drafted edge suggests that this is one of a series of stelai, set up adjacent to one another. Thus, it is likely to be part of an account of some sort. The text seems to run on from line to line; this would seem to eliminate a list of names from consideration.

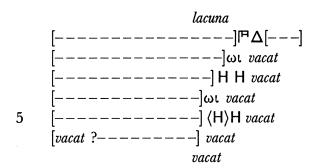
The spacing and letter forms may be the same as those of SEG XXI 578 (Agora I 3771 = Hesperia 9, 1940, pp. 330–332, no. 38), one of the series of rationes centesimarum, but if so, one would expect to find numerals here. The omicron "suspended" from the top of the stoichos, the large, well-formed rho, and the overlarge upsilon are characteristic of the rationes centesimarum IG II<sup>2</sup> 1597 and 1598A, but since 1598A is Hymettian, this fragment, if it belongs to this series, is likely to be part of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1597, although there are really too few letters to permit a match. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1690, possibly a poletai record, exhibits similar characteristics, but its upsilon seems larger.

21 (Pl. 87). A fragment of very pale, bluish white Hymettian marble (I 5441), found on May 11, 1938, in Late Roman destruction debris, over a Late Roman building, south of the east part of the Market Square (P 19). It is broken on all sides and at the back. There is an uninscribed space of 0.03 m. to right of the inscription and a vertical uninscribed space of 0.07 m. below the last inscribed line.

P.H. 0.141 m.; p.W. 0.056 m.; p.Th. 0.018 m.

LH. 0.005-0.006 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.0115 m.

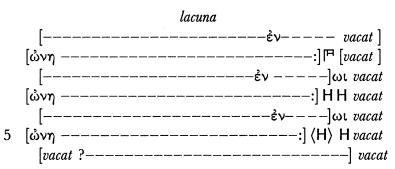
post med. s. IV a. NON- $\Sigma$ TOIX.



- Line 1: A diagonal mark to right of the 500-sign is probably not a letter stroke but a chip on the stone.
- Line 2: This will be a dative, probably indicating the location of a property.
- Line 3: The first 100-sign is smaller and lower than its neighbor. Such variation in the shape and scale of etas is characteristic of  $IG II^2$  1594.
  - Line 4: Another dative ending, probably indicating the location of a property.
  - Line 5: The mason appears to have omitted the second vertical and the horizontal of a 100-sign here.
- Line 6: This probably marks the end of this column, and there is likely not to have been anything inscribed in this line.

This derives from a columnar record, in which one line ends in numerals and the next ends with datives. These characteristics are found in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1594, one of the series of rationes centesimarum, stelai recording the collection of the hekatoste tax on the sale of

properties, in the later 4th century B.C. The spacing and letter forms are the same as those of  $IG \ II^2 \ 1594$ . Almost all the stelai in this series are Pentelic marble:  $IG \ II^2 \ 1603$  is described as "white" marble, that is, probably Pentelic; only  $IG \ II^2 \ 1594$  is definitely Hymettian.  $IG \ II^2 \ 1594$  is the only one of the series in which odd lines describe the property and its location and even lines list the name of the purchaser, preceded by the offset rubric  $\dot{\omega}v\eta(\tau\dot{\eta}\varsigma)$ , and end in numerals, indicating the amount of tax paid, preceded by a punctuation mark. It is thus likely that this fragment derives from the same or a similar stele, and on that assumption, I restore as follows, with line length of  $ca.\ 25-30$  letters:



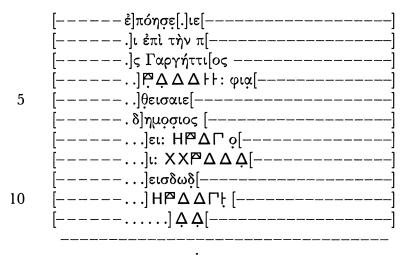
In this reconstruction three sales are registered. If the fragment derives from  $IG^{\circ}II^{2}$  1594, it is likely to be part of Face A, the right half of which does not survive, or from below Face B, whose right edge is preserved.

22 (Pl. 88). A fragment of blue-gray Hymettian marble (I 5844), found on May 24, 1939, in a modern wall, west of the Panathenaic Way and west of the Eleusinion (R 21). The flat, stipple-dressed top is preserved.

P.H. 0.106 m.; p.W. 0.088 m.; p.Th. 0.096 m.

