

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

The first two reports of inscriptions found in the Ancient Agora during the course of excavations by the American School of Classical Studies appeared in Volume II of *Hesperia*, pp. 149–169 and pp. 480–513. Last year Professor Meritt presented one hundred and seventy-nine texts in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 1–128. The fourth report, here published, contains thirty-eight additional texts. The inscriptions published in each year are numbered consecutively as of that year. A map showing the sections of the Agora and the houses (with numbers), to which reference is made in the following pages, may be consulted in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 99.

LAWS

1–2. Part of an opisthographic block of Pentelic marble, broken away at one side and below, and provided with anathyrosis along the preserved lateral edge. It was found April 25, 1933 in a Late Roman fill in Section Z.

Maximum height, 0.54 m.; maximum width, 0.505 m.; thickness, 0.117 m.

Inventory No. 6244 I 727.

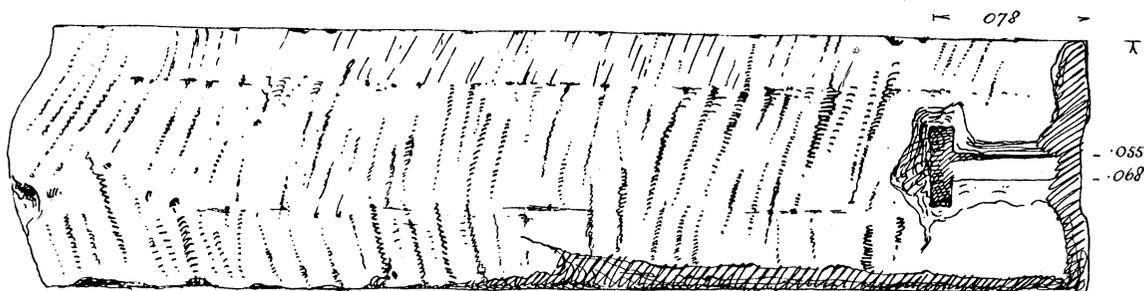


FIGURE A. Top of the new stone (Inv. No. 6244 I 727). Drawing by Piet de Jong

On one face the stone preserves a fragment from a law defining where the responsibility lay for the proper maintenance of the triremes and regulating the legal procedure in case of disputes (1). This document is written in the Attic script and engraved with letters suggesting a date toward the end of the fifth century. On the other face is a fragment of a sacrificial calendar (2) which is engraved in the Ionic script and of

which other parts are preserved in *I.G.*, II², 1357 (= Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, nos. 16 and 16 *a*). The new piece from the Agora does not effect a join with either of the two other pieces of the calendar, *I.G.*, II², 1357, *a* and *b*. Of the latter, fragment *b* (= E[epigraphical] M[useum] 286) is broken away at the back; fragment *a*, however, has the same thickness as the new piece and likewise preserves on the other side part of an inscription in the old Attic alphabet (but not the same inscription), namely, *I.G.*, I², 843, itself part of a sacred calendar. The latter stone consists of two contiguous fragments, now attached, EM 6721 and EM 8001.

Of the original monument, accordingly, we have now four fragments, namely, EM 286, EM 6721, EM 8001, Agora I 727. (Photographs on pp. 14, 20, 22, 24 and 31.) The provenience of the four fragments requires careful consideration. EM 8001 was first recorded in the Museum of the Archaeological Society, but EM 6721 with which it effects a direct join came from excavations at the foot of the Acropolis. It served as a door socket in a late or modern re-use, as the reader may see from the photograph (p. 22). Since the late builder might have collected material from any part of the city and since a good marble block for the purpose would have been worth transporting, the provenience of this piece is not significant for the site of the original monument. The fragment EM 286, on the other hand, came not from the slopes of the Acropolis, but from Dörpfeld's excavations to the northwest of the Areopagus, as the first editor, E. Ziebarth, took the trouble to state.¹ In other words, it came from the neighborhood of the ancient Agora. To be sure the fragment was easily transportable, and the exact circumstances of its discovery, whether it was found, for example, in a Roman fill or in a modern wall, are not recorded, but at least it points rather to the Agora as the probable site of the original monument, certainly not to the Acropolis. The new block, actually found in the Agora in the fill below a late road, is too heavy to have been transported very far and definitely establishes that the original monument stood somewhere in the neighborhood. In the fill were other fragments of monuments that once stood in the Agora. The road-builders took the material at hand.

The letters on the side engraved in the Ionic script have completely disappeared from EM 8001, but the piece has importance for the study of the inscription because it preserves the same anathyrosis that we find on the stone in the Agora. Now, therefore, two large fragments are extant of a sacred calendar engraved in the Ionic script and exhibiting epigraphical characteristics of the period 403 to 367 B.C., both fragments with anathyrosis along the left side and both with an earlier inscription on the back. The fact that a different earlier inscription is engraved on the two stones proves that they are not pieces of the same block. Accordingly the original series contained at least three and perhaps several more blocks.

From the stones themselves we cannot find any evidence that the blocks were re-used at the time when the sacrificial calendar was engraved in the Ionic script. On the

¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, p. 24.

contrary, the piece from the Agora shows that the earlier document as well as the later calendar was cut with respect to the position of the top of the block. Therefore the original monument was visible on both sides, and, since it consisted of a series of at least three blocks standing upright end to end, it may be described conservatively as a wall. We do not know whether it was a high or a low wall, a long or a short wall, but the blocks are too thin to have supported anything much heavier than a crowning member, and may not have borne even that. Where the stones have not suffered in the late or modern re-use, they present a singularly unweathered appearance. They stood, accordingly, in some sheltered position, unexposed to the elements. We may conclude, therefore, that the original monument probably stood inside one of the great public buildings of the Agora.

The most striking thing about the sacred calendar in the Ionic script is that it concerns itself with the old Ionian tribes, which were abolished politically but continued to exist for ceremonial purposes after the reforms of Cleisthenes, and which were called *Γελέοντες*, *Ὀπλιτες*, *Αἰγυκόρεις* and *Ἀργάδεις*. Ziehen¹ suspected as much of the old pieces, and his conjecture is splendidly confirmed by the new fragment, lines 35 and 47, where there appears the phrase *Γ(ε)λέοντων φυλῆι*. The inscription, therefore, deals with the ancient religious customs that Solon had regulated years ago. But these are not mere minor alterations. The extent of the document and the new piece, bearing over the preserved inscription the legend *τάδε τὸ ἔτερον ἔτος θύεται*, show that we have before us fragments of a whole calendar, a new publication of the sacred laws of Solon. The circumstances under which were published the calendar and even the profane law on the other side of the stone become more intelligible after a consideration of events at the end of the fifth century. With the restoration of democratic government in 410 a board of registrars was appointed to re-edit the laws of Athens. They were to retain the laws of Solon (and at least parts of the laws of Draco; cf. *I. G.*, I², 115) but prepare an edition that recognized the alterations imposed by changed conditions and partly expressed in subsequent legislation. Nicomachus was among the magistrates engaged in this work. His appointment, originally planned for four months, continued from 410 until the work came to a halt in the turmoil and revolution of 404. It is charged in the thirtieth oration of Lysias that he usurped the place of Solon himself, that he removed and inserted laws arbitrarily, and that after his activity litigants came into the courts with appeals to conflicting articles. So it appears that his task, or at least part of it, concerned profane laws. Certainly he was far more trustworthy than the accuser allowed, for he did make his reports and received approval, and when the publication was resumed on the restoration of the democracy, the Council again appointed him. This time his task was the preparation of the sacrificial calendar.²

¹ Prött-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II, p. 64.

² The possibility of a connection between our stone and the publication of the religious calendar mentioned in the thirtieth oration of Lysias was suggested by W. S. Ferguson.

Concerning the second period most important information throwing light on the publication is preserved in the first oration of Andocides. He of course speaks only of matters touching his own case and does not refer at all to the sacrificial calendar, which alone figures in the case of Nicomachus. Andocides mentions the events of 404, the rule of the Thirty, the restoration of the Democracy, the amnesty, and he then says: *You elected twenty men, and these were to take care of the city until the laws should be established again. In the meanwhile it was to use the Laws of Solon and of Draco. And when you chose the Council and elected the nomothetes, they kept finding that according to many of the Laws of Solon and Draco many citizens were inculpated because of previous events. You called a meeting of the Assembly and discussed these matters, and you decreed to investigate all the laws and then to set up in the Stoa (i.e. the Royal Porch) an inscription of those laws which met with approval.* The text preserves the decree which the orator caused to be read and which I repeat for the reader's convenience:

Ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, Τεισαμενὸς εἶπε, πολιτεύεσθαι Ἀθηναίους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, νόμοις δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος, καὶ μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς, χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς, οἷσπερ ἐχρώμεθα ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ. ὁπόσων δ' ἂν προσδέη, οἶδε ἡρημένοι νομοθέται ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγράφοντες ἐν σανίσι ἐκτιθέντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐπωνύμους σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ, καὶ παραδιδόντων ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐν τῷδε τῷ μηρί. τοὺς δὲ παραδιδόμενους νόμους δοκιμασάτω πρότερον ἢ βουλή καὶ οἱ νομοθέται οἱ πεντακόσιοι, οὓς οἱ δημόται εἴλοντο, ἐπειδὴν δαμωμόκασιν. ἐξεῖναι δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτῃ τῷ βουλομένῳ, εἰσιόντι εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συμβουλεύειν ὅ τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν ἔχη περὶ τῶν νόμων. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τεθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι, ἐπιμελείσθω ἢ βουλή ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τῶν νόμων, ὅπως ἂν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις χρώνται. τοὺς δὲ κερουμένους τῶν νόμων ἀναγράφειν εἰς τὸν τοῖχον, ἵνα περὶ πρότερον ἀνεγράφησαν, σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ.

For our present purpose the most interesting information is that conveyed in the last sentence: the new inscription was to be made upon "the wall,"—in the Royal Porch as Andocides has just said. It is the wall *where the inscription was made before*.¹ I shall demonstrate further on that contrary to the usual belief the original Laws of Solon had never been engraved upon marble. In that case the phrase *ἵνα περὶ πρότερον ἀνεγράφησαν* clearly refers to the first period of the revision, namely, 410–404 B.C. The motion of Teisamenus proposed that the revision of the laws, already begun in 410 but interrupted in 404, should now be resumed and that the new edition should be published in the place accessible to everyone where they had already started a permanent publication.

¹ Wachsmuth ascribed the decree to a late grammarian. He declared it a forgery, based, to be sure, on authentic material, but nevertheless a forgery, because the wall was not definitely located at a time when exact topographical references were customary. As, however, Wilhelm pointed out (*Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, pp. 265–266) the wall is definitely located by the phrase *ἵνα περὶ πρότερον ἀνεγράφησαν*. J. Droysen (*De Demophonti Patroclidis Tisameni populiscitis quae inserta sunt Andocidis orationi Περὶ Μυστηρίων*, Dissertation Berlin 1873) assumes a number of omissions, e.g. *ἵνα περὶ (οἱ ἄλλοι νόμοι(?)) πρότερον ἀνεγράφησαν* (pp. 34, 37, 43). The question, however, does not affect our argument.

Not all of the publication in the first period had taken place on "the wall." *I. G.*, I², 115, with the beginning of Draco's laws on homicide has survived on part of a stele originally set up in front of the Royal Porch. In the first period, however, at least some part of the publication occurred on "the wall," as the decree of Teisamenus indicates, and like *I. G.*, I², 114 and 115, it would presumably have been engraved in the old Attic script. On the other hand, in the second period which begins with the archonship of Euclid, the laws—and among them that part of the sacrificial calendar prepared by Nicomachus—were engraved in the Ionic script. This is precisely the situation on the monument found in the Agora, and I have no hesitation in asserting it to be part of "the wall" in the Royal Porch. For its legal, historical, religious, and topographical implications, therefore, the new stone brings welcome additions to our knowledge.

The discovery of this monument calls for a new consideration of the term *νόμους*. I spare the reader an account of the divergency of modern views concerning the *νόμους* themselves and concerning the relationship to the *ἄξονες*, for he can find a convenient discussion with the proper references in Swoboda's article, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XXXII^{ster} Halbband, pp. 134–136. The modern theories are all unsuccessful in reconciling contradictions.¹ We can arrive at an understanding more easily through a re-examination of the more important ancient references and a consideration of the archaeological evidence offered by a comparison with the monument here published.

The problem is most directly approached through the account in Plutarch's *Life of Solon*, XXV. Solon, he says, gave the new laws force for a hundred years *and they were inscribed on revolving wooden tablets (ἄξονες) in oblong frames, ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Πιρραεῖῳ λείψανα μικρὰ διεσώζετο*. Plutarch then quotes Aristotle² to the effect that the laws were known as *νόμους*, and he confirms the observation by quoting also from Cratinus, who spoke of the *νόμους* of Solon and Draco, *with which people now roasted their barley*; i. e. the old standards had broken down, the ancient laws were metaphorically in the discard (the image is that of kindling wood). Cratinus referred to the wooden *ἄξονες* and like Aristotle called the laws *νόμους*. Whatever its origin, the word *νόμους* by the fifth century seems to have meant the body of ancient law, derived partly from Draco but chiefly from Solon. It is properly an abstraction, the ancient Law of the Land, although the word is sometimes used to designate the material objects, much as we might say the Laws when we meant the tablets of the Laws. The material objects were called *ἄξονες*. Plutarch was acquainted with popular misconceptions of his own time. He mentions them,

¹ *The Work and Life of Solon* by K. Freeman, who devotes a section, pp. 143–147, to the recording of the Laws, has appeared since Swoboda's article. This latest attempt is likewise unsuccessful.

² The quotation is not from any extant passage of Aristotle's writings, and for this reason its authenticity has been questioned. The natural attribution, however, is not to the *Constitution of Athens*, but to the work in five books which according to Hesychius Aristotle composed about the *ἄξονες* of Solon—a treatise which has not survived. Plutarch had no reason to invent a spurious authority, and the passage which he must have had in mind is by implication classical. Whether genuinely by Aristotle or not, a detailed study of the matter was a proper authority to quote.

but these did not rest upon any evidence so good as the word of Aristotle and Cratinus. Plutarch went back to the classic authors and found the true definition.

That the *κύρβεις* and the *ἄξονες* were really the same we gather also from the learned and careful Eratosthenes, as quoted by the scholiast to Apollonius of Rhodes (IV, 280): *κύρβεις λέγουσιν, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης, τοὺς ἄξονας καλουμένους Ἀθήνησιν, ἐν οἷς οἱ νόμοι περιέχονται*,—and as quoted by the scholiast to Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 447): *κύρβεις—ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησὶν, ἄξων Ἀθήνησιν οὕτω καλούμενος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ νόμοι περιέχονται*. Eratosthenes, of course, had studied in Athens. Other direct witnesses are numerous but have less importance.¹

Another important piece of evidence, however, appears in the thirtieth oration of Lysias, where the accuser charges Nicomachus with having made arbitrary changes in revising the laws of Solon. Nicomachus is said to have eliminated some of the sacrifices and prescribed others for which he had no authority. Instead of the new edition of the sacred laws the accuser maintains *ὡς χρὴ θύειν τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν*² *κατὰ τὰς συγγραφάς*. He opposes to the new sacrificial calendar the old regulations *αἱ θυσίαι αἱ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν*. The *κύρβεις* and the *στηλαι* were obviously not the same, for immediately afterward the speaker mentions conservative people who performed only *τὰ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων*. Therefore it is clear that the expression *κύρβεις* indicated the original Law of Solon contained in the *ἄξονες*, and the *στηλαι* can scarcely have been anything else than later changes or additions published like other decrees on marble steles. The two together constituted Sacred Law, and the calendar was expressed in the formula *αἱ θυσίαι αἱ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν*.

In the last decade of the fifth century the laws were re-edited upon stone. The sacrificial calendar and the rest of the laws, with probably few exceptions, were engraved upon a wall in the Royal Porch. It was not a supporting wall of the building, but as the discovery of our monument shows, a free-standing wall inscribed on both sides. This monument became the natural place to consult the *κύρβεις*, the ancient law of the land, and the *ἄξονες* retained only archaeological or sentimental interest. Polemon could still examine the perishable wooden tablets; by Plutarch's day hardly anything remained. In the course of time the designation *κύρβεις* was fastened on the new material object as formerly on the old. This shift of meaning caused the confusion of later times. Now instead of saying *ἄξονες* or *κύρβεις* to indicate the ancient Laws, men began to say *ἄξονες* and *κύρβεις*, and to say *ἄξονες* and *κύρβεις* even when speaking of events in the sixth and fifth centuries as if they had always been distinct, whereas in reality a distinction in respect to the material objects only developed after the latter term was first extended and then limited to the new monument.

At the end of the fifth century, therefore, the laws of Solon were inscribed upon marble. Moreover, they were now inscribed upon marble for the first time, because the

¹ See references in Swoboda's article in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Vol. XII, p. 135.

² *στηλῶν* is Taylor's emendation; the MSS. have *ἐπιλῶν* (X), *ἐπιλῶν* (C).

original *κύρβεις*, as we have seen, were contained in the wooden tablets. The only apparent contradiction appears in the text of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, § 7, where he has been speaking of Solon: *πολιτείαν δὲ κατέστησε καὶ νόμους ἔθηκεν ἄλλους, τοῖς δὲ Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς ἐπαύσαντο χρώμενοι πλὴν τῶν φρονικῶν. ἀναγράφαντες δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς τοὺς κύρβεις ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ βασιλείῳ καὶ ὤμοσαν χρῆσεσθαι πάντες· οἱ δ' ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ὀμνύοντες πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ καταγράφειζον ἀναθήσειν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν, ἐάν τινα παραβῶσι τῶν νόμων· ἴθην ἔτι καὶ νῦν οὕτως ὀμνύουσι. κατεκώρωσεν δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς ἑκατὸν [ἔ']τη καὶ διέταξε τὴν πολιτείαν τόνδε (τὸν) τρόπον.*

The uninformed reader receives the impression that the laws were inscribed on a stone monument in the Royal Porch at the very time of their adoption. This, however, can hardly be the case. Either Aristotle in his own mind projected up into the beginning of the sixth century an event which actually took place at the end of the fifth, or, more probably, he expressed himself with misleading awkwardness and did not mean to indicate that the events were contemporary. On archaeological and historical grounds also this would constitute an anachronism. The expensive practice of inscribing decrees on marble did not spread to Athens until the end of the sixth century. When, moreover, the Athenians abandoned the city in 480, they could, and certainly must have carried away the *ἄξιοι*, the ancient records on wood—obviously they could not have removed a large monument of marble. It is improbable that a stone monument containing the *κύρβεις*, if erected in the time of Solon, would have survived the destruction of 479. It is also highly improbable that a marble monument as extensive as the *κύρβεις* would have been should have perished without leaving any trace of itself. Yet among all the Attic inscriptions from the beginning of the sixth century not even the smallest fragment can be considered as a possible remnant of this early edition of the laws.

The change of meaning after the re-edition and after the advanced disintegration of the wooden tablets appears most strikingly in a Hellenistic definition preserved by Harpocration *sub voce*. He quotes from the *περὶ θεῶν* of Apollodorus, who (himself an Athenian) knew what monument was then called the *κύρβεις*. He knew that it contained the sacred laws and that it stood in the Royal Stoa. He also knew the old phrase in the ancient writers, *κύρβεις καὶ στηλαί*,¹ and the old formula quoted above, *αἱ θεοὶ αἱ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν*, but he did not realize that Lysias and he differed in the use of the word *κύρβεις* and that the term was older than the familiar monument. He tried to explain why one called the monument *κύρβεις* and how one might say *στηλαί*, for very obviously it did not consist of steles in the ordinary sense. Nor did he understand what we learn from Lysias, that the *κύρβεις* and the *στηλαί* in the old formula were quite distinct from each other. Therefore, the explanation is of course wrong, but the descriptive details are correct: *κύρβεις φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν ἔχειν ἐγγεγραμμένους τοὺς νόμους, εἶναι δ' αὐτοὺς λίθους ὀρθοὺς ἐστῶτας, οὓς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς*

¹ Compare, for example, Plato, *Politicus*, 298 D: *γράφαντας ἐν κύρβεσσι τισὶ καὶ στηλαῖς.*

στάσεως στήλας ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς ὕψος ἀνατάσεως διὰ τὸ κεκορυφῶσθαι κύρβεις ἐκάλουν, ὥσπερ καὶ κυρβασίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τιθεμένην.

The κύρβεις have the laws engraved upon them, and they are themselves upright blocks of marble, which used to be called "steles and κύρβεις,"—"steles" from their standing position, and κύρβεις from the fact that they extend up into the air because of an architectural feature at the top.

For the ambiguous phrase διὰ τὸ κεκορυφῶσθαι we might compare the word κορυφαῖον, part of a tympanum, the block which forms the peak at the top, but Apollodorus may have been indicating any sort of a crowning element, even an acroterion. He imagined that the monument derived its name from this crowning element which had a certain resemblance to a peaked cap on a man's head, a Persian peaked cap, that was known as the κυρβασία and furnished a phonetic parallel to suggest the etymology.

From Apollodorus, indeed, we might expect some information on the appearance of the monument, but no credence is due the late commentator who to Plato's *Politicus* 298 D contributes the surprising note: κύρβις· στήλη τρίγωνος πυραμοειδῆς, νόμους ἔχουσα περὶ θεῶν. He was too far removed, and his contradiction outweighs none of the other witnesses. The question arises, how did he happen on such an explanation? He followed the writers who described the κύρβεις at Athens as a monument of stone. He called it τρίγωνος, probably because the old descriptions of the wooden ἄξονες led him astray. The ἄξονες were not three-sided, but Eratosthenes thought so and provoked a correction from Polemon—compare Harpocration *s. v.* ἄξονι: ἦσαν δέ, ὡς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην, τετράγωνοι τὸ σχῆμα, διασώζονται δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ, γεγραμμένοι κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη. ποιοῦσιν δ' ἐνίοτε φαντασίαν τρίγωνον, δταν ἐπὶ τὸ στενὸν κλιθῶσι τῆς γωνίας. He called it pyramidal either because he tried to extract from conflicting accounts relating to two monuments an image of a single object, or because he knew of some old laws, outside of Athens, actually inscribed on pyramids such as the stone from Chios.¹

Another example of later confusion is the following. Didymus quotes Anaximenes of Lampsacus to the effect that Ephialtes caused the ἄξονες and κύρβεις to be brought down from the Acropolis into the city.² Wilamowitz³ rejected the story under the false impression that the κύρβεις were necessarily of marble. If a great marble monument from the time of Solon had stood on the Acropolis, it is quite true that the Persians

¹ Published by U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff with notes by P. Jacobsthal in the *Abhandlungen der königl. preuß. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1909, *Nordionische Steine*, pp. 64—71. The document probably did contain part of the ancient law of the land, hence formed part of the κύρβεις, although the term was perhaps not used at Chios. It should not, however, be called κύρβις because of the shape of the material object. The κύρβεις, as I have explained, are an abstraction, and no shape so named existed. They might be inscribed on wooden tablets in one place, on columns in another, and on a wall or steles in a third, and all these monuments would have an equal right to the title.

² Didymus in Harpocration, *s. v.* ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος.

³ *Aristoteles und Athen*, I, p. 45, note 7.

would have destroyed it and that we should have found the fragments, but these reflections have nothing to do with the matter, for such a monument was scarcely implied in the original version of the story. The classical author from whom the later writers derived the anecdote referred to the *κύρβεις* contained in the wooden *ἄξονες*, and the difficulty arose when the later writers, for whom the *ἄξονες* and the *κύρβεις* had become distinct and perhaps familiar monuments, repeated the story, which *per se* is credible enough when correctly understood. The archaism of the term *κύρβεις* and the later shift of emphasis had completely obscured the original meaning.

Likewise the confusion with the word *ἄξονες* called forth several unsatisfactory attempts to distinguish between them in regard to subject matter. The *ἄξονες* and the *κύρβεις* were by some thought to have differed in that the former contained the profane and the latter the Sacred Laws. This misunderstanding again probably arose under the influence of the monuments at Athens. Draco's laws on homicide were not inside the Royal Porch on the monument which in the course of time usurped exclusively the appellation *κύρβεις*. They stood outside the building on a great stele, and ever since these laws of Draco had been re-edited they were divided into convenient chapters according to the *ἄξονες* on which they had originally been inscribed. On *I. G.*, I², 115 the heading *Πρῶτος Ἄχσον*, apart in large letters, still strikes the eye. On the other hand, on the monument later known as the *κύρβεις* no such division into *ἄξονες* occurred, so far as we can judge from the extant fragments. Nor would any advantage have been gained by so dividing the sacrificial calendar which seems to have covered most of the wall (we find parts of it on both sides and in both scripts and on all the three fragments). The law concerning naval matters originated long after Solon's time and had never stood in the *ἄξονες*. Other laws on the wall might well have been so divided, but most of the monument and certainly the calendar, the most conspicuous part, did not exhibit this old division. Hence a puzzled antiquarian might have seized on this obvious difference in the arrangement of the calendar on the wall, popularly called the *κύρβεις*, and the arrangement of the laws of Draco on the stele, and he might have fallen into the error of imagining an antithesis based on the character of the law. We, however, know better, and we know that when Cratinus referred to the *κύρβεις* of Draco, he meant not the sacred laws, but the laws concerning homicide, which were the only part retained of Draco's code.

The text of No. 1 is given here. The block has anathyrosis on the right side, is broken away at the left and below, and is chipped at the top. The whole surface is partly covered by a water deposit which occasions great difficulties in the reading. Erosion has completely removed the lower part of the inscription and much of the upper surface toward the right.

