

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 50-63)

THIS report continues the presentation begun earlier this year (pp. 1-97, above) of inscriptions discovered in the Athenian Agora, and brings the systematic exploration of the inventory down about to No. 5020 out of a total of 6738. Several of the earlier exceptions are here accounted for, but many remain.

49 (Plate 50). Three fragments of Pentelic marble have so far been identified as belonging to a financial record of the latter part of the Fifth Century:

a. Fragment of a stele, with part of the original top preserved, found on May 13, 1937, in a late context on the north slope of the Acropolis east of the Late Roman Fortification (T-U 23-24).

Height, 0.128 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 4859.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[---] παρὰ Ναχσ[ίον ---]
 [---]ΤΧΗΗΗΓ[---]
 [---]ΗΗΓΗΗΗ[---]
 [---]Ι παρὰ [---]
 5 [---]ΧΧΧΠ[---]
 [---]ῠ[---]

b. Fragment broken on all sides, discovered by Pittakys on August 10, 1857, in the Odeion of Herodes (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., no. 3174), and published most recently as *I.G.*, I², 324a.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

	[-----]	Κα[ταναίλοι -----]
	[-----]	ΔΔΔ[-----]
	[---]ηναίους	Σικε[λοι -----]
10	[---τ]άδε	ΗΠΔ[-----]
	[-----]	Ῐρεγί[νοι -----]
	[---]ν	ΠΧΧΓ[-----]
	[-----]	Σικε[λοι -----]
	[-----]	γίγν[εται -----]

In line 9 the reading in the *Corpus* is $\overline{\text{---}^{\prime}\text{Αθ]εναίοις}}$, but the first visible letter is eta, not epsilon, and the word was not cut *in rasura*.¹ In line 11 of the second column the initial letter was clearly rho, as I have verified it on the stone in Athens; Pittakys had read phi, and he read correctly [τ]ῶδε in line 10 of Col. I.

c. Fragment broken on all sides, found on May 21, 1935, in modern context over the north end of the Middle Stoa (O 13).

Height, 0.091 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 2916.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

15 Ϝ×[-----]
 Δ^Ϝ[-----]
 Η[...]||[-----]
 γίγνε[ται -----]
 hoi δὲ Σι[κελοὶ - - - ἐπέδοσαν]
 20 [.] ἈΤ vacat
 [κεφά]λαι[ον σύμπαντος - - - -]

The letter at the end of line 19 (after sigma) is too closely spaced for T or Y. It may have been I, K, or Γ.

These fragments are brought together by the identical character of their writing, though letters in Col. I of fragment *b* are carelessly cut, and by the similarity in texture of the marble. The lettering is quite like that of the Erechtheion accounts of 408/7 (*I.G.*, I², 374). Pittakys associated the fragment known to him with the Athenian expedition to Sicily in 415 B.C. (*loc. cit.*); Eduard Meyer thought of it as a continuation of the records of public audit (like *I.G.*, I², 324), made in 414 B.C. to cover the period from 418/7 to 415/4;² E. Cavaignac dated it in 427/6 and counted the references to Sicily as applicable to the Athenian expedition of that year.³ He thought the writing quite similar to that of *I.G.*, I², 324 of 422/1 B.C. There is, indeed, this similarity, and about all that can be said of the date on the basis of the writing is that the inscription belongs to the time of the Peloponnesian War; but this is evident anyway from the content.

Except for the one name (if it is a name) in fragment *b*, Col. I, line 9, all the

¹ The reading was correctly given by Kirchhoff (from Koehler's copy) in *I.G.*, I, 541. Pittakys (*op. cit.*) claimed that the letters *ηνα* were cut on a deeper surface of the stone (which is true), but the deeper surface was apparently due to a blemish on the stone before the inscription was cut, and the letters were simply written over the blemish with no erasure.

² *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, p. 132.

³ *Histoire financière d'Athènes*, p. XXX.

names are those of Athenian allies in South Italy and Sicily. The amounts of money specified are large, and appropriate, I think, to the early days of the great Sicilian expedition of 415 B.C. But these sums were not sums raised in Athens; they were sums contributed in the field by Sicilian and Italian allies (e. g., *παρὰ Νάξου* [ίων] in fragment *a*, line 1). Hence they are not sums on which interest was to be reckoned by the logistai and repaid (with the principal) to the treasurers of Athena, as was the case in *I.G.*, I², 324. They seem rather to have been contributions from the allies, of which a record was kept and cut on stone in Athens.

It is well known that Athens expected financial help from her allies in the west, but it was not in the event as much as she had hoped nor as long sustained. At the very outset the money promised from Eggesta was forthcoming only in part (*Thuc.*, VI, 46, 1), amounting in fact to thirty talents. By 413 B.C. Nicias was writing to Athens in complaint that Naxos and Katane could help him no longer (*Thuc.*, VII, 14, 2). The record, surely, does not belong to this later year, but should be associated with the beginning of the campaign, when Rhegion first served as a base and (though herself unwilling to take the field) may well have furnished money to the Athenian generals. In 415 B.C. the available money in Naxos and Katane, which latter concluded an alliance with Athens and became the Athenian base after Rhegion (*Thuc.*, VI, 51, 2-3), had not as yet been drained away. The Athenians had succeeded in realizing 120 talents from the sale of Sikan captives taken at Hykkara in the late summer of 415 (an item which does not appear in this epigraphical text), and undoubtedly received some funds from the Sikels through whose territory they marched (*Thuc.*, VI, 62, 3) from Eggesta back to Katane in the autumn of the same year. Perhaps lines 9, 13, and 19, are in some way a reflection of the success of this march.

50 (Plate 50). The facing-block for a base of statues dedicated to Demeter and Kore. The principal fragment of the base was found on May 21, 1936, built into the wall of a stoa of the first century before Christ bordering the road which led north-westwards from the Market Square (E 3). This was published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 339-342, with illustrations and a drawing (front elevation and cross-section in Fig. 6).⁴ Many small fragments were found at the same time built into the wall of the modern drain which had destroyed the left side of the base. Some of these are shown in the early photographs (*op. cit.*, p. 340), but others were added in November of 1938. These small fragments seemed at first to be uninscribed, and it was assumed that the left half of the base (on the face) had indeed remained blank. But as the fragments were assembled, and the monument reconstructed, it became clear that an inscription on the left half of the face balanced that on the right, giving a symmetrical text not unlike that of No. 51, below. A photograph of the reconstructed face

⁴ See also *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 406-407; *Illustrated London News* of July 18, 1936.

is shown in Plate 50, with the small fragments in position,⁵ and a revised drawing, to take the place of that published in 1937, is shown in Figure 1. The dimensions are:

Height, 0.674 m.; width of principal face, 1.35 m.; width of left face, 0.665 m.; thickness at the right end of the longer face, 0.24 m.; thickness of the block at the end of the shorter face, 0.357 m.

Height of letters: (in line 1) 0.019 m.; (in lines 2-4 and 8-12) 0.021 m.; (in lines 6 and 13), 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 4165.

Both the long and the short exterior faces were finished; the ends and the interior faces were left rough. The top was finished with a claw-hammer except for a relieving surface along the edge. Well-cut mouldings ran along the top and bottom, at the top a cyma reversa over ovolo, at the bottom a torus (see Figs. 1 and 3). At the right end of the long side these mouldings carry around for a short distance and beyond them the surface is rough for setting into or against something. The preserved marble fragments could have served as facing for a poros core, and over the whole was probably laid a plinth to serve as the proper base for the statues.

ca. med. saec. IV a.

	[Δή]μη[τ]ρι καὶ Κόρει	
	[Σπο]υ[δίας]	Κλειοκράτεια
	[- - - - -]	Πολνεύκτου
	[Ἄφι]δ[ναῖος]	Τειθρασίου 10
5	<i>vacat</i>	θυγάτηρ
	[- -]υσ[ι]κλ[ῆς ἐποίησεν]	Σπουδίου γυνή
	<i>vacat</i>	Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησεν

The small letters of line 6 were read by Claireve Grandjouan on November 7, 1953. Epigraphically, they are $\iota\kappa\lambda$, with distances between centers measuring 0.016 m., 0.023 m., and 0.017 m. respectively. On the stone there is a break between the sigma and the kappa. If it be assumed that iota once stood in this interval, the distances between the letters (not measured on centers but measured as interspaces) are 0.007 m., 0.008 m., 0.008 m., and 0.009 m. respectively. On the whole, the spacing favors the restoration of iota where the stone is now broken. Such a restoration also aids in the interpretation, for the letters [- -]υσ[ι]κλ[ῆς] now become part of a proper name and form part of a single line beneath the main inscription on the left just as Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησεν forms a single line beneath the main inscription on the right. This [- -]υσ[ι]κλ[ῆς], therefore, was either the dedicator of the whole monu-

⁵ The photograph does not yet include a small piece with the letters $\mu\eta$ of [Δή]μη[τ]ρι in line 1, which is, however, shown in the drawing.

ment (restoring $[- -]\upsilon\sigma[\iota]\kappa\lambda[\eta\varsigma \text{ ἀνέθηκεν}]$) or the sculptor who made the companion statue to that made by Praxiteles (restoring $[- -]\upsilon\sigma[\iota]\kappa\lambda[\eta\varsigma \text{ ἐποίησεν}]$). The modesty of the letters, as well as their position, makes it most unlikely that $[- -]\upsilon\sigma[\iota]\kappa\lambda[\eta\varsigma]$ was the dedicator,⁶ while the same phenomena support strongly the idea that $[- -]\upsilon\sigma[\iota]\kappa\lambda[\eta\varsigma]$ was the sculptor, contemporary with Praxiteles, who executed the statue on the left side of the base.

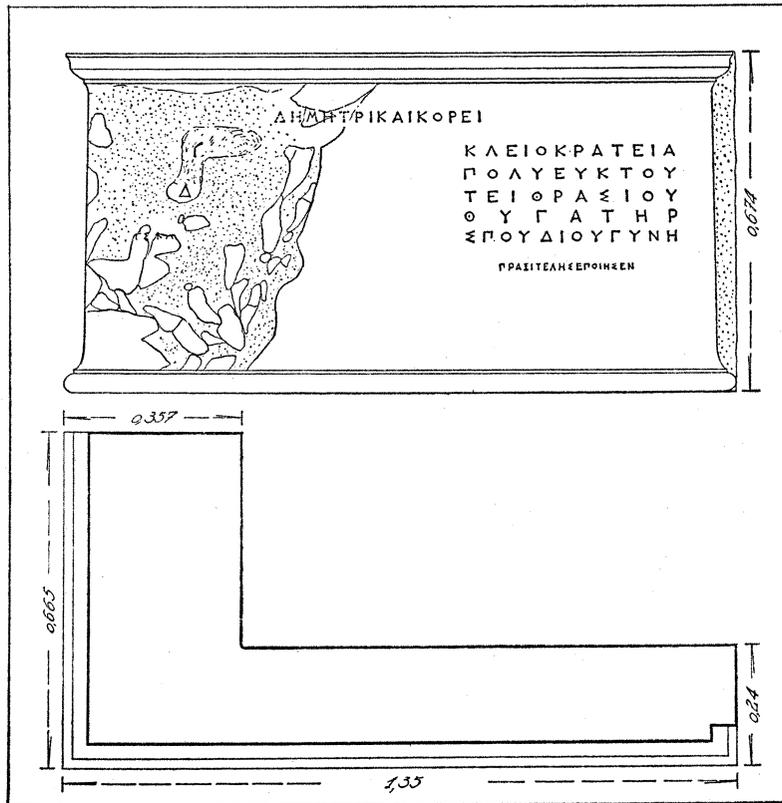


FIG. 1. No. 50: Drawing of the Base.

The larger letters of lines 2-4 are to be restored with the name of Kleiokrateia's husband. The demotic, for reasons of symmetry in the spacing of the names,⁷ was probably [^ἌΦι]δ[ναῖος] rather than [Δαι]δ[αλίδης], and indeed the name Spoudias is known in Aphidnai (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 525-526, No. 39, lines 7-8) in the following century.

⁶ See, for example, the display in No. 51, below.

⁷ See the names on the right half of the face. The unscripted surface to the left of the preserved delta in line 4 indicates an open spacing which would probably bring the final sigma of Δαιδαλίδης onto surface at the right which is unscripted.

The prosopographical connection between this text and the forty-first oration of Demosthenes was noted by Shear,⁸ who made the necessary correction in the text of the oration (XLI, 3) for the demotic of Polyeuktos, from *Θριάσιος* to *Τειθράσιος*.⁹ There is no indication in the oration to help in identifying the deme of Spoudias, who as husband of Kleiokrateia was defendant in the action. The excavators have seen a connection between this base with the statues that once stood upon it and the statues of Demeter, her daughter, and Iakchos reported by Pausanias (I, 2, 4) as standing in the temple of Demeter near the spot where the base was found. According to Pausanias these statues were designated as works of Praxiteles by an inscription on the wall of the temple written in Attic letters. I find it difficult to accept this connection, for the statues upon our base were portrait-statues (cf. also No. 51, below),¹⁰ and if the suggestion offered above for the restoration of line 6 is correct only one of them was the work of Praxiteles.¹¹ The base may have been dedicated originally in the sanctuary of Demeter near which it was found, but the possibility must be kept in mind that it was originally in the Eleusinion, and that it had no connection of any kind with the lower sanctuary. The quite similar base published here as No. 51 surely belonged to the Eleusinion.

51 (Plate 51). A base for two statues, found on April 29, 1938, re-used in the wall of a building of late classical times antedating the Late Roman Fortification and in part overlaid by it (T 21). The base was in three main pieces, which were originally joined with clamps, as shown in Fig. 2. One of the smaller pieces was recovered from the same building in which the inscribed fragment had been re-used. The inscribed fragment has the following dimensions:

Height, 0.84 m.; width, 1.575 m.; thickness (at the left), 0.285 m.; thickness (at the right), 0.18 m.

⁸ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 341.

⁹ This correction is utilized in A. T. Murray's edition in the *Loeb Classical Library*: *Πολύευκτος γὰρ ἦν τις Θριάσιος* is changed to read *Πολύευκτος γὰρ ἦν τις Τειθράσιος*.

¹⁰ The suggested connection with Pausanias is questioned also by A. A. Παπαγιαννόπουλος-Παλαίος, *Ἀρχαῖαι Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἐπιγραφαί* (Athens, 1946), pp. 83-84. G. Lippold, in P.W., *R.E.*, s.v. Praxiteles (col. 1801, no. 57), says of the connection, "unwahrscheinlich, weil in der Insch. Iakchos fehlt. Es wird sich doch wohl um Porträtstatuen handeln." Cf. also R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III: *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, p. 85.

¹¹ Another large base with a dedication to Demeter and Kore (*I.G.*, II², 4025) has a disposition of text similar to that of our base. The signature of the artist Kephisodotos is below the name at the right side of the face and Marcadé remarks (*Recueil des Signatures de Sculpteurs Grecs* [Paris, 1953], I, 54): *Képhisodotos pourrait n'avoir exécuté que l'une des deux statues que supportait la base*. The name (and perhaps an artist's signature) on the left side of *I.G.*, II², 4025, has been lost because of damage to the surface. Marcadé believes, as do I, that it was once inscribed. This base was found in 1875 near the Tower of the Winds; it probably stood originally in the Eleusinion.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.02m. (lines 1-9), 0.01 m. (line 10).
Inv. No. I 5407.

This monument was mentioned in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 207, as evidence for the site of the Eleusinion.¹² The stone, in its re-use, was laid with the inscribed surface uppermost, and most of the moulding from the top and bottom was chipped

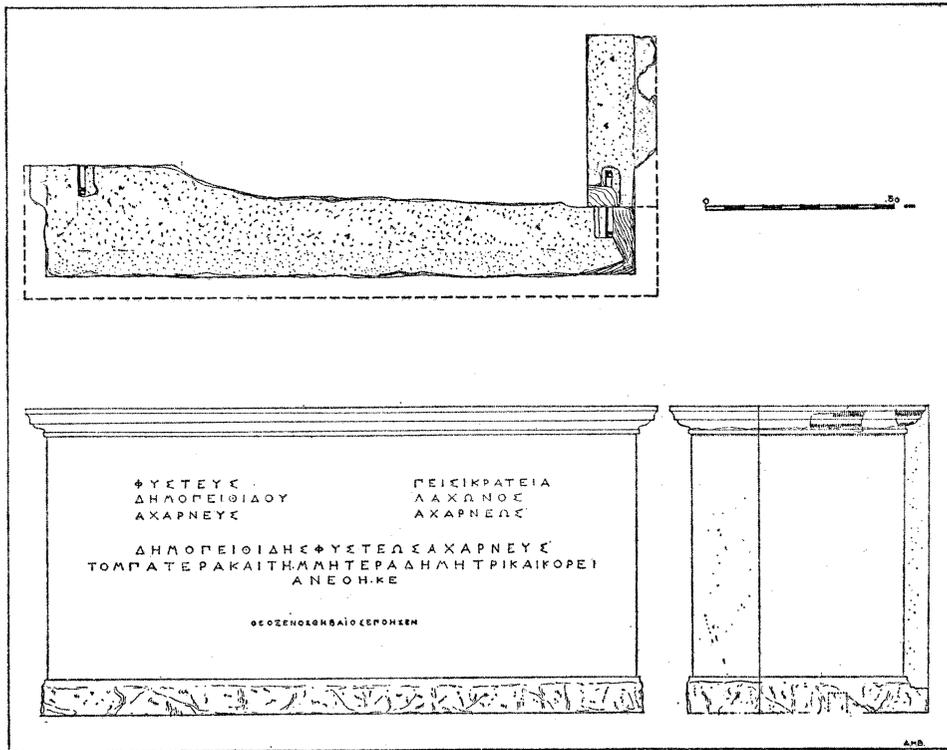


FIG. 2. No. 51: Drawing of the Base.

away. Numerous fragments of the upper moulding were found just west of the block itself, apparently where they fell when the stone was re-used, and good evidence that it was not far from its original location. The profile of this moulding may be seen in Figs. 2 and 3; the lower moulding remains largely lost.

post med. saec. IV a.

Φυστεύς
Δημοπειθίδου
Ἀχαρνεύς

Πεισικράτεια
5 Λάχωνος
Ἀχαρνέως

¹² See also R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III: *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, p. 83.

Δημοπειθίδης Φυστέως Ἀχαρνέως
 τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρει
 ἀνέθηκε
 Θεόξενος Θηβαῖος ἐπόησεν

10

The stone has been worn almost smooth where the artist's signature occurs. This signature, very faint, was detected by Eugene Vanderpool early in May of 1949 and

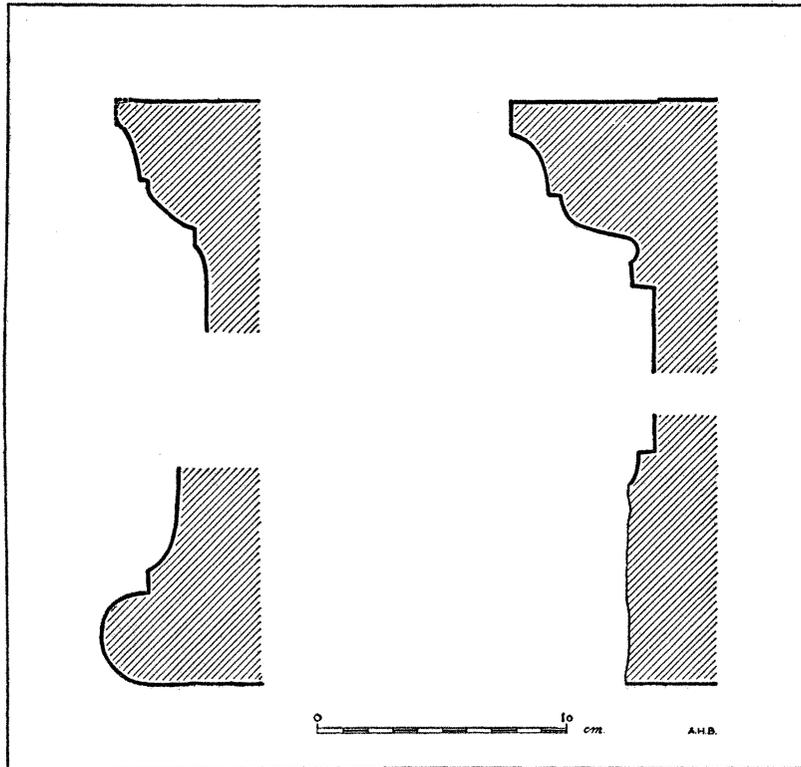


FIG. 3. Mouldings of the Bases: No. 50
at the left, No. 51 at the right

the name Theoxenos was read by him at that time. This was used by J. Marcadé in his "Essai d'un Répertoire historique des Sculpteurs célèbres," in *Sculpteurs Célèbres*, published under the direction of P. Francastel by L. Mazenod, 33 rue de Naples, Paris, in 1954. Marcadé's article therein covers pp. 323-344 and is entitled "Les Grecs." The reference to Theoxenos, whom he dates in the third century, is on p. 336.

The full name, including the ethnic, was deciphered with the use of a charcoal wash on January 16, 1955, and confirmed by a later examination, in which Evelyn Harrison also joined, on March 2, 1955. The letters do not show clearly in a photo-

graph, but such as they are they may perhaps be seen in the illustration on Plate 51. They are shown also in the drawing in Figure 2.

The dedicant, his mother and father, and his two grandfathers, as well as the sculptor, are hitherto unknown.

52 (Plate 52). Two fragments of Pentelic marble, belonging to the base of a dedication by the taxiarchs. Fragment *a* was found on March 30, 1937, in the wall of a modern cellar east of the Late Roman Fortification (U 22); it is broken at the right only, though badly chipped, and preserves a corner of a tripod-base with a trace of a cutting on top and a contact surface below. Fragment *b* was found on April 27, 1939, in a wall of Turkish date west of the Late Roman Fortification (R 22); it is broken at both sides, but preserves the smooth lower surface and probably part of the original top, with one end of a rectangular cutting in the line of the break at the right. The back is not parallel to the front, but on both fragments the inscription is cut on the slightly concave face of the tripod-base.

- a) Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.225 m.; thickness (at the end), 0.098 m.
Height of letters in line 1, 0.015 m.; in lines 2-7, 0.01 m.-0.012 m.
Inv. No. I 4659 *a*.
- b) Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.23 m.
Height of letters in line 1, 0.015 m.; in lines 2-7, 0.012 m.
Inv. No. I 4659 *b*.

post med. saec. IV a.

ῥ ταξία [ρχοι οἱ ἐπὶ ----- ἄρχοντος Δήμητρι] καὶ Κ[όρη ἀνέθηκαν]

Ἐρεχθίδος	[Πανδιονίδος]	[Ἀκαμαντίδος]	[Κεκροπίδ]ος	Αἰ[αντίδος]
Δίαυτος	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]ρης	Δ[-----]
Παμβωτά[δης]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]ς	Μ[αραθώνιος]
Αἰγυγίδος	[Λεωντίδος]	[Οἰνήιδος]	[Ἴπποθωντίδο]ς	Ἄν[τιοχίδος]
Δημοφῶν	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	Γ[-----]
Ἐρχιεύς	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	Αἰ[γυλιεύς]

The character of the writing suggests a date in the second half of the fourth century. Neither Diatitos nor Demophon is otherwise known, and the name of the archon in line 1 is lost; so a more precise date is not possible. The place of discovery of this inscription, with the fact that it is a base which once bore a tripod dedicated to Demeter and Kore, is further evidence for the site of the Eleusinion, where the dedication was undoubtedly erected. See R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III: *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, pp. 74-85.

53 (Plate 52). Part of a sculptured stele of Pentelic marble, with the left side and possibly the back preserved, found on March 29, 1937, in a pit of Turkish date on the north slope of the Acropolis, below the Klepsydra (T 26).

Height, 0.277 m.; width, 0.283 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 4663.

The writing is stoichedon with a vertical unit of 0.016 m. and a horizontal unit of 0.014 m. Above the inscribed surface is the lower left corner of a shallow relief: at the left the lower legs of a draped figure standing right; at the right, facing this figure, the front hoofs of a prancing animal and the booted foot of a second human figure.

init. saec. IV a. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25

[ἔ]δοξεν τῆι βολ[ῆ]ι [καὶ τῶι δήμωι]

[Ἐρ]εχθῆις ἐπρυτάν[ευε, . . .⁷. . .]

[. . .] ἐγραμμάτευ[ε, . . .⁶. . . ἐπεστά]

[τε,] Γνάθων εἶπε [.¹³]

5 [. . .] α[.] ἴδην καὶ [-----]

It is possible that the theta of Θ[εοί] is preserved above the tau of line 1. I regard alpha in the third space of line 5 as certain, but I have no good suggestion for the letter which follows.

