EXCAVATIONS ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS
IN ATHENS, 1933–1934

PLATE I

THE SITE

The chief results of the first two campaigns of the excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis have been published in two reports which have appeared in earlier numbers of the Hesperia.¹ The last of these includes all the inscriptions, the prehistoric pottery, and the more important of the other objects, as well as the site itself, so far as it had been excavated in the fall of 1932. In a later campaign, carried on in the fall of 1933 and continued in the spring of 1934, the work was resumed at various places in the area covered by the plan in Plate I.² At this time the whole lower area was cleared down to the line of modern houses, and on the upper slope the entire length of the Mycenaean ascent from the lower area to the Acropolis wall was laid bare (Fig. 1). In addition to these main sections several trial pits were sunk among the trees on the higher slope to the south and east of the stairway. An account of this work will be set forth in the present report, together with a discussion of the cult of Aphrodite in the light of these investigations, a description of the most important fragments of sculpture, and a study of all the inscriptions not included in the previous reports. The terracotta figurines will be published in a separate article by Professor Charles H. Morgan, and the classical pottery by Dr. Mary Zelia Pease.³

In the excavations of 1931 and 1932 twelve steps of the Mycenaean stairway were laid bare below the Acropolis wall. At the same time traces of small houses were

² Brief mention of the work has appeared in the reports of recent discoveries in the various archaeological journals: A.J.A., XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 310 f.; Arch. Anz., 1934, pp. 125–126; J.H.S., LIV, 1934, p. 186. The extent of the work in the last campaign is most easily traced by a comparison of the plan in Plate I with the plan published in the preceding report, Hesperia, II, 1933, pl. XI.
³ The cost of the excavations in 1933 and 1934 was covered partly by a special appropriation of the American School of Classical Studies and partly by a gift from the American Minister in Athens, Mr. Lincoln McVeagh, who also took active part in the work. The work in the field was carried on jointly by Professor Morgan and myself. The Director of the American School of Classical Studies, Mr. Richard Stillwell, has made some important corrections in the manuscript. The plan in Plate I was drawn by Mr. John Travlos in 1933 and completed by him after the last campaign. The drawing for figure 70 was made by Miss Constance Curry. The photographs have been made by Mr. Hermann Wagner. To all these, whose interest and assistance have made possible the work set forth in these pages I am greatly indebted.
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1932-1934
ON THE NORTH ACROPOLIS

1934
Fig. 1. Upper Area, Showing Mycenaean Ascent
discovered, which, to judge from the pottery found on the floors, were abandoned abruptly at a time near the end of the Mycenaean period. Since the débris from these houses extended over a part of the stairway, it seemed reasonable to conclude that the postern gate was no longer used at the time when the houses were built. This conclusion is amply supported by the discoveries in the last campaign. To the east of room B a somewhat smaller room D was discovered, the floor level of which is ca. 0.60 m. below that of B. The wall between B and D has mostly disappeared, but the line of demarcation between the different floor levels leaves no doubt as to its direction. It is not unlikely that the two rooms were part of the same house with a door and one or two steps leading from one to the other. In D were found a large number of thin slabs of stone, probably used for flooring, but most of them lay in a disordered condition. Along the south side of the room was found a heap of yellow clay, numerous fragments of coarse pithoi, animal bones, and ash. Evidently the room had been used as a combined kitchen and storeroom. A few stones of the east wall were found in place, and the sloping rock at the north end of this wall shows traces of having been worked down.
Another wall which runs nearly parallel to the east wall of D forms the west wall of another small room E (Figs. 2 and 3). The narrow space between the two walls, only 0.25 m. wide, seems to have been intended as an outlet for the rain water from the slope above. The north wall of E, which is less well preserved, forms a slightly obtuse angle with the west wall. The east and south walls have disappeared altogether. In

![Image of Mycenaean Rooms D and E, Showing Earlier Steps Underneath]

the middle of the floor is a rough stone which probably served as base for an upright support of the roof, and near the southeast corner are two parallel rows of stones showing clear signs of burning. The space between the stones was largely filled with ash. Clearly this constituted the combined hearth and kitchen stove of the people who lived in this miniature shelter.

1 The photograph for figure 2 was taken during the progress of the excavation before the steps had appeared below the east wall of D. The photograph in figure 3, showing these steps in the lower left corner, was made after the excavations were finished.
Digging under the east wall of room D and the west wall of E we discovered three steps of the stairway (Fig. 3, st), worn smooth on top. This offers the most indisputable proof of the fact that the houses were built after the permanent abandonment of the stairway and postern gate in the Acropolis wall. Farther down the slope the stairway has left but scanty traces. Only a single step remains at point F (Pl. I and Fig. 1), in a narrow passage between two ledges of rock. The course of the path, which can easily be determined from the configuration of the rocky slope, is indicated by dotted lines on the plan (Pl. I). At the point N it skirted the rock containing the east group of niches which are discussed in the earlier report. The lower part of the ascending path must have been used even after the stairway had been abandoned, since this constitutes the only convenient ascent to the houses. The fact that the path led directly past the east group of niches is probably significant. There is every probability that the shrine indicated by the niches, like some of the other cult places in the vicinity, goes back to very early times, possibly even to that obscure period of transition from the Mycenaean to the early Iron Age when many of the religious conceptions and practices of the Greeks seem to have taken root.

The late Mycenaean settlement on the slope was not limited to the few houses found along the line of ascent to the citadel. In the pits dug farther up the slope (Pl. I: G, H, I) remains of house floors and even some traces of walls were discernible. A considerable amount of Mycenaean pottery, including some whole vases, was brought to light in these pits. The houses are, however, so thoroughly destroyed that it did not seem worth while to indicate any of them on the plan. Because of the difficulty of piling up the earth on the precipitous slope the trenches had to be dug piecemeal and filled up immediately, and the disturbed condition of the housewalls made it impossible under such conditions to obtain reliable measurements. Should it become desirable in the future to lay bare part of the upper slope, the remains of walls found in our trenches can then be measured and drawn, together with whatever may appear in the areas not yet tested.

In addition to the Mycenaean remains, important finds from later periods were made in pits G–I. Two of the fifth century inscriptions (Nos. 11 and 22) came from there. In pit H below a mixed fill of late date a layer of fallen stones covered most of the area. Below these the fill contained chiefly B. F. ware, including the fragments of the fine white ground lekythos painted by Pasiades (see article on the pottery, No. 169, fig. 39), and a few pieces of R. F. vases. Doubtless we are dealing with part of the “Perserschutt,” some of which may have been thrown over the wall at this place. Mixed with this fill were found a large number of bronze arrow-heads, many of them bent at the point (Fig. 4), and also some javelin points and numerous arrow-heads of iron (Fig. 5).

1 *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 345.
2 The irregularity of the trenches was caused by the attempt to spare, as far as possible, the trees on the slope.
3 Cf. the points published in the last report, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 341, fig. 13.
The bronze arrow-heads fall into three types. The most common of these have three ribs and a socket\(^1\) in which the shaft was fixed. In figure 4 the first eight of the upper row and all in the middle row belong to this type. More than half (all in the middle row) are blunted or bent at the point. The second type, which is really a variation of the first, is a small point triangular in section.\(^2\) To this variety belong the last five in the upper row of figure 4. The arrow-heads in the bottom row belong to a type slightly less common than the first, with a midrib extending from the socket to the

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\(^1\) Cf. Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 341, fig. 13, a–c. This type corresponds to the “triangular bladed” type of W. M. Flinders Petrie, Tools and Weapons, p. 33, especially pl. XLI, 60, 61 and pl. XLII, 218–226; G. Richter, Gk, Etr. and Rom. Bronzes, p. 404, type II. In Egypt the triangular type, according to Petrie, “is never found till after the great Scythian invasion of Syria, 624–596 B.C.” His conclusion is that the Egyptian examples are derived from a Scythian source.

point and having two broad flanges. This type, though probably more easily made, was certainly less serviceable. The majority are bent out of shape, and in some cases they are found with the point broken off. A slight variation from the common type is shown in the last example of the bottom row, which has a strengthening rib along the outer edges. The iron arrow-heads shown in figure 5 are also flat, with midrib and two flanges. Most of them are provided with a tang which was attached to the shaft, but a few have sockets. They are, as a rule, so corroded that the exact shape cannot easily be determined. One small specimen, the middle one in the lower row of figure 5, is triangular in section. The iron arrow-heads are considerably larger than those of bronze. The small point in the lower right corner of figure 5, which is made of obsidian, was not found with the others. It came out of the prehistoric fill in room D, Plate I. The best preserved of the iron spear points discovered together with the arrow-heads is shown in figure 5. It consists of a flat blade with midrib and a socket for the shaft.

There can be little doubt that the spear points and arrow heads (except the small one of obsidian) date from the time of the Persian attack on the Acropolis. The latest of the sherds from the fill in which the weapons were discovered belong to the early years of the fifth century. Since so large a percentage of the arrow-heads are bent or blunted at the point, it is obvious that they were used in action on the spot. They all belong to types common in Greece in the classical period. It is worthy of note that many of the arrow-heads in the British Museum, which are alleged to have come from the battlefield at Marathon, are quite different from ours. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the battle at Marathon was fought by the Persians directly as they landed from their ships and, consequently, their supplies of weapons brought from Asia were probably used. The attacks on the Acropolis, on the other hand, took place after several months of fighting on Greek soil. During that time their original supplies would have been exhausted and Greek craftsmen, pressed into service or willingly joining the invaders, were probably employed to supply the need. This historical consideration alone may be sufficient to explain the difference in the weapons from the two fields of battle. It is a fact, however, that no adequate chronological study of ancient bronze and iron arrow-heads exists, and until this need is supplied it is hazardous to draw

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2 Similar obsidian points were found in the fourth shaft grave of Mycenae (G. Karo, Schachtgräber von Mykenai, p. 208 and pl. CI) and at many other prehistoric sites.

3 British Mus., Gk. and Rom. Life, p. 101, fig. 103. The collection published by K. Schumacher (Samml. ant. Bronzer, p. 144, No. 748 and pl. XIV) has several specimens like those from the North Slope of the Acropolis, but the author questions their alleged provenance.

4 Brief discussions of the subject will be found in Daremb.-Sagl., Dict. des Ant., article on Sagitta by A. J. Reinach; Flinders Petrie, op. cit., chapter VII; G. Richter, op. cit., pp. 403–408; and Hubert Schmidt's excellent discussion of the triangular arrow-heads in Pumpey, Explorations in Turkestan, pp. 183 ff. Concerning the three-edged type which he calls Graeco-Scythian, he says: "They were certainly used in the Graeco-Persian wars by the Persians as well as by the Greeks." References to other articles are given by these authors.
important conclusions from this difference. The various museum collections, the provenance of which can rarely be ascertained with certainty, are of little use for a study of this kind. The material from our excavation, discovered as it was in a datable fill and
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unquestionably connected with a definite historical event, gives one fixed chronological point for such a work.

The place where the weapons were discovered, near the Mycenaean postern gate, has always been the most assailable point of the wall, apart from the main approach on the west side, and the besieging army of the Persians would obviously launch their attacks here. The arrows shot against the defenders and repelled by their shields and by the wall, would tend to accumulate at the foot of the rock, where they were buried in the débris. In pit G, a little farther down the slope, there appeared the skeleton of a man, lying face down, with knees bent and left arm doubled. Part of the skull and many of the other bones were missing, but the position, as shown in figure 6, is fairly clear. It is out of the question that he could have been buried in such a position, apart from the fact that the slopes of the Acropolis were not used as a burial ground in classical Athens. In all probability he was a soldier slain during one of the attacks of the Persians, and covered over with earth at the spot where he rolled down. The fill in which he lay was rather confused, but it seemed to be part of the same deposit which contained the arrow points slightly higher up the slope. Directly below the skeleton were found Mycenaean potsherds.

At the east end of the lower area between the πεζινατως inscription and the east spur of rock the whole section has now been cleared down to bed-rock. This sheltered corner, from which there is access into a small, natural cave, Q, seemed like a promising spot for excavation, but no classical remains of importance were brought to light here, and the cave seems never to have been occupied in ancient times. At point P the rock has been dressed down to make a floor, and traces of walls appeared on either side, but this building is very late. At point R, however, a mixed prehistoric fill rested on bed-rock, and some classical sherds were found at higher levels.

West of the πεζινατως inscription the traces of occupation are numerous. The area between the inscription and the east entrance to the large cave (at θ, Pl. I) was described in the preceding report, but some additional facts of interest have since been learned. The πεζινατως itself and the various branches ascending from it, the lines of which can now be approximately ascertained from the levels of the niches, the nature of the ground, and occasional cuttings in rock, have been indicated by dotted lines on the plan, Plate I.

1 The drawing for figure 6 was made by Charles H. Morgan.
At point S two squared blocks probably formed part of a retaining wall supporting a low terrace. The blocks appear to have come from a classical building, but were probably placed in their present position in Byzantine times, to judge from the nature of the fill all around. There was, in the same spot, however, an earlier terrace-wall, a few stones of which are left in place farther west at point T. The structure of the wall appears to be Mycenaean, and the fill behind and between the stones yielded several prehistoric sherds but nothing later. Some five meters farther west a slight cutting in the rock (just above \( \xi \), Pl. I) seems to have been made as a bedding for the same wall, and at the west end of the excavated area (Pl. I, V) another cutting in rock may have served the same purpose. A terrace-wall extending along the line of the later path from S to V would form the northern boundary of this lower area, which, as we shall see, was entirely devoted to religious use.

