

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

AN EARLY GRAVE MONUMENT

1. Two fragments of Pentelic marble. The smaller piece (*a*) was found in Section A on June 29, 1931. Its top surface meets the inscribed face in a beveled edge; the other sides are broken. The larger piece (*b*) was found in Section A on July 1, 1931. Part of the bottom surface is preserved.

a: Height, 0.048 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 44.



No. 1. Frag. *a*

b: Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 47.

Late Sixth Century B.C.

[*----- μ*]ν̄εμ[*a -----*]
[*----- ι*]ς ἐπο[*ιεστε -----*]
[*--- hu*]πόσττ[*ρατος -----*]

The monument may have been a funeral pillar with vertical inscription. This interpretation offers also a convenient explanation for the beveled edge on fragment *a*. It is not recorded whether the lower edge on fragment *b* was beveled.



No. 1. Frag. *b*



APHYTIS AND POTEIDAIA

2. Two fragments of Pentelic marble, which join over a broad surface, and which are part of the inscription now published as *I.G.*, II², 55. The piece at the left was discovered in the wall of a modern house in Section Ψ on November 30, 1937; its left side and back are preserved. The piece at the right was discovered in the wall of a neighboring house in Section Ω on January 28, 1938; its original thickness is preserved, but its face is disfigured by the circular hole for a door-post.

Height, 0.33 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5147.

The lettering is Ionic, with a stoichedon pattern in which 5 lines measure 0.062 m. and 5 rows measure 0.041 m.

ca. 428/7 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 50

Αφυταίων
lacuna

- [...] ΘΑ[.]ΣΑ[....]! [-----]
 [.] ΝΤΑΤ / [.] ὀκτακοσίων μ[εδίμνων -----] νι[....⁹.... π]
 [ό]λεμον τὸ κεφάλαιον· περὶ δὲ τ[....⁷....] εο[...]ι Ἀφν[ταίος ἐπιμέ]
 5 [λ]εσθαί μέχρι μυρίων μεδίμνων [ν· ἡ δὲ τιμή] ἔστω αὐτῷ [ἰς καθάπερ Μ]
 [ε]θωναίοις· τὸς δὲ ἄρχοντας σι[τοδοτό]ντων τὸς ἐν "Α[φντι παρ' ἑαν]
 [τῶ]ν Θραμβᾶιοι κατὰ [τὸ] πλῆθος· σ[υντελ]όντων δὲ καὶ α[ἰ ἄλλαι πόλ]
 [ε]ις καθάπερ Μεθωναίοις κατὰ τὸ [αὐτὸ]ν ψήφισμα· τὸν [δὲ ὅρκον ὁν]
 [ῶ]μοσαν Ἀφυταῖοι[ι τοῖς ἐποίκοις σ] τοῖς εὖ Ποτειδαία[ι καὶ Ἀθηνα]
 10 [ἴ]οις καὶ τόδε τὸ [ψήφισμα] ἀναγράψ[ας ὁ] γραμματεὺ[ν] [σ ὁ τῆς βολῆς ἐ]
 [ν] στήληι λιθίνῃ[ι κ]α[τ]αθέτω ἐμ πό[λει τὸ] ἔλεσι το[ἰς τῶν ὅρκισθέν]
 [τ]ων· ὃ [τὸ]ι δ' ἄν τις τούτων τῶν ψηφισθ[έντων] ων τῷ δήμῳ[ῳ περὶ Ἀφυταῖ]
 [ο]ις μὴ] πειθαρχῆ[ι] [ἢ] οἱ Ἑλληνοταμί[αι η ἄλλη] λη τις ἀ[ρχὴ] ἐνεχέσθων τ]
 [οῖς ἐν] τῷ ψηφισματι· ἐπαινέσαι [δὲ Ἀφντι] ταίοις ὃ[τι ἄνδρες ἀγαθο]
 15 [ἴ ἐ]στι[ν] καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν [χρόνῳ]ι περὶ "Α[θηνα]ι[αίος καὶ τὸ λ]
 [οιπ]ὸν ὄντες τε [ἀγαθο]ι[ι ε]νρήσοντ[αι δότο ἄ]ν δέω[νται κατὰ τὸν νόμ]
 [ον] :: εὖ ἔδοξεν [τῷ δήμῳ] ἀποδιδόν[αι Ἀφυταῖος ἀπαρχῆν τῇ θεῶι]
 [Π]ραχμάς ^v [vacat] vacat
 [τ]όνδε τὸν ὅρ[κον ὁμόσαι] Ἀφυταῖος [τοῖς εὖ Ποτειδαίαι· ἑάν τις ἵ]
 20 [ηι π]ολέμιος [ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἡ ἐπὶ τὸς ἐποίκος τὸς "Α]
 [θηναίων τὸ]δ[ι]σ Ποτείδαιαν ἔχοντ[αι, βοηθήσω Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ τὸ δ]
 [υνατὸν καὶ λόγωι καὶ ἔργωι!] [.] Μ[-----]
 [.....¹⁵.....] οι[.]ιων κατ[-----]
 [.....⁵..... οὔτε λόγωι ο]ύτε ἔργωι[-----]
 25 [.....¹⁸.....] ε[-----]

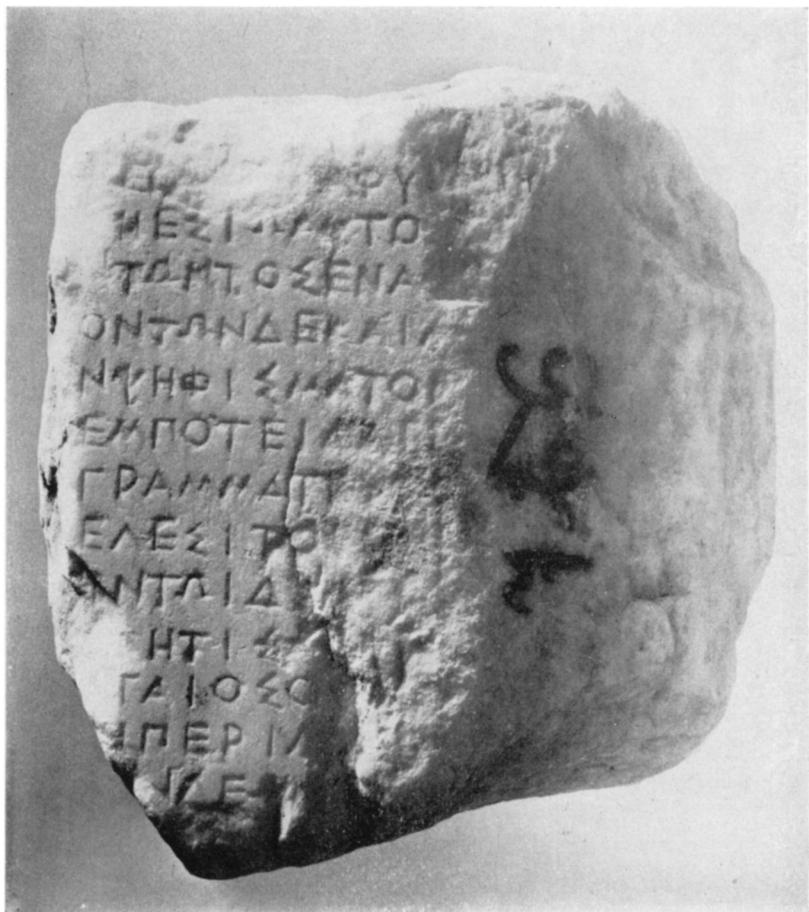
No. 2. Agora Fragments of *I.G.*, II², 55

This restoration, which incorporates *I.G.*, II², 55, shows that there must have been regularly fifty letter-spaces in each line after line 1. It is possible thus to determine approximately the original width of the stele, for five rows of letters measure 0.041 m. and fifty rows therefore would measure 0.41 m. This is considerably more than the width of *I.G.*, II², 55, fragment *a*, which was associated with fragment *b* by Wilhelm some thirty-five years ago.¹ Fragment *a* has a width of 0.33 m., and to judge from the photograph has the bottom preserved with a smoothly finished surface. If it belonged in fact with fragment *b*, as Wilhelm supposed, it was evidently not cut as part of the same stele but must somehow have been fastened to the top of the inscription. It is now impossible for me to examine the stone, but so far as the photograph published below shows, there is no evidence of a dowel on its under surface. It is probable in any case that a dowel was not used but rather that the sculptured slab was set into a socket on the top of the inscription. The photograph here published does not show the line of demarcation which indicates the depth to which the slab was inserted in this socket, but the line is distinctly visible in the photograph published by Hans Süsserott in his *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Plate II, No. 4.

Eugene Schweigert, who supplied the photograph of *I.G.*, II², 55 *a* here reproduced, believed that the sculptured slab was too thick to belong with the inscription. The epigraphical fragments are from a stele 0.095 m. thick; Wilhelm reported the thickness of fragment *a* as 0.105 m. The difference is not great and, even allowing for the frame of the socket, may have been absorbed by a moulding at the top of the inscription of which no trace remains. There was, for example, a projecting moulding between the inscribed surface and the sculptural adornment above *I.G.*, I², 65, which must be dated in 426 b.c.² This date is so close to the date of the present text that it is worthwhile to note that the width of the sculptured extension above the stele is less than the width of the inscribed surface below it. The general appearance is not unlike that which may be assumed for Wilhelm's combination of *I.G.*, II², 55 *a* with *I.G.*, II², 55 *b* and the new Agora fragments, as restored. The only significant difference would be that all of *I.G.*, I², 65 was cut as one single stele, whereas the sculptured fragment of *I.G.*, II², 55 was a separate superimposed block. A narrow sculptured relief above an inscription is also preserved in *I.G.*, I², 304 (410/09 b.c.), like *I.G.*, I², 65 part of the same stone with an inscribed text. Parts of the shoulders, from the reverse, may be seen in photographs in Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, Plates VII and VIII, and the obverse, with the relief, is figured by W. Froehner, *Musée National*

¹ A. Wilhelm, *Anzeiger der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1909, p. 58. It seems probable that *I.G.*, II², 55 *b* joins the new Agora fragments; I am not now able to make the test.

² Now published as D8 in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, with photographs of the upper fragments on p. 123.

No. 2. *I.G.*, II², 55 *b*No. 2. *I.G.*, II², 55 *a*

du Louvre: *Les Inscriptions Grecques*, Plate facing p. 90. I follow Wilhelm in associating fragments *a* and *b* of *I.G.*, II², 55 and in printing Ἀφυταίων as the first line of the inscription.

The reverse face of the Agora fragments is worn quite smooth. It was thought at first that the stone might be opisthographic, but no traces of letters on the reverse have been found and I assume that only the obverse was inscribed.

A date for the inscription in the fifth century, earlier at least than 404 b.c., is proved by the mention of the Hellenotamiae in line 13. The document thus becomes one more in a growing number of texts once thought to belong in the fourth century which must be dated back into the fifth.³ Ionic lettering, which has been for many the first ready guide to dating, was universally employed in Attic decrees at least as early as 406 b.c., and when the expense of the inscription was borne by foreigners to whom Ionic script was natural, Ionic lettering was appropriate for an Athenian decree at any time in the fifth century.⁴ So this inscription, which was paid for by someone other than Athenians, at least, may be dated at any appropriate time before 404 b.c. that its internal evidence seems to justify.⁵ Here the significant fact is that the text records the oath sworn to by the Aphytians *vis-a-vis* the Athenians and their colonists in Poteidaia.⁶ The siege of Poteidaia by the Athenians lasted from the late summer of 432 until the winter of 430/29 and then, after the capitulation, the Athenians sent colonists and established them there.⁷ Presumably the establishment of the colony was not delayed much after the surrender of the city,⁸ and it is reasonable to suppose that a *modus vivendi* with neighboring Aphytis was arrived at not much after the colonists were installed. The precise date for our present decree is here suggested as the autumn of 428 b.c., for reasons which will be set forth below.

In the early lines certain regulations are being made with obvious reference to agreements already reached between Athens and Methone. The phrase *καθάπερ Μεθωναίους* may be read in its entirety in line 8, while the restoration [*καθάπερ Με]θωναίους*] seems reasonably certain in lines 5-6. The very first lines preserved are badly mutilated, but they indicate concern with the importation of grain: ὀκτακοσίων μ[εδίμνων] in line 3 and μέχρι μυρίων μεδίμνω[ν] in line 5. The first recoverable

³ See, for example, Eleanor Weston, "New Datings for some Attic Honorary Decrees," *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 345-357.

⁴ See Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 175-178.

⁵ The restoration in lines 11-12, [τ]έλεσι το[ις τῶν δρκισθέντ]ῶν, is uncertain. The requirements of space would be satisfied with the reading [τ]έλεσι το[ις τῶν Ποτειδεατ]ῶν, but it is difficult to understand why the Poteidaians should pay for a stele which so obviously is of primary concern to Aphytis and, epigraphically, the use of τῶν with Ποτειδεατ]ῶν is not stylistically correct. Cf. e.g., *I.G.*, I², 39, lines 60-61: τέλεσι τοῖς Χαλκιδέον.

⁶ Lines 19 ff. Cf. also lines 8-10.

⁷ Thucydides, II, 70, 4: --- καὶ ὑστερον ἐποίκους ἐπεμψαν ἔαντῶν ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν καὶ κατύκισαν.

⁸ *I.G.*, I², 397 preserves the dedication on the Athenian acropolis: ἐποίκον ἐς Ποτείδαιαν. Cf. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 60.

sentence seems to say that the Aphytaians shall make provision for _____ to the extent of ten thousand bushels. I have found no satisfactory supplement for the missing part of line 4. But the change from infinitive to imperative construction in line 5 indicates the beginning of a new sentence after *μεδίμνω[ν]*, where the restrictions of space lend considerable plausibility to the restoration which defines the price: [ἢ δὲ τιμή] ἔστω αὐτῷ[ις καθάπερ Μέθωναιοις].

At least as early as the winter of 430/29 Methone enjoyed special privileges within the framework of the Athenian empire. The first decree of *I.G.*, I², 57⁹ granted exemption from tribute payments except for the quota to Athena, and in the tribute-quota lists of 430/29 and 429/8 the name *Μεθωναιοι* was recorded in a special rubric of cities that paid the quota only.¹⁰ The stele which carries the text of *I.G.*, I², 57 contained at least four decrees concerning Methone. Their unifying theme was the question of liability to payment of tribute,¹¹ but the question of freedom of trade was brought up and confirmed both in 430/29 and in 426 B.C. In the former year the Athenians sent word to Perdikkas, king of Macedonia, that they thought it just to allow the Methonaians to sail the sea and to import as of old;¹² in the latter year they guaranteed the Methonaians the privilege of regular yearly imports of grain from Byzantium.¹³ It is evident that during the early years of the Peloponnesian war Methone was being used by the Athenians as a center of Athenian influence on the southern boundary of Macedonia west of the Thermaic gulf¹⁴ and that the Methonaians were successful in exacting favors in return for their co-operation. The Athenians also agreed that no general decree concerning the empire should be binding on Methone unless it mentioned that city specifically by name.¹⁵

Poteidaia, of course, became a center of Athenian strength when it was established as a colony, probably in 429, but the present text shows that the Athenians made Aphytis also a focal point in their administration of the empire,¹⁶ and that they modelled their accommodations to Aphytis on the pattern of those previously made

⁹ Published as D3 in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, pp. 162-163. Cf. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 22-25.

¹⁰ See Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 338, and Lists 25 and 26, respectively, on pp. 149 and 150. The name and rubric are both restored in List 25; the text of List 26 reads as follows: *haldei tōn πόλεων αὐτῇ[ν] tēv ἀτα[ρ] χὲν ἀπέγαγον* —— HHH M[εθωναιοι]. Haison and Dikaia, on the western and eastern sides of the Thermaic gulf respectively, were also granted remission of tribute except for the *ἀπαρχή*.

¹¹ See commentary in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

¹² *I.G.*, I², 57, lines 20-21: *καὶ ἐάν εἰσεμπορεύεσθ[αι καθάπερ]ρ τέος.*

¹³ *I.G.*, I², 57, lines 34-36: *M[εθωναιοις] εἰν[αι ἐχ]σα[γο]γὲν ἐγ Βυζαντίο σύτο μέχ[ρι] . . . ακισχ]ιλίον μεδίμνον τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἔκάστο* ——.

¹⁴ For the location of Methone, see Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 519, and p. 489 (*s. v. Ήράκλειον*).

¹⁵ *I.G.*, I², 57, lines 41-47. See also lines 13-16.

¹⁶ Earlier, Aphytis had served as a military base. Thucydides (I, 64, 2) says of Phormio in 432 B.C.: *ἔξ Αφύτιος ὁρμώμενος.*

to Methone. She received the privilege of importing a specified amount of grain at a price equal to that paid by Methone. We learn further that there were *ἀρχοντες* in Aphytis, that the Thrambaioi to the south helped to supply them, and that generally contributions were made by the other cities just as they were made to Methone. This implies that there were *ἀρχοντες* also in Methone, and that there had been passed certain general imperial regulations about how they were to be maintained. Without knowing more details, we may at least be confident that reference is here made to the type of regulation that was embodied in the *κοινὰ ψηφίσματα περὶ τῶν συμμάχων* from which the Methonians had been granted exemption, and one example of which is preserved in *I.G.*, I², 65.¹⁷ It seems improbable that “the other cities” (if the suggested restoration in lines 7-8 is correct) should lie very far afield. Methone, on the western side of the gulf, and Aphytis, near the isthmus of Pallene, may have drawn their supplementary support from the cities that lay near the gulf, on Pallene, and in those parts of Bottike and Chalkidike that had been recovered by the Athenians. The contribution to Aphytis was the same as that to Methone, for it was sanctioned according to the terms of the same decree (*κατὰ τὸ [αὐτὸ]ν ψήφισμα* in line 8).¹⁸ The Thrambaioi, however, were given their proportionate share in the support of the *ἀρχοντες* at Aphytis according to their population. The reading of the stone seems clear: *κατὰ [τὸ] πλῆθος*.¹⁹ This provision is so specific and it so obviously singles out the Thrambaioi for special treatment that one may conclude (a) that the Aphytaians had raised special question of what help they would have from Therambos and (b) that Therambos was not one of the cities already obligated to Methone.²⁰ That groups of cities in the Thraceward area were subject to a common imperial regimentation, even before the time of this decree, is shown by the reference to *ξυγγραφαῖ* in the well-known Brea inscription.²¹ But the present text gives some indication that whatever provisions of general applicability there may have been there were also from time to time general regulations for more restricted areas centering around individual Athenian administrative outposts. We know that Methone was one such center; we now know also that Aphytis was another and that its status was patterned somewhat on that of Methone.

