

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

NOTE ON THE EPISTATAI OF THE ATHENA PROMACHOS STATUE

2. The prescripts of the annual building accounts of the Athena Promachos statue were first restored by W. B. Dinsmoor,¹ who assumed that “probably three epistatae were named.”² Dinsmoor’s restoration had to be abandoned when B. D. Meritt showed³ that “the offset of the prescript must be reduced from ten to seven letters.” Meritt accepted Dinsmoor’s restoration in general but assumed that the epistatai “were only two in number, in spite of the plural form in Col. III, line 9.” The discovery of two new fragments in the Agora Excavations necessitated the republication of all the known fragments of the document,⁴ but still no change was suggested for the restoration of the first two lines of the annual accounts. The preserved fragments now contain not one but four references to the epistatai,⁵ and in all instances the plural form is used.⁶ Dinsmoor and Meritt had to assume, moreover, that the epistatai were listed merely by their names without the addition of their demotics; this is without parallel among the similar documents of the fifth century B.C.⁷ Another difficulty is offered by the phrase that immediately follows the word ἐπιστάται. Dinsmoor’s restoration ([λέμματα πα]ρὰ κολακρετῶν) was first merely modified by Meritt (. [λῆμμα] π[αρὰ κολακ]ρε[τῶν]), but one of the two Agora fragments provided Meritt with the certain restoration ἔλαβ[ο]ν π[α]ρὰ κολακρετῶν [σύν]παν. This phrase is incomplete, however, without the preceding word ἐπιστάται, and, in fact, ἔλαβ[ον] is engraved in column III, line 63 in the same line with [ἐπιστάτ]αι. Since the phrase ἐπιστάται ἔλαβον παρὰ κολακρετῶν requires the addition of the figure of the sum of money given to the epistatai, the lines containing this phrase cannot have been offset as has been assumed so far. This observation makes it necessary to shorten the second lines of the so-called prescripts by another four letters. In front of ἐπιστάται there is now space for only 14 letters (in column II, line 26), 12 letters (in column II, line 55), 10 letters (in column III, line 32), and 10 letters (in column III, line 63). This space must be further reduced in column II, line 26, because this line began with the end of the word ἐγραμμάτετε, for which there is not enough space in the preceding

¹ *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 122, lines 31-32, and p. 123, lines 8-9.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 125, note on line 9.

³ *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 473-476.

⁴ B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 362-380, no. 4; all further references are to this publication of the inscription.

⁵ Column II, line 72; column III, lines 32, 56, and 63.

⁶ Compare the still unidentified accounts published as *I.G.*, I², 335, line 16: [το]ῖν νέο[ων ἐπιστάταιν].

⁷ Compare *I.G.*, I², 335, 340, 343, 345, 348, 363, 365, 366, 369, 370, 372.

The sum given by the kolakretai to the epistatai (lines 4-6: 71,531 4/6) supplements the surplus from the year before (lines 7-8: 6,578 2/6); the total amount available to the epistatai of this year was therefore the even sum of 78,110 drachmas.¹² This observation allows the restoration of lines 1-2 as the last item of the preceding year, indicating the surplus of that year. Lines 1-2 belong, therefore, to the accounts



I.G., I², 338

Fragments F + E

(Photograph from Squeeze)

of the first or of the second year of the entire document, lines 3-13 to the accounts of the second or of the third year. The restoration of line 9 is quite hypothetical,¹³ and it is based on the similarity of the preserved numerals with those in column II, line 66.¹⁴ The order in which the metals are listed in column II, lines 60-63, and in column III, lines 38-41 (copper and tin) has been reversed in the restoration of lines 10-13 of Fragments F + E, because the larger amount (lines 10-11: 34,852) was obviously used for tin which was much more expensive.

The price of tin can be restored with some probability in column III, lines 40-41 to ΗΗ[ΗΗ[□]]-ΔΠ[Τ] [κα]ττιέρο: τ[άλαντα: ΤΤ]; this means that the price of two talents was 466 drachmas. It is reasonable to expect that the price of tin varied, and the restoration of lines 10-11 of Fragments F + E is based on the assumption that the metal sold in the year of this account for approximately 233 drachmas for the talent. But the sum of 34,852

drachmas that was paid for tin represents almost exactly the price of 150 talents of the metal, each talent selling for 232 2/6 drachmas ($232 \frac{2}{6} \times 150 = 34,850$). The two additional drachmas cannot be explained satisfactorily unless it is assumed that the tin was brought in amounts larger than one talent, so that the price of the whole was not a multiple of the price of one talent.

The price of copper can be restored in column III, line 38 to ΧΗ[ΗΗ]ΠΙ χαλκῷ τάλαντα: ΔΔΔ[□]ΤΤ]; this means that the price of 37 talents was 1,301 1/6 drachmas, that is: 35 drachmas and one obol for the talent.¹⁵ The restoration of line 12 of

¹² Similarly, the total expenditures of the sixth year (column II, line 74: more than 12,217) and the surplus of this year (column II, lines 75-76: more than 5,280) make up the total sum available to the epistatai at the beginning of the year, which probably consisted of the even sum of 17,500 drachmas; compare, however, Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*, p. 126.

¹³ In the other accounts, this place is taken by an item that has not yet been restored with certainty: column II, lines 30 and 59, and column III, line 37; compare *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 369.

¹⁴ Compare *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 369.

¹⁵ This restoration leaves no space for the addition of the word Εὐβοϊκά which is partly preserved in column II, line 60; compare *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 370 and 372.

Fragments F + E is based on the assumption that one talent of copper sold in the year of that account for 35 drachmas and 2 obols ($35 \frac{2}{6} \times 180 = 6,315$).

Whatever may be the verdict concerning the restoration suggested for lines 9-13 of Fragments F-E, the correct interpretation of lines 1-8 proves beyond doubt that the first lines of the annual accounts were not offset. This observation requires a new restoration for the first lines. In front of *ἐγραμμάτευε* there is now space for only 16 letters in column II, line 25, for 11 letters in column II, line 54, for 10 letters in column III, line 31, and for 12 letters in column III, line 62. This space was only partly filled by the name of the secretary as is indicated by column II, lines 25-27 which may now be restorted to read:

[. . . K] αλ[λίστ] ρατος [ἐγραμ
 [μάτευε] ἸΑ[χαρνενῶ]ς ἐπι[στάται
 [ἔλαβο]ν π[ἀρὰ κολακ]ρε[τῶν] .

Assuming that in all cases the name of the secretary was preceded by a word of four letters, the names of the secretaries had between six and eight letters.¹⁶ Two restorations may be suggested for the word of four letters which preceded the name of the secretary. The restoration of *ἡοῖς* is favored by the occurrence of similar phrases in other building accounts;¹⁷ but the order of words resulting from this restoration is awkward: [*ἡοῖς* K] αλ[λίστ] ατος [ἐγραμμάτευε] ἸΑ[χαρνενῶ]ς ἐπι[στάται ἔλαβο]ν π[ἀρὰ κολακ]ρε[τῶν] . The other possible restoration is: [*ἡότε* K] αλ[λίστ] ρατος [ἐγραμμάτευε] ἸΑ[χαρνενῶ]ς ἐπι[στάται ἔλαβο]ν π[ἀρὰ κολακ]ρε[τῶν] ; there are several parallels for this use of the word.¹⁸

Since the epistatai of the Athena Promachos statue were not mentioned by name in the annual accounts, the only evidence for their number is contained in column II, lines 72-73. This item provides for a daily salary of 31 obols for the epistatai, their secretary, and their servant;¹⁹ but this information is of little significance since it is unknown how much each of these officials received individually. Additional information, however, is supplied by an inscription from Eleusis providing for the creation of a board of five epistatai whose duties are defined: *τούτος δὲ ἐπιστάται τοῖς χρέμασι τοῖς τοῖν θεοῖν καθάπερ ἡοὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πόλει ἔργοις ἐπεστάτον τῷ νεῶι καὶ τῷ ἀγάλματι.*²⁰

¹⁶ Seven letters in column II, line 54, six letters in column III, line 31, and eight letters in column III, line 62.

¹⁷ Compare *I.G.*, I², 343, line 78; 349, line 1; 352, line 1; 353, line 1.

¹⁸ Compare B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 55-56. *I.G.*, I², 818 may be included in this list, since it is another copy of *I.G.*, I², 5, and its first line may be restored to read: [*ἔδοχον τῷ βολῆ*]ι κα[ἰ τοῖ δέμοι ἡότ]ε Παραιβά[τ]ε[ς ἔγρ. κτλ.] .

¹⁹ Compare E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 267.

²⁰ K. Kourouniotes, *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I, p. 177; compare W. Sardemann, *Eleusinische Übergabekunden*, pp. 12-13. This phrase has been misquoted as referring to the temple in Eleusis by G. E. Mylonas, *The Hymn to Demeter and her Sanctuary at Eleusis*, p. 50, note 48.

It has been assumed that the epistatai of the Statue were those of the Athena Promachos statue.²¹ There is, therefore, good reason to believe that the board of epistatai of the Athena Promachos statue consisted of as many members as did the board in Eleusis, namely five. The epistatai in Eleusis received as daily salary each four obols, and their secretary, who was one of them, received the same amount. The salary of the Athenian officials was probably higher. It may be suggested, accordingly, that the epistatai of the Athena Promachos statue were five in number, including their secretary, and that they received each as daily salary one drachma; the salary of the servant was then one obol, making a total of 31 obols ($5 \times 6 + 1 = 31$).²²

A few words may be added concerning one of the items the restoration of which, first suggested by Meritt,²³ has been confirmed by the discovery of a new fragment found on the North Slope of the Akropolis.²⁴ This item ($\gamma[. . .] \tau\rho\rho\iota\chi\epsilon\varsigma$) is found in column II, lines 16, 44, and 69, and in column III, lines 23 and 55, and in Schweigert's fragment, line 7. Schweigert asserted that the initial letter of column II, line 69 "seems to be A," but Meritt rightly observed²⁵ that "the initial letter preserved on the stone is a clearly cut gamma." This item may be tentatively restored to $\gamma[\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\alpha\iota] \tau\rho\rho\iota\chi\epsilon\varsigma$. Its price can be determined from line 69 of column II ($[.] \Delta \Gamma \vdash$), and the first numeral may be supplied from line 50 of column III.²⁶ The whole item was, therefore, $\Delta \Delta \Gamma \vdash \gamma[\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\alpha\iota] \tau\rho\rho\iota\chi\epsilon\varsigma$ (26 drachmas for earth and hair). This interpretation of column III, line 50 helps in placing Fragment Y (see Meritt's drawing, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 366), because it is now obvious that column III, lines 50 and 55 are in fact the same line. The account of the eighth year may be restored to read:

1	[---]	[<i>hoûs</i> (or <i>hóte</i>) . . . ^{ca. 5} . . .]s: <i>ἐγραμμάτευε</i>
	[---]	[. . . ^{ca. 9} . . .]ν: <i>ἐπιστάται</i>
	[<i>vacat</i>]	[<i>ἔλαβον πα</i>] <i>ρὰ κολακρετῶν</i>
	[<i>vacat</i>]	[<i>σύνπαν</i>]

5	[---]	[<i>λέμμα περιγ</i>] <i>εν[όμεν]ον: ἐ[κ τῶ]</i>

²¹ Compare S. Accame, *Riv. di filol.*, XIII, 1935, p. 486, note 1; C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, II, p. 338, note 4; A. E. Raubitschek, *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, p. 478, note 11; G. E. Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 49, note 46. For the date of the Athena Promachos statue, compare also A. E. Raubitschek, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 109; W. B. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 427. The epistatai of the Temple mentioned in the Eleusis inscription would then be those of the old Athena temple which must have been restored, at least in part, after the Persian wars.

²² The same relation between the salary of the epistatai and that of their servant is found in the fourth-century inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 1673, lines 60-61; compare *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 376; U. Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, p. 318.

²³ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 372-373.

²⁴ E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 267.

²⁵ *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 476.

²⁶ The numeral Δ stands there between two horizontal lines which indicate that the whole item was engraved in one line, and that its highest numeral was a sign for ten drachmas.

THE APHRODITE STATUE OF KALAMIS

3. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on November 24, 1937, in Section Ψ. Only part of the top seems to be preserved.

Height, 0.175 m.

Width, 0.163 m.

Thickness, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5128.

ca. 448 B.C.

[Καλ]ίας
[ἀνέ]θηκε
[Κάλ]αμις
[ἐπόε].



No. 3

(Photograph from Squeeze)



Restored Drawing of No. 3

The restoration is supported by the fact that the first three lines are of equal length, and that no other restorations can be suggested for lines 2 and 3. The restoration of line 4 is made necessary by the uninscribed space preserved below the last three letters of the preceding line. The letter forms show a peculiar mixture of old Attic and Ionic writing, but with the exception of the eta in line 2 they favor a date in the forties of the fifth century.²⁹

²⁹ See *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 477-479. *I.G.*, I², 20 should be omitted from the list of inscriptions with four-bar sigma which are dated before 450 B.C. This inscription and *I.G.*, I², 19 were engraved on the same stele, and the first two lines of *I.G.*, I², 20 belong to *I.G.*, I², 19 and contain the names of the signatories of the earlier treaty between Athens and Egesta. The remaining part of *I.G.*, I², 20 belongs to the thirties or twenties of the fifth century.

The inscription records a dedication of Kallias made by the famous sculptor Kalamis. It is tempting to recognize in this fragment part of the base of the Aphrodite statue which was seen and described by Pausanias (I, 23, 2): *παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν* [the memorial of Leaina] *ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης ὃ Καλλίου τέ φασι ἀνάθημα εἶναι καὶ ἔργον Καλάμιδος*.³⁰ The provenance of the fragment does not contradict this combination, for fragments of other Akropolis dedications were found in the Agora.³¹ According to Pausanias' report, the statue of Aphrodite was set up in or near the Propylaea. The Propylaea were built, however, after Kallias made his dedication. It may, therefore, be suggested that Kallias' dedication was erected originally in the sanctuary of Aphrodite west of the Propylaea,³² and that the statue was moved and set up in the Propylaea when the monumental staircase was built in Roman times. The original base may have been discarded at that time, and a fragment of it may have found its way down the north slope of the Akropolis. Pausanias' words (*ὁ Καλλίου τέ φασι . . .*) seem to indicate that he did not see the inscription itself, but that the story was told him when he admired the statue.

The statue of Aphrodite has been connected in previous publications with another base.³³ But even without the evidence of the fragment under discussion this identification had to be abandoned.

The letter forms of the inscription point to a date soon after the middle of the fifth century, and this date is well in keeping with the known activity of both the artist and the dedicator. The dedicator Kallias was, according to a suggestion of F. Studniczka,³⁴ the famous son of Hipponikos from the deme Alopeke,³⁵ and the occasion for the dedication was Kallias' successful conclusion of the peace with Persia in 449 B.C.³⁶

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE POTEIDAIA EPIGRAM

4. The marble base with the epigram on the Athenians who fell at Poteidaia is now in the Elgin collection of the British Museum, but a small fragment containing the ends of the last three lines was recently discovered in the Agora Excavations. The place and date of discovery of the fragment in the British Museum cannot be determined with certainty. While it was still in Athens, two drawings of this fragment

³⁰ See *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 90.

³¹ See *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 70, nos. 10 and 12; *ibid.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 247, note 8.

³² See O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 260, note 42.

³³ *I.G.*, I², 607; see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 156, no. 2.

³⁴ *Kalamis*, pp. 54-56 and 60.

³⁵ For him and his family, see *I.G.*, II², 4680; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 410; *ibid.*, VII, 1938, p. 52; *ibid.*, X, 1941, p. 27; K. Freeman, *Greece and Rome*, VIII, 1938, pp. 22 ff.

³⁶ See H. T. Wade-Gery, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. vol. I, pp. 121-156; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, pp. 156-159; cf. S. Dow, *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1942, p. 384.

were made by L. F. S. Fauvel, and these drawings were later in the possession of U. Köhler who made them available to A. Boeckh (*C.I.G.*, I, p. 906, note on no. 170; see p. 868). The drawings have since disappeared, but it is possible that some notes and even the original sketch are still among Fauvel's papers in Paris.³⁷ Fauvel himself may have found the stone in March, 1797, when he was investigating the ancient remains on the road leading from the Kerameikos towards the Academy of Plato.³⁸ The stone was damaged between the time when Fauvel made the drawings of it in Athens and when the inscription was first examined by E. Q. Visconti in London.³⁹ Not only was a small fragment of the inscribed surface split off (the letters of this fragment are underlined in *I.G.*, I², 945), but the rectangular base was reduced in thickness to *ca.* 0.165 m. in order to make it less heavy.⁴⁰ The top and bottom surfaces of the stone are still preserved, and this induced Oliver (see note 40) to doubt Boeckh's description of Fauvel's drawing. Boeckh reported that there was a relief above the inscription, and this seemed to Oliver to be at variance both with the fact that the original top of the base is still preserved, and with the correct observation that the now preserved part of the base never carried anything on its top.⁴¹ But Fauvel probably examined the stone when its back was not yet sawn off, and Oliver himself conjectured that the preserved fragment was once part of a rectangular base that carried on its top a stele with the names of those who were honored by the epigram.⁴² The suggestion may therefore be made that the relief was carved on the lower part of this stele; and this part of the stele together with the major part of the base may have been sawn off before the inscription was shipped to England. But the inscribed face of the base was already damaged when Fauvel examined the stone. According to his drawing (*C.I.G.*, I, p. 906, note on no. 170), the inscription was in almost the same condition as it is now: a thin sliver of marble was split off the top containing most of lines 1-4; in addition to that, the whole right part of the base, about one third, was broken off. The small fragment found in the Agora Excavations contains the lower part of this lost portion. It joins the piece in the British Museum on the left side, and it contains part of the original right lateral face of the base.

³⁷ See P. E. Legrand, *Rev. arch.*, XXXI, 1897, p. 99; C. G. Lowe, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 206, note 3; compare H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 78, note 24.

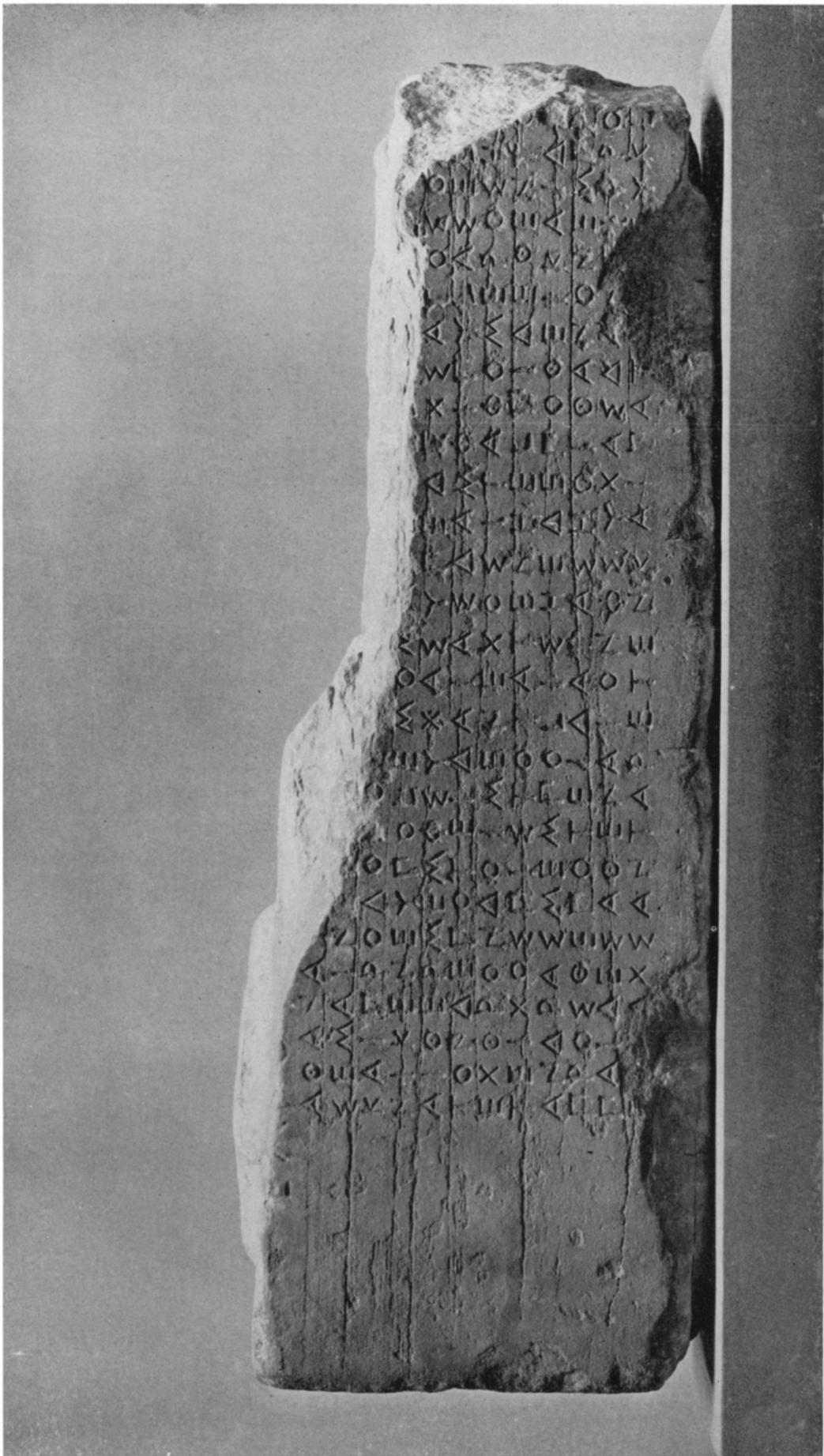
³⁸ See P. E. Legrand, *Rev. arch.*, XXX, 1897, p. 188, note 3. The stone was found in this general neighbourhood, in campis Academiae extra viam sacram, quae Athenis Eleusina ducit; see H. J. Rose, *Inscr. Graec. vet.*, p. 372. E. Q. Visconti reports (*Elgin Marbles*, p. 183, note 3): "The inscription which we are examining was found in the plain of the Academia."

³⁹ It was Visconti who first published the inscription (*Elgin Marbles*, pp. 177-205; compare A. H. Smith, *J.H.S.*, XXXVI, 1916, p. 318), and not F. Thiersch, as Boeckh declared (*C.I.G.*, I, no. 170; repeated in *I.G.*, I, 442, and *B.M.I.*, no. 37); see H. J. Rose, *Inscr. Graec. vet.*, pp. 370-387.

⁴⁰ This was done by the use of a saw; see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 234; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Supplement V, p. 19, note 54.

⁴¹ For a discussion of the relief, see A. Brückner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 228-229.

⁴² Compare also *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 56-58.



I.G., I², 945, Obverse Face

The fragment (Inv. No. I 2277) was found on January 2, 1935, in Section II. The filing card of the excavations indicates that possibly the bottom and the right side are preserved; this is now confirmed by the combination of the Agora fragment with the monument in the British Museum.