On the terrace in front of the east entrance to the large cave were discovered in the previous campaign several small altars, poorly built of rubble and stuccoed all around.
On one of these was found in situ a small stone projecting from the stucco which covered the top; and several other stones of the same kind, in some cases with the stucco clinging to the bottom, were discovered in the same area. The explanation was then offered,\(^1\) that these stones are phallic symbols dedicated to some god or goddess of fertility. It now appears that the whole area was dotted with these small altars, many of which are placed in front of a rock-cut niche. Such altars are found at \(\alpha, \upsilon, \xi, \omicron\) and \(\pi\), Plate I, in addition to those discovered before (\(\alpha-\theta\)). The best preserved, \(\upsilon\), is shown in figure 8. In front of a large niche in the rock is the altar, the lower part of which alone remains. To the left of the altar are three small stones still left in situ, and a kind of bench, \(\mu\), raised but slightly above the ancient ground level, extends from the three stones to the small rock at \(\alpha\). The bench is stuccoed on top, and at its back is a raised edge, also covered with stucco. Along the front is a row of small stones set

\(^1\) Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 347.
in the earth. The bench may have been used as a kind of sacrificial table on which votive objects were placed. Several of the niches have traces of stucco on the inside, and in one, $\xi$, is a circular depression at the bottom, probably from one of the stones described above. Niche $\sigma$ (Fig. 9) also has stucco on the inside, and in front is a circular structure stuccoed on the side, and the corner of a rectangular one also covered with stucco. Three small niches (Pl. I, $\phi$) at the west end of the area were likewise stuccoed on the inside. The level of these, which rises toward the south, indicates that a path branching off from the περίπατος at this point led up to the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite. But the continuation of the path cannot be determined, except conjecturally, for the ground level seems to have changed materially in this vicinity (see below).

At point Y (Pl. I) two column drums of the pre-Persian Parthenon were found. One of these is very badly broken, but the other (Fig. 10) is almost intact. It remains a mystery how it rolled down the rocky, precipitous hill without breaking to pieces, although the marble was already cracked in the fire. Like most of the drums built into

Fig. 9. Niches and Altars in Lower Area
the Acropolis wall directly above, it is fluted for a short distance at the bottom, the rest being left smooth. The drum was moved slightly to the west and placed in its present position by the men engaged in restoring the columns of the Parthenon.\footnote{For this work, which greatly facilitated our excavations, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Nicholas Balanos.} At the point where the drum was first discovered, a pit was dug extending nearly four meters below the original ancient ground level. This pit yielded many of the best terracotta figurines from our excavation, several inscriptions, including the Peikon epigram (No. 2), numerous potsherds, mostly black-figured, fragments of sculpture and architectural pieces. The looseness of the fill and the close proximity of the houses made it unsafe to continue the pit farther down, and several large fragments of marble which appeared at the bottom, could not be taken out. The wealth of important finds from this small

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Fig. 10. Lower Area from the South, Showing Parthenon Drum
pit shows what might be expected from a more extensive excavation below the squatters' houses to the north.\footnote{For the relation of these houses to the excavated area see Pl. I, Fig. 10; and cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 330, fig. 1.}

This pit presents a curious topographical problem. If we are right in our supposition with regard to the original level of the neqý̂̃atoĉ̃—and the height of the niches and the altars along the path leaves hardly any doubt in the matter—how can all this fill containing classical objects extend several meters below the level of the path? At what time could the ground level have changed to that extent? Since the pit contained various objects from the fifth century B.C. the change must have taken place after the time of the Persian wars. In fact, among the architectural pieces found near the bottom of the pit, were some fragments from the Erechtheum, showing that the fill must be post-classical. On the other hand, the sherds were all Greek, with the exception of two or three tiny bits of glazed Byzantine ware, so small that they might have been carried down through the loose fill by means of the rain water which at this point used to descend in torrents from above. It is most unlikely that the change is due to illicit digging for antiquities, for if that were the case, whole archaic inscriptions and unbroken figurines, to say nothing of the less well preserved objects, would not have been thrown back into the hole. About half way down the pit was found the skeleton of a child who died at the age when his second set of teeth was growing out. Since the head was toward the west it was probably a Christian burial.

During the Venetian attack in 1687 an attempt was made to dig a tunnel for a mine in order to blow up part of the north wall of the Acropolis.\footnote{For an account of the siege see Laborde, *Athènes aux XV*, XVI* et XVII* Siècles*, II, pp. 143 ff., who also quotes the contemporary sources.} The spot where these operations took place is clearly marked on some of the military plans and sketches, especially those made by the engineer, Captain Verneda.\footnote{Laborde, *op. cit.*, pls. opp. pp. 150, 172; H. Omont, *Athènes au XVII* Siècle*, pls. XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI; Fanelli, *Atene Attica*, opp. p. 308.} These show a building with four large openings on the north side. In the legend on one of the plans this is labelled the “gallery through which an attempt was made to approach the wall in order to lay the mine.” The attempt was unsuccessful because of the hardness of the rock and the vigilance of the besieged, who bombarded the attackers from above; and, finally, an accident which befell the captain of the mine operators who fell from a high rock and was killed, put a stop to further operations.\footnote{Laborde, *op. cit.*, pp. 143–146.} The “gallery” was apparently a shed made for the protection of the men digging the tunnel. Laborde says that these operations took place below the Grotto of Aglauros, but the plans indicate a point farther east, directly below the projecting spur of rock at the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite. The sketch of this part of the Acropolis is particularly well rendered by Verneda. It is, of course, unlikely that the marble drums, which must have been built into the wall, were then rolled down from the Acropolis on those laying
the mine. There is no indication in the records that the north wall was damaged at that time. It is more probable that the drums were rolled down at some later period, possibly during the War of Independence, when the citadel often changed hands, but the extraordinary confusion of the place, which changed the ground level to such an extent, might well have taken place at the time when the tunnel was dug. Further investigation of the loose fill which extends under the modern houses would probably throw more light on the problem.

The sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite was fully excavated in 1931 and 1932, but the approach from the east was cleared in the last campaign. Under a deep fill, consisting largely of Acropolis dump, an earth ramp was discovered, leading from the level of the Περίπατος to the sanctuary. The nature of the fill which constitutes the ramp was investigated at point W, Plate I, and figures 8 and 11. The sherds from the ramp are mostly prehistoric, but a few early classical sherds and one archaic figurine came out.

1 See article by C. H. Morgan on the terracotta figurines, pp. 198, 199, fig. 6, c. 
of the same fill. There can hardly be any doubt that the ramp was made purposely as an approach to the sanctuary. The top was comparatively hard and level, made of packed earth and broken rock. Below the artificial fill only prehistoric sherds were found, mostly from the Middle Helladic period. Here a poorly preserved strosis appeared, on which were found the bones of a human skeleton lying in great disorder. Probably an early burial (Middle Helladic?) was dug into at the time of the construction of the ramp and covered over again at the same time. Farther west a wall was discovered.
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in 1931 (at U, Pl. I) which extends under the ramp. The slope of the ramp is continued in the sanctuary by the rock-cut path which has approximately the same inclination.

In the vertical rock along the left side of the ramp, as one approaches the sanctuary, are three small niches (indicated in Plate I, and two of them visible in figure 8) unlike those cut for votive slabs. They may have been intended to hold lamps for the convenience of worshipers who approached the sanctuary at night. At the top of the ramp are some steps cut in the rock (Fig. 12, r) which lead to the cave. These show beyond a doubt that the cave was somehow connected with the sanctuary.

THE CULTS

In connection with the excavations in the lower area the question arises as to the meaning of the numerous small altars with the phallic stone symbols and their relation to the cult of Eros and Aphrodite. Here some illuminating evidence comes from unexpected sources. A stone of the same shape (Fig. 13), though somewhat larger, which was found at Antipolis (modern Antibes) in southern France, bears a metrical inscription in fifth century letters:

Fig. 13. Inscribed Stone from Antipolis

$\text{T} \epsilon \rho \pi \nu \epsilon \iota \mu \iota \ \theta \varepsilon \alpha \zeta \varsigma \ \theta \varepsilon \rho \alpha \pi \nu \pi \nu \omega \ \sigma \varepsilon \mu \nu \varepsilon \ Α\phi\rho\delta\iota\tau\iota\varsigma
\tau\iota\varsigma \ \delta\varepsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\iota\theta\varsigma \ (\alpha\iota\kappa\upsilon\varsigma\iota\iota)
\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\rho\delta\iota\omicron\iota$

1 For a description of this wall see Hesperia, I, 1932, pp. 34–36, and cf. figs. 2, γ and 4, γ.
2 Ibidem, figs. 2, 6, 7, 8, G, and p. 37. The tooled surface of rock H in the same figures is probably not, as I first supposed, the bedding for a wall, but simply the continuation of the ramp.
3 That nightly ceremonies were held in honor of Aphrodite we learn from Pausanias’ account of the Arrephoroi, I, xxvii, 4.
4 For a discussion of the cave see Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 337.
5 I am indebted to Dr. J. Oliver for calling my attention to this inscription. See Hermann Roehl, Inscr. Gr. Ant., p. 159, No. 551, where the illustration appears of which figure 13 is a reproduction.
Most commentators take Τέρπων to be the name of an Aphrodisiac daimon, symbolized by the unwrought stone carrying the inscription. The phallic character of the symbol is obvious, and its dedication to the Cyprian Aphrodite leaves no doubt in the matter. In fact, it is possible to understand τέρπων¹ as an adjectival participle agreeing with θεράπων, but the significance of the dedication remains the same.

In the first publication of the sanctuary² and the rock-cut inscriptions it was pointed out that Pausanias' description of the secret ceremony of the Arrephoroi admirably fits the physical features of the sanctuary on the North Slope. Since the goal of the two Arrephoroi was the peribolos of Aphrodite in the Gardens, it is natural to conclude that the new sanctuary is an early cult place of that deity, which continued in use after the more spacious sanctuary had been established in the Ilissus valley outside the city walls. This theory has since been widely accepted. The fact that Eros was worshiped in the same shrine does not detract from the plausibility of the theory. Moreover, the recent excavations in the vicinity, described in the preceding pages, have shed new light on the problem, favoring the identification of the new sanctuary with that of Aphrodite in the Gardens.

This cult of the goddess, which was oriental in character, probably came to Athens from Cyprus, where Aphrodite bore the epithet Hierokepia, the equivalent of the Athenian name ἐν Κήπως. There can be little doubt that the latter is merely a cult name rather than a descriptive term applied to the goddess because her temple was located in a district known as the Gardens. It was probably the goddess who gave the name to the district, not the district to the goddess. As in the case of so many other cults which show foreign—especially Asiatic—influence, it is not a question of an unknown deity whose religion was established for the first time on Greek soil; it is rather that new cult practices were introduced from abroad and grafted upon an already existing cult of an indigenous divinity. It is, of course, possible that the indigenous and the oriental cults, however differentiated they may have become, go back to a common form of worship, the earliest manifestations of which can only be conjecturally traced.³ Both Eros and Aphrodite are certainly aboriginal gods in Greece, but their cults as practised in classical times contained many elements of oriental nature. In the cult of Aphrodite

¹ Terpon appears on several Attic R. F. vases as the name of Sileni, the ithyphallic representation of which also points to his Aphrodisiac character (cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, s. v. Terpon and Th. Reinach, R. Arch., XXXIV, 1899, pp. 335 ff.). Schulze (Gött. gel. Anzeiger, 1895, p. 255) thinks that τέρπων is in a sense a short term for τερπόσφημος, i.e. ἔ τῶν Ἀφροδίσιων τερψικός, which is probably implied in the χάριν ἀνταποδηλη of the epigram. At Thespiæ in Boeotia the cult image of Eros was in the form of an ἄγες ἱλίος (Pausanias IX, 27, 1), and it is possible that Terpon was conceived of as a special manifestation of that deity. Plato (Symp. 203 C) calls Eros ἰθέραπος Ἀφροδίτης. There seems to be little difference, except in name, between the various daimones associated with the worship of Aphrodite, and certainly no rational distinction can have existed in the minds of the ancients.

² Hesperia, I, 1932, pp. 49 ff.

in the Gardens many such elements, which were probably introduced into Athens at an early date, seem to have been derived from her famous shrine on the Island of Cyprus.