¹⁷ For the text see D8 in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167, and corrections in the last three lines by A. E. Raubitschek, *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 475-479.

¹⁸ For the use *αὐτόν* as the neuter form see Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 155, § 10.

¹⁹ Exactly what this proportion was we do not know. Some indication is given by the fact that from 435 to 429 B.C. the tribute of Aphytis was 3 talents, while that of Therambos was normally one-sixth of a talent.

²⁰ Otherwise it would have been included in the next paragraph. The location of Therambos can be fixed with some probability near the very tip of Pallene. Thus it was the most remote from Methone of all the cities of the peninsula. See Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 491 and p. 464 (*s. v. Αἴγαντοι*).

²¹ *I.G.*, I², 45, lines 14-17: *βοεθὲν τὰ[ς πόλες ἡσ ὁχσύ]τατα κατὰ τὰς χονγγραφὰς ha[ὶ ἐπὶ . . . πρό]το γραμματεύοντος ἐγένον[το περὶ τὸν πόλε]ον τὸν ἐπὶ Θράικες.*

Another decree concerning Aphytis in the early years of the Peloponnesian war has been in part preserved as *I.G.*, I², 58. Hiller gave to it a date *ca.* 428 B.C., which in my judgment is perhaps a year or two early.²² The restoration of the name Σ[κόπας] as author of the amendment beginning in line 9 is too uncertain to have any probative value. Skopas was secretary when the first decree for Methone was passed in 430/29. We know nothing of him in 428 or in 426/5, and the question-mark which Wilhelm placed after the name in his edition of 1909 might well be retained, or perhaps it would be better, for lack of evidence, to write merely Σ[---] as the name of the orator.

Our present text specifies regulations—which are embodied in a decree—for the importation of grain into Aphytis. In *I.G.*, I², 58, lines 14-17, the stipulation is made that those who wish may carry grain “according to the decrees voted by the Demos.” It seems appropriate to consider our document one of these earlier decrees, and so to date *I.G.*, I², 58 later than 428 B.C. If one wished to emphasize the similarity with the second Methone decree, as suggested by Wilhelm, a date near 426 B.C. would be quite in order. Reference to the earlier decrees appears in *I.G.*, I², 58, as restored by Wilhelm, as follows: [τὸς δὲ βολομένος αὐτὸν ἄγεν καὶ σῖτον κ[ατὰ τὰ φοεφίσματα τὰ ἔφσε] φισμένα τῷ δέμοι κ[αὶ τοῖς χσυμμάχοις τελῶντ]ας τὰ τέλε ἡὰ ἀν φοε[φίσεται ὁ δέμος ὁ Ἀθεναίον]. Wilhelm (*loc. cit.*, p. 58) translates “unter Beobachtung der Beschlüsse des athenischen Volkes und der Bundesgenossen” and adds the comment “wenn meine Ergänzung --- richtig ist.” It is almost certain that the restoration κ[αὶ τοῖς χσυμμάχοις] should be changed. The decrees by which Athens regulated the affairs of her empire at the time of the Peloponnesian war were Athenian decrees and in no sense decrees of Athens and her allies. The words *τοῖς χσυμμάχοις* are to be deleted, and in their place I suggest a verb, perhaps ἐσεμπορεύεσθαι (which appears in *I.G.*, I², 57, line 20), which denotes an action in connection with which the payment of imposts would be normal procedure. To supply *τεῖ θαλάττει χρέοσθαι* (cf. also *I.G.*, I², 57, line 19) would probably give too long a line. If the Aphytaians and the Methonaians had substantially the same privileges in the importation of grain during this period, there were probably no imposts to pay, within the prescribed limits, on grain alone.²³

The archons in Aphytis are mentioned in line 6. Such boards existed throughout the empire, sometimes composed of Athenians, sometimes of local magistrates. In recent years evidence about them has become more abundant. The monetary decree

²² The restorations depend almost entirely on Wilhelm, *Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1909, pp. 57-58, who suggested first a late date, near the end of the Fifth Century, because Patrokleides who made the principal motion was to be identified with the Patrokleides who proposed a decree in 405/4 (Andocides, I, 77-79), and then an earlier date, because the subject-matter seemed much like the decree of Kleonymos for Methone of 426/5 (*I.G.*, I², 57, lines 32-56).

²³ Cf. *I.G.*, I², 57, lines 40-41: ἀξέμπως [δὲ ἔσ]το καὶ ἐ ναῦς ἐ ἔχσαγοσα.

of *ca.* 449 B.C. has been especially helpful, particularly through the new fragment discovered on Kos, and has aided materially in the interpretation of other references.²⁴ Archons in the cities of the empire are named also in the new fragments of a decree concerning tribute, published above on pp. 4-7, which should be dated in 448/7 B.C.²⁵ In the present text there is nothing new added to our knowledge of their duties; it is not even stated whether they were Athenian or local, though they were probably Athenian; but there is new evidence about the maintenance of the boards and the collective responsibility of neighboring allies for supporting them. It is this consideration that weighs in favor of thinking the board at Aphytis one of those made up of Athenians, and hence by analogy (*κατὰ τὸ [αὐτὸ]ν ψήφισμα*, line 8) in favor of thinking that the board at Methone also was composed of Athenian commissioners.²⁶

In the paragraph which introduced the *ἀρχοντες* in Aphytis the verb must be in large part supplied (lines 6-7): *τὸς δὲ ἀρχοντας σι[τοδοτό]ντων τὸς ἐν Ἀ[φυτί παρ' ἔαντά]ν Θραμβαῖοι κατὰ τ[ὸ] πλῆθος*. There is, however, no question about the extent of the lacuna or the identity of the initial letter, so the possibilities for restoration are not unlimited. I have at times thought that the second letter of the verb might be upsilon, and, if so, that the restoration might be *συ[ντρεφό]ντων* or perhaps *συ[νεστιώ]ντων*. But the meaning seems less subject to doubt than the precise word to be supplied. I have favored *σι[τοδοτό]ντων* partly because it is a word known from Thucydides²⁷ and partly because it makes a natural transition from the discussion of *σῖτος* in the preceding paragraphs. I have no alternative to suggest for *σ[υντελ]όντων* in line 7. The word *πόλεις*, so spelled rather than *πόλες*, needs no explanation in this text with its Ionic script.²⁸

The restorations from line 8 to line 17 may, I believe, be regarded as reasonably certain, except for the supplement [*τῶν ὁρκισθέντων*] to define who was to pay for the stele. I consider this to be probable only.²⁹

The colonists at Poteidaia are named in line 9 as [*τοῖς ἐποίκοις*] *τοῖς* ἐμ *Ποτειδαία[ι]* and in lines 20-21 as [*τὸς ἐποίκος τὸς Ἀθηναίων τὸ δι[σὶ Ποτείδ]αιαν ἔχοντ[ας]*]. It would be possible epigraphically to assume that the oath was taken by the Aphytaians *vis-à-vis* them and their allies, restoring [*συμμάχοις*] instead of [*Ἀθηναῖοις*] in lines 9-10. But the fact that the Aphytaians swore to protect Athens as well as Poteidaia (lines 20-21) argues in favor of [*Ἀθηναῖοις*] in the earlier

²⁴ Pertinent texts available in 1939 are listed in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 595, *s.v.* *ἀρχων*. The reference to A9, 13 belongs to Athens, but the others belong to the cities of the empire.

²⁵ Lines 5-11: [*τὲ] μ. βολέν καὶ τὸς ἄρχοντας ἐν] τέσι πόλεσι καὶ τὸς [ἐπισκόπος] ποσ ἐπιμέλεσθαι *ἱόπο[ος ἀν χσ]ν*λέγεται *ho φόρος κ[ατὰ τὸ ἐ]τος* *ἡέκαστον καὶ ἀπά[γεται] Ἀθέναζε*.*

²⁶ For Athenian and non-Athenian boards, see above, p. 10.

²⁷ Thucydides, IV, 39, 2: *περὶ ἕκοσιν ἡμέρας —— ἐσιτοδοτοῦντο, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας —— λάθρᾳ διετρέφοντο.*

²⁸ E. g., *I.G.*, II², 43, line 78: *Ἀθηναίων πόλεις αἴδε σύμμαχοι*.

²⁹ See note 5, above.

passage. They did not swear to protect the "allies of the colonists," and indeed Athens would hardly have recognized such a definition except by implication as allies of her own.

In line 17 a new paragraph begins with the formula *ἔδοξεν* [*τῶι δῆμῳ*]. The letter-space immediately preceding *ἔδοξεν* [*τῶι δῆμῳ*] was uninscribed. This seems certain from the squeezes as well as from the photograph. In fact it is highly probable that there were two uninscribed letter-spaces before *ἔδοξεν* [*τῶι δῆμῳ*], but I should hesitate to claim both of them as certain and therefore exclude for the end of line 16 and the beginning of line 17 some such restoration as *κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν* in place of *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*. In spite of the fact that the surface of the stone is no longer preserved at the very beginning of line 17, one may say with confidence that the first space was almost certainly inscribed and that in all probability the second space was likewise inscribed. If the sentence that began in line 14 came to an end in line 16, then the new paragraph that commences with *ἔδοξεν* [*τῶι δῆμῳ*] would undoubtedly have commenced at the left margin of the stone in line 17 just as the paragraph which records the oath began at the left margin of the stone in line 19. The fact that the formula of resolution *ἔδοξεν* [*τῶι δῆμῳ*] began in the fifth letter-space from the left margin shows that some of the sentence of lines 14-16 extended over into the first space or two of line 17. This overrunning necessitated leaving the fourth space (and possibly the third) uninscribed in order to mark the new paragraph.

The sentence which begins with *ἔδοξεν* [*τῶι δῆμῳ*] in line 17 was very brief. Apparently it extended only as far as the word [*δ*]ραχμάς in line 18, after which the stone was again uninscribed for the remainder of the line. This was not any part of the decree, the provisions of which were recorded above. It is rather one of those rare but very welcome records of accomplished action. Finding the record of the action here, one can state with assurance that in the early part of the decree proper there was provision made for the demos at its meeting to act on some proposition which was being referred to it from the council. Attention has already been called to the close similarity between this inscription and the so-called Methone decree of 430/29 b.c. In that decree there is evidence that the Methonaians had asked to be excused from the payment of tribute as assessed against them except for the quota to the goddess. In the probouleumatic form in which the decree was drafted, the council agreed to entertain the Methonian request and submit the matter for vote to the demos. The provision, in lines 5-9 of the decree, reads as follows:³⁰ δι[α]-χειροτονέσαι τὸν δέμον αὐτίκ[α πρὸς Μ.]εθοναίος εἴτε φόρον δοκεῖ τάττεν τὸν δέμο[ν αὐτίκ]α μάλα ἐ ἔχ[σ]αρκέν αὐτοῖς τελέν hόστον τει θε[οι] ἀπὸ τ]οφόρο ἐγύγρητο hόν τοῖς προτέροις Παν[αθ]ε[ναίοις] ἐτετάχατο φέρεν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀτελές ἐνα[ι]. Actually, the demos granted the request of the Methonaians. This fact was recorded as a

³⁰ See the text published as D3, Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 162.

historical appendix at the end of the decree (lines 29-32): ἐχειροτόνεσεν *ho δῆμος* [Μεθοναίο]ς τελέν *h[όσο]ν τὲι θεῶι ἀπὸ τὸ φόρο ἐγίγνε[το hὸν τοῦ]ς προτέρο[ις]* Παναθεναίοις ἐτετάχατο φ[έρει, τὸ δὲ ἄ]λλο ἀτε[λῆς ἔ]ναι. Other examples might be cited but the similarity between our present document and the Methone decree, which is so much like it in other respects, makes the comparison here suggested unusually pertinent. The Aphytaians had asked a favor. There must have been a provision in the decree stating that the demos was to vote on it; and what we have is a record of that vote. There is too little preserved, even of the brief sentence of the record, to determine without restoration what its contents were. The Methonaians, in 430/29, had asked and received remission of tribute except for the quota to Athena. It is a natural assumption that some years later the Aphytaians had asked for remission of their tribute except for the quota to Athena. Indeed, what few indications there are point to this interpretation of the clause. By inference from the two preserved words ἀποδιδόν[αι] and [δ]ραχμás, one gathers that the Aphytaians had asked whether they were or were not to make regular payments of a certain sum of money. The use of the present tense in ἀποδιδόν[αι] is significant for it indicates a continuing or a repeated transaction like the yearly payment of tribute. A single payment for some unique purpose should have been described by the aorist infinitive ἀποδοῦναι. This consideration probably rules out any restoration which would suggest payment of traveling expenses to the ambassadors who had come from Aphytis or refunds of money to them for expenses incurred. On the other hand, if the payment could be measured in drachmai, obviously it would not represent the full normal tribute of Aphytis which is known from the Athenian tribute lists to have been 3 talents both in 430/29 and in 429/8.³¹ A payment in drachmai might well represent the quota to the goddess, though the regular payments of the full tribute in 430/29 and 429/8 show that the privilege of paying the quota only cannot have been granted before 428/7.

Because this decree shows that the Athenians were ready to give to Aphytis any privilege within the law for which she asked (lines 15-17), because of the similarity of this decree with the Methone decree, because Methone had asked for and received relief from the full payment of tribute, and because Aphytis had apparently asked and by this decree been given a consideration which had to do with a small sum of money in regular payments, it is our conclusion that lines 17-18 record the fact that the Athenians at some time after 428 B.C. permitted Aphytis, as well as Methone, to pay only the quota to the goddess. The precise wording of the passage I suggest as: ἔδοξεν [τῷι δῆμῳ] ἀποδιδόν[αι Ἀφυταίος ἀπαρχὴν τῇι θεῶι Π] δ]ραχμás vacat.

For the phrase ἀποδιδόν[αι Ἀφυταίος ἀπαρχὴν τῇι θεῶι] reference may now be made to the prescripts of the quota lists for 421/0, 418/7, and 416/5.³² For example,

³¹ Cf. Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

³² See Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXII, 1941, pp. 1-15.

List 37 of the year 418/7 has in the last line of its prescript: [πόλες *h*] αἰδε [ἀπέδοσαν] [ἀπα]ρχὴν τει θεῖοι μνᾶ[ν ἀπ]ò τô ταλάντ[ο]; List 34 of 421/0 has: [haíde πόλες ἀπέδοσα] ν τὲν ἀπαρχὴν τει θεῖοι μνᾶν ἀπὸ τô ταλάν[το]; and List 39 of 416/5 reads: [πόλες haíde ἀπέδοσαν ἀπαρχὴν τει θεῖοι μνᾶν ἀπὸ] τô ταλ[άντο]. The verb ἀποδιδούαι is well attested not only for the payment of tribute but also for the payment of the quota and in two of the examples cited here ἀπαρχὴν τῆι θεῶι appears without the article just as we have supplied it in the restoration of line 17.

This restoration leaves one space at the beginning of line 18 for the numeral indicating how many drachmai made up the quota to Athena. It might, of course, be possible to make some supplement like αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπαρχήν instead of ἀπαρχὴν τῆι θεῶι in lines 17-18, thus leaving no space at the beginning of line 18 for a numeral. One would have to assume in this case that the numeral was cut after an uninscribed space farther along in line 18. Merely as a matter of disposition this arrangement is unsatisfactory, particularly since there may have been at least two uninscribed spaces after [δ]ραχμás. The hole for the hinge of the door which later mutilated the face of the inscription prevents us from saying categorically that all of line 18 was uninscribed after the ninth letter-space. It would be better, stylistically and as a matter of arrangement, to supply the numeral in the one space available at the beginning of the line. Inasmuch as the quota of Aphytis had been 300 drachmai in the years immediately preceding this decree, the appropriate numeral for the restoration is probably Π, the symbol for 500 drachmai. The epigraphical desirability of this restoration has historical implications that are not without interest. One must suppose that the tribute of Aphytis has been raised from 3 to 5 talents in the proposed schedule made ready by the assessors in the autumn of 428 B.C. This is a reasonable assumption because 428/7 is otherwise known to have been a year of tribute assessment and undoubtedly the scale of payment demanded by the assessors was generally higher than that of 430/29.³³ On being informed of the new assessment, the Aphytaians evidently sent an embassy to Athens to ask for the same special privilege enjoyed by Methone and two other neighboring cities of paying not the assessed tribute but the quota only. These were the Aphytaians who agreed to the regulation of their affairs as recorded in the present inscription and who swore the oath which

³³ See Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 20; Accame, *Riv. di Fil.*, XIII, 1935, p. 397. An alternative solution is to assume that the tribute of Aphytis was reduced in 428 from three talents to one, and so restore the numeral at the beginning of line 18 as H. This could be explained as the result of possible inroads by the colonists at Poteidaia on the territory of Aphytis, and one might note as a parallel case that the tribute of Argilos was much reduced, for example, after the founding of Amphipolis in 437. Furthermore, the tribute of Aphytis in the third and fourth assessment periods had been not three talents, but one. But the colonization at Poteidaia did not establish a new city, as was the fact at Amphipolis, and the Athenians need not have caused any constriction of the existing sphere of Aphytaian control. It seems best to lay the greater weight on the known necessity for higher assessments in the early years of the war and to restore the amount of the quota as Π.

was added at the end of the decree. Undoubtedly there was an appendix, now lost, giving the names of the ambassadors and beginning with some such phrase as: Ἀφυταιῶν οἴδε ὡμινον τὸν ὄρκον. These circumstances serve to define more precisely the date of the entire inscription as late summer or early autumn of 428 B.C.

One may return here briefly to a consideration of fragment *a*, with its sculptured decoration. Inasmuch as the text below records the oath sworn by the Aphytaians, it is possible to interpret the figure of a woman holding a libation-cup in her right hand as the pictorial record of its consummation.