54 (Plate 52). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on May 19, 1937, in a context of Byzantine date over the Late Roman Fortification on the north slope of the Acropolis (T 26). There is a slight spring of a moulding immediately above the first line, almost carried away by the fracture of the stone. Below the last line is a rebate (for later use) which cuts into the letters a trifle.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness (possibly original, with the back rough), 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4899.

a. 336/5 a. NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[ἐπὶ Πυ]θοδῆ[λου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς -----]

[-----]ς πρυτ[ανείας ἦι -----¹⁹ -----]

[ἐγραμ]μάτευ[εν ----- ὄνος -----]

[-----]ι καὶ εἰ[κοστῆι τῆς πρυτανείας --]

[-----]

The secretary of the year of Pythodelos is not known, but his full name is known to have had 19 letters (*I.G.*, II², 328).

55 (Plate 52). The right-hand front corner of a block of Hymettian marble, a string course of a dedicatory monument, found on April 27, 1937, in a terracotta drain in a house of late Roman date southeast of the Tholos (H 12). The top is finished as a good bearing surface, and near the preserved end has a shallow dowel cutting with lead in its bottom. The under side of the stone was picked toward the middle, and lightly drafted around the edges.

Height, 0.117 m.; width, 0.275 m.; thickness (not original), 0.244 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4781.

post a. 307/6 *a.*

[ἐπὶ ----- ἄρχοντος [] πρυτάνεις
[στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ το]ῦ δήμου ἀνέθεσαν

The dedication was made by the prytaneis of Antigonis or Demetrias, whose name (to be restored in line 1) suffered *damnatio* after 201/0. The letter forms indicate a date for this inscription very soon after the creation of the Macedonian phylai, the formula of dedication being a variant of those used, e. g., in *I.G.*, II², 1750-1753.

There is obvious crowding of the letters at the end of line 2; hence one can hardly estimate from the restoration of this line how long a name should be supplied for the archon in line 1.

56 (Plate 53). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with part of the face, right side, and back (rough-picked) preserved, found on May 22, 1937, in a late context on the north slope of the Acropolis west of the Late Roman Fortification (T 23-24). The face shows almost vertical markings of a toothed chisel.

Height, 0.137 m.; width, 0.192 m.; thickness, 0.072 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4906.

The inscription is stoichedon with a square chequer pattern in which the units measure 0.0116 m.

ante fin. saec. IV *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 30

[-----]γω[... καὶ ἀναγράφ]
[αι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γρ]αμ[ματέα τὸν κατὰ]

[πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλ]ει λι[θίνει καὶ στ]
 [ῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει·] εἰς δὲ τ[ὴν ἀναγραφ]
 5 [τὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦ]ναι τὸν ταμί[αν τοῦ δ]
 [ῆμου : ΔΔ : δραχμὰς] ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατ[ὰ ψη]
 [φίσματ' ἀναλισκο]μένων τῶι δῆμω[ι^ο ^ο ^ο]

vacat

The restoration in lines 1-2 presupposes that the scribe wrote merely τὸ ψήφισμα (as, e. g., in *I.G.*, II², 448, line 26) instead of the normal τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα. Other solutions to the epigraphical crux of these lines are possible: (1) to write --]γω[. . . ἀναγράψαι | δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα --]; (2) to suppose that the full formula [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα --] was used, in which case the letters γω might have been a dative, as, for example, in *I.G.*, II², 109*b*, line 24, but in this case the reading [-- -- --]γω[ι ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα --] would be too long by one letter for a correct stoichedon spacing in line 1; (3) the letters γω may have been an abbreviated ending of some patronymic or ethnic; (4) to assume, as is perhaps most probable, that the decree awards a crown and that the proclamation was to be made not only at the Dionysia but also [Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀ]γῶ[σιν] (cf. e. g., *I.G.*, II², 851, line 11 as restored). It would suit the date better to restore the singular [Παναθηναίων (*vel* Διονυσίων) -- -- τῶι ἀ]γῶ[νι^ο] (cf. e. g., *I.G.*, II², 555, line 6).

The restoration ἐν ἀκροπόλει in line 4 accords well with the fact that the stone was found on the north slope of the Acropolis, whence it had presumably fallen. The elision in line 7 finds a parallel, for example, in *I.G.*, II², 360, line 26.

57 (Plate 53). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the right side and back preserved, found in a modern retaining wall east of the Late Roman Fortification on the north slope of the Acropolis (*ca.* S 23) on July 2, 1937.

Height, *ca.* 0.27 m.; width, *ca.* 0.245 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.12 m. (the back rough).

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 4991.

a. 217/6 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 33-37

[----- εἶπεν·] ἐπ<ε>ιδὴ Ἱερο[-----]
 [ἰέρεια λαχοῦσα ----] | ΓΕΝΕΙ.ΟΥΛΑΜ[^{ca.} 5-6 --]
 [^{ca.} 4- εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸ]ν τὸν ἐπὶ Εὐάνδ[ρου ἄρ]
 [χοντος καλῶς καὶ εὖσ]εβῶς τὴν ἱερῶ[σύνην]
 5 [ἐξήγαγεν καὶ τὰς θυσ]ίας τὰς καθηκού[σας ἔ]
 [θυσεν καὶ τὰ λοιπ]ὰ ἐφιλοτιμήθ[η ἐ]π[-----]
 [----- ἐπεμ]ελήθη δὲ τῆς στ[ρώ]

[σεως τῆς κλίνης τῶν θεῶ]ν μετὰ πάσης [σπου]
 [δῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐπεμελήθ]η δὲ καὶ τῶν ὄργ[εώ]
 10 [νων ----- διεν]έμησε δὲ κ[αὶ . . .]
 [----- ἐπεμελήθ]η δὲ καὶ ε[-^{στ. 5} -]
 [-----]

It seems probable that this text is a decree in honor of a priestess of the Great Mother. Orgeones are mentioned in lines 9-10, and the restorations can be patterned much on the analogy of *I.G.*, II², 1314 and 1315, of approximately the same date. There is a difficulty in line 2 which I have not been able to resolve. Another difficulty in line 10, where the letters on the stone are certain, can be resolved by reading and restoring the aorist active indicative of *διανέμω* as [διεν]έμησε. The infinitive *διανεμῆσαι* is quoted by Liddell and Scott from Didymos; hence this irregular form finds some support, and one may bear in mind that the decree is not an official Athenian record but an enactment by a group more than usually open to non-Attic influences.

The date of the archon Euandros in line 3 is that given by Dinsmoor in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 316.

58 (Plate 53). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble with the rough-picked top and part of the left side preserved, found on June 4, 1937, in a late Byzantine pithos on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios (F 4).

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 4933.

a. 178/7 a.

Φίλων ἄρχων ὁ μ[ετὰ Μενέδημον]
 Ἄλεξιῶν Σπεν[σίππου Ἀζημιεύς]
 [Σ]ωκράτης Σωγένου[ς Ἀζημιεύς]
 [. . .] ἄτης Ἀριστοκρ[άτους - - -]
 5 [οἱ τ]ῶν Ἀχαι[ῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον]
 [τὸν Ἀ]θηναίων [ἀπεσταλμένοι (?)]
 [. . .]χος Ἀντ[ιγονεύς]
 [. . .] Ἀζώ[τιος]
 [-----]

The archon Philon named in line 1 is dated in 178/7 B.C.¹³

Alexion son of Speusippos of Azenia of line 2 is identified as that envoy to Miletos in 196 B.C. (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 588, lines 6-7) who helped to negotiate a recon-

¹³ Cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxviii; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 94.

ciliation between Miletos and Magnesia. His name also appears in a list of contributors (*I.G.*, II², 2332, lines 11-15) making payments not only for himself but for his wife Lysippe and his brother Speusippos.¹⁴ Now he appears in an important record touching relations between Athens and the Achaian League in 178/7. His father Speusippos was ephebos in the archonship of Antiphon (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 112, No. 20, line 57, now dated in 260/59 by Dinsmoor in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314).¹⁵ Supposing Alexion the son to have been born about 240 B.C., one may reckon that he was about 44 years old when he went on his mission to Miletos and 72 years old when he was named in this present text of the archonship of Philon. A descendant of his, possibly a grandson, has been read into the text of *I.G.*, II², 1006, IV, line 121, as an ephebos of the year 123/2 B.C. The name there is given as Ἀλεξίων [— — — — ο]υ Ἀζημιεύς. This reading is not correct, for the stones cannot be so placed as to allow the beginning and end of this name to come together. Who [— — — — ο]υ Ἀζημιεύς was we do not know. Alexion in 123/2 may have been of Azenia, but this inscription is not evidence for it. The first letter of his patronymic is preserved as alpha: hence the name is to be read as Ἀλεξίων Ἀ[— — — — —].

Sokrates son of Sogenes of line 3 was also possibly of Azenia, the father Sogenes being councillor in this very year (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 121, No. 64, line 94), though it should be noted that the names Sokrates and Sogenes occur together in a different family on an Attic grave monument from the Peiraeus (*I.G.*, II², 6614: Σωγέν[ης] Σωκρά[τους] Κυθήρ[ριος]).

In line 5 the space for restoration at the left is suitable for 2½ letters (*sc.* [οἱ τ]ῶν Ἀχαι[ῶν]), while in line 6 the space at the left is suitable for 4 full letters (*sc.* [τὸν Ἀ]θηναίων). The belief that these two lines are a kind of heading to introduce a group of Achaian names is favored by the discovery in line 8 of the ethnic Ἀζώ[τιος]. Stephanos says (*s.v.* Ἀζωτος): ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη πόλις Ἀζωτος Ἀχαιῶν. ὁ πολίτης Ἀζώτιος. The name before the ethnic can be restored with five letters.

On the analogy of line 8 the name in line 7 should be read as [. . .]χος, with ethnic Ἀντ[— — —] representing some other city in the Achaian League. The evident choice of ethnic is Ἀντ[ιγονεύς], with reference to that Antigoneia which down to 222 B.C. was known as Mantinea.¹⁶

The nature of this document is still obscure, but the names of influential Athenians coupled with names of visiting Achaians suggest reference to the political situation of 178/7. Since the death of Philopoimen in 183 there had been in the Achaian League a growing faction of subservience to Rome, led principally by Kallikrates of

¹⁴ He and his sons erected a statue to Lysippe, the base of which is published as *I.G.*, II², 4031.

¹⁵ Inasmuch as I hold that Kleomachos probably belongs to 260/59 (*cf.* *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 97) I would date Antiphon rather in 259/8.

¹⁶ See P.W., *R.E.*, *s.v.* Antigoneia 5. Stephanos has Ἀντιγόγεια: — — — ἔστι καὶ πόλις Ἀρκαδίας, ἡ πρότερον Μαντινεία.

Leontion, who was made much of by Rome and who in 179 effected the restoration of the Lakedaimonian and Messenian exiles (Polybios, XXIV, 8-10 [Loeb]). All through the first third of the century the loyalty of Athens to Rome had been nurtured without a break by the aristocratic democracy. This inscription may well have been an expression of their unity of view, possibly called for at this particular time by the death of Philip V and the accession of Perseus to the Macedonian throne. Though the reign of Perseus began with overtures for friendship with Rome, there could in fact be no friendship, and the relations between Macedonia and Rome deteriorated until the final catastrophe at Pydna in 168 B.C. (cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 429-430).

59 (Plate 53). Four joining fragments from the right side of a stele of Hymettian marble, of which the upper three (*a*), grouped as one, were found on April 7, 1937, in a modern cesspool southeast of the market square and east of the Late Roman Fortification (U 22), and the lower (*b*) was found on January 22, 1937, in the wall of a modern house south of the Eleusinion (T 22). Overall measurements are as follows:

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness (not original), 0.052 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m. (O = 0.005 m.; Y = 0.012 m.).

Inv. Nos. I 4685 (frag. *a*) and 4441 (frag. *b*).

a. 172/1 *a.*

[-----]ᵛ
 [-----]ις^{vvv}
 [-----ο]ἰ στραᵛ
 [τιῶται ἐπαινέσ]αντες τοὺς
 5 [στρατηγούς τοὺς] ἐπὶ Σωσιγ[έ]
 [νου ἄρχοντος ἀ]νέθηκαν ᵛ[ᵛ ᵛ]
 [στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ το]ῦς ὀπλίτας ᵛ[ᵛ]
 [-----Κυ]δαθηνα[ι]έα^{vvv}
 [στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ] τὸ ναυτικόν *vac.*
 10 [-----]Ἐρικέα *vacat*
 [στρατηγούς ἐπ]ὶ τὸμ Περαιᾶ *vac.*
 [-----]

The generals praised are those of the archonship of Sosigenes (172/1). The hoplite-general is well-known.¹⁷ The general in charge of the fleet is not mentioned by Aristotle ('Αθ. Πολ., 61), but there is evidence for the command as early as 316/5,¹⁸

¹⁷ Cf. Th. Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens* (Diss., Princeton, 1951).

¹⁸ See *I.G.*, II², 682, lines 4-5: πατήρ δὲ Φαίδρου χει[ροτονη]θείς στρατηγός ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικ[όν].

and it is known also later.¹⁹ Aristotle reported two generals for the Peiraeus and it is known from *I.G.*, II², 2873 that there were three in the early first century. Hence I have restored the plural *στρατηγούς* in line 11, where epigraphically the space seems to agree with a restoration slightly longer than that of line 9. The dedications by Argeios and to Argeios (*I.G.*, II², 2872, 2952) refer to him alone as general for the Peiraeus, but do not exclude the possibility that he served with one or more colleagues.

The inscribed face of this stone was ruled with guide-lines for the letters of the text. It is worth mention that this same treatment of an inscribed surface appears in other documents of approximately the same date: (e.g.) *I.G.*, II², 945 of 168/7; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 117-118 (No. 61) of ca. 180-160 B.C.; *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 47-51 (No. 7) of 173/2-168/7. This was evidently a fashion, perhaps in one workshop, in the preparation of epigraphical stelai.

60 (Plate 53). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides and at the back, found on April 24, 1937, in a late Roman context southeast of the Tholos (H 12).

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.106 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m. and 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 4744.

a. 184/5 *p.* (?)

[ἀγαθεῖ τύχει]

[ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Δημ]οστρά[του ἐπὶ τῆς]

[— πρυτανείας] οἱ πρυτάν[εις τῆς Λεων]

[τίδος φυλῆς τιμ]ήσαντες [ἑαυτοὺς καὶ]

5 [τοὺς ἀσπίτους ἀν]έγραψαν

[ἐπώνυμος — — — — X]ολλείδη[ς]

[— — — —] Εὐπ[υρίδαι]

[— — — — —] [— —]στ[— — — — —]

[— — — — —] [— — — — —]

This is a dedication by the prytaneis of Leontis, of a type characteristic of the late second century after Christ (cf., e.g., *I.G.*, II², 1773, 1776). The name of the archon is partially preserved in line 2, and is probably (but not certainly) to be restored as Demostratos, known to have held this magistracy in 184/5.²⁰

61 (Plate 56). Upper right corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on June 9, 1937, in a disturbed level southeast of the Tholos (G 12). A crowning ovolo moulding

¹⁹ E.g., *I.G.*, II², 2336, lines 219, 255, 263 (early first century); *I.G.*, II², 2987.

²⁰ Cf. J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 52.

runs across the upper edge of the face of the stele; the top was flat and finished as a bearing surface.

Height, 0.142 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.068 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4945.

ante a. fere 138 *p.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 46-48

[ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Αἰαντίδος καὶ οἱ αἰ]σειτοι οἱ ἐπὶ
 [--- ^{ca. 8} --- ἀρχοντος πρόσοδον ποιησάμενοι ἀποφ]αίνουσιν
 [τῇ βουλῇ τὸν ἑατῶν ταμίαν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν] Σεβαστῶν
 [διὰ βίου Τιβ· Κλαύδιον Ἀττικὸν Μαραθῶνιον τεθυκ]έναι πά
 5 [σας τὰς θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς ἃς πάτριον ἦν ἐν τῇ πρυτανε]ία· ἀγα
 [θῆ τύχη δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ ἐν τ]οῖς^v
 [ἱεροῖς -----]

For the restorations, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 186, No. 116 and p. 195, No. 121. The date of the inscription is probably in the early second century after Christ. If this is so, it probably falls within the time when Claudius Atticus was ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν διὰ βίου. His name, therefore, is to be restored in line 4. But he was both priest and treasurer, as he was also in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 195, No. 121, so that the name of his phyle, Aiantis, must also be restored in line 1. For the career of this Claudius Atticus, father of the sophist Herodes, see *I.G.*, II², 3595, with stemma and commentary. The date of his death is the *terminus ante quem* for the inscription. See P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus* (Cairo, 1930), pp. 19-38.

62 (Plate 57). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides and at the back, found on June 10, 1937, in a late Roman context north of the Odeion (N 7).

Height, 0.333 m.; width, 0.369 m.; thickness, 0.138 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.018 m. (lines 1-3); 0.009 m. (lines 14-25); 0.006 m. (lines 6-12).

Inv. No. I 4964.

ante fin. saec. II *p.*

[----- τιμήσαντ]ες [ἑαυτοὺς]
 [καὶ τοὺς ἀισείτους] ἀνέγραψαν^v
 3 [----- πρυτ]ανεία
 [-----] ἐξ Οἴου
 5 [-----] [γρ]αμματεὺς βουλευτῶν 15
 Ἐπίγονος Εὐκάρπου^v

	[---]ως	Τρύφων)	
	[Αἴλι]ος Δη	Κορνηλιανὸς Δημητ[ρίου]	
	[μήτ]ριος Χολ	Δημήτριος)	
	[λεί]δης	Σωτήρ Ἰάκχου	20
10	[----]ων	Σαλάριος Αἰσ[----]	
	[----]βίου	Σώσιμος Εὐ[----]	
	[-----]ος	Αἰθαλίδαι	
	[----]	[Π]λάτων)	
		[Α]λιμούσ[ιοι]	25
		[-----]	

Many of the prytaneis belong to well-known families of the second century. Salarios, so far as I know, is new to Attic prosopography, but is the Roman name Salarius. In line 20 Σωτήρ Ἰάκχου may be the son of that Ἰακχος Σωτήρος ἐξ Οἴ(ου) [*I.G.*, II², 2069, line 27] who was ephebos in the middle of the century. Granted the date, then [Π]λάτων) of line 24 may be identified with that Πλάτων) Αἰθαλίδης [*I.G.*, II², 1806a, line 5] who was councillor also in 195/6 A.D.²¹ Epigonos son of Eukarpos (line 16) belongs to the family of the epheboi Eukarpos of Oion (*I.G.*, II², 2017, line 16) and Epigonos of Oion (*I.G.*, II², 2067, line 55). Tryphon of line 17 is related to the various men of this name mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 2103, line 66, in *I.G.*, II², 2483, line 14, and in *I.G.*, II², 2208, line 55, being perhaps identical with one of them who can be dated at approximately this same time.

The names from lines 6 to 12 are cut in smaller letters in a different hand (lunate sigma except in line 6) and are to be taken as additions, I think, for whatever reason, to the original list, which probably had a normal first column comparable to the second main column of which lines 14-25 have been preserved.

63. Block of Pentelic marble, which was originally the plinth of a statue, now set on one long side as part of a repair at the northwest corner of the basin of Klepsydra (T 27). At each end a pair of deep cuttings seem to have been used as dowel holes for the feet of a quadruped. The full original length of the block is not at present obtainable. Its sides were stippled, with a smooth band at the top. All edges are much worn. The inscription is a series of names, widely spaced, in a horizontal line close to the top of what is now the uppermost side. The inscription is not original on the block (C = sigma).

Height (original), *ca.* 0.25 m.; width (i. e. length), at least 2.10 m.; thickness (present height), *ca.* 1.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.-0.04 m.

²¹ For the date, see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 18, 51-52.

Inv. No. I 4995.

aet. Rom.

[- -] γέλινος Μενεκράτης Εὔπορος Διονύσειος

The readings given here were made in 1937. In 1954 I was not able either to study or to measure the text because of the water in Klepsydra.

64 (Plate 54). Upper right corner of a small stele of Pentelic marble, with an ovolo and fascia above the inscribed surface, found on April 21, 1937, in a mixed context between the porch of the Tholos and the propylon of the Bouleuterion (H 11).

Height, 0.103 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4743.

ca. a. 400 a.

[- - - - -] γτο κυρῶντε
[σ - - - -] 'Αρεί] ωι πάγωι ἐπι
[- - - - -] Ε] ἄκλέος 'Ρ
[αμνοσίον - - - -] ριον πει
5 [- - - - -] ναι
[- - - - -]

The significance of this text is obscure, but mention of the Areopagus and the use of the verb *κυρόω* (cf. Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ., 59, 6) make it seem worthy of further study.

65 (Plate 55). A small pedimental funeral stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom and at the upper left corner, found on April 24, 1937, in a modern wall in the area of the Eleusinion (T 20).

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.295 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 4761.

saec. IV a.

[. .] σίας : 'Εφέσιος

²² For the Eleusinion see R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III: *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, pp. 74-85.

66 (Plate 55). Dedicatory statue base of Pentelic marble, broken at the left, with the back smooth and the bottom rough-picked, uncovered on May 10, 1937, built upside down in the west face of the Late Roman Fortification Wall south of the Eleusinion (T 21). The top and right side are not visible or available for study.

Height, 0.39 m.; width, 0.48 m.; thickness, 0.91 m.

Height of letters in lines 1-3, 0.022 m.; in line 4, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4850.

saec. IV a.

[τῶν θεῶν Λα] κρατείδης
[- ^{ca. 9} - Πα] ιανιεύς
[ἀνέθηκ] εν

vacat

[- - - -] ἐπόη] σε

The place of finding indicates that the dedication probably was set up in the Eleusinion.²² The disposition of the text must have been similar to that of *I.G.*, II², 4608.

67 (Plate 55). Fragment from a statue-base of Pentelic marble, found on April 13, 1937, in a modern wall over the Panathenaic Way, southwest of the Eleusinion (T 21). The block is broken at the left, and the back has been re-cut; but the right side, the smooth top, and the rough-picked bottom seem to be original surfaces. Part of the cutting for the base of a statue is preserved. The stone was re-used upside down as a doorsill.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.43 m.; thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4714.

ante med. saec. IV a.

[- - - -] ἰδης ἐπόησεν

68 (Plate 55). Grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the right side, the back (rough), and part of the face preserved, found on June 10, 1937, among collected marbles from the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios.

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.082 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 4953.

ca. med. saec. IV a.

[- ^{ca. 3} -] νη [- - -]

[*Αθ] ηροκλέος

[*Α] χαρνέως

The father was a member of the Council in 360/59 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1745, line 48).

69 (Plate 55). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the left side preserved, but otherwise broken, found on June 17, 1937, among collected marbles on the north side of Kolonos Agoraios. A projecting band above the text has also been broken away.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.052 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m. (line 1), 0.007 m. (lines 2-4).

Inv. No. I 4973.

saec. IV a.

[. . .] ιος Τ [- - - - -]

[Εδ] ωνυμῆς

[Β] { ρ } ούσελος [- - -]

[*Α] ρεσίας Φ [- - -]

[- - - - - - - - -]

This is a catalogue of the prytaneis of Erechtheis. In line 3 I believe that the name must be

Βούσελος, though the visible letters are Ρουσελος. One might take the rho for an incomplete beta and read <Β>ούσελος were it not for the indication given by line 4 that there was one letter still to be supplied before the rho. The letters in line 4 are Ρεσίας Φ, but there is no such name (so far as I am aware). The restoration should be [*Α] ρεσίας Φ [- - -]. The name in line 1 may belong to the archon or secretary of the year, but the arrangement is different from that of other such catalogues of the fourth century (e.g., *I.G.*, II², 1740-1753).

70 (Plate 54). Dedicatory base of Pentelic marble, found on June 18, 1937, east of the Late Roman Fortification (T 24). Both corners of the inscribed face are broken, but the plinth, rectangular in shape, has a drafting at the base on all four sides, and at the top a very flat cavetto moulding also on all four sides. In the center of the top is a circular sinking for a small column, the butt of which remains in place, securely leaded. The circular socket is framed by a low moulding.

Height, 0.34 m. (of plinth, 0.195 m.); width, 0.65 m.; thickness, 0.65 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 4984.

med. saec. IV a.

[*Ακαμα] ντις ἐνίκ[α]

[- - ^{ca. 11} - -] Φιλιάδου Π[όριος]

[ἐγυμν] ασιάρχε

For other dedications of gymnasiarchs, see *I.G.*, II², 3017-3024. For the sake of symmetry in the present text the phyle in line 1 can be restored only as Akamantis or Hippothontis, and the demotic in line 2 (beginning with gamma or pi) must have been short. The unique combination is with [*Ακαμα] ντις as the phyle and Π[όριος] as the deme.

