

NOTES ON ATTIC DECREES

I.G., I², 1

Recent articles about “ the earliest Attic decree ” have brought new restorations and new interpretations to the text of the famous inscription which deals with affairs on the island of Salamis. A short discussion by Wilhelm¹ has given a new text of the first two and one-half lines and has shown, in my opinion, that the versions of this document which appear in the *Corpus* and in Tod’s *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (no. 11) cannot be correct in either form or meaning. Kahrstedt² also has raised compelling objections against the *Corpus* text, but in the matter of interpretation he has come to conclusions quite the opposite of those set forth by Wilhelm, and which Wilhelm makes no attempt to refute. The question at issue was whether the decree refers to the original inhabitants of the island of Salamis (restoring οἰκόντας at the end of line 1) or to Athenian klerouchs resident on Salamis (restoring κλερόχος at the end of line 1). Wilhelm’s suggested wording for the opening clause is as follows:

Ἔδοχσεν τῶι δέμοι· [τὸς ἐ Σα]λαμ[ῖνι οἰκόντας]
οἰκῆν ἐὰ Σαλαμῖνι [καὶ τε]λῆν, [χσὸν Ἀθηναῖοι]
σι τε[λ]ῆν καὶ στρατ[εύεσθ]αι.

The part of this restoration which is new grew out of an observation made by Bannier³ that decrees not infrequently have a breaking down of a specification into several sentences in which the following repeats the verb of the preceding and adds a more exact specification, or that they show a development of the sentence through repetition of the verb and the addition of another verb with a co-ordinating conjunction. Hence Wilhelm restores [τε]λῆν in line 2 to be repeated by the verb τε[λ]ῆν in line 3, to which is added the more exact specification [χσὸν Ἀθηναῖοι]σι and the additional specification of the verb καὶ στρατ[εύεσθ]αι. The most persuasive example which he cites in support of his restoration is to be found in the addendum (*op. cit.*, pp. 96-97) where the following quotation is given from a decree of Cyrene:⁴ ἀποπέμπεν ἐς τὰν [Διβ]ύαν Βάττομ μὲν ἀρχαγέτα[ν | τ]ε καὶ βασιλῆα· ἐταίρους δὲ τοὺς Θηραίους πλέν· ἐπὶ τῶι ἴσα[ι κ] | αὶ τῶι ὁμοίαι πλέν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον.

¹ *Attische Urkunden IV*, pp. 5-11 (*Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, 1939).

² *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen* (1934), pp. 358-361.

³ *Rh. Mus.*, LXVII, 1912, p. 522; *ibid.*, LXIX, 1914, p. 494.

⁴ *S.E.G.*, IX, no. 3, lines 26-28.

In spite of this the new suggestion must be rejected. If the clause states that those who dwell on Salamis are to be allowed to live and pay taxes there, according to Wilhelm's interpretation, it is not an elaboration of this simple statement to say in the exegetical clause that they are to pay taxes and serve in the army with the Athenians. The two clauses as they stand side by side are contradictory in that the first grants a privilege while the second imposes a restriction. If the verb *τελέειν* means that the inhabitants of Salamis are to pay taxes with the Athenians, it ought not to be construed in both categories, and if one insists, as evidently Wilhelm must, that there is no paradox, then in the short terse phraseology of this early Attic decree the restoration which Wilhelm offers is a verbose and roundabout way of saying a very simple thing. One wonders why the verb *τελέειν* was repeated when the scribe had already written enough to convey the supposed meaning: [τε]λέειν [χρὸν Ἀθηναίοι]σι.

This objection to the asyndeton and to the repetition of the verb is equally valid if one were to restore *κλερόχος* instead of *οἰκόντας* in line 1, so we are forced to the conclusion that the new type of restoration suggested by Wilhelm has led to no positive result. Kahrstedt's statement of the case against *οἰκόντας* in line 1 is of more importance. The arguments he advances have been unanswered and seem to me unanswerable, though it does not necessarily follow that the word to be restored must have been *κλερόχος*. I believe it much more satisfactory to assume that this decree defines the status of all Athenians living on Salamis, whether they had been sent as klerouchs or not, and that the restoration in line 1 should be Ἀθηναίος.

The evidence for the sending of klerouchs to Salamis is ambiguous. Pindar's second Nemean ode honors the victor Timodemos of Acharnai, and some of the scholiasts have tried to explain Pindar's reference to his having been brought up on Salamis by saying that he was one of the Athenian klerouchs there. But there were other explanations, like that of Aristarchos, who attributed the references to Salamis to the supposed fact that Timodemos belonged to the tribe Aiantis. This was nothing more than an unhappy guess, for Acharnai belongs not to Aiantis but to Oineis. The scholion on line 19 should be read in full: ⁵ ζητέται διὰ τί δήποτε τὰ περὶ Σαλαμίνα εἰς τοὺς περὶ Τιμόδημον λόγους προσήκται· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Σαλαμίσιος ἦν· ἀντικρὺς γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἀχαρνέα φησὶ τῶν δήμων. Ἀρίσταρχος μὲν οὖν τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς· οἱ γὰρ Ἀχαρνεῖς τῆς Οἰνήιδος φυλῆς εἰσιν. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀσκληπιάδην φασὶν ὅτι εἰκὸς ἐστὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν τὴν Σαλαμίνα κατακληρουχισάντων Ἀθηναίων· εἰκὸς οὖν αὐτὸν γεννηθέντα Ἀθήνησι τεθράφθαι ἐν Σαλαμίνι.

The school of Asklepiades, like Aristarchos, seems to have been guessing, but the scholiast confirms that their view was a guess by reporting it after *εἰκὸς ἐστὶν* and *εἰκὸς*. Moreover, when he supposedly went to Salamis, Timodemos would seem himself to have been too young to be a klerouch in his own name: *γεννηθέντα Ἀθήνησι*

⁵ A. B. Drachmann, *Scholiorum Veterum in Pindari Carmina*, III (Teubner, Leipzig: 1927).

πεθράφθαι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι; and the very fact that he was wealthy enough and prominent enough to win a victory that was celebrated by Pindar removes him from the class of citizen that was usually chosen for purposes of colonization.

It is our belief that Timodemos was not a klerouch, but an Athenian citizen whose family may have lived on Salamis, and where indeed he may himself have spent his youth, as the scholiast conjectures. So far as the scholion gives proof, our guess today may be just as valid as the guess of Asklepiades; and this leaves the direct evidence for the klerouchy very tenuous indeed.⁶

On the other hand it is reasonable to suppose that Athenian settlers did go to Salamis when the island was conquered and again when the island was finally adjudicated to Athens after the expulsion of the tyrants.⁷ Even so, there is no reason to suppose that the decree must deal with klerouchs alone. It must have been passed after the restoration of democracy at the end of the sixth century, and it is best interpreted as giving evidence of the way in which all Athenians on the island, old settlers as well as new, were to be incorporated in the structure of the Athenian state. They were to be guaranteed possession of their residences and property on the island; but inasmuch as the phrase οἰκῆν ἑᾶν implies not only the guarantee of their residences but also the management of their own affairs, this grant of privilege was qualified with the provision that the Athenians on Salamis would have to pay taxes and serve in the army at Athens.

The logic of the context calls for an adversative particle between the first and second halves of the sentence. The letters -λεν in line 2, therefore, should be restored not as [τε]λέν but as [π]λέν. With the interpretation here given I propose the following restoration for these first two and one-half lines of the decree ending with the full stop of punctuation in the middle of the third line:⁸

ἔδοχσεν τῷ δέμοι· τ[ὸς ἐ Σ]αλαμ[ῖνι Ἀθηναίος]
οἰκῆν ἑᾶ Σαλαμῖνι [αἰεὶ π]λέν [ὅτι δέ] Ἀθῆνε
σι τελέν καὶ στρατ[εύεσθ]αι:

This restoration is achieved with a stoichedon length of line of 35 letters, an arrangement which must be followed in the first six lines of the inscription. Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, p. 8) has done well to call attention to the unhappy circumstance that many restorations proposed for this text have not yielded the same number of letters in

⁶ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, I², 2, p. 314, seems to feel more confidence in the evidence of the scholiast, and Kahrstedt, who supplied κλερόχος in line 1 of *I.G.*, I², 1, calls Timodemos "wohl Sohn eines Kolonisten von c. 510." Cf. *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, p. 358.

⁷ M. P. Nilsson, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, pp. 386-387, argues for an exchange of population earlier in the sixth century.

⁸ A tip of the lambda is on the stone in τελέν in line 3. It is clearly visible in all the published photographs.

each of the first six lines. This introduces us to considerations of a purely physical nature with respect to which considerable advance has been made within recent years. Austin, in his book on Stoichedon Style (pp. 20-21 and 45), has made a careful study of this text, particularly of the first six lines of it, and has urged very strongly that restorations which do not yield the same length of line are very unlikely to be correct.⁹ One must therefore undertake to see that any restoration proposed conforms to the necessary requirements of the stoichedon pattern.

As is well known, the letters of the last six lines of this document are not stoichedon. Yet in spite of their apparently haphazard arrangement it is possible to observe a certain plan and order in their general disposition. This is a fact perhaps not quite so compelling as the rigorous pattern of stoichedon order but nevertheless a fact which must be taken into account when restorations are proposed. One can show, for example, that the verb *ho*[πλίζε]ν which appears in *I.G.*, I², 1, in lines 10-11, is too short by three letter spaces to fill the amount of space available on the stone. The question of disposition which affects these latter lines can best be seen with reference to a reconstructed drawing. If one studies the dispositions shown in Fig. 1 he will note in a general way the following phenomenon: the first letters of all lines at the edge of the stone run through in a continuous column from top to bottom.¹⁰ The second letters of all lines form another column which runs continuously from top to bottom, though it swings slightly toward the right in the later lines and to a perfectionist seems somewhat straggly. It appears as if the stonecutter was reluctant to break away from the stoichedon order in the beginning of line 7 but that he was anxious to shift the letters toward the right so that the second letters of lines 7-12 might come below both the second and third letters of lines 1-6. It is a significant fact that the third letters of lines 7-12, if we may call the mark of punctuation in line 12 a letter, form a fairly vertical column beneath the fourth letters of lines 1-6. This progression is now continued across the face of the stone in such a fashion that one may trace continuous columns of letters from top to bottom if he will begin his column with those letters in any one of the following sequences of letter spaces: 1, 2, 4, 7, 10, 13, etc. One will note with particular interest the perfection of the pattern as it appears in the column marked by the thirteenth letter space. This was noted by Austin (*op. cit.*, p. 21), though without reference to the general disposition. If this scheme is carried across the face of the stone, the sequence of traceable columns will come to its conclusion with the following column numbers: 28, 31, 34, and 35. The normal length of line in the lower part of the inscription is thus determined as the equivalent

⁹ See also *Cl. Phil.*, XXXIV, 1939, p. 384.

¹⁰ Right to left in the drawing. The monument was a tapering pillar with the lines of the inscription reading from top to bottom. For the sake of following the text we here refer to the top as the left side, the bottom as the right side, the right side as the top, and the left side as the bottom. See Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, pp. 466-467.

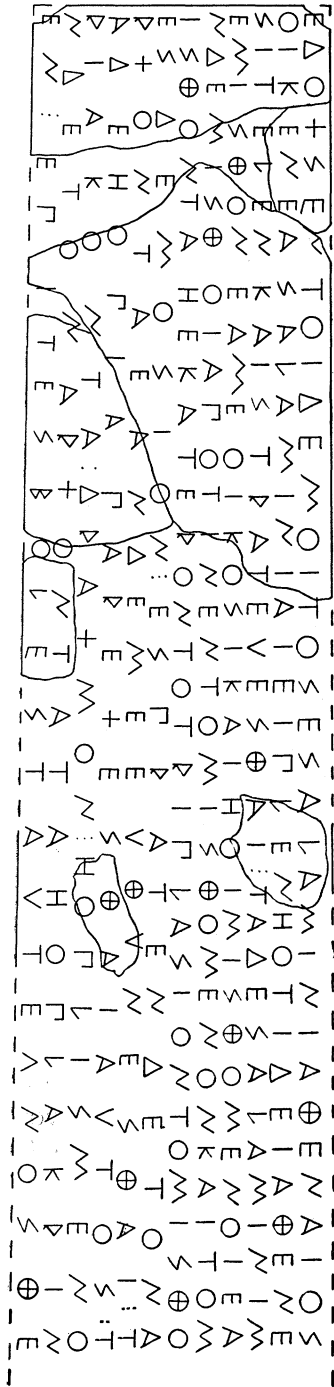


Fig. 1. *I.G.*, I², 1

Drawn by A. E. Raubitschek

of twenty-four letter spaces. There is a possibility of variation with an excess of one letter in line 10, where I have ventured to restore $\delta\rho[\alpha\chi\mu\acute{o}\nu]$. The restoration I believe certain, and the excess of one letter is made necessary by comparison with restorations in lines immediately above. However, one will note that the initial letters of $\delta\rho[\alpha\chi\mu\acute{o}\nu]$ are unusually close together and that the two letters which follow the word are also crowded. The excess of one letter space in this line which seems called for by the proposed restoration is confirmed by the actual disposition of the stone itself. One will note in the last line that there is a similar crowding in $[\acute{\epsilon}\pi]\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. Here the preceding mark of punctuation usurps one letter space, and the slight crowding compensates for this to make possible again a line of twenty-four letters.

