

# TREASURE-RECORDS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 31–33)

THIS publication of the fragments of Attic Treasure-records found in the excavations in the Athenian Agora, copies of which have been kindly sent me from time to time by Professor Meritt, falls into three parts.<sup>1</sup> The first part comprises the various small pieces, hitherto unpublished, all of which, with the single exception of No. 5, appear to belong to types not represented among the finds of this class from the Acropolis; in the second part I re-examine, and suggest restorations for, a substantial fragment, obviously from an inventory of the treasures of Athena stored on the Acropolis, which Meritt has already published in *Hesperia*;<sup>2</sup> and in the third part I study another group to which substantial contributions have been made from the Agora.

We may accordingly attribute the contents of Part I, apart from No. 5, to sanctuaries situated in or near the Agora, though in no case is there convincing evidence for the identification of the building in which any of these sacred objects were preserved, or of the officials who drew up the inventories. That more than one sanctuary is represented is a reasonable inference from the variety of the objects recorded and from the difference in the formulae used for expressing the weights of these objects. Omitting doubtful instances we may contrast the use of *ἔλκοσα*, *ἔλκον* in Nos. 3 and 9*d* with *σταθμόν* – in No. 8 and *σταθμόν ἄγει* in No. 2*A*. To the possible implications of this difference I return later.<sup>3</sup>

For none of the unpublished pieces is it possible to establish with any degree of certainty the original length of line or the number of lines contained, and in the three instances where a suggested restoration is printed this is put forward with all reserve, as an indication of the minimum rather than actual length of line. I begin with the fragments in Attic script, which we may presumably date as earlier than 403/2 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> I am glad to take this opportunity of expressing my warmest thanks to Professor Meritt for inviting me to take a share in publishing here some of the epigraphical finds from the excavations in the Athenian Agora, and for his constant and much appreciated help, encouragement and patience during the fulfillment of my task. To Dr. Eugène Vanderpool I am deeply indebted for his help in securing the photographs to illustrate this article and in furnishing me with invaluable notes on dubious readings, as well as on the physical appearance of these fragments and on their finding places.

<sup>2</sup> XVII, 1948, p. 33 ff., no. 16.

<sup>3</sup> P. 98.

As they are all engraved on Pentelic marble, it is unnecessary to state this for each item.

## I

1 (Plate 31). Angle-piece, inscribed on face and right side, broken on all sides, found in late Roman context south of the central part of the Middle Stoa (L 14) on May 5, 1934.

Height, 0.11 m.; width (max.) of Face *A*, 0.10 m., of Face *B*, 0.06 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.008-0.009 m. (Horizontal unit, Face *A*, 0.012 m., Face *B*, 0.013 m.; vertical unit, Face *A*, 0.015 m., Face *B*, 0.011 m.)

Inv. No. I 1932.

	I . .	. . . :
	---- ελε//ι	:μ ----
	---- τειχα	ἀργ[υρ ----
	---- .ζεσθ	μὸν [ἀγει ----
5	---- .ερα	ΔΔΔ ----
	---- . . . ικ	ἀργ[υρ ----
		δεκ[α ----
		·†
		·ΣΙ
10		·  :

It is obvious that on Face *A* we have a portion not of an inventory but of a continuous document, presumably a decree, in view of the verb-form in line 4. In line 1 the partly preserved hasta, set to left of center, might equally well belong to *K*, *N*, *Γ* or *P*, but tells us nothing. The significant word is to be recognized in line 4, which it is tempting to restore as [λογί]ζεσθ|[αι(?)] and there can be little doubt that in line 3 τὲν χα[λκῆν] would be most appropriately preceded by τὲν στέλεν. This in turn points to [στ]έλει in line 2, for which the epithet λιθίνει offers a likely contrast to the stele of bronze in the following line. (It should be noted that the fourth letter of line 2 has been deliberately erased and left as a blank space). Here then is clearly an allusion to engraving something on a marble as well as on a bronze stele, preliminary to some act of reckoning (λογίζεσθαι), which would be most naturally undertaken by the Logistai; and the natural formula, supplied by a mid-fifth century decree from Eleusis,<sup>4</sup> would be τὸς δὲ λογιστὰς λογίζεσθαι, followed by the objects which they were to reckon up. In the restoration which I suggest as demanding the *minimum* number of letters to a line (25) it is assumed that gold objects and currency were mentioned first; and we might reasonably infer from the mention of silver items in what is clearly

<sup>4</sup> *S.E.G.*, X, 24, lines 22-23 (*ca.* 450/49 B.C.) and cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 91, lines 7-8.

an inventory on Face *B* that instructions to reckon them up after the gold items followed on the missing lower portion of *A*.

----- . . . (στ. 25)  
 [. . . . . ἀναγράφαι ἐν στ]έλε//ι  
 [λιθίνει <sup>παρὰ</sup> <sub>πρὸς</sub> τὲν στέλεν]τὲν χα  
 [λκέν· τὸς δὲ λογιστὰς λογί]ζέσθ  
 5 [αι τὰ μὲν χρυσᾶ καὶ τὸς στατ]ῆρα  
 [ς τὸς τε Λαμφσακενὸς καὶ Κυζ]ικ  
 [ενὸς -----]

Some such restoration would account satisfactorily for the letters EPA at the end of line 5 and enable the IK in line 6 to fall into place in [Κυζ]ικ[ενός].

If these suggestions are on the right lines, we may compare also *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 167, a fragmentary decree (with 36 letters to the line), which seems to include somewhat similar instructions, perhaps regarding sanctuaries on the Acropolis, but is too incomplete to permit of restoration in full.

The contents of Face *B*, apart from ἀργ[υρ - -] in lines 3 and 6, presumably [σταθ]|μὸν[ἄγει] in lines 3-4, and δεκ[α - in line 7 are beyond recovery, and cannot be connected with any other of the fifth-century fragments published here.

2 (Plate 31). Angle-piece, inscribed on two adjoining faces, broken on all sides, found in late context northeast of the Tholos (H 11) on March 19, 1934.

Height, 0.112 m.; width of Face *A*, 0.057 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.007 m. (vertical unit, Face *A*, 0.0093 m.; Face *B*, 0.0117 m.). No punctuation.

Inv. No. I 1614.

	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
	[----- ἄ]γει Δ	. ---
	[----- κύλ]ιχς ἄρ	Δ ---
	[γυρᾶ ---- ἄγει]ι ΗΗΗΔ	κο ---
	----- Ηεκάτε	αα ---
5	[ς -----] † † καρχέ	μο ---
	[σιον ---- Η]ερμὸ στ	5
	[αθμὸν ἄγει - -]ο χερων	ρα ---
	[ίπτρο ---- ἄρ]γυρᾶ στ	λι ---
	[αθμὸν ἄγει - -] † † Προ	φι ---
10	----- ιον ἀργ	σ ---
	[υρὸν- σταθμὸν] ἄγει ΗΔ	---
	----- οι ἀργυ	
	[ροῖ -----]	

Although several items may be restored with some confidence, the length of the lines of Face *A* can only be conjectured. If we may assume that the stele was engraved on all four sides, it is quite possible that there were two columns on each of the broader faces, or, alternately, that Face *A* was one of the narrower ones; in either case this would justify a restoration with quite short lines, as suggested here, giving us nineteen letters in lines 1-5 and eighteen in the remainder, where the spacing points to such a reduction. This would permit of the following text:

[-----σταθμὸν ἄ]γει Δ  
 [. . . Ἄγροτέρας (?) κύλ]ιχς ἀρ  
 [γυρᾶ,σταθμὸν ἄγε]ι ΗΗΗΔ  
 [Δ (?)·ἡάλυσις χρυσῆ] Ηεκάτε  
 5 [s,σταθμὸν ἄγει]† †· καρχέ  
 [σιον ἀργυρὸν Η]ερμῶ,στ  
 [αθμὸν ἄγει ΗΗ· τ]ὸ χερρον  
 [ίπτρο βάσις ἀρ]γυρᾶ,στ  
 [αθμὸν ἄγει. . . .]††· Προ  
 10 [μεθέος καρχέσ]ιον ἀργ  
 [υρὸν |,σταθμὸν] ἄγει ΗΔ·  
 [Ηεκάτες (?) κότυλ]οι ἀργυ  
 [ροὶ -----]

Line 2: Ἄγροτέρας seems a permissible conjecture here, since we have possibly an object dedicated to her in No. 9, below, followed, two lines later, by one dedicated to Hekate, as in line 4 here. In view of the regular formula *σταθμὸν ἄγει* appearing in lines 1, 6 (?), 8 and 11, we need not hesitate to complete it in line 3, where only the *iota* survives.

Line 5: After carrying over the final *sigma* of Ηεκάτε[s], we have room only for the same weight-formula before the drachma-signs ††; and a weight of two drachmai only must belong to some small item of jewelry, presumably of gold, for which I suggest *ἡάλυσις*. This in turn involves carrying over one figure from the weight of the silver kylix in line 3, for which the Δ suggested is merely conjectural. In lines 5-6, καρχέ|[σιον ἀργυρὸν Η]ερμῶ στ|αθμὸν—fits the shorter line of eighteen letters, leaving us with two spaces to fill with the weight, if we complete line 7 as [τ]ὸ χερρον|[ίπτρο], for which there is no obvious alternative. The natural restoration of these two figures for the weight is ΗΗ, since we have two other *καρχέσια* of precisely this weight among the dedications on the Acropolis.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Both were added to the Hekatompedon-treasures in 428/7 B.C., *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 262, lines 47 f.; cf. I<sup>2</sup>, 263-275. The second of these, dedicated to Zeus Polieus, re-appears in later lists, at any rate down to 390/89 B.C., as weighing 199 drachmai; cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1382, lines 12-13 (405/4 B.C.); II<sup>2</sup>,

Lines 7-8: [βάσις ἀρ]γυρᾶ appears to be the only possible restoration to fit the proposed length of line and also account for the preceding genitive as well as the gender of ἀργυρᾶ, and there is no real reason to distrust it as being an unfamiliar alternative to *ὑπόστατον*, which is out of the question here. For its weight it is not clear whether we should assume that three or four weight-signs are missing from before the surviving Η, since these are set slightly to the left of their expected positions in a stoichedon arrangement relative to the line above, as though the engraver had possibly used a wider spacing for the weight-signs. In any case we have no clue to the missing figures, though we may safely admit that the *minimum* weight ΗΗΗ would be impossibly low for an object of this nature, and that the first figure may well have been Η or even Π.<sup>6</sup>

Lines 9-11: There is no obvious solution to the problem presented by the surviving letters in these lines, Προ — — — — — ιον ἀργ[υρῶν], which is presumably the description of a single item weighing ΗΔ (110, or more, drachmai). If the first three letters form the beginning of the name of the deity or Hero to whom it belonged, the only possible restoration will be Προ[μεθέος . . . . .]ιον ἀργ[υρῶν]; the missing word should perhaps be completed as [καρχέσ]ιον, as in lines 5-6 above, in spite of the weight being markedly less than that (ΗΗ) suggested for the Karchesion of Hermes. If I am right, the cup was the property of Prometheus, whose cult, combined with that of Hephaistos, was located near the Academy.<sup>7</sup> We do not know of any building except an altar dedicated to him there, but there seems no reason why votive offerings of precious metal should not have been made to him and preserved in some other building. Alternative restorations, such as προ[τομέ — —], πρό[σοπον — —] or πρό[σκεται — —] seem to have less to recommend them than the first suggestion, which is adopted in the text printed above.

Line 12: [κότυλ]οι ἀργυ[ροῖ], preceded by the name of a deity, seems a reasonable conjecture, and the insertion of *Ἡεκάτες* would exactly fill the line, though *Ἡερμῶ* preceded by two more weight-signs carried over from line 11 would be equally suitable.

Face *B*, with a rather larger vertical unit (0.0117 m.) and slightly larger letters, seems nevertheless to be engraved by the same hand as *A*, which might be styled

1400, lines 22-23 (390/89 B.C.). But in II<sup>2</sup>, 1388*A*, line 48 f., (398/7 B.C.) the weight is given as 198 drachmai; cf. *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 139 ff. for a new fragment of this stele, which makes this weight certain.

<sup>6</sup> No *χε(ι)ρόνιπτρον* is recorded among Attic votive-offerings in the fifth century, and I know of only two instances in fourth-century lists: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1416, line 7 (= *C.I.G.*, 161, copied by Fourmont only), where the accepted reading in this fragment of a Chalkotheke-inventory is *σφαγεία καὶ χερό[νιπτρα]*, and II<sup>2</sup>, 1469*B*, lines 91-92, [*χειρ*]όνιπτρον κατεα[γός]. Cf. also the (bronze) *ὑπόστατον λοτηρίο*, *ibid.*, 1425*B*, line 371.

<sup>7</sup> Pausanias, I, 30, 2, with Frazer's commentary; Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 413, gives further references; and cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 84, lines 34, 37 for the ritual procession at the Prometheia.

“semi-italic,” and shows a distinct resemblance to that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1686 (Pl. 33), which is in Ionic script.<sup>8</sup> Little can be made of the scanty remains on this face; perhaps κó[τυλοι] again in line 3; for line 5 we have a choice of [Ἡερ]μῶ or [σταθ]μῶ[ν], for line 6, perhaps [ἀργυ]ρᾶ, for line 7 [χα]λκ- (rather than [ἠέ]λκ[ον], *vel sim.* in view of σταθμὸν ἄγει on Face A), and in line 8 φι[άλε (or -άλαι)]. There is, of course, no indication of the length of these lines.

3 (Plate 31). Fragment broken on all sides, but text complete below, found in late context in Tholos wall trench at the north (G 11) on February 26, 1934.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.008-0.010 m. (O is smaller) (vertical unit 0.0104 m.; horizontal, 0.0108 m.).

Inv. I 1405.

[----- ἀργυ]ρῶν ἔ[λκον -----]  
 [----- ον ἔ]λκον Η|-----  
 ----- οἱ στατῆρε[ς -----]  
 [(?) ἀργύριον] ἄσεμον ἐκ τῶ Π[αρθενῶνος(?)--]  
 5 [----- περ]ικαρδίων ϜΔ -----  
 [ἔλκον(?) ] -ΔΗΗΗΗ ·ἀργυρ[ῖς(?) -----]  
 ----- ς ἔλκοσα ϜΗΗΗ|-----  
 (vacat)

Here we have no definite clue to the length of the lines, for, if we restore in line 4 [ἀργύριον] ἄσεμον ἐκ τῶ Π[αρθενῶνος] it is clear that several words must be missing in the space between this entry and the ending of the next, [-- περ]ικαρδίων ϜΔ, 60 being presumably a number, not a weight. This must form the end of the description of some object with pendants (?) “round the heart,” possibly a votive ἀπόδεσμος or στρόφιον.<sup>9</sup> As no parallel appears to be known for the use of the epithet in this sense, we must be content to recall the presence of an [ἀπόδ]εσμος ἐκ τῶ ἀρχα[ίῳ νεό] listed among the votives in the Brauronion in the fifth century.<sup>10</sup> To give an indication of the approximate length of the lines, which can hardly have contained less than sixty letters, we might restore this passage as follows: [-- (?) ἀργύριον] ἄσεμον ἐκ τῶ Π[αρθενῶνος -- ἀπόδεσμος χρυσῶς, ἀριθμὸς τῶν χρυσίων τῶν περ]ικαρδίων ϜΔ --.

Even less can be made of the other lines: in line 2 the weight of one drachma and one (or more) obol could only suit a ring or light bracelet, enabling us to restore [δακτύλιον (or χλιδόνιον) χρυσῶν(?) ἔ]λκον Η; for line 3 I would suggest [Αἰγινᾶ]οἱ

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the photographs of newly-found fragments of this stele, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 275 ff., no. 52.