Height of letters, 0.007–0.009 m.



No. 1. Obverse face of the stone

[-]-----ἐπιστ]κ[ευ]ἀζῶσ[ι]ν [κ]ος βέλιπιστα καὶ [ἀποδίδουσι]ν τὰς κᾶς⁸
 [-]-----καθὸς παρέλαβον ἀντὺς] ἐκ τῷ νεορίῳ· ἐὰν δέ τις ἠπτεύ[υ]ρο[ς]] καιρεθεῖ[ι .] . . .⁹
 [-]-----]ιαδὲς, ἐὰν τις ἄρχησι ἠπτεύουρος ὄν^ν ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν [δ]φ[έλοντι]
 [ον] τῆι πόλει μὲ ἀποδόσει τῶι τριεράρχῳ τῶι παραλαβόντι ἔ τ]ὰ κρεμναῖα ἔ τ]ὰ σκᾶνα τὰ γούλινα, ἐ[χ]ίσέστο τῶι
 τριεράρχῳ προσ[καλέσασθαι]
 [αι] τὸν ταῦτα μὲ ἀποδιδόντα ἐν τῶι ἐρεμῆνοι χρόνοι πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐπιμ]ελετῶν ἐπὶ δνοτῆ κλειτέρῳιν καὶ ἐπιγρᾶφ--
 σασθαι τ[ὸς μάρτυ]
 [ρας] ----- ἐσφρόντων] λοι ἐ]πιμελεταὶ τῆι ἠσπτεραῖαι ἐς τὸ δικαστέριον· ἐὰν [δὲ μὲ ἀπο]
 [γράφει] διαδικασίαν πρὸς ἡτέρον τινα ἠος ἔχοντα τὰ σκᾶνα, ἀποδιδότω τῶι ἐδικομένῳ· ἡε δὲ πρᾶξι(ς) ἔστω καθάτερ
 πρᾶ τῷ ἰδ[ίῳ]ίται δφ]
 [έλοντος· ἐὰν τῶι τριεράρχῳ ἔχσαιτῶντι μὲ παραδόσει ἐνέφρον, ἀποιμέτ]ο τῶι δεμοσίῳ ἡό, τι ἂν ὄ[υ]θιμέσει τὸ
 δικαστέριον· λοι [.]
 [-]-----] ἔστω δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν [μὲν ν]αυπεγῶν (ἐ)χσργῳῆ [. . .]ο[.]⁶
 [-]-----]ος τῷ τριεράρχῳ δικῶ διόβολο[ι] τῆς ἐμέρας ἡ[εκ]άστε[ς]
 [-]-----ἐσάγο]σι περὶ τούτων ἐς τὸ δικαστέριον ἐν τῶι ἐρεμῆνοι χρόνω[ι]
 [-]-----]ιαί, καὶ ἐὰν τις διακολέει, κατὰ ταῦτά· ἡο δὲ τριέρα[ρ]χος [. . .]
 [-]-----] ἡό]πος ἂν ἔι γρᾶσθαι τῶν βολομένο[ι] τ]ῶν τριεράρχων [.]⁷
 [-]-----] ἐπε[ι]δ]ᾶν δόγσει τῶ[ι] δέμοι καὶ τ[ὸ] δνομ[α]¹²
 [-]-----]-----]

10

15

Line 7, πρᾶξι(ς) ἔστω—ΠΡΑΧΣΙΕΣΤΟ, stone.

Line 9, (ἐ)χσργῳῆ—ΗΧΣΑΛΛΟΛΕ, stone.

The inscription contains a fragment from a series of regulations fixing the responsibility for the proper maintenance of the fleet and establishing the legal procedure in case of disputes. The first line of the stone contains no part of the preamble so that the inscription must have begun on another block of the same wall. I have offered a few restorations in the hope of indicating the sense rather than the actual wording of the original. The block contained one or two letters after the last visible letter in line 11. Supposing that the inscription did not run over on the next block, I have suggested a line of a hundred and seven letters stopping near the edge of the stone. This approximates the true length, but the real extent of the line in either direction cannot be accurately determined.

The first three lines concern presumably the *εἰθύναι* of retiring trierarchs. The investigators should see to it that the trierarchs repair the ships as best they can and return them in the same condition in which they received them from the docks. Lines 2 and 3 regard the special case where a retiring trierarch is elected to an archonship or is actually inaugurated before he has passed through the investigation.

In line 3 begins a new paragraph, as the interspace indicates. What follows concerns the procedure through which either from a former trierarch or from an *entrepreneur* (*ναυπηγός*) a new trierarch may collect the equipment owed to the state and by the board assigned to him. They are largely the regulations according to which the plaintiff in Pseudo-Demosthenes XLVII attempted to collect from a recalcitrant predecessor in the year 357/6. Of the greatest importance for the history of the Attic Marine is the information that the board of *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων*, so well known from the documents of the fourth century, was not, as we have hitherto supposed, first established at the reorganization of the fleet in 378, but already existed toward the end of the Peloponnesian War, for the *ἐπιμεληταὶ* who appear in the inscription function as a board and have the same rôle as the *ἐπιμεληταὶ* of the fourth century.

In the aforesaid oration of Pseudo-Demosthenes we find that the new trierarch received as an assignment the equipment still in the possession of the retired *συντριήραρχοι* Demochares and Theophemus. As neither of the latter was willing to give it up, the new trierarch summoned them to the board of *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων*. The wording of the passage is important (XLVII, 26): *προσεκαλεσάμην πρὸς τε τοὺς ἀποστολέας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῶν νεωρίων ἐπιμελητάς· οἷτοι γὰρ εἰσῆγον τότε τὰς διαδικασίας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον περὶ τῶν σκευῶν*. A modern reader finds the words *οἷτοι* and *τότε* ambiguous, but, as it now appears from the inscription, Lipsius¹ was correct in his explanation. Ordinarily only the *ἐπιμεληταὶ* had the part of bringing before the court such cases concerning the equipment. The participation of the *ἀποστολεῖς* was not for long, and precisely its unusualness evoked the comment cited above: "For at that period in our history these two boards together were bringing the cases before the dicastery." In the second

¹ *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, p. 114.

quarter of the fourth century, accordingly, the normal procedure followed the regulations outlined in the inscription, lines 3-6: *If the debtor [does not give to the appointed trierarch] the equipment [which he owes the city], the trierarch can [within the stipulated period] summon him in the presence of two summoners to the ἐπιμεληταί and make his claim [- - - -]. On the next day the ἐπιμεληταί [shall bring the matter] before the dicastery.* It is highly probable that the charge could be made at any time, and since the case went to the dicastery on the very next day, it is evident that, as Lipsius explained, the word τότε in the passage just quoted did not refer to any season of the year set aside for cases of this kind but to the unusual circumstances under which the ἀποστολεῖς, anxious to get the fleet off as quickly as possible, and faced with a shortage even of purchaseable equipment,¹ collaborated with the ἐπιμεληταί in despatching the preliminary court proceedings.

When, moreover, Demochares and Theophemus appeared in court, they did not charge anyone else with having the equipment and did not call for a διαδικασία with anyone else. (The speaker points this out because the Law permitted it.) Instead they allowed it to be a question about their own responsibility, and the court, deciding against them, ordered them to surrender the equipment. Demochares, thereupon, surrendered his share, but Theophemus still refused, for he knew that the period was short and he hoped that he might manœuvre the trierarch into supplying the rest himself in order to sail away in time. The trierarch now had to demand the right of compulsory execution. The Council heard his appeal at the same time with that of all the other trierarchs in the same predicament, and the Council voted to them permission to collect in any way they could—εἰσπράττεσθαι τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν δυνώμεθα. The state did not participate in the execution, but left it in the hands of the plaintiff as after a private suit. The trierarch then went to the house of Theophemus, exhibited the decree of the Council, and demanded the equipment. Theophemus is said to have refused with threats and abuse. The trierarch collected a few passers-by as witnesses, and demanded either that Theophemus accompany him to the ἀποστολεῖς and the Council to argue the matter, or that Theophemus surrender the equipment (XLVII, 37). If not, he said, he was going to seize something as security according to the permission granted him by law and decree. Theophemus refused either to accompany him or to surrender the equipment. The trierarch, according to his own story, attempted to take a slave girl but Theophemus wrested her away. The trierarch related that he then tried to go into the house in order to take some of the furniture as security and that when Theophemus struck him in the mouth he called on the witnesses to remember it and fought back.

After the failure of this attempt, the trierarch returned to the Council and reported that Theophemus had resisted the execution. The Council instructed the trierarch to

¹ Pseudo-Demosthenes XLVII, 20: ἔτυχεν ἐκπλεουσῶν τριήρων καὶ βοήθεια ἀποστελλομένη διὰ τάχους. σκεῖν ὅν ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ οὐκ ὑπῆρχε ταῖς ναυσίν, ἀλλ' ἔχοντες οἱ ἀφελόντες οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ὄντια ἄφθονα ὀθόνια καὶ στυππεῖα καὶ σχοινία, οἷς κατασκευάζεται τριήρης, ὥστε πρῶσθαι.

hand in an *εἰσαγγελία*. The prytanes set two days for the hearing, after which Theophemus was found guilty. The Council had now to decide whether to hand the matter over to a dicastery or to assess him itself within the limit of five hundred drachmas which the constitution permitted. If the offense were deemed worthy of a greater fine, it would have gone before a dicastery.¹

We may compare this procedure with the procedure stipulated in the inscription (lines 6 ff.): *If [(the debtor) does not enter a counter suit charging someone else with holding the equipment, let him surrender it] to the injured party. Execution shall take place as from a private [debtor. If when the trierarch demands it, (the debtor) does not surrender a bond for the property,² he shall pay] to the public treasury whatever the dicastery stipulates [-----]. There shall be ἐξαγωγή also in the case of the ναπηγοί (private contractors who built or repaired the ships under the direction of the official τριηροποιοί and ἀρχιτέκτονες).*³

The word *καί* in line 9 indicates that ἐξαγωγή had been mentioned or implied as applicable to the preceding case (line 7), that of the recalcitrant predecessor, the usual debtor. The ἐξαγωγή is the act through which one party, by his own physical effort without the physical intervention of state officials, takes possession either of the property or of a bond for the property which he claims from the withholder.⁴ The inscription therefore calls for execution by the trierarch himself both in the case of the ναπηγοί and, by implication, in the case of the refractory predecessor. If the trierarch after winning a decision cannot secure the equipment, the law grants him the right of compulsory execution against the property of the withholder. Resistance to the trierarch armed with such an authorization is of course resistance to the state. This is the situation depicted in the above mentioned passage of Pseudo-Demosthenes XLVII, 33–34. The trierarchs, who already had the decision but were unable to collect the equipment, received from the Council, which acted according to the old Law, the authorization to collect by themselves in any way they could; and when Theophemus resisted, the Council regarded the matter as an offense against its own authority. Theophemus was once more placed on trial; he was found guilty of impeding execution and was fined. The private nature of the case ended. He then immediately surrendered the list of the equipment to avoid the disadvantageous position of a state debtor.

In line 7, therefore, the clause concerning the execution must have recognized ἐξαγωγή. Only the strokes TOIA are preserved at the badly worn right side of the stone, but these permit the restoration suggested in the text *καθάπερ παρὰ τῷ ἰδ[ίῳ] δφέλοντος*, as

¹ J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, pp. 201–203.

² For the restoration compare Pseudo-Demosthenes XLVII, 37: *ἐνέχυρα ἔφην λήψεσθαι κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα*, and 39: *τὴν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον οὐ δύναμαι παραλαβεῖν πολλάκις ἐξαίτησας*.

³ M. Brillant in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, V, pp. 458–459.

⁴ Originally a violent case of extra-legal self-help, it was recognized by law, and the attempt gradually became a mere formality through which legal proceedings were instituted. For a discussion and other references compare Egon Weiss, *Griechisches Privatrecht*, I, pp. 227–228; J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, II, pp. 668–669.

from a private debtor,¹ i. e., as after a private suit, upon which should follow private execution (which implies ἐξάγωγη). The equipment is really owed to the state, but the case would be treated, not as the state versus Theophemus, but as the trierarch versus Theophemus. The latter does not labor under the disadvantages of a state debtor until private execution fails.

We may summarize the passage as follows. Lines 6 and 7 call for a διαδικασία. The latter part of line 7 calls for execution by the trierarch himself as in a private case: he is to take forcible possession of the property (ἐξάγειν the debtor). Line 8 gives the procedure in case the ἐξάγωγη fails: in case the trierarch cannot execute, there is to be another trial, a δίχη ἐξούλης (an *actio iudicati*), after which the debtor will be fined, if he is convicted of resisting execution.

The only difference between this procedure and that described in the oration is the court where the fine was levied. From the oration we learn that in 358/7 the Council tried the case first and levied the fine if the offense were deemed slight enough for a fine less than five hundred drachmas. The serious cases went to a dicastery. The inscription, however, mentions only the dicastery.

In line 10 the reference to the daily eight diobols is not clear. In lines 11 ff. are preserved fragments from another set of regulations concerning the procedure in a case where the trierarch again appears as plaintiff. Line 12 probably prescribed the course to be taken by the trierarch who encountered difficulties in the execution.

The text of No. 2 was cut on the reverse face of the block which carried the trierarchic law. The stone is broken away at the right and below. Anathyrosis occurs on the left side. The first column runs over from a block that joined at the left. For further description of the stone and of the monument to which it belonged, see pp. 5-13.

Height of letters: 0.01 m. in line 30, 0.009 m. in lines 19 and 31, 0.005-0.007 m. in other lines.

¹ For the phrase *πράττεσθαι παρά τινος* compare Lysias XVII, 3. The *πρᾶξις* clause, preserved in the inscription, is not to be confused with the legal clause, later so common, *ἢ πρᾶξις ἔστω καθάπερ ἐκ δίχης*. The latter would rather imply that the regular trial was not to take place. Here, on the other hand, a regular trial must have been required, as a comparison with the procedure in Pseudo-Demosthenes will show. (For the Attic use of *καθάπερ*, moreover, consult Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 257.) The point is not that the execution is to take place as if there had been a trial, but that execution is to take place as after a private case between private citizens.



No. 2. Reverse face of the stone

Shortly after 403/2.

CΤΟΙΧ.

30 Τάδε τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος θύεται ἸΑ[θήνησιν]

	[οἶνο] ἕξ χόες	Ἑκατομβαιῶνος	60	ΔΗΤ	Θέμιδι οἶς
	[ἐλαί]ο χῶς	πέμπτη ἐπὶ δέκα		ΔΓ	Διὶ Ἐρκείωι ο[ἶς]
	[μέλιτ]ο[ς] ἡμίχον	ἐκ τῶν φυλο-		ΔΗΤ	Ἀήμητρι οἶς
	[- -] [ιερεώσ]υ[ν]α	βασιλικῶν			Φερρεφάτη[ι]
5	[δευτέραι] φθίνοντος	35 Γλεόντων φυλῆι		ΔΠΗΤ	κρίος
	[ἐκ τῶν κα]τὰ μῆνα	Λευκοταίων	65	ΔΓ	Εὐμόλπωι ο[ἶς]
	[. . . .]αι φᾶρος	τριτύϊ οἶν		ΔΓ	Δελίχωι ἢ[ρωῖ] οἶς
	[. . . .] καθαρῶν	ΗΗΗΤ λειπογνώμονα		ΔΓ	Ἀρχηγέτη[ι] οἶς
	[. . . .]ρες	ΗΗΗΠ ἱερεώ[σ]υνα		ΔΓ	Πολυξέν[ωι] οἶς
10	[. . . .]ρες	40 φυλοβ[α]σιλεῦσι			Θρεπτῶι [- - - -]
	[. . . .]ιον	Τ νότο	70	ΔΠΗΤ	κρίος
	[. . . .]ιαι	κήρυκι ὄμο		ΔΓ	Διόκλω[ι] οἶς
	[ΔΗΤ] [. . . .]ηι οἶς	ΠΠΠ ποδῶν κεφαλῆς		ΔΓ	Κελεῶι [οἶς]
	[. . . .]αι πρὸς	ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα			Εὐμολπ[ίδα]ι
15	[ΔΗΤ] [. . . .]ον οἶς	45 ἐκ τῶν φυλο-			ταῦτα [θύοσιν]
	[κεφάλ]αιον	βασιλικῶν	75		ἱερέα[ι] Ἀήμητρος
	[. . . .]ΗΠ	Γλεόντων φυλῆι		Η	ἀπόμ[ετρα]
	<i>vacat</i>	Διὶ Φρατρίωι καὶ			ἐκ τῶν σ[υμβολῶν(?)]
	[- - - -]ῶνος	Ἀθηναίαι Φρα-		(Τ)ΗΤ	χοῖρος [- - -]
20	[. . . ? . . . ἰ]σταμένο	50 τρίαί βόε δύο		ΔΗΤ	Ἐστί[αι] οἶς
	[ἐκ τῶν κα]τὰ μῆνα	Π [λ]ειπογνώμονε	80	ΔΗΤ	Ἀθηγ[αίαι] οἶς
	[- -] [Ἀθηνά]αι βῶς κριτή	:ΔΠΤ ἱερεώσυνα		Δ	Χά[ρισιν] [- - -]
	[- -] [ιερεώ]συνα	φυλοβασιλεῖ			Ἐρ[μῆ] [- - -]
	[ΗΗΤ] [Κορο]υρό[φ]ωι χοῖρος	σκέλος		ΔΓ	Ἐν[- - -] οἶς
25	[. . . .]ρωι κριθῶν	55 κήρυ[κ]ι χέλνος		Δ	[- - - - -]
	[μέδιμ]νος	ΗΗΠΠ ποδ[ῶν] κεφαλῆς	85	ΔΓ	Ἡ[φραίστωι(?)] οἶς
	[οἶνο ἀμ]φορεύς	τ[. . . .]ει κριθῶν		ΔΓ	Ἀ[ιονύσωι(?)] οἶς
	[ἕκτη] ἴστα[μένο]	μ[έδιμ]γοι			[- - - - -]
	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]			

Two other fragments of this inscription are preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens:



FIGURE B. I.G., II², 1357 a. EM 6721 (left) and EM 8001 (right)

I. G., II², 1357 *a* (EM 6721 and EM 8001).¹ See FIGURE B.

	Δ. !ΣΕ[- - - -]	
	πέμπτη	
	ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μ[ῆ]ρα	[.]Π†
5	Ἐρχθεῖ ἄρνεως	Π †
	ἐκ τῶν φυλο-	
	βασιλικῶν	IC
	φυλοβασιλ[εῦσ]ι	
!	
10	-----	

 οἶ!	

15	-----	
 ς	

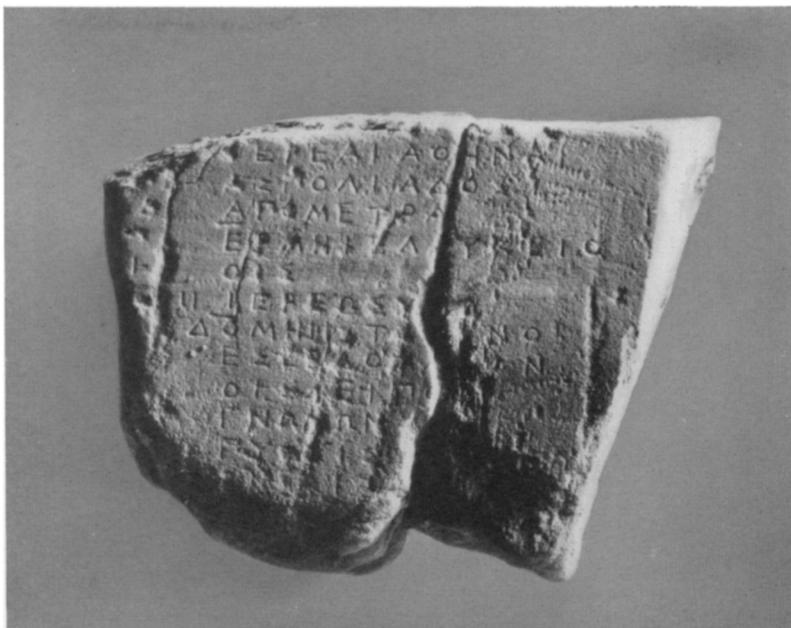
	[.]IC	

20 N.E - -	
	[. .]C	
I	οἶνο πενήτη[κοντα]	
	ἕκτη	
	ἐκ τῶμ μὴ ὀγτηῆ	
25	Ἀθηναίαι	

	[- - - -] κατὰ τὴν	[- - - Ἀπό]λλωνι
	[- - - -]ματος	τάδε ἔπεσθαι τῶι καν[ῶι]
	-----	τρίποδα ἐπιτοξίδα σ[- - -]
		στέμμα προγόμιο[ν]
30		[-.] [-.] ἴσκον σφαῖρα[αν]

In the word *τὴν* in line 26 the last stroke of the nu was never cut.

¹ There are no legible letters on this face of EM 6721, but the text on EM 8001 has a long history. Found in the excavations of the Archaeological Society of Athens on the south slope of the Acropolis, the stone was first published by Am. Hauvette-Besnault in *B.C.H.*, III, 1879, pp. 69–73, with a drawing. U. Koehler recopied it and republished it, likewise with a drawing, in *I.G.*, II, 844. In *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1902, p. 141, A. Wilhelm reported that EM 6721 joined this block, to which it is now attached. L. Ziehen who had a squeeze of the inscription, republished it with a commentary in the *Leges Sacrae*, II¹, no. 16 B. Wilhelm afterwards recognized in fragment *b* (EM 286) another piece of the same document. From

FIGURE C. *I.G.*, II², 1357 *b* (EM 286)

I.G., II², 1357 *b* (EM 286).¹ See FIGURE C.

	ἱερέαι Ἀθηναί	
	ας Πολιάδος	
	[- -] Δ ἀπόμετρα	Π[- -]
	Ἐρμῆι ἐλ Ἀγκείο	Ι[- -]
5	[- -] † οἷς	
	[- - -] † † ἱερεώσυνα	
	[ἐ]βδόμηι ἰστα[μ]ένο	
	ἐς ἑβδομα[τ]ον	
	οἷς λειπο-	
10	γνώμων	
	Πυθαῖσ[ταῖς θ]υ	
	ΟΝ . ΑΙΣ[- -]	

Koehler's copy J. Kirchner republished it in *I.G.*, II², 1357 *a* without preserving the arrangement of the letters into a neat column as on the stone. A. Boethius has discussed the lower part of the inscription in his dissertation, *Die Pythaïs*, Excursus I, pp. 157–159.

¹ Found in Dörpfeld's excavations on the northwest slope of the Areopagus, it was published in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, pp. 24–25, by E. Ziebarth, who left the following copy of the last two lines:

ΠΥΘΑΙΣ ΊΣΟΥ
ΩΝ ΊΣ

The inscription contains part of the re-edition of the sacred Laws of Solon, the sacred calendar on the preparation of which Nicomachus and others were engaged after the adoption of the decree proposed by Teisamenus. As I have shown above, the new piece from the Agora permits an identification of the monument to which it belonged; it is the most extensive and most important fragment of the inscription itself.

With Column II begins the sacrificial calendar for the second or alternate year, as the phrase above it indicates: *τάδε τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος θύεται*. Column I, accordingly, forms the conclusion of the calendar for the first year. Some traces of the dates are preserved: in line 19 the name of a month, followed by that of a day in the first third; above, in line 5 a day in the last third of the previous month. Of the three funds, *τὰ κατὰ μῆνα, τὰ φυλοβασιλικά* and *τὰ μὴ ὄνησι*, which appear on the old fragment, the first reappears in Column I, lines 6 and 21, and the second in Column II, lines 33 and 45. Column III, line 77, acquaints us with still another which I shall attempt to explain further on.

In line 23 the word [*ιερω*]συνα is easily recognizable and enables us to compute how much of Column I was engraved on the block to the left. The first four letters of this word, and consequently at least that many in every line, stood on the other block. Occasionally a line with a date or a heading must have extended out farther to the left. Thus the phrase [*ἐκ τῶν κα*]τὰ μῆνα, easily recognizable in line 21, had the first six letters on the other block and began two spaces further to the left than the body of the column, just as a similar phrase appears in line 77 two spaces in front of Column III. Since the date on both the old piece (*I.G.*, II², 1357 *a*, line 3) and the new piece (lines 32 and 44) begins one space farther to the left than the stipulation of the funds, it results that the date in line 20 must be restored [...?...] *ἴστα*]μένο. The name of the day in line 28, which is two spaces shorter, can be restored only as [*ἐκτι*] *ἴστα*]μένο, for anything else would be too long. Since the day in line 20 precedes that in line 29, the possibilities for the former are reduced to [*τετράδι ἴστα*]μένο and [*πέμπτη*] *ἴστα*]μένο. In line 5, again, the name of only one day has enough letters to fill the lacuna.