71 (Plate 54). Grave monument of Pentelic marble, preserved entire, found on May 14, 1937, in a late Roman context east of the north

end of the Odeion (O 9). This is a rectangular shaft, the lower three quarters of which have been left rough for insertion in the ground. The upper end is carefully finished on all four sides and on the top. The inscription is on the top.

Height, 0.41 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.-0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 4863.

post med. saec. IV a.

Πατρόκλεα

Dimensions of the upper, finished, part of the stone are: height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.083 m.

72 (Plate 54). Lower left corner of a mortgage-stone of Hymettian marble, found on April 10, 1937, in a context of the third century B.C. in a cistern on the south slope of Kolonos Agoraios (B 14:6). The rough-picked back is preserved, though much worn; the left and lower edges are bevelled.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.046 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4698.

ante fin. saec. IV a.

[-----]

ἰε[-----]

□ προῖκα [-----]

Ἄγαθάρχο[υ Ἄλωπε]

5 κέως θυγ[ατρί vac.]

vacat

Alternatively, the restoration of the demotic in lines 4-5 might be [Θημα]κέως. There is an erasure of one letter space at the beginning of line 3. For examples of dower mortgage-stones, see *I.G.*, II², 2659-2683. Here the name

of the daughter of Agatharchos must have stood at the end of line 3.

73 (Plate 56). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, preserving the back (dressed smooth) and right side (with anathyrosis), found on March 31, 1937, among marbles collected between the Stoa of Attalos and the Panathenaic Way.

Height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.216 m.; thickness, 0.157 m.

Height of letters: in line 1, 0.019 m.; in line 2, 0.015 m.; in lines 3-4, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4673.

fin. saec. III a.

[-----]ωης

[-----τ]ῶι γυμνασίωι

[-----]έτου ἐκ Κοίλης

[-----Φι]λωτάδου Φυ[λάσιο]ς

vacat

The reading of the initial letter in line 1 is uncertain, and the nature of the monument is not clear. Philotades of Phyle is probably to be identified with the polemarch of 228/7.²³ The two Athenians here named both belonged to the phyle Demetrias. The text must be dated before the dissolution of the Macedonian phylai at the end of the third century, and is itself added evidence for the fact that part of Phyle (normally of Oineis) belonged to Demetrias during the lifetime of that phyle.²⁴

74 (Plate 55). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with part of the left side and back (smooth) preserved, found on May 18, 1937, in a late Roman context between the Stoa of Attalos and the Odeion (O 10).

Height, 0.083 m.; width, 0.163 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

²³ Cf. *Hesperia*, IX, p. 76, where the reading Φιλωτάδης is in error (taken over from *Hesperia*, II, Plate XIV, line 13) for Φιλωτάδης.

²⁴ See *Hesperia*, IX, p. 75.

given by Kirchner in his commentary on *I.G.*, II², 2342.

The modeling about the neck of the herm shows that the post-classical cutting, for which the drill-holes may still be seen, must have split the stone from top to bottom into two approximately equal halves. The right-hand side, so far as I am aware, has not been re-discovered.

77 (Plate 56). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, representing a shield in relief on which the inscription is cut, found on June 19, 1937, in a late Roman context in a cistern on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios (G 5:2).

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.82 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 4975.

a. 138-161 *p.*

Ἄντρο [κράτωρ]
Ἄδριανο [ἱ υἱός]
Ἄντωνε [ἱνός]
Ἐδσεβή [ς]

78. Statue base of Pentelic marble, found face down in the Late Roman Fortification (T 20/21) on May 26, 1937. There are mouldings about the top and bottom, the top ones carried around the two sides, the bottom ones in a simplified form about the left side but not the right. The back is rough-picked. There are cuttings in the top for a bronze statue with iron dowels that held the heels still partly preserved imbedded in lead. There is a shallow bedding for the right foot (*ca.* 0.17 m. by 0.10 m.); there is no bedding, but only a scratched line, for the left foot.

Height, 1.25 m.; width, 0.615 m.; thickness, 0.63 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.-0.045 m. except in line 5 (0.022 m.).

²⁶ For this friendship cf. P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, pp. 157-158, who protests rightly against the "emendation" of Barbarus to Varus in Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum*, I, 25, 15.

Inv. No. I 4922.

a. 157 *p.*

Κείβικα Βάρβαρον
ὑπατον
Ἡρώδης Ἀττικοῦ
Μαραθώνιος
5 ὁ φίλος
ψηφισαμένης
τῆς πόλεως

A photograph is published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 328, with an identification of Civica Barbarus as that M. Ceionius Civica Barbarus who was consul at Rome in 157 A.D. Herodes, who calls himself his friend (ὁ φίλος was added as an afterthought to the text between lines 4 and 6), erected the statue.²⁶

79 (Plate 57). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, with the top broken away, found on March 24, 1936, outside the area of the Agora, over a grave of Roman date in a section of the ancient cemetery north of the Kerameikos.

Height, 0.62 m.; diameter, 0.29 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 4868.

aet. Rom.

Ἀντιόχ[ισσ]α
Ἀρίστωνος
Ἀντιοχ[έως]
γυνή

There is not room to restore both sigmas in Ἀντιόχ[ισσ]α in line 1. In line 3 the word Ἀντιόχισσα was first written, and then written over correctly.

80 (Plate 56). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on May 7, 1937, in the foundation of a house of Roman date south-east of the Tholos (G-H 12).

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 4789.

aet. Rom.

vacat

[---] *νίας Σφήττιος*
 [---] *Ἀλ'έξανδρος Παλληνεύς*
 [---] *ρος Γαργήττιος*
 5 [----] *vacat*

The names are not arranged according to phylai, and their significance is uncertain. Perhaps they represent *ἀείσιτροι* at the end of a prytany catalogue, like (e. g.) the names of *I.G.*, II², 1775, lines 43-45.

81 (Plate 56). Small dedicatory base of Hymettian marble, with parts of the top, left side, face, and bottom preserved, found in a Byzantine wall over the western end of the Temple of Ares (J 8) on May 25, 1937. In the top is a segment of a shallow cutting, roughly circular, *ca.* 0.018 m. deep.

Height, 0.081 m.; width, 0.139 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4918.

aet. Rom.

Βούλων Ἀρ[^{ca.} - - Παλ]
 ληνεὺς Μ[ητρὶ Θεῶν]
 ἐν τῷ ἐπ[^{ca.} - - - -]
 ἄρχοντ[ος ἐνιαυτῷ]

The restoration M[ούσαις] (cf. *I.G.*, II², 2994) is probably too short for the space available at the end of line 2, as this is determined by the restoration at the end of line 4.

82 (Plate 57). Part of a pedimental funeral stele of Pentelic marble, broken at both sides and at the bottom, but with the back and part of the raking cornice at the top preserved, found on April 21, 1937, in a building of the modern bazaar west of the Stoa of Attalos.

Height, 0.432 m.; width, 0.333 m.; thickness, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 4776.

aet. Rom.

[- - - -] Πῶλλα Ζωΐλο[v]
 [- - - -] Ἴφιστιάδου θυγ[άτηρ]

The low relief below the inscribed band shows a sistrum, presumably held by Paula, who is thus identified as a priestess of Isis. The inscription on the left half of the stele has been lost, as has also the figure below it which must have balanced Paula in the sculptured relief.

83 (Plate 57). The inscription now published as *I.G.*, II², 12936, was brought in to the excavations in 1937 and given Agora Inventory Number I 4970.

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ATHENS AND STYMPHALOS

84 (Plate 58). Opisthographic fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides except the left of Face A (the right of Face B), where the original edge is preserved, found in November of 1934 among marbles collected in the south central part of the Market Square.

Height, 0.372 m.; width, 0.310 m.; thickness, 0.147 m.

Height of letters (on Face A), 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 2025.

Face A

ca. a. 368 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[. . . ἑκατ]έρωθι παρ[-----]
 [. . ο]ἰ Στυμφάλιοι σ[----- ὅπως ἄ]
 [ν ἦ]ἰ δ[ι]καιότατ[α -----]
 [οὔ]τε [α]ὐτὸς ἐγὼ ο[ὔτε ἄλλωι πείσομαι -----]
 5 [. . .⁶ . . .]απ[.]οιμ[-----]
 [. . .⁶ . . .]το[.]ς ξέ[νο-----]
 [. . . . Στυ]μφ[ά]λῳι δ[-----]
 [. . . .⁹]δικαζ[-----]
 [. . .⁶ . . .]ς [ἐπ]ειδὸν [-----]
 10 [. . .⁷ . . . Στ]υμφαλ[-----]
 [. .⁵ . . .]ερον· [ἐ]ὰν δὲ [-----]
 [. . δ]αμιορ[γ. . .] Γ[-----]
 [. .]αθεσωσι[-----]
 [. . . .]σ[.]ν[. . .]α[.]ο[-----]
 15 [. . . .]αι[. . .] ἰ ερω[-----]
 [. . . .]α[. . .]ν[.]σ[-----]

Face B

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]Ο[. . . .⁸]
 [-----]
 [-----]
 5 [-----] ΡΩΣΛ [.] ΣΤ [. . .⁷]
 [-----]
 [-----]Ο[.¹³]
 [-----]
 10 [-----]
 [-----] Ε[. . .⁴ . . .]
 [-----] ΩΝ[.] ΔΕΣΜ[. . .⁴ . . .]
 [-----]ς πρώτης [. . .⁵ . . .]
 [-----] Ω[.] ΛΗΣΗΙ[. . .⁶ . . .]
 15 [-----] τήμιον [. . .⁵ . . .]

[-----] ΠΑΣΔΕ[...⁶...]
 [-----] Ο[.....¹².....]
 [-----] Δ[...⁷...]
 [-----] Λ[.....¹².....]
 20 [-----] Α[...⁵...]
 [-----] ΥΦΛ[.] Ε[...]
 [-----] ΣΙΑ[.] Ε[...]
 [-----] ΑΟΝ[.] Ω[...]

On Face A the reading at the end of line 14 is possibly ΑΥΟ, while on Face B line 4 might be [---] ΙΩΣΔΥΣΤ[...⁷...]. In line 21 of the same face an upsilon may follow the epsilon, and the nu of line 23 might be a pi. A pivot hole for a door has been cut into Face B, destroying much of lines 5-9 (see photograph): both faces have been worn very smooth, and Face B is barely legible even in that small part in which traces of letters are still to be seen.

The lettering of Face B is smaller than that of Face A, and the fragment is clearly yet another component of *I.G.*, II², 144, the scattered pieces of which have recently been discussed by G. A. Stamires.¹ The Agora fragment makes no join with any of the other pieces, which themselves have not permitted any reconstruction of the monument or the text, but from the content it seems to come from the same general area as fragment *a* (E.M. 7098) even though no direct relationship between the two fragments can be plausibly established.

The chief importance of the new fragment is that at last it provides the evidence of the city with which the Athenians made these obviously substantial and comprehensive arrangements. Stymphalos or the Stymphalians are mentioned three times, while in line 12 appear traces of the *δαμουργοί*, who were the principal Stymphalian magistrates.² New light is thus thrown on the almost total darkness which covers the relationship between Stymphalos and Athens in the fourth century. Stymphalos was small, and it was not to be expected that, by itself, it would cut much of a historical figure. Its fortunes were linked with those of the rest of Arkadia both during the period of Spartan supremacy and, after Leuktra, when Epameinondas inspired the formation of the Arkadian League, as a permanent support of Thebes' anti-Spartan interests in the Peloponnesos. That Stymphalos was a member of the league from its inception has been reasonably supposed by Bölte (*P.W.*, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Stymphalos), and is what one would expect.

It was not until 366 that the Athenians entered into alliance with the Arkadians.³ In 370/69, to preserve the balance of power, they had accepted Spartan overtures

¹ Πολέμων, V, 1952/5, pp. 154-157; cf. *S.E.G.*, XV, 91.

² *I.G.*, V, 2, 356 lines 5-6, 357 lines 74 and 181.

³ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VII, 4, 2.

and sent Iphikrates to their support against Epameinondas and his allies in the Peloponnesos. To this campaign should probably be assigned the story quoted by Strabo from Eratosthenes of a stratagem unsuccessfully used by Iphikrates against Stymphalos.⁴ It is possible that the present document belongs to the period of rapprochement between Athens and Arkadia in the succeeding years, and a date between 368 and 364 would conform to the epigraphical considerations.⁵ A connection with the Corinthian War and Athens' Peloponnesian intervention at the time seems too early for it, and Sparta's revived control of her League thereafter appears to exclude the possibility of attributing it to any date within the 'eighties or 'seventies of the fourth century.

So far as one can tell, this is the record not of any political or military alliance but of a bilateral commercial agreement and of arrangements regarding the legal standing of the nationals of either contracting party when in the territory of the other: it may be referred to as a matter of *συμβολαί* rather than *συμμαχία*, a word which Stamires in fact restored in line 10 of fragment *aA*. References to money (as fines or sureties?) recur, as do others to *ξενοδίκαι*. Cases of murder seem to be in question on fragment *k*, debts and the exactions thereof on *i*, and perhaps also on *bA*. The fragments *i* and *k* belong, it is true, to a second document on the reverse of the stele, and it may be suggested that this second agreement was on similar lines to that on the main face, perhaps being concluded with another Peloponnesian or even Arkadian city. Since they were treaties concerned with intercity commerce and private rights, they would indeed be a matter for conclusion between the individual cities and Athens, and not the business of the Arkadian League as such.

Two other documents may be set beside this Atheno-Stymphalian treaty. One, newly discovered and apparently concerned with a Kretan city, with particular reference to arrangements between Athens and Knossos, is considered for the first time below (No. 86). The other is *I.G.*, II², 46, a treaty between Athens and Troizen, which offers striking similarities to the inscription under discussion. It also is composed of what Stamires has called *ἄθλια λείψανα σπουδαίας ἐπιγραφῆς*, and is opisthographic, with the lettering on the main face, as in *I.G.*, II², 144, slightly earlier in

⁴ Strabo, VIII, 8, 4: διὸ δὴ καὶ Ἰφικράτη, πολιορκοῦντα τὸν Στύμφαλον καὶ μηδὲν περαίνοντα, ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὴν κατάδυσιν (τοῦ Ἐρασίνου) ἀποφράξει, σπόγγους πορισάμενον πολλούς, παύσασθαι δὲ διοσημίας γενομένης. Iphikrates was in Arkadia during the Corinthian War (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, IV, 4, 16) in 392 and the Stymphalian exploit recounted by Strabo might be placed there. But since in 369 Arkadia was, in view of its pro-Theban alinement, a principal target for attack, it is more tempting to date it to the post-Leuktra period. For general accounts of Iphikrates' campaign on that occasion see Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 5, 49-52; Diodoros, XV, 63, 2, and 65, 6; Cornelius Nepos, *Iphicrates*, II, 5. The record of Polyainos, *Strategemata*, III, 9, 28, probably refers to the same campaign.

⁵ Adolf Wilhelm is expressly quoted (in *I.G. ad loc.*) as having observed that the omegas of this inscription in particular closely resemble those of *I.G.*, II², 105 (of which *I.G.*, II², 523 also forms part; cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 627), datable to 368/7.

appearance than that on the reverse. The contents reflect much of the wording of *I.G.*, II², 144. Here again appear *ξενοδίκαι*, references to death, damage, punishment, and sums of money, and to the overall similarity of content may be compared the size and comprehensiveness of both documents. *I.G.*, II², 46 is discussed further below (No. 85), since additional fragments of it have come to light, where it is suggested that it might be dated just after the formation of the Second Athenian Confederacy; if this suggestion is valid, it and its related documents may add new evidence for Athenian foreign relations in this period of revived Athenian power in the Aegean.

The names so far won of cities with which Athens had these *συμβολαί* are Knossos, Stymphalos, and Troizen; to these may be tentatively added a second Kretan City and the cities on the reverse of the Stymphalian and Troizenian stelai, both of which may well have been Peloponnesian. I have argued elsewhere⁶ that soon after the Confederacy was founded Athens expanded its scope and instituted a new grade of alliance, in which the allies were more loosely bound to Athens and were not members of the Confederacy. It may now be suggested that the expansion of Athenian influence and the development of Athenian foreign policy took place also on a third level, with a series of bilateral agreements relating to trade and private rights. It may be that this was a useful means of fostering good relations with cities which did not need or wish to have any closer political compact with Athens, and apparently none of those so far named did so, save in so far as Stymphalos subscribed to the Atheno-Arkadian treaty of 366.⁷ There was perhaps a fair number of *συμβολαί* of this kind, of various dates between the formation of the Confederacy and the Social War, that with Troizen being one of the earliest. The goodwill generated by their negotiation and agreement could have been regarded as a useful aim of Athenian diplomacy, and served as an additional support for the new league and the new military alliances on which the Athenians laid the foundation of their revived hegemony.

ATHENS AND TROIZEN

85 (Plates 58-59). It was mentioned above, in connection with the commercial treaty between Athens and Stymphalos (*I.G.*, II², 144), that *I.G.*, II², 46, governing relations between Athens and Troizen, appears to be a document of the same type, it too being opisthographic and obviously a long and comprehensive inscription, with some of its phraseology echoed in the Stymphalian fragments. Two new pieces of

⁶ In a forthcoming article in *A.J.A.*

⁷ The Keans and probably the Naxians were in a different case (*I.G.*, II², 111 and 179). The *συμβολαί* with them were occasioned, certainly in the case of Keos and probably also in that of Naxos, by defection from and subsequent re-entry into the Confederacy, in which they had been members of long standing.

I.G., II², 46, have come to light in the Agora, and it seems convenient to publish them here in the general context of *symbolai*-documents.⁸

Two fragments of Pentelic marble, both broken on all sides but each making a direct join with the other, found in a context dating from late Hellenistic to early Roman times in the vicinity of the Klepsydra (T 26), the upper fragment on June 3, 1938, and the lower on June 18, 1937.

Height (of combined fragments), 0.25 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.112 m.
Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 4985.

	<i>ca. a.</i> 375 <i>a.</i>	ΣΤΟΙΧ.
	[-----] ΝΙ[-----]	
	[- ἐρήφι] στο καὶ [-----]	
	[-- πρ(?)] οδικος ἐσ[-----]	
	[---] ι ἤι δίκη τ[-----]	
5	[---] ο[σ ἐννέ' ἀρ[χοντ -----]]	
	[-----] ἀντοὶ δ[ι[-----]]	
	[-----] ν, ἐάν τις ἀ[-----]	
	[-----] σίας· ὁ ἐὰν το[-----]	
	[-----] ἀπ[οδὸν<α>ι ἐ<α>ν [-----]	
10	[-----] ν πόλεως ἀπ[-----]	
	[-----] νίος Ἀθ<η>ν[-----]	
	[-----] καὶ πρόσο[δον εἶναι -----]	
	[-----] χ]ιλίων μ[-----]	
	[-----] ἦ ἀφε[-----]	

Fragment of the same inscription, also broken on all sides, found on March 22, 1938, on the north slope of the Acropolis in a context of the second and third centuries after Christ.

Height, 0.067 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5351.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.
[-----] ιλωτ[-----]
[- ἀγο?] ράσηι ελ[-----]
[- χιλία] σ δρ<α>χμὰς [- - -]
<i>traces</i>

⁸ For an improved reading of fragment *a* (Face A) see *S.E.G.*, XIII, 38.

These two pieces may be designated as *q* and *r*, to continue the lettered series of the fragments of *I.G.*, II², 46, and both belong to the back (side B) of the stele. The erasures in lines 5 and 6 of fragment *q*, the extent of which cannot be estimated, recall that on fragment *c* (line 50 of Face A) and the similar *rasura* on fragment *a* (line 4 of Face B), in both of which, as in line 5 of fragment *q*, the nine archons appear to be involved. Line 50 of Face A may be restored as [ἐν]νέ' ἄρ[χοι]ντ[ε]ς [---] and line 4 of Face B as [--- ἐννέ' ἄρχ]οι[ν]τας [---]. The nine archons, with the same elision, appeared also on the Stymphalian document, and the duties prescribed for them evidently formed a regular feature of this type of *symbolai*.

Neither *q* nor *r* is free from carelessness on the part of the engraver. Λ for A occurs three times (*q* line 9 [twice] and *r* line 3), while in *q* line 11 Η is written for Η.

Restoration seems little in point in either fragment, and neither new piece makes a join with any of the existing fragments already published. The name of the city with which the agreement was made may be concealed in *q* line 11, where the first four extant letters could represent the termination of a plural ethnic: [--- Τροζή]νιος would be an attractive suggestion were it not that the Troizenians figure on the front face of the stele, and it may be that the document on the reverse of it referred to some other state. For the same reason the *Corpus* restoration ἐν δὲ Τ[ροζή]νι [---] on fragment *f* (line 14 of Face B), if this fragment belongs to the reverse of the stele and not, as Koehler thought, to the front face, ought to be viewed with scepticism.

This inscription has no secure date, but has been thought on general grounds, *propter scripturae rationem*, to belong to the early part of the fourth century before Christ, and is classed among inscriptions of a date earlier than 378 B.C. in the *Corpus*. It was, however, suggested earlier that commercial treaties, or *symbolai*, of this type may have been a feature of the revival of Athenian influence in the Aegean area, of which the Second Confederacy was the most striking and important product. If, besides undertaking full-scale alliances either within or outside the machinery of the Confederacy, Athens also made a series of agreements, non-military in scope and application, regulating her affairs with cities which wished for a friendly but not close association with her, Troizen seems well placed to have made such an agreement at an early stage. That with Stymphalos, discussed above (No. 84), and that with certain cities of Crete, to which we shall come (No. 86), belong later in time but were an extension of what could well have begun on Athens' own doorstep, so to speak. This treaty with Troizen on Face A of *I.G.*, II², 46, and its counterpart with an unknown city⁹ on the reverse of the same stele, perhaps marked the beginning of a

⁹ Another city in the Argolid or the Northern Peloponnesos would seem to be a suitable candidate, but this must be balanced against the still-powerful Spartan influence in that area. There is, however, no necessary restriction to this region, and the city in question may be sought anywhere in Greece to which Athenian interests were being carried in the initial impetus of the new Confederacy and the expeditions organized under its auspices.

new and vigorous phase in Athenian foreign policy, in which a threefold approach, offering a choice of League membership, looser military *symmachia*, or purely commercial agreement, was adapted to the needs and wishes of the various cities. The initial emphasis of the Confederacy was to a large extent that of avoiding past abuses and accommodating the organization to the susceptibilities of the participants. The *symbolai*-agreements both in themselves and in the detail in which they were obviously worked out seem to reflect a similar attitude on the part of the Athenians towards cities not within the new League. It may therefore be suggested that this treaty is to be dated not before 378 but a little after it. The argument from the letter-forms, while undoubtedly demanding an early date, would not be inconsistent with an attribution to 375 or thereabouts.

The difficulty of distinguishing between the two faces of this stele, mentioned above in connection with fragment *f*, prompts me to add that several years ago Meritt had a communication from Eugene Schweigert saying that three fragments had been joined together. Of these fragments two, *b* and *d*, had previously been attributed to the front face of the stele, but the third, *m*, had been regarded as part of the reverse face. It seems appropriate to include here the record of these joins (see Plate 59), and to publish the text of this part of the stone as now reconstituted. The left edge of fragment *b* is preserved, and the lines are numbered according to the publication in the *Corpus*. It will be noted that the position of the extant letters in line 15 appears hitherto to have been falsely reported.¹⁰

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

P[-----]
 ΓΜ[-----]
 10 πρώτη [-----]
 ν δὲ ξενοδ[ικ -----]
 κων ἑκατὸν [----- ὀ]
 φειλέτω^ν ὁ[στις δ' ἂν -----]
 ὄσονπερ ὁ αἰ[-----]
 15 [.]ια ἔκτυφλ[ώσηι -----]
 ι δέκα [μ]να[ς ----- ἐ]
 [π]ιγνόντων [κ]αὶ [-----]
 [κα]ὶ ἀδύνατον δι[-----]
 [. ἂ?] πὸ τονῆς καὶ ἐ[-----]
 20 [. . .]αγ ἀποκόψηι γ[-----]
 [.]ώντων^ν [-----]
 [.¹¹]κρε[-----]

¹⁰ The three stones are numbered in the Epigraphical Museum as follows: *b* = E.M. 7102, *d* = E.M. 7105, and *m* = E.M. 7113. The difference in the horizontal letter-spacing of Face A and Face B is very slight. On Face A five lines measure ca. 0.06 m., on Face B 0.073 m.

In the *Corpus* fragment *b* is brought into relation with fragment *a*, but it does not seem necessary to reproduce here the restorations there offered, which, except in line 15, remain unaffected by the new joins. The whole section appears to be concerned with physical injuries which the citizen of one city might inflict on a citizen of the other; varieties of injury seem to be expressed in some detail, together with the procedure and penalties to which their infliction is to give rise. The amount of damages was apparently carefully proportioned to the injury inflicted, and once again brings into relief the comprehensiveness of this type of document and the *minutiae* into which it entered.¹¹

ATHENS AND KRETE

86 (Plate 58). A thin fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides and at the back, found on June 24, 1935, in a modern context in the central area of the Market Square (L 9).