<sup>9</sup> For these and similar items of feminine adornment cf. Pollux, *Onom.*, VII, 65-68.

<sup>10</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 386A, I, line 12; cf. Hondius, *Novae Inscriptiones Atticae*, pp. 62 ff., pl. IV. Three other objects in the same list (lines 5, 10-11, 12-13) are followed by the words ἀριθμὸς τῶν χρυσίων, but the number is only preserved for the second of them, namely 68.

στατᾶρε[ς] rather than *e. g.* Κυζικενοί, in view of the probability that silver staters are more likely to be recorded here in close proximity to the uncoined silver from the Parthenon, if rightly restored.

In line 6, perhaps ἀργυρ[ίς], since we find another example of a cup of this description in No. 9*d*, below, followed no doubt by ἔλκοσα —; and in line 7 the fairly certain remains of a *sigma* before the same participle might point to another cup of this type, were it not that the weight of 700(+) drachmai would be unusually heavy for it. In fact this would be more appropriate as the weight of a hydria, which would require us to explain the *sigma* as either the ending of a possessive genitive or a compound adjective such as ἐπίχρυσος.<sup>11</sup>

The style of the lettering indicates a date towards the end of the fifth century, an impression which is confirmed by the spelling of ἔλκοσα without an aspirate; but this need not imply that it must be dated later than the two other fifth-century documents in which it is written with the aspirate, namely *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 301, line 60 (dated by Ferguson, correctly, I believe, to 409/8 B.C.)<sup>12</sup> and I<sup>2</sup>, 313, line 54 (the Eleusis-accounts of 408/7 B.C.). Seeing the fragmentary condition of our text, it would be unwise to draw any such conclusion on the evidence of this participle alone. There is, however, the other valuable indication of an approximate date afforded by the mention of uncoined metal, presumably silver, from the Parthenon (line 4). This points to a transaction similar to those recorded in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 301, line 13 and II<sup>2</sup>, 1686*A*, lines 7 and 14 (405/4 B.C.), and appears further to confirm Ferguson's conclusion that during the last few years before the fall of Athens the precious metals in the sanctuaries were "raided" for purposes of coinage on several occasions.<sup>13</sup>

4 (Plate 31). Fragment broken on all sides, but text complete below, found in late context in the Square to the south of the New Bouleuterion (F 10) on March 28, 1934.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.051 m.; letters and spacing resemble those of No. 3.

Inv. I 1709.

In spite of the general resemblance of Nos. 3 and 4 and the fact that both pieces have a blank space below, it is quite impossible to combine them into a continuous text owing to the different nature of their contents.<sup>14</sup> If in fact they belong to the same stele, they cannot be ascribed to the same year's accounts, as is further confirmed by the punctuation (:) in No. 4 which is not found in No. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Actually there are no hydriai recorded among Attic votive-offerings in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>; in fourth-century lists the most usual weight of silver hydriai ranges between 980 and 1000 drachmai.

<sup>12</sup> *The Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 24, 37 (note 1), 164.

<sup>14</sup> Meritt and Vanderpool agree that the lettering and spacing exactly resemble those of No. 3; but the *rho* of No. 4 has in each case a much larger loop than in No. 3.

!  
 σ τ ο ||  
 τ α Π α υ σ -  
 Φ ο ρ υ σ --  
 5    ο ς ἐ γ [ ρ α μ μ ά τ ε υ ε  
       ἀ ρ γ υ [ ρ --  
       ν : Χ Χ ---  
           (vacat)

Line 1: We have merely the remains of a centrally-placed *hasta* (I, T or Y).

Line 2: After *στο* apparently || (= 2 obols), for which I can only suggest [ἀργυρίο ἐχσαγί]στο || or [Ηεφαί]στο ||. The former word, if correctly restored, has not previously been found in Attic documents of the fifth century, but occurs more than once in fourth-century Treasure-records.<sup>15</sup> The alternative, that we have two unidentifiable objects, the property of Hephaistos, is rather less acceptable.

Lines 3 and 4: We have clearly the remains of two proper names. The letters TA preceding the former are most likely to be from the end of the word [ἐπιστά]τα, indicating that we have the names of two officials bearing this title, followed, after an interval of uncertain length, by the words [hois --]os ἐγ[ραμμάτευε]. For the names, Πανσ[ανίας] is one of many obvious alternatives,<sup>16</sup> and in line 4 we may choose between Φόρνυς, Φορυσκίδης and Φορύσκος (for none of which is there a fifth-century example).<sup>17</sup> If, however, we attempt a restoration in which the names of the two Epistatai are followed by that of the Secretary, we see that this gives us lines with much fewer than the sixty letters suggested as the approximate length of line in No. 3. Rather than abandon the presumed connection between the two fragments, we may suggest that Φορύσκος (if that was his name) was not a colleague of Paus-, but a member of a separate board which received from Paus- and his unknown colleague the objects mentioned in the last two lines, and had -- os as Secretary. Whether the second board was styled Epistatai, Tamiai, or had some other title we have no means of telling, but some such wording would give us a length of line approaching more nearly to that desired.

The contents of the last two lines are beyond recovery, except for the mention of some object, or quantity, of silver in line 6; and the weight of 2000 (or more) drachmai in line 7 might possibly be the weight of a thymiaterion, since no other type of vessel is likely to have weighed so much; but it is far more likely to represent a sum of uncoined silver, rather than gold. In any case the letter N which precedes the weight should probably be restored as ending the word [ἔλκο]ν.

<sup>15</sup> See the note on ἐξάμιστος, p. 100, below.

<sup>16</sup> Kirchner, *P.A.*, nos. 11706-11745.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 14964-14969.

In view of the many uncertainties involved, it is not worth attempting to offer a restored text of this fragment.

5 (Plate 31). Fragment broken on all sides except the left, where part of the edge is preserved, dressed with a toothed chisel. Found in late Roman context on the northeast slope of the Areopagus (Q 23) on April 15, 1939.

Height, 0.057 m.; width, 0.072 m.; thickness, 0.087 m.; letters 0.01 m., stoichedon (vertical unit 0.013 m.).

Inv. I 5765.

O:I  
X P  
N T O  
Δ Δ Λ:K

This fragment by itself would be of little interest, but fortunately it proves to belong to the stele, represented by several fragments, on which were recorded the Treasures of Artemis Brauronia, towards the end of the fifth century.<sup>18</sup> It comes from the left-hand edge of the reverse face of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 387 (Hondius, *Nov. Inscr. Att.*, pp. 62 ff., no. XB) at a point where the right-hand edge is preserved. This enables us to read:

[----- στ]αθμὸν τούτον:†††:κνά[θ]  
ο:Ι[Ι:χρυσὸ(?)-----σταθμ]ὸν τούτον:Π:δακτύλιο.  
χρ[υσο. -----]α μικρὰ καὶ μέν, σταθμὸ  
ν το[ύτον: --: ----- δι]άλιθον χρυσία ἔχον:Η<sup>Α</sup>  
10 ΔΔΔ:κ----- .ι ἀπὸ τῶ χιτωνίου:ΙΙΙΙ:

We thus learn that the κνάθοι numbered two; that the ring in line 7 was of gold (unless we should read δακτύλιο[ι] χρ[υσοῖ -], of uncertain number); and that the διάλιθον, whether this be noun or epithet, had no less than 180 gold pieces attached. Unfortunately it sheds no light on the object(s) accompanying the golden crescent (μῆν) in line 8, and affords nowhere any clue to the exact width of the stele. It should be emphasised that the line-length of forty-six letters conjectured by Hondius is far from certain.

This is not the occasion to discuss in detail the restorations on which his conjecture was based, but we may profitably observe that in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 386 (Hondius, *loc. cit.*, A), lines 2-4, his assumption that objects described as ἀπὸ τῶ λιθίνου (or τῶ ἀρχαίου) κέδος were garments is far from convincing, in spite of the fact that in the fourth-century inventories of the Brauronia this was certainly the case. To judge by the remains of line 2, and the contents of lines 5-14, this portion of the list contains items

<sup>18</sup> I had established this connection before seeing that Raubitschek had also discovered it (*S.E.G.*, X, 219).

of jewelry, into which his inserted restoration of *χιτονίσκος κτενοτὸς ποικίλος* in line 7 seems very dubious. Similarly, his proposed reading in the fragment to which our new piece belongs, namely [*φιάλε ἀργυρ*] *ἀ μικρὰ καὶ μέν* (line 8), offers an improbable conjunction of objects. Moreover, in B, line 12 for his conjecture [*ἐκ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ νεῷ παρέδοκεν ἡε ἱερέ*] *α ταῖς ἱερέαις: ΔΙΙ:* I should prefer to restore [*— ταῦτα ἐστὶν παρ*] *ἀ ταῖς ἱερέαις: ΔΙΙ:*

In the circumstances we must be content, I feel, to admit that the lines of this stele may well have contained more, rather than less, than forty-six letters, to which conclusion the thickness of the stele (0.11 m.) lends some support. This uncertainty furnishes a grave obstacle to any attempt to reconstruct the whole stele from the fragments that have survived—a task which I had once hoped to undertake in conjunction with the publication of the text preserved on the back of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 292a. Meanwhile it may be worth recording that the obverse face of the stele, which is recognizable by its smoother surface, is composed of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 386 (Hondius, *loc. cit.*, A); 291, broken on all sides; the contents of 292b, complete on left; together with, possibly, 292. The foot of the stele is supplied by I<sup>2</sup>, 386, II (Hondius, *op. cit.*, no. XI) which, moreover, preserves the left margin for its whole height, though apparently three letters are missing owing to injury from the beginning of lines 2-6, and two from lines 7 and 8.<sup>19</sup> The fact that this is complete below, with a wide blank space below the last line, and that the tooling on the edge is less carefully done than on the other two pieces on which it appears, together with slight differences observable in the lettering, justify the conclusion that this belongs to the inventory of a later year than that of the other fragments.<sup>20</sup>

6 (Plate 31). Fragment broken on all sides, found in mixed late Roman to Dark Age context northeast of the Odeion (N 8) on March 31, 1936.

Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.086 m.; height of letters, 0.009 m.; stichedon (horizontal unit, 0.014 m.; vertical, 0.012 m.).

Inv. No. I 3943.

[— χ] *αλκε.ι. —*  
 — — — *ς Λακον —*  
 — — — *ΔΙ: λυρ — —*

The firm and well-spaced lettering is not very like that of any other of the fifth-century fragments here published, and the contents, as far as they can be recognized, are not traceable elsewhere.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Hondius' restoration unfortunately ignores this important fact.

<sup>20</sup> These observations are made by Ferguson (*op. cit.*, pp. 62 ff.) in his discussion of this stele, and supplemented by information furnished to him by B. H. Hill.

<sup>21</sup> Raubitschek (*op. cit.*) attributes this, as well as No. 5, to the inventories of the Brauronion, but Vanderpool, after careful examination at my request, reports that this is unlikely.

Line 1: In spite of damage to the upper edge, the last three signs can hardly be anything but the remains of :|: , i. e. a single bronze object, of uncertain nature.

Line 2 gives us a particularly intriguing entry: in view of line 1 this might most naturally be taken as referring to one or more bronze objects of Laconian workmanship, but for the fact that we have no items described as Laconian among Attic fifth-century inventories. On the other hand they appear frequently among those of the fourth century, both in the Chalkotheke and elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> In the circumstances, we must consider various possible restorations:

(1) that we should restore [ἀσπίδε]ς Λακων[ικαί – –] and regard these shields as identical with those brought by the victors from Sphakteria in 425 B.C. and dedicated in the Stoa Poikile, where Pausanias saw them nearly six centuries later.<sup>23</sup> If so, our fragment would belong to an inventory of objects dedicated in the Stoa and drawn up within twenty years, at most, after the erection of the shields. This conjecture, however attractive at first sight, is not supported by any external evidence to show that other votive objects were preserved there, and there is no clue to the place where the contents of our list were kept.

(2) There is the obvious alternative that the reference is to some Laconian bronze vessels of no historic importance, such as those mentioned in the note.

(3) An entirely different interpretation of the surviving letters would be obtained by restoring [– – ἡδ]ς (or [ἡδ]ς) Λάκων [ἀνέθεκε]. In this case we might be tempted to identify this entry with “the false staters sealed in a box by Lakon,” which occur in Hekatompedon-lists from 398/7 B.C. onwards (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1388B, lines 61-62, *στατήρες κίβδηλοι [ἐν κιβωτίῳ σεσημασ] μένοι οἱ παρὰ Λάκωνος*); cf. II<sup>2</sup>, 1400, line 57; 1401, lines 44-45; 1407, line 43 (restored); and 1415, lines 19-20, where the order of the words is different.<sup>24</sup> As these staters appear in a long list under the rubric *Τάδε ἄγραφα παρέδοσαν καὶ ἄστατα ἐπέτεια* (which is left unaltered in the list of eight years later, II<sup>2</sup>, 1400, line 57), they might well have been transferred to the Hekatompedon from

<sup>22</sup> Among the contents of the Chalkotheke appended to the inventory drawn up by the Tamiai of Athena for 368/7 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1425, line 397) we find *ἀσπίδες Λακωνικαὶ* ΠΗ (not ΧΠ as printed in the *Corpus*), and in line 406 *κρατήρες Λακωνικοὶ* ΙΙΙΙ (wrongly printed as ΙΙΙ). The shields re-appear, presumably, in II<sup>2</sup>, 1426, line 17, where Kirchner restores [ἀσπ]ίδες Λ[ακωνικαὶ –]. At Eleusis, ca. 330 B.C., we find a *ὑδρία Λακωνική* (II<sup>2</sup>, 1544, line 59) and a Laconian lebes (*ibid.*, line 65), as well as some unidentifiable Laconian vessels (?) (*ibid.*, line 60). Laconian kylikes appear in the *Tabulae Amphictyonum*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1643, lines 1-2 and 5-6 (sixteen of which weigh 708 drachmai).

<sup>23</sup> I, 15, 4; for the single surviving shield found in the Agora cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1937, pp. 347 f., figs. 10-11; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 189 ff.; *J.H.S.*, LVI, 1936, p. 138; LVII, 1937, p. 159.

<sup>24</sup> It should be noted that Kirchner does not include this Lakon (a metic?) in *P.A.* The name *Λάκων* which he cites from the Erechtheid tomb-stone of 459/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 929, line 91) is now restored as [B]άκων (cf. Tod, *G.H.I.*, 26), and the only other *Λάκων* in *P.A.* (8975) belongs to the second century B.C.

some other sanctuary at the beginning of the fourth century, as were, for instance, the thirty-five false staters from Eleusis (II<sup>2</sup>, 1388*B*, lines 53-54), to which I refer elsewhere. It would be natural to assume that Lakon not only sealed the box but dedicated it also; and on this view we might reasonably restore [σταπῆρες κίβδελαι ἐγκιβοτίοι σεσεμασμένοι ἠὸς Δάκον [ἀνέθεκε]. But this would still leave us uncertain as to the place where this item was kept in the fifth century.

Line 3: I assume that the first two signs were ΔΙ (eleven, or more, unknown objects), followed by λύρ[αι – –]. Whether they were specified as ἐλεφάντιναι, as were some of the lyres found in the Parthenon-lists of the fifth century (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 276, etc.) must remain uncertain. It is reasonably certain that this word must be restored as λύρ[αι], although the downward curve of the loop of the *rho* is not preserved owing to surface injury; in fact the surviving traces might equally well belong to Ε or Π.<sup>25</sup>

7 (Plate 32). Small fragment with right-hand edge complete; the side is un-inscribed, but returns at an angle of *ca.* 70°, and at least two line-spaces are vacant below line 4 on the face. Found built into a modern floor, in the area of the Southwest Fountain House (50 meters S. E. of Tholos) on March 6, 1934.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.041 m.; height of letters, 0.011 m., but Ο is *ca.* 0.007 m. (vertical unit, 0.015 m., horizontal, 0.01 m.).