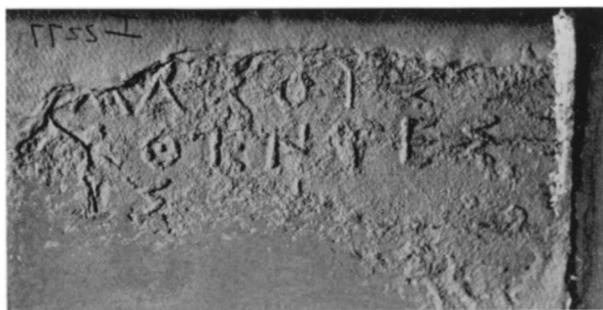
Height, 0.107 m.; width, 0.44 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

432 B.C.

- Ἐμ Ποτ[ειδαίαι Ἀθηναίων κοῖδε ἀπέθανον].
 Ἀθάνατόμ με θα[νο ---]
 σεμαίνεν ἀρετ[έν ---]
 καὶ προγόνος θενεσ[---]
- 5 νίκεν εὐπόλεμομ μνῆμ' ἔλαβομ φθ[ίμενοι].
 Αἰθὲρ μὲμ φσυχὰς ὑπεδέχσατο σόμ[ατα δὲ χθὸν]
 τὸνδε· Ποτειδαίας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἐλ[ύθεν]
 ἔχθρὸν δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχοσι τάφο μέρος ἠο[ῖδε φυγόντες]
 τεῖχος πιστοτάτεν ἠελπίδ' ἔθεντο [βίο].
- 10 Ἄνδρας μὲν πόλις ἠέδε ποθεῖ καὶ δέ[μος Ἐρεχθῶς]
 πρόσθε Ποτειδαίας κοῖ θάνον ἐμ πρ[ο]μάχοις
 παῖδες Ἀθηναίων φσυχὰς ἀντίρρο[π]α θέντες
 ἐ[λλ]άχσαντ' ἀρετὲν καὶ πατ[ρίδ'] εὐκλ[έ]ϊσαν.

The addition of the new fragment necessitates no change in the restorations of the last three lines as suggested by Visconti and Thiersch.⁴³ The only change that

must be recorded concerns line 5. The restorations previously suggested for this line were based partly on Fauvel's drawing and partly on a reading made by E. L. Hicks (*B.M.I.*, no. 37). The correct restoration was made by E. Powell (*Cl. Rev.*, XXI, 1907, pp. 61-62), and has now been confirmed by B. D. Meritt who was able to see traces of the first two letters of φθ[ίμενοι].⁴⁴



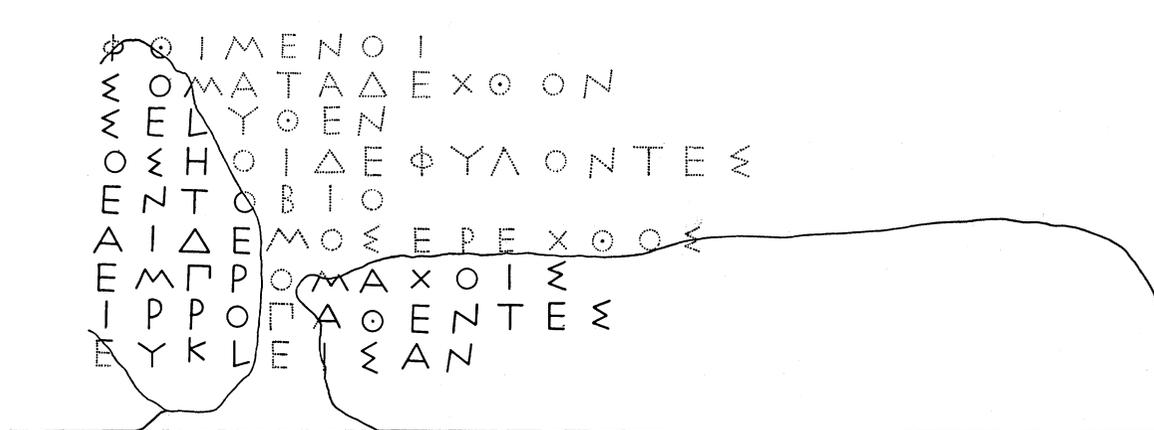
No. 4. New Fragment of *I.G.*, I², 945

(Photograph from Squeeze)

⁴³ The various restorations suggested for lines 2-4 are too uncertain to be mentioned here; compare W. Peek, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. Vol. I, p. 100, note 1.

⁴⁴ H. T. Wade-Gery declared (*J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 78, note 24) that Powell's restoration "would perhaps require *ελαβομ*, which it cannot have." But Fauvel's drawing was transcribed by Boeckh as *ΕΛΑΒΟΙ.Φ*, and it may well be that Fauvel saw only the first slanting stroke of the mu (or the first vertical stroke of the nu) and recorded an empty space after this stroke. The immediately following letter phi is still clearly visible on the stone, and this letter was correctly recorded by Fauvel.

The addition of the Agora fragment makes it possible to determine the original length of the block; it was *ca.* 1.34 m. The epigram was symmetrically placed on the stone, and the unscribed space of 0.18 m. on the left side was balanced by a similarly wide unscribed space on the right side. The same was true for the heading. This was engraved in larger letters and began 0.125 m. from the left edge of the base. If it ended at about the same distance from the right edge, its length was *ca.* 1.09 m. The distance between each two of the five preserved letters is *ca.* 0.03 m., and this spacing would require a heading of approximately 36 letters. The restoration suggested by Hicks and Hill (*Greek Hist. Inscr.*², no. 54) comprises only 25 letters, and the new restoration suggested above was made with reference to *I.G.*, I², 943, lines 1-3 and 49-51.



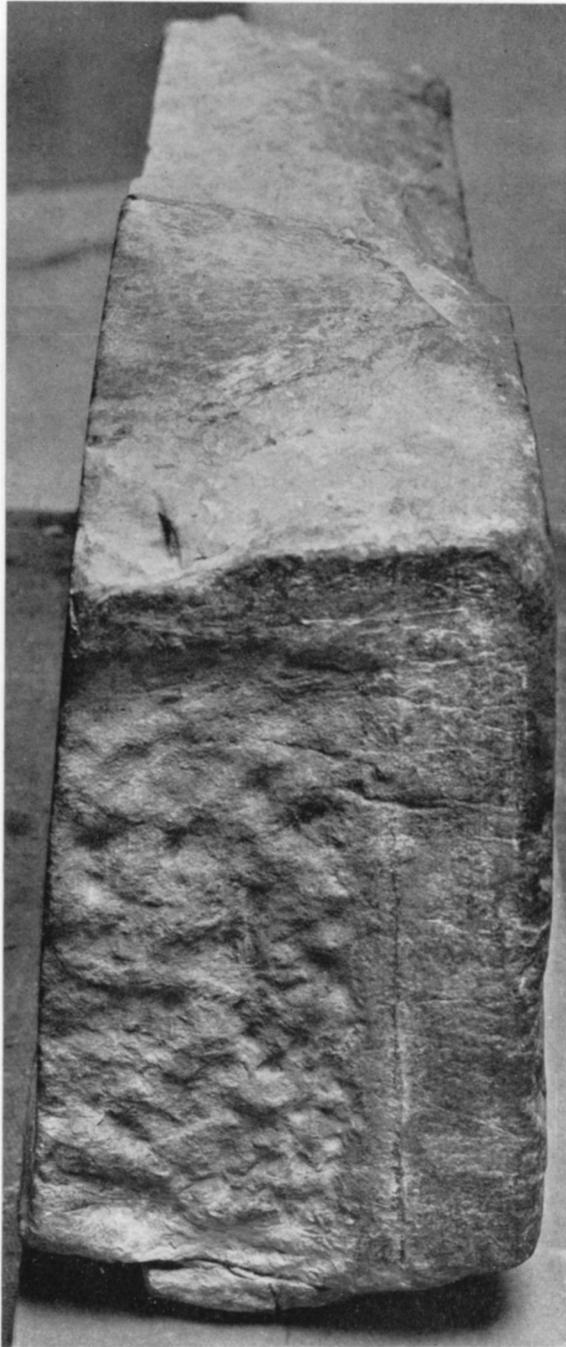
Position of New Fragment of *I.G.*, I², 945

A peculiar feature of the fragment in the British Museum is the anathyrosis on the left lateral face; it is uncertain whether the right lateral face was similarly treated. Oliver has already drawn the conclusion (see note 40) that the base was not free standing, but was set next to another monument. This may encourage some speculation as to the original appearance of the *δημόσιον σήμα* to which the Poteidaia monument certainly belonged. Recent excavations in the public cemetery of Athens have shown that some of the public graves were erected in one continuous row.⁴⁵ The capping stones of the tomb constructions were at the same time the bases for the stelai which carried the name lists. The funeral epigrams were quite frequently inscribed on these bases, and this explains why some of the epigrams extended over two or even three slabs, although they could easily have been inscribed on only one of them.⁴⁶ The Poteidaia monument probably consisted of only one stele on which the

⁴⁵ See K. Gebauer, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 612-616, and Beilage 4.

⁴⁶ A chronological list of the preserved epigrams which were engraved on the bases of stelai include: 1) *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 15 (see *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 58-59). 2) *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 56-58. 3) *I.G.*, I², 1034 (see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 226). 4) *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 142-146. 5) *I.G.*, II², 5220. 6) *I.G.*, I², 946. 7) *I.G.*, II², 5226.

150 names could easily have been engraved (see *I.G.*, I², 929). Since it was hardly possible to bury 150 bodies in a tomb the front length of which was *ca.* 1.34 m., it may



I.G., I², 945, Left Side Face

be assumed that the tomb was a cenotaph or that it contained only the urns with the ashes of the 150 men who fell at Poteidaia.

THE FIRST ATHENIAN CASUALTY LIST OF THE
PELOPONNESIAN WAR

5. When J. J. E. Hondius published, in 1921, the small fragment of an Attic funeral list, he remarked hopefully: speramus fore ut solum atticum alias benignius sit.⁴⁷ His wish has come true, and two more fragments can now be added. The old fragment has received great attention considering its small size. Hondius had restored line 3 as [ἐν Σω]όπει assuming that the list belongs to the year of Perikles' expedition to that city; compare F. Miltner, *R.E.*, s. v. Perikles, cols. 774-775. A. Wilhelm proposed as alternative restoration of this line [ἐν Ἄλ]όπει assuming that the list belongs to the year 431 B.C. when the Athenians fought and won a small engagement at Alope in Lokris.⁴⁸ This restoration implies that the fragment belongs to the funeral monument set up at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian war, when Perikles delivered his famous funeral oration.⁴⁹ If this interpretation should prove to be correct, it would explain the extremely beautiful lettering of the inscription and the almost unique size of the letters which are much larger than those of most other funeral lists of that period.⁵⁰ The size of the letters may be explained by the fact that the Athenians suffered only a few casualties during the first year of the War.⁵¹

There is still another funeral monument that has been assigned by some scholars to the year 431 B.C. This is the epigram *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 254 a fragment of which has been found in Athens and recognized by A. Wilhelm.⁵² Wilhelm himself attributed this epigram to the year 457 B.C. and to the monument of the Athenian cavalry who fell at Tanagra.⁵³ A. von Domaszewski, however, rightly pointed out that the letter forms of the inscription do not favor this early date, and he suggested that the fragment may rather belong to the monument of the Athenian cavalry who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian war.⁵⁴ It may now be questioned whether this epigram stood on a monument that contained only the casualties among the cavalry or whether it did not rather belong to the funeral monument of all the Athenians who fell in that first year of the War. The reference to the excellence in horsemanship seems to refer

⁴⁷ *Mnemosyne*, XLIX, 1921, pp. 202-204, no. 2; now republished as *I.G.*, I², 944.

⁴⁸ *S.E.G.*, III, no. 52. Compare Thucydides, II, 26; G. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, III, p. 935, note 3.

⁴⁹ Thucydides, II, 34; see Busolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 938-939; L. Pearson, *Cl. Phil.*, XXXI, 1936, pp. 46-47.

⁵⁰ H. T. Wade-Gery, who incidentally accepted Hondius' restoration, declared (*B.S.A.*, XXXIII, 1935, p. 127, note 1) "the letters are so magnificent that a squeeze of it should be in every squeeze library."

⁵¹ See F. A. Adcock, *C.A.H.*, V, p. 199.

⁵² It is now published as *I.G.*, I², 946; see F. Hiller von Gärtringen, *Hist. Griech. Epigramme*, p. 19, no. 47.

⁵³ He was followed by H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, pp. 78-79, and, more recently, by A. Cameron, *H.T.R.*, XXXIII, 1940, p. 102, note 13.

⁵⁴ He was followed by C. M. Bowra, *Cl. Qu.*, XXXII, 1938, p. 85. For the occurrence of four-bar sigma in Attic public documents from the middle of the fifth century, see note 29 above.

only to the cavalry action, but the decisive event of that year was the protection of the Attic plain from the invasion of the enemy. The small force of Athenian cavalrymen, supported by their Thessalian allies, gave a good account of themselves.⁵⁵ If the epigram is understood as referring to all the casualties, the phrase *πλείστοις Ἑλλάνων ἀντία μαρνάμενοι* becomes much more significant, for in the course of that year small engagements were fought in various distant localities, involving almost all sections of the enemy camp.⁵⁶ It may be suggested, therefore, that both the epigram and the fragment of the casualty list belong to one and the same monument, and that this monument honored the casualties of the first year of the Peloponnesian war, who were praised also by the funeral oration of Perikles.

The two new fragments of the casualty list add only a little to our knowledge of the monument. Fragment A was found on January 9, 1936, in Section T, and Fragment B, which joins Fragment A at the bottom, was found on March 20, 1936, in the same Section. They are of Pentelic marble and have preserved the back and the left lateral face. Along the left edge of the inscribed face is a sunken border, 0.022 m. wide.

Height (Fragments A and B), 0.41 m.

Width, 0.112 m.

Thickness, 0.235 m.-0.24 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 3181.

Δ[---]
 Ἄγ[---]
 Αἰσ[---]
 Θεο[---]
 5 Θεα[---]
 Ἄντ[---]
 Χα[---]
 Σα[---]
 υ υ [---]
 υ υ [---]
 υ υ [---]
 Ἐ[υ---]
 10 Ἴσ[---]
 Ἐπ[---]
 Ἐ[υ---]
 Ἐυ[---]
 υ [---]



No. 5. New Fragment of *I.G.*, I², 944
 (Photograph from Squeeze)

⁵⁵ See Thucydides, II, 22; compare Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 930.

⁵⁶ In addition to the defensive action in the Attic plain, the Athenians sent a fleet around the

Lines 9, 12, and, possibly, 14 are set back by one space, indicating that they are captions containing the locality where the fighting took place. This arrangement is different from that on the old fragment (*I.G.*, I², 944) the text of which may here be reproduced.

[...⁷...]ο[ς]
 [...⁶...]εϛ
 [Ἐν Ἀλ]όπει
 [Δορ]όθεις
 5 [Χσ]ένου
 Δεινίας
 Νοέμον
 Συρότ[---]



I.G., I², 944

(Photograph from Squeeze)

Of the two captions preserved on this fragment, line 3 is in line with the name list, while line 5 is set off by one space. According to the old restoration of line 3 ([Ἐν Σιν]όπει), this line, too, would have been set off by one space. No explanation can be offered for this apparent difference between the two fragments of the same name list. They agree completely in the size and shape of the letters, so that there can be no doubt as to their connection.⁵⁷

A few words may be added concerning the physical features of this monument. The thickness of the stele (0.24 m.) indicates that it must have been an impressive monument. It probably was not a free-standing stele, but it may have been set up within a frame. This is shown by the preserved left lateral face which has anathyrosis, and by the sunken band along the left edge of the front face.⁵⁸ In this way, the monumental character of the grave stele would have been increased.

Peloponnesos, they attacked the territory of Megara, and they sent an expedition towards Lokris; at the same time the struggle in the Chalkidike and the siege of Poteidaia continued. See Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 938.

⁵⁷ The letter forms of the old fragment have been compared by Wade-Gery (see note 50) with those on several other fragments which are dated in the thirties of the fifth century. Among the inscriptions which are "very much less close, but (which) use perhaps the same chisels" is one (*I.G.*, I², 96) which is apparently engraved by the same hand as the funeral list under discussion. Especially the letters of the heading, which is written in larger letters, agree in every detail with those of the funeral list; see the illustration in J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, III, plate 207, no. 1. This document, however, is dated in the year 416 B.C., and would thus be fifteen years later than the casualty list. The decree published as *I.G.*, I², 149 is also by the same hand; see the new restoration made by A. Wilhelm, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien*, 217, Abh. 5, 1939, pp. 80-83, no. 34. The restoration of line 3 as [E]ὐφει[ος ἔρχε] seems now confirmed, since *I.G.*, I², 96 was also passed in the archonship of Euphemos.

⁵⁸ This interpretation was given by A. Brueckner for the fragments now published as *I.G.*, I², 942, 958, and 965, the lateral faces of which are dressed in a similar fashion; see *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 215-216. Brueckner referred, as a comparison, to the metopes on Greek temples. Similarly, the Hellenistic decree published by W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt (*Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. 112) may have been set up within a monumental frame.

- Ἐν Ἐρε[τρῖαι ---]
 15 γείτο[ν ---]
 ἐλαιδ[---]
 χοριο[---]
 χρομε[---]
 παρὰ τ[---]
 20 γείτο[ν ---]
 Ἐν Ἄνδ[---]
 Ἐν Χαλ[κίδι ---]
 πλέθ[ρα ---]
 vacat
 vacat
 25 Ἐμ Π[οσιδεῖοι ---]
 πρ[---]

The restoration of Fragment A differs from that given by Kirchhoff since it is based on the assumption that the first line [Θ]εο[ί] was evenly spaced across the width of the stele, and that the first letter of this line was engraved above the first letters of the lines of the main inscription. The distance between the preserved letters of the first line is 0.145 m.⁶⁰ which corresponds approximately to the space occupied by



I.G., I², 376
(Photograph from Squeeze)

sixteen letters of the main document. The restoration of line 3 contains fifteen letters in front of the word τῆς the first letter of which (tau) stands exactly below the epsilon of [Θ]εο[ί]. The restoration is confirmed by the observation that lines 3, 6, and 9, all beginning with new items (as shown by the unscripted space at the end of lines 5 and 8), can be restored so as to begin at the same point. The cor-

rectness of this arrangement is further proved by lines 10, 11, 14, 21, 22, 25, which all begin with the preposition ἐν followed by a place name. The total width of the stele can be computed from the distance between the letters of the first line (3 times 0.145 m.) and from the unscripted space in front of the inscription on Fragment B, assuming that there was an equally wide unscripted space to the right of the inscription (2 times 0.04 m.). The total width of the stele would have been, accordingly, *ca.* 0.50 m., and this width agrees very well with the preserved thickness (*ca.* 0.10 m.), judging from the normal proportion between thickness and width as 1 : 4½.⁶¹

⁶⁰ All measurements had to be taken from a squeeze.

⁶¹ See S. Dow, *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1942, p. 324.

This restoration of the width of the stele is at variance with the restoration suggested by Kirchhoff for line 2. It is apparent that this line was engraved later than both lines 1 and 3, for it is squeezed in between these two lines, and the first epsilon of *τεμένε* is irregularly spaced because of the epsilon of $[\Theta]\epsilon\omicron[\iota]$ which partly extends into the second line. The preserved seven letters of the second line occupy a space (on the squeeze) of 0.13 m., and Kirchhoff's restoration of this line with its twenty-two letters would have occupied a space of not less than 0.40 m. This would give the whole stele a total width of about 0.80 m., since the last but one letter of the second line (nu) stands about in the middle between the letters epsilon and omikron of $[\theta]\epsilon\omicron[\iota]$, thus in the middle of the stele. This width of 0.80 m., however, is incompatible with the preserved thickness of the stone (*ca.* 0.10 m.), because it would give a ratio between the thickness and the width as of one to eight. This width is incompatible, moreover, with the spacing of the first line, because it would mean that the first and last letters of this line were each *ca.* 0.18 m. distant from the left and right edges of the stele respectively; but the preserved distance between the second and third letters of this line is only 0.145 m. Finally, the restoration of lines 3, 6, and 9, as suggested here, seems to be confirmed by the preserved beginnings of lines 10, 11, 14, 21, 22, 25, while at the same time no equally convincing restoration can be found for the document as reconstructed by Kirchhoff.



No. 6. New
Fragment of
I.G., I², 376
(Photograph from Squeeze)

Line 2: No satisfactory restoration can be suggested for this line. The unscribed space in front of the first preserved letter, sigma, seems to indicate that this letter was preceded by an omikron.

Lines 3-5: The first of the sacred areas to be leased was located in Chalkis, near the sanctuary of Athena. It may have been the same temenos which is known from a boundary stone and from Aelian's account.⁶² The name which is only partly preserved in line 4 is probably that of the tenant's father. Since no demotic is added, the tenant may have been a native Chalkidian or an Athenian metic; but the demotic could have been inserted between the name and the father's name. The temenos consisted of three acres (*γύαι*) of uncultivated land which measured more than 10,000 square feet (*πλέθρα*). The beginning of line 5 cannot be restored satisfactorily. The final numeral, 90 drachmas, is probably the amount of rent for one year. The lease itself was signed for ten years.⁶³

⁶² See *I.G.*, XII, 9, no. 934; compare *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 195, no. 934. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, VI, 1: 'Αθηναῖοι κρατήσαντες Χαλκιδέων κατεκληρούχησαν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν ἐς δυσχιλίους κλήρους, τὴν Ἰππόβοτον καλουμένην χώραν, τεμῆνη δὲ ἀνήκαν τῇ Ἀθηναῖ ἐν τῷ Ἀηλάντῳ ὀνομαζομένῳ τόπῳ, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ἐμίσθωσαν κατὰ τὰς στήλας τὰς πρὸς τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ ἐστηκυίας, αἵπερ οὖν τὰ τῶν μισθώσεων ὑπομήματα εἶχον. For the lease of sacred ground, see K. Latte, *R.E.*, s. v. Temenos, cols. 436-437.

⁶³ See Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 47, 4: εἰσφέρει δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν ἀναγράφας

Lines 6-8: The second item concerns a temenos located in Hestiaia, in the village of Orobiai.⁶⁴ It is obvious that the letters Παναϊτι[---] do not belong to the name of an Eretrian deme, as formerly suggested, because the locality in question is situated in the territory of Hestiaia and not of Eretria. These letters belong rather to the name of the tenant, and it may be suggested that Panaitios is identical with the man of the same name whose property was confiscated in 414/3 B.C.⁶⁵ The meaning of line 7 is not quite clear since the relation between ἐλαῖαι and φοιλέ is not apparent from the context. The word γείτ[ον] introduces a phrase which defined the exact location of the property in question. The numeral in line 7, twenty drachmas, is probably the amount paid as rent by Panaitios. This amount is less than a fourth of that paid as rent for the temenos described in line 3. The reference to olive groves in lines 7, 12, and 16 provides additional evidence for the character of the land confiscated by the Athenians.⁶⁶

Line 9: The new reading suggested for this line makes it possible to restore it in accordance with lines 3 and 6. Thus the third item to be listed was a temenos located in Eretria, in the deme Aigale or Aigaleai.⁶⁷

Line 10: This line as well as line 24 began with a place name the first letter of which was probably a pi since the preposition ἐν was rendered as ἐμ. The names of two of the better-known cities in Euboeia begin with the letter pi: Posideion and Porthmos.⁶⁸ The restoration of either name is possible, but we have no evidence for the existence of Porthmos in the fifth century B.C.

ἐν γραμματεί[οις λε]λε[υ]κωμένοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡ μὲν μίσθωσις εἰς ἔτη δέκα. Compare *I.G.*, I², 377, line 21.