Wilhelm has already observed that the mark of punctuation in line 3 must be taken as separating two distinct clauses of the inscription and he uses this observation as one of the arguments against a proposed restoration of Luria, which was adopted by Tod, where the mark of punctuation has no organic function. A similar observation may be made about the mark of punctuation in line 12. These triple dots do not belong midway within a single clause. On the contrary, they separate a clause which follows from one which precedes. The phrase, therefore, which begins in line 12 with $[\acute{\epsilon}\pi]\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\beta[o]\lambda\acute{\epsilon}[s---$ must stand alone and cannot be part of a sentence which has been traditionally read as $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau' \acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\chi\sigma] \epsilon\nu : [\acute{\epsilon}\pi]\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\beta[o]\lambda\acute{\epsilon}[s---$. I suggest for this last line the reading: $[\acute{\epsilon}\pi]\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\beta[o]\lambda\acute{\epsilon}[s\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau' \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\acute{o}\sigma\theta\epsilon]$. It is not part of the decree, as is proved by the fact that it stands in asyndeton, not connected with what precedes by the particle $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. It is merely a statement of record, and I believe it shows that the decree was brought up for discussion in the Demos as a probouleuma or $\gamma\nu\acute{o}\mu\eta$ of the Council. Scholars have commented (e. g., Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 14) on the absence of any mention of the Council in the opening formula of this decree. The interpretation here given of the last line supplies this deficiency, and we see already the familiar pattern of Athenian legislative machinery. The democracy was still young and one notes

merely that the phrase ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολῆι καὶ τῷ δέμοι, which we find in the fifth century, had not yet become the stereotyped method of expression in the opening lines of a decree.¹¹

As already observed, a new provision of this decree begins after the mark of punctuation in line 3. The Athenians resident on Salamis are not to rent out certain property (?) except under certain conditions. It is very difficult to discover from the preserved letters how to make a restoration that will define with reasonable certainty what this property was and what these conditions were. I offer a text below by way of example. It is based upon the assumption that no Athenian of Salamis was to rent property on Salamis unless the lessees also lived there. It would be rash indeed to claim that this is the only interpretation that may be made for these lines. But whatever the provision, a penalty was attached (lines 4-7) for anyone who did rent his property in violation of the terms of this decree. These lines, down through line 6, are now restored with a uniform length of 35 letters.

Except for the irregularities already noted of an extra letter in line 10 and of assigning one space to the mark of punctuation in line 12, lines 7-12 should be restored with 24 letters each in order to give to them the same amount of space on the stone as that occupied by the first six lines. The provision in lines 9-10 is that the Athenians on Salamis shall provide their own arms to the value of thirty drachmai. Naturally this applied only to those who had the necessary property qualification to make them eligible. With the old restoration of lines 10-11, *ho*[πλίζε]ν δὲ [τὸ]ν ἄρχοντ[α], it was assumed that the archon supplied the arms because, supposedly, the recipients could not afford them themselves. Kahrstedt writes (*op. cit.*, p. 360): Man konnte nicht warten, bis der neu angesetzte Bauer den Kaufpreis für die ὄπλα bar zurückgelegt hatte, und ihn so lange von der Wehrpflicht entbinden; der Mann hätte dann bloss sein Geld zu vertrinken brauchen, um von der Heerespflicht verschont zu bleiben: ein Preis auf schlechte Wirtschaft.

For purely physical reasons we have just seen that the restoration *ho*[πλίζε]ν is not permissible, so there is no evidence in any case for the archon furnishing the arms. But to suggest that a landowner would drink away his substance merely to avoid liability to furnish arms is a specious bit of special pleading which needs for its refutation only the reminder that the same might be said of the Athenians in Attica. Nor do I see any reason to suppose that all the Athenians on Salamis were "neu angesetzt," and that they cannot, some of them at least, have had available capital with which to buy arms. The difficulty disappears when one assumes that many of them were probably of long residence on the island.

¹¹ The use of ταῦτ' ἔδοχσεν τῷ δέμοι in *I.G.*, I², 3 and 4 of 485/4 B.C. is found in the postscripts and is by implication of its position a proof that the decrees came to the Demos as probouleumata. But even at this date it is apparent that the later phraseology had not become established.

Instead of *ho*[πλιζε]ν I have restored in lines 10-11 the participle *ho*[πλισμένο]ν, which fills the requirements of space in line 10, and I interpret the clause to mean that after the eligible Athenians had armed themselves the archon was to pass judgment on the arms which they provided.

This brings to a conclusion the body of the decree proper. The statement in the last line that the decree was formulated as a probouleuma in the Council has already been noted above. The entire text is as follows:

ἔδοχσεν τῷ δέμοι· τ[ὸς ἐ Σ]αλαμ[ῖνι Ἀθηναίος]
οἰκὲν ἑὰ Σαλαμῖνι [αἰεὶ π]λὲν [ἡότι δεῖ Ἀθένε]
σι τελεῖν καὶ στρατ[εύεσθ]αι: τ[ὰ δ' ἐ Σαλαμῖνι μ]
ἐ μι[σθ]ὸν ἑὰ μὲ οἰκ[ῶσι καὶ ἡ]ο[ι μισθόμενοι: ἑὰ]
5 ν δὲ μισθῶι ἀποτί[νεν τὸ μισθόμενον καὶ τὸ μ]
ισθῶντα ἑκάτε[ρον τὸ τριπλάσιον τῷ μισθῶ]
ἐς δεμόσιο[ν: ἐσπράτεν δὲ τὸν ἄ]
ρχο[ν]τα, ἑὰν [δὲ μέ, εὐθ]ύ[νεσθαι: τ]
ἂ δὲ [ἡ]όπλα π[αρέχεσ]θα[ι αὐτὸς : τ]
10 ριά[κ]οντα: δρ[αχμῶν:] ἡο[πλισμένο]
ν δὲ [τ]ὸν ἄρχοντ[α τὰ ἡόπλα κρίν]
εν: [ἐπ]ὶ τῆς β[ο]λῆ[ς ταῦτ' ἐγνόσθε].

I.G., I², 24

In *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*,¹² Robert Schlaifer has undertaken a new study of the first decree which refers to the priestess of Athena Nike. The text which he proposes reads as follows:

IG I² 24

in lapide supra coniuncto

[----- ἐγραμμάτενε]

[--- ἐπρυτάνενε]

in lapide conservato

[ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολῆι καὶ τῷ]ι [δέ]μο[ι, ...]
[... ἐπεστάτε, Ἡιππόν]ικος εἶπε· [τῆι]
5 [Ἀθηναίαι τῷ Νί]κει ἡιέραν ἡὲ ἀ[στὲ]
[ἔχς ἀστῶν ἐστ]ι (?) ἔχς Ἀθηναίον ἡαπα[σῶ]
[ν καθίστα]σθαι· κτλ.

¹² Vol. LI, 1940, pp. 257-260.

Appended to this text is an *apparatus criticus* which gives in compendious form something of the history of the document and the various readings and restorations proposed.

There has been some insistence lately on the desirability of publishing such an *apparatus* with the text of every inscription. In particular, L. Robert¹³ advocates even the inclusion of erroneous restorations, because one profits from the mistakes of his predecessors. For many inscriptions it would be obviously a waste of space to print all readings and restorations now known to be incorrect. This holds true, for example, of the many decrees from the archonship of Anaxikrates (307/6 B.C.) and for many of the fragments of the Athenian tribute-quota lists, though Schlaifer has himself insisted upon the desirability of an *apparatus criticus* even for the tribute-quota lists.¹⁴ Some justification might be offered for a compendious apparatus of very simple texts, especially where earlier transcriptions have been published in inaccessible sources, or where the originals have been lost and cannot themselves now be studied. But it should be remembered that a student can derive profit from the mistakes of his predecessors only when he has some explanation of how the mistakes came to be made. This requires commentary which may serve to clarify the problems that have to be discussed. But more often it is necessary to refer to the original publications themselves and to follow with some care the line of argument set forth by each editor. The text of an inscription differs from the text of a classical author in that its prototype is usually available at least in photograph or squeeze, so that a demonstrably true text can frequently be established by applying sound principles of epigraphical study. Some of the difficulties and some of the shortcomings of the compendious *apparatus criticus* are so well illustrated in that offered by Schlaifer on *I.G.*, I², 24 that it seems worthwhile to make some further comment upon it.¹⁵

As a note on line 4, Schlaifer gives [ἡπιπov] Körte: [Γλα]υκος West; and it will be observed that in the text proper he adopts Körte's restoration of the name [Ἠπιπόν]υκος for the orator of the decree. There is no reference in the publication at our disposal to clarify the reasons for the divergent restorations made by Körte and West. One must perforce go to other publications to find the reasons that lay behind these two suggestions. The reference to Körte can be found by consulting the commentary in the *Corpus* on *I.G.*, I², 24; but the reference to West hangs completely in the air, and one would be at a loss to discover anything about it if he did not have information quite extraneous to that offered by Schlaifer's article. In point of fact,

¹³ *Revue de Philologie*, LX, 1934, p. 407; and *L'Épigraphie grecque au Collège de France*, p. 8.

¹⁴ *American Historical Review*, XLV, 1940, p. 370.

¹⁵ Dow has recognized the shortcomings of an *apparatus criticus* so keenly that in his publication of *I.G.*, II², 2336 (*H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1940, p. 111) he declares, "it is clear that the eventual commentary has to be so interrelated that the discussion of variant readings cannot be detached for publication here."

W. B. Dinsmoor in 1924 noted the sloping stroke of an alpha before the preserved upright which Körte had read as the second iota in the name of Hipponikos. Only the lower part of this upright vertical stroke is preserved; so Dinsmoor restored it as an incomplete upsilon and read the resulting name as [Γλ]αῦκος. In the summer of 1925 Allen West was in Athens with Dinsmoor. At this time Dinsmoor showed to West the traces of the name as he had read them, and West confirmed his interpretation. A note from West was communicated to Tod when he was preparing his edition of *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, and in his publication (p. 79) he reports: "Professor A. B. West informs me that the traces on the stone point to Γλαῦκος as the proposer of the decree and rule out *Ἰππόν]ικος." It must be supposed that this is the source from which Schlaifer derived his knowledge of the reading [Γλα]ῦκος, though in fact, in following the principle of *suum cuique*, it would now be correct to attribute the reading in line 4 to Dinsmoor rather than to West and to write the form not as Schlaifer has written it but with the alpha outside the brackets and indicated as doubtful or incomplete by a dot beneath it: [Γλ]αῦκος. In the meantime, the certainty that [Ἰππόν]ικος is a false restoration was also affirmed by Wade-Gery.¹⁶

The difficulty of setting forth these facts in the compendious terminology of an *apparatus criticus* will be obvious to anyone and is further demonstrated by the fact that the note which Schlaifer does give does not represent the history of the reading at any time. So far as the restoration of the text itself is concerned, we note that Dinsmoor, West, and Wade-Gery, who have all seen the stone, declare the reading of the name Hipponikos to be impossible. Had Tod in his publication had full notes from West, undoubtedly he would have read [Γλ]αῦκος instead of [Γλα]ῦκος, as the form now appears in his publication. The improved form is that which should be given in line 4, and the name of Hipponikos should be relegated to a footnote. In both cases the *apparatus criticus* in the traditional literary form is useless, and the history of the reading cannot be understood without an adequate commentary.¹⁷ Schlaifer may have made use of Tod's commentary, though he makes no reference to Tod and has not profited by the implications of his discussion.

So much for line 4. In lines 5-6, there appears the phrase *ἡὲ ἀ[στέ ἐχς ἀστῶν ἐστ]ι* (?). This is now offered as a substitute for the reading of Kavvadhias: *ἡε α[ν αστε εχς αστον ε]ι* or for that of Ziehen: *ἡε α[ν δια βιο ἡερατα]ι*. Against the restorations of his predecessors Schlaifer has advanced epigraphical arguments¹⁸ to show that the letter following the last alpha preserved in line 5 may have been iota, or possibly alpha, gamma, or delta. So much of the surface, however, is preserved that

¹⁶ *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, p. 78, note 80. See also *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. Vol. I, 1940, p. 152, note 2.

¹⁷ Welter, in his discussion of the chronology of the Nike bastion (*Arch. Anz.*, 1939, p. 14), has also ignored the fact that the name Hipponikos must be abandoned. So also Arvanitopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφική*, p. 62, and A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, p. 813, note 5.