Inv. I 1528.

Σ  
 – Ϛ  
 ΛΥ  
 ΛΟΙ

The deep-cut letters, with their close horizontal, and much more generous vertical spacing, are quite distinct from those of any other of our fragments; and the curious angle at which the right-hand side returns, as if to fit some angular recess, is no less distinctive. I include it among the pre-Euklidian pieces, though it is just possible that the Λ in line 3 might be a *lambda*, not *gamma*.

The first letter in line 4 can only have been Μ, which suggests the restoration [ἀσπίδες ἐπίσε]μοι – –.<sup>26</sup>

8 (Plate 32). Fragment from the lower left-hand corner of a stele, with left margin preserved and vacant space below, found in modern house wall east of the Southwest Fountain House (I-J 15) on February 11, 1953.

<sup>25</sup> This is the impression conveyed by the photograph, which Vanderpool confirms; but neither λνε nor λνπ points to a possible reading here, and it is worth noting that the *hasta* is set distinctly to the right of the first stroke of the *nu* in the line above, indicating a narrower letter than Ε or Π.

<sup>26</sup> (Meritt's original reading, confirmed by Vanderpool.) Cf. ἀσπίδες ἐπίσεμοι ΠΙ in the Parthenon-lists (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 276, line 14, etc.), in some of which the number is wrongly restored as ΠΙ.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.22 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m., non-stoichedon.  
Inv. I 6564.

·ΙΟΙ  
 Ἑργιεί(α) [s -----]  
 σταθμὸν Η[- - - - - στατήρες Θη]  
 σέος ΗΗΔΠ -----  
 Σ Σ Σ Σ  
 5 στατήρες ΠΗ -----  
 Σ Σ  
 (vacat)

It is impossible to connect this with any other of the fragments from the Agora, or with any of the Acropolis-inventories or records of payment. It is not easy to suggest a probable date, in view of the inconsistency between the Ionic *gamma* in line 2, as well as the *eta* in line 5, and the genitive ending in *-έος* in line 4. Whilst the former feature might point to the gradual encroachment of Ionic forms before the standardization of the Ionic alphabet, the untidy lettering might indicate a date after 403/2, with the genitive in *-έος* as an unusual survival. If we ignore the style of the lettering and consider only the contents, we might well wonder whether the sums of staters recorded in lines 4 and 5 could still have remained intact after the downfall of Athens.

Line 1: The first *hasta* is unlikely to be an *iota* as the *O* following it is not placed centrally between it and the third letter, which I take to be *iota*, but set rather to the left, indicating a *rho*; and *-ροι* (rather than *-γoui* or *-πoui*) seems the natural choice, giving us [*-ἀργυ*]ροῖ.

Line 2: I have no hesitation in reading Ἑργιεί(α) [s -] and assuming that the cross-bar of the *alpha* was omitted by oversight. But an object dedicated to Hygieia, whether to the goddess herself or in association with Asklepios cannot, I believe, be paralleled in any Attic inventory, and the few dedications to her on votive stelai or statue-bases are, with one exception, not earlier than the last quarter of the third century B.C.<sup>27</sup> That there could be any connection between this entry and the famous statue of Athena Hygieia which stood just inside the Propylaea seems most unlikely.<sup>28</sup>

Line 3: There are traces of the first figure after *σταθμὸν*, pointing clearly to *H*, but the full weight and the object to which it refers are unknown.

<sup>27</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4417, found at the Kerameikos, a statue-base to Asklepios and Hygieia, is dated "s. IV a."; 4441, to Amphiaraios and Hygieia is dated *ca.* 217/6 B.C.; 4456, 4457, 4458, 4460 and 4465 ff. are later still. The earliest recorded dedication to Asklepios among the Acropolis-treasures, a massive silver basket, appears in II<sup>2</sup>, 1474B, lines 8-10 (not before 318/7 B.C.). For the earliest dedications in the Asklepieion, II<sup>2</sup>, 1532 ff., going back to 346/5 B.C. at latest, cf. also Meritt-Pritchett, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 32 ff.

<sup>28</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 395; cf. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, no. 166, with full bibliography.

Line 4: There can be little doubt that  $-\sigma\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  is to be interpreted as  $-\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , the genitive of a third-declension noun ending in  $-\sigma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , and to complete it as  $[\Theta\eta]\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  seems almost equally certain. Little importance need be attached to the fact that in line 5 there is no possessive genitive between the word  $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\varsigma$  and the amount recorded (600 staters, at least). Unfortunately we have no clue to the origin of these staters or of the 215 (+) staters of Theseus in the line above, but Kyzikos is a reasonable guess, in view of the transactions in staters of that mint recorded in the last few lines of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 305, the accounts of the *Tamiai* for 406/5 B.C. Whether this fragment is the sole survivor of inventories of the contents of the sanctuary of Theseus is a question to which no answer can be given with confidence, but in any case we have independent evidence for the sacred possessions of Theseus including a considerable amount of currency.<sup>29</sup> Thus in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 310, in the inventory of the Treasures of the "Other Gods," we find three entries relating to him (lines 156 f., 4270 drachmai; line 215, (?) drachmai; line 275, 50(+) drachmai); and in the record of the *Logistai*, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 324, line 89 (*S.E.G.*, X, 227, line 84) is a loan from his funds, restored as 808 drachmai, 4½ obols.

9 (Plate 32). Four fragments, apparently from the same stele, broken on all sides, of which the dimensions may be conveniently shown in tabular form as follows:

	Height	Width	Height of letters	Unit, vertical	Unit, horizontal
<i>a</i>	0.176 m.	0.036 m.	<i>ca.</i> 0.01 m.	0.0153 m.	0.0125 m.
<i>b</i>	0.116 m.	0.058 m.	<i>ca.</i> 0.01 m.	0.0155 m.	0.011 m.
<i>c</i>	0.08 m.	0.09 m.	<i>ca.</i> 0.01 m.	0.0155 m.	0.011 m.
<i>d</i>	0.12 m.	<i>A</i> 0.085 m.	<i>ca.</i> 0.009 m.	0.01457 m.	0.008 m.
		<i>B</i> 0.045 m.	0.006-0.007 m.	0.0086 m.	0.0093 m.

Inv. I 1495 *a, b, c, d.*

These were all found in the vicinity of the Tholos: *a* in late context immediately north of it (G 11) on March 9, 1934; *b* and *c* in late context *ca.* 25 meters west of it (F 10) on April 2, 1934; *d* in marble pile just north of it. A fifth fragment, found in the same region, also inscribed, like *d*, on two adjoining faces, may possibly belong to this stele,<sup>30</sup> but as this is by no means certain I prefer to number it separately (No. 10, below).

As the photographs show clearly, the lettering on *a, b, c* and *d*, Face *A* would seem to be uniformly the work of one engraver, whilst that on *d*, Face *B* is not only

<sup>29</sup> For the location of the Theseion cf. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 351 ff.; I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens*, pp. 92, 232 f., note 3.

<sup>30</sup> Vanderpool tells me that in his opinion it probably belongs, but the attribution is not free from difficulties.

smaller and more closely set as regards line-intervals, but altogether more carefully and competently engraved; and on these grounds alone it seems impossible to regard these two faces as contemporary. Moreover, a further distinction is to be observed, for the punctuation in *a*, line 6 is: but in the other three fragments by the same hand it is invariably three dots (:·) which are seldom exactly vertically set. And another reason for hesitating to ascribe these four pieces to the record of a single year is to be found in the slightly smaller lettering, with correspondingly closer vertical spacing, of *d*, Face *A*, as compared with those of *b* and *c*.

<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>
( <i>vacat</i> )		
ΛΛ	ρο	ωτο . .
∩Φϛ	αδε	ρατος : 'Α
ΦΙΑ	σίαι : /	ράτηι : Κο
ΓΗΗ	ροτερ	ξάμεν . . .
5 √ΔΔ	: άργυρ	-----
ΓϜ :>	εκατ	
▣Δ·	μο . .	
	ι . . .	

Fragment *a*: In view of the wide space vacant above line 1 this is probably from the beginning of a fresh year's inventory, but the interpretation of the remains of lines 1 and 2 is far from certain. If they contained the names of the officials responsible for the inventory, such names as [Κα]λλ[ι-] and [Ἄριστ]οφῶ[ν], [Κηφισ]οφῶ[ν], or [Ξεν]οφῶ[ν] would be obvious suggestions, but, in this case, how many names were contained in these two lines cannot be determined, since we have no clue to the width of the stele or to the formula which accompanied these names. On the other hand, if the names of the officials were recorded on the portion of the stone which is lost from above, and followed by a vacant space equivalent to one or two lines, these might be the remains of the names of dedicators of *φιάλαι* or other votive objects. In fact the first letter of line 1 might equally well be read as an *alpha*, and restored as part of the word [φι]άλ[η (or -αι)], which we may confidently restore in line 3. In lines 4-7 we can only recognize the weights, in each case perhaps incomplete, of some unidentifiable objects. In line 4 the first symbol was perhaps ▣ rather than Η, and in line 5 N rather than Η, as it is so much taller than the *delta* that follows.

Fragments *b*, *c*: At first sight it seems tempting to combine these pieces, with *c* placed to the left of *b*, and restore line 4 so as to read [παράδε]ξάμεν[οι παρὰ τῶν π]ροτέρ[ων ἐπιστατῶν (or ταμιῶν)], indicating that the dative [-κ]ράτηι in line 3, followed by another dative -σίαι, were the names of two officials who received the contents of this list from the persons named (in the nominative) in lines 1-2; the formula *τάδε παρέδοσαν* would, in this case, be inserted probably between the two sets

of names. There would be no difficulty in completing possible restorations for their names and demotics, with the number of letters missing in the middle determined by the proposed restoration of line 4, as follows:

[----- Βοι]ωτὸ[ς . . . . . Δω]ρό[θεος(?)------]  
 [----- στ]ρατος: Ἄ . . . . . Ἄδε[ίμαντος-----]  
 [----- κ]ράτη: Κο[λωνεί, Λυ]σίαι: Δ-----  
 5 [--- παραδε]ξάμεν[οι παρὰ τῶν π]ροτέρ[ων ἐπιστατῶν(?)-]  
 -----: ἀργυρ-----  
 ----- Ἐκάτ[ης-----]  
 [----- Ἐρ]μο[ῦ-----]  
 |

Although it would be easy to supply an eight-letter demotic for Boiotos in line 1, and Ἄ[φιδναῖος] would suit for that of -stratos in line 2, with Κο[λωνεί] in line 3, where no alternative seems possible, since Κο[ιλεῖ], which we should have to follow with a name such as [Τει]σίαι, seems not to be found later than the fifth century as an alternative for ἐκ Κοιλῆς, and there is no name .σίαις which would permit us to restore Κο[λλυτεῖ] or Κο[πρέωι], all this seems too speculative to inspire confidence. Moreover, it looks as if we should find ourselves with more names in the nominative than in the dative, to say nothing of the uncertainty of the possible insertion of the name of a Secretary for one or other of the boards. In view of these uncertainties it seems preferable to reject the proposed combination, and to transcribe the two pieces separately, with a minimum of restoration. The possible conjunction of *b*, line 2 with *c*, line 4, so as to read [παρ]αδεξάμεν[οι] is rendered impossible by the shape of the fracture of the stone, to say nothing of the objection that it would give us datives both before and after the participle.

This leaves us with the unsatisfactory conclusion that while fragment *c* must apparently belong to the introduction to a year's accounts (since παραδεξάμενοι is almost indisputable), we are left without a definite indication for the position of *b*, though the presumed dative -σίαι might point to a restoration on similar lines, even if for a different year. The separate transcriptions will accordingly run as follows:

<p> <i>b</i> ----- ρο-----          ----- αδε-----          ----- σίαι: Δ-----          [--- Ἄγ]ροτέρ[ας---]          5 -----: ἀργυρ-----          ----- Ἐκάτ[ης---]          [--- Ἐρ]μο[ῦ-----]          ----- γ-----       </p>	<p> <i>c</i> [--- Βοι]ωτὸ[ς-----          [--- στ]ρατος: Ἄ-----          [--- κ]ράτη: Κο[λωνεί(?)]          [παραδε]ξάμεν[οι παρὰ---]          -----       </p>
---	---

*b* Line 4: [Ἄγ]ροτέρ[ας] seems appropriate here, now that we have rejected [π]ροτέρ[ων], and gains support from Ἐκάτ[ης] in line 6. The restoration of [Ἄγρο-τέρας] in line 2 of N<sup>o</sup>. 2, above, was based on that proposed here, but we need not infer that the same objects are referred to in the same lists.

In line 7 we can find good support for restoring [Ἐρ]μο[ῦ] in the fact that in No. 2 a dedication to Hekate is followed by one to Hermes; moreover, the alternative [σταθ]μό[ν-] would conflict with the use of ἔλκοσα in fragment *d*.

*c*: The remains of the names suggested above need no further comment.

Fragment *d*. Face *A* of this piece offers more prospects of at least partial restoration, and may be transcribed as follows:

[ἔ]λκοσα:†// -----  
 ἔλκοσα:Η[-----ον ἔλκο]  
 ν:ΗΔΔΔΔ[-----ξενικὸ ἀργ]  
 υρίο ΗΗ[-----στατήρες κίβδη]  
 5 λοι:ΔΔ[-----ιον ἄσταθμο(?)]  
 ν:φῦλ[λον (or -λα) -----ἀργυρ]  
 ἰς:ἔλ[κοσα -----ἔλκο----]  
 †:ἀργ[υρὶς(?) -----]

Here again, unfortunately, we cannot hope to establish the length of the lines, for, if in fact, in spite of the somewhat smaller script, it belongs to the same face as *b* and *c*, we get no guidance from either of them.

Line 4: The last two signs are almost certainly ΗΗ, with no punctuation before the first of them, and some such restoration as [ξενικὸ ἀργ]υρίο alone seems possible, for [κεφάλαιον ἀργ]υρίο is not very likely to occur in the middle of a list. In line 5 I have no doubt that -λοι is to be completed as an epithet rather than a noun, since ἦλοι would normally be followed by an adjective describing their metal, and σίγλοι would be followed by Μηδικοί. A possible restoration would be ὑπόξυλοι, descriptive of shields, but we have no other definite indication of such objects among any of our fragments, and a much more likely alternative is [κίβδη]λοι. If this word was preceded, as I suggest, by στατήρες, it would give us nineteen letters in line 4, plus an unknown number of signs to complete the weight for the silver, pointing to a *minimum* length of twenty letters for our lines; but they may in fact have been considerably longer. The restoration [στατήρες κίβδη]λοι seems to gain support from its proximity to the silver bullion, which precedes it, perhaps immediately, in the list and in any case is not without satisfactory parallels among the dedications on the Acropolis.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> In lists of the early fourth century we may compare *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1388*B*, lines 53-54, ἀργύριον κίβδηλον τὸ Ἐλευσινώθεν and *ibid.*, lines 61-62, the false staters dedicated by Lakon, mentioned above

Line 6: The initial N, followed by a fresh entry, may very well be the ending of [ἄσταθμο]ν, but I cannot complete, or elucidate, the leaf (or leaves) recorded next, though it is a permissible guess that they had become detached from a crown.<sup>32</sup>

In line 7, possibly [ἀργυρ]ῖς ἔλ[κοσα --], perhaps followed by a second cup of the same type in line 8.

Fragment *d*, Face *B*.

----- ν  
 ----- ι  
 [----- χ]ρν  
 [σ----- ι]να  
 5 [----- ἄ]ργ  
 [νρ-----]ΔΔΔ  
 ----- ν ἔχε  
 [ι----- ἀργ]υρῖ  
 ----- |▣||  
 10 [----- σ]ταθμ  
 [ὀν-----]HT  
 ----- !!