The sacrifices on the fifteenth of Hecatombaeon in Column II are the first recorded as of the alternate year. They may not have been the first at which the old tribes participated, for there probably existed a separate list of inalterable sacrifices, i.e.,

A. Wilhelm recognized that this piece belonged to the same inscription as fragment *a* (EM 8001), as L. Ziehen acknowledged, republishing the fragment in the *Leges Sacrae*, II¹, no. 16 *a*. On the squeeze Ziehen could read the same letters and something more so that he transliterated the last two lines:

Πυθαγορ[α]ῖε θυ
ων. ρις - - - -

Some of these letters have disappeared in the meanwhile, as the reader may see from the photograph and my own transliteration. The last publication of the fragment is *I.G.*, II², 1357 *b*, which does not preserve the exact form of the column and erroneously inserts punctuation, a horizontal stroke, between lines 10 and 11.

another group under the heading *τάδε δσα ξνη θύεται*. At Myconos the Hecatombaea were celebrated on the seventh,¹ and it seemed that at Athens the sacrifices to Apollo Hecatombaeus, from which the month is said to have received its name there, and at which the old tribes must have participated each year, would have taken place at the same time.²

The funds both for the *οἷς λειπογνώμων* on the fifteenth and for the sacrifices offered to Zeus Phratrius and Athena Phratria on the following day (the festival of the *Synoikia*)³ in the alternate year came from the *φυλοβασιλικά*. On the fifteenth, however, all the *φυλοβασιλείς* apparently shared in the victim; but at the *Synoikia* only the *φυλοβασιλεύς* of the *Γ(ε)λέοντες*.

In Column III no dates intervene in the part preserved, so that the nineteen sacrifices, and probably others of which the record has been lost, must have been made at one festival. Themis, Zeus Herkeios, notably Demeter and Pherrephatta, received their offerings, and after them a group of heroes beginning with Eumolpus. Five of them have the names of the princes who ruled over Eleusis when Demeter spake with the daughters of Celeus, and when the fairest of these, telling her into what land she had wandered, promised her refuge in the halls of the chieftains:⁴

*ἡμὲν Τριπτολέμου πνικμήδεος ἠδὲ Διόκλου
ἠδὲ Πολυξείνου καὶ ἀμύμονος Εὐμόλπειο
καὶ Δολίχου καὶ πατρὸς ἀγήρορος ἡμετέρου.*

Celeus, Dolichus, Eumolpus, Polyxeinus, and Diocles recur as heroes in the *fasti*, but the name of Triptolemus does not appear with them. Triptolemus, who in the Homeric Hymn is merely one among the rulers, occupies a much more exalted position than they in the Attic tradition. Not in the Homeric Hymn, but in the Orphic version, in the Attic drama, on the Eleusinian relief, and in the Attic vase painting, we find in him the greatest of the Eleusinian heroes, the pupil of Demeter; we find him associated with Demeter and Kore as their foster child, with whom they constitute a sacred trinity.⁵ But among the heroes in the *fasti* is one who receives a select victim, a more costly sacrifice than the rest. He is designated simply as *θρεπτός*, that is to say, foster child or pupil,⁶ and he must be Triptolemus.

¹ Prot, *Fasti sacri*, no. 4 = Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*, III³, 1024, ll. 29 ff.

² L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 201.

³ L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 36–38.

⁴ *Hymn to Demeter*, 153–155.

⁵ Cf. Ehrle's article "Triptolemos" in Roscher's *Lexikon*, V, pp. 1128–1140; U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Glaube der Hellenen*, II, pp. 47–52.

⁶ As *θρεπτήρ* meant foster parent or rearer, and *θρεπτήρια* were the nurturer's reward, so the *θρεπτός* would have been the child reared. The later technical meaning of the word as seen in Pliny's letter to Trajan (LXV) and in the latter's reply is of course merely a legal delimitation. The meaning *slave bred in the house* is likewise a delimitation of the original conception, which the well-known archaism of ceremonial language has more nearly retained.

Yet another completes the company. In line 66 the Ἀρχηγέτης, who occurs in such close association with the Eleusinian heroes, is Iacchus, ὁ ἀρχηγέτης τῶν μυστηρίων, τῆς Δήμητρος δαίμων,¹ whose figure was borne in the mystic procession. The elder Praxiteles represented him carrying a torch as leader of the Mysteries in the group which he did of him and Demeter and Kore. The sacrifice to Iacchus did not stand in the original edition of the laws of Solon, for his importance was due to a story connected with the battle of Salamis.²

In the course of the fifth century developed the divine figure, unknown in the first accounts of the Mysteries; an Ἰακχεῖον was founded at Athens, and his image was borne at the head of the mystic procession. When the Laws of Solon were revised and published at the end of the century, a sacrifice to Iacchus, chief leader of the Mysteries, was included among those to the Eleusinian heroes on the day of which the inscription preserves a fragmentary plan.

The marked Eleusinian character and the elaborateness of the festival at which were made the sacrifices recorded in the inscription, Column III, identifies it as the Mysteries in Boedromion. The festival in Column III occurred, therefore, two months after the sacrifices proposed in Column II and that accords well enough with what we might expect in the disposition on the stone.

Presumably the word οἶς always means the ewe, since the ram in line 63 is called κριός and costs more than the sheep offered to the masculine divinities. The marked and consistent discrepancy in the price of the same victim when offered to a masculine divinity and when offered to a feminine divinity corresponds perhaps to a difference in the animal's age. The same phenomenon appears in *I. G.*, II², 1358, where the οἶς sacrificed to the feminine deity costs eleven and that to a masculine deity twelve drachmas. Indeed the latter document, published at the same time and containing part of a local sacrificial calendar for the Attic Tetrapolis, reflects the same reorganization of the religious laws which occasioned the publication of the great calendar in the city. The price of the victim is stipulated for the future with an ancient disregard of economic laws. It will be recalled that Solon too had specified the price.³

The list of sacrifices to the Eleusinian heroes ends with that to Celeus. In the next two lines no expenditure is recorded, for they contain another sort of statement: *the Eumolp[idae perform] the foregoing [sacrifices]*. It is interesting to note that the care of that part of the festival was entrusted not to a dignitary from the family of the Eumolpidae, but to the whole γένος. That the whole γένος officially concerned itself with the Mysteries appears, moreover, even in the late document *I. G.*, II², 1078 (= Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*³, 885).

¹ Strabo, X, 468.

² Herodotus VIII, 65; cf. O. Kern's article *Iakchos* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XVII^{ter} Halbband, pp. 613 ff.

³ Plutarch, *Life of Solon*, XXIII, 3.

The next entry records generous ἀπόμειτρα (100 drachmas) to a priestess, in whom we may probably recognize the important priestess of Demeter, chosen from the family of the Philaadae and eponymous at Eleusis like the priestess of Athena on the Acropolis. In disputes with the Hierophant concerning ceremonial privileges she on occasion resorted to the law courts.¹ The restoration Δήμητρος fills out the line properly to the maximum of fourteen letters.

Lines 16 and 17. The money entry standing in the main column itself can scarcely represent anything else than the total expenditure for the whole month.

Line 22. βῶς—the genuine diphthong *ou* represented by *o*. This occurs frequently in the period 439–357 B.C. (cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 63). In regard to the restoration it might be observed that a select cow was a proper sacrifice to Athena. In line 24, moreover, given the extent of the lacuna, the restoration [Κοροτ]ρό[φ]ωι is certain. As in *I.G.*, II², 1358, ll. 14 and 22, she receives a pig. Furthermore, it was an ancient custom to sacrifice first to Γῆ-Κοροτροφός whenever one brought an offering for Athena to the Acropolis, and the association here contributes a little support to the conjecture [Ἀθηνά]ωι.

Line 52. On the stone the two dots before the money entry served merely to set off that entry from the long line that extends out intrusively from Column I. The need and also the significance are lost in the alterations necessary in a modern edition.

Lines 62–64. Compare these entries with that in the Eleusinian accounts, *anno* 327/6 *ut videtur* (*I.G.*, II², 1673, l. 62):

Δήμητρι οἷς ΔΗ: Κόρη κριός: ΔΠΗ:

Line 66. The form Δελίχωι instead of Δολίχωι, to which it stands in an *Ablaut* relation, occurs here for the first time.

Lines 69–70. The name of some animal is to be supplied. Compare for example the phrases ξριφος κριτός and ἀρὲν κριτός in the fasti, *I.G.*, I², 840, and βῶς κριτή here in line 21.

Line 71. In the dative Διόκλωι from a nominative Διοκλος, from which we have also the genitive Διόκλον in the Hymn to Demeter (153), the inscription seems to have retained an ancient form of the name.

Line 77. ἐκ τῶν σ[υμβολῶν?]. Compare Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*, III³, 1045 and 1046, two Hellenistic inscriptions from Amorgos. An official is being honored for his generosity on the occasion of a festival: παρήγγειλεν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μετὰ κηρύγματ[ος] πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὰ Ἰτώνια ἀσυμβόλους Ἀρκεσινεῖς πάντας καὶ ξένους τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας. Over and above the public allotment for the festival he expended 2,500 drachmas, τὸ εἰς τὰς συμβολὰς γινόμενον, out of his own purse: καὶ τοῦτο ἔπαιν ἐπέδωκεν καὶ ἀφήκεν ἀτελεῖς τοὺς ἰόντας τῶν συμβολῶν.

¹ P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, pp. 216–220.

It appears, therefore, that all those who took part in the festival were obliged to make some contribution toward the expense, and that the cost of the sacrifices was partly covered by the fund thus created.

Line 78. A pig cost three drachmas not far from this time as we know from *I.G.*, II², 1358, and the stonecutter's omission of the horizontal stroke of the first drachma sign constitutes an obvious error. The pig, the victim sacred to Demeter, is a familiar figure at the Mysteries.¹

Lines 81–83. In regard to the sacrifices at the Eleusinia the Graces and Hermes Enagonius are mentioned together in *I.G.*, I², 5, where they both received not a sheep but a goat. Here, however, there is no temptation to restore 'Εν[αγωνίῳ οἴζ] in line 83. Ceremonial and, above all, technical objections preclude it. The only reason for running an item over to a second line was lack of space on the first, and obviously more than the single word 'Εκουῆμι occupied line 82. Perhaps line 83 should be restored 'Εν[καλίῳ οἴζ]. Cf. Plutarch, *Solon*, 9. The price shows that the divinity was masculine. Then we should restore the connective καί after the name 'Εκουῆμι.

Lines 85–86. The price of the offerings indicates that the two divinities were masculine.

The fragment *I.G.*, II², 1357*a* is separated into two parts, engraved by different hands and distinguished from each other by a dividing line. The upper contains the sacrificial calendar as on the new piece from the Agora. Of this, one column and some of the figures in front of a second are partially preserved. The lower part contains ritual regulations of a different character. Of this, likewise, parts of two columns remain.

In line 22 Koehler² suggested the restoration οἰνόπ[τη]ι which has been rejected by the later editors because Ziehen,³ whose reading I support, thought that he saw after the letter Π a horizontal stroke like the lowest bar of an Ε. Moreover, a restoration of another type is needed, because the line contained the record of an inexpensive offering as the figure, completely preserved in front of it, indicates beyond a doubt. I can probably read the beginning of the word πεντήκοντα, and I presume that the measure χύαθοι was understood from the lost entry which preceded.

In lines 26 and 27 Koehler suggested the restoration κατὰ τὴν [μαντεῖαν τὴν δι' Ἄ]ρματος, which both Ziehen and Kirchner have retained. It would then refer to the observation of the Pythaiſts and the consultation of the Delphic oracle (cf. Strabo, IX, 404).

Ziehen (*l.c.*), interpreting the two columns below the line as if they were to be read together, then connected the regulations in the right hand column with the Delphic procession. Boethius⁴ displayed a justified scepticism of this identification, and preferred to restore [ἐφ' ἔ]ρματος. Both Ziehen and Boethius have recognized that the part of

¹ See L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 43–44.

² *I.G.*, II, 844.

³ Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II¹, p. 66.

⁴ Axel Boethius, *Die Pythais*, Excursus I, pp. 157–159.

the inscription below the dividing line is a different set of regulations from that above, but both, it seems to me, are mistaken in interpreting the two columns below the line as if they were to be read together. I consider it much more likely that Column I was read to the end before one began at the top again, at the dividing line, to read Column II. The analogy with the disposition of the upper calendar and of *I.G.*, II², 1358, shows this.

The rest of the first column is missing, and we have no way of knowing how much it contained and whether the subject changed or not. A paragraph ends after the word [Ἀπό]λλωνι at the top of Column II as it appears from the punctuation, the horizontal stroke between lines 26 and 27. The other restorations are due to the original editor. Enough, however, remains of line 30 to exclude the reading [λημν]ίσκον proposed by Ziehen.

The fragment *I.G.*, II², 1357*b* contains part of the sacrificial calendar. Part of one column is preserved and, in addition, two figures belonging to a second column to the right. The price of the sheep, required in line 5 as an offering to Hermes, seems to be twelve drachmas as always for masculine divinities in the rural calendar *I.G.*, II², 1358, and not fifteen drachmas as at the festival considered on the new piece from the Agora. The sacrifices, however, were to be made at Athens like those of the new piece.

The name of the month is not mentioned. The fragment contains part of the calendar for the seventh and an earlier day in the same month. As Ziehen¹ suggested, it would probably be the fourth day sacred to Hermes. A sheep was offered for the monthly festival of Apollo (ἐς ἑβδόμηαιον). The Pythaiſts, who on three consecutive days in three consecutive months watched for lightning over Harma, were, it seems, to be together as a group in Athens on the day here recorded. This must have been one of the days on which they watched, and the month must have been Thargelion or another in the same period of the year.² Ziehen asked whether the puzzling letters in the two last lines might not be interpreted as θυῶν (genitive from τὰ θύη) καὶ σ-, followed by the name of a measure.³

Still another piece of the same sacrificial calendar is preserved in *I.G.*, I², 843, on the other side of the blocks with *I.G.*, II², 1357*a*. It displays the same character and the same arrangement in columns. It was not, however, engraved after the decree of Teisamenus, but during the first period of the revision of the laws (410–404 B.C.), as the use of the Attic alphabet indicates.⁴

¹ Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II¹, p. 68.

² A. Boethius, *Die Pythais*, pp. 13–25.

³ Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II¹, p. 68.

⁴ See pp. 7–9. The inscription on EM 8001, the piece on the left, was first published by Am. Hauvette-Besnault in *B.C.H.*, III, 1879, pp. 72–73; then by U. Koehler in connection with *I.G.*, II, 844; and by A. Kirchhoff in *I.G.*, I, suppl. p. 124, no. 534*a*. The piece on the right, EM 6721, was discovered in the Museum of the Archaeological Society by U. Koehler, from whose copy A. Kirchhoff published it in *I.G.*, I, suppl. p. 54, no. 555*a*. It was not known that the two pieces joined or even that they belonged to the same stone until A. Wilhelm announced it in *Ep. Arch.*, 1902, p. 141. L. Ziehen published the two



FIGURE D. I.G., I², 843. EM 8001 (left) and EM 6721 (right)

I.G., I², 843. EM 8001 (left) and EM 6721 (right).

		⊠	-----
		▨	ἀπὸ τῆς περιεῖλ[άσεως]
	-----	▨	τῶν ἡέχς τῶν προτέ[ρον]
	[- - - - κ]ριθῶν μέδιμνος	▨	ἱερεῖαι ἀπόμετρα
5	[- - - - Ἀπ]όλλωνι	▨	τῶν χοίρον
	-----	▨	χούλον
	-----	▨	ἱερῶν
	-----	▨	Κέρ[υ]χσιν ἡοι Διπολιεῖ[ο]ι[ς]
	-- ερ .. διδ . ονοι		-----
10	----- κριθῶν μέδιμνος		-----

The column on the right probably deals with the festival of the Dipolieia,¹ as one may deduce from the reference in line 8, which is not separated from the preceding entries by any intervening date or punctuation. The reading of the letters indicated in line 2 is practically certain, as one may see from the photograph (p. 31). The passage contains a reference to the *περιελάνειν* of the oxen commemorated in Porphyrius, *De Abst.*, II, 30 (p. 160, Nauck). Having just recounted an aetiological story to explain the origin of the festival, Porphyrius continues as follows: ἀπὸ δ' ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν αἰεὶ τοῖς Διπολείοις Ἀθήρησιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει οἱ εἰρημένοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ποιοῦνται τὴν τοῦ βοῦς θυσίαν. θέντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς χαλκῆς τραπέζης πέλανον καὶ ψαιστά, περιελάνουσι τοὺς κατανεμηθέντας βοῦς, ὧν ὁ γευσάμενος κόπτεται. καὶ γένη τῶν ταῦτα δρώντων ἔστιν νῦν· οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατάξαντος [Σωπάτρου] βουτύποι καλούμενοι πάντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ περιελάσαντος κεντριάδαι· τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπισφάζαντος δαιτροὺς ὀνομάζουσιν διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς κρεανομίας γιγνομένην δαΐτα. πληρώσαντες δὲ τὴν βύρσαν, ὅταν πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἀθῶσιν, κατεπόντωσαν τὴν μάχαιραν (with which the ox had been slaughtered).

The amounts allotted for expenditure were indicated, of course, in a price column in front of the recorded statements, but the surface has been lost from this part of the stone.

DECREES OF THE COUNCIL AND PEOPLE

3. Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken away above, below, and on the left. It preserves a smoothly finished back, from which the surface has been almost entirely

pieces together in the *Leges Sacrae*, II, no. 16 A, and contributed a commentary. From his squeeze he was able to make some new readings. They were again published by J. Kirchner in connection with *I.G.*, II², 1357 and by F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *I.G.*, I², 843. For commentary compare also W. Bannier, *Phil. Wochenschr.*, XXXV, 1915, col. 1616, and L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 170.

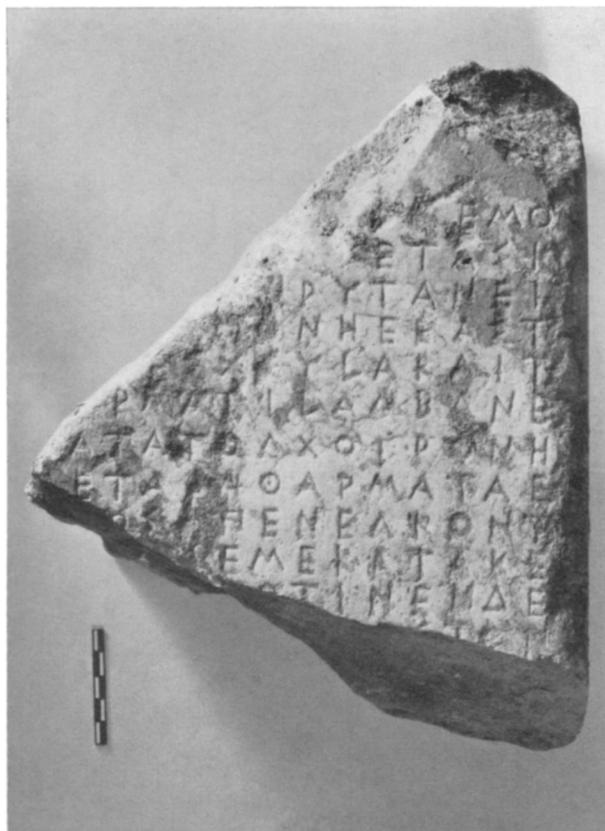
¹ The material concerning the festival has been conveniently assembled and discussed by L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 158-174.

eaten away, but which still seems to retain traces of another inscription. The stone was found March 17, 1933 in a modern wall at 49/ΚΔ in Section Z.

Maximum height, 0.28 m.; maximum width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.098 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inventory No. 4743 I 588.



No. 3

	Second Half of the Fifth Century	CTOIX. <i>vacat</i>
	[----- ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολῆι καὶ τῷ] δέμο	
	[ι----- π]ολετᾶς κ	
	[-----] πρῶτανει	
	[----- κατὰ τὸ ἱερῶν] ἑκάστ	
5	[ον-----] ες χούλα καὶ τ	
	[----- δέ] ρματι· λαμβάνε	
	[ν δὲ-----] ατα τὸν χοῦρον ἡ	

[- - - - -]ε τὰ [κ]αθάριματα ἐ
 [- - - - -]ος [ἐ]πένεγκον τ
 10 [- - - - - εἰ] ὃδὲ μὲ κατακέ
 [φαλα λούσεται - - - - - ἀ]ποινίεν δε
 [- - - - -] ΣΤΟΝ
 [- - - - -]

The inscription, which on the evidence of the lettering may be dated in the second half of the fifth century B.C., contains a fragment of a *lex sacra*. This appears from the reference to the wood and to the sacrificial pig, as well as from the word κατακέ[φαλα] in line 10. The latter recalls the formula κατακέφαλα λούσασθαι which occurs several times in *I.G.*, II², 1365 and 1366. For the restoration [κατὰ τὸ ἡιερ]ὸν ἡέκαστ[ον] in line 4 compare *I.G.*, I², 190.

On the back at the left edge are preserved the beginnings of three lines with the letters Τ and Η and Σ (height of letters, 0.07 m.).

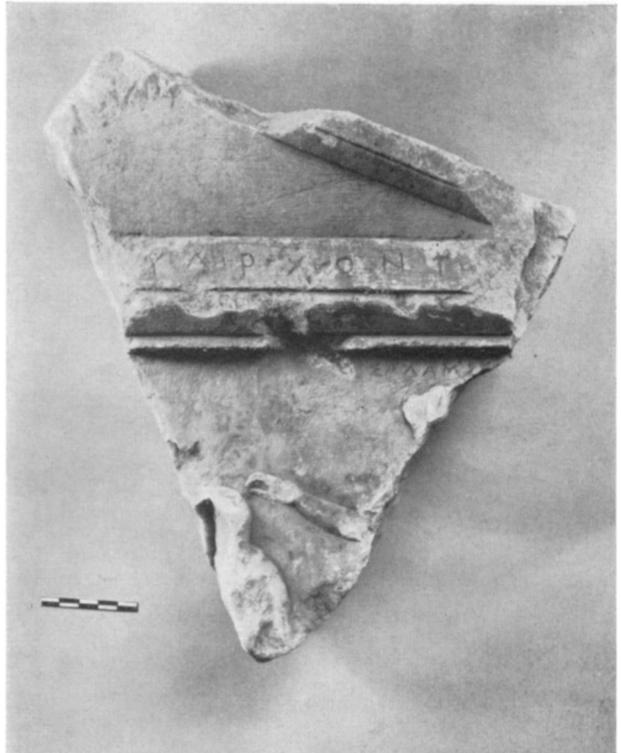
4. Fragment from the upper part of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble. Below the pediment is a relief, much damaged, representing a standing figure to the right extending a hand toward the head of a seated figure in the centre of the stele. Above the standing figure appears the word Σαλαμίς. A corresponding figure of Athena may originally have stood at the left. Athens and Salamis bestow honors upon the man in the centre. The relief indicated the character of the decree. The stone is broken away to the left. It was found in a late fill at 24/1Γ in Section Z on April 5, 1933.

Maximum height, 0.29 m.; maximum width, 0.245 m.; thickness, 0.102 m.

Height of letters: on band, 0.009 m.; above relief, 0.005 m.

Inventory No. 5735 I 657.

The date is partially preserved on the raised band below the pediment. The apex of the pediment falls over a point between the upsilon and the alpha. Since the letters are



No. 4

evenly spaced, it is evident that the word *ἄρχοντος* has about the same number of letters as the preposition and the name before it. From the middle of the fourth century B.C., to which we can assign the fragment on the basis of the lettering, only one archon's name with a genitive in *-ου*, namely that of Archias, the archon of 346/5, is short enough to fit in the space available. We can, therefore, restore

[Ἐπὶ Ἀρχίου]ν ἄρχοντ[ος]

A fragment of a stele, *I. G.*, II², 283, containing an Athenian decree in honor of a Salaminian, is now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens. It dates from the same period, has the same thickness, the same lettering, and exhibits the same treatment of the back, but the marble, if Pentelic at all, is of quite a different texture, so that the two pieces cannot be related. On the other hand, the stele from which the new stone in the Agora is a fragment may have had some connection with events in Cyprus, recorded by Diodorus XVI, 42 and 46.

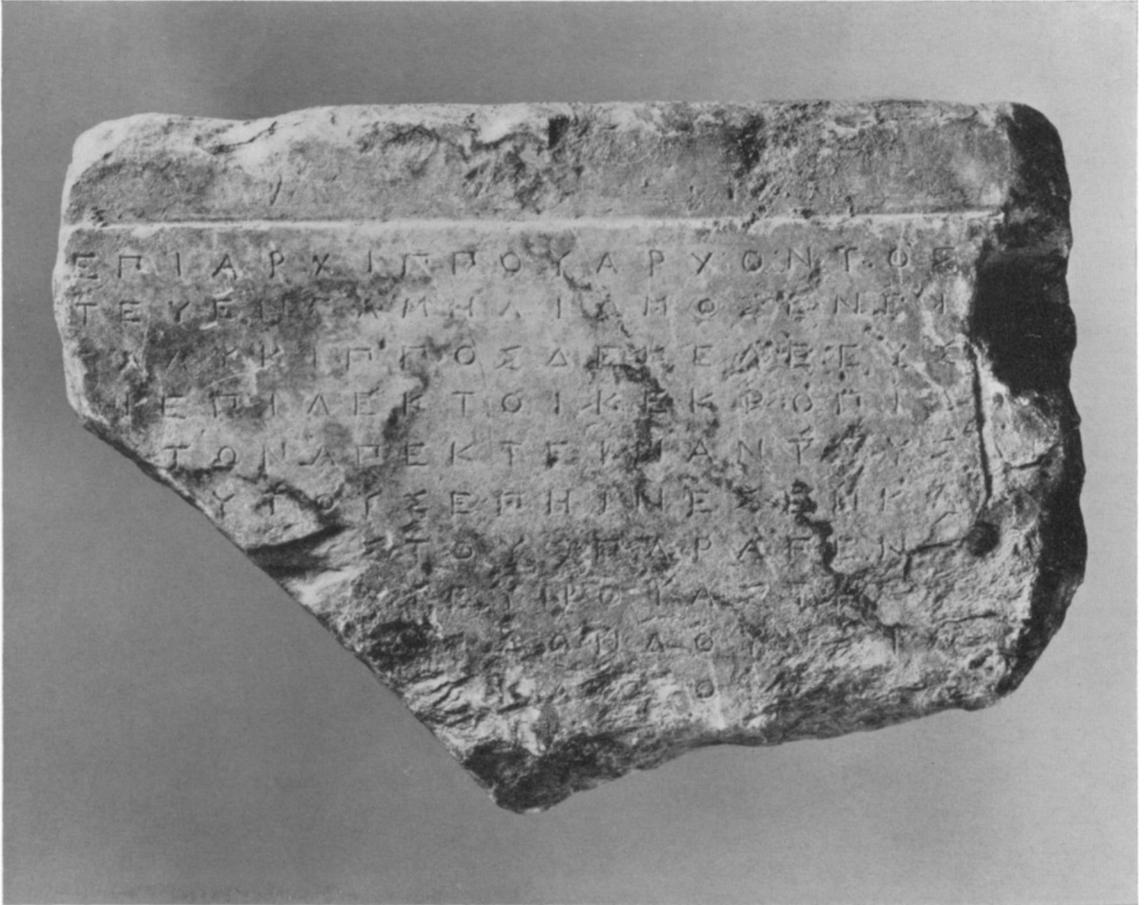
5. Part of a block of Hymettian marble, broken away on the right, at the back, and below. At the top a band 0.035 m. high has been dressed back across the front and the left side. The stone had been built into the wall of a blacksmith shop in Section I and was found on March 6, 1933.