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.028 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3055.

	<i>med. saec. IV a.</i>	ΣΤΟΙΧ.
	[-----] ΜΗ[-----]	
	[-----] ωλλ[-----]	
	[----- ἐν] ἐ' ἀρχο[ντ -----]	
	[-----] αι ἀντημε[-----]	
5	[----- κ] ρίναντες Κυ[δωνιατ (?)-----]	
	[-----] α και είσαγ[γελλόντων -----]	
	[----- τῶ]ι δικαστη[ρίωι· ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος (?) τῶν]	
	[διαδικασιῶν ἐπι] μελείσθω καθάπ[ερ τοῖς Κνωσίοις· ---]	
	[----- οἱ ἐ] ννέ' ἄρχοντες Ἀθή[νησι -----]	
10	[----- τῶ]ν δικῶν καθάπερ τα[ῖς τῶν Κνωσίων δίκαις]	
	[----- παρόν]τος Ἀθήνησι· μετο[ικίω δὲ ἀτέλειαν τοῖς]	
	[----- οἱς δίδοσ]θαι καθάπερ Κνωσ[ίους -----]	
	[-----] η[θ]η ὑπὸ τὸ πρὶν μ[-----]	
	[----- ἐν] εχέτω ἐν [τῇ αὐτῇ ζημίαι ---]	
15	[-----] την δι[-----]	
	[----- παρόν]τος ἐγ Κυ[ωσῶι -----]	

¹¹ The phrase in line 19 seems strange, but there is no doubt of the reading on fragment *d*. Kirchner in *I.G.*, II² read [--- ἀ]πὸ τῶ νησ[---], which cannot now stand; [--- ὑ]πὸ τονῆς or [--- ὑ]ποτονῆς might be possibilities, to be connected perhaps with ὑποτόνια in *I.G.*, II², 1672, line 66. But I leave it to others to make of it what they wish and what they can.

[-----]ος καὶ [-----]
 [ὀμνύειν δὲ τοὺς ----- κατὰ τ]άδε: [-----]
 [-----]

So little of this text is preserved that restoration may hardly be attempted, and no formula or set phraseology survives to enable the length of line to be determined with any accuracy. If the suggestion in lines 7-8 is acceptable, the inscription was some 46 letters wide, and this may be confirmed by the phraseology of lines 11-12, if this is correctly interpreted. For the elision ἐννέ' ἄρχοντες in lines 3 and 9 compare line 5 of the fragment of *I.G.*, II², 46, discussed above (p. 227). In line 10 τὰ[ς and δίκας may also be suggested.

The fragment seems to belong to a further record of *συμβολαί* between Athens and an unknown city, the terms of which are similar to a compact already made between Athens and Knossos. Provision is made for judgment in cases involving Athenians and citizens of the other contracting city, some being heard perhaps there and some at Athens (down to line 11). Possibly the inhabitants of the city were exempted from the metic tax while in Athens (lines 11-12), but in cases of misdeed they would be accorded the same status and treatment as metics (lines 13-14?); the same arrangements may have held good, *mutatis mutandis*, for Athenians resident in the contracting city (line 16). The inscription may have concluded with the necessary oaths.

As a *συμβολαί*-record this document belongs to the group discussed above, and may be dated to the same period, though late in it—perhaps to the early 350's. It postulates the existence of a similar treaty between Athens and Knossos, and perhaps the possibility of references to the terms of that enabled the present agreement to be expressed more concisely.¹² The only other known connection between Athens and Knossos at this period is reflected in an inventory-list (*I.G.*, II², 1443, col. II, line 121), where a crown given by the Knossians to Athens is catalogued among the treasures in the Parthenon. The list belongs to 345/4 B.C., so that the good relations of which the gift was an expression had been cemented before that date—possibly at much the same time as the present arrangements, based on a treaty with Knossos, were made by Athens with another city.

It is tempting to suggest that this other city was, like Knossos, a city of Krete, and line 5 offers the very tenuous but plausible hypothesis that it was Kydonia. Kydonia had been an object of interest to Athens in the fifth century (Thuc., II, 85, 5), and if the Athenians were concerned to improve their relations with the Kretans they might well have looked to Kydonia again as a desirable *point d'appui*.¹³

¹² Cf. *I.G.*, I², 19 and 20.

¹³ On relations between Kydonia and Lyttos ca. 343 B.C. see Diodoros, XVI, 62-3. The letters -- ΩΛΛ -- in line 3 of this inscription might be restored as [τ]ῶλ Λ[υττίων], but, unless some

Since the original back of this fragment is not preserved, it is impossible to say if the stele was, like those of the *συμβολαί* already discussed, opisthographic; if it was so, this piece may well come from the reverse of the Knossian record itself. At any rate, meagre as it is, it serves to provide at least a little evidence for Athenian foreign policy in the middle of the fourth century and its extension in a direction unnoticed and almost unsuspected hitherto.

ATHENS AND SIPHNOS

87 (Plate 59). There is a further fragment among the inscriptions from the Agora which may be connected with this series of *symbolai*-documents. It is not in itself a commercial treaty of the type already discussed, but it appears to contemplate action under the terms of one, and, fragmentary as it is, it seems appropriate to restore it along these lines and to include it here.

Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the surface badly worn, found on April 27, 1938 among marbles collected near the south end of the Stoa of Attalos. The left side and rough-picked back are preserved. At the top of the stone is the lower left-hand corner of a recessed panel containing an elegantly cut relief, showing the lower part of a seated draped figure with the right foot extended.

Height, 0.267 m.; width, 0.168 m.; thickness, 0.073 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5410.

ca. a. 362-355 a. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26.

Θ ε [ο ί].
 Ἐνάτης πρυτανεί[ας, ἕκτηι καὶ τρ]
 ιακοστῆι· ἔδ[οξεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τ]
 ῶι δῆμ[ω]ι· εἶ[ναι μὲν τὰς γραφὰς πε]
 5 ρὶ ἀδικίας [κατὰ τὰς συμβολὰς ἐκ]
 α[τ]έ[ρωθι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Σιφνίοι]
 ς [ἀδόλως καὶ¹⁶.....]
 [.....²⁶.....]
 [.....⁵...]τ[... Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον]
 10 [τ]ὸ[ν] Σιφνίων [μὴ κτένειν ἄνευ τῶ]
 δήμο τῶ Ἀθηναίων [μηδὲ διώκειν].
 ὡς δ' ἂμ μηδὲς ἀποθ[άνηι Ἀθηναί]
 [ω]ν ἄκριτος, ἀντισ[.....¹².....]
 ...⁴... ΤΙΝ -----

dispute were being expressly referred to Athenian arbitration, the introduction of the Lyttians would hardly seem in point. However, this may have been so, and the possibility is perhaps worth mentioning.

The smoothness of the inscribed surface makes the details of the text hard to recover. The width of the stele is conditioned not only by the phraseology of the preamble but also by the spacing of the introductory $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ and the relief sculpture above it. Stelai with reliefs in this form were popular between 410 and the middle of the fourth century, and the bulk of the examples discussed by R. Binneboessel fall within these limits.¹⁴ A seated figure is frequently balanced by one or two standing figures, and this would suggest that, since we have here the whole width of the seated figure, roughly half of the width of this stele is preserved. It is also noticeable that the majority of stelai carrying reliefs of this type contain between 25 and 35 letters per line. The suggested width would be further confirmed if, as seems to be the case, the epsilon of the superscription is to be seen in the worn space above the $\nu\tau$ of $\pi\rho\nu\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ [as].

The truncated prescript is unusual and noteworthy. The name of the archon and secretary, and perhaps also that of the phyle in prytany, probably appeared, inscribed in larger letters, above the relief. The separation particularly of the archon's name, and its inscription in larger characters, was a device especially favored at this period, which made an artistically pleasing contrast with the smaller lettering of the rest of the inscription and gave the stone an emphasis which it otherwise would lack. *I.G.*, II², 164 seems to have given this information on the pediment and architrave surmounting the stele. *I.G.*, II², 14 and 27 are further examples of inscriptions the beginnings of which are preserved but which lack the usual prescript. These both contain the text of alliances, in the one case with the Boiotians and in the other with the Kerkyraians, and it is possible that in these instances the proposal to make or accept the treaty would carry the normal prescript, but that the treaties themselves, inscribed as independent documents *sui generis*, were set up without the customary formulae. In the present case we have not a total absence of prescript but an unusual and abbreviated one: it may be suggested that, because this involved current and temporary action under a definitive agreement inscribed elsewhere, less formality needed to be expended upon it; but the presence of the relief sculpture argues that it was not regarded as an ephemeral document to be inscribed and set up cheaply.

The particular processes of law which are to be instituted are, if the suggested restoration is acceptable, to take place in accordance with the already standing *symbolai* by which both parties are bound: $[\acute{\epsilon}\kappa]|\alpha[\tau]\acute{\epsilon}[\rho\omega\theta\iota]$ in lines 5-6 reflects the appearance of the same word in line 1 of No. 84 above. The Siphnian *demos* is not, by itself, to put to death or undertake the prosecution of any Athenian without the involvement of the Athenian people, and special provisions are to be made to ensure that no Athenian is visited with the death penalty without due process or trial.

The characteristics of the stele suggest that it should be dated to the second

¹⁴ *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs* (1932).

quarter of the fourth century before Christ, in the later 360's or the 350's.¹⁵ The Siphnians were members of the Second Athenian Confederacy, which they seem to have joined in 373,¹⁶ and as such they would not belong to the category of those states discussed earlier who entered into *symbolai*-agreements with the Athenians but had no closer ties with them. Keos and Naxos, however, which were also members of the Confederacy, did enter into *symbolai*, of a different character, in consequence of revolt in the late 360's,¹⁷ and it is possible that Siphnos is now to be included in the same group. It lies in the same general area, and could well have been implicated in the same troubles. If this is so, it would help to explain not only the provision of a *symbolai*-agreement at all but also the rider which we have here, envisaging punitive action in which Athenian citizens seem likely to have been involved. At all events, the intervention of the Athenian *demos*, justified though it seems to be, reflects in some measure the gradual conversion of the Second Confederacy, like the First, into an *arche* rather than the intended coalition on an equal basis, and would be appropriately placed in the years preceding the Social War, at the time of the Kean and Naxian troubles. It is, however, not to be excluded that we have here to do with the aftermath of the Social War itself, although this seems the less likely hypothesis. At all events, the new fragment adds a little more detail to the history of Athenian foreign policy in the fourth century, on which this whole group of inscriptions, unpromising as they might initially appear, has collectively thrown a new and interesting light.

88 (Plate 59). Boundary stone of poros, with the original top, back, and sides preserved, found on November 6, 1937, in the wall of a modern house south of the market square (P 21).

Height, 0.249 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.123 m.

Height of letters, 0.027 m.

Inv. No. I 5084.

saec. V/IV *a.*

ῥόπο[ς]

μνήμη

ατος

For this general type of boundary marker

see *I.G.*, II², 2527-2553. The use of H to represent both the aspirate and eta lends support to the restoration in *I.G.*, I², 906 (= *I.G.*, II², 2552; cf. W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 33, No. 33), where the H at the beginning of *ῥόπος* is restored. Initial H in this particular word may have been slow to disappear from texts otherwise using the Ionic alphabet, or at least have given rise to confusion; cf. *S.E.G.*, XIII, 236.

89 (Plate 59). A flat rectangular block of Hymettian marble, of which the top, bottom, and right side are preserved, found on October 15, 1937, in the wall of a modern house south-

¹⁵ By the 350's one would hardly expect the use of O for OY to survive so markedly, and on these grounds an earlier date seems more plausible. But the E for EI in line 12 suggests an engraver of the old school at work, and it is impossible to draw any hard and fast argument for this year or that from these points of style and expression.

¹⁶ *I.G.*, II², 43, line 126. For the date see the article cited in note 6 on page 225.

¹⁷ *I.G.*, II², 111 and 179. See above, page 225, note 7.

east of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (P 21). The inscription is in a single line, between broad bands of irregular toothed chiselling.

Height, 0.149 m.; width, 0.324 m.; thickness, 0.530 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 5054.

imit. saec. IV a.

Βολῆς ἐξ Ἄρειο πάγο

The writing is rather roughly done, and climbs from the horizontal as it proceeds. Some attempt, erased by the chiselling, seems to have been previously made to write the dedication. The word βολῆς can be seen upside down below the successful inscription, the sigma falling under the lambda of the dedication and the beta below the xi. Other uncertain remains can be seen on the same level further to the right, an upright stroke below the pi of Ἄρειο πάγο, and an angled letter, possibly epsilon, below the gamma.

This appears to be the earliest epigraphic mention of the Council of the Areopagus, dedications by which are more familiar in a later age (*I.G.*, II², 2803-2807).¹⁸ There is no indication of the character of the dedication, and the roughness of the execution is surprising.

90 (Plate 59). Upper part of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the top, sides, and back preserved, but broken below and with damage to the edges all round, found on December 16, 1937, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 18).

Height, 0.215 m.; width, 0.312 m.; thickness, 0.119 m.

¹⁸ The reference to [ἡ] βουλῆ ἡ ἐξ Ἄρειον πάγον] in *I.G.*, I, 38a, given in Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, is long out of date. The suggestion was already abandoned in *I.G.*, I², 66, and the improved reading in *A.T.L.* (I and II), D7, eliminated the possibility altogether. *I.G.*, II², 1421 (*vid.* line 95) seems later in date than the new dedication.

¹⁹ By W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (1940), pp. 51-55.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5042.

post med. saec. IV a.

Εὐξέππη Πισ[. . .]

Ἄγνουσίου

91 (Plate 60). Fragment from the upper part of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, found on December 8, 1937, in the wall of a modern house south of the Market Square (Q 18). The back and sides are preserved. Below line 3 of the inscription are carved two rosettes.

Height, 0.293 m.; width, 0.405 m.; thickness, 0.129 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 5156.

fin. saec. IV a.

[Φι]λοχάρη[ς]

Ἄντιφάτο[υ]

*Ο α θ ε ν

[- - - -] ἄρου

5 [- - - - -]

In line 4 [ὁ δεῖνα Φιλοχ]ἄρου is a possible supplement.

Philochares of Oa is named as a priest of Asklepios in *I.G.*, II², 1534A, line 105, but no patronymic is given. His priesthood has been dated to 310/09,¹⁹ and on the assumption that he died soon afterwards this grave stele could be his. Although the surface of the stone is badly worn, the wedge-shaped ends of some of the strokes of the letters belong to the new fashion, introduced in the last third of the fourth century, which was the forerunner of apex writing.

92 (Plate 60). Fragment from the center of the upper part of a pedimental grave monument

of Pentelic marble, found on October 26, 1937, in the wall of a modern house south of the Market Square (N 19). Part of the top of the pediment is preserved; the fragment is otherwise broken all round. Below the pediment is a wide cornice divided into three fasciae, with the inscription on the topmost and lowermost of the three. The main part of the stele carried sculpture in high relief, of which only the very battered remains of a head survive.

Height, 0.226 m.; width, 0.103 m.; thickness, 0.129 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 5066.

saec. IV *a.*

[— — — —] ἀνης Ὀνησ[⁸ ο⁴]
Ἀμφιπολ[ίτης]

The name reached beyond the center of the stele, and was therefore a lengthy one such as Aristophanes; the patronymic contained three or four letters beyond the break, and Ὀνησ[ίμου] is a strong probability.

The ethnic may have been added as an afterthought. It is not properly centered in relation to the angle of the pediment, but the restoration [ἐξ] Ἀμφιπόλ[εως], while restoring the symmetry, is not warranted by the evidence.

93 (Plate 60). Fragment from the upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on October 12, 1937, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 18). The fragment is broken on all sides, but the inscription is complete everywhere save on the right.

Height, 0.287 m.; maximum diameter, 0.271 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 5029.

²⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1009, line 105 (col. IV).

²¹ I hope to deal in a separate study with the reality and character of Athenian prosperity under the early Roman Empire.

saec. I/II *p.*

vacat

Ἀρτέμ[ων]

Διονυ[σίου]

Μαλλ[ώτης]

vacat

The spacing and arrangement of the names suggest the restoration of the ethnic as Μαλλ[ώτης] rather than Μάλλ[ιος].

Mallos, on the river Pyramos in Kilikia, had connections with Athens which are here epigraphically attested for the second time. Eumelos, son of Ariston (the names partly restored but not in doubt) of the same city, appears in an ephobic list of 116/5 B.C.²⁰ The present inscription is a century or more later in date, and reflects a sporadic but continuing intercourse between the two cities; the prosperity of Athens in the first two centuries of the Christian era offered, on the evidence of metic funerary inscriptions, a marked attraction for resident aliens.²¹

94 (Plate 60). Fragment of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, found on November 8, 1937, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 19). The original back is preserved, as well as part of the top of the monument, together with a moulding above the inscription.

Height, 0.196 m.; width, 0.178 m.; thickness, 0.074 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 5035.

saec. IV *a.*

Σιλανίων

[.ca. 4] ο[υ] Σάμ[ιος]

The last letter of the patronymic appears to have been erased, but without complete success. If the ethnic is correctly restored, Silan-

ion adds one more to the handful of Samians whose presence at Athens is attested by inscriptions: this evidence extends from the fifth to the second century B.C., however, and one

might well expect it to be more extensive, since Athens was no doubt a regular *venie* for Samian merchants at all periods.

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95 (Plate 61). Fragment of a monument of Hymettian marble, found on December 27, 1949, among stones gathered in the north central section of the Agora, many of which came from the north end of the Long Late Roman Wall. Part of the smooth right side is preserved, but the stone is otherwise broken. Below the inscription is part of an engraved crown.

Height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 6254.

ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΣ

med. saec. IV a. (ca. a. 340)

[Προσπάλτιοι ?]

[----- : ---]νον

[----- : X]αιρεστράτ[ου]

[----- : Θ]εοφάντου

5 [---^{ca.}---]ς : Λυσανίου

[...π]είθης : Ἀρχίνου

[Θορίκ]ιοι

[Σμί]κυθος : Ἐπιτέλους

[Θ]ουκριτίδης : Καλλίου

10 Διονύ<σ>ιος : Καλλιάνου

[Ο]ΐαξ : Πηδαλίωνος

[Ε]ύκλειδης : Εὐθίου

[Ἀν]τιγένης : Ξεωνίδου

[Πό]ριοι

15 [Μ]νησικλῆς : Πυθοκλέους

[Θ]ράσων : Νικοστράτου

[...]ρατος : Μελανώπου

[γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Φί]λιππος : Ἀντιφήμου Εἰρ[εσί(δης)]

corona

Line 10: ΔΙΟΝΥΚΙΟΣ lapis.

This list of names is from a dedication in honor of prytaneis (cf. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 191). The writing, the use of punctuation, the regular presence of final sigma in the genitives contemporaneously with the use of ΟΥ and not simple Ο at the

end of genitives, and the prosopography all indicate a date about the middle of the fourth century before Christ. The prosopographical data on lines 8, 9, and 18 point to a date near 340 B.C. From lines 8 and 9, also, it may be concluded that the men named in lines 8-13 belonged to Thorikos, and consequently that the phyle honored was Akamantis.¹

Lines 2-6: If one scrutinizes the names in these lines for a clue to the deme of Akamantis to which they belonged, he finds the following evidence, not taking into account Thorikos (already pre-empted for lines 7-13):

The name Chairestratos occurs once in Hagnous (*P.A.*, 15155), where Μύννιον Χαιρεστράτο Ἀγνοῦσίο, a girl, is mentioned on a sepulchral relief of the middle of the fourth century B.C.² It occurs once in Eiresidai (*P.A.*, 15160), where Χαιρέστρατος Χαιριμένους [Εἰ]ρσιδῆς is named in a dedication made by a board of magistrates in the middle of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 2826). It occurs also once in Sphettos, with Χαιρέστ[ρατος⁸ . . .] Σφήτ : ἔγγυ(ητής) in a financial document of 343/2 B.C.³

The name Theophantos is found in Prospalta where Θεόφαντος Θεαγείδου Προσπάλτιος (*P.A.*, 7089) is in a list of orgeones at the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century B.C.⁴ But an equally possible name for line 4 in the present text is Kleophantos, known in the deme Kerameikos from the appearance of Κλεόφαντος Κλεάνδρον ἐκ Κεραμείων on a rectangular bronze tablet.⁵

The name Lysanias occurs, apart from Thorikos which is of course excluded, in Sphettos: Λυσανίας Σφήττιος (*P.A.*, 9324) was father of Aischines the Socratic. It occurs also in Prospalta: [- -^{ca.6} - - Λ]υσανίου [Προσπάλ]τιος was prytanis in 327/6 B.C.⁶ It occurs again in Kephale: [Λυσανίας Λυσικλέου]ς Κεφαλῆ was registrant

¹ Weight has been given to the full name in line 9, so that the other names occurring in other demes (viz., demes with demotic ending in - - - ιος) have been disregarded: for example, Εὐθίας Φυλάσιος, Ἀντιγένης Φυλάσιος, etc.

² *I.G.*, II², 5273. Above the head of the woman, mother of Mynnion, I distinguish on the squeeze and on the photograph in A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, No. 896 (Plate 176), the end of the mother's name: [- - - -]η. For another example of the name in Hagnous, see *Hesperia*, Index I-X, s.v. [Χαιρ]έας Χαιρεσ(τράτου) ('Ἀγνούσιος?'), but see also the objections raised by W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.A.*, LVI, 1952, pp. 164-165 with notes 16-17.

³ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 455, No. 5, lines 18-19.

⁴ *I.G.*, II², 2355, line 8. For the date, see Chr. Petrou-Anagnas, *Ἑλληνικά*, VIII, 1935, p. 227.

⁵ B. Theophaneides, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1939/1941 (published 1948), παρ., p. 17, no. 5. A preliminary announcement was made by Y. Béquignon, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, p. 452, where the name is given erroneously as Κλιόφαντος. A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, in an oral communication to me before the publication by Theophaneides and without knowing of the announcement by Béquignon, called the tablet a *tessera iudicialis*. If this be so, its date is of the fourth century, before the year 330 B.C.; cf. A. Körte, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, pp. 452-453.

⁶ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 31, No. 1, line 50. The reading of S. Dow, the first editor, was [.ca.6]ος ΑΠΙΟΥ. A. E. Raubitschek, in *Hesperia*, Index I-X, s.v. Ἀπίας, understood this as [.ca.6]ος Ἀπίου. On the other hand, W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942 (issued in 1951), p. 162,

of a mine *ca.* 350/49-345/4 B.C.⁷ and *Λυσανίας Λυσικλέους Κεφα* was registrant and lessee of a mine in 342/1 B.C.⁸ Finally, the name is found in Poros: *Λυσανίας Λαχεμοίρο Πόριος* is in a sepulchral inscription from the Peiraeus of the fifth century before Christ.⁹

The name Archinos occurs once in Prospalta: *Ἀρχέδημος Ἀρχίνο[υ Πρ]οσ*, a trierarch, was recorded in a naval document of about 336/5-331/0 B.C.¹⁰

While Hagnous, Eiresidai, Kephale, and Poros are represented by one name each, and Sphettos by two, there are from Prospalta three names: Lysanias, Archinos, and the characteristic Theophantos.¹¹ Most of these names are close in date to the time of the list. The small deme Eiresidai is otherwise improbable because of the number of the prytaneis (5+). For the same reason Poros is improbable, and it is excluded anyway since I recognize it in lines 14-17. It seems reasonable, therefore, to select Prospalta for the demotic of the lines under discussion. Probably the number of the prytaneis was five, as in *I.G.*, II², 1700, lines 113-122 (335/4 B.C.) and in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 31, No. 1, lines 49-54 (327/6 B.C.).¹²

Theophantos son of Theagenides was probably a relative of our prytanis, while Archidemos son of Archinos and [-^{a.6}-] son of Lysanias were probably brothers of [...*π*]εῖθης Ἀρχίνου and of [-^{ca.8}-]ς Λυσανίου respectively.

An onomatological study of the preserved traces in line 6, taken in combination with the requirements of space, shows that the name was probably [...*π*]εῖθης, or even, more exactly, [*Φιλοπ*]εῖθης. I have not made the restoration because of possible uncertainty about the count of letters.¹³ Of a number of names ending in ---*πειθης* and satisfying here the number of missing letters only Philopeithes is so far known from Prospalta. It has been reported on a stele (*I.G.*, II², 7309) from the middle of

No. 335, suggested the reading *Ἀγίου*. A study of the squeeze and of Dow's photograph has led me to the above reading.