Little can be made of the contents of this face, on which the writing is markedly different from that of Face *A*. We must not be misled by its smaller scale into believing that it belongs to a narrower face of the stele, and is therefore later than that on Face *A*, for it has every indication of being earlier, and at a first glance suggests a date in the late fifth century, which seems to be confirmed by the undoubted Attic *gamma* in line 5. In line 4 the letter before N was probably *iota*; since a broader letter would have left traces at the edge of the fracture; and in line 7 the letter before the first E was almost certainly N, perhaps the end of a noun which was the object of ἔχε[ι] (which seems the only acceptable restoration here). In line 9 the first letter, with its centrally-placed *hasta* can only have been an *iota*. Faint traces at the bottom of the fragment suggest two unit-signs (or obols) rather than H. It seems needless to attempt any fuller restoration, and I cannot explain the letters HT in line 11.

**10** (Plate 33). Angle-piece inscribed on two adjoining faces, broken on all sides, found in late context immediately north of the Tholos (G 11) on March 3, 1934.

in connection with No. 6. The former item possibly re-appears in II<sup>2</sup>, 1445, lines 16-17, the inventory of the Treasurers of the Other Gods for 376/5 B.C.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. four gold leaves from the crown held by Nike on the hand of the statue (of Athena Parthenos), in Parthenon-lists of the early fourth century, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1376, lines 19-21; 1377, lines 22-24; 1394, lines 5-8; 1395, lines 22-24.

Height, 0.0754 m.; width of Face *A*, 0.025 m.; of Face *B*, 0.036 m.; height of letters, 0.011 m. (Face *A*); 0.007-0.008 m. (Face *B*).

Inv. I 1452.

Very little can be made of this piece. As far as may be judged from the scanty remains on Face *A*, the lettering resembles in style that on Face *A* of No. 9, above, but is definitely a little larger, whilst on Face *B* we have no distinctive letter to enable us to decide between a late fifth-century and an early fourth-century date, but the general impression tends to favour the former alternative. In any case it has more cramped and less regularly-cut lettering than on Face *B* of No. 9.

<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
-----	.ασι:χ -----
-----ων	<sup>π</sup> ΔΔΔΔ-----
-----στ	.ΗΔΔΔ -----
( <i>vacat</i> )	.IIII χρ[υσ -----]
	5 . .σταθμ[όν -----]
	.χρ]υσο -----
	. . .ονΛ -----
	. . . .σο. -----

The fact that Face *A* is uninscribed below the letters ΣΤ does not help us to restore them, and it is not worth enumerating the various possible words in which they occur, any more than for the letters ΩΝ in the line above. With Face *B* the prospect is not much more hopeful, and little need be added by way of comment to the transcript given above.

Line 1 is puzzling: we must presumably read - ασι:χ -- rather than - ασλ:χ for which I can only suggest [σταθμὸν οὐκ ἔσ]ασι, but can quote no parallel earlier than that found in a damaged passage in an inventory of the re-united boards of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1457, line 25, not before 338/7 B.C.). Gold objects appear to be recorded in lines 4, 6, and 8, apparently four in number (if not more) in line 4, since there is no punctuation between the last unit and the *chi* of χρ[υσοί(?)]; and σταθμ[όν] in line 5 justifies the suggestion that we might restore [σταθμ]όν ἄ[γει] in line 7, though a neuter noun followed by ἄ[ργυρὸν] is an obvious alternative.

In any case these fragmentary entries cannot be recognized elsewhere, and we must not rashly try to identify the object weighing 130(+) drachmai in line 3 with that weighing 140(+) drachmai in No. 9*d*, line 3 of Face *A*.

The possibility that this piece belongs to the same stele as No. 9 must not be overlooked, though the evidence, on the whole, seems to point against it. The writing on Face *B* of No. 10 roughly resembles that on Face *B* of No. 9*d* but is obviously more

cramped and somewhat less regular; but like the latter it might well belong to a late date in the fifth century. We might therefore ascribe this to the right-hand side, and **9d**, Face *B* to the left-hand side of a stele inscribed on three, or even four, sides, implying that Face *A* of both **9** and **10** belonged to the same side. The objection to this, that the letters of **10A** are distinctly larger than on **9a, b, c**, might be overcome if we regarded them as the remains of the heading of a fresh year's record, separated, for some unknown reason, by a space of at least three centimeters from the inventory itself. If however we also allot No. **9d**, Face *A*, to the same face we find three different sizes of letters employed, and the punctuation : in contrast with : on No. **9a**. The cumulative effect of these difficulties seems to justify us in suspending judgment, and separating No. **10** from No. **9**, while admitting the possibility that if it was a tall stele covering the records of several years, such variations in the script would not be surprising. This assumption would allow us to allocate No. **2**, with two adjoining faces written in Attic script, which clearly differs from that on Face *B* of both Nos. **9** and **10**, to a place higher up on the same stele; with which conclusion the finding-place of No. **2** would admittedly be in agreement.

Any conclusions about the authorities responsible for drawing up these inventories can only be tentative; but two points are beyond dispute, namely that in No. **2**, and (almost equally certainly) in No. **9**, we have lists of the properties of various gods and Heroes, Hermes, Hekate, Artemis Agrotera and Prometheus,<sup>33</sup> and secondly that we have two different formulae for indicating the weight of these objects. In the former we find *σταθμὸν ἄγει* —, and in the latter the participle of *ἔλκειν*, which is also found in No. **3**. Thus we cannot explain this difference of formula on chronological grounds, since the use of *ἔλκοσα* (or *ἔλκον*) occurs both before and after the introduction of the Ionic script; and the suggestion that the two formulae might represent the systems used by two different boards of officials, tempting though it might appear, conflicts with the evidence of Nos. **2** and **9** with their apparently similar contents.

As to the identity of the responsible officials our only clue is the conjectural restoration of [*ἐπιστά*]τα, accompanied by a Secretary, in No. **4**; and as it is by no means certain that this fragment belongs to the same series as No. **9** it would be rash to identify the names in the latter as belonging to the same board. In view of the contents of Nos. **2** and **9** it would be logical to expect that they were in the charge of the *ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*, but the amalgamation of this board with the Treasurers of Athena from 406/5 to 386/5 B.C.<sup>34</sup> seems to rule out this explanation. There is, however, a further possibility, namely that this amalgamation only affected the property

<sup>33</sup> It might be suggested that this reference to the property of Hekate would add weight to the restoration *ἡε[κάρες]* in the accounts of the Logistai, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 324, line 70.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 f., 104 ff. Dinsmoor, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I (Ferguson), p. 169 f., hesitates between 406/5 and 405/4 B.C.

of the "Other Gods" stored on the Acropolis, and that during this period their property in other sanctuaries below the Acropolis was in the charge of some other body, whose title may have been "Epistatai."

It is almost equally difficult to suggest a possible location for the objects recorded in any of these lists. Vanderpool, to whom I am indebted for his careful tabulation of the finding places of our fragments, drew my attention to the fact that Nos. **2, 3, 4, 9** and **10** were all found either directly adjacent to, or within a small radius (*ca.* 25 meters) of the Tholos, and suggested that possibly the contents of these lists were in fact kept in the Tholos itself. This suggestion would carry more weight if we had any contemporary evidence for its use as a repository for such objects, but what evidence there is concerning its contents belongs to much later times. The decree of 191/0 B.C.,<sup>35</sup> found on the spot, does not relate to votive objects, but to the administration of the building and its contents as a center of hospitality—the replacement of bedding, the inspection of *κοτυλίδια* and tripods (obviously kitchen equipment) and of other vessels, including *φιάλαι* and *ποτήρια*, which must have belonged to the table-services. And the "silver images of no great size," seen by Pausanias in the Tholos,<sup>36</sup> may well have been recent acquisitions, for no such objects are, to my knowledge, recorded in Attic inventories of the fifth or fourth century.

The argument from the find-spots of these fragments would, however, be equally appropriate to another building which closely adjoined the Tholos, namely the Metroön. This has a stronger claim to consideration for we know that, in addition to being the repository of state-archives,<sup>37</sup> it also contained votive objects. This information is derived from the evidence of an inscription, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1445, the first dated inventory surviving from those drawn up in the fourth century by the *ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν* (376/5 B.C.), where we read in lines 24-26 [— — ἐκ τ]ὸ Μητρωίῳ παρακαταθήκη· χερ|[υιβείον ἀργυρὸν, σταθμὸν — —]ΔΠΓ· τοῦτο οὐχ ὑγιές· ἐξαγιστ|[— — σεσημασμένα(?) τ]ῆι δημοσίαι σφραγίδι. But it seems possible to trace this entry at a somewhat earlier date, for I would suggest that we may recognize the same *χερνυβείον* in the inventory of the contents of the Hekatompedon drawn up by the Treasurers of the joint board in 390/89 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1400, lines 50-51) where we find [χ]ερν[υ]-βε[ί]ον ἀργυρὸν, θυμιατήριον ἀργυρὸν, ἄστατα· following a vacant space (where the stone is broken) in which there would be ample room to insert ἐκ τῷ Μητρωίῳ παρακαταθήκη. Moreover, there would be room for a similar entry, perhaps in shortened form, in II<sup>2</sup>, 1401, line 36 (to be dated shortly before II<sup>2</sup>, 1400, though the exact year is unknown); in each of these lists this entry would precede a dedication to Artemis Brauronia by Glyke, daughter of Archestratos, so there can be little doubt of its identity.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940, pp. 144 f.

<sup>36</sup> I, 5, 1.

<sup>37</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 342 f.; I. T. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

It emerges from this that at some date before *ca.* 392 B.C. certain vessels described as a *παρακαταθήκη* from the Metroön had been transferred to the Hekatompedon, and in turn entrusted to the care of the “Treasurers of the Other Gods” when this board was revived in 385/4 B.C. This need not imply that the whole of the dedications preserved in the Metroön were thus transferred, but it gives us convincing proof that in the first decade of the fourth century, and presumably earlier—though we cannot tell for how long—sacred objects were contained in it. And, failing the possible discovery of evidence to the contrary, we may reasonably suggest that some at least of these inventory-fragments relate to the contents of that historic building.

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Ἐξάγιστος.

The restoration [— — ἐξαγ]ίστο proposed in line 2 of No. 4, above, seems to justify the addition of a note drawing attention to other examples of this word in Attic inscriptions, not all of which have been recognized or commented on.

(1) In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1401, lines 26-27 were read ἐξαγίστο χρυ[σ]ίω συμμείκ|[το ἀσήμε σταθμὸν [Ἰ]ΗΔΤΤΤΙΙΙ], which is so restored with the aid of II<sup>2</sup>, 1400, lines 42-43, where we have [— — συμμείκτο]ἀσήμε σταθμὸν[Ἰ]ΗΔΤΤΤΙΙΙ. This item is to be distinguished from

(2) which is an entry, including the same word, recorded as coming from the Metroön, by the Treasurers of the “Other Gods,” in II<sup>2</sup>, 1445, lines 25-26. Here we have, according to the text given in the *Corpus* ἐξαγίστ[ο. . . . .<sup>14</sup>. . . . . σεσημασμένα τ]ῆι δημοσίαι σφραγίδι, and what is obviously the same entry recurs in II<sup>2</sup>, 1453, lines 10-11, in the form ἐξαγίστ[ο] ε[. . . . .<sup>18</sup>. . . . . σεσημασμέν]α τῆι δημοσίαι σφραγίδι. After careful scrutiny of the stone, of which the surface is somewhat damaged, I would read ἐξάγιστα ἐν κ[. . . . .<sup>11</sup>. . . . . σεσημασμέν]α, κ.τ.λ., and would suggest, to fill the gap, ἐν κ[οιτῆι χαλκῆι, κ.τ.λ.].

(3) That the epithet was not used exclusively in reference to uncoined metal as in (1) (we do not know to what objects no. 2 refers), is proved by a passage in II<sup>2</sup>, part ii, *Addenda*, pp. 800 ff., 1424a, lines 307-308, where we can correct the reading in the *Corpus* ΤΟΝΕΞΑΓΙΞΤΩΝ into ΤΩΝΕΞΑΓΙΞΤΩΝ, above which, in the latter part of line 307 the text printed gives merely ΟΑ. . . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . . Μ — — —. Here I have deciphered enough to justify the reading [τ]ὸ ἀπὸ τῶν θυμιατηρίων. We cannot tell from this what was the object removed (or made?) from the ἐξάγιστα θυμιατήρια, but it is clear that ritual vessels could be so described.

That the epithet could also be applied to other votive objects may be seen in (4), namely II<sup>2</sup>, 1544, line 22 (Eleusis, engraved in 329/8 B.C.), where we find σίγλοι καὶ ἄσκοι ἐξάγιστοι weighing 4 drachmai, 1½ obols. This item I do not profess to under-

stand, for, though we may interpret *σίγλοι* as “ear-rings” on the authority of Photios (cf. L. S.,<sup>9</sup> *s.v.*), *ἄσκοι* must mean here some kind of small metal ornaments, and obviously not wine skins or clay vessels in the normal senses of the word. Moreover, in the following entry *σί[γλοι]* are coupled with a ring, which seems conclusive for that word, but for this sense of the word *ἄσκοι* I know of no other evidence.

For a general meaning to suit all these instances of *ἐξάγιστος* the literary evidence must not be overlooked. In Sophocles, *O.C.*, 1526, *ἐξάγιστα* is used of the mysterious setting of Oedipus’ death, and in Aischines, *Or.* III, 113, we have mention of an *ἐξάγιστος καὶ ἐπάρατος λιμὴν*, the “banned and accursed harbor”; “banned,” in fact, as Jebb’s note (*O.C. ad loc.*) makes clear, is the sense indicated for both these passages. But it is far from clear how objects dedicated in sanctuaries could be described as “banned,” whereas if they had somehow been defiled and “de-consecrated” they might still be retained, and weighed and recorded along with the other votive objects. Rouse, in discussing no. (4), (*Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 313), suggests that the *σίγλοι* and *ἄσκοι* at Eleusis were “forfeit and consecrated in the shrine” because the worshippers’ dress may have been prescribed and the wearing of jewels and ornaments forbidden; and this explanation is accepted by the editors of L.S.<sup>9</sup>

Whether or no such a regulation was strictly enforced at Eleusis (where, if it existed, enforcement would surely have been strict), this explanation will hardly account for the examples of the word *ἐξάγιστος* mentioned earlier, where the sense “de-consecrated” seems more suitable. In this connection we must not overlook the use of the substantive *ἐξάγισις* in a mid-fifth century decree relating to tolls on shipping at Sounion (*S.E.G.*, X, 10), where we read *ἡο<π>όσοι δ’ ἂν καταθῶσιν τὸ [ἀ|ργύριον τὸ ἐπ]ὶ τῆς ἐχσαγίσεως, ἔναι αὐ[τ|οῖς ἡόρμον καθάπ]ερ Σουνιῆσι*. Wilhelm’s conjecture *τὸ [ἐ|λλιμένιον (?), ἐπ]ὶ τῆς ἐχσαγίσεως ἔναι αὐ[τ|οῖς τὰ τέλε (?)] καθάπ]ερ Σουνιῆσι* does not shed further light on the meaning of the word; but if we retain the original conjecture, the *ἀργύριον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐχσαγίσεως* might be reasonably interpreted as the fine levied on merchant-ships for violating the sanctity of the harbor at the time of the festival, when only vessels on sacred duty might normally be permitted to enter the harbor, such as the *θεωρίς* captured by the Aeginetans on a famous occasion of which we read in Herodotos.<sup>88</sup>

## II

*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 33 f., No. 16; Agora I 2260.

