

# ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

## THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

1. Under this number are published four new fragments of the early Athenian inscription which preserves certain regulations about the Eleusinian Mysteries (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6). The new fragments are all small, but they contribute greatly to the better understanding of the text in Face C of the original monument, and they give for the first time parts at least of Face D.

All fragments are corner fragments with parts of the adjoining faces preserved, but all are otherwise broken. Fragment *a* was found in Section HH on February 12, 1936, fragment *b* in Section HH on February 8, 1936, fragment *c* in Section II on June 24, 1935, and fragment *d* in Section ΘΘ on April 19, 1937. All are inscribed stoichedon, with letters *ca.* 0.014 m. in height, and with horizontal units of 0.017 m. and vertical units of 0.0175 m.

*a*: Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.076 m.; thickness, 0.028 m.  
Inv. No. I 3322 *b*.

*b*: Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.  
Inv. No. I 3322 *a*.

*c*: Height, 0.073 m.; width, 0.103 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.  
Inv. No. I 2907 *a*.

*d*: Height, 0.072 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.074 m.  
Inv. No. I 2907 *b*.

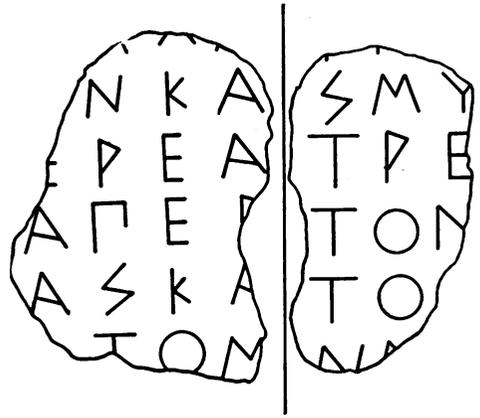
The drawings published here have been taken from squeezes. They show the relative disposition of the two faces on each fragment and give our readings of the preserved letters.<sup>1</sup> For purposes of control we print here also photographs, or photographs of the squeezes, from which the drawings were made. Unfortunately it has been impossible to secure adequate photographs of fragments *a*, *b*, and *c* at the present time, and those originally sent from Athens were lost.

Fragment *a* was the first to be placed in its relation to the rest of the inscription. Paul Clement observed that the letters on its narrow face fell in proper position for the ends of lines 56-60 in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, Face B. In response to his inquiry about the stone in London, C. M. Robertson very kindly communicated the information that a horizontal equation between the three principal faces could be established by noting

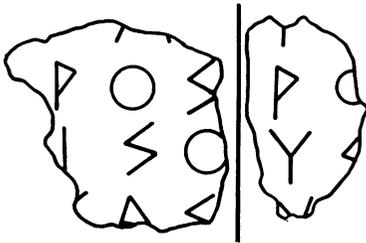
<sup>1</sup> The drawings were made by A. E. Raubitschek.



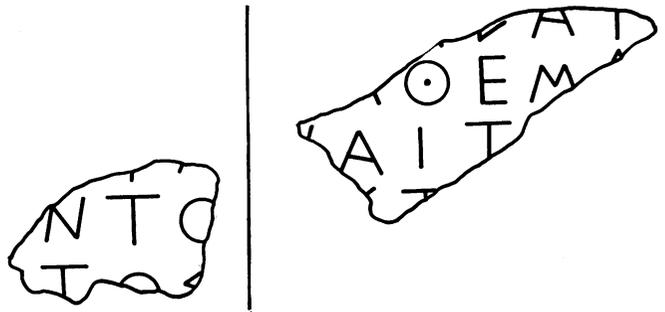
No. 1: Fragment *a*



No. 1: Fragment *b*



No. 1: Fragment *c*



No. 1: Fragment *d*



Fragment *a*



Squeezes of No. 1

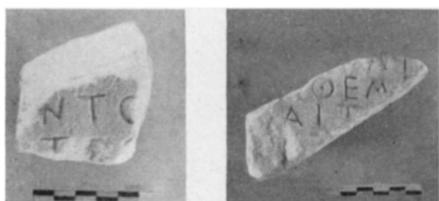
Fragment *b*



Fragment *c*

that line 27 (A), line 73 (B), and line 118 (C) all lie at the same level. This meant that the broad face of the new fragment fitted into the text of Face C of the London fragment, where indeed a considerable area of the surface had been chipped away. There has been no opportunity to try the stones for a join, but there can be no doubt that a join would result if the stones could be juxtaposed, and the position of the fragment may be considered certain.

Robertson also sent from London excellent photographs of the three faces of the stone in the British Museum, which are here published by the courtesy of the Trustees of the Museum. It has long been a serious handicap to the many scholars who have labored over this document that no good photographs have been available, and one can now only lament the vast amount of fruitless speculation that might have been avoided if better evidence had been sooner available.



No. 1: Photographs of Fragment *d*

The photographs are not on the same scale

Kirchhoff printed the majuscule text of the three faces of this monument side by side,<sup>2</sup> so that they gave an appearance of line to line correspondence. This appearance is illusory, for the arrangement in the old *Corpus* is solely one of convenience in printing and has no relation to the disposition of the stone.<sup>3</sup> The text may well be given, however, in such a way as to show the one-to-one correspondence of the lines on the various

faces, and this method of numbering the lines has been adopted below (pp. 77-80). Any given line on one face has the same height on the stone as the line which bears the same number on each of the other three faces. Lines of the inscription will be referred to hereafter by the new numbering.

It was at once evident that no text could be reconstructed which utilized the accepted readings of that part of Face C adjacent to the new fragment, so a new study of C was undertaken with the aid of squeeze and photograph. The reading of this stone is at best a baffling and discouraging business. Crönert had made progress in the version which he published in 1908,<sup>4</sup> yet it must be admitted that he introduced error into the tradition along with the good that he contributed and frequently rejected readings made from the stone by Hicks that were quite correct.<sup>5</sup> The despair felt by Novossadsky when he turned to the squeezes of the stone in London sent to him by Stchukarev was vividly expressed:<sup>6</sup> — — — apparet tribus versibus plus quam nunc habemus in initio inscriptionis olim exstitisse, quos supplere sane lusus esset

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A similar illusion is created by the way the text is published in Roberts-Gardner, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, II, pp. 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1908, p. 1021.

<sup>5</sup> *A Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, I, no. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 412.



*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, A and B. The set-line, which is quite clear on Face A, is also discernible at the bottom of Face B

(Photographs by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, B and C, showing the relative disposition of the two faces

(Photographs by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

ingenii, unde haud scio an nullum fructum notitia antiquitatis ferre possit; neque minus in ceteris, cum ectypum perlustranti plures coniecturae in mentem mihi venirent, a re parum utili abstinere potius statui. H. J. Rose was the first to publish the broad faces of the stele (A and C),<sup>7</sup> and he concluded his commentary upon them with a note of resignation: Apographa laterum haud sine maximo labore et eo quidem nullum fructum referente, addidi. Si quis melioribus oculis praeditus plura ex hoc marmore eruere possit, me certe laudatorem minime invidum habebit.

The text of the new fragment helps, of course, by indicating what to look for in the continuation of its lines. In line 16 [...] *λόχιον* (Crönert's reading)<sup>8</sup> becomes [...] *κοσίον*, and is part of the word [*χε*]χσακοσίον, while the letters after it are not IN or IM (Crönert), but KA. In line 20 *ἀνέδοτο* is clear, and may be so read in spite of the fact that Crönert says the delta was surely an epsilon.<sup>9</sup> In line 21 the first letters of the large fragment in Face C are KΑΣ, rather than ΤΕΣ, and they now become part of the word *Κέρ[υ]κας*.

These improvements had no sooner been made than the second new fragment (b) also fell into place at the right edge of Face C. Its lateral face gave the first sure text from the fourth side of the original pillar (D). The consecutive text, which I consider certain,<sup>10</sup> may now be built up for lines 14-22 in Face C.

- - - - - σ[ύμπαντας ὄβο]  
 15 λὸς τοῖν θεοῖν [ἔναι πλὴν ἔ *χε*]  
 χσακοσίον κα[ὶ χιλίον δρα]αχμ  
 ὄν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν *η*[εχσακοσίου]ν κα  
 ἰ χιλίον δραχμ[ὸν τὸν *η*]έρα  
 ν τὰναλόματα [δῶναι καθ]άπερ  
 20 τέος ἀνέδοτο· Ε[ὕ]μ[ολπίδ]ας κα  
 ἰ Κέρ[υ]κας λαμβάν[εν παρὰ] τῷ μ  
 ὕστ[ο *η*]εκάστο - - - - -

When Novossadsky published the small fragment which now heads the preserved part of Face C,<sup>11</sup> he allowed two exceptions to the normal stoichedon order of the inscription, writing *χε[ροφάν]τεν* in line 9 and *τ[οῖς ὄλε]ίζοσιν* in lines 10-11. Kirchhoff corrected the irregularity of the extra letter in the restoration *τ[οῖς ὄλε]ίζο-*

<sup>7</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae Vetustissimae* (Cambridge, 1825), pp. 242-248 and Plate XXX.

<sup>8</sup> The assumed possibility of restoring here [*δαι*]δόχιον has led to the addition of this word to Greek lexicography. The entry *δαδούχιον* in our lexica should be deleted.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 1021. The letter was read as delta by Hicks. In line 17 Crönert read a tau in the same letter space with the delta. Roberts-Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 6, have mistaken the letter space in question and report: "The T is written as a correction over a Δ." This is surely not the case, and I am inclined to doubt also Crönert's reading as well.

<sup>10</sup> Except possibly for the supplements in lines 14 and 15.

<sup>11</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 410-412.

σω by writing τ[οῖς μ]έζωσω,<sup>12</sup> but he then had to write [τοῖς ὀλ]είζ[ωσω] in line 12 instead of [τοῖς μ]είζ[ωσω], so the irregularity was merely transferred from one spot to another. The irregularity about the hierophantes has remained.

In lines 8-9 Novossadsky printed: . . . ερα. [παρὰ ? τ]ὸ μύστο [ηεκάστο]. ε?ν ηιε[ροφάν]τεν δὲ μ[ισθόν]. Hicks read in line 8 τ]έν ηιε[ρ(άν(?))], but this was before the discovery of the new fragment. Crönert's text gave . . . χεν ηιερ ---, and he says of it: "das X unzweifelhaft." On the contrary, the letter which Crönert read as X is T, so the various attempts to restore some form of ἀπαρχέν need no longer be considered. Lines 8-9 should be read [παρὰ τ]ὸ μύστο [ηεκάστο], as Novossadsky first suggested. This phrase ended its sentence, as it did also at least twice elsewhere in the text of Face C. The words which followed were τέν ηιέρ[εαν] τέν Δέμε[τρος]. Only the vertical stroke of the second epsilon in Δέμε[τρος] is preserved, but it is spaced properly for epsilon and not for iota. Furthermore, the reading of ηιέρ[εαν] τέν for ηιερ[οφάν]τεν removes the irregularity of having to assume an extra letter in the restoration. One notes that the particle δέ is omitted at the beginning of this sentence. Such asyndeton also occurs elsewhere in this inscription, however, and it offers no difficulty to the interpretation.<sup>13</sup> The reading of Δέμε[τρος] for δὲ μ[ισθόν] merely confirms our lack of evidence about pay for the hierophantes. One can now say that this line has nothing whatever to do either with pay (so defined) or with the hierophantes.<sup>14</sup>

At this point in the study it became clear that another of the new fragments (c) could also be definitely placed. It lies so close to Novossadsky's fragment that there must be a join between them, though the test has not yet been made. This small piece confirms the reading Δέμε[τ]ροσ and also shows that Novossadsky was right in naming the Lesser Mysteries before the Greater. However, there is no need to assume an epigraphical irregularity in the stoichedon order of lines 10-11, for the reading should be τ[ο]ῖς ὀ[λ]είζωσω. This small fragment carries a few letters belonging to Face D, but here (as in fragment b) the only significant letters seem to refer to the Mystai or to the Mysteries. I have no restoration to offer.

I have been unable to follow in its entirety the history of the fragment published by Novossadsky. It was purchased by Alexander Stchukarev from a dealer in antiquities in Athens and taken by him to Berlin where it was shown to A. Kirchhoff, who made a copy of the text.<sup>15</sup> Stchukarev, apparently, had already decided that the

<sup>12</sup> *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 133, followed also by Hiller in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6.

<sup>13</sup> Wilhelm cites numerous examples of such asyndeton in Attic texts in his *Attische Urkunden IV* (pp. 14-15) in *Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, 1939, though the restoration which he sought to support in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45 by these references cannot be made; cf. *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 317-319.

<sup>14</sup> Novossadsky (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 411-412) commented upon his text as follows: constitutum fuisse, ut hierophantae pro laboribus in initiando susceptis mercedem acciperent, potuimus tantum suspicari, pro certo affirmare nullo antiquitatis indicio nitentes minime potuimus.

<sup>15</sup> *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 133.

fragment belonged with Face C of the stone in London, and he had received—through the kindness of Wolters—a squeeze from the British Museum which he also laid before Kirchhoff, explaining his identification of the fragment, but confessing that he could not fix its position.<sup>16</sup> Kirchhoff examined the stone and the squeeze and pointed out to Stchukarev the place to which the fragment should be assigned, giving also the restoration of the text.

Stchukarev soon left Berlin. He took the stone and his squeeze with him to St. Petersburg, leaving a photograph with Kirchhoff, and afterwards he entrusted the publication of the fragment to Novossadsky,<sup>17</sup> to whom he also supplied his squeeze of the whole inscription from the British Museum.<sup>18</sup> Novossadsky's publication appeared promptly, and was promptly criticized by Kirchhoff for not adhering to the proper disposition of the letters in the stoichedon pattern. Kirchhoff's new publication, however, in *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 133, was no improvement in this regard.

Novossadsky reported, as of 1889, that the stone was in Stchukarev's private possession in St. Petersburg.<sup>19</sup> I do not know its later history until 1935 when a squeeze from it was made for me in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, where it bears the inventory number 576. A photograph of this squeeze is published here.<sup>20</sup>

Just as our new study of the text has eliminated mention of the hierophantes from line 9, so also it eliminates mention of the hierokeryx from line 6. This restoration was first made by Kirchhoff, and has been generally followed by other editors and commentators.<sup>21</sup> It deserves the same degree of scepticism which Ziehen has recently urged for all the difficult passages of this inscription.<sup>22</sup> The normal usage

<sup>16</sup> *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 133. Novossadsky (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 410) credits the identification to Kirchhoff: A. Stchukarevio, viro antiquitatis studiosissimo, cum esset Athenis, venit forte in manus fragmentum lapidis, quod cum Kirchhoffio Berolini ostendisset, agnovit vir doctissimus hunc lapidem pertinere ad inscriptionem, quae in C.I.A. I primum obtinet locum.

<sup>17</sup> The photograph ought to be in the archives of the Berlin Academy. Hiller makes no mention of having used either squeeze or photograph in preparing his publication of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6.

<sup>18</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 410.

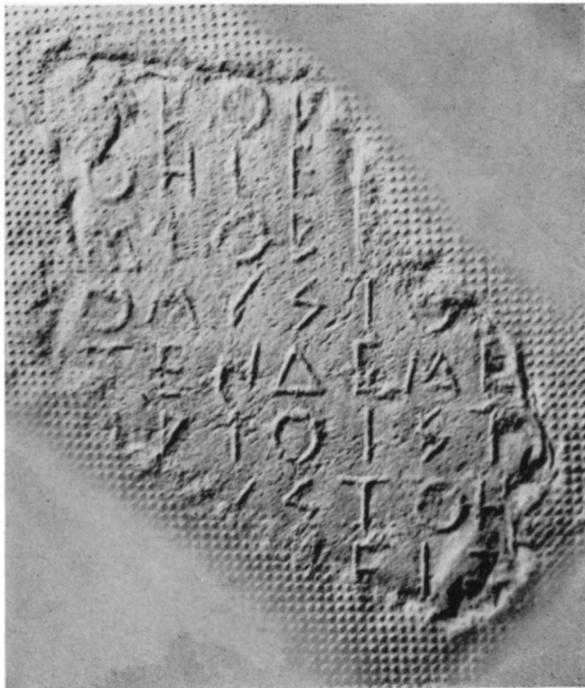
<sup>19</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 410, note 1: Fragmentum quod edimus, apud A. Stchukarevium Petropoli adservatur.

<sup>20</sup> This low inventory number implies that the stone was in Athens during the early days of the making of the inventory.

<sup>21</sup> *I.G.*, I, Suppl. I, p. 133; Roberts-Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II, 1, p. 12; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, 42; Michel, *Recueil*, 669. P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 202, comments on the name: Les premières lettres seules sont conservées, mais le nombre des caractères qui manquent et le contexte ne laissent aucun doute sur la restitution  $\delta \text{ iep}[\text{οκηρυχς λαμβανέτω ἡ}] \mu\omega\beta\acute{\epsilon}[\text{λιον καθ' ἡμ}] \acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu [\text{παρὰ τ}] \omicron\upsilon \mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon [\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon] \acute{\epsilon}\nu$ .

<sup>22</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.*, CXCVII, 1935, pp. 453-454: Für die *μύησις* hat s. Zt. Pringsheim den Weg gebahnt, indem er sie scharf von der *τελετή* trennte und darauf hinwies, dass sie gar nicht zu der eigentlichen Mysterienfeier gehörte. Viel weiter ist die Forschung seitdem nicht gelangt, auch Deubner nicht. Eine wichtige Vorbedingung dafür wäre, dass die alte Mysterienordnung IG I<sup>2</sup> 6 an den entscheidenden Stellen sicher gelesen und ergänzt würde. Denn das ist sie noch keineswegs. Ich fürchte, dass man sich hier wie in anderen Fällen zu leicht mit den im Corpus oder anderen Ausgaben gebotenen Ergänzungen zufrieden gibt.

would be to have the infinitive *λαμβάνειν* (as in line 10). This necessitates, of course, an accusative subject, probably with the particle *δέ*. The restoration should be *ἠιε[ροποιὸς δὲ λαμβάνειν ἠε]μιοβέ[λιον καθ' ἑμ]έραν [παρὰ τ]ὸ μύστο [ἠεκάστο]*. The hieropoioi are known otherwise from the fifth century, and are mentioned again here in line 37. There is no other early evidence for the hierokeryx. This inscription is definitely not evidence for the title.



Fragment from Face C  
(Photograph from Squeeze)

I note here that one other Eleusinian official, the *δαδοῦχος*, has also been conjectured for these early lines. J. J. E. Hondius has suggested the restoration [*ἔναι δαιδοχοὶ ὁ]βολ[ὸν παρὰ τ]ὸ μύστο ἠεκάστ]ο for lines 5-6.<sup>23</sup> This has the requisite number of letters to begin at the left margin, but there is no good reason to believe that to be desirable. An unknown number of lines have been lost above Face C and it is now impossible to restore anything before *ὁβολ[όν]* (part of the first omikron is visible) in line 5.*

Lines 5-14 now read as follows:

- 5 [-----] ὁβολ[ὸν παρὰ τ]  
 [ὸ μύστο ἠεκάστ]ο· ἠιε[ροποιὸς]  
 [δὲ λαμβάνειν ἠε]μιοβέ[λιον κα]  
 [θ' ἑμ]έραν [παρὰ τ]ὸ μύστο [ἠεκ]ά[σ]  
 [το]· τὲν ἠιέρ[εαν] τὲν Δέμε[τ]ρος  
 10 [λ]αμ[β]άνειν μυ[στέ]ρίοις τ[ο]ῖς ὁ  
 [λ]έξουσιν παρὰ [τὸ μ]ύστο ἠ[εκ]άσ  
 [τ]ο ὁβολὸν καὶ [τοῖς μ]είζ[ουσιν]  
 [μ]υστερίοις ὁ[βολὸν παρὰ τὸ μ]  
 [ύσ]το ἠεκάστο· ---- κτλ. -

I have not been able to assign to fragment *d* a definite place in the inscription, but it presents nonetheless an interesting epigraphical peculiarity which is worth recording. The round letters on both its faces are perfect circles, made with the

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 2.

tubular drill.<sup>24</sup> So are the round letters on all three faces of the stone in London, except for the postscript of Face C. The round letters of the new Face D, however, were made free-hand. The contrast can be seen in the photographs published here of fragment *b* (p. 62, bottom). One must realize, therefore, that neither side of fragment *d* was part of Face D of the original monument. It must be placed on the corner AB or BC, above the preserved fragment. I know of no way to determine which of these two possible corners is to be preferred, but for the sake of convenience in presenting the text I have chosen AB.

One of the most puzzling passages in Face C comes in lines 22-26. From photograph and squeeze I can read only the following:

. ΕΚΑΣΤΟ . . Ν  
 . ΕΝΟΝΘΕΛΕΙC  
 . . . . ΤΕΜΜΕΕΝ  
 25 . ΔΑΠΛΕΝΤΟΑΦ  
 ΟΚΕΡΥΚΑΣΔΕΜΛ

Crönert has read more, and his readings have been used as the basis for the text in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6.<sup>25</sup> I can see nothing of  $\text{Ϝ} <$  before TEM in line 24, and am inclined to believe that the word may have been ἐπόπ]τεμ, or perhaps μύσ]τεμ. In line 25 I read from the photograph the initial letters ΔΑ, with some feeling of confidence about the delta.<sup>26</sup> Unsatisfactory as it may seem, I prefer to give the text from line 20, where probably a new sentence begins (with asyndeton), to line 26 with a minimum of restoration:

----- Ε[<sup>υ</sup>]μ[ολπίδ]ας κα  
 ἰ Κέρ[ν]κας λαμβάν[εν παρὰ] τὸ μ  
 ύστ[ο ἡ]εκάστο [...ν[.....<sup>9</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>5</sup>.....]ενον θέλει ὀ[.....<sup>8</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>.....]τεμ μὲ ἐν[αι .....<sup>6</sup>.....]  
 25 [...<sup>5</sup>.....]δα πλὲν τὸ ἀφ' [ἐστίας μν]  
 [ομέν]ο· ----- κτλ. -----

The next lines deal with the right of the Kerykes and Eumolpidae to perform the ceremonies of the μύησις. Both *gene* were so privileged, and I restore as follows:

<sup>24</sup> This was called to my attention by Raubitschek, who plans soon to publish the results of his studies on the mechanical engraving of circular letters.

<sup>25</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1908, p. 1021.

<sup>26</sup> Crönert, *loc. cit.*, read here a nu.

---- Κέρυκας δὲ μν[έν τὸς νέ]  
 [ο]ς μύστας ἡέκαστον [καὶ Εὐμο]  
 [λπιδ]ας κατὰ ταῦτά· ἐ[ὰν δὲ κατ]  
 ἂ πλῆθος, εὐθύνεσθα[ι χιλίας]  
 30 [ι] δρα[χ]μέσι· μνῆν δὲ [ἡοὶ ἂν ἡεβ]  
 ὄσι Κερύκον καὶ Εὐ[μολπιδόν].

This passage has been the subject of much debate. Wilhelm proposed for lines 26-28: Κέρυκας δὲ μν[έν τὸς νέος μ]ύστας ἡ[έκ]αστον [χορὶς, ἡάπαντ]ας κατὰ τα[ύτ]ά.<sup>27</sup> More has now been read than Wilhelm deciphered from the squeeze which he consulted in the files of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, but there is no letter which I have given above that does not confirm Wilhelm's reading. We differ only in the matter of restoration. In lines 30-31 Wilhelm noted that the text, which he reproduced as μ[υ]έν δ' εἶ[ναι τοῖς] ὄσι [Κε]ρύκον καὶ Εὐ[μολπιδόν?], gave to both *gene* the right which lines 26-28 seemed to reserve only to the Kerykes, but he made no attempt to solve the dilemma.<sup>28</sup> Crönert's attempt to read more of the text in these lines led to the introduction of further complication. He read ΕΒ where I now restore ΙΔ of [Εὐμολπίδ]ας, and he read ΑΣΙ instead of ΟΣΙ at the beginning of line 31. I can see nothing of ΕΒ, and I believe that these letters are entirely imaginary. The old reading ΟΣΙ is correct, and must be retained in line 31. These are the letters still visible, and I should insist on the Ο in spite of Crönert's assurance (*loc. cit.*, p. 1021) "nicht ΟΣ, sondern ΑΣ," and his further comment (*loc. cit.*, p. 1023) "26 kann μνῆν δ' εἶ[ναι τοῖς] ὄσι Κερύκον nicht gelesen werden, da deutlich ΑΣΙ auf dem Stein steht." The restoration to which Crönert objected is incorrect, but it should be abandoned because it is barbarous Greek, not because it fails to match the preserved traces on the stone. I suggest in its place μνῆν δὲ [ἡοὶ ἂν ἡεβ]ὄσι Κερύκον καὶ Εὐ[μολπιδόν]. The privilege of conducting the *μύησις* was enjoyed by all who were of age in the *gene* of the Kerykes and Eumolpidae. One is reminded of the stipulation as to who of the Chalcideans were to swear the oath to Athens in 446/5 (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 39, lines 32-33): ὁμόσαι δὲ Χαλκιδέον τὸς ἡεβόντας ἡάπαντας. This later text gives some support to our present restoration.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Hermes*, XXXVIII, 1903, pp. 154-155.