⁶⁴ See J. Schmidt, *R.E.*, s. v. Orobiai.

⁶⁵ *I.G.*, I², 326, line 11; see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 72, no. 23, line 14. Among the many still unpublished fragments of this document there is one (I 236 f) which contains a list of agricultural products under the heading ἐν Ἐρετρίαι. Two other fragments of the same inscription (I 236 g and s) contain references to the property of Oionias, son of Oionochares, from Atene, which was located ἐλ Δελάντο[ι πεδίοι]; for Oionias, see *R.E.*, s. v. Oionias.

⁶⁶ See Herakleides as quoted by F. Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 33, note 2: Ἡ δὲ χώρα πᾶσα αὐτῶν ἐλαιόφυτος; compare also p. 16, note 5. This reference should be added to those given by A. S. Pease, *R.E.*, s. v. Ölbaum, col. 2002, lines 36-46.

⁶⁷ For this deme, see F. Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 73, no. 1; *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 164, lines 99-101. It does not seem necessary to identify the island Αἰγλία which belonged, according to Herodotos (VI, 107), to Styra with the Eretrian deme Aigale; see Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 109; H. Diels, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin*, 1908, p. 1042, note on line 3; Creutzburg, *R.E.*, s. v. Styra, col. 455, lines 26-27; B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 551, s. v. Στυρῆς. Herodotos does refer, however, to this Eretrian deme in one of the preceding paragraphs (VI, 101): οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς χώρας κατὰ Ταμύνας καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλια. For Ταμύνας the codices give τέμενος; see Fiehn, *R.E.*, s. v. Tamynai. The name of Χοιρέαι is preserved in the demotic Χοιρήθεν (*I.G.*, XII, 9, no. 222, line 1), and in Αἰγίλια may be recognized the name of the Eretrian deme the demotic of which occurs as Αἰγαλήθεν (*I.G.*, XII, 9, no. 243, lines 8-9). The text of Herodotos is apparently corrupt in this place, and the name of the deme cannot be restored with certainty; the demotic was certainly Αἰγαλήθεν.

⁶⁸ For Posideion, see F. Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 88, note 2; B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and

Line 21: This line begins with ἐν followed by a place name the first three letters of which are Ἄνδ[---]. No Euboian city of this name is known, and it may be tempting to assume that the temenos located ἐν Ἄνδ[---] was on the island of Andros. On this island an Attic colony was established either in 450/49 B.C. or some years later, and it is conceivable that there was sacred property of Athena on the island.⁶⁹ This, however, would be the only indication that the document contained a record of sacred areas which were located in places other than on Euboia, and the restoration should therefore be considered as hypothetical.

The inscription contains a record of the lease of sacred property on Euboia.⁷⁰ The date of the document cannot be determined with certainty. It must be later than the conquest of Euboia which followed the revolt in 446 B.C., and it must be earlier than 411/10 B.C. when Euboia again revolted from Athens. The letter forms of the inscription do not favor a date in or shortly after 446 B.C., but they seem to belong rather to the period around 420 B.C. Very little is known of the relations between Euboia and Athens in the period between the two revolts.⁷¹ A passage in Demosthenes may be of some significance (XX, 115; see also Plutarch, *Aristeides*, 27): ὅτι Λυσιμάχῳ δωρειάν, ἐνὶ τῶν τότε χρησίμων, ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πλέθρα γῆς πεφυτευμένης ἔδοσαν, ἑκατὸν δὲ ψιλῆς, ἔτι δ' ἀργυρίου μνᾶς ἑκατόν, καὶ τέτταρας τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμάς. καὶ τούτων ψήφισμ' ἔστ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα γέγραπται. If this event should be dated shortly after the death of Aristeides, it must be assumed that it was Alkibiades the elder who honored the son of his friend Aristeides.⁷² In this case Lysimachos would have been one of the thousand colonists who went with Tolmides to Euboia. This expedition is dated by Diodoros (XI, 88) in the year 453/2 B.C., but this date has not been accepted in recent years.⁷³ It is quite possible, however, that the honors granted to Lysimachos were proposed by the younger Alkibiades, thus many years after the death of Aristeides.⁷⁴ In that case, they may belong in the period when Alkibiades entered politics. According to the author of Andokides, IV, 11, Alkibiades πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πείσας ὑμᾶς τὸν φόρον ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τάξει τὸν ὑπ' Ἀριστείδου

M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 541-542. For Porthmos, see *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 152, lines 50-58; J. H. Young, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 166.

⁶⁹ See H. Nesselhauf, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Delisch-attischen Symmachie*, p. 130; Graf Stauffenberg, *R.E.*, s. v. Tolmides, col. 1682, lines 55-68.

⁷⁰ For general information concerning the Athenian property on this island, see U. Kahrstedt, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1931, pp. 161-168; H. Nesselhauf, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-140; U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet*, pp. 32-35; F. Hampl, *Klio*, XXXII, 1939, pp. 13-18; F. Hiller von Gärtringen, *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), pp. 204-205.

⁷¹ See the testimonia in *I.G.*, XII, 9, pp. 149-150.

⁷² See J. Toepffer, *R.E.*, s. v. Alkibiades, col. 1516, lines 5-13; compare T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 361-362; C. Roebuck, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 247-248, no. 296.

⁷³ See *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 478-479.

⁷⁴ See *I.G.*, XII, 9, pp. 149-150 (initio belli Peloponn.); A. Jardé, *Les Céréales*, pp. 92 and 121; Stähelin, *R.E.*, s. v., Lysimachos, no. 4; U. Kahrstedt, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1931, p. 164; *Staatsgebiet*, p. 33.

πάντων δικαιοτάτα τεταγμένον, αἰρεθεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ δέκατος αὐτὸς μάλιστα διπλάσιον αὐτὸν ἑκάστοις τῶν συμμάχων ἐποίησεν. This statement was interpreted by W. Kolbe as meaning that Alkibiades belonged to the *τάκται* who were responsible for the assessment of 425 B.C.⁷⁵ This interpretation is in accordance with the restoration of the Assessment decree as now proposed by B. D. Meritt and A. B. West.⁷⁶ It may be assumed, therefore, that Alkibiades was in 425/4 B.C. the chairman of the board of the ten *taktai* who were to make the new tribute assessment.⁷⁷ Alkibiades may at this time have proposed to honor the son of Aristeides in order to show his personal esteem for the man who assessed the first tribute more than fifty years earlier.

It so happens that in exactly the same period (*ca.* 425 B.C.) the Athenians made an attack on Euböia. This event is recorded only in a scholion on Aristophanes' *Wasps*, line 718: τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν δύναται καὶ αὐτὰ συνάδειν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις. πέρυσι γὰρ ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἰσάρχου ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὡς Φιλόχορος. According to this statement the expedition would have taken place in the year 424/3 B.C.,⁷⁸ and it is possible that this military action ultimately led to the Athenian defeat at Delion. It is also possible, however, that this attack on Euböia should be dated not in the year 424/3 B.C. but rather in 426/5 B.C. In this year, too, the Athenians were fighting in Boiotia (Thucydides, III, 91, 3-6), and these events are dated by Diodoros in the archonship of Isarchos (XII, 65, 3-5).⁷⁹ The reason for the attack on Euböia, if it is dated 424/3 B.C., may have been unrest on the island in consequence of the increase of the tribute. If the action belongs, however, to the year preceding the assessment of 425 B.C., the suggestion may be made that the Athenians tried to increase their holding on Euböia in order to secure a sufficient food supply for Attika which was threatened by the yearly invasions from the enemy.⁸⁰ This interpretation is indicated by the lines of Aristophanes (*Wasps*, lines 715-718) the scholion to which contains the reference to Philochoros quoted above. There the poet says: τὴν Εὐβοίαν διδόασιν ὑμῖν καὶ σῖτον ὑφίστανται κατὰ πενήτηκοντα μεδίμνους ποριεῖν. At that time (426/5 B.C.) a new list of the sacred property may have been drawn up, and the fragments under discussion may belong to this document.

⁷⁵ *Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin*, 1930, pp. 352-354; compare, however, M. N. Tod, *Greek Hist. Inscriptions*, pp. 162-163.

⁷⁶ *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*, pp. 88-90; compare S. Dow, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXII, 1941, pp. 82, note 16, and 84.

⁷⁷ See *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, Chapter V, A 9, lines 8-9: *ἡ δὲ β[ολὴ τὰκτας ἐχσελέ]σθο [αὐτίκα μάλα δέκα ἄνδ]ρας*. Kolbe, however, who suggested that Alkibiades was one of the *taktai*, now assumes that the *taktai* were eight in number (*Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin*, 1937, pp. 11-13), although Alkibiades was chosen *δέκατος αὐτός* (Andokides, IV, 11).

⁷⁸ See *I.G.*, I², p. 290, lines 68-75; compare *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 150, lines 20-29; F. Geyer, *R.E.*, s. v. Euböia (Suppl. IV), col. 438, lines 31-37.

⁷⁹ Compare G. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, III, p. 707, note 6.

⁸⁰ For the importance of Euböia as a supply base, see G. Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 1507, note 1; A. Jardé, *Les Céréales*, p. 194, note 1.

AN ELEUSINIAN INVENTORY FROM ATHENS

7. The small fragment of an inventory, found in Eleusis, was first published by D. Philios and is here illustrated for the first time.⁸¹ J. J. E. Hondius published another fragment of an inventory which may well belong to the same stele or to a copy of the same inscription set up in Athens.⁸²



I.G., I², 318

(Photograph from Squeeze)

Wade-Gery reported (see note 81) that a third fragment of the same inscription is kept in the Museum of Eleusis, and he kindly supplied an illustration and the following notes. The fragment carries the inventory number 744 and has the top as well as the back preserved. Its thickness is 0.16 m., its height (measured on the squeeze) *ca.* 0.39 m. The fragment published by Hondius (see note 82) was ap-

parently reused, and the new fragment too shows traces of a second use. According to the squeeze, a deep groove was cut parallel to the stoichoi of the inscription, and this groove has the width of eight letter spaces. Part of the original(?) surface seems to be preserved to the right of the groove, but no traces are visible on the squeeze, and none have been observed on the original by Wade-Gery. It is possible that this part of the inscribed surface was worked over when the stone was reused. The first line of the inscription is *ca.* 0.03 m. distant from the top.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[---] Κυθνιό[θεν ---]
 [--- εν]ιον τόκοι νο[μίσματος ---]
 [---]ν τῆς δίκης τ[---]
 [--- μίσθ]οσις Στυρόθ[εν ---]
 5 [---]τον χαρετεί[ον χρεμάτων ---]
 [---] λίθοι ἐπράθ[εσαν ---]
 [---]†† □□ σχοίνον [---]
 [---]Δ Δ Δ †††|| □□ ἀνα[λόματα ---]

⁸¹ Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, plate opposite cols. 47-48, no. 44, cols. 53, no. 44, and 56; compare *I.G.*, I, suppl., p. 173, no. 225 h; W. Larfeld, *Handbuch*, II, p. 20; E. Cavaignac, *Le trésor sacré d'Éleusis jusqu'en 404*, pp. 8, no. 5, and 23; *I.G.*, I², 318; J. J. E. Hondius, *Novae Inscr. Atticae*, pp. 92 and 94, notes 9-11; *S.E.G.*, III, p. 10, no. 37 and note on no. 35; H. T. Wade-Gery, *B.S.A.*, XXXIII, 1935, p. 135.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, pp. 91-107, no. 13, and plate 7.

- 10 [---]C □□ ἐς τὸν ῥε[τὸν ---]
 [---]!Ϟ Ϟ Δ Δ Δ ΙΙΙΙϞ [---]
 [---]χσαι γ[---]
 [---]όνες χ[---]
 [---] Χ Η Η Η [---]
 [---] Η Ϟ Δ Δ [---]
 15 [---]μικο[---]
 [---]ον Η Η [---]
 [---]□□ λίθ[ου ---]
 [---]ἀφ]ικομ[ενο ---]
 [---]ηεμ]ίσεος [---]
 20 [---] Η Δ Δ Η ΙΙ □□ [---]
 [---]ΕΙΝΙ[---]

The restorations of lines 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 18, and 19 were suggested by Wade-Gery. For the restoration of line 5, see line 7 of Hondius' fragment.

The mention of Kythnos and Styra in lines 1 and 4 is significant, since it is known that the Eleusinian sanctuary had sacred land on Kythnos.⁸⁸ The same can now be deduced also for Styra. It may be merely a coincidence that both Kythnos and Styra were old settlements of the Dolopes, as Herodotos reports (VIII, 46).

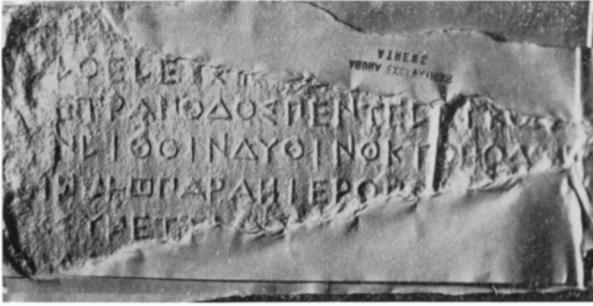
For the mention of ῥε[τὸν] (line 9), Wade-Gery refers to *I.G.*, I², 81 which is dated in 421/20 B.C. It is also possible, however, that this phrase should be transcribed as ἐῖς τὸν ῥη[τὸν ---]; see note 86.

The distinguishing feature common to all three inscriptions is the peculiar punctuation mark consisting of three shorter, vertical, and two longer, horizontal, strokes which form a rectangle with a dividing line in the middle. Some of the paragraphs begin with the word παρά, and all of them end with a numeral. An inscribed fragment from the Agora shares these peculiarities with the three fragments from Eleusis and may therefore be part of a similar document.



New Eleusis Fragment of *I.G.*, I², 318
(Photograph from Squeeze)

⁸⁸ See *I.G.*, I², 313, line 147; compare E. Cavaignac, *op. cit.*, p. 28; W. Sardemann, *Eleusinische Übergabeurkunden*, pp. 27-28; U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige*, p. 32.

No. 7. Copy of *I.G.*, I², 318

(Photograph from Squeeze)

Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on March 9, 1936, in Section P. The inscribed face, the left lateral side, and the back are preserved.

Height, 0.135 m.

Width, 0.29 m.

Thickness, 0.133 m.

Height of letters, 0.01-0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 3749.

ca. 424 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[.] □□ πα[ρὰ ---]
 ὕλο Ἐλευσι[νίου ---]
 τετράποδος Πεντελεικῶ Δ[---]
 [.] ν λίθοιν δυοῖν ὀκτοπόδ[ο]ι[ν ---]
 5 Η Γ Γ Γ □□ παρὰ ἱεροποιοῖ[ν] Ἐλευσῖνι ---
 Χσυνυπαρχόντων [ὄνος καὶ χσυναρχόντων ---]
 [.] Δ! [---]

Line 5 confirms Larfeld's restoration of *I.G.*, I², 318, lines 3-4 as *παρὰ ἡ[ιεροποιοῖν] Ἐλευσῖνι nomen demoticum] ν καὶ χσυναρχ[όντων ---]*.⁸⁴ Similarly, *S.E.G.*, III, no. 35, lines 4-5 may now be restored as *παρὰ ἡ[ιεροποιοῖν] Ἐλευσῖνι nomen Ἄ]λοπεκῆθεν*, although this phrase cannot have been followed here by the words *καὶ χσυναρχόντων*, since a delta is preserved after [Ἄ]λοπεκῆθεν.⁸⁵

The character of the document to which the four fragments belong is not quite clear. The paragraphs beginning with *παρὰ* contain accounts of payments made by the hieropoioi, by a prytany of the council, by the board of epistatai (?), and by several individuals. These payments were probably contributions made for the building of the Eleusinian sanctuary. In addition to these items there are others some of which apparently refer to payments resulting from interests of loaned money, while one contains, as Hondius suggested, a reference to a sum of money which came from the tithe of the ransom of prisoners of war. Hondius assumed that this ransom was received by the Athenians on the occasion of their invasion of Megara in 424 B.C., and this identification would provide an accurate date for the inventory.⁸⁶ The first preserved item of Hondius' fragment (line 2) is of special significance because it

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 20; the restoration of the proper name is, of course, purely hypothetical.

⁸⁵ See Hondius, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 and 101.

⁸⁶ Thucydides, IV, 69, 3: οἱ ἐν τῇ Νισαίᾳ . . . ἐνέβησαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ῥητοῦ μὲν ἕκαστον ἀργυρίου ἀπολυθῆναι ὅπλα παραδόντας. See W. Kolbe, *Berl. phil. Woch.*, XLVI, 1926, col. 1162.

contains a reference to the payment of more than 1,870 drachmas; whether or not this payment was made by the *mystai* mentioned in line 1 cannot be decided, but it seems probable. The following item (lines 2-3) has been restored by Hondius (*op. cit.*, pp. 91 and 101) as [πόλεισις προ]τμεμάτων ?? β[οείον], but the restoration [περι]τμεμάτων is also possible; see *I.G.*, I², 363, line 26; II², 1436, line 61.

The only two items which do not seem to belong in a list of payments are contained in lines 3 and 4 of the new fragment. Mention is made here of one block of Pentelic marble which was four feet long and of two other blocks which were each eight feet long. These items may be compared with lines 6, 7, and 17 of Wade-Gery's fragment and with the inventories published as *I.G.*, I², 313 and 314 in which (lines 83 ff. and 92 ff.) various stones are mentioned.

Wade-Gery already observed that *I.G.*, I², 318, *S.E.G.*, III, no. 35, and the fragment discovered by him may well belong to the same document if not to the same stele. The new fragment which was excavated in the Agora of Athens cannot belong to the same stele as the other three fragments. Its thickness is different from that of Wade-Gery's fragment, and the letter forms as well as the spacing of the lines are not exactly the same as those of the three fragments from Eleusis. It may therefore be assumed that the Agora fragment belongs to a copy of the Eleusinian inscription which was set up in the Eleusinion in Athens.

THE CASUALTY LIST OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION

8. When B. D. Meritt published eight fragments of a funeral list which was engraved on at least three stelae he was unable to study Fragment H (*I.G.*, I², 954).⁸⁷ In the meantime, a plaster cast and a photograph of this fragment, which is now kept in Leningrad, have reached the Institute for Advanced Study, and an examination of both show that Meritt's attribution was correct. No information concerning the thickness of the fragment is yet available, but one may judge from the photograph that only a few centimetres of the original thickness of *ca.* 0.15 m. are preserved. The width of the column and the spacing, both vertical and horizontal, agree only in general with those of the other fragments. The width of the first column of Fragment H⁸⁸ is 0.17 m. (measured on the plaster cast), while the width of the first column of Fragment E⁸⁹ is 0.19 m. (measured on the squeeze). In the vertical spacing,

⁸⁷ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 82-91, no. 10; see *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 251, note 186. The fragments A, D, E, G, and H, previously published as *I.G.*, I², 964, 957, and 954, had already been combined by A. Wilhelm (*S.E.G.*, III, no. 53; see *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, p. 183, note 146). In Meritt's publication, the name of Ἀντιφ[όν] should be inserted between lines 216 and 217 (p. 89), and line 245 (p. 90) should be read as [Διο]γυσοφάνες. All references given here are to the lines of Meritt's publication.

⁸⁸ Measured from the centre of the first letter of line 258 (Θρασύδemos) to that of the first letter of line 281 (Δῶδοτος).

⁸⁹ Measured from the centre of the first letter of line 178 (Φιλίνος) to that of the first letter of line 211 (ἡππόμαχος).



Hesperia, VII, No. 10, Fragment H (*I.G.*, I², 954)

Thymomenes (line 19) seem to be new in Athens, but their elements are known from other Attic names. Kleiton (line 21) is attested only once; see *I.G.*, II², 7278. Any identification of the names is hazardous, but it may be pointed out that some of the names which do not sound Attic may well belong to Plataeans who had received Athenian citizenship.⁹¹

Fragment J was found on December 3, 1934, in Section O. The roughly picked top is preserved, but it is otherwise broken all around.

Height, 0.19 m.

Width, 0.109 m.

Thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters: line 1, 0.023 m.; line 2,
0.011-0.014 m.; lines 3-10, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 2149.

[---] E[---].
 [--- í]δος
 [ca. 5]ς
 [ca. 5]χος
 5 [ca. 5]μος
 [ca. 5]πος
 [ca. 5]ος
 [ca. 6]ος
 [ca. 6] vacat
 10 [ca. 6]ος
 [ca. 6] vacat



No. 8. New Fragment (J) of
Hesperia, VII, No. 10

At the time when Fragment J was unearthed, S. Dow observed that both the lettering and the spacing of the new fragment were the same as those of some of the inscriptions recording the sale of the confiscated property of the Hermokopidai.⁹² This observation applies in fact to all the fragments of the funeral list here under discussion. It readily appears from a study of the squeezes and photographs that some of the records of the poletai and the entire funeral list were engraved by the same hand. In addition to size, form, and spacing of the letters themselves, in all of which both monuments agree, the thickness of the stelai and the quality of the marble used in both are also comparable.⁹³ If both monuments were engraved by the same

⁹¹ See U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige*, p. 354, notes 4 and 5.

⁹² See *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 47-49, no. 35; VIII, 1939, pp. 69-76, no. 23.

⁹³ The thickness of the stelai with the name list varies between 0.144 and 0.155 m., that of the stelai recording the confiscated property between 0.13 and 0.15 m.; see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 72.

stonecutter, this may have taken place at one and the same time. This assumption would provide a rather accurate date for the funeral list, since the sales records were engraved in or shortly after 414/3 B.C.⁹⁴

The significance of Fragment J lies in the fact that it contains part of the top with remains of the general heading (line 1) which was inscribed in large letters across the top of all stelai. Moreover, below this heading, in somewhat smaller letters, there are preserved the last three letters of the name of a tribe (line 2). The spacing of the letters of this line (*ca.* 0.023 m.) is approximately twice that of the letters of the name list. The width of the columns of the name list varies between 14 and 16 letter spaces (see Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 86-90), which would correspond to *ca.* 7 letter spaces of the wider spaced heading. The shortest tribal name would just fill this space, but the last letter of the tribal name preserved on Fragment J stands in fifth or sixth place to judge from the uninscribed space preserved after lines 3-5.⁹⁵ It is obvious, therefore, that even the shortest tribal name, if restored in line 2, could not have begun at the same point as the first letters of the name list below it. If all the names of the tribes, as seems likely, were engraved at the head of columns, it is clear that each tribal name must have stood above at least two columns of names.⁹⁶

Only Fragment H does not conform to the arrangement described above. There, in the last column of the whole monument (see Meritt, *loc. cit.*, p. 85), a list of casualties belonging to all ten tribes seems to have been engraved in one column. The only preserved tribal name (line 277) is written with letters of the same size and spacing as the name list itself, and it may be assumed that this last column contained the casualty list of some smaller engagement.⁹⁷

The scheme of filling one or more columns of a name list with the casualties of

⁹⁴ See B. D. Meritt, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 144; J. Hatzfeld, *R.E.A.*, XLI, 1939, p. 313, note 8.

⁹⁵ There is an uninscribed space to the right of line 4 corresponding to six letter spaces of the name list. Assuming that the next column of names began immediately after this uninscribed space, the last letter of line 4 (sigma) would be the eighth, the ninth, or the tenth letter of the name to which it belongs. This is confirmed by the observation that the majority of the names have between eight and ten letters. The omikron of the tribal name (line 2) stands above the final letter of line 4 (sigma) which occupies, as mentioned above, eighth, ninth, or tenth place. The omikron of the tribal name therefore occupies either fourth or fifth place, if this name began exactly above the first letters of the name list.