⁷ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 228-229, No. 13, lines 46-47.

⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1582, lines 76-77 and 82-83. For the date see Margaret Crosby, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 200.

⁹ *I.G.*, I², 1018.

¹⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1624, line 87.

¹¹ I have not taken into account the second example of Chairestratos from Hagnous, but Kleophantos in the Kerameikos is disturbing. If one accepts it, Theophantos cannot be counted, and so Prospalta will be (numerically) no more likely than Sphettos.

¹² See the commentary on Thorikos, below. Cf. A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens*, p. 60.

¹³ I disregard here the name Philopeithes, taken to be an assimilated form of Philopeithes, the sole evidence for which is the patronymic on a *tessera iudicialis* (*I.G.*, II², 1897) which can also be expanded as *Φιλοφεί(δου)*. Indeed, this was the opinion of the first editor W. Vischer, *Epigraphische und archäologische Kleinigkeiten* (Basel, 1871), pp. 14-15, No. 1 (= *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1878, p. 286, No. 1). Actually, his first publication was in *Verein schweiz. Gymnasiallehrer in Solothurn* (1866) [*non vidi*].

the fourth century B.C., above line 1 according to the copy of Moustoxydes, or below line 5 according to the copy of Pittakys.¹⁴

Line 8: The only possible restoration is [Σμί]κυθος : Ἐπιτέλους, and it happens that both these names occur elsewhere in Thorikos.¹⁵ One Smikythos of Thorikos is mentioned twice as owner of property at Laureion after the middle of the fourth century (about 338/7 B.C. [?]).¹⁶ Epiteles of Thorikos is also mentioned twice as trierarch in the naval record of 323/2 B.C.¹⁷ In fact, it seems that this Smikythos was the same as the prytanis, and that Epiteles the trierarch was his son bearing the name of his grandfather.

Lines 9-10: Thoukritides son of Kallias is to be identified with Θουκριτίδης Καλλίο Θορίκιος, γραμματεὺς ἐπιστατῶν Ἐλευσινιώθεν in 332/1-329/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1544, line 10).¹⁸ The ubiquitous name Dionysios appears of course already in Thorikos, as elsewhere, and one must be cautious in drawing prosopographical conclusions from it. An official honored by a decree of 304/3 B.C. is called Καλλιππί[δης Δ]ιονυσίου Θορ[ίκι]ος (*I.G.*, II², 488, line 10), and his brother is believed to be Καλλικρά[της] Διονυσί[ου] Θορίκιος, known from a funeral inscription found west of

¹⁴ Both copies are now in the Academy in Berlin. See the commentary by Kirchner, *ad loc.* The stone now consists of three fragments, of which that at the upper right corner has presumably been added recently. It shows an additional rosette placed symmetrically with that mentioned in the *Corpus* and preserves the two final letters of line 1 which have been hitherto restored. The name is clearly Εὐξενίδης. The inventory numbers in the Epigraphical Museum are 10728 + 10729. The upper part of the stele, which possibly carried the name of Philopeithes, is missing. Both the ancient and the modern texts on this stone were published by D. G. Kampouroglous, *Αἱ παλαιαὶ Ἀθήναι* (Athens, 1922), p. 111.

¹⁵ The name Mikythos (which would be too short anyway) has been known to be non-Attic since U. Koehler, in *I.G.*, II, 870, corrected Fourmont's copy to Πολύξενος <Σ>μικόθο (*I.G.*, II², 1747, line 43). He also, in *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIX, 1884, p. 300, note 2 (cf. *P.A.*, 10197, 12798) corrected Μικόθος Συπαλήττιος in Diogenes Laertios, VII, 12, to Σμικόθος Συπαλήττιος. Herbert Long kindly informs me that the three best manuscripts of Diogenes (B, F, and P) have the reading Μικόθος "without the slightest trace of correction or erasure." Yet in my opinion that does not mean that it is the correct form of the name. On the other hand, the names Σμικόθη, Σμικυθίων, and Σμικόθος are, as is known, very well attested; see, e. g., Kirchner, *P.A.*, 12764-12798, 12766a, Sundwall, *N.P.A.*, p. 152; *I.G.*, II², 1590a (lines 4 and 9), 5293, 7277; Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1918, p. 75, No. 95, line 38; *I.G.*, I², p. 320; A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, p. 531; *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 13, No. S5, line 14. A foreign tie may be indicated by the form [M]ικόθη, restored by Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 321, No. 298, in order to let each line of an inscription begin with a complete word, and apparently accepted by W. Peek, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* III, 1954, p. 387. All previous editors had restored [Σμ]ικόθη.

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 222, No. 9, line 13, and *ibid.*, p. 265, No. 20, line 50.

¹⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1631, lines 609 and 614.

¹⁸ The family is known. See the stemma *apud* Kirchner, *P.A.*, 7866, and Kirchner's comment on *I.G.*, II², 1925, line 18. His arrangements depend on the accuracy of the statement in *P.A.*, 7865: *Cum Callias (I) Θορίκιος διατηρήσ iam a. 329/8 sexagenarius esset, Calliam tituli navalis non eundem, sed filium Calliae I esse dixerim.*

Laureion (*I.G.*, II², 6225).¹⁹ The date of the inscription is unknown. However, in view of the first part of the compound name, not only is the connection reasonable, but the further assumption may be made that our present pryтанis was the father. Kirchner does not mention Tod's opinion (*loc. cit.*) that perhaps the ephēbos of *I.G.*, II², 478, Col. III, line 84, was the son of Kallippides. If he was, the name should be restored [Καλ]λίμαχος Καλλ[ιππίδου] Θορίκιος. But the restoration of the patronymic as Καλλ[ικράτους] is equally possible. Thoukritides and Dionysios of lines 9-10 were cousins.

The relation between Kallikrates, as mentioned above, and that Καλλικράτης Θορίκιος of the sepulchral inscription *I.G.*, II², 6239, is not known. This latter text was known until recently only from a copy made by Spon: Πραξικλῆς Εὐφρονίου, γόνω δὲ Καλλικράτου Θορικίου. Meritt added the demotic Θορίκιος after the patronymic Εὐφρονίου from a manuscript copy by Francis Vernon.²⁰ He reported further that this demotic appears also in the manuscript of Spon's fellow-traveler G. Wheler (No. CXXI in the original = No. 346 in the modern numeration) except that Wheler wrote, erroneously, Θορικίου. The stone was seen in the same place with *I.G.*, II², 5388 and 7293. Wheler's note for all three is: *in horto Hussenÿ Bey, prope Monasterium Hagio asomato, in columnis.*²¹ Vernon, who lacks *I.G.*, II², 7293, notes: *at Brysi Ussein, beys gard(e)n.*²² Spon's topographical indication for *I.G.*, II², 5388 and 6239 is: *A ATHENES, Au jardin d'Hussein Bey*, while for *I.G.*, II², 7293 it is: *HORS D'ATHENES, Dans une Chapelle de S. George proche le Monastere Aso-mato.*²³ The last was seen and copied also by Fourmont *in ecclesia parva super Ilissum sita*. These indications lead to the small church of St. Nicholas, also called the church of St. George, which is recorded as being in the enclosure of Ῥιζάρειος Σχολή; cf. A. K. Orlandos, *Εὐρετήριον τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, vol. I, fasc. 3, p. 128, No. 2; Chrysostomos A. Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ῥιζαρείου Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Σχολῆς* (Athens, 1919), p. 5.

¹⁹ Kirchner leaves the patronymic without restoration. He overlooked the legitimate and practically certain restoration of M. N. Tod, *B.S.A.*, IX, 1902/3, p. 170, whom Sundwall follows in *N.P.A.*, p. 105.

²⁰ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 227.

²¹ I use the photostatic copy of his manuscript at the Institute for Advanced Study; cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 43 with note 100. Wheler gives one more copy of *I.G.*, II², 7293 under No. XLVI (= 271) with the note *ibid.* (= *Athenis*).

²² I use the photostatic copy of Vernon's diary at the Institute for Advanced Study; cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 55, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 213. In Vernon's copy of *I.G.*, II², 5388, the patronymic is given fully (ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ) as it was read later by Velsen, although in Velsen's time the first letter was preserved only in part. I think that the suspicion of Koumanoudes (not mentioned by the editors of the *Corpus*) that this inscription is the same as *I.G.*, II², 5387, still deserves attention, but the matter needs further examination.

²³ I use his book *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant, Fait és années 1675 & 1676*, Par J. Spon & G. Vvheler, in the edition of Amsterdam, 1679, vol. II, pp. 381, 419, and 457.

The term *columna* used by Wheeler means *columella* as is shown by cases in which the monuments as described have been preserved; and one would come to the same conclusion from the disposition of the lines in all three monuments. That means that they are of a date later than the end of the fourth century B.C. In *I.G.*, II², 6239, which concerns us here, one can notice, in particular, besides the case of adoption (a feature commoner in middle Hellenistic times and thereafter), the omission of iota *adscriptum* in the word γόνωφ, and the fact that in Vernon's manuscript one alpha (that in the first line) has the cross-bar broken. All these indications suggest a date not before the second century B.C. with the possibility that this Kallikrates may be connected with Καλλικράτης Καλλικράτου Θορίκιος who was flutist in the years 178/7-161/0.²⁴

Kirchner has assigned to a date within the fourth century B.C. a funerary urn from the Peiraeus with the inscription Διονυσίου ΑΥΤΕ| Θορικίου (*I.G.*, II², 6219).^{24a} This Dionysios may have no connection with the prytanis. The family presumably included also Καλλίστρατος Θορίκιος (*P.A.*, 8168) and Καλλιφάνης Δυσίου Θορίκιος (*P.A.*, 8221). This latter makes a link with the well-known family of Dexileos whose stemma is given under *I.G.*, II², 6217.²⁵ In later times, about 100 B.C., the name Dionysios recurs in the family of the artist Polykles of Thorikos.²⁶

Line 11: The only name hitherto known in Attic prosopography which suits the preserved letters is Φαίαξ, but it is too long by one letter and hence inadmissible. The only non-Athenian name known to me which appears elsewhere in Attica and which conforms to the epigraphical requirements is Ψίαξ, a name borne by a painter of

²⁴ He was unknown at the time Kirchner published his *Prosopographia Attica*, but now his name appears or is restored in a dozen prytany decrees which are enumerated above on pp. 41-42. In that list the dates given to some of these documents were not made to conform to the latest determinations, and some corrections, which I take this opportunity to acknowledge, must be made: items b and c are of the same year, which falls between 176/5 and 170/69; the upper limit of the date in item e (and item e of p. 41) is now 173/2 (year of the archon Alexis); the date of items j and k is 164/3 B.C. (cf. p. 74, above). Thus the lower limit in the date of item e is 161/0 and the career of Kallikrates is limited, so far as is known, to the years 178/7-161/0, while that of the herald Philokles of Trinemea is extended to the attested years 173/2-166/5 (or 162/1 unattested). The year 161/0 constitutes now a *terminus post quem* for the prytany decree published in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 122-126, No. 25.

^{24a} The urn is not of bronze but of Attic clay, and was bought in the Peiraeus in 1875. It is now in the Archäologische Sammlung der Stadt Winterthur in Switzerland (Inv. No. 298). Professor H. Bloesch has very kindly supplied these facts and a photograph of the urn. He has expressed some question whether the inscription is genuine, a suspicion which I share.

²⁵ Additional information is now given in the inscription published by A. D. Keramopoulos, 'Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1934/5, παρ., p. 16.

²⁶ Διονύσιος Τιμαρχίδου καὶ Τιμαρχίδης Πολυκλέους Ἀθηναῖοι, *Insc. Délos*, 1688; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 35 (cf. *P.A.*, 4181, 13620). This is not the place to discuss the perplexed genealogical stemma of the family. For the latest examination of the evidence, see G. Becatti, *Bulletino della Commissione archaeologica comunale di Roma*, LXIII, 1935, pp. 111-131.

the last quarter of the sixth century.²⁷ Its use by a citizen of the fourth century would seem to me highly problematical. The correct restoration, I believe, is [O]ἰαξ, a name known elsewhere in Tanagra (*I.G.*, VII, 1287). According to Bechtel,²⁸ it is derived from the name of the hero Oiax, but certainly in the mind of its users there must always have been a feeling for its original meaning *tiller* or (metaphorically) *helm of government*. This connection is echoed in the name of the father Πηδαλίων which is derived from πηδάλιον, a *rudder*. Presumably these men belonged to a family that dealt with ships or perhaps with political affairs. Pedalion also is new in Attic prosopography, and, indeed, is known at all only from a lemma of Suidas (Souda) (Π 1495 Adler) : Πηδαλίωνος· ὄνομα κύριον. The source of Suidas, according to Adler, was the unpublished *Lexicon Ambrosianum* (639) or rather their common source. The existence of the name in these lexica shows that it was mentioned by some orator or other classical author not now preserved. On the other hand, the genitive probably indicates that its bearer was father of the main figure in the primary source. Taking into account the rarity of the name and the date of our present text, I identify the two men who bore the name²⁹ as members of the same family and consider it even highly probable that they should be identified with each other.

The quota of names from Thorikos is the same (6) as in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 31, No. 1, lines 69-74 (327/6 B.C.).

Lines 14-17: The demotic in line 14 should be short, and those that come under consideration are Εἰτεαῖοι, Ἑρμειοι, Σφήττιοι, and especially Πόριοι. The spacing, when compared with the position of the demotic [Θορίκ]ιοι in line 7, is strongly in favor of Πόριοι, the choice being made virtually certain by the existence on the edge of the stone of part of the rounding of rho. The reading should be [Πό]ριοι. This was confirmed by Meritt during his study of the stone in Athens in the spring of 1955.

A Νικόστρατος [Γ]ύλητος : Πόριος is known from a sepulchral inscription of the middle of the fourth century before Christ,³⁰ but the name Nikostratos is too common to allow a conclusion about his relationship to the prytanis. The demotic of Νικόστρατος Θρασυνμάχου (*P.A.*, 11013) is not known. Nor (for comparison with line 17) do we know the exact demotic of Μελάνωπος Ἑστιοδώρο Π[- - -] (*P.A.*, 9793) of *I.G.*, II², 1666.³¹

Line 18: The traces of letters after the patronymic in this final line show that

²⁷ Cf. P. Kretschmer, *Die Griechischen Vasenschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht* (Gütersloh, 1894), p. 74; B. Keil, *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1895, p. 429.

²⁸ *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (Halle, 1917), p. 575.

²⁹ It has not been recorded by Bechtel, *op. cit.*, and it is the only name derived from πηδάλιον.

³⁰ *I.G.*, II², 7250. On the squeeze I distinguish the mark of punctuation between the patronymic and the demotic. The date of the inscription can hardly be before the middle of the century.

³¹ See Kirchner's commentary, *ad loc.*

the name recorded was not that of a prytanis, but rather that of the secretary.³² The title, in older times, was *γραμματεὺς τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ*, and later *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου*. Enough of the first letter of the name is preserved to show that it was lambda; hence the name was [Κάλ]λιππος or [Φί]λιππος. In the year 338/7 B.C. the secretary in *I.G.*, II², 237, line 2, was Φ[ίλιππος Ἀντιφ.¹³.] and in *I.G.*, II², 238, lines 5-6, Φί[λ]λιππος Ἀντιφ[. . . |.⁹.]. Ferguson attempted to restore Φί[λ]λιππος Ἀντιφ[ῶντος Εἰτεαῖος] by comparison with *I.G.*, II², 587, where the orator—then thought to be the secretary—was [— — — — — Εἰ]τεαῖος, and he supplemented the restoration with the common name of Antiphon.³³ The demotic had to be of Akamantis, as was demanded by the secretary cycle. Adolf Wilhelm declared himself against this restoration and indeed against any association with *I.G.*, II², 587.³⁴ The name of the secretary was therefore taken over by Kirchner into *I.G.*, II², 237 and 238 without further supplement. One will note that there is a discrepancy in the sum of the missing letters in these two inscriptions (13 as against 12), though they are both written *στοιχηδόν*.³⁵

In the present text the demotic begins with EI and thereafter a partially preserved P can be fairly well made out. The restoration is Εἰρ[εσί(δης)] abbreviated because of space. One Φίλιππος Εἰρ[εσίδης] was epistates in the year 368/7 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 104, lines 8-9), possibly a relative of the secretary here. I suggest that the secretaries of 338/7 and of our text were the same man, and restore Φ[ίλιππος Ἀντιφῆμου Εἰρεσίδης] in *I.G.*, II², 237, and Φί[λ]λιππος Ἀντιφ[ήμου|υ Εἰρεσίδης] in *I.G.*, II², 238, with some two letters in the demotic occupying only one space.³⁶

In *I.G.*, II², 2753, the restoration is now given as [Καλ]λίππῳ Ἐ[ρ|οιά?]δει, with a note that the demotic may have been Ε[ἰρεσί]δει. It is also possible to restore the name as [Φι]λίππῳ, and perhaps to identify him with the secretary of our text.

This inscription is the first instance in which the secretary at the end of the register of prytaneis belonged to the same phyle with the prytaneis. But this is a matter of coincidence.³⁷

96 (Plate 61). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with part of the left side and rough-picked back preserved, but otherwise broken, found on July 26, 1949,

³² Parallels for such an addition at the end of a prytany list exist in *I.G.*, II², 1740 lines 53-54, 1747 lines 33-34, 1750 lines 50-53, and especially 1751 line 62 which has the same arrangement as the present text.

³³ W. S. Ferguson, "The Athenian Secretaries," *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* (VII, 1898), pp. 33, 39. His restoration is simply mentioned by Kirchner, *P.A.*, 14381 (cf. *P.A.*, II, p. 532, No. 47).

³⁴ *Jahreshefte*, X, 1907, pp. 32-34.

³⁵ Minor irregularities do occur, however, in both texts.

³⁶ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 238, lines 2 and 4, for similar crowding.

³⁷ For the secretary, see M. Brillant, *Les secrétaires Athéniens* (Paris, 1911), pp. 109-125.

among marbles collected east of the Panathenaic Way, some of which came from the Long Late Roman Wall.

Height, 0.26 m. ; width, 0.21 m. ; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 6218.

The fragment is part of the same stele with *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 89-91, No. 40, republished with a new fragment by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 14-16, No. 6. It makes possible the reading and restoration of lines 41-52 of this latter publication as follows:

- a. 203/2 a. non-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 49
- 41 [ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ταμίαν Κάλλιππον] Φιλιστίδο[υ] Ὀῆθεν εὐσεβείας ἔνε
[κα τῆς] εἰς το[ὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτ]ιμίας τῆς εἰς τοῦ[ς] φυλέτας °
[καὶ το]ὺς ἀεισίτου[ς· ἐπαινέσα]ι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Κάλλ[ιππ]ον [Φ] °
[Φι]λιστίδου Ὀῆθεν· ἐπαινε[ῖσαι δὲ] καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἐπωνύμου Λυσί °
45 [νον] Ἀχαρνέα καὶ τὸν γ[ραμματέ]α τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Σώσιππον
[Φ]λύεα καὶ τὸν ὑπο[γραμματέα Π]ρωτομένην Εἰτεαῖον καὶ τὸν κήρυκα
[τῆς] βουλῆς καὶ τ[οῦ δήμου Εὐκ]λήν Βερενεϊκίδην καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν Νε
[οκλ]ῆν Βερενε[ικίδην καὶ στε]φαν[ῶ]σαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στε
[φά]νωι· ἀνα[γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφι]σμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυ
50 [ταν]είαν [ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ στή]σαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῶι· εἰς δὲ
[τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ποιήσιν τῆς] στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ
[διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]. vacat

It appears from the new fragment that the treasurer and the secretary have the same name: Kallippos, son of Philistides, of Oe. The question arises whether they are the same person. A similar case occurs in a prytany decree (ca. 160/59-150 B.C.) published by W. K. Pritchett in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 122-126, No. 25. There the answer is clear: The secretary Philokrates son of Philokrates of Dekeleia is the son of the homonymous treasurer, as is shown by the two successive names Philokrates in the register of the prytaneis.^{37a} Parts of the names depend on restorations, but the restorations are certain.

Another case occurs in the decrees of 193/2 B.C., published by Pritchett and Meritt in *Chronology*, pp. 111-113. There two of the citations bear the same name: Zoilos of Sphettos (in the second citation partly restored). The editors interpreted this as another example of father and son being treasurer and secretary respectively. However, A. E. Raubitschek, in the Index of *Hesperia* (Vols. I-IX), s.v. Ζωῖλος

^{37a} Cf. Pritchett, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

Σφήρτιος, united both names in one entry and assumed their identity.³⁸ The interpretation remains in doubt.

There is a different case in the decrees of 140/39 B.C. published in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 17-22, No. 9. Here Euktimenos of Eitea is expressly called *ταμίας καὶ γραμματεὺς* and there is only one Euktimenos in the register of the prytaneis. But he had two citations, one for each of his offices. Moreover, he was spokesman for both decrees.³⁹ These peculiarities, duly commented upon by the editor, show that it was not impossible for one person to hold at the same time the offices of treasurer and of secretary.

Another case of double capacity, though of a different kind, appears in the prytany document *I.G.*, II², 678, where the treasurer of the prytaneis and the treasurer of the Boule are the same person. Nothing was added to specify that they were one person; but a special decree was inscribed below the two regular decrees and the mere name was enough to identify the man in his two capacities.⁴⁰

In *I.G.*, II², 848, republished in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 81-85, No. 36, the orator made reference to the treasurer of the Boule as if he were a different person, though in fact orator and treasurer were one and the same.⁴¹

In the present inscription there is no specification that the same person held both offices, but since the interpretation of father and son is here impossible the identity is probably to be presumed. More remote relationship, though possible, is unlikely. The two citations are normal, and reflect the dual capacity.⁴²

The priest Lysinos of Acharnai is otherwise unknown, but he belongs to the prytanizing phyle Oineis. This is one of the clear cases in the period between 229 and 169 B.C. when he does belong to the phyle honored by the decree.⁴³

The new fragment also shows that *οἱ ἀείσιτροι*, appearing at about this time in the first clause of the second decree,⁴⁴ were mentioned also in the decree or resolution proper. The prytaneis were praised for their goodwill towards the *φυλῆται* and the *ἀείσιτροι*.

Two of the citations can be restored. The resulting text in lines 26-29 (cf.

³⁸ He correctly restored the name of the secretary at the end of line 25 in Dow's publication (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 95-96, No. 46).

³⁹ As spokesman his name was given in full, including the patronymic.

⁴⁰ Cf. S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 50-51.

⁴¹ Cf. S. Dow, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84, and my remarks on pp. 36-37 (note 18), above.

⁴² This inscription must be added to the list of exceptions to the normal arrangement of prytany decrees, in that the second decree is here followed by citations instead of directly by the register of prytaneis. Cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 19, note 5.

⁴³ Cf. S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 15-16; W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LX, 1939, pp. 259-260; R. Schlaifer, *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1940, pp. 248-249, 251-257; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 121, 124; and my remarks above, pp. 40-41, note 36.

⁴⁴ Cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 22.

Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 15) is [ἡ βουλὴ | τὸν γραμμα] | τέ[α Κάλλιπ] | πο[ν Ὁῆθεν] and in lines 53-57 (cf. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 16) is [ἡ βουλὴ | τὸν ἱερέα | τοῦ ἐπωνύ|μον Λυσί|νον Ἀχαρ|νέα]. The arrangement of lines in the citation for the priest is uncertain.

At the beginning of the preserved space in line 52 faint traces of letters can be detected. Similar traces of isolated letters can be distinguished on other uninscribed parts of the surface of the stone. This was probably a palimpsest stele on which at some earlier time a decree had been cut, now in 203/2 erased to make place for that at present preserved.

97 (Plate 62). Two opisthographic fragments from a large stele of Pentelic marble, found on May 29, 1937, in a cistern west of the Tholos (G 11:2) in a context dating from the fifth century after Christ. The stele was finished horizontally across the top with an ovolo moulding on Face A and on the sides, which were roughly hammer-dressed. Face B, inscribed later, has text enclosed in a panel with a pedimental top worked in low relief.

Frag. *a*: height, 0.266 m.; width, 0.178 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Frag. *b*: height, 0.387 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m. (on Face A) and *ca.* 0.01 m. (on Face B).

Inv. No. I 4913.

The stele was at some time carefully cut into small brick-like pieces of which these are two from the upper and lower right corners of Face A. Though apparently from the same large stele, the veins of impurities in the marble do not correspond closely, and (according to the report of the excavators) they must have been separated by a considerable interval. The restorations on Face A show that the breadth of the stele was divided into four parts, of which the last fourth has survived. Between the upper and lower fragments one "brick" is to be understood missing.