The libation was a usual part of the formal ceremony of giving and taking oaths,³⁴ so the connection between figured relief and written document gives added support to Wilhelm's attribution of text and sculpture to the same monument. The libation-cup looks like a shallow saucer, and if one may judge from the knob in its center it was probably a φιάλη μεσόμφαλος, appropriate for the purpose here suggested.³⁵ The female figure may represent the patron goddess of Aphytis, just as the patron deities of Athens and Samos, for example, were represented in the relief of Athena and Hera which surmounted the covenant between these two cities in 403/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1).³⁶

For the history of low-relief sculpture in Athens the precise date of 428 B.C. is now won for a monument which has usually been dated *ca.* 387/6. There have been various degrees of certainty and uncertainty about the attribution of this sculpture to the Fourth Century. One of the more categorical arguments for the later date has been developed by Süsserott, who speaks of a new movement and rhythm in the first decade of the Fourth Century and then proceeds to the discussion of our present relief in these terms:³⁷

Den gleichen neuen Rhythmus weist die Figur des Reliefs über der kurz vor 387/86 datierten Urkunde der Aphytaier auf. In der Mitte der stark fragmentierten Tafel steht eine etwa zu zwei Dritteln ihrer Höhe erhaltene weibliche Figur, gekleidet in Chiton und Mantel, in der gesenkten Rechten eine Omphalosschale haltend. Die Arbeit ist mässig und ohne eigentliche Modellierung nur in ganz flacher Erhebung über die Relieffläche durchgeführt: Züge die den geringwertigen Handwerker erkennen lassen. Jedoch das wenige Sichtbare der wirklichen Formgebung erlaubt eine klare Feststellung der Bewegung des Körpers. Die Figur steht frontal. Das Standbein ist fast senkrecht aufgestellt. Vom Fuss des im Knie etwas gelockerten Spielbeines führt eine Falte schräg aufwärts zur Standbeinhüfte. Die eine gelockerte Seite des Körpers steht also mit der angespannten, tragenden in unmittelbarer Verbindung. Damit ist das Entscheidende des Rhythmus des Jahrzehntes 390/80 gekennzeichnet: das Spielbein wirkt nicht mehr auf das Gleichgewicht des Körpers, indem es die Haltung des Körpers strafft, sondern wird gelöst. Die Standbeinhüfte sinkt herab, wie dies die schrägen, sich an der linken Seite des Beckens bildenden Falten des Mantels beweisen. Die Standbeinhüfte wölbt sich heraus und das Rückgrat biegt sich demgemäß seitlich durch.

Der Unterschied dieser Bewegtheit des Körpers von der im vorangegangenen Jahrzehnt fest-

³⁴ See Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, II³, pp. 1252 ff.

³⁵ Cf. Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1935), p. 29.

³⁶ A good photograph is given in Kirchner, *Imagines*, Pl. 19.

³⁷ H. K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1938), pp. 42-43.

gestellten ist rein äusserlich abzulesen. In Jahrzehnt 400/390 stehen sich eine tragende und eine gespannte Seite des Körpers gegensätzlich gegenüber. Nirgends führt eine Falte von Spielbeinfuss zur Standbeinhüfte hinüber, sondern die von diesem aufwärts gehenden Falten leiten bezeichnenderweise in die gerade oder bogenartig gespannte Mittelachse ein.

The futility of this type of argument about the date of an Athenian relief, with its spurious assurance of exactitude, is apparent from the fact that the relief belongs forty years earlier than the date which Süsserott proposes.

Miss Binneboessel, though she puts the relief shortly before 387/6 in her list of dated monuments (no. 28),³⁸ says of it and of its date in the Fourth Century:³⁹ "Der Stil des Stückes zeigt so wenig Eigenart, dass er diese Datierung weder fordert, noch ihr widerspricht." It would have been better to abide by her decision. The best evidence for the date of the sculpture lies in the inscription which it adorned.⁴⁰

Another piece of relief which carries an epigraphical text has fared even worse at the hands of the experts on sculpture and mention of it may appropriately be made here. The monument was seen by William Gell in Athens, and a transcription of the epigraphical text which it carries was sent by him to H. J. Rose at Cambridge, who forwarded it to Boeckh for publication in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* in 1828.⁴¹ Boeckh thought that the relief belonged to a sepulchral monument, but Kirchhoff, in his publication in 1891, records the just observation of Michaelis that it is, in fact, best interpreted as part of an ornament of an Athenian decree.⁴² The text of the inscription now appears in Hiller's publication of 1924 as *I.G.*, I², 37. Kirchhoff's comment on the forms of the letter sigma noted that the use of a three-bar sigma in line 1, side by side with four-bar sigmas in line 2, argues a date "ad tempora OI. 81-83." There can be no doubt that this judgment is correct. Kirchhoff was unwilling to define the time more exactly, indicating a possible date between 456 and 448. Hiller gives a date "ante a. 446/5." Certainly this is the lowest limit permitted by the three-bar sigma in a public monument of this kind. Attempts to date the inscription later have been based upon the style of the sculpture, a much more subjective consideration, and have had to ignore or explain away the epigraphical evidence.⁴³ Von Scala publishes the text in his collection of treaties and associates it with the relations between Athens and the Messenians at Naupaktos after the settlement which is referred to by

³⁸ Rosemarie Binneboessel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts* (1932), p. 8.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁴⁰ Miss Binneboessel, *op. cit.*, p. 50, followed the old, and erroneous, assumption that "die Schrift weist noch in die Zeit vor 387/6."

⁴¹ *C.I.G.*, I, 873: "Ex schedis Guil. Gelli a Rosio missis."

⁴² *C.I.A.*, IV, 22 *g*, (*I.G.*, I, Suppl., 22 *g*).

⁴³ On the basis of Gell's copy Boeckh represented an angular rho in line 3. This might be taken as evidence for an early date near the middle of the century except for the fact that the rho was rounded, not angular, and of a form that might have appeared normally at any date after ca. 452 b.c. See the photograph on p. 228.

Thucydides (I, 103).⁴⁴ The date is given by von Scala as 459 b.c., as suggested by Wilamowitz,⁴⁵ who believed that the name of the archon Philokles should be restored in line 1 of the inscription. Von Scala notes that there are difficulties in the way of restoring an archon's name, but these difficulties have not been universally appreciated. Hermine Speier, for example, who urges a later date for the inscription, wishes to restore the name of the archon Stratokles of 425/4.⁴⁶

The name of the archon would be out of place in the conspicuous position offered by the moulding above the relief of this monument. Here one expects the name of the secretary and Kirchhoff's restoration [---]*οκλῆς Φι*[---]*ἐγραμμάτενε*] is far better than any other as yet suggested. We may retain *Μεσσέ*[*νε*] for the restoration of line 2 and reject von Scala's suggested *πρ[έσβες]* in line 3. Even though we agree that this inscription is part of a treaty between Athens and the Messenians at Naupaktos, it would be extraordinary to find the names of the ambassadors inscribed in the background of the relief, and there is no evidence to support von Scala's conjecture.

A late date for *I.G.*, I², 37 has been argued also by Miss Rosemarie Binneboessel who puts the monument "um 410/9."⁴⁷ Miss Binneboessel's argument is in some respects so extraordinary that it should be categorically refuted. She notes that the epigraphical evidence points to the date earlier than 446, though she misinterprets Hiller by saying that 446 was his date for it. Hiller's comment was merely to the effect that the inscription was earlier than 446/5, quite a different statement altogether. But Miss Binneboessel realizes the force of the argument for an early date which lies in the three-bar sigma. She believes, however, that the three-bar sigma is not so large as the other letters in line 1 and she disposes of it in this fashion:

Da aber das dreistrichige Sigma in der Grösse nicht zu den übrigen Buchstaben passt, scheint es ursprünglich doch vierstrichig gewesen zu sein. Man kennt mehrere Fälle, wo die Buchstaben einer Inschrift mit Farbe vorgemalt, aber vom Steinschreiber aus Nachlässigkeit nicht vollends ausgemeisselt waren. Der Reliefstil weist ausserdem in jüngere Zeit.

⁴⁴ R. von Scala, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 38, no. 53.

⁴⁵ *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, p. 296.

⁴⁶ *Röm. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, p. 24 (with a photograph on Plate VI). Miss Speier seems not to value highly evidence of an epigraphical nature. With reference to the name Messene, she writes: "Da für diese Beischrift das vierstrichige Sigma, in der Inschrift des oberen Profils ΟΚΛΕΦΙ das dreistrichige verwendet ist, wurde das Relief allein aus epigraphischen Gründen (die sich auch sonst als trügerisch erwiesen haben) in die Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts datiert. . ." For the deceptive nature of epigraphical evidence, she refers to Frickenhaus, *Tiryns*, Vol. I, p. 109, which has nothing to do with the present case, and she also claims that the Xenokrateia Relief in the National Museum in Athens shows both forms of the sigma. This simply is not true. A photograph of the inscription is published in *'Αρχ. Εφ.*, 1911, p. 79. Anyone who wishes may see for himself that all the sigmas have four bars as, indeed, one would expect for the date to which it must be assigned.

⁴⁷ *O.p. cit.*, p. 6, no. 17; the argument for the date is developed on pp. 40-42.

Anybody who can treat evidence in this cavalier manner can prove anything. Her arguments for a late date⁴⁸ are concerned principally with matters of proportion, posture, style of drapery, and so forth, but these are all arguments of an extremely subjective nature about which even the experts disagree. The objective external evidence points to a date *ca.* 450, forty years earlier than the extraordinary attribution of Miss Binneboessel. This relief has been discussed by Percy Gardner⁴⁹ whose practised eye finds nothing incongruous about the date suggested by the inscription. He writes of the relief as follows:

It is unfortunately fragmentary; all that remains is part of a somewhat archaic female figure standing to the right with arms outstretched, on her head a lofty crown or polos. The date, as indicated by a few letters of the inscription which remain, is the middle of the fifth century B.C. We should naturally have supposed the lady to be a deity, probably Demeter, but for the inscription which is inserted beside her for the express purpose of preventing this mistake, and which consists of the letters MΕΣΣ[. Michaelis can scarcely be wrong in supposing that she is in fact an allegorical impersonation of the city of the Messenians, with whom the Athenians had, about the middle of the fifth century, close relations. This impersonation is the more remarkable because after 454 B.C. the Messenians were wanderers, and their city in the power of Sparta. So it is the people rather than the city who is embodied in the lady of the relief. Her likeness to Demeter may arise from the fact that Demeter was, as we know from Messenian coins, regarded as the representative deity of the race.

There is perhaps something more that can be said about this relief. After Gell had made his epigraphical copy in Athens, the stone was taken to Holland and there, as sculpture, published by Janssen in his volume on the Greek and Roman reliefs in the Leiden museum. But Janssen did not believe that it belonged to a funeral monument, as Boeckh had thought; he believed that it belonged to a dedication. A plaster cast and a photograph were sent to Germany, where in 1875 Adolf Michaelis published the monument in the *Archäologische Zeitung*, pp. 104-106.⁵⁰ In commenting on the inscription and the style of the sculpture Michaelis remarked that a date *ca.* 455 B.C. would be well suited both by the style of the lettering and the posture of the figure of Messene in the relief. I have nothing to add to Michaelis' epigraphical argument, which is just as conclusive today as it was in 1875. But he published also a lithographed print to illustrate the sculpture of the relief, and he admits that his first impression from the figure alone was to prefer a later date, perhaps *ca.* 427 B.C. One can understand this preference when he studies Michaelis' drawing. This has so much in it in the way of interpretation of posture, of feature, and of drapery, that it can only by courtesy be said to represent the original from which (via plaster cast

⁴⁸ The size of the sigma in point of fact is perfectly normal, as Miss Binneboessel could have determined by reference to contemporary documents. A close parallel for the general appearance is the heading of the covenant with Miletos, *I.G.*, I², 22, which must be dated in 450/49, and of which Oliver publishes a photograph in *T.A.P.A.*, LXVI, 1935, Plate 1, facing p. 198.

⁴⁹ *New Chapters in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 235-236.

⁵⁰ The title-page bears the date 1876.

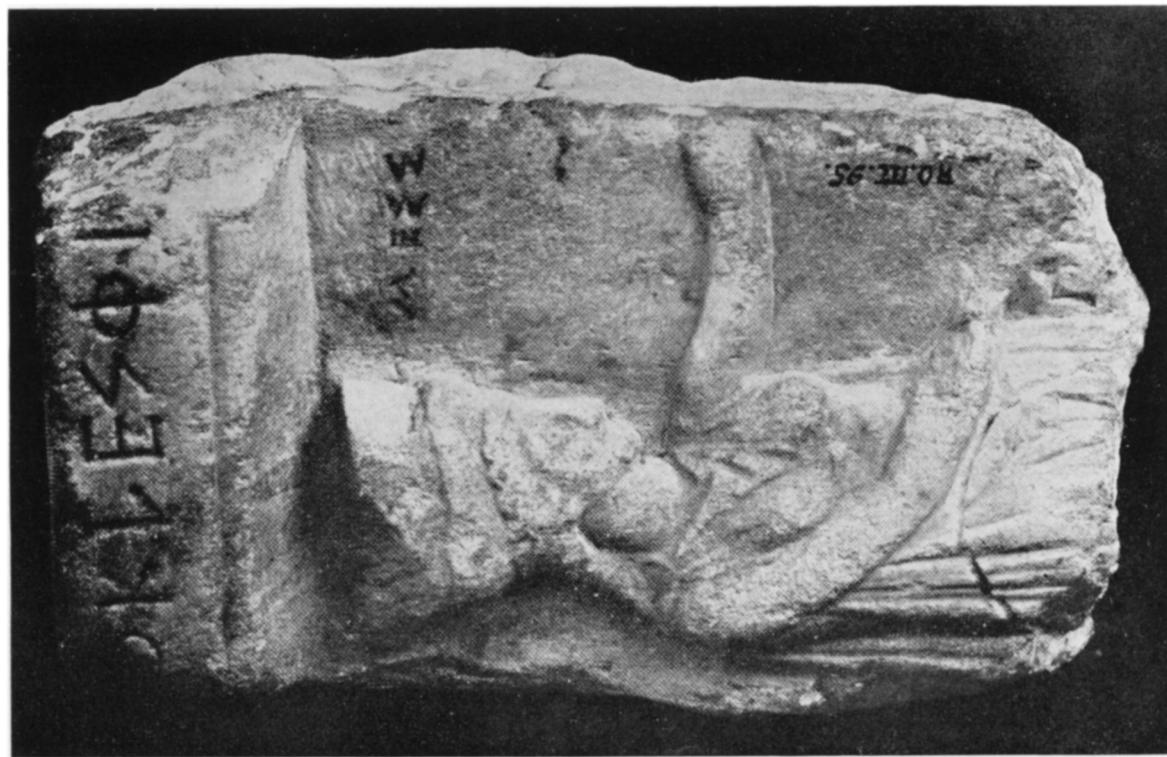
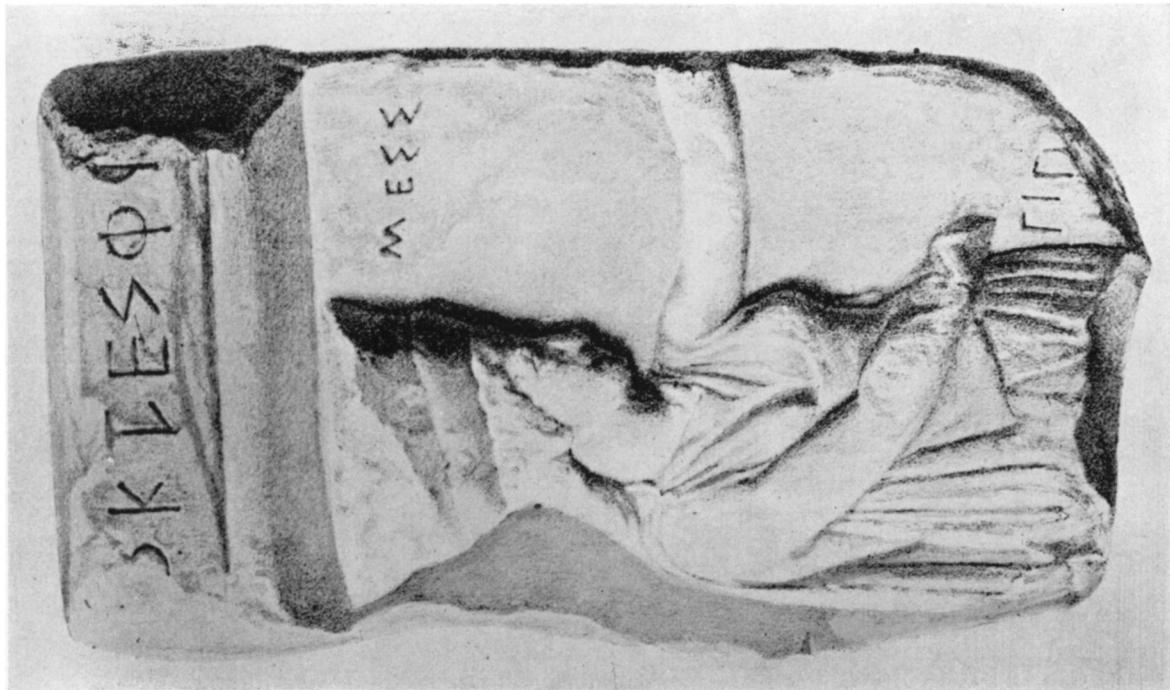
and photograph) it was made. Copies of Michaelis' lithographic print and of Miss Speier's photograph are presented here in the illustrations on p. 228 for the sake of comparison. One wonders how much futile speculation about the late date of this relief has been caused by too much reliance on the drawing in the *Archäologische Zeitung*.

But many problems remain. One does not know, and perhaps may never know, what the figure of the relief was doing with her hands. It is difficult to understand the meaning of the third line of the inscription which was cut beneath the right hand. Everyone who has commented on the figure seems to think that she was standing, but I believe that she was seated. I should hesitate to venture my own opinion on a matter which involves, among other things, a precise knowledge of foreshortening and of folds of drapery if I did not have the assurance of others who have studied the relief that they too (not all of them, but many) are convinced that Messene is a seated figure. One must here pay no attention to Michaelis' drawing, where the drapery is unintelligible. The right arm seems to be resting on her lap, and the left arm perhaps holds erect a spear. Some have suggested that with the outstretched left hand Messene is in the act of bestowing a crown, but crowns were usually given with the right hand, not the left.

The polos upon the head of Messene has of course been noticed. Years ago Percy Gardner⁵¹ described types of representation of city-states in Greek sculpture and stressed the development of the type which identifies the state with Good Fortune. This was the Tyche type which in Hellenistic times came to be represented conventionally with a walled crown, a cornucopia, and a patera. The figure in our relief does not wear a mural crown nor does she carry a cornucopia, but she may indeed have had a patera in her right hand. With the name Messene attributed to her, she was also, apparently, a representation—or rather a personification—of the country of Messene.