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 260, note 1.

one may not restore the letter nu.¹⁹ The same objection which Schlaifer offers against the traditional nu may also be offered with some probability against the sigma which he himself suggests, but the principal objection to his new restoration is linguistic rather than epigraphical and amounts simply to the fact that it is not good Greek. If this clause is final or serves to describe a definite person (usually with ὅστις), a future indicative might be used; if it is generic, or if the modal force so common after an imperative in the leading clause is present, then ἄν with the subjunctive is necessary.²⁰ It is impossible to make sense of it with a verb supplied in the present indicative.

But let us return to the epigraphical considerations. Granted that the stone is so well preserved after the final alpha of line 5 that the next letter cannot have been nu and probably was not sigma, one may restore it as gamma, the form being conditioned by the initial letter of the following word. Under these circumstances it is possible to read:

Γλ] ἀῦκος εἶπε [· τῆι]
 [᾽Αθηναίαι τῆι Νί]κει ἠέρεαν ἠὲ ἄ[γ κο]
 [ῶνῆι ἠαιρεθῆ]ι ἔχς ᾽Αθηναίων ἠαπα[σὸ]
 [ν καθίστα]σθαι.

Attention may be called to the fact that final nu before an initial kappa frequently changes to gamma,²¹ and if one objects that there are already instances in this inscription where the same combination occurs without change, it may further be observed that such change is by no means always uniform.²²

This clause in the decree provides for an open election of a priestess for Athena Nike from the entire body of Athenian women. It is difficult to see how the Greek can be made to refer only to a change in method of election for an already existing priesthood, as Schlaifer (*loc. cit.*, p. 259) would have us believe. It is true that few details are given, that even necessary details are omitted, but these may have been given elsewhere, possibly in the amendment which followed or in another decree. This fact should not prevent our translation of the proposal of Glaukos, and its interpretation, in the light of the Greek text that can be recovered on the stone. Schlaifer admits that "scholars have always thought that this text is the record of the creation of the priesthood of Athena Nike." Rightly so. Of particular significance is the absence of the definite article with ἠέρεαν. The Athenians were to elect *a* priestess, not make some change in the status of *the* priestess, i. e., in the status of a priestess whose

¹⁹ In view of this fact it is difficult to understand his affirmation (*loc. cit.*, p. 259, note 3) that Ziehen's restoration is "satisfactory epigraphically."

²⁰ See Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek*, I, §§ 267, 369, and 387. Cf. the examples cited by Meisterhans, *Grammatik*³, pp. 236, 241, and 247.

²¹ Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 110. Cf. Lademann, *De titulis Atticis quaestiones orthographicae et grammaticae*, p. 73.

²² See, for example, *I.G.*, I², 372, lines 41 and 44, and 67 and 68.

existence already could be postulated.²³ This does not mean that the sanctuary of Athena Nike on the acropolis was without the services of a priestess before this decree was passed. The necessary functions were probably performed by the priestess of Athena *par excellence*, the priestess of Athena Polias.²⁴ But by the provisions of this decree the reconditioned shrine of Athena Nike was to have a separate priestess of its own.

The preserved portion of *I.G.*, I², 24 was surmounted by a separate stone. The two pieces were joined by the strongest form of splice or scarf-joint, sloping down toward the back. Dinsmoor has argued on architectural grounds that this joint is quite unsuited to receive the bottom moulding of an acroterion or relief.²⁵ The upper stone, now lost, must have been an additional piece added on to increase the height of the stele and consequently there was room above the splice for lines of the inscription to be restored before the first line which appears in the lower fragment. In this first line of the lower fragment there are preserved parts of three letters which fall into proper position for the reading: [ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι] [δέ]μο[ι. . .]. If this is correct, then the normal prescript could not have been recorded in its entirety on the lower portion of the stone; for two of the three clauses naming the prytany, the secretary, and the epistates would have to be omitted for lack of space. Schlaifer recognizes this irregularity and suggests that all elements necessary to the preamble of a decree can be accounted for if the prytany and the secretary were named on the upper stone. Since they could themselves hardly have occupied enough space to justify an upper stone, he assumes that there was also a relief there carved which presumably occupied most of the space. He attributes this "almost certainly correct answer" to Dow, though it should be noted that a similar suggestion had been previously and independently made by Tod.²⁶ It is further clear that one of the items on the superimposed stone must have been the name of the prytany, for reference to Leontis in the body of the decree shows that this was the prytany in office when the decree was passed. Only in the ninth prytany of any year could the name of the following prytany be known in advance. So unless the prytany of this decree happened to be ninth in order within the year, Leontis must have been its name.²⁷ Inasmuch as the formula [Λεοντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε] cannot be restored in the lacuna at the top of the lower stone, it must have been one of the two items relegated to the upper fragment.

²³ The significance of the article in implying previous existence has been noted in another connection by Meritt, *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, p. 248.

²⁴ The moneys of Athena Nike, even after this decree, continued to be stewarded by the same board of treasurers as the moneys of Athena Polias. See, for example, Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 93 (lines 18-19 and 21), p. 140 (line 51), and p. 143 (lines 116-117). Cf. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 21, note 1.

²⁵ *A.J.A.*, XXVII, 1923, p. 319.

²⁶ *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 79.

²⁷ See Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries*, pp. 19-27; Brillant, *Les Secrétaires Athéniens*, pp. 23-24; Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LVII, 1936, pp. 180-181; and Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 210, note 3.

Schlaifer supports his argument for this disposition by noting that examples of the name of the secretary in this preliminary position are common and that the name of the prytany in a similar position is possible, though rare.²⁸ He cites quite correctly *I.G.*, I², 78 as an example of the latter disposition. The two citations which he gives for the secretary are without probative value. Schlaifer has failed to observe that the text of *I.G.*, I², 22 (to which he refers) no longer names the secretary Eukles in the first line. The correct reading of this line has been given by Oliver as [Μι]λεσί[οις χουγ]γρ[αφαί] in an article published by him in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXVI, 1935, pp. 177-198, and more recently referred to in detail in *Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 49-53, and note 3. If one will glance at the text of *I.G.*, I², 31, which Schlaifer cites as another example for the preliminary position of the name of the secretary, he will realize how hazardous and unjustifiable it is to base any argument on the one single preserved letter of the first line of that inscription.²⁹

Nevertheless, many examples may be cited where the name of the secretary does appear in a conspicuous position before the opening formula of decree.³⁰ But the normal arrangement was for the name of the secretary to be repeated in the body of the inscription proper. So these examples do not afford exact parallels to the proposed arrangement of the present text. It would be so far a unique document if the name of the tribe in prytany and the name of the secretary were both to appear on a superimposed piece of stone with neither one recurring in the preamble of the decree below.

The alternative can best be visualized if we remember Dinsmoor's note on the architectural characteristics of the splice and the desirability of assuming that the face of the superimposed stone was available for inscription. There is also another physical characteristic here to be noted for the first time. The distance to be computed from the top of the first line of the lower fragment to the thin edge of the splice is only 0.003 m. This measurement has been provided by the kindness of McGregor from the marginalia of West's copy of the *Corpus* and it is confirmed by Dinsmoor from his own notes.³¹ This amounts to exactly one-half of the normal interspace between lines, and the disposition suggests that the text ran continuously from the upper to the lower stone and that the lines were so calculated that the joint might evenly divide the interspace. Furthermore, the proximity to the joint of the first line

²⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 259, note 1.

²⁹ This is especially true since the one letter (kappa) falls to the right of the preserved omicron in the line below.

³⁰ *I.G.*, I², 77, 81, 82, 84, 87, 96, 109, 110, 115, and 119; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, no. 12 (cf. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden IV*, pp. 81, 97).

³¹ The perspective of the published photographs (Kavvadhias, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1897, plate 11; Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, plate 14; A. H. Smith, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, XXXIX, 1926-1927, p. 129; Arvanitopoulos, 'Επιγραφική, p. 62) gives a wrong impression of the top line of the stone. For such photographic distortion, see Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 37-41.

on this lower fragment makes it extremely improbable that the inscription was cut before the two stones were spliced together. The danger of breakage along the thin edge would have been considerable, when the letters were cut, if the upper piece was not already in position to sustain the impact of the chisel. From this consideration alone it appears that Schlaifer's thesis runs into serious difficulty when he suggests (*loc. cit.*, p. 259) that one stonecutter set to work on a sculptured relief and the names of the prytany and the secretary on one stone, while another cut the text of the inscription on the other stone. In such an event it must surely have been a more normal procedure to let one man do all the sculpture and the other do all the lettering; and in any case, if the two stones were worked separately, the beginning of text on the lower stone should have been at a greater distance from its top margin. Normally, in Attic inscriptions of the fifth century, the distance from the top margin to the first line of the text was greater than the interspace between lines, not less than the interspace as in this inscription, and this is true even though the normal stele has a rectangular top or protecting moulding and not the thin edge made by the acute angle of a scarf-joint.

Our conclusion must be that the two pieces of this stele were doveled together before the inscription was cut, and the evidence of disposition indicates that the text ran continuously from the upper fragment to the lower. This implies that the main inscription was cut principally upon the upper fragment, now lost, and that the motion of Glaukos was an amendment to it. Under these circumstances the partially preserved letters which have been restored with the reading [τὸ]ι [δέ]μο[ι] cannot belong to the sanction-formula; they must come, rather, from the concluding lines of the principal text before the amendment begins. Such a restoration is entirely possible and by way of example one may suggest for it the following wording:

[..... τὸς δὲ πρυτάνες χρεμ].

[αἰτίσαι περὶ τούτων ἐν τὸ]ι [δέ]μο[ι] ἐν τ]

[ἔι πρότει ἡέδραι ὦ Γλ]αῦκος εἶπε [·τῆι]

etc.

This solution of the problem takes full account of the physical peculiarities of the stele itself and avoids an extraordinary preamble from which two essential elements have been relegated to a separate stone affixed above it. It must be remembered that the stele, consisting of upper and lower fragments firmly joined together, should be conceived as a unit even before the inscribing of the text. It was dealt with by the stonecutter who cut the letters just as he would have dealt with any stele, with the exception that he so arranged his letters as not to have any of them fall upon the line of juncture between the two pieces. First he inscribed the main decree for which we now have only parts of three letters preserved. Then he inscribed the amendment proposed by Glaukos and finally he inscribed the amendment proposed

by Hestaios. There must be some misunderstanding in Schlaifer's assertion (*loc. cit.*, p. 258) that if *I.G.*, I², 24 as we know it was an amendment it would have been cut on the back of the stone carrying the decree it was calculated to amend. Apparently Schlaifer in this part of his argument is attempting a new definition of the term "amendment." It would be extraordinary to claim that amendments, as epigraphists commonly understand them, were cut on the back of their stelai.

The rider proposed by Glaukos is punctuated, according to the restoration proposed above, by one uninscribed letter space between the end of the first decree and the beginning of his name. The rider proposed by Hestaios was punctuated as a new paragraph. For both devices there are parallels in the fifth-century inscriptions of Athens.³² There is apparently no other fifth-century inscription where both systems of punctuation were used in the same decree, but this is merely a matter of disposition and we have no assurance that a stonecutter acquainted with both styles could not have used them both if it pleased him to do so. With the motions of Glaukos and Hestaios both considered as amendments, it is now possible to assume that the formula of publication appeared in the lost decree of the upper stone. Its omission would have to be considered an irregularity if the motion of Glaukos is to be interpreted as the original decree. The following text of *I.G.*, I², 24 is proposed in order to illustrate the arguments advanced in the preceding discussion:³³

<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 24	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29
	[ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολῆι καὶ τῷ δέμοι· Λεο] [ντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε ¹⁵]
	lacuna to the end of the upper stone [. ¹² τὸς δὲ πρυτάνες χρεμ]
	[ατίσαι περὶ τούτον ἐν τῷ]ι [δέ]μο[ι ἐν τ]
5	[ἔι πρότει ἡέδραι ὕ Γλ]αῦκος εἶπε [· τῷ] [Ἄθηναίαι τῷ Νί]κει ἡιέρεαν ἡὲ ἄ[γ κο] [ἠνεί ἡαιρεθῆ]ι ἔχς Ἄθηναίον ἡαπα[σῶ] [ν καθίστα]σθαι καὶ τὸ ἡιερόν ἡυρόσα ι καθότι ἂν Καλλικράτες χσνγγράφσ
10	ει· ἀπομισθόσαι δὲ τὸς πολετὰς ἐπὶ τ

³² From inscriptions of about the same date, cf. *I.G.*, I², 19, 58, 59, 70b, 70a + c (Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden IV*, pp. 52-58, 71-72; see below, pp. 320-326), 94, 95, 118, and 148 for the letter space, and *I.G.*, I², 39, 65, 76, 84, 139, 144, and 152 for the paragraph. It may be well to note here two corrections that should be made in the published texts: in *I.G.*, I², 94, line 11, and in *I.G.*, I², 118, line 26, there should be indicated in each case a blank space on the stone before the name of the orator. *I.G.*, I², 70, fragment *b*, line 10 has been corrected by Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden IV*, p. 54; see below, p. 322.