<sup>28</sup> Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*, p. 155: Ich werfe die Frage auf, ohne sie zu verfolgen. Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II, 1, p. 16, approves Wilhelm's restoration but notes the same dilemma: Deinde v. 20-25 [I assume that Ziehen means 22-25, given above as 26-30] Wilhelm solito acumine summaque cum probabilitate restituit; mirum autem est hoc loco solos Ceryces commemorari, nam minime penes hanc unam gentem potestas initiandi fuit, immo sequentibus verbis diserte praecipitur μ[υ]έν δ' εἶ[ναι τοῖς] ὄσι [Κε]ρύκον [καὶ] Εὐ[μολπιδόν], si modo haec recte ita Dittenb. supplevit.

<sup>29</sup> It is no longer necessary to discuss Bannier's μνῆν δ' ἐν [τοῖς δόμ]ασι Κερύκον καὶ Εὐ[μολπιδόν] (*Rh. Mus.*, 1928, p. 266), or Kirchner's suggestion in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6: μνῆν δ' ἐν [αι χούμπ]ασι Κερύκον καὶ Εὐ[μολπιδόν]. Pierre Roussel in *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, quotes Kirchner's reading of [χούμπ]ασι. This and Bannier's [δόμ]ασι have both been criticized by Ziehen in *Gött. gel. Anz.*, CXCVII, 1935, p. 454. The restoration, of course, does not have to be [ἡεβ]ὄσι; one might think of [παρ]ὄσι (which would seem to me obscure) or, for example, of [θέλ]οσι (introducing an element of choice).

Crönert's reading of ΕΒ in line 28 has led to various ingenious but improbable suggestions.<sup>30</sup> The fact is that there is nothing there on the stone, and hence no reason to refrain from restoring [Εὐμολπίδ]ας, which is demanded by the sense and which alone can resolve the dilemma noted above between lines 26-28 and 30-31.<sup>31</sup> It removes the very troublesome inconsistency which Ziehen<sup>32</sup> has only recently again insisted should be removed before further progress can be made in the understanding of the document.

Line 32 begins a new sentence dealing with the sacred moneys of Demeter and Kore. Years ago there was considerable speculation about the place on the Acropolis where they were to be stewarded, particularly with reference to the ἀρχαῖος νεὸς of Athena. Roberts-Gardner, in their version prepared for publication in 1905,<sup>33</sup> gave the generally accepted text: [τ]ὸ δὲ ἱερὸ ἀργυρί[ο τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῶν | θ]εσ[αυρῶν γενόμε]εν[ον ταμειύ|ε]σθαι [ἐν περιβ]όλω[ι τοῦ νοτό|θ]εν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηναία[ς ἀρχαί]ο ν|ε]ὸ ἐμ πόλει.<sup>34</sup> They had access to the stone, however, and recorded in an appendix (p. 535) the difficulties of this restoration: "The restoration here given, which is generally accepted, is inconsistent with the traces of letters on the stone. The first letter of l. 31 is Γ, and the first letter of l. 32 is Τ [our lines 35 and 36]; and there are traces in l. 30 [our line 34] inconsistent with περιβ]όλω[ι. It follows that the topographical reference in ἐν τῷ περιβόλω τῷ νότοθεν (*sic*) τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίας ἀρχαίου νεὸ ἐμ πόλει must be given up, as all the essential words in it prove to be erroneous."

The epigraphical difficulties were thus in large measure solved and their correction published almost twenty years before the Kirchner-Hiller text appeared in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, where the restoration was given with the addition of new readings made by Crönert in 1908, as follows: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸ ἀργυρί[ο τὸ τρίτο]ν ἔσκα[τι]έναι Ἀθην[αζε καὶ κέ]σθαι πάνπαν τὸ λο[ιπὸν ὀπισθ]εν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηναία[ς ἀρχαί]ο ν|ε]ὸ ἐμ πόλει. The commentary (*ibid.*, p. 6) notes that Doerpfeld had preferred [νοτόθ]εν to [ὀπισθ]εν.

<sup>30</sup> Kirchner (in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6) restored ἑκάστον [χωρὶς ἀφ' ἐσ]τίας. Bannier (*loc. cit.*) gave [τὰς h]έβας. Again Ziehen, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, CXCVII, 1935, p. 454, note 1, expressed dissent: Auch Z. 110 [our C 28] führt die neue Lesung Crönerts ΒΑΞ zu bisher ungelösten Schwierigkeiten. Denn die Ergänzung, die Bannier a.a.O. vorschlägt: τὰς ἑέβας κατὰ ταῦτά ist nicht nur deshalb bedenklich, weil nicht einzusehen ist, warum "die Personen im Jünglingsalter" besonders angeführt werden, sondern schon wegen des Wortes ἧβας sehr unwahrscheinlich. Ich habe gedacht, ob nicht Ρ auf dem Stein steht und dann entweder ἡεσπέ]ρας oder ἡεμέ]ρας ergänzt werden könnte. Cf. also Roussel, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, p. 56, note 3.

<sup>31</sup> Roussel (*B.C.H.*, 1930, p. 53) again refers to this dilemma in the old version of the text: Entre ces deux passages, l'accord n'est pas complet puisque le premier paraît réserver aux Kérykes un privilège que le second étend aux Eumolpides.

<sup>32</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.*, CXCVII, 1935, p. 454: "Wenn D. [Deubner] gegen dies Bedenken, das ich schon in meinem *Leges Sacrae* p. 16 geltend machte [see note 26], einwendet, dass der Zusammenhang nicht klar sei, so ist das gewiss richtig, aber doch nur ein Grund mehr, eben diesen Zusammenhang erst sicher aufzudecken, ehe man mit den vorgeschlagenen Ergänzungen operiert." The comment of Deubner to which Ziehen refers is in *Attische Feste*, p. 71, note 8.

<sup>33</sup> *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, II, p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> I have transcribed the text in epigraphic Greek, and corrected νότοθεν to νοτόθεν.

Crönert's reading of line 33 as . EΣΥΑ. ENAIΛOEN--- lends great apparent plausibility to the restoration ἐσκα[τι]έναι Ἀθέν[αζε]. However, I question whether the reading can be correct. I have examined squeeze and photograph diligently, with the result that I am sure of E in place of Crönert's Υ [=kappa]. The letter following kappa seems to have been roughly triangular in shape, and mu seems to me as good a possibility as alpha. The rest of the letters, down to EN at the end, I cannot see at all. Soon after the publication of Hiller's *Corpus*, J. M. Paton published in *The Erechtheum* (1927), pp. 450-451, the results of observations made by him and B. H. Hill on the beginnings of lines 35 and 36.<sup>35</sup> He was able to report as follows: "Near the end (ll. 115 ff.)<sup>36</sup> there is a provision for the disposition of the sacred funds, which were apparently to be brought to Athens and deposited on the Acropolis (ἐμ πόλει). As commonly restored this place was described in ll. 117-119 [our lines 34-36] as ὄπισ[θ]εν (or νοτό[θ]εν) τῷ τῆς Ἀθηναία[ς ἀρχαίῳ ν|ε]ὸ ἐμ πόλει. But this restoration cannot be reconciled with the traces on the stone of the first letters (restored as Θ and Ε) of lines 118 and 119 [our 35 and 36]. In line 118 there is no sign of a Θ, though the right side of the circle should have been visible, and near the top of the line is a small 7, which can hardly be anything else than the right upper corner of Γ.<sup>37</sup> In line 119 what remains in the break at the margin is Γ, but the surface on the right below is well preserved and there is certainly no trace of the two lower horizontal bars of the Ε. The fragmentary letter was surely Τ, as stated in Roberts-Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 534 [the correct reference is p. 535], and the first words of the line were τῷ ἐμ πόλει. Since the number of letters in each line (23) is clear from other passages in the inscription, the restoration ἀρχαίῳ νεὸ [sc. νεὸ] becomes impossible, and the place of the deposit remains conjectural."

There is a curious and unhappy error in Paton's assumption that Roberts-Gardner read the initial letter in line 35 as part of gamma. Their printed report, indeed, gives Γ, but it is obvious that the printer used this symbol by mistake for the epigraphic Γ with which he was presumably less familiar. Nobody has ever read this initial letter as gamma.

Rejecting much that depends on Crönert in line 33, and which I consider not reliable, I propose the following text of these lines:

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 450, note 4: "In September, 1923, J. M. Paton and B. H. Hill were enabled by the courtesy of Mr. A. H. Smith to examine the stone again with the results noted in the text, and these results were confirmed in a second examination by Hill in 1925."

<sup>36</sup> Our C 32 ff.

<sup>37</sup> In his footnote 1 on p. 451, indicated here where we have numbered this note 37, Paton adds: "If the letter were Λ (Gamma), as suggested in Roberts-Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 534 [the correct reference is p. 535], the angle would be acute and there should be some remains of the right hasta lower down where the surface is fairly well preserved." Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, II, p. 55, note 2, credits the Americans with finding the correct reading at the beginning of line 36 (he should have credited Roberts-Gardner), but he failed to take advantage of the new reading in line 35, which shows that his suggested κείσθαι πάνπαν τὸ λο[ιπὸν . . . θ]εν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηναία[ς θεσαυρῷ] τῷ ἐμ πόλει is impossible.

τὸ δὲ *ἱερῷ ἀργυρί[ο τῆς ἀπαρ]*  
*[χ]ῆς ἐμ [πόλει ἔχσ] ἐν[αι ἐπιμέλ]*  
*[ε]σθαι πάνπαν τὸ λο[ιπὸν καθά]*  
 35 *περ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναία[ς ἀργυρίο]*  
*τὸ ἐμ πόλει. ----- κτλ. ---*

It is of additional interest to note that the third letter of line 35 is quite certainly rho. This makes the restoration *[καθά]περ* almost inevitable and in a measure confirms the preceding *τὸ λο[ιπὸν]*, which exactly fills out the line. Evidently the verb to be supplied must govern genitives, so I have restored *ἐπιμέλεσθαι* in lines 33-34. The provision specifies merely that the sacred money from the *ἀπαρχή* shall in the future be cared for on the Acropolis just as the money of Athena is cared for on the Acropolis. Nothing is said of the precise place of deposit, and since 1905 there has been no excuse for anyone to propose readings about an *ἀρχαῖος νεός*.<sup>38</sup>

The next paragraph specifies that the hieropoioi shall steward the money of the goddesses on the Acropolis. This is a general provision which I believe was applicable down to some date near the middle of the Fifth Century. At that time the care of the Eleusinian moneys on the Acropolis was entrusted to a board of epistatai, of whom we have first mention in a decree from Eleusis published by Kourouniotis in *Ἐλευσινιακά* (1932), p. 177. The significant lines of the new decree (9-12) read, according to Kourouniotis: *τούτο[ς] δὲ ἐπισ[τά]ναι [τ]οῖς χρέμασι τοῖς τοῖν θ[ε]οῖν, καθάπερ ἡοὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[οι]ς ἐπ[ε]στ[ά]το[ν] τῷ νεοὶ καὶ τῷ ἀ[γ]άλματι.*<sup>39</sup> It is the epistatai, rather than the hieropoioi, who appear as handling the funds later in the century,<sup>40</sup> but here the text should probably read:

----- τὸ δὲ ἀρ[γύριον τὸ]  
 37 *ς ἱεροποιὸς τ[ὸ] το[ῖν θεοῖν ἐ]*  
*[μ] πόλει ταμιεύεσθα[ι. --- κτλ. -]*

The next clause is again obscure. I believe that it deals in some way with an *ἀπαρχή* and that the orphans are to have an exemption. Hence I restore:

[----- ἀναθέτ]  
*[ο] δ' [ἀπαρ]χέν ἐν τῷ ἱ[ερῷ] ἡο ἡ]*  
 40 *[ε]βῶ[ν πλ] ἐν τῶν [ὀ]ρφ[ανῶν] . . . . .]*

<sup>38</sup> The sacred money from the *ἀπαρχή* appears near the end of the century in another epigraphical record from Eleusis. The first item in the reports of the epistatai published now as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 313 and 314 is listed as *ἐμ πόλει ἀπαρχέ ΧΗΔΔΔ†III*.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. also *Gnomon*, IX, pp. 428 ff.; Picard, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1933, pp. 8 ff.; Vallois, *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, XXXV, pp. 195 ff.; Tod, *J.H.S.*, 1935, p. 180; Accame, *Riv. di Fil.*, 1935, pp. 486 ff.; Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 15-16.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 311, in which the *ἐπιστάται Ἐλευσινόθεν* take over funds from the *ἱεροποιοὶ Ἐλευσίνι*. The term of office of the epistatai seems to have extended over the four years of the Panathenaic interval in 422-418, whereas the epistatai held an annual office near the middle of the century (*Ἐλευσινιακά*, 1932, p. 177, line 16: *ἄρχεν δὲ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτό[ν]*).

The Η seems to me possible at the end of line 39, and the sanctuary, rather than the temple (what temple ?), seems a satisfactory place for making the dedication.<sup>41</sup> These ἀπαρχαί were presumably the usual ἀναθήματα, and mention is made of them, or of others like them, in Face B, line 2, and, indirectly, in the verb ἀνατι[θ|έναι], or ἀνατί[θ|εσθαι], in Face A, lines 14-15.<sup>42</sup> I have thought also that I have seen part of a round letter after the Β in line 40. This is uncertain, but I record it because the observation first led me to question the accepted restoration β[λάπτ]εν. The appearance of what I conceive to be a possible restoration [hoi an heβ]δοσι in lines 30-31 has made [ho he]βδ[ν] seem more reasonable here. The text is uncertain, but I assume that a man who had come of age and wished to be initiated had to make an offering in the sanctuary, presumably of some value, and that orphans because of their privileged status as wards of the state were exempt from this expense. They were not, however, exempt from the sacrifice which every μύστης had to perform,<sup>43</sup> and for this I believe their obligation is set forth in lines 40-42:

[----- θύεν δ]  
 41 [ἐ] τὸς ὀρφανὸς παῖ[δας καὶ τὸς]  
 [μ]ύστας ἑκάστομ· --- κτλ. --

The letters ΠΑΙ after ὀρφανός are all in part legible in line 41. Sacrifice and the offering of prayers were included in the ceremony of μύησις, and here the necessity for each candidate to participate separately is emphasized by ἑκάστομ. The meaning is not merely that "each one shall sacrifice" but rather that "they shall sacrifice, each separately."<sup>44</sup> The place of the μύησις was either Athens or Eleusis, and the text of lines 42-46 should be restored as follows:

----- μ[υέσθαι δὲ]  
 [τ]ὸς μύστας τὸς Ἐλε[υσίνοι μνο]  
 [μ]ένος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ [ἐντὸς τῷ h]  
 45 [ι]ερό τὸς δὲ ἐν ἄστει [μνομένο]  
 s ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ [vacat].

It is epigraphically desirable that the sentence should begin with the letter mu (or possibly beta or pi or phi), because the previous sentence ended with ἑκάστομ. The lower tip of a stroke was here read by Hicks, and I judge from the photograph

<sup>41</sup> Crönert, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1908, p. 1021, first read final nu in line 39, remarking: IN wahrscheinlicher als IH. Hicks had read only a vertical stroke. It may be seen in the photograph.

<sup>42</sup> The reading at the end of A 14 is clearly ΟΚΕΙΑΝΑΤΙ[.]. Crönert, *op. cit.*, p. 1020, read ΟΚΕΙΑΝΑΣΚ[.], remarking that the reading of Hicks, -- ΚΑΝΑΕΡ[.] is incorrect.

<sup>43</sup> Aristophanes, *Peace*, lines 374-375: ἐς χοιρίδιόν μοι νῦν δανείσον τρεῖς δραχμάς· δεῖ γὰρ μνηθῆναι με πρὶν τεθνηκέναι. Cf. Roussel, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, p. 56. See also H. G. Pringsheim, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults*, p. 24.

<sup>44</sup> The meaning of ἑκάστομ here is the same as that of ἑκάστον in line 27.

that it may form part of mu rather better than of epsilon, as the restoration is given in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6. This restoration is extraordinary: *ηεκάστο με[νός (σ)υνάγειν τ]ός μύστας* etc. Even if one assumes that the initial sigma of *συνάγειν* was omitted because of the final sigma of *μνός* before it, the word is still too long for the space it occupies. Epigraphically incorrect, the text gives also a surprising bit of misinformation, that the *mystai* being put through the ritual at Eleusis were to be assembled each month in the court of the sanctuary, and those at Athens in the Eleusinion. But there could have been no mass ritual. The individual character of the services was stressed in line 42, and in lines 26-30 the *Kerykes* and *Eumolpidae* were made liable to heavy fines if they performed the *μύησις κατὰ πλήθος*. Furthermore, even on the most generous interpretation of this text one notes the serious omission of any definition of time within the month for the assembly or any specification of who was to supervise the assembling. Deubner (*Attische Feste*, p. 78) draws the conclusion which I believe everyone would draw from *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, and which I believe to be quite wrong, when he writes: Die Einweihung konnte im Anfang des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr. allmonatlich vorgenommen werden, und zwar entweder in der *αὐλή* des eleusinischen Heiligtumes oder im städtischen Eleusinion.<sup>45</sup>

Rather, there was no convocation. There was no definition of time. *Μύησις* was an individual affair. And anyone who wished to present himself could appear either in the court of the sanctuary at Eleusis or in the Eleusinion in Athens. I have taken the restoration of Roberts-Gardner and of Crönert<sup>46</sup> *ἐν τῷ αὐλῆι [ἐντός τῷ ηι]ερό* in preference to that of Leonardos *ἐν τῷ αὐλῆι [τῷ πρὸ τῷ ι]ερό* (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6) because I believe that *ηιερό* ought to have the rough breathing, and because I believe that the *αὐλή* must be considered a part of the sanctuary.<sup>47</sup>

Lines 46-50 were an appendix, cut non-stoichedon and in a different hand from the lines above. The rough breathing was not used, and omikron was cut free-hand. I have no new readings to offer,<sup>48</sup> so give the text (after Foucart) as it appears in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, noting merely that *μισθόν* at the end of line 48 has now lost the support of *μ[ισθόν]* once thought to be in line 9, and that *[τ]ον θεοιν* at the beginning of line 48 is probably a simple error for *τοῖν θεοῖν*.

<sup>45</sup> P. Roussel, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, pp. 56-57, taking into consideration the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, as well as other evidence, considers it proved that there was a *μύησις*, valid for a group of persons or even for an individual. I would contest the evidence that *μύησις* was "valable pour un groupe de personnes," and emphasize the individual character of *μύησις*, which appears in this inscription, as well as in the passage from the *Peace* of Aristophanes and from the later inscriptions cited by Roussel.

<sup>46</sup> Roberts-Gardner, *Greek Epigraphy*, II, p. 6, suggest *ἐκτός* (or *ἐντός*) *τοῦ ηιεροῦ*. Crönert, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1908, p. 1023, has *ἐν τῷ αὐλῆι [ἐντός τῷ ηι]ερό*?

<sup>47</sup> In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 847, line 54, occurs the phrase *[ἐν τῷ αὐ]λῆι τοῦ ηιε[ροῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι]*, where the restoration is certain and where obviously the same place is meant.

<sup>48</sup> Except *[λ]αυβάνειν* in place of *[λ]αμβάνειν* in line 49.

## FACE C

5 [.....<sup>12</sup>.....] ὀβολ[ὸν παρὰ τ]  
 [ὁ μύστο ηεκάστ]ο· ηιε[ροποιὸς]  
 [δὲ λαμβάνεν ηε]μιοβέ[λιον κα]  
 [θ' ἐμ]έραν [παρὰ τ]ὸ μύστο [ηεκ]ά[σ]  
 [το]· τὲν ηιέρ[εαν] τὲν Δέμε[τ]ρος  
 10 [λ]αμ[β]άνεν μν[στέ]ρίους τ[ο]ῖς ὀ  
 [λ]έξουσιν παρὰ [τὸ μ]ύστο η[εκ]άσ  
 [τ]ο ὀβολὸν καὶ [τοῖς μ]εῖζ[ουσιν]  
 [μ]υστερίους ὀ[βολὸν παρὰ τὸ μ]  
 [ύσ]το ηεκάστο· σ[ύμπαντας ὀβο]  
 15 λὸς τοῖν θεοῖν [ἔ]ναι πλὲν ἔ[ηε]  
 χσακοσίον κα[ὶ χιλίον δρ]αχμ  
 ὄν· ἀπὸ δὲ τὸν η[εχσακοσί]ο[ν] κα  
 ἰ χιλίον δραχμ[ὸν τὲν ηι]έρα  
 ν τὰναλόματα [δῶναι καθ]άπερ  
 20 τέος ἀνέδοτο· Ε[ὺ]μ[ολπίδ]ας κα  
 ἰ Κέρ[υ]κας λαμβάν[εν παρὰ] τὸ μ  
 ύστ[ο η]εκάστο [...ν<sup>9</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>5</sup>...]ενον θέλει ὀ[...<sup>8</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...]τεμ με ἐν[αι ...<sup>6</sup>...]  
 25 [...<sup>5</sup>...]δα πλὲν τὸ ἀφ' [έστίας μν]  
 [ομέν]ο· Κέρυκας δὲ μν[έν] τὸς νέ[ι]  
 [ο]ς μύστας ηέκαστον [καὶ Εὺμο]  
 [λπίδ]ας κατὰ ταυτά· ἐ[άν] δὲ κατ  
 ἀ πλέθος, εὐθύνεσθα[ι χιλίασ]

30 [ι] δρα[χ]μῆσι· μνῆν δὲ [hoi ἄν ηεβ]  
 ὄσι Κερύκον καὶ Εὺ[μολπίδων]·  
 τὸ δὲ ηιερό ἀργυρί[ο τῆς ἀπαρ]  
 [χ]ῆς ἐμ [πόλει ἐχσ]ῆν[αι ἐπιμέλ]  
 [ε]σθαι πάνπαν τὸ λο[ιπὸν καθά]  
 35 περ τὸ τῆς ἈθENAIA[ς ἀργυρίο]  
 τὸ ἐμ πόλει· τὸ δὲ ἀρ[γύριον τὸ]  
 σ ηιεροποιὸς τ[ὸ] το[ῖν θεοῖν ἐ]  
 [μ] πόλει ταμειεύεσθα[ι· ἀναθét]  
 [ο] δ' [ἀπαρ]χὲν ἐν τῷ η[ιεροῖ] ηο η  
 40 [ε]βῆ[ν πλ] ἐν τὸν [ὀ]ρφ[ανὸν· θύεν δ]  
 [ε] τὸς ὀρφανὸς παῖ[δας καὶ τὸς]  
 [μ]ύστας ηέκαστομ· μ[εῖσθαι δὲ]  
 [τ]ὸς μύστας τὸς Ἐλε[υστίν]ι μνο  
 [μ]ένος ἐν τῷ αὐλεῖ [ἐντὸς τὸ η]  
 45 [ι]ερὸ τὸς δὲ ἐν ἄστει [μνομένο]  
 σ ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίοι [vacat]  
 [τ]ὸν ἐπὶ τῷ βομῶι ηιερέα καὶ τὸ[ν]  
 φαιδυντὲν  
 το<ῖ>ν θεοῖν καὶ τὸν ηιερέα τὸ[ν] παναγέ  
 μισθὸν  
 [λ]αμβάνεν ἕκαστον τότο[ν] ἔμιοβέλιον  
 παρὰ  
 50 [τὸ] μύστ[ο ἐ]κάστο ἰ[ε]ρ[ὸν] τοῖν  
 θεοῖν].