Certain of the items recorded in this fragment of an Inventory can be definitely recognized in earlier lists drawn up by the Treasurers of Athena. With the aid of a squeeze of the upper portion (lines 1-22), kindly supplied by Meritt soon after it was discovered, I had succeeded in identifying most of the contents, and had worked out

<sup>88</sup> VI, 87.

a restoration with, normally, 48 letters to the line. Both the style of the lettering and the allusions to the damaged condition of some of the objects listed (cf. οὐχ ὑγίης, lines 9 and 13) would, in any case, indicate a date after the middle of the fourth century B.C., even if we had not the clear references in the lower fragment, found later, to the Archonships of Themistokles (347/6 B.C.) and Archias (346/5 B.C.). The form of the inventory also supports this conclusion, for it is typical of the group of stelai on which the items are listed in columns of continuous text, a system more economical of space than that previously in use where each item begins with a fresh line, of which the latest example is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1441, dating, I believe, from 347/6 B.C.

Thus the earliest possible date for our present list would be 346/5, in which case we should interpret the mention of the Archonship of Archias as introducing the list of accessions of the current year, with the phrase Τάδε προσπαρέδοσαν ταμίαι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρχίου ἄρχοντος, but this cannot be confirmed as it is not possible to reach a satisfactory restoration for any of the last ten lines. Apart from the fact that the arrangement of the contents precludes us from combining it with either II<sup>2</sup>, 1443 (344/3 B.C.) or 1444 + 1455 (341/0 B.C.) we must be content with an approximate date, most probably within the decade 346/5-336/5.<sup>39</sup> Two reasons combine to render a later date unlikely, namely the general tendency of the engravers of these lists to use progressively narrower columns from about 340 B.C. onwards, and the fact that under the reforms of Lykourgos, commencing in 334/3 B.C., the older dedications and ritual vessels were sent to the melting-pot, to be made into fresh ritual furnishings.<sup>40</sup>

Whilst the normal length of line, as already mentioned, is 48 letters, we must note an occasional inconsistency in the use of the punctuation : , which as a rule occupies a space before and after the weight-signs, but does not do so in line 15; and the fact that in line 21 the spacing of the last two surviving letters ΟΥ indicates that the six letters of the word [ρούτ]ου were compressed into five spaces. This justifies the assumption that an extra *iota* may be reasonably inserted in lines 7 and 15, as the proposed restorations require; on the other hand ὀρμίσκος in line 27 is spread out so as to occupy nine spaces. I have assumed in my transcript that two more letters are missing at the end of each line than are indicated in Meritt's original publication.

<sup>39</sup> One might be tempted to attribute this to the same stele as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1457, to which II<sup>2</sup>, 1458 is to be joined below (with two or three lines missing between them), since this list also has 48 letters to the line, engraved in a very similar style; and the date, possibly 338/7 B.C., would suit, but it is only 0.113 m. thick, as against 0.13 m. for our present list, which seems a decisive objection.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 333 for the resolution of the Nomothetai on this matter; II<sup>2</sup>, 457, the decree moved by Stratokles in 307/6 B.C. in honor of Lykourgos for his financial services, and II<sup>2</sup>, 1493-6 for the surviving epigraphical evidence for the melting down of the old crowns and metal vessels. Plutarch, *Vit. X. Orat.*, 852 B, briefly describes the new objects of precious metal made from the proceeds. Cf. also W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 122 ff.; and for the restoration of a passage in II<sup>2</sup>, 1495 relating to the melting-down process, my note in *Num. Chron.*, 1951, pp. 109-111.



where two *χερνιβεία* are weighed first separately and then together. Above the  $\text{𐀀}$  is a stroke which might be the lower bar of a *sigma*, but it is too uncertain to be worth transcribing.

Line 3: Where Meritt reads ]ρω[.στ]αθμ:[, I see <ΥΓ . . . ., i. e. [- - οὐ]χ ὕγ[ιᾶ στ]αθμὸ[ν - -].

Line 4: I do not feel certain of any letters except *ν θυμιατη . . ων*, which it is rather tempting to restore as [ἀπὸι τῶ]ν θυμιατη[ρί]ων [χρυσίου, ὃ παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳι ηὔρέθη, σταθμὸν -], as found in II<sup>2</sup>, 1421, I, lines 16-17 (374/3 B.C.); but it must be admitted that it cannot be recognized in any subsequent list, and its definite absence from II<sup>2</sup>, 1424a, of a few years later, is perhaps significant. If we venture to restore it here it would fill 31 letter-spaces, without the unknown weight-figures, and if these did not exceed two they would not have extended on to the legible portion of the text. But an entry of this length would satisfactorily account for the blank space left in the remainder of the line; whereas an almost, if not entirely, blank line seems unlikely at this stage of the list.

With line 6 we come to a series of familiar objects, which enable us, on the whole, to complete the next fifteen lines. To begin with, the restoration [θυμιατήρια ἀργυρᾶ τρία παρὰ τ]ῆν τράπεζαν ἄ[στατα], which is supplied by II<sup>2</sup>, 1424a, lines 188-189 (and has enabled the same entry to be restored in II<sup>2</sup>, 1413, line 15, *ca.* 380 B.C.,<sup>41</sup> and 1425, lines 134-135)<sup>42</sup> would leave us with seven vacant spaces, which we may confidently fill by inserting οὐχ ὕγιᾶ after the word *τρία*. They have not survived in any intervening list, nor can they be found in any list later than ours.

Line 7: Ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστάθη is a new expression for unweighed objects grouped together, in these inventories, but we may compare ἐστάθη δὲ καὶ ἐξητά[σθη] of some unidentifiable object(s) in II<sup>2</sup>, 1463A, line 13. The first 31 letter-spaces can be exactly filled with the *κανὸν ἵνα τὰ ἐλεφάντινα ζῶια, ἄστατον*, which directly follows the three Thymiateria in II<sup>2</sup>, 1424a and 1425, if we assume that at one point two letters occupy one space, for which I would suggest ἵνα as the most likely.

Line 8: The weight Χ $\text{𐀀}$ ΗΗΗΗΗΔ . . ΗΗ, which might be 1919, or 1924, or 1928 or 1933 drachmai (as the eighth and ninth signs have been lost through a surface injury), is not recognizable elsewhere, but if we assume that 1928 is an error for 2428 ( $\text{𐀀}$  for Χ), we have here the weight of a Thymiaterion as recorded in II<sup>2</sup>, 1424a, line 165; and I restore this item here, with the abbreviation *σταθ*: as found below, in lines 13 and 15.

<sup>41</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, p. 182; some of his other restorations of this text are far from convincing. For the date, cf. my remarks in *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I (Ferguson), pp. 392 f.

<sup>42</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, *Addenda* (1931), p. 805, by the Editor.

Lines 9, 10: The Thymiaterion dedicated by Kleostratē<sup>43</sup> and weighing 1320 drachmai is known already from II<sup>2</sup>, 1424a, lines 167-169; 1425, lines 115-116; 1428, lines 133-135; 1438, II, lines 9-10; and can be traced still earlier in 1407, lines 11-12 (restored),<sup>44</sup> of 385/4 B.C., and 1413, lines 4-5 (ca. 380 B.C.).<sup>45</sup> The following sum, 92 drachmai, is mysterious, and since twelve letters at most, ending in -εν, cannot contain the description of another object, I assume that this represents an amount either added to, or more probably lacking from, the weight of the Thymiaterion. Assuming the latter view, the total weight should be restored as 1228 drachmai, which would leave us with nine letters ending -εν. The more usual term to indicate such a deficiency in these lists is *τούτωι* (*vel sim.*), *ἐνδέει*, as in II<sup>2</sup>, 1463A, lines 15 ff.; 1440B, lines 30 ff. (but *ἐνέδει*, line 31). I can only suggest, as the N is quite certain and the E almost equally so, that we should restore here [κατέαγ]εν, or perhaps preferably [ἀπέαγ]εν, comparing *κατεαγός*, also of a *χερμιβέλιον*, 1445, line 30 and *ὄνυξ κατεαγός*, 1425, II, line 209 (and elsewhere); and more appositely, *τούτω[ν τὰ ἔλντρα κατ]έαγεν*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1469B, lines 94 f.

Lines 11-15: At the end of line 10 we need not hesitate to restore *κα[ροῦν χα]λκῶν ἐπίχρυσον, ἵνα ὁ Ζεὺς, κ.τ.λ.*, (or, if we insert an extra letter at the end of the line, reading *χαλ[κοῦν]*), the description of which as [*διακεκομμ*]ένον is confirmed by its being entered as [*διακεκομμένον*?] *οὐχ ὕ[γι]ές* in 1443, lines 159 f. In any case we apparently require, as in line 7 above, to compress the word *ἵνα* into two spaces. It is admittedly curious to find this *καροῦν* entered in the middle of a list of Thymiateria, but the fact seems beyond question. The weight should, however, be 3690 drachmai, for which the available space does not suffice, and rather than assume that the last three *deltas* have been omitted, it seems preferable to restore the weight as 3700 drachmai, XXXΠ<sup>9</sup>HH, ending with a stop (:). That the end of the weight-signs was not carried over to the following line seems clear, as we need not hesitate to restore the following item as the Thymiaterion dedicated by Aristokritos, which normally accompanies that of Kleostratē; and, as the transcript shows, the words *ἕτερον θυμιατήριον ἐπάργυρον χαλκῶ διερείσματα ἔχον* will exactly fill the available space if it starts at the beginning of the line. Meritt, unfortunately, read the letters preceding *διερείσματα* as *καὶ*, instead of -*κα* forming the end of [*χαλ*]κῶ, and thereby failed to identify the description, which might have furnished him (as it did myself) with a sure clue to the length of the lines. After the weight, 2330 drachmai, which is presumably correct this time, comes another familiar vessel, the Thymiaterion of Athena Nike, also damaged, but given its regular weight of 2120 drachmai. I agree with

<sup>43</sup> Meritt prints *Κλεον*[...], and admittedly there appear to be traces of a vertical stroke close to the edge of the damaged surface; but whether the engraver wrote mistakenly *Κλεον*[*ικη*] or *Κλεοβ*[*ούλη*] we can scarcely hope to decide.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I (Ferguson), p. 384.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 104, note 41.

Meritt in reading  $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\chi \text{ }\Xi\text{ }\sigma\tau\alpha\theta$ : though the sign after the *iota* is not the colon (: ) but three rather irregular short strokes like an untidy E lacking its vertical stroke. The description as  $\text{ }\upsilon\text{ }\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\upsilon\text{ }\nu$  is no doubt an error of the engraver's for the normal  $\text{ }\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\upsilon\text{ }\nu$ . At the end of line 15 we must assume that  $\text{ }\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\gamma\text{ }\nu$  is an error for  $\text{ }\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\gamma[\acute{\epsilon}\text{ }\gamma\rho\alpha\pi\tau\omicron]$ , presumably followed by  $\text{ }\iota\epsilon\rho\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu \text{ }\tau\eta\varsigma \text{ '\text{A}}\theta\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \text{ }\text{N}\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\varsigma$ , though this inscription is not attached to this entry in any other list, as far as I know.

Line 16: The total 5952+ drachmai must presumably refer to the weights of the three Thymiateria, of Kleostrate, Aristokritos and Athena Nike, but their correct weights, 1320 + 2330 + 2120 drachmai, equal only 5770. No convincing explanation can be offered for the difference of 182(+) drachmai; and even if, as seems just possible, the 92 drachmai weight of metal mentioned as broken off from the first of these vessels were added to, instead of subtracted from, the original weight of 1320 drachmai we should still be ninety drachmai short. Further speculation would be unprofitable.<sup>46</sup>

Lines 17-19: The expression  $\text{ }\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \text{ }\mu\iota\kappa\rho\delta\acute{\nu} \text{ }\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ , describing groups of small objects weighed together, is hitherto unknown in this form in these lists, but we may compare  $[\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \text{ }\tau\acute{\omega}\nu] \text{ }\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \text{ }\mu\iota\kappa\rho\delta\acute{\nu} \text{ }\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\delta\omicron\mu[\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu]$  in II<sup>2</sup>, 1479A, lines 26-27, and, I would suggest, we should restore in II<sup>2</sup>, 333, line 27  $[\tau\grave{\alpha} \text{ }\kappa\alpha] \tau[\grave{\alpha}] \text{ }\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha} [i] \text{ }\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$  instead of  $\tau[\grave{\alpha}] \text{ }\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha} [i] \text{ }\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ , as in the *Corrus*.<sup>47</sup> We may assume that this entry was preceded by a verb, and to complete the first part of the line we may conjecture  $\text{ }\text{T}\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon \text{ }\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu \text{ }\omicron\acute{\iota} \text{ }\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota \text{ }\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ , as at least indicating the sense.

Passing over, for the moment, the first item under this heading, we may readily recognize the second and third, namely the two gold  $\text{ }\acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\tau\eta\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$  and the forty-six  $\text{ }\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\iota \text{ }\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\alpha\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\text{ }\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , familiar in many lists (e. g. II<sup>2</sup>, 1425, lines 35-36; 1436, II, lines 55 and 58-59); and in the latter the  $\text{ }\acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\tau\eta\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$  are directly preceded by  $\text{ }\delta\omicron\mu\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota \text{ }\phi\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\text{ }\nu$   $\text{ }\delta\upsilon\omicron\iota\nu$  weighing six drachmai, which in fact will exactly fill the space available for our first item here; and may be restored accordingly. The fact that in II<sup>2</sup>, 1424a, lines 170 ff. this item appears under the heading  $\text{ }\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon \text{ }\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  makes me feel some uncertainty about the correctness of  $\text{ }\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}$  in the proposed restoration of the phrase which introduces this item, but does not seem to condemn it finally.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> It is just conceivable that the weight of the second Thymiaterion was entered, either by a mistake, or as the correct weight after repair, as 2420 drachmai, which would occupy the same space on the stone as 2330. If the whole difference was only 182 drachmai, implying that there were two *vacats* at the end of the line, this might solve the problem, if the first suggestion is also valid.

<sup>47</sup> Several other improvements might be suggested for this important text: in any case we might substitute for  $\text{ }\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \text{ }\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \text{ }\mu[\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \text{ } - \text{ } -]$  in line 29  $\text{ }\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \text{ }\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \text{ }\mu[\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha} \text{ }\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu - \text{ } -]$  and in line 10 of fragment *d* for  $\text{ }\text{P}\text{O}\text{N}\text{Ξ}\text{A}\text{Ξ}$  read  $\text{ }\pi\omicron\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\theta\alpha\iota]$ , as in line 3 of fragment *c*.

<sup>48</sup> These  $\text{ }\delta\omicron\mu\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota$  may have been silver-gilt; cf. also a  $\text{ }\phi\iota\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta \text{ }\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha} \text{ }\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\mu\phi\alpha[\lambda\omicron\varsigma]$ , at Eleusis, II<sup>2</sup>, 1544, lines 29 f.

Lines 20-21: We need not hesitate to recognize in the letters  $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\omicron\ .\ .\ .\tau\omicron\sigma$ — the remains of the words [ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ ] $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\omicron$ [ $\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon$ ] $\tau\acute{\omicron}\sigma$ [ $\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ ], which appear in II<sup>2</sup>, 1436, II, line 49 in the description of the gilt-bronze  $\kappa\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu$   $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$   $\delta$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ , which there precedes the similar  $\kappa\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu$   $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$   $\delta$   $\text{Ζεύς}$  (which is not  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ ). We may therefore insert it here, crowding in the final  $\nu\iota$  of the epithet at the end of the line; and after inserting its normal weight of 3596 drachmai we are met with another puzzling entry,  $\ .\ .\ .\omicron\upsilon$   $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$  Η — —, which is obviously too short to constitute a fresh item, and must therefore relate to the  $\kappa\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu$ , though in different terms from those used of the damaged Thymiaterion in line 10 above. Our choice seems limited to [ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau$ ] $\omicron\upsilon$   $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ :ΗΔΔ [ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu$ ], which would imply that the letters ΤΟΥΤ were crowded into three spaces, as seems to have been the case in view of the final ΟΥ of line 21 not being placed directly beneath the ΧΡ in the line above, but more cramped; and also that the punctuation-sign after the weight of the vessel does not occupy a separate space. How much more than 120 drachmai weight of metal was recorded as missing is an insoluble problem.