Maximum height, 0.205 m.; maximum width, 0.295 m.; maximum thickness, 0.195 m.
Height of letters, 0.006 m.
Inventory No. 4699 I 559.

318/7 B.C.

CTOIX. 90

Ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππου ἄρχοντος [ἐπὶ τῆς - - - - ἑβδόμης πρυτανείας ἦι
Θέρσιππος Ἰπποθέρσους Ἀχαρνῆς ἐγραμμά]
τενευ· Γαμηλιῶνος ἐνει [καὶ νέαι, δευτέρῃ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία
κυρία ἐν Διονύσου· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψηφίζεν ὅτι]
Γλαύκιππος Δεκελεῆς [καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ· name—
patronymic—demitic εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ]
[ο]ἱ ἐπιλέκτοι Κερροπίδο[ς - - - - -]
5 [αὐ]τὸν ἀπέκτειναν, τ[ο]ύς ΔΕ [- - - - -]
[. . α]ὐτοὺς ἐπήνεσεν κα[ὶ - - - - -]
[ἅπαντα]ς τοὺς παραγεν[ομένους ἐπιλέκτους· δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ
ἐπαινεῖσαι τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους Κερροπίδος ἀρετῆς]
[ἐνεκα καὶ]· ἐνοίας τῆς [εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων - - - - -]
[.]ΙΔΩΝ δοῦναι δ[ὲ - - - - -]
10 [.]ΚΑ [. .]Ο [- - - - -]
[.]!Λ [- - - - -]
- - - - -



No. 5

The inscription is a fragment of a decree honoring *ἐπιλεκτοί* from the tribe Kekropis.¹ It is dated in the archonship of Archippus II, for in the year of Archippus I an *ἀναγραφεύς* performed the duties of the secretary. The decree was passed, therefore, early in the year 317 B.C., shortly after the submission of the city to Cassander. To judge from what remains of the text, the *ἐπιλεκτοί* had displayed their good-will toward the people of Athens by putting some public enemy to death, and someone, perhaps Cassander, had already praised them. The enemy might well have been either Epicurus or Demophilus, who had been two of the accusers of Phocion. From a passage in Plutarch (*Phocion*, XXXVIII, 1) it appears that these two accusers had not been condemned by the people

¹ *Ἐπιλεκτοί* appear in *I.G.*, II², 1209 and on a stone published by Ch. S. Karouzou (*Δοχ. Δελτ.*, VIII, 1923, pp. 89–96). They belonged in the infantry. They were separated according to tribes and commanded by a taxiarch, as appears from the latter inscription, a decree of the elder *ἐπιλεκτοί* of the tribe Antiochis.

like Hagnonides but had fled from the city, and when tracked down by the son of Phocion, were then killed without a trial.

In *I.G.*, II², 448 B the equation Maim. (29/30) = (Pryt. IV) 35 shows that the year of Archippus II was intercalary. If we start like Dinsmoor with Hekatombaion as a full month, Gamelion *ἔτη καὶ νέα* will be the 236th day of the year. From the equation also it appears that the first three prytanies lasted one hundred and thirteen days; therefore, there were two hundred and seventy-one days in the last seven, of which five must have lasted for thirty-nine and two for thirty-eight days. According to the location of the two shorter prytanies in the civil year, Gamelion *ἔτη καὶ νέα* would be the sixth, seventh, or eighth day of the seventh prytany.

Furthermore, from *I.G.*, II², 449 (which seems to belong in the year 318/7), it appears that the sixth day of the sixth prytany equals the eighteenth day of some month, which may be computed as Posideon II. In that case prytanies IV and V were the two that lasted for thirty-eight days, and Gamelion *ἔτη καὶ νέα* was the eighth day of the seventh prytany.

Since, moreover, the name of the scribe is already known, the first line can be reconstructed accurately except for the name of the tribe, which would have contained from eight to twelve letters. Therefore, the stoichedon order permits us to establish a line of eighty-seven to ninety-one letters throughout the inscription. Since there was not room for the names of all the *συμπρόεδροι*, the name at the beginning of line 3 is that of the first *πρόεδρος*. It is, of course, not that of the orator, as appears both from its position in the inscription and from the absence of the patronymic.

The restorations in line 7 seem to accord best with a line of 90 letters, and this length has been employed in the text. The lines seem to have ended in complete words or syllables.

6. Fragment from a stele of Pentelic marble, broken away above, below and on the left. It was found April 12, 1933 in a late Roman drain in Section I. The rough-picked back is preserved. The stone is thicker above than below or at the side.

Maximum height, 0.135 m.; maximum width, 0.11 m.; thickness of fragment at upper left-hand corner, 0.064 m.; thickness at lower left-hand corner, 0.058 m.; thickness at preserved right edge, 0.05 m.

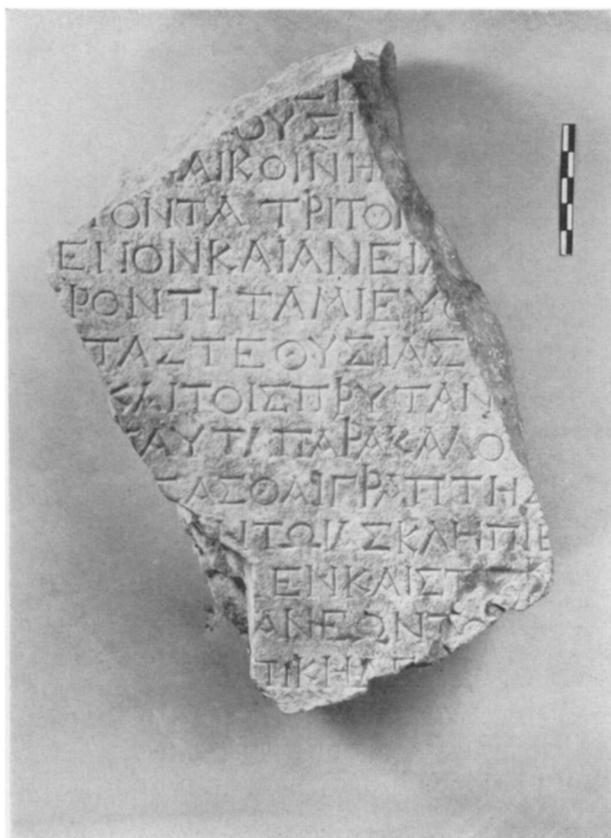
Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inventory No. 6189 I 707.



No. 6

[---]εροντι ὁ ταμιεύου[ντα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Κηδείδου ἄρχοντος]
 [ἐνιαυτῷ] τὰς τε θυσίας [ἀπάσας τεθυκέναι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὰς κα]
 [θηκούσας] καὶ τοῖς πρυτάν[εσιν ἐπιμεμελησθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάν]
 [των καὶ διὰ] ταῦτα παρακαλο[ῦσιν τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιχωρῆσαι ἑαυτοῖς]
 10 [αὐτοῦ ποιή]σασθαι γραπτῆς [εἰκόνας τελείας ἀνάθεσιν ἐν ὄπλῳ]
 [ἐπιχρῶσαι ἐ]ν τῷ Ἀσκληπιε[ίῳ ὁ ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆ]
 [ἐπαινέσαι] μὲν καὶ στεφ[ανῶσαι ἄλλῳ θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ τὸν ταμί]
 [αν τῶν πρυ]τάνων Το[name—patronymic—demotic δς ὑπέμει]
 [γεν εἰς τὸν ἐ]πὶ Κηδεί[δου ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτόν, ἐπιχωρῆσαι δὲ κτλ.]
 15 [-----]



No. 7

The inscription is a fragment from a decree honoring the treasurer of a prytany. On the evidence of the lettering it may be dated approximately in the Augustan age. Other documents of the period, *I.G.*, II², 1048, 1049, and 1050 from the middle of the first century B.C., and *I.G.*, II², 1070 at the beginning of the Empire, are phrased somewhat differently but have essentially the same character as the lower part of this

fragment. The prytanes declare that the treasurer has carried out the proper sacrifices and has performed his other duties, and they ask the Council for this reason to grant them the privilege of placing a portrait of him in some specified public building. In *I.G.*, II², 1049 and 1050 they have selected the Bouleuterion, in *I.G.*, II², 1070 the Ptolemaion. The Council, therefore, praises the official and crowns him, and grants to them the privilege of placing the portrait *ἐν ᾧ αἰτοῦνται τόπω*.

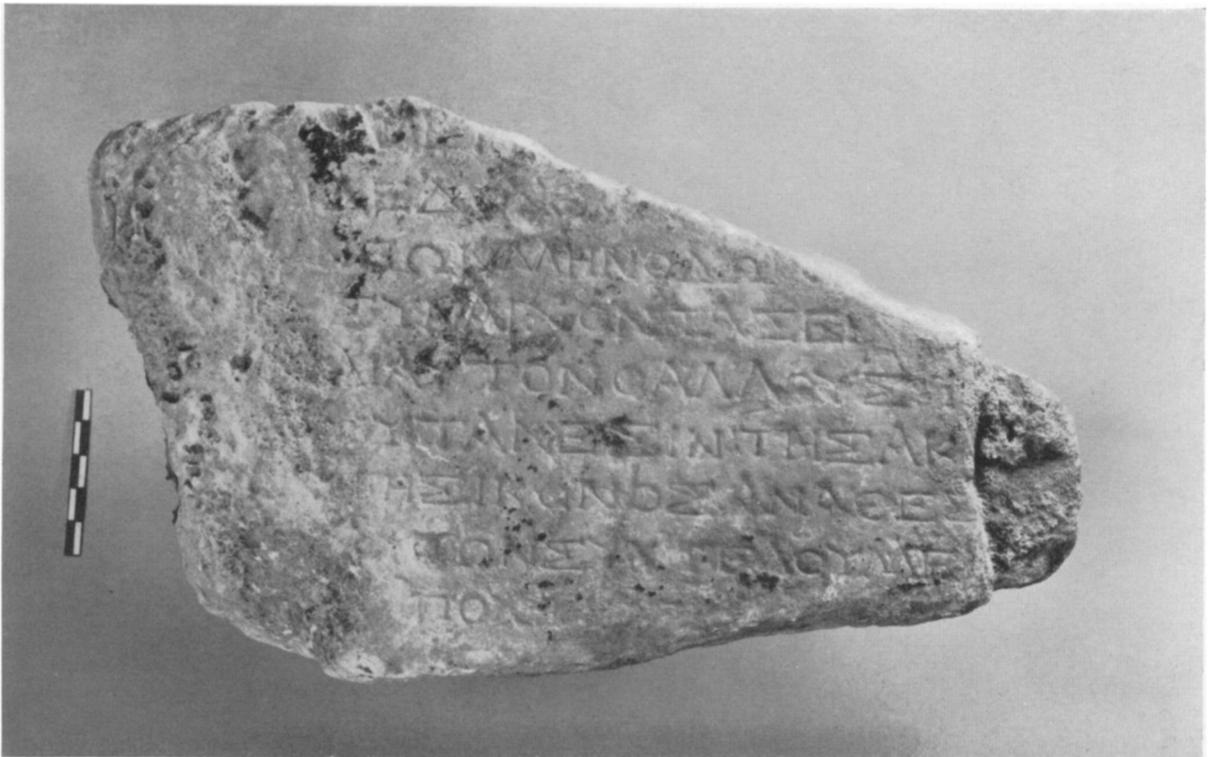
The restorations are made *exempli gratia*. They partly depend on our interpretation of the letters in line 14. No restoration occurs to me for these letters other than the one suggested in the text. The name would be rare, and the archon hitherto unknown. However, it might be observed that the name, although rare, does occur at Athens, and that in this period many gaps in the list of known archons still remain to be filled.

8. Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken away on all sides. The surface toward the left is badly calcinated. It was found on April 13, 1933 in the wall of a late pit at 44/KA in Section Z.

Maximum height, 0.152 m.; maximum width, 0.27 m.; maximum thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.006–0.01 m.

Inventory No. 5892 I 683.



Augustan Age

[- - - - -]ΧΘ[-]ΔΕΙ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]τύχη αγαθή]ι δεδόχθαι τ[ῆι βουλῆι ἐπαινέσαι]
 [τὸν ταμίαν τῶν πρυτάνεων Μηνόδωρο[ν - - - - -]
 [- - - - -]καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ] συνάρχοντας ἐν [τῶι βουλευ]
 5 [τηρίωι καὶ στεφανῶσ]αι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στ[εφάνωι ἐπικε]
 [χωρήσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρ]υτάνεσιν τῆς Ἀκ[αμαντίδος]
 [ποιήσασθαι αὐτοῦ τήν] τῆς ἰκόνος ἀνάθεσ[ιν ἐν ᾧ αἰτοῦν]
 [ται τόπωι ὅπως ἂν το]ύτων συντελουμέν[ων φαίνεται ἡ βου]
 [λῆ τὴν προσήκουσαν] ποιουμ[ένη πρόνοιαν - - - - -]
 10 [- - - - -]π[- - - - -]

On the evidence of the lettering and the character of the text the document may be dated approximately in the Augustan age.

TRIBAL DECREE

9. Fragment from a stele of fine-grained white marble with blue streaks. The surface is partly calcinated, and the stone is broken away on all sides. The stele had been built into a modern pit at 18/KE in Section I, and was discovered on March 2, 1933.

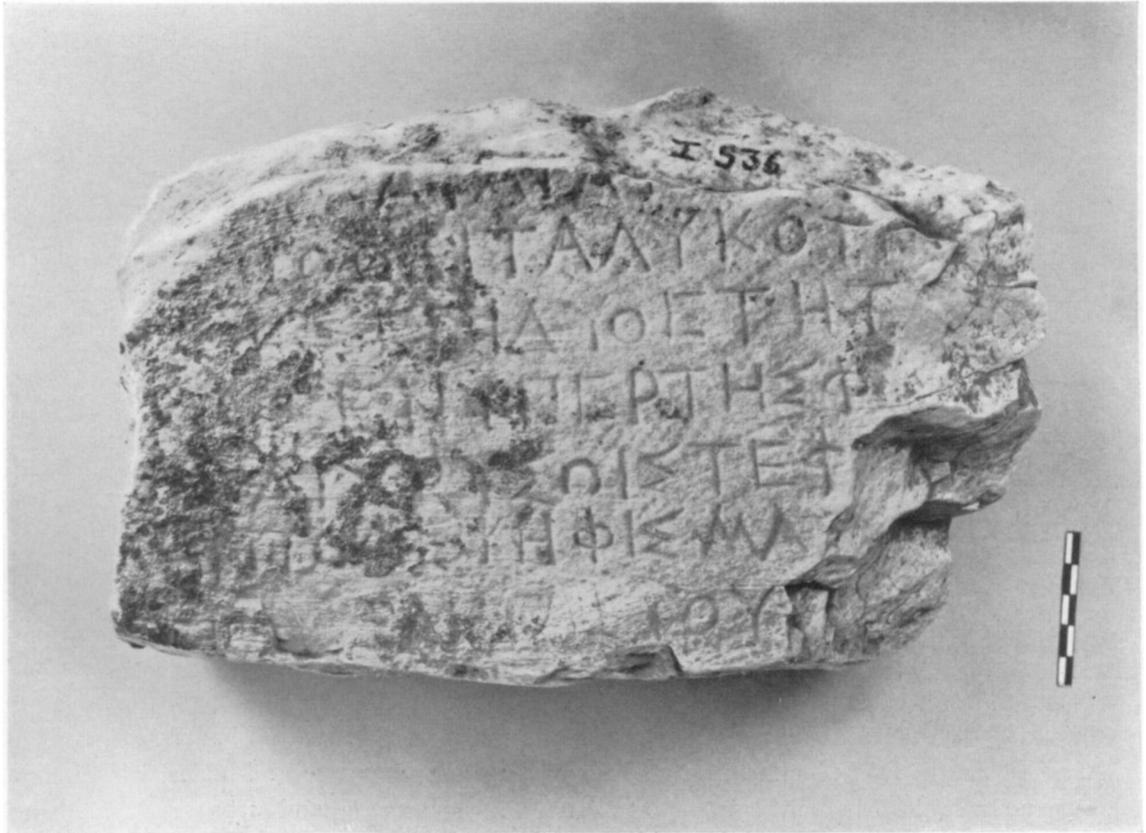
Maximum height, 0.165 m.; maximum width, 0.265 m.; maximum thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, 0.009–0.014 m.

Inventory No. 4351 I 536.

Late Fourth Century B.C.

[- - - - -]ΑΙ!ΑΙ!ΑΙ![- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ωθει τὰ Ανκούργ[ια - - - - -]
 [- - - - -]χορηγός καταστα]θεῖς ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη τ[ῆι - - - - -]
 [φυλῆι - - - - -] ἐν[ί]κησεν ὑπὲρ τῆς φυ[λῆς· ἐψηφίσθαι]
 5 [τοῖς φυλέταις· ἐπαινέσαι name—patronymic—demotic καὶ στεφαν]ῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφ[άνωι ἀπὸ Π]
 [δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν - - - - -] φυ[λῆν· τὸ δὲ ψηφισμα [τόδε ἀναγρά]
 [ψαι ἐν στήλῃι λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ - - - - -] τοῦδ[ε] ἐπ[ι]μ[ε]λητὰς τοῦδ[ε] ἐπὶ - - - - -]
 [- - - - -] ἄρχοντας - - - - -]



No. 9

The fragment contains part of a tribal decree from the latter part of the fourth century B.C. The restoration is based on *I.G.*, II², 1157. In line 2 the word *Ἀνούγγ[ια]*, if correctly read, is perhaps the name of a festival. The vertical hasta after the omicron seems to be part of tau or upsilon. The next letter must be rho, and the vertical stroke at the very edge of the stone (the mere tip is visible in the photograph) may belong to gamma.

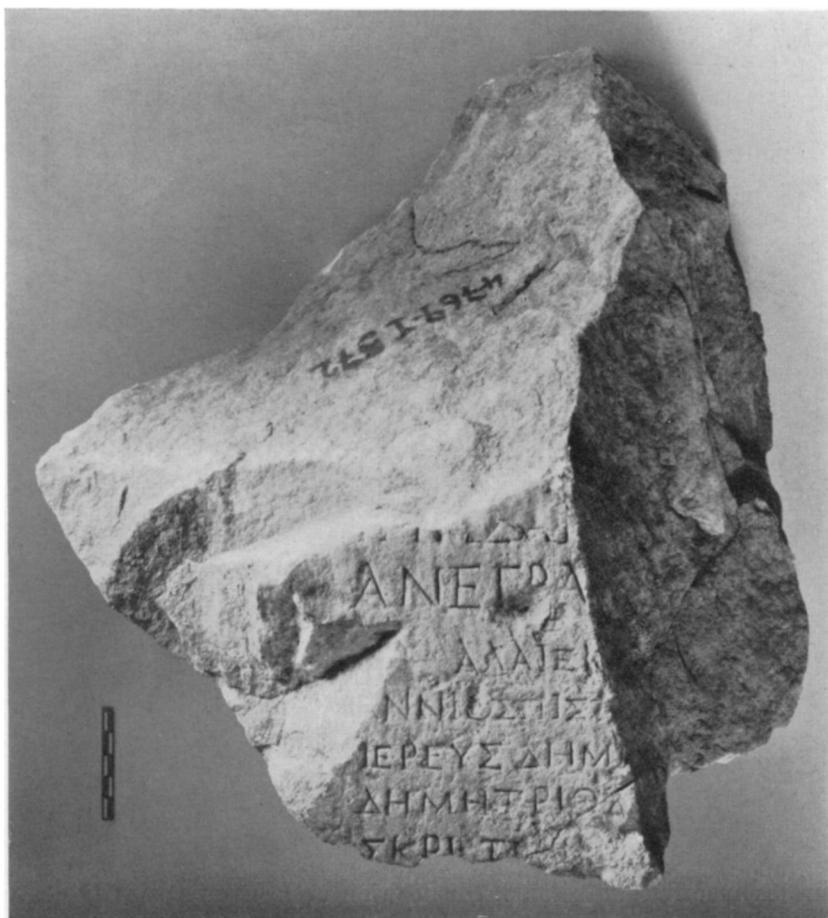
PRYTANY CATALOGUES

10. Part of a block of Pentelic marble, broken away on all sides. It was found on March 15, 1933 about 3.50 m. below the modern level at 4/H in Section H, an area that had been much disturbed in Turkish times.

Maximum height, 0.32 m.; maximum width, 0.32 m.; maximum thickness, 0.20 m.

Height of letters: in line 2, 0.015 m.; in lines 3 ff., 0.008–0.013 m.

Inventory No. 4769 I 572.



No. 10

This must, indeed, be the same inscription. It is highly improbable that the prytanies would have erected two copies, and the stone was found just across the street from the church of the *Παναγία τοῦ Βλασάρου*, near which Spon located it (à la maison de Nicolo Misalaroti proche Panagia tou Blastarou).

All subsequent publications of the inscription, including the last in *I. G.*, II², 1788, are based directly or indirectly on Spon's reading alone. For this one must consult the first edition, the only one with which he himself was connected, and from which I reproduce the tracing¹ on p. 45. The alterations occurring in the later pirated editions were arbitrary and misleading changes of the printer. I have of course disregarded them.

Spon indicated traces of a letter with a dot; he did not, however, indicate the extent of a lacuna nor was he careful to point out vacant spaces such as that discernible on the stone before the word *ἀνέγραψαν*. It appears from his transcript of lines 1 and 2 that the surface was gone along the left edge and that all traces of the first letters were lost. If then we place the next gap in the same region we locate the name *Ὀδοπίσκου* at the end of line 2. Before the word *πρυτανείας* Spon distinguished traces of three letters. Therefore, more than the numeral stood in front, and there can be no doubt that the lacuna was occupied by the demotic of the archon. After the letters **ΚΕΚΡΟ** Spon distinguished traces of two more letters which could not have stood at the beginning of line 4, because all trace would then have been lost as in the lines above. The lacuna begins just afterwards, and if we place the letters **ΔΟΣΦΥΛΗΣ**

¹ The text runs over three of the small pages in the original edition. One page ends after line 3 and another after line 24 of Spon's copy, so that a little of my own interpretation finds expression in the amount of space left in the tracing immediately after each of these two lines. The tracing I owe to the kindness of Miss Marian Welcker.

.. ΑΘΗΙ ΤΥΧΗΙ
 .. Σ.. Μ. ΜΟΥΝΑΤΙΟΥ ΜΑΞΙ
 ΜΙΑΝΟΥ ΟΥΟΠΙΣΚΟΥ
 ... ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΑΣ ΟΙ ΠΡΥΤΑ
 ΝΕΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΚΡΟ..

ΤΙΜΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΤΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ
 ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΣΙΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΕΓΡΑ
 ΨΑΝ

ΑΛΑΙΕΙΣ	ΑΙΣΙΤΟΙ
ΑΝΝΙΟΣ ΠΙΣ	ΙΟΥΛ. ΙΕΡΟ
ΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	ΦΑΝΤΗΣ
ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗ	ΑΙΛ. ΔΑΔΟΥ
ΤΡΙΟΣ	ΧΟΣ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	ΕΡΕΝΝΙΟΣ ΙΕ
ΣΚΡΙΤΟ...ΚΟΣ.	ΡΟΚΗΡΤΞ
ΝΙΚΩΝ... ΔΩ	ΜΕΜ. ΕΠΙΒ Ω
ΡΟΥ	ΜΟΙ

ΑΙΞΟΝΕΙΣ

ΣΤΕΦΗΦΟΡΟΥ

ΑΓΝΟΣ ΣΤΕΦΗΦΟΡΟΥ

ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣ ΣΤΕΦΗ
 ΦΟΡΟΥ

ΕΡΜΕΙΑΣ

ΕΡΜΕΙΑΣ

ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΕΡΜΕΙΟΥ

ΠΙΘΕΙΣ

ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡ.. ΗΜΟ

ΔΩΡΟΥ

ΕΠΙ ΚΛ.....

ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ

ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΒΟΥ

ΛΕΤΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑ

ΤΩΝ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΥ ΜΕΛΙΤΕΤΣ

at the beginning of line 4 we have a gap of the same extent as above. From the stone it is now clear that the word *ἀνέγραψαν* stood below the word *τιμήσαντες* and after a vacant space. Spon, however, had no difficulty in reading the intervening letters; therefore, since none of them could have stood at the left edge, they were all on line 4. Lines 2-4 accordingly contained about 40 letters each and extended farther to the left than the catalogue below. The restoration is confirmed by an examination of the fragment just found. The left edge is not preserved, although the stone extends 0.135 m. to the left of the first alpha of the word *ἀνέγραψαν*. That is too much for a margin; the heading must have spread over more to the side.

Below the heading came the catalogue. The position of the first column shows that the catalogue was arranged as usual in two columns. The first group of names was that of the *Ἀλαιεῖς*, as Spon indicated. Apparently there was a chipped or weathered section here too, because Spon found the patronymic of the priest Demetrios and that of the second Demetrios completely gone while those of the next two men were only partly legible. In line 10 he overlooked the dot after the abbreviation ΣΚΡΙ and he read O after the T, whereas between the T and the vertical hasta that follows at the distance of one letter, there is scarcely room for so large a letter. Perhaps he saw the curved line of a P. A Scribonius appears as a prytanis of the tribe Kekropis in another catalogue, *I.G.*, II², 1790.

The group of *δῖοι* should be located at the bottom of the inscription or at the end of column II. Since there were forty prytanes at this time, and since Spon has recorded only fourteen, the names of twenty-six other prytanes and (to judge from the analogy of *I.G.*, II², 1782) the names of about three other demes were engraved on the stele. The last name in the list of prytanes must have been that of the *γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν*. Therefore, the group *Πιθεῖς* at the end of which Spon recognized that official, came at the last. We may presume that also the group *Ἀξωνεῖς*, all of which Spon could read with ease, was engraved on the well-preserved right side at the top of column II. Otherwise column I would be too long. The lacuna of about twenty-nine lines obviously fell at the lower part of column I. The inscription was broken away below. Therefore, the group of *δῖοι* must have occupied a place at the end of column II.

For further commentary on the document I refer the reader to the *Corpus* (*I.G.*, II², 1788). Spon described the stone as a block hollowed out to serve as a container for oil. On another side was engraved a prytany list from the archonship of Demostratus (*I.G.*, II², 1795). The latter document suffered a similar treatment at the hands of the printer. However, just as one can see in the other case, the original disposition was generally suggested in the first edition by indentation whenever a line had to be broken up, so that it is possible to restore the real arrangement by reference to the copy in the first publication.¹

¹ The vertical line dividing the inscription was a mere invention of the first printer.

11. Three contiguous fragments of a plaque of coarse-grained white marble. The stone is broken away at the top and chipped along the sides and bottom. The surface is badly weathered. A raised band surrounds the inscribed part at the bottom and sides. It was found in a late fill at 42/1Z in Section Z on March 24, 1933.

Maximum height, 0.74 m.; maximum width, 0.47 m.; thickness, 0.077 m.

Height of letters: in lines 1-3 and 30, 0.011 m.; in lines 5-29 and 31-64, 0.006-0.008 m.

Inventory No. 5050 I 594.

ca. 180/1 A. D.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ μετὰ Μεμ· Φλάκκον ἄρχοντα ἐνιαυτο[ῦ]

ἰ πρυτανείας οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Αἰγείδος φυλῆς

τιμῆσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰσίτους ἀνέγραψαν

Γαργήττιοι

30

Φιλάδαι

5

Ἀντίοχος Εὐχαρίστου

Ἀλκιβιάδης Εὐχαρίστου

Ἐπίκτητος)

Ἀπολλώνιος Σωσιγένης

Σέν(τιος) Ἄιταλος

35

Ἄιτικός Εἰσιδώρου

10

Μηρόδωρος Ἐπιγόνου

Ἔστιαῖοθεν

Στράτων Ἐπιγόνου

Φίλιππος Σωτέλους

Ἐπίγονος)

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Σωτέλους

Δέκιος Ἰουλιανός

Ἡρακλείδης Σωτέλους

Πομπ(ώνιος) Φλαβιανός

40

Ἰούν· Πυθόδωρος

15

Σαβείνος Ἐρμέρ[ω]τος

Ἐρχαίεις

Ἀθηρόδωρος Ἐρμέρωτος

Ἀλκαμένης Ἀφροδισίου

Εὐπόρος Ἐρμέρωτος

Καρπόδωρος Εὐκλέους

Σεραπίων Θεοφίλου

ἐκ Μυρινούνης

Ἀφροδίσιος Μύσων[ος]

45

Ζώσιμος Μουσαίου

20

Μυστικός)

Ἀλέξανδρος Ἐρμείου

Νικοκράτης Μυστικοῦ

Ἀραφῆμοι

Λικίν(ιος) Ἀρριανός

Ἀσκληπιάδης Εὐπόρου

Φον(τήιος) Μάξιμος

Ἐρικαιεῖς

Πραξιτέλης Φιλοδήμου

50

Σωσίβιος Φιλαθηναίου

25

Ἀριστείδης)

Λιομαιεῖς

Στα Ὀνήτορ· Κολλυ(τεύς)

Ἄιλ· Βάχχιος

Ἄιλ(ιος) Ῥήγγλος

Ὀῦλ(πιος) Πομπηιανός

ΓΡ

βουλευτῶν Ζώσιμος [Βα]κχυλίδου Γαργήττιος

Ἄνιος Φιλόκομος

Ἄϊσιτοι

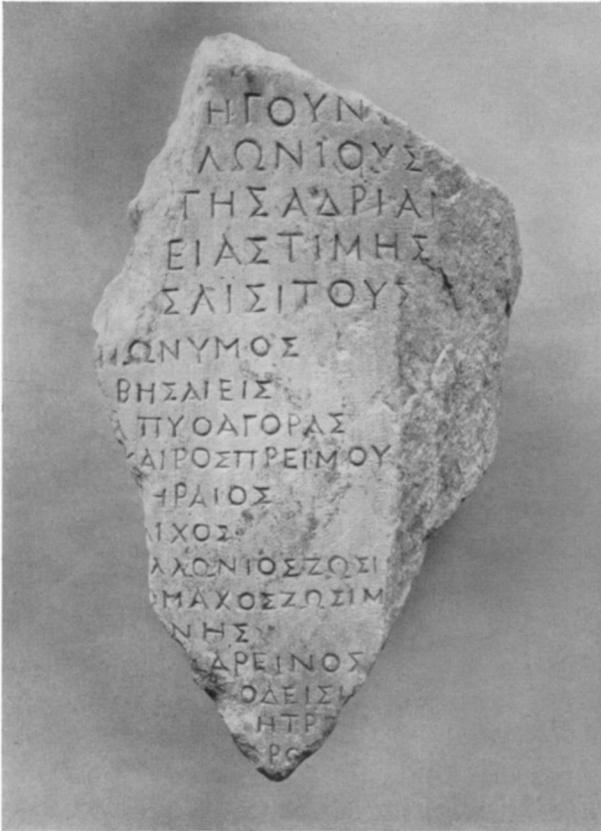
- 55 Ἰούλ(ιος) ἱεροφάντης
 Μέμ(μος) ἐπὶ βωμῶ
 κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Φάβιος [Φα]βιανὸς Μαραθῶνιος
 γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδοσίου Λαμπτ[ρεὺς]
 περὶ τὸ βῆμα Μυστικὸς) Ἐρσιάδης
- 60 ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος [Α]χωρίστου Παιονίδης
 ἱεραύλης Π(όπλιος) Ἀφροδίτιος ὁ καὶ Ἀφροδείσιος
 ἱερεὺς Φωσφόρων καὶ ἐπὶ Σιαῶδος Ἐρμιείας) Ἀζηνιεύς
 ὑπογραμματεὺς Μύρων) Λαμπτρεὺς

It might seem that the officials recorded in lines 9–29 belonged not to Gargettus but to a deme the name of which had been erased in line 10; but the excisions of lines 5–8 were due to an error of the stone-cutter, because the men whose names follow belong to the large deme Gargettus, as appears both from the number and from a comparison with *I.G.*, II², 1765 (138/9 A.D.), where a Licinius Arrianus, presumably the grandfather of the man mentioned in line 22, appears in another list of *Γαργήτιοι*.

Line 9: Σέν Ἀτταλος, σπραιηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ δπλα in the previous year (*I.G.*, II², 1791), ephebe about 166/7 (*I.G.*, II², 2094). Line 10: Μηρόδωρος Ἐπιγόνου, ephebe in 147/8 or shortly afterwards (*I.G.*, II², 2059). Line 11: Στρατών Ἐπιγόνου, ephebe in 163/4 (*I.G.*, II², 2086). Line 15: Σαβεῖνος Ἐρμέρ[ω]τος, ephebe in 147/8 or shortly afterwards (*I.G.*, II², 2059), σωφροιστής in 172/3 or shortly afterwards (*I.G.*, II², 2103). Line 16: Ἀθηνόδωρος Ἐρμέρωτος, ephebe in 150/1 (*I.G.*, II², 2065), ὑποσωφροιστής in 172/3 or shortly afterwards (*I.G.*, II², 2103). Line 18: Σεραπίων Θεοφίλου, ὑποσωφροιστής about 185/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2112, l. 16, where the patronymic, not very legible, had been misread as Ἰσοφίλου. The line has since disappeared). Line 20: Μυστικὸς), ephebe in 154/5 (*I.G.*, II², 2067, l. 37). Line 48: Ἀσκληπιάδης Εὐπόρου, probably grandson of homonymous prytanis in *I.G.*, II², 1765 (138/9 A.D.). Line 55: Ἰούλ ἱεροφάντης, in office from 168/9. Line 56: Μέμ ἐπὶ βωμῶ, in office from 168/9 (*I.G.*, II², 1775) through archonship of Athenodorus. See Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, 872. Line 59: Μυστικὸς) Ἐρσιάδης, prytanis sometime between 190 and 200 (*I.G.*, II², 1805). Line 60: Ἀλέξανδρος [Α]χωρίστου Παιονίδης, ὑποσωφροιστής in 172/3 or shortly afterwards (*I.G.*, II², 2103), ἡγεμὼν ἐφήβων sometime between 183/4 and 191/2 (*I.G.*, II², 2113). Lines 62–63: Compare references in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 56, no. 43.

12. Fragment from a cylinder of Pentelic marble. The stone is broken away on all sides. It was found April 11, 1933 at 28/10 in Section Θ.

Maximum height, 0.435 m.; maximum width, 0.255 m.; maximum thickness, 0.155 m.
 Height of letters: lines 1–6, 0.015 m.; lines 6 ff., 0.01 m.
 Inventory No. 6029 I 699.



No. 12

This prytany catalogue is not part of *I.G.*, II², 1807, although it belongs in the same period, the end of the second century of the Christian era.

I have thus restored the general's demotic because of the name of the archon C. Cassius Apollonius Steirius. The great honorary offices tended to remain in a comparatively small group of families; and a certain probability exists therefore that the Apollonius of the inscription is the archon himself or one of his relatives. Obviously a Roman name has been lost, because the lacuna is not large enough to accommodate a Greek name and the article *τοῦ* which would then precede the patronymic *Ἀπολλωνίου*, for the latter would have to be a patronymic since the article does not follow it.

13. Two contiguous fragments from a block of Pentelic marble. Part of the right side is preserved, but the surface is chipped at the edge. The stone is broken away below, above, behind, on the left, and also on the right side beneath the first two lines. It had been built into the wall of a modern cesspool at 36/θ in Section H, and was found April 5, 1933.

End of Second Century after Christ

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχον]το[ς - - - - -]
 [. . . .], στρατ]ηγοῦντ[ος ἐπὶ τὰ δπλα]
 [. . . . Ἀπο]λλωνίου Σ[τειριέως(?), οἱ]
 [πρυτάνεις] τῆς Ἀδριαν[ίδος φυλῆς -]
 5 [πρυταν]είας τιμήσ[αντες ἑαυτοῦς]
 [καὶ τοῦ]ς αἰσίτους [ἀνέγραψαν].
 [Ἐ]πώνυμος vacat
 Βησαιεῖς
 [Φ]ῶλ Πυθαγόρας
 10 [Ἐβ]καιρος Πρεῖμον
 [. . .] Ἡραῖος
 [. . .] λιχος)
 [Ἀπο]λλώνιος Ζωσίμ[ου]
 [. . .] ὄμαχος Ζωσίμ[ου]
 15 [- -]νης)
 [- -] Μαρεῖνος
 [- Ἀφρ]οδείσιο[ς]
 [- - Δημ]ήτρο[ιος]
 [- - - -]ρο[-]

Maximum height, 0.46 m.; maximum width, 0.29 m.; maximum thickness, 0.21 m.
 Height of letters; lines 1–2, 0.024 m.; lines 3–5, 0.02 m.
 Inventory No. 5761 I 661.



No. 13

ca. 190 A.D.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος . . . ^{ca. 9} . . .]

[. . . ^{ca. 6} . . ., στρατηγούντος]

[ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας.] Φλα(βίου) Φι-
 λοστράτου Στειριέως ΝΕ,

5 [ἢ προτανείας] οἱ προτά[ν]-
 [εις τῆς . . . ^{ca. 7} . . .]τίδος φ[ν]
 [λῆς τιμήσαν]τες ἔαν[τοὺς]
 [καὶ τοὺς αἰσί]τους [ἀνέγρα]-
 [ψαν] vacat

10

The stone contains part of the heading above a list of names set up by the members of a prytany in honor of themselves and of the αἰσιτοί. In line 4 the termination of the demotic might suggest the restoration [Ἰκα]ριέως also, but the name of the archon of the year 266/7 corresponds to the preserved letters and fits the required space too well for any doubt concerning the cognomen and demotic to be supplied. We cannot, however, restore [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Α(ουκίου)] Φλα(βίου) Φιλοστράτου Στειριέως ΝΕ [ἢ προτανείας] οἱ προτά[ν|εις, κτλ.], because by then the formula had already gone out of use, and because the identification νε(ώτερος) did not accompany the name of the archon. Therefore, the name is that of the στρατηγός Philostratus who appears in *I.G.*, II², 1803 (ca. 190 A.D.), of which the heading reads as follows:

[Ἐπὶ⁸. . . . ἀρχοντος, στρα]-
 [τηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τοῦ]ς ὀπ[λείτας]
 [. . . Φι]λοστράτου Στει[ριέ]-
 [ως . . π]ρυνταείας οἱ πρυντά-
 5 [νεις] τῆς Οἰνεΐδος φυλῆς τ[ει]-
 [μῆ]σαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀνέγ[ρα]-
 ψαν.

In line 4 of the latter document the lacuna at the beginning is large enough to admit the restoration of the ligature **NE** and of a numeral that occupies one space. In line 3 we can restore the *nomen* as in the document from the Agora and reserve one space for the abbreviation of the *praenomen*.

The archon may have been the grandson of the hoplite general.

BOUNDARY STONE

14. A small boundary stone of Hymettian marble, broken away below and chipped at the edges. It was found on March 4, 1933 at 33/θ in Section H, where it had been built into a modern wall.

Maximum height, 0.195 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.015–0.02 m.

Inventory No. 4154 I 513.



Fourth Century B.C.

Ἦρο[ος]

ἱεροῦ

Δήμη

τρος

5 Ἀλφειά[ς]

On the evidence of the lettering the inscription may be dated in the second half of the fourth century B.C. The location of the sanctuary is unknown. For the epithet Ἄζησία the pertinent passages are the following: *Anecd. Bekk.*, p. 248, 26: Ἄζησία· οὕτως ἡ Δημήτηρ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ καλεῖται (fragment 894 Nauck), οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐντραφῆ; Hesychius, I, p. 59: Ἄζησία· ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀζαίνειν τοὺς καρπούς; Zenobius, IV, 20: ἱστορεῖ Δίδυμος ὅτι Ἄμαία μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ παρὰ Τροίζηνίους προσαγορεύεται, Ἄζησία δὲ ἡ Κόρη. This note of Didymus is doubtless responsible for the mistaken generalization of Suidas (*s. v.*): Ἄζησία ἡ Κόρη, Ἄμαία δὲ ἡ Δημήτηρ.

MISCELLANEOUS DEDICATIONS

15. Part of a block of Pentelic marble, broken away below, at the back, and on the right. The top is smoothly dressed. The left side has anathyrosis, and therefore another block must have joined it on the left. The inscription ran at the top across the face of both blocks, for the words at the edge of the stone do not begin there, and a trace



No. 15

[----- ἐ]δέχσατο γα[-----]
 [-----]ξεσι Δαρεῶν ἀ[-----]

of a horizontal stroke, belonging to a letter on the block to the left, can actually be discerned in front of the first letter in line 2. The stone was found in the fill below a late Byzantine floor at 57/Γ in Section H on March 10, 1933.

Maximum height, 0.16 m.; maximum width, 0.24 m.; maximum thickness, 0.22 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inventory No. 4476 I 555.

The stone contains a fragment of an epigram from the beginning of the fifth century.

16. Part of a block of Pentelic marble. The stone is broken away on the left and at the back; it has preserved part of the smooth-dressed top and the rough-picked bottom. On the right side is anathyrosis. Another block, therefore, joined on the right, and the inscription ran continuously across the face of the two blocks. The stone had been built into the bottom of a pithos at 12/II' in Section I, and was found on March 22, 1933.

Height, 0.14 m.; maximum width, 0.34 m.; maximum thickness, 0.41 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inventory No. 5227 I 613.



No. 16

[name χορηγῶν ἐνίκ]α Οἰνηΐδι Λεω[ντίδι παιδῶν, name ἠΰλει]
[name]ς ἐδίδασκ[ε, name ἦρχεν]

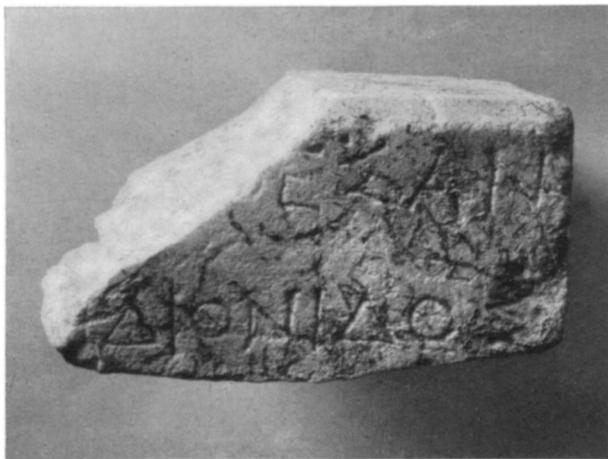
The stone is part of a choregic monument. The inscription may be dated in the fourth century B.C. For the type compare *I.G.*, II¹, 1236, 1237, 1240, 1251, 1255, 1261, and 1268.

17. The upper right-hand corner of a block of Pentelic marble. The stone is broken away below and on the left. The top has a beveled edge along the front surface. It was found April 5, 1933 at 16/Z in Section Θ.

Maximum height, 0.063 m.; maximum width, 0.115 m.; maximum thickness, 0.122 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inventory No. 5793 I 667.



[----- ἀνέ]θεσαν
[----- Πα]γδιονίδος

No. 17

On the basis of the lettering the inscription may be dated in the second half of the fourth century B.C.

18. The left corner of a small rectangular base of Pentelic marble, broken away at the back and on the right. Above and below were mouldings, now much damaged, and in the top a large hole, 0.06 m. deep. The stone was found in a wall of the house 631/11 in Section H in January 1933 during the demolition prior to the excavation.

Height, 0.23 m.; maximum width, 0.19 m.; maximum thickness, 0.23 m.

Height of letters; in lines 1–5, 0.02 m.; in line 6, 0.012 m.

Inventory No. 3580 I 333.

Σωστράτην Θεο[----- τοῦ δεινός demotic]
καηφορήσασαν [-----]
[ἐ]πι Νικοστράτου [τοῦ δεινός ἱερατεύ]-
[ο]ντος διὰ βίου [Ἀ, [-----],
5 ζακορέοντος Αρ[-----],
κλιδουχοῦντος [-----]



No. 18

The text on this stone, which was seen "in Athens," was included in notes assembled by Koehler; and from this inaccurate copy Boeckh published it in *C.I.G.*, I, p. 913, no. 431 *b*, and Dittenberger republished it in *I.G.*, III, 922. Apparently it had been built into a wall in such a way that it was very difficult to see. The notes indicated on the moulding some meaningless letters, including a rho which differed in shape from those in the rest of the inscription, but these letters can never have existed. This original copy had one error in line 3, four errors in line 4, and in the last line read *καὶ δαδουχοῦντος* instead of *κλιδουχοῦντος*.

The interest of the rediscovery lies in its confirmation of Dittenberger's brilliant emendation of the last line. Whereas the words *καὶ δαδουχοῦντος* had seemed to make excellent sense, Dittenberger pointed out that the same man would not have been *δαδούχος* and mere temple attendant, that the subject had no connection with the Eleusinian cult, and that accordingly mention of the *δαδούχος* was out of place. Therefore, adopting the spelling *ι* for *ει*, he made the emendation *κ[λ]ιδ(αδ)ουχοῦντος*, as actually appears upon the stone.

There is a fresh fracture at the end of lines 1 and 2, on both of which Koehler's notes gave one more letter than is now preserved.

19. A low rectangular base of Hymettian marble. In the top of the block are two dowel holes with pour-channels. It was found March 18, 1933 at the level of a Roman road in Section I.

Height, 0.325 m.; width, 0.71 m.; thickness, 0.69 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inventory No. 5239 I 620.



Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες
ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ Ἰμβρωι

No. 19

The lettering suggests a date at the beginning of the empire.

20. A fragment of Pentelic marble, broken away on the right, the left, and at the back. Part of a roughly finished top has been preserved. The fragment was found March 16, 1933, over a Byzantine floor at 36/M in Section H.

Maximum height, 0.087 m.; maximum width, 0.23 m.; maximum thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

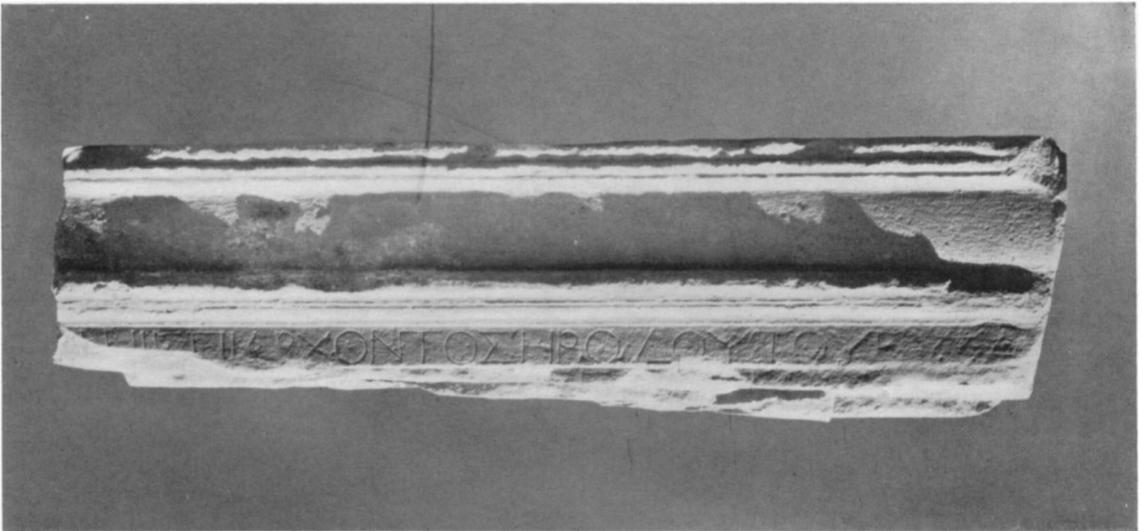
Inventory No. 4806 I 578.



No. 20

It is perhaps a fragment from a large base honoring the emperor Claudius. Both Tiberius and he received at Athens the title *εὐεργέτης*, but Claudius bears the title *εὐεργέτης τῆς [πόλεως]* on the base for a statue which he restored after Caligula had carried it away. (Cf. P. Graindor in *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 257, and in *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 9.)

21. Part of an epistyle block of Pentelic marble. It has been broken away on the left and also below in such a way that only a few traces remain of the second line of the inscription. The right side preserves anathyrosis, and the inscription probably continued



No. 21

[- - -] φημ ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἡρόδου τοῦ Εὐκλέους Μαραθωνίου - - -]
 [- - - - - Καίσα]ρο[s] Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ [- - - - -]

on the next block. Although the top is prepared to receive another stone, nevertheless it too bears an inscription (No. 22). This fragment of epistyle had been built into the "Valerian Wall" in Section I and was found on April 8, 1933.

Maximum height, 0.58 m.; maximum length, 2.08 m.; thickness, 0.60 m.

Height of letters, 0.065 m.

Inventory No. 5887 I 678.