The text of Face B can be given with no major change. The new fragment *d* has been placed at the head of the text, separated from the lower fragment by an indeterminate, though probably not large, lacuna, and the ends of lines 18-22 have been supplied from the new fragment *a*. It has come to be accepted that the letter at the end of line 32 should be restored as iota, giving the text as it appears in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, lines 67-76: τὰς δὲ σπονδὰς εἶναι ἐν τῆσι πόλεσιν ηο[ῖ] ἄν χρῶνται τῷ ηιεροῖ καὶ ἈθENAIOISIN ἐκεῖ ἐν τῆσιν αὐτῆσι πόλεσιν. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, 42 (p. 48, note 10), attempts to justify the masculine relative ηο[ῖ] as referring to the feminine πόλεσι: "Pronomen οἱ ad πόλεις relatum, ut intellegatur de civibus, multis similibus exemplis defenditur." This was Boeckh's belief, and the relative ηο[ῖ] has been generally retained until the present time.<sup>49</sup> This is awkward, for the relative to depend on

<sup>49</sup> A. Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, I, 71 (commentary on p. 109) cites Herodotus, VII, 8: πρὶν ἢ ἔλω τε καὶ πτωρῶσω τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἱ γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιούντες; Thucydides, VI, 80: ἄλλως

πόλες ought in Athenian epigraphy of the Fifth Century to be feminine. The correct restoration is *ho[s]*, initiating a clause of purpose: *ho[s]* ἄν χρῶνται τῷ ἱερόν.<sup>50</sup> The fact that the cities are not more closely defined is of no consequence, for everyone knew what was meant by the phrase ἐν τέεσι πόλεσιν. These were the Greek cities which were included in the range of participation in the Eleusinian mysteries according to the oracle at Delphi. The Athenian decree about the ἀπαρχαί at Eleusis has the significant provision (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 76, lines 24-26): κελενέτο δὲ καὶ ἡο ἱεροφάντες καὶ [ὄ] δαιδῶχος μυστερίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τὸς ἡέλλενας τῶ καρπῶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφῶν. This referred to the cities of the Empire, but the announcement was to be made also (lines 30-31) τέεσι ἄλλεσι πόλεσιν [τ]έ[σι] ἡε[λ]λενικέσιν ἀπάσεσι. In the fourth century the Aitolian League broke the sacred truce by arresting the σπονδοφόροι. Of immediate interest is the specific mention of this part of the Greek world.<sup>51</sup> Aischines (II, 133) reported that of all the Greeks only the Phokians did not agree to the truce when the σπονδοφόροι came to them. A new text from the Athenian Agora (Inv. No. I 5733), to be dated in the fourth century, records provisions for announcing ἐς τὰς πόλες τὰς μ[υστηριώτιδας σπονδὰς ---] κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν το[ῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ---], and the conclusive evidence that these were the same σπονδαί as those mentioned here on Face B is that the new text from the Agora actually quotes part of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6. The lines given below as B 13 ff. appear, in part, in Agora Inv. No. I 5733.<sup>52</sup> It is enough to note that the σπονδαί were to be announced ἐς τὰς πόλες, with no more definition of which the cities were than one finds in B 31-32.

FACE B		
[...]αλαι[...ἄ]	[ἄ] μὲν ἡακόσι[α]	15 [ύθ]οισιν καὶ [χ]
[ν]αθέμα[τα ...]	[ἡ]απλῆι, τὰ δὲ [ἡ]	[ρέ]μασιν τῶν [ὄ]
ναι τ[... <sup>7</sup> ...]	10 [ε]κόσια διπλ[έ]	[θ]νείον καὶ [Ἀθ]
[.]στ[... <sup>8</sup> ...]	[ι· σ]πονδὰς εἶν	[ε]ν[α]ίοισιν [ἡ]ά
5 lacuna	[αι] τοῖς μύστ	πασιν· ἄρχε[ν] δ
[... <sup>10</sup> ... τ]	[εσιν] καὶ το[ῖς]	20 ἐ τὸν χρόνον[ν] τ
	[ἐπ]όπτεισιν [κ]	ὄν σπονδῶν [τ]ὄ
	[αι τ]οῖς ἀκολ[ο]	Μεταγεινιῶ

τε καὶ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρεσομένης ὠφελείας, οἱ τῶνδε κρείσσους εἰσὶ τοπαράπαν τὰ πολέμα; and Odyssey, ψ, 318: ἦδ' ὡς Τηλέπυλον Δαιστρυγονίην, οἱ νῆας τ' ὄλεσαν. But no example here has πόλες as its antecedent. Boeckh (*op. cit.*, p. 890) thinks that τούτοις cannot be supplied as an understood antecedent of *ho[ί]*: Ceterum οἱ ibi ad τῆσι πόλεσι referri certum mihi videtur: τούτοις ante οἱ suppleri ex meo quidem Graecitatis sensu nequit. Hicks (*The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, I, p. 7) supplies τούτοις as antecedent for *ho[ί]*.

<sup>50</sup> For *hos* ἄν to express purpose, see (*e. g.*) *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 56, line 8; 77, line 10; 81, lines 9-10.

<sup>51</sup> Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 5-12, published the text of a decree of protest on the part of the Athenians.

<sup>52</sup> This text is being studied by Eugene Schweigert, who has called these facts to my attention.

	vos μενὸς ἀπ[ὸ]	ι πόλεσιν ἠο[s]	πονδὰς εἶνα[ι]
	διχομενίας [κ]	ἂν χρόνται τὸ	τὸ Γαμελιῶνο
25	αἱ τὸν Βοεδρ[ο]	ι ἱερῶι καὶ Ἄ	ς μενὸς ἀπὸ δ[ι]
	μῶνα καὶ τὸ [Π]	35 θεναιόισιν ἐ	[χ]ομενίας κα[ὶ]
	νανοφσιῶνος	κεῖ ἐν τείσιν	45 τὸν Ἄνθεσσε[ρ]
	μέχρι δεκάτε	αὐτέσι πόλεσ	[ι]ῶνα καὶ τὸ Ἐλ
	ς ἱισταμένο· τ	ιν· τοῖσι δὲ ὄλ	αφεβολιῶνος
30	ὰς δὲ σπονδὰς	εἴζοσι μυστε	μέχρι δεκάτε
	εἶναι ἐν τείσ	40 ρίοισιν τὰς [σ]	ς ἱισταμένο.
			<i>vacat</i>

The text of Face A is the most difficult of all to read. I add only parts of three lines from fragment *d* which may belong to it, and repeat the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6 (based on Crönert) with one or two corrections about which I feel some confidence. It is impossible for me to feel confidence about all the readings, even as corrected.

	FACE A		[τ... <sup>12</sup> .....]ο... <sup>6</sup> ...ΣΕ[.]
	----- /		..... <sup>12</sup> ...../αν[. . πε]ρὶ δ[ἐ]
	-----ντο		[τῆς... <sup>11</sup> .....]μ...ίας πε
5	-----τος		[... <sup>9</sup> ..... τὲν] δ[ἐ τ]ετὰ[ρ]τεν
	-----	30	..... <sup>17</sup> .....ια...ον
	<i>lacuna</i>		..... <sup>13</sup> ..... \ ... πο ...
	-----		[... <sup>5</sup> ... ημί]σειαν ἀν[α]λαμ[βαν ?]
	-----ρ.ε....		[... <sup>7</sup> ... π]όλει κα[ὶ] μὲ νεοτέρ
10	..... <sup>15</sup> ..... δραχμῆισ		[α εἰ, χρέσθ]ο τῶι [h]ι[ε]ρῶι· ἐὰν δὲ
	[ω: ... <sup>7</sup> ... τῆς πομ]πῆς τὸς ..	35	[νεοτέρα ἐ]ι μὲ χ[ρέ]σθο· ἐὰν δὲ ἰ
	..... <sup>14</sup> ..... με[ν]ος δεμο		[... <sup>6</sup> ... κ]ατὰ ταῦτα ταῦτα· ἐὰν
	..... <sup>14</sup> ..... τὸν πόλεον		[δὲ μέ, πλε]ῖστον κατὰ τὲν δύνα
	[... <sup>12</sup> ..... δ]οκῆι ἀνατί[θ]		[μιν δότο·] πρᾶχσαι δ' ἔκπραχί <sup>sic</sup> [ν]
15	[εσθαι κατὰ ταῦτ]ά: ἐάν τις τὸν	40	[ἐὰν δὲ μὲ] ἐγδοῖ τὸν ὀφλόντα, μ
	..... <sup>15</sup> ..... ον ἐ ἡόσα γ		[ἐ χρέσθο] τῶι ἱερῶι: ἐὰν ἀμφι
	..... <sup>15</sup> ..... ο ἐ ἐν. \//		[σβετῶσι] μὲ κληθῆναι ἐμ πό[λε]
	..... <sup>15</sup> ..... νας ἡίνα [.]		[ι... <sup>6</sup> ... τ]ὲν ἐλθῶσαν ΛΑΙΡ \ .
	[... <sup>13</sup> ..... ἐ]ὰν το[ῖσ]ιν σ		..... <sup>8</sup> ..... ἡύστερον ἡεμ[ί]σεα
20	[... <sup>11</sup> ..... τῶ]ν πόλε[ον] ταῦ	45	[ν ἀποτείσα]ι: τὸν Ἄθηναίων με
	[τὸν δοκῆι .....] χρε... <sup>7</sup> ....		[δὲ τὸν ἐκ τ]ούτον τὸν πόλεον μ
	..... <sup>12</sup> ..... μὲμ βολ... <sup>5</sup> ...		[εδένα ...]ρᾶσθαι, ἐὰν μέ τ[ι]ς
	..... <sup>12</sup> ..... ἔχ θεὸν ἄρχε		..... <sup>9</sup> ..... ἐπιχορίαν εἰσπο
	[σθαι... <sup>6</sup> ... ἐ]ὰν δὲ ...ν. λο		..... <sup>9</sup> ..... θέντα· ἡέτις δ' ἂν τ
25	[... <sup>11</sup> ..... ἐ]ὰν δὲ μέ, [h]έκασ	50	[ὸν πόλεον] μὲ ἐθέλει δ[ί]κας δι
			[δόναι καὶ] δέχεσθαι, μ[ὲ] εἶναι χ
			[ρῆσθαι τὸ] σύνολον. <i>vacat</i>



The small fragments here added to the stele come from the top, or near the top, of the piece preserved in London. The large block was evidently trimmed down in some post-Classical era, and whoever did the work knocked off smaller chips which fell to the ground, and in which he had no further interest. Undoubtedly this workman intended to use the larger block, which he may have taken to his house or to some other destination at a distance from its original place of discovery. The important observation is that Chandler's record of having seen the large block in the courtyard of a Greek home near the Theseum proves nothing very definite about the spot—undoubtedly the Eleusinion—where the original pillar stood in antiquity.<sup>53</sup> But the place of discovery of the new group of four tiny fragments is of much greater significance. These discarded and valueless chips mark the spot where the original monument was trimmed down, and hence with some probability the spot also where it originally stood.

Two of the fragments were found in Section HH, one in ΘΘ, and one in Π. These points define the area, probably south of the Church of Christ<sup>54</sup> (for three fragments were found south and one north of the church, and the ground slopes downhill toward the north), along the modern ὁδὸς Βουλευτηρίου. This is the area already marked by other evidence for the Eleusinion, and the fragments here published confirm the identification of the site.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Richard Chandler, *Inscriptiones Antiquae, pleraeque nondum editae, in Asia Minori et Graecia, praesertim Athenis, collectae* (Oxford, 1774), p. xxv: In atrio domûs Graeci cujusdam, Templum Thesei versus, exstat ingens tabula marmorea, duobus lateribus et parte, qua crassa est, inscriptis. Hanc tantummodò partem legere potui, quod pigebat. By "Templum Thesei" Chandler meant the building we now know to be the Hephaisteion. Cf. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Supplement V. It may be noted, however, that this inscription was the first he saw after he left the Acropolis for the lower city. Chandler's text of Face B is no. XXVI; the numbers immediately preceding were on the Acropolis. The place of discovery of Novossadsky's fragment is not known. It was bought from a dealer.

<sup>54</sup> The site of the church is marked on Plate VI in E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*.

<sup>55</sup> See T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207-211; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 101, 105-107; Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 258; Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 250-274, especially notes 4 and 52.

## ATHENS AND ERYTHRAI

2. Two pieces of Pentelic marble, which belong with the decrees concerning Erythrai now represented by *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 10-13. The larger fragment (*a*) was found on January 26, 1937, in the wall of a cesspool in Section AA. Its left side and rough-picked back are preserved; the face has been much blackened and eaten by acid. The smaller fragment (*b*) was found on April 11, 1939, in the northeast corner of Section BB. It is broken on all sides, but part of the rough-picked back may be preserved.

*a*: Height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.205 m.; thickness, 0.093 m.  
 Height of letters, 0.011 m.  
 Inv. No. I 5172.

*b*: Height of face, 0.065 m.; width of face, 0.057 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.  
 Height of letters, 0.011 m.  
 Inv. No. I 5172b.



No. 2: Fragment *a*



No. 2: Fragment *b*

The writing is stoichedon of the mid fifth century, with a square chequer pattern in which the horizontal and vertical units both measure *ca.* 0.018 m.<sup>56</sup> Another small fragment from the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 5192) with the same measurements is here associated with these new pieces (lines 21-24), though no join is known.<sup>57</sup> It may be that fragment *a* belongs close beneath the lost stele published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 10. In spite of apparent differences in thickness the possibility of uniting these new fragments and *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 10-13 into one document ought to be further considered when the stones can all be studied together in Athens. One wonders whether the thicknesses as reported are all original, and it is a striking fact that *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 10 and 12/13a are both best restored with a stoichedon line of 47 letters.<sup>58</sup> In all the preserved fragments the spacing is the same, and there are no differences in lettering sufficient to justify the rejection of any of them.



No. 2: Fragment *c*  
(E.M. 5192)

Before 450 B.C. (with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 10)      ΣΤΟΙΧ. 47

[.]ται ἐὰμ[-----]	εθείαι [.]ικ[-----]
[..]θο[.]ατ[-----]	15 ἀνδράσιν Ε[-----στέλε
[...]ΛΙΟΤ[-----]	[ν τ]ένδε ἐν ἀ[κροπόλει -----]
[....]τα καὶ [-----]	[..]ίας περὶ [-----]
5 [... <sup>7</sup> ....] ἐμ[-----]	<i>lacuna</i>
[... <sup>6</sup> ...]ΟΛΙ[-----]	[...]ον [-----]
[..] τῆς βολῆ[ς -----]	[..]τετ[αρ -----]
[φ]ρόραρχον [-----φ]	20 [...]οστ[-----]
[ρ]ορέν πεντέ[κοντα -----]	<i>lacuna</i>
10 [.] ἐν ἀκροπό[λει -----]	[--]χι[-----]
φρόραρχον[-----]	[--]δι[-----]
[.]ι· τὸν δὲ φρ[όραρχον --- τ]	[--]ολ[-----]
ριάκοντα ἔ[τε γεγονότας -- βο]	24 [--]ΟΛ [-----]

### PRAISE OF AN ALLIED CITY

3. Two small fragments of Pentelic marble, which belong with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 29. Fragment *a* was found on February 27, 1937, in Section OA; fragment *b* was found on March 9, 1938, in Section Ψ.

<sup>56</sup> See Austin, *Stoichedon Style*, p. 33, for the measurements of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 12/13.

<sup>57</sup> Identified by Raubitschek.

<sup>58</sup> See Highby, "The Erythrae Decree," *Klio*, Beiheft XXXVI (1936), pp. 4-6. Nesselhauf's assurance (Highby, *loc. cit.*, p. 6, note 2) that *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 12/13b cannot have been part of the stone

*a*: Height, 0.052 m.; width, 0.081 m.;  
thickness, 0.033 m.  
Height of letters, 0.01 m.  
Inv. No. I 4546.

*b*: Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.08 m.;  
thickness, 0.07 m.  
Height of letters, 0.01 m.  
Inv. No. I 4546*a*.



No. 3: Fragment *a*

Both fragments have stichedon writing, with the same letters and spacing as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 29. The horizontal unit is 0.012 m., and the vertical unit is 0.019 m. The lambda, which appears on fragment *b*, is especially characteristic.<sup>59</sup> It may be that these new fragments join the larger piece, fragment *a* at the lower right and fragment *b* at the upper left, but I hesitate to make the claim until there has been an opportunity to test the stones in Athens.

Fragment *a*

-----  
[- -]ν δίκ[εν - -]  
[- πα]ρὰ ταῦ[τα - -]  
-----

Fragment *b*

[- -]βολέν[- -]  
[- ἔ]πιφσε[φιζ - -]  
[- - -] τἔμ [- -]  
[- - - -]ε[- - -]

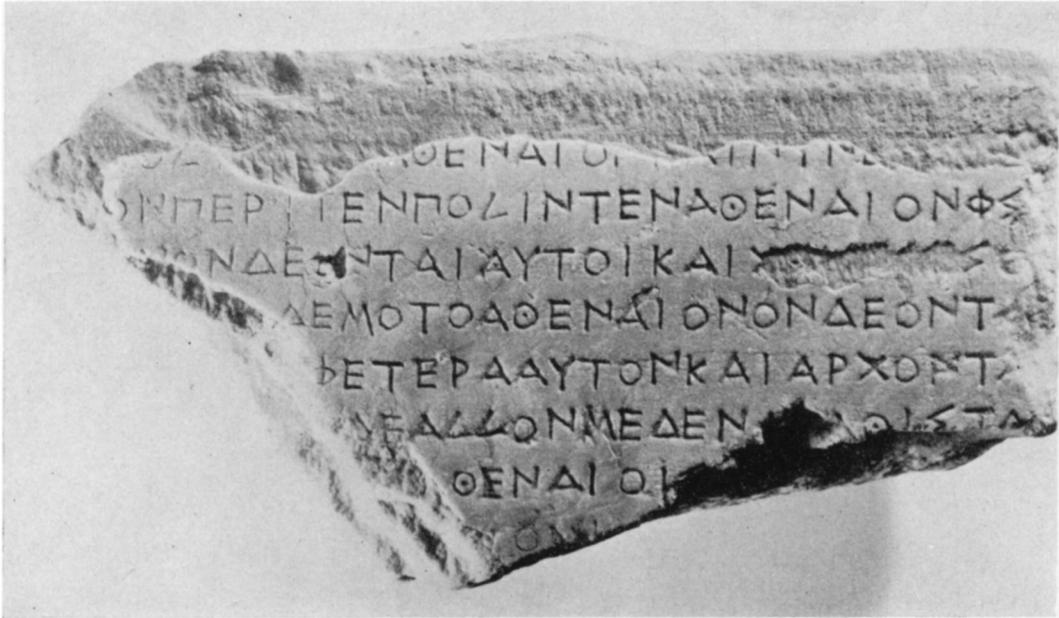


No. 3: Fragment *b*

Fragment *b* is described in the field notes from Athens as broken on all sides, but the photograph suggests the possibility that the left margin may be preserved. The field notes record a possible trace of the original right side of fragment *a*. If this is correct its position at the right side of the stele, at least, is assured.

with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 12/13*a* need not be taken as final without further study of all the fragments. There is also more that can be done with Fauvel's copy of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 10.

<sup>59</sup> See also the photograph of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 29 here published.

I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 29 (E.M. 6565)

## A LEASE OF PUBLIC PROPERTY

4. Parts of a stele of Pentelic marble, the larger of which (*a*) was found on February 26, 1936, broken on all sides, in the foundation of a house in Section HH, and the smaller of which (*b*), with the left edge preserved, was found on April 28, 1937, in Section Σ.

- a.* Height, 0.375 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.143 m.  
Height of letters, 0.01 m.  
Inv. No. I 3611.
- b.* Height, 0.067 m.; width, 0.069 m.; thickness, 0.036 m.  
Height of letters, 0.01 m.  
Inv. No. I 4829.

The lettering is stoichedon with a horizontal unit of 0.016 m. and a vertical unit of 0.0165 m. The stele is preserved in fragment *a* to its original thickness with the reverse face smooth. The letters are of the mid fifth century.

No. 4: Fragment *a*

ca. 450 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	[-----]ε[.]κα[-----]		[--- δρ]αχμὰ[ς ἐ]ς ἐ[-----]
	[--- κ]αθάπερ Εὐὰ[-----]		[-----] ἀποδ[-----]
	[--- γρά]μματα [.]γ[-----]	15	[-----] ἐχς [-----]
	[--- μίω]θοσιν ἐ εὐθ[υνέσθο --]		-----
5	[-----]εἰο· χρό[ν]ο[ς ἄρχει ? -]		<i>lacuna</i>
	[--- τ]ὰ χρέματα [-----]		-----
	[-----]γῆς· τὸ δὲ σ[-----]		[.]γ ἠ[-----]
	[-----]ς ἡέος ἀν' Ἀθ[εν-----]		[.]αι ἐ[---]
	[---] τοῖς ἐμ πόλ[ει ---]	20	[.]οδε[---]
10	[---]ο χορ[ίω]: χσν[-----]		[...]   [---]
	[---]ιν ἡοι νομῆ[ς -----]		-----
	[---] δὲ ἡέντον ἐ[-----]		

The inscription seems to be a decree dealing with the lease of public property. I suspect in line 2 the formula of amendment [τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κ]αθάπερ, etc., with Εὐὰ[---] representing a proper name. The verb εὐθ[υνέσθο] in line 4 is appropriate for a resolution imposing a sanction on some public official. The nature of the business controlled by the decree is indicated in the words [μίω]θοσιν<sup>60</sup> of line 4, γῆς of line 7, χορ[ίω] of line 10, and νομῆ[ς] of line 11. If the decree dealt also with the time of the lease, as undoubtedly it did, then some construction with χρό[ν]ο[ς ἄρχει (?)] may possibly be restored in line 5.<sup>61</sup> The phrase τοῖς ἐμ πόλ[ει] appears in the Eleusinian text of approximately this same date published by Kourouniotis in *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I (1932), pp. 173-189.<sup>62</sup>



No. 4: Fragment b

## THE COLONY AT BREA

5. Small fragment of Pentelic marble, found on April 6, 1936, in Section HH.

Height of face, 0.06 m.; width of face, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 3972.

The writing is stoichedon, with a horizontal unit of 0.013 m. and a vertical unit of 0.017 m. It has the characteristic lettering (especially rho) and spacing<sup>63</sup> of

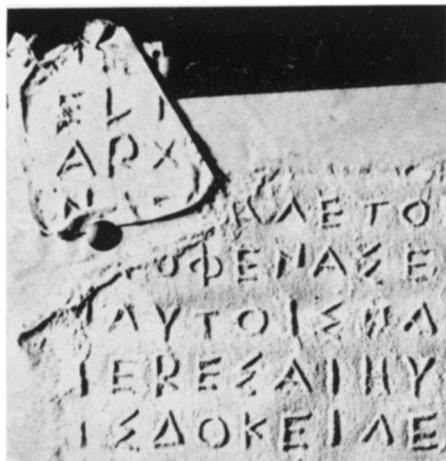
<sup>60</sup> This may, of course, also be construed as a verbal form.

<sup>61</sup> Cf., e. g., *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 377, line 14: χρόνος ἄρχει Μεταγειτνῶν μῆν, κτλ.

<sup>62</sup> The text is given on pp. 176-177, where the phrase τοῖς ἐμ πόλ[ει] occurs in reference to a board of overseers (lines 11-12) ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πόλ[ει] ἐργ[οι]ς.

<sup>63</sup> Austin, *Stoichedon Style*, p. 33, gives the chequer-units of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45 as 0.0127 m. across and 0.017 m. down.