³³ For the date of the inscription see Wade-Gery, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. Vol. I, 1940, p. 130. For a recent discussion of the legislative aspects see Atkinson, *Athenian Legislative Procedure*, pp. 35-37.

ἐς Λεοντίδος πρυτανείας· φέρειν δὲ τ
 ἐν hierεαν πεντέκοντα δραχμὰς καὶ
 τὰ σκέλε καὶ τὰ δέρματα φέρειν τῶν δε
 μοσίων· νεὸν δὲ οἰκοδομῆσαι καθότι
 15 ἂν Καλλικράτες χτυγγράφσει καὶ βο
 μὸν λίθινον.
 ηεστιαῖος εἶπε· τρεῖς ἄνδρας ηελέσθ
 αι ἐγ βολῆς· τούτος δὲ μετ[ὰ] Καλλικρά
 [το]ς χτυγγράφσαντας ἐπ[ιδείχσαι τῆ]
 20 [ι βολ]ῆι καθότι ἀπομ[ισθοθέσεται . . .]
 [.]ει τοσ[-----]

I.G., I², 27 and 143

Wilhelm has now published a new text of *I.G.*, I², 27 and called attention once more to the chance that *I.G.*, I², 143 is related to it.³⁴ The relationship depends partly on the names of men honored by the Athenians and their disposition on the stone and partly on the fact that the preambles of both decrees can be restored with the same tribe in prytany, the same secretary, and the same epistates. The orator also may have been the same, though no trace of his name is preserved in *I.G.*, I², 143.³⁵ Presumably, therefore, *I.G.*, I², 143, which is later in date than *I.G.*, I², 27, is a copy or a reaffirmation of the earlier decree.

For the sake of the record it may be well here to note that the brackets indicating restoration have not always been properly placed in the new text of *I.G.*, I², 143. These can be controlled by the excellent photograph published by Wilhelm (*op. cit.*) and from the earlier published majuscules of the first editions.

I.G., I², 143

----- ιϜι[. . . . :] Ἰφιά<δ>ο
 ----- [Ἰ]ρογοσ: Ἰφ[ιάδ]ο
 ----- Ἰμύντορ: Ἰφ[ιά]δο
 ----- Ἰλε[χ]σομε[νὸ]ς: Ἰφιάδο
 5 [πρόχσεινοι αὐτοῖ] καὶ οἱ τοῦ[τ]ον.
 vacat
 [ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆ]ι καὶ τῶ[ι δ]έμοι· Λ

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 27

³⁴ *Attische Urkunden IV*, pp. 25-31 (*Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, 1939).

³⁵ Wilhelm's latest text of *I.G.*, I², 27 is incorrect in showing four letters instead of three to be restored in the name of the epistates at the end of line 2. In his text, and in the *Corpus*, the letter after εἶπε in line 5 should be alpha, not nu. This appears clearly on my squeeze.

[εοντῖς ἐπρυτάνεν]ε, Ἄρισ[το]κράτε
 [ς ἐγραμμάτευε, Νικόστ]ρ[ατος] ἐπ[εσ]
 [τάτε -----]

lacuna

- 10ι[.^s. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀτέλε]
 [ι]αν σ[τρατείας αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνο]
 ν τοῖς [πρεσβυτάτοις αἰεὶ πλὴν φρ]
 ορᾶς [τῆς ἑαυτῶν· ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν]
 ἀποθά[νει βιαίοι θανάτοι ἐν τῶν π]
 15 ὄλεον [εἶναι αὐτοῖς τὰς τιμορίας]
 καὶ δ[έδονται Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ἐὰν τ]
 ι βόλο[νται λαγχάνεν παρὰ τῷ δέμο]
 πρόσ[οδον εἶναι αὐτοῖς κτλ. --]

In lines 10-13 the text of the *Corpus* has been corrected by Wilhelm to read:

. . .ι[.]
 .ανσ[.]
 ν τοι[.]
 ορασ[. ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν]

The use of dots which Wilhelm advocates to show the number of missing letters even in a long lacuna (*op. cit.*, pp. 41-42) is not in the present instance correct, for they show here 26 letters in line 10, 25 letters in each of lines 11 and 12, and only in line 13 the correct number of 27 letters. One further correction in the *Corpus* text may be made, for part of a sigma is on the stone in line 12 to give the reading *τοῖς*. The combination of letters in line 11 suggests very strongly a grant of freedom from military service, ἀτέλει]αν σ[τρατείας, which would be quite appropriate as part of the inscription immediately preceding the better-preserved formulae which deal with the punishment of anyone who might cause the death of these proxenoi of the Athenians, and such an interpretation is made to seem even more reasonable by the appearance of the letters ΟΡΑΞ at the beginning of line 13. These should probably be expanded as φρ]ορᾶς. In the new text of *I.G.*, I², 154 which Wilhelm publishes (*op. cit.*, p. 33) we find for example the clause ἀτέ]λειαν εἶν[αι αὐτοῖν Ἀθένεσιν? καὶ φ]ρορᾶς καὶ [στρατείας. There is difficulty in the present instance of restoring the same wording of the formula, but that the clause deals in some way with a provision for exemption from military service seems nevertheless apparent. Taking into account the new reading in line 12 I suggest the following restoration:

- 10 . . .ι[. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀτέλε]
 [ι]αν σ[τρατείας αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνο]
 ν τοῖς [πρεσβυτάτοις αἰεὶ πλὴν φρ]
 ορᾶς [τῆς ἑαυτῶν· ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν]

If this reading is correct, the decree grants to the several men honored and to their oldest sons in perpetuity freedom from military service except for garrison duty in their own city.

The clause which begins here in line 13 with the words *ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν* has been restored by Wilhelm to read: *ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν] ἀποθά[νει βιαίῳ θανάτῳ ἐν τῶν π]όλειον [εἶναι αὐτοῖς τὰς τιμορίας] καὶ δ[έδονται τοῖς πολίταις].* In the main this is surely correct, but Wilhelm allows it to be followed by an amendment for which he proposes the following text: *[. . . .] ἰβολ[ος εἶπε· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ] πρόσ[οδον κτλ.* It is impossible to make the restoration in this way. If in fact the letters *ΙΒΟΛ* are to be taken as part of the name of an orator, then the first clause of his proposed amendment ought not to contain the particle *δέ*. Even with *δέ* the line is so short that *αὐτοῖς* has to be given the unusual spelling *αὐτοῖσι* to make up the necessary 27 letters. Nor is it possible to compensate for the loss of *δέ* by assuming a longer name for the orator. Part of an omicron is still preserved at the edge of the stone so that the letters in line 17 on which a reconstruction must be based are *ΙΒΟΛΟ* rather than *ΙΒΟΛ*. These preclude the possibility of writing any form such as *[. . . .] ἰβολ[ίδες* for the orator's name.

There can, I think, be no doubt that if this clause is interpreted as an amendment then *δέ* must be omitted. It is appropriate only if the orator has prefaced his remarks with the conventional *τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῷ βολέῳ*, or some similar introductory phrase. The amendment of Hestiaios in *I.G.*, I², 24 begins, for example: *ἡεστιαῖος εἶπε· τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἡελέσθαι ἐγ βολῆς*, and the amendment of Alkibiades in *I.G.*, I², 116, again without the particle *δέ*, begins as follows: *καθὰ χουνήθεντο Σε[λυμ.]β[ριαν]οὶ πρ[ὸς Ἀθ]εναῖος, κατὰ ταῦτα ποιῆν καὶ καταθέναι κτλ.* There is in the published text of *I.G.*, II², 55 a suggested restoration *[. . . . εἶπεν· ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρῆσβείαν]* but this has no probative value and in principle it merely shows the same inaccuracy which we have already observed in Wilhelm's proposal for the present inscription.

Here it is best not to try to restore an amendment and not to try to read the letters at the beginning of line 17 as part of the name of an orator. With a different division into words they can, and I believe should, be made part of the reading *καὶ ἐὰν τ]ι βόλο[νται].* This can be expanded with a stoichedon line of 27 letters as part of the formula granting the men honored access to the Council and Demos in case they wish to seek any favor: *καὶ ἐὰν τ]ι βόλο[νται λαγχάνεν παρὰ τῷ δέμῳ] πρόσ[οδον εἶναι αὐτοῖς κτλ.* This restoration necessitates the reading *Ἀθηναῖος* instead of *τοῖς πολίταις*, as by Wilhelm, in line 16.

I.G., I², 45

Some improvements have been made by Wilhelm in the text of the decree concerning the colony at Brea.³⁶ In lines 1-2 one is now able to read: *[. . . .¹¹. . . . ἡε*

³⁶ *Attische Urkunden IV*, pp. 11-17 (*Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, 1939).

δὲ ἀρχ] ἐ πρὸς ἡὲν ἂν φα[ίνει ἔ γράφεται ἐσ]αγέτο, and Wilhelm has suggested for the sentence immediately following the restoration: ἐὰν δὲ ἐσάγει, ἐνέχ[υρα ἄχσια ? θέτο] ἡο φένας ἔ ἡο γραφσάμενος. This avoids the embarrassing assumption that had to be made under the old restoration, which need not be here repeated, to the effect that a magistrate who introduced a case into court was compelled to post surety by the man who laid the information or brought the charge.

Following immediately upon these provisions which involve some kind of court action, the next provision in the decree as restored in the *Corpus* reads as follows:

πο[ίμνια]
 [δὲ αἰγὸ]ν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντων ἡοι ἀπ[οικιστ]
 5 [αἰ καλλ]ιερέσαι ἡνπὲρ τῆς ἀποικίας [ἡοπόσα]
 [ἂν αὐτο]ῖς δοκεῖ.

To this Wilhelm raises objection. One would not, he claims, offer for sacrifice herds of goats in some yet to be specified number, and he notes further the implication that the use of ποίμνιον in this restoration presupposes that a herd had a more or less determinable number of goats, which in itself does not seem reasonable. His objections are directed against the restoration πο[ίμνια and in place of the *Corpus* readings of these lines he proposes the following text:

π<ρ>ό[βατα ἐ]
 [ς θυσία]ν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντων ἡοι ἀπ[οικιστ]
 5 [αἰ καλλ]ιερέσαι ἡνπὲρ τῆς ἀποικίας, [ἡοπόσα]
 [ἂν αὐτο]ῖς δοκεῖ.

Citing examples in which the letter rho in words like πρόβατα has been omitted by the stonecutter, he attempts to justify the omission here under influence from the rho in the preceding and following words γραφσάμενος and παρασχόντων. None the less, the omission remains an irregularity and it must cast doubt upon the validity of the restoration. A more serious difficulty is encountered in the asyndeton which Wilhelm must assume at the beginning of the sentence. In his restoration, the particle δέ has been omitted. This omission, too, he attempts to justify by citing numerous examples of asyndeton in other Athenian decrees (*op. cit.*, pp. 14-15). These supposed parallels do not have for the present case much probative value. One should justify asyndeton in a case of this kind not by citing occasional examples from other decrees, but by showing that the practice of the scribe who cut this particular inscription was to use asyndeton when the subject matter changed from one provision to another. In this decree concerning the colony at Brea the student will observe that the scribe invariably introduced each new provision with the particle δέ, no matter how far removed from what preceded its subject matter may have been. The examples are all clear and may be read in lines 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, 26, 29, 30, and 39.

It would be extraordinary to find the particle δέ omitted in line 3, so extraordinary in fact that lack of room for it in Wilhelm's restoration may be considered evidence that the restoration is not correct. The doubt first cast by the misspelling πό[βατα] for πρό[βατα] is confirmed by the absence of the connective. For the sake of example I suggest the following reading for these doubtful lines:³⁷

πό[ρον δ' ἐ]

5 [ς θυσία]ν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντων ἡοι ἀπο[ικιστ]
[αὶ καλλ]ιερέσαι ἡνπὲρ τῆς ἀποικίας [καθότι]
[ἀν αὐτο]ῖς δοκῆι.

In this restoration the word πό[ρον] has been taken from Boeckh (*loc. cit.*) and the restoration [ἐς θυσία]ν from Wilhelm. One may inquire why the provision calls for furnishing "means for a sacrifice" and does not specify the particular victims and the number of them. As I have restored the final words of the sentence the assumption is that these details were to be determined by the ἀποικισταί to whom reference is made by [αὐτο]ῖς in line 6.

I.G., I², 49

In the *Corpus* three fragments are united as parts of one inscription under this number with comment in the introduction "composit Wilhelm nec tamen edidit." It has been known for some time that fragment *c* of this inscription belongs elsewhere as part of the constitution of restored democracy, *I.G.*, I², 114, which must be dated in 410 B.C., and Wilhelm now dissociates the other two pieces, fragments *a* and *b*.³⁸ He expresses surprise that they were brought together in the text of the *Corpus* supposedly according to his determinations but actually in contradiction to a reconstruction which he discovered and proclaimed as long ago as 1898.³⁹ It is difficult for the student now to recover the substance of Wilhelm's argument in 1898, for the reference which he gives to it merely states that on January 19 of that year he read a paper entitled "Zwei attische Inschriften (*C.I.A.* II 20. IV, I S. 23, 116 *b.*)" These two inscriptions are *I.G.*, I², 55 and *I.G.*, I², 49*a*. There is no reference to the substance of his discussion nor does Wilhelm give any further indication of it in his new publication except to say that the editors of the *Corpus* made restorations in contradiction to those earlier made by him.