Moreover, the headgear of Messene corresponds with that which Pausanias describes on the head of an archaic statue of Tyche in the ancient city of Pherae in Messenia. Pausanias (IV, 30, 6) mentions the Temple of Fortune with its ancient image. He goes on to say that Homer is the first he knows ever to have mentioned Fortune but he says that Homer gave none of her attributes. Rather it was the architect and sculptor Boupalos who first represented her, as the Fortune of Smyrna, with the polos on her head and the cornucopia in one hand. Even though the cornucopia is absent from the relief it may be that the sculptor who wished to carve a personification of Messene gave to her the polos because (by implication at least from Pausanias' story) the statue of Tyche in Messenia probably wore this headdress. We may indeed in our present relief have a connecting link between the first known statue of the Fortune of a city made by Boupalos in the sixth century and the better-known

⁵¹ J.H.S., IX, 1888, pp. 47-81.



The Michaelis Drawing of *I.G.*, *I²*, 37

I.G., *I²*, 37

examples of the Hellenistic Age of which the Fortune of Antioch was an outstanding specimen.

If this interpretation is correct, it would seem to confirm also the opinion of those who hold that the Messene of the relief was a seated figure. But whether seated or not, since we find here a figure which is thought by some to be the personification of the people of Messene in a context which seems to be dated about a quarter of a century earlier than the Aphytaian decree, it may be suggested that the figure of the woman who adorned the Aphytis text in 428 represents not merely an Aphytaian deity but the city or people of Aphytis itself, perhaps personified as the Aphytaian Tyche.

CITIZENSHIP FOR ARISTOMENES

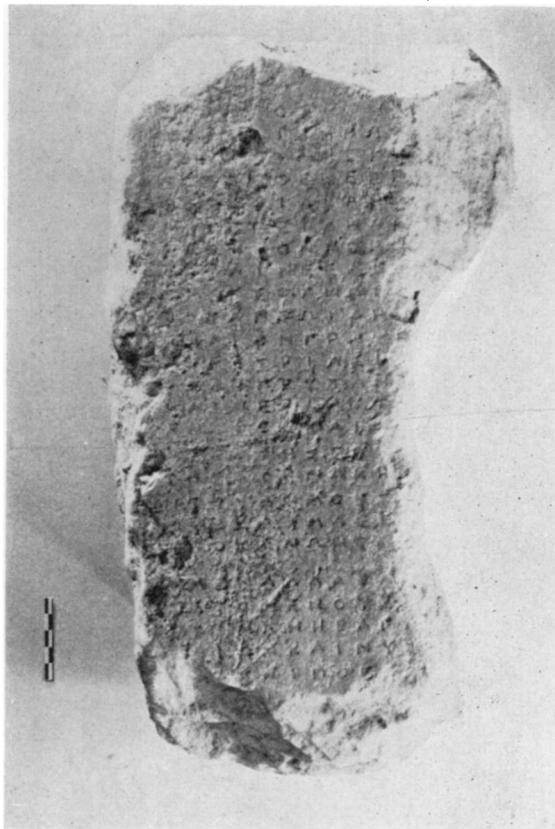
3. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the original thickness apparently preserved, found on September 12, 1938, in the wall of a modern house in Section BB.⁵²

Height, 0.421 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.139 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5560.

The inscription is written stoichedon, with a square checker pattern in which five rows and five columns measure 0.059 m.



No. 3.

⁵² The surface is badly worn, especially at the left. Valuable help with the readings has been given by Albert Billheimer.

357/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32

This decree embodies the usual formal provisions for a grant of Athenian citizenship. The date is fixed with great probability by the names of archon and secretary which are to be restored in lines 1 and 3-4.⁵³ The nationality of Aristomenes, who is being honored, presumably was given by an ethnic in line 7. The strengthening of relations between Athens and Andros in 357/6 (cf. *I.G.*, II², 123) tempts one to suggest δῆμος Ἀνδραῖος for the supplement, but this would be quite conjectural.

The formulae are well known. In lines 17-19 the payment of money for the stele by the treasurer of the demos to the secretary of the council may be illustrated also in a text of 361/0 (*I.G.*, II², 117, lines 16-19): [εἰς δ]ὲ τὴν ἀναγ[ρα]φ[ην τῆς στήλης δῶναι τ]ὸν ταμίαν τ[ο]ῦ δ[ῆμο] . . . δραχμὰς τῷ] γραμματεῖ [τῆς βολῆς]; in line 25 the unusual form ἔμπροσθεν seems to be required by the stoichedon order, but the

⁵³ See, e.g., *I.G.*, II², 121-123 and *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 12-17.

phrase is well attested; it is assumed in the case of both numerals (lines 9 and 19) that one letter-space was taken up by punctuation before and after the figures.

A CHOREGIC MONUMENT

4. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the upper surface preserved, but broken at the back, at the bottom, and at both sides, found in a cistern in Section A on August 1, 1931.

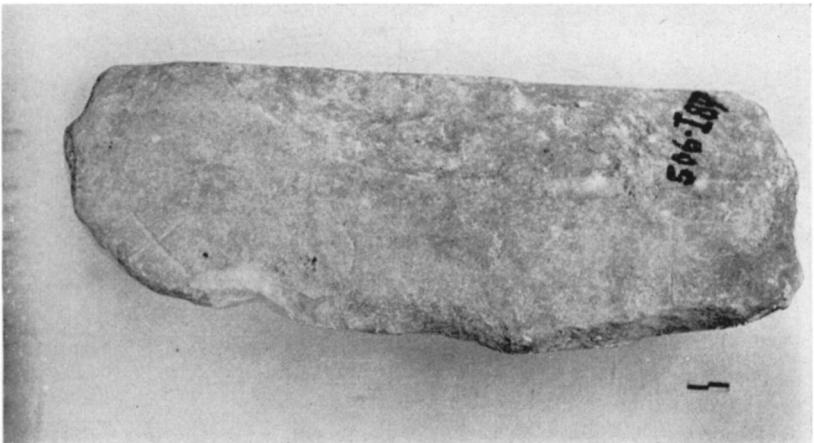
Height, 0.11 m.;
width, 0.305 m.;
thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters,
0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 87.

ca. 325-300 B.C.

[----- ε]χορή[γει]



No. 4.

The text evidently belongs to a choregic dedication, being similar to those already published as *I.G.*, II², 3027 ff. The size of letters and their spacing resemble, for example, those in line 1 of *I.G.*, II², 3086/7.

A DECREE OF DEMEAS

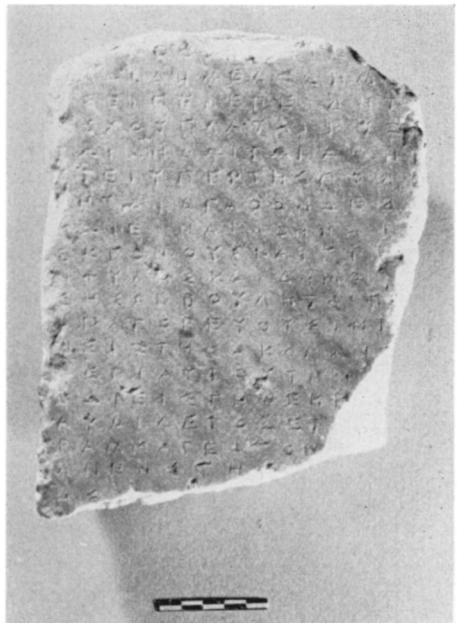
5. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on May 12, 1939, in Section II. The left side and back are preserved.

Height, 0.225 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.057 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5828.

The lettering is stoichedon, with irregularities, five lines measuring *ca.* 0.05 m. and five rows measuring from 0.05 m. to 0.055 m.



No. 5.

Shortly before 321/0 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	[--- τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν ---]	24
	[. . .]ος Θ[ορ]αε[ύσ· ἔδοξεν τῷ δ]	
	[ή]μωι· Δημέας Δημ[άδου Παιανιε]	
	[ν]ς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Τ[. . . . M]	
5	[ό]σχον Πλαταιεὺς [εὗνους ἐστὶ]	
	τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθη[ναίων καὶ πρ]	
	άτ<τ>ει ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλ[εως ὅ τι ἀν δύ]	
	[ν]ηται ἀγαθόν, δεδ[όχθαι τῷ δή]	
	μωι εἶναι Ἀθηνᾶ[ον αὐτὸν καὶ]	
10	ἐκγόνους καὶ γρ[άψασθαι αὐτὸ]	
	ν φυλῆς καὶ δήμου [καὶ φρατρία]	
	ς ἡς ἀν βούληται π[λὴν ὃν οἱ νόμοι]	
	ἀπαγορεύοντιν· τ[οὺς δὲ πρντά]	
	νεις τῆς Ἀκαμαντ[ίδος δοῦναι]	
15	[π]ερὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψ[ήφον ἐν τῷ δή]	
	μωι εἰς τὴν ἐκκ[λησίαν· ἀναγρ]	23
	άψαι δὲ τόδε τ[ὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γ]	
	ραμματέα τὸν [κατὰ πρντανεῖ]	
	αν ἐν στή[λῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στ]	22
20	ησα[ι ἐν ἀκροπόλει -----]	

This text is of interest as being the only decree so far known of the orator Demeas, son of the notorious Demades, both of whom were killed by Kassandros in 319 B.C. The fact that the decree was inscribed by the prytany-secretary shows that it belongs earlier in date than the oligarchy of 321/0-319/8 B.C., when the task of inscribing decrees was performed by the registrar. The date was probably not much before 321 because Demeas could hardly have been of age to propose a motion until the latter part of the 320's. It was reported of him that he had been introduced as a boy by his father to Philip II after the battle of Chaironeia.⁵⁴ Kirchner (*P.A.*, 3322) estimated the date of his birth *ca.* 355 B.C., so he may not have been thirty years of age before 325 B.C. The lettering of the present text has some resemblance to that of *I.G.*, II², 343 or 418, particularly in its disposition and the apparent care—or lack of care—with which the cutting was done. The hands are not the same, but they may well belong in the same general period. The formula *π[λὴν ὃν οἱ νόμοι] ἀπαγορεύοντιν* also appears, though largely restored, in *I.G.*, II², 385, a document of approximately this date.⁵⁵ It is within this formula that one of the disturbances in

⁵⁴ See Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, III², 2, p. 267, and note.

⁵⁵ [--- ἵς ἀν βούλητα]ι [πλὴν ὃν ο]ι [ν]όμοι [μοι ἀπαγορεύοντι]. The formula recurs in *I.G.*, II², 804: [--- ἵς ἀν] βούληται π[λὴν ὃν οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγορεύοντι], a document of the mid third century B.C.

the stoichedon order occurs, but the beginning of the irregularity is visible on the stone in the initial pi of $\pi[\lambda\eta\nu]$. The number of letters per line was reduced to 23 in line 16 and to 22 in line 19.

The style of Demeas as orator was mocked by Lucian in a passage of the *Timon* in which he represented Demeas as quoting a resolution of praise which he was prepared forthwith to introduce on the misanthrope's behalf. In comic mimicry of the official jargon of decrees the motivation for the honors that were to be heaped upon Timon was developed at some length:⁵⁶ ἐπειδὴ Τίμων Ἐχεκρατίδον Κολλυτεύς, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον καλὸς κἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφὸς ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, παρὰ πάντα χρόνον διατελεῖ τὰ ἄριστα πράττων τῇ πόλει, νενίκηκε δὲ πὺξ καὶ πάλην καὶ δρόμον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ τελείω ἄρματι καὶ συνωρίῳ πωλικῆ --- καὶ ἡρίστευσε δὲ⁵⁷ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πέρυσι πρὸς Ἀχαρναῖς καὶ κατέκοψε Πελοποννησίων δύο μόρας --- ἔτι δὲ καὶ ψηφίσματα γράφων καὶ συμβουλεύων καὶ στρατηγῶν οὐ μικρὰ ὀφέλησε τὴν πόλιν ---. When Timon interrupted the recital to point out that the alleged record did not correspond with the facts and to make a modest protest, Demeas assured him that it was best to have a lot of this sort of thing in the preamble. One gets the impression, even in the jest, that Demeas was fulsome and wordy, with a style at once turgid and demagogic. The contrast with the actual words of Demeas as preserved in the present decree is striking. Nothing could be further removed from the prolix verbosity imputed to him by Lucian than the simple motivation with which he introduced the motion for citizenship for his friend from Plataea (lines 4-8): ἐπειδὴ Τ[.....]⁹.... Μόσχον Πλαταιεὺς [εὗνος ἐστὶ] τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθη[ναίων καὶ πρ]άτ<τ>ει ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλ[εως ὅ τι ἀν δύν]ηται ἀγαθόν. The phraseology is stereotyped and almost telegraphic in its brevity. It gives little clue to what Demeas may have been like in forensic debate, but it indicates a degree of conservatism and business-like efficiency in the handling of routine affairs.

T———, son of Moschos, of Plataea may have been an ancestor of Μόσχος Ἀπολλωνίου Πλαταιεύς who was an ephebos at Athens in the latter half of the first century B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1043, line 124). The difference in time is almost three hundred years, so too much insistence on the possible connection would be hazardous indeed.

The precise date of *I.G.*, II², 385b is not known, for fragment *b* has been shown by Dinsmoor not to belong with fragment *a*, which names the registrar of 321/0 B.C. See Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁶ Lucian, *Timon*, 50-51.

⁵⁷ The Loeb edition (and others as well) gives the text of the decree here as *καὶ ἡρίστευσε δέ*. Although the use of *καὶ . . . δέ* (cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, pp. 200-203) is found in inscriptions as well as in literary Greek, one may question whether *καὶ* may not be taken here to belong to the explanatory remarks made to Timon by Demeas and not to the decree. The Greek text, in this case, might be punctuated as follows: Τί οὖν; θεωρήσεις ὕστερον· τὰ τοιαῦτα δέ πολλὰ προσκεῖσθαι ἀμεινον· καὶ “ἡρίστευσε δέ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ---,” to be translated: What of it? You will be a delegate, later. It is best to put in plenty of that sort of thing. And to continue—“fought bravely also for the city ---.”

A DECREE OF DEMADES

6. Two joining fragments of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section EE on October 14, 1938.

Part of the smooth right side of the lower piece and the rough-picked back of both pieces are preserved. The moulding at the top of the inscribed face has been chipped away.

Combined height, 0.40 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5626.

The letters of lines 2 ff. have a stoichedon pattern which is almost square, five lines or five columns averaging about 0.058 m. The letters in line 1 are more widely spaced.



No. 6.

320/19 B.C.

[Νικόστρατος ———] λωνος Φιλ[ιππεύς?]

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 37

[ἐπὶ Νεάίχμου ἄρχοντος] ἀναγραφέω[*s* δὲ 'Αρχεδί]

[κον τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ]τρέως ἐπὶ τῇ[*s* Οἰνεῖδος]

[ἔκτης πρυτανείας ἦι] νων 'Οηθ ἐγραμ[μάτεν]

5 [εν· Γαμηλιῶνος δεκάτηι ισ]ταμένου τετ[άρτηι ^v]

[καὶ εἰκοστήι τῆς πρυτανεί]ας· ἐκκλησί[α κυρία·]

[τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν 'Ι]οφῶν Στει[ρ καὶ συμ]

[πρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ·] Δημάδης Δη[μέου ^{vv}]

[Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Νι]κόστρατο[*s*]

10 [—————]τε τῶν ἐς Σ[. . . .]

[—————] 'Αθηναίων μη[. . . .]

[—————]τοὺς ἐπιβούλ[. . . .]

[-----] Ἀθηναῖ[...]
 [----- γυναι]ξὶ καὶ παι[δί νν]
 15 [οις -----] Ε. ὁ μέλλων Λ[....]
 [----- κα]ταληφθῆναι [....]
 [-----] ων καὶ δι.Λ[...⁶....]
 [-----] ν αὐτὸν Ἀθ[ηναῖ ν]
 [ον ----- ? ἐπίστατ]αι ὁ δῆμος ὁ [Ἀθηναῖ ν]
 20 [ναιών -----] ο πλέον τ[....]
 [-----]ι μετ[....]
 [-----]τα[....⁶....]
 [-----]ι[....⁶....]

The orator of the decree (line 8) was the famous Demades, son of Demeas, of Paiania, who was put to death by Kassandros in 319 b.c. The precise date of his present resolution is given by the name of the registrar, part of which is preserved in line 3, and by the name of the archon which must be supplied in line 2. Since Dinsmoor's first determination of the two periods in which the registrars were named in the preambles of decrees,⁵⁸ their names and dates have come to be established as follows:

OLIGARCHY OF 321-318

- | | |
|--------|---|
| 321/0 | ----- of Oion ⁵⁹ |
| 320/19 | Archedikos, son of Naukritos, of Lamptrae |
| 319/8 | Eukadmos of Anakaia ⁶⁰ |

DICTATORSHIP OF OLYMPIODOROS

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 294/3 | Thras ----- of Phyle ⁶¹ |
| 293/2 | Epikouros, son of Epiteles, of Rhamnous |

Of these, the demotic which is partly preserved in line 3 must belong to Archedikos, so his name is restored in lines 2-3 and the name of the archon Neaiichmos (320/19) is restored at the beginning of line 2. This gives a satisfactory reading with a stoichedon line of apparently 37 letters, and determines the left margin of the text:⁶²

[ἐπὶ Νεαίχμου ἀρχοντος] ἀναγραφέω[σ δὲ Ἀρχεδί]
 [κον τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπτ.]τρέως ἐπὶ τῇ[σ -----]

The formula here employed differs from that found in the other decrees of the

⁵⁸ Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 28.

⁶⁰ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 345-346.

⁵⁹ Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 46.

⁶¹ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 97-100.

⁶² This inscription offers a good example of the practical steps that must be taken to restore the complete preamble with the help of available evidence, and for this reason the various considerations that come into play are outlined here with more than usual detail.

year of Neaichmos, where the phrase Ἀναγραφεὺς Ἀρχέδικος Ναυκρίτου Λαμπτρεύς begins the preamble,⁶³ but such irregularity is demonstrable in other years where a registrar is named and need not occasion surprise here.⁶⁴ There are, however, two other types of formula which the preserved remains allow, and these must here be studied.

