

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 61 and 62)

IN THIS ARTICLE are collected six fragments of inscriptions from the excavations of the Athenian Agora in 1937 that may derive from a single stele, as was suggested in the records of the original excavators, but are more likely to fall into three or even four unrelated groups.¹ Three fragments seem to embody a set of precise topographical references, perhaps for a sanctuary; the remainder appear to comprise lists of names.

1. The Boundaries of a Sanctuary?

Three unpublished fragments of slightly micaceous Pentelic marble, none of which joins with any other.

a. Agora Inv. No. I 4936 b (Pl. 61). Found on June 16, 1937, in original fill of the Post-Herulian Wall on the north slope of the Akropolis (T 26). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.116 m; p.W. 0.125 m; p.Th. 0.051 m.

L.H. 0.006–0.007 m; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern averaging 0.01135 × 0.01135 m.

ca. a. 360–350 *a.?*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[.] ἀκλιτον[-----]
[ἐν τῷ] ἱερῷ τῷ [-----]
[.] νεμος εστ[-----]
[.] ται ὡς ἐκ τῆς [-----]
5 [. . . τῇ] ν ὁδόν ὡς ἐγ δὲ [-----]
[.] λη ὕπεστι ὡς ε[-----]
[.] ΩΜΗΛΟΥ ἡρώϊ[ον? -----]
[.] ὡς ἐγ δὲ τῆς κο[-----]
[.] ΣΠΑ[[K]]I[[N]]Ο ὡς ι[-----]

¹ 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 former Director of the Epigraphic Museum in Athens, for permission to study and republish 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, N. J., particularly during 1987, when he made it possible for me to be 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.

10 [. . .⁵ . . .]ο ἐς τὴν σ[-----]

lacuna

Line 1: Dotted letters are preserved as follows: the bottom of the right diagonal of alpha, the bottom of a vertical, the lower half of the vertical of tau, and the bottom of a round letter; perhaps, assuming that the mason omitted the crossbar of an alpha, [---]α ×(α)! τὸ ν[---]?

Line 2: After the omega the bottom two-thirds of a left vertical survive; since iotas in this inscription are placed at the left side of the stoichos, I print this as an iota; some surface is preserved to the right of this vertical, however, but so damaged that a nu, or even a pi or a gamma, cannot be ruled out.

Line 3: Either ἐς τ[---] or ἐστ[ι].

Line 5: The bottom left corner of epsilon is preserved at the right.

Line 6: The bottom of a right diagonal survives, either lambda or alpha.

Line 7: The vertical of upsilon is made with two very slightly sloping cuts that join and peter out at the middle of the stoichos. Above this, in some lights, very faint diagonal marks are visible, which may be the lightly scribed arms of this upsilon, never engraved with the chisel. Instead of ἡρώτ[ων?], another reading is the genitive ἡρώ ι[---]?

Line 8: The upper left curve of omicron survives.

Line 9: In the fourth and sixth stoichoi the most apparent letters are kappa and nu, but the mason appears to have made mistakes in each of these stoichoi. The kappa could have replaced, or have been replaced by, a nu, whose base joins the bottom of the lower arm of kappa; this stroke is very shallow, as is the upper arm of kappa. Similarly, in the sixth stoichos the nu appears to have replaced, or to have been replaced by, an epsilon or sigma. The reading could be any of ΣΠΑΚΙΝΟ, ΣΠΑΚΙΕΟ, ΣΠΑΚΙΣΟ, ΣΠΑΝΙΝΟ, ΣΠΑΝΙΕΟ, ΣΠΑΝΙΣΟ, or ΣΠΑΝΙΚΟ. After the omicron the next stoichos is uninscribed; after this, the top of a left vertical survives: this could be an iota, or else the top of the vertical of a kappa. The surface of the stone is preserved for a little distance to the right of this, but there is no trace of any letter stroke here (as of an epsilon, for instance). Presumably, a new topographical reference begins here, perhaps ×[ατὰ ---].

Line 10: The upper right curve of a circular letter survives at the left; at the right there is a trace of the right tip of the top diagonal of a sigma; it is probably too flat for the diagonal of a kappa, chi, or upsilon.