³⁷ The last visible letter on the stone in line 4 is omicron. This was read by Boeckh, *Kleine Schriften*, Vol. VI, p. 173, and plate IX. Part of it is still visible on my squeeze.

³⁸ *Attische Urkunden IV*, pp. 48-52 (*Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, 1939).

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 48: "Wie es kommt, dass dieses Bruchstück [fragment *a*] . . . und ein anderes *b* in dem Abdrucke *IG I² 49* so verbunden sind, dass sich, im Widerspruche mit der von mir längst gefundenen und in einer Sitzung des Deutschen archäologischen Institutes in Athen am 19. Januar 1898 (*Ath. Mitt.* 1898 S. 167) vorgelegten Herstellung, für die Zeilen 10 ff. äusserst bedenkliche Lesungen ergeben, weiss ich nicht zu sagen. . . ."

The text of fragment *a* as Wilhelm restores it now lies before us, but it is still uncertain what disposition should be made of fragment *b*. In 1937 Schweigert published a new reading of this smaller piece,⁴⁰ noting that its left margin is preserved and attempting a restoration showing fragments *a* and *b* in the relative positions which they have in the *Corpus* and which he believed to depend on unpublished notes of Wilhelm. Fragment *b* cannot be assigned to this position, yet Schweigert has made it clear from a new reading in its first line that it deals with Eretrians as does also fragment *a*. It seems probable, therefore, that both fragments *a* and *b* belong to the same inscription, though their relative disposition in the reconstructed text must remain uncertain. The net gain is Wilhelm's new text of fragment *a* and Schweigert's new readings and discovery of the margin on fragment *b*.

I.G., I², 70

At last Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, pp. 52-72) has published the new fragment of *I.G.*, I², 70 which he discovered in June of the year 1903. He points out that even as late as 1924 the previously known fragments of this inscription were published incorrectly by Hiller von Gärtringen in the position to which they had originally been assigned by Koehler in 1896, and that Bannier in 1927 made suggestions which are now definitely proved wrong by the evidence of the new fragment.

It must be regretted that so important a stone has had to wait so long since its discovery for even preliminary publication. The student must lament particularly the fact that Hiller, who was editing a volume of the *Corpus* destined to serve as a standard publication for a long time, could not feel free to use the discovery already twenty-one years old when his volume was published and so avoid the perpetuation of many errors. The notes in the *Corpus* refer to the discovery of the new piece by Wilhelm with the appended remark "qui novum fragmentum addet." This promise is now belatedly fulfilled in the text at our disposal, which is published with the accompaniment of three excellent photographs on plates VI-VIII.

The letters of the inscription are beautifully cut, but the surface of the stone is not always well preserved and there is considerable difficulty in reading some of them, particularly near the edges of the original stele and at the top and bottom of fragment *b*. This fragment *b* can no longer be associated with fragment *a* as was assumed in the *Corpus*, but must be assigned to a position in the upper part of the stele. Wilhelm's text of it appears in his new publication on page 54. I have several changes to make in the readings from this stone, for I made a careful study of the three fragments in Athens in 1927, and have my own transcript and good squeezes of them.

In line 4 Wilhelm reads: ἐπειδ[ά]ν ἠέκοσι? The verb cannot be read in full, and I suspect that, in printing, an angular bracket to denote restoration has dropped out

⁴⁰ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 322-323.

after the second letter of it. From my own transcript and squeeze I read *ἐπειδὴν* *ἤξ*[----, and I note that the final letters which Wilhelm gives without sign of restoration would in this line extend beyond the preserved edge of the stone. Of more importance in the establishment of the text is the reading in line 14, where an iota precedes the delta which Wilhelm restores as the initial letter of *δ[έονται]*. This is represented in the text of the *Corpus*, line 27, as the bottom half of a vertical stroke, but enough of it is preserved so that it must be interpreted either as iota or tau. Inasmuch as tau is out of the question before delta, the letter must be read as iota. It is not possible to construe it as a normally shaped upsilon; so unless one wishes to attribute an error to the stonemason, he must here reject Wilhelm's suggested restoration: *ἦόταν* [*του*] *δ[έονται]*. There must in fact be a considerable change in the complexion of this whole sentence, lines 13-16, for which Wilhelm has made these restorations:

[...⁷... *προσαγ*] *αγό*[*ντον* δὲ *Ποταμόδορον καὶ τὸν ἠνι*
[ὸν Εὐρυτίονα] *ἦόταν* [*του*] *δ[έονται παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἡοι σ]*
[τρατεγοὶ καὶ] *ἡοι πρ[υτ]* *άν*[*ες ἡοι αἰεὶ ὄντες πρὸς τὲν β]*
[ολὲν καὶ τὸν δέ] *μο*[*ν πρότος μετὰ τὰ ἡιερά.*]

In the last line two strokes of the nu are preserved in the word *δέ]μον* after which my transcript shows a complete epsilon. These readings are partially given in the text of *I.G.*, I², 70, line 29, and I feel so confident of the epsilon that I believe the restoration *πρότος μετὰ τὰ ἡιερά* cannot be correct. Beneath the epsilon there is the upper part of a triangular letter like alpha, gamma, or delta in a line for which Wilhelm and his predecessors had no reading.

The objection which we have raised against reading *ἦόταν* [*του*] *δ[έονται]* in line 14 by showing that the letter before the delta was iota and not upsilon is strengthened by the fact that in this inscription the genitive ending in *ου* is regularly written with simple *ο*. Even if the indefinite *του* were to be restored in this line it should be restored and written *το*. This does not fill the space of the stoichedon order and some substitute for it must be found. I suggest that the word is [*ἐπ*]-*δ[εμῶσιν]* and that it was followed probably by the adverb *Ἀθένεσιν*. The generals and the prytaneis were to bring Potamodoros and his son Eurytion before the Council and the Demos when they came and were living in Athens. The provision is one of general nature, so I suspect also the use of a present tense *προσ*] *αγό*[*ντον* instead of the aorist *προσαγ*] *αγό*[*ντον* in the opening line of the sentence. The general character of the provision is further emphasized by the fact that one may now restore *ἡοι αἰεὶ στρατεγοὶ* instead of *ἡοι στρατεγοί*. Inasmuch as the generals were annual officers, access to the Council and Demos was envisaged not only for the current year but for years to come, whenever they happened to be in Athens. The sentence may now conclude with the familiar formula *ἐ[άν το δέονται παρ' Ἀθηναίων*, which

makes use of the preserved epsilon in the last line but one, and which should replace the previously suggested *πρότος μετὰ τὰ hierá*. Or the conditional phrase may introduce a new sentence, for which the restoration can be carried over into the succeeding line: $\epsilon[\text{ὰν δὲ το δέονται ἔναι αὐτοῖς εὐρέσθαι ἀγαθὸν ἡό,τι}] \text{ ἄ}[\nu \text{ δύνονται κτλ.}]$

The first provision of the amendment made by Archestratos has been restored to show that Potamodoros should have right of possession and freedom from taxes in Athens: $\epsilon[\text{ναι δὲ [Ποταμοδόροι καὶ ἔγκτεσι] Ἀθένεσι καὶ}] \text{ ἀτέλε[ιαν]} \text{ ἡ[ος εὐεργέτει γενομένοι Ἀθηναίον.]}$ In such provisions when right of possession was granted it was customary to specify what it was that the beneficiary should have the right to possess,⁴¹ and it was also frequently specified to what taxes the exemption was specifically applicable. There is no provision for either of these restrictive definitions in the restoration above suggested. Rather, we find once again the statement of motive (Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 56) which must have been amply treated in the decree proper to which the motion of Archestratos was a mere amendment. I suggest, therefore, that the lines in question should be read: $\epsilon[\text{ναι δὲ [Ποταμοδόροι γῆς ἔγκτεσι] Ἀθένεσι καὶ}] \text{ ἀτέλε[ιαν]} \text{ ἡ[όσονπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέταις]}$, and that the following text should be proposed for fragment *b*:⁴²

[-----]
 [...¹⁰.....]αι ἄ.....ε [...²⁴.....]
 [...⁹.....]αντε.σ... [...²⁴.....]
 [...⁹.....] ἐπειδὴν ἡέ[κοσι?²⁰.....]
 5 [...⁸.....] ἄπροσα[γ]αγόν[τον αὐτὸν ἡοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ]
 [ἡοι πρυτάνε]ς πρὸς τῆμ βο[λὲν καὶ τὸν δέμον εὐρέσθαι]
 [ἡό,τι ἂν δ]ύνηται ἀγαθὸν ἄ[ντι ἡὸν ἔστιν ἀνὲρ ἀγαθὸς π]
 [ερί Ἀθena]ίος· τὲν δὲ στέλ[εν²⁰.....]
 [...⁸.....] ἄ..... Ποταμοδορ[ο²⁰.....]
 10 [...⁷..... στρα]τεγοῖς ἄ Ἀρχ[έστρατος εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα]
 [καθάπερ τῆι βο]λῆι· ἔναι δὲ [Ποταμοδόροι γῆς ἔγκτεσι]
 [ν Ἀθένεσι καὶ] ἀτέλε[ιαν] ἡ[όσονπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ε]
 [ύεργέταις· προσ]αγό[ντον δὲ Ποταμόδορον καὶ τὸν ἡνι]
 [ὸν Εὐρυτία]να ἡόταν [ἐπ]ιδ[εμῶσι]ν Ἀθένεσι ἡοι αἰεὶ σ]
 15 [τρατηγοὶ καὶ] ἡοι πρ[ντ]άν[ες ἡοι αἰεὶ ὄντες πρὸς τῆμ β]
 [ολὲν καὶ τὸν δέ]μον· ἐ[ὰν δὲ το δέονται ἔναι αὐτοῖς εὐρ]
 [έσθαι ἀγαθὸν ἡό,τι] ἄ[ν δύνονται¹⁷.....]

lacuna

⁴¹ See, for example, the index in Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, IV, p. 302.

⁴² To avoid confusion I retain Wilhelm's numbering of the lines though I believe it extremely unlikely that any sure stroke of a letter can be read in line 1.

To avoid too great separation of the texts I give here a transcript of fragments *a* and *c* with continuous numbering of the lines. The changes in restoration from those proposed by Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, pp. 57-58) are discussed later.

- [Πο]ταμοδ[ορο - - - - - Εὐρυ]
 [τ]ίονα δὲ ἐπ[ειδὸν ἡέκει? προσαγαγόντων ἡοι πρυτάνε]
 20 *s* καὶ ἡοι στρατ[εγοὶ πρὸς τὲμ βολὲν καὶ τὸν δέμον ἐπά]
ναγκες εὐρέσθ[αι ἡό,τι ἂν δύνεται ἀγαθόν ὕ ἔδοχσεν τ]
ἔι βολῆι καὶ τῷ δέμ[οι· Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Φαί]νι
ππος ἐγραμμάτευε, Ἄγα[. . .]. . . ἐπεστάτε, ἡε]ρμόδορο
 25 *s* εἶπε· ἐπαινέσαι Ποταμ[όδορον τὸν ἡερχο]μένιον καὶ
 τὸν ἡνὸν Εὐρυτίονα ἡότι [ἔστον ἄνδρε ἀγ]αθὸ περι Ἄθε
ναίος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρ[όσθεν χρ]όνοι καὶ δῶναι Πο
ταμοδόροι πεντακοσίας δ[ραχμὰς τ]ῶς κολακρέτ[α]ς τὸ
s ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐν τ[ῆι αὐτῆι] ἐμέραι· ἡοι δ[ἐ π]ρυ
 30 *τάνες ἐπιμελεθέντων ἡό[πος ἂν αὐτ]ῶι δῶσι ἡοι [κ]ολα*
κρέται· ταῦτα μὲν τὲμ βο[λὲν φσεφίσ]ασθαι· ἐὰν δέ το δέ
ξται Ποταμόδορος ἡέ[ος ἂν ζῆι ἐ Εὐρυτ]ίον ἡο ἡνὸς αὐ[τ]
ὁ πρόσοδον αὐτῶι ἐν[αι πρὸς τὲμ βολὲν] καὶ τὸν δέ[μ]ον· ἡ
[ο]ι δὲ στρατεγοὶ κα[ὶ ἡοι πρυτάνες ἐπά]ναγκες προ[σαγ]
 35 *[όν]των· ἐὰν δέ τινα[ς αἰτιάται ἐ Ποταμό]δορος ἐ Εὐρυ[τ]ί*
[ο]ν Ἀθηναίων τῷ [χρέος? τῷ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε]ν χρόνοι ἐγ[γεγ]
[υε]μένο? μὲ ἔχε[ν ἀποδῶναι αὐτοῖς, τὰ ὄν]όματα αὐτῶ[ν ἀπ]
[ο]γραφσάντων [πρὸς τὸς στρατεγός· ἡοι] δὲ στρατεγοὶ [ἐ]
[κ]πράττοντε[ς ἀποδιδόντων τρόποι ἡο]ποιοὶ ἂν ἐπίσ[τ]
[ο]νται ἡόπ[ος ἂν τὸ χρέος λυθῆι?· ἡε δὲ βο]λλέ, ἐὰν το δέ[οντ]
 40 *[αι,] αὐτο[κράτορ ἔστο τὸ δέον φσεφίζεσ]θαι ὕ Ἀρχέστρ[α]*
[τ]ος εἶπ[ε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆι βολῆι·] Εὐρυτίονι δ[ἐ]
[κα]ὶ Πο[ταμοδόροι τοῖς ἡερχομενίοις κα]ὶ Πυθίλλει [δ]
[οῦ]να[ι τὸς κολακρέτας ἐκ δεμοσίου χιλί]ας δραχμὰς [έκ]
[ά]στ[οι²⁴ ἐν τ]ῆι ἡαύριο[ν ἐ]
 45 *[μέραι - - - - -] τῆι βολῆι [..]*
[- - - - -] ἡόπος ἂν α[. . .]
[- - - - -]αι ἐς τὲν [..]
[- - - - -]ρο ἡο [ἡ]υ[ός]