The names Herodes and Eucles alternate in the famous family from the deme Marathon. The material concerning it is conveniently assembled in the first chapter of P. Graindor's *Hérode Atticus*, pp. 1–17. The lettering indicates that this archon Herodes son of Eucles belongs in the first century A.D. and is probably to be identified with [- - - *Εὐκ*] *λέου* *Μαραθώνιος*, recorded in *I. G.*, II², 1730. Neither the latter stone itself nor any photograph or drawing of it exists, so that we cannot accurately check the name against the size of the lacuna. S. Dow (*Hesperia*, III [1934], pp. 160–161) has made certain determinations about the arrangement of the inscription, but the angle of the fracture on which he rests his argument is not certain enough to exclude the restoration *Ἡρώιδης* in place of *Πολύχαρμος*, which was suggested by Lolling. Furthermore, Polycharmus is not known ever to have been eponymous archon. The tenure of any archonship entitled him to membership in the Council of the Areopagus, so the appearance of his name in *I. G.*, II², 1728 cannot be used as proof that he was eponymous archon, nor—if we restore the name *Ἡρώιδης* in *I. G.*, II², 1730—does it necessitate a date for *I. G.*, II², 1730 earlier than that of *I. G.*, II², 1728 (cf. Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 161). The appearance of the title *ἱερεὺς Δροῦσου δπάτου* shows that *I. G.*, II², 1730 falls after the year 9/8, but it might be as late even as the reign of Hadrian. On the internal evidence of the document nothing else can be asserted definitely. In the case of the epistyle block, however, the occurrence of the phrase *ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἡρώδου* instead of the old formula *ἐπὶ Ἡρώδου ἀρχοντος* practically excludes a date as early as the Augustan age. Perhaps Herodes son of Eucles is identical also with an archon *H*[- - - -] commemorated in an inscription from the middle of the century (*I. G.*, II², 2301). He is more conveniently located in that period on prosopographical grounds. He is probably to be identified with the Herodes III of Graindor's arrangement, whether the father was Eucles IV or, preferably, another Eucles, about whom we are uninformed.

A dowel hole, located 1.32 m. from the end may indicate the centre of the block. In that case it had an original length of 2.64 m. In the 2.05 m. of its preserved length the first line has 26 letters, if we count iota as a half. Therefore, about seven or eight letters are missing at the beginning of the line. The inscription, however, may have begun on still another block to the left.

22. The following inscription, broken away at the right, is preserved on the top of the epistyle block which bears the text published above as No. 21.

Σ ΤΡΑΤ
 Δ Ι Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο Ν

Στρατ[---]
 Διοδώρον [-----]

No. 22

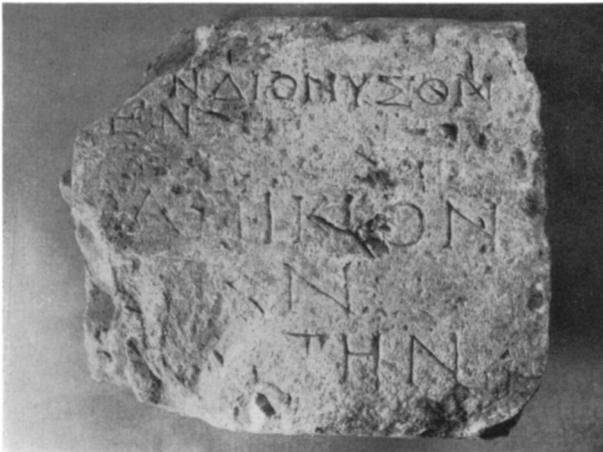
The lettering seems to be contemporary with that on the face of the block.

23. Part of a block of Hymettian marble. The top and the bottom are preserved. The stone is broken away on the left, the right and at the back. It was found March 28, 1933 in a wall of the modern house 646/5.

Height, 0.278 m.; maximum width, 0.347 m.; maximum thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters: lines 1 and 2, 0.016–0.02 m.; lines 3–5, 0.03 m.

Inventory No. 5439 I 648.



[-----]ν Διόνυσον
 [---]εν
 [----Σ]ολπίκιον
 [----]ν
 5 [-----]την

No. 23

24. The bottom of a rectangular base of Hymettian marble, broken away above. It was found on February 28, 1933 in a modern retaining wall in Section I.

Maximum height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.325 m.; thickness, 0.26 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.

Inventory No. 4345 I 531.



No. 24

[Σωτήρι]
 [καὶ κτίσῃ]
 [αὐτοκράτορι]
 Ἀδριανῷ
 Ὀλυππίῳ

5

For similar dedications to Hadrian cf. *I.G.*, III, 493-523 and *Hesperia*, III, no. 73.

25. The lower part of a columnar base, broken away above and at the back. The bottom is carefully dressed with a smooth contact surface, *ca.* 0.10 m. wide, around the edge. Part of a rectangular dowel still remains. The column has a simple flare at its base, finished with a vertical band, 0.025 m. high. It was found at 13/E in Section I on March 7, 1933.

Maximum height, 0.53 m.; maximum width, 0.44 m.; maximum thickness, 0.21 m.

Height of letters: in lines 1-5, 0.015-0.024 m.; in line 6, 0.008-0.01 m.

Inventory No. 4702 I 562.

The inscription, rudely executed, is an elegiac couplet composed in the Ionic dialect and engraved on the base of a statue dedicated to Demeter and Aphrodite. It belongs in the time of the Empire. In addition to the couplet and to the name Ἐρμι[όνη] below on the flare, also a few meaningless scratches appear, the letters ΑΙ 0.04 m. above the epigram, and the letters ΛΔΛΕ 0.12 m. to the right of line 1.



Δηῶ καὶ Κούρη Πα-
φίη, μεμελημένον
ἔργον, εἵνεκεν εὐ-
σεβίης· ἔγραφεν
 5 *Ἑρμιόνη.*

on the flare
Ἑρμι[όνη ἀνέθηκε]

No. 25

The customary datives *Δηοῖ καὶ Κούρη Παφίη* would have fitted the metre just as well, but Hermione selected the nominatives in imitation of archaic dedications.¹

In all probability the base had at some time been carried away from the west slope of the Acropolis. Below the Propylaea was a joint sanctuary of Demeter and Aphrodite.² It is *Ἀφροδίτη Βλαύτη* (= Semitic *Balaat*), an ancient Mother Earth divinity, who came originally from the East and was worshiped also as *Ἀφροδίτη Κουροτρόφος*. The old

¹ Cf. G. Neumann, *Griechische Weihinschriften*, p. 73.

² A. D. Keramopoulos, *Αρχ. Δελτ.*, XII (1929), pp. 73–78.

Semitic Aphrodite was partially merged in the Attic *Γῆ-Δημήτηρ*, and it is their joint precinct to which the writers refer when they speak of the sanctuary of *Γῆ-Κουροτρόφος*.

In the *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, V, 1889, pp. 129-130, Lolling published an inscription engraved on a columnar base of Hymettian marble found in the region of the sanctuary. Dedicated to two divinities like the one in the Agora, the base supported a single statue:

*Δήμητρι Χλόη
καὶ Κόρη
τὴν Κουροτρό-
φον Εἰσίδοτος
ἀνέθηκεν
κατ' ὄνειρον.*

It is possible to suppose that Hermione too had dedicated a figure of the *Κουροτρόφος*.

26. Fragment from a block of Pentelic marble. Part of the right side is preserved, but the stone is broken away on all other sides. It was discovered in a modern foundation in Section I on March 1, 1933.

Maximum height, 0.15 m.; maximum width, 0.22 m.; maximum thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inventory No. 4346 I 532.



No. 26

The fragment perhaps belonged to a statue base from about the beginning of the third century of the Christian era. The *Μουσεῖον* was the “university” of Athens

(cf. *Hesperia*, III [1934], 191–196), and the letters here preserved might be interpreted in various ways, such as:

[-----]μοῦα τὸν
[ἐπὶ τοῦ Μ]ουσειῶν

or

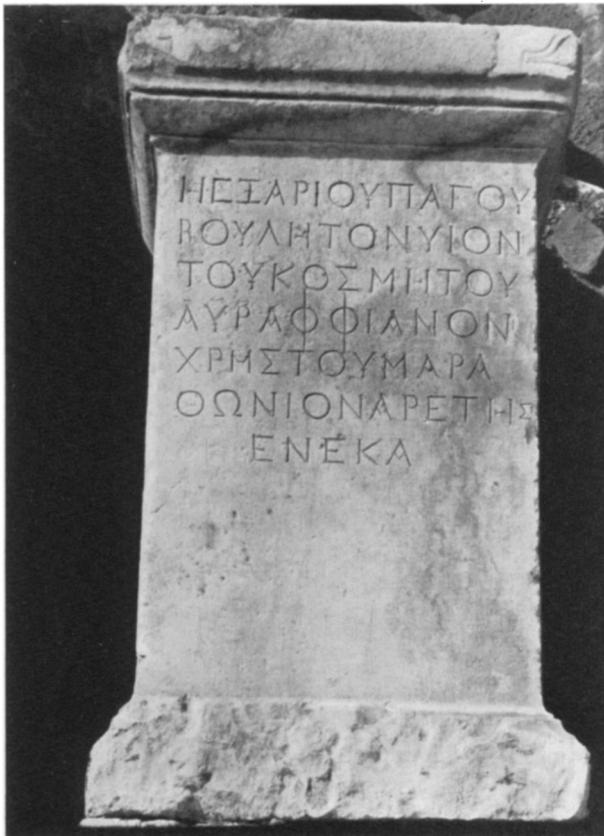
[----- διαση]μότατον
[τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Μ]ουσειῶν

27. A high rectangular base with mouldings at the top and bottom. It had been built into the side of a drain where the latter passed through the “Valerian Wall” at 14/KZ in Section I, and it was found April 6, 1933.

Height, 1.05 m.; height of face, 0.73 m.; height of top or bottom moulding, 0.155 m.; width, 0.49 m.; thickness, 0.43 m.

Height of letters, 0.033 m.

Inventory No. 5881 I 673.



Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρίων Πάγου
βουλή τὸν υἱὸν
τοῦ κοσμητοῦ
Ἀδρ Ἀφφριανὸν
Χρήστου Μαρα-
θώνιον ἀρετῆς
ἕνεκα

5

The boy, Aurelius Appianus, had lost his life in the course of a religious festival. He is known from *I.G.*, III, 751, an inscription on a herm, which the colleagues of his father set up in his memory, and which below the dedication contains the following illuminating epigram:

“Ὅστις καὶ τίνος εἰμὶ τὰ | πρόσθεν γράμματα φράζε[ι].
 ἀμφὶ δ’ ἐμῆς μοίρης πᾶς | ἐδάκρυσε λεώς,
 οὐνεκεν οὐκ ἔφθην | χλαῖναν περὶ ἀχέρι θέσθα[ι] |
 κώμῳ ἐν ἡγαθέῳ | πανσάμενος βιότου.

From the latter monument it appears that when he died, he was still a young lad, preparing for the *ἐφηβία* and pursuing his studies.

His father, the cosmete, Aurelius Chrestus of the deme Marathon, had been *σωφρονιστής* in 218/9 or shortly afterwards (*I.G.*, II², 2223). On the herm the accusative *Χρήστον* (line 5) should be emended to the genitive in accord with the correct version preserved on the base from the “Valerian Wall.”

SEPOLCHRAL MONUMENTS

28. The upper right corner of a base of Pentelic marble. The moulding at the upper edge has been broken away. At the left is a trace of a relief. The stone had been built into a modern wall at 38/ς in Section Z and was found on March 3, 1933.

Maximum height, 0.296 m.; maximum width, 0.445 m.; maximum thickness, 0.385 m.
 Height of letters: lines 1–2, 0.026 m.; lines 3–6, 0.02–0.025 m.

Inventory No. 4117 I 501.

Χ . . . Ρ Ε Φ Α Ν Ι Ο Υ
 Υ Σ
 Ε Ε Ι Ν Ο Κ Α Ε Ι Σ
 Α Ρ Ε Φ Α Ν Ι Ο Υ Σ
 Γ Α Τ Ι

[- - - -] Χαιροφάνου[ς]
Ἀ[τ]η[νε]ύς
 [Πολ]ύα[ρ]χ[ο]ς Ξενοκλέ[ο]υς
 [Ε]δ[ω]ν[ν] μέυς
 5 [X]αιρε[στρ]άτη Χαιροφάνου
Ἀτηνέως Relief [θ]υγάτηρ

The stone contains part of *I.G.*, II¹, 1886. Before it had been broken up to supply building material, it was seen and copied by Ross, Rangabé and Koumanoudes "beyond the olive grove in a field beside a well left of the Sacred Way." It exhibited a relief that probably represented a hydria. The fragment at the Agora is solid, and the monument can never have been a sarcophagus, as the editors imagined. A noticeable variance in the lettering shows that the three names were inscribed at different times,—all three, however, in the second half of the fourth century. The monument was originally designed for the first man. Later it served to commemorate two relatives, his sister (or daughter) and her husband. Letters seen by earlier editors and now lost are underlined.

29. Part of a block of Pentelic marble, re-used as a threshold. The left side and rough-picked back are preserved. The surface is badly worn. The stone was found March 2, 1933 in Section Θ.

Maximum height, 0.375 m.; maximum width, 0.385 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inventory No. 4252 I 523.

> | | : |
 [Y A P : | Δ C
 | K / |
 Γ Y N

No. 29

[Σ]ωστρ[ά]τ[η]

Εὐαρχίδο[v]

Ἰα[ρ]ι[έ]ω[ς]

γυν[ή]

30. Part of a block of Pentelic marble, broken away on the left, the right, and above. The bottom is smoothly dressed, the back roughly finished. Across the face runs a moulding over the inscription. It was found on March 23, 1933 in a modern wall at 16/AA in Section Θ.

Maximum height, 0.23 m.; maximum width, 0.293 m.; thickness, 0.203 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inventory No. 5191 I 606.

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑ
ΖΩΤΥΡΟΥ

Ἀσκληπιά[δ]η[ς]
Ζωτύρου

No. 30

31. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble. Part of the top is preserved; otherwise it is broken away on all sides. It had been built into a modern foundation at 22/Z in Section I, and was found March 2, 1933.

Maximum height, 0.47 m.; diameter, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inventory No. 4354 I 538.

ἸΣΙΣΠΙΤΟΥ
ΠΡΗΟΥ
ΜΙΜΝΙΟΥ
ΧΟΛΑΡΓ
ΓΥΓ

[Α]μίδιον
[.]ησιρίτου
[Κο]ρήου
θηγάτη
Μιμνίου
Χολαργ[έως]
γυν[ή]

No. 31

32. The upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble. A piece of the top is missing, and the whole monument is much weathered. It was found March 2, 1933 in Section Θ.

Maximum height, 0.28 m.; diameter, 0.157 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inventory No. 4250 I 521.

Δ Η Μ Ω Ν Α Σ Σ Α
Σ Ι Μ Ο Υ
Ν Α Π Α Κ Ι Ι Α

Δημόνασσα
Σίμου
Ναπακ(τ)ία

No. 32

Να(ν)πακ(τ)ία. For the loss of the *ν* in the diphthong *αν* in the Roman period compare Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 61.

33. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble. The stone is broken away above and below. It was found March 24, 1933 in a modern fill in Section I.

Maximum height, 0.26 m.; diameter, 0.19 m.

Height of letters, 0.017–0.02 m.

Inventory No. 5235 I 619.

.. . Ι Ο Χ
Σ Ω Σ Ι Γ Ε Ν Ο Υ
Π Α Ι Α Ν Ι Ε Σ -
Γ Υ Ν Η

[Α]ντιοχ[ίς]
Σωσιγένου
Παιανέως
γυνή

No. 33

34. Part of a block of Pentelic marble, broken away at the right, the left and at the back. The bottom is smoothly finished. Two fragments found (1933) in Sections Θ and Η.



No. 34

Height, 0.15 m.; maximum width, 0.62 m.;
maximum thickness, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.024–0.028 m.

Inventory Nos. 4149 I 509 and 6136 I 702.

[Γά]ειος Ειδύλιος

[Παρ]άμονος Σουნიεύς

35. The upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble. The lower part of the stone, with the end of lines 4 and 5 of the inscription, has been broken away. In the top is a rectangular cutting, 0.08 m. long and 0.03 m. deep, into which a fragment of dark blue-grey stone is now wedged with cement. The monument had been built into a modern wall at 36/Γ in Section H, and was found March 6, 1933.

Α Φ Ρ Ο Δ Ι Σ Ι Λ
 Θ Ε Ο φ Ι Λ Ο Υ
 Θ Υ Γ Α Τ Η Ρ
 Κ Ι Τ Τ Ο
 Γ Ψ

No. 35

Maximum height, 0.39 m.; dia-
meter, 0.28 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inventory No. 4451 I 549.

Ἀφροδισία

Θεοφίλου

θυγάτηρ

Κίττον

γυ[νή]

36. Three fragments from an architrave of Pentelic marble. The inscription is carried on two contiguous fragments, one of which preserves a trace of the original surface on the left side. A third uninscribed and noncontiguous fragment, 0.205 m. wide, preserves the right corner. The fasciae continue on the right side but are less carefully finished. The latter piece and the fragment with the end of the inscription were found built into a modern cesspool at 40/Κ in Section H on March 18, 1933. The piece with the beginning of the inscription had been used face down as a doorstep in a modern cellar at 38/Θ in Section H, and was found on May 20, 1933.

Height, 0.305 m.; thickness, 0.19 m.; width of the two inscribed fragments together, 1.40 m.

Height of letters, 0.025–0.032 m.

Inventory No. 4780 I 574.



No. 36

*Τίτος Φλάβιος Θρασυκλής
 Ἀριστολόγου Προσπάλιος*

Before it was broken up to furnish building material for the cesspool, the inscription was seen in a house near the Stoa of the Giants by A. Erneres. From his copy with the misreading Ἀριστολόγου it was published by S. A. Koumanoudes in *Ἀττικῆς ἐπιγραφῶν ἐπιτύμβιοι* (Athens, 1871), no. 1076, and republished in *I.G.*, III¹, 1976.

JAMES H. OLIVER

MONUMENTAL STELE HONORING EPHEBES

37. Fourteen fragments of Hymettian marble brought together by similarity of style. Fragment M was identified and FF was discovered too late to be included in the Reconstruction on the following page but both have been included in the text. Fragment FF was found on February 7, 1935, in the wall of a modern house in Section II at 20/IA; i.e. near the Valerian Wall. Fragment M now lies in the Stoa of Attalos; probably it came from the area of the Stoa, or like the six fragments from Section I, from another nearby part of the "Valerian" Wall. We may note here that (with but six exceptions) Hellenistic monumental stelae honoring ephebes were found in the wall or close to it: *I.G.*, II², 665, 681, 766, 787, 870(?), 1006, 1008, 1009, 1011, 1029, 1030, 1039(?), and 1040. Except for *I.G.*, II², 478, 700, 794, 944b, 1010, and 1027, there are none from outside the Greek Agora until we come to 1041 and 1043 of soon after 50 B.C. The latter, and most of the Roman items, are from Demetrios Kataphores. From the period before 50 B.C., we have eight which specify explicitly the place of erection: all have merely ἐν ἀγοραῖ. We may conclude tentatively that (1) Hellenistic inscriptions honoring ephebes were customarily erected in the Greek Agora, and that (2) there no one limited area was regarded as logical for containing them.

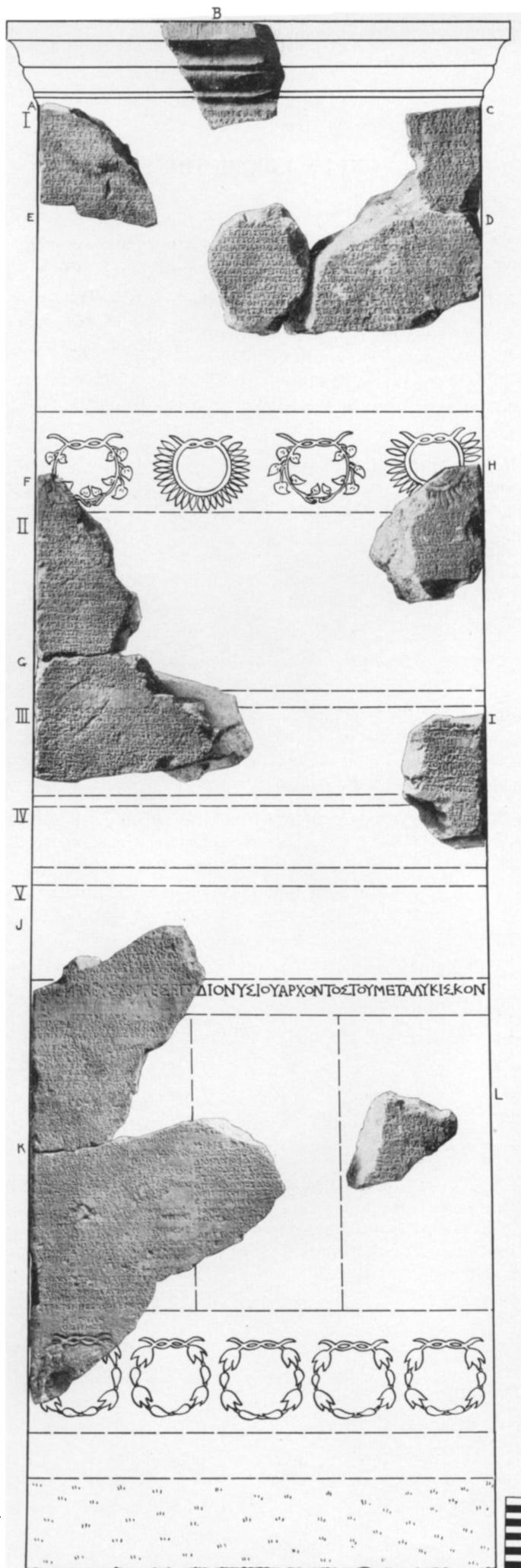
In the following list, braces indicate joins.¹

Fragment	Number	Published	Place of Discovery	Date
A	Agora I 989 c	—	Section I, in north tower	1933
B	Agora I 992	—	Section I, in north tower	1933
C	Agora I 958	—	Section I, above gate tower	1933
D	Agora I 286 a	<i>Hesp.</i> , III, no. 24	Section Θ, house 636/25	1932
	EM 7605	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1032	Stoa of Giants ² (?)	—
F	Agora I 989 b	—	Section I, in north tower	1933
FF	Agora I 286 a	—	Section II, in modern wall	1935
	Agora I 286 b	—	Section K, wall of chapel	1934
H	Agora I 286 c	—	Section K, wall of chapel	1934
I	EM 5296	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 991	Hadrian's Arch	—
J	Agora I 989 a	—	Section I, in north tower	1933
K	EM 564	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1960	Church of Constantine ³	—
L	EM 5238	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2453	—	—
M	—	—	Stoa of Attalos (?)	1934

¹ The figure on p. 72 was prepared by Miss Elizabeth Dow. The discovery of fragment FF has made it clear that five wreaths packed closely together, rather than four liberally spaced, should be restored after Decree I. As in *I.G.*, II², 1011, therefore, there were five decrees, and corresponding to each decree, a wreath of the appropriate form and with the proper inscription. The details cannot as yet be fully restored.

² Listed in the old Acropolis Catalogue, 1035.

³ The EM inventory refers to EM 46, gift of D. Lerios; for the church, see A. Mommsen, *Chr. Ath.*, p. 81, no. 91.