LH. 0.005-0.006 m.; stoichedon, with an almost square checker pattern,  $0.008 \times 0.0082$  m.

post med. s. IV a. (?)



lacuna

- Line 1: [δν/ ἣν/ δ ἐ]πόησε[ν] 'Iε[ρο---]? Some object and its maker? (Cf. IG II² 1470, line 16, etc.)

  Line 2: The purpose for which an object was made, preceded by its description? [---]ι ἐπὶ τὴν

  π[----] (cf. -κεῖται ἐ[π]ὶ τ[ῆι] I[.]♠[-] in IG II² 1469B, col. II, line 127). Less likely, probably, a reference to some sort of board, [ο]ἱ ἐπὶ τὴν π[---].
- Line 3: This is surely part of a name or patronymic, followed by a demotic, either that of a dedicant or of the maker of an object (as in line 1 above).
- Line 4: Numerals in this document appear to be preceded and followed by an inter-stoichos punctuation mark, but in every case these are very faint. The right upper corner of the 50-symbol is preserved. The numeral (probably a weight rather than a value) is followed by the beginning of a new entry, probably a phiale (or phialai?):  $\varphi\iota\alpha[\lambda--]$ . The foot of the left diagonal of alpha is preserved.
- Line 5: The right side of the first letter survives; it is either omicron or theta. Several different word divisions and interpretations are possible, but none of them is very plausible:  $[--]\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota\epsilon[--]$  or  $[--]\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota\epsilon[--]$ .
- Line 6: The stone is ambiguous here: the first letter must be eta since its right hasta and part of its horizontal survive. The mu is clear, but the first omicron is only partially preserved and, in some lights, overlaid by what appears to be an epsilon; the letter following this could equally well be a delta. After this, the iota seems reasonably clear, but there is a mark at its top that might be the horizontal of a tau. The sigma, too, is poorly preserved and, in some lights, might just be a nu. Instead of  $[\delta]$ ημόσιος, part of a name is possible: [--]ημόσιος (not an Attic demotic, however). We should bear in mind, perhaps,  $IG II^2$  1440, lines 7–8, where we find the restorations [τον δημόσιον --] and  $[-- τονς ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσί]οις [γρ]άμμα|[σι] (based on line 12 of the decree <math>IG II^2$  120). [δ]ημος τὸν might also be possible and would provide some such reading as  $[στέφανος ὧι ἐστεφάνωσαν --- ων ὁ δ]ημος τὸν [δημον τὸν ᾿Αθηναίων] (cf. <math>IG II^2$  1486, lines 8–9: [T]ενεδίων ὁ δημος [τον δημον τὸν ᾿Α]θ[η]ναίων).
- Line 7: In IG II<sup>2</sup> 1463A, lines 8–9, a group of golden hydriai is listed, each hydria's weight followed by the rubric ταύτηι ἐνδεῖ, apparently indicating the difference between the actual weight and the stated weight of each hydria. Something of the same sort may occur here: [ταύτηι ἐνδ]εῖ: ΗΔΓ. This, however, seems a rather large amount for a loss of weight. The 5-symbol is followed by part of what seems to be a circular letter, perhaps an omicron or theta, or, just possibly, the loop of a phi. There does not seem to be a punctuation mark after the 5-symbol, as one might expect there to be (see line 4 above).
- Line 8: The bottom left corner of the third 10-symbol survives. Perhaps some such rubric as  $[\sigma \tau \alpha \theta \mu \delta v, \delta \epsilon \pi i \gamma \epsilon \gamma \rho \alpha \pi \tau \alpha i \epsilon \pi i \tau \eta i \epsilon \alpha i \epsilon \pi i \tau \eta i \epsilon \alpha i \epsilon \pi i \tau \eta i \epsilon \alpha i \epsilon \pi i \tau \eta i \epsilon \alpha i \epsilon$
- Line 9: The stone breaks on the left side of a diagonal stroke, probably delta. The spacing is likely [---] eig  $\delta\omega\delta[---]$ , perhaps eig  $\delta\omega\delta[\epsilon\kappa\alpha]$  or [---] eig  $\delta\omega\delta[\epsilon\kappa\alpha]$ , the latter an item of which there are twelve in all.
- Line 10: Perhaps a larger sum than those found in either lines 4 or 7. Thus, the restoration here may be like that of line 8 above. The top of the drachma sign survives at the right.
  - Line 11: The tops of what are probably two 10-symbols are preserved.

This appears to be some sort of treasure inventory. The spacing is not dissimilar to that of  $IG II^2$  1440A, but the marble type appears to be different. Since the top is preserved, but without any indication of a heading, I suggest that this fragment may derive from the reverse face of an opisthographic stele, its text continuing a list that began on the obverse face.