From a passage in Tacitus we learn that the cult image in the temple at Paphos was not of human form but in the shape of a turn-post: Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo e surgens, sed ratio in obscuro.¹ On numerous coins of Cyprus from the Roman period this image in the form of a truncated cone appears standing in the temple. Tacitus says that the reason for this shape is obscure, but by describing it as resembling the meta of the Roman circus he also hints at the reason for its peculiar shape. In a recent article on "The Twenty-sixth Lydian Inscription" ² Professor Elderkin discusses the metae in the circus, which he says are phallic symbols and used as such on tombs to denote the idea of life and immortality. The same significance he ascribes to the herms in the Greek stadium. In view of this explanation there can be little doubt that the cult image at Paphos owed its shape to a similar conception.³ In fact we can trace this shape of the image even still farther east, for on a coin of Byblos,⁴ in which the precinct of Astarte is depicted, we see the same kind of cone-shaped image standing in the open court. It is not impossible, however, that the phallic element in the worship of Aphrodite, which in our sanctuary was symbolized by the unwrought stones, was in some way connected with the equally—or still more—ancient aniconic conception of divinity, especially prevalent in Mycenaean religion. Thus the ἄγος λίθος, and its handwrought equivalent, the

¹ Hist., II, 3.
³ The other view that the image was a meteoric stone (see Roscher, in Roscher's Lexikon s. v. Aphrodite, p. 395) does not tally equally well with Tacitus' description of its shape. The two explanations are not, however, necessarily incompatible the one with the other. Roscher seems to me to have gone too far in his attempt at explaining the various elements of Aphrodite worship on the theory that the oriental goddess was originally a divinity of the moon and the stars. A conical stone of considerable dimensions which can still be seen at the village of Kouklia near New Paphos, is regarded by Alfred Westholm as the very cult image from the Temple of Aphrodite. Unfortunately in his interesting article "The Paphian Temple of Aphrodite," Acta Arch., IV, 1933, p. 201–236, he does not show a photograph of the stone. Westholm, following Blinkenberg, Le Temple de Paphos, pp. 33 ff., disclaims the oriental origin of the Aphrodite cult in Cyprus and emphasizes the connection with Crete and Mycenae, although he vigorously denies that direct connections between Crete and Cyprus existed (p. 226). Both architecture and cult, according to the same author, came to Cyprus from Greece via Syria, and yet the conical cult image of the goddess at Paphos had no relation with that of her Phoenician counterpart, which was represented in a similar form (see coins of Byblos referred to below and cf. Westholm, p. 221). Such a theory, which sets aside the persistent tradition among the ancients as recorded by numerous writers, both Greek and Roman, is hardly acceptable. It is as difficult to subscribe to the "Phoenicophobia" of modern archaeology as it is to accept the theories in vogue in the last century when the Phoenician influence was regarded as the master-key to all archaeological mysteries. I can see no difficulty in assuming a mixed origin of the cult in Cyprus (so M. P. Nilsson, Gr. Feste, p. 364; Arthur Evans, J. H. S., XXI, 1901, p. 171) as well as in Athens. In the development of the Cypriote house type, as represented by the palace at Vouni, E. Gjerstad shows that a two-fold influence was at work, that of the Cypriote-Anatolian liwan type of house, and that of the Greek Megaron (Corolla Arch., pp. 145 ff.). With the former of these he places the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos (op. cit., p. 161).

⁴ Br. Mus. Cat. of Coins, Phoenicia, pl. XII, 13.
truncated cone, which originally represented the divine power, both male and female, might in one instance have become anthropomorphized into a human representation of the deity, in another into an image of the male organ of reproduction, which symbolized the idea of fertility, in this case the chief function of the goddess.

Both Herodotus⁴ and Pausanias⁸ say that the worship of the Paphian Aphrodite was brought to Cyprus from Askalon by the Phoenicians, and Pausanias adds that the Phoenicians in turn had received it from the Assyrians. The obscene practices which constituted an important element in the worship of the Phoenician Astarte became fused with Greek forms of worship in the cult of the Paphian Aphrodite. Several ancient writers refer to the phallic rites which entered into the worship of Aphrodite in Cyprus, and Clement of Alexandria⁹ says that the initiates into the mysteries at Paphos received a cake of salt and a phallos at the initiations. An interesting enumeration of objects which were used as dedications in the worship of Aphrodite and her numerous attendant daimones is preserved in a fragment of Plato, the comic poet,⁴ which probably is a take-off on some well known cult practices. Among these objects are various kinds of cakes of appropriate shapes, πλακοῦς ἐνόρχης, ἄμυλος ἐγχύμων, etc. It is highly probable that the mysterious objects, ἄρθητα καὶ μυστήρια,⁵ brought by the Arrephoroi to the peribolos of Aphrodite, were of a similar nature. A certain kind of cakes called ἀνάστασιν were prepared for the use of the Arrephoroi.⁶ The name can only refer to the shape of the cakes, like ὀρθοστάτης which was also a kind of cake used for sacred purposes.⁷ In a well-known scholion on Lucian⁸ the ἄρθητα are said to be made of dough in imitation of snakes and the male genitals. In the same account mention is made of underground chambers, μέγαρα, in which the offerings to the Eleusinian divinities were deposited at the time of the Skirophoria, and by analogy it is implied that similar μέγαρα were used in connection with the Arrephoria.⁹ This agrees well with the passage in Pausanias which describes the descent of the maidens through an underground passage to the

¹ I, 105.
² I, 14, 7.
⁴ Athenaeus, Deipn., X, 441, e, f.
⁵ Etym. Mag., 149.
⁶ Athen., iii, 114, a; cf. Van der Loeff, Mnemosyne, XLIV, 1916, pp. 333 ff.
⁷ Pollux, vi, 73.
⁸ 276, 13; cf. E. Rohde, Kleine Schriften, II, p. 356; L. Deubner, Attische Feste, pp. 9 ff. The passage dealing with the Arrephoria reads: Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Ἀρρηφορφοῖα καλεῖται καὶ ἀγνοῖ τὸν οὐδὲν λόγον ἔχοντα περὶ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν γενέσεως καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων σπορᾶς. ἀναφέρονται δὲ κατάδικα ἄρθητα ἵπτα ἐκ στείρας τοῦ σιτίου κατασκευασμένα, μεμιμομεῖται ἄρης κατοικίας καὶ οἰκισμοί σχήματων· λαμβάνοντι δὲ κάπον ἔκλαδος διὰ τὸ πολλόνον τοῦ φυτοῦ. Without entering into a discussion of the interpretation of the scholion I follow the view of Deubner (op. cit.) in preference to that of Gjerstad (A. R. W., XXVII, 1929, pp. 197, 212), Hiller von Gaertringen (Pauly-Wiss., I, s. v. Hersephoroi) et al. who disclaim all connection between the ceremonies described by the scholiast and those related by Pausanias. That the words ἄρθητα and ἄρης are derived from ἄρθητα + φέρειν is convincingly shown by Deubner (op. cit., pp. 9 f.).
⁹ So Deubner, op. cit., p. 10.
EXCAVATIONS ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS

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peribolos of Aphrodite. Both passages have to do with mysterious rites, in which certain sacred objects were deposited and others brought up from a sanctuary connected in some way with an underground room or passage. From Pausanias we learn that the sanctuary was that of Aphrodite in the Gardens, and the scholiast reveals the nature of the sacred objects. Can it be merely a coincidence that the new sanctuary of Aphrodite is located where the account of Pausanias would lead us to look for it, that a subterranean passage offers the most direct route from the Athena Polias Temple to this place, that a natural cave (μεγαλα) is directly connected with the sanctuary, and that the votive objects dedicated there are representations in stone of the very objects which, according to the scholiast, were used in the Arrephoria?

In connection with the route of the Arrephoroi from the Temple of Athena Polias to the peribolos of Aphrodite the underground passage west of the Erechtheum is of paramount importance, since it offers the most convenient communication between the two shrines. The existence of an ancient stairway in the cleft was pointed out by Kavvadias, who published a sketch showing the cuttings for the steps. Inasmuch as this part of the Acropolis slope will soon be largely covered up with masonry as a safety measure to prevent the rock from cracking and falling down, it seems desirable to include two photographs of the cave taken at the time when the work on the supporting wall had just begun. One of these (Fig. 14) shows the cave from below and the overhanging ledge of rock, the other (Fig. 15) shows the inside of the cave with the cuttings for the ancient stairway clearly visible.

There are also some other points of resemblance between the sanctuary of the Cyprian goddess and the shrine of Aphrodite on the North Slope. We have already described the numerous small altars discovered in our excavations and the phallic stones set in mortar on the altars or in a special niche above. In the Swedish excavations at Soli in Cyprus, where a sanctuary of Aphrodite has been uncovered, several small altars have come to light, very similar to the stuccoed structures on the North Slope. This is probably more than a coincidence, since altars of this type are by no means common at other sites. Moreover, some of the ancient authors speak of a multitude of altars at Paphos. Virgil and Statius both use the poetical number “hundred,” and

1 See Hesperia, I, 1932, p. 52.
2 That the cave had cult connections with the sanctuary is shown both by the rock-cut steps described above and by the relief of Aphrodite and Eros which will be discussed in the chapter on sculpture, p. 146.
3 ΑΦΙ. Ἐφ., 1897, fig. on p. 31. For a discussion of the various problems connected with this passage see Judeich, Topographie von Athen, p. 182, 2 and Hesperia, I, 1932, p. 51 f.
4 The beginning of the new supporting wall is visible at the bottom of the picture.
5 I owe this information to the kindness of Alfred Westholm, who also sent me photographs showing the altars. In his article referred to above he does not describe any but the chief altars in front of the temples.
6 “- - - ubi templum illi centumque Sahaeo
7 “illa Paphon veterem centumque altaria linquens,” Theb., V, 61.
Tacitus\textsuperscript{1} says: "Sanguinem arae offundere vetitum, precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur." Here a distinction between the chief altar, "ara," and the subsidiary "altaria" seems to be implied. Whatever the exact meaning of the two terms may be, the impression conveyed by all these passages is that sacrifices were offered on a large number of altars.

![Lower Entrance to Underground Passage at the Aglaurion](image)

The kinds of objects sacrificed to the Cyprian goddess are also important in showing the relation of the Athenian cult to that of Paphos. It is obvious that no burned sacrifices can have been offered on the flimsy structures in our excavations, and the same may be said about those discovered at Soli in Cyprus. No sign of burning was observed in the vicinity of the altars on the North Slope, as would be expected if burned sacrifices had been offered. In the passage from Tacitus, quoted above, we learn that the altars of Aphrodite at Paphos were not to be stained by blood, but that

\textsuperscript{1} Hist., II, 3.
prayer and pure fire (i.e. incense) would constitute the offerings. Virgil, too, speaks of the Sabaean incense and the fresh garlands on the altars of the Cyprian sanctuary.

There is an interesting passage in Plato's Laws\(^1\) which may refer to the rites practised in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens. The author, defining the proper attitude which the law-giver should take toward religious matters, lays down the rule that established rites and religious observances are not to be interfered with "whether they be of native origin or imported from Tuscany or Cyprus or elsewhere." Plato does not specifically name the cults which he had in mind, but only the countries from which they were known to have been introduced. To his contemporaries the name of Cyprus in such a connection would certainly suggest some form of Aphrodite worship. If the passage is read in the light of the well-known decree prohibiting the erection of altars in the Pelargikon,\(^2\) it seems to imply that some of the law-makers in Athens

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\(^1\) V, 738 C.  
\(^2\) I. G., I\(^2\), 76. For the probable connection of this inscription with the altars in our excavations cf. *Hesperia*, 11, 1933, p. 347.
made a practice of interfering with the religious behavior of the people. There is, of course, a wide discrepancy of time between the passing of the decree and the writing of the Laws of Plato, but it may be assumed that the stipulations of the decree remained in force and were applied whenever the occasion called for it.

It seems natural to suppose that the rites and ceremonies employed at the festivals of Aphrodite and Eros should be reflected in the Greek vase paintings. Unfortunately the interpretation of vase paintings in the light of religious customs seldom result in anything better than more or less plausible conjectures. Too little is known about the details of the ceremonies, and the vase paintings are usually too vague and indefinite to admit of exact interpretation. A single example will suffice. A pelike in the British Museum shows a woman with a box in her left hand sprinkling seed (?) on four phalloi standing upright on the ground with blades of grass or grain growing round about. The vase painting has been variously interpreted as depicting a scene from the Thesmophoria or the Haloa,¹ but it seems equally appropriate to the cult practices used in the sanctuary of Aphrodite.²

SCULPTURE

The fragments of sculpture from the excavation are, as a rule, small, and only a few are important enough to be published. A brief description of these is given below. Except for the pieces from the frieze of the Erechtheum, which are now in the Acropolis Museum, the sculptural fragments are still kept, together with the other finds, in a temporary storeroom. Consequently no serious attempt has been made to fit them on to the statues from the Acropolis.

1. Fig. 16. Head of archaic Athena, ca. half life size, of white island marble, found October 18, 1933, in the pit below the Parthenon drum. The right side of the head and lower part of the face below the eyes and also the back are missing. She wears a helmet, which is indented at the ear so as to show a small circular earring. The eyes are horizontal and bulging. The hair, arranged in regular curls, shows in front under the helmet. In the top of the head is a dowel hole, ca. 0.015 m. long, 0.012 m. wide and 0.034 m. deep, in which the crest of the helmet was fastened.

2. Fig. 16. Small fragment of archaic Kore of coarse island marble, found December 12, 1933, in the same place as the preceding, but at a somewhat lower level. A circular earring for the left ear, a bit of the hair at the point where the locks part over the shoulder, and the lower edge of the stephane are all that remains.