⁹⁶ This has in fact already been suggested by A. Brueckner who observed (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 214-215) that the free space at the bottom of the second column of Fragment A indicates that the first two columns were filled with the names of the casualties of the tribe Erechtheis.

⁹⁷ See *I.G.*, I², 943, 949, 950, and, especially, Pausanias, I, 29, 11: *μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν Κορίνθῳ στήλην ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐστάναι τὴν αὐτὴν σημαίνει τὰ ἐλεγεία, τοῖς μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Χίῳ τελευτήσασιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ἡπείρου διαφθαρῆναι δηλοῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ.* A. von Domaszewski assumed that Pausanias refers here to a later restoration of the original monument (*Sitzungsber. Ak. Heidelberg*, VIII, 1917, Abh. 7, p. 4); see, however, *I.G.*, I², p. 296, lines 21-22; F. Hiller von Gärtringen, *Hist. Griech. Epigramme*, p. 23, no. 55.

only one tribe, and of inscribing the name of this tribe at the head of the column or columns is already known from two monuments (*I.G.*, I², 929 and II², 5221). To these two certain examples may be added two more which are preserved, however, only in transcriptions made in the seventeenth century. J. Spon reported, following his publication of *I.G.*, I², 950, reperiuntur ibidem alia duo fragmenta Pandionidis et Leontidis, in quibus nuda leguntur tribulium nomina eodem modo ὀρθογραφούμενα, verbi gratia: ΚΑΛΛΙΧΣΕΝΟΣ, ΗΠΠΙΟΔΑΜΑΣ, ΗΙΕΡΟΝΤΜΟΣ, ΧΣΕΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ, ΕΡΧΣΙΜΕΝΕΣ, ΗΤΙΠΕΛΕΙΟΣ, ΔΙΟΝ, ΑΝΤΙΦΟΝ, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ.⁹⁸ A. Boeckh observed that all of these names, except those of Dion and Xenokles, occur in the casualty list of the tribe Erechtheis which is now published as *I.G.*, I², 929.⁹⁹ He concluded: videtur igitur Sponius etiam hanc tabulam [*I.G.*, I², 929] vidisse, sed quod luto et quisquiliis obiecta esset, initium non conspexisse, indeque unum tantum et alterum nomen deprompsisse, Pandionidis autem et Leontidis nomina ex altero fragmento petiisse una cum Dionis et Xenoclis nominibus. It so happens, however, that Sir George Wheeler's notebook of Greek and Latin inscriptions, now kept in the British Museum, contains the text of the two fragments mentioned by Spon. A photostat of this manuscript is available at the Institute for Advanced Study, and three of its pages are here reproduced with the kind permission of the authorities of the British Museum.¹⁰⁰

Fragment K

Πανδιονίδος

	Χαρικλῆς		Διοφάνες		Καλλικράτες
	[.]ΑΛΚΟΝ	35	Θοφάνες	65	Μελάνοπος
	χαγνόθεος		Στίβον		Καλλίας
5	[N] ανσίστρατος		Τιμονίδες		Δορόθεος
	[Δ]ιομέδε[s]		Θέστιος		Ποταμοκλῆς
	[Ἔ]ρχσίθεος		Πύρες		Κλεόστρατο[s]
	[Δ]ιονυ[---]	40	Εὔφρον	70	ΛΑΣΠΙΚΟΣ
	[Φ]ύρκον		Στόμες		Τελοκλῆς
10	[X] αρμίδες		Ἄρχεβιάδες		Ἐμπεδος
	[Ε]ύθυκλῆς		Μενίτες		Μάλεκος
	[.]ΖΑΤΟΣ		Εὐκτέμον		Κλεόστρατος
		45	Φαίδον	75	Αἰσχρονίδες
13-33	21 lineae deletae sunt.		Πιστόχσενος		Φείδον
			Στεσίας		[Δι]καίαρχος

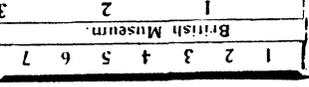
⁹⁸ *Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis*, 1685, p. 317.

⁹⁹ *C.I.G.*, in the heading of no. 165.

¹⁰⁰ The number of the manuscript is P. 18800 Add. Ms. 35334. The first page carries the following note: "These inscriptions were observed and taken by Sr. Geo. Wheeler. This book

ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΩΝΟΣ
 ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΝΟΥ
 ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΙΣ ΤΙΜΟΣ ΤΡΑΤΟΥ
 ΧΙΟΝΙΣ ΔΗΜΟΤΡΤΟΥ
 ΕΤΕΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΡΜΑΝΤΙΔΟΥ
 — ΟΝΟΥΑΙΔΑ
 ΧΑΙΡΕΑΣ ΜΕΛΗΣΙΠΤΟΥ
 ΖΑΘΕΝ
 ΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΔΕΙΚΙΡΟΥ
 ΠΡΑΣΙΕΙΣ
 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ
 — ΑΥΧΑΡ—ΡΥΣ
 — ΔΟΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ

258



XXXIII
 ΜΥΡΜΗΞ
 ΠΙΓΑΓΟΡΟΥ
 ΛΑΜΨΑΚΗΝΟΣ

259

des ordinibus sequentia nomina insculpsunt
 XXXIV
 ΠΑΝΤΙΟΝΙΔΟΣ

— ΑΪΙΚΛΕΣ
 — ΑΛΚΟΝ
 ΑΛΜΟΘΙΟΣ
 — ΑΥΣΙΕΤΡΑΤΗΣ
 — ΙΟΝΕΛΕ
 ΔΙΟΦΑΝΚΣ
 ΘΟΦΑΝΕΣ
 ΣΤΙΤΟΝ
 ΤΙΜΟΠΙΔΕΣ
 ΚΑΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΣ
 ΜΕΛΑΝΘΟΣ
 ΤΜΙΑΣ
 ΛΟΡΟΘΙΟΣ

— ΡΧΕΙΦΕΟΣ
 — ΙΟΝΙ
 — ΥΡΚΟΝ
 — ΑΡΑΙΑΣ
 — ΥΟΥΚΙΕΣ
 — ΖΑΤΟΣ
 21 *lineae de-
lectae sunt*

ΘΕΣΤΙΟΣ
 ΓΥΡΕΣ
 ΕΥΦΡΟΙ
 ΣΤΟΜΕΣ
 ΑΡΧΕΒΙΑΔΕΣ
 ΜΕΝΙΤΕΣ
 ΕΥΤΙΜΟΝ
 ΕΛΙΔΟΝ
 ΓΙΣΤΟΧΣΕΝΟΣ
 ΣΤΕΣΙΑΣ
 ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ
 ΑΝΤΙΚΙΕΣ
 ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΡΟΣ
 ΚΗΚΙΤΟΣ
 ΝΙΥΕΤΡ—ΣΦΟΞ
 ΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ
 ΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΔΡΟΣ
 ΛΥΚΟΝ
 ΑΡΚΙΦΟΝ
 ΔΙΟΝ
 ΚΑΛΙΣΡΑΤΟΣ
 ΕΥΑΙΔΑΚ—
 Ι—ΟΚΛΓΙΟΣ
 ΜΕΛΕΝΙΟΣ
 ΕΡΑΤΟ
 ΝΑΤΙΗΣ ΤΡΑΤΟΣ

ΚΑΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΣ
 ΜΕΛΑΝΘΟΣ
 ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ
 ΛΟΡΟΘΕΟΣ
 ΠΟΤΑΔΟΚΛΕΣ
 ΚΛΕΟ—ΤΑΤΟ
 ΑΛΣΙΚΟΣ
 ΤΕΛΕΚΙΕΣ
 Ε—ΠΕΔΙ—Σ
 ΝΙΛΑΙΚΟΣ
 ΚΛΕΑΣ ΤΡ—ΤΟΣ
 ΑΙΣΧΡΟΝΓΙΕΣ
 ΦΕΝΟΝ
 ΊΑΙΑΡΚΟΣ

supra

Διόδωρος
 Ἐντικλῆς
 50 Ἐπολλόδορος
 Κτέσιππος
 ΝΙΥΣΤΡ-ΦΟΣ
 Ἐνθιππος
 Ἐρίστανδρος
 55 Λύκων
 Ἐρκέφον
 Δίον
 Καλλίστρατος
 Εὐδίδακ[τος]
 60 [Θε]όκριτος
 Μελεσίας
 Ἐράτο[ν]
 Ναυσίστρατος

None of the names can be identified with certainty. Charikles (line 2) may have been the father of Rhinon from Paiania; see H. T. Wade-Gery, *Cl. Qu.*, XXIV, 1930, p. 35, note 1. Erxitheos (line 7), Phyrkon (line 9), Potamokles (line 68), and Telekles (line 71) do not seem to occur anywhere else in Attika. Thestios (line 36) may have been the father of Moschos from Paiania (*P.A.*, no. 10461). For Pyres (line 39), see *I.G.*, I², 529. For Stomes (line 41), see *P.A.*, no. 12910. Menites (line 43) may have been the grandfather of Menites, son of Menon, from Kydathenaion. Dion (line 57) may have been mentioned by Spon (see above). For Telokles (line 71) see below, p. 52, note 114.

Fragment L

Δ ε ο ν τ ι δ ο ς

Χσενοκλῆς	Ναύτες	Λυ[---]
Χσέναρχος	Διοκλῆς	Σαν[---]
Θεόπομπος	30 Κτεσικλῆς	55 Πολυ[---]
5 Ναυσιχάρες	[---]	Διογέν[εϛ]

once belonged to the Library of Mr. Granville Wheeler of Methley in Yorkshire (near Leeds), who is grandson to the late Sr. George Wheeler and first Cousin to Mr. Granville Sharp." See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, *s. v.* Sharp, pp. 1339-1342, and *s. v.* Wheeler, pp. 1356-1357. The pages of Wheeler's manuscript illustrated here are numbered 73-75, and the inscriptions carry the number 259. The transcription given here disregards (for the sake of clarity) the various obvious misspellings of the manuscript except in those cases in which the original reading of the stone could not be recovered with certainty.

	Φανόστρατος	Εὐφράϊος	Τιμογεί[τον]
	-ΙΑΘΙΣ	ΠΥΠ[---]	Αὐτομάθες
	[Π]όλον	Ἴερο[---]	Μισγ[ό]λας
	Φειδέστρατος	35 Ἄντικλ[---]	60 Ἰανβος
10	[Λ]εόστρατος	Γλαν[---]	ἡαγνόθεος
	Διδυμίας	Κοφ[.]ος	Κλέον
	Φιλῖνος	Διο[.]εν[---]	Φιλοκλῆς
	[Κ]ρεοντίδες	Μένον	Νόθος
	[Σ]όστρατος	40 Σατυρ[---]	65 Ν[ε]οφάνες
15	[.]εκ[---]	Φιλ[---]	Ἄ[ρ]χσικλῆς
	Θεόδωρος	Θ[ε]μισ[τ]ο[κ]λ[ῆς]	Ἄθηνάδες
	Θοφανίδες	Αἰνεσίαις	Ναυσικλῆς
	Ἄντιχάρες	Νικόστρατος	Μάκ[ρ]ον
	Λεόντιος	45 Ἄντιφόν	70 Δίογχις
20	Ἄνδρον	Ε[. . .]τες	Ἄταρβίον
	[Θ]εμισταγόρας	Εὐαί[ν]ετος	Σόστρατος
	Εὐδεμος	Δεινόστρατος	Ἄριστίον
	Φίλιππος	Πυθόκριτος	Χάρες
	Θότιμος	50 ΑΙΔ-ΘΑΝ	75 Λαμπροκλῆς
25	Πεισίλοχος	Αὐτομέ[.]ες	Ἄσοπόδορος
	Μελάνθιος	Ἄσ[αν]δρ[ος]	Νικόδεμος
	[.]λ[---]		Κλαίνετος

None of the names can be identified with certainty. Xenokles (line 2) may have been mentioned by Spon (see above). Xenarchos (line 3) may have been an ancestor of Xenarchos from Kropidai who was councillor of Leontis *ca.* 170 B.C.; see *I.G.*, II², 918, col. IV, line 25 (for the date, see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 312). Kreontides (line 13), Thouphanides (line 17), Themistagoras (line 21), Peisilochos (line 25), Ianbos (line 60), Nothos (line 64), Arxikles (line 66), and Makron (line 69) do not seem to be known as names of Athenian citizens. Antichares (line 18) may have been the paternal grandfather of Antichares, son of Philion, from Phrearrhoi, who was councillor of Leontis before the middle of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 1742, line 45).

The two fragments known from Wheler's notebook have been added here as Fragments K and L, although it is not certain that they once belonged to the same funeral monument as Fragments A-J. In fact, the only supporting evidence is the arrangement of the casualties of one tribe in three columns with the tribal name in larger letters written across the top, and the spelling which indicates that the inscriptions copied by Wheler belong to the last quarter of the fifth century. Wheler's transcription does not contain, however, any remains of the first line which was engraved in large letters of which one is preserved on Fragment J. It is conceivable,

Inscriptiones ΑΤΤΙΚΑΕ

Λ Ε Ο Ν Τ Ι Δ Ο Σ

ΧΞΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ	ΝΑΥΓΕΣ	ΛΥ
ΧΞ ^Ε ΝΑΡΧΟΣ	ΔΙΟΚΛΕΣ	ΣΑΝ
ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ	ΚΤΕ-ΙΚΛΕΣ	ΠΟΙΥ-
ΝΑΥΣΙΧΑΡΕΝ	---	ΔΙΟΛΕΝ
ΦΑΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΕΥΦΡΑΙΟΣ	ΤΙΜΟΛΕΙ-
-ΙΛΘΙΞ	ΠΥΗ--	ΑΥΤΟΝΕΟ-ΕΣ
ΎΟΛΟΝ	ΤΕΡΚ-	ΜΙΣΡ-ΛΕΣ
-ΤΕΙΔΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΑΝΤΙΚΑ-	ΙΑΝΒΟΣ
-ΕΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΑΙΛΑΥ-	ΗΔΑΝΟΘΕΟΣ
-ΙΛΥΝΙΑΣ	ΚΟΨ-ΟΣ	ΚΛΕΩΝ
ΡΙΑΙΝΟΣ	ΔΙΟ'ΕΝ-	ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΣ
ΎΡΕΟΝΤΙΔΕΣ	ΜΕΝΟΝ	ΝΟΘΟΣ
-ΟΣΤΡΑΤΕΣ	ΣΑΙΙΡ-	Ν-ΟΦΑΝΕΣ
-ΕΚ-	ΦΙΑ-	Α-ΧΣΙΚΛΑΣ
ΘΕΟΔΟΡΦΟΣ	ΟΜΙΟΣ'Ι	ΑΘΕΝΑΔΕΑ
ΟΟΨΙΝΙΔΕΣ	ΑΤΝΘΣΙΑΣ	ΝΑΥΣ-ΚΛΕΣ
ΑΝΤΙΧ-ΡΕΣ	ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΜΑΚΟΝ
ΛΕΟΠΗΟΣ	ΑΝΤΙΦΟΝ	ΔΙΟΛΧΕΣ
-ΙΝΑΡΟΝ	Ε--ΤΕΣ	ΑΤΑΡΕΙΟΝ
-ΕΜΙΣΟΛΑΔΟΡΑΣ	ΕΥΛΓ-ΙΤΟΣ	ΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
ΕΥΔ ^Ε ΜΟΣ	ΔΙΕΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΑΡΙΣΤΙΟΝ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ	ΡΥΘΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ	ΧΑΡΕΣ
ΟΟΤΙΜΟΣ	ΑΙΔ-ΘΑΝ	ΛΑΓΠΟΚΛΕΣ
ΣΕΙΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ	ΑΥΤΟΝΕ-ΕΣ	ΑΧΟΠΟΔΟΡΟΣ
ΜΕΛΟΙΘΙΟΣ	ΑΣΔΡ-'--	ΝΙΚΟΔΕΜΟΣ
-Ι--	ΑΥΤΟΜΛΟ	ΚΛΕΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ
	ΜΙΣΡ-ΛΕΣ	
	ΙΑ'ΒΟΣ	
	- ΗΔΑΝΟΘΕ-Σ	
	ΚΛΕΩ	

No. 8. New Fragment (L) of *Hesperia*, VII, No. 10

(from Copy Made by Sir George Wheler)

however, that the upper edges of the fragments were chipped off, and that Wheler did not record the traces of letters which might have been still visible.¹⁰¹

It is impossible to estimate accurately the number of names which were originally engraved in each column. The thickness of the stelae indicates that the columns were

¹⁰¹ Similarly, the first line of *I.G.*, I², 945 was not recorded in the transcription illustrated by H. J. Rose, *Inscr. Graec. vet.*, opposite p. 114; see above, p. 23.

of considerable height. It is known that in one instance (Fragment A) the list of names reached the very bottom of the stele, but other columns may have been much shorter. Since ten lines occupy a vertical space of *ca.* 0.12 m., and since the column of names may well have had a height of *ca.* 1.50 m., each column could have contained approximately 130 names. If the casualties of one tribe were engraved in two or three columns, they may have amounted to an average of 250 names, which would give a total of approximately 2,500 casualties from all ten tribes.

It has been pointed out above that the date of the funeral list can be determined by comparing it with the records of the *poletai* which are dated *ca.* 413 B.C. It is tempting to connect the funeral list with the Great Sicilian Expedition which was the only major Athenian disaster in that period. The number of Athenian hoplites sent with the expeditionary force amounted to 2,700,¹⁰² and since the great majority of them were killed after the arrival of Demosthenes in Sicily,¹⁰³ this number of names may well have found space on the stelae under discussion. The fact that a shorter list of names was engraved on the same monument (Fragment H) may be used as supporting evidence, since Pausanias reports that on one and the same stele were also engraved the names of the casualties from other battlefronts.¹⁰⁴

THREE DEDICATIONS TO ZEUS MEILICHIOS

Zeus Meilichios had at least two sanctuaries in Attika, both located outside of the city of Athens. One was on the Kephisos, on the road to Eleusis,¹⁰⁵ the other was situated between the harbours of Zea and Mounichia.¹⁰⁶ Only two dedications to Zeus Meilichios were found in the city itself; they were discovered on the north slope of the Nymphs' Hill, and from this it has been concluded that there was a sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios in or near this locality.¹⁰⁷ To these two documents three more dedications may be added which were found in the Agora and which were set up probably in the same sanctuary as the offerings found on the adjacent Nymphs' Hill.

¹⁰² Thucydides, VI, 43, and VII, 20; compare J. Mälzer, *Verluste und Verlustlisten*, pp. 33-37; J. Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, II², 2, pp. 290-302. Only the hoplites *ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου* are counted here, because it may be assumed that only they were mentioned in the casualty lists; compare J. Beloch, *Klio*, V, 1905, p. 347.

¹⁰³ The casualties of the earlier part of the campaign were inscribed on a separate stele; see Pausanias, I, 29, 13; J. Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, II², 2, p. 297.

¹⁰⁴ See note 97. For the omission of Nikias' name from the casualty list, see H. D. Westlake, *Cl. Qu.*, XXXV, 1941, p. 64, note 5.

¹⁰⁵ See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 1091-1092; Pfister, *R.E.*, s. v. Meilichioi Theoi, col. 341, lines 1-16.

¹⁰⁶ See Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 1104-1114; Pfister, *op. cit.*, col. 341, lines 36-62; compare also S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, pp. 3, nos. 17-19, and 5, no. 30.

¹⁰⁷ *I.G.*, II², 4677 and 4678. See Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 1114; Pfister, *op. cit.*, col. 341, lines 28-32; compare also L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 155-158; Fehrle in Roscher, *Lex. der Mythologie*, s. v. Zeus, cols. 639-640.

9. Upper part of inscribed stele of Hymettian marble, found on December 5, 1934, in Section Σ. The stele is broken only at the bottom.

Height, 0.19 m.

Width, 0.21 m.

Thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 2201.

ca. 330 B.C.

Ὀλυμπος
Διὶ Μιλιχίωι.



No. 9

The relief originally represented a man (Olympos) standing in front of a bearded snake which is the symbol of the deity.¹⁰⁸ P. Foucart pointed out that in the preserved

¹⁰⁸ See Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 1107-1114, figs. 944-946.

dedicatory inscriptions from the sanctuary near Mounichia the name of the dedicator is in no case accompanied by that of his deme.¹⁰⁹ This observation applies also to the two inscriptions from the Nymphs' Hill (see note 107) and to the one here under discussion. Olympos, which is a rare name among the Athenians, occurs as the name



No. 10

of a freedman in an inscription dated *ca.* 330 B.C. which contains the names of freedmen who dedicated silver vases.¹¹⁰ Since the letter forms of Olympos' dedication seem to belong to the second half of the fourth century, it may be assumed that the dedicator was Olympos, living in Skambonidai, who also dedicated a silver vase to Athena.

¹⁰⁹ See *I.G.*, II², 4617-4619; compare P. Foucart in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, *s.v.* Meilichios, pp. 1700-1701.

¹¹⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1567, line 9; compare H. Pope, *Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions*, pp. 64-66 and 190.

10. Fragment of a relief stele with inscription, found on March 27, 1936, in Section N. Broken at the right side and at the bottom (?).

Height, 0.182 m.

Width, 0.155 m.

Thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 3868.

Third century B.C.

Δὺ Μ<ι>λ[ιχίωι]

Ἄριστο[---]

καὶ Φίλαξ[ὦ (?)]

ἀν<έθ>εσ[αν].

Line 1: ΜΤΛ; line 4: ΑΝΙΟΕΣ.

The bearded man and the veiled woman are the dedicators. The deity, either a snake or a bearded man on a throne, was represented on the lost right portion of the relief.¹¹¹ The inscription was engraved in the upper part of the centre of the relief, and below it, in front of the deity, may have been an altar. The letter forms of the carelessly written inscription indicate a date in the third century B.C.

11. Inscribed fragment of Hymettian marble, found on April 18, 1935, in Section N. Only part of the top and of the right lateral side is preserved.

Height, 0.138 m.

Width, 0.127 m.

Thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m. (line 1)
and 0.01 m. (line 2).

Inv. No. I 2778.

Fourth century B.C.

[Δὺ Μιλι]χίωι

[^{ca.}6]ιος



No. 11

(Photograph from Squeeze)

The restoration is naturally uncertain, but the first line certainly contained the name of the deity, the second that of the dedicator. In this form, the inscription may

¹¹¹ See Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 1106, figs. 942 and 943.

be compared with *I.G.*, II², 4677. The shape of the monument to which the small fragment belongs was probably a stone pillar like that on which *I.G.*, II², 4678 is inscribed. The original length of the base may have been *ca.* 0.30 m. if the first line was placed symmetrically. The restoration of the length of the dedicator's name (line 2) is based on the assumption that this line was centred below the first line, with its first letter inscribed below the second or third letter of the first line.

A CHOREGIC MONUMENT OF 337/6 B.C.

12. The inscribed fragment illustrated in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 113, no. 178 is part of a choregic monument similar in appearance to those published as *I.G.*, II², 3027-3062.¹¹² Top and bottom surfaces are preserved, and the height of the fragment (0.215 m.) compares favorably with that of the other monuments. The slab apparently served as top step of a tripod monument.¹¹³ A hole for one of the legs of the tripod may still be preserved on top of the fragment, since the records of the excavation note the existence of a roughly picked rectangular sinking, 0.10 m. long, 0.06 m. wide, and 0.01 m. deep.