In line 21 begins the formula of a new decree which was passed in the prytany of Akamantis of the year 424/3.⁴³ This decree gives a vote of praise to Potamodoros

⁴³ This was the eighth prytany of the year, a fact which Wilhelm notes with reference to articles by West and McGregor. The reference to West is incorrect and McGregor makes no mention of

and his son Eurytion and directs that the kolakretai of the prytany of Akamantis shall give to Potamodoros 500 drachmai. The restoration according to Wilhelm reads as follows: *καὶ δῶναι Ποταμοδόροι πεντακοσίας δ[ραχμὰς τ]ὸς κολακρέτ[α]ς τὸς ἐπιτῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐν τ[ῆ]ιδε τῆ] ἐμέραι.* The prytaneis are then instructed to see that the kolakretai give the money to him.

This part of the decree is followed by the clause *ταῦτα μὲν τὲμ βο[λὲν φσεφίω]ασθαι*, which Wilhelm notes (*op. cit.*, pp. 66 and 71) as dividing the decree of the Council proper (lines 24-30) from the subsequent provision of lines 30-40, which was moved by the orator Hermodoros.

It must be admitted that the decree as it exists has a form which is quite exceptional. The phrase *ταῦτα μὲν τὲμ βο[λὲν φσεφίω]ασθαι* is not a historical record which indicates that the preceding provisions were a decree of the Council and that those which follow were not. The use of the infinitive here implies that a motion was being made that the Council should pass the provisions just outlined. Inasmuch as Hermodoros (lines 23-24) is given credit for the probouleuma of the Council, we may assume that the exceptional clause was part of the motion as he offered it on the floor of that body. He then proceeded with his own addition to the probouleuma, modifying it so that it had, when finally passed in the Council, the form which appears in our inscription. We are seldom able to follow in the preserved texts the course of the debates in the Council chamber, but in this instance one should understand that the provisions of lines 24-30 were originally put forward by someone whose name is no longer preserved to us. They were taken over by Hermodoros and, in his opening remarks as he addressed the Council, approved by him with the recommendation that the Council ratify them. He then proceeded with his own additions to the probouleuma (lines 30-40).

It was a complete probouleuma (lines 24-40) as thus amended which was brought to the Assembly for ratification by the people. The unity of the probouleuma is further attested by the formula employed in the first amendment offered in the Assembly (lines 40-41) *Ἀρχέστρ[α]τος εἶπ[ε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆ] βολῆι].* Presumably subsequent amendments, if there were any, should have been introduced with the usual formula *τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ—νομην—*, giving the name of the man who had proposed the preceding amendment. This is one justifiable reason for not restoring a formula of amendment before the words *τῆ] βολῆι* in line 45.

Wilhelm's restoration *ἐν τ[ῆ]ιδε τῆ] ἐμέραι* in line 28 implies that the probouleuma was to be acted upon in the Assembly on the same day that it was passed by the Council, for otherwise its provisions could not have been carried out with the sanction of the Demos "on this very day." If we may suppose for a moment that the probouleuma

Akamantis in the passage cited, but formal proof that Akamantis was the eighth prytany was given by Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 87-88. See the text of *I.G.*, I², 324 as published in his *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 139, line 33.

was passed in the morning and ratified by the Assembly in the afternoon and that before evening the kolakretai were to give five hundred drachmai to Potamodoros, it would seem unnecessary to specify that these kolakretai were to be the kolakretai of the prytany of Akamantis. With the assumption of payment *ἐν τ[ῆιδε τῆι] ἐμέραι* there could be no possible ambiguity as to the identity of the board of kolakretai and consequently no reason for defining them as τ]ὸς κολακρέτ[α]ς τὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος. The fact that they are so defined indicates the intention of the probouleuma to guarantee that its provisions should be carried out before the end of the prytany. But it indicates also that there was envisaged the delay of a day or perhaps more before the probouleuma could be ratified by the Assembly. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the Council met every day, save for certain exceptions, while the Assembly had regularly only four meetings during a prytany (Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 43, 3).

I suggest in place of the restoration *ἐν τ[ῆιδε τῆι] ἐμέραι* that one should read *ἐν τ[ῆι αὐτῆι] ἐμέραι*. The first clause of the decree provides that a vote of praise shall be given to Potamodoros and to his son Eurytion. At the time when the Council was deliberating this provision as a part of its probouleuma the actual date upon which the provision was to be ratified by the Demos lay somewhere in the future; and the phrase *ἐν τ[ῆι αὐτῆι] ἐμέραι* as used in connection with the grant of money means that the grant was to be made on the same day that the vote of praise was ratified by the Demos.

Lines 30-32 were restored by Wilhelm as follows:

ἐὰν δέ το δέ
[ε]ται Ποταμόδορος ἢ E[ὐρυτίον] {ἐ Eὐρυτ]ίον} ἡο ἠνὸς αὐ[τ]
ὦ, πρόσοδον αὐτῷ ἐν[αι πρὸς τὲν βολῆν] καὶ τὸν δέ[μο]ν.

Here it is assumed that the name of the son Eurytion was accidentally inscribed twice by the stonemason. This is a very unlikely assumption, particularly so since Wilhelm must assume the Ionic use of ἦ instead of Attic ε̅ on that part of the stone which is preserved in line 31. This is an inscription without any other example of Ionicism, and it would be better here where the interpretation is doubtful to restrict one's suggestions to the evidence offered by the stone. The letters near the middle of line 31 cannot be restored to read ἦ E[ὐρυτίον --]; they must be restored as part of some word beginning with a rough breathing, like *ἡε[---]*. The precise phrase may be doubtful, but I suggest *ἡέ[ος ἂν ζῆι]* as fulfilling the necessary epigraphical requirements. The implication must be that Potamodoros at the time of this decree was already well advanced in years, an implication which is borne out by the fact that his son Eurytion was named before him in the amendment of Archestratos (line 41), perhaps because Eurytion was already factually the head of the house (see Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70).

to such an application: *δεδοσθαι αὐτῶι γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν αἰτησαμένωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον*. If the participle *αἰτησαμένωι* to which reference is here made is substituted in line 22 in place of the phrase *ἐὰν βόλεται* the length of line is increased by one letter; and I propose this standard of restoration with 35 letters in a line as somewhat preferable to the standard with 34.

If I understand correctly the supplement indicated above in line 24, it means that Polystratos was to share some official duty with the generals. This seems to me extraordinary, and I should prefer to read *heuréssthai dè kai állo hóτ]o àν δέτα[ι ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τῷ δέμο ἀποφαίνοντα τ]οῖς σ[τρατεγοῖς κτλ.* Under these circumstances the generals could have performed their normal function, along with the prytaneis and the council, of looking after the honored benefactor: *ἐπιμελέσθον δὲ αὐτῷ ἡοι στρατηγοὶ κτλ.*, but there is too little preserved to say how or where this provision appeared on the stone.

No restorations have been made for the fragmentary upper lines of the document. Following Wilhelm's example I begin the text here with line 15:

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 35

- 15 [.....³⁰.....] λοντο
 [.....²⁰..... ἀναγράφσαι] δὲ καὶ
 [πρόχσενον καὶ εὐεργέτεν Ἀθηναίων] ἐν στέλ
 [ει λιθίνει καὶ θείναι ἐμ πόλει τὸν] γραμματ
 [έα τὸν τῆς βολῆς¹⁵.....] εἶπε· τὰ μ
 20 [ἐν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆι βολῆι· εἶναι δὲ Π]ολυστρ
 [ἄτοι ἡος ὄντι προχσένοι τῷ δέμο τῷ] Ἀθηναίο
 [ν αἰτεσαμένοι καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγ]κτεσιν Ἀ
 [θένεσιν, heuréssthai dè kai állo hóτ]o àν δέτα
 [ι ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τῷ δέμο ἀποφαίνοντα τ]οῖς σ[τρ]
 25 [ατεγοῖς -----]

I.G., I², 116

This inscription contains an amendment by Alkibiades, one of the provisions of which is that the Selymbrians shall pay the expense of erecting the stele on which their treaty with the Athenians was to be made public (lines 27-32): [³Αλ]κιβ[ιάδε]ς εἶπε, καθὰ χσυνέθεντο Σε[λυμ]β[ριαν]οὶ πρ[ὸς Ἀθ]ηναίος, κατὰ ταῦτα ποιῆν, καὶ καταθῆναι ἐ[μ πόλ]ει ἀναγράφσαντας τὸστ[ρατεγοῖς τ]ὰς συνθέ[κ]ας μετὰ τῷ γραμματέος τ[ῆς βολῆς¹⁸.....] ἐν στέλει λιθί[ν]ει τέλεσι τοῖς αὐτῷ[ν κ]αὶ τὸ φσέφισμα τόδε. Wilhelm has suggested (*op. cit.*, p. 89) that the lacuna of 18 letters in the foregoing restoration be filled by the supplement *καὶ τὸν Σελυμβριανῶν* thus giving a closer antecedent for αὐτῷ[ν] in τέλεσι τοῖς αὐτῷ[ν] to refer to than would be the case if it had to refer back to Σε[λυμ]β[ριαν]οὶ at the beginning of the sentence.

There are several notes to be made on this text, the first being that the lacuna is by no means determined as exactly 18 letters. This part of the inscription is not stoichedon, and actually the lacuna here in question is the equivalent of 18 letters in the line above it while it corresponds to only 17 letters in the line below it.

The second observation is that the letters still preserved on the stone are not correctly shown in the *Corpus* text because of incorrect use of brackets. One should read τὸστ[ρ]ατεγὸς τὰς συνθέ[κ]ας instead of τὸστ[ρατεγὸς τ]ὰς συνθέ[κ]ας and τ[ἔς] βολῆς instead of τ[ἔς βολῆς]. The letters indicated are all clearly legible today and appear on the squeeze in Princeton.⁴⁴

The third observation is that the supposed lacuna of 17 or 18 letters after τ[ἔς] βολῆς is an erasure.⁴⁵

Hence the text of this part of the inscription upon which an interpretation can be based should be read as follows:

--- [Ἄλ]κιβ[ιάδε]ς εἶπε· καθὰ χωνέθεντο Σε
 [λυμ]β[ριαν]οὶ πρ[ὸς Ἄθ]εναίος, κατὰ ταῦτα ποιῆν,
 καὶ καταθῆναι ἐ[μ πόλ]ει ἀναγράφσαντας τὸστ
 30 [ρ]ατεγὸς τὰς συνθέ[κ]ας μετὰ τῷ γραμματέος τ
 [ἔς] βολῆς [---^{17 or 18}---] ἐν στέλει λιθί
 [ν]ει τέλεσι τοῖς αὐτῷ[ν κ]αὶ τὸ φσέφισμα τόδε.

There being here no question of erasure because of *damnatio memoriae*, the normal explanation is that the stonecutter inscribed something by mistake which he later decided to expunge. But if this is true the supplement can hardly be καὶ τῶν Σελυμβριανῶν as Wilhelm has suggested. Rather, there should be no supplement at all, and the text as now read, corrected in antiquity by the engraver, gives the complete version of this provision of the amendment.