¹ See L. Deubner, Attische Feste, pp. 61, 64 ff., pl. 3.
² Professor J. M. Linforth, to whom I am indebted for helpful criticism on the discussion of the cults, has suggested the possibility that the "altare" with the phallic stones may actually have been used to support small plots of earth in which the seed was planted, similar to the gardens known as ἀδύνατος, and that the name of Aphrodite ἐν Κύπασις "aux jardins," might reflect this practice.
Fig. 16. Fragments of Archaic Sculpture

Fig. 17. Fragment of Archaic Statue

Fig. 18. Fragment of Drapery from Archaic Statue
3. Fig. 17. Small fragment of arm of archaic female figure, found December 13, 1933, in the same place as the preceding. The marble is rather fine with a grayish tinge. The greatest diameter is 0.062 m. The drapery, the folds of which are rendered by incised lines, was fastened over the arm with buttons, two of which are preserved. The dimension of the fragment indicates that the figure was of approximately the same size as that of No. 1, but the color of the marble makes it unlikely that the two fragments belong together.

4. Fig. 18. Small fragment of drapery from archaic statue of coarse island marble, found October 16, 1933, in the fill above the ramp to the east of the sanctuary. At the top of the fragment is a circular cutting probably for the arm of the figure. The back of the fragment is smooth at the bottom where the drapery was cut free from the body, whereas the top shows a break.

5. Fig. 19. Fragment of archaic relief of coarse island marble, found October 5, 1933, in the late fill of the lower area. The relief has a maximum thickness of ca. 0.04 m. The left edge and the back are preserved. Of the figure only part of the aigis of Athena and a small piece of the drapery are preserved. The folds of the drapery show that the aigis did not hang down from the extended arm, but must have been arranged in the same way as on the well-known bronze double-relief of Athena from the Acropolis.¹

6. Fig. 20. Part of left foot, larger than life size, of coarse island marble, found October 21, 1933, north of the sanctuary in the late fill. Only the heel is preserved, but the position shows that the foot was raised so that the heel is held high above the base. The back is smooth and at the bottom is a dowel hole at least 0.085 m. deep. A figure of this size fastened to a smooth surface at the back can only have been part of a pediment group. It probably belonged to one of the smaller figures of the Hekatompedon pediments.

Fig. 20. Two Fragments of Sculpture

Fig. 21. Two Hooves of Archaic Horse
7. Fig. 20. Part of hand, slightly larger than life size, of very coarse island marble, found December 14, 1933, near the bottom of the pit close to the Parthenon drum. The break on the inside shows that the hand was held close to the body, and the fingers were held out straight.

8. Fig. 21. Two hooves of a horse, slightly smaller than life size, of white island marble, found May 4, 1931 and October 16, 1933, in the late fill east of the sanctuary. The two hooves are almost certainly from the same horse. They seem to have been broken off from a base cut in the same piece of marble as the figure of the horse.

9. Fig. 22. Two fragments of Pentelic marble, found September 20 and 21, 1932, in the middle area close to the east group of niches. The larger fragment seems to be part of an arm on which was carved a Gorgoneion in low relief. The other fragment shows a small piece from the left side of a similar Gorgoneion. The surface above the relief turns up in a peculiar way. It is difficult to determine exactly to what part of the body the fragments belong. The two parts of the relief agree so well in every particular, that they must be part of the same—or of two identical—Gorgoneia.

10. Fig. 23. Fragment of hand, ca. life size, of white island marble, found January 10, 1931, in the underground passage southeast of the sanctuary. Only three fingers are preserved. Some round object like the hilt of a spear seems to have been held in the hand.

11. Fig. 23. Small fragment of a foot wearing sandal, of Pentelic marble, found October 10, 1933, in the late fill of the lower area. The straps of the sandal are accurately carved and all the details are rendered with care.

1 See Hesperia, I, 1932, p. 39.
Fig. 23. Two Fragments of Sculpture

Fig. 24. Female Figure from Erechtheum Frieze with New Fragment Added

A remarkably large number of small pieces from the frieze of the Erechtheum were found in our excavations. In the preceding report two such pieces were published,¹ the smaller of which joins one of the statues in the Acropolis Museum² as shown in figure 24. In addition to these two there are seven smaller fragments which may be with great probability attributed to the frieze on the basis of size, technique, etc.³

a. Fig. 25. Upper part of female head, much weathered on the top, found October 7, 1933, in the late fill of the lower area. The deeply set eyes, the high eyebrows, and a distinct furrow on the forehead lend a serious, almost melancholy expression to the face.

b. Fig. 26. Left foot, broken off above the ankle, and the toes missing, found October 11, 1933, in the same vicinity as the preceding. The back is a flat surface where the figure was joined to the frieze.

c. Fig. 26. Left foot of human figure, with all the toes missing, found September 9, 1932, in the late fill of the upper area. The foot is finished underneath, showing that it was raised with only the toes attached to the base.

¹ Hesperia, II, 1933, pp. 349–350, figs. 20 and 21.
³ Dr. Ludwig Palat has kindly looked over the fragments from the excavations and offered his expert opinion as to which pieces are likely to have come from the frieze.
d. Fig. 27. Upper part of right arm with piece of drapery thrown over the arm from the back and hanging down in front, found October 14, 1933, in the late fill of the lower area. The drapery is not finished on the back. To judge from the weathering at the break above the elbow, the lower arm seems to have been broken away while the statue was still in its place. The break at the shoulder looks fresh by comparison.

e. Fig. 27. Tiny fragment of drapery with a smooth surface in the back, found among the small marble chips collected from different parts of the excavation. Its attribution to the frieze, which is based on the smooth back, is, of course, conjectural.
f. Fig. 28. Part of draped figure standing in a chariot, found October 2, 1933, in the northeast corner of the excavation just below the small cave Q, Plate I. The surface is much weathered.

g. Fig. 29. Hind leg of horse attached to a base with smooth back, found October 17, 1933, in the fill directly above the ramp leading to the sanctuary. This fragment has numerous marks of the drill.\(^1\) Even the running drill was clearly used. Similar marks are discernible on some of the other fragments.

13. Fig. 30. Height, 0.084 m.; width, 0.07 m.
Small votive plaque of white marble, representing the male genitals, found October 12, 1933, close to the Parthenon drum. This has almost certainly come from the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite. Not far from the same place were found some votive terracotta figurines and part of another plaque\(^2\) also from the sanctuary.

14. Fig. 31. Fragment of plaque of white marble, found December 8, 1933, close to the same place as the preceding. One corner of the plaque, probably the lower left, remains. Within a narrow, raised edge is preserved part

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\(^1\) For the use of the drill in the figures of the frieze cf. J. M. Paton et al., *Erechtheum*, p. 184. The running drill seems to have been invented not long before the Erechtheum sculptures were executed. Cf. R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 80.

\(^2\) Cf. *Hesperia*, 11, 1933, pp. 333 f. and figs. 4 and 5.
of a relief roughly circular in shape. It resembles the kind of votive slabs found in large numbers in the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the road to Eleusis. These are crude representations of the aidoia ypeaikeia, which seems to have been the cult symbol in that sanctuary. A similar relief is now in the annex of the Acropolis Museum. Dr. Walter suggested that this may have been dedicated to Asklepios or Artemis Brauronia, but its similarity to the reliefs referred to above seems to show that it was dedicated to Aphrodite.

Fig. 31. Two Fragments of Marble Reliefs

15. Fig. 31. Small fragment of plaque of Pentelic marble, found December 16, 1933, in the late fill of the lower area. Part of one edge, probably the left, is preserved. The back is rough. Along one side was a low moulding. Of the relief is preserved a section of two concentric circles, which seem to be part of a shield.

16. Fig. 32. Height, 0.34 m.; preserved width, 0.13 m.; greatest thickness, ca. 0.08 m. Part of a relief of white marble brought by a boy who said that it had been built into a modern wall directly below the excavations. The top of the slab, the right edge, and

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1 See Svoronos, To ev' Athinais 'Ethnion Mouseion, II, pl. CLXIV, 1594–1596, 1821, 2730. Some more of these reliefs have recently been discovered in the same sanctuary by John Travlos.

2 Reliefs im kleinen Akropolis-Museum, p. 110, No. 243. There is also a large marble phallos in the annex to the Acropolis Museum. It is not included in Dr. Walter's Catalogue, nor is the exact provenance recorded in the inventory of the Museum. Since a similar phallos was found in the vicinity of the Aphrodite sanctuary (Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 346, fig. 18) it may be that the one in the Museum also came from there.
the back are preserved, but the bottom has been roughly cut away and with it the feet of the figure. The surface is much weathered. Of the relief is preserved one draped female figure facing the left. She is resting on the right foot, and the left leg is bent at the knee, but she does not appear to be in motion. One end of the himation hangs over her bent left arm and the other end is held up in front in her right hand. Behind the figure the original surface is broken away. Since there is hardly room for another figure the broken part was probably the raised frame of the relief. The slab seems to have represented some votaries approaching a deity, or, perhaps, several divinities in a row. The pose of the preserved figure seems more befitting an adorans than a goddess. Whether or not the relief has come from our sanctuary is impossible to determine, but the place of finding seems to point that way.

Fig. 32. Fragment of Marble Relief
17. Fig. 33. Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.08 m. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken all around and at the back, found October 5, 1932, in a late wall west of the περίπατος inscription. Part of two winged figures in low relief are preserved. At the upper edge the background curves gently forward. This small fragment is part of a frieze, some blocks of which have been known for a long time. Two of these, which apparently were discovered in the vicinity of the so-called Diogeneion, were published by Bursian in 1860.¹ One of the slabs (Fig. 34, No. 1451), which is complete, measures 1.23 m. in length, 0.465 m. in height, and 0.235 m. in thickness. It shows five nude, winged male figures walking toward the left. The pose of each separate figure is almost identical. The left arm is bent at the elbow and the left hand of all the figures holds a phiale. In the outstretched right hand the first and third figures carry thymiateria, the others pitchers. The heads are crowned with wreaths (Fig. 35). Above the figures is a moulding and below was a narrow base, now largely missing. The back of the blocks, which is set against the wall of the Museum appears to be rough and both ends have anathyrosis. The second fragment (Fig. 34, No. 1452), which is broken off at the right end, preserves three and a half winged male figures, very similar

¹ See I. N. Svoronos, op. cit., I, pl. CII, and p. 452, No. 150, who lists all the earlier publications. The slabs are now exhibited in the National Museum, Nos. 1451 and 1452.
to those on the other slab, but somewhat more crowded. They also differ from the former with respect to the hair. All the figures on the second slab have the hair arranged in a bun at the back of the head as if they were women. They also carry phialai in the left hand. The central figure has a thymiaterion in the right hand, the second and fourth carry pitchers. One fragment, also with three figures and part of a fourth preserved on the right half of the slab, was published by Stuart and Revett.\(^1\) According to their drawing, which appears to be rather schematic, the central figure carries a wreath in the left hand and a tripod in the right. Neither of these objects is carried by any of the figures on the two slabs in the Museum. The hair is made up as in the figures of the second slab. Svoronos remarked that the fate of the slab seen by Stuart and Revett is now unknown. It seems to me perfectly obvious that this is the second and less well preserved slab in the National Museum. The artist in copying the central figure only used his imagination too freely in rendering the votive objects. In other respects the drawing agrees sufficiently well with the existing slab.

The surface of the marble is badly nicked, as if the blocks had been dragged or rolled on the ground. The highest parts of the reliefs, especially the heads, have suffered most. The condition of the small fragment from our excavation is much better in this respect. This alone is an indication that the larger slabs have been removed farther from the monument to which they belong. There is some uncertainty about the provenance of the old pieces, but Svoronos adduces evidence to show that they came from the "mediaeval wall of the church of Saint Demetrios Katephores," which he erroneously locates παρὰ τὸν Ἡμέρον τὸν Ἀνέμων. The church is no longer in existence, but its location was pointed out to me by the occupant of the house which has been built among the ruins of the old chapel. This is close to the southwest corner of the

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\(^1\) *Antiq. of Athens*, II, p. 29. Their drawing is reproduced by Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 453, fig. 213.
Diogeneion,\(^1\) some 150 meters east of the Tower of the Winds, and \textit{ca.} 200 meters northeast of our excavation. Without doubt all the slabs came originally from the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.

Before the reliefs could be connected with any known sanctuary various conjectures were made in explanation of the figures. The different theories are discussed by Svoronos, who finally concluded that the slabs are part of a frieze representing a procession of Erotes, and that it belongs to the Ptolemaic period. He also quotes a paragraph from the original publication by Bursian,\(^2\) to the effect that the relief represents a cult act performed by divine beings or \textit{daimones} as a prototype for the similar act performed by human worshipers. Bursian \textit{et al.} saw in the procession of the winged figures a relation to Eleusinian cult practices, but Svoronos identified the

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig35.png}
\caption{Details of Relief with Procession of Erotes}
\end{figure}

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} For the location of the church see Judeich, \textit{Topographie von Athen}, pl. I.
\item \textsuperscript{2} \textit{Berichte der kgl. sächs. Gesellschaft}, XII, 1860, pp. 197 ff.
\end{itemize}
Fig. 36. Relief of Aphrodite and Eros
figures as Erotes and Nikai connected with the worship of Aphrodite, and referred to a small fragment of a similar relief from the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the road to Eleusis. Whether the figure on that fragment was represented with wings cannot be determined from its present condition. We can readily accept Bursian's explanation with regard to the nature of the procession depicted on the slabs, and now that we know the sanctuary as well as the name of its deities and even the date of the festival at which the procession in all probability took place, these reliefs assume a great importance as additional evidence for the cult of Eros in Athens.