Schematic reconstruction of Stele honoring Ephebes

	FRAGMENT A	FRAGMENT B	NON CTOICH.
Decree I 127/6	Ἐπί Θεοῦ[ωρίδου ἄρχοντος] ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγυ[ίδος τρίτης προτανείας] ἤ Σωσικρά ^{vv} τῆς Εὐφρο[ίου Θυριάσιος ἐργ]αμμάτη[εν· Βοηδρομιῶνος πέμπτ]η ἵσταμένου, πέμπτη τῆ[ς προτανείας· ἐκκλη]σ[ία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν πρ]οέδρων ἐπε ψήφισεν Ἄνα[- - - - - ^{ca. 15} - - - - - καὶ συμπροέδροι ^v ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ] νασατ 5 Πολύχαρμος [- - - - - ^{ca. 20} - - - - - εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐφηβεύσ]αντες ἐπὶ ^{vv} Διονυσίου ἄρχ[οντος θύσαντες ταῖς ἐγγραφαῖς τὰ εἰσιτήρια] ἐν τῷ προ τανείῳ ἐπὶ τῆς [κοινῆς ἐστίας μετὰ τε τοῦ κοσμητοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱε]ρέως τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χα[ρίτων - - - - -]εσιν, διετέ λεσαν δὲ πειθαρχο[ύντες τῷ κοσμητῇ - - - - - συνετέλεσ]αν δὲ καὶ τὰς 10 θυσίας ἀπάσας τοῖς [θεοῖς - - - - - ἐποίησαντο δέ] καὶ τὴν ἀπά[ν] τησιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ π[ροέπεμψαν αὐτὰ - - ^{ca. 10} - - ἤραντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς β]οῦς δι' ἑαντ[οὺς] τοῖς μυστηρίοις ὡσαύ[τως - - - - - τοὺς δρ]όμους π[άν] τας εὐσχημόνως τοὺς τ[- - - - -]ΛΑΣΕ[- ^{3?} -] FRAGMENT [. . . .] τὰς πομπὰς ἐπόνη[ευσαν - - - - - τὸν] δῆμον ΘΕ[- ^{3?} -] D FRAGMENT 15 E [- ^{3?} - εἰσήγαγο]ν δὲ καὶ τὸν Δ[ιόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆ]ς ἐσχάρας κα[ὶ - - - - -]των φιλοτιμίαν ἀπ[- ^{2?} -] [- - - - -] θεῶι ὡς ὅτι μά[λιστα - - - - -]στατα, ἐποίησαντο δὲ κ[αὶ] [- - - - -]ξεν τε τοῖς Θεοσεί[οις - - - - -]ως κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ [ψηφίσματα - - - - -] τὴν ἀποδημίαν τ[- - - - -]τοὺς ἀξίως ἐκατέρων τῶν πόλε [ων - - - - - ἀναστρ]αφέντες ἐλειτούργησαν] δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις ἀπάσαις ἐδ ^v 20 [- - - - -]ς τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν κα[ὶ ἐστ]εφανώθησαν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ στεφά ^v [ρωι - - - - - διδάσ]καλοι αὐτῶν ἐποίησα[ν]τ[ε] δὲ καὶ τὸν εἰς Σαλαμίνα πλοῦν ^v [- - - - - ἔθυσάν] τε ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίου [τῷ] Διὶ καὶ παραγενόμενοι ἐπόνηυσαν [- - - - -] ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ τὴν [λα]γνάδα καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως ^v [- - - - -]ας τοῖς κατέχουσ[ιν] τὴν Ἀττικήν· ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ^v 25 [- - - - -]ρον θεὸν παρακ[αλ]έσαντες ἐν τῷ Πειραεῖ ημερ[- ^{3?} -] [- - - - -]ε καὶ ταῖς σε[μναῖ]ς θεαῖς ἀνεγκλήτως [- - - ^{ca. 9} - - -] [- - - - - ἐν τ]οῖς δπλοι[ς εὐσχ]ημόνως ἀνέθηκαν δ[ὲ] καὶ - - ^{ca. 6} - - -] [- - - - -]ΒΛ[- - - - -]ρον συνετήρησαν δ[ὲ] - - - ^{ca. 10} - - -]		

(Lacuna of uncertain length)

	[ἡ βουλή?]	33 e [ἡ βουλή?]	33 i [- - - - -]		
FRAGMENT FF	30 ὁ δῆμος In olive wreath:	33 f [ὁ δῆμος] In gold wreath:	[Two wreaths]	In gold wreath:	FRAGMENT H
	τὸν κοσμητήν			33 j [τὸν κοσμητήν]	
	33 Ἀπολλώνιον	33 g τοὺς		33 k [Ἀπολλώνιον]	
FRAGMENT F	33 a Ἀπολλωνίου	33 h ἐφήβου		33 l [Ἀπολλωνίου]	
	33 b Σουιέα			33 m [Σουν]ιέα	
	33 c καὶ τοὺς				
	33 d ἐφήβους				

- Decree II
127/6
- Ἐπὶ Θεο[δωρίδου ἄρ]χοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀ[λγείδος τρίτης προτανείας ἧ Σωσικράτης Εὐφρονίου]
Θριάσιος ἐγραμμά
- 35 τευεν· Βοη[δρομι]ῶνος τετράδι με[τ' εἰκάδας κατ' ἄρχοντα, κατὰ θεὸν δὲ - - ^{ca. 7} - - μετ'
εἰκάδα]ς, τετάρτη καὶ ε[ἰ]
κοσιτῆ τῆς [πρυτ]ανείας· ἐκκλη[σία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν - - - -]ης
Ἐράτωνος [Εὐ]
πυρίδης καὶ [συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ· - - - - ^{ca. 15} - - - -] εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἀπολλώνιος
Ἀ[πολλωνίου Σο[νι]
εὖς χειροτονη[θεῖς κοσμητῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχον]τος
τοῦ μετὰ Ἀ
κίσκον ἤρξε τὴν [ἀρχὴν κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου· προέστη δὲ κ]αὶ
τῆς εὐταξίας
- 40 τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τ[ῆς ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν γενομένης ἐπιστασίας ἐπεμελήθη· ἔθυσεν δὲ κ]αὶ τὰς
θυσίας ἀπά
σας μετ' αὐτῶν τ[οῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις - - - - -] μετὰ τῶν Εἰσα[.]
τοὺς ἀξίως ἐκατέ[ρους - - - - -] σεν δὲ καὶ ἐν
ταῖς θυσίαις ἀπάσαι[ς - - - - -]
στεφάνῳ· διετήρησε[ν δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν· προενοήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων
εὐταξίας τὸν]
- 45 ἀριθμὸν ἑκατὸν ἐπτὰ [ὄντων - - - - -]
ἀποδεικνύμενοι τῆ[ν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς - - - - -] γενο
μένοις κοσμηταῖς Δ[!] [- - - - -]
καταξ(ι)ως ὑπὸ τῆς β[ουλῆς - - - - -] ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆι τοὺς λα
χόντας προέδρους [εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι
τῆς βου]
- 50 λῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον [ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆ βουλῆι ἐπαινεῖσαι τὸν κοσμητὴν τῶν ἐφήβων Ἀπολλώνιον
Ἀπολλωνίου Σου]νι]
εἶα καὶ στεφανῶσ[αι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἣν
ἔχων διετέλεσεν]
- FRAGMENT
G
- πρ[ὸς τοὺς] ἐφήβους, κα[ὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέφανον τοῦτον Διονυσίων τε τῶν ἐν ἄστει καινοῖς τρα]
[γω]ιδόις καὶ Παναθηναί[ων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἀγῶσιν· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στε]
φάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι το[ὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τότε
τὸ ψηφίσμα τὸν]
- 55 γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυ[τανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν τεῖ ἀγορᾷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν
ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνά]
θεσιν τῆς στήλης τὸ γενό[μενον ἀνάλωμα μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει?]

(Two lines uninscribed)

- Decree III
128/7
- Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ με(τὰ) Ἀνκίσ[κον ἐπὶ τῆς - - - - -] προτανείας ἧ - - - - -]ος
Κεφα]
- λῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἡφαι[στ - - - - -]

κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ Τίμαρχος Ἐπι(ικ)ρατίδου Σφ[ήτιος εἶπεν· - - - - - Ἐλαφρηβολιῶνος δεκάτ]ει
 ὑστέροι, μι[αῖ]

FRAGMENT I

60 καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία ἐν [τῷ θεάτρῳ· - - - - - εἶπ]εν·

[ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπα]γ]

γέ(λ)(λ)ξι ὃ κοσμητῆς τῶν ἐφήβων Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀ[πολλωνίου Σουριεύς ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἧς
 ἔθυσεν ἐν τῇ] πομπῇ vacat

μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων τῷ τε Διονύσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλ[οις θεοῖς· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ
 μὲν ἀ]γαθὰ δέχεσθαι

τὰ γεγόνота ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυσεν ἐφ' [ὑγιεῖαι καὶ σωτηρίαί τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ
 π]αίδων καὶ γυνα[ί]

κῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμ[άχων τοῦ δήμου· ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ τὸν κοσμητὴν Ἀπολλώνιον
 Ἀπολλωνί]ου Σουριέα καὶ

65 [το]ῖς ἐφήβοις καὶ στ[εφ]αγῶ[σαι αὐτοὺς χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς
 θε]οὺς καὶ φιλοτι[μί]

ας τῆς πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματεῖα τὸν
 κατὰ π]ρυτανείαν ἐν

[στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγοραῖ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης μερί]σαι
 τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ δ[ι]

[οικῆσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα vacat] vacat

Decree IV
128/7

[Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Ανκίσκον ἐπὶ τῆς - - - - - πρυτανείας ἧ
 - - - - -]νος Κε□

70 [φραλῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευσεν· - - - - - τὸ] Μητροῶιον

[- - - - - Ἐλαφρηβολιῶνος - - - - - τετά]ρτει τῆς

[πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν - - - - - καὶ συμπροέδρου· ἔδοξεν
 τῷ δή]μῳ· Χαρ

[- - - - - εἶπεν· - - - - -] ΙΙΣ vacat

(Lacuna, of uncertain length, containing the end of Decree IV and
 the beginning of Decree V. In Decree V the formulae of *I.G.*,
 II², 1008 III, lines 82, etc. are probably to be restored)

Decree V
128/7
FRAGMENT
J

[- - - - - τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ]
 [ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆν]αι τὸν [ἄρχοντα καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελητάς· ἐπαινεῖσαι
 δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδο]

75 [τριβὴν Νίκωνα Ἀλέξιδος Βηρύτιον καὶ τὸν ὀπλομάχον Σωτάδην Σωτέλου Σωλέα καὶ τὸν
 ἀκοντιστὴν Νικάνδρον Δημητρί]

[οὐ Εὐωνυμέα καὶ τὸ]ν τοξότην Πυσ[τίλον Ὀῆθεν καὶ τὸν ὑποοπλομάχον Ἀρτεμίδωρον Ταρσέα
 καὶ τὸν γραμ]

[ματεῖα Θαρσίον Α]μπτρέα καὶ τ[ὸν ὑπηρέτην Ἰέρωνα Ἀναγυράσιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον
 αὐτῶν θαλ]

[λοῦ στε]φά[νωι]· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ [ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου εἰς στήλην
 λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶι]
 [τεμέ]ρει τοῦ Ἀΐαντος· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγο[αφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ
 τεῖ διοικήσει ἐκ τῶν εἰς]
 80 [τὰ κατ]ὰ ψηφίσματα ἀποτεταγμένων [τῶι δήμωι].

ΟΙ ΕΦΗΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΠΙ [ΛΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΝ]

	(Col. I)	(Col. II)	(Col. III)
	Ἐρεχθείδος	[fourteen lines missing, including the heading Οἰνείδος]	(The third column contained a maximum of twenty lines) [Uncertain number of lines missing]
	Τιμοκλῆς Δημοκλείδου Κηφισιεύ[ς]		
	Πλειστίας Διονυσίου Κηφισιεύς		
85	Ἐπικράτης Τίμωνος ἐκ Κηδῶν Αἰγεῖδος		[Uncertain number of lines missing]
	Ἀνσίμαχος Φιλοξένου Φιλαί[δης]		165 [Ἀϊαντίδος]
	Σώφιλος Σωφίλου Ἐρικεε[ύς]		[Uncertain number of lines missing]
	Μηρόδωρος Διογένου Γ% - - -		
90	Φίλων Σωφίλου Κολλυτ[εύς]		- - - ^{ca. 3} - - - ΓΟ - - - - FRAGMENT L
	Πύρρος Δημοκλείδου Τ[ειθράσιος]		[Διονύσιος] Διογ[έν]ου - - - -
	Σωτάδας Σωτάδου Φι[λαίδης?]		[^{ca. 1} - N] ικοκλέους Ῥα[μνούσιος]
	Στησαγόρας Εὐμήλου - - - - -		[^{ca. 6} - ος] Διογήτου Ῥαμ[νούσιος]
	Καλλίστρατος Ἄριστ - - - - -		170 [Ἀ]ντιοχίδος
95	Πανδιονίδος		[^{ca. 6} - α]ρχος Μηροδό[του - - - -]
	Χάρης Χάρητος Παια[νιεύς]		[Φίλων Φί]λωνος Παλλ[ληνεύς]
	Ἀπολλοφάνης Ἀηναί[ο]υ - - - -		- - ^{ca. 6} - ος Εὐανδρ - - - -
	Κάστωρ Ἀρχίππου Κυθ[αθηναϊεύς]		Ἄτταλι[δος]
FRAGMENT K	Καλλίμαχος Καλλιμ[... Παιανιεύς?]		175 [Πυθίλ]ας Ἀπολλ[ωνίου - - - -]
100	Θάρασάνδρος Νικοστ[ράτου Παια]νιεύς	Ἄντ - - - - -	[Ἀχαίδ]ς Ἀπ[ολλοδώρου - - - -]
	Δημήτριος Μητρο[δώρου Π]αιανιεύς	Ἄντιγ - - - - -	
	Σωφάνης Δημοκράτου Παιανιεύς		[Uncertain number of lines missing]
	Λεωντίδος	[Κεχροπίδος]	
	Μηρόδωρος Ἡρακλείδου Κολωνήθεν	145 Κηφισόδωρος [Δημητρίου - - - -]	
105	Νικίας Εὐφημίδου Κρωπίδης	Διόδωτος Ἡρακλε[ίδου - - - -]	
	Ἀγέλαος Ἀγέλαου ἐξ Οἴου	Διονύσιος Διονυσ - - - - -	
	Πολυαίνετος Ἀμύκλου Σκαμβωνίδης	Ζηρόδοτος Θεοδ - - - - -	
	Ἀπολλόδοτος Σθενίου Κήττιος	Ἄτταλος Ἀδράστο[υ - - - -]	
	Τιμοκράτης Ἀλεξάνδρου Ποτάμιος	150 Ἀπολλώνιος Διον[υσίου - - - -]	
110	Ἀισχύλος Αἰσχύλου Ὑβάδης	Ἄριστιών Εὐδόξου Μ[ελιτεύς]	
	Σωσίβιος Τέλωνος Ὑβάδης	Δεινοκλῆς Φιλοστ[ράτου - - - -]	
	Πτ[ο]λεμαῖδος	Φανοκλῆς Πρωτογ[ένου - - - -]	
	Διοσκυρ[ίδ]ης Ἀριστοκλέου Φλυεύς		

	Ἀθηναγόρ[α]ς Πυρρίνου Κυδα ντιδῆ ς	Φωντίδης Ἴππ[άρχου ---]			
115	Νέων Φιλοκράτου Οἰναῖος	155	Ἴππο[θωντίδος]		
	Θεοκλῆς Εὐθυκλέους Βερενικίδης		Ἀριστόνικ[ος] Ἀνσιμάχου ---]		
	Νικοκλῆς Δημητρίου Φλυεύς		Τεῖσις Φι -----		
	Φιλωνίδης Ἀριστομένου Προσπάλιος		Δημα[γώρας] Εὐθυδόμου ---]		
	Εὐμαχίδης Ἀριστάνδρου Ἐκαλήθην		Α -----		
120	Διονύσιος Διονυσίου Προσπάλιος				
	Ἀκαμαντίδος				
	Τιμοκράτης Θεοδώρου Χολαγεύς				
	Θεόδωρος Διονυσίου Κεφαλήθεν		[Five lines missing]		
	Μενεκράτης Ἀνόφρονος Χολ[αγεύς]				
125	᾽Ολυμπιόδωρος Ἀντοκλέους Θρ[αίσιος]				
	Εὐνικίδης Δημητρίου Εἰτε[αῖος]				
	Στρατόνικος Θεογένου Ἐρ[μειος]				
	177 ἡ βουλῆ	182 [ἡ βουλῆ]	188 [ἡ βουλῆ]	192 [ἡ βουλῆ]	197 [ἡ βουλῆ]
	ὁ δῆμος	[ὁ δῆμος]	[ὁ δῆμος]	[ὁ δῆμος]	[ὁ δῆμος]
	In olive wreath:	In olive wreath:	In olive wreath:	[In olive wreath:]	[In olive wreath:]
	τὸν παιδοι[αῖ]	[τὸν δπλομάχον]	[τὸν ἀκοντιστήν]	[τὸν τοξότην]	[τὸν ὑποοπλο]
	[βην Νί]ω[γα] Ἀλέ]	[Σωτάδην] Σωτέ[λ]	[Νίκανδρον] Δημη]	[Πυστίλον] Νι]	[μάχον] Ἀρτεμί]
	[ξιδος Βηρύτιον]	[ου] Σωλέα	[αρίου] Εὐωνυμέα]	[κίδος] ᾽Οῆθεν]	[δωρον] Ταρσέα]

FRAGMENT
M

The thickness of No. **37** is 0.175 m. The width can be estimated closely as 0.65 m. just under the moulding, which is preserved on fragment B and is 0.11 m. high. The top was trimmed flat and probably lacked a (separately cut) pediment. The total height can only be estimated; it was some 1.7 m. plus parts missing between our fragments.

The lettering is spaced farther apart vertically at the top. Fragment A has lines 0.0106 m. from base-line to base-line; fragment J, 0.0095 m. Horizontally the variation is also marked, ABCDE being much looser than the tightly packed letters especially of F. Naturally the lower letters are also smaller. Hence the number of letters in a line shows divergencies as indicated. Within each group the spacing is strikingly regular. There is a marked tendency, as in *I. G.*, II², 1006–1011, for the lines to increase gradually in length, at least until the decree (V) on J is reached. At this point the mason evidently realized that enough room remained for the spacing of Decree I to be resumed. This fact differentiates Decrees IV and V.

The addition of the new fragments has confirmed Meritt's suggestion in his publication of D that we have a decree honoring ephebes somewhat earlier than the series beginning with *I. G.*, II², 1006.¹ The closed sequence of archons Lykiskos II, Dionysios V (as he

¹ For the restorations given there is authority in nearly every case, chiefly from *I. G.*, II², 1006–1011, supported by careful determination of the available space. New readings in fragments already published are not indicated, except in the list of names (see below). We note here that at the end of line 69 the

must now be designated), Theodorides was already known from *I. G.*, II², 1713, lines 1–3, and dated in 129/8–127/6. The new decrees show the secretary cycle certainly functioning in the latter two years, for we have two new secretaries, of Kephale (VI) and Thria (VII), and these conform to the established cycle.

It had been plausibly conjectured that the secretary of the Dionysios of 128/7 was named in *I. G.*, II², 888 (Ferguson, *Archons*, p. 88, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 31; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 254), but we now see that this is impossible. We must reckon with the following archons named Dionysios:

Dionysios	Page in Dinsmoor	Predecessor	Secretary	Date	Select documents
I	219	Nikophon (none named in <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 850)	-----	ca. 200	<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 850, 1323
II ¹	254	----- es	Θεόλυτος ----- θεν	“Init. s. II”	<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 887
III	254	-----	Ἰάσων Ἀριστοκ -----	“Med. s. II” ²	<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 888
IV	268–9	(none named in <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 968) ³	[----- B]οντάδης	141/0?	<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 968
V	273	Lykiskos	[-----]ρος Κε[φα]λήθεν	128/7	Document here published
VI ⁴	275	Paramonos	Ἀάμιος Τιμούχον Ῥαμνούσιος	112/1	<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1012

In other words, it seems that there are not five, as was once thought, but six archons Dionysios; for the number cannot, apparently, be reduced.

The spacing permits the restoration of the calendar formulae for 127/6 (Theodorides) to give an ordinary year; the preceding year was evidently intercalary. In line 35 the space indicates either extensive dittography, which is unlikely in view of the willingness of the mason to erase, or more likely the formula which indicates the interpolation of days by the archon (cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 26). Koehler's restoration of Elaphebolion in line 59 (and 71) has been followed.

letter phi was erased when it was seen that there was insufficient room after it for the additional letter alpha, and that in the first half of line 63 the last preserved letter is phi cut over nu.

¹ Identified conjecturally by Roussel with his archon [----- με]τὰ Τιμαρχίδην (*R. E. A.*, 1932, p. 201).

² The style seems suitable for ca. 180–150; the dating of several of these documents awaits further study.

³ It is curious that with so many archons of one name, the predecessor is not designated; hence one may doubt whether *I. G.*, II², 968 B belongs to an archon Dionysios.

⁴ Graindor (*Chronologie*, nos. 109, 167, 173) names three more, of the second and third centuries A.D.

As a whole the document differs from other ephebic decrees in that the ephebes and officials were honored toward the end of the year in which they served (Decrees III, IV, [V]), as well as in the following year (Decrees I, II). *I.G.*, II², 1011 alone is similar.

The *ἀντιγραφεὺς* appears in line 58, evidently in connection with a *ψήφισμα* previously passed, but we cannot with certainty complete the formula. The *ἀντιγραφεὺς* was known twice in the second century, in *I.G.*, II², 967 of 145/4 (proposed by the same man as in our Decree III), a decree honoring prytanes in which no previous decree is mentioned; and (restored) in *I.G.*, II², 1014 of 109/8, in which another individual handed over a document to the Boule and Demos. The loss of the demotic in our Decree III is deplorable (see Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 160 and n. 1). In Decree IV the Metroön appears (line 70), and it may be that the *ἀντιγραφεὺς* was reported as having supplied from it a copy of a previous decree.

Decree III was paid for (lines 67–68) by *ὁ ἐπὶ τεῖ δ[ιοικήσει]*. In line 56 the Treasurer of Military Funds, who invariably in other documents of this period bears the expense, may equally well have appeared. This isolated appearance of the Single Officer will be mentioned again in a discussion to appear in a following number of *Hesperia*.

In lines 55 and 56 the spacing strongly supports the restoration *ἐν ἀγοραῖ*, which the general argument *above* led us to expect.

Decree V, in the part preserved, honors the trainers, who according to all the parallels were also honored in the missing latter part of Decree I. This repetition is also found in *I.G.*, II², 1008 Decree III, and 1011 Decree III. Both of these decrees are decrees of the people of Salamis, and like the present Decree V, the first of these was to be set up in the precinct of Ajax (1008, line 87). Our Decree V was evidently passed by the Salaminians.

We turn now to the list of the ephebes. Graindor observed (*Rev. Belge de phil. et d'hist.*, III, 1924, pp. 13, 428) in his original publication of fragment K that *Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, 24, part of a Pythiast record, included many of the ephebes of this year.¹ From this Delphian document the names of officials in lines 73–80 have also been supplied. Through chipping of the edges, letters underlined in K have disappeared since Graindor saw them. Trivial changes in his readings have been made. In the erasure in line 114, ΠΔΗΣ was originally inscribed. Lines 119 and 122 are read as they are on the stone.

The restorations in lines 166 ff. are in accordance with the spacings. Column I was so closely spaced that it contained all the names of five tribes and part of those of the

¹ A squeeze of the Delphian inscription, for which I wish to thank A. W. Parsons and C. H. Morgan II, reveals certain changes in readings. The text of *F. de Del.*, III 2, 24 should be amended as follows: line 7 has ΠΙΠΑΙΑΙ (see Colin's Pl. IV, 2); line 16 has traces of all the original letters; line 17 reads [*ΑΦ*]ηγατωρ, and the word is cut over Column II, a symmetrical nicety not recorded by the editor. Further, in Column I: line 18 reads ΘΑΡΣ[ΥΤ]ΟΣ; line 35 lacks 6 1/2, not 8 letters; at present line 36 lacks ΜΕΝ, line 37 lacks ΡΟΣΔ, line 38 lacks ΙΣΤ, line 39 the first O, line 40 has the E, line 41 lacks the first O, line 45 reads Θ[ε]σανδρος. In Column II, line 34 is now gone. In Column III, line 19 has the Z and T; in line 22 the corrected name *Εὐδόξου* may perfectly well be by the same hand as the rest; in line 30 Δ is cut over the second O in *Ξενοκράτους*, and baffles one; in line 31 the final Y is present; part of the first letter of a new line immediately before line 37 is A or Λ; line 38 reads ΣΜ[- -]; line 39 reads ΠΕΑ and smaller letters ΑΑ occur between lines 38 and 39, indented half a space.

sixth; in order properly to fill Column II and most of Column III, the spacing was lengthened so that four names in these columns occupy exactly the space of five in Column I (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1006).

There is no need to repeat the former identifications, now available in *I.G.*, II², 1960. The new prosopographical items are included in the following commentary. *Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, 24 is abbreviated to *D*, and its three columns are signified by Roman numerals.

Line 83: *D* II 39. *NPA* 160. Line 85: *D* I 38, in which the spacing shows that *Πλιστίας* was once read correctly. Line 87: *D* II 25. Line 88: *D* III 21. Line 89: *D* II 32. Line 91: *D* I 37. Line 92: the Doric ending *-ας* for this name is otherwise unknown in Athens. The deme was Phegaia or Philaidai. Line 93: the name Stesagoras is rare (*PA* 12894-6, all fifth century, and one in *NPA* 153, second century). Line 96: *D* I 19. *PA* 15300, *NPA* 170 (father), *PA* 449 (son), 15301 (probably ancestor). Line 98: the name Kastor is new to Athenian prosopography. Line 100: *D* I 45. The name Tharsandros is new not only to Athenian prosopography, but also, in this precise form, to Greek. Bechtel (*Gr. Personennamen*, pp. 50 and 198) records *Θάρσανδρος* for Delphi in the fourth century B.C. Otherwise the name seems to be unknown. Line 102: an erased iota appears after the first alpha. The restoration in the *Corpus* has been shown to be wrong.

In fragment L accurate study of the spacing enables five restorations:—Line 167: *D* II 24 is slightly preferable to I 39 on account of spacing. Line 169: *D* I 35. Cf. *PA* 3869. Line 172: *D* I 22. *NPA* 167. Line 175: *D* I 21. Line 176: *D* III 20.

In all, the Athenian list, excluding *lacunae*, has at most 65 names. To this total the Delphian list adds at most 38 others, giving a maximum total of 103 known Athenian ephebes. Since the number of ephebes was in all 107 (line 45), we lack the names of very few. The space in the Athenian stele would allow at most 7 ξένοι; it is safe to suppose that in 128/7, as in the next preserved list (*I.G.*, II², 1006 of 123/2), no foreigners appear; their first entry is a group of 17 in the year 119/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1008). Foreigners were enrolled regularly thereafter.¹

With the trainers in our inscription, the case is different. It is true that the *kosmetes* (as always), the coach of javelin throwing (*akontistes*), the coach of archery (*toxotes*), the secretary, and the servant were Athenians. The *akontistes*, Nikandros son of Demetrios of Euonymon, had been a prize wrestler as a boy (*νικήσας τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Θησείων παιδας πάλιν τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ἄρχοντος*, 153/2?, *I.G.*, II², 958, lines 95-96), and we meet him continuing his career as *akontistes* in 123/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1006), and 117/6 (1009). In 119/8 (1008), however, he seems to have been incapacitated, for the office was held by Hieron, son of Herakleides of Anagyrous. This Hieron had been merely *διηρέτης* in 128/7 and 123/2. The other three members of the staff were foreigners: the *paidotribes* was from Berytos, the trainer in heavy arms (*hoplomachos*) was from Sole, his assistant was from Tarsus: all Syrians, like many of the first foreign ephebes (1008).²

¹ Cf. O. W. Reinmuth, *The Foreigners in the Athenian Ephebia*, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1929.

² For the names of the officials see also the parallel record in Delphi (*Fouilles*, III 2, 24).