Face A

ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΣ

Frag. *a* a. 21/0 *a.*

non-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 57-64

[ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα στρατηγο] ὕντος Ἀντι [Σ]

[πάτρου τοῦ) Φλυέως τὸ · [] \ Λ [] ΣΥ

[ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Κεκροπίδος καὶ οἱ αἰεῖσιτοι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀπο] λήξιδος ἄρχοντος

[ἐπαινέσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἐμφανίζουσι τὸν ταμίαν ὃ] ν αὐτοὶ ἴλαντο ἐξ

5 [ἐαυτῶν ----- ^{ca. 28} ----- καὶ ἀποφαίνουσ] ι τῇ βουλῇ τάς τε ὕ

[θυσίας τεθυκέναι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπάσας τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τῇ πρ] υτανείᾳ ἐκ τῶν ἰ

[δίων ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ παίδων καὶ] γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν

- [φίλων καὶ συμμάχων, ἐπιμεμελήσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάν]των καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
 [προνενοηκέναι (?)· προσενηνέχθαι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἑατοὺς λαμπρ]ῶς καὶ φιλαγάθως·
 10 [-----^{ca. 47}-----]ιέων τιμὴν ἔν τε
 [-----^{ca. 86}-----ἀνεστράφθαι ἀ]ξίως τῆς τε ἰδίας
 [μεγαλομερείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πρυτάνεις εὐνοίας· καὶ διὰ τα]ῦτα παρακαλοῦσι
 [οἱ πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλήν ἐπιχωρήσαι αὐτοῦ γραπτῆς ἰκόνος ἀνάθεσι]ν ποιήσασθαι ἐν
 [τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ (?) καὶ ἐπιγράψαι τάδε· οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Κεκροπίδος τὸν ἐ]φ'
 ἑατῶν ταμί
 15 [αν -----]

(about 15 lines missing)

Frag. b

- | | | | |
|----|------------|---------------|----|
| | [-----] | [-----] | |
| | [-----] | Σωσικράτης) | |
| | [-----] | ς Ἀλαιεῖς | |
| | [-----ι]οι | Νικόλαος) | |
| 20 | [-----] | Νικοφῶν) | 30 |
| | [-----]κου | Μελιτεῖς | |
| | [-----] | Γναῖος | |
| | [-----] | Ποθεῖγος | |
| | [-----ο]ν | Ἀθήναιος | |
| 25 | [-----ο]ν | Δημητρίου | 35 |
| | | οἱ πρυτάνεις | |
| | | τὸν ἐπώνυμον. | |
| | | (in corona) | |
| | | Ἄρισ | |
| | | τωνα | |
| | | Σωσιστ | 40 |
| | | ράτου Ἀ | |
| | | [θ]μονέα | |

Face B

ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΣ

Frag. a ca. a. 180 p.

- ἀγαθῆ τ[ύχη· ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος ----- Λευκο]
 νοέως, [—' πρυτανείας, ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν (?) τῆς Κεκροπίδος]
 φυλῆς ζ [----- τειμήσας τοὺς συνάρχοντας καὶ τοὺς]
 ἀεισίτ[ους ἀνέγραψεν].
 5 [-----]

(uncertain number of lines missing)

Frag. b [Μελιτεΐς]
 [-----]
 traces [-----]
 Σπράτων
 10 vacat
 vacat
 vacat
 γ· βουλῆ[σ-----]
 ἀντιγραφ [-----]
 15 Φλ Πρόκλο[σ-----]

Face A

Lines 1-15: The restorations have been made on the analogy of other post-Sullan prytany decrees.⁴⁵ After the time of Sulla formulae were not so rigidly followed in prytany decrees. Hence, lines 10 and 11 have been left without restoration,⁴⁶ and generally the restorations included in the text are at several points uncertain. The difficulties are increased because so much is lost. Normally, in line 14, one expects (in full) οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Κεκροπίδος καὶ οἱ ἀείσιτοι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀπολήξιδος ἄρχοντος τὸν ἐφ' ἑατῶν ταμίαν. The verb ποιήσασθαι in the clause beginning with [καὶ διὰ τα]ῦτα παρακαλοῦσι and followed by the phrase [τὸν ἐ]φ' ἑατῶν ταμί[αν indicates a proposal of the prytaneis for erecting a statue of their treasurer, an honor characteristic of the time.⁴⁷ This is the more probable because expenses for the sacrifices were expressly mentioned (lines 6-7) as having been provided by the treasurer from his own funds. An interpretation of ποιήσασθαι as referring to the concern (πρόνοια) of the Council for honors to the treasurer seems rather not in place.⁴⁸ The reversed order of the infinitive and its object ([ἀνάθεσι]ν ποιήσασθαι) has no parallel, but one

⁴⁵ To those collected by S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, Nos. 97, 101, 109, 111-116, 119-121, the following have been added, not counting fragments of lists or citations: *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 56, No. 14; *ibid.*, XVII, 1948, p. 29, No. 13, and p. 30, No. 14 (preamble of the older style). To these should also be added the fragments in *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 226, No. 54, dated by Meritt *ca.* 100 B.C.; the preserved portions show that this decree is of the post-Sullan type. For the style, see the general remarks by Dow, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

⁴⁶ Perhaps at this point reference was made to the auspicious omens during the sacrifices: ἐν τε | [τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἅπασι καλλιερῆσαντα - - - ἀνεστράφθαι ἀ]ξίως, κτλ. Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 186, No. 116, lines 9-11.

⁴⁷ On the significance of this and related matters see the recent article by W. M. Gross, "Clipeata imago und εἰκὼν ἔνοπλος" in the volume *Convivium: Festgabe für Konrad Ziegler* (Stuttgart, 1954), pp. 74-84.

⁴⁸ In lines 8-9 one might suggest [ἐπιμεμελήσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν - - ^{ca. 11} - - -]των καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν | [ἀπάντων καὶ καλλιερῆσαντα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀνεστράφθαι καλ]ῶς καὶ φιλαγάθως. One thus avoids two consecutive infinitives, but the adverb φιλαγάθως is less appropriate to omens during the offerings and to religious affairs than to a treasurer's behavior toward his colleagues.

can mention their complete omission in *I.G.*, II², 1049, lines 6-7.⁴⁹ The omission of the phrase ἐν ὄπλῳ ἐπιχρῶσθαι in this part of the decree is quite without parallel.

The lack of patronymic or demotic after the name of the archon indicates that he was not that Ἀπόληξις Φιλοκράτους ἐξ Οἴου of ca. 8/7-2/1 B.C.⁵⁰ It was suggested by Graindor and accepted by some scholars that before this Apolexis there was only one archon bearing the same name.⁵¹ Dinsmoor (*Archons*, p. 293) claimed for him the year 20/19.⁵² Notopoulos, on the basis of the tribal cycles of the secretaries, fixes the date at 21/0 B.C.⁵³ Though I feel less confidence than Notopoulos about the year, I have accepted his date.

An argument against identifying the archon Apolexis of this text with him of ca. 8/7-2/1 B.C. lies in the mention of the priest Ariston son of Sosistratos of Athmonon (lines 38-42) and, even more, in the mention of the hoplite general Antipatros son of Antipatros of Phlya (lines 1-2).⁵⁴ It appears that at first some other formula for the title and the name of the general was inscribed in large letters in the first two lines, but that the whole (?) was erased and cut in a different form in order to avoid continuing the heading into the third line. Some of the erased letters can be distinguished at the ends of both lines.⁵⁵

The evidence about the career of Antipatros is given by Th. Chr. Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens* (Diss. Princeton, 1951), p. 41 (cf. pp. 26, 27). He does not accept Meritt's suggestion for the restoration of *I.G.*, II², 3539⁵⁶ but holds to that made by Dittenberger and repeated by Kirchner [Αἰολίωνα Ἀντιπ]άτρον Φλυέα [τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας] στρατηγὸν τὸ ἔβδο[μον] with the date "a. 66 p. ut videtur" which Kirchner adopted from Graindor. Dittenberger had recognized in the person of Aiolion the ephebos of *I.G.*, II², 1973, lines 8-10, an inscription which he assigned to the later years of the emperor Claudius (*I.G.*, III, 653), leaving the date of the generalship unspecified. But it would be difficult, or well-nigh impossible, for an

⁴⁹ According to the corrected restoration; cf. Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 171, No. 101.

⁵⁰ Cf. Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 183. The patronymic is in *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 63; the demotic is in *I.G.*, II², 3505; both are in *I.G.*, II², 2997.

⁵¹ P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo, 1927), pp. 101-102; cf. Dow, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 and 186, who leaves the problem open; J. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 12.

⁵² See also J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 82, note 2 (25/4 B.C.); cf. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, p. 609. Daux's date for the corresponding Delphic archon Antigeneis is "vers 20/19" (*Chronologie delphique* [Paris, 1943], p. 75).

⁵³ J. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 12 (cf. p. 6).

⁵⁴ If the restoration of his name is correct, as it appears to be. See the commentary on these persons, below.

⁵⁵ A. E. Raubitschek has expressed to me his belief that the first three lines, rather, were originally inscribed in letters of normal size, and that they constituted some kind of short preamble, which was erased to make way for the title and name of the hoplite-general. See below, p. 251.

⁵⁶ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 41.

ephebos of a year *ca.* 50/1-52/3, as *I.G.*, II², 1973 is now dated,⁵⁷ to become general for the seventh time in the year 66 A.D. On the other hand, while accepting this date for *I.G.*, II², 3539, Sarikakis doubts (*op. cit.*, p. 37) the restoration of Aiolion's name in another text, *I.G.*, II², 3182, on which the date of *I.G.*, II², 3539, is based.⁵⁸ In fact, he prefers (*op. cit.*, p. 76) to restore the name of the general Cl. Novius in *I.G.*, II², 3182, and to date it before 61/2 A.D.⁵⁹ Thus the only evidence that Aiolion son of Antipatros became hoplite general at all is in the restoration of *I.G.*, II², 3539, which mentions a seventh generalship. I believe that Oliver's restoration and date for *I.G.*, II², 3182, are correct and that now, knowing from *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 41, No. 29, that Antipatros' generalships reached the number of seven, we should endorse the suggestion made without elaboration (and with reservation) by Meritt and restore in *I.G.*, II², 3539 [Ἀντίπατρον Ἀντιπ]άτρον Φλυέα.⁶⁰ We have so far no evidence that Ἀντίπατρος Ἀντιπάτρον Φλυεύς νεώτερος, the archon of 45/6 A.D., became hoplite general. For his full name see Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 85, note 18.

Since the third generalship of Antipatros was *ca.* 29/8-22/1,⁶¹ and his fifth about 20 B.C.,⁶² the present generalship is either his fourth or his fifth, provided that Apolexis is correctly dated in 21/0.

In an attempt to restore the heading in lines 1-2, I have, among many versions, thought of [ἐπὶ Ἀπολλέϊδος ἄρχοντος, στρατηγο]ῦντος Ἀντι^{ov} | [πάτρον τοῦ) Φλυέως

⁵⁷ Cf. J. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 25-26. Notopoulos also was confronted with this problem, and concluded, if the date of the ephebic list be acceptable, that Aiolion entered upon the office of hoplite-general when approximately thirty years of age. Apart from the improbability that one could occupy at that time an office so high while still so young, Notopoulos implies that the seven generalships were continuous, in itself a circumstance most unlikely, especially in view of the assumed age of the incumbent.

⁵⁸ Cf. P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (Cairo, 1931), pp. 14, 77 note 4.

⁵⁹ In this he tacitly follows J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore, 1950), pp. 81-83.

⁶⁰ In the name of a man honored by a statue one must not expect the patronymic, if the father was homonymous with the son, to be represented by the symbol). Admittedly, the text of *I.G.*, II², 3539, as now restored, shows irregularities in the arrangements of space; but we do not know what other elements were added in the dedicatory text. I note that Finlay's copy (see Dittenberger, in *I.G.*, III, 653) gives the letters M and H as preserved at the ends of lines 2 and 3. Presumably the stone has suffered fracture at both sides since his time. A small piece broken from the left was cemented into place again in 1947 (Daphne Hereward *per litteras*). Anent the inscription in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 41, No. 29, I note that line 3 should be written ἐπὶ τοῦς ὀπ<λ>είτας καὶ προνοηθέν[τα τῆς]. The photograph shows that the stonemason wrote A instead of Λ. The article at the end of the line has already been added by J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXII, 1949, p. 107, No. 45. Finally, I note that *I.G.*, II², 1071, in which Antipatros appears as orator, has been augmented by two new fragments from the Agora (Inv. Nos. I 2619 and 5334). This is re-published below (No. 98), and establishes the celebration of the birthday of Augustus. The irregularities in the text of *I.G.*, II², 3539, can be easily avoided by putting the word ἐνεκεν in the fourth line instead of at the end of the third line.

⁶¹ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 178, No. 110, line 22.

⁶² *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 188, No. 116, line 80.

τὸ ·'], which would fulfill the requirements of space (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1039, lines 1-2); but it has several disadvantages, viz., the name of the archon repeated in lines 1 and 3, the omission of the designation ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα or ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας (a very real objection), and the numeral for the generalship appearing only after the name. Two of these disadvantages are obviated by the restoration suggested above, for which I am indebted to Raubitschek. And the connection of an invocation to Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη with the genitive of a name is found at least once at about this time and frequently thereafter.⁶³

According to Dow, this archon Apolexis is perhaps the same person as [Ἀ]πόληξις Ἀπελλικῶν[τος] ἐξ Οἴου mentioned in a list of Leontis ca. 35 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 2461, line 4),⁶⁴ and known also as a representative of the *genos* of the Kerykes in this very year 21/0 B.C. (Ἐλεσωνιακά, I, 1932, p. 225, line 21). His name appears as Ἀπόληξις ἐξ Οἴου in the ephobic inscription *I.G.*, II², 1965, line 12, which can now be attributed to some year about 52/1-40 B.C. (when he was treasurer). This text is dated by Kirchner "fin. s. I a.," following Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 51, on the assumptions that Apolexis was identical with the archon of ca. 8/7-2/1 B.C. and that he was in office probably before his archonship. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 189, remarks that he was doubtless ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν. But Raubitschek informs me that *I.G.*, II², 1965, is to be associated with *I.G.*, II², 3730 (dated by Kirchner "med. s. I a."), because of the probable identity of the paidotribes Μενίσκος Κολωνῆθεν with Μενίσκος Φιλοκλέους Κολωνῆθεν, orator in a decree of 52/1 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1046, line 7). The same paidotribes is mentioned in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 39, No. 27, in the middle of the first century before Christ.⁶⁵ Raubitschek also questions the reading in another text (*I.G.*, II², 1041, lines 30-31) and thinks that the name of the paidotribes traditionally given as [Π]ε[---] should in reality be Μενίσκον]. The inscription refers to ephoboi and ephobic officials of the archonship of Polycharmos, and is now dated in 45/4 (?) B.C.⁶⁶ Moreover, Raubitschek has identified the gymnasiarchos of *I.G.*, II², 3730, lines 7-8, Δεύκιος Σουνιεύς,⁶⁷ with the ephobos of ca. 40 B.C., [Δ]εύκιος Δέ[κ]μου

⁶³ E.g., ἀγαθὴ τύχη τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος in *I.G.*, II², 1069, of the end of the first century before Christ; ἀγαθὴ τύχη Νέρωνος [Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος] in *I.G.*, II², 1989 (ca. 53/4-66/7 A.D.); [ἀγαθὴ τύχη ἀγ[ωνοθέτου] Κλαυδίου (the Κ is preserved) [Ἀν]τύχου in *I.G.*, II², 1759 (96/7 A.D.); ἀγαθὴ τύχη τῶν Σεβαστῶν Μ. Αἰρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Α. Αἰρηλίου Βήρου κτλ. in *I.G.*, II², 1774 (167/8 A.D.).

⁶⁴ S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 191, note 1. Cf. Kirchner, *P.A.*, 1360, 1363; Sundwall, *N.P.A.*, p. 19; Graindor, *Musée belge*, XXVII, 1923, p. 265, No. 48.

⁶⁵ See Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, Index I-X, s.v. A separate study of the evidence about Meniskos has been promised by Raubitschek, *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson* (Princeton, 1951), p. 53, note 14.

⁶⁶ W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 292. Koumanoudes had read as Πε[---] the name which Kirchner renders as [Π]ε[---].

⁶⁷ With Dumont and Dittenberger I restore *I.G.*, II², 3730, line 6, as τὸν γυμνασίαρχ[ον]; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1965, line 25: γυμνασίαρχ[ον].

[Σ]ο[ν]νιεύ[ς], in *I.G.*, II², 1961, line 21,⁶⁸ and finds a connection between the ephebos of *I.G.*, II², 1965, line 5, [Γάιο]ς Καστρικός Ἀλέξανδρος, and Πάλλα Καστρικία Δέκμων θυγάτηρ, Ποπλίου Γρανίου γυνή, known from a sepulchral inscription which Kirchner dates in the first century before Christ (*I.G.*, II², 11826). I add one further item. Kirchner gives the name and demotic of the gymnasiarchos in *I.G.*, II², 1965, lines 26-27, as Σ[ί]μωνα Εὐ[πυρί]δη[ν] (?). The reading of the name as Σίμωνα goes back to Koumanoudes, who expressly states that he copied the inscription “διὰ τάχους.” Markellos Mitsos (*B.C.H.*, LXXIV, 1950, p. 218) read the name as Ζ[ή]νων[α]. When I studied this matter some years ago I was unable to confirm either reading from the squeeze, but Raubitschek has read Ζ[ή]νων[α] (as Mitsos) ἐκ Κορίθη[ς]. No such combination of name and demotic is supported by other prosopographical evidence. I think that we should read Τίμωνα ἐκ Κορίθη[ς] and recognize in him the ephebos of the ephebic list mentioned above: Τίμων Δινείου ἐκ Κορίθη[ς] (*I.G.*, II², 1961, line 44). It should be noticed there that he is first in the register of Hippothontis—an honorary position for the gymnasiarchos. In short, I agree with Raubitschek in connecting *I.G.*, II², 1965 and 3730, and dating them in the middle of the century. I recognize the persons crowned not as officials of the state but as epheboi. Further I express my belief that the lost ephebic list *I.G.*, II², 1961, is from the same year.⁶⁹

As archon, Apolexis is now mentioned in the following texts:

- a. *I.G.*, II², 1040, lines 14, 24, 35.
- b. *I.G.*, II², 1045, lines 2, 22; cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 183 (under No. 113).
- c. *I.G.*, II², 1063, line 6.
- d. *I.G.*, II², 2876.
- e. *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 61, line 2; cf. G. Daux, *Chronologie delphique*, p. 75 N 20.
- f. Ἐλευσινιακά, I, 1932, p. 225, line 2 = *Mélanges Bidez* (II, 1934), p. 819.
- g. *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 186, No. 115, line 2.
- h. This present inscription.

⁶⁸ The note of Kirchner that Λεύκιος Σουνιεύς of *I.G.*, II², 3730, is a descendant of Λεύκιος Θεοκλέους Σουνιεύς of the mid fourth century B.C. (*P.A.*, 9057) is incorrect, for it was made without knowledge of the patronymic of *I.G.*, II², 1961, line 21. The one is Leukios and the other Lucius; cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, No. 913, note 1.

⁶⁹ One should note the mixture of Athenians and foreigners among the epheboi of *I.G.*, II², 1965, as also in *I.G.*, II², 1961, unless perchance the confusion in the latter is due to the modern copyist. But there are obstacles, as, for example, the paidotribes in *I.G.*, II², 1961, whose name begins with alpha (line 77) instead of mu (Μενίσκος). Perhaps one should restore <M>[ενίσκον | Κολωνήθεν], attributing the error to our copyist. The whole matter needs an independent study in connection with *I.G.*, II², 2463 (and 2461).

The new inscription does not give evidence for or against the accepted date for him, but the mention of Ariston (lines 38-42) excludes the early date formerly assigned, unless there was in reality another bearing the same name.

Line 27: *Σωσικράτης*). There is no evidence for the deme of Kekropis to which he and the missing names above him belonged. Phlya is excluded because at that time it had been transferred to Ptolemais.

Line 30: *Νικοφῶν*). His brother appears to be [---]s *Νικοφῶντος Ἀλαιεύς* (*P.A.*, 11079) of Kekropis, ephebos in the archonship of Menandros in 38/7 B.C.⁷⁰

Lines 32-33: The list contains names with patronymics in one or two lines according to the space available. Since the remains in line 32 do not yield any known Athenian name, and since in the following line there is a clear nominative without the patronymic symbol), the name in line 32 may be the Roman praenomen *Γναῖος*. It is well known that in many instances persons with praenomina or gentilicia were not given patronymics in lists where with purely Greek names the father was regularly recorded. The Latin elements of the name were enough for identification of the family and the person.

One *Γν[αῖος Κ]ορνοφίκιος Ἀπο[λλώ]μιος Μελιτεύς* is known from a columnar grave monument with relief attributed by Kirchner to the first century after Christ.⁷¹

Lines 34-35: *Ἀθήναιος Δημητρίου*. [*Ἀρ*]τεμίδωρος *Ἀθηναίου* of Kekropis, prytanis ca. 29/8-22/1 B.C., was not related, for he was not from Melite.⁷² In later years there was an *Ἀθήναιος Εὐόδου Μελι(τεύς)*, ephebos in 163/4 A.D.⁷³

The ubiquitous name Demetrios has relatively few occurrences in Melite, and *Δημήτριος Μελιτεύς* (*P.A.*, 3426), father of *Εὐθύδομος Δημητρίου Μελιτεύς*, is too early to have certain connection with our prytanis. In studying the family years ago I reconstructed its stemma in the following way:

⁷⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1043, col. II, line 100; cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 280, 284-286.

⁷¹ *I.G.*, II², 6828. Kirchner has [Κ]ορνοφίκιος. Koumanoudes and Lolling both read [Κ]ορνοφίκιος, which appears also in the photograph given by Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, no. 1823, and plate 387.

⁷² *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 180, No. 110, lines 49-50. For the name see Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, Index I-X, s.v. [Ἐ]στ[ί]δ[ω]ρος [*Ἀθ*]ηναίου (Κεκροπίδος) and A. M. Woodward, *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, p. 111. The reading I have given was made by B. D. Meritt.

⁷³ *I.G.*, II², 2086, line 153. [*Ἀθ*]ήναιος *Εὐόδου*, ἀ[ντιγραφεύ]s in 180/1 A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 1794, line 38; for the date see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 19-20), is usually identified with *Ἀθήναιος Εὐόδου Ἀχαρ(τεύς)*, ephebos after the middle of the second century after Christ (*I.G.*, II², 2278, line 7) and sophronistes in 190/1 or 191/2 (*I.G.*, II², 2113, line 17). But he can equally well be identified with the ephebos from Melite.

In 1937 Dow stated, on the basis of the evidence then available, that the priest of the Eponymos, beginning in 169/8 and continuing no doubt regularly thereafter, belonged to his proper phyle.⁸¹ I have already made some observations about the initial date.⁸² For the following period Pritchett has shown reason to believe that the Gargettian family of the priests Thrasippos and Kallias, although not members of the phyle Hippothontis, may have filled the priesthood for that phyle during a large part of the second quarter of the second century.⁸³ He recognized Kallias in a citation⁸⁴ in a prytany decree (*ca. a.* 165/4-150 *a.*) as priest of the Eponymos and assigned him to the family from Gargettos. Another similar case in which Θράσιππος Καλλίου Γαργήτιος of the same family served as priest for Hippothontis (*a.* 135/4 *a.*) has been reported by Meritt.⁸⁵ I have already promised (above, p. 37, note 21) to examine elsewhere the text gained by combining *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, No. 68 with No. 88 plus *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 282, No. 77 (*a.* 131/0 *a.*) and to investigate the points pertaining to the present problem.

Apart from the Gargettian family, Dow's rule is violated in a prytany decree of 95/4 B.C. recently published by Meritt.⁸⁶ The phyle honored was Kekropis, whereas the priest Δικαιόπολις Παμβωτάδης belonged to Erechtheis. To these cases must now be added the present text where the "priest of the Eponymos" was from Athmonon (Attalis) while the phyle honored was Kekropis. But one should remember that Athmonon belonged to Kekropis before the creation of Attalis, and that Ariston was the priest of Kekrops. It appears that when the new phylai were created the duties pertaining to their cults remained in charge of the old families of priests; and the evidence should be re-examined under this prism.

The new text brings also welcome information on another problem. Schlaifer has tried to explain certain irregularities in the tribal affiliation of several eponymous priests by assuming that these priests held a gentilic priesthood, and he has suggested that some phylai had only a tribal priest while others had a gentilic as well as a tribal priest, basing his conjecture on the evidence concerning those priests of the phylai Hippothontis, Akamantis, and Kekropis known to him.⁸⁷ His argument about Akamantis does not hold, because the priest in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 115-118, No. 23, did in fact belong to his proper phyle. Schlaifer himself (*op. cit.*, pp. 248-249) had already cast great doubt on the earlier restoration, when, in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 396-397, an interchange in the restorations of the titles of treasurer and of priest

⁸¹ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 16.