I. THE PREAMBLE WITH ἀρχων Νέαιχμος

One might write in lines 2-3 [ἀρχων Νέαιχμος · ἐπὶ] ἀναγραφέω[σ] Ἀρχεδίκου | τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπτρέως, etc., thus determining a stoichedon line of 35 letters. This method of naming the archon has been shown to be not unduly rare in the early third century, and one of the decrees naming a registrar in 294/3 has been restored in accordance with it.⁶⁵ So the formula may be considered possible also in 320/19. The name of the tribe in prytany must have been Oineis, for the secretary (line 4) has the abbreviated demotic Ὁῆθ(εν), and Oa was a deme of Oineis. During the period of the oligarchy from 321 to 318 the secretaries changed with the prytanies and invariably belonged to the prytanizing tribes. [Οἰνεῖδος] may therefore be restored at the end of line 3. The beginning of line 4 must contain the ordinal number of the prytany, the words πρυτανείας ἦι, and the first letters of the secretary's name which ends in -νων. Here difficulties begin to arise, for even if the shortest possible numeral (ἕκτης) is employed only one letter-space is left for the beginning of the name of the secretary. There is only one four-letter name ending in -νων given in Pape's *Wörterbuch*, and this is hardly suitable for restoration in an Attic decree.⁶⁶ If a slight irregularity is to be allowed, the word πρυτανείας might be spelled πρυτανέας,⁶⁷ as indeed would have to be the case also in line 6, thus introducing a second irregularity, and the lines of the preamble would appear as follows:

5	[ἀρχων Νέαιχμος · ἐπὶ] ἀναγραφέω[σ] Ἀρχεδίκου]
	[τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπτρέως ἐπὶ τῆ[σ] Οἰνεῖδος]
	[ἕκτης πρυτανέας ἦι ..] νων Ὁῆθ ἔγραμ[μάτενε]
	[Γαμηλιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἵσ] ταμένου τετ[άρτῃ κα]
	[ἰ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανέ] ας · ἕκκλησί[α · τῶν προ]
	[έδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν .. .] οφων Στει[ρ · ἔδοξεν τ]
	[ἥι βουλῆι καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ ·] Δημάδης Δη[μέον Παι]
	[ανιεὺς εἶπεν · ἐπειδὴ Νι] κόστρατο[σ -- κτλ.]

⁶³ I.G., II², 380-384, 383b.

⁶⁴ Cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 5.

⁶⁵ Pritchett and Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.

⁶⁶ The name is Βνῶν, the second of the Shepherd Kings of Egypt.

⁶⁷ See Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 40. It should be noted that the three examples cited by Meisterhans all come from the 320's of the fourth century: I.G., II², 415, lines 14-15 ([αἱ] πρυτανέαι); I.G., II², 1672, lines 11-12 (πρυτανέας); I.G., II², 373, line 17 (πρυτανέας). If the irregularity is to be assumed in the present instance, at least it is not anachronistic. At the end of line 4 ἔγραμ[μάτενε] must be written without nu-movable. There is an example of this peculiarity in another decree of 320/19, I.G., II², 380.

The calendar equation in lines 5-6 can be controlled by the other known inscriptions of this year. Dinsmoor follows Kirchner⁶⁸ in positing an intercalary year in which prytanies I-III have 39 days each, prytanies IV-VIII 38 days each, prytany IX 37 days, and prytany X 40 days. This scheme has been built up on the basis of the following equations:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Pryt. II } 31 &= \text{Boedromion } 11 \quad I.G., \text{II}^2, 380 \\ \text{Pryt. V } 36 &= \text{Posideon II } 14 \quad I.G., \text{II}^2, 381, 382 \\ \text{Pryt. [X] } 10 &= [\text{Thargelion } 29] \quad I.G., \text{II}^2, 383b \end{aligned}$$

To these may now be added also the equation of *I.G.*, II^2 , 336b:⁶⁹

$$\text{Pryt. [VIII] } 2[6] = \text{Elaphebolion, last day.}$$

The second and last equations are not consistent with the "ideal" civil calendar of 320/19 as given by Dinsmoor in his *Archons of Athens*, p. 429, where the sequence of full and hollow months is tabulated as follows:

THEORETICAL SCHEME OF 320/19

Name of Month	No. of Days	Name of Month	No. of Days
Hekatombaion	30	Gamelion	30
Metageitnion	29	Anthesterion	29
Boedromion	30	Elaphebolion	30
Pyanepsion	29	Mounichion	29
Maimakterion	30	Thargelion	30
Posideon	30	Skirophorion	29
Posideon II	29		

Moreover, the new tentative equation of the present text (Pryt. VI 24 = Gamelion 9) cannot be reconciled with a hollow Posideon II, in view of the equation of *I.G.*, II^2 , 381 and 382 (Pryt. V 36 = Posideon II 14), unless it be assumed that Prytany V had only 36 days. One might make this assumption and then allow 39 days each to Prytanies IV and VII, so that Pryt. VIII 26 would be the 296th day of the year with an equation to the last day of Elaphebolion (*I.G.*, II^2 , 336b) as a full month.⁷⁰ All proposed equations could be satisfied, in fact, within the ideal year only if the sequence of prytanies were allowed to show the following minimum irregularities:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
39	39	39	39	36	38	39	38	37	40

⁶⁸ Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 374. See Kirchner's notes on *I.G.*, II^2 , 381 and 383b.

⁶⁹ Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 7.

⁷⁰ Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, assumed that this was the 295th day of the year.

But it is not necessary to assume that the "ideal" civil calendar was the one actually employed by the Athenian government. The advantages in the present study of a full Posideon II can be obtained by postulating the reversal in the order of full and hollow months not with Posideon (as in the table above) but with, for example, Thargelion. In this case a table of months for 320/19 might be tentatively drawn as follows:

TENTATIVE SCHEME OF 320/19

Name of Month	No. of Days	Name of Month	No. of Days
Hekatombaion	30	Gamelion	29
Metageitnion	29	Anthesterion	30
Boedromion	30	Elaphebolion	29
Pyanepsion	29	Mounichion	30
Maimakterion	30	Thargelion	30
Posideon	29	Skirophorion	29
Posideon II	30		

This scheme allows throughout the satisfaction of the known calendar equations with less irregularity in the prytany sequence than the minimum noted above, as follows:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
39	39	39	38	37	39	38	38	37	40

The slight irregularity of a short length of the fifth prytany remains, but it is not prohibitive; indeed, the equations from Prytanies V and X show that at least one of the last six prytanies must have had a maximum of 37 days anyway. It has been assumed in the ideal Kirchner-Dinsmoor scheme that this was Prytany IX; it would be equally possible for Prytany V.⁷¹

A minor variant on the tentative text proposed above with [*ἀρχων Νέαιχμος*] restored in line 2 is obtained by writing [επ'] ἀναγραφέω[*s* instead of επὶ] ἀναγραφέω[*s*. This makes no difference in the length of line, but merely pushes the right margin one letter-space to the right. To judge from the photograph, this is not a desirable change. It looks as if, in line 16 for example, there could not be more than four letters between *κα]ταληφθῆναι* and the right margin. This is the determination that one makes by measurement across the photograph. It may be too small, for the right margin is not preserved along the face of the stone, and if sufficient stone has been broken away the full width cannot have been registered by the camera.⁷² The dis-

⁷¹ *I.G.*, II², 383 is no proof that Oineis could not have held the sixth prytany. For the correct text of *I.G.*, II², 383, lines 2-5, see Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 23.

⁷² This type of distortion in photographic reproductions is discussed by Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 37-41.

position of the text above, as shown on p. 236, requires five letters between *κα]ταληφθῆναι* and the margin. This, assuredly, would seem to be a maximum, so that any restoration (like [ἀρχων Νεαίχμος· ἐπ'] ἀναγραφέω[σ] etc.) in line 2 which would require an additional letter is ruled out. It may be, even, that five letters are one too many. An examination of the stone would show at once whether this is the case; but this recourse is obviously not feasible now while Greece is in the occupation of the enemy. The possibility of a restoration with only four letters is outlined in the proposed text on pp. 234-235.

The case for restoration with *ἀρχων Νεαίχμος* in line 2 has now been stated. Unless it must be abandoned because of an impossible right margin (at present not to be determined without examination of the stone) it remains a solution worth consideration. The disadvantages are small, but relatively numerous, and their cumulative weight has led us not to advocate this as a preferred restoration. They are (1) the relative rarity of the archon's name in the nominative in the preamble of a decree, (2) absence of nu-movable on *ἐγραμ[μάτενε]* in line 4, (3) the spelling of *πρυτανέας* in lines 4 and 6,⁷³ and (4) the increased irregularity which must be assumed in the sequence of the prytanies of 320/19.⁷⁴

II. THE PREAMBLE WITH *καὶ* OR *ἐπί* BEFORE THE TITLE OF THE REGISTRAR IN LINE 2

A tentative restoration of the preamble may be begun in line 2 as follows: [*ἐπὶ Νεαίχμον ἀρχοντος καὶ*] ἀναγραφέω[σ] Ἀρχ|εδίκον τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Δαμπ]τρέως, etc. The necessary stoichedon pattern calls for a division of the name Ἀρχ|εδίκον between lines 2 and 3, and so much of the text now has to be restored at the left instead of the right side of the stone that the right margin is drawn in to a point where, in line 16 for example, the final letter of *κα]ταληφθῆναι* would be beyond the edge of the stone. This is a fatal objection to the proposed arrangement, which may be abandoned without further ado. The same objection would be valid if *ἐπί* were restored in line 2 instead of *καὶ*: [*ἐπὶ Νεαίχμον ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ*] ἀναγραφέω[σ] Ἀρχ|εδίκον τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Δαμπ]τρέως etc.

As a type, quite apart from considerations of space here, the restoration with *ἐπί* would probably be preferable. The use of *καὶ* is not epigraphically attested, though it has sometimes been restored in other texts.⁷⁵

If *ἐπί* is to be preferred in principle, then the abbreviated form *ἐπ'* must also be tested just as it was with the introductory [ἀρχων Νεαίχμος]. The substitution of *ἐπ'* for *ἐπί* allows the margin to be moved one space to the right, to give stoichedon

⁷³ To my mind the most serious textual objection.

⁷⁴ This seems to me the least serious objection.

⁷⁵ See Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 88.

lines divided as follows: [ἐπὶ Νεαίχμον ἄρχοντος ἐπ'] ἀναγραφέω[*s* 'Αρχε|δίκου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ]τρέως ἐπὶ τῇ[*s* Οἰν]εῖδος ἔκτης πρυτανείας ἦι .]νων Ὁῆθ.

This text is, in effect, the same as that proposed above with [ἄρχων Νέαιχμος], except of course for line 2 and for the margins, and it is subject to some of the same objections:

	[ἐπὶ Νεαίχμον ἄρχοντος ἐπ'] ἀναγραφέω[<i>s</i> 'Αρχε]
	[δίκου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ]τρέως ἐπὶ τῇ[<i>s</i> Οἰν]
	[εῖδος ἔκτης πρυτανείας ἦι ..]νων Ὁῆθ ἔγραμ[<i>μ</i>]
5	[άτενε· Γαμηλιώνος ἐνάτηι ἵσ]ταμένου τετ[άρ] [τηι καὶ είκοστῇι τῆι πρυτανέ]ας· ἔκκλησί[<i>a</i> · <i>τ</i>] [ῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν .. .]οφων Στει[<i>ρ</i> · <i>ἔδ</i>] [οξεν τῇι βουλῇι καὶ τῶι δήμωι·] Δημάδης Δη[<i>μέ</i>] [ον Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Νι]κόστρατο[<i>s</i> -κτλ.-]

The obvious difficulty, however, is still with the right margin. Too few letters are restored at the ends of the lines. This can be remedied to the extent of one letter-space by assuming syllabic division.

	[ἐπὶ Νεαίχμον ἄρχοντος ἐπ'] ἀναγραφέω[<i>s</i> 'Αρχε ^v]
	[δίκου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ]τρέως· ἐπὶ τῇ[<i>s</i> Οἰνη]
	[ίδος ἔκτης πρυτανείας ἷι ..]νων Ὁῆθ ἔγραμ[<i>μά</i>]
5	[τενε· Γαμηλιώνος δεκάτῃ ἵσ]ταμένου τετ[άρ ^v] [τηι καὶ είκοστῇι τῆι πρυτανέ]ας· ἔκκλησί[<i>a</i> ^{vv}] [τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν .. .]οφων Στει[<i>ρ</i> · <i>ἔδο</i>] [ξεν τῇι βουλῇι καὶ τῶι δήμωι· ^v] Δημάδης Δη[<i>μέ</i> ^v] [ον Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Νι]κόστρατο[<i>s</i> -κτλ.-]

This change relieves also the pressure in line 4, permitting the normal spelling of *πρυτανείας*, and in line 5, permitting the restoration of the date as Gamelion 10. The calendar determination allows a smooth sequence of prytanies through the middle of the year, in the sequence⁷⁶

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
39	39	39	38	38	38	38	38	37	40

But the nu-movable is still absent from *ἔγραμ*[*μάτενε* in line 5, the spelling *πρυτανείας* remains in line 6, and an uninscribed space has to be posited before the name of the orator in line 8. In spite of every concession to gain space along the right margin, one can restore only one letter-space after *κα*]ταληφθῆναι in line 16, and within all reason this must be considered below a minimum requirement. So wide an uninscribed margin of stone would be extraordinary.

⁷⁶ Gamelion 10 is the 217th day of the year.

Thus we return once again to the formula of the preamble with a stoichedon line of 37 letters, as proposed on p. 234 above. Reference to this text shows syllabic division, attested at the end of line 5 and so presumably employed elsewhere, as at the end of line 8. The right margin as determined by the restorations agrees well with the physical requirements of the stone as shown in the photograph, and many small irregularities of other tentative proposals are obviated. The word *πρυτανείας* in lines 4 and 6 is properly spelled, *ἐγραμ[μάτενεν]* has the usual nu-movable in line 5, and the calendar equation permits a regular sequence of months and prytanies throughout the winter of 320/19. The irregularity which must be assumed is the crowding by one letter of *Oἰνεῖδος* at the end of line 3. This could be avoided by assuming an extra uninscribed space at the ends of the other lines, perhaps writing in lines 8-9 *Δημάδης Δη[μέον Παι]ανεὺς εἰπεν· ἐπανέσαι Νι]κόστρατο[ν -- κτλ. --]*, but this might perhaps push the margin too far to the right.⁷⁷ It seems preferable to allow *Oἰνεῖδος*, a word containing two iota, to be written in the space of seven letters, or (alternatively) to allow the final sigma to appear at the beginning of line 4, on the principle that syllabic division began at the end of line 5. In any event the date by prytany seems to have been the 24th, for no arrangement either of syllabic or non-syllabic division will yield the alternatives of 4th, 14th, and 34th. It would be possible to equate Pryt. IX 24 with Thargelion 5 (assuming Pryt. IX to have had 38 days) and to make the appropriate restorations in lines 4 and 5, if one were to omit the nu-movable of *ἐγραμ[μάτενε]*. A decision cannot be reached with the evidence available, so we have chosen the equation Pryt. VI 24 = Gamelion 10 as requiring less irregularity in restoration.

It will be observed that no syllabic division will permit the restoration [*ἔδοξεν τὴν βουλῆι καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ*] in lines 7 and 8.⁷⁸ We have chosen the alternative formula [*καὶ συμπρόεδροι*], which is attested in *I.G.*, II², 399 and 400, now known to belong to the career of the elder Demades.⁷⁹ It remains to note that a name longer than [*Ι]οφῶν*] might be restored in line 7, with [*κυρία*] omitted at the end of line 6, and that the ethnic of Nikostratos, partly preserved in line 1, may have been *Φιλ[ιππεύς]*. The decree seems to be a grant of praise and citizenship to Nikostratos, but because of its fragmentary nature the chief interest lies not in the decree proper but in the practice in restoration afforded by the prescript and in the evidence this prescript contains for the calendar of the year 320/19.

It will be observed that Dinsmoor's theoretical civil calendar scheme (p. 237) may be retained without change—as an alternative solution—if the text here proposed is correct and if the conciliar year has a sequence of prytanies as follows:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
39	39	39	39	37	38	39	37	37	40

⁷⁷ See above, p. 239.

⁷⁸ This longer formula occurs instead of the more usual *ἔδοξεν τῷ δῆμῳ* in *I.G.*, II², 383b.

⁷⁹ Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 3-4.

PRAISE OF MIKALION

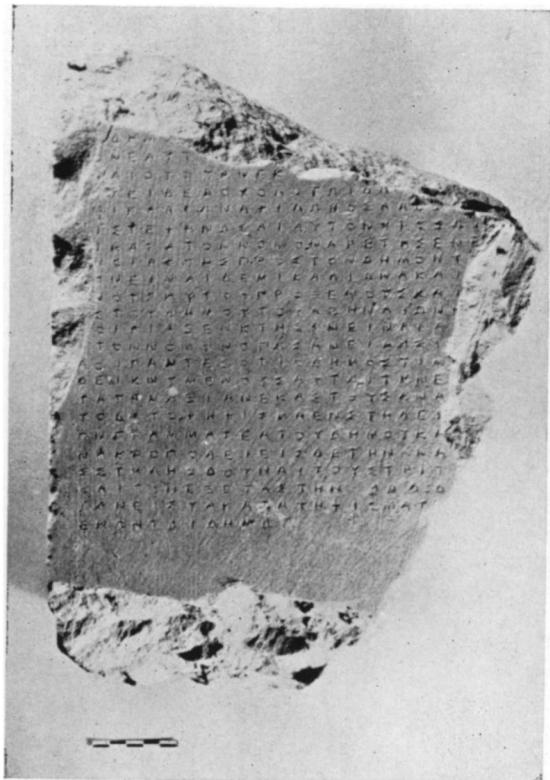
7. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on April 5, 1939, in an accumulated deposit of late date below the cliff near Klepsydra. The back and left side are preserved.

Height, 0.372 m.; width, 0.275 m.; thickness, ca. 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5772.

The lettering is stoichedon, with a square checker pattern in which five lines, or five rows, measure 0.05 m.



No. 7.