The identification of the fragment is assured by the restoration of the letters of the first and last lines. The first line may be completed to: [tribe's name ending in -ί]ς πα[ίδων ἐνίκα]. The last line contained the archon's name and can be restored to: [archon's name ending in -]χος ἦ[ρχεν].¹¹⁴ The letter forms of the inscription indicate a date in the third quarter of the fourth century, and the names of only three

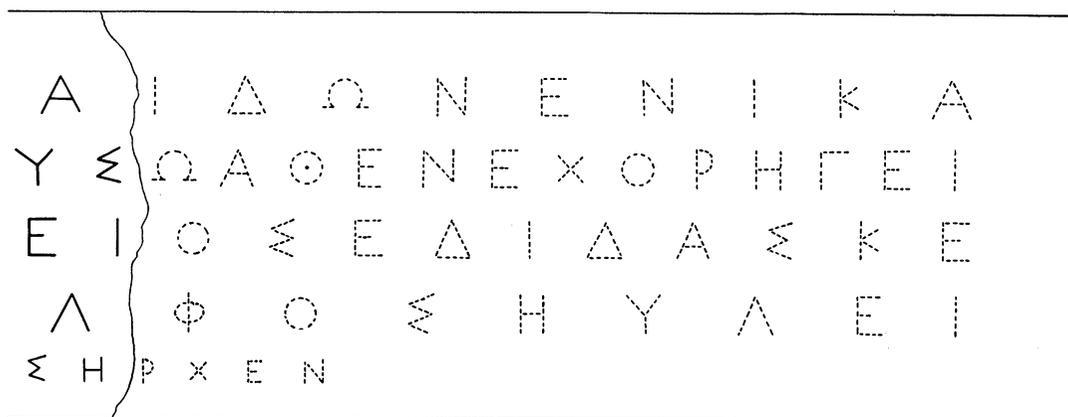
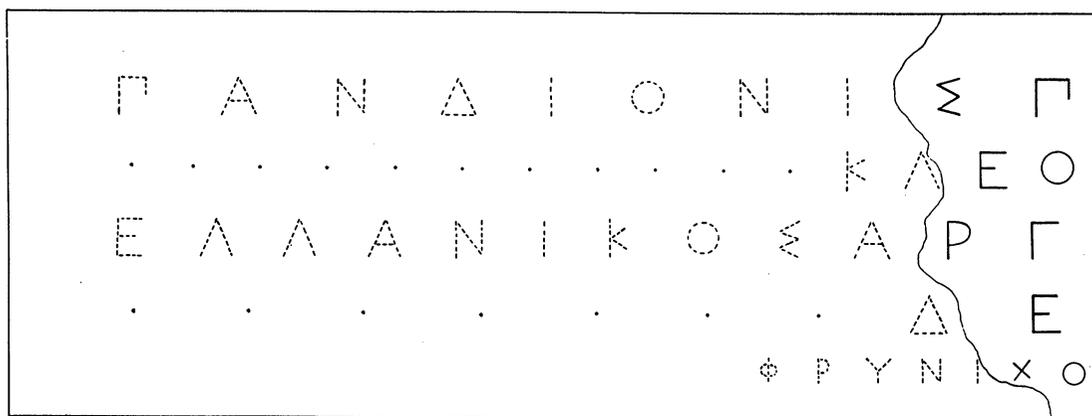
¹¹² Compare also *I.G.*, I², 769, 770 a, 771; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 48-50, no. 15; G. Welter, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 33-68; Immerwahr, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 343, note 18.

¹¹³ Compare E. Reisch, *R.E.*, s. v. Dreifuss, cols. 1694-1695; H. B. Walters, *J.H.S.*, XLI, 1921, p. 147, no. 18.

¹¹⁴ Only two earlier choregic monuments have the signatures of artists in their last lines: *I.G.*, II², 3018 and 3038. For *I.G.*, II², 3018 a new reading may be suggested. The fourth and fifth lines of this inscription may be read and restored as follows: Ἀριστήιδης [ἐπό]ησεν. The artist was probably the painter and sculptor Aristeides from Thebes; compare C. Robert, *R.E.*, s. v. Aristeides no. 29; Sauer in Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, II, p. 102; A. D. Keramopoulos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1920, pp. 17-18; G. Lippold, *R.E.*, s. v. Nikomachos, col. 464, 52-53; C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, II, pp. 648, note 3, and 662, note 2. The dedication *I.G.*, II², 3018 was made by Kallias, son of Telokles, and it probably belongs to the last quarter of the fifth century; compare J. Kirchner, *Hermes*, XXXI, 1896, p. 255; H. Swoboda, *R.E.*, s. v. Kallias no. 9. For similar letter forms, see the decree of the year 415/4 B.C., published by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 381, no. 5. The name of Kallias' father, Telokles, is rare, and one of the demes with which it is connected (Angele) belongs to the tribe Pandionis which happens to be the tribe of Kallias, son of Telokles (*I.G.*, II², 3018); compare J. Kirchner, *P.A.*, nos. 13580-13585; M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 442-444, no. 1, line 12. It may therefore be suggested that Kallias, son of Telokles, belonged to the deme Angele, and that he was identical with the Athenian archon of the year 406/5 B.C., Kallias from Angele; cf. Swoboda, *R.E.*, s. v. Kallias no. 13; *supra*, No. 8, Frag. K, line 71.

archons of this period end in [---]χος: Kallimachos (349/8 B.C.), Nikomachos (341/40 B.C.), and Phrynichos (337/6 B.C.).

The line containing the archon's name is engraved in smaller letters than the rest of the inscription, and this line obviously did not extend over the whole width of the stone.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, lines 1-4 differ from each other in the spacing of the letters, but each of the lines seems to be evenly spaced within itself. It may be assumed, therefore, that lines 1-4 were of equal length but consisted each of a different number of letters. The restoration suggested below is based on the assumption that the centre of the first line falls in the space between the second and third preserved letters, and that the centres of the following lines 2-4 are located below this space. The centre of the fifth line would fall accordingly near the letter omikron of the archon's name. These considerations allow the following restoration:



No. 12. *Hesperia*, III, No. 178

¹¹⁵ Compare *I.G.*, II², 3054.

337/6 B.C.

[Πανδιονι]ς πα[ίδων ἐνίκα]
 [...ca.11... κλ]έους [᾽Ῥαθεν ἐχορήγει]
 [᾽Ἑλλάνικος ᾽Α]ργεῖ[ος ἐδίδασκε]
 [...ca.7... Δ]ελ[φὸς ἠϋλει]
 5 [Φρύμι]χος ἠ[ρχεν].

No other flute-player from Delphi is known, and it is possible that the letters [-]ελ[-] belong to the end of the musician's name rather than to his ethnic that may have been omitted.¹¹⁶

It is tempting to restore the name of the poet to: [᾽Ἑλλάνικος ᾽Α]ργεῖ[ος ἐδίδασκε], because Hellanikos is the only other known Argive lyric poet of this period. The evidence for Hellanikos is contained in the choregic inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 3078. The date of this inscription as given in the *Corpus* is the beginning of the third century B.C., and if this date is correct Hellanikos could hardly have been active as early as 337/6 B.C. which is the latest possible date for the inscription in which his name may be restored. But the date of *I.G.*, II², 3078, as well as that of *I.G.*, II², 3074, 3075, and 3076, is based on the assumption that the agonothesia was introduced in the year 309/8 B.C., and that consequently an inscription in which the agonothetes is either mentioned or restored with probability must be dated after that year. As a matter of fact, the year in which the agonothesia was established is not known. It must fall after 320/19 B.C. (because of *I.G.*, II², 3055 and 3056) and before 307/6 B.C. (because of *I.G.*, II², 3073 and 3077).¹¹⁷ U. Koehler suggested that the archonship of Demetrios (309/8 B.C.) was the occasion for the introduction of the agonothesia,¹¹⁸ and E. Capps defended this date by discarding the evidence provided by Plutarch, *Phokion*, 31.¹¹⁹ He suggested that Nikanor may have undertaken the office of agonothetes at some later date after 318 B.C., but it is known that Nikanor was executed in the year 318/7 B.C.¹²⁰ Capps referred also to a decree of the deme Aixone honoring the choregoi of the year 317/6 B.C. for their services (*I.G.*, II², 1200), and he seemed to assume that this decree antedates the introduction of the agonothesia. But the choregoi mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1198 and 1200 were deme officials of Aixone and had accordingly nothing to do with the celebration of the City Dionysia, as is now shown by another inscription (*I.G.*, II², 3091).¹²¹ It is clear, therefore, that the

¹¹⁶ Compare *I.G.*, II², 3037 and 3042. A possible restoration of the flutist's name would be: [᾽Ἀριστοτ]έλ[ῆς ἠϋλει].

¹¹⁷ See W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 55-56; G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 930, note 2.

¹¹⁸ *Ath. Mitt.*, III, 1878, p. 240.

¹¹⁹ *A.J.A.*, IV, 1900, p. 85, note 1; cf. *supra*, p. 2, note 1.

¹²⁰ See H. Berve, *R.E.*, s. v. Nikanor, col. 268, 48-52.

¹²¹ For the discussion of the whole problem, see E. Reisch, *R.E.*, s. v. Agonothetes, cols. 874-875.

introduction of the agonothesia cannot be dated more accurately than between the years 319 and 307 B.C., and *I.G.*, II², 3078 may well belong in one of these years rather than in the beginning of the third century. This earlier date for the victory of the Argive poet Hellanikos would justify the restoration of his name in the inscription of the choregic monument from the Agora. An interval of twenty or even thirty years between the victories of a lyric or dramatic poet is quite possible.

A REDISCOVERED SIGNATURE OF PRAXITELES

13. The inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 3886 was found in 1878 by E. Pottier built into a wall of the house at 9 Bouleuterion Street.¹²² At the time of discovery the top of the base was broken and its right side was hidden by other stones. The inscription was republished by E. Löwy who correctly recorded the exact place of discovery but erroneously assumed that this was near the Lysikrates monument.¹²³ This mistake was probably due to the title of Pottier's article: "Fouilles au monument de Lysistrate." More recently J. Kirchner simply declared (*I.G.*, II², 3886) that the inscription was found *prope monumentum Lysicratis*. But Bouleuterion Street runs north from the church of Hypapanti,¹²⁴ and this is exactly the place where the stone was rediscovered on April 12, 1937, in Section ΘΘ.¹²⁵ It is a base of Hymettian marble, and at present the inscribed face only is exposed. The stone still remains in the Valerian wall, where it must have been seen by Pottier.¹²⁶

Height, 0.21 m.

Width, 0.66 m.

Height of letters: lines 1-3, *ca.* 0.025 m.; line 4, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4712.

¹²² *B.C.H.*, II, 1878, p. 418, no. 7.

¹²³ *Inschriften Griech. Bildhauer*, p. 173, no. 236.

¹²⁴ See Judeich, *Topographie*², Plan I, E5; on Judeich's map the letter D of the word Kydathenaion marks the block in which the house no. 9 is situated.

¹²⁵ For the location of this Section, see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 335.

¹²⁶ The inscribed face can be seen on the photograph published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 327; the stone in question is the second of the two slabs to the right of the big inscribed stele which is still standing in situ. Professor Shear has kindly called my attention to the fact that this stele too has been known for many years. It was first recorded in 1852 by Pittakys (see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 78, no. 34; for a more complete account of the early excavations in this area, see S. Dow, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 426-427); Pittakys did not notice the other inscription because it was then facing the inside of a modern cesspool which used the Valerian wall for its east face.



No. 13. *I.G.*, II², 3886
(Photograph from Squeeze)

First century B.C.

Λυσανίας
Νικοδήμου
Ξυπεταίων.
Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησεν.

Lysanias is probably a descendant of Nikodemos from Xypete who is known from the fourth century B.C.¹²⁷

An artist with the name Praxiteles from the first century B.C. is known from several other signatures;

he was probably a descendant of the famous Praxiteles.¹²⁸

TWO PRYTANY CATALOGUES OF HIPPOTHONTIS

14. Opisthographic stele of Pentelic marble, found on December 21, 1935, in Section Z. The stone was built into the wall of a modern well, and the curved fracture at the right lower corner, as well as the corrosion of the surface near this fracture, is due to this second use of the stele. The stone is broken at the lower right side and at the bottom.

Height, 0.67 m.

Width, 0.47 m.

Thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 3231.

ca. 50-40 B.C.

Οἱ πρυτάνεις
τὸν ταμίαν τῆς φυ
λῆς
in an olive wreath

5 Διοφά
νην Ἀπολ
λωνίου
Ἀζηνιέ
α.

¹²⁷ See *I.G.*, II², 3055 and 6930.

¹²⁸ *I.G.*, II², 4117, 4181, 4240; *I.G.*, IX, 2, no. 1320. See E. Groag, *P.I.R.*, I², p. 5, no. 33;

- Ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἴπποθωντίδος
 10 καὶ οἱ ἀείσιτοι οἱ ἐπὶ Διοκλέους Ἀζημιέως [ἄρ]
 χοντος ἀποφαίνουσι τῇ βουλῇ τὸν ταμία[ν]
 ὃν αὐτοὶ εἶλοντο ἐξ ἑαυτῶν Διοφάνην Ἀπο[λλω]
 νίου Ἀζημιέα τὰς τε θυσίας τεθυκέναι ἐκ [τῶν ἰδί]
 ων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων ἐπιμεμελ[ῆσθαι φιλα]
 15 γάθως καὶ διὰ ταῦτα παρακαλοῦσι τὴν βο[υλὴν ἐπιχω]
 ρῆσαι αὐτοῖς στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλ[λοῦ στεφά]
 νωι, Τύχη Ἀγαθῆ, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἐπ[αινέσαι τὸν τα]
 μίαν τῶν πρυτάνεων τῆς Ἴπποθω[ντίδος Διοφάνην]
 Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀζημιέα καὶ στεφανῶ[σαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ]
 20 στεφάνωι ὦ(ι) πάτριόν ἐστι στεφ[ανοῦν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς]
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τ[ὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ]
 ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανήαν εἰς σ[τήλην λιθίνην καὶ ἀνα]
 θεῖναι ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίωι.
 Ἀζημιεῖς [---]
 25 Διοφάνης Ἀπολλωνίου Ἄρισ[τ---]
 Λυσίμαχος Πολυκρίτου Ἄρι[---]
 Δίκαιος Δε[---]
 Ζήνων Θεοφράστου 45 Τιμ[---]
 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἄρι[---]
 30 Ἐράτων Ἰσιδώρου Φ[---]
 Λεύκιος Ἐράτων Ν[---]
 Ἄριστόνικος Πρωτογένους Δι[---]
 Φιλόστρατος Πολυκρίτου 50 Γ[---]
 Διοσκουρίδης Δημέου Δ[---]
 35 Διονύσιος Νε(ώτερος) Ἰ[---]
 Διονυσόδωρος Διογένους Γ[---]
 Θεόφιλος Ἡλιοδώρου Ε[---]
 Αἰσχίνης Λευκίου
 Νυμφοκλή[ς ὶ]
 40 Λεύκιος [---]

The approximate date of the document can be determined from the letter forms, from some prosopographical evidence, and from the name of the archon, Diokles from Azenia. The letter forms of the inscription and the abbreviation of the father's name in lines 27, 29, and 39 indicate a date near or after the middle of the first century B.C.

A. Stein, *P.I.R.*, I², p. 28, no. 179; M. Bieber in Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon der Künstler*, s. v. Praxiteles V, p. 363; C. H. Morgan, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, p. 68, note 1; E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia*, col. 35, note 134.

The known activity of Polykritos (lines 26 and 33) points to the same date. There are four archons with the name of Diokles who all belong to the period in question.¹²⁹ Two of them may be left out of consideration because they were from Kephisia and



No. 14. Inscription on the Obverse Face

from Melite respectively. If Diokles from Kephisia was archon in 57/6 B.C.¹³⁰ and Diokles from Melite held the same office in 39/8 B.C.,¹³¹ Diokles from Azenia may

¹²⁹ See S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 170-171, commentary on no. 101.

¹³⁰ See *P.A.*, no. 4032; S. Dow, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 587, note on line 24.

¹³¹ See W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 284-285.

have been one of the two archons with the name Diokles who are mentioned in an inscription from Delos.¹³² This assumption would place the term of office of the archon Diokles from Azenia somewhere in the decade following the middle of the first century B.C.

The document as a whole is an honorary decree for the treasurer Diophanes, and the prytany catalogue is a mere addition to this decree.¹³³ The name of the treasurer Diophanes is known from four inscriptions found in the sanctuary of Asklepios, which mention the priest of Asklepios, Diophanes, son of Apollonios, from Azenia (*I.G.*, II², 4482-4485). These inscriptions have been dated, probably on the basis of their letter forms, in the first century after Christ, but it seems quite possible that the priest Diophanes was identical with the treasurer of the same name. The inscriptions with the name of the priest should therefore be dated near the middle of the first century B.C. The councillor Apollonios, son of Apollonios, from Azenia, mentioned in line 29, was probably a brother of Diophanes. They are not listed close together because the office held by Diophanes required that his name be listed first; compare W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, p. 429, note 63. A third son of Apollonios may be mentioned in the tomb inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 5305.

The name of the fathers of the two councillors Lysimachos and Philostratos (lines 26 and 33) is Polykritos, and, since this is a rather uncommon name, it may be assumed that the two councillors were brothers. They too were not listed together, possibly because Lysimachos held the office of secretary, and his name had therefore to be mentioned in second place after that of the treasurer. The father of the two councillors, Polykritos, is known from several inscriptions which mention his son Polycharmos and other members of the family.¹³⁴ If the assumption is correct that both Lysimachos and Philostratos were the sons of this Polykritos and the brothers of Polycharmos, their activity would fall near the middle of the first century B.C.

Attention may be called to the representation of the deme Azenia among the councillors of Hippothontis. No less than sixteen delegates to the Council were sent from this deme, and there may have been several more. The name list was engraved in two columns so that there must have been the names of approximately twenty-five councillors in each of the columns. W. K. Pritchett already has collected some evidence concerning the disparity of the deme representation of the councillors of the tribe Hippothontis,¹³⁵ and the inscription under discussion shows that the population of

¹³² *Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 2632; Diokles' son may be mentioned in a tomb inscription (*I.G.*, II², 5299) which is dated in the first century after Christ.

¹³³ See S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 14-15 and 25-26. It may be noted, however, that in this decree no request is made by the prytaneis to honor their treasurer with a statue "in gilded armor."

¹³⁴ See *Inscr. de Délos*, no. 1876 and the inscriptions mentioned there; *I.G.*, II², 3518, and the inscriptions mentioned there; *I.G.*, II², 1041, line 9; compare W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 292, notes 6 and 7.

¹³⁵ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 126; see also S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 28, note 2.

Azenia must have increased considerably during the second and first centuries B.C.¹³⁶ The second column probably began with a demotic (line 41) which has followed by at least thirteen names. It is likely that these names belonged to the councillors from the deme Peiraieus which was by far the largest deme of the tribe and which provided fifteen councillors a little more than a hundred years earlier.¹³⁷

The fact that both the treasurer and the secretary were from the deme Azenia and that the archon of this year, Diokles, belonged to the same deme may have been a mere coincidence.

15. The stele was reused about two hundred years later. At that time the councillors of the same tribe Hippothontis inscribed their names on the back of the stele.

A.D. 152/3 or 153/4

Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι.
 [Ἐπὶ ἄρ]χοντος Νομμίου Μήνι
 [δος· μη]νὸς Σκευροφοριῶνος·
 [ΙΓ πρυτα]νείας· οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς
 5 [Ἴπποθωντί]δος φυλῆς τιμήσαν
 [τες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ το]ὺς αἰσίτους ἀνέγραψαν.
 [ἐπώνυμος ---]μένης Ἀζηνιεύς.

(Column I lost)

Col. II

	Ἀζηνιεύς	Ἐρέννιος Ἐπάγαθος
	Αἴλιος Μητροδώρος	Ἐρέννιος Λεοντεύς
10	Διονύσιος)	Κλαύδιος Μάρων
	Δημήτριος Νυμφοδότος	[Μ]ητρόβιος Ἀμφίονος
	Νυμφόδοτος)	20 [Νι]κηφόρος)
	Συμφέρων)	[Δη]μήτριος Τρύφωνος
	Εἰρηναῖος Ἀνθεστηρίου	[Ἄπολ]λώνιος)
15	Νικάνωρ)	[ἔ]κ Κοίλη[ς]

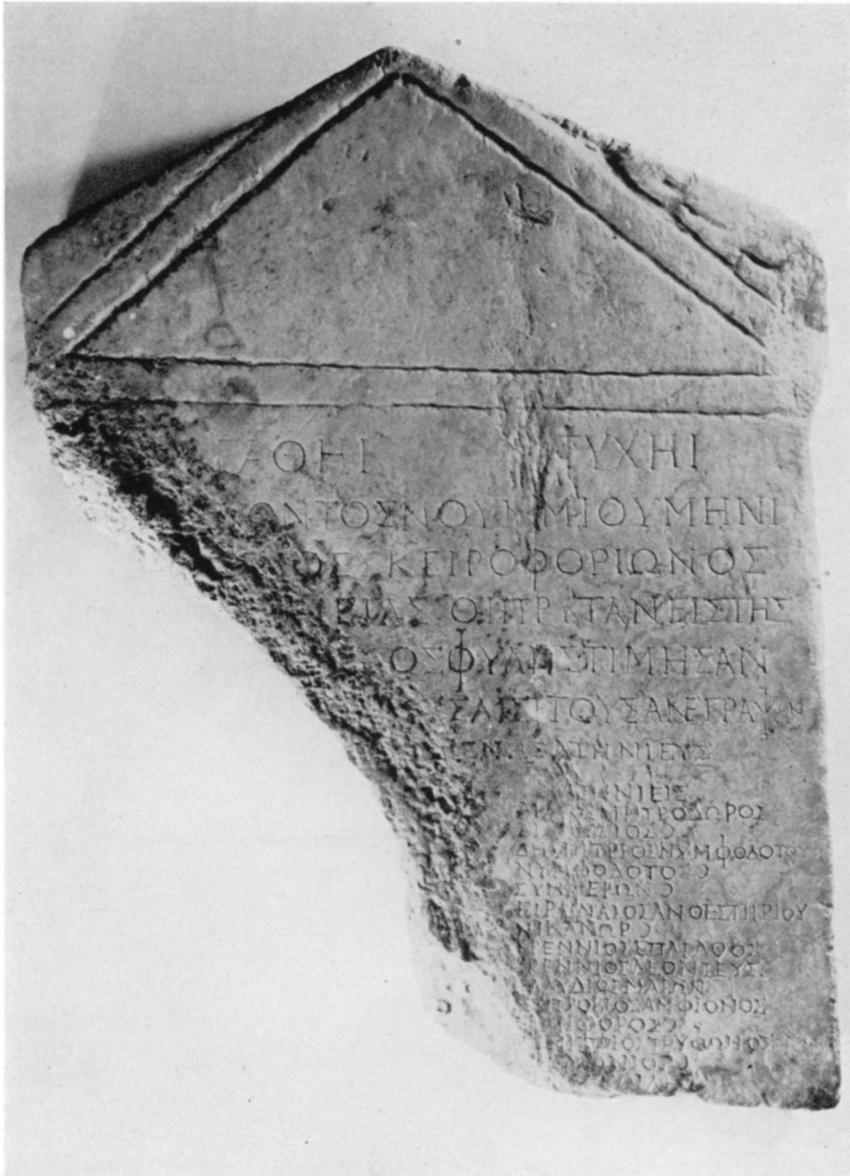
The document is dated by the name of the archon Nummius Menis who is known from several other documents.¹³⁸ He is mentioned as eponymous archon in the heading of another prytany catalogue (*I.G.*, II², 1771, lines 2-4), and there his full name Lucius Nummius Menis from Phaleron is preserved. This document (*I.G.*, II², 1771)

¹³⁶ See Milchhöfer, *R.E.*, s.v. Azenia; for the location of this deme, see W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, p. 427, note 56. A still unpublished catalogue of councillors (?) of Hippothontis (I 1302) contains under the heading Ἀζηνιεύς twenty-one or more names; two of these recur in the catalogue under discussion (lines 28 and 36).