Line 3: The end of a word such as [ᾱ]νεμος, or of a name, or perhaps νέμος, a grove or pasture?²

Line 8: The restoration is, perhaps, κο[ιλῆς] (a hollow place)?

b. Agora Inv. No. I 4936 c (Pl. 61). Found on June 3, 1937, in a late context in the antechamber to Klepsydra on the north slope of the Akropolis (T 26). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.07 m; p.W. 0.06 m; p.Th. 0.027 m.

L.H. 0.006–0.007 m; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker averaging 0.01175 m and a vertical checker averaging 0.0114 m.

ca. a. 360–350 a.?

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[----- . . .] \ ν [-----]

² For a grove around the Hephaisteion, and a discussion of groves in the context of sanctuaries, see Thompson 1937, pp. 412–425, esp. pp. 414–416. There was also a grove in the vicinity of the Altar of Pity (for testimonia to its location see *Agora* III, nos. 163–190, pp. 67–74).

5 [----- . . .] του [-----]
 [----- . . .] ^v α π [-----]
 [----- . .] ρ γ α σ η [-----]
 [----- . .] λ ο κ ρ ι [-----]
 [----- . .] τ ε ρ μ ι [-----]
 [----- . . .] τ [-----]

lacuna

Line 1: The tip of the lowest diagonal of what may be a sigma survives, above the omicron of line 2; the angle is such that it could equally well be part of a kappa or a chi. The stoichos after this appears to be uninscribed.

Line 3: The *vacat* before alpha suggests that one topographical reference ends and another begins here, perhaps with the word ἀπ[ό]?

Line 4: The right side of the loop of rho is preserved at the left edge; at the right edge the lower half of the left hasta and part of the bar of eta survive. [---] ρ γ α σ η [---], or perhaps [Πε] ρ γ α σ ῆ [θεν]?

Line 5: This should, perhaps, be written as [---] λ ο κ ρ ι [---]. Possibly a reference to barley?

Line 6: At the right edge a left vertical is preserved; at its top there appears to be the start of a diagonal sloping down to the right, as if of a nu. I print this letter as a dotted iota, since the combination rho-mu-nu seems very unlikely. If it is iota, the word partially preserved here may be some form of Termieus, one of Zeus' epithets, though not attested for Attica.

Line 7: A horizontal stroke is preserved at the top of the stoichos, below the mu of line 6, perhaps with part of a central vertical also surviving below it: thus, I print a dotted tau here.

c. Agora Inv. No. I 4936 a (Pl. 61). Found on June 4, 1937, in a Turkish context on the north slope of the Akropolis, near the Post-Herulian Wall (T 26). It is broken all around and at the back. There is an uninscribed vertical space of 0.009 m between lines 3 and 5 and another of 0.015 m between lines 5 and 7.

P.H. 0.082 m; p.W. 0.112 m; p.Th. 0.07 m.

L.H. 0.006–0.007 m; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker averaging 0.011 m and a vertical checker averaging 0.012 m.

ca. a. 360–350 *a.?*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[----- . . .] \ [-----]
 [----- . ε] κ τ ῆ ς [-----]
 [----- .] τ ο ς π λ [-----]
 [--- *vacat?* ---] *vacat* [-----]
 [-----] ς ε ς τ ῆ ν [-----]
 [-----] *vacat* [-----]
 5 [----- . .] ο ς ^v [-----]

lacuna

Line 1: The bottom of a right diagonal survives above the eta of line 2. The angle is too steep for the diagonal of a kappa, sigma, or chi, and it is too far to the left to be the bottom of the right diagonal of a mu; thus, it must be part of either an alpha or a lambda.

Line 3: At the right edge both the diagonals of a triangular letter are preserved, but the surface has suffered damage in the center of this letter, so that it could be either an alpha or a lambda.

The space between lines 3 and 4 is 0.009 m, not sufficient for another line of text but greater than is found between lines 1 to 2 and 2 to 3, so that I have assumed that the main text ended in line 3 and that line 4 is some sort of subscript, or else the beginning of a new set of topographical references.

Line 4: To the left of epsilon the right tip of a shallow diagonal survives, at the same angle at the upper diagonal of the sigma that follows the epsilon.