301/0-295/4 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

[.] η[-----]
 [. .] δῆμο[ν τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀεὶ πρόθυ]
 [μ]ον ἔαντ[ὸν παρέχει πάσιν ιδίαι διδ]
 [ó]ναι ὅτου ἀν ἔκ[αστος δέηται ἀγαθεῖ]
 5 [τύ]χει δεδόχθαι τῷ δή[μῳ ἐπαινέστα]
 ι Μικαλίωνα Φίλωνος Ἀλεξ[ανδρ{ε}έα κ]
 [a]ὶ στεφανώσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι [στεφάν]
 [ω]ι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς ἔνε[κα καὶ ε]
 [ν]νοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τ[ὸν Ἀθηνα]
 10 [ί]ων· εἶναι δὲ Μικαλίωνα καὶ [τοὺς ἔκγ]
 [ó]νους αὐτὸν προξένους καὶ [εὐεργέτ]
 [a]ς τοῦ δῆμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων κ[αὶ γῆς κα]
 [i] οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν εἶναι α[ντοῖς κατ]

- [ἀ] τὸν νόμον ὅπως ἀν εἰδῶσι[ν καὶ οἱ ἄλ]
 15 λοι πάντες ὅτι ὁ δῆμος τιμ[ᾶι τοὺς ἐν]
 δεικυνμένους αὐτῷ τὴν ε[ῦνοιαν κα.]
 τὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἔκαστους· ἀνα[γράψαι δὲ]
 τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ [λιθίνῃ τ]
 ὃν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου κα[ὶ στήσαι ἐ]
 20 ν ἀκροπόλει· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀνα[γραφὴν τῇ]
 σ στήλης δούναι τοὺς τριτ[τυάρχους]
 καὶ τὸν ἔξεταστὴν ^ῳ ΔΔΔ : δ[ραχμὰς ἐκ]
 τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματ' ἀ[ναλισκομ]
 ἐνων τῷ δήμῳ.

The date of the inscription can be fixed within limits by the mention of the trityarchs and the exetastes as disbursing officers.⁸⁰ The writing is much like that of *I.G.*, II², 557.

SITOPHYLAKES (?) OF THE CITY

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

Height, 0.255 m.; width, 0.222 m.; thickness, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5824.

The lettering is stoichedon, five lines measuring 0.082 m. and five columns 0.08 m. The writing is so nearly like that of *I.G.*, II², 472 that it may well be by the same hand; but the disposition of the present text is slightly more open.⁸¹



No. 8.

⁸⁰ Meritt, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 278-280.

⁸¹ A photograph of *I.G.*, II², 472 is given in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 288.

ca. 300 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 31

- [ἐπειδὴ --- οἱ ἐπὶ --- ἄρχοντ]ο[ς ἥρξ]
 [αν τὴν ἄρχην καλῶς καὶ δικαί]ως καὶ [περ]
 [ὶ πάντων ὅν ἐπεμελοῦντο τ]ὰς εὐθύνα[ς δ]
 [εδώκασιν ἐπαινέσαι αὐ]τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἔ[ν]
 5 [εκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆ]ς εἰς τὸν δῆμον
 [τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ στεφ]ανῶσαι ἔκαστον
 [αὐτῶν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ]ι ἀπὸ : X : δραχμῶν E
 [----- Κ]ηφισιά Νίκων
 [----- Δ]ιόφαντον Διονύ
 10 [----- νόστρατον Εὐφρ
 [----- ν Εὐφήρου Αὐρί[δ]
 [ην -----]τοὺς Ἀφιδναῖ[ο]
 [ν· στεφανῶσαι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶ]ν τὸν κληρ[ωτὸ]
 [ν γραμματέα -----]

The decree honors a board of six men (lines 7-13) and their secretary (line 14) who was chosen by lot. One is reminded of the decree published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 445-446, which honored the board of sitophylakes of the archonship of Athenodoros (240/39 B.C.) and their allotted secretary. The present board is not defined on the preserved part of the stone, but they may also have been the Sitophylakes of the City.

Aristotle (*Αθ. Πολ.*, 51, 3) recorded that the sitophylakes had originally been ten in number, five for the city and five for the Peiraeus, but that in his day the number had been increased to twenty for the city and fifteen for the Peiraeus. The honorary decree of the archonship of Athenodoros proves that by 240/39 the number for the city had been again reduced to five. Inasmuch as this falls within the period of the twelve tribes, it was possible to assume that the secretary made up the group of six so as to divide the board evenly between Athens and the Peiraeus with equality also in tribal representation. Presumably in the early period mentioned by Aristotle, when there were only ten tribes, the secretary had not been counted in the fixing of tribal distribution. Nor, apparently, was he counted as one of the critical number in the inscription published here. The text names, or has place for, six members of the board in addition to the secretary. This represents the Aristotelian norm, with allowance made for the fact that this inscription probably should be dated after the creation of the Macedonian tribes. Its nearest parallel in physical appearance (*I.G.*, II², 472; see above) belongs in 306/5 B.C., and if there was equal division between Athens and the Peiraeus the six names of commissioners in themselves suggest a date after 307 B.C.

It will be observed that the names of the commissioners are arranged in tribal order, with the demes: Kephisia (III), _____ (?), _____ (?),

— (?), Auridai (X), and Aphidnai (XI). This is a normal method of keeping the record, though it should be noted that the tribal order was not followed in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 445-446.

Before Aristotle's time, therefore, there was a board of ten (with two secretaries) and at some time after 307 b.c. (perhaps *ca.* 300) there was a normal board of twelve (likewise with two secretaries). This is reasonably sure to have been the case if the definition of the board in the present text has been rightly determined. At any rate the board of 240/39 b.c. shows that there had been a change back toward normal from the expanded commissions of Aristotle's day, and it may be that the present text enables us to fix the return to normal earlier than has been possible hitherto.

It seems clear that the large commissions in existence when Aristotle wrote his chapter on the Sitophylakes in the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτείᾳ were occasioned directly by the conditions of famine in Athens in the 320's. Epigraphically, a scarcity of grain is proved from 330/29 to 328/7 b.c. by *I.G.*, II², 360, a decree which mentions contributions made by Herakleides of Salamis in both these years and praises him for them. In 328/7 there were systematic contributions (*I.G.*, II², 360, lines 10-11: *καὶ πάλιν ὅτε αἱ ἐπιδόσεις ἥσαν ἐπέδωκε : XXX : δραχμάς*; lines 70-71: *καὶ πάλιν ἐπ' Εὐθυκρίτου ἀρχοντος ἐπέδωκεν — εἰς σιτωνίαν XXX δραχμάς*), which indicate that extraordinary measures were being taken to relieve the shortage. Equally extraordinary measures of control would have been in order. The functions of the enlarged boards of sitophylakes, as described by Aristotle, were (1) to see that the grain in the market was sold fairly, (2) to see that the millers sold barley-meal at a price corresponding to the price of the barley, and (3) to see that the bread-merchants sold loaves at prices corresponding to the price of the wheat, and of such weight as they might prescribe. In difficult times the control of prices required a commission of more than the normal one man per tribe.

The names of the commissioners in the present text are not otherwise known. It seems at first glance that Diophantos (line 9) might be the same as Διόφαντος Διονυσοδώρου Φηγούσιος, who was secretary of the Council in 303/2 b.c.⁸² The patronymic Διονυ — is readily expanded to Διονυ[σοδώρου], and no considerations of space forbid the restoration of the demotic Φηγούσιον in line 10. The difficulty is that the deme Phegous belongs to the tribe Erechtheis, which is already represented on the board by E — of Kephisia (lines 7-8). It is best to attempt no supplement for the patronymic, and to abandon this identification. As more and more Attic names are discovered there is a natural increase in the danger of identifying homonyms. The name Eupheros in line 11 is a case in point. Some years ago this name was known only in association with the demes of Kephisia and Aphidnai.⁸³ A certain Πρέπις

⁸² Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xv.

⁸³ Kirchner, *P.A.*, 6044 and 6045.

Εὐφήρον was thought to have been secretary of the Council in 422/1, so it seemed not unreasonable to restore his demotic as Ἀφιδναῖος in one of the Athenian tribute-quota lists (List 33),⁸⁴ thereby determining the date of the list. New evidence was not long in coming to show how wrong this was, and the list in question is now assigned to 418/7 with Prepis in 421/0 B.C.⁸⁵ It is possible even that Prepis was from Xypete.⁸⁶ If that is true, presumably his father also was from Xypete. This inscription reveals a fourth deme, Auridai, associated with the name Eupheros. The precision in restoration that seemed possible five years ago seems to have been made plausible largely by lack of evidence.

The restorations of lines 2-4, it should be noted, are given by way of example. Other wordings are possible, though the sense must remain much the same. It would be epigraphically within bounds to read *καὶ [κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ ἐπειδὴ τ]ὰς εὐθύνα[ς δεδώκαστι] ---*.

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM AT SMYRNA

9. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on April 5, 1933, in a fill of Turkish or later date in Section I.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.147 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 672.

The lettering is stoichedon, five lines measuring *ca.* 0.07 m. and five columns measuring on centers *ca.* 0.047 m.

ca. 246 B.C.

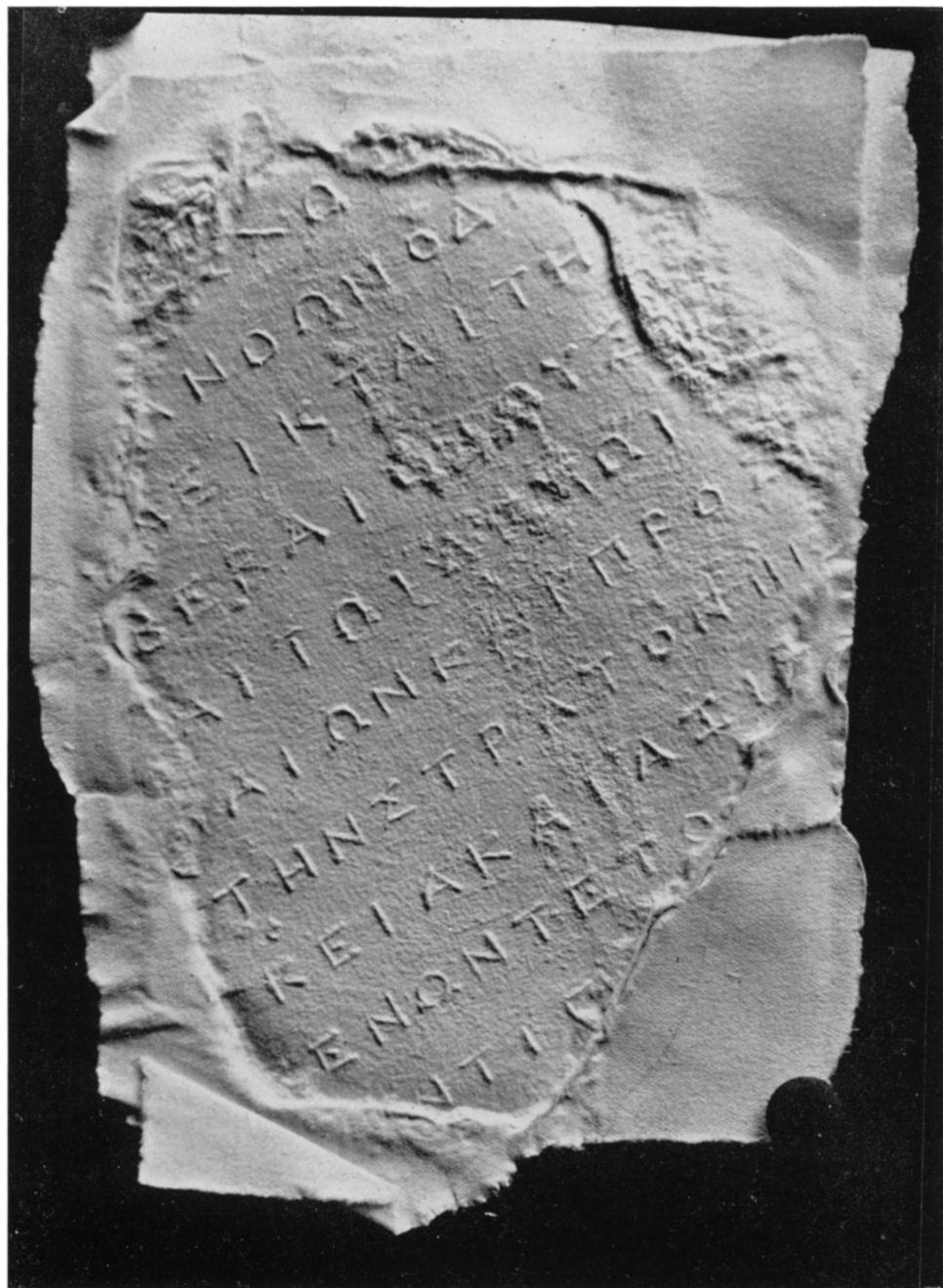
ΣΤΟΙΧ. 49

[----- καὶ τὴν τε ὑπάρ] .
 [χονσαν αὐτοῖς χώ[ραι βεβαιοῦ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπαγγέλλεται]
 [ἀποδώσειν·] ἀ νοῶν ὁ δῆ[μος ὁ Σμυρναίων πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέσταλκε]
 [καὶ ἀποδέ]δεικται τὴ[ν εὔνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου εἰλικ]
 5 [ρινῇ καὶ] βέβαιον οὖσ[αν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ιερό]
 [ν· δεδόχθ]αι τῷ δήμῳ· [ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἥκοντας πρεσβευτὰς πα]
 [ρὰ Σμυρν]αίων καὶ προσ[----- τὴν Ἀφ]
 [ροδίτην] τὴν Στρατονικ[ίδα -----]
 [.....ο]ἰκεῖα κατάξι[α ? -----]
 [.....σ]ενων τε το[-----]
 [.....ν]τιε[-----]

⁸⁴ Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 200. For the text cf. p. 151. See also Meritt's article in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 57-58.

⁸⁵ Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXII, 1941, pp. 1-15.

⁸⁶ See the text of *I.G.*, I², 773a in *A.J.P.*, LXII, 1941, p. 11.



No. 9.

The lettering serves to date the inscription near the middle of the third century B.C. It is much like that of the decree published as *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 11, and indeed I once thought that the two pieces might be part of one document. But the subject matter does not allow this association. The present text deals with the right of asylum in the city of Smyrna and in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis, as will appear below, while the decree published earlier seems to be in praise of a local Athenian board of magistrates. The letters ΙΟΙΧ formerly left without restoration in line 6⁸⁷ are part of the phrase [οἱ -----]ι οἱ χ[ειροτονηθέντες --], and lines 6-8 may accordingly be read:

[----- εἰπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ -----]ι οἱ χ[ειρ]
 [οτονηθέντες εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ ----- ἀρχοντος ἐνιαυτὸν τ]ὴν πᾶσ[αν ἐ]
 [πιμέλειαν -----]ΑΙΕ[. . . .]

So the new piece is not part of the older text, though it looks much like it and may well be by the same hand. The associations of the present text are determined by the appearance of the name Stratonikis in line 8.

Early in his reign Seleukos II had confirmed the autonomy and democracy of Smyrna and had written to “the kings, dynasts, cities, and nations,” asking that they accept the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis and the city of Smyrna as inviolate.⁸⁸ One of his letters was sent to Delphi, and the Smyrnaeans for their part sent two envoys, Hermodoros and Demetrios, to ask that the concessions given to them be inscribed in the sanctuary. The city of Delphi granted both requests, and their decree in reply to Smyrna is still almost perfectly preserved.⁸⁹

Apparently the Smyrnaeans sent envoys also to Athens to support the proposal made by the king. Basing a judgment on preserved words alone, one may read in lines 3-5: ὁ δῆ[μος --- ἀποδέ]δεικται τὴ[ν -----] βέβαιον οὐσ[αν --]. This is part of one of the motivating clauses of the decree, and is preceded by the words ἀ νοῶν. Here the demos of Smyrna, bearing in mind certain considerations set forth in the early lines now largely lost, states its case to the demos of the Athenians. Naturally, this was done through accredited representatives, and it is reasonable to expect that the language of the Athenian response—which we have before us—reflects in some measure the language of the address of the ambassadors.

Such would have been the case also at Delphi, so the restorations offered above for lines 1-3 have been taken from the Delphic text (*O.G.I.S.*, no. 228, lines 8-9) *verbatim*: καὶ τάν τε ὑπάρχονσαν αὐτοῖς χώραν βεβαιοῖ καὶ τὰν πατρί[δα] ἐπαγγέλλεται

⁸⁷ See *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 9.

⁸⁸ *O.G.I.S.*, no. 229, lines 10-12: ἐβεβαίωσεν τῷ δῆμῳ τὴν αὐτονομίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἀξιώσας ἀποδέξασθαι τό τε ἱερὸν τῆς Στρατονικίδος Ἀφροδίτης ἄσυλον εἶναι καὶ τὴμ πόλιν ἡμῶν ἴερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον.

⁸⁹ *O.G.I.S.*, no. 228.

ἀποδώσειν. This was the last clause of the Delphic text naming the benefactions of Seleukos to Smyrna, and, as restored in the present text, it forms one of the considerations summed up in ἀ νοῶν of line 3 which led the Smyrnaeans to emphasize their friendship with Seleukos.⁹⁰ These restorations determine the tentative length of line, which is of course conjectural just as the restorations themselves are conjectural. I have followed the outline of the Delphic text still further by allowing mention of the ambassadors to appear in line 3 and the formula of resolution to appear in line 6. But with so much lost it would be rash to affirm that this arrangement is correct. The certain fact, in my opinion, is that this decree is part of the Athenian reply of acceptance given to the plea from the city of Smyrna that the right of asylum be recognized for the city and the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis.

Inasmuch as the Delphic response was given in a Pythian year, the date assumed for it has been either 246 or 242 B.C., soon after the accession of Seleukos II.⁹¹ The question of date becomes involved, though not intimately, with that of the founding of the Aitolian Soteria, for Athens accepted the Soteria in the archonship of Polyeuktos (249/8) and Smyrna accepted the Soteria in a decree which must be dated in 247/6 or later—because it names Seleukos as king—and in which she addressed the Aitolian League with reference to her own rights of asylum.⁹² The acceptance by Smyrna followed more closely after the acceptance by Athens if the issue of asylum was raised in 246, and if Smyrna took this occasion to send her belated acceptance of the Soteria. It may be that the same ambassadors traveled to Athens and to Delphi.⁹³ If the Athenians did not delay their reply, or if—as our restoration in line 6 implies—they praised these ambassadors while they were present in the city, then the date of the Athenian text also should be 246 B.C.⁹⁴

PRAISE OF THE EPHESIANS

10. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the right side and rough-picked back preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section BB on October 17, 1938. The preserved side shows marks of a fine-toothed chisel.

⁹⁰ For [εἰλικρινῆ καὶ] βέβαιον in lines 4-5, see, for example, O.G.I.S., no. 227, lines 12-14: εἰλικρινῆ καὶ βεβαίαμ ποιουμένους ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὸν φίλον ἀπόδεξιν καὶ μεμνημένους ὡν ἀν εῦ πάθητε. . . .

⁹¹ W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 114; L. Robert, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, pp. 326-332; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, pp. 117-118, and references there cited.