¹³⁷ See *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 122-126, no. 25.

¹³⁸ J. H. Oliver has already referred to this new occurrence of his name; see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 78.

contained the dedication made by the councillors of the tribe Aigeis who served as the twelfth prytany in the year of Nummius. Since the councillors of Hippothontis served in the last month of the same year (Skirophorion; see line 3), they must have



No. 15. Inscription on the Reverse Face of No. 14

held the thirteenth prytany, and the beginning of line 4 has been restored accordingly.

The date of Nummius' archonship has been determined on the basis of two inscriptions from the year A.D. 156/7 in which Nummius is mentioned as herald of

the council of the Areopagus.¹³⁹ His archonship must fall before this year.¹⁴⁰ Another indication for the chronology of Nummius' career seems to be provided by the ephobic list published as *I.G.*, II², 2029 in which the name of Nummius Menis occurs. The date suggested for this inscription, however, is not based on independent evidence. Finally, the name of Nummius Menis has been restored by W. Dittenberger in a prytany catalogue which is dated *ca.* A.D. 120.¹⁴¹ If this restoration is accepted, Nummius would have been born *ca.* A.D. 90, he was ephobe *ca.* A.D. 110, councillor *ca.* A.D. 120, and he must have been well advanced in years when he still held office as member of the Areopagus, in A.D. 156/7. His archonship would fall after A.D. 130 and before A.D. 156.

A more accurate date for the archonship of Nummius may be deduced from a comparison of *I.G.*, II², 1771 (which is dated in his archonship) and 1765 (dated in A.D. 138/9). These two inscriptions should be placed not too far apart in date. Both are prytany catalogues of the tribe Aigeis, and the name of the eponymos, Hermeias, son of Glaukos, which is preserved on *I.G.*, II², 1765, line 9, may be restored in line 8 of II², 1771: [ἐπώνυμος Ἑρμε]ίας Γλα[ύκων]. Another link between *I.G.*, II², 1771 and 1765 may be provided by the possible combination of *I.G.*, II², 1766 and 1771. *I.G.*, II², 1766 preserves part of the name list while *I.G.*, II², 1771 contains the heading of the catalogue.¹⁴² The link between *I.G.*, II², 1766 and 1765 consists in the occurrence in both inscriptions of the name of Pannychos, son of Herakleides, as that of the councillor from Erikeia.¹⁴³ The date of *I.G.*, II², 1771 (which may be combined with *I.G.*, II², 1766), and thus the archonship of Nummius, should therefore be placed not too far from the date of *I.G.*, II², 1765 (A.D. 138/9).

The catalogue of the councillors from Azenia provides some additional evidence for the date of the inscription under discussion. Oliver has already mentioned that the names of Ailios Metrodoros (line 9), Dionysios, son of Dionysios (line 10), Demetrios, son of Nymphodotos (line 11), Eirenaios, son of Anthesterios (line 14), and Herennios Epagathos (line 16) reappear in a catalogue which he dated in the middle of the second century after Christ.¹⁴⁴ He also pointed out that Demetrios, son of Nymphodotos, was an ephobe in A.D. 125/6, and that Herennios Epagathos was an ephobe in A.D. 139/40. To this may now be added that also Nymphodotos, son of Nymphodotos (line 12, a brother of Demetrios), and Sympheron, son of Sympheron

¹³⁹ *I.G.R.*, IV, nos. 574 and 575.

¹⁴⁰ See P. Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 138-139, no. 102; compare, however, J. Kirchner, *R.E.*, s. v. Nummius, col. 1412, no. 14.

¹⁴¹ See S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 195, no. 121, line 66; the dedicatory inscriptions *I.G.*, II², 4069 and 4070 do not help in this connection.

¹⁴² Shape and size of the letters agree, as far as one can judge from a study of the squeezes. It must be noted, however, that the thickness of *I.G.*, II², 1771 is said to be 0.18 m., that of *I.G.*, II², 1766, only 0.08 m.

¹⁴³ *I.G.*, II², 1765, line 33, and 1766, line 4.

¹⁴⁴ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 78.

(line 13), were ephebes in A.D. 125/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2037, lines 9 and 11), and that Herennios Leonteus (line 17) was an ephebe in A.D. 142/3 (*I.G.*, II², 2049, line 25; see also 3740, line 21). Moreover, Dionysios, son of Dionysios (line 10), was kosmetes in A.D. 143/4 or 144/5 (*I.G.*, II², 2050, line 2), and his tombstone has been recovered in the Agora (*I.G.*, II², 5308). Finally, the councillor Apollonios, son of Apollonios (line 22), may be the hyposophonistes of the year A.D. 142/3 (*I.G.*, II², 2049, line 153).

The most important of these identifications is that of Herennios Leonteus (line 17) with the ephebe of the same name who was nineteen or twenty years old in A.D. 142/3. If this identification is correct, if the date of *I.G.*, II², 2049 is assured, and if the age requirement for councillors was, even at that late period, thirty years, Leonteus cannot have been councillor before A.D. 152/3.¹⁴⁵ This assumption would provide an accurate date for the archonship of Nummius, who must then have held this office in one of the years between A.D. 152/3 and 155/6. Since the archons of the years A.D. 154/5 and 155/6 are already known,¹⁴⁶ Nummius may have been archon either in A.D. 152/3 or in 153/4.

ZEUS BOULAIOS AND HESTIA BOULAIA

16. Inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, found on April 25, 1939, in the original fill of the Valerian wall, in Section I. Left side and bottom are preserved. The lower edges are deeply bevelled except at the corners, which give the base the appearance of standing on four legs. Remains of a large cutting are preserved on top. The fragment is broken at the right side and at the back.

Height, 0.17 m.

Width of inscribed face, 0.26 m.

Thickness, 0.225 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 5797.

First century B.C.

[name, father's name, demotic]
^{ca. 24}
 ταμειύσας πρυτά[νεων τῆς -^{ca. 4}-]
 τίδος ἐν τῶι ἐπὶ Ἄ[-^{ca. 6½}- ἄρχον]
 τος ἐμαντῶι ὑπὲρ [τῆς φυλῆς]
 5 Δὲ Βουλαίωι καὶ Ἑ[στίαι Βουλαίαι].

¹⁴⁵ See, however, the note on *I.G.*, II², 1772, line 5.

¹⁴⁶ See *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 85.



No. 16

It is assumed that only the first line of the inscription is missing because remains of the socket which received the dedication are still preserved on top of the fragment. This assumption is confirmed, moreover, by the inscription on two other fragments which belong to a similar monument (No. 17, below).

17. Fragment A: Inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, found on June 17, 1938, in a marble pile, in Section Ω . Only part of the inscribed face and of the rough-picked top is preserved.

Height, 0.08 m.

Width, 0.255 m.

Thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 5543.

Fragment B: Inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, found on June 3, 1933, in a marble pit, in Section I. Only part of the inscribed face and of the smooth-picked right lateral side is preserved.



No. 17. Fragment A

Height, 0.15 m.
 Width, 0.205 m.
 Thickness, 0.065 m.
 Height of letters, 0.013-0.018 m.
 Inv. No. I 931.

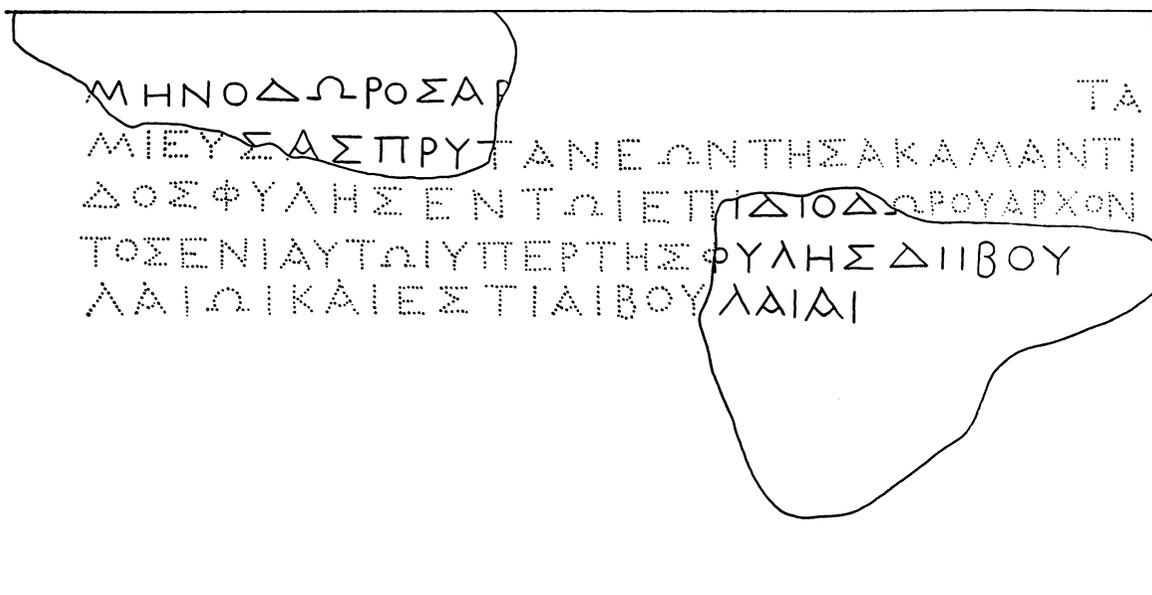


53/2 B.C.

Μηνόδωρος Ἄρ[^{ca. 14} τα]
 [μιεύ]σας πρυτ[άνεων τῆς Ἀκαμαντί]
 [δος φυλῆς ἐν τῷ ἐπ]ὶ Διοδώ[ρου ἄρχον]
 [τος ἐνιαυτῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς] φυλῆς Διῖ Βου
 5 [λαίωι καὶ Ἐστίαι Βου]λαίαι.

No. 17. Fragment B

The name of the tribe Akamantis can be restored from a prytany decree of this tribe honoring the treasurer Menodoros.¹⁴⁷ Since this decree and Menodoros' dedi-



Restored Drawing of No. 17

cation, to judge from the letter forms, belong to the same period, it may be assumed that the two treasurers with the name Menodoros were one and the same person. The name of the archon Diodoros is preserved on the dedication, and if the prytany decree belongs to the same year as the dedication, it too is dated in 53/2 B.C.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ See *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 40-41, no. 8, lines 3-4; S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 181, no. 111.

¹⁴⁸ See *I.G.*, II², 1713, line 19; 1716, line 29; compare S. Dow, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 578-588.

Each of the two monuments (Nos. 16 and 17) belongs to a dedication set up by a treasurer of the prytaneis after his term of office.¹⁴⁹

The names of the deities to whom the dedications were offered are only partly preserved on either monument, but they can be restored by reference to each other. It may therefore be assumed that both monuments were set up to Zeus Boulaios and to Hestia Boulaia.

The joint cult of Zeus Boulaios and of Hestia Boulaia is attested for several places in the Greek world,¹⁵⁰ and its existence has been determined also for Athens on the basis of the literary evidence.¹⁵¹ The cult place of Zeus and Hestia was apparently located in the Bouleuterion, and the excavations conducted in this region have brought to light a marble altar tentatively identified as the altar of Zeus Boulaios.¹⁵²

THE ATHENIAN ARCHON DIOTEIMOS

18. To the inscription published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 74, no. 71 seven more fragments can be added six of which were recently found in the Agora Excavations while one has been known for many years.



No. 18. *I.G.*, II², 3580
(Photograph from Squeeze)

The fragment previously published in *Hesperia* was found in Section I which contains part of the Valerian wall,¹⁵³ and five of the new fragments were excavated, on March 29 and 30, 1938, in the original fill of the Valerian wall, in Section II; these fragments bear the Inventory Number I 364. The sixth Agora fragment was found on January 25, 1937, in Section ΘΘ which is also located near the Valerian wall; this fragment has the Inventory Number I 4428. The place of discovery of the inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 3580 is not known, but since U. Köhler saw it in the Hephaisteion (*I.G.*, III, 721: in Theseo), it may be assumed that this fragment, too, was found in the Agora.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ This is indicated by the participle *ταμείσας*; for the phrase *ταμείσας πρυτάνεων*, see K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik*³, p. 227, no. 20a. For the office of the treasurer, see S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 13-15.

¹⁵⁰ See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 259; III, pp. 1052, note 1, and 1125, note on II, p. 259; compare *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), nos. 404 and 405.

¹⁵¹ See C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, II, pp. 320-321, note 5; A. Preuner in Roscher, *Lex. der Mythologie*, s. v. Hestia, cols. 2636-2637; Süß, *R.E.*, s. v. Hestia, cols. 1285, lines 44-59, and 1300, lines 54-56; A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, pp. 44-45; G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 1025; A. B. Cook (see note 150); L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, XXXVII, 1924, p. 180; Fehrle in Roscher, *Lex. der Mythologie*, s. v. Zeus, col. 612, lines 22-34.

¹⁵² See H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 151-152 and 213.

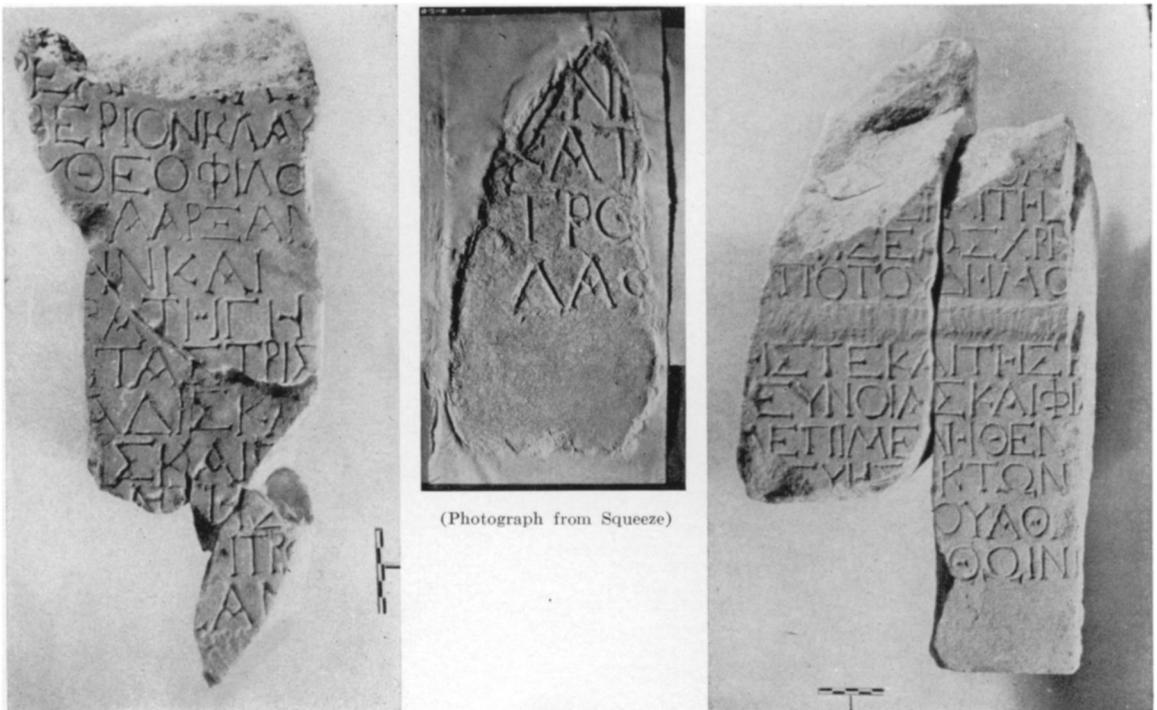
¹⁵³ See the plan illustrated in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 360.

¹⁵⁴ J. Kirchner, however, states that it was found on the Akropolis (*I.G.*, II², 3580: in arce).

Two of the Agora fragments join the one previously published in *Hesperia*; both of these fragments have the bottom preserved, and one (I 4428) also contains part of the left lateral face. The dimensions of the combined fragments are: height, 0.43 m.; width, 0.41 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.28 m.

The remaining four Agora fragments join one another; they have the right lateral face preserved. The dimensions of the combined fragments are: height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.21 m.

The fragment published as *I.G.*, II², 3580 joins the one previously published in *Hesperia*. Through this combination the relative position of the two groups of fragments could be determined with certainty, and the following restoration may be suggested.



No. 18. Agora Fragments

ca. A.D. 60

[.....^{ca. 16}..... *ιε*]ρέα [.....^{ca. 5}]
 [.....^{ca. 17}..... *Τι*]βέριον Κλαύ
 [διον *Τι*βερίου] *Κλ*[αυδίο]ν Θεοφίλο[ν]
 [υῖον *Δι*]ότειμο[ν Βησα]ιέα ἄρξαν
 5 [τα τήν] ἐπώνυμ[ον ἀρχ]ήν καὶ
 [κηρυκε]ύσαντ[α καὶ στ]ρατηγή

- [σαντα] ἐπὶ τοῦ[ς ὄπλε]ίτας τρῖς
 [καὶ ἀγ]ωνοθετ[ήσαντ]α δις κα[ὶ]
 [γυμνα]σιαρχήσ[αντα τρ]ῖς καὶ ἐ
 10 [πιμελ]ητήν γε[ν]όμ[εν]ον τῆς
 [τε πό]λεως καὶ τῆς [τοῦ Μ]ητρῶ[ι]
 [ου κοσμ]ήσεως χρη[ματί]σαν
 [τα τὰ] ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ .^{ca.}.^{4.}.]//[//]
 [////]//////////[////////]
 15 [ἀρετ]ῆς τε καὶ τῆς ε[ἰς τὴν πα]
 [τρίδα] εὐνοίας καὶ φιλ[οτιμίας]
 ἔνε[κ]α ἐπιμεληθέν[των τῆς]
 κατ[ασκ]ευῆς [ἐ]κ τῶν ἰ[δίω]ν
 Τρο[φίμ. . .]ου Ἀθη[-^{ca.}-^{7.}-]
 20 Δάφ[νου . . .]ΘΩ|Ν|[-^{ca.}-^{7.}-].
vacat

The full name of Dioteimos has been restored with reference to an inscription honoring his son Τιβέριον Κ[λ]αύδιον Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Διοτείμου υἱὸν Θεόφιλον Βησαϊέα (*I.G.*, II², 3930).¹⁵⁵ The father of Dioteimos, Theophilos, may be identified with Theophilos, son of Theopeithes, from Besa who was hoplite general at the beginning of the first century after Christ (*I.G.*, II², 4478).¹⁵⁶ This identification places the activity of Dioteimos near the middle of the first century after Christ and makes it possible to restore his name in an inscription honoring the emperor Claudius, which is dated in the year A.D. 41/2 (*I.G.*, II², 3268, lines 9-11); [στρατηγούντος ἐπὶ] τοὺς ὀπλείτας Διοτε[ίμου Θεοφίλου Βησ]αιέως.¹⁵⁷ It is tempting to identify the archon Dioteimos mentioned in a Roman dedicatory inscription (*I.G.*, II², 4465) with Tiberius Claudius Dioteimos, but *I.G.*, II², 4465 is commonly dated *ca.* 26 B.C., and the archon Dioteimos is identified with the archon [Διό]τιμος from Halai mentioned in another inscription.¹⁵⁸ It is also possible that the man with the name Dioteimos who was for the third time paidotribes in A.D. 45/6 is identical with the archon Tiberius Claudius Dioteimos.¹⁵⁹ This office was too unimportant to be mentioned in

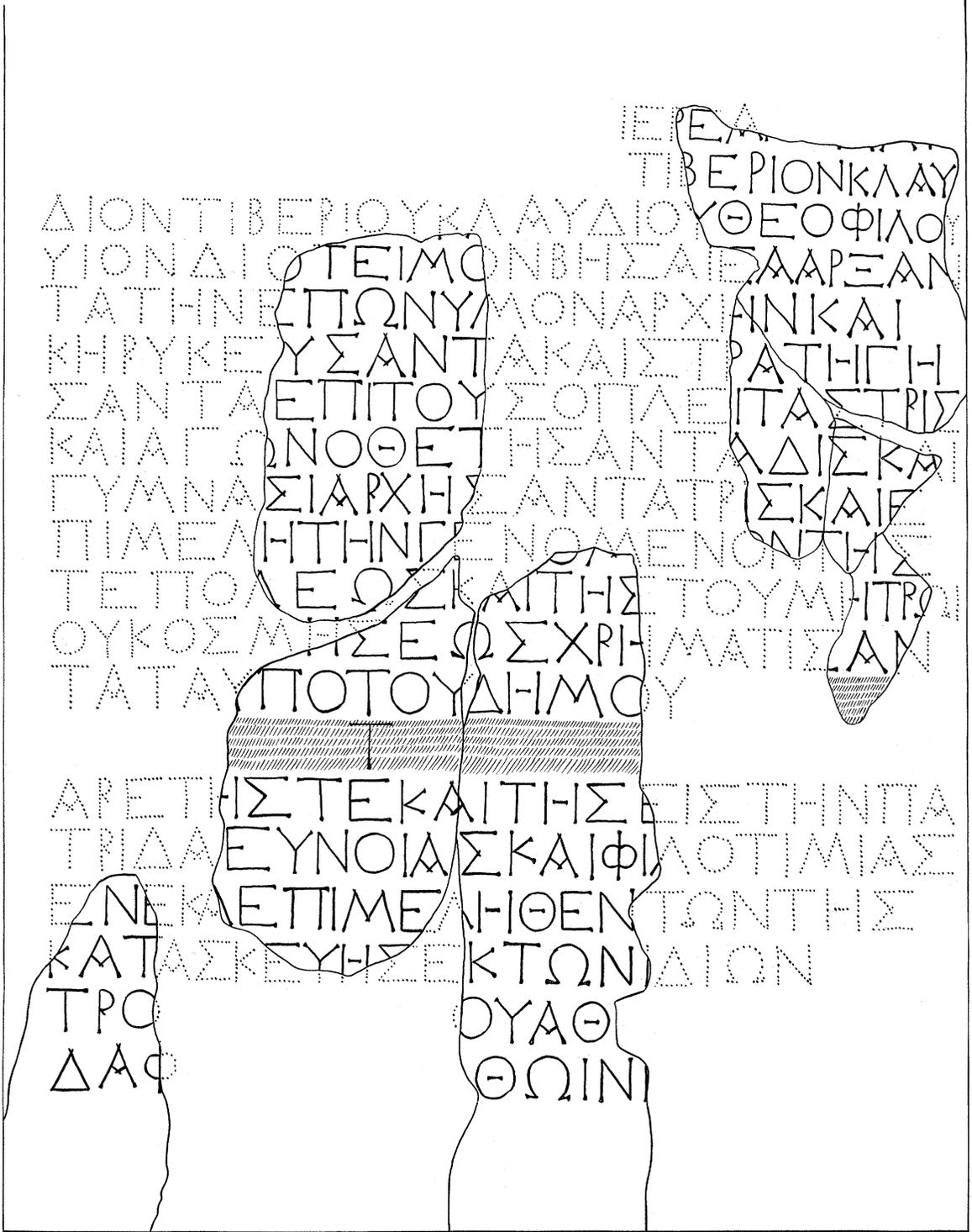
¹⁵⁵ Thus P. Graindor's restoration [Φιλ]ότειμο[υ] may now be abandoned; see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 84, note 27a.