The hand most closely resembles that of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1463, Face B, a stone whose whereabouts is unknown but of which a squeeze exists at the Institute for Advanced Study and which seems to be a record of objects kept in the Chalkotheke. However, neither the horizontal nor the vertical spacing match those of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1463B. Nevertheless, I believe

that the script places this document in the 330's or 320's B.c., where IG II<sup>2</sup> 1463B is dated. The language, so far as it may be restored or interpreted, suggests, but does not quite tally with, that of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1469 and 1480, the records of silver phialai melted down to make new silver hydriai after 320/19 B.C.<sup>21</sup>

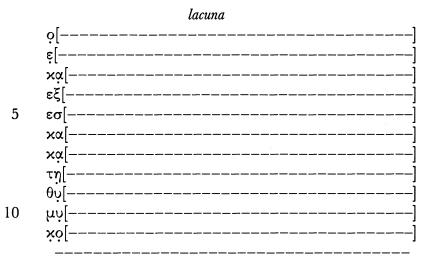
23 (Pl. 88). A fragment of blue, probably Hymettian, marble (I 5921), found on July 6, 1946, in a Roman context southeast of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods (K 6). The left side is preserved: its upper part is smooth dressed, but the lower part is stipple dressed. The margin is 0.007 m. in lines 1–3, and 0.006 m. in lines 4ff. The left side may have been reworked.

P.H. 0.116 m.; p.W. 0.021 m.; p.Th. 0.028 m.

LH., lines 1-5, 0.005 m.; lines 6ff., 0.006 m.; apparently stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.007 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0082-0.009 m.

post med. s. IV a. (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ.?



#### lacuna

- Line 1: The bottom of what appears to be an omicron or theta survives.
- Line 2: The bottom of a left vertical is preserved, with what seems to be the left end of the lowest bar of an epsilon.
- Line 3: The bottom of the left diagonal of alpha or lambda survives. This may be part of the middle of a word, or, conceivably, it could be the start of the word xa[vov]. There are too many possibilities, however, for speculation to be profitable.
- Line 4: If this document is a treasure inventory, this might be the numeral  $\xi\xi$  or the preposition  $\xi\xi$ , or the beginning or the middle part of some other word.
  - Line 5: The sigma, although preserved in its left side only, is distinctive, with very flat diagonals.
  - Line 7: The bottom of the left diagonal of an alpha or lambda survives.
- Line 8: The left hasta and part of the horizontal of eta survives; it is unlikely to be a drachma sign. Possibly part of a word such as θυμιατήριον.
- Line 9: The tip of the left diagonal of what is probably an upsilon is preserved. Perhaps some part of the word  $\theta u\sigma l\alpha$  or the verb  $\theta u \sigma l\alpha$ .
  - Line 10: The tip of the left diagonal of an upsilon survives.
  - Line 11: The tops of these letters survive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See note 15 above.

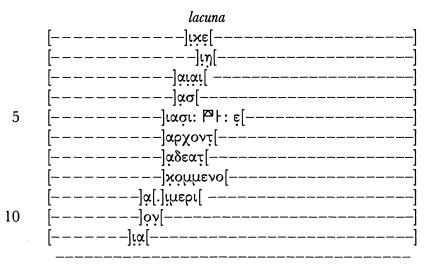
The change in margin width and the treatment of the left side (if this is original) may be an indication that this is an account, whose upper and lower parts were inscribed at different times. The text appears to run on from one line to the next, as happens in some, but not all, treasure inventories. If it is a treasure inventory, the use of Hymettian marble, as well as the letter forms, place it in the second half of the 4th century.

Several hands are at work here: lines 1–4 are in a distinctive hand in which epsilon is quite small with its middle bar shorter than the two outer bars, and kappa has an almost horizontal lower diagonal; lines 5–6 have a different epsilon, whose horizontals are of different lengths, progressively shorter from bottom to top; the lower diagonal of kappa is very steep and is attached to the middle of the upper diagonal, not to the vertical. Lines 7ff. have taller letters and a distinctive mu whose diagonals are all of the same length. The marble type is that found in many treasure records of the later 4th century, as well as in several of the manumission records of the 330's and 320's; the letter forms and spacing are closest to those of  $IG II^2$  1456A, 1483, 1485, and 1496 and to some of the non-stoichedon faces of the manumission records  $IG II^2$  1553–1578, especially 1574. The decree fragment Agora I 4034 (= Hesperia 47, 1989, p. 84, no. 9) seems to be by the same hand as lines 6ff. Since only the first two stoichoi at the left side are preserved on this fragment, it is possible that the entire document was, in fact, non-stoichedon since non-stoichedon texts often appear to be stoichedon in the first two or three stoichoi.