Our excavation in the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite revealed no foundations for any monument to which the frieze could belong. In fact it is most improbable that any building at all existed within the sanctuary. Possibly the monument was located farther down the slope, but that is unlikely, since it would then be north of the περίπατος and thus separated from the temenos. It is much more probable that the marble frieze was part of the temenos wall itself. Quite apart from the reliefs there is evidence to show that such a wall existed both in Greek and Roman times. The blocks in the Museum show clearly that another course rested on the top, and the condition of the reliefs indicates that they were in some way protected from above. The lower parts of the figures have suffered more from the weather than the upper parts. Probably the wall was crowned above the frieze with a projecting coping or cornice of some kind. We must assume that the reliefs were placed toward the inside of the sanctuary since the figures, walking toward the left, would be represented as walking away, if the frieze were placed on the outside.

The date of the relief is probably the second half of the fourth century B.C. A sculptured base in the Acropolis Museum, dated by an inscription in the year 323 or 329 (or, possibly, 366) offers the best parallel in Athens. The representation of several nearly identical figures in a row is the most characteristic feature of both these monuments. The reliefs on the Acropolis base are higher but the general effect is the same.

A cursory search in the National Museum in Athens for votive plaques from the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite has resulted in the discovery of one likely specimen (Fig. 36). This is a small relief found 1913 in the excavations at the Varvakeion on Athena street. It represents a draped woman in profile to the right. She is seated

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1 Svoronos, op. cit., pl. CXXIX, 1591; Ἀθηναῖα Ακρόπολις, 1892, p. 4.
2 For a discussion of various types of processions in Greek cults see M. P. Nilsson, Jahrb., XXXI, 1916, pp. 306 ff.
3 See Hesperia, I, 1932, pp. 37, 41.
4 The best known example of such an arrangement is the Heroon at Gjolbasehi.
5 This is the approximate date proposed by Svoronos which he based chiefly on a passage from Kallixeinos of Rhodes quoted by Athenaeus, Deipnosoph., V, 196 ff., concerning some remarkable festivities at Alexandria given by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 305–284 B.C.
7 National Museum, No. 3257.
on a rock in which a natural cave is indicated. On the other side is a high projecting rock on the top of which are the outlines of the two feet of a small figure. This can only be a child sitting on the left arm of the woman with his feet resting on the rock. In the back of the marble is a dowel hole.\textsuperscript{1} The two figures on the relief are probably Aphrodite and Eros, and the rock on which they are sitting with the cave underneath is a convincing representation of the joint shrine of the two deities on the slope of the Acropolis. Together with the relief was discovered a marble head,\textsuperscript{2} which was recognized by F. Studniczka as belonging to a metope of the Parthenon.\textsuperscript{3} The two pieces of sculpture were built into a late wall. Inasmuch as the head had certainly been brought there from the Acropolis, there is no difficulty in assuming that the relief may have come from the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.

\section*{Inscriptions\textsuperscript{4}}

\textbf{1.} Fig. 37. Archaic pedestal of white marble built into the mediaeval wall of the Acropolis directly above the Mycenaean stairway. The inscription was uncovered in the fall of 1934 during repairs of the Acropolis wall under the direction of M. N. Balanos.

Height, 1.17 m.; width \textit{ca}. 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.025–0.03 m.

\begin{align*}
\textit{h} & \textit{ιπποθε} & \textit{η} & \textit{δ} & \textit{ε} \textit{ι} & \textit{δ} & \textit{ε} & \textit{ζ} \\
\textit{δ} & \textit{ε} & \textit{κατ} & \textit{ε} & \textit{ν} & \textit{ι} & \textit{α} & \textit{ν} & \textit{αι} & \textit{α} & \textit{ι} & \textit{υ} & \textit{α} & \textit{τ} & \textit{ρ} & \textit{ι} & \textit{υ} & \textit{ι} & \textit{ο} & \textit{ου}
\end{align*}

The name Hippotherides occurs on an archaic altar dedicated to Herakles which was found at Menidi, the ancient Acharnae.\textsuperscript{5} Since this seems to be the only other instance of the name in Attic inscriptions, it is obvious that the dedicator of the altar is the same Hippotherides who set up the votive offering to Athena. The letter-forms, also, of the two inscriptions are similar. The queer misspelling of the last word is difficult to explain. The extra letter must be a simple error on the part of the stone-cutter. For the genitive ending \textit{–ov} there is, curiously enough, a good parallel in the inscription from Acharnae in which the form \textit{heqaxke\lowercase{n}ov} appears.

\textsuperscript{1} For a more detailed description of the relief see K. Kourouniotis, \textit{ΑΘΡ. ΚΕΦ}, 1913, p. 199, fig. 6. The photograph for figure 34 is published with the kind permission of Dr. Kourouniotis.

\textsuperscript{2} K. Kourouniotis, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 200, fig. 7.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Arch. Anz.}, 1921, pp. 330 ff.

\textsuperscript{4} I am indebted to Mr. Sterling Dow for reading the proof of the chapter on inscriptions. For the system of brackets used throughout this article see \textit{L. G.}, II–III\textsuperscript{2}, iii, 1, 1935, p. v.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{L. G.}, I\textsuperscript{2}, 777.
Fig. 37. Inscription No. 1 above Mycenaean Steps
2. Fig. 38. E. M. 12750. Fragment of archaic pedestal of white marble, found October 14, 1933, close to the Parthenon column drum.

Height 0.11 m.; width 0.247 m.; thickness 0.12 m.  
Height of letters ca. 0.016 m.

Fig. 38. Inscription No. 2

\[ \Pi\varepsilon\imath\omicron\nu \varepsilon\gamma\kappa\sigma\acute{\alpha}- \\
\mu\nu\rho\omicron\varsigma \kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha- \\
\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu \\
\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon} \xi\nu \\
\tau\acute{\alpha} \theta\epsilon\nu\alpha\lambda\iota\iota \iota \]

The inscription was cut horizontally at the top of the pedestal. Part of the cutting in the top into which the statue was fitted is preserved. The shaft of the pedestal was circular, as is indicated at the break below the inscription.

Of the \( \Gamma \) in the first line only the short vertical stroke is preserved, but this is sufficiently clear to make the reading certain. The name \( \Pi\varepsilon\imath\omicron\nu \) is very rare. The only other instance, which I have been able to find, occurs in another archaic inscription from the Acropolis\(^1\) which reads:

\(^1\) \textit{I.G.}, 1\( ^{\text{i}} \), 635.
EXCAVATIONS ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS

\[\text{Peikon, } \lambda \alpha \nu \rho \omega \nu \varsigma \] 
\[\lambda - - - \] 
\[\dot{\alpha} \nu \varepsilon \theta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \varepsilon : \dot{\lambda} \theta \varepsilon \varepsilon \alpha \iota \] 

It is not unlikely that the Peikon in the two inscriptions is the same man. Possibly the other man, Androkles(?), was a partner of Peikon.¹

3. Fig. 39. Now in the annex of the Acropolis Museum. Lower part of pedestal of white marble, found October 20, 1933, in the pit under the Parthenon column drum.

Height, 0.43 m.; width, 0.295 m.; thickness, 0.36 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.022 m.

\[\text{Εἴςατο } \_ \_ \_ \_ \] 
\[\text{hoi } \pi \alpha \delta \varepsilon [\varsigma \mu \dot{\alpha} \nu \varepsilon \theta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \varepsilon ]\] 
\[\chi \omega \mu \nu \nu \] 
\[\text{[ἐποίεισθε]}\]

Fig. 39. Inscription No. 3

The name \(\chi \omega \mu \nu \nu\) is very rare. It occurs once on a boundary stone from Piraeus.² Possibly the last line contained the names of the sons mentioned in line 2 rather than the artist's signature.

¹ For another joint dedication of two potters cf. \(I.G., I^1, 627\); for the omission of \(νατ\) between the names of the two dedicators cf. \(I.G., I^2, 408\).

² \(I.G., II^1, 2704\).
4. Fig. 40. E. M. 12780. Small fragment of bluish marble, found October 16, 1933, in the same place as the preceding.

Height, 0.04 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.018 m.

Only the upper halves of the first four letters of \textit{δρέβ[εκερ} remain, but the fragment fits \textit{I.G.}, I\textsuperscript{2}, 659, which preserves the lower halves of the same letters together with large parts of the inscription.

5. Fig. 41. E. M. 12753. Fragment of blue marble, found October 14, 1933, in the lower area north of the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.068 m.

Height of letters, 0.015–0.018 m.

The lower edge of the stone is preserved but not the back. The last letter may be \textit{μι}, \textit{νι}, or \textit{γαμμα}. Red color is preserved in the letters.
6. Fig. 42. E. M. 12755. Fragment of white marble found December 6, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Fig. 42. Inscription No. 6

Part of the top is preserved but the back is broken away. The letters in the second line are probably part of some form of the demotic $\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon[\varphi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma]$.\(^1\)

7. Fig. 43. E. M. 12771. Fragment of white marble found October 5, 1933, in the Acropolis dump in the lower area.

Height, 0.047 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.058 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Fig. 43. Three Archaic Inscriptions

- - - $\chi\lambda\epsilon \cdot \xi$ - - -
- - - $\nu\tau \cdot \mu$ (or $\nu$) - -

The stone is broken all around except at the top.

\(^1\) For the use of "demotics" before the time of Cleisthenes see Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, p. 475 and cf. *Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 46.
8. Fig. 43. E. M. 12795. Small fragment of coarse-grained marble, found October 21, 1933, in the lower area.

Height of letter, 0.021 m.

- - - - - - - -

... δς[ἐιξεν(?)]

This is part of a marble basin inscribed on the inner side of the rim. There are numerous examples of similar basins (περισσαρατία) in the Epigraphical Museum.¹

9. Fig. 43. E. M. 12777. Small fragment of white marble, found October 17, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.04 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.
Height of letters, 0.015 m.

- - - - - - - -

10. Fig. 44. E. M. 12790. Fragment of white marble, found October 14, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.06 m.; width, 0.03 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.
Height of letters, 0.09 m.

- - - - - - - -

... υς - - - - - - - - -

... γυ - - - - - - - - -

Fig. 44. Inscription No. 10

The fragment seems to belong to an archaic inscription.

11. Fig. 45. E. M. 12798. Fragment of white marble, found January 22, 1934, in trial pit I in the upper area.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.
Height of letters, 0.008-0.010 m. Stoichedon 45(?).

¹ Cf. I. G., 1², Nos. 739-759.
**Fig. 45. Inscription No. 11**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.G., I², 223</th>
<th>No. 11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ἀρχῆς ἡ] αἰδε [ἀπαρχαὶ τῇ θεῷ τοῖς τριάκοντα ἀπεφάνθησαν μιὰ ἀπὸ τὸ γῆλάντ'</td>
<td>[Θράκιος]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[νεσιοτ] [ιχός]</td>
<td>[አ sesión] [τόνιο]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ἀθαρ[αίοι]</td>
<td>[Σιγέ] ἑς</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Θερ[αίοι]</td>
<td>[Κυμ] [αίοι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Σερ[αίοι]</td>
<td>[Ἀρτα] [κενοι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ἰτα[ι]</td>
<td>[Κια] [οί</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Τέντα[ι]</td>
<td>[Βυσβ] [κενοι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Σιφν[οι]</td>
<td>[Προκ] [ονσιοι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ἀσφιο[ι]</td>
<td>[Ἄβυδο] [νοι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΔΓΗ] [Ι]</td>
<td>[Καλχ] [δ] [οι] [οι]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Σικιν[ε] [ταί]</td>
<td>[Κυθ] [νοι]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Κυθ[νοι]</td>
<td>[Κυθ] [νοι]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11*
The right edge of the stone is preserved. The back is rough and shows no clear signs of chisel marks.

This fragment, which belongs to one of the tribute lists, preserves parts of a heading and the ends of eight names of cities belonging to the Hellespontine group. The letters in line 6¹ seem to be slightly larger than the letters in the rest of the inscription and the upright strokes of the N are not parallel as they are in the names of the cities.

The fragment probably belongs to a tribute list of the years 425/4–422/1. Another small fragment² has been assigned to those years by Professors Meritt and West.³ The restoration which they have proposed fits the reading of the new fragment exactly.⁴ The three columns of the stele were probably arranged much in the same way as in the list for the year 427/6,⁵ where a new group of cities with its heading begins each column. The name [Byξʰ]υξῆς, which must be restored in line 12, does not occur in the complete lists of Hellespontine cities for the years 442/1, 441/0, 435/4 and 427/6.⁶ In the years 434/3, 430/29 it is listed among the cities ἀξ εἰ ἵδιώται ἄνθρωπου φόρον φέρειν.⁷ But in the tribute list which Professors Meritt and West have assigned to the year 426/5 it occurs (spelled Βέσπθυς) as a Hellespontine city. The other seven cities whose names are preserved in our fragment also occur in the list for 427/6. So far as the contents are concerned there is no objection to the dating of the fragment in the years 425/4–422/1, if the nature of the marble and the letter forms admit of such a dating.

In the spacing of lines and letters, which varies considerably in some of the tribute lists, even in the records of a single year, the new piece closely resembles I.G., I², 223. But in the size and forms of the letters there is a noticeable difference. It has already been pointed out that the lettering of the first line of our fragment differs from that in the subsequent lines, so much so that it seems necessary to assume that two stonecutters were at work on the stele. A comparison of the new fragment with I.G., I², 223 reveals the fact that the letters in the first line of our piece are exactly like those in the other fragments. Now, since I.G., I², 223 preserves part of the heading and the beginning of the first column of names, and our fragment belongs to the right side of the stele, we may assume that the heading and at least the upper part of the first column were written by one man and that the rest of the stele was inscribed later by a different hand. The difference is particularly apparent in the form of the nu.