Line 5: Below the second sigma of line 4 the upper right curve of a circular letter survives on the break, followed in the next stoichos by the right tip of a diagonal, too flat to be that of a kappa, upsilon, or chi. The stoichos after this seems to be uninscribed. This may be the end of a topographical reference; the vertical space between lines 4 and 5, however, is considerably greater than the vertical checker, so that line 5 seems likely to be a new entry, perhaps the end of a name.

The Mason or Masons

The script is superficially similar on each of these fragments, but close examination reveals some differences among them. The chisel strokes are mostly shallow, often forming not a complete V but, rather, a double-V, where the chisel has not fully penetrated the stone. Often the chisel strokes are not quite parallel and are deeper at one end than at the other, producing the appearance of serifs in such letter strokes as the outer diagonals of mu and sigma and the horizontals of epsilon. The differences are as follows:

a: Straight letter strokes are made with two shallow, converging cuts, creating a sort of “double image”. They are also shallower at the converged end. The forms of alpha, epsilon, eta, kappa, mu, nu, omicron, pi, rho, sigma, and omega are distinctive, but there is some inconsistency over the widths of epsilon and eta. The horizontal checker varies, from 0.0103 m to 0.013 m, averaging 0.01135 m. Similarly, the vertical checker varies.

b: Straight letter strokes are made mostly with cuts that are parallel but sometimes, as in kappa and sigma, converging. On the whole, chisel strokes fully penetrate the stone. There are probably too few letters surviving to permit a fair comparison, but they are less neat than those of **a**. There is some inconsistency over the placing of horizontal letter strokes. Epsilon has a short inner horizontal, unlike the epsilons of **a** and **c**. The horizontal checker varies, from 0.011 m to 0.013 m, averaging 0.01175 m. Similarly, the vertical checker varies.

c: Straight letter strokes are shallow, often converging and shallower at the converged end, and exhibit some “double imaging”. The letter forms are much like those of **a**, except for sigma. The horizontal checker varies, from 0.01 m to 0.012 m, averaging 0.011 m. Similarly, the vertical checker varies.

Discussion

Whether all three fragments derive from the same stele is not clear. **a** and **c** seem to me to be sufficiently like one another to suggest that they, at least, belong to a single stele; **b** looks less like the other two but seems to contain a set of topographical references similar to those found in **a** and **c**. On all three fragments the horizontal and vertical checkers vary, indicating that they were not laid out on an exact grid. It is not uncommon for the vertical checker to vary in stoichedon inscriptions, but variation in the horizontal

checker is less common; thus, the variation among the fragments found here, as well as the apparent differences in letter forms, might be an indication that these three fragments do not derive from the same stele and are not the work of the same mason.

a contains a series of precise topographical references, cast in the form "From . . . (name and description) to . . . (name and description); from . . . (name and description) to . . . (name and description)"; and so on. It is impossible to estimate the length of each reference, since the width of the stele cannot be calculated. **b** and **c** seem to contain similar topographical references, of which **c** seems to contain the end, followed, I believe, by a subscript, possibly a list of names. No numerals survive that might indicate length, area, or value, so that it seems unlikely that this is a series of leases or sales. These references may define the boundaries of a property, perhaps of the sanctuary of **a**, line 2, or the right-of-way of some such feature as a road or an aqueduct. Perhaps, if these three fragments do derive from the same stele, the original document might have been the outcome of the sort of process that was laid down in the decree *IG II*² 204 for redefining the boundaries of the sacred Orgas at Eleusis in 352/1 B.C., after the land had been encroached upon by private individuals. *IG II*² 204, however, is a decree followed by the names of those who redefined the boundaries, without any listing of these boundaries, whereas the document discussed here seems to be a series of topographical references, perhaps followed by a subscript. Other possible parallels are *IG II*² 1180, an honorary decree from Sounion of the mid 4th century B.C., which includes provisions for laying out the boundaries of the Agora at Sounion, and *IG II*² 2630, part of a boundary stone of 228/7 B.C. (recarved during Roman Imperial times), which notes the division of property with reference to road boundaries and has the beginning of a list of proper names introduced by, probably, those who attest to the correctness of the boundaries.³