*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45 and evidently is part of that inscription. The new fragment seems, from its squeeze, to have part of the left edge preserved, but whether this is original could be told only by an examination of the stone. Subject to later correction I wish now



I 3972 and part of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45

(Photograph from Squeeze)

to suggest that this small fragment was broken from the upper left corner of the larger stone (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45, Face A) and that it should be placed as shown in the photograph to give the following text of the upper lines of the decree:

[.....]νε[-----]  
 [.....]ελι[-----]  
 [.....] ἀρχ[έν· ηε δὲ ἀρχ] ἐ πρὸς ἡὲν ἂν φα[ίνοντ]  
 [αι καθ' ἔ]να ἐ[σ.]αγέτο· ἐὰν δὲ ἐσάγει ἐνέχ[υρα ἄχ]  
 [σια θέτο] ἡο φένας ἔ ἡο γραφσάμενος· etc.

The readings from the larger fragment were incorporated in a new text offered recently by Wilhelm, which I have adapted here to the requirements of the small Agora fragment.<sup>64</sup> If subsequent tests in Athens show that this fragment belongs near the larger piece as here assigned, then the text will be confirmed. The text would seem to me possible even if the small fragment must be placed elsewhere.<sup>65</sup>

## PUBLIC WORKS

6. Two fragments from a large block of Pentelic marble. Fragment *a* is from the upper left corner of the stele, preserving part of the pebbled top and smooth left side; the back is broken away. It was found on October 9, 1935, in the wall of a modern house in Section T. Fragment *b* preserves its left side and also its original thickness; the back is smooth. It was found on March 13, 1936, in a modern wall in Section N.

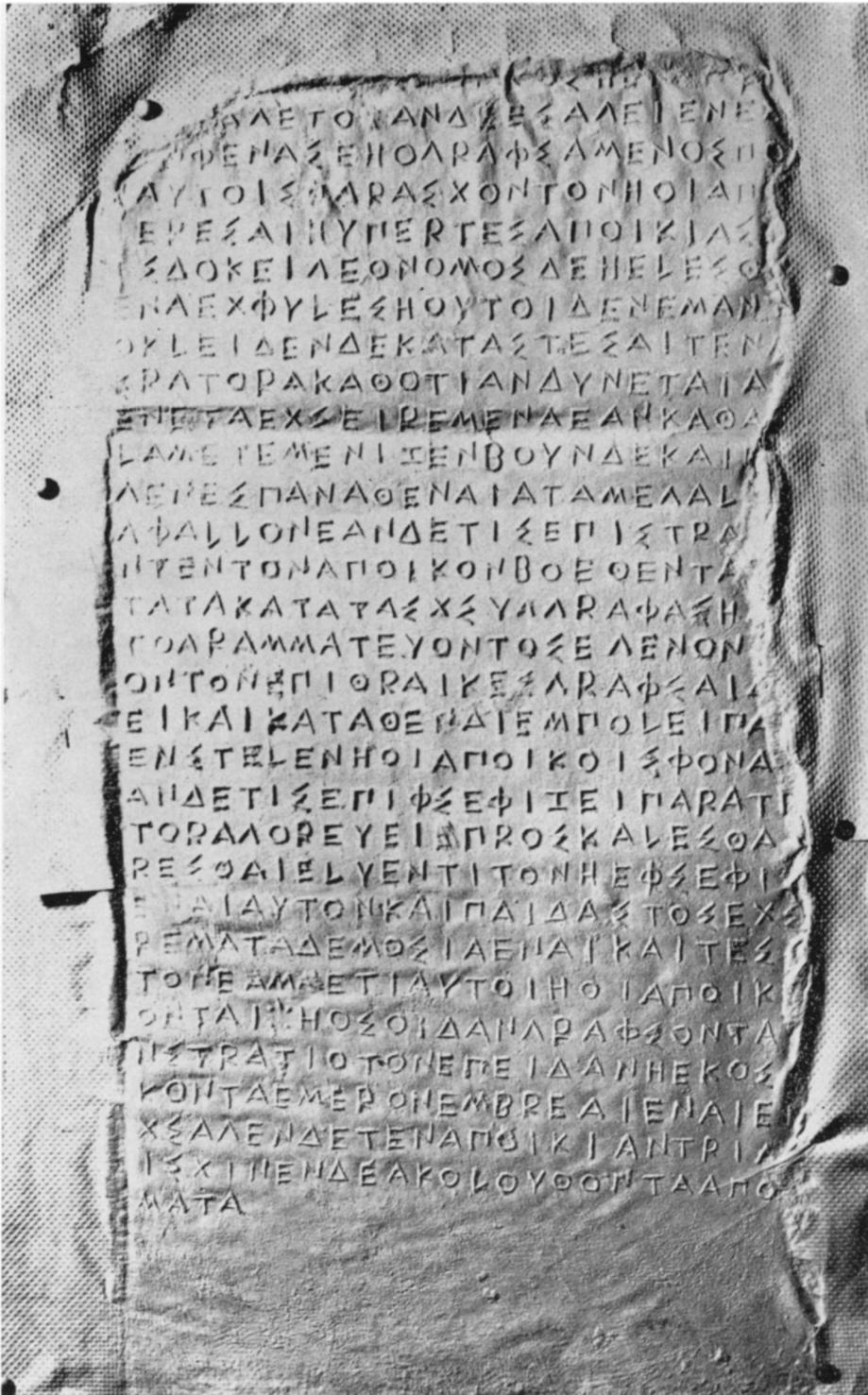
*a*: Height, 0.253 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.148 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 3745a.

<sup>64</sup> Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden IV*, pp. 11-17 (*Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, 1939). See also *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 317-319.

<sup>65</sup> Whatever the ultimate fate of the present assignment, it is nonetheless a sound principle to place small fragments, whenever possible, near the larger pieces from which they may have been chipped off; and the chance for joins is usually good. See Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 79-80. A good description of how *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45 was dressed down for subsequent reuse is given by J. M. Paton in *The Erechtheum*, pp. 497-500.

I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 45: Face A

(Photograph from Squeeze)

b: Height, 0.255 m.; width, 0.162 m.; thickness, 0.218 m.  
 Height of letters, 0.011 m.  
 Inv. No. I 3745b.

The writing is stoichedon, with a horizontal unit of 0.014 m. and a vertical unit of 0.017 m.

ca. 434 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 62 (?)

θεοί

ἔδοχσεν τέ[ι βολέι καὶ τῶι δέμοι· . . .<sup>†8</sup>. . . ἐπρυτάνευέ, . . .<sup>†7</sup>. . . ἐγραμμάτενε,]

Προιναύτες [ἐπεστάτε, Καλλίας (?) εἶπε· ἐπισκέψαι χρῆσθαι νόμος ἂν ὀρισθῆι κα]  
 ἰ θυροθῆι τὸ [Ἐλευσίνιον (?) τὸ ἐν ἄστει· τὸς δὲ ἐπιστατόντας ποιέσασθαι τὸ ἔργο]

5 ν ἰος ἂν ἐ βολ[ἐ κρίνει· συνεπιμέλεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸς ἐπιμελετὰς καὶ τὸν ἄ]

ρχιτέκτονα [-----]

σθαι ἡοῖον τ[-----]

ἐγ Διὸς ὁ[πόσον -----]

ι γραφ[-----]

10 οσ[-----]

*lacuna of at least four lines*

15 ρες ὄντων [-----]

αὐτῶν ἡοι [-----]

ν περὶ αὐτ[-----]

ροντες ἡ[-----]

ἐς ταῦτα [-----]

20 ἐχσειρ[-----]

οι καὶ ἡ[-----]

ς καὶ το[-----]

[.]μενο[-----]

[...]ε[-----]

25 -----

The inscription deals with public works, but so little is preserved that any restoration must be conjectural. That offered above is given by way of example, though the connection with the Eleusinion is suggested by several minor considerations. The fragments are large, and may not have been carried far from the place where the stele was originally set up. Both were found north of (that is, below) the site of the Eleusinion.<sup>66</sup> Of course, this amounts to no proof, because we do not know that the stele was erected in the Eleusinion; it may have been on the Acropolis and the

<sup>66</sup> For this site, see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207-211; IX, 1940, p. 112, note 48; IX, 1940, pp. 267-268. Cf. also above, p. 81.

fragments may have fallen from there. But if the original monument was in the Eleusinion the place of the discovery of these fragments is not surprising.

Mention of the architect (line 6) shows that the text deals with building construction, as does also the verb *θυροθῆι* in line 4. Something was to be provided with



No. 6: Fragment *a*  
(Photograph from Squeeze)

an entrance-way, the building of which must have been one of the primary concerns of the decree, for this is the first item which it discusses. The phrase *ἐν Διός* in line 8 indicates a sanctuary, or open court, rather than a closed building or temple, because it implies an area open to the sky. This fits in well with the fact that the subject of *θυροθῆι* was probably neuter singular (line 4).

One may assume, furthermore, from the size of the stele that the inscription was of considerable importance. It must have dealt with an important precinct, so I suggest tentatively that it refers to the best-known precinct near where it was found, namely, to the Eleusinion, which at least as early as 431 B.C. was surrounded by an effective precinct wall.<sup>67</sup>



No. 6: Fragment *b*  
(Photograph from Squeeze)

This wall and its entrance-way may well have been the concern of the decree. In the opening lines I have proposed restorations which have some of the phraseology of the opening lines of the second decree of Kallias.<sup>68</sup> It seems to me that the date of the decree must in any case be near to that of the Kallias decrees. I have found no published fragments which belong with the Agora stones, but *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 54, was obviously by the same hand. The letters are the same, and the slightly asymmetrical

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Thucydides, II, 17, 1.

<sup>68</sup> Published as D2 by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor in *A.T.L.*, Vol. I (1939), p. 161.

upsilon is especially characteristic.<sup>69</sup> Hiller, in the publication of the *Corpus*, entitles *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 54 “De operibus publicis c.a. 433/2.” The same title might with equal propriety be applied to our new text, and it might also be applied to the opening lines of



*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 54

(Photograph from Squeeze)

the second Kallias Decree. Indeed, I suspect that these three decrees belong together, and that they represent part of the plan of Perikles for putting the public buildings, public works, and public shrines of Athens in order before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. If it is justifiable to restore the opening lines of the new inscription on

<sup>69</sup> See the photograph on p. 92.

the analogy of the Kallias Decree, it may be legitimate to suggest that Kallias was its author. I should even venture the hypothesis that Kallias was the orator also of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 54.<sup>70</sup>

The fragments of the present monument are so preserved that they cannot be placed closer together than indicated in the text. In line 3 the name Proinautes is new in prosopography. Except as already indicated, very little can be done to restore the long lines in which only a few words at most are preserved. The phrase ἐγ Διός in line 8 may have some connection with means for disposing of rain-water, as in the decree of 418 B.C. which regulated the affairs of the sanctuary of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile.<sup>71</sup>

### A CASUALTY LIST

7. Part of a block of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on May 19, 1936, in a modern wall in Section P. Traces of a projecting moulding remain above the first line.

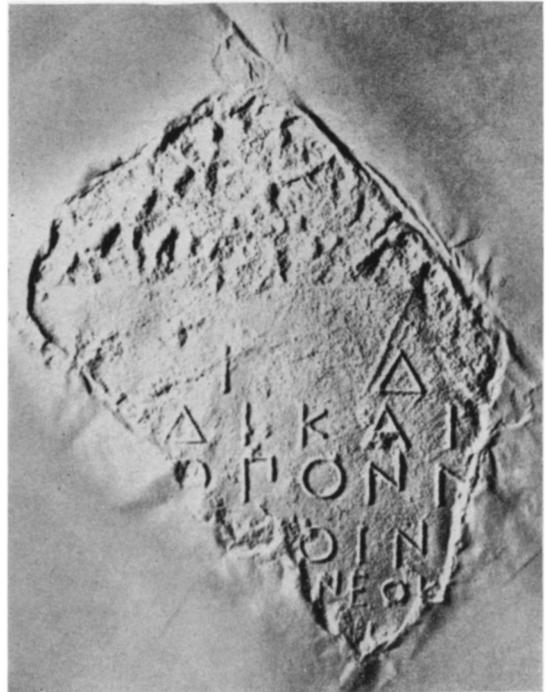
Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.205 m.

Height of letters: in line 1, 0.02 m.; in lines 2-3, 0.018 m.; in line 4, 0.015 m.; in lines 5-6, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 4168.

The original thickness is not preserved, but enough remains to indicate that the block must have been of substantial size, and presumably of considerable width. I interpret the monument as a list of Athenians who fell in war, with their names arranged by tribes under an introductory heading naming the places where battle engagements occurred.<sup>72</sup>

In line 4 the name Οἰν[εῖδος], being the sixth tribe of ten, suggests that the preserved fragment belongs near the center of the upper part of the stone. It is uncertain how many columns of names there



No. 7

(Photograph from Squeeze)

<sup>70</sup> For the last lines of this decree, see Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, pp. 18-19. The earlier lines need further study.

<sup>71</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 94, lines 34-35: καὶ τὲς τάφρο καὶ τὸ ὕδατος κρατὲν τὸ ἐγ Διὸς τὸν μισθοσάμενον.

<sup>72</sup> See, for example, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 929, 943; compare *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 42-43.

were (possibly one for each tribe ?), but the size of the marble indicates that the total list was probably a long one. A date for the inscription should be sought in some year when there was action about the Peloponnesos, and when losses in the whole theater of war were heavy. This makes probable a date between 431 and 423. The letters, except for kappa, are much like those of the Coronea epigrams of 447/6,<sup>73</sup> but it must be admitted that few characteristic letters are here preserved, and that these few do not militate against a date in the decade after 431.

Between 431 and 423 B.C.

[-- 'Αθ	εναίον	ἡ]	οἶδ	[ε ἀπέθανον	--]
[-----	ἐν	-----]	δι	καὶ	[-----]
[-----	καὶ	περὶ	Πελ]	οπόνν	[εσον --]
				Οἶν	[εἶδος]
5				Νεοκ	[λ ---]
				[.]	ν[---]
				-----	

#### DECREEES CONCERNING FOREIGN STATES

8. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the original top preserved but broken on both sides and at the bottom, found on April 6, 1933, near the surface of Section Z. A moulded band runs across the face of the stele above the inscription.

Height, 0.245 m.; width, 0.146 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.-0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 658.

The letters are cut in a stoichedon pattern in which the horizontal unit measures 0.014 m. and the vertical unit 0.0214 m. This new text (*a*) is here associated with fragments *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e* of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 141/2 (all broken on all sides), and also with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 174 (with the left margin preserved). In the *Corpus* the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 141/2, fragments *d* and *e*, is not given, and Hiller notes "haec non vidi." He adds of the whole inscription "Composuit Wilhelm." It is my belief that the fragments now assigned to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 141/2 belong to two different inscriptions, and that fragment *a* must quite definitely be dissociated from the other fragments. Its upsilon, for example, is small and angular, as contrasted with the larger curving upsilon of frag-

<sup>73</sup> Published by Kyparissis and Peek in *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 141-146, with photographs. Their erroneous reconstruction of the monument (*loc. cit.*, p. 146) has been corrected by Papagiannopoulos-Palaios in *Ἰονία Ἀνθολογία*, nos. 95-98, 1935, p. 11 (cf. also the periodical *Ἀνάπλασις*, XLVIII, 1935, p. 20). The three preserved blocks with the epigrams must all have been placed consecutively along the face of the monument.

ment *c* and of the new Agora piece, and its lambda does not have the broad lower stroke of fragments *b* and *e* and of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 174.

The spacing in the various fragments grouped here shows some irregularity, but not enough, in my judgment, to keep them from belonging together.

ca. 430 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 45 +

- a* [ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τοῖ δέμοι, . . . . . ἐπρ]υτάνε[νε, . . .]  
 [ . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . ἐγραμμάτευε, . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . ἐπεστάτ]ε, Χρόμον [εἶπε·]  
 [-----]δέμο ho he[. . .]  
 [-----]μέτε hυπ[. . .]  
 5 [-----]ς καὶ τ[. . .]  
 [-----]τες[. . .]  
*lacuna*
- b* α[-----]  
 πετο[-----]  
 10 ροντ[-----]  
 τοις τ[-----]  
 [.]ω[-----]  
*lacuna*
- c* [ . . . . . ]|ΤΟ[-----]  
 [Ἰ]θην]αῖοι κ[αὶ -----]  
 [ . . κ]λέρος κα[-----]  
 15 [ . . . ]ν μέτε ἐν [-----]  
 [ . . . ]τοῖς πολ[-----]  
 [ . . . ]τὸς ηεχσ[-----]  
 [καθά]περ ἔδ[οχσεν -----]  
 [ . . . . ]φισ[-----]  
*lacuna*
- 20 [ . . . . ]ΟΑ|<sup>8</sup> [-----]  
*d* [ . μάρ]τυραν ἰ[-----]  
 [ . . . ]νι· ἔναι δ[ὲ -----]  
 [ . . . ] ἐπὶ τὲν τ[-----]
- [ . . ]ον καὶ γεο[ν -----]  
 25 [Ἰ]θην]αῖοι ἔδ[-----]  
*lacuna*
- e* ο[-----]  
 με[-----]  
 τοι[-----]  
 ἐπὶ τα[-----]  
 30 ον καὶ [-----]  
 ὃς πολ[-----]  
 [ . ]ορος [-----]  
 εἰ μεδ' [-----]  
 ἐὰμ μ[ὲ -----]  
 35 λιος [-----]  
 ναι [-----]  
*lacuna*
- f* δε[-----]  
 ν τομ[-----]  
 νο κλε[ρ -----]  
 40 [ . . . ]ν[-----]

The Agora inscription names an orator, Chromon, who is not otherwise attested. The decree which he proposed may have been a treaty between Athens and some foreign state. There is so little consecutive text that can be recovered that any identification must be conjectural, but the words μέτε hυπ[--] in line 4, so near the beginning of the document, remind one of such phrases as, [-- καὶ προθύμως ὀφελῆ]ν Ἰθην]αῖος καὶ λ[ειστὰς μὲ hυποδέχσθαι μεδ' α]ὔτ[ὸς λ]εἴξε[σθαι --] of the treaty between Athens and Halieis of 424/3,<sup>74</sup> and καὶ ε[ἰάν τις hυποπέμπει λ]ειστὰς

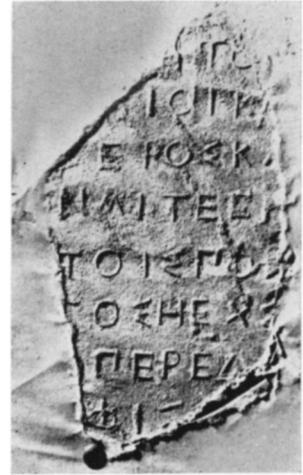
<sup>74</sup> See below, p. 102, lines 6-8.



No. 8: Fragment *a*  
(Inv. No. I 658)  
(Photograph from Squeeze)



No. 8: Fragment *b*  
(I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 141/2 *d*)  
(E.M. 5197)  
(Photograph from Squeeze)



No. 8: Fragment *c*  
(I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 141/2 *b*)  
(E.M. 6831)  
(Photograph from Squeeze)



No. 8: Fragment *d*  
(I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 141/2 *c*)  
(E.M. 6638)  
(Photograph from Squeeze)



No. 8: Fragment *e*  
(I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 174)  
(E.M. 6635)  
(Photograph from Squeeze)



No. 8: Fragment *f*  
(I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 141/2 *e*)  
(E.M. 5214)  
(Photograph from Squeeze)



larger piece, of which the left margin is preserved, the reading ἐγμ[α]ρτυρῆν is clear in line 11, and in line 15 the reading is [. . . τῆ]ι αὐτῆι ζ[εμίαι ---].

ca. 425 B.C.

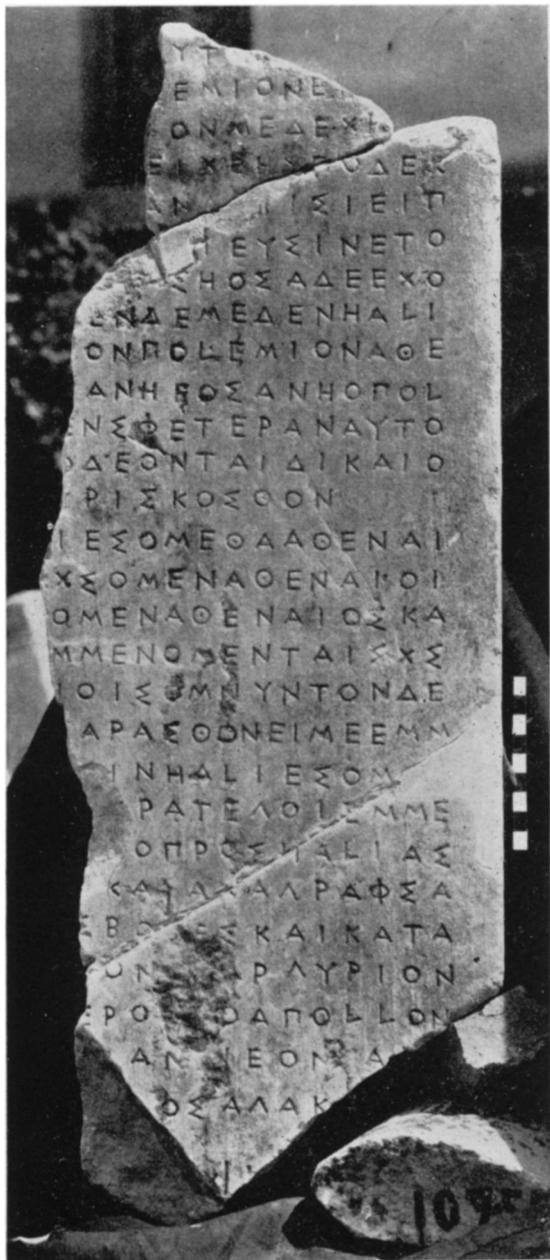
ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[. . .]οπε[-----]  
 [. ]θεσ ἐπ[-----]  
 [. ]έξοσι[-----]  
 [h]νπὸ τὸ [-----]  
 5 [ . . . . ]να[-----]  
                   *lacuna*  
 [ . . . . χ]συμμ[αχ-----]  
 [. 'Αθε]ναίον ho [δέμος -----]  
 . . . μ[ἐ] ἐχσέστο μα[ρτυρ-----]  
 [. ] προσκαλῆσθαι 'Αθ[ενα ---- τῆς β]  
 10 [ο]λῆς ἐ τὸ δέμο τὸ 'Αθε[ναίον ----]  
 . . α ἐγμ[α]ρτυρῆν αὐτο[---· ἐὰν δέ τις --- ε]  
 [τ]αι παρὰ ταῦτα ἐ παρ[αβαίνει ---- ὀφελῆ]  
 [το] χιλί[as] δραχμὰς [-----]  
 [. κα]ὶ δεχέσθον τ[-----]  
 15 [. . . τῆ]ι αὐτῆι ζ[εμίαι -----]  
 [. . . . . . . . .]εσ [-----]

The study of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 87 which was necessary to the examination of letter forms for comparison with the stones discussed above has brought to light several new items of interest related to that inscription, the text of which was last published in *A.J.P.*, LVI, 1935, pp. 69-70. For example, in line 9 the restoration ought probably to be ἐ[πὶ τὸς χτυμμάχος τὸς 'Αθηναί]ον instead of ἐ[πὶ τὸς χτυμμάχος τὸν 'Αθηναί]ον. Also, in lines 10-11 Miss Davidson and I proposed [--- μεδ' ἐς τὰ τ]είχε *ἠνποδέχσθαι φρ[ορὸς ἀδικέσοντας 'Αθηναίος· ---]*, for which Wilhelm<sup>78</sup> has since suggested φρ[ορὰν ἐπὶ βλάβει τῆι 'Αθηναίον· ---], thus returning to the restoration made by Kirchhoff (*I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 21, no. 71) even though it exceeds by one letter the requirements of the stoichedon order. Without violating the epigraphical requirements, however, it is possible to restore a satisfactory text with φρ[ορὰν τινα παρὰ τὸν πολεμίον· ---]. The word πολέμιος is notably prominent in this part of the inscription, for the Halieis were under injunction (line 8) μεδὲ χρ[έμ]ατα παρέχε[ν τοῖς πολεμίους ---]. It seems natural to continue this last sentence, as the context demands, by reading [--- μεδ' ἐς τὰ τ]είχε *ἠνποδέχσθαι φρ[ορὰν τινα παρὰ τὸν πολεμίον· ---]*.