¹ In the numbering of the lines I follow S.E.G., V, 30. See below.
² I.G., I³, 223.
⁴ With regard to the change in the reading from that in S.E.G., V, 30, I quote the following from a letter of Professor Meritt: "It seems to me that we should restore in line 6 [ἐγξες Ἡ]αἰτῆς, etc. so that the left margin of the stone as determined by the title [ΔΗΙ] (this is the correct restoration) may be correctly indicated. With two vacats now to the right of τακεθ[το] we have in the prescript lines of 65 letters."
⁵ Meritt and West, op. cit., 47/8; S.E.G., V, 28.
⁶ S.E.G., V, 13, 14, 20, 28.
⁷ S.E.G., V, 21, 25.
The two fragments, moreover, have approximately the same thickness. They have obviously had a different history since the stele was broken up and the pieces scattered. *I.G.*, I², 223 looks as if it had been lying in water for some time, whereas the new piece, having been buried in earth, preserves better the original condition of the stone. The back of both fragments is very rough, so much so that it is difficult to tell whether the stone has split or the original back remains.

12. Fig. 46. E. M. 12789. Fragment of white marble, found December 7, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.
Height of letters, 0.011 m. (*omikron*, 0.007 m.). *Stoichedon*.

![Fragment of white marble, found December 7, 1933, in the lower area.](image)

The left edge, part of which is preserved, is weathered but is not inscribed. In the first line only a single letter, or possibly none at all, is lost before the first preserved *delta* of the numeral. The fragment probably belongs to one of the tribute lists, with the numerals written in separate columns to the left of the names of cities. The two letters in the last line would then be part of the subheading, as shown in the conjectural restoration above. A small fragment in the Epigraphical Museum,⁴ which has been dated between 420/19 and 418/7, has exactly the same kind of lettering as our piece. Unfortunately most of this fragment has been broken and lost since it was first discovered. All that

⁴ *I.G.*, I², 219; *S. E. G.*, V, 36.
remains now is a small piece along the left side with some of the numerals preserved. Part of the uninscribed left edge also remains. The cities recorded on this fragment, the names of which are now lost, belong to the Ionic group. Since our fragment apparently preserves part of the heading [I]on[...2] it seems very probable that I.G., I², 219 would come somewhere below our fragment in the same column. Apparently the list to which these two fragments belong had a different arrangement from all the rest, since the list of Ionic cities was preceded by another group at the top of the left column.

The letters of the new fragment and of I.G., I², 219 resemble very closely those of I.G., I², 216–217.¹ This large stele, which is inscribed on the front and on the left side (I.G., I², 231), contains a tribute list dated in the year 430/29. The back of the stele which has been used as a floor slab for a long time was originally smooth. Both the front and the back are very badly weathered. It is highly probable that the stele was opisthographic, although no letters can be seen on the back. The condition of the surface is such that the inscription, if it did exist, would in all probability have entirely disappeared. Most of the stelai of the tribute lists are inscribed on both sides, in some cases on the edges as well, and those which are inscribed on the front only are as a rule roughly picked on the back. Along the left edge of the back of I.G., I², 216–217 the marble is cracked and some pieces have broken away near the top. The breaks show that these fragments had split away before the stele was used as a floor slab. I suggest the possibility that our small fragment and I.G., I², 219 may be among the chips that broke away at this point, probably at the time when the stele was taken down. There are, however, serious difficulties arising from this hypothesis, a discussion of which would lead us too far afield. But aside from the question as to where the small fragments belong, the reasons for assuming that the large stele was opisthographic are still valid.

13. Fig. 47. E. M. 12798 q. Small fragment of white marble, found December 11, 1938, in the pit north of the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.

Height, 0.75 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.033 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m. Stoichedon.

¹ S. E. G., V, 25.
This fragment belongs to the famous logistai inscription which forms the basis for a separate monograph published by Professor B. D. Meritt in 1928.\footnote{The Athenian Calendar. Cf. I.G., I\textsuperscript{1}, 324. Since all the fragments of the inscription are not published together in the Corpus it seems more convenient to refer to Professor Meritt’s book. The lines are numbered according to the arrangement on his plates I and II.} His publication includes fifteen fragments, numbered \(a-p\). The new fragment, which will be numbered \(q\), fits at the top of his fragment \(d\). The reading given above, which includes part of the text preserved on \(d\), shows how the two pieces fit together. The chief importance of fragment \(q\) is the fact that it gives the full amount of money borrowed from Artemis Mounichia. What appears in line 63 of Meritt’s text as \(I\) should be changed to \(\mathbb{F}\) as is clearly shown by the new piece. The figure in the next space to the left can only be \(\mathbb{P}\), making the total 2 talents, \(4551\frac{1}{4}\) drachmae. The numeral which is partly preserved in line 62 gives the interest on the money borrowed from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sunium. In line 61, are preserved five figures of the capital of a loan from some sanctuary, the name of which is lost.

When the slab on which the inscription is cut was re-used in mediaeval times the two edges were chiseled away at a slant, and part of the beveled edge is preserved on fragment \(q\).
14. Fig. 48. E. M. 12787. Small fragment of white marble, found October 13, 1933, close to the rock-cut steps which lead to the west entrance into the large cave (cf. p. 125).

Height, 0.093 m.; width, 0.056 m.; thickness, 0.027 m.
Height of letters, 0.009 m. *Stoichedon.*

The right side is preserved. Above the first line is an uninscribed surface, ca. 0.055 m. high. The first letter in the second line is clearly a *theta*, probably written by mistake for an *omikron.*

15. Fig. 49. E. M. 12779. Fragment of white marble, found October 19, 1933, in the same place as the preceding.

Height, 0.035 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.
Height of letters, 0.011 m. *Stoichedon.*
No original surface is preserved except the front.

**16.** Fig. 49. E. M. 12784. Small fragment of white marble, found October 20, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.010 m. *Stoichedon.*

\[\text{vacat}\]

**17.** Fig. 49. E. M. 12796. Small fragment of white marble, found December 13, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.03 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.010 m. *Stoichedon.*

\[\text{vacat}\]

**18.** Fig. 50. E. M. 12774. Small fragment of white marble, found October 20, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.

Height of letters, 0.09 m. *Stoichedon.*

\[\text{vacat}\]

**19.** Fig. 50. E. M. 12797. Fragment of white marble, found October 19, 1933, in the pit east of the Parthenon drum.

Height, 0.07 m.; width, 0.068 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m. *Stoichedon.*

\[\text{vacat}\]
No original edge is preserved. The fragment belongs to the Erechtheum accounts for the year 408/7. The three men whose names are partly preserved were all engaged in channeling the columns of the east porch,¹ and it is likely that our fragment belongs to an account of the same kind of work. Ameiniades from the deme Koile did other stonework during the year 409/8.² One of the slaves, Somenes, who worked as a mason also belonged to him.

The lines are slightly more widely spaced than is the case with the larger pieces of the same inscription, but one of the smaller fragments³ has practically the same spacing.

![Four Fragments of Inscriptions](image)

**20.** Fig. 50. E. M. 12778. Small fragment of white marble, found December 7, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.045 m.; thickness, 0.054 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m. *Non stoichedon.*

\[Πολ\vλ\[ης Ααξιάδης(?)]
--- σιλ-----
--- πολ-----
--- ινη-----
*Tμο][κρ[ης(?)] ---

The letters of this fragment closely resemble those of the preceding, but the lines are more widely spaced, the arrangement is *non stoichedon*, and the alphabet is apparently Ionic. Some fragments which have been attributed to the later Erechtheum accounts

¹ Cf. *I.G.*, Ι³, 374; and L. D. Caskey *et al.*, *The Erechtheum*, pp. 384, ll. 1, 10; 390, ll. 37, 48, 55; 392, ll. 74, 85; 396, ll. 57, 65.
are likewise written with Ionic letters. Unfortunately there is no word in our fragment that can be restored with certainty. The names of Polykles and Timokrates occur in the Erechtheum accounts, but the restoration of these names on our fragment is hypothetical.

21. Fig. 50. E. M. 12776. Small fragment of white marble, found October 10, 1933, in the lower area.
   Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.
   Height of letters, 0.008 m. Probably stoichedon.
   \[\chi\varphi - - - - - - - - \\
   \lambda\varepsilon - - - - - - - - \\
   \varphi\alpha - - - - - - - - \\
   \gamma\varepsilon - - - - - - - - \]

   No original edge of the stone is preserved, but the existing letters belong to the left side of a column. The letters resemble those of the two preceding fragments but are somewhat larger. It is not impossible that this piece, too, belongs to the Erechtheum accounts.

22. Fig. 51. E. M. 12736 a. Fragment of white marble, found February 28, 1934, in a pit south of the Mycenaean stairway.
   Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.023 m.
   Height of letters, 0.01 m.

   \[\text{Fig. 51. Inscription No. 22} \]
   The letter forms indicate that this small fragment dates from near the end of the fifth century B.C. After the defeat of the Sicilian Expedition Thasos and some of the

---

cities of Thrace revolted from Athens but were recovered by Thrasybulus in 408.1 Diodorus mentions Abdera among these and adds the information that it was at that time one of the most powerful of the Thracian cities. Possibly the inscription is part of a decree in honor of some party or individual among the Abderites who may have been instrumental in bringing about the surrender.

23. Fig. 52. E. M. 12762. Fragment of white marble, found October 9, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.
Height of letters, 0.008 m. Non stoichedon.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
X\alpha \eta \\
\Delta \alpha \chi \\
B\iota \sigma \nu \\
\Gamma \lambda \alpha \nu \\
O\omicron \nu \omicron \\
\Delta \iota \omega \\
\Pi \alpha \\
\Pi \iota \\
\iota \\
\end{array}
\]

This fragment belongs to a naval catalogue,2 a small piece of which was discovered last year.3

24. Fig. 52. E. M. 12781. Fragment of white marble, found October 17, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.
Height of letters, 0.006–0.007 m. Stoichedon.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\epsilon \varphi \\
\Lambda \upsilon \sigma \\
\Lambda \vartheta \delta \\
\Pi \omicron \\
N\iota \\
\Sigma \omega \\
\Phi \\
\Gamma \circ (\Pi) \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{vacat}
\]

1 Xenophon, Hell., I, 4, 9; Diodorus, xiii, 72, 1.
2 I.G., II*, 1951.
3 Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 393, No. 12, where references are given to the literature on the inscription.
25. Fig. 52. E. M. 12782. Fragment of white marble, found December 12, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.
Height of letters, 0.009 m. *Stoichedon*.

The fragment apparently belongs to some inventory records from about the end of the fifth century B.C.

26. Fig. 53. E. M. 12768. Fragment of white marble, found October 7, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.
Height of letters, 0.008 m. *Stoichedon ca. 52* (?).
Fig. 53. Two Fragments of Inscriptions

The fragment apparently belongs to some financial document from about the end of the fifth century. The conjectural restoration offered above is based chiefly on I.G., I², 296–8, and 302.

27. Fig. 53. E. M. 12766. Fragment of bluish marble, found December 11, 1933, in the pit east of the Parthenon drum.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.010 m. Stoichedon.

All the letters are cut with double strokes which are clearly discernible.
EXCAVATIONS ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS

28. Fig. 54. E. M. 12757. Fragment of white marble, found October 16, 1933, in the same place as the preceding.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.013 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m. *Stoichedon.*

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Fig. 54. Inscription No. 28

```
 iota χρυσά ε·

 ας και τας ου·

ς Νικιας Κνδα[ντ·}

[ιδης (οι Κνδαντειτις] Φα]εροιος Τελζ ρ.

 Διοκής Παιτες

 Αφιτανιος Θεομη·

 κωτάδο Ενω·

 νιως Θεος·

 ιδο Κοσω·

 ζιδες·

 δων(?) Χροσω·

 πει·
```

Part of the top and of the right edge and the back are preserved. The Nikias of line 3 might be of the same family to which the famous general of the Peloponnesian War belonged.¹ A grandson of his with the same name is known from the first half of

¹ For the family tree, see Kirchher, *Pros. Att.*, No. 10808.
the fourth century.¹ Diokles of Pithos, mentioned in line 5, is probably the trierarch of the year 377/6 B.C.² Our inscription seems to be part of some inventory record.

29. Fig. 55. E. M. 12759. Fragment of white marble, found December 14, 1933, in the pit east of the Parthenon drum.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.
Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Fig. 55. Inscription No. 29

The total thickness is preserved. The fragment seems to belong to the bottom of the inscription.

30. Fig. 56. E. M. 12772. Fragment of white marble, found October 19, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.035 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.
Height of letters, ca. 0.007 m. Probably non stoichedon.

¹ Lysias, Orat., XVIII, 10. His name also appears on naval records, see Kirchner, loc. cit.
² I.G., II¹, 1604, l. 91.
31. Fig. 56. E. M. 12761. Small fragment of bluish marble, found December 9, 1933, in the same place as the preceding.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.
Height of letters, 0.006 m. *Stoichedon.*

At the right edge is an uninscribed surface, ca. 0.10 m. wide, and the stone extended at least 0.04 m. to the right of the preserved letters. Apparently the inscription was written in columns. It belongs to an inventory record of some kind.