I suggest that the erasure may have contained the words καὶ τὸ φσέφισμα τόδε (17 letters), which were repeated in line 32. If this was so then the engraver corrected the duplication by erasing one of the phrases. The awkward position which the preserved phrase [κ]αὶ τὸ φσέφισμα τόδε now has at the end of the sentence indicates that even in making the correction the wrong set of words was erased, and that the original text may have been intended as: καὶ καταθῆναι ἐμ πόλει ἀναγράφσαντας τὸς στρατεγὸς τὰς συνθέκας μετὰ τῷ γραμματέος τῆς βολῆς καὶ τὸ φσέφισμα τόδε ἐν στέλει λιθίνει τέλεσι τοῖς αὐτῶν.

I.G., I², 144

In commenting upon the text of *I.G.*, I², 28 as it now appears in the *Corpus*, Wilhelm has again reminded us that fragments *a* and *b* do not belong to the same

⁴⁴ Michel, *Recueil*, 1437, has an almost correct reading.

⁴⁵ Noted also by Michel, *Recueil*, Suppl., p. 11, and Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 219. Tod also notes that the erasure is one of 17 or 18 letters.

inscription.⁴⁶ He offers many improved restorations of both fragments, that of *a* having a length of line of 28 letters, and that of *b* having a length of line of 33 letters.

Some of the phraseology of *I.G.*, I², 28*a* is much the same as that of *I.G.*, I², 144, fragment *c*, which I have recently united with *I.G.*, I², 155 and with a new fragment from the Athenian Agora in the publication of the text in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, no. 22. Wilhelm makes two additions to this text, reading τὸν δ[έ at the beginning of line 13 (*op. cit.*, p. 35) instead of ἰον δ[, and reading [τ]ούτον λ[αρχάνειν] at the beginning of line 22 instead of α]ὐτὸν λ[αρχανέτο]. These readings do not appear on the photograph published in *Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*, p. 68, and I should hesitate to claim them as certain from my examination of a squeeze. However, Wilhelm has made these notes after examination of the stone, and I believe that his readings should be accepted and used in any attempted reconstruction. My published restoration of lines 21-24 read as follows:

[ἐὰν δέ τις ἀδικῆ]
 [ι α]ὐτὸν λ[αρχανέτο Ἀθένεσιν πρὸς]
 [τ]ὸμ πολέ[μαρχον τὰς δίκας ἄνευ πρ]
 ντανείο[ν.]

For this Wilhelm substitutes the following proposal (*op. cit.*, p. 20):

[κατὰ]
 [τ]ούτον λ[αρχάνειν τὰς δίκας πρὸς]
 [τ]ὸμ πολέ[μαρχον ἄνευ πρ]
 ντανείο[ν καὶ ἐπιδεκάτον ?]

Surely the precise form of this restoration cannot be correct, for the required length of line of 27 letters is obtained in line 22 only by inserting an iota into the infinitive ending of λ[αρχάνειν], and something has dropped out of the text in line 23 where Wilhelm's restoration shows only 19 letters. Possibly he intended to insert here the locative Ἀθένεσιν which he has removed from the previous line, as I had published it, to make room for τὰς δίκας. It seems to me to make very little difference in which of the two lines respectively these two phrases go, but I believe that the stoichedon order requires the use of both of them and that it would be better satisfied by the retention of an imperative form λ[αρχανέτο] in line 22.

These lines from 13 down to 24 may, I think, be still further improved. The letters that can be read on the stone have been fairly well deciphered with the exception of those in line 21 where the fracture between the two fragments occurs. Here, in 1939, I read τιοτ[α]ι, but repeated examination of my squeeze and photograph convinces me that the letters may equally well be ετο[. .]ν. One may exercise

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 17-23.

a control in some measure over this reading by referring to the photograph in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 68.

I adopt Wilhelm's readings for lines 13-14 but make some changes and additions in the following lines to give a new text of lines 13-24:

	τὸν δ[ὲ ἀποκτείναντα ἐνέχεσθαι τ]		ἴς πολί[ταις ἐν τῶν πόλεον προείρ]
	οἷς αὐ[τοῖς χάπερ ἠνπὲρ Ἀθηναίων]	20	εται· ἐὰ[ν δὲ ἀδικεῖ τις ἐ Ἀθηναίων]
15	ἐφσέφ[ισται ἕάν τις ἀποθάνει βια]		ἐ τῶ[ν σ]ν[μμάχον τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ]
	ἰοι θαν[άτοι· τὲν δὲ τιμορίαν κατὰ]		[τ]ούτον λ[αγχανέτο Ἀθένεσιν πρὸς]
	τὸ αὐτὸ [ἔναι ἕάν τις δέσει ἐ ἀπάγε]		[τ]ὸμ πολέ[μαρχον τὰς δίκας ἄνευ πρ]
	ι Προχσ[ενίδεν ἠέπερ Ἀθηναίων το]		υτανείο[ν. etc.]

The remainder of the text, including that of an upper separate group of fragments, may be found in *Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 65-67. I do not accept Wilhelm's suggestion [καὶ ἐπιδεκάτον?] for line 24.

I.G., I², 154

Wilhelm has now placed at our disposal a much improved text of this inscription (*op. cit.*, p. 33), but some change for the better may still be made in its concluding lines.

As published in the *Corpus* the last three lines read:

[...⁶...] ἠόθεμ βό[λονται ^{vv} τὸν δὲ γ]
 [ραμματ]έα τῆς [βολῆς ἀναγράφσαι ἐ]
 [στέλει λ]ιθίω[ει - - - - - - - - -]

The final letters preserved on the stone cannot be restored as part of the word λ]ιθίω[ει, for enough is still visible to show that the supposed nu was either alpha, gamma, or delta. Wilhelm read it as delta, and restored:

[αι. . τὸν δὲ γραμματέ]α τῆς [βολῆς ἀ-]
 [ναγράφσαι ἐν στέλε]ι?, οἱ δ[ὲ πολετα-]
 [ὶ ἀπομισθοσάντο (*sic*) κτλ.]

This arrangement violates the stoichedon pattern of the text, for the final iota of στέλε]ι falls under the final alpha of γραμματέ]α and must be made the eighteenth rather than the seventeenth letter of its line. In any case it is not a complete iota, being only the upper tip of a vertical stroke, and its position argues rather for Η, which may well be part of some such phrase as ἠοὶ ἄ[ν].

In the line above, the text of the *Corpus* gives γραμματ]έα; Wilhelm now reads γραμματέ]α. When the bracket is employed in this way one gets the impression that there is no epigraphical evidence as to what the penultimate letter was as cut upon the stone. In fact, the top horizontal stroke is preserved, very much as represented

in the majuscule text of the earlier publication in *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 23, no. 116 *a*. It is incorrect either to enclose it in brackets or to write it in the transcript as a certain epsilon. It may equally well have been tau, an identification which I believe is now confirmed by the photograph published by Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, plate III).⁴⁷ This line contains the phrase οἱ δὲ πρυτάνες με]τὰ τῆς [βολῆς] and makes no reference to the secretary. Examples which show the prytaneis acting as a part of the Council and yet with the Council are known from *I.G.*, I², 91, lines 9-11: ἀποδόντων [δὲ τ]ὰ χρέματα ἡοι πρυτάνες μετὰ τῆς βολῆς καὶ ἔχσαλειφόντων ἐπει[δὰν] ἀποδοῖν, and from *I.G.*, I², 65, where the text as read by Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, p. 28, lines 52-54, is as follows: τὸς δὲ κέ[ρυκας ἡόσοι ἄν τιν]ες [ὄ]σι ὃς ἂν ἡοι πρυτάνες με]τὰ τῆς βολῆς ἠέλονται]ι πέμφσαι ἐς τὰς πόλεις. The new restoration, moreover, has the added advantage of eliminating the unscribed space of two letters which had to be assumed in this line of *I.G.*, I², 154 in earlier versions. I read and restore:

[αι· οἱ δὲ πρυτάνες με]τὰ τῆς [βολῆς ἠ]
[ελέσθον τρεῖς ἄνδρας] ἡοὶ ἄ[ν - - -].

I suggest here a provision for the selection of a special committee of three who were to carry out an assignment the precise nature of which we do not know. For the number three, see *I.G.*, I², 24, lines 16-17: τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἠελέσθαι ἐγ βολῆς, and *I.G.*, I², 39, lines 64-67: τὰ δὲ ἠιερά τὰ ἐκ τῶν χρεσμῶν ἠνπὲρ Εὐβοίας θύσαι ὃς τάχιστα μετὰ ἠιεροκλέος τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἠὸς ἂν ἔλεται ἠε βολῆ σφῶν αὐτῶν.

I.G., I², 156

Since Schweigert published in *Hesperia* (VII, 1938, pp. 269-270) a new fragment of this inscription it has been clear that the text can best be restored with a stoichedon line of 42 letters. Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, pp. 83-87) has made some improvements in the restorations as offered by Schweigert and by Hiller von Gärtringen. I believe it possible to make one further improvement which depends on a different reading of one of the letters preserved near the right edge of the *Corpus* fragment. A vertical stroke in line 2 of *I.G.*, I², 156 has been interpreted as iota so that Hiller's reading gives εἰ]ναι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἠευρέσθαι ἠὸν ἂν δέ]ονται παρὰ Ἰθην[αίον. This implied a length of line of 39 letters. The only change made by Schweigert was to insert καὶ before the word αὐτοῖς, thus bringing the length of line to the desired number of 42 letters, but Wilhelm writes (*op. cit.*, p. 84) "In Z. 2 des anderen Bruchstückes IG I² 156 wird statt mit Schweigert: εἰ]ναι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἠευρέσθαι ἠὸν ἂν δέ]ονται

⁴⁷ In Wilhelm's text πε]ποέκατον in line 7 should be π]εποέκατον, κ[αὶ in line 13 should be κα[ῖ, and one lambda should be omitted from [βλλαβῶσι] at the end of line 13. A similar incorrect use of brackets occurs in Wilhelm's text of *I.G.*, I², 53 (*op. cit.*, p. 34) where he notes the iota of εἰάν in line 6, criticizes Schweigert for not recording it, and then restores ε[ἰάν]. The reading should be εἰ[άν].

παρὰ Ἄθεν[αῖον ergänzt werden können: εἶ[ναι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν ὅτο ἂν δέ]ονται κτλ." This supposed iota which has appeared as the second letter in εἶ[ναι may be seen from the excellent photograph which Schweigert publishes (*op. cit.*, p. 270) to be not iota but rather part of the letter nu or pi. The stroke is not centered above the epsilon below it but is placed well to the left in proper position to belong to one of these broader letters. Consequently I restore ἐν[αι] and call attention to the fact that the verb εὐρέσθαι which is customary in this particular phrase and which Hiller and Schweigert both restored may still be retained. With this exception the text as determined by Wilhelm reads as follows:

[.....¹⁸.....] | [.....²⁰..... ἐπι]
 [μέλεσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν τὲ]ν βολ[ἐν καὶ τὸς στρατεγὸς λόπο]
 [ς ἂν μὲ ἀδικῶνται· τὸ] δὲ φσέ[φισμα ἀναγράφαι τὸν γρα]
 [μματέα τὸν τῆς βολ]ῆς ἐν στ[έλει λιθίνει καὶ θῆναι ἐμ]
 5 [πόλει· ἀπομισθῶσα]ι δὲ τὸς [πολετάς - - - - -]

lacuna

[.....³⁵..... ἐν Σιδῶν?]
 τι· ἐπα[ινέσαι τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἀναγράφαι προχσένος κα]
 ἰ εὐεργέτας· ἐν[αι δ' αὐτοῖς εὐρέσθαι ἀγαθὸν ὅτο ἂν δέ]
 ονται παρὰ Ἄθεν[αῖον· ἀναγράφαι δὲ Σιδουσίος (?) ἐν στέ]
 10 λει εὐεργέτας Ἄθ[εναῖον ἐν πόλει τὸν γραμματέα τῆς]
 βολῆς ∴ vacat

I.G., I², 166

A new text of this inscription now lies before us supported by an excellent photograph and so completely different from all preceding texts that they are rendered obsolete.⁴⁸ The better preserved portion of the text has been given by Wilhelm, though he has omitted some of the fragmentary lines; my copy of the complete inscription reads as follows:

[..... τὸ] δὲ ἀργ[ύρ-]	[ολὸς τ]ῆς [ήμερας] ἡεκάστ[ε-]
[ιον δῶναι τὸς κ]ολακρέτα-	10 [ς ὀφειλ]όν[τον ἰε]ρ[ὸς] τ[εῖ θ-]
[ς τὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰ]γεΐδος· ἂν	[εὐι· διδ]όντ[ον δὲ - - - - -]
[δὲ μὲ δῶσι, ἐπα]ναγκασάντ-	[.....]ν ἢ[.....]π[...]
5 [ον οἱ νέοι πρυτ]άνες ἑμερῶ-	[.....]εσθ[.....]ο[...]α[...]
[ν πέντε ἀφ' ἑ]ς ἂν ἐσέλθοσι-	[.....]εστ[- - - - -]
[ν εὐθύνοντες τ]ῶν κολακρ-	15 [.....]υπ[.....]κ[...]
[ετῶν ἡεκάστον] ἐ ἑννέα [ὀβ-]	

⁴⁸ Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

In lines 3-5 Wilhelm restored

$\delta\nu$
 [δὲ μὲ δόσι, ἐπα]ναγκασάντ-
 [ον {δὲ?} ἡοι πρυτ]άνες

assuming that the particle δέ had been inscribed a second time by mistake in the apodosis of the conditional sentence. If an error is to be assumed here I should prefer the reading: οἱ νέοι πρυτ]άνες which is one letter in excess of the amount of space available but which is in keeping with the meaning of the document that the new prytaneis shall take forceful action to secure payment by the kolakretai within five days of the time when they enter office.