<sup>78</sup> *Attische Urkunden IV*, p. 90, in *Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, 1939.

More important is the necessity for going back to another reading of Kirchhoff (*loc. cit.*) in line 33. Miss Davidson and I had followed Hiller's text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 87



*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 87: Fragments *c* and *d*

in restoring [--- ἐὰν δὲ τὸν χουμμαχία]ν ἀν[α]νεὸν[τ]α[ι] ὀμνύοντον κατὰ ταῦτά · ---]. The photographs show that this is quite impossible. Kirchhoff was right in reading into line 33 the end of an introductory phrase [-----]ίαν and the name of one of the envoys Νέον Ἄ[-----]. The letters NEON are out of their *stoichoi* and no letter can be restored immediately either before or after them. It looks as if the stonecutter had drafted here a name of six letters and then had found in the cutting that he had a name of only four letters with which to deal. The disturbance in the stoichedon order served in part to lessen the gaps and cover his error. Earlier in the inscription, in line 4, a mistake in the reverse direction—putting five letters in the space of four—was in part covered by the violation of the stoichedon order. It is instructive to note that in both cases the nature of the mistake and of the correction can be best understood on the assumption that a considerable portion of the text was drafted on the stone, in some temporary medium, before cutting was done with the chisel. In neither case was the correction made by cutting an erasure in the stone.

The correction in line 4 seems to have been made in order to change the spelling of *συνθέκας* to *χουνθέκας*. It implies a desire on the part of the engraver to be meticulous about small items and should discourage the modern restorer from assuming lightly that the stonecutter must have been in error. This criticism applies

in particular to a restoration which I suggested for line 29 in which it had to be assumed that the particle *δέ* was omitted. This line will be discussed again below.

Lines 32-35 now read as follows:

[*ἡαλιῆς δὲ θέντον τὲν στέλεν ἐς τὸ ἡι*]ερό[*ν τ*]ὸ Ἀπόλλων  
 [*ος· πρέσβες ἡοῖδε ὄμνον τὲν χσνμμαχ*]ίαν ὕ Νέον ὕ Ἀ[. . .]  
 [-----]ος Ἀγακ[λ. . .]  
 [-----] *vacat*

It seems best to restore [*ἐς τὸ ἡι*]ερό[*ν τ*]ὸ Ἀπόλλων[*ος*] in lines 32-33 instead of [*ἐν τῷ ἡ*]ερό[*ν τ*]ὸ Ἀπόλλων[*ος*] in order to preserve the rough breathing of *ἡιερόν*. The accusative usage can be amply attested by the similar provision in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 116, lines 22-24: τὰς δὲ χσννθέκ[*ας ἀναγράφ*]σαντας ἐς στέλεν θέναι ἐς τὸ ἡιερὸ[*ν τὸ Ἀπόλλωνο*]ς. The envoys who swore the oath were probably four in number, as had been the envoys nine years earlier who came respectively from Rhegion and Leontini (cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 51 and 52), and they were doubtless named with patronymics.

Comparing forms of letters and chequer-units of stoichedon order, Raubitschek found in Princeton among the squeezes of the unpublished fragments in the Epigraphical Museum a badly worn fragment which seemed to be by the same hand and to show the same measurements as the treaty with Halieis. It bears the Epigraphical Museum inventory number 2727.<sup>79</sup> So far we have no information about its other physical characteristics and it may later be found that it can have no connection with the present text. Nevertheless, its better preserved lines agree well with the sense of the text that must be restored near the left edge of the stele from *ca.* line 17 to line 30, and it would seem to us perverse to believe that there could be so much agreement if the stone belonged to another document. Tentatively, at least, we claim E.M. 2727 as part of the treaty between Athens and Halieis and give the full text as follows:



*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 141/2: Fragment *a*

424/3 B.C.

*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 87

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 42

[*Νε*]οκλείδ[*ες -<sup>ca. s</sup> - ἔγρα*]μμάτευε  
 ἔδοχσεν τῷ [βολῆι καὶ τῷ δέμοι· Αἰγεί]ς ἐπρυτάνευε,  
 Νεοκλείδες [ἔγραμμάτευε, . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . ἐπεσ]τάτε, Λάχης ε

<sup>79</sup> See the photograph on p. 101.



E.M. 2727

(Photograph from Squeeze)

An examination of this stone has been made in Athens by Mrs. Gladys Davidson Weinberg, who reports that it joins fragments *c* and *d* of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 87. Raubitschek's identification is thus strikingly confirmed. Word of the join reached us too late to be noted in the text (see p. 100).

ἴπε· χσυνθέκα[ς καὶ χσυνμαχίαν καὶ ἡόρκο]ς ἔναι ἀδόλο  
 5    ς Ἶθναίοι[ς καὶ ἡαλιεύσιν· σταθμὸν δὲ πα]ρέχ[ε]ν ἡαλι  
   ἄς Ἶθναί[οις ταῖς ναυσὶν καὶ προθύμος ὄφελῆ]ν Ἶθνε[ν]  
   αῖος καὶ λ[ειστὰς μὲ ἡυποδέχεσθαι μεδ' α]ὔτ[ὸς λ]εῖξε[σ]  
   θαι μεδὲ χσ[υστρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τὸν πολ]εμίον ἐπ' Ἶθνε  
 10    ναῖος μεδ' ἐ[πὶ τὸς χσυνμάχος τὸς Ἶθναί]ον μεδὲ χρ[έμ]  
   ατα παρέχε[ν τοῖς πολεμίοις μεδ' ἐς τὰ τ]είχε ἡυποδέχ  
   εσθαι φρ[ορὰν τινα παρὰ τὸν πολεμίον· ἐ]ὰν δὲ τις ἴει π  
   [ολέμιος ἐπὶ ἡαλιᾶς βοεθῆν Ἶθναῖος ἡαλ]ιεῦσιν ἔτο  
   [ίμος καὶ ἡό, τι ἂν δύνονται ὄφελῆν ἡαλι]ᾶς· ἡόσα δὲ ἔχο  
   [σιν ἡαλιᾶς Ἶθναῖος οἰκὲν ἔαν, ἀδικ]ῆν δὲ μεδὲν ἡαλι  
 15    [ᾶς μεδὲ περιορᾶν ἔαν ἀδικέσει τις τ]ὸν πολεμίον· Ἶθνε  
   [ναῖος δὲ φυλάττεν ἐν ἡαλιεύσει φρορ]ὰν ἡέος ἂν ἡο πόλ  
   [εμος] μ[ὲ διαλυθῆι, διαλυθέντος δὲ τ]ῆν σφετέραν αὐτὸ  
   [ν φυλάτ]τ[εν ἡαλιᾶς· ἔαν δὲ τινος ἄλλ]ο δέονται δικαῖο  
   [ἡαλιᾶς παρὰ τὸ δέμο τὸ Ἶθναῖον ἡε]υρισκόσθον. <sup>υ υ υ</sup>  
 20    [κατὰ τᾶδε ὄμοσαν ἡαλιᾶς· χσύμμαχο]ι ἐσόμεθα Ἶθναί  
   [οις καὶ φίλοι ἐπιτέδειοι καὶ παρέ]χσομεν Ἶθναῖοι  
   [ς ναύσταθμον καὶ προθύμος ὄφελῆσ]ομεν Ἶθναῖος κα  
   [τὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἐμ παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ ἐ]μμενόμεν ταῖς χσ  
   [υνθέκαις πιστὸς καὶ ἀδόλος Ἶθνα]ῖοις· ὄμνύντον δὲ  
 25    [καὶ] αὐτὸ[ν πρέσβες καὶ ἐχσόλειαν ἐ]παράσθον εἰ μὲ ἐμμ  
   [έ]νοιεν [ἐν τοῖς ἡόρκοις ἡὸς ὄμομόκα]σιν ἡαλιᾶς· ὄμ[οσ]  
   [αν] δ' αὐτοῖς [Ἶθναῖον ἡε βολὲ καὶ ἡοι σ]τρατεγοὶ ἐμμε  
   [νὲν ἐ]ν ταῖς χσυνθ[έκαις ἡὰς χσυνέθεντ]ο πρὸς ἡαλιᾶς  
   [ἡοι ἐπ]ὶ τὰ χσυνκε[ίμενα· τὰς δὲ χσυνθέ]κας ἀναγράψα  
 30    [ι ἐστέλε]ι λιθίνε[ι τὸν γραμματέα τῆ]ς βολῆς καὶ κατα  
   [θῆναι ἐμ πόλει· ἡοι δὲ κολακρέται δόντ]ον [τὸ] ἀργύριον·  
   [ἡαλιᾶς δὲ θέντον τὲν στέλεν ἐς τὸ ἡι]ερὸ[ν τ]ὸ Ἶπόλλον  
   [ος· πρέσβες ἡοῖδε ὄμνον τὲν χσυνμαχ]ῖαν <sup>υ</sup> Νέον <sup>υ</sup> Ἶθνα[. . .]  
   [-----]ος Ἶθακ[λ. . .]  
 35    [-----] *vacat*  
   [-----] |<sup>υ</sup> -----  
 -----

One of the two letters near the upper part of E.M. 2727 that can be read with any confidence (and even this is not certain) is a mu which must fall immediately after the word πόλ[εμος] in lines 16-17. This makes unlikely the restoration hitherto accepted, ἡέος ἂν ἡο πόλ[εμος ἐῖ]. Yet it seems reasonable to believe that the Athenians were to have the privilege of maintaining a garrison in Halieis so long as the war

should last. This meaning of *ἕως ἄν*, to be rendered “so long as” rather than “until,” is amply attested and can be supported from Thucydides specifically in connection with *πόλεμος ἔι*.<sup>80</sup> But if the letter following *πόλ[εμος]* was mu, some other phraseology must be adopted, perhaps like *ἕως ἄν ἡ πόλ[εμος] μ[ὲ] διαλυθῆι --*, “so long as the war does not come to an end.” This offers also an easy transition to the next clause, *διαλυθέντος δὲ τ]έν σφετέραν αὐτῶ[ν φυλάτ]τ[εν ἡαλιᾶς]*. When the war did come to an end the Halieis were again to do the garrisoning of their own territory.

The restoration which Miss Davidson and I formerly gave for this line implied that the Athenians were to return from Halieis to their own land—*τὲν σφετέραν αὐτῶν* meaning Athens—when peace was made. One might expect *Ἀθέναζε* rather than *ἔς τὲν σφετέραν αὐτῶν* if the reference was in fact to Athens, so it is probably preferable to allow the reference to remain with Halieis. The contrast is now clear: Athens was to maintain a garrison at Halieis so long as the war was not over, but when it should be over the Halieis were to garrison their land themselves. In line 18 the tau which I have read as part of the verb [*φυλάτ]τ[εν]* is clear.

I have been able to read nothing else from the squeeze of E.M. 2727 before line 25, but several changes in the restorations are nevertheless essential. Lines 26-27 must be restored as a record of accomplished action. I consider the restoration [*Ἀθenaίον ἡε βολὲ καὶ ἡοι σ]τρατεγοί* in line 27 so nearly certain as to admit of no doubt. So the verb which precedes can only have been *ἔμ[οσαν]*; the infinitive *ἔμ[όσαι]* is not syntactically possible, and our earlier *ἔμ[ύντον]* does not agree with the preserved letters at the beginning of line 27. Surely the record must be *ἔμ[οσαν] δ' αὐτοῖς* [*Ἀθenaίον ἡε βολὲ καὶ ἡοι σ]τρατεγοί*. This is very close in form to the record which appears in the covenant with Selymbria (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 116, lines 24-27): *ἔ[μο]σαν Ἀθenaίον οἱ στρατεγοί [καὶ ἡοι τριέρarχο]ι καὶ ἡοι ἡοπλίται καὶ εἴ τι[ς ἄλλος Ἀθenaίον π]αρῆν, καὶ Σελυμ[βρ]ιανοὶ π[ά]ντ[ες]*, and for joint participation in the oath by Council and Generals one might cite, e.g., the treaty of 384/3 between Athens and Chios (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 34, lines 26-28): *ἔμ[όσα]ι δ]ὲ τοῖς [ἡ]κοσιν Χίοις] μὲν τῆμ βολῆν κ[αὶ] τὸς [στρατηγὸς καὶ τα]ξιάρχος, or the treaty of 378/7 between Athens and Byzantion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 41, lines 8-10): [ἔ]μ[όσα]ι δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆν βολῆν] καὶ τ[ὸς στρατηγὸς καὶ τὸς] ἡπ[άρ]χος --]. It is evident that *ἔμ[οσαν] δ' αὐτοῖς* is in good epigraphical style, and that [*Ἀθenaίον ἡε βολὲ καὶ ἡοι σ]τρατεγοί* supplies a proper subject for it.<sup>81</sup>*

The record of the oath in the treaty with Selymbria stated also the fact that all the Selymbrians had sworn. At Halieis, similarly, all the citizens must have taken the oath, and the restoration must be made correspondingly in line 20: [*κατὰ τὰδε*

<sup>80</sup> In I, 58, 2, Thucydides describes how many of the Chalcideans left their homes near the coast and were given land near lake Bolbe *ἕως ἄν ὁ πρὸς Ἀθenaίους πόλεμος ἤ*.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. also *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 90, lines 8-9: *τὸν δὲ ἡό[ρκον ἔμ[όσαι ἡεκατέρος, Ἀθenaίον μὲν τὲν] βολῆν καὶ τ[ὸς στρατηγὸς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς --]*.

ῥμοσαν ἡαλιῆς]. This leaves more space to be filled at the beginning of the oath than earlier restorations, so I write *χούμμαχο*]ι ἐσόμεθα rather than *φίλο*]ι ἐσόμεθα. These are both desirable changes, for it is hardly conceivable that the Council and Generals of the Athenians would be recorded as having already sworn the oath of alliance, at the time the decree was passed, while the people of Halieis were still being enjoined to do so. The political situation is better intelligible if the Halieis took their oath before, not after, the Athenians. Hence I believe that *ῥμοσαν ἡαλιῆς* is to be preferred in line 19 to *ῥμόσαι ἡαλιῆς*. The introductory words were *κατὰ τάδε*, as in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 51. In the preserved documents from Athens in the Fifth Century the noun to precede *ἔσομαι* (or *ἐσόμεθα*) is normally *χούμμαχος* (or *χούμμαχο*).<sup>82</sup> It is true that in the terms of the alliance between Athens and Bottike of 422 B.C.<sup>83</sup> the Bottiaian oath began with the words *φίλοι ἐσόμε[θα Ἀθηναίους καὶ χούμ]μαχοι*, but the covenant itself specified that the alliance was to be one of *φιλία καὶ χουμμαχία* (line 25). The word *φιλία* is not included in the title of the alliance between Athens and Halieis (line 4), so [*φίλο*]ι should properly yield first place to [*χούμμαχο*]ι in the formula of the oath.

One must assume, I believe, that negotiations for this alliance had been going on for some time, and that Athenian agents had come to an understanding with those in authority at Halieis, and had made with them a covenant on the basis of these understandings. These Athenian agents are named in line 29 as [*ῥοι ἐπ*]ι τὰ *χουγκε[ίμενα]*, and they must be the subject of [*χουνέθεντ*]ο πρὸς *ἡαλιῆς* in line 28. The covenant (*ῥαι χουνθέκα*) was, therefore, an accomplished fact at the time when this decree was passed. Its terms had been worked out at Halieis by responsible Athenians (or delegates of the Athenians),<sup>84</sup> and there had been mutual agreement with the Halieis about them.<sup>85</sup> The Halieis had sworn a prescribed oath covering their part of the contract with Athens (lines 20-24). Subsequently the negotiations moved to Athens, where the Athenian Council and Generals took an oath to abide by the covenant which their agents had arranged (lines 26-29). After this was done the terms were brought to the Demos for ratification, and our present decree is the record of that action.<sup>86</sup> The terms themselves constitute lines 4-19 of the decree. But the envoys who came from Halieis to receive the Athenian oath and follow the decree through the assembly were required, by the assembly, once more to bind themselves

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 39, line 27; 51, line 13; 52, line 21.

<sup>83</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 90, with the addition of a new fragment published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 80-81. For the date cf. *A.J.A.*, XXIX, 1925, pp. 29-31.

<sup>84</sup> In the phrase [*ῥοι ἐπ*]ι τὰ *χουγκε[ίμενα]* the preposition has the meaning "in charge of," "responsible for."

<sup>85</sup> Lines 28-29: *ταῖς χουνθ[έκα*ς ἡὰς *χουνέθεντ]ο πρὸς ἡαλιῆς [*ῥοι ἐπ*]ι τὰ *χουγκε[ίμενα]*.*

<sup>86</sup> Similarly, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 117 is the record of a confirmation by the Demos of a covenant already made abroad (in this instance with the Klazomenians at Daphnous) by Athenian generals acting for the Athenians, and arrived at on terms agreed upon: [*τὰς ξουνήκα*]ς ἅς *ξουνέθεντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ τ[οῖς οἰκίσασ]ι Δαφνόντα, εἶναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ [τὰ ξουγκείμεν]α*.

with an oath and a curse that the Halieis would abide by the oaths they had sworn (lines 24-26). Provisions for erecting the stelai were followed by the names of the envoys. Below these, the larger letters of which traces remain are still an enigma. The report on them should be corrected: they are iota, followed by kappa or lambda.

In line 26 the upper stroke of sigma in [ὁμομόκα]σιω is still preserved. The letter is quite certain. The verb ἐμμένω appears either with the simple dative (as in line 23) or with the dative and ἐν (as in lines 26 and 28). Both usages are well attested. In line 31 an irregularity must be assumed in the stoichedon order, permitting 43 letters. But this is no worse than the similar irregularity that had to be assumed in our earlier restoration of line 30, while the present text has no irregularity in line 29.<sup>87</sup>

The covenant with Halieis marked a further step in the development of Athenian strategy, whereby the Peloponnesos was being progressively hemmed in with military bastions accessible to the Athenian navy. So far the policy, largely influenced by Demosthenes and doubtless strengthened by his signal success at Pylos in the previous year, was being pursued with success in the south. But a similar attempt to win bases on the borders of Boiotia had come to grief. Thucydides (IV, 76) tells of the plan suggested by the Theban exile Ptoiodoros and adopted by Demosthenes and Hippokrates. Siphai, a harbor town of Thespiiai, was to be delivered by treachery to Demosthenes as he moved in with a fleet from the Gulf of Corinth. Also, friends in Orchomenos (and the exiles from Orchomenos) were to betray Chaironeia, assisted by mercenaries and by some Phokians. At the same time, and on a prearranged day, Hippokrates was to seize and fortify Delion, a sanctuary of Apollo in the territory of Tanagra opposite Euboia. This double attack would, as the Athenians believed, divide and distract the Boiotians so that they could offer no united resistance.<sup>88</sup>

As it happened (Thuc., IV, 89) the Athenian generals failed to time their double attack correctly, and the Boiotians learned of the plot against Siphai and Chaironeia in time to take effective precautions. Demosthenes could only lie helplessly off the coast with his fleet, while the entire Boiotian army moved to meet Hippokrates at Delion. There the Athenians were defeated (Thuc., IV, 96) and soon afterward Delion was captured by the Boiotians (Thuc., IV, 100).

The Athenian defeat left a political problem which I believe to have been the occasion for the Athenian decree now published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 68/69. To the three fragments of this inscription which were first reported by Wilhelm in 1898 as belonging together<sup>89</sup> may now be added a stone recently found on the south slope of the Acropolis and published by Oliver.<sup>90</sup> All four pieces are published here as No. 9.

<sup>87</sup> Our earlier restoration was [τένδε <δὲ> τὸν χουμμαχίαν καὶ τὰς χουνηέ]κας ἀναγραφῶσά[το -- κτλ. --].

<sup>88</sup> See Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, 2, pp. 1140-1141.

<sup>89</sup> *Jahreshefte*, I, 1898, Beiblatt, p. 44: I 67 [ist] mit 84. 85 zu vereinigen. Wilhelm's reference was to the published numbers in *C.I.A.*

<sup>90</sup> *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 460-461, with a photograph on p. 460. Raubitschek has made the identification from the squeezes of all four fragments now in Princeton.

## THE EXILES FROM BOIOTIA

9. Apparently there is no join between the fragments, and so far as I have found there is only one possible indication of a consecutive text to determine their relative positions. One of the fragments (E.M. 6611 = *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 68*a*) is obviously from the beginning of the inscription, for it contains the heading of the text and part of the moulding at the top of the stele. The new fragment (E.M. 12830 = *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 460) has the left margin preserved. I place it next below fragment *a* in the composite monument because the lines are somewhat close together. In general



No. 9: Fragment *a*

E.M. 6611 = *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 68*a*. The part above the moulding is not shown

(Photograph from Squeeze)

it seems to be true that the spacing, both horizontal and vertical, became slightly wider toward the bottom of the inscription. Random measurements show that three lines on the two upper fragments occupy 0.05 m.; that three lines on *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 69*c* (which I call fragment *c*) occupy 0.055 m.; and that three lines on *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 69*b* (which I now call fragment *d*) occupy 0.06 m. This disposition is confirmed by the fact that fragment *d* carries the formula of publication and should normally come near the lower part of the stone. The formula of publication as it appears on fragment *b* in Oliver's text is entirely restored, in my opinion incorrectly.

Rangabé was inclined to date fragment *a* in the middle of the fifth century after the battle of Oinophyta.<sup>91</sup> This seemed, in fact, the only available time when Athens

<sup>91</sup> A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, I (1842), no. 301.

could have had dealings with a number of Boiotian cities, as he thought the text of line 5 implied. Rangabé gave the reading and restoration essentially as it appears in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 68: *καὶ τ]δ[ν ἄ]λλον Βοιωτῶν ὅσοι βό[λονται --*.<sup>92</sup> But the writing alone does not permit so early a date. Hiller was of the opinion that even though these early lines might refer back to the middle of the century the monument itself and the decree belonged later.<sup>93</sup> He suggested as possible the restoration *ἄρχοντ]ος Ἀθένεσι*



No. 9: Fragment *b*

E.M. 12830 = *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 460

(Photograph from Squeeze)

*Κα[λλιμάχο ? -]* for line 7 (446/5 B.C.) but attributed the inscription to a date *ca.* 424/3?. With the battle of Delion in mind he speculated further whether the decree might not be dated somewhat earlier: Num Demosthenis consilium quod aestate *a.* 424 capit (Busolt III 1140), antequam ad Delium dimicaretur, in censum veniat, quaeritur. Kirchner contributed the suggestion that the Boiotians mentioned in line 5 might be those who wished to side with Athens: *ὅσοι βό[λονται μετ' Ἀθηναίων γίνεσθαι]*.

The only chance for the Athenian plan to occupy Siphai and Chaironeia depended on the element of surprise. When one of the Phokians revealed the facts to the Lakedaimonians the plan failed. It is inconceivable that the Athenians embodied in a public decree terms or conditions which looked to the participation of Boiotian cities

<sup>92</sup> The only difference is that he did not read the O in τ]δ[ν.

<sup>93</sup> Commentary on *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 68: Quodsi hic res quae archonte C. [Callimacho] acciderant commemoratae esse videntur, ipsum hoc pactum utique recentius erit habendum.

in the execution of the plan. Certainly a date before the battle of Delion is unreasonable, but after the battle there were many Boiotians for whom the Athenians may well have felt considerable responsibility. No exile favorable to Athens could return home as he had hoped. Rather, many more of those at home who had participated in the abortive plans for liberation doubtless fled to Athens for refuge, if indeed they were able to escape with their lives from the inevitable purges conducted by the dominant anti-Athenian factions in their various cities. After 427 B.C., when Plataia was razed, the Plataian exiles had become a permanent charge on Athenian hospitality. They were given citizen status. But after 424 B.C. their number must have been augmented by many Boiotians from other cities who could no longer safely remain at home.