32. Fig. 57. E. M. 12773. Fragment of white marble, found December 12, 1933, in the same place as the preceding.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.
Height of letters, 0.011 m. *Stoichedon.*
33. Fig. 57. E. M. 12793. Fragment of bluish marble, found October 14, 1933, in the same place as the preceding.

Height, 0.055 m.; width, 0.047 m.; thickness, 0.032 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m. Non stoichedon.

The top is preserved. The third line seems to have been once erased and re-cut. Below the fourth line there are no traces of letters, although the preserved space is twice as wide as the space between the other lines.
34. Fig. 57. E. M. 12785. Fragment of bluish marble, found October 11, 1933, in the late fill of the lower area.

Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.068 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.
Height of letters, 0.006 m.  Stoichedon 40.

μὴ δὲ [ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δήμον δνὶ]
δοξέω τῇ βουλῇ ἐπανέσαι nomen
κτος Μ[· · · · καὶ στεφανώσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνον—]
ον κατὰ τὸν νόμον φιλοτιμίας ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τ—
τὸς πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δήμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων δοῦν—
καὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ψήφον τοὺς πρωτάνεις τοὺς μετὰ τὴν
Ἁ[αυτίδα φυλὴν κτλ.]

35. Fig. 58. E. M. 12767. Fragment of blue marble, found October 10, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.
Height of letters, 0.005 m.  Stoichedon.

36. Fig. 59. E. M. 12765. Fragment of blue marble, found December 6, 1933, north of the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.
Height of letters, 0.005 m.  Non stoichedon, ca. 48.
Fig. 59. Inscription No. 36

[- - περὶ δὲν ἀπομεμαρτυρή]χασιν αὐτῶι [παλιῶι τῶι πολιτῶι
[ἀρικνούμενοι εἰς Σαλαμ]ίνα ei ποτε το[ν ἱδέοντο νακατ ἀγαθὲι]
[τύχει· δεδόχθαι τεί β]ουλεῖ τοῖς λά[χοντας προέδρους εἰς τήν]
[ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι [περὶ τούτωι γνώμην δὲ ξεμ-]
[βάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς] εἰς τὸν δῆ[μον δὲν ὀδεῖ τεί βουλεῖ - -]
κτλ.

The restoration of the first two lines is conjectural, especially the name Σαλαμ]ίνα in line 2. The inscription probably dates from the second century B.C.

37. Fig. 60. E. M. 12763. Fragment of blue marble, found October 7, 1933, in the late fill of the lower area.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.
Height of letters, 0.005 m. Non stoichedon, 29-33.

[ἀπομε]μαρτυρή[ται αὐτῶι
- - - - - - αἰρετιστής [πρὸ[ς τὸν δῆμον γε-]
[να]μενος ἐπισχομ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - καλῶς καὶ εὖ[πρὸς[ς ὅπως ἐν οὖν καὶ]
5 [δὲ δῆ]μος φαίνηται [τιμῶν πάντας τοῖς εὐ-
[νο]ις[ς ὅρας ἐν[τῷ, ἀγαθὲι τύχει δεδόχ-
[θα]ι τε[ί] βουλεῖ τοῦ[ς λάχοντας προέδρους
[ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι]
[περὶ τούτωι]ν γνώμη[ν δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι]
[τῆς βουλῆς εἰ][ς τὸν δῆμον - - κτλ.]
The full thickness is preserved. The letters are poorly cut. The omikron is rendered by two dots, the middle bar of the epsilon and the horizontal stroke of the alpha are regularly omitted, and the rho has two short horizontal strokes instead of the loop. The letters are practically identical with those of I.G., Π2, 910 which is dated in the year 169/8 B.C.

The word αἰσιστῆς in line 2 does not usually occur in inscriptions of this kind, although it is known from literature. But the phrase αἰσιστῆς γεῦομενος might well have been used as the equivalent of αἴρησιν ἔχων, which occurs in formulas from the third and second centuries. The second word in line 3 may possibly be ἐπιστὲομενος, but the cutting which remains after the omikron seems to indicate a sigma rather than a mu.

38. Fig. 61. E. M. 12764. Fragment of bluish marble, found October 5, 1933, in the late fill of the lower area.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.033 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m. Non stoichedon 34–39.
The right edge of the stone and the full thickness are preserved. The writing is very careless. In lines 7 and 8 there is a deviation from the common formula. At the end of line 10 an horizontal stroke is preserved, but since there is not room for the whole article, it is probably an accidental scratch.

39. Fig. 62. E. M. 12775. Fragment of white marble, found October 14, 1933, in the late fill of the lower area.
Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.
Height of letters, 0.006 m.

---Ocueg vacat
Krjpudor~o

Fig. 62. Inscription No. 39

40. Fig. 63. E. M. 12792. Fragment of white marble, found October 11, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.06 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.02 m.
Height of letters, 0.007 m.

---vacat

Fig. 63. Inscription No. 40
The left edge of the stone is preserved. The third letter in line 3 is iota, apparently written by mistake instead of rho. All the names are unusual in Attic inscriptions, and two of them, Arxeas and Sperchias, are certainly not Attic.

41. Fig. 64. E. M. 12770. Fragment of blue marble, brought by a boy who said he had found it during the summer on the North Slope in the vicinity of the excavation.

42. Fig. 65. E. M. 12758. Fragment of white marble, found December 6, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.055 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.
Height of letters, ca. 0.011 m.
43. Fig. 66. E. M. 12756. Fragment of white marble with inscription within a wreath, found December 7, 1933, in the lower area.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.155 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.007–0.010 m.

Fig. 66. Inscription No. 43

44. Fig. 67. E. M. 12794. Small chip of white marble, found December 12, 1933, in the pit close to the Parthenon drum.

The only letters preserved are a small Ο at the top and ΑΜ at the lower edge.

Fig. 67. Inscription No. 44
45. Fig. 69 m. E. M. 12751. Fragment of white marble, found October 6, 1933, in the late fill of the lower area.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.
Height of letters, 0.017 m.
This small fragment belongs to an important inscription of which several larger pieces have been found on the Acropolis. Nine of these were published by von Premerstein in 1913.\(^1\) There are two other fragments in the Epigraphical Museum, which he overlooked, although their inventory numbers show that they were there at the time of his publication, and a small piece found in the excavations on the North Slope was published by me in a previous report.\(^2\) Thus there are in all four additional pieces, which will be numbered \(j-m\), following the numbering of the published fragments \(a-i\).\(^3\) One of the new pieces, \(j\) (E. M. 4646), which joins with fragment \(a\), contains parts of six lines (Fig. 68). The new fragment \(m\) joins with fragment \(i\)\(^4\) as shown in figure 69. Although neither of these make contact with any of the larger fragments, their place in the stele, which was determined by von Premerstein, is practically certain from the contents.

Inasmuch as the new fragments necessitate some radical changes in the proposed restoration, it will be necessary to discuss the whole inscription at some length. The text as restored by von Premerstein has been subjected to criticism by Paul Graindor,\(^5\) who has proposed various corrections. But neither he nor von Premerstein published a

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2. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 412, No. 34.
3. This numbering of the fragments is that used in *I. G.*, II\(^4\), 1067, which differs from that of von Premerstein.
4. This is von Premerstein's fragment \(a\), which for some reason is given twice in the Corpus, once in the text, ll. 9–12, and again at the end as a separate, unplaced fragment.
Σ.,
ΤΩΝΕΥΣΕΒΕΙ
ΩΣΟΥΝΑΠΟΤΗΣ.
ΤΕΤΥΧΗΚΩΣΔ
ΙΣΕΝΟΥΤΟΥΑΥ
ΣΥΝΕΡΓΟΥΣΗΣΔΕΕΙΣ
ΤΑΥΤΑΣΘΕΙΣΕΥΕΡΓΕΙΔΟΣΚΑΙΣΩΤΕΙΡΑΣΤΩΝΑΘΗΝΩΝ
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΠΑΜΕΝΑΛΛΑΙΤΑΝΤΑ
ΠΡΑΤΤΕΣΘΑΙΚΑΘΜΠΕΡΟΣΥΝΕΡΓΟΣΜΟΥΘΗΣΕΠΙΜΕΛΗ:
ΤΕΙΑΣΕΛΠΙΔΗΦΟΡΟΣ,
ΔΟΥΠΑΛΗΝΕΥΣΚΑΤΑ
ΤΗΝΕΜΗΝΑΠΟΔΗΜΙΑΝΕΝΗΦΙΣΑΤΟΥΕΙΝΔΕΠΙΑΓΑΘΗΝΙΤΥΧΗ
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ΤΟΝΔΕ
ΙΕΡΕΑΗΡΑΚΛΑΝΤΟΥ
ΘΕΕΙΝΚΑΙΤΑΕΙΣΙΤΗΡΙΑΘΙΟΥΛΙΑΣΕΒΑΣ
ΘΗΠΟΙΕΙΝΚΑΘΩΣΚΑΙΤΗΘΑΘΗΝΑΠΟΛΙΑΔΙ
ΤΟΝΕΠΤΟΥΣΟΠΑΕΙΤΑΣΣΥΡΑΘΗΓΟΝ
ΤΟΝΔΕΑΡΧΩΝΟΝΤΗ
ΦΩΙΝΑΣΥΝΘΡΟΝ
ΟΥΘΑΡΓΗΛΙΩΝΟΣΜΗΝΟ
ΝΟΥΕΝΗΗΜΕΡΑΤΟΝ/}
ΛΩΝΑΥΘΗΘΙΩΙΟΥΛΙΑΙΑΙΑΝΗΚΑΝΑΙΑΘΗΝΑΙΡΟΝ
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ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΝΙΚΟΝΔΕΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝΑΘΘΗΠΤΥΧΗΗΠΡΟΘΥ
ΕΙΝΚΑΙΟΥΣΑΡΧΩΝΣΚΑΙΕΙΡΕΙΣΠΑΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΤΟΝΚΗ
ΡΥΚΑΣΠΕΝΛΕΙΝ;
ΤΑΣΔΕΙΕΡΕΙΑΣΚΑΙΤΗΝΤΟΥΑΡΧΟΝ
ΤΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝΘΓΕΙΝΚΑΙΤΑΕΙΣΙΤΗΡΙΑΘΙΣΙΕΡΩΣΥΝΗΣ
ΠΟΕΙΝΘΗΙΑΘΗΝΑΙΙΗΠΙΩΛΙΑΔΙΘΕΙΝΔΕΚΑΙΤΑΣΣΑΡ
ΘΕΝΟΥΣΤΑΣΑΡΡΗΦΟΡΟΥΣΑΣΚΑΙΔΑΙΔΑΙΣΤΑΝΚΑΙΣΥΝΤΕ
ΛΕΙΝΚΑΙΧΟΡΟΝΕΙΣΙΣΘΗΝΟΙΝΘΙΝΚΑΙΟΥΤΩΝΝΗΓΕ
ΝΟΜΕΝΩΝΝΕΠΙΘΑΝΗΣΘΗΣΙΣΘΗΝΩΣΕΙΡΑΝΤΩΝΑΘΗ
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ΓΡΑΦΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΘΗΝΤΟΥΤΩΝΕΙΣΗΓΗΣΙΝΝΕΠΙΣΘΗΛΗ
ΚΑΙΑΝΑΟΕΙΝΑΙΠΑΡΑΤΟΝΝΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΒΟΜΟΝΤΩΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ

Fig. 70. Incription No. 45, Facsimile
restored facsimile of the whole inscription. Since the restoration in some of the lines does not fit the available space, it has to be rejected on that ground alone. In figure 70 all the fragments are included whose place in the stele is reasonably certain, and restorations have been added by dotted lines. Two of the fragments, \( k \) (E. M. 3144), and \( l \) (E. M. 12731) (Fig. 71) have been omitted, as has also much of von Premerstein's restoration which is largely conjectural.

The beginning of the inscription containing the main decree is lost and the preserved part belongs to a rider.\(^1\) The original height was probably between two and three meters. At one time the stele was broken up and the pieces recut, apparently to be used as paving slabs. At that time a kind of anathyrosis was made along the uninscribed smooth side of the slabs and the inscribed side seems to have been buried in lime mortar. This secondary anathyrosis is preserved along the left edge of fragments \( g \) and \( d \), on the right edge of \( g \),\(^2\) at the top of \( j \) and at the bottom and left edge of \( i \). The original left edge of the stele is preserved in fragment \( b \) and in the small unplaced fragment \( k \). There is an uninscribed surface, 0.027 m. wide, along the left edge. The right edge of the inscribed surface must have been rather irregular as shown in figure 70, since the words were as a rule divided by syllables. In some of the lines the last letters may have been crowded, and possibly ligatures were used, as is commonly the case with inscriptions from the same period.

Von Premerstein's brilliant restoration, though partly incorrect in details, nevertheless gives the general contents of the decree, which is all that the author himself claims to have achieved.\(^3\) The original decree was proposed by a certain Elpidephoros of the deme Pallene during the absence of the unknown author of the rider. The latter, who seems to have held the office of epimelites,\(^4\) apparently headed an embassy sent to the Emperor for the purpose of obtaining some favors for the Athenians. The motivation for the amendment (II. 1–8) seems to contain references to such a commission.