24 (Pl. 88). A fragment of pale blue marble, probably Hymettian (I 6693), found on October 5, 1954, in a marble pile in the south-central part of the Market Square (K-N 12-14). It is broken on all sides and at the back (the right side is not original, although it appears to be so in the photograph).

P.H. 0.208 m.; p.W. 0.112 m.; p.Th. 0.09 m. LH. 0.007–0.008 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.0125 m.

post med. s. IV a. (?) NON- $\Sigma$ TOIX.



lacuna

Letters are shallow and incomplete. The stone is so badly damaged over most of its surface that all readings, except where they are reasonably clear in the photograph, are really only guesses.

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Line 6: [\dot{\epsilon}\pi\dot{\epsilon}] ———] \ddot{\alpha}\rho\chi\sigma\dot{\epsilon}[\sigma\varsigma]? Line 8: [\kappa\epsilon]\dot{\kappa}\rho\mu\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\sigma[\nu]?<sup>22</sup>
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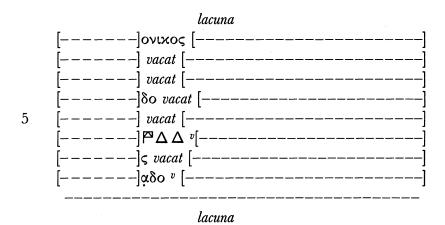
This appears to be a treasure inventory of some sort. So far as can be determined from the battered condition of this fragment,  $IG ext{ II}^2 ext{ 1436}$  (dated to 349/8 B.C.) and **9** seem to be by the same hand; they are also Hymettian marble, and the vertical spacing of  $IG ext{ II}^2 ext{ 1436}$  at the top is similar to that of **24**, but its omicrons are a little smaller on the whole.  $IG ext{ II}^2 ext{ 1436}$  should, however, provide an approximate date for **9** and **24**.

25 (Pl. 88). A fragment of bluish white, micaceous Pentelic marble (I 6452 b), found on April 7, 1952, in Byzantine fill on Areiopagos Street (O 16). It is broken on all sides and at the back. The face was originally highly polished.

P.H. 0.094 m.; p.W. 0.092 m.; p.Th. 0.062 m.

LH. 0.005-0.006 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker in lines 1-3 of 0.0105 m. and in lines 3ff. of 0.009 m.

ΝΟΝ-ΣΤΟΙΧ.



Line 1: Perhaps [---]όνιχος [ἀνέθηκεν]?

Line 8: The apex of alpha survives; this entry may be the same as that of line 4.

This has different spacing from that of 13, so that it is likely to derive from a different stele but of about the same date. Here, the lines vary in length but clearly include weights at the end of each description. Lines 4 and 8 may each end with the same word, a genitive whose spelling suggests a date in the first half of the 4th century B.C. The uninscribed space at line 5 of fragment b is a space and a half in height, perhaps indicating the beginning of a new rubric.

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$  Cf. IG II $^2$  1443, line 158; 1453, line 7; 1455, line 31; 1457, line 4; 1459, line 4; 1469, line 134, for this word and its compounds with δια- and κατα-.

This appears to be part of an account, but its function is obscure. The apparent genitives in lines 4 and 8, coupled with the nominative in line 1 and the numeral in line 6, suggest that this may be some kind of liturgical record.

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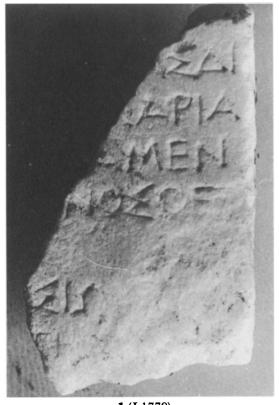
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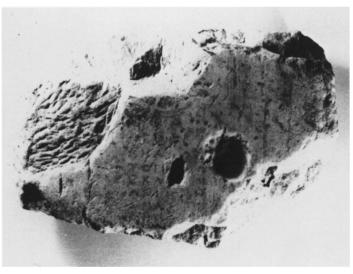