Exiles from Orchomenos were named by Thucydides as active in the plot of 424. Of these Potamodoros and his son Euetion received special consideration at Athens, and decrees in their honor were passed, dating from the eighth prytany of 424/3.<sup>94</sup> There were, to be sure, Boiotian exiles in Athens before the battle of Delion,<sup>95</sup> but they were living in hope of restoration to their own cities. After Delion, they had no such hope, and they must have been joined by others whom that failure had compelled to share their fate. The refugee problem in Athens, already serious after the Plataian disaster of 431-427, must have become acute after the collapse of the Boiotian campaign in 424. These Boiotians are the subject of this decree.

The Plataians had already been made citizens, so it is questionable whether they, with their different status, should be classed as *primi inter pares* in the text of the inscription by writing in line 5 *περὶ μὲν Πλαταιῶν καὶ τῶ[ν ἄ]λλων Βοιωτῶν ὄσοι --- κτλ.* One should single out preferably some other city of known Athenian sympathies, like Thespiæ. Thespiæ had always been closely associated with Plataia. It contained a strong pro-Athenian faction,<sup>96</sup> which was relatively prominent after the loss of many Thespian soldiers who fought on the Theban side at Delion, and in 423 the Thebans even used the charge of atticism as an excuse for tearing down its walls, which was something they had long wanted to do.<sup>97</sup> One may with some degree of probability restore in line 5: *περὶ μὲν Θεσπιῶν καὶ τῶ[ν ἄ]λλων Βοιωτῶν ὄσοι --- κτλ.*

It was not a case of dealing with cities in Boiotia, although that might be inferred (erroneously) from the words *ἐκά]σται τῶν πόλεων* in line 6.<sup>98</sup> The Athenians were dealing with a miscellaneous gathering of friendly Boiotians who had been driven to take refuge in Athens, and their provision for them must have been more or less as with individuals. Later, in 421 B.C., the Athenians gave Skione to the Plataians for

<sup>94</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 70. See Meritt, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 322-323 for the text.

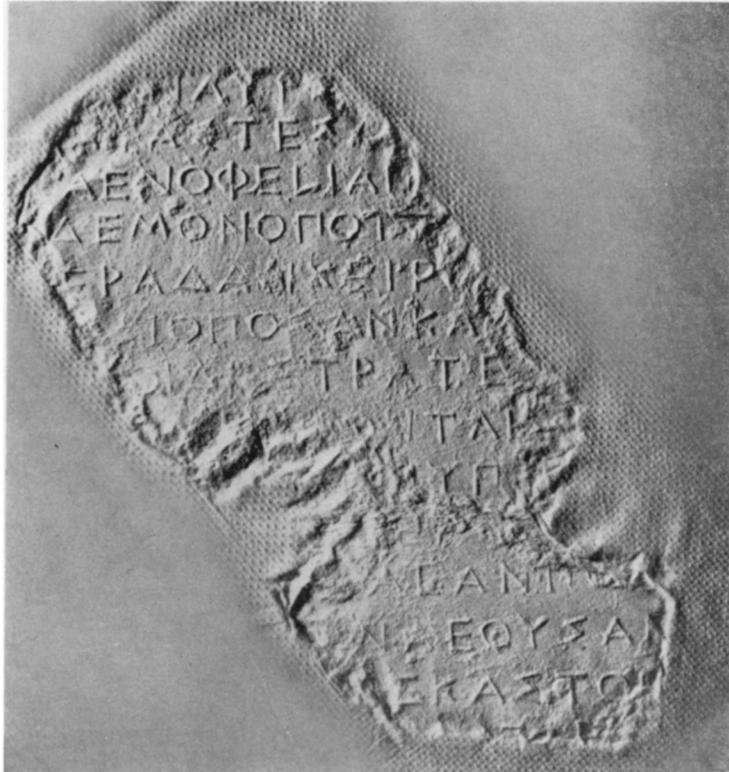
<sup>95</sup> Ptoiodoros of Thebes (Thuc., IV, 76) was one of the most active.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. the proxeny decree, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36.

<sup>97</sup> Thuc., IV, 133, 1.

<sup>98</sup> The correct reading is *ἐκά]σται* rather than *ἐκά]σται*. There can be no doubt about the iota.

their own (Thuc., V, 32), but they were a special group and, in any event, such mass assignment of new territory was hardly feasible in 424/3. I believe that these refugees were encouraged to settle wherever they could find a good opportunity in any part of the Athenian Empire, and that the words ἐκά]σται τῶν πόλεων in line 6 refer, not to cities of Boiotia,—with which the Athenians in 424/3 could hardly have had suitable diplomatic relations,—but to the cities of the Athenian allies. One will re-



No. 9: Fragment *c*

E.M. 6622 = *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 69*c*

(Photograph from Squeeze)

member that the Spartans in 431 helped the dispossessed Aiginetans by giving them land between Argos and Lakonia, but that many of the refugees found what asylum they could in the rest of Greece.<sup>99</sup> The Boiotian exiles in 424/3 faced a similar scattering. This decree may have been designed to give them individually such comfort as Athens could afford from the resources of her Empire.

The heading of the inscription is of considerable interest. The letter ξ of line 1 hardly suffices to suggest a restoration, though it may well have belonged to a title

<sup>99</sup> Thuc., II, 27: καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἤκκησαν, οἱ δ' ἐσπάρησαν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα.

just as the words *Μεθοναίων ἐκ Πιερ[ίας]*, for example, served as title for *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 57. Next, in line 2, is the one letter Ε, which can be restored with certainty as part of the word [θ]ε[οί]. Its position is significant, for it shows that the end of the word *Αἰγείς* in line 4, which falls directly below it, is considerably less than half way across the face of the stone. Inasmuch as *Αἰγείς* must have been preceded by the formula *ἔδοχσεν*



No. 9: Fragment *d*

E.M. 6621 = *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 69*b*

(Photograph from Squeeze)

*τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι δέμωι*, it is apparent that each line must have had more than 64 letters at the least.<sup>100</sup>

Line 3 carries the name of the secretary, which has been restored hitherto as [Θρασ]ύλυκο[s], the assumption being that it was followed by the word [ἐγγραμμάτενε].<sup>101</sup> This name could be inscribed above line 4, allowing the normal one letter

<sup>100</sup> This is the first indication that Oliver's restorations in *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 461, for fragment *b* have been made with too short a line.

<sup>101</sup> See the commentary on *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 68. Cf. also Patience Haggard, *The Secretaries of the Athenian Boule in the Fifth Century B. C.*, (Univ. of Missouri Diss., 1930), p. 15, note 26. There is no attested name ending in [---]ύλυκος.



[...<sup>6</sup>...]άντον· ὅπος δ' ἄμ με ἀ[δικέτ]αι [τούτον μεδεὶς μέτε ὑπ' ἰδιότο μέτ' ἄρχοντος  
Ἄθηναίον ἐ τῶν χσυμμάχων]

[τῶν Ἄθε]ναίων ἐπιμελόσθον αὐτῶν οἷτ[ινες Ἄθηναίον ἄρχουσιν ἐν τεί ὑπερορίαί καὶ  
οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ ἄν]

[στρ]ατεγῶσιν, καὶ ἐάν τι ἐσεγῶν[ται ἀγ]α[θὸν ἐ ἐάν το δέονται δικαίον παρὰ Ἄθηναίον  
πρόσοδον ἔναι αὐτῶν]

15 [ἐκάστ]οι ἐς τὲν βολὲν κα[ὶ] ἐς τ[ὸ]ν [δέμον -----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 10</sup>-----]ατ[. . .]πιτεδ[-----]  
[. . .<sup>ca. 6</sup>. . .] τὸν Ἄθηναί[ον -----]  
[. . .<sup>ca. 6</sup>. . .]τον εἰτ[. . .]τ[-----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 21</sup>-----]εν[-----]

*lacuna*

20 c [-----<sup>ca. 10</sup>-----] ναυτο[δικ -----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 7</sup>-----] κ]αταστεσα[-----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 7</sup>-----]τα ἐν ὀφελίαι[-----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 5</sup>-----] τὸν] δέμον ὀπότε[ρα ἄν -----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 4</sup>-----] ὀπότ]ερα δ' ἄν χειρο[τονε -----]

25 [-----<sup>ca. 9</sup>-----]αι ὅπος ἄν κα[-----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 9</sup>-----] οἱ δὲ στρατε[γοὶ -----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 11</sup>-----]μ[. . .]ονται [-----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 16</sup>-----] | υπ[-----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 16</sup>-----]ερ[-----]

30 [-----<sup>ca. 15</sup>-----]α ἐὰν πο[-----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 15</sup>-----]να ἔθυσαν [-----<sup>ca. 29</sup>-----]  
[-----]μο[-----<sup>ca. 24</sup>-----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 16</sup>-----] ἐκάστοι [-----<sup>ca. 28</sup>-----]  
[-----]ς δὸν[αι -----<sup>ca. 23</sup>-----]

[-----<sup>ca. 10</sup>-----] ἔδοχσεν τ[εῖ β[ολέι καὶ τῷ δέμοι, . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . ἐπρυ]τά[νε]νε,  
Φιλ[έας ἐγραμμάτενε, -----<sup>ca. 8</sup>-----]

[ἐπεστάτε, -----<sup>ca. 28</sup>-----  
-----]σοσ[. . .<sup>5</sup>. . .] Λ[-----<sup>ca. 21</sup>-----]

35 [-----<sup>ca. 46</sup>-----]ον μεδ[. . .<sup>5</sup>. . .]ε[-----<sup>ca. 20</sup>-----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 43</sup>-----]στ]ρατηγοὶ ἐχ[σ]ορκ[όντον -----<sup>ca. 15</sup>-----]  
[-----<sup>ca. 45</sup>-----] οἱ στρατηγοὶ· τὸ [δὲ φσέφισμα τόδε ἀναγρα]  
[φσάτο ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τὲς βολῆς ἐστέλεν λιθίνην καὶ καταθ]έτο ἐμ πόλει· ο[ὶ δὲ  
πολεταὶ ἀπομισθο]

[σάντον τὲν στέλεν· οἱ δὲ κολακρέται δόντων τὸ ἀργύριον· ἐχσῆ]ναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
ν[αυτοδίκαις -----<sup>ca. 7</sup>-----]

40 [----- κατασ]τεσάντων δὲ [-----ca. 16-----]  
 [----- φέ]ροσι καὶ ἄγοσ[ι-----ca. 14-----]  
 [----- μισθο]φορῶσιν ἐμ Μ[-----ca. 15-----]  
 [-----]ερα στε[-----ca. 14-----]

Inasmuch as the first decree (lines 4-33) belongs after the battle of Delion in the year 424/3 the fact that it was passed when Aigeis held the prytany shows that it has the same date within the year as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 87, for which a new text has been given above (pp. 100-102). The name of the secretary, Neokleides, may be taken from *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 87 and restored here in line 4. In fact, this decree may even be from the same day as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 87 (with the same epistates) and it may have been proposed by the same orator (Laches). There is nothing to oppose these restorations, though the only one of them that is necessary is the name of the secretary. Some years ago West suggested the date 425/4 as possible for the second decree (lines 33 ff.), assuming that Aigeis may have there been the tribe in prytany just as it was in line 4 and also just as it was in A9, lines 54-55, of 425/4 B.C.<sup>102</sup> But no good reason exists for putting either decree earlier than Delion, and the necessity for a six-letter name for the secretary in line 3 shows that he cannot have been [Φίλιππο]ς (A9, line 55) of 425/4.

In line 5 the restoration ὅσοι βό[λονται] is odd. If this were after all an invitation to whosoever wanted to side with Athens the subjunctive ὅσοι ἂν βό[λονται] would be required. In support of ὅσοι βό[λονται μετ' Ἀθηναίων γίνεσθαι] Kirchner cited lines 3-4 of the pact with Samos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1 = *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 126). Here the heading reads Σαμίους ὅσοι μετὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐγένοντο. There is no question of future contingency or impending choice of affiliation. The Samians who had taken the part of Athens in the dark days at the end of the war were given citizenship by the Athenian demos. The parallel with the present text is admirable, but it teaches that the Athenians were voting help to those Boiotians who had already cast their lot with them. An aorist indicative, rather than a subjunctive, is to be preferred after ὅσοι. It is quite uncertain what the exact words were, but I suggest as suitable to the political situation of the time ὅσοι βο[εθέσαντες Ἀθηναίοις ἔφυγον τὴν σφετέρην ἀντόν], assuming that the assistance given the exiles included the privilege of settling down in any part of the Empire. Since these terms have nothing to do with the

<sup>102</sup> A. B. West, *A.J.P.*, LVI, 1935, p. 76. West recognized that the name of the secretary in line 4 had to be Neokleides if the decree belonged to 424/3; he thought it possible that the two decrees of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 68/69 belonged to the same prytany (Aigeis), and if so, he pointed out that the year must be different from 424/3. It was tempting to suggest that the secretary Φιλ[-----] of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 69 was the same as the secretary [...]π[πος] of A9, line 55. See the text in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I (1939), p. 155.

Boiotia of 446/5 the restoration of the name of the archon Kallimachos should be deleted from line 7. In line 8 I read, tentatively,  $\Lambda\text{N}$  where the *Corpus* has  $\Lambda\text{O}$ .<sup>103</sup>

Some changes appear here in the reading of the text of fragment *b*. For the most part they explain themselves. Lines 10-12 do not contain a formula of publication, and in line 12 there seems to be room for  $\acute{\alpha}[\delta\text{ικ}\acute{\epsilon}\tau]αι$  but not for  $\acute{\alpha}[\delta\text{ικ}\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau]αι$ . These lines (12-15) give Athenian protection throughout the Empire and support the view set forth above that  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}]σ\tau\epsilon\iota \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu$  (line 6) refers to the Empire and not to the several cities of Boiotia. The general sense of the passage (lines 12-14) is illustrated by a similar provision for the protection of Leonides of Halikarnassos and his children, as the record is preserved in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 56, lines 2-9:  $\acute{\epsilon}[\pi\text{ι}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron} \text{᾽}\text{Α}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota \mu[\acute{\epsilon}]ν \tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \pi\text{ρ}\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu \beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu, \acute{\epsilon}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota \eta\acute{\omicron}\iota\tau\iota\upsilon\text{ν}\epsilon\varsigma \text{᾽}\text{Α}\theta\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\sigma\iota \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota \eta\upsilon\pi\epsilon\text{ρ}\omicron\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\iota \eta\acute{\omicron}, \tau\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu \eta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\iota \delta\upsilon\text{ν}\alpha\tau\omicron\iota \acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\nu, \eta\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\mu \mu\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\alpha}\delta\text{ι}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ .

There is a possibility that fragments *c* and *d* can be placed precisely with reference to each other. The last line of *c* has the letters  $\Gamma\text{IP}$ , which I interpret, possibly, as part of the phrase  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\chi\sigma\epsilon\nu \tau]ε\iota \beta[ολ\acute{\epsilon}\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\acute{\omicron}\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota - -]$ .<sup>104</sup> This may be the beginning of the line in fragment *d* where  $\Phi\text{ιλ}[\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma]$  appears as secretary. The spacing of the lines is suitable for this interpretation, and one might note also that line 32 can be restored in part:  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron\iota [\delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\nu \tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha]ς \delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota [- - - - \delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma - - -]$ . This would be in order if it was part of the Athenian plan to induce refugees to settle in some city other than Athens, as I believe to have been the case, but the restoration should be considered as an illustration only and not claimed as part of the text.

Line 20 preserves, I think, part of the word  $\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron[\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota]$ . It seems more than mere coincidence that this word is followed in the next line by the verb  $[\kappa]α\tau\alpha\sigma\text{-}\tau\epsilon\sigma\alpha[- - -]$ ,<sup>105</sup> while some distance further on (line 39) the phrase  $[\acute{\epsilon}\chi\sigma\acute{\epsilon}]ν\alpha\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma \nu[α\upsilon\tau\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma]$  is followed in its next line by the verb  $[\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma]τ\epsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\nu$ . It was Hiller's suggestion that line 39 might perhaps be read  $[\acute{\epsilon}\chi\sigma\acute{\epsilon}]ν\alpha\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma \text{N}[α\upsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma - -]$ , but it is not stylistically desirable to read the article with an unmodified ethnic. It is much better to take  $\nu[- - - - -]$  as a common noun and, if so, to expand it in the light of line 20 to  $\nu[α\upsilon\tau\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma]$ . The one epigraphical reference to  $\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota$

<sup>103</sup> The reading in *I.G.*, I, 67 is  $\Lambda\text{C}$ . Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1853, no. 1422, and Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, no. 301, read nothing in this line.

<sup>104</sup> The central iota is not read by Hiller, who gives the third letter as an undoubted rho. Kirchhoff, in *I.G.*, I, 85, gives only  $\text{P}$ ; Rangabé in *Antiquités Helléniques*, no. 295, gives  $\text{P}$ . Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1854, no. 2097, has criticized this reading, giving  $\text{IP}$ , and noting specifically that the iota is on the stone. The stone seems to be preserved today as Pittakys saw it, but I think nothing has been read in fact except the tops of the three letters.

<sup>105</sup> Hiller read  $[\pi]α\text{ρ}\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\alpha - - -$  in line 21. In this he follows Kirchhoff, and apparently Velsen and Koehler (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 85). Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, no. 295, read  $\Gamma\text{Ρ}\text{ΑΣ}\text{T}\text{Ε}\Sigma\text{Α}$  and Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1854, no. 2097, read  $\text{ΑΙ}\text{Α}\Sigma\text{T}\text{Ε}\Sigma\text{Α}$ , making something of a point of correcting Rangabé and saying that iota, not pi, was on the stone. The observation of Pittakys is in part correct, for the letter cannot have been rho or pi; but the wide spacing shows that the upright stroke was part of tau rather than a complete iota.

in the fifth century is in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 41, lines 4-5, where they are instructed to establish a court for cases referred to Athens from Hestiaia. The verb in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 41, is *παρεχόντων*, but it so happens that *καταστεσάντων* is in equally good idiomatic usage for the establishment of a court,<sup>106</sup> and I believe that its presence in lines 21 and 40 justifies the restorations concerning *nautodikai* in lines 20 and 39.<sup>107</sup>

The restorations of lines 37-39 give a normal publication formula. I have no suggestions for the final lines except that *ἐμ* M[---] is only with great hesitation to be restored as *ἐμ* M[*εγάρους*] and that the division of letters in the last line should probably be made so as to have nothing to do with *στατ*] *ἔρας* τέ[*τταρας*].<sup>108</sup>

### ATHENS AND CHIOS

**10.** Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the left side and back preserved, found in Section II on May 9, 1939.

Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.-0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5826.

The writing is Ionic, and not stoichedon, with a vertical unit of *ca.* 0.0145 m. The surface of the stone is badly worn, so that much of the lower part is almost entirely illegible. The crowded lettering reminds one somewhat of the decree concerning Aphytis, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 58, of which Hiller remarks (*op. cit.*) "Litterae a. 0.011 pressae." The hand, however, is not the same, although I believe that the present document is very close in date to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 58.<sup>109</sup> The shapes of rho and nu are older than one expects to find in the mid 'twenties, but mention of Kleonymos (line 4) as sponsor of an amendment brings the probable date of the decree down to the accepted time of his political activity. He is known to have been a member of the Council for

<sup>106</sup> For example, in A9, line 16: [*δικαστέριον*] *νέον* κα[*θ*]ιστάντων. Cf. Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I (1939), p. 154.

<sup>107</sup> On *nautodikai*, and in particular on their responsibility for non-Athenians, see U. Kahrstedt, *Klio*, XXXII, 1939, pp. 148-152.

<sup>108</sup> In the first publication of this fragment Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, no. 965, read the rho as kappa and indicated the complete letter in his drawing. If this is correct the line should probably be ---] *ἐκάστε*[ι---].

<sup>109</sup> A date for *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 58 *ca.* 426 B.C. has been suggested in *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 218.

the first time in 426/5,<sup>110</sup> and mention of the *πίστεις* (with Chios) in line 7 serves to fix the time more closely to the late winter or early spring of 425/4.<sup>111</sup>

425/4 B.C. NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 39

[...<sup>6</sup>...]ιτασθαι [-----]  
 [...] ἔστω· τὸ δὲ [ψ]ή[φισμα τόδε γράφαι καὶ καταθεῖν]  
 [αι] ἐμ πόλῃ τὸν [γραμματέα τέλεσι τοῖς Χίων. <sup>v v v</sup>]  
 [Κ]λ[εώ]νυμος εἶπ[ε· περὶ μὲν οὖν Ἀχ. <sup>ca. 6</sup>... τὸ Χίο μῆ]  
 5 [ἐ]ξείναι ζημιῶν [αὐτὸν μήτε τὸν υἱὸν μηδὲν ἄνευ]  
 τὸ δῆμο τὸ Ἀθηναίων· ἐὰν δέ τις παραβαίνῃ τι τῶν]  
 πίσ[τ]εων τὴν ζημ[ίαν αὐτὸ θάνατον εἶναι καὶ τὰ χρῆ]  
 [μα]τα δημόσια κ[αὶ τῆς θεῶ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον· πρόσο]  
 δον δὲ εἶναι Ἀχ[. <sup>ca. 5</sup>... πρὸς τὴν βολὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμ]  
 10 ον καθάπερ Χίω[ν τοῖς ἤκοσι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ Ἀχ...]  
 ἐ[α] καὶ Φίλιπ[π]ο[ν τὸν υἱὸν εὐεργέτας Ἀθηναίων· ἡ δὲ]  
 Διαντὶς [πρυτανεία -----]  
 [-----]  
 [-----]  
 15 [-----]τωδ[-----]  
 -----

Kleonymos (line 4) need not have been a member of the Council when he proposed the amendment. We have chosen to suggest a date for this text in the late winter or early spring of 425/4, the year following Kleonymos' first term of office as Councillor, because of the mention of Χίω[ν] in line 10 and πίσ[τ]εων in line 7. Thucydides (IV, 51) describes the political situation in Chios at the end of the seventh year of the war in these terms: τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Χίοι τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλον τὸ καινὸν κελυσάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὑποπτευσάντων ἐς αὐτούς τι νεωτεριεῖν, ποιησάμενοι μέντοι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πίστει καὶ βεβαιότητα ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν μηδὲν περὶ σφῶν νεώτερον βουλευσείν. It is our belief that the *πίστεις* mentioned here in line 7 are the same as the *πίστεις* of Thuc., IV, 51. Kleonymos, therefore, as a member of the assembly, proposed an amendment to the decree as originally introduced from the Council. Of this original decree only parts of three lines survive (1-3).

The activity of Kleonymos in Athenian politics at just this time is attested not only by the epigraphical texts, but also by the lampooning jests of Aristophanes (cf.

<sup>110</sup> Kleonymos was orator of three known decrees in 426/5: (1) The second Methone decree (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 57), now published by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor as D4 in *A.T.L.*, Vol. I (1939), p. 163; (2) The decree concerning the collectors of tribute, (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 65), now published also in *A.T.L.*, Vol. I (1939), as D8 on pp. 166-167, with corrections and additions in the last two lines by Raubitschek in *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 475-479; and (3) *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 71 + 38, now published by Eleanor Weston in *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 347-352. A photograph of the "lost" fragment, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 71, now recovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora, is presented here on p. 118.

<sup>111</sup> See below.

*P.A.*, no. 8680).<sup>112</sup> Of particular significance is the reference to Kleonymos in the *Knights* (955-958). Here the line (956) *λάρος κεχηνώς ἐπὶ πέτρας δημηγορῶν* has been taken by editors (e.g., Rogers) to refer to Kleonymos' enormous voracity. "The rock," to be sure, signifies the Pnyx, but I believe that *κεχηνώς* refers not only



No. 10

to greed of eating but also to a disposition to have his mouth constantly open in making speeches. The amendment in the present text, if our association of the decree with the events narrated in Thucydides is correct, must have been practically contemporaneous with the production of the *Knights* at the Lenaean festival of 424 B.C.