The topographical references in **a** include a sanctuary (2), perhaps a grove or pasture (3), a road (5), a Heroïon (or the property of a Hero, 7?), and the unknown features of lines 8 (a hollow place?) and 9. These reference points may define the boundaries of a property, perhaps of the sanctuary mentioned in line 2. **b** appears to contain further topographical references, which possibly include a site on the way from the deme Pergase (4? If so, perhaps at the west end or along the northern slope of Mt. Pentele)⁴ and a sanctuary of Zeus Termieus (6?). **c** likewise may contain topographical references, but what these may be is not clear. If these fragments all belong together, the property is thus likely to have been quite complex in plan or else was situated in an area that was already the subject of boundary disputes. One is reminded of the disputes that were settled in 418 B.C., after the Sanctuary of Asklepios was established in 420/19 on the south slope of the Akropolis.⁵

The fragments involve several puzzles: perhaps the most tantalizing is that of **a**, line 7, in which a previously unknown Heroïon (or Hero) is partially named.

³ I owe the references to *IG II*² 1180 and to *IG II*² 2630 and the discussion of the latter to the kindness of an anonymous referee for this article.

⁴ For the location of Pergase see Traill 1975, p. 38 and Map 1.

⁵ See *IG II*² 4960, lines 13–16, where the Kerykes are recorded as having settled these disputes.

The Date

The date cannot be fixed, but the orthography of all three fragments, so far as it is of any use, points to the second quarter of the 4th century B.C.: ΕΣ is regularly written for ΕΙΣ, and both Ο (for ΟΥ) and the full diphthong ΟΥ are found.⁶

The letter forms likewise suggest a date in the second quarter of the 4th century. These are closest in form to, though slightly larger than, the same letters in *IG II² 139 + 289* (= *SEG XXXIX*, 75), securely dated to 353/2 B.C., and in *IG II² 137*, securely dated to 354/3 B.C. I should therefore place the engraving of this stone (or stones) in the 350's B.C. or perhaps slightly earlier.

Identification and Location

Assuming that the fragments belong together, in the end, despite the clues afforded by the script and orthography and the seemingly precise topographical directions, the nature and place of the property discussed here and the purpose of this inscription remain disappointingly obscure. The findspots of all three fragments, in the area of the Post-Herulian Wall over Klepsydra on the north slope of the Akropolis, suggest that this stele may originally have stood on the Akropolis and not at the site of one or other of the features mentioned.

2. A List of Names

Agora Inv. No. I 4604 (Pl. 62). Found on March 11, 1937, in debris over the Post-Herulian Wall, under Akropolis Street (T 24). It is broken all around and at the back. There is a horizontal uninscribed space of 0.041 m to the left of the inscription.

P.H. 0.096 m; p.W. 0.123 m; p.Th. 0.048 m.

L.H. 0.005–0.006 m; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker averaging 0.011 m and a vertical checker averaging 0.0085 m in lines 1–3 and 0.011 m in lines 3–6.

ca. a. 360–350 a.?

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[. .]πϛ[-----]
Ἀριϛ[τ-----]
Φειδ[-----]
Ἀντιο[-----]
5 Ἀρχι[-----]
Ιν[-----]

lacuna

⁶ See Threatte 1980, p. 189: "The use of E instead of EI for [e] is already unusual by the decade 360–350."

Line 1: The upper two-thirds of a vertical stroke survives, so placed that it is probably an iota; at the right side of the preceding stoichos is a vertical stroke, which ends well above the bottom of its stoichos; it is thus probably the right vertical of a pi.

Line 2: The lower left apex of sigma survives.

The relatively wide uninscribed space to the left suggests that there may have been at least one other column of names inscribed to the left of this one. The change in vertical spacing after line 3 may indicate that line 4 is a heading, such as Ἀντιο[χίδος]. If this is the case, then this fragment is unlikely to derive from the same stele as the fragments that comprise **1**, since it is doubtful whether participants in whatever activity is dealt with in those fragments would be listed by phyle. The findspot is slightly different from that of the fragments of **1**, and this, too, suggests that it derives from a different stele.