From here to the end of our fragment it seems impossible to restore any continuous sense, though a reasonably likely restoration may be proposed for line 27. But it is worth emphasizing that from line 7 onwards our list has proved to follow fairly closely the order of the items recorded in II<sup>2</sup>, 1436, II, lines 41 ff., except that the  $\kappa\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu$   $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$   $\delta$   $\text{Ζεύς}$  has been moved up to a place among the Thymiateria, and also that there is a more detailed description attached to the damaged objects.

Lines 22-24: Where Meritt reads — —ΟΥ . . in line 22 I seem to see ΠΥ, with possibly the upper right-hand stroke of Χ before them, in any case pointing to  $\chi\rho\nu$ [ $\sigma$ —, which we might combine with the other letters further to the right so as to read  $\chi\rho\nu$ [ $\sigma\omega$ ] $\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma$ [ $\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$ ], and suggest, *e.g.* [ $\text{— — τάδε παρέλαβον οἱ}$ ]  $\chi\rho\nu$ [ $\sigma\omega$ ] $\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma$ [ $\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$ ], which would necessarily imply the absence of a weight in the space following the  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  in line 23. The assumption that the rest of that line was blank indicates that a new paragraph, if we may so call it, begins in line 24, which would more easily explain the presence of the name of the Archon Aristodemos. This  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  is not easy to identify, but possibly we should recognize in it the  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  which, with other objects of gilt wood ( $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}\xi\nu\lambda\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ ) was recorded as in the Opisthodomos,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\kappa\iota\beta\omega\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\iota$ , in 398/7 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1388B, lines 75-76, though this is in fact a list of objects in the Hekatompedon). This chest and its contents, handed back to the care of the  $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$  in 385 B.C., re-appears in two of the lists drawn up by them (II<sup>2</sup>, 1450 and 1451, probably both dating from between 365 and 360 B.C.); and when the two Boards of Treasurers were again united, the chest and its contents, if still complete, would have been returned to the  $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  under the arrangement made, as I believe, in 346/5 B.C.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> For this date cf. *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I (Ferguson), pp. 405 f.

On this view we might expect to find other items from this, or some other similar Hekatompedon-list, in the remaining lines of our stele; and one of these, I would suggest, is the item found in line 25, — —  $\nu\omega\iota:\text{†}$ , which we may complete as [— —  $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\iota\ \lambda\ ]\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\iota:\text{†}$ , and identify with some confidence as the uncertain object recorded in the fragment which I added to II<sup>2</sup>, 1388 (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, p. 157). There we have [— —  $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\ ]$  — —  $\text{†}\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\iota\ [\acute{\iota}\ \lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\iota]$  and the word  $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$  may equally well have immediately preceded the two drachma-signs. The object was presumably a necklace, weighed with its string,<sup>50</sup> and described as a  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ .

The mention of the Archonship of Aristodemos in line 24 raises a difficulty which must not be ignored, but cannot be satisfactorily explained. If the fusion of the two Boards of Treasurers took place in 346/5 B.C.,<sup>51</sup> we may wonder why an object belonging to Artemis Brauronia should have been, apparently, handed over to the Treasurers of Athena six years earlier, in the Archonship of Aristodemos (352/1). A possible answer may be suggested if we take into account the creation of the Board of  $\text{Ἐπιστάται}$  to take charge of the votive offerings dedicated to Artemis Brauronia, whose inventories are collected in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1514-1531. The precise date of its creation is unknown, but little can be said in favor of the suggestion of Hondius<sup>52</sup> that it should be dated to the period 376/73 B.C. and associated with the activities of Androktion which he would attribute to those years. Ferguson has dealt effectively with this view,<sup>53</sup> but is undoubtedly mistaken in trying to bring down the date as late as 342/1, and to connect the institution of the Board with the abolition of the  $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\upsilon\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$ . That this late date is impossible is proved by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1524, where we find mention of the Epistatai (of the Brauronia) in the Archonship of Thoudemos (353/2 B.C.). If, as seems probable, this board was created in a Panathenaic year, 354/3 would be a possible date, though it might be put back four, or conceivably eight, years earlier. But, on the whole, 354/3 seems the most likely choice, since we find in II<sup>2</sup>, 1524 more than one entry indicating that the Epistatai were gathering together from other sanctuaries miscellaneous small votives of precious metal, such as three (?)  $\pi\omicron\mu\phi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$ <sup>54</sup> and a ring handed over by the priestess  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}$  (col. II, lines 44 ff.) to the Epistatai of 353/2 B.C., and a ring and two necklaces dedicated in the Parthenon and handed over by the Epistatai of 352/1 to those of 351/0 (*ibid.*, lines 51-59; cf. Hondius, *op. cit.*, p. 65, note 6).

<sup>50</sup> There are numerous dedications of this nature in the Brauronia-inventories, e. g. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1524A, II, lines 65-67,  $\text{Ἰφιδ|ίκη Ἰφικράτους θυγάτηρ ὑποδερίδα, σταθμ| σὺν τῶι [λί]νωι: †. IC}$ ; in lines 72-74 is another  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  together with a  $\mu\eta\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , from the same donor. Cf. also col. III, lines 104-105 and 109-110.

<sup>51</sup> See note 49.

<sup>52</sup> *Novae Inscriptiones Atticae*, p. 68.

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 116 f.

<sup>54</sup> For this term, meaning apparently a "bubble-like" bead or pinhead, cf. line 13 of the long fragment from Aristophanes, *Thesmoph.* II (Bergk 6) quoted by Pollux, *Onom.*, VII, 95-96.

A similar transfer is perhaps indicated in line 26, in connection with the year of Themistokles (347/6), including a *δρμίσκος* (line 27), an item which cannot be traced for certain among the treasures of Athena; but it would perhaps be rash to identify it with a *δρμίσκος χρυσός* recorded among the treasures of the Eleusinian goddesses in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 317, line 6 (*ca.* 410 B.C. ?), although we know that several objects from their sanctuary were transferred to the Hekatompedon early in the fourth century B.C.<sup>55</sup>

Line 28: The last letter preserved seems definitely, from the photograph, to be T, which might justify the restoration *οἱ ταμίαι οἱ τ[ῶν ἄλλων θεῶν]*, referring to some other act of transference ante-dating the abolition of that board.

Line 29: I am no less baffled than Meritt by the letters PABA ..ΤΟΙ, as neither *-πα]ραβα. .το* nor *-ρ' ἄβα. .το* nor *-ρα βα. .το* seems to give any possible sense. I can only suggest that if the second A is conceivably an engraver's error for Δ we might read *ῥαβ<δ>[ισ]τοί* (or *-τόν*), an unknown variant, with presumably a somewhat different sense, for *ῥαβδωτός*.<sup>56</sup>

Line 32: Surely not *ῥαλον χ-* but *[φ]θλλον χ[ρυσόν]*.

Line 35: For Meritt's suggestion [*-ἐ]πὶ Να[υσιγέ|ρους ἄρχοντος (?)]* I should prefer to read *πίνα[ξ]* or *πίνα[κες]*, as it seems improbable that even if the gold crown dedicated in the year of Nausigenes (368/7 B.C.) were still in existence it would have been entered at such a late place in this list; and we know of no other votive object which is described as belonging to his year.

### III

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1686, etc.

In his publication of newly-discovered, or newly-identified, fragments of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1686 (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 275-278), Meritt did not include the interesting fragment published under the number *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 303, although Wade-Gery had (cor-

<sup>55</sup> Cf. West-Woodward, *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, p. 70. Some of the silver *φιάλαι* transferred from Eleusis in 400/399 are listed in the fragment added to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1375 by E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 274 f., no. 9. It should be noted that this *δρμίσκος*, which is recorded as among the treasures of the *Ἐλευσίνιον ἐν ἄστει*, is entered, by a curious change of name, as a *ὑποδερὶς* in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 313 and 314, of the years 408/7 and 407/6 respectively. Its position in each list, in association with a silver *φιάλη*, leaves no doubt on the point; and the fact of its repetition in two successive lists as a *ὑποδερὶς* seems to indicate that I<sup>2</sup>, 317, where it is called an *δρμίσκος*, must be dated earlier than 408/7 B.C.

<sup>56</sup> The word *ῥαβδιστός*, apparently unknown hitherto, is a natural adjectival formation from *ῥαβδίσειν* (cf. *ῥαβδισμός* and *ῥαβδιστής*), and might be used to denote an object fitted to a rod, as distinct from *ῥαβδωτός*, meaning "fluted." For such an object we may compare an item in the Asklepion-inventory, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1534, line 103, *ῥαβδίωι ἡρτημένος ἀργυρίωι*.

rectly, as I believe) attributed it to the same stele.<sup>57</sup> With this addition, and including the two fragments of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1687 which Meritt assigns to it in the same article, we now have a total of ten pieces attributed to this document, but without a certain join between any two of these pieces. They may be listed as follows:

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1686*a* and *b* (Pl. 33)

Meritt, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 275 ff., No. 52, *c* (= Agora I 2982) and *d* (= E.M. 3032)

Meritt, *loc. cit.*, No. 52, *e* (= Broneer, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 165-166, no. 26)

Meritt, *loc. cit.*, No. 52, *f* (= Agora I 2486 *b*) and "Face B, *b*" (= Agora I 2486)

*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 303 (Pl. 33)

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1687*a* and *b* (Pl. 33)

Even now there is no certain clue to the original width or height of the stele, and in all too many passages it is impossible to restore continuous sense; but to justify a return to this subject I offer a few restorations for some of the additional fragments, and I would suggest that the relative positions of most of those belonging to Face *A* of II<sup>2</sup>, 1686 can be approximately indicated. In the light of these suggestions the problem of the original width of the stele can be approached with more confidence.

1). There can be no doubt that the smaller piece, 1686*Ab* (Pl. 33), is wrongly placed in the *Corpus* as coming below the main piece, *a*. Ferguson accepted this position for it,<sup>58</sup> unfortunately overlooking the facts that it is broken, and not, as he thought, blank at the back, and that there is definitely a blank space at the foot of *a*. Dinsmoor<sup>59</sup> drew attention to this mistake, and Meritt accepts the correction, adding that in any attempted reconstruction *b* should probably be placed above *a*. I do not feel quite certain that it might not possibly be combined with *a*, though I cannot offer a satisfactory restoration to confirm this, since a possible reading in line 32 (= *b*, line 7) would give us the mention of the same prytany (*Διαντίς*) as in *a*, line 21. The former line is printed in the *Corpus* as ἐπὶ τῆς --]τίδος πρυτανε[ίας -- σ πρυτανευόσης, but there is visible both on the stone and on the photograph the somewhat worn apex of an *alpha* centered under the *A* in the line above. The *nu* is entirely lost by damage to the surface, but we can thus reduce the possible restorations for the name of the tribe to [Δι]α[ν]τίδος or [Ἀκαμ]α[ν]τίδος; at the end of the line, moreover, as the letters *NE* are lost we must read πρυτα[νείας for πρυτανε[ίας.

Before we turn to the implications of the restoration of either of these names for the prytanizing tribe, certain other improvements must be noted for the text as given in the *Corpus*:—

<sup>57</sup> *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, pp. 136 *ad fin.*

<sup>58</sup> *The Treasurers of Athena*, p. 78.

<sup>59</sup> *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I (Ferguson), p. 171.

Line 2: For Ο . . . . Η, read Ο ι Γ . . Ν Η Η; above the first Η is Α, the only letter surviving from line 1.

Line 3: For ΑΙ' . . ΦΛΛ.Ε read ΑΓ.ΑΦΛΑΓΕ.

Line 4: For Ι. ἀπὸ τῶ[ν— read ΤΟΑΓ'ΟΤΩ[Ν(?)—

Line 6. For ΑΝΧΧ, κ.τ.λ. read σύμ]παν ΧΧ, κ.τ.λ.

Line 7: (*v. supra*)

Line 9: As the first and last letters are doubtful, read το]ύτων οἱ ἐξαχ[θέντες

Line 13: Under the second Ε of line 12 is Ρ (or possibly Β).

For line 2 the restoration σταθμὸν τ]ούτ[οι]ν ΗΗ— is reasonably certain, and we may with some confidence suggest that it refers to a pair of votive phialai.

In line 3 ἄγ[ρ]αφα ΑΓ'Ε (or ΑΓ'Ε), giving us either ἀ Πει[— ἀνέθηκεν, or ἄγε[ι  
ἔκαστον(?)—.

In line 4 possibly ἀργύριον ἐγένε]το ἀπὸ τῶ[ν φιαλῶν(?)].

Lines 5-6. κεφάλαι[ο]ν τῶμ [παραδοθέντων, as in 1686B, lines 61-62, this total being followed in line 6 by the total of all receipts for the prytany, — κεφάλαιον σύμ]παν (= 3470(+)) drachmai).

With line 7 we obviously have the beginning of the accounts of a new prytany, and if we accept the reading [Αἰ]α[ν]τίδος this must be the same prytany for which we have, presumably, the total in *a*, lines 21-22; but it is not possible, in this case, to decide at what point in the latter we should look for the beginning of the entries for this prytany.

If, however, we restore the tribe as [Ἄκαμ]α[ν]τίδος, we should have to put this piece above *a*; and with Akamantis as the fifth prytany, Aiantis would become the sixth, and Antiochis, as we shall see later, the seventh. Later than this is could not be placed, since there is clear evidence on Face *B* for three prytanies at least, the first (unnamed) covered by lines 39-50, the second (Hippothontis) by lines 51-63, and the third (implied by the use of the word *παρέδομεν*), by lines 63 to the end. Whether the new fragment, Face *B*, *b*, indicates that yet another prytany followed, will be considered later; but in any case so much is missing from above on this face that it cannot have contained the accounts of less than four prytanies in all which would imply that the accounts of Antiochis were continued from Face *A*. On the whole, then, it seems preferable to assign the sixth prytany to Aiantis and the fifth to Akamantis, restoring [Ἄκαμ]α[ν]τίδος in line 7 of our fragment *b*.

2) As Meritt's fragment *c* must be located low down on Face *A*, it is more appropriate to deal first with the fragments which belong higher up on this face of

the stele. To begin with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 303 (Pl. 33), the version printed in the *Corpus* is far from satisfactory, for it omits to indicate that traces of no less than five lines can be deciphered after line 7. The surface here is much damaged and its condition strikingly resembles that of the upper portion of fragment *b* which we have just dealt with.<sup>60</sup> After prolonged study both of the stone and of a squeeze, I would transcribe the text as follows:

<Ι?Ι  
 ΙΙΗΗΗΙϞ  
 ΡΗΘΙΩΝΚΑΙ  
 ΝΤΤΤΧΧΗΑΓ  
 5 □ ΕΛΛΗΝΟΤ  
 ΣΙΝΙΓΓΟΚ  
 ΞΤΡΑΤΟΙΑϞ  
 ΑΞΕ  
 ΑΧ ΙΔΟ  
 10 Ε Α  
 ΗΔ  
 ΗΔ

Line 1: This can hardly be restored as anything but — *ς* *πρῶ*[*τανε* — —, as the *hasta* surviving from the second letter is set distinctly to the left of its chequer; but whether we have a noun or a participle cannot be decided.

Line 2: The numeral ends in —9 drachmai, 1½ obols.