2 (I 5647), Face B



2 (I 5647), Face A



**3** (I 6414)

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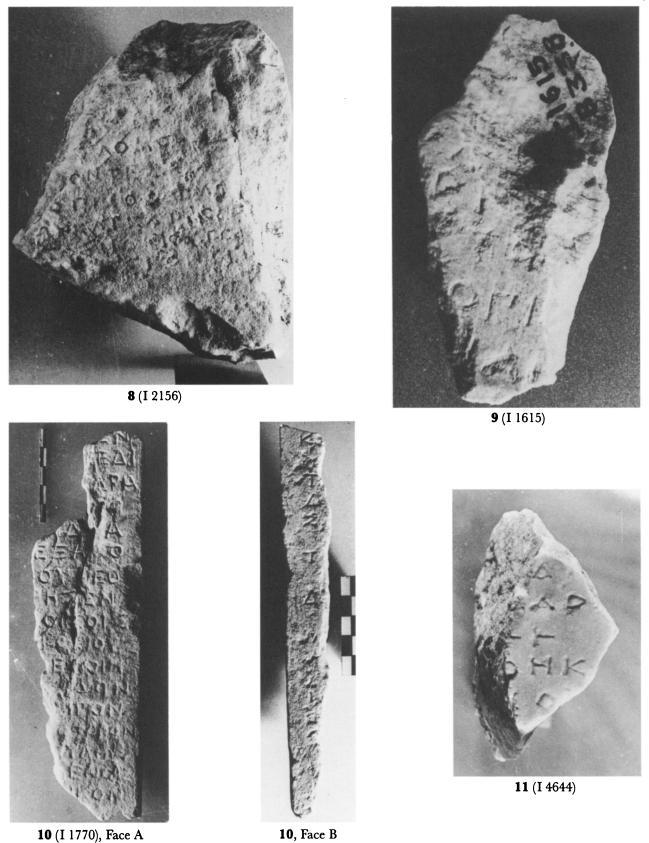


**5** (I 4799)





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## PLATE 86



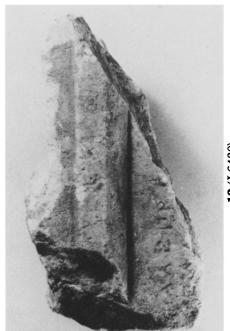
**14** (I 4399)



16 (I 5490)



**13** (I 6452 a)



12 (I 6430)

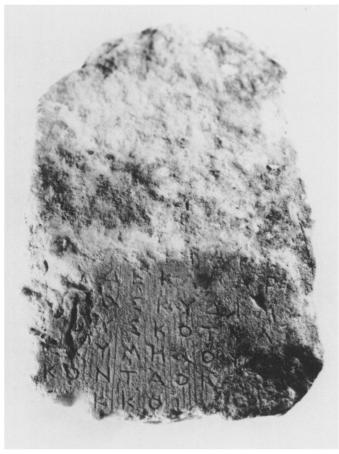


15 (I 4665)

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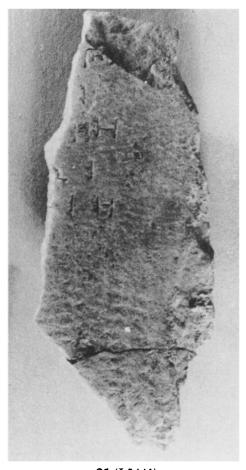
(I 4695)



(I 5593)



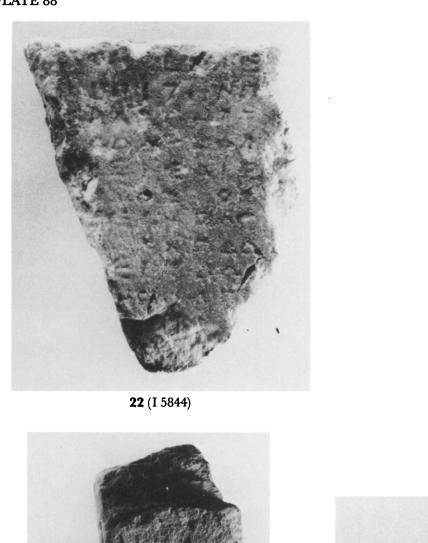
(I 4832)



(I 5441)

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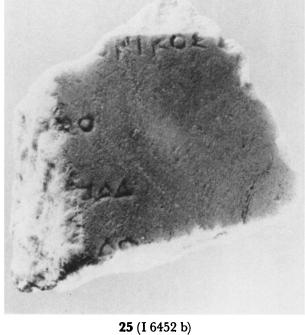
### **PLATE 88**











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