⁹² *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1, no. 483. Cf. Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.* The date of Polyeuktos here given is taken from Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. xxi and 30, note 17.

⁹³ We have assumed a certain similarity in the Delphic and Athenian responses, which would be natural if the representations in both cities were made by the same envoys. Cf. L. Robert, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, p. 326, note 1.

⁹⁴ For alternative dates of O.G.I.S., no. 229 see Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.223 m.; thickness, 0.128 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5589.



No. 10.

ca. 200 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 50

[----- οι δὲ παρ' Ἐφεσίων ἀποστα] λ[έντ] εις θεω[ρ]οὶ τὴν
[ἐπιδημίαν Ἀθήνησιν κατὰ τὰ Πτολεμαῖα (?) ἐ] πεδήμησαν κα[λ]ῶς κ[αὶ]
[καταξίως τοῦ δῆμου τοῦ Ἐφεσίων · δεδό] χθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ τοὺς λ[α]
[χόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκ] κλησίαν χρηματίσαι περ[ι]
5 [τούτων · γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς β]ουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δ[ο]
[κεῖ τεῖ βουλεῦ · ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δῆμον τ] <δ>ν Ἐφεσίων καὶ στεφανῶσα[ι]
[χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐνοίᾳ] σ ἔνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς
[εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀνειπε] ἵν τὸν στέφανον τοῦτον Δι
[ονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἀστει τραγωιδῶν τῷι καιν] ὁι ἀγῶνι · τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως
10 [τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆ] ναι τοὺς στρατηγοὺν [σ]
[καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν · τὰ δὲ ψηφίσματα] τὰ ἀποστα
[λέντα -----]

The lettering is much like that of *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 49 (192/1 B.C.)⁹⁵ and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 19 (166/5 B.C.). It is a distinctive style which Dow thought came from only one hand.⁹⁶ My own opinion that the similarities need not imply an identity of hands has been expressed elsewhere,⁹⁷ and I do not wish to claim common authorship for the writing of the present text. But so far as the epigraphical evidence is concerned, a date *ca.* 200 B.C. is not improbable. I suggest it because of the possibility that the subject-matter of this inscription may be related to that of another decree in praise of Ephesus⁹⁸ which Robert has shown to refer to the Ptolemaia at

⁹⁵ See Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 113-116.

⁹⁶ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 107.

⁹⁷ Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, p. 104.

⁹⁸ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 448-453.

Athens.⁹⁹ In that decree *πρεσβευταί* come to Athens bringing a decree of praise from Ephesos; they are received by a *θεωροδόκος*, and Athens responds with a decree in praise of Ephesos. In the present text *Θεωροί* (line 1) come from Ephesos (line 6), perhaps bringing decrees of praise (line 11), and Athens praises in return the demos of Ephesos. The suggestion that these delegates also came for the celebration of the Ptolemaia is made with the tentative restoration *κατὰ τὰ Πτολεμαῖα* in line 2. This is conjectural, but if it is correct the date ought to be earlier than 196 B.C. when Ephesos ceased to be under the control of Ptolemy.¹⁰⁰

In line 11 the final letters *ἀποστα-* are certain. The letters which I have written as *τὰ* consist merely of the tip of an upper horizontal stroke, with finials, appropriate for tau (but also appropriate for gamma, epsilon, or zeta) and the two uprights of alpha. So far as the traces remain this second letter is, in fact, lambda and perhaps should be read as *<α>*; I have no suggestion for a restoration with lambda. In line 6 the first preserved letter seems, from the photograph, to be omega. I have restored *τὸν δῆμον τ] <ὸ>ν Ἐφεσίων*. There are undoubtedly other restorations than *τὰ ψηφίσματα* in line 11. Some, like *τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀποστα[λέντας*, etc., I have tried and rejected because they involve conclusions not otherwise supported by the preserved lines.

Very little of the decree proper is preserved, except the formula of resolution and the stereotyped phraseology of the granting of praise and crown. The opening lines, which recorded the several items of motivation, included also praise of the delegates from Ephesos for the exemplary conduct of their mission while they were in Athens. There must also have been acknowledgment of decrees passed at Ephesos in honor of Athens, if the restoration of *τὰ ψηφίσματα* in line 11 is to be justified.

The first preserved lines of the earlier decree praising Ephesos have been interpreted by Robert also as the concluding paragraph in its items of motivation.¹⁰¹ The text which he proposes may be reconstructed as follows:¹⁰²

[...] ΟΥΣΔΕΙΚΟ [--- τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην (or τὸν ἱεροκήρυκα) ἀναγορε]
 [ύε]ιν,¹⁰³ ἐπειδὰν ὁ γυμν[ικὸς ἀγῶν συντελεσθῆι, ὅτι · ὁ δῆμος στε]
 φανοὶ χρυσῶι στεφάνωι [κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων εὐσε]
 βείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς [θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν]

⁹⁹ L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris, 1938), pp. 62-69. To avoid confusion one should note that in his note 6 on p. 62 Robert twice gives incorrect references to *Hesperia*. For Vol. V read Vol. VI, and for Vol. VI read Vol. VII. The same mistake (V for VI) also appears in his index (p. 318).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 452; Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹⁰¹ L. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 66: Donc, ces lignes ne font pas partie des décisions, mais des considérants du décret, là où le décret rappelle ce qu'ont dit devant le peuple athénien les ambassadeurs éphésiens et les honneurs qu'ils lui ont annoncés.

¹⁰² L. Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

¹⁰³ Or perhaps: [ἀναγορεύειν (*vel simile*) τὸν ἀγωνοθέτη]ην, ἐπειδὰν κτλ.

καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων· [δεδόχθαι τῷ δῆμῳ· ἐλέσθαι μὲν]
[θ]εωροδόκου ἔξι Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὸν]
[Ἐφ]εσίων καὶ στεφανῶν [ῶ]σαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ [κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐστεβεῖ]
[α]ς ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέφανον]
τοῦτον Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἀστει καινοῖς τραγωιδοῖς καὶ Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων καὶ Πτολεμαίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν.

Robert restores the formula of resolution δεδόχθαι τῷ δῆμῳ in line 5,¹⁰⁴ and so assumes that the preserved lines record all the decisions of the decree proper.¹⁰⁵

This interpretation is erroneous, for the attempt to do away with the phrase τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, which seemed embarrassing as the subject of ἐλέσθαι in line 5, has resulted in the substitution of another space-filler, δεδόχθαι τῷ δῆμῳ, which is demonstrably out of place. The conclusive evidence that the formula of resolution cannot have appeared in line 5 is that the beginning of one of the resolutions appears in line 1.

The photograph published by Margaret Crosby in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 449, shows that there are not two letter-spaces before the preserved letters of lines 1 and 2, but only one. Robert's suggested ἀναγορεύειν for lines 1-2 thus makes a proper syllabic division.¹⁰⁶ At the beginning of line 1 the reading is [τ]οὺς δὲ ΙΚΟ ——. Here is preserved the characteristic opening (with δέ) of a new clause embodying one of the items resolved upon in the decree. It is not, and cannot be construed as, part of a clause of motivation. Moreover, the letters ΙΚΟ, which I should prefer to read ΙΚΟ with K and O quite certain, fall into place appropriately as part of the word ἥκο[ντας], which Dittenberger lists in his index (*S.I.G.*, IV³, p. 373) as in common use with ambassadors: *plerumque de legatis*. The construction of the decree shows that the Athenians resolved to let the ambassadors who had come from Ephesos make their proclamation of a golden crown for the demos of Athens when they could have an opportunity to come before the people at the celebration of the γυμνικὸς ἀγών.¹⁰⁷ Thus we find also a smooth transition in thought from the privileges granted the ambassadors to the election of the theorodokos in lines 5-6. The program for the appearance of the ambassadors having been settled, the Athenian demos resolved to

¹⁰⁴ *O.p. cit.*, p. 66: Donc, la formule de résolution, qui sépare ces deux parties d'un décret, se trouve juste à la ligne 5. Précisément, non seulement la restitution proposée pour la ligne 5 n'a rien de nécessaire, mais elle a été jugée embarrassante. J'écris: καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων· [δεδόχθαι τῷ δῆμῳ· ἐλέσθαι μὲν θεωροδόκου ἔξι Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ κτλ.].

¹⁰⁵ *O.p. cit.*, p. 66: Ce fragment de décret nous conserve donc toutes les décisions prises, en cette affaire, par le peuple athénien.

¹⁰⁶ The penultimate letter cannot have been eta, so Robert's alternative reading ἀγωνοθέτην need no longer be considered (note 103).

¹⁰⁷ I believe that Robert's reading γυμν[ικὸς ἀγών] in line 2 is correct, though I prefer γένηται to his συντελεσθῇ for the verb, with the subject of στέφανοι specified precisely as ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων.

assign responsibility for their entertainment while in the city. One can restore the second half of line 5 as *τοῖς δὲ πρεσβευτᾶς χειροτονῆσαι*, or perhaps better as *τούτους δὲ τὸν δῆμον χειροτονῆσαι*. I read the text as follows:

ca. 220 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 50

- [τ]οὺς δὲ ἥκο[ντας πρεσβευτὰς παρ' Ἐφεσίων παρελθόντας ἀναγορεύ] [ε]ι[νταὶ ἐπειδὰν ὁ γυμν[ικὸς ἀγῶν γένηται ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων στέ] φανοὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ [τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὔσε] βείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς [θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν] 5 καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων· [τούτοις δὲ τὸν δῆμον χειροτονῆσαι] [θ]εωροδόκον ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὸν [Ἐφ]εσίων καὶ στεφαν[ῶ]σαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ [κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὔσεβεί] [α]ς ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαίον καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν [στέφανον] 10 τούτον Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἀστεῖ καινοῖς τραγῳδοῖς καὶ Πανα[θη]ναί[ω]ν καὶ Ἐλευσινίων καὶ Πτολεμαίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν· [τῆς δὲ] ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμελ[η] [θῆναι] τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν· *v.v.* [ἐπαιν]έσαι δὲ καὶ ¹⁰⁸ τὸν παραγεγονότας πρεσβευτὰς παρ' Ἐφεσίων 15 καὶ στέφανοις ἔκαστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ Δ*λ**ε**ι*ον*ν*σικλῆν [Διονυ]σικλέοντος ⁹ Νικοφῶντα Χαριδήμον ⁹ [Πάν]ταινον Τεισιδήμον· [καλ]έσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον· [ἀνα]γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανα[ν]είαν· [αν]τι ¹⁰⁹ βωμὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμι 20 [δ]ος Βουλαίας· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήνησει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα. *vacat*

vacat

θεωροδόκος κεχειροτόνηται Πρ[α]ξι[τέ]λης Τιμάρχον Εἱρεσίδης

In corona

ἥ βουλή

ὁ δῆμος

[τὸν δῆμον τὸν]

[Ἐφε]σίων

25

[ἥ βουλή]

[ἥ βουλή]

[ἥ β]ουλή

[ὁ δῆμος]

[ὁ δῆμος]

[ὁ δῆμος]

30

[Διονυσικλῆν]

[Νικοφῶντα]

[Π]άνταιν[ον]

[Διονυσικλέοντος]

[Χαριδήμον]

T[ει]σιδ[ῆμον]

¹⁰⁸ *καί* was inadvertently omitted by both Crosby and Robert.

¹⁰⁹ Previous readings give, incorrectly, *τόν*.

It is epigraphically possible to restore in line 5: *καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων [καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον· ἐλέσθαι δὲ]*. One may argue in favor of this version the fact that Athens praised Ephesos for her good will toward Ptolemy (line 9) and that in the exchange of compliments it would be natural to find Ephesos praising Athens for the same reason. But the phrase *καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον* leaves so little room that *ἐλέσθαι* must be supplied instead of *χειροτονῆσαι*, which seems slightly preferable in view of the fact that the theorodokos was elected by show of hands (*κεχειροτόνηται* in line 23), and that there is no place to name the subject of the verb (*ἐλέσθαι* or *χειροτονῆσαι*) or to specify for whom the theorodokos was chosen. In the Parian decree, for example, in which Paros acknowledged and accepted the invitation to the Magnesian festival of Artemis Leukophryene,¹¹⁰ provision was made both for whom and by whom the theorodokos was to be selected (lines 49-51): *ἔλ[έσ]θαι δὲ τὸν πρό[ε]δρον καὶ θεωροδόκον, ὅστις θεωροδ[οκή]σει τοῖς ἐπαγγέλλοντιν τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον*; and at the end of the inscription (lines 74-75) the verb of selection *ἔλ[έσ]θαι* was repeated in the historical record: *[θε]ωρο[δόκος ἡμι]έθη Ἀλέξανδρος Νεο[κύ]δου*. In the Ithakan response to Magnesia¹¹¹ the subject of *ἐλέσθαι* is not given, for it is the same as the subject of the preceding clause—which is not the case in our present text. The purpose of the election, however, is again specified (lines 22-23): *ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ θεωροδόκον τὸν ὑποδεξούμενον τὰς δεὶ παραγωμένα[ς] θεωρίας παρὰ τῶν Μαγνήτων*. The restoration suggested above for line 5 is designed to answer the questions “for whom?” and “by whom?” in the election of the theorodokos, and to introduce the verb which later appears in the historical record.

One does not know how much of the decree still is lost, but the lost portion must be considerable, including the preamble, the motivation, the formula of resolution, and at least one clause—possibly more—of the motions adopted.

A DELIAN INVENTORY

11. The three fragments published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 39, as part of an inventory were soon identified by Pierre Roussel as the Athenian publication of one of the Delian records.¹¹² In particular, lines 17-28 of the Agora text were shown by him to correspond to a passage in one of the Delian inventories of the archonship of Phaidrias¹¹³ which in its continuation also covered the items of the Agora text of lines 9-15. Numerous other observations made by Roussel have been incorporated in the new text now given here. Lines 1-8 seem to have been inscribed near the top of the stone, for it is probable that an original upper edge is preserved not far above

¹¹⁰ *S.I.G.³*, 562.

¹¹¹ *S.I.G.³*, 558.

¹¹² *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 96-100. The same identification was made by Tod and Woodward, who kindly sent suggestions as to readings and interpretation.

¹¹³ Now published as *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1432.

line 1. Now a new fragment may be added to the original three, probably to be assigned a position between line 8 and the text of the other two fragments, because it corresponds in a considerable degree with another Delian record most fully preserved as *Inscriptions de Délos*, 442. This correspondence gives the first indication of the probable length of line in the Agora text.

Lines 5-12 of *Inscr. Délos*, 442 B, are similar in content to the lines here published as 17-25, and if restorations are taken from them for the Agora fragment the length of the line must have been approximately 115 letters.

Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found north of the Acropolis on June 19, 1937.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 94b.

The new fragment is given the designation *b* in the text below, and a photograph is published here. The other fragments (*a*, *c*, and *d*) are figured in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 52.



No. 11, Frag. *b*

ca. 166 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 115

- a* [-----] *αι Μνήσιος γι. ο* [-----]
[-----] *ιῶνος Εὐτυχε[ίων -----]*
[----- ἐπ'] *ἀρχοντος Δη[-----]*
[-----] *ΧΗΗΗΗΠΔ[----- · -]*
5 [-----] *Θυε] σταδῶν κ[αὶ Ὄκυνειδῶν --]*
[-----] *Η· φιάλαι ἐ[φ' ὅν -----]*
[----- Γλα] *ψκυρίον κ[-----]*
[----- Εὐτυ] *χείων [-----]*
[-----] *[-----]*
lacuna
10 -----
b [-----] *ιη[-----]*

- [-----] μενα ! [-----]
[----- ἀργ] [υραῖ συμπεπλη] [ρωμέναι --]
[-----] ἔξ ἀριστερᾶς [-----]
- 15 [-----] αν ἔχων ὑπὲρ ρά [-----]
[----- κ] αὶ ἐπτὰ ἀν δλκὴ ΔΤ [-----]
[--- δλκὴ σὺν τ] ᾧ κίρκω ΔΔΔΓΗΙΙΙ [· στέφανα χρυσᾶ III ἀ ἀνέθηκεν βασίλισσα
Στρατονίκη ταῖς Χάρισιν, τὸ ἐν οὐκ ἔχον κίρκους οὐδὲ δεσμούς,]
[διαλελυμένον, δλκὴ] ΠΔΙΙ· χύμα τὸ ἀπὸ [τοῦ ἀγάλματος, δλκὴ ΠΔΔΔΔΓΗΗΗΙ·
ἄλλο χύμα ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν· δλκὴ ΔΔΓΗΗΙ· χρυσοῦ φιλίππειοι III,
ἄλεξάνδρειος I,]
[ΠΔΓΗΗΤ νομίσματ]ος· ἡδυπότιον, ὀλ [κὴ ΔΔΔΔΓΗΗΗΗΙ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς
δρυὸς ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Λύσανδρος, δλκὴ ΠΔΗΗΗΙ· στέφανος χρυ]
20 [σοὺς κίστινος ὃν ἄ] νέθηκεν βασιλε[νὶ Πτολεμαῖος, διαλελυμένος, καὶ κόρυμβοι Γ,
δλκὴ ΗΓΗΤ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν βασιλεὺς Δῃ]
[μῆτριος, δλκὴ ΠΔΔΗΙI· ἄλλος στέφανος δ[άφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Πολύκλειτος, δλκὴ
ΠΗΗΙI· ἄλλος στέφανος δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Φιλοκλῆς, δλκὴ ΠΔΔΓΗΗΙI·
ἄλλος]
[στέφανος κιστοῦ ὃν ἀνέ] θηκαν Δηλιάδε[ς, καὶ κόρυμβοι III κατεαγότες, δλκὴ ΠΔΔΤ·
ἄλλος στέφανος μυρσίνης ὃν Ἰώμιλκος ἀνέθηκεν, δλκὴ ΔΔΗΙI· ἄλλος]
[στέφανος δάφνης ὃν ἄν] ἔθηκεν βασιλεὺ[ς Ἀντίγονος, δλκὴ ΠΔΤ· λειμώνιον χρυ-
σοῦν ὃ ἀνέθηκεν Σόλων, δλκὴ ΠΔΔΔΓΗΗΤ· ἄλλος στέφανος δάφνης
ὑπὸ ἀνέθηκεν]
[βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος, δλκὴ Δ]ΔΓ· ἄλλος στέφ[ανος δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀν-
τίπατρος, δλκὴ ΔΔΔΓΗΗΗΙI· ἄλλος στέφανος δάφνης ἀνεπίγραφος,
δλκὴ ΔΔΔΓΗΤ· ἄλλος]
25 [στέφανος δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκε]ν Φάραξ οὐ θαγ[---]
[----- βασι]λεὺς Ἀντίγονος -----]
-

lacuna

- c -----
[----- Τελε] σαρχίδο [ν -----]
30 [----- ε] ἵκοσιν ἐπὶ το[ῦ -----]
[-----] ὅπισθε τοῦ κρατ[ῆρος --]
[-----] ἄλλη ἥι τὸ γάμμ[α ---]
[-----] δραχ· ΗΗ· ἄλλαι εἴκο[σιν --]
[-----] οι Νικίου ταμιῶν [---]
35 [-----] δραχ· ΧΧ· ἄλλα[ι εἴκοσιν --]
[----- δ]ραχ· ΗΗΗΗ· σκάφ[ια δύο ---]
[-----] βουλῆς ἐφ' οὖ[τε -----]
[-----] ι Τελεσικρά[του -----]
[-----] ΔΔΔΔΓ· φιά[λη ἐφ' ἥσ τὸ υ - -]

- 40 [----- Θνεστα]δῶν καὶ ['.Ωκυνειδῶν -----]
 [-----]ιας [-----]

 lacuna
 d -----
 [----- φιά]λη ἐφ' ἥς [-----]
 45 [-----] φιάλη ἐφ' ἥς [-----]
 [--- ἄλλαι εἴκοσιν ἐφ' ὀν] τὰ δύο νῦν ταμ[ιῶν ? --]
 [--- ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδ]ων, χορεῖα ἐπι[δόντος ---]
 [-----] ἐφ' ἥς τὰ δύο ρ[ῶ ---]
 [--- ποτήριον σ]τησίλειον β[ουλῆς ---]
 50 [----- ἐφ' ἥς τὰ δ]ύο φεῖ φ[ν ὀλκὴ ---]

For the anomalous association of singular and plural relative pronouns in line 50, cf. *Inscr. Délos*, 1432, line 77: ἄλλην ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΦΦ, ὅν ὀλκὴ δραχ---. Roussel, *op. cit.*, p. 99, note 7, suggests as possible the restoration of line 3 with the name of the archon Demares, whom he dates in 179 B.C. His date for the inscription (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 100) is "vers 166," and in *Inscr. Délos*, commentary on no. 1432 (p. 121), he expresses the opinion that the Agora fragments represent the oldest grouping of these silver vases known from the second period of Athenian domination. However, lines 16-25 of the new fragment represent a grouping of other objects that dates back at least to the beginning of the second century (cf. *Inscr. Délos*, 380, lines 5-11; 385, lines 5-21).