The Mason or Masons

Straight letter strokes are rather shallow and exhibit some convergence and some “double imaging”. Epsilon, kappa, rho, and sigma are unlike those of **1a** and **1c**; other letters are similar to those fragments. If anything, the document looks closer to **1b** than to the other two fragments. Several documents from the first half of the 4th century are similar to a certain extent, although none provides an exact fit: IG II² 1928–1930 (ca. 380 B.C.), 102 (ca. 370 B.C.), 108 (366/5 B.C.), 196, 1420, 1697, 1952, and 2415/6 (none securely dated). Again, this suggests that this fragment derives from a different stele.

Two more fragments appear to be by a different hand, perhaps two different hands, and are thus unlikely to derive from the same stele as the fragments of **1** or that of **2**. **3** is sufficiently similar to **2** that it might possibly derive from the same stele, but **4** is so different from the rest that it must be regarded as deriving from a completely different stele, perhaps not even of the same date as any of the rest. The findspot of **3**, however, suggests that it, too, may not derive from the same stele or stelai as **1** and **2**.

3. A List of Names

Agora Inv. No. I 4934 (Pl. 62). Found on June 1, 1937, on the surface near the Post-Herulian Wall, on the north slope of the Akropolis (Q–X 23–29). It is broken all around and at the back. There is an uninscribed space of 0.014 m to the left of the inscription.

P.H. 0.062 m; p.W. 0.073 m; p.Th. 0.046 m.

L.H. 0.006–0.007 m; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern averaging 0.011 × 0.011 m.

ca. a. 360–350 a.?

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

	Αἰσ[-----]
	Σαμ[-----]
	Ἀστυδ[-----]
	Κλειτ[-----]
5	Ἀρμόδ[ιος -----]

[.]υ×ρ[-----]

lacuna

Line 3: The vertical of upsilon survives.

Line 6: The top of the right arm of upsilon and the top of the vertical and the upper curve of the loop of rho are preserved.

Whether or not there was another column of names to the right is unclear. Nor is it clear whether or not these names included patronymics, demotics, or ethnics. It does seem, however, that each name occupied one line of text. It is possible that alternate lines held personal names and patronymics, respectively. The hand is similar to that of 1, but the letters are more deeply cut. The list of names includes one that is both well known and rare: that of Harmodios (5), surely, if he is an Athenian, a member of the family of one of the Tyrant Slayers. In light of the evidence of the letter forms, this Harmodios is likely to be *PA* 2234 (Harmodios III), who was born in the 420's, was an adult in 396, and was particularly active in the 370's. *PA* 2235 (Harmodios IV), who was a *kleronomos* in 325/4 B.C., is probably too young.⁷

4. A List of Names?

Agora Inv. No. I 4983 (Pl. 62). Found on June 16, 1937, in original fill of the Post-Herulian Wall over the paved court of Klepsydra, on the north slope of the Akropolis (T 26–27). It is broken all around and at the back. The minimum intercolumnar space is 0.033 m.

P.H. 0.07 m; p.W. 0.145 m; p.Th. 0.016 m.

L.H. 0.006–0.007 m; apparently stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0125 m and a vertical checker of 0.0117 m. In line 5 the horizontal pattern seems to be disturbed.

ca. a. 360–350 a.?

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	<i>lacuna</i>		<i>lacuna</i>
	Column I		Column II
	[----- . . .] ρ		[-----]
	[-----] υ		[-----]
	[----- .] ας	10	[-----]
	[----- .] ος		Λ[-----]
5	[-----] ωρ		[-----]
	[-----] ιος		[-----]
	[-----] υ		[-----]
	-----		-----
	<i>lacuna</i>		<i>lacuna</i>

Line 1: The bottom of a vertical survives, 0.0215 m above and 0.015 m to the right of the sigma of line 3. Since there is no trace of a second vertical to the right of this, the likeliest reading is rho, from a name ending HP or OP.

⁷ For the renumbering of these see Davies 1971, no. 12267, pp. 472–479.

Line 2: Nothing is inscribed here above the sigma of line 3.

Line 3: The bottom of a right diagonal is preserved; if this is the end of a name, this letter must be an alpha.

Line 5: The rho is inscribed below and to the left of the sigma of line 4; the omega seems to be spaced normally, as if this line were stoichedon.

Line 6: The top of iota survives.

Line 7: Below the sigma of line 6 the stone is uninscribed.

Lines 8–10 and 12–14: It is not clear whether these lines were inscribed.