When the foreign ephebes arrived, however, they found no non-Athenian officials. Foreign ephebic officials appear in our sparse records now and then before 128/7, though never as many as three in one year. After 128/7, and down through 39/8 B.C., we know the *ethnika* of some 37 officials; only one of these is a foreigner, and he appears late in the period (1046 of 47/43). It is clear that after 128/7 the ephebic service was "purged."

The officials henceforth were to be Athenians; at about the same time (*ca.* 120) the rolls of the cadets were opened to foreigners. Evidently it was considered intolerable that in the Athenian ephebia Syrian officials, for example, should train Syrian ephebes. Still, the foreign ephebes were never more than a small minority, and, if we understand the list of 123/2 correctly, the "purging" of the service took place some years before the opening of the rolls to foreigners. We should probably bring a more general hypothesis into the picture: namely, that this was a time of rampant nationalism in Athens (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 415–422, esp. 418). The patriotic, prosperous, and consciously aristocratic leaders of the state decided that only Athenians should train their sons; a little later they condescended to allow a few select youths from other cities to associate with the *jeunesse dorée* of Athens.¹

MONUMENT TO THE ATHLETIC VICTOR MENODOROS

38. Three fragments are here united with those (*a, b, c*) previously discovered in the Agora and published as *Hesperia*, 1934, no. 65. The only newly discovered fragment (*d*) was found February 9, 1934 in Section A, in the modern wall at 25/ΣΤ; this stone, which preserves the top moulding, has a height of 0.21 m., a width of 0.47 m., and a thickness of 0.27 m. It joins *I.G.*, II, 1319. The fragment previously published in *Hesperia* as *a* joins EM 8734. The fragment previously published as *b* also joins EM 8734. EM 8734 and *b* together make up part of *I.G.*, II, 1318, a stone read by Pittakys and subsequently broken up, so that large parts are still missing.

I.G., II, 1318 preserved the names of the masons. The signature was probably centred, to judge by the two remaining letters, under the central three columns of wreaths on a slab which originally had at least eleven columns in all. The whole may be tabulated as follows, braces indicating joins:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| I | { | <i>I.G.</i> , II, 1319 (preserving the left end)
Agora <i>d</i> —Inv. No. 9340 I 1315 |
| II | { | Agora <i>a</i>
<i>I.G.</i> , II, 1318, which consisted of parts now lost, and
{ Agora <i>b</i>
{ EM 8734 |
| III | { | Agora <i>c</i> (preserving the right end). |

¹ Roussel's remarks on fragment *D* arrived in time for me to note here that he has made independently a correct connection with a Pythais, and a close limitation of the date (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, 92–93).

The thickness where preserved (*ca.* 0.275 m.) is too considerable for revetment blocks, but agrees rather with the conception herein advanced of a heavy balustrade roughly 2.2 m. in length. The name of the victor may have been cut on the moulding of fragment *a*. The top surface is roughly finished; even so, it may have borne a heavy slab on which a sculptured group could have been mounted. The backs are rough-picked. Further architectural details, with drawings, are being reserved for the final publication.

The lettering suggests the period 150–125 B.C.; there is some resemblance to the letters of No. 37 (*above*, pp. 71–81).

The reconstruction may be precisely determined. Professor Ferguson has called my attention to an athletic dedication in Delos published with a photograph by Bizard and Roussel in *B.C.H.*, 1907, 432–435. Two pieces were found, one the flat top with mouldings on the front and right side, an inscription, and cuttings on top for statuary; the other a great slab from the front face, with 36 inscribed wreaths. The thickness of the latter (0.30 m.) is similar to that of the pieces from the Agora, and the two monuments were obviously somewhat alike in form. The Delian was cut by a different hand: the letters, if Athenian, would be dated somewhat later, the crowns are different in design, and they are presented within recessed squares, the relief being in one plane only. The French editors, however, suggest that the crown presented by a King Ariarathes (of Cappadocia) may have come from the fifth of that name (163–*ca.* 130 B.C.), so that a date contemporary with that of the Athenian monument is allowed.¹

The Delian slab, which was flanked by a missing slab which could have borne more crowns, preserves 36 crowns, four of which were granted by cities and by King Ariarathes; two of the 36 have not been read.² The Athenian fragments preserve 18 positively identified festivals-plus-events, with others which are too fragmentary to identify independently. In the following comparative list of festivals and events, with restorations in each suggested by the other, all the events are in the men's class except for those designated as youths'; horizontal lines separate the horizontal rows as they were inscribed on the stones:

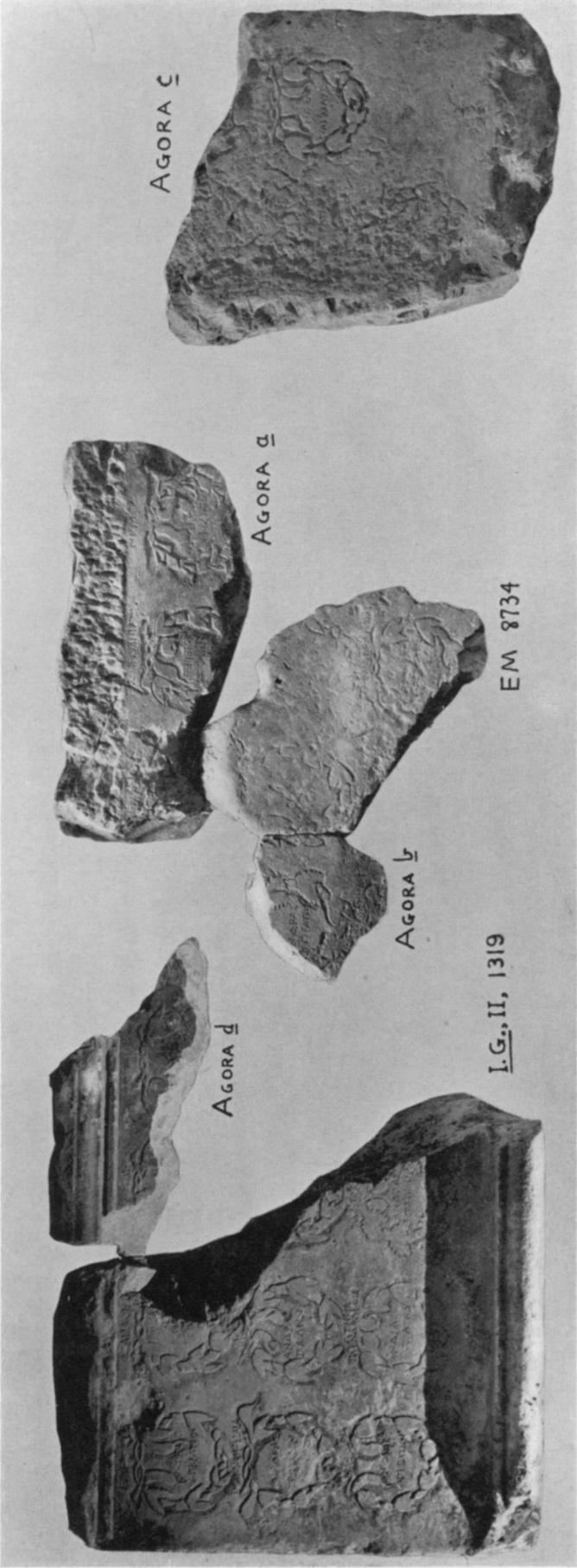
SPACE NUMBER	DELIAN (<i>B. C. H.</i> , 1907, 432)	ATHENIAN (<i>I. G.</i> , II, 1318, etc.)
1	Eleusinia, <i>pankration</i>	Eleusinia, <i>pankration</i>
2	[Panathenaia], <i>pankration</i>	Panathenaia, <i>pankration</i>
3	Olympia, [<i>wrestling</i>]	Olympia, [<i>wrestling</i>]
4	Soteria, <i>pankration</i>	Pythia, <i>pankration</i>
5	———, <i>pankration</i>	———, ———
6	Nemea, <i>wrestling</i>	Eleutheria, ———
7	Eleusinia, <i>youths' wrestling</i>	Eleusinia, <i>youths' wrestling</i>
8	Nemea, <i>pankration</i>	Nemea, <i>pankration</i>
9	Eleusinia, <i>wrestling</i>	[Eleusinia, <i>wrestling</i>]

¹ The editors called attention merely to the analogy with *I. G.*, II, 1318 and 1319.

² Further weathering has made it impossible, for me at least, to add a single sure letter, or to test previous readings in crowns 4, 5, and 6.

10	Nemea, <i>youths' wrestling</i>	Nemea, <i>youths' wrestling</i>
11	Herakleia, <i>pankration</i>	[Herakleia, <i>pankration</i>]
12	Panathenaia, (<i>wrestling</i>)	Panathenaia, <i>wrestling</i>
13	Delia, <i>wrestling</i>	Delia, <i>wrestling</i>
14	Romaia, <i>pankration</i>	[Heraia, <i>wrestling</i>]
15	Heraia, <i>wrestling</i>	[Romaia], <i>pankration</i>
16	Lykaia, <i>pankration</i>	[Lykaia], <i>pankration</i>
17	Herakleia, <i>pankration</i>	Heraia, <i>pankration</i>
18	Soteria, <i>wrestling</i>	[Soteria], <i>wrestling</i>
19	Romaia, <i>wrestling</i>	[Romaia, <i>wrestling</i>]
20	Heraia, <i>pankration</i>	[Herakleia, <i>wrestling</i>]
21	Herakleia, <i>pankration</i>	Herakleia, <i>pankration</i>
22	Olympia, <i>pankration</i>	[Herakleia], <i>pankration</i>
23	Herakleia, <i>wrestling</i>	Olympia, <i>pankration</i>
24	Soteria, <i>pankration</i>	Soteria, <i>pankration</i>
25	Naä, <i>wrestling</i>	Naä, <i>wrestling</i>
26	Trophonia, <i>wrestling</i>	Trophonia, <i>wrestling</i>
27	Nymphaia, <i>pankration</i>	Nymphaia, [<i>pankration</i>]
28	Naä, <i>pankration</i>	Naä, <i>pankration</i>
29	Trophonia, <i>pankration</i>	Trophonia, <i>pankration</i>
30	Herakleia, <i>pankration</i>	[Herakleia, <i>pankration</i>]
31	Nymphaia, <i>wrestling</i>	[Nymphaia, <i>wrestling</i>]
32	Herakleia, <i>wrestling</i>	[Herakleia], <i>wrestling</i>
33	The Demos of Athens	One space vacant
34	The Demos of Rhodes	
35	The Demos of Boeotian Thebes	
36	KING ARIARATHES	

It is quite evident that the two monuments were set up to the same athlete. It is curious then that the two series are not perfect duplicates. Oblique lines indicate how the entries may be paired off; the only remaining discrepancy is in spaces 4–6. Space 5 probably contained the festivals of either 4 or 6, so that one discordant pair alone would remain. In this discordant pair we may suppose a simple error in the name of the festival. There is no difficulty in supposing that an error was allowed to remain on the stone, such as will be shown for space 12: to erase an inscription is to deface it, and in fact no erasure was made in either copy (on “Clerical Errors in Lists” see Dow, *Hesperia*, 1934, pp. 187–188). On this basis extensive restoration of the Athenian monument is possible; the symmetrical form, with eleven vertical rows, is confirmed; and it is clear that the missing block or blocks of the Delian monument recorded no athletic victory.



Fragments of No. 38, Scale 1:10

In space 17 Pittakys read ---ΘΑΙ— in the first line. Of the artist's signature only ΠΟ remain, and we must rely on Pittakys for the rest. There are no other difficulties with readings in the Athenian monument.

The second Delian block, the crowning member of the pedestal, tells us the athlete's name; the complete text follows:

*Μηνόδορον Γναίου Ἀθηναῖον νικήσαντα τὴν περίοδον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας
Δημήτριος Ἀπολλοδότου Ἀντιοχεύς Ἀπόλλωνι*

Apart from his athletic triumphs, the victor is not known, nor is any likely relation traceable. In view of the comparative fullness of our records in this period, the lack is possibly indicative of his social status; we probably know a little of most of the prominent families of the time. It is noteworthy that he is designated merely Ἀθηναῖος, and that his father's name is Roman. His *floruit* may be placed generally by the style, and by the mention (in exceptionally large letters) of the crown awarded by King Ariarathes, who was in all probability the fifth of that name, as Bizard and Roussel suggested. This Ariarathes studied in Athens under Carneades, was enrolled as a citizen (deme Sypalettos), and made such presents to the Dionysiac artists, i.e., to those whose headquarters were at Athens, that they voted him generous honors (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 300–301, and references). Evidently his interests were varied. That Ariarathes should also have honored the foremost Athenian athlete of his age fits well with the facts.¹ A further hint as to the date may be taken from the absence of the Ptolemaia, which do not appear in the inscriptions, and probably were not celebrated, between ca. 150 and 103 B.C. (Ferguson, *Klio*, 1908, 338 ff.). Equally conspicuous, especially since he is said to have won in the *περίοδος*, is the omission of the Isthmia, which probably suffered (temporarily) after 146. We may place the *floruit* of Menodoros ca. 150–130 B.C. in agreement with all the evidence. His career must have extended through most at least of these two decades, the monuments being erected soon before 130.

The order of items, obviously not chronological, appears roughly to illustrate popular rating of the festivals, for the more famous come first; only the Olympian *pankration* in place 22–23 opposes this view. It has been noted by Ferguson that in the case of several of these more famous festivals, no need was felt to specify the city.

Tabulation of festivals-and-events shows that generally a given festival-and-event is recorded only once. There are exceptions. Thus we seem to have the *pankration* at the Soteria in place 24 and also, at a point where the order is obviously disturbed, in place 4 of the Delian list. The only other exception is better attested and more flagrant: four victories in the *pankration*, and two in wrestling, are recorded for the

¹ The four non-agonistic crowns 33–36 had probably been awarded when the Athenian monument was erected by its unknown donor. The crowns may have appeared on the superstructure, or possibly complete copies of the honorary decrees and the king's rescript were set up nearby.

Herakleia in Thebes. The explanation would seem to be simply that Menodoros ordinarily did not choose to attempt a second victory in a given event at a given festival.¹

To Thebes, however, he returned again and again, and the appreciative Thebans voted him a crown (35). The document does not reveal why Rhodes, now stricken by the transference of much of its commerce to the free Athenian port of Delos, should also have conferred honors on the Athenian athlete.

It is notable that in most cases Menodoros won two victories at each festival, one for the *pankration*, one for wrestling. Exceptions are the Pythia, the Eleutheria, the Delia, and the Lykaia. At the Eleusinia and Nemea, i.e., at or near home, the youth Menodoros began his career by one victory each in wrestling.

All the festivals whose names are preserved, except the semi-Athenian Delia, were held on the mainland of Greece: the victor did not compete, or at least did not win, in any of the great contemporary festivals of Asia Minor, Syria, or Egypt. This was not because of limitations imposed by athletic guilds, for they were not organized until the Empire (Poland, *Gesch. Gr. Vereinswesens*, p. 147). We know, on the contrary, that easterners, islanders, and Italians occasionally won in games at this time on the mainland of Greece, as at Olympia, Athens, Larisa (T. Klee, *Zur Gesch. d. Gym. Agone*, 114, 119).

I.G., II, 1318 provides the names of two letter-cutters, ---, son of Charmides (either he or Pittakys got the spelling wrong), and Menodotos, son of Artemidoros, both of Tyre. They also cut the wreaths, of course, and whatever surmounted the balustrade, presumably a statue; but their lettering is similar to other lettering in this period. They may be instanced as the only two letter-cutters of the Hellenistic period in Athens known to us by name. Their technique in cutting wreaths was simply to obtain from the flat surface the effect of relief. The wreaths would be drawn first on the stone; stencils may have been used, but if so, the lines of cutting did not follow strictly the lines drawn from the stencil. The areas thus outlined would then be marked by deep grooves surrounding them—analogueous to relief lines in vase painting—and finally the deep grooves would be broadened by wide shallow strokes sloping up to the flat surface. Similar technique was used by a similar hand in No. 37, *above*, pp. 71–81.

As in a different monument of the same series, *I.G.*, II, 1320, the wreaths for the various festivals are to some extent distinguished. Four types are preserved to us, parsley (Nemea), oak (Naä and Lykaia), laurel (Apollonia), and olive (all others). So far as can be discerned, every wreath is bound with a sacred fillet.² It is noteworthy that

¹ Hence in place 12 the Delian document, which has *Παγκράτιον*, is in error (cf. 2); the event should be *Πάλην*. In place 3 the event, missing in both inscriptions, is restored as wrestling on the same basis (cf. 22–23).

² This is not the place to discuss the Greek name for the fillet in question. The French editors cite Wilhelm in *Arch. Ep.*, 1905, pp. 242–243, in support of *λημνίσκος* (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1297, line 11; 1333, line 7; 1357, line 31 [but see rather *above*, p. 30]; 1366, line 25). This is probably the usual term (see further

the ends of the fillet on the Panathenaic crowns fly out to either side, whereas in all other crowns the ends of the fillet hang down within the wreath.

Most of the festivals are well known, but two call for special notice. Pittakys misread the location of the Nymphaia, so that Koehler assigned them to Mt. Oeta (Antoninus Liberalis, *Metam.* 32). Nymphaia at Apollonia were correctly located by Bizard and Roussel in Illyria. Otherwise they have not hitherto been known, but the fact is not surprising in view of the famous oracular Nymphaion nearby.¹ The traces of leaves indicate that the crown was certainly not of oak or parsley, nor do they resemble the olive. They may be identified without question from coins. From the First Century B.C. we have coins of Apollonia showing on the obverse Apollo crowned with laurel, and on the reverse three nymphs; the laurel wreath appears on other coins of Apollonia (*B. M. Cat., Thessaly to Aetolia*, p. 61 and pl. XII; further references in Roscher, *loc. cit.*).

It is interesting that the festival at Lebadeia is called the Trophonia. This was its earliest name (Pindar, *Ol.*, VII, 153 and Schol.). After Leuktra the Basileia were founded (Diod. Sic., XV, 53), named from Zeus Basileus. It seemed likely that this was the old festival under a new name (*C. I. G.*, I, p. 704; Dar.-Sag., *s. v. Trophonia*); the name Basileia occurs in a new Agora inscription of 283/2, and in a great athletic inscription of 221–216 B.C. (Vollgraff, *B. C. H.*, 1901, p. 370). The present inscription is the third known epigraphic record of the Trophonia. From the date we must probably infer two festivals; or two names currently used for the one festival. The Trophonia are mentioned in *I. G.*, VII, 47/8 of 196–86 B.C. and in *I. G.*, VII, 49 of the Antonine period, but the plurality of festivals, or names, seems not to have been noticed.

We have then a highly distinctive type of inscription, characterized by a carved wreath proper for each crown won. In Athens similar inscriptions apparently do not occur earlier (cf. *I. G.*, II, 1300–1311, 1313–1315), nor are Roman monuments of this class generally similar (*I. G.*, III, 104–129), although an Agora inscription to be published soon may be an exception. Since athletics were international, one might expect that in other cities similar monuments were erected at this time. We may consider such inscriptions as the following:

Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, 1902, p. 137, n. 8; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. M.*, p. 24). The object as carved on the Athenian monument precisely resembles a short *tauva* (on which see Dow, *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.*, 1930, pp. 68–69) and in fact *I. G.*, II², 1292, line 12, mentions the award of a crown with a *tauvtiov*. There are references to both words in literature: see Liddell and Scott.

¹ In 1923–1924 the French excavations revealed remains of the third and second centuries B.C. (*Albania*, 1925, p. 25), the date of the destruction being uncertain. We now see that in the period ca. 150–130 B.C. the city flourished enough to support a festival. This is in agreement with the fact that Apollonia, in detachment from her sister-cities, sought and obtained the favor of Rome (references *op. cit.*; Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, 2, 112–113). The cult of the Nymphs at Apollonia is epigraphically attested (*Ath. Mitt.*, IV, 1879, 233). Cicero speaks of the city as *magna urbs et gravis* (cited by Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*), and hence it was well able to support an international festival. Cf. Roscher, *Gr. u. Röm. Myth.*, III, 1, 514; Dar.-Sag., *Dict.*, IV A, p. 129.

NUMBER	CITY	DATE BY EDITOR
1. ¹ <i>I. G.</i> , II, 1318, 1319, and three fragments from the Agora: the present document	Athens	146— <i>ca.</i> 130 B.C.
1 a. <i>B. C. H.</i> , 1907, 432: copy of No. 1	Delos	146— <i>ca.</i> 130 B.C.
2. <i>I. G.</i> , II, 1312	Athens	
3. ¹ <i>I. G.</i> , II, 1316	Athens	
4. <i>I. G.</i> , II, 1320	Athens	
5. <i>I. G.</i> , II, 1323	Athens	
6. ¹ Two unpublished fragments now in the Stoa of Attalos	Athens	
7. <i>I. G.</i> , V, 1, 656	Sparta	
8. <i>I. G.</i> , V, 1, 657	Sparta	Late Second Century B.C. or after
9. <i>I. G.</i> , V, 2, 118	Tegea	Ante-219 B.C.? ²
10. ¹ <i>I. G.</i> , VII, 47 combined with 48 ³	Megara	196—86 B.C.
11. <i>I. G.</i> , VII, 2487 ⁴	Thebes	Early Second Century B.C.
12. Olympia, <i>Inscr.</i> , no. 188	Olympia	Second Century B.C.

These are all the monuments of this type which happen to have come to my attention.⁵ The coincidence of dates can hardly be fortuitous, and since the dates were given to each independently of knowledge of the rest, we may claim that the date for the entire group is reasonably solid,⁶ though in view of the slight uncertainty about a revival of the Naä at Dodona, the period may extend back to the late Third Century, before 219. In Roman times, mostly Hadrianic or later, the type was vaguely imitated.⁷

¹ Hymettian, a material much favored in Athens in this period.

² The inscription includes victories in the presentation of dramas as well. The date is based on the sack of Dodona by the Aetolians in 219 B.C. (Polyb., IV, 67). Polybios does not say that this put an end permanently to the Naä; and since the style of the inscription here published would be unique to my knowledge in the Third Century, we may tentatively suggest that the festival was revived; otherwise its date will be ante-219. Certainly the lettering of *I. G.*, V, 2, 118 seems post-219 (*B. C. H.*, 1900, plate VIII).

³ The editor fails to note the suggestion of Pittakys in the original publication (*Ép. Ἀρχ.*, 2563, 2558) that these were part of one monument. It was apparently an elaborate affair like that in Athens here published.

⁴ Not athletic?

⁵ Some contemporary non-athletic monuments also have long series of carved wreaths. The ephebic monuments in Athens are in this grandiose expensive class of stelae. *I. G.*, II², 971 of 140/39, a decree in honor of a Troezenian, and probably erected by himself, bore a relief and four rows of four crowns each (only thirteen crowns are provided for in *I. G.*, II²). The crowns are appropriately distinguished by the foliage; some relate to festivals. More than a score of crowns appear in *F. de Delphes*, III 2, 135 of soon before 155 (Colin); see also the similar *Hermes*, 1906, pp. 356 ff., and especially *I. G.*, II, 1367.

⁶ W. W. Hyde (*Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, pp. 356, 368) claims that there was a decrease in the number of athletic statues in this period.

⁷ Such as *I. G.*, III, 114, 115, 121, 127, 128 (Athens); *I. G.*, VII, 1858 and 1859 (Thespieae); *I. G.*, IX, 1, 138 (Elatea); *I. G.*, IX, 2, 645 (Pelasgiote Larissa); *I. G.*, XIV, 738, 739 (Campanian Neapolis).

It is natural to connect with the earlier series, which often shows that the same man won more than once at various festivals, "the falling off in competition"¹ and the complementary growth of professionalism (Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sport and Festivals*, pp. 160–161); in other words, to suppose that this series commemorates the victories of an age of great professional or semi-professional athletes. In the Third Century Philinos of Kos had won twenty-four crowns; in 164–156 Leonidas of Rhodes won all twelve foot-races at Olympia (*ibid.*). The victor of the inscription here published appears to have surpassed all Hellenistic athletes thus far known.

Our study has an interest broader than that which centres in Menodoros and his monuments. The Hellenistic period was an age of international festivals. While most of the old festivals continued to flourish, or were refounded, new ones—so many that "a complete list would fill a page"—were established.² The festivals are in fact a colorful reflection of the general prosperity of the Greek world in Hellenistic times. (There is no composite account; the reader will find a good page or two in Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 296; and in Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*², pp. 104f.) We have been studying the characteristic form of the inscribed monuments which expressed the pride and splendor of the victors of that age.

¹ Since a good athlete, especially in ancient athletics, might train for and win several events, a small number of victors is really no proof of a small number of competitors.

² Of numbers 7–12 in the list *above*, I have seen only (12) the Olympian. Like the Delian monument, it has stood exposed since being excavated. The second crown clearly reads [Θ]εαδέλφεια. So far as I have been able to determine, this festival is new to us: presumably it was a Ptolemaic foundation.

ADDENDA

37. The article was already in page proof when two additional fragments appeared. Neither provides information of value; they will of course appear in the final publication. One of them connects fragments A and E, and extends to the right edge at lines 15–23. The other is a small bit which joins J and K; it provides demotics. Both fragments are from Section II.

38. Professor Kirchner has kindly sent me proof from the forthcoming fascicule of *I.G.*, II–III², where *I.G.*, II, 1318 appears as 3147, and *I.G.*, II, 1319 as 3150. Kirchner has been able to identify the family of the sculptors, and to restore the name of the first; the *stemma* may need revision to agree with a later date. One of the two fragments listed by me on p. 89, no. 6, appears as *I.G.*, II², 3152. It gives us yet another mention, certainly to be dated post-219 B.C., of the Naä (see *above*, p. 89, n. 2).