THE PRYTANEIS OF KEKROPIS

12. Three fragments of a decree honoring the prytaneis of Kekropis were published by Dow in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I (1937), pp. 156-158, no. 89. To these a fourth may now be added, joining directly above Dow's fragment B. Its right edge is preserved, but it is broken on all other sides. It was found in the cellar of a modern house in Section II on June 18, 1935.

Height, 0.195 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 3046.



No. 12.

ca. 128 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 65

- 1 [..... εἰς στήλην] λι[θίνην καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· τὸ δὲ γενόμενον εἰς αὐτὴν]
 [ἀνάλωμα μερ]ίσαι τ[ὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν vacat]
 [ἡ βου]λὴ τὸν τ[αμίαν] [ό δῆμος] [ἡ βουλὴ τὸν γραμματέα]
 In an olive crown [In an olive crown] [In an olive crown]
 [M] νάσωνα [τοὺς] [---]
 5 [---] μιο[---] [πρυτάνεις] [---]
 [---] [---]
lacuna
 [----- καὶ στεφανῶσαι τούτων ἔκαστον θαλ]λοῦ
 [στεφάνῳ· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν εἰς
 10 [στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· τὸ δὲ γενόμενον εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνάλωμ]α με
 ρίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν vacat]

Two lines uninscribed

I	II	III	IV
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[Ξυπεταὶ]όνες
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[---]
15 [-----]	30 [-----]	45 [-----]	60 [-----]ρατος
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[---]ένης
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[---]ης
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]νετος
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[---κ]ράτης
20 [-----]	35 [-----]	50 [-----]	65 [-----]
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[Δαι]δαλίδαι
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[---]γένης
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[---]ς
[-----]os	[-----]	[-----]	[Ἐπιεικ]ίδαι
25 [-----]	40 Κρίτω[ν]	55 [-----]	70 [-----]χος
[-----]	Δημήτ[ριος]	[-----]	[---]
[-----]	Αἰσχρ[---]	[-----]	[vacat]

One line uninscribed

- 75 [ἡ βο]νλή 80 τὸν γραμμ[α]
 [τὸν τα]μίαν τῆς τέα τοῦ δ[ῆμον]
 [βον]λῆς
 In an olive crown In an olive crown
 [---]νη [---]
 [---] [---]
 [---] [---]

The remaining
four citations
are lost

The new fragment preserves the ends of three lines of the so-called "second" decree. These can be restored from well-known formulae and so they determine within limits the original width of the stone. It is impossible to give exact figures, but one is on fairly safe ground in positing a line of about 65 letters and a width of stone of about 0.60 m. The lines which make these determinations possible are numbered in our text from 7 to 10. In lines 8-9 the phrase [ε]ἰσ [στήλην λιθίνην] instead of the more usual ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ has its parallel in *I.G.*, II², 1004, line 16, which is of approximately the same date (122/1) as the present inscription. In line 9 also the phraseology is similar to that of *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 96, line 9, which is dated in 104/3.

A knowledge of the approximate width of the stone makes other determinations possible. It can be computed from the remains of names in the last column of the catalogue that its width was about 0.15 m. This means that the catalogue itself had four columns. A complete list of the prytaneis of Kekropis toward the end of the second century would comprise about 59 lines, for there would have to be room for the 50 councillors and, if all demes were represented, for 9 demotics. The demotics to be expected are: Αἰξωνέις, Ἄλαιεις, Δαιδαλίδαι, Ἐπιεικίδαι, Μελιτεῖς, Ξυπεταιόνες, Πιθεῖς, Συναλήγτιοι, and Τρινεμεῖς.¹¹⁴ Of these [Ξυπεται]όνες, [Δαι]δαλίδαι, and [Ἐπιεικ]ίδαι now appear in column IV (lines 58, 66, 69). If the probable 59 lines of the catalogue were divided as evenly as possible among the four columns, one may assume that there were 15 lines in each of the first three columns and 14 lines in column IV. It is evident from this calculation that parts of nearly all the lines in column IV have been preserved. Xypete is represented with 7 names, Daidalidai is represented by 2 names, and Epieikidai is represented by 1 name. In Dow's publication¹¹⁵ it is assumed that there were two demesmen from Epieikidai. I make the same assumption here, and so keep the full roster of column IV with 14 lines of text. Presumably the fifteenth line was uninscribed.

The piece which Dow (*loc. cit.*) has published as fragment A contains the last lines of two columns of the catalogue and parts of two of the citations which followed. Enough is preserved so that one can measure the distance from center to center of the two citations. It amounts to about 0.095 m. It is obvious therefore that the six citations which followed the catalogue in a normal text were all arranged in one row at the bottom of this inscription. Though precise measurement is not to be expected, it is apparent, I believe, that the six citations represent again approximately the calculated 0.60 m. width of the stone. Furthermore the face of one of the preserved columns of names falls precisely on a line with the center of one of the wreaths of the citations below it. This arrangement is possible, in view of the fact that there were four columns and six citations, either for the face of column II or for the face of

¹¹⁴ The deme Kikynna never belonged to Kekropis. See Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 188.

¹¹⁵ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 157.

column IV. The line of column II projected downward would bisect the second citation and the line of column IV projected downward would bisect the fifth citation. It follows therefore that the names preserved, in large part, of fragment A belong either to column II or column IV of the catalogue. They cannot belong to column IV, because if they did one would have to supply below the preserved remains of that column where the right margin is preserved another demotic together with the three names of fragment A. This would extend column IV to a minimum of 17 lines and destroy the symmetrical composition of the list. We therefore place fragment A in our reconstructed text so that its names fall in columns I and II (lines 24 and 40-42). The citations below the catalogue name first the Treasurer of the Council. This officer usually came last in the sequence of citations, so his position here is anomalous.¹¹⁶

Dow published fragment C with a note that the wording of its first two lines was puzzling. But these two lines must belong to the end of the "first" decree, for the citation immediately below them is for the Treasurer of the Prytaneis. These lines can in fact be restored with the usual formulae as is indicated in lines 1-2 above. I note also that the name of the Treasurer (line 4) should be Mnason. In line 70 I read the letter at the fractured edge of the stone either as upsilon or chi, rather than as nu (as by Dow), and so restore [-----]χος.

GRAVE MONUMENT

13. Fragment of Pentelic marble found on June 15, 1938, in Section Ω. The right side (smoothly-dressed) and bottom are preserved.

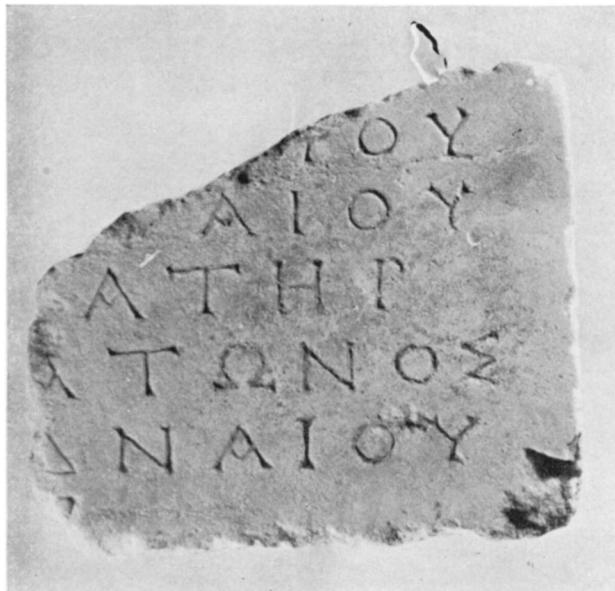
Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5542.

ca. 100 B.C. (?)

[-----]
 [---^{ca. 6}---]ίον
 [’Αφιδν]αίον
 [θυγ]άτηρ
 5 [Στρ]άτωνος
 [’Αφι]δναίον
 [γυν]ή



No. 13.

¹¹⁶ See Dow's comment, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

A SCULPTURED RELIEF

14. Fragment of a sculptured relief of Pentelic marble, with part of the rough-picked back and the smooth bottom preserved, found in the cellar of a modern house in Section ΣΤ on February 4, 1932.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.-
0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 132.

First Century B.C.

Nεικί
ας
'Ερχε(ιεύς?)



No. 14.

The relief represents a chair, facing right, with a seated figure whose foot rests upon a stool. Part of the drapery falls back slightly between the front legs of the chair. At the right is the lower part of a standing figure. The inscription is cut against the background beneath the chair, and seems to be complete in three lines: *Nεικί|ας | 'Ερχε*. I interpret *'Ερχε* as an abbreviated form of the demotic *'Ερχειεύς*, a misspelling or perhaps a variant (otherwise unattested) of *'Ερχεύς*. Harpokration cites a topical form *'Ερχείαθεν* from Deinarchos' speech *κατὰ Στεφάνου*, but the supplement *'Ερχε(ιαθεν)* would seem to me less likely than *'Ερχε(ιεύς)*.¹¹⁷

The records of the excavation describe the relief as part of a funeral stele. Such reliefs were rare in early Hellenistic Athens, and became common again only after the law of Demetrios of Phaleron against expensive grave monuments had lost its effectiveness. Some sculptured grave stelai of the second century have been preserved, but complete freedom of choice in the use of funeral monuments was not recovered until the beginning of the Empire.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ A misspelling *'Ερχε(ιεύς)* is also a possibility.

¹¹⁸ See J. Kirchner, "Das Gesetz des Demetrios von Pháleron zur Einschränkung des Gräberluxus," *Die Antike*, XV, 1939, pp. 93-97.

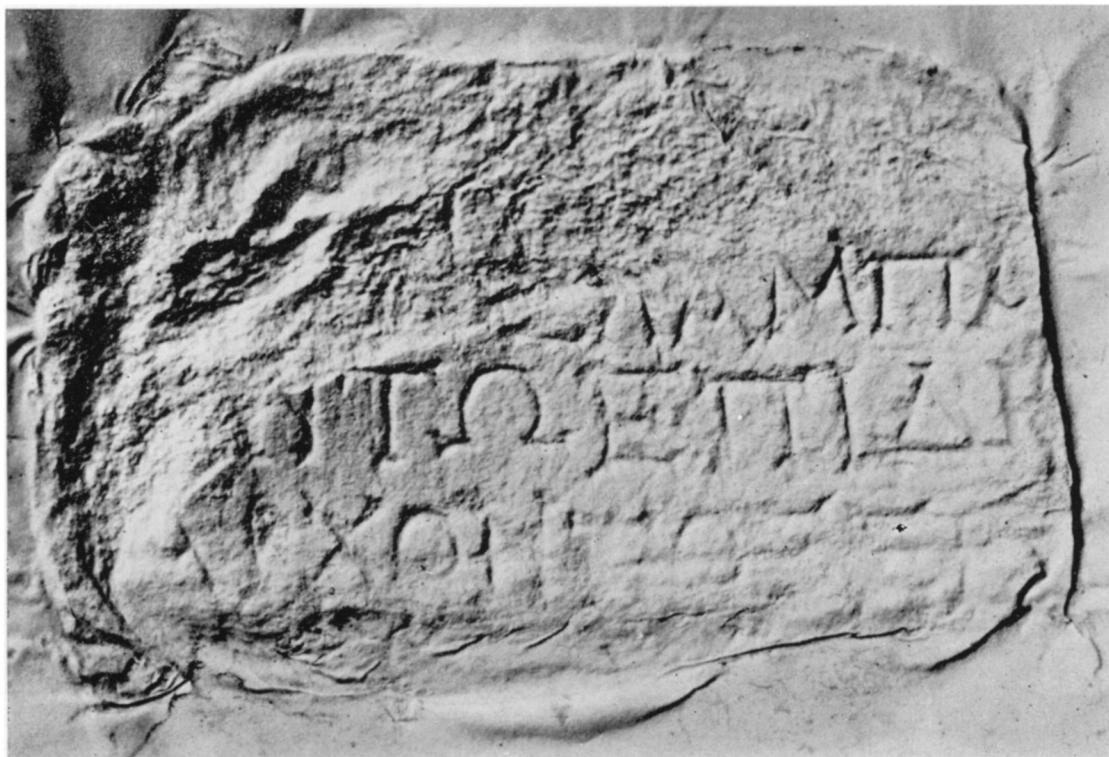
A DEDICATION

15. Fragment from the left side of a block of Pentelic marble, found near Hephaistos St. outside the excavations on June 30, 1931.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.159 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 123.



No. 15.

The under surface is broken away, but the top is original though not carefully finished. In the top near the right edge is a circular socket *ca.* 0.05 m. in diameter and about 0.10 m. back from the front edge. The restorations indicate that this cutting was approximately in the center of the block. The inscription is cut on the face of a large drip moulding, and above it is a taenia *ca.* 0.02 m. high. The left side of the block is carefully smoothed.

49/8 B.C. (?)

[-----]
^{3 or 4} [] *λαμπα* [δαρχήσας]
[έ]ν τῷ ἐπὶ Δῃ [μοχάρους]
ἀρχοντος ἐν [ιαντῷ -----]

The inscription is a dedication of Roman date, possibly similar to that already known from *I.G.*, II², 2994: [-----] Ἀχαρνεὺς λαμπαδα[ρ] χήσας ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Μενάνδρου ἀρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ Μούσαις ἀνέθηκεν. The name of the archon, Demochares, has been restored from Kirchner's table in *I.G.*, II², Pars IV, fasc. I, p. 25, though an earlier date within the century is not excluded. Kirchner lists an earlier Demochares in 78/7 and an archon Demetrios in 50/49, whose name also might be restored. A text from the Agora, as yet unpublished (Inv. No. I 2388), names also an archon Demetrios of 82/1.¹¹⁹

THE EMPEROR HADRIAN

16. Fragment of a small columnar monument, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house in 1931.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.017 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 109.

ca. 132 A.D.

[σωτῆρι]
[καὶ κτίστῃ]
[αὐτοκράτορι]
[‘Αδρ]ιανῷ
5 [‘Ολ]υμπίῳ



No. 16.

For similar dedications see *I.G.*, II², 3324 ff.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 42; Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List* (1939), p. 204.

INSCRIBED HERM

17. Part of a herm of Pentelic marble, with the right edge preserved, found on June 9, 1931, in Section E.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.079 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m. in line 1, 0.022 m. in line 2.

Inv. No. I 22.

ca. 150 A.D.

[ἀγαθῆ] τύχη
[κατὰ τὸ ἐ]περώτη
[μα - - - - -]

For the formula of lines 2-3 see, for example, *I.G.*, II², 3635, 3637, 3638, 3669.



No. 17.

A GRAVE MONUMENT

18. The text published by Kirchner as *I.G.*, II², 7601 is made up of three fragments from the Agora (Inv. Nos. I 1181 + 34 + 30). The larger fragment was found in the wall of a modern house in Section Α on January 8, 1934. The two smaller pieces were found in Section E in June of 1931. Overall dimensions are: height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.61 m.; thickness, 0.25 m.



No. 18. The photograph does not show all that is preserved at the right, where the stone is broken beyond the letter E.

The two names on the small epistyle are (*a*) Διονύσιος { } Αγαθοκλέους Φαληρεύς and (*b*) Ἀρτεμίδης Διονυσίου Φαληρεύς. Presumably Artemidēs was the son of the elder Dionysios, and both are descendants of that Agathokles of Phaleron who flourished *ca.* 130 b.c. Cf. Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 76.

The size of letters on the fragment at the right suggests that this falls near the middle of the pediment and that a third name (balancing Διονύσιος) once stood near the original right-hand side of the monument.

A GRAVE MONUMENT

19. Part of a plaque of Pentelic marble, found on July 18, 1931, in Section E. The top and left side are preserved (badly worn), and both faces are carefully finished. The stone is broken at the right and bottom.

Height, 0.207 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.062 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 71.

† Γ λ α [ν]
κ ο ν

Evidently the plaque was used as a Christian tombstone.



No. 19.