<sup>112</sup> Incorrectly printed as 8880, *op. cit.*, p. 580.

It is only one small item, but it may be part of the political activity that interested Aristophanes.

The subject matter of this decree has much in common with that of a decree honoring the Kolophonian Apollonophanes, now published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 59, and dated *ca.* 427/6. In both documents only the concluding lines of the principal decree are preserved. Both concern an individual benefactor from an Ionian ally, to whom in an amendment access to the Athenian legislative bodies is assured, and for whom protection is guaranteed. The phrase *μὲ ἐχσέναι αὐτὸν [μεδενὶ] ζεμιῶσα[ι ἄν]εν τῷ δέμῳ τῷ Ἀθην[αίων· ταῦ]τα δὲ ἐ[ῖναι καὶ] τοῖς ἐκγόνοι[ς --]* of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 59 is the closest parallel I have been able to find for *[μὴ ἐ]ξείναι ζημιῶν [αὐτὸν μῆτε τὸν υἱὸν μηδενὶ ἄνευ] τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηνα[ίων --]* of the new inscription. I have assumed that



*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 71 = Agora Inv. No. I 5020

the benefactor in the new text was a Chian and that the main part of the document dealt with Chian affairs, notably the negotiation of the guarantees which Chios demanded of Athens before tearing down her new wall. The benefactor's name may have been Achilles, for the letters Ἀχ[--] appear in line 9 at its beginning, and the accusative form in line 11 probably ended in [---]έα.<sup>113</sup> The length of line used in the restoration has been determined primarily by the reading of line 8. The use of Ionic lettering indicates that non-Athenians paid for the erection of the stele; hence the restoration *τέλεσι τοῖς Χίων* in line 3. The alternative to reading some such phrase with *τέλεσι* at the end of this line is to restore the normal formula *τὸν [γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς]* and leave the end of the line blank.<sup>114</sup>

The heavy fine to be imposed (lines 7-8) on anyone who broke the Athenian pledges to Chios shows how insistent the Chian envoys were on exacting strong guarantees and it emphasizes the desire for security which was expressed by Thucydides (*loc. cit.*) in the words *ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν*.

When the decree was passed Aiantis was the tribe in prytany, for it is named in one of the clauses of the amendment moved by Kleonymos (line 12).<sup>115</sup> It is already

<sup>113</sup> For the name, cf. also (possibly) Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden IV*, p. 31, in *Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, 1939.

<sup>114</sup> For the phraseology *γράψαι καὶ καταθεῖναι ἐμ πόλῃ* cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45, lines 17-18.

<sup>115</sup> When the name of a tribe is given, with orders that its prytaneis take some action, then that tribe may be assumed to be the prytanizing tribe at the time. Cf. Brillant, *Les Secrétaires Athéniens*, p. 24. See also a discussion of some phases of the problem in *A.J.P.*, LVII, 1936, pp.

known that the third prytany of this year, falling in the autumn of 425, was either Aiantis or Leontis.<sup>116</sup> Inasmuch as Aiantis now appears, probably, at the end of the following winter, one may restore the name [Λεοντίς] in A9, line 3.

## MONEY AND BANKING

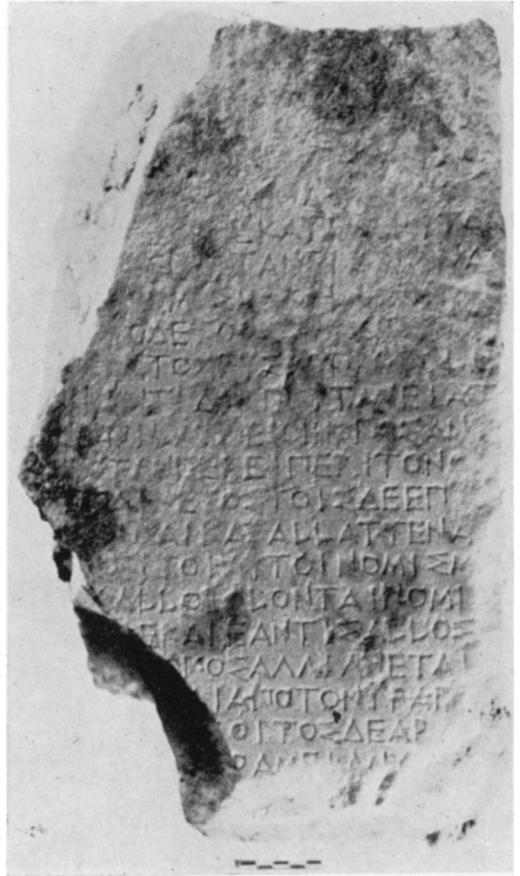
**11.** Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the back and right side preserved, found on June 17, 1937 in Section I. There is some reason to believe that the right side may have been reworked.

Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.265 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5879.

The writing is stoichedon, with a horizontal unit of 0.01 m. and a vertical unit of 0.014 m. It resembles greatly the script of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 71 (423/2 B.C.), and may well be by the same hand. The upper part of the preserved face is much worn and many of the readings can be made only with difficulty. The restoration here suggested has a line of 52 letters, which implies a stele rather more than half a meter in width. These proportions are heavier than the usual norm, but are not extraordinary. The decree concerning Brea (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45), for example, was cut on a stone 0.21 m. thick and only an estimated 0.46 m. wide.



No. 11

*ca.* 423/2 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 52

[-----] !  
 [-----] ξ  
 [-----] ξΤΑΘ  
 [-----] ΓΑΙ[.] ξΗΘ[.]  
 5 [-----] Ε[.] ΕΚΑΤΕ[.] ΑΙΤΟ  
 [-----] ς π[ρϋ]τανεί[ας τὸ]ν ἄ

180-182 and *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 311, and an opinion in dissent expressed by M. Giffler, *Hermes*, LXXV, 1940, pp. 220-223.

<sup>116</sup> See the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 63, published as A9 by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor in *A.T.L.*, Vol. I (1939), pp. 154 ff., line 3. For the date, see also *A.J.P.*, LVII, 1936, pp. 377-394, especially pp. 384-391.

- [----- καθάπερ κελεύει ho] νόμος h[o] K[a]λλ[. . .<sup>5</sup> . . .]  
 [. τὸν δὲ γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς ἀναγράφσαντα] τόδε τὸ φσ[έφι]σ[μα ἐν σ]  
 [τέλει καταθῆναι ἐμ πόλει· καταλλάττειν δὲ καὶ] τὸ χρυσίον πᾶν τὸ λο  
 10 [ιτὸν εἴαν τις βόλεται· τὸς δὲ πρυτάνες τῆς Αἰ]αντίδος πρυτανείας  
 [γνόμεν ἔχσεινεγκῆν περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν ἐ]πὶ Λαυρείου ἡόπος ἂν [φ]  
 [σεφίσεται ho δῆμος ἐν τῆι πρότει ἡέδραι h]ότανπερ εἰ περὶ τὸ νο[μ]  
 [ίσματος· . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ Ἐ]παίνετος· τοῖς δὲ ἐπ[ισ]  
 [τάταις ἔστο χρυσῶ νομίσματα παραδέχεσθα]ι καὶ καταλλάττειν ἀ[π]  
 15 [αριθμεσαμένοις ἐναντίον τῆς βολῆς ἐμ πό]λει τῶι αὐτῶι νομίσμ[α]  
 [τι χρομένοις ἡοίοι καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀργυρῶ· εἴαν δὲ] ἄλλο βόλονται νόμισ  
 [μα ----- κρινέτο he βολ]έ· καὶ εἴαν τις ἄλλος[. .]  
 [----- h]όπος ἂν γίγνεται[. .]  
 [-----]αι ἀπὸ τῶν τραπ[εζ]  
 20 [ιτῶν -----]ΙΘΙ· τὸς δὲ ἀρχ[ον]  
 [τας ----- κε]ραμεία· νῦν [δὲ. .]  
 -----

This decree about coinage is different from that which was once thought to belong *ca.* 423 B.C.<sup>117</sup> It appears itself, however, to belong in the late 'twenties, and if the similarity of hands can be emphasized rather strongly it may be that this text belongs in the same year with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 71.

Admittedly this is tenuous argument, but if the texts belong to the same year they belong also to the same prytany, for both of them name Aiantis.<sup>118</sup> This prytany is known from *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 324 to have been the eighth in order in the year, so the tentative date here given for the new text is late spring of 422 B.C.<sup>119</sup>

Very little can be deciphered in the first few lines, yet here (in line 7) comes one of the most tantalizing passages in the entire inscription. I read from squeeze and photograph ΝΟΜΟΞΗ. The second Ο is not clear and it may prove even to be an impossible reading. I believe that only an inspection of the stone might decide. The last letter, however, seems to me to be Η. If it is Μ it is badly out of shape. The alternative to reading νόμος h[o] would seem to be to read νόμισμ[α]. In itself the reading νόμισμ[α] is not improbable, because the whole context of the inscription deals with monetary matters and the word νόμισμα occurs twice in the preserved portions of later lines. One would like a clear decision on this question. Unfortunately I can only report the letters as I see them, and the traces seem to me to favor νόμος h[o].

<sup>117</sup> The famous monetary decree, of which copies were to be set up in all the cities of the Empire as well as in Athens, must be dated *ca.* 449 B.C. The text is given in *I.G.*, XII, Suppl., pp. 215-217.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. above, line 10; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 71, line 49.

<sup>119</sup> For the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 324 see Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 139, lines 43-44.

This naming of a law after its author (in this case νόμος ἡ[ο] Κ[α]λλ[ικλέος] would fit the space, and will serve as an example, though I have not restored it) is unusual. If the reading is correct we have a new name which appears here by way of definition, just as Drakon's name defined the law of homicide and the name of Chairemonides defined the law about the first-fruits at Eleusis.<sup>120</sup> At the same time it seems reasonable to believe that the business of regulating the coinage was important enough to deserve a basic foundation in law, so reference to such a law is not inappropriate. One does not know in this case what phase of the problem was covered by the law (if it was a law), for the context cannot be recovered. I suggest that it may have been the regulation of the Laureion mines, about which the prytaneis were instructed to take early action.

The approximate length of line used in the restoration of the text has been determined from lines 12-13. In line 13 appears the name [Ἐ]παίνετος. This ought properly to be part of the formula of amendment, and inasmuch as the preceding line brings a period to a close with [ἡ]ότανπερ εἰ περὶ τῷ νο[μίσηματος],<sup>121</sup> a consecutive text may be reconstructed. The name of the orator who proposed the amendment to the motion of Epainetos is lost, and it may of course have had more or less than six letters. The other lines are better restored if the number six is posited.

Lines 8-9 contained the formula of publication. It was not the last clause of the decree for there was still a brief reference to gold, which I assume had to do with the changing of gold to standard silver if anyone wished, and also there was provision that Aiantis should introduce to the Demos an important matter concerning the mines at Laureion. In my judgment this business, whatever it was, had already been foreshadowed in the decree above (lines 6-7). The restoration in line 6 may well have been [ἐπὶ τῆς Διαντίδο]ς π[ρὺ]τανεί[ας], and the action they were to initiate may have been conditioned by the terms of the fundamental law regulating the mines. Hence I have suggested in lines 7-8: [καθάπερ κελεύει ἡ] νόμος ἡ[ο] Κ[α]λλ[ικλέος].

It may be that Epainetos had made only perfunctory arrangements for the exchange of gold (lines 9-10). The lack of explicitness was remedied in the amendment. I assume that the epistatai of the mint were to receive the gold coin and exchange official silver for it. They were the officials entrusted with executing the exchange authorized in 449 B.C.,<sup>122</sup> and some of the phraseology of the earlier decree can be used to restore the lacuna here.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>120</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 115, lines 4-6: [τ]ὸ[ν] Δράκοντος νόμον τὸμ περὶ τῷ φ[όν]ο; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 140, lines 8-10: [κατὰ τὸ]ν Χαιρημονίδο νό[μον τὸν περὶ τῆ]ς ἀπαρχῆς.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. *ἴσταν περὶ τὸν τάχσ[εον εἰ]* of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 63, lines 53-54 (Meritt, West, and McGregor, *A.T.L.*, Vol. I, A9). In the assessment decree the *ἴσπος ἄν* clause follows; in the present text it precedes.

<sup>122</sup> *I.G.*, XII, Suppl, p. 217, lines 21-22: [τοὺς ἐπιστάτας τὸ ἀργύριον κατ]αλλάττειν ἢ ἐνόχ[ο]ς εἶναι κατὰ τὸν νόμον]; also lines 51-53: ο[ἱ δὲ] ἐπιστάτ[αι παραδεξάμενοι ἐς λευκώματα ἀνα]γράφαντες κατα[θέντων ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀργυροκο]πίου σκοπεῖν τῷ βου[λομένω].

<sup>123</sup> For lines 14-15, however, see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 91, lines 20-21 (Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *A.T.L.*, Vol. I, D1): ἀπαριθμεσάσθων καὶ ἀποστεσάσθων τὰ χρέματα ἐναντίον τῆς βολ[ῆ]ς ἐμ πόλει.

My restoration of line 16 implies that off-standard silver had also been turned in for exchange, and that the overseers of the mint were to exchange standard silver for gold just as they had also given it in place of other silver. One is reluctant to press too far a view which depends so largely on restoration, but it is perhaps legitimate to suggest that the provisions of the decree of 449 B.C. for uniform standards may not have been completely effective, and that other measures looking toward the same goal may have been necessary in 422 B.C.

I hesitate to include in the text a restoration which seems to me possible for lines 16-17: [ἐὰν δὲ] ἄλλο βόλονται νόμισ[μα κόπτεν και πόλες, περὶ αὐτὸ κρινέτο ηε βολ]έ. This would imply that the Council was prepared to grant some concessions to special pleading from an ally who wished to escape the strict application of the law of uniformity. I have no restorations for the later lines, except to note *τραπ*[εζιτὸν] in lines 19-20 and [*κε*]ραμέια (for which I have no explanation) in line 21.

#### ATHENS AND ARGOS

**12.** Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on October 9, 1937, in the wall of a modern house in Section AA.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.065 m.;  
thickness, 0.128 m.  
Height of letters, 0.01 m.  
Inv. No. I 5026.

The writing is stoichedon, with a horizontal unit of 0.012 m., and a vertical unit of 0.018 m. The new fragment, in fact, is part of the inscription now published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96, and makes a join with the right side of fragments *a* and *b* of that document.

By way of changing restorations already offered it is especially significant that the word ἄλλοι of lines 7 and 14 must be changed to read ἄλλοις, thus increasing the length of line by three letters. Moreover, if the phrase ἐ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐ ἄλλοις is to be restored in lines 6-7 in the same form that is now suggested for line 14, it will be necessary to add still another letter, making a total length of line of 76 letters.



No. 12

This figure applies only to lines 3 ff., for line 2 is irregularly and rather widely spaced after its twenty-second letter (the delta of δέμοι), and the letters of line 1 are larger, appearing on the band above the moulding and naming only the secretary.

It is possible to calculate from the normal line of 76 letters that the stone must have had an original width of *ca.* 76 x 0.012 m. = .912 m., or perhaps slightly more to make allowance for margins. This, of course, is the approximate width of the stele proper. Measured along the band and above the moulding, the stone was wider, probably by about enough to allow two more letters in the heading [...] ὄδορος Πολυχάρος ἌΑ[----- ἐγραμμάτευε] than would have been permitted by the narrower width of 0.912 m. Calculations across this line can be only approximate, for the letters were not laid out at precise intervals. The sixteen letters still preserved require about 0.36 m., so tentatively one may assume that a width of 0.912 m. would have permitted forty letters and that the total width perhaps had room for forty-two.

Inasmuch as even the longest restoration of normal form that can be made falls just short of the computed width,<sup>124</sup> I assume that as many letters as possible are to be desired, and restore [...] ὄδορος Πολυχάρος ἌΑ[μφιτροπέθεν (?) ἐγραμμάτευεν]. The short demotic ἌΑ[χαρνεύς] suggested in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96 seems definitely not to be a possibility. At the same time, these calculations make it extremely improbable that the main text of the inscription below should be restored with a length of line longer than 76 letters.

Nor can the length of line have been much shorter. Holding to the stoichedon pattern, and counting the restoration in line 6 between fragments *c* and *a* as valid,<sup>125</sup> one finds that the last preserved letter (iota) of [ἌΑθε]ναί[ον] in line 13 on the new Agora fragment is the sixty-seventh letter of its line. A glance at the photograph above shows that the stone is preserved behind the break to the right of this point in sufficient quantity to give room at least for several more letters. Within these limits, therefore, of several more than 67 and not more than 76 one may feel confident that the restorations of lines 6-7 and 14-15 determine definitely the length of line as given here.

417/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[...] ὄδορος Πολυχάρος ἌΑ[μφιτροπέθεν (?) ἐγραμμάτευεν]	41
[ἔδοχσεν τῷ] βολεῖ καὶ τῷ δέμοι· Αἰαν[τὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, ... ὄδορος ἐγραμμάτευε,]	62
[... <sup>10</sup> ... ἐπεσ]τάτε, Εὐφemos ἔρχε· χσν[μμαχίαν καὶ χσννθέκας ἀδόλος καὶ ἀβλαβῆς εἶναι ἌΑθena]	76
[ίους καὶ ἌΑργείους πε]ντέκοντα ἔτε· περὶ [μὲν τῶν hierôn ..... <sup>32</sup> ..... .....]	

<sup>124</sup> There are 41 letters, if one uses ἌΑμφιτροπέθεν for the demotic and adds nu-movable to the verb. Added width may also have been covered by some relaxation in the spacing near the end of the line.

<sup>125</sup> εἰν ἐσβά[λλοισιν ἐς τὴν γέν τὴν ἌΑργ]είον ἐπὶ πο[λέμοι --].

- 5 [.....<sup>18</sup>..... Ἄθ]εναίος καὶ Ἄργ[είος .....<sup>17</sup>.....]ι περ[ὶ .....  
 .....<sup>18</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....]ν ἐὰν ἐσβά[λλουσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἄργ]είον ἐπὶ  
 πο[λέμοι ἐ Λακεδαιμόν]  
 [ιοι ἐ ἄλλος τις βοεθῆν Ἄργείοις Ἀ]θνα[ίος ἠοπόσοις ἂν ἐπαγγέ]λλουσιν· τούτον  
 [δὲ .....<sup>12</sup>.....]  
 [----- πρ]ὸς τὸς ἐπιστρατεύ[οντας .....<sup>8</sup>.....]  
 [-----] μέχρι ἡεχσακοσίων [.....<sup>12</sup>.....]  
 10 [-----]ς· χρέμασι δὲ ἠόπος ἂν [Ἄργ]είοι χροῦντ]  
 [αι ἡικανοῖς ἐχσελ]ῆν ἐ[κ τ]ὸ φόρο μ[ὲ ἔλαττον ἐ τετταράκοντα] τάλαντα ἐς τὸν  
 πόλε[μον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸ]  
 [ν ἡέκαστον· ἐὰν δὲ ἐ]ρένεν βόλον[ται ποῆσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι] Ἄργείοις καὶ Ἄθε-  
 [ναί]ο[ις καὶ τοῖς ἄ-]  
 [μφοτέρον συμμαχ]οῖς Ἄργείο[ι] Λ[ακεδαιμονίος ἐς τὴν βολὴν κα]ὶ τὸν δῆμον  
 τὸν [Ἄθε]ναί[ον Ἀθ]έναζε]  
 [ἐφίεντον· ἐὰν δὲ] ἐσβάλλουσιν [ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐ Λακε]δαιμόνιοι ἐ ἄλλος  
 τις ἐ[πὶ πολέμοι β]  
 15 [οεθόντον Ἄργ]είοι Ἀθηναίο[ις ἀντίκα καθάπερ ἂν Ἀθηναῖοι] ἐπαγγέλλουσιν μ[έ]χρι  
 δι[μένο καὶ στρ]  
 [ατιόταις μὲ ὄλεζο]ν δισχιλ[ίον· τοῖς δὲ χρέμασι τοῖς ὑπάρ]χοσι χρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ [τ]ὸς  
 ἐπ[.....<sup>11</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>15</sup>..... το]ῦτο [.....<sup>26</sup>.....] δέονται πρὸς τού-  
 [το]ις [.....<sup>12</sup>.....]  
 [-----]αι ἀντοῖς τέ[ν]δε τ[ὲν (?). ....<sup>11</sup>.....]  
 [-----] ἐ]χσῆν[αι ἐ τὸ]ν [π]όλεμ[ον .....<sup>11</sup>.....]  
 20 [-----] τὸ]ν πρὸς Λακε[δαιμ]ον[ίος .....<sup>11</sup>.....]  
 [-----] Ἀθηναίος κα[.....<sup>20</sup>.....]  
 [-----]ις μεδὲ ἐκεχ[ερίαν .....<sup>15</sup>.....]  
 [-----] ἡόρκ]ον τὸν πάτρι[ον .....<sup>18</sup>.....]  
 [-----]ν ἐς Παναθ[έναια .....<sup>16</sup>.....]  
 25 [-----] βο]εθῆν Ἀ[θηναίος .....<sup>17</sup>.....]  
 [-----] Ἀθε]ναίων β[οεθῆν .....<sup>19</sup>.....]  
 [-----]ντας [.....<sup>26</sup>.....]  
 [Λακεδα]ιμονιο[-----] [-----]οπο  
 [.. μέ]χρι τριάκ[οντα ἡμερῶν σίτων (?)] [-----] 35 [-----]ιοπ  
 30 [.....]ται κακὸν[-----] [-----]δετ  
 [.....]αις δὲ χρ[εῖσθαι] [-----] [-----]ιον  
 [.....]σιοι [-----] [-----]εσο  
 [.....]νσ[-----] [-----]νπ.

In lines 3-4 the supplement ἀδόλος καὶ ἀβλαβῆς has been taken from the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 86, line 3. It has already been noted (commentary on *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96) that the name of the orator is missing from the preamble of this decree. The suggestion, however, that he was Alkibiades is not necessarily correct. It is true that Alkibiades was most influential in bringing about the treaty of 420 B.C. between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis,<sup>126</sup> and it is equally true that his influence was paramount in effecting the renewal with Argos (our present document) in 416 B.C.,<sup>127</sup> though in neither case is it clear that Alkibiades himself proposed the motion in the assembly. It would be possible epigraphically, though I believe less probable than the restoration proposed above, to attribute the motion of this decree to the *syngraphēis*<sup>128</sup> and to read in lines 3-4: χσν[νέγραψαν τάδε ἡοι χσνγγραφῆς· χσννθέκας ἔναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους πε]ντέκοντα ἔτε. The appearance of the prytany of Aiantis both here (line 2) and in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 302, line 29 (see note 127) leaves no doubt that the decree was passed in 416 B.C.<sup>129</sup>

In line 3 the reading of the text in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96 gives ἐπ]εστάτε. At present the squeeze shows no trace of either epsilon or sigma here indicated as partially preserved, nor is any trace of these letters visible in the photograph (not very clear) published by Walter in *Jahreshefte*, XVIII, 1915, Beiblatt, p. 88, or in the photograph (excellent) published by Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, III, plate 207, 1. Our preference is to write ἐπεσ]τάτε. There can be no question of the original reading on the stone.

In line 4 the first clause of the treaty proper begins with the word περί. In the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96 the suggestion was made that there was here some reference to the war with Sparta: περὶ [δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ———]. I believe it is preferable to restore the clause which begins with περί so that it may refer to the common use and recognition of certain shrines. Furthermore, as the first item of the treaty proper, the restoration calls rather for περὶ [μὲν ———] than for περὶ [δὲ ———]. In the truce of 423 B.C. between Athens and Sparta,<sup>130</sup> the terms were introduced by a reference to the shrine of Apollo at Delphi: περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ μαντείου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου ———; and in the treaty of 421 B.C.<sup>131</sup> the fact of the treaty

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Thuc., V, 46, 5.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Thuc., V, 82-84. This treaty was ratified by the Athenians in the prytany of Aiantis (line 2), which was also the prytany in office when Teisias and Kleomedes received their first grant of money for the expedition against Melos in the spring of 416 B.C. (Thuc., V, 84, 3; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 302, lines 29-30, in the text as given by Meritt in *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 161).