¹⁵⁶ See J. Sundwall, *Nachträge*, pp. 94-95; P. Roussel and J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.*, XXXIII, 1909, p. 498, note 5; A. Stein, *P.I.R.*, I², p. 276, no. 1381; *Inscriptions de Délos*, nos. 1728 and 1729; *I.G.*, XII, Supplement, 1939, p. 139, no. 860; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, II, p. 764.

¹⁵⁷ This new reading was made from a squeeze; compare P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 77, note 2.

¹⁵⁸ See *I.G.*, II², 2996; compare W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 247-248 and 287; *Inscr. de Délos*, no. 1840.

¹⁵⁹ See *I.G.*, II², 1969, line 5, and 1970, line 5.



Restored Drawing of No. 18

the *cursus honorum* of Dioteimos which is contained in the inscription here under discussion.

The son of Dioteimos, Theophilos, is known not only from the honorary inscription mentioned above (*I.G.*, II², 3930) but also from an epehebic monument on which the name of Theophilos from Besa appears inscribed within a crown (*I.G.*, II², 1980). The list of known relatives of Dioteimos may be completed by reference to two tomb inscriptions (*I.G.*, II², 5897 and 5902). Aphrodisios, son of Theophilos, from Besa (*I.G.*, II², 5897) may have been a brother of the archon Dioteimos, while Tiberius Claudius Theophilos, son of Tiberius Claudius Themistokles, from Besa (*I.G.*, II², 5902) was obviously a descendant of Dioteimos, although his relation cannot be determined with certainty. It is thus possible to restore the stemma of the family from *ca.* 250 B.C. to the second century after Christ.

An important event in the history of this family was the grant of Roman citizenship to Dioteimos, son of Theophilos, from Besa. In the year A.D. 41/2, when serving as hoplite general, Dioteimos had not yet received this honor since his name appears in *I.G.*, II², 3268 (lines 10-11) without the Roman praenomen and nomen. His son Theophilos, who was an epehebe at about the same time, is also listed simply as Theophilos (*I.G.*, II², 1980). This shows that Dioteimos must have received Roman citizenship either under Claudius or under Nero.¹⁶⁰ If Aphrodisios, son of Theophilos, from Besa (*I.G.*, II², 5897) was Dioteimos' brother, he must either have died before the family received the great honor, or else the grant of citizenship was confined to Dioteimos and his direct descendants. The inscription published here belongs to the time of Nero, if the erasure in lines 13-14 contained the name of this emperor, and in this inscription Dioteimos is listed with his new name as Tiberius Claudius Dioteimos. To the same period belongs the honorary inscription for Dioteimos' son, Theophilos, who now appears as Tiberius Claudius Theophilos (*I.G.*, II², 3930). Tiberius Claudius Themistokles may have been a brother, a son, or a nephew of Theophilos; a more distant relationship is made unlikely by the letter forms of the tomb inscription of Themistokles' son, Theophilos (*I.G.*, II², 5902; the stone is now lost), which seem to be not later than the first half of the second century after Christ.

Lines 1-9: The beginning of the inscription is lost but it probably contained the names of the public organizations by which Dioteimos was honored: Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή καὶ ἡ βουλή τῶν ἑξακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος. After this followed a reference to at least one of the priestly offices held by Dioteimos, and the letters of the first preserved line [ιε]ρέα belong to this part of the inscription. There are traces of letters visible after [ιε]ρέα, but they cannot be restored to the name of any of the deities or deified rulers who are mentioned in this position in similar inscriptions. The full name

¹⁶⁰ See P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 88-89; *Herode Atticus*, p. 10; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, pp. 188-189; Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, pp. 140-141 and 280, note 41.

of Dioteimos is followed by a list of the public offices which he had held in the course of the years. Only one of them can be dated: Dioteimos was hoplite general, probably for the first time, in A.D. 41/2 (see above).

Lines 9-14: It is probable that the phrase τῆς [τε πό]λεως καὶ τῆς [τοῦ Μ]ητρώ[ιου κοσμ]ήσεως (an uncertain but highly probable restoration) should be connected with the preceding ἐ[πιμελ]ητῆν γε[ν]όμ[εν]ον rather than with the following χρη[ματί]-σαν[τα]. It may be assumed, therefore, that Dioteimos held the office of ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως.¹⁶¹ The phrase χρη[ματί]σαν[τα τὰ] ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ] is followed by an erasure which was probably due to the *damnatio memoriae* of the emperor Nero and contained the name of this emperor.¹⁶² The following restoration has been tentatively suggested by Professor Oliver: χρη[ματί]σαν[τα τὰ] ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ] εἰς θεοῦ Νέρωνος τεμῆν ψηφισθέντα]. This restoration is supported by the traces of a tau in line 14, which stands exactly where the word τ[εμῆν] would begin. Dioteimos, according to this restoration, would have been ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως, and in special charge of the *κόσμησις τοῦ Μητρώιου*, when he conducted the negotiations concerning certain extraordinary honors granted to Nero. These honors cannot have consisted either of the honorary inscription on the Parthenon (*I.G.*, II², 3277) or of that on the theatre building (*I.G.*, II², 3182; see O. Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 599), but it may be assumed that they were connected in some way with the Metroön. So much is certain that Dioteimos had something to do with the adornment of the Metroön, and this information should be added to the evidence concerning the history of this building.¹⁶³

Lines 17-20: For the restoration of the phrase ἐπιμεληθέντ[ων τῆς] κατ[ασκ]ευῆς [ἐ]κ τῶν ἰ[δίων], compare *I.G.*, II², 3266, lines 6-8; 4868; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 82-83, no. 35. The last two lines probably contained only the names of the two men who took care of the erection of the monument. The names cannot be restored with certainty. They may be completed either as Τρο[φίμου τ]οῦ Ἄθη[-^{ca. 7}-] | Δάφ[νου τοῦ Ἄ]θωνί[-^{ca. 7}-] or as Τρο[φίμιαν]οῦ Ἄθη[-^{ca. 7}-] | Δάφ[νου -^{ca. 4}-]θωνί[-^{ca. 7}-]. The restoration of the letters ΘΩΙΝΙ to the demotic [Μαρα]θω{ι}νί[ου] is possible but unlikely; compare K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik*³, p. 67, no. 13.

¹⁶¹ See B. Keil, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags*, p. 83, note 124; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 123; *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 80-82. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 39-40, has shown that the ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως was also called simply ἐπιμελητῆς; compare *I.G.*, II², 3277, line 5, with *I.G.*, II², 1990, line 4. Another ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως: *R.E.*, s. v. Oinophilos (1); *I.G.*, II², 3546, line 17; his name should be restored in *I.G.*, II², 3185, lines 8-9. Cf. also Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes*, pp. 333-334.

¹⁶² For similar erasures, see *I.G.*, II², 1989, 1990, 3182, 3266, 3278, 4111; compare P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 12, note 2.

¹⁶³ See H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 195, 221-222, and 224; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, pp. 180-181.

ALTARS OF ZEUS OMBRIOS

The cult of Zeus Ombrios is attested for Attika only by Pausanias who reports (I, 32, 2) that there were altars of this deity on Mount Hymettus and on Mount Parnes.¹⁶⁴ The sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettus has now been located and excavated, and the remains prove that this sanctuary was still in use at the time of Pausanias.¹⁶⁵ To this period belong two, or perhaps three, altars of Zeus Ombrios which were found in the Agora of Athens.

19. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on April 12, 1934, in Section M. The stone is broken only on top, but the base moulding has been chipped off when the bottom was reused as a threshold. The right lateral face batters more than the left.

Height, 0.35 m.
Width, 0.71 m.
Thickness, 0.34 m.
Height of letters, 0.05-
0.06 m.
Inv. No. I 1797.

ca. A.D. 100

Ὄμβριου
Διός.



No. 19

20. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on April 28, 1937, in Section Σ. Only part of the top is preserved.

Height, 0.157 m.
Width, 0.353 m.
Thickness, 0.106 m.
Height of letters, 0.051 m.
Inv. No. I 4825.

ca. A.D. 100

Ὄμβριου
[Διός].



No. 20

(Photograph from Squeeze)

¹⁶⁴ See M. H. Morgan, *T.A.P.A.*, XXXII, 1901, p. 89; J. W. Hewitt, *H.S.C.P.*, XIX, 1908, p. 82; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 897-898, notes 5-6; III, p. 526, notes 6 and 8; J. Schmidt, *R.E.*, s. v. Ombrios; cf. F. Jacoby, *Marmor Parium*, p. 33.

¹⁶⁵ See Morgan, *loc. cit.*, p. 89; Cook, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1226, Addenda to II, p. 897, note 5; III, p. 526, note 8; R. S. Young, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 1, 3, and 5.

The size and the shape of the letters on these two fragments are so similar that it may be assumed that the two inscriptions belong to different faces of the same base, or else to two altars of Zeus Ombrios which were erected on the same occasion and inscribed by the same stonecutter.

21. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on April 28, 1937, in Section II. The top is reworked, and the base moulding is chipped off on all sides. The bottom has four clamp cuttings, two each at the front and at the back. The bottom contains also two dowel holes, one near each end. The inscribed face was reused as a threshold.

Height, 0.50 m.

Width (above moulding), 0.69 m.

Thickness (above moulding),
0.47 m.

Height of letters, 0.05-0.06 m.

Inv. No. I 4804.

ca. A.D. 100

[Διὸς]
Ἰομβρίου.



No. 21

(Photograph from Squeeze. Part of initial O shows on unphotographed portion of Squeeze.)

The letter forms of this inscription are somewhat different from those of the inscriptions on the other two altars, but both the size and the workmanship of the altar bases of all three monuments are very much alike.

It is unlikely that the heavy blocks on which the inscriptions are engraved were carried from a great distance to the Agora in order to be reused there. It may therefore be assumed that there was in Roman times a sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios in the Agora of Athens.

THE PANHELLENIC ARCHON DORION

22. Two fragments of the inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 4076 were recovered during the excavations in the Agora and can be augmented by the addition of four more fragments.

Fragment A has the Inventory Number I 3461. It is broken on all sides and preserves only four letters of one line. It does not seem to join any of the other fragments, but its position has been determined on the basis of the restoration of the inscription.



The two fragments B and C join and have the left edge

No. 22. Fragment A

preserved. Fragment B, which is the smaller of the two, was found on February 25, 1936, built into the side wall of a well, in Section Σ. Fragment C was brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February 1936, and both Fragments B and C have the Inventory Number I 3461. The two fragments measure as joined: height, 0.332 m.; width, 0.097 m.; thickness, 0.172 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

The fourth of the new fragments joins both of the old fragments and preserves the right edge of the base. These three joining fragments were brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February 1936. Fragment E (*I.G.*, II², 4076 a) has the Inventory Number I 3461; Fragments F (*I.G.*, II², 4076 b) and D have the Inventory Number I 3486. Fragments D, E, and F measure as joined: height, ca. 0.30 m.; width, ca. 0.40 m.; thickness, 0.282 m.; height of letters, 0.021 m.

The original width of the base, as determined from the restoration of the inscription, was ca. 0.56 m.



No. 22. Fragments B and C
(Photograph from Squeeze)

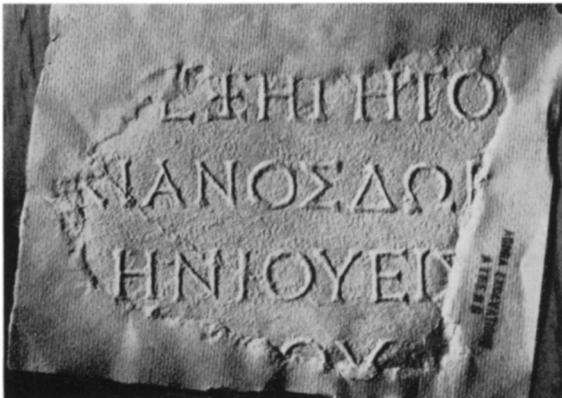
Shortly after A.D. 160/1

[Ἐπιάν Ἀννίαν Ῥή]γιλλ[αν Ἀτι]
λί[αν Καυκιδίαν Τερτύλλα]ν
Ἐπ[πίου ὑπάτου ποντίφ]ικος
θνγ[ατέρα Ἡρώιδου Μα]ραθω
5 νίου [ὑπάτο]ν ἐξηγητο[ῦ] γυναικα
Φλ· Σο[υλπι]κιανὸς Δωρ[ίω]ν ἄρχων
τοῦ Π[ανελ]ληνίου εἰς [πα]ρηγορίαν
φ[ίλ]ου.

The restoration of lines 1-5 is based on the inscription of a similar monument which was set up by Herodes Atticus himself (*I.G.*, II², 4072). Both monuments were erected after the death of Regilla.¹⁶⁶

The significance of this inscription lies in the fact that it adds to our knowledge

¹⁶⁶ See P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, pp. 84, note 1, and 92-100. The epigraphical evidence concerning Regilla is assembled by A. Stein, *P.I.R.*, I², p. 134, no. 720; no. 6 of the testimonia is published as *Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 86, and no. 20 as *I.G.*, II², 13200. See also J. Day, *An Economic History*, pp. 246-247. For φ[ίλ]ου see Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 328, fig. 11.



No. 22. Fragment E (*I.G.*, II², 4076 a)
(Photograph from Squeeze)

of Herodes Atticus and his family, that it contains the name of a hitherto unknown archon of the Panhellenes, and that this man and his family are known from other sources.

The Panhellenion was founded by Hadrian in 131/2 A.D. (*I.G.*, IV², 384), and its history and organization, both political and religious, have been studied in detail by M. N. Tod and P. Graindor.¹⁶⁷

The truly Panhellenic character of Hadrian's institution is indicated by the provenience of Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion. This man belongs to a noble Cretan family from Hierapytna. His father was probably the archpriest of the Cretan League, Titus Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion, who erected in A.D. 129 a statue of the Emperor Hadrian in Gortyna.¹⁶⁸ His brother was probably Lucius Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion who dedicated between A.D. 163 and 169 two statues to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus,¹⁶⁹ and, possibly at a later date, one or two statues of his son who was quaestor pro praetore of Bithynia.¹⁷⁰ All these dedications were made in Hierapytna which was probably the home of the family. It is quite possible that the famous Titus Flavius Sulpicianus, the father-in-law of the Emperor Pertinax, belonged to the same family. He may, in fact, have been identical with the Panhellenic archon of the same name.¹⁷¹



No. 22. Fragments D and F
(F = *I.G.*, II², 4076 b)

(Photograph from Squeeze)

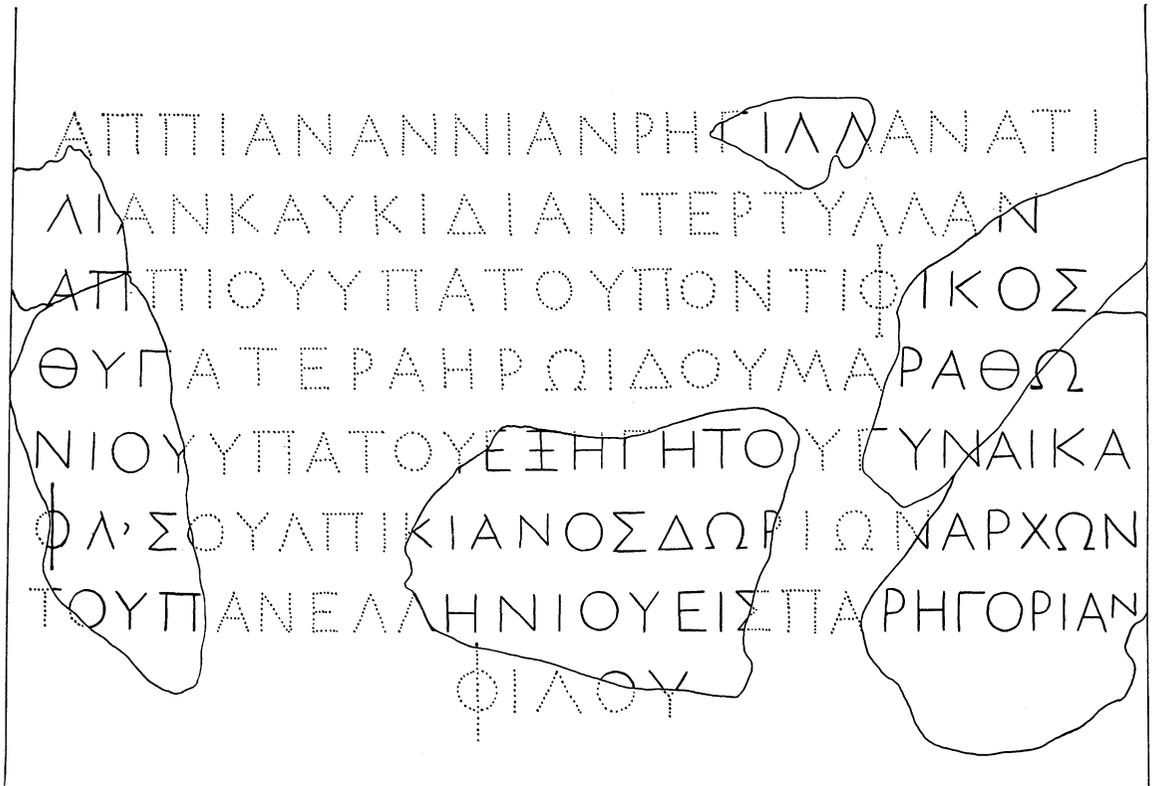
¹⁶⁷ See M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, pp. 173-180; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 1119-1121, note 4; P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 64; *Athènes sous Hadrien*, pp. 39, 52-53, 102-111. The inscription mentioning the Panhellenic archon Flavius Amphikles (Tod, *loc. cit.*, p. 177) is now published as *I.G.*, II², 2957. The epigraphical evidence for the Panhellenic archonship of Herodes Atticus (*I.G.*, II², 1088) was based on an incorrect restoration; see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 368. Oliver also corrected (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 86, note 32) another inscription mentioning a Panhellenic archon.

¹⁶⁸ See *I.G.R.*, I, no. 964; compare A. Stein, *R.E.*, s. v. Flavius, no. 186; W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, p. 145 (incorrectly transcribed). For the ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Κρητῶν, see Brandis, *R.E.*, s. v. Ἀρχιερεὺς, col. 475, lines 1-7; E. Kornemann, *R.E.*, Suppl. IV, cols. 930, lines 7-9, and 936, lines 15-21; G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 741, note 2; M. van der Mijnsbrugge, *The Cretan Koinon*, pp. 71-72; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, p. 1459, note 8.

¹⁶⁹ *I.G.R.*, I, nos. 1015 and 1016; see A. Stein, *R.E.*, s. v. Flavius, no. 187.

¹⁷⁰ *I.G.R.*, I, nos. 1017 and 1018; see A. Stein, *R.E.*, s. v. Flavius, no. 188.

¹⁷¹ See A. Stein, *R.E.*, s. v. Flavius, nos. 185 and 248; compare also E. Groag, *P.I.R.*, II², p. 251, nos. 1034 and 1035.



Restored Drawing of No. 22

TWO PRYTANY CATALOGUES OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

Our knowledge of the *ἀπόστολοι* who were in office between the years A.D. 166 and 169 has been enlarged by J. H. Oliver's restoration of the last lines of the catalogue published as *I.G.*, II², 1773 and by his publication of a recently discovered prytany list which is dated in the earlier part of the year A.D. 168/9.¹⁷² The now available evidence may be supplemented by another list of *ἀπόστολοι* which probably belongs to the year A.D. 165/6 and by the addition of two fragments to the document recently published by Oliver.

23. Fragment from a large block of Hymettian marble, found during the preliminary excavation in 1933, in Section Θ. Only the inscribed face and part of the bottom are preserved. The lower 0.10 m. of the front face is uninscribed.

¹⁷² *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 50-51, no. 18.

Height, 0.33 m.

Width, 0.345 m.

Thickness, 0.355 m.

Height of letters, 0.004-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 282.

A.D. 165/6 (?)

γρα[μ(ματεὺς) β]ουλ[ῆ]ς [καὶ δῆμον]
 [.]εα[-^{ca. 3}-]ης) [---]
 ἀν[τιγραφ]εὺς
 Λα[-^{ca. 12}-]αρ(---)
 5 περ[ὶ τ]ὸ [βῆμα]
 Παπ[-^{ca. 4}-]πος) Σ[-^{ca. 5}-]
 ἱεραύλης
 Εὐχάριστος Π[αραμ]ό[νον Ἐπιεικίδης]
 [ϣ] Ϙ Εἰσίδωτος) [Μαρα]θώ[νιος]
 10 ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Ἀφ[ροδίσιος]
 γραμ(ματεὺς) βουλε[υτῶν]
 Ζώπυρο[ς Ἀλεξάνδ]ρον Ἀθ[μονεύς].

The name of the secretary of the prytaneis (line 12) has been restored with reference to the tomb inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 5336, which is dated by J. Kirchner in the second century after Christ. The list of the *ἀἵσιτοι* was therefore part of a prytany catalogue of the tribe Attalis to which the deme Athmonon belonged in this period.

Aphrodisios (line 10) is known as the official ἐπὶ Σκιάδος of the years A.D. 166/7 (*I.G.*, II², 1773, line 66; see *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539) and 167/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1774, line 78). The office changed hands in A.D. 168/9 (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, lines 22-24), and the inscription published here must therefore be earlier than this year.



No. 23

(Photograph from Squeeze)

Similarly, Isidotos (line 9) held the office of undersecretary in the years A.D. 166/7 (*I.G.*, II², 1773, line 65; see *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539), 167/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1774, line 77), and 168/9 (*I.G.*, II², 1775, line 48; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, line 21).

The office changed hands in A.D. 169/70 (*I.G.*, II², 1776, line 44), and the inscription published here must therefore be earlier than this year.

Eucharistos (line 8) is known as the flutist of the year A.D. 167/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1774, lines 75-77). The office changed hands in the latter part of A.D. 168/9 (*I.G.*, II², 1775, line 47), but Eucharistos was still in office in the earlier part of this year (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, line 19). His name appears again as that of one of the *ἀΐστουροι* in an inscription which is dated *ca.* A.D. 170-180 (*I.G.*, II², 1790, line 31). Both Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², 1774, note on line 75) and more recently Oliver (*A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539) assumed that Eucharistos was reappointed as flutist after an interval of at least two years during which Epigonos held that office (*I.G.*, II², 1775, line 47; 1776, line 43; 1781, lines 50-51).

The names of the officials listed in lines 1-6 cannot be restored, but a comparison of the remains of their names with the names of the corresponding officials mentioned in the catalogues of the years A.D. 166-169 shows that the inscription published here cannot belong to any of these years.¹⁷³ This document must be earlier, however, than the year A.D. 168/9, and therefore it must belong either to A.D. 165/6 or to an even earlier year. It is now possible to restore the name of the flutist of the year 166/7 A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 1773; see *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539). Since Eucharistos held this office before and after this year, his name may be restored in line 64: *ἐραύλης* [*Εὐχάριστος*].