Line 3: Presumably a dedication by the islanders of Peparethos and a neighbour. Such an offering, distinguished by the name of the state which made it, was surely a crown, and following *καὶ* must have come the name of the joint donors. A possible clue to their identity is to be found in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 124, the remains of a decree of 406/5 B.C., above which is a relief showing Athena giving her hand to a bearded man, to whom the word Ἰκιος is appended. If this is a proxeny-decree, as seems likely, it was presumably passed in favour of a prominent citizen of the island of Ikos, which may well have dedicated a crown to Athena together with its better-known neighbour, Peparethos. This would permit us to restore here [*στέφανον τὸν ἀνατεθέντα ὑπὸ Πεπα*]-*ρηθίων καὶ* [*Ἰκίων*], and might well point to the conclusion that the item in line 2, of which the weight ends in 9 drachmai, 1½ obols was likewise a crown, seeing that it is

<sup>60</sup> But there can be no possibility of placing them close together, owing to the difference in the lettering, as well as in the spacing of the lines. In fact it would appear that I<sup>2</sup>, 303 was the work of a different stone-cutter from the man who cut 1686, and must therefore be placed near the top of the stele.

most unusual to find votive offerings other than crowns (apart from small objects such as rings) of which the weight is recorded as ending in a fraction such as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  obols.

Line 4: It is not clear whether the sum of 3 talents, 2115(+) drachmai is the total weight of some large group of objects, or of the entire receipts of the prytany concerned; in the latter event [κεφάλαιον σύμπα]ν would be the natural restoration, and this seems preferable, since the mention of the Hellenotamiai in the following line seems to point to the first transaction of a new prytany. Even if we assume that they received some payment (from the Treasurers of Athena), we cannot restore lines 4 and 5 so as to read Ἐλληνοτ[αμίαις παρέδομεν τῶι δέϊνι (demotic) καὶ συνάρχου]σιν Ἴπποκ — as this would give us a much shorter line than is required for our stele.

Line 7: The reading in the *Corpus στρατ[ηγ]ο[ίς -]* does not agree with traces visible on the stone, and I believe that, as my copy indicates, we have a name in the dative, *e. g.* [Καλλι]στράτωι, followed by his demotic, which might begin either with ΑΦ (*e. g.* Ἀφ[ιδναίωι]), or with ΛΘ (*e. g.* Λο[υσιεῖ]).

Nothing of value can be gleaned from lines 8-12, though the faint traces in line 9 would be consistent with Ἀχ[ε]ρδός[σιος (or -σίωι)], and in line 11 two drachma-signs followed by *delta* (?), and perhaps more numerals in line 12, may indicate the weights of objects handed over for melting.

There is nothing in all this to suggest that this fragment could be directly associated with any other portion of 1686*A*, and our only possible clue to its position is afforded by the fact that if, as I have tried to show, the accounts of a new prytany begin in line 5, we cannot combine it with fragment *e* (no. 4, below), which appears to make mention of the third prytany, and is, moreover, characterised by a different style of writing. If this change of hand marks the beginning of the accounts of the third prytany, our fragment must relate to the end of the first and the beginning of the second.

3) Fragment *d* (E.M. 3032). Meritt's suggestion that the mention of a pair of silver phialai in line 4 indicates that this should be associated somehow with lines 3-7 of 1686*A* is attractive, but the different style of the lettering is an obstacle, and it might be wiser to assign it to a place higher up on the stele, in the first or second prytany, where similar objects may well have been recorded. I can only add a few notes based on a careful study of the photograph which he reproduces. Thus, in line 1 the four letters partly preserved seem to be ΙΝΙΓ, for which we might restore either [Φα]ινιπ[πο, as in line 12 of 1686*A*, or perhaps [καὶ συνάρχου]σιν Ἴπ[ποκ— as in line 6 of I<sup>2</sup>, 303, above. In line 2 we may very likely have the names of two dedicators of one or more phialai, — καὶ Ἴερο —, with several alternatives for the completion of the second name. In line 3, after ΕΝΗΞ there seems to be the apex of Λ, presumably [ἀ.]νέθηκεν rather than the demotic of the dedicator — ἐνης. For the dedication

of a pair of phialai cf. 1686*A*, line 6 as well as that suggested above for line 2 of 1686*Ab*.

4) The ingenious restoration proposed by Broneer, on the assumption that this fragment was to be compared with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 296/8 and 302 is not valid, now that it has been identified by Meritt (and accepted by Dinsmoor)<sup>61</sup> as part of our stele (fragment *e*). From the evidence of the writing this seems unquestionable. Omitting Broneer's restorations we may transcribe this fragment as follows:

----- ω -----

[ -- καὶ συ]νάρχ[οντες (?)]-----

[--- παρέ]δοσαν -----

[--- ἐβδό]μει κα[ὶ δεκάτει (?)] τῆς πρυτανείας

5 [--- ἴδος τ]ρίτης [πρυτανευόσης -----]

XXI

[--- ἀργ]υρι[o -----]

The readings are free from doubt in lines 1-4, but in line 5 it is not clear from the photograph that the first letter was certainly Π, and the surviving traces which it shows might equally well point to Γ (or Ε?). In line 6 the *hasta*, though centrally spaced, might perhaps belong to Η or Τ (rather than Π) if the figures are not strictly *stoichedon* in relation to the lines above and below. Apart from an uncertain date in line 4, where δεκάτει is merely conjectural, and, if we accept the *rho* in line 5, the holding of the third prytany by some unidentified tribe, this adds little to our knowledge. If however we decide to read Γ for Π we can only restore ἐ]πὶ τῆς[--- ἴδος πρυτανείας], giving us no clue to the position of this fragment in the record of any prytany from the third onwards.

In line 3 the use of [παρέ]δοσαν (contrast [πα]ρέδομεν, 1686*B*, lines 63-64) seems to point to a twofold transaction, whereby the recipients of certain objects handed them over to a second body, which would agree with the inference drawn by Ferguson<sup>62</sup> from the close juxtaposition of the words Epistatai and Hellenotamiai in 1686*A*, lines 10-11.

5) The transcript of fragment *f* calls for little comment: in line 1 it would appear from the photograph that the Ο had been followed by Ξ<sub>1</sub> (unless these marks are merely discoloured surface-injuries), and the latter stroke, by its position might belong to Η or Γ; the former would permit us to restore πρυτανευ]όση[s]. No further restorations seem feasible in lines 2-5, but an alternative grouping of the letters in line 6 would give us -ο Κλεισθ[έν -, for -οκλει Σθ[ενο --- suggested by Meritt,

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 171; his suggestion that this may include part of the prescript is mistaken.

<sup>62</sup> *Treasurers*, p. 78.

and might indicate a dedication, -- δ Κλεισθ[ένης -- ἀνέθηκεν]. In favour of Meritt's division of the letters we should note the wide space after the *iota*, which is set well to the left of center, but against this is the fact that no Attic name beginning Σθενο- (and they are far from common), seems to be known before the latter half of the fourth century B.C. It is perhaps also worth noting that neither of the items recorded in lines 3-4 -- οὐν δυοῖν and -- ν ἐπαργυρ -- can be recognized among the contents of the Pronaos, or the Parthenon, or the Hekatompedon in the inventories from 434 B.C. onwards.

6) Fragment *c*, as Meritt observed, certainly looks as if it should be associated with 1686*Aa* at some point between lines 18 and 26, and the only evidence to guide us is given by the words Ἀντιο]χίδος π[ρυταν -- in line 4. Seeing that in line 21 of *a* we have ἐπὶ τῆ]ς Διαντίδος, followed not by πρυτανείας but by χρ[υσίο(?), which seems to point to a total for the prytany, the new piece must surely be placed so that line 4 comes after line 21 of *a*. This suggestion gains support also from the recurrence of the curious words ἐλήφθη ἔχων ο οὐ -- in line 3 here and in *a*, line 23, as Meritt recognized. In each case, I have no doubt that we should restore δ]ς (or ἀ]ς) ἐλήφθη ἔχων ὁ οὐ[κέρης, as the only possible explanation of the letters ΟΟΙ in line 3. Apparently a dishonest slave was arrested in possession of two separate lots of stolen property, presumably from two different sources, and we may well believe that it was money rather than other valuables which he stole. This would enable us also to bring into the same context the letters ΛΞΤΟΣ in line 5, for which Meritt's suggestion στατήρ]ας τὸς might be appropriately continued with the words ἐκ τῷ Ὀπισθοδόμο, since that would be the natural place for their safe-keeping.<sup>63</sup>

Nevertheless, it seems impossible to find a restoration which will give a satisfactory connection with the main fragment, since the combination of line 4 with line 22 of *A*, though tempting at first sight, so as to read [ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιο]χίδος π[ρυτανείας ἔκτης (?) πρυτα]νεύσεως leads to insuperable difficulties in the restoration of the other lines. One point, however, seems clearly established, namely that the prytany of Antiochis followed immediately after that of Aiantis.

7) The closer spacing of the lines, which convinced Meritt that his "fragment *b* of the reverse" should be located below the larger piece, is accompanied by straggling and untidy lettering, not unlike that of II<sup>2</sup>, 1687*b*. As it is clear from the photograph that at least two lines have been obliterated at the top by surface-injury, we cannot tell whether, after this gap, it directly continued the last lines of the main fragment, but there is nothing in its contents to make this impossible. In fact, if the presence of [πα]ρέδομεν in 1686*B*, lines 63-64 proves that this is the beginning of a new prytany-account, followed in the next two lines by payments made in the early days of this prytany, we may accept the close connection of the two pieces as extremely probable.

<sup>63</sup> Compare *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 305, lines 13 ff. for the disbursement of Cyzicene staters from this source.

Turning to the days of the prytany recorded in the new fragment, it is reasonably certain that we should restore ἐν]ἀτη κα[ὶ δεκάτη in line 1, and τ]ετάρτη[ι καὶ εἰκοστῇ in line 2, since πέμπτε[ι in line 6 can only be completed as πέμπτε[ι καὶ τριακοστῇ], in view of the almost certain restoration of lines 6-7 as κεφάλαι[ο]ν τῶμ [παραδοθέντων, introducing the total of the payments made during the prytany, one item of which was the νο[μ]ισμ[α – in lines 7-8. And we need not hesitate to restore [τῇ αὐτῇ] | ἡμέραι in lines 4-5, comparing *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 301, lines 20-21 and 304, line 23.

There is nothing to indicate whether the words τῆς πρυτανείας followed the ordinal numerals in lines 1-6; but reference to the main fragment (*B*) shows that in the prytany covered by lines 3-12 these words are omitted in line 5 after ἐβδ] | ὅμει which is followed by a numeral, Δ. ; and again in lines 13-25 they are inserted as far as the sixth day, inclusive, whilst we find that they are omitted after – – δ] | ἐκάτει in line 18. This would justify us in recognizing the same formula in lines 27 and 28 (confirming the view that we have here two of the early payments in a new prytany), and in omitting the words from a restoration of our new fragment. As none of the lines give us any indication as to the recipients of the various payments, and we have only the remains of one small sum recorded in line 4, where we should presumably restore [– – παρέδο | μ] εν ΗΔΔΔ – –, it seems unnecessary to set out a restoration incorporating the suggestions put forward above. It only remains to add that if the letters ΟΞΗ in line 9 should be completed as [πρυτανευ] | ὄση[ς], this might point to the beginning of the accounts of a new prytany, which, in this case, could hardly be any but the tenth; but in view of the uncertainty of the restoration, the point had better be left undecided.

8) It seems appropriate at this point to consider some points in connection with the restoration of Face *B*. When Ferguson acutely deduced the date of this document, and drew attention to the evidence from lines 45-50 for a distribution of grain, both barley and wheat, to the beleaguered Athenians during the siege, he claimed that there was evidence for its distribution “during each of at least three (consecutive ?) prytanies,” adding “Instead of money these officials (*i. e.* the *Tamiai*) now doled out grain.”<sup>64</sup> But, unfortunately, he jumped too hastily to the conclusion that because distributions of grain are mentioned specifically in two passages relating to the same prytany, therefore all subsequent payments in this and the two following prytanies were also made in grain. Thus, when he speaks of amounts ranging “from a few tens of medimni to 4510–” and adds “On one day the (*Tamiai*) handed over 314 medimni, one hekteus of barley and an unknown quantity of wheat,” I would point out that neither of these assertions is correct. In the first place, it must be admitted that the only definite distributions of grain are those which are so described, [κριθῶν μεδίμνος – –] | ἐκτέα· πυρῶν μεδ[ίμνος – –], in lines 45-46, and [κριθῶν μέδιμν] | οι ΗΗΗΔΙΙΙΙ ἐκτεύς· πυ[ρῶν

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 82 f.

μέδιμνοι — ], in lines 49-50. We must conclude that other entries, where this detailed description of the nature and amount of the grain distributed does not appear, and a sum directly follows a date, *e. g.* — — κα] ἰ εἰκοστῆι ΠΗΗΗΗ, lines 46-47, must represent sums of money. By no possibility could the sum ending in 4½ obols (IIIC) in line 55 represent measures of grain any more than that ending with three drachma-signs in line 56. Moreover, as Ferguson himself recognized, the details of the total for the following prytany include a payment in silver (ἀργυρίο —), in line 63; but he failed to realize the implications of this entry for the previous prytany.<sup>65</sup>

The other point of importance is the fact that individual distributions of grain are recorded in the accusative, as the object of *παρέδομεν* (*e. g.* ἐκτέα, line 46), so when we find the nominative ἐκτεύς (line 50) it is used as being an item in a total, introduced by *κεφάλαιον*. For this reason I have substituted *μεδίμνος* for *μέδιμνοι* as printed in the *Corpus*, lines 45-46. It is quite possible that other entries under this prytany, if preserved, would show that the total of 314 medimnoi of barley represented more than one distribution, and even in the following prytany, though the five sums wholly or partly preserved must all represent payments of money, there may also have been distributions of grain, for which the surviving portion of the text affords no evidence whatsoever.

I am glad to see that Meritt recognized that in 1686*A*, lines 19-26 the restoration *στατήρες*, which I had mistakenly proposed many years ago,<sup>66</sup> should be altered to *στατήρας*, on the analogy of 1687, line 5, but this is not true for line 26, where the nominative must be retained, following [*κεφάλαιον σύμ]παν*.

9, 10) In considering the possible relationship of II<sup>2</sup>, 1687 to 1686, we must not omit to notice that in 1687*a* the final lines of each paragraph do not reach to the right-hand edge of the stone, and that a line is left blank, apparently, between each paragraph; and further, that the entries represent payments recorded under days of a prytany. On *b*, on the other hand, we seem to have a series of totals, classified according to the currency in which they were paid, with each line extending over the whole width of the stele (if we may judge from the evidence of the first two lines).

But this is not the only point of difference between 1687*a* and *b* and also between the former and 1686, for a more serious obstacle against assigning 1687*a* to the same stele as 1686 or 1687*b* consists in the different horizontal spacing of the letters: in 1686*A* the width of ten letters over all (*e. g.* line 23, from the center of the first letter preserved, ξ, to that of the eleventh, Ν) is 0.103 m., and on Face *B* the average width of any ten letters is almost exactly 0.106 m., whereas in 1687*a*, line 6 where we can measure the same number of letters with sufficient exactness the width is only 0.096

<sup>65</sup> Ferguson's notion of a distribution of grain on one occasion to the *δικαστήριον* (line 60) becomes less fanciful if we restore it as a sum of money paid for the Dikasts' fees, —ε] | σ τὸ δικασ-  
τ[ικόν]; perhaps there were other similar entries on the missing part of the stele.

<sup>66</sup> *J.H.S.*, XXXIV, 1914, p. 287.

m.; in 1687*b* the width of six letters (the maximum number measurable) is 0.059 m., as compared with 0.057 m. on *a* and an average of 0.06 m. on 1686*A*. On the whole it seems improbable that 1687*a* with its arrangement by paragraphs and an appreciably more crowded horizontal setting of the letters could be associated with either face of 1686, and it would be more prudent to reject the connection.