⁸² See above, pp. 40-41, note 36, and p. 245 with note 43.

⁸³ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 124.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123, No. 25. Cf. R. Schlaifer, *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1940, p. 251.

⁸⁵ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 359-367, No. 7 (especially pp. 362-363).

⁸⁶ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 25-26, No. 12.

⁸⁷ R. Schlaifer, *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1940, pp. 251-257 (especially pp. 256-257).

made by Pritchett showed the correct association.⁸⁸ The whole question needs a comprehensive study in the light of the evidence now available.

Schlaifer had already concluded (*op. cit.*, p. 254) that the phyle Kekropis had adopted the gentile priesthood along with the sanctuary of Kekrops on the Acropolis, but there was no evidence heretofore to show that this priest held office also as priest of the Eponymos of the phyle Kekropis. This information is provided by the present text.⁸⁹ By using the evidence about Ariston previously available and mentioned above⁹⁰ one can deduce that he was priest of Kekrops for life and that he did not belong to the phyle Kekropis. Schlaifer, consequently, did not include him in his list of known priests of the Eponymos (*op. cit.*, p. 251). The present text shows that he was priest of the Eponymos, the conclusion being that the tribal priesthood of Kekrops (originally belonging solely to Kekropis) was held by a gentile priest (of a now different phyle) as late as the end of the first century before Christ.

A sepulchral inscription assigned to a date in Roman times and known from an old copy by Spon reads as follows: [----- 'Αθμο]νεύς. Χαρίεσσα 'Αρίστω|νος ἐξ 'Αθμονέων.⁹¹ It is also in the manuscript of Spon's fellow-traveler Wheler (No. LXV = 290) with a different division of the lines: [----- 'Αθμο]νεύς. Χαρίεσσα 'Αρίστ<ω>νος | ἐξ 'Αθμονέων.⁹² We cannot judge the date closely because of our ignorance of the shapes of the letters, and so cannot say whether Chariessa was the daughter of the priest. The genitive plural of the demotic shows that in any case the monument does not date from pre-Roman times. [----- 'Αθμο]νεύς was probably Chariessa's husband.

Kirchner felt confident that the persons named in a catalogue of uncertain nature of the mid fourth century B. C., and belonging to Kekropis (*I.G.*, II², 2385, lines 4-74), were from Athmonon, but he made no suggestion for associating 'Ισοκράτης 'Αρίστωνος of line 45 (*P.A.*, 7714) with the family of our priest. He may have been an ancestor.⁹³

In the prytany decrees collected by Dow⁹⁴ the name of the hoplite general is found

⁸⁸ See also my comments on pp. 36-37 (and note 20), above.

⁸⁹ It was noticed some years ago by W. K. Pritchett, who communicated his observation to Raubitschek and to me.

⁹⁰ *I.G.*, II², 2338, lines 8 and 70; *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 246, No. 1, lines 3-4.

⁹¹ *I.G.*, II², 5357. For the division of lines in Spon's book, see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 44.

⁹² See above, p. 240. Wheler's manuscript has the misspelling 'Αρίστονος. The location of finding is given by Wheler as the same as that of *I.G.*, II², 5669: *in templo τῆς Παναγίας*. But according to Spon (*apud Boeckh*) this latter was found *apud ecclesiam Panagiae Camuchariae*. It was in fact rediscovered in the church of Panagia Kapnikarea during the course of repairs about fifteen years ago and shown to me by G. Bakalakis. The stone is still beside the church. Spon's note that *I.G.*, II², 5357, was found *Athenis in ecclesia Panagiae Gorgopiko* is probably wrong.

⁹³ I take this opportunity of noting that the underlined parts of lines 89-96 in *I.G.*, II², 2385, are not lost, but are actually the fragment published as *I.G.*, II², 2431.

⁹⁴ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I (1937).

only in citations on the lower part of the stelai, above or below the register of the prytaneis, a type of mention which begins after Sulla and continues thereafter.⁹⁵ He is prominently mentioned in the headings of the prytany lists of later Roman times, along with the eponymous archon, in a way which suggests that his own office partakes of the nature of an eponymous magistracy.⁹⁶ The present document is the only one so far discovered in which the hoplite general is named above a prytany decree, an innovation which shows the increase in his prestige at about this time. Raubitschek suggests to me that this implies a change in the status of the hoplite general from simple connection with the Council to a position of such importance that he may be considered almost as chief of the prytaneis. Antipatros must have acquired considerable importance before his seventh generalship, and his prominent mention in this text may be due partly to his personal qualifications. He was spokesman for the decree establishing the celebration of the birthday of Augustus. This in itself shows close and friendly relations with Rome, and it is quite possible that he was the agent of the emperor in Athens.⁹⁷ Moreover, the year of our text (21/0 B.C.) is the exact date which has been thought to mark in Athens a change in organization from a board of generals to one single general.⁹⁸ Hence Antipatros is favored as having been the first hoplite general under the new system introduced by Augustus, preferred over Pammenes son of Zenon of Marathon (*ca. a. 27/6-18/7 a.*) who was considered as candidate because he was the first priest of Roma and Augustus.⁹⁹

Another innovation at this time concerns the title of the priest of the Eponymos. Oliver has rejected¹⁰⁰ the old theory advanced by G. Gilbert¹⁰¹ and at first accepted by himself¹⁰² that the Eponymos may have been also the priest of the eponymous hero

⁹⁵ His first appearance is shortly after 60 B.C. (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, No. 98). Thereafter he is found about 40-30 B.C. (*ibid.*, No. 105), about 29/8-22/1 B.C. (*ibid.*, No. 110), and about 20 B.C. (*ibid.*, No. 116).

⁹⁶ *I.G.*, II², 1774 ff. See, however, the discussion by Sarikakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21, and the evidence there cited. He asserts that the hoplite general did not become an eponymous magistrate at Athens. It is worth noting that the main topic of the present text is praise of the treasurer with the honor of an εἰκὼν ἐν ὄπλῳ, i. e., it is the type of inscription which might explain the naming of the hoplite general as eponymous. Sarikakis, in his argument, erroneously calls *I.G.*, XII, 8, No. 26, and *S.G.D.I.*, 2089, decrees. *I.G.*, II², 1039 is an (ephebic) decree.

⁹⁷ On this decree, see below, pp. 260-265 (No. 98). W. B. Dinsmoor informs me that he believes there were two important Athenians named Antipatros at about this time, making two generations instead of one in the stemma of the family. He plans to discuss this in a forthcoming publication.

⁹⁸ Cf. Th. Chr. Sarikakis, *Ἀθηναί*, LVII, 1953, pp. 264-266.

⁹⁹ *I.G.*, II², 3173. Cf. Sarikakis, *Ἀθηναί*, LVII, 1953, p. 266, note 2.

¹⁰⁰ J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 30, note 5.

¹⁰¹ *The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens* (1895), p. 166, note 3 [Greek translation by N. G. Polites, second edition, Athens, 1927, p. 198].

¹⁰² J. H. Oliver, "The Sacred Gerusia," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI (1941), p. 3; cf. W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 397, note 5.

of the phyle and that the office of the Eponymos was created in or shortly before 130 A.D. On the other hand, Raubitschek has held that the first appearance of the Eponymos was in 135/6 A.D., and he has been inclined to identify the two offices in the post-Hadrianic period. But his conclusions have been tentative because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence.¹⁰³ It is significant to find in this text as early as the Augustan period the title *ἐπώνυμος*, which can only be interpreted to mean *ἱερεὺς τοῦ ἐπωνύμου*. The term is unique in the prytany texts of the Hellenistic and Augustan eras.

These two innovations are additional confirmation of the fundamental changes in the Athenian constitution at the time of the principate of Augustus, and especially in or near the year 21 B.C.

Face B

In Roman times, when old stelai with prytany decrees were re-used for the inscription of prytany lists, it was the rule that the phyle should remain the same. For example, the stone with a prytany decree dating *ca.* 50-40 B.C., and belonging to Hipbothontis,¹⁰⁴ was re-used *ca.* 138/9-150 A.D. for a prytany list of the same phyle.¹⁰⁵ Or again, a decree of Kekropis dating *ca.* 29/8-22/1 B.C.¹⁰⁶ was inscribed in 179/80 A.D. with a prytany list of the same phyle.¹⁰⁷ In both cases stones obviously the property of the phylai¹⁰⁸ had been used about two hundred years after the first inscriptions, by the same phylai, when financial (or other) conditions did not allow the erection of new stelai. These circumstances are different from those which controlled the erection of one original monument with two or more prytany lists (in the Roman period) inscribed in one, or nearly the same, year and belonging to different phylai. Our present text belongs to the former category, and I assume therefore that the list on Face B belonged, like that of Face A, to the phyle Kekropis.

Indeed, the first and second texts of our document are contemporaries, respectively, of those of Kekropis just mentioned in notes 106 and 107. There are other similarities, even in the brick-like dismemberment of the stele for its third use, but the fragments cannot belong all to the same stone, because demesmen of Melite are registered in both prytany texts. Nevertheless, I believe that our Face B is approximately contemporaneous with *I.G.*, II², 1790, and I date it *ca.* 180 A.D.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ A. E. Raubitschek, "Note on the post-Hadrianic Boule," in *Γέρας Ἀγτωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου* (Athens, 1953), pp. 243-255.

¹⁰⁴ *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 56-60, No. 14.

¹⁰⁵ *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 60-63, No. 15; for the date see J. A. Notopoulos, *A.J.P.*, LXV, 1944, p. 165.

¹⁰⁶ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 178-181, No. 110.

¹⁰⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1790; for the date see J. A. Notopoulos, *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, p. 55, note 29, and *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, Table 1 (facing p. 22).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 181.

¹⁰⁹ In line 25 of *I.G.*, II², 1790, J. H. Oliver (as also Notopoulos) has read Ε[ῖ]δημος Ἐρε

No archon of Roman times is known whose demotic was *Λευκονοεύς*, sc. of the phyle Leontis,¹¹⁰ but the uncertainties are in general so great in any case that it is futile to attempt to fix the year in the cycles established by Notopoulos.¹¹¹

Because of the last trace of a letter in line 3 the restoration of the heading is adapted to that of *I.G.*, II², 1775 (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1821).

If the suggested date ca. 180 A.D. is correct, Fl(avius) Proklos of line 15 is probably the same as Φ[λ]άβιος Πρόκλος, who was ephebos in 165/6 A.D.¹¹² One Φλ. Πρόκλος, with no demotic given, is mentioned in a catalogue of uncertain category ca. 140/1-143/4 A.D.¹¹³ A descendant of our Proklos may be that Φλά) Προκλιανός) of Kekropis who was ephebos ca. 232 A.D.¹¹⁴ He is followed in the inscription in which he appears by Φλά) Μαρκιανός Πρ), probably his brother.¹¹⁵ In the years 168/9 and 169/70 one of the *αἰεσίτοι* was the *ιεραύλης*, Epigonos son of Proklos, of Peiraeus. But there is no way of telling whether our Proklos was *ιεραύλης* or a son of Epigonos.¹¹⁶

If this catalogue was, in fact, of the phyle Kekropis, as we have surmised, then Straton (line 9) was of Melite, the only deme of Kekropis in which the name is known to occur in Roman times. One Ὀλυμπος Στράτωνος Μελι⁺ was ephebos ca. 110-125 A.D.¹¹⁷ His son was Στράτων Ὀλύμπου Μελιτεύς, γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν in 174/5 A.D.¹¹⁸ Also to be ascribed to this deme is Αἰθάλης Στράτωνος of Kekropis, ephebos in 205/6 A.D.,¹¹⁹ perhaps the son of the Straton of this text. For occurrences of the name

(*A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539). Kirchner had Ἐρε, influenced by Ἐρέν<ν>ιος of Pittakys and Dittenberger (not mentioned in Dittenberger's *Indices*). If the name is a patronymic it must be restored either as Ἐρε[νίου --] or, more probably, as Ἐρε[νιανοῦ --], but neither restoration is satisfactory, the first being a *gentilicium* and the second a *cognomen*.

Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 178, publishes a later Roman inscription cut on the lateral face of the stone and calls it "unpublished." It was published at the same time as the two main faces of the stone by K. S. Pittakys, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., No. 2294, and it was repeated by Dittenberger as *I.G.*, III, 3912.

¹¹⁰ This deme never belonged to Antiochis. See R. Löper, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 426, note 1; J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 2067, comment on lines 177-178.

¹¹¹ Cf. J. A. Notopoulos, *A.J.P.*, LXV, 1944, p. 162.

¹¹² *I.G.*, II², 3013: [γν]μνασιαρχήσας [τ]ὸν Ἀνθεστηριῶν[α τήν] λαμπά[δα] ἀνέθ[ηκε].

¹¹³ *I.G.*, II², 2472, line 5.

¹¹⁴ *I.G.*, II², 2237, line 134.

¹¹⁵ In this text the symbol) does not indicate only homonymity of the father, but is also a mark of abbreviation and punctuation; cf. Kirchner's commentary *ad loc.* For the date of the inscription see J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 47.

¹¹⁶ Cf. J. A. Notopoulos, *op. cit.*, Table 1 (facing p. 22).

¹¹⁷ *I.G.*, II², 2019, line 15; cf. M. Mitsos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1950/1, p. 18, No. 2. [Ἵ]λυμπος Λυσιάδου Μελιτεύς of *I.G.*, II², 6866, of the first, or (rather) second, century after Christ, belongs to the same family.

¹¹⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1788, line 32. Cf. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 44, No. 10, line 54; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 56, No. 21, line 50; J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 29.

¹¹⁹ *I.G.*, II², 2193, line 112; 2195, line 3. For the date cf. Notopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35. *I.G.*, II², 2195, is a fragment from a copy of *I.G.*, II², 2193. I observed some years ago that it is the fragment published by Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 79, No. 40, in the belief that it was hitherto

Σπράτων in Melite in the pre-Christian era, see *I.G.*, II², 6869, 6870, 6875. In that earlier era the name occurs in the deme Epieikidai (*I.G.*, II², 6058), perhaps in Aixone (*I.G.*, II², 952, line 4), and if Dow's reading is correct and his reasoning sound in Halai as well.¹²⁰ Otherwise this last Straton also belongs to Melite.¹²¹

98 (Plate 63). Two non-joining fragments of Pentelic marble (fragments *b* and *c*) which belong to the same inscription with *I.G.*, II², 1071 (fragment *a*) but make no join with it. Fragment *a* was found in the Library of Hadrian and is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 5314). The writing is stoichedon, with a chequer pattern which measures 0.013 m. horizontally and 0.0166 m. vertically.¹²²

Fragment *b* was found on March 15, 1935, in a late wall east of the East Stoa (P 14). The right side and rough-picked back are preserved. Down the right side of the inscribed face a strip about 0.07 m. wide has been shaved off, with the loss of practically all traces of letters. A similar treatment at both upper corners of Fragment *a* confirms the connection between the two stones; apparently the cutting was done when the original stele was being prepared for re-use.

Height, 0.028 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.-0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 2619.

Fragment *c* was found on March 14, 1938, in a late context northeast of the Odeion (N 7). Its original inscribed face only is preserved.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.066 m.; thickness, 0.052 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.-0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5334.

a. 22/1 *a.* (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 39

a [ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ·] Διαντὶς ἐ[πρυτάνευε, . . .⁶ . . . ἐ]
[γραμμάτευε, . . .] ἰος ἐπεστάτ[ει, . . .⁹ . . . ἦρχε·]
[Ἀντίπατρος^{vv}] Ἀντιπάτρου^{vv} Φλ[υεὺς^{vv} εἶπε^{vv}]

unknown, and with erroneous restorations. I shall deal elsewhere with the whole group *I.G.*, II², 2193-2196.

¹²⁰ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 117, No. 61, line 6.

¹²¹ On *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 117-118, No. 61, see my remarks above, p. 39.

¹²² R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (London, 1938), p. 36. Austin gives the height of letters as 0.01 m. (*op. cit.*, p. 114); Kirchner's measurement was 0.011 m. A photograph is published by Austin, *op. cit.*, Plate 14. In my Plate 63 the photographs of No. 98, *a* and *b*, were made by the late G. Tzimas of the Museum staff. The photographs of the other fragments, as indeed all other photographs in this report, were made by Alison Frantz. The association of the three fragments of this text was noticed some years ago by A. E. Raubitschek, who has kindly given me his notes and suggestions for restoration and has encouraged this preliminary publication.

5 [ὅποσα μὲν πρ]ότερον ἐψηφίσατο ὁ δ[ῆμος Ἀυτοκράτ]
 [ορι Καίσα]ρι Σεβαστῶι πράττεσθα[ι¹¹]
 [.⁹]ων ταῖς ἔναις τιμαῖς Γ[.¹²]
 [.⁹]εται^ν τὴν μὲν δωδεκάτ[ην Βοηδρομιῶν]
 [ος Καίσαρος] γενέθλιον ἐορτάζει[ν θυσίαις καθά]
 [περ τῶι Ἀπό]λλωνι τὴν ἐβδόμην ἱερ[ὰν νομίζομεν]
 10 [.⁹]ων εἰσὶ δημοτελεῖς Γ[.¹²]
 [.⁸] | ^ν παρόντων μὲν [.¹⁸]
 [.⁶ καθ]ιεροῦντε[ς²¹]
 [.⁹]τοντας [.²⁴]

lacuna

b
 15 [.²¹] Σ[.⁷]
 [.²⁸] ΕΤΑΣΣΙ[.⁵]
 [.²⁹] βωμὸν ! [.]
 [.²⁹]νον ἀλλ[.]
 [.³⁰] διακλ[.]
 [.²⁷] \ οντας^ν ὁ[ποσ]
 20 [.²⁸] ἐξεταζε[.]
 [.²⁹]ν^ν ὀπόσ[.]
 [.²² ἀγῶνα ἰσο]πύθιο[ν]
 [.²² ἐπιφανέσ]τατα^ν [.]
 [.²⁹]ος^ν ἔν τ[ε]
 25 [.³⁰] ΤΗΡΙΣ [.]
 [.]ΓΟ! [.]

lacuna

c
 30 [.¹⁷]ιος ητ[.¹⁷]
 [.¹⁷]ος παρ[.¹⁷]
 [.¹⁷]τους ε[.¹⁷]
 [.¹⁷] ΗΣΦΑΣ [.¹⁷]
 [.¹⁹] ΤΟ [.¹⁸]

lacuna

Line 15: perhaps ΡΤΑΣ. Line 27 fin.: either Η or Ρ.

Bibliography: J. Kirchner, in *I.G.*, II², 1071 (in 1916); P. Graindor, "Auguste et Athènes," *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, I, 1922, pp. 334-440; *idem*, "Études sur Athènes sous Auguste," *Le Musée belge*, XXVII, 1923, p. 265, Nos. 45, 46; *idem*, *Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo, 1927), pp. 16, 25-32, 101, 113, 142; J. P. Shear, "Athenian Imperial Coinage," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 287; S. Dow, "Prytaneis," *Hesperia*, Suppl. I (1937), pp. 190-191; R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (London, 1938), pp. 36, 114, and Plate 14; John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York, 1942), pp. 136-137;

S. Accame, *Il dominio romano in Grecia dalla guerra acaica ad Augusto* (Rome, 1946), pp. 178-179; Th. Chr. Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens* (Diss. Princeton, 1951), p. 41. The text has not been included in the volume of V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (Oxford, 1948; second edition, 1955).

The association of the fragments is proved by the lettering, the subject-matter, and the style of treatment for later use, but above all by the stoichedon lettering, which is the latest example from Athens and, except for an inscription from Oinoanda in Lykia, perhaps the latest in all Greece.¹²³ It is not a survival of the stoichedon style but rather a revival with all the attendant formulae of decrees of the early fourth century before Christ.¹²⁴

Hiller von Gaertringen, at the time of Kirchner's publication, had already recognized (commentary on *I.G.*, II², 1071) that the inscription bestows honors on one of the emperors for the celebration of his birthday. Graindor, in his several studies, and after studying the stone in Athens, reached these conclusions: the emperor honored was Augustus; the twelfth day for the celebration of his birthday was in the Attic month Boedromion; the monthly birthday of Apollo on the seventh of that month perhaps coincided with the anniversary of the arrival of Augustus in Athens after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C.; the spokesman was Antipatros son of Antipatros of Phlya, known at about this time to have held repeatedly the office of hoplite-general; and the date of the document was not long after 27/6 B.C. His views were accepted by Shear and Day, and so far as concerns the date by Dow, Accame, and Sarikakis. Austin was not aware of Graindor's results, and hence he followed Kirchner's general dating, but he made the important observation that the inscription was cut in stoichedon pattern, a fact which had escaped Graindor's attention and which makes many of his restorations untenable. In the text above, I have adapted his conclusions to a stoichedon line of 39 letters, with some improvements in the readings.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the institution of the celebration of the *natalis genuinus* and *natalis imperii* of the Roman emperors and of the members of their families, much less the beginnings in the Hellenistic period. This matter has been examined thoroughly by specialists in the field.¹²⁵

¹²³ Austin, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 117-118.

¹²⁴ It is worth noting that similar archaistic lettering, though larger, was used in the dedicatory inscription on the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis (*I.G.*, II², 3173).

¹²⁵ From the extensive bibliography on the celebration of the *dies natalis* of the emperors (and related matters) I note the following: Fr. Blumenthal, "Der aegyptische Kaiserkult," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, V, 1910, pp. 336-344; W. Schmidt, Γενέθλιος Ἡμέρα, in P.W., *R.E.*, VII (1912), cols. 1145-1147; *idem*, "Geburtstag im Altertum," *Religiongeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, VII, 1 (1918), pp. 53-78; W. F. Snyder, Ἡμέραι Σεβασταί, *Aegyptus*, XVIII, 1938, pp. 197-233; *idem*, "Public Anniversaries in the Roman Empire," *Yale Classical Studies*, VII, 1940, pp. 225-317; J. Schwartz, "Dies Augustus," *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, XLVI, 1944, pp. 266-268. Especially for Augustus, see also Th. Mommsen in *C.I.L.*, I², pp. 329-330; A. Kaplan, "The Birthday of Augustus," in

The emperor's title *Σεβαστός* (line 5) shows that the decree was not passed before 27 B.C., in which year Augustus was given this name.¹²⁶ Judging the *floruit* of Antipatros as he understood it,¹²⁷ and judging that the Athenians would have been prompt to calm the wrath of Caesar after the battle of Actium, Graindor dated the decree as soon after 27/6 B.C. as he could. I prefer to bring it down to the eve of Augustus' second visit to Athens in the winter of 21/0 B.C. Considerable activity is attested at Athens in this later period. The temple of Roma and Augustus was constructed on the Acropolis between 27/6 and 18/7 B.C.¹²⁸ The Roman Agora was started before 44 B.C. and was inaugurated in 11/0 or 10/9 B.C.,¹²⁹ but the additional funds procured by Augustus for finishing it were probably given during his two later visits in 20 and 19 B.C.¹³⁰ It is now believed that some of the lead *tesserae* used for the distribution of grain might belong in 20 B.C.¹³¹ Josephine Shear has demonstrated that Athens was one of the cities which were granted the privilege of issuing autonomous coinage in 27/6 B.C. or soon thereafter.¹³²

All this confessedly is not conclusive, but it indicates that an appropriate date for our text may be some years later than that which is earliest possible. Graindor had interpreted the *ἔναι τιμαί* of line 6 as meaning honors of the preceding year; but they can have been quite as well (lexicographically) honors given to Augustus in the past. Thus the argument that this decree must be as close as possible to 27/6 loses much of its force: the *ἔναι τιμαί* could have been honors by way of appeasement soon after Actium or even later, including, for example, the authorization for the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis. But the new visit of Augustus in 21 B.C. was an important event and an occasion for new honors. At that time Antipatros son of Antipatros of Phlya, the orator of the present decree, was hoplite general and at

Classical Studies for Alexander David Fraser (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1956), pp. 93-102. Kaplan mentions briefly *I.G.*, II², 1071, on p. 94, but he examines at length the evidence for the date of birth.

¹²⁶ Cf. Lily R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, Conn., 1931), pp. 158-160.

¹²⁷ See above, pp. 249-251, 257, for the evidence about Antipatros.

¹²⁸ We do not know a more precise date. Cf. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 30; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (1931), p. 256, note 5. See also below, p. 264. The temple of Augustus in Pergamon was begun in 29 B.C. and was ready ten years later (*I.G.R.R.P.*, IV, 39; Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 150). The dedication of the monument for his son-in-law Agrippa has been attributed to the years between 23 and 13 B.C. (Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 49). Judeich (*op. cit.*, p. 216) still holds to the old date *ca.* 27 B.C. of Wachsmuth, with no reference to Graindor. Now it is believed to be contemporary with the construction of the Agrippaeion in the Agora and both are attributed to the year 16 or 14 B.C.; cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 89.