24. The prytany catalogue of the tribe Ptolemais published by Oliver in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 50-51, no. 18, is engraved on a shield which is carved upon an unfinished Doric column drum of the Roman period. The inscribed face is slightly convex, and the centre of the shield was occupied by a large wreath carved in low relief. The list of the permanent officials is engraved below this wreath, and it is continued in the last ten lines of the last column to the right of the wreath. If the wreath was placed exactly in the middle of the shield, as it seems to be, the space above it would have been occupied by the normal prescript containing the date and the dedicatory formula. The catalogue of the councillors was therefore engraved in two columns both to the left and to the right of the wreath.

Two small fragments can be added to the inscription published by Oliver. One of them (Fragment A) can be placed with certainty since part of the rim of the shield is preserved on it. The other (Fragment B) contains part of the name list and may belong either to the first or to the third column. The inscribed face of both fragments is slightly convex, and this fact as well as the similarity in the letter forms helped in establishing the combination.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ See *I.G.*, II², 1773, lines 60-63; 1774, lines 68-74; 1775, lines 44-46; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, lines 15-18.

¹⁷⁴ The height of the letters is by mistake given as 0.008 m. in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 50, no. 18; they are in fact between 0.012 and 0.014 m., and this is also the height of the letters of the newly added Fragments A and B.

Fragment A was found in 1931 in an insignificant context. Only the front surface is preserved; although it is badly worn, it apparently curves slightly in both directions. Remains of the rim of the shield are preserved at the lower end of the fragment.

Height, 0.333 m.

Width, 0.096 m.

Thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.012-0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 99.

A.D. 168/9

Ἄφροδ[---]
 Προκλ[---]
 Ἰού(λιος) Μο[ντανός]
 Προσδό[κιμος ---]
 5 Κο[---]
 γραμμα[τεὺς βουλευ]
 τῶν Σω[---]
 Κ[υ]δαν[τίδης].



No. 24. New Fragment
 (A) of *Hesperia*,
 XI, No. 18

The name in line 2 could also be read as Ἴεροκλ[---]. Julius Montanus (line 3) may be identified with the man of the same name who was hyposophonistes in 169/70 A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 2097, line 184). The demotic of the secretary of the prytaneis (line 8), Kydantides, confirms the identification of the document as a prytany list of the tribe Ptolemais. This is, incidentally, one of the rare occurrences of this demotic in the Roman period.¹⁷⁵

The exact location of the new fragment can be determined by comparing the curving of the preserved part of the shield rim with the shield rim preserved on the previously published fragment. From this comparison it may be deduced that line 8 of Fragment A corresponds to line 19 of *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18.

Fragment B was found on June 14, 1933, in Section Z. It is broken all around and the inscribed surface shows a slight convex curving.

¹⁷⁵ The only other one is contained in a much later document which was recently published by Oliver, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXI, 1940, p. 308, line 12; see A. von Schoeffer, *R.E.*, s. v. Δῆμοι, cols. 81-82, no. 90; compare W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, p. 430.

Height, 0.225 m.

Width, 0.105 m.

Thickness, 0.126 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 965.

A.D. 168/9

- [—^{ca. 3}—δ]ωρο[ς ---]
 [Νικ]όμαχ[ος ---]
 [Στά(τιος)] Χρυσό[γονος]
 [Τ]ρύφων Θεο[---]
 5 [Ν]ικόστρατο[ς ---]
 [Νι]κόστρατ[ος ---]
 [Ἄφρο]δίω[ι]ο[ς ---]



No. 24. New Fragment (B) of
Hesperia, XI, No. 18

Fragment B has been associated with the other two fragments because of the similarity in the size and shape of the letters and in the curving of the inscribed surface. The exact position of this fragment cannot be determined, but the preserved names seem to belong to the panel of the councillors from the deme Phlya, because three of these names (lines 2, 3, and 5-6) may be identified with known Athenians from this deme. For Nikomachos (line 2), see *I.G.*, II², 2018, lines 11-12; 2103, line 107; 2111/12, line 48. For Nikostratos (lines 5-6), see *I.G.*, II², 2068, line 67; 2102, line 54; 2103, line 106; 2191, line 24. The restoration of the name of Staius Chrysogonos (line 3) is based on the assumption that the preserved letters ΧΡΥΣΟ belong to the beginning of a name which must then have been preceded by a Roman nomen. It is possible that the councillor Chrysogonos is identical with Staius Chrysogonos who was an ephebe in A.D. 142/3 (*I.G.*, II², 2049, line 50); relatives are mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1765, line 6; 2020, line 55; 2044, line 42; 2107, line 23; 2193, line 148; 2199, line 61.

The surface of the fragment published by Oliver (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 50, no. 18) is in part badly worn, especially the area containing lines 7-11. It seems that line 9 was filled by the name of a deme, and that in line 10 the first five letters of the name Εὐρυχ[---] can be read on a squeeze.

L. LUCILIUS PANSA PRISCILLIANUS

25. The career of L. Lucilius Pansa Priscillianus has been reconstructed from a passage in Dio Cassius (LXXIX, 21, 3-5) and from four inscriptions, two from Ephesos (*Forschungen*, III, pp. 138-139, no. 53), one from Ausculum (*C.I.L.*, IX, 663), and one from Canusium (*C.I.L.*, IX, 338).

The inscription from Ausculum belongs to a tombstone set up by L. Lucilius Pansa Priscillianus to a lady who was, according to the commonly accepted restoration, his patrona, but who may equally well have been his wife.¹⁷⁶ Pansa himself was probably not of a good family, but he may well have married a woman whose father and brother were Roman consuls and who belonged to a family which was related to the Scipiones.¹⁷⁷ The inscription from Ausculum belongs to the end of the second century after Christ, since the lady's father was consul in A.D. 149, and her brother held this office in A.D. 178.¹⁷⁸

The inscription from Canusium belongs to the year A.D. 223, and there a L. Lucilius Priscillianus is mentioned as a man of senatorial rank. Since Pansa and Priscillianus can hardly be identical, they may have been father and son.¹⁷⁹ This assumption has been made by J. Keil in the publication of the two inscriptions from Ephesos.¹⁸⁰

One of the Ephesian inscriptions is engraved on the base of an honorary statue of the procurator of Asia, L. Lucilius Priscillianus. The other, inscribed on a similar monument, honors the man of senatorial rank, L. Lucilius Priscillianus, who was the son of the procurator of Asia, L. Lucilius Pansa Priscillianus. Keil suggested that Pansa was the procurator of Asia known from the Ephesian inscription mentioned above, and that his son, who had senatorial rank, was the man known from the inscription from Canusium. Both were honored in Ephesos probably while Pansa was procurator of Asia. The date of the Ephesian inscriptions cannot be determined with certainty, but it may be assumed that Pansa was at that time well advanced in years since his son had already the rank of a senator. A more accurate date for the careers both of Pansa and of his son is gained by E. Groag's assumption that the son is identical with Lucius Priscillianus who was one of the favorites of the Emperor Caracalla.¹⁸¹ Dio Cassius reports (LXXIX, 21, 3-5) that after the murder of Caracalla, Priscillianus was put on trial by the Senate. This man was famous both for his insolent behaviour and for his killing of wild beasts. Many men of equestrian and

¹⁷⁶ See, however, E. Groag, *P.I.R.*, II², p. 359, no. 1447.

¹⁷⁷ See E. Groag, *P.I.R.*, II², p. 357, no. 1444.

¹⁷⁸ See *P.I.R.*, II², pp. 358-360, nos. 1447 and 1448.

¹⁷⁹ See *P.I.R.*, II, p. 304, nos. 289 and 290.

¹⁸⁰ *Forschungen in Ephesos*, III, p. 139.

¹⁸¹ See *R.E.*, s. v. Lucilius, nos. 29 and 30.

senatorial rank lost their lives because of false charges brought against them by Priscillianus. Because of this and because of his combats with animals he was greatly honored by Caracalla. The emperor put him into the Senate with the rank of a praetor and made him ruler over the province Achaia. Since he was hated by the Senate, he was put on trial after Caracalla's death, and he was exiled to an island. Dio's account is clear and has always been correctly interpreted. Only the reference to Priscillianus' fights with wild animals deserves further comment. He was not a public entertainer who appeared in the arena, but he was, like the emperor himself, fond of showing his physical strength.¹⁸² This activity should therefore not be taken as evidence of his low social status; on the contrary, it shows that Priscillianus belonged, at least financially, to the upper classes.

If Groag's identification is accepted, it must be assumed that Priscillianus became a member of the Senate and held office in Achaia during the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 212-217). Since the two Ephesian inscriptions are contemporary and since one of them refers to Priscillianus as a man of senatorial rank, they too must belong to the same period, and Pansa was therefore procurator of Asia in the time of Caracalla.

Groag's combination has not been accepted by A. Stein who assumed that the favorite of Caracalla mentioned by Dio was identical with the procurator of Asia rather than with the procurator's son.¹⁸³ Groag himself had the occasion to review all the evidence, and he retained his previously suggested identification.¹⁸⁴ A fragmentarily preserved inscription of a statue base found in the Agora excavations seems to confirm Stein's interpretation and adds considerably to our knowledge of the career of L. Lucilius Pansa Priscillianus.

The nine fragments were found at different times and in different places, and they carry different inventory numbers. The material seems to be difficult to determine. It is apparently a dull, white marble with micaceous grey, blue, and purple veins. It seems unnecessary to give the measurements of the individual fragments since both the original width of the base and the height of the inscription are preserved. All but one of the fragments apparently join into one piece.

Fragments A and B: Found on May 7, 1938, in the original fill of the Valerian wall, north of the Hypapanti Gate, in Section II. Inv. No. I 5327 (II 423 b and 423 a).

Fragments C, E, and F: Found on May 9, 1938, in the Valerian wall, north of the Hypapanti Gate, in Section II. Inv. No. I 5327 (II 427 a and 427 b).

Fragments D and I: Found on March 17, 1938, in the south wall of Hypapanti, in Section II. Inv. No. I 5327 (II 297 a and 297 b).

¹⁸² See W. Reusch, *Klio*, Beiheft XXIV, 1931, p. 37.

¹⁸³ *Der römische Ritterstand*, pp. 172-173; see also p. 288. Stein's view has been accepted by P. Lambrechts, *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, I/8, 1937, p. 52, nos. 612 and 613; see, however, p. 36, no. 323.

¹⁸⁴ *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia*, cols. 82-84.



No. 25. Fragments A, C, D,
E, F, and I



Frag. D



Frag. G



Frag. H



Frag. I

No. 25. Fragments D, G, H, and I

Fragment G: Found on December 31, 1936, in Section 00. Inv. No. I 4381.

Fragment H: Found on January 28, 1938, in a Turkish wall, in Section II. Inv. No. I 5179.

Fragments A, C, D, E, F, and I have already been joined by the excavators in Athens, while Fragments B, G, and H have been merely attributed by them to the same monument as the other fragments. Fragment B can be placed with certainty, but it does not join any of the other fragments. Fragment G can be joined to Fragment E. The close association of Fragments C, D, E, and G provides the original width of the monument, since Fragment C preserves the left edge, Fragment G the right edge of the base. Fragment H must belong to the left lower corner of the statue base since its second and third lines begin at a greater distance from the left edge than its first badly preserved line and the four lines of Fragment C. The position suggested here for Fragment H has been determined from the restoration of its inscription. It may well be that it joins Fragment C, but this assumption must be tested on the fragments in Athens.



No. 25. Detail of Fragments
A and C

The original width of the base is preserved, but it can now only approximately be determined, since Fragment G was not joined to the other fragments when the

monument was studied in Athens. Measured on a composite squeeze the width of the inscribed front face is *ca.* 0.66 m. The height of the base is not preserved since Fragments A and B are broken at the top and Fragment I is broken at the bottom. Yet both the first and last lines of the inscription are preserved, and the total height of the inscription is (measured on the composite squeeze) *ca.* 0.645 m. The original height of the pedestal may have been approximately one metre; thus the proportion between height and width was as three to two. All fragments are broken at the back; the thickness of the base may have been the same as its width, *ca.* 0.66 m.

ca. A.D. 215-217

- [Ἡ ἐξ Ἀ]ρε[ίου πάγο]υ βο[υλή και ἦ]
 [βου]λή τῶν [Φ και ὁ] δῆμος [ὁ Ἀθη]
 [ναίω]υ· Λ· Λου[κίλιον Πά]γο[α Πρεις]
 κιλλιανὸν [ἡγημόνα(?) πρειςβευτήν(?) τοῦ]
 5 κυρίου αὐτοκ[ράτορος· ἐπίτροπον]
 ἐπαρχείας Κιλικίας [· ἐπίτροπον Παν]
 νουίας κατωτέρας· ἐπίτ[ροπον τῶν ἐν]
 [Ρ]ώμη υδάτων· ἐπίτροπ[ον Πόντου(?) Βιθυ]
 [νίας(?) Παφλαγο(?)]νίας· ἐπίτ[ροπον Ἀσίας]
 10 [πατέρα] συνκλητικῶν.
 [ἀρετῆς ἔ]νεκεν και [τῆ]ς εἰς τὴν
 πα[τριδ]α τὰς Ἀθῆν[ας ἐν]ο[ί]ας χάρ[ι]υ].
 αἰτ[ησα]μένον κ[αὶ ἐπιμεληθέντος]
 Θεο[φίλ]ου ὁ Ὑβάδο[υ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ]
 15 [φίλον και ε]ὐεργέτην.

The significance of the inscription depends on the correctness of the restoration of Priscillianus' name. The praenomen and the partly preserved gentile in line 3 cannot belong to the father's name because the immediately following name (restored here to [Πά]γο[α]) must belong to a cognomen. It seems, therefore, that the name of Pansa's father was not mentioned in the inscription. This may be taken as an indication that Pansa's father did not belong to the Roman nobility. Similarly, in the inscription from Ausculum (*C.I.L.*, IX, 663) and in one of the Ephesian inscriptions (*Forschungen*, III, no. 53) no mention is made of Pansa's father.

The restoration of line 4 is uncertain. It is based on the assumption that the man honored in this inscription is the same Priscillianus whom Caracalla ἐς τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐσεγράφη and who τῆς Ἀχαιίας και παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἦρχεν. The normal title πρειςβευτῆς ἀντιστρατηγός seems to be too long for the available space (see E. Kornemann, *Klio*, XXXI, 1938, pp. 89-90).

Lines 5-9 contain the *cursus honorum* of Pansa in chronological order. He was first procurator of Cilicia and was at that time at the lowest step of the procuratorial

Η ΕΞ ΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΓΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Η
 ΒΟΥΛΗ ΤΩΝ ΦΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΘΗ
 ΝΑΙΩΝ· Ἄ· ΛΟΥΚΙΛΙΟΝ ΠΑΝΣΑΤΡΕΙΣ
 ΚΙΛΛΙΑΝΟΝ ΗΓΗΜΟΝΑ ΤΡΕΣ ΒΕΥΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ
 ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ· ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ
 ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΑΣ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑΣ· ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΠΑΝ
 ΝΟΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΩΤΕΡΑΣ· ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ
 ΡΩΜΗ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ· ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΘΥ
 ΝΙΑΣ ΠΑΦΛΑΓΟΝΙΑΣ· ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ
 ΠΑΤΕΡΑΣ ΕΥΚΛΗΤΙΚΩΝ
 ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ
 ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ ΤΑΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ
 ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝ ΤΟΣ
 ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥΣ ΥΒΑΔΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΦΙΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ

career.¹⁸⁵ His next office was the procuratorship of lower Pannonia, and in this position he had the rank of a centenarius.¹⁸⁶ After his activity in the provinces, Pansa became procurator aquarum in the city of Rome; this was, strictly speaking, not an advancement, but it brought him into the metropolis of the empire.¹⁸⁷ Pansa's next two positions were both provincial procuratorships, but the names of the provinces cannot be restored with certainty. The restoration of lines 8-9 is quite hypothetical, and it presupposes that Pansa was promoted to the rank of a ducenarius, since the procurator of the provinces Pontus and Bithynia had this rank in the third century after Christ.¹⁸⁸ The restoration of the end of line 9 is based on the identification of the man honored in this inscription with the procurator of Asia whose statue was set up in Ephesos (*Forschungen*, III, no. 53). Since the Athenian inscription must be later than the two inscriptions from Ephesos, and since it contains the *cursus honorum* of Pansa, it must have made reference to his procuratorship of Asia.¹⁸⁹

The restoration of line 10 was kindly supplied by David Magie, and it seems supported by the many similar phrases collected by A. Stein.¹⁹⁰ The words [πατέρα] συνκλητικῶν added to the *cursus honorum* of the procurator Pansa would indicate that his son was given the senatorial rank at a time when he, the father, was still holding office as a procurator. Exactly this has already been deduced by Stein from the Ephesian inscription which honors Pansa's son as συγκλητικός.¹⁹¹

We learn from the Athenian inscription that Pansa was not merely procurator of Asia when Caracalla promoted him to the rank of a senator, but he had passed through the many stages of the procuratorial career. Dio does not mention this at all, but it is possible that his reference to the false charges made by Pansa against men of equestrian and senatorial rank is, in fact, a reflection on Pansa's activity as a procurator.¹⁹²

Lines 11-12 contain the motivation for the honors granted to Pansa. This is expressed in one of the most conventional phrases except for the words τὰς Ἀθῆν[ας] which were added in order to make clear that τὴν πα[τριδ]α referred to Athens.¹⁹³

Lines 13-15 are slightly indented and contain a reference to the erection of the monument. For the word αἰτ[ησα]μένου, compare *I.G.*, II², 3960, and G. Gerlach, *Griech. Ehreninschriften*, p. 92. It means that Theophilus urged the Athenian authorities (mentioned in lines 1-2) to honor Pansa; once the honors were officially expressed Theophilus received the permission to erect a statue of the honored bene-

¹⁸⁵ See G. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 437, note 1.

¹⁸⁶ See Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 436, note 3 (on p. 437).

¹⁸⁷ See Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 278, note 3, and 439, note 8; compare Dessau, no. 478. For the phrase ἐν Ἐφώμῃ, see *I.G.R.*, III, no. 174, line 24.

¹⁸⁸ See Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 375, 379, note 5, and 436, note 2.

¹⁸⁹ This office, too, was held by a ducenarius; see Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 436, note 2.

¹⁹⁰ *Der römische Ritterstand*, pp. 294-297.

¹⁹¹ See Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

¹⁹² Compare Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 405, note 4.

¹⁹³ A similar phrase is found in *I.G.R.*, IV, no. 574, lines 6-7.

factor. The man who erected the statue of Pansa, Theophilos, son of Theophilos, from Hybadai, is not quite unknown.¹⁹⁴ His brother Tryphon was herald of the Areopagus in A.D. 209/210 (*I.G.*, II², 1077, lines 14-16), and several years earlier kosmetes of the ephebes (*I.G.*, II², 2193). His relation to the imperial house is clearly indicated by the honors granted to him by the emperors. Theophilos himself had a son with the name of Apollonios who was a classmate of the sons of Tryphon (*I.G.*, II², 2193, lines 10, 22, and 62). It is quite clear that the family of Theophilos from Hybadai must have been wealthy and pro-Roman.¹⁹⁵ The erection of a statue of Pansa by one of the members of this family shows that Athens was not quite bare of new monuments at the beginning of the third century after Christ.¹⁹⁶

A DEDICATION TO NEMESIS

26. The inscription published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 77, no. 77 has been correctly restored by J. Kirchner as a dedication to the Goddess Nemesis (*I.G.*, II², 4817 a).¹⁹⁷ This restoration is now confirmed by the addition of a new fragment which makes it possible to complete the whole inscription, to determine the character of the monument on which it is engraved, and to identify the dedicator of this monument.

The new fragment is of Pentelic marble. It was found on May 7, 1937, in the foundations of a late Roman house to the east of the Tholos, in Section Z. It is part of a small altar. Its original height and thickness are preserved, but it is broken to the right and to the left; the old fragment joins on the right side and has the right lateral face preserved. On top is a slight hollow. The front and back faces are bounded above and below by mouldings which are broken away on the new fragment but which are still preserved on the old one.

Height, 0.212 m.; original height (preserved on the old fragment), 0.235 m.

Width, 0.12 m.; original width, *ca.* 0.15 m.

Thickness without the mouldings, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.1012 m.

Inv. No. I 4790.



No. 26. *Hesperia*, III,
No. 77 (= *I.G.*,
II², 4817 a)

¹⁹⁴ See R. Neubauer, *Hermes*, XI, 1876, p. 152.

¹⁹⁵ For the relation between Athens and Septimius Severus, see J. Day, *An Economic History*, pp. 200-202.

¹⁹⁶ See Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253.

¹⁹⁷ For the cult of Nemesis in Athens, see H. Herter, *R.E.*, s. v. Nemesis, col. 2356, lines 58-68.



No. 26. New Fragment Joined
to *Hesperia*, III, No. 77

(Photograph from Squeeze)

ca. 240 A.D.

[Ἄγ]αθῆ Τύχη.
[Ἀύ]ρ(ήλιος) Ἄδρ[ι]ανὸς Σω
[τ]ηρίχου ἐξ Οἴου
[θ]εῶ Νεμέσει
[ἀ]ποκατέστη
[σε] οἴκοθεν.

The restoration θεῶ Νεμέσει, now confirmed by the addition of the new fragment, has already been suggested by A. Wilhelm.¹⁹⁸ The phrase ἀποκατέστησε οἴκοθεν indicates that the dedicator restored the altar at his own expense.¹⁹⁹ It may well be that this restoration included not only the altar itself but also the whole shrine together with the altar.

Kirchner suggested for the old fragment a date in the second or third centuries after Christ. A more accurate date may now be given since the dedicator, Aurelius Hadrianus is known from two other documents. A young man of his name was ca. 226 A.D. an ephebe of the tribe Leontis to which Oion belongs, and more than twenty years later the same man was ὑποσωφρονιστής of the ephebes.²⁰⁰ His dedication to Nemesis may therefore be dated in the second quarter of the third century after Christ.

ANTONY E. RAUBITSCHKEK

YALE UNIVERSITY

ΠΡΑΞΙΚΛΗΣ ΣΩΦΟΡΤΟΤ

Councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C.

It is suggested in the publication *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, line 11, and p. 237 that Σωφόρτου may be a mistake for Σωφόρβου: but Sophortos, though not recorded in Pape or Kirchner, appears as the name of a workman on the Arkesilas cup in the Cabinet des Médailles (*C.V.*, pls. 20-21). The background to left of the first sigma is repainted, and there is room for another letter, so Buschor (in *F.R.*, III, p. 211) reads [ι]σοφορτος, which he appears to explain as an announcement to the king: but the old reading Σοφορτος, which goes back to Welcker, is doubtless correct. The Agora stone, and the Laconian cup, support each other.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

J. D. BEAZLEY

¹⁹⁸ In a letter to B. D. Meritt, dated March 30, 1934. Similarly, the first line of *I.G.*, II², 4747 may be restored as [θεῶ]ι Νεμέσει.

¹⁹⁹ For οἴκοθεν, see *I.G.*, II², 3669, lines 5-6. ²⁰⁰ See *I.G.*, II², 2235, line 112, and 2243, line 24.