<sup>128</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 22, line 3 = Oliver, *T.A.P.A.*, LXVI, 1935, p. 178: τῶδε ἡοι χ[σνγγρα]φῆς χσννέγραψαν].

<sup>129</sup> An earlier attribution to 417/6 by Hiller (note on *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96) was accepted by Geerlings (*Cl. Phil.*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 239-244) and subsequently refuted by Kolbe (*Cl. Phil.*, XXV, 1930, pp. 105-116); see also Meritt, *Cl. Phil.*, XXVI, 1931, pp. 70-84.

<sup>130</sup> Thuc., IV, 118, 1.

<sup>131</sup> Thuc., V, 18, 1-2.

was first stated and then the opening clause took up the question of common sanctuaries with the initial words *περὶ μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν κοινῶν*.<sup>132</sup>

The provision of lines 10-12 seems to be designed to guarantee the financing of the war. The figure specifying how many talents shall be laid aside each year is, of course, restored. I think it is clear, however, that the money for the war was to come from the tribute. The restorations in subsequent lines explain themselves, but because of the poor state of preservation of the stone they must all be taken as conjectural. I have not included in the text a tentative sequence in lines 22-24 which is based in part upon von Scala:<sup>133</sup> -- *μεδὲ ἔκεχ[ερίαν ποιέσασθαι ἄνευ κοινῆς γνώμης· Ἄργείοι δὲ ἀνανεῶσθαι τὰς χωνυθέκας λόρκ]ον τὸν πάτρι[ον ὁμόσαντας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκάστου καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπεν Ἀθέναζε λόπος ἂν ὁμόσοσι]ν ἐς Παναθ[έναια ----].* In lines 11, 13, and 17 there are corrections to be made in the text hitherto published of fragment *d*. The letter after *φόρο* in line 11 seems to have been mu. The last letter preserved in line 13 was probably lambda. It could have been kappa or (possibly) a rough breathing only if these letters were poorly formed. Before this lambda the stone is damaged, but no restoration except iota can legitimately be made. The first preserved letter in line 17 was upsilon, not kappa.



*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96, Fragment *d*

(Photograph from Squeeze)

I have nothing to add on the text of fragments *e* (lines 28-33) and *f* (lines 34-39) except to say that the supposed phi of line 37 is an iota and to suggest the restoration [-- μέ]χρη τριάκ[οντα ἑμερῶν σίτον --] for line 29. Kolbe followed Hiller in reading the numeral here as *τριακ[οσίον]*, but he went further and suggested that it referred to the three hundred hostages taken by the Athenians from Argos.<sup>134</sup> I should prefer to seek its parallel in the earlier treaty with Argos, of which this was in a sense a renewal, and to read the prototype in Thuc., V, 47, 6: *τοῖς δὲ βοηθούσῳ ἢ πόλις ἢ πέμπουσα παρεχέτω μέχρι μὲν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν σίτον ----.*

*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 172 has the same lettering as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96. It has also the same spacing as the upper lines of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96, as they appear on fragments *a*, *c*, and *d*. The vertical spacing of fragment *b* is closer. In fact, this difference in spacing is so marked that some scholars once thought fragments *a* and *b*, which have since been found to join,

<sup>132</sup> It was doubtless a common practice to mention matters of religious interest in such documents as a first item of business. There is no need to assume more than a formal connection with the other terms of the alliance. One may note that in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30, line 9, for example, a hitherto enigmatic reference to τὰ ἱερ[ά], which appears as the first item in the text, may fall in the same category and have little organic connection with the rest of the document.

<sup>133</sup> R. von Scala, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, p. 83.

<sup>134</sup> Thuc., V, 84; cf. *Cl. Phil.*, XXV, 1930, p. 114, note 1.

might not belong to the same inscription.<sup>135</sup> I have found no place in the text where fragments *e* and *f* can be assigned, nor have I found any place satisfactory for *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 172, with its fifteen lines or more of relatively wide spacing. Very little can be made of its content, so I hesitate to claim it as part of this text, though this is a possible association that ought to be kept in mind.<sup>136</sup>

### THE HIEROPOIOI

**13.** Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found near the surface on May 1, 1936, in Section Σ.

Height, 0.123 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.039 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 4103.

The writing is stoichedon, with a horizontal unit of 0.014 m. and a vertical unit of 0.021 m. This fragment belongs with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 130, and must make a join at the upper left corner.<sup>137</sup> The combined text of the inscription reads as follows:

-----|/-----  
 [--- θ]ύετα[ι] τῶι ἱε[ρῶι] -----  
 [-- ἀναγρ]αφέν τ[ὸ ἀ]ργυρ[ίῳ]-----  
 [-----]εται· τὲν δὲ οἱ[κίαν] ---  
 5 [-- ἡοι]ηε]ροποιοὶ μετὰ [-----]  
 [-----]ς κατὰ τὸ φσέ[φισμα] --  
 [-----] ἐκ ταύτης τῆ[ς] στέλες --  
 [--- εἰ]πε· τῶ[ι] θεοῖ τ[-----]  
 [---]τον ἡοι νέοι[-----]  
 10 [--- παρ]αδόγτον αὐτ[-----]  
 [---]γεται ἀργύριον ---  
 [--- ἐπ]ειδὰν ἔχσα[λείφσοσι] --  
 [--- εὐθ]υνέσθο[ν] -- δραχμαῖς]



No. 13

(Photograph from Squeeze)

<sup>135</sup> Cf. von Scala, *Staatsverträge*, p. 82.

<sup>136</sup> For documents in the same hand as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96, see Wade-Gery, *B.S.A.*, XXXIII, p. 135, and Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 27, note 57.

<sup>137</sup> The actual test for the join has not yet been made.

## PART OF A DECREE

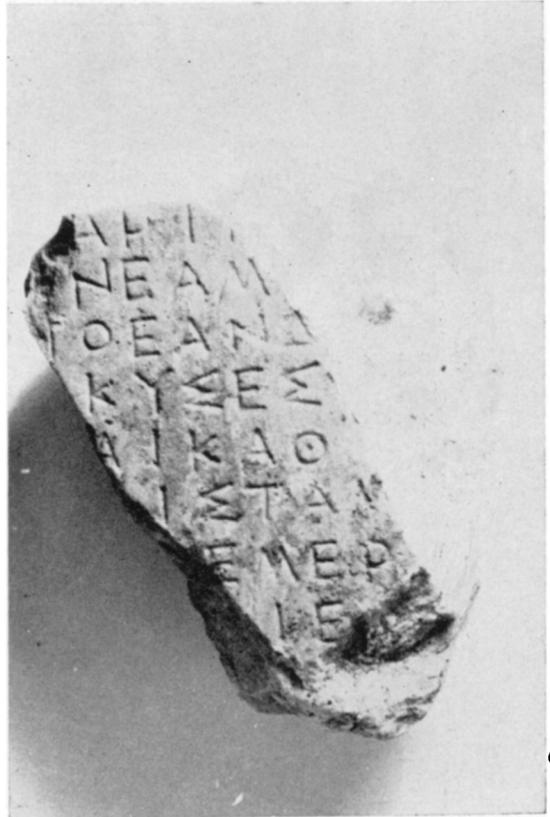
14. Fragment of a very micaceous Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on March 16, 1934, among the marble fragments of Section Δ.

Height, 0.177 m.; width, 0.136 m.;  
thickness, 0.078 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 1611.

The inscription is stoichedon, with a horizontal unit of 0.014 m. and a vertical unit of 0.0155 m. I have no good suggestion for its restoration, and refrain from giving several dubious ones.



Late Fifth Cent. B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]αρικ[-----]  
 [-----]ν ἐὰμ μ[ἐ ---]  
 [-----]το· ἐὰν δ[ἐ -----]  
 [-----] ΚΥΞΕΞ [-----]  
 5 [-----]αι καθά[περ ---]  
 [-----]ἡ]ισταμ[εν -----]  
 [-----]ἡ]εμερ[-----]  
 [-----]ιε[-----]

No. 14

## A PROPOSAL OF THE COMMISSIONERS

15. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the smooth-dressed back preserved, found on January 23, 1937, in the wall of a modern house in Section II.

Height of face, 0.108 m.; width of face, 0.138 m.; thickness, 0.093 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 4442.

The writing is stoichedon, with a horizontal unit of 0.012 m. and a vertical unit of 0.013 m. The stone has been reworked at the top, and there is a later cutting at the left side.

ca. 410 B.C. (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[---- κέρ]υκα τὰ τ[ετ]α[γμένα ----]

[---- εἶ]θύνεσθαι. vacat

vacat

[γνόμ]ε τὸν χονγγ[ραφ]έον· τῶι θεο[----]

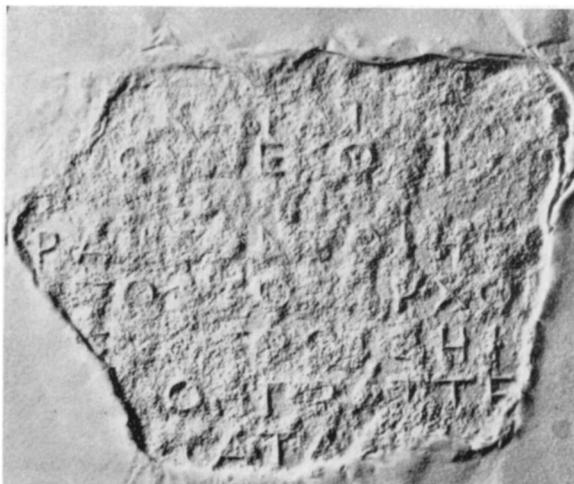
5 [-----]τος τὸς ἄρχο[ντας --]

[----- ἐλ]ευθέροις ἡ[-----]

[-----]ον πραττε[-----]

[-----]τατα[-----]

-----



No. 15

(Photograph from Squeeze)

For the formula in line 4, see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 109, line 8.<sup>138</sup>

## THE TRIEROPΟΙΟΙ

16. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved, found on February 10, 1933, in a modern foundation wall in Section H'.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.-0.13 m

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 419.

The writing is a square stoichedon. Ten lines measured vertically, and ten letters measured on centers horizontally, each occupy ca. 0.137 m. The fragment seems to be part of the same inscription with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 122, with which it is here combined.

Soon after 410 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 46 (?)

[.....<sup>16</sup>..... Ἄν]τιοχίδει κα[ὶ Φαν]οσθένει ...<sup>7</sup>....]

[.....<sup>16</sup>..... το]ῖς Ἀθηναίοις [κ]αὶ [.....<sup>14</sup>.....]

[.....<sup>19</sup>.....]ορας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἡότ[ι .....<sup>10</sup>.....]

[.....<sup>18</sup>..... τὸ]ν δέμον τὸν Ἀθηναί[ον .....<sup>9</sup>.....]

5 [.....<sup>22</sup>.....] καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς καὶ π[αῖδας αὐτῶ]

<sup>138</sup> Published by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor as D9 in *A.T.L.*, Vol. I (1939), pp. 168, 213-214.

- [ν ἡύστερον ἡόπος ἀν ἡο δέμο]ς ἡος περὶ πολλῷ ποιῶ[ν φαίνεται]  
 [αι τὸς ἐσάγοντας κο]πέας [κα]ὶ χάριν ἀποδόσον τὸ λ[οιπὸν· ἀζ]  
 [εμῖος δὲ τόκο ἡεκα]τοστῷ τ[ὸ]ς κοπέας ἡὸς ἔγαγον ο[ἴκοθεν δ]  
 [όντων τοῖς τριε]ροποιοῖς κ[α]ὶ ἡοι τριεροποιοὶ ε[ὐθὺς παρ]  
 10 [αλαβόντες τιθ]έντων ἐς τὸ να[ν]πέγιον· καὶ ἐὰν δέ[ονται ἄλλ]  
 [ο τινὸς ἡοι στ]ρατηγοὶ χρὸσθο[ν φρ]άζοντες τῷ β[ολεῖ καὶ ἡ]  
 [άμα ἀποδιδόν]τες τὲν τεταγμέ[νεν] τιμέ[ν]· καὶ ἡο[ι ναυπεγοὶ]  
 [λογιζέσθον το]ῖς τριεροποιο[ῖς τὰ τε]ταγμέν[α· ἐπειδὲ οὖν]  
 [Ἄντιοχίδες καὶ] Φανοσθένες τὸ[ν δέμον τὸν Ἄθιναῖον εἶ πο]  
 15 [ιέτον καὶ περὶ αὐ]τὸ ἡο ἡελλενο[ταμίας .....<sup>15</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>15</sup>.....] χρῆσθαι ἐς τ[ὸν πόλεμον .....<sup>11</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>16</sup>..... αὐτ]οῖν ἀγαγόντ[οι .....<sup>17</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>17</sup>.....]οραι, ἐπαιν[έσαι μὲν Ἄντιοχίδεν καὶ]  
 [Φανοσθένεν ἡότι ἐδια]κουεσάτε[ν .....<sup>16</sup>..... τὸν]  
 20 [δέμον τὸν Ἄθιναῖον καὶ] προσάγ[εν αὐτὸ τὸς πρυτάνες ἐς τὸ]  
 [ν δέμον ἐς τὲν πρότεν ἐκ]κλεσί[αν .....<sup>22</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>21</sup>.....]λλο[.....<sup>22</sup>.....]

The association between the new fragment and *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 122 was noted by Raubitschek, but the relative positions here suggested are subject to confirmation or rejection when there is opportunity to test the stones in Athens. The restorations are necessarily conjectural, but it is evident (line 18) that the decree praises two men (dual in line 19) for aid in getting timber for the building of ships (line 8). It is my assumption that these are the two men named in the inscription, Antiochides (line 1) and Phanosthenes (line 14). Nothing is known of Antiochides, but Phanosthenes has already been identified as the Andrian who came to Athens *ca.* 411 B.C., won Athenian citizenship, and served as general in 407/6.<sup>139</sup>

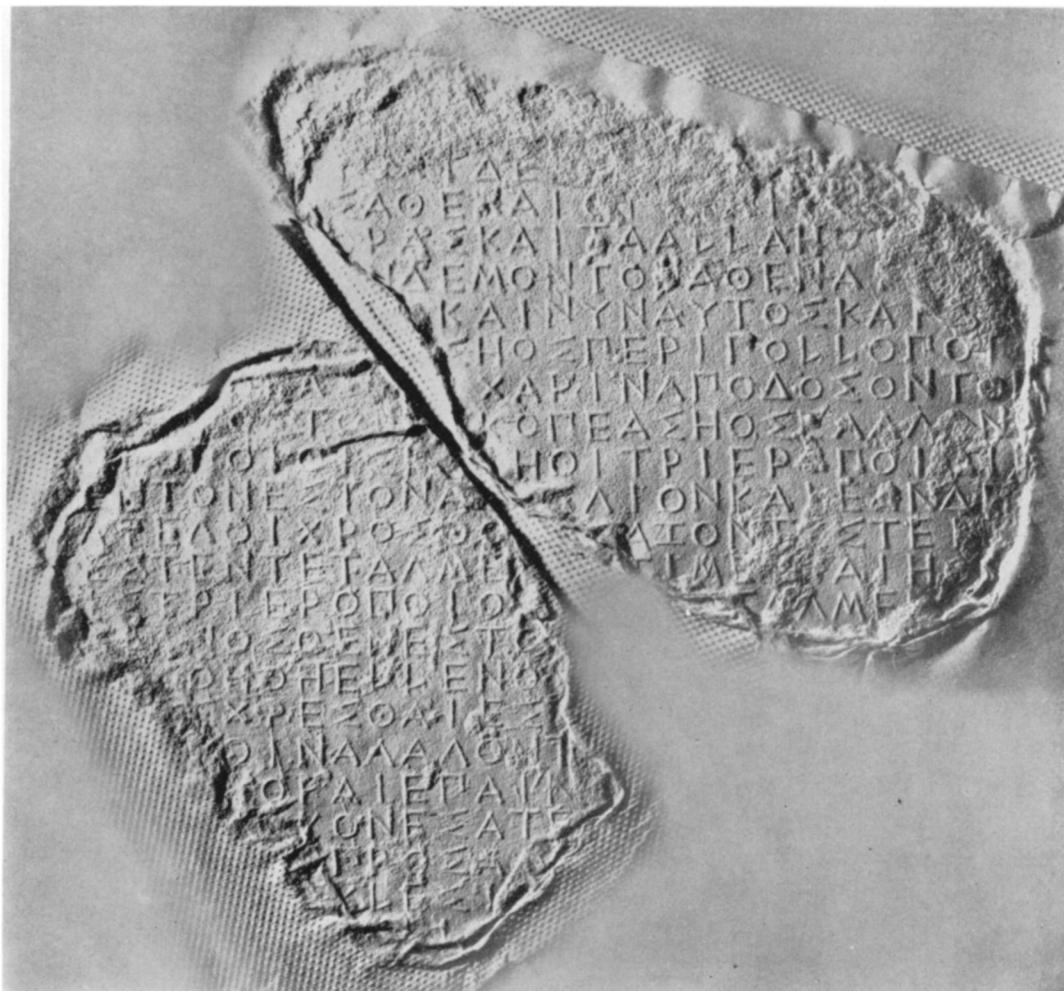
It is not necessary to assume that this inscription should be dated in the year of the generalship; in fact, the verb [ἐδια]κουεσάτε[ν] in line 19 implies a position of responsibility less easily defined than that of general.<sup>140</sup> But the document may belong, if not in 407/6,<sup>141</sup> in one of the years immediately preceding, probably later than 410 B.C. A possible clue to this *terminus post quem* lies in the enigmatic letters *τοστο*, which seem to end a word in line 8. If one assumes that the relative position of the stones is correct, then this ending may belong to some form like [ἡεκα]τοστῷ, depending on [τόκο] and meaning a one percent tax. The feminine form *ἐκατοστή* appears in the literary sources, with two examples available from the period of the

<sup>139</sup> For the career of Phanosthenes see Raubitschek in P. W., *R.E.*, s. v., and for the date of the generalship see Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 45, note 1.

<sup>140</sup> See, for example, the general applicability of [διακο]νέ[ν] in *A.T.L.*, Vol. I, A9, line 40.

<sup>141</sup> The same anxiety over the building of ships and supplying of timber appears in the honorary decree of 407/6 B.C. for Archelaos, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 105. See Meritt, in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Cahps*, pp. 246-252.

Archidamian War.<sup>142</sup> The significant fact is that this seems to have been a harbor tax ([Xen.], *Ath. Pol.*, I, 17) collected not only at the Peiraeus, but by implication from Aristophanes (*Wasps*, 658) in many other harbors as well. It existed con-



No. 16

(Photograph from Squeeze)

temporarily with the payment of tribute by the allies, though when the collection of tribute was suspended from 414/3 to 411/0 the tax on shipping was set at five percent.<sup>143</sup> The fate of the five percent tax after 410 is obscure (Meritt, *loc. cit.*, p. 389), but the reading here of [*ἡεκα*]τοστῶ may indicate that with the resumption

<sup>142</sup> In Aristophanes and Pseudo-Xenophon. Cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon*, s. v.

<sup>143</sup> Thuc., VII, 28, 4. Cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 388-389; Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *A.T.L.*, Vol. I, pp. 203, 208.

of tribute in 410/09 the five percent tax had been reduced to its pre-414 level, at least in the harbors of those allies who also paid the tribute.

The stroke given as an uncertain tau in [ηεκα]τοστῶ is centered and preserved to its full height. It may have been tau or iota; any other letter seems unlikely. Certainly a form like [εῖ]κοστῶ would be most improbable. Several other readings on *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 122 ought also to be corrected here:<sup>144</sup>

Line 7: ΠΕΑΞ instead of ΙΑΞ. The top horizontal strokes of Π and Ε are missing.

Line 8: ΙΟΞΤΟΙ instead of ΙΟΞΤΟ. The first and last letters may have been tau, but the upper horizontal strokes are no longer preserved.

Line 12: The reading τεταγμένε[ν] of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 122 is a typographical error for τεταγμέ[νεν].

Line 18: ΟΡΑΙ instead of ΧΟΡΑΙ. The stroke which has been read as part of Χ does not belong to a letter. I suspect the same word here as in line 3, but epigraphically [φρ]ορᾶι is just as satisfactory as [χ]όραι.

Line 20: ΠΡΟΞΑ/ instead of ΠΡΟΞΑ. The left stroke of the gamma can be traced.

Line 21: ΚΛΕΞΙ instead of ΥΛΕΞΚ.

Line 22: ΛΛΟ instead of ΙΛΟ. The spacing of the first letter shows it to be lambda rather than iota. The bottom stroke is missing.

The surface of the new fragment is very friable, and one or two letters have been lost since it was first discovered. My own notes, as well as those of Thompson (who found the stone) show more than is now visible at the end of line 1. In addition I have recorded in line 5, after καὶ, a lower left vertical stroke as of Κ, Ν, Γ, etc.

Inasmuch as stelai of this type were normally from four to five times as wide as they were thick,<sup>145</sup> the thickness of 0.13 m. implies a width of approximately 0.60 m. The estimate cannot be precise, but evidently there was room for a line of about 45 letters. The restorations given above call for 46 letters on each line.

### A PROXENY DECREE

17. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, but with the back apparently preserved, found on March 8, 1938, in Section AA.

Height, 0.156 m.; width of face, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.058 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5296.

<sup>144</sup> References by line are to the text as given above.

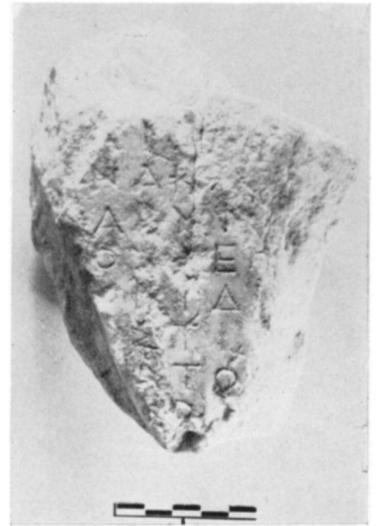
<sup>145</sup> In *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1942, p. 324, Dow gives normal proportions of thickness to width to height as one to four-and-a-half to nine.

The writing is stoichedon, with a horizontal unit of 0.015 m. and a vertical unit of 0.014 m. The few words that can be made out in the text suggest that this was an honorary decree: [πρ]όχ[σ]εν[ον] in line 5, [έ]πειδ[έ] in line 6, and [έ]στί[ν] in line 7. It is possible to use *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 118 as a convenient guide to restoration and thus secure a tentative text with 28 letters in each line.

ca. 407/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

[ἔδοχσεν τεί βολεί καὶ τῶι δέμοι, ..]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>... ἐπρντάνευε, ...]αικ[ος] ...<sup>4</sup>..  
 [... ἐγραμμάτευε, ...<sup>5</sup>.. Ἄ]νακα[ιενδς ἐ]  
 [πεστάτε, .....<sup>8</sup>... εἶπε·] Ἄρχι[...<sup>4</sup>.. τ]  
 5 [ὄν ...<sup>5</sup>... ἀναγράψαι πρ]όχ[σ]εν[ον κα]  
 [ὶ εὐεργέτην Ἀθηναίον ἐ]πειδ[έ περι]  
 [τὲν πόλιν τὲν Ἀθηναίον ἐ]στί[ν ἀνερ]  
 [ἀγαθὸς καὶ πρόθυμος κατ]ὰ τὸ [δυνατ]  
 [ὄν εὖ ποεῖν -----]ρ[...<sup>6</sup>...]  
 10 -----



No. 17

The name of the secretary may have been, e.g., [Πάτ]αικ[ος]. There are numerous other possibilities, for the letter here interpreted as kappa may equally well have been nu, pi, or rho. The appearance in line 3 of a word which I believe should be restored as a demotic indicates a date for the text near the end of the fifth century. Furthermore if the name of the epistates was given with its demotic the name of the secretary ought also to have been so recorded. But the use of Attic letters probably excludes a date later than 407/6.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> See the comment on these criteria for dating in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Supplementary Vol. I (1940), pp. 249-250.