For 1687*b* the balance of evidence is less adverse: the lettering is surely the work of the same hand as on 1686*A* and *B*; we may note the typical *phi* with the vertical stroke not continued through the loop (cf. 1686*A*, lines 8, 15, 23; *B*, line 14); the tendency for the top stroke of *tau* to be slightly tilted in one or other direction, and for *alpha* to lean over slightly to the right.<sup>67</sup>

As none of these details are equally conspicuous in 1687*a*, where, moreover, the *omikron* is distinctly smaller in proportion to the other letters than in 1686 or 1687*b*, this may well point to the work of a different engraver—an additional reason for dissociating it from 1686 and 1687*b*. If we are justified in connecting the latter piece with 1686 it would go more suitably with Face *A*, with its closer horizontal spacing, and belong near the lower left-hand corner of the stele, being separated from the last line of the main piece by a blank space of at least 0.035 m.; and we should have to assume that there was a slightly closer horizontal spacing at the beginning of the lines of Face *A* than we find towards the end. It is not, however, impossible that this summation of the totals of currency-payments on this face of the stele was not engraved in a strictly stoichedon-arrangement in relation to the body of the text.

Before leaving the subject of II<sup>2</sup>, 1687 it must be noted that in the text of *a* as printed in the *Corpus* the position of the right-hand margin is incorrectly indicated, and that in fact there are the remains of an additional letter at the end of each of lines 3, 5 and 7 (lines 5, 7, and 9 below). It should be transcribed as follows:

	. . Γ . . .
	[----- στατήρας Κυζ]ικην[ὀ χ]
	[ρυσίο-----] (vacat)
	(vacat)
5	[----- καὶ συνάρ]χοσιν ἐπὶ τ
	[ῆς -- ἴδος----- ηι τῆς πρ]υτανείας (v)
	[----- στ]ατήρας Ἄττι
	[κὀ χρυσίο-----] (vacat)
	----- ηι τῆς πρυταν
10	[είας-----] (vacat)
	(vacat)

<sup>67</sup> These characteristics are also to be recognized in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1370+1371+1384, 1373, 1383, 1399 and in the new fragment of the Opisthodomos inventory, *Hesperia* VII, 1938, pp. 272 f., no. 7, all, I believe, engraved by the same hand.

[----- ἀργ]υρι καὶ χρυσ[ί]  
 [ο----- στατήρας Κυζι]κηνο χρυσί[ο.]  
 ----- ΤΤΤΤΤΠΗΗΠ·  
 15 [----- πέ]ντε-----

In line 5 the remains of the first surviving letter seem to indicate X rather than Ξ, giving us the obvious restoration -- καὶ συνάρ]χοσιω, and in line 14 the first letter was almost certainly T and not Π.

In 1687*b*, line 1, κεφάλαι[ον] is certain, and in line 3 the stone shows Δαρεικὸ X, pointing to the restoration Δαρεικὸ χ[ρυσίῳ στατήρες --], giving us the same order of words as in the record of the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 310, lines 103, 177). Following the word κεφάλαιον in line 1 the nominative στατήρες must be restored not only in line 1 but also in lines 2 and 4. If objection is raised to the mention of Attic gold staters in line 4 as well as in line 2, we might satisfactorily restore in the latter χρυσίῳ ἀ[σήμο --] for Ἄ[ττικὸ], which gains support from the absence of any trace on the stone of the cross-bar of the T for which there is available space at the extreme lower right-hand corner, whereas Ξ may have all been lost by the breakage of the stone.

It will have become obvious that none of the newly-added fragments helps effectively towards establishing the exact length of the lines on either face of the stele. Ferguson suggested that about six-sevenths of Face *A* was lost, and as none of the surviving lines contains more than twelve letters (and most of them even less) he assumed that there were originally about 84 letters in each, supporting this with the statement that “normally the accounts of the Tamiae had about 84 letters to the line.”<sup>68</sup> The number is unlikely to have been much larger than this estimate, in view of the thickness of the stele, which is only 0.087 m. (say 3½ inches), and we have no very clear indication of its possible minimum width. There is, however, a clue which seems worth following in the remains of lines 2-6 of Face *A*, where we have a list of silver phialai, entered singly or in pairs, followed by the name of the dedicator and presumably by the weight of each. Whatever the exact formula was, it clearly required, either when used once or when repeated, approximately two letters less than the length of a line, with slight variations due to the difference in the length of the name of the dedicator, or of the weight, or of both. Experimenting with possible alternative formulae one finds that φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν ἦν . . . . . ἀνέθηκεν, σταθμὸν ταύτης . . . ,

<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 79, note 1. The value of this support must not be unduly stressed, for of the six stelai with accounts of the Tamiae available for comparison, whilst *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 296 has 84 letters to the line and 302 has 85, 293 (as restored by Meritt, *Ath. Financial Documents*, pp. 42 ff.) has 93; 297 has 78; 304*A* (non-stoichedon) has ca. 74-88; 304*B* has mostly 73-74; and 301 cannot be more precisely estimated than ca. 80. The length of line in the *Traditiones* of the Pronaos, Hekatompedon and Opisthodomos shows a much wider range.

allowing eight spaces for the name and three for the weight gives us 47 letters, which, with two entries to the line would give us 94—2(= 92) letters. The omission of ταύτης (twice) would reduce this to 80, whilst the insertion of two demotics, with ταύτης retained, would bring up our lines to an improbable length, appreciably exceeding 100 letters. It seems preferable to retain ταύτης on the analogy of the later fifth-century *Traditiones* and of those of the early fourth century, but it must not be overlooked that in the unidentified list which includes both phialai and golden Nikai (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 369 + 390a) the demotics of the dedicators are inserted, as well as the word ταύτης. Adopting the first suggestion, we might offer the following tentative restoration for lines 2-5: <sup>69</sup>

(στ. ca. 92)

- [.....<sup>34</sup>..... φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν ἦν .....<sup>8</sup>... ἀνέθηκεν,  
σταθμὸν ταύτης ... φιάλην ἀργ]υρ-  
[ἀν ἦν .....<sup>6</sup>... ἀνέθηκεν, σταθμὸν ταύτης ... φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν ἦν .....<sup>6</sup>... ἀνέθηκεν,  
σταθμὸν ταύτης ... φιάλην ἀργ]υρᾶν  
[ἦν .....<sup>5</sup>... ἀνέθηκεν, σταθμὸν ταύτης ... φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν ἦν .....<sup>6</sup>... ἀνέθηκεν σταθμὸν  
ταύτης ... φιάλην ἀργ]υρᾶν ἦν.  
5 [...<sup>7</sup>... ἀνέθηκεν, σταθμὸν ταύτης ... φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν ἦν .....<sup>7</sup>... ἀνέθηκεν, σταθ-  
μὸν ταύτης ... φιάλην ἀργ]υρᾶν ἦν  
[...<sup>7</sup>... ἀνέθηκεν, σταθμὸν ταύτης ... .....<sup>48</sup>.....  
..... φιάλα ἀργυρᾶ δ]ύο ὦ Καλ-  
[λι -- ἀνέθηκεν, σταθμὸν τούτοις -- (κ.τ.λ.)

It would be unprofitable to conjecture what might have been contained in line 7 to fill the gap before the words ἐκ τῷ Π]αρθενῶνος at the end of the line, though quite possibly there was mention of the total number and weight of the silver phialai from the Parthenon as inventoried in the previous lines.

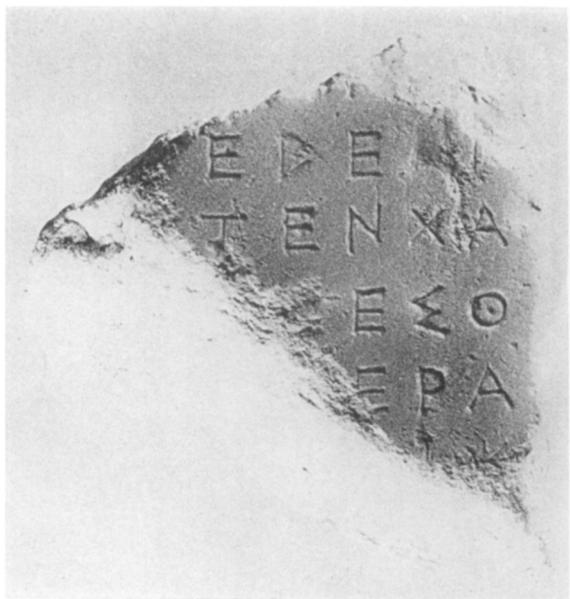
I have not thought it worth while to consider the alternative suggestion that each line contained the record of one phiale only, with an approximate length of 46 letters, for, although we cannot put forward any experimental restoration of any other lines of Face A on this reduced scale, we may conclude that it would be impracticable for Face B. In line 11, for instance, the natural restoration would seem to be κεφάλαι] | ον τῶμ παραδοθέντων [ν ἐπὶ τῆς -- ἴδος πρυτανείας -- ἧς πρυτανευόσης ἀργυρίο --, κριθῶν μέδιμν] | οι κ.τ.λ. giving us not less than 75 letters, to which we have to add the weight of the silver currency which was presumably entered before the figures for the distribution of grain in this prytany, of which mention has been made above.

<sup>69</sup> Some of these φιάλαι may very well have weighed exactly 100 drachmai implying a proportionately longer name for the dedicator, but 102 drachmai is likely to be close to the average weight.

It remains to add that, if the suggested figure of approximately 92 letters is correct for Face *A*, we should expect that on Face *B*, with its appreciably wider horizontal spacing (0.106 m. : 0.103 m. for ten letters) there would be probably three letters less in each line, say *ca.* 89. For a stele of the width thus indicated, i. e. little less than a meter, we might expect the height to be at least one-third more, perhaps upwards of 1.30 m. If we take the average vertical spacing of ten lines as 0.130 m. this would give us room for 100 lines on each face, assuming that the stele was inscribed right down to the foot. As we have seen, this is not the case on Face *A*, where there is at any rate a vacant space of at least 0.035 m. between the last line of 1686*A* and the presumed summary of the totals on 1687*b*, which I would place below it; and there may have been a further blank space at the foot of the stele, possibly on Face *B* as well. From this evidence—for what it is worth—we may conclude that an estimate of 100 lines on each face might be somewhat excessive; but in any case this calculation will remind us how small a proportion of the original stele is represented by the surviving fragments, and how far we still are from solving all the problems which it raises.

A. M. WOODWARD

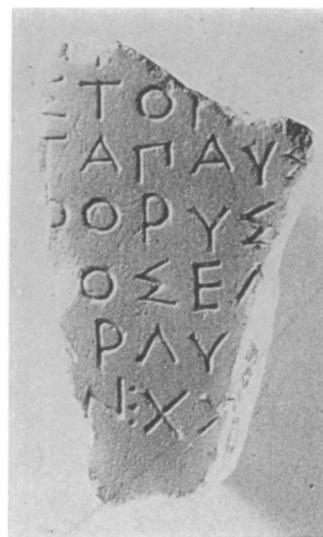
TUNBRIDGE WELLS  
ENGLAND



No. 1, Face A



No. 1, Face B



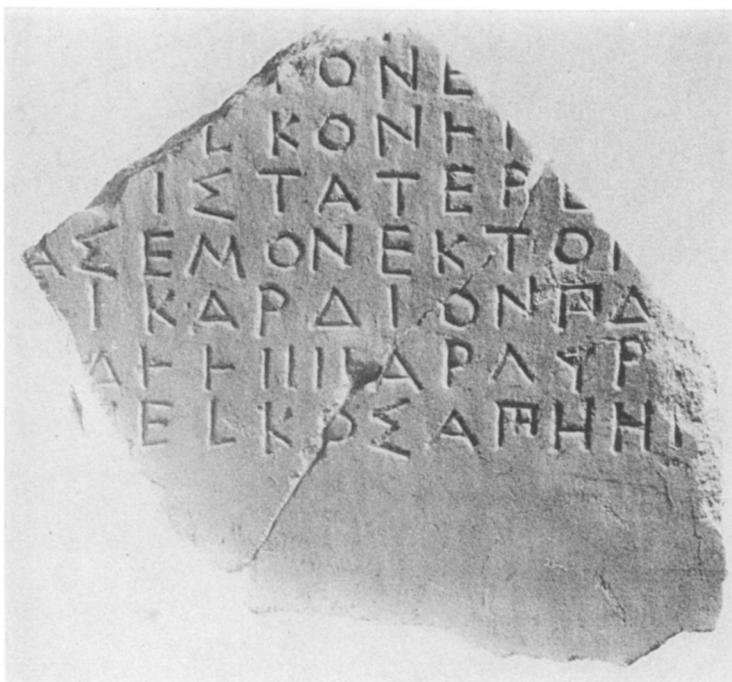
No. 4



No. 2, Face A



No. 2, Face B



No. 3



No. 6



No. 5



No. 7



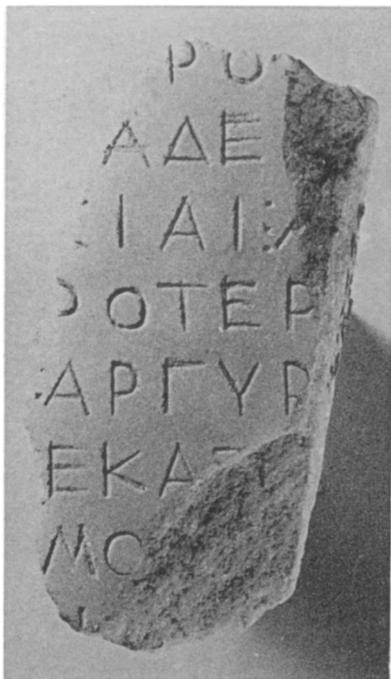
No. 9a



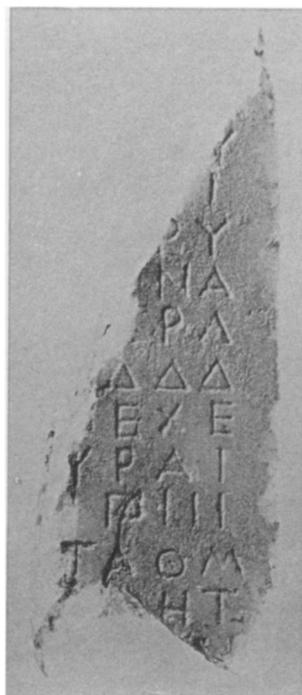
No. 8



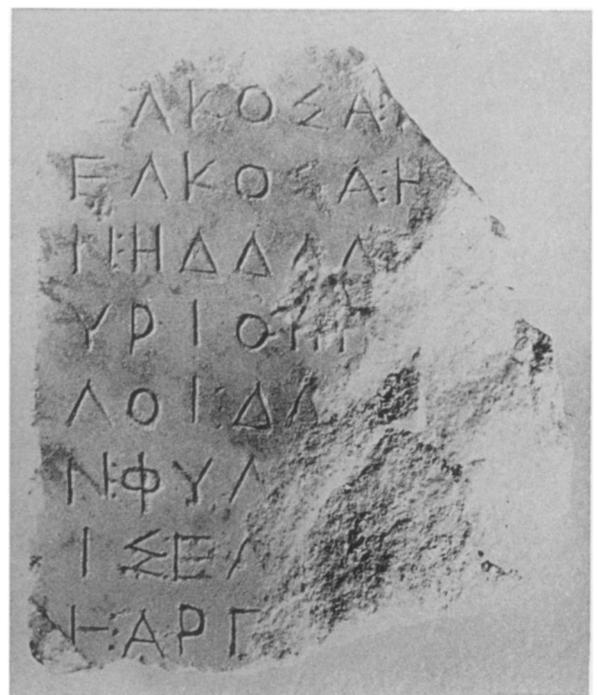
No. 9c



No. 9b



No. 9d, Face B



No. 9d, Face A