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\(^1\) It is, of course, possible that the principal decree was recorded on a separate stone.

\(^2\) Von Premerstein seems not to have noticed that the edges were thus recut, since he makes the statement (op. cit., p. 247) that part of the original right edge is preserved in his fragment \( f \) (i.e. I. G., II\(^3\), 1076 \( g \)).

\(^3\) Cf. pp. 250 and 266.

\(^4\) The \( τευμαλητεία \) in lines 9 and 10—if this is the correct restoration—is probably the office in charge of certain religious festivals at Athens (see Pauly-Wiss. s. v.).
at which Julia Domna successfully interceded with the Emperor in behalf of the Athenians. The new fragment \( m \) necessitates a change in line 8 from von Premerstein's rather harsh restoration. Fragment \( l \) probably belongs to the upper left corner somewhere above \( a \) and \( m \), but it does not seem worth while to attempt a new restoration. In line 8 the infinitive \( δ&d_ο�βα &\iota \) is certainly preferable to a verb in the first person. The change from \( καθ&θος \) to \( καθαισε &\thetaι \) in line 9 is required by the space, as is also the shortening of the word (or phrase) beginning at the end of line 9 and ending at the beginning of line 10. In line 11 the word \( α&πο[\nuι\alphaε &\varrho] \), which is practically certain, gives us the new information that the proposer was absent during the passing of the original decree. It is natural to suppose that his absence from Athens at this time was caused by his mission to the Emperor. Possibly the Athenians had already before his arrival received news about the success of his mission and thus hastened to pass the decree, perhaps in honor of the Emperor himself and his sons.

The amendment itself, which deals with certain divine honors to Julia Domna, falls into two sections, unless our restoration of line 13 is altogether wrong. The first deals with various celebrations decreed for the birthday of the Empress; the second has to do with annual offerings on the first day of the Roman year. The new cult of Julia was to be added to the state cult of Athena Polias. Some changes such as those made in lines 12 and 13 are necessary because of the spacing. The word \( ε&γε [νννννν] \) restored by von Premerstein at the end of line 13 is our only evidence for a festival on the birthday of the Empress. It is perhaps possible that this should be restored in some other way and that the whole decree deals with a single festival.

In line 14 von Premerstein misread some letters partly preserved on the stone. The break between fragments \( h \) and \( g \) falls in the middle of the line, but certain traces of some of the letters appear on both fragments. The first two letters preserved are \( A \) and \( H \), the third has an upright stroke close to the \( H \), and the fourth is completely lost. Then follow three letters all with slanting strokes, the lower part of which appear on fragment \( g \). The first of these, the fifth from the beginning, appears to be \( K \) or possibly \( X \); the slant of the line seems too great for \( A \) or \( L \). The next three, which are better preserved, are \( \Lambda \Lambda N \). It is obvious that the first \( alpha \) is the last letter of a word, and that the \( H \) begins a new word ending in \( -λε &\varrho \). This word, which von Premerstein incorrectly read as \( \varsigma[με\varphiε &\varrho]\nu \), has seven letters instead of six. I can think of no word that will fit the space except the name \( Ηε[α]χλα &\varrho \). If that is correct the name is probably that of a priest or some other official somehow connected with the new cult. Some such phrase as \( το ν δε &\iota &\iota ε &\iota ε (or Χ&θυ &\iota ε) το ν νο ν νν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν
In lines 17–21 it seems preferable to omit the restorations altogether. Whatever were the contents of this sentence the restoration proposed by von Premerstein cannot stand, and it is highly questionable whether it expresses the correct idea at all. In the first place it seems very strange that the strategos should be ordered “to make” a statue which the archon was to set up close to the statue of Athena. Whoever would be commissioned to see to the making of the statue would most naturally have it set up in its place. Συνιδρύσαν can hardly convey the idea of dedication which would have been expressed by some other term. The restoration, especially in line 19, is too long and it seems impossible to express the same idea with fewer letters. Moreover, the letter before the ϕ in line 19 seems to be Λ or Α, not a circular letter as von Premerstein states; and, finally, the common term for ceiling in inscriptions is ὑφοι not ὑφοφος. Possibly the word should be restored as ἀδελθοῦ, in which case the passage probably had to do with the joint rule of the Emperor and his two sons. If this is correct the inscription must be dated not later than 209, which was the year in which Geta received the title of Caesar. In line 20 von Premerstein’s restoration would be preferable to that suggested by Graindor which is too long.

The most important changes from von Premerstein’s text have been made in lines 22–27, where the new fragment j has made it possible to complete the lines with greater certainty. It is difficult to suggest a suitable word as the object of ἄντηκαν in line 22. It begins with Α or Λ and seems to end in ΛΟΝ. Obviously it is not a proper name as von Premerstein supposed. The verb ἄντηκαν can only mean “dedicate” in this connection, and since the tense is aorist it must refer to some dedication other than those mentioned in the preserved part of the inscription. The indirect object is presumably the name of the Empress. The intensive pronoun would presuppose that some one else, who had also received honors, had been mentioned in the same connection. Whether that is Athena or the sons of Julia depends on our understanding of the preceding sentence.

The word θέσαν or some other verb with a similar meaning must have been added at the end of line 23, although it makes the line rather long. The unusual construction in line 25, κατεύχεσθαι with the genitive, occurs in an inscription from the Amphiaraion. It is difficult to find another verb which fits the sense of the passage equally well. In line 26 the article before Πολιάδος is required to fill out the space, however unusual it may be. The proper distance between fragments j and g is given in line 24, which does not admit of any change unless some letters were omitted. In line 29 I have

2 Another Athenian decree (I.G., II. 1077) was passed in commemoration of this event.
4 One might suggest τὸν ἐκ[ενκῶν | πέλας]όν, which, however, is somewhat long for the space. More in keeping with von Premerstein’s interpretation would be τὸν ἐ[πόστατο]όν which was used in late Greek as the equivalent of ἀποστολή (cf. Josephus, Ant. Jud., 17, 11, 1) but this would hardly have been used together with an indirect object in the dative.
5 S. I. G. III, 1004, l. 25 f.
6 With other epithets of Athena, such as Soteira, the article is usually repeated.
kept von Premerstein's reading in spite of Graindor's objections, which do not seem sufficiently grounded. The end of line 30 can be restored in various ways. The phrase τὸ[τε ἐσομένη] suggested by Graindor seems unnecessary since it is not used in connection with the other officials who also held office for a year. The words θέειν καὶ in line 31 fill the requirement of space better than the superfluous πᾶσας, which Graindor objects to. Again in line 32 the article with Πολί[τ]ο[ι] is absolutely necessary to fill the space. Graindor's corrections for this place are unacceptable. He is right, however, in rejecting ταχειάς on the ground of being too long. The word θέειν which is repeated throughout the decree is doubtless correct. In line 33 the word [ἐλευθέρας] is too short, besides being rather meaningless, as Graindor points out. I have substituted [ἀριστοφαίοις] which fills the available space. In line 34 the reading χόη[ν καὶ έοξ]τὴν, which, according to Graindor, "ne laisse pas de choquer" can be improved by adding a preposition before έοξ]τὴν. The three extra letters are also needed to fill the space. At the end of that line the last letter is almost certainly Γ instead of Π. Finally in line 38 ἐν Ἀχονόπο]λει must be substituted for the shorter phrase ἐν πο]λει.

The new reading of this document, which it has been possible to establish with the aid of the unpublished fragments, has added some points of interest, without, however, altering the general trend of the decree. Unfortunately some important matters still remain in doubt. Repeated attempts at placing the remaining two fragments in the stele have convinced me that a variety of possible readings can be suggested which, without too great violence to the language, will complete the lines so as to include all the fragments. But the futility of purely conjectural restorations has been sufficiently demonstrated by means of those fragments whose place in the stele is determined by actual contact.

46. Fig. 72. E. M. 12752. Fragment of white marble, found October 2, 1933, in the late fill in front of cave Q (Pl. I).

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.134 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Fig. 72. Inscription No. 46

1 Cf. S. I. G., 1000.

2 Graindor's suggestion [παροδίας] (which he accents as if it were masculine) and [ἐγένετο] are likewise too short.
47–51. Figs. 73 and 74. E. M. 12786, 12783, 12791, 12769, 12788. Five small fragments of marble with traces of letters, found at various places in the excavations.

52. Fig. 75. E. M. 12760. Small piece of white marble with some letters scratched with a fine point, found October 6, 1933, in the lower area.

Fig. 73. Two Fragments of Inscriptions

Fig. 74. Three Fragments of Inscriptions

Fig. 75. Inscription No. 52
53. Fig. 76. E. M. 12754. Fragment of Christian tombstone of poros, found in a modern stairway at the top of Klepsydra Street.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.025 m.

ADDENDUM TO HESPERIA, II, 1933, P. 411, INSCRIPTION NO. 33

The lower piece of the inscription, shown in figure 77, which was discovered in a heap of marble fragments in the ruined church of Hagios Nikolaos, fits a fragment in the Epigraphical Museum (E. M. 2761). The two pieces are parts of a herm inscribed on the front face with a list of epheboi. The stone has a deep groove, visible in figure 77, cut on either side. The surface is badly weathered, especially on the fragment which was published last year. The upper piece, which apparently has been in the Museum a long time, is not included among the ephebic lists in I. G., II², and there is no indication of its provenance in the museum inventory. The characteristic letter forms, Σ, ΛΛ, appear most commonly in inscriptions of the early third century A.D.,¹ and approximately to that period our inscription must be assigned. In the text given below are included the legible names on both fragments, with some additions and corrections to the names published in the preceding report.²

¹ Cf. I. G., II², 2196, 2208; and cf. Larfeld, Gr. Epigr., pp. 503 ff.
² In order to avoid confusion, the numbering of the lines as given in Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 411 are here added in parenthesis.
Fig. 77. Fragments of Inscribed Herm, E. M. 2761 and 12712
[\(\text{Hg}\)]\(\text{φαλη} [\text{τος(?)}\])
[\(\text{Aω}\)]\(\text{σίθες} [\text{θάλ} \text{ήτος}\])
[\(\text{Θ}\)]\(\text{σόδος}[\text{ος}]\)
[\(\text{N}\)]\(\text{εικόμαχος}\) \(\text{Αω .. ίον}\)
[\(\text{N}\)]\(\text{εικοκλησ} \text{Ωσιδότου}\)
\(\text{Ιερεύς}\) \(\text{Κλαυ. Χαρεισίου}\)
\(\text{Διονυσόδωρος}\) \(\text{Γενεθλίου}\)
\(\text{Ασκληπιάδης}\) \(\text{Πρείμων}\)
\(\text{Αύμιτος}\) \(\text{Προμηθεὺς}\)
\(\text{Αύμιτος}\) \(\text{Εκπεμπέως}\)
\(\text{Κλαυ. Εκπεμπέως}\)
\(\text{Διονύσιος}\) \(\text{Ιέρακος}\)
\(\text{Νομ. Ηρώδης}\)
\(\text{Καλλίνεικος}\) \(\text{Ελιδ[ότου]}\)
\(\text{Ἰο[ν]}\) \(\text{Ἀγρίππας}^6\)
\(\text{Εἰσίδοφος}\)
\(\text{Μείλιχος}\) \(\text{Σεν -- -- --}\)
\(\text{Μαυ. Θεοφρ[λος]}\)
\(\text{Οδ. (?)}\) \(\text{Κάλ[λιστος]}(?)\)
\(\text{--- --- ---} \text{οδετιον}\)

\(\text{ΝΑΩΝΑ} \ldots \gamma\)
[\(\text{Ά} \)]\(\text{πτώνος}\) \(\text{Νέφρωνος} (?)\)
\(\text{Αβέραος}\)
[\(\text{Η} \)]\(\text{σακληίδης}\) \(\text{Ρώδονος}\)
[\(\text{Α} \)]\(\text{χ[λ]} \text{λέους}\)
\(\text{Διονύσιος}\)
\(\text{Ζώσιμος}\) \(\text{Ισιτύχων}\)
\(\text{Ασκληπιιόδ[ωρ]ος}\) \(\text{Διονυσίου}\)
\(\text{Εἴγανων}\)
\(\text{Ε[ν]} \text{άριστος}\) \(\text{Σίκου}\)
\(\text{Σκαβεῖνος}\) \(\text{Επαφροδεῖτ[ο]ν}\)
\(\text{Ἀθ[η]νιός}\) \(\text{[ή]νων}\)
\(\text{Εἴφη[α]}\)\(\text{ος}\)

\(\text{--- --- ---} \text{Εἴσφ[φαδεῖτον]} (?)\)

\(^1\) Cf. \textit{I.G.}, II\(^2\), 2208, 1. 77.
\(^2\) Cf. \textit{I.G.}, II\(^2\), 2237, l. 96.
\(^3\) Cf. \textit{I.G.}, II\(^1\), 2097, 1. 207, where the same name, spelled \textit{Χαρήσιος}, appears as that of an ephebos.
\(^4\) Cf. \textit{I.G.}, III\(^1\), 758 a, and II\(^1\), 2243. In both these instances the name is abbreviated \textit{Ἀμιτ.} or \textit{Ἀμ.}, which the editors have filled out as \textit{Ἀμιτ(ως)}. Since the name occurs twice in our inscription without the second \textit{iota} we must assume that this is the correct form.