Line 11: 0.033 m to the right of the sigma of Column I, a left diagonal survives, without any trace of a horizontal at the bottom or middle, so that, if this is a letter, it must be a lambda.

This seems to be a list of names, apparently set out in two or more columns, of which the end of one and perhaps the beginning of the second survive. Since the final letters in Column I are not necessarily the ends of names, it is quite possible that the text ran on from one line of this column to the next. The hand (or hands?) in which this fragment was engraved is quite different from that employed for **1**, **2**, and **3**. Straight letter strokes are shallow, occasionally converging, with some evidence of “double-imaging”. Although its findspot is similar to those of the fragments of **1**, the difference in letter forms probably rules out any connection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agora III* = R. E. Wycherley. *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia (The Athenian Agora III)*, Princeton 1957
 Davies, J. K. 1971. *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford
 Thompson, D. B. 1937. “The Garden of Hephaistos,” *Hesperia* 6, pp. 396–425
 Threatte, L. 1980. *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, I, *Phonology*, Berlin/New York
 Traill, J. S. 1975. *The Political Organization of Attica (Hesperia Supplement 14)*, Princeton

MICHAEL B. WALBANK

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
 Department of Greek, Latin, and Ancient History
 2500 University Drive, N.W.
 Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4
 Canada



1 a. I 4936 b



1 b. I 4936 c



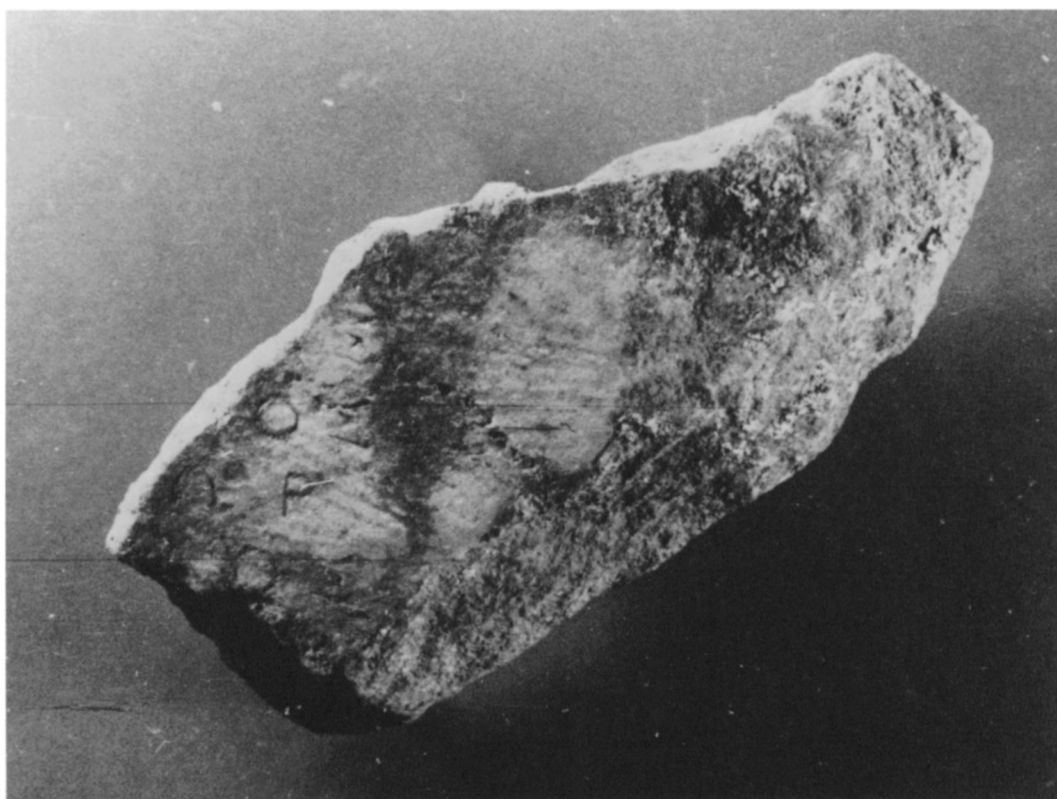
1 c. I 4936 a



2. I 4604



3. I 4934



4. I 4983