In lines 10-11 I have restored τ[ἔι θεοῦ· διδ]όντ[ον in place of Wilhelm's τ[ἔι Ἄθηνᾶι· δ]όντ[ον, where he thinks that Ἄθηνᾶι may have been a mistake for Ἄθην<αῖ>αι.

I.G., I², 171

In the first publication of this fragment by Koumanoudes (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1887, p. 218) two letters were represented at the very bottom of the preserved part of the stone separated from the main body of the text above by an uninscribed surface. These same letters are shown also in the majuscule publication of *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 196, no. 116⁶. Beneath them Koumanoudes had placed a row of dots indicating that in his opinion other letters may have existed even below these last two which he recorded. There is no indication in *I.G.*, I, Suppl., as to whether the editor had any opinion on this possibility. Hiller in *I.G.*, I², 171 interprets these last two letters as the end of a one-line postscript, and now recently Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, p. 89) wishes to return to the idea of a continuous text. His restoration of the monument shows that one decree came to an end in line 8 just above the uninscribed surface and he assigns these two letters below the uninscribed surface to the opening line of a second decree. With this assumption he asks "Ist es Zufall, dass sich ergänzen lässt: [Ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι δέμοι, Πανδι]ον[ις ἐπρυτάνευε]?"

There is some mistake about this suggestion, for to restore the text of a new decree as Wilhelm has indicated it would require a stoichedon line of 33 letters. He has observed that the earlier published majuscules give to these two letters ON the same stoichedon arrangement that is exhibited by those of the upper lines, but he has himself demonstrated that these upper lines should be restored with a stoichedon line of 23 letters. One wonders even if Wilhelm can have confused 23 with 33 at some time in the course of his study and then finally failed to notice the discrepancy. However the error arose, it is evident that this last line does not represent the opening line of a new decree naming Pandionis as the tribe in prytany. In fact, the letters preserved cannot be reconciled with the opening line of any decree, for the normal formula ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι δέμοι would occupy the entire first line and three

letter spaces of the second line in a stoichedon text of 23 letters. This phrase does not contain the combination ON.

Under these circumstances we believe that the suggestion made by Hiller that these letters be taken to represent part of a postscript may still be accepted until some better explanation is put forward for them. This seems imperative if the length of line is to be restored with 23 letters. In lines 2-4 Wilhelm reads [. καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸ] ?ς εἰ[ς τ]ὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ δεῖπ]νον [εἰ]ς αὔριον· ---]. The letter here read as iota in line 2 lies so far to the left in its stoichos that it should be completed rather as pi or nu. Any restoration must be quite tentative, but the following satisfies the known epigraphic requirements:

[. ⁹ ἔναι δὲ παρὰ] τ[ὸ δέ]	[αθῆναι ἐμ πόλει τὸν γρα]μματ-
[μο (?) καὶ εὐρέσθαι αὐτοῖ]ς ἐπ[αι]	[ἔα τῆς βολῆς τέλεσι τοῖ]ς Νεο-
[τεσαμένους λό,τι ἂν δύ]νον[τα]	[-----]
[ι ἀγαθόν· ἀναγράφσαι δ]ὲ τὸ φσ	Uninscribed space of several lines
5 [ἔφισμα τόδε ἐστέλει κ]αὶ κατ-	[-----]ον

I.G., I², 179 + 169 + 61

By dividing the words differently in the second line of *I.G.*, I², 61 Wilhelm has shown that the text of this composite inscription does not refer to an otherwise unknown Sikan but rather to a group of people, named with ethnics in *I.G.*, I², 179, who were honored together by the Athenian Council and Demos.⁴⁹ Instead of reading τῶι Σικαρ[ῶι, one should read α[ὐ]τοῖσι κα[ί, and all reference to the Sikan disappears. I give the following text, taken with some modifications from Wilhelm's publication:

[ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι δέμ]	15 [θίνει· ἦοι δὲ πολεταὶ ἀπομ]ισθ
[οι· Κεκ]ρο[πίς ἐπρυτάνευε]	[οσάντον· ἦοι δὲ κολακρέται] δό
[. . . .]ος ἔγρ[αμμάτευε ⁸]	[ντον τὸ ἀργύριον· ἥπος δ' ἂν] μὲ
[ἔπε]στάτε· Α[. . . . ^{ca} ⁶ εἶπε ⁵]	[ἀδικῶνται, ἐπιμελόσθον α]ὐτῶ
5 [. . . .]ον τὸν Α[ἰνεάτεν ? καὶ ⁵]	[ν ἦοι στρατηγοὶ ἦοι αἰεὶ] στρα
[. . . .]αν τὸν Αἰ[νεάτεν ? καὶ ⁶]	20 [τ]εγόντε[ς καὶ ἐ βολέ· ἔναι δ]ὲ α[ὐ]
[. . . . τ]ὸν Φε[γόντιον ? ἐπειδὲ εἶ]	τοῖσι κα[ὶ πρόσοδον πρὸς τὸν β]
[ποιῶσ]ι Ἀθε[ναίος ἐπαινέσαι μ]	ολὲν ἔάν [του δέονται, καὶ τὸς π]
[ἐν καὶ ἀναγράφσαι προχσένος]	ρυτάνες [προσάγειν αὐτὸς εἰς τ]
10 [καὶ εὐεργέτας --- κτλ. ---]	ἐν βολὲν [καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπάναγ]
lacuna	25 κες πρότ[ος μετὰ τὰ ἱερά ἐπει]
[. . . ἔναι δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ φρο]ρᾶ	δαν ἠε [βολὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν δ]
[ς καὶ στρατείας ἀτέλεια]ν· ἦο δ	ἔμον ἐ[χσενέγκει]
[ἐ γραμματεὺς ἦο τῆς βολῆ]ς ἀνα	<i>vacat</i>
[γραφσάτο ἐμ πόλει ἐστέλε]ι λι	

⁴⁹ *Attische Urkunden IV*, pp. 41-48 (*Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, 1939).

In line 8 the preserved letters are not merely ΑΘ, as given by Wade-Gery,⁵⁰ and repeated by Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, p. 42) as part of a phrase which he suggests by way of example: *ὡς ὄντας ἄνδρας ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὸν δέμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων*. The letters are ¹ΑΘ², as reported in *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 167, no. 116*u*, and repeated in *I.G.*, I², 179; they must be interpreted as ΙΑΘΕ.

Evidently the names of the benefactors of Athens were concluded before line 8 was reached, for the letters ΑΘΕ ought properly to be expanded as some form of Ἀθηναίος and not as a foreign name or ethnic. Considerations of space show that there were three names of foreigners. I have suggested that two of them may have had the ethnic Δινεάτης and one the ethnic Φερόντιος, representing neighboring towns of the Athenian empire in the Chalcidic peninsula,⁵¹ and that after the names there appeared the motivating clause ἐπειδὴ εἶ ποιῶσ]ι Ἀθε[ναίος, which satisfies the traces of letters on the stone and the stoichedon arrangement. It is necessary also to restore the verb ἐπαινέσαι and probably some phrase indicating that they were to be made proxenoi and benefactors of the Athenians.

If this is true, then lines 11-12 may not be made to read καὶ ἔνα]ι α[ὐτὸς προχσένος Ἀθηναί]ο]ν (cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 44). On the analogy of Wilhelm's new text of *I.G.*, I², 154, lines 15-17 (καὶ μετοικίω? ἀτέ]λειαν εἶν[αι αὐτοῖν Ἀθένεσιν? καὶ φ]ρορᾶς καὶ [στρατείας --) I suggest here ἔνα]ι δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ φρο]ρᾶ[ς καὶ στρατείας ἀτέλεια]ν. The preserved letters in line 11 which Wilhelm reads from his transcript and squeeze as Ι¹ appear similarly on my squeeze except that only the lower tip of the iota is preserved. Even this is so spaced that it may perhaps be completed as rho better than as iota.⁵²

I.G., II², 38

This inscription was published by Eleanor Weston in *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 347-352, as part of the same original monument with *I.G.*, II², 71, a document once known and lost and now recovered in the American excavations of the Athenian Agora. The association of the two pieces depended on an observation made by Schweigert and communicated to Miss Weston.

Wilhelm's restoration with a length of line of 32 letters⁵³ is so persuasive that this connection with *I.G.*, II², 71, which required a line of 28 letters, must be abandoned. It should be noted that the stones do not join, and that they were associated only on the basis of the general appearance of letter forms and the supposed lengths of line of 28 letters in both fragments.

⁵⁰ *B.S.A.*, XXXIII, 1932-1933, p. 133.

⁵¹ See Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *A.T.L.*, I, pp. 464 and 560.

⁵² For the reading of line 14 cf. also Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, p. 147, note 26.

⁵³ *Attische Urkunden IV*, pp. 23-24 (*Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, 1939).

In the last line Miss Weston read [φεύγε]ν δ[ὲ τὲν πόλιν]. Here Wilhelm says (*op. cit.*, p. 24) that the letters clearly visible are ONO, though they are not published in the *Corpus* or in Wilhelm's *editio princeps* (*Eranos Vindob.*, p. 246, note)⁵⁴ on which the text of the *Corpus* was based. However, a photograph just received from Athens confirms Wilhelm's reading, except for the fact that only parts of the omicrons, not the whole letters, are preserved. Following his suggestion that these letters form some part of the word φόνος, one might restore in lines 3-6, for example:

τ[ἐν δὲ τιμωρίαν εἶναι πε]
 [ρὶ αὐτῷ κα]θάπερ ἐ[άν τις τινα Ἀθηναίων ἐ]
 [ν τῆι ὑπερο]ρίαι β[ιαίωι θανάτωι ἀποκτε]
 [ίνηι καὶ τῷ φ]όνῳ [καταδικασθῆι *vel sim.*]

Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 275, no. 10

The inscription here published consists of three fragments which join together and which were all found on the north slope of the Acropolis. They were edited by Schweigert, who restored the text with a stoichedon length of line of 31 letters. Wilhelm now wishes⁵⁵ to attribute these fragments to the same stele with *I.G.*, I², 55. He claims that they undoubtedly belong together as one may see from the photographs which show the same Ionic writing and the same weathering of the white marble.

This attribution shows the danger of studying inscriptions from photographs alone.⁵⁶ I have squeezes of fragment *b* of *I.G.*, I², 55 and of one of the small fragments of *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 275, no. 10. These show indeed the same Ionic lettering which is visible also in the photographs, but the squeezes show also the relative size of the letters and their relative spacing. In *I.G.*, I², 55 three lines occupy a vertical space of 0.04 m., while in Schweigert's fragments three lines occupy a vertical space of 0.052 m. The horizontal measurements give about 0.009 m. for each letter space of *I.G.*, I², 55 and about 0.012 m. for the new text published by Schweigert. It is obvious that the association suggested by Wilhelm is impossible and that the new inscription has nothing to do with *I.G.*, I², 55.

Under these circumstances it seems best to retain the stoichedon line of 31 letters suggested for the new text by Schweigert and thus to avoid some anomalies in spelling which appear in Wilhelm's restorations. There is no longer any need to develop a line

⁵⁴ Wilhelm's first text posited a line of 28 letters: Ἀθηναῖ]οι κρατ[όσων . . . ὀ]φείλεν Ἀθ[ῆν . . . ἐὰν . . . ἀπ]οθάνηι τ[ῆν τιμωρίαν εἶναι . . . κα]θάπερ ἐ[άν τις Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῆι ὑπερο]ρίαι β[ιαίωι θανάτωι ἀποθάνηι κτλ.

⁵⁵ *Attische Urkunden IV*, pp. 37-38 (*Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, 1939).

⁵⁶ See, for example, Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 66-68.

of 32 letters to agree with the length of line in *I.G.*, I², 55. I change the wording of Schweigert's restorations in two places and suggest for lines 9-14 the following text:

10 [.....¹³.....]ς· ἦν δὲ βια[ίωι θανάτωι]
 [πο ἀποθάνηι εἶ]ναι τῆν τι[μωρίαν αὐτῶι]
 [καθάπερ ἦν τις] Ἀθηναίων [τινὰ ἀποκτέν]
 [ηι· καλέσαι δὲ α]ὐτὸν καὶ [ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς τὸ]
 [πρυτανεῖον ἐς] αὐριον· [...⁶... εἶπε· τὰ μ]
 [ἐν ἄλλα καθάπε]ρ τῆι β[ολῆι¹⁰.....]

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