¹²⁹ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 32, note 3; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 371; Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131, note 60.

¹³⁰ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹³¹ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 133, note 78.

¹³² *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 285-293. Cf. Day, *op. cit.*, p. 137 with note 105. See also A. R. Belinger, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 11, 27-29.

the acme of his prestige.¹³³ Among other reasons which Graindor advanced at first in favor of the date 26/5 B.C.¹³⁴ was his reckoning that in that year the twelfth of Boedromion fell on September 24, i.e., very close to the birthday of Augustus on September 23, with allowance of an error of one or two days either way as is always possible in equating dates in the Greek and Roman calendars.¹³⁵ Later he tacitly dropped this argument, and it should be emphasized, in any case, that the equation of dates must apply to the actual year of birth in 63 B.C. and that a recurrence of the equation was not essential to the establishment of a celebration about forty years later. The date of this decree must depend on evidence of a different kind.

The ties between Augustus and Apollo have been discussed by Graindor.¹³⁶ It is known that according to one tradition Apollo's birthday was on the seventh of a month and that it was celebrated every month.¹³⁷ So too the *dies natalis* of Augustus was celebrated every month as had been the custom earlier for Hellenistic kings and as was the custom later for other emperors and members of their families.¹³⁸ The inference is that the Athenians also had by this decree, in some portion now lost, decided on monthly celebrations of the birthday of Augustus. But it is natural to suppose that the main celebration (line 7) was reserved for the anniversary date in Boedromion, which coincided with the anniversary of the restoration of the democracy in Athens by Thrasyboulos.¹³⁹ Probably in this month too occurred the main celebration of the birthday of Apollo (called Boedromios) during the festival called Boedromia.¹⁴⁰ The inscription from Mytilene¹⁴¹ gives an idea of the honors bestowed on Augustus on this occasion and of the arrangement of the decree: games, sacrifices, and offerings.

Line 5: For the use of *πράττεσθαι* in this formula Graindor refers to *I.G.*, II², 1076, line 9 (now *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 528-529, line 9). Cf. also *I.G.*, II², 1629, lines 173-175: *ὅπως ἂν τὴν [ταχίσ]την πρᾶττηται [τὰ δεδ]ογμένα τῶι δήμῳ.*

¹³³ I do not accept Graindor's suggestion that this decree is merely an amendment of an earlier one. On amendments generally, see A. Billheimer, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 456-485.

¹³⁴ *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, I, 1922, p. 439.

¹³⁵ G. F. Unger, *Zeitrechnung der Griechen und Römer*², p. 764.

¹³⁶ See also Taylor, *op. cit.*, *passim*. There is now the special work of J. Gagé, *Apollon Romain: Essai sur le culte d'Apollon et le développement du "ritus Graecus" à Rome des origines à Auguste* (Paris, 1955), pp. 479-682, but he makes no mention of this decree.

¹³⁷ E.g., Hesiod, *Ἔργα*, 770; Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1126; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, VIII, 1. Cf. K. Wernicke, P.W., *R.E.*, II, cols. 22, 50; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 2, 176, 468, 485; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 179, 198-199, 201-202.

¹³⁸ For monthly celebrations of the birthday of Augustus, see *I.G.*, XII, 8, 58, line 21: *[κατ]ὰ μῆνα ἐν τῇ γενεθλίῳ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρᾳ* (Mytilene and other cities mentioned in lines 12-14); *I.G.R.R.P.*, IV, 353b, lines 13-14: *τῇ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἐνμῆνῳ γενεσίῳ* (i. e., ἡμέρᾳ) (Pergamon).

¹³⁹ Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium*, 7, 349 f.; cf. L. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁴⁰ Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 176; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

¹⁴¹ *I.G.*, XII, 8, 58 (cited in note 138); cf. also *I.G.*, XII, Suppl., p. 13, No. 58).

Line 10: The adjective *δημοτελείς* probably refers to sacrifices.

Line 22: Here I suspect mention of the *ἀγῶν ἰσοπύθιος*. The same adjective is used to describe the *μεγάλα (ιερά) Ἀγούστεια* in inscriptions from Thyateira.¹⁴² The games introduced in Athens were probably the *Σεβαστοὶ ἀγῶνες* mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1069, line 7 (before 13/14 A.D.).¹⁴³ They are mentioned a little later as (*μεγάλα*) *Καισάρηα Σεβαστά* in *I.G.*, II², 3531 and 3535.¹⁴⁴

Line 25: Either [*πεντε*] *τηρίς* or [*Σω*] *τήρι σ* [---].

The decree for Julia Domna (*I.G.*, II², 1076) is of particular interest for understanding the present inscription. The proposals in it, as summarized by Oliver,¹⁴⁵ provide a useful illustration. These were sacrifices by the archons each year¹⁴⁶ on her birthday to Agathe Tyche, inaugural offerings to her as Soteira and Polias, sacrifices by the polemarch with participation by the priestess of Athena Polias in these ceremonies, the setting up of a gold cult-statue of her in the Parthenon, a festival of Athena with full representation of officials and people as a mark of devotion to her, and finally the inscribing and erecting of the stele on the Acropolis. It should be noted that *I.G.*, II², 1076, is the amended version of the decree. A fragment of the original text has been found in the Agora, and is published by J. H. Oliver in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 84-85, No. 36.

99 (Plate 61). Base of Hymettian marble, removed from the face of the Late Roman Fortification Wall south of the Eleusinion (T 21) on June 3, 1938. Full dimensions are preserved, with edges and moulding chipped. A base-moulding runs the full length of the long right side, across the face, and returns a short distance on the left; a joining surface here (it and the back are very roughly dressed) shows that the block must have been the right wing or anta of a *πι*-shaped monument. The inscription is in one line near the bottom of the face.

Height, *ca.* 0.81 m.; width (just above the moulding), 0.575 m.; thickness, *ca.* 1.50 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5486.

¹⁴² *I.G.R.R.P.*, 1261, 1265 (age of Septimius Severus); cf. 1251: *ιερόν [ἀγῶ]να εἰσελαστικόν Ἀγούστ[ειον ἰσο]πύθιον* (age of Caracalla). One should note again the implied connection with Apollo. For the meaning of the adjective, see Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 402, lines 13-16 with notes 7-9.

¹⁴³ For the date see the note under *I.G.*, II², 1723.

¹⁴⁴ About the middle of the first century after Christ (47/8 or 51/2 or 55/6 A.D.); cf. von Gerkan, *Jahrbuch*, LVI, 1941, p. 177.

¹⁴⁵ *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I (1940), pp. 527-528.

¹⁴⁶ The proposal *θεῖν δ[ὲ πάντα το]ὺς κατ' [εἰ]τος [ἐκαστον ἄρ]χοντας Ἀγαθῆ[ι Τύχηι ἐν ἡ]ι ἱερωτάτη ἡμέραι Ἰουλία] Σεβαστῆ ἐγ[εννήθη]* can perhaps be interpreted to mean that the annual archons who happened to be in office every year had to make sacrifices to Julia Domna on her birthday *every month*.

fin. saec. II a.

Δημήτριος Φίλωνος Πτελεάσιος ἐποίησεν

Two other signatures of Demetrios are known so far,¹⁴⁷ and after long discussion the second century before Christ has been accepted as his date.¹⁴⁸ The Diomedes whose statue was made by Demetrios is now identified as *Διομήδης Ἀθηνοδώρον Ἀθηναῖος* (*I.G.*, IV², 1, 626) also known as *Διομήδης Ἀθηνοδώρον Περγαμηνός* (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 1079, line 20). He is held to be the same as *Διομήδης Ἀθηνοδώρο[υ]* in *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 49, line 33 (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 728K).¹⁴⁹ The specific year 106/5 B.C. has been given to this last text,¹⁵⁰ thus fixing a more precise date for the activity of Demetrios within the century.

The name *Μοσχίων Δημητρίου Πτελεάσιος* is now known from a columnar grave monument of the first century before Christ (*I.G.*, II², 7323a, on p. 882). The coincidence of dates and the fact that the name Demetrios occurs in no other family of this small deme are indications that Moschion was a son of the sculptor. Another member of the family was probably that *Δημήτριος Μοσχίωνος* who participated in the Pythaid of 98/7 B.C. as *καθαριστάς* (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, No. 48, line 19 = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 711L).¹⁵¹

An ancestor of the sculptor, one *Δημήτριος Φίλωνος Πτελεάσιος* (*P.A.*, 3442) was prytanis about 350 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1746, line 35) and *δαιτητής* in 325/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1926, line 92). His *tessera judicialis* has survived (*I.G.*, II², 1886).¹⁵²

This same combination of the names Philon and Demetrios is found in the deme Pithos, where *Φίλων Δημητρίου Πιθ[ε]εύς* (*P.A.*, 14869) is known from a columnar grave monument of Hellenistic date (*I.G.*, II², 7234). The only archaeologist who has seen the stone is Pittakys, who gave Π and Ξ as the shapes of its letters and noted that it was found *εἰς τὰ ἀνοιγόμενα θεμέλια τοῦ νέου Βουλευτηρίου πρὸς τὸ βορειο-ανατολικὸν μέρος τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, No. 3353; published in 1858). This is the building on ὁδὸς Σταδίου, now called the *Παλαιὰ Βουλή*, and Pittakys' note was correctly interpreted by S. A. Koumanoudes, *Ἀττικῆς ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι* (Athens,

¹⁴⁷ E. Loewy, *Inscripfen griechischer Bildhauer*, 238 (*I.G.*, II², 3782) and 237 (*I.G.*, II², 4257).

¹⁴⁸ It was first proposed by G. Hirschfeld, *Arch. Zeitung*, XXX, 1872, p. 28, and adopted later by Kirchner (*P.A.*, sub n. 3442, and *I.G.*, II², 3782 and 4257). Cf. also W. Crönert, *Sitzungsb. Ak. Berlin*, 1904, p. 481.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Kirchner, *P.A.*, 4071 with addenda; J. B. O'Conner, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece* (Diss. Princeton, 1908; published in Chicago), p. 92, No. 145; Sundwall, *N.P.A.*, p. 57; G. Klaffenbach, *Symbolae ad historiam collegiorum artificum Bacchiorum* (Diss. Berlin, 1914), p. 54, No. 47.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Klaffenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 69; G. Daux, *Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle* (Paris, 1936), p. 710, and the admonition of J. Bousquet, *B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, p. 364, note 2.

¹⁵¹ Klaffenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 53, No. 40. For the date, see G. Daux, *op. cit.*, p. 710; and for the year of Argeios, see S. Dow, *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1940, p. 113.

¹⁵² Cf. L. Robert, *Collection Froehner: I, Inscriptions grecques* (Paris, 1936), p. 9, No. k.

1871), No. 1044. It is worth noting that the building of the Council Chamber was commenced in 1832/3, and that Pittakys' publication was 25 years later. The inscriptions found during work on the building were published at the time by Pittakys himself (*L'ancienne Athènes*, Athens, 1835, pp. 486-488), by C. Wordsworth (*Athens and Attica*, London, 1836, p. 216, note 1), and by L. Ross (*Die Demen von Attika*, Halle, 1846, No. 104),¹⁵³ but in no one of these publications was the inscription here under discussion included.¹⁵⁴

The names Philon and Demetrios appear together on another columnar grave monument (*I.G.*, II², 13001): Φίλων | Δημητρίου. This also is known only from a copy by Pittakys, who writes (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., No. 1935; published in 1853): Ἡδρον αὐτῆν τὸ 1833 Σεπτεμβρίου 4 εἰς τὸ δυτικὸν τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τὰ τότε ἐκεῖ σωζόμενα Τουρκικὰ μνημεῖα. I make three observations: (1) that it escaped the attention of Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, 3417) and of Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², 13001) that the text had been previously published by Pittakys himself in *L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 300, as found near the entrance to the Acropolis;¹⁵⁵ (2) that the text was repeated by A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, II (Athens, 1855), No. 1788 from Pittakys' first publication; and (3) that Koumanoudes has not included the text in his collection from any of the earlier publications or from the stone.

Pittakys has also published a similar text from a similar small columnar grave monument:¹⁵⁶ Φίλων Δημητριεύς. The similarity of text and of place of finding leaves no doubt that Pittakys here dealt with only one monument. It was found τὸ 1831 Ἰουλίου 6 παρὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Διοσκούρειον καὶ Ἀγραύλειον, πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖ Ἐκκλησίαν " τῆς Ἀγίας Ἑλένης."¹⁵⁷ The inscription is now *I.G.*, II², 8480.¹⁵⁸ A noticeable phenomenon is the lack of patronymic, a peculiarity shared by the only other sepulchral inscription found in Attika which names a foreigner from Demetrias (*I.G.*, II², 8479). On the other hand, the descriptions, the times of finding, and the topographical indications, if one considers the lack of exactitude not uncommon in Pittakys' notes, are all sufficient to identify *I.G.*, II², 8480, and *I.G.*, II², 13001.¹⁵⁹

In studying the habits of Pittakys I have found that in many cases he has repub-

¹⁵³ Ross also contributed to Jahn's *Archiv für Philologie und Pädagogik*, II, 1833, p. 437, No. 4, and sent copies to the Academy in Berlin.

¹⁵⁴ One may add to Paul Clement's note on *I.G.*, I², 987 (*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 8), that a poor copy was published by Pittakys, *L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 487. As is usual in this volume, it is difficult to distinguish likely restorations from actual readings.

¹⁵⁵ It is not clear whether he means on the Acropolis or on the slope; but his second publication is more specific.

¹⁵⁶ *L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 151, and Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., No. 1869 (published in 1853).

¹⁵⁷ For the church, see below, p. 268.

¹⁵⁸ If one will trace back the bibliographical indications he will find all the publications except that by Rangabé, *op. cit.*, No. 2445 (= Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., No. 1869).

¹⁵⁹ I find this identification already hinted in the pencilled notes in the copy of Rangabé's volume now at the Institute for Advanced Study.

lished inscriptions previously published by him without reference but making some tacit correction. This would indicate that *Δημητρίου* is the correct reading in the second line, favored also by the association of the names *Δημήτριος* and *Φίλων*. But one would naturally expect this, the easier reading, to appear in the earlier copies, and the parallel of *I.G.*, II², 8479, favors *Δημητριεύς*. The matter remains uncertain, and for the present I suggest that the correct text for *I.G.*, II², 8480 (= 13001) is *Φίλων | Δημητρι[- -]*, the name in line 2 being either patronymic or ethnic. Any connection with the monument (also lost) now published as *I.G.*, II², 7234, remains equally uncertain. One may perhaps consider, in relation to these documents, a somewhat similar fragment (now lost) published by Pittakys, *L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 268.

100 (Plate 63). Upper left corner of a grave monument of Pentelic marble, with pedimental top, found on November 1, 1938, during the demolition of a modern house southeast of the market square and west of the Penathenaic Way (Q 21).

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.265 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.

Height of letters, 0.156 m.

Inv. No. I 5596.

init. saec. III p.

Ἐπιγόνη Εὐπόρ[ου]	[-----]
ἐγ Μυρινοῦν[της]	[-----]

The pediment shows that another name, probably that of Epigone's husband, should be restored at the right.

This inscription was seen and copied by K. S. Pittakys, *L'ancienne Athènes* (Athens, 1835), p. 150, in a ruined church which was close to the sanctuary of Aglauros. August Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae* (Leipzig, 1868), p. 15, No. 1, identified this church with Ἅγιος Νικόλαος (No. 1 on his plate). Actually, it is the same church which Pittakys (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., No. 1869) called Ἅγ. Ἐλένη,¹⁶⁰ a name probably inferred by him, for in his book he says that there he read "le nom de la belle Helène sur un piédestal qui probablement soutenait sa statue."

Pittakys' text runs:

ΕΠΙΓΟΝΗΤΙΟΡΟΥ
ΕΚΜΤΡΙΝΟΤΝΤΩΝ

One should not suppose that in Pittakys' time the inscription was preserved in better condition than it is today, for his habit in *L'ancienne Athènes* of restoring texts without indicating the restorations, except in rare cases, is well known. This is apparent here also in the erroneous ending of the demotic, perhaps the result of con-

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 81, note *, who was not able to locate it, and above, p. 267.

fusion with such demotics as ἐκ Μυρρινουσίων, ἐξ Ἀμαξαντέων, etc., and it is possible that a typographical error has further muddled what Pittakys intended as ἐκ Μυρρινουσίων. The text has been neglected by later editors and does not appear in Koumanoudes, Ἀττικῆς ἐπιγραφῶν ἐπιτύμβιοι, or in either edition of the *Corpus* of Attic inscriptions.¹⁶¹

Euporos, the father of Epigone, is possibly the same as Εὐπόρος Διοκλέους ἐκ Μυρρι(νουτίης), ephebos in 163/4 (*I.G.*, II², 2086, line 64). I think he is the son of Διοκλῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου (ἐκ Μυρρινούτης), who was prytanis of Aigeis in 138/9 (*I.G.*, II², 1765, line 36). This Diokles was preceded in the list of prytaneis by Ἀλέξανδρος Ἡλιοδώρου (ἐκ Μυρρινούτης), who apparently was a member of the same family, and who was (I believe) the father of Diokles serving as prytanis for a second time along with his son. It is not clear what his relationship is with the family of Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑρμείου (ἐκ Μυρρινούτης) who was prytanis in 182/3 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 48, No. 11, line 46), though through him he is tied to the family of Ἑρμείας Ζωσίμου ἐκ Μυρ(ρινοτίης), ephebos in 169/70 (*I.G.*, II², 2097, line 55). Earlier there was an Ἀλέξανδρος Μηροδώρου (ἐκ Μυρρινούτης) zakoros of Aphrodite Hagne in Delos shortly after 118/7 B.C. (*Insc. Délos*, 2284, line 3, and 2260, line 9 [member of a known family]); there was also an Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐγ Μυρρινούτης, known from a columnar grave monument of the second or first century before Christ (*I.G.*, II², 6912 A). These were perhaps ancestors of Alexandroi of Roman times.

Surprisingly enough, Epigone does not appear as a feminine name of Athenians in Attica,¹⁶² except in *I.G.*, II², 7588, where Boeckh's emendation of the erroneous copies of Fourmont and Pococke has been accepted though Boeckh had himself expressed doubts.¹⁶³

I have pondered the possibility of identifying *I.G.*, II², 7588, with the text published here, but various considerations militate against this interpretation.¹⁶⁴ Since the identification of the two monuments is not proved, and since Boeckh's restoration

¹⁶¹ This is only one of a number of cases of neglect of inscriptions read by Pittakys, a neglect which dates back to the time of Le Bas. After systematic search I have been able to identify many inscriptions from *L'ancienne Athènes* which are not in the *Corpus*, or are in the *Corpus* without reference to Pittakys, or are published from Pittakys' copies but considered lost while in fact the stones are in the Epigraphical Museum and have been published elsewhere in the *Corpus* under other numbers. I hope to deal with these texts at another time.

¹⁶² It was the name of women living in Athens, but of foreign origin: *I.G.*, II², 9557, 9558 (Ἐπιγόνα), 9559, and 9749, all of Roman date.

¹⁶³ Koumanoudes, *op. cit.*, No. 2830, rejected it, while Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III, 2051, considered it almost certain.

¹⁶⁴ The place of finding noted by Fourmont ("Athenis prope Ecclesiam Sanctae Irenes") is not important. The great obstacle to the identification is that neither Fourmont nor Pococke copied the second line, and that Fourmont represents in his drawing of the pediment an object which looks to be a *cista* of Isis and which is not on our monument (cf. A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, No. 2145).

[¹E]πιγόνη ἐξ ᾿Τβ<α>[δῶν] is not satisfactory,¹⁶⁵ one might venture to read, tentatively, [¹E]πιγόνη ἐτ̄(ῶν)√β̄. Such an explanation is supported by the horizontal lines in Fourmont's copy (ΠΙΓΟΝΗ̄ΤΥΒ̄), one for the abbreviation of the word ἐτῶν and the others for the numeral (unless these dashes are remains of a preceding line). Pococke's copy has ΠΙΤΟΝΗΞΤΒΕ.¹⁶⁶ If the position of the demotic after the name be allowed, one might read [¹E]πιγόνη ἐΞυ<π>ε[ταιόνων]. Admittedly, neither of these two suggested solutions for the text is wholly satisfactory.

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¹⁶⁵ One does not expect the demotic immediately after the name of the woman.

¹⁶⁶ See *C.I.G.*, I, 943, and *I.G.*, III, 2051.



No. 49a



No. 49b. I.G., I², 324a



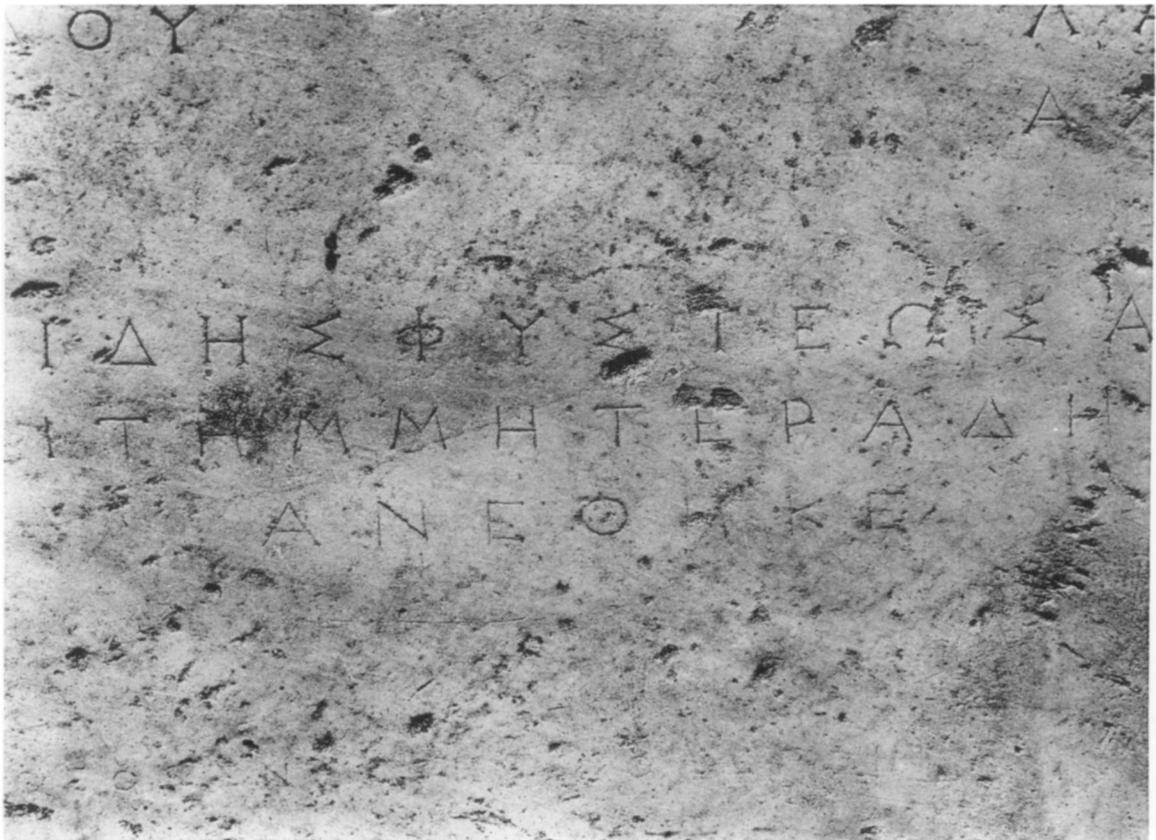
No. 49c



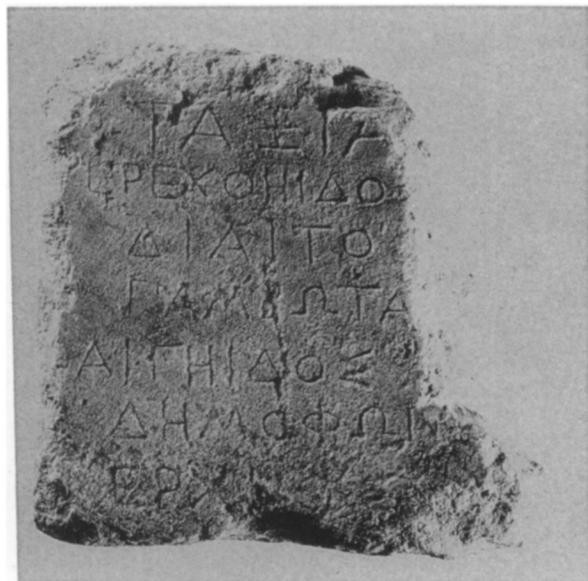
No. 50



No. 51



No. 51. The sculptor's signature at the bottom
BENJAMIN D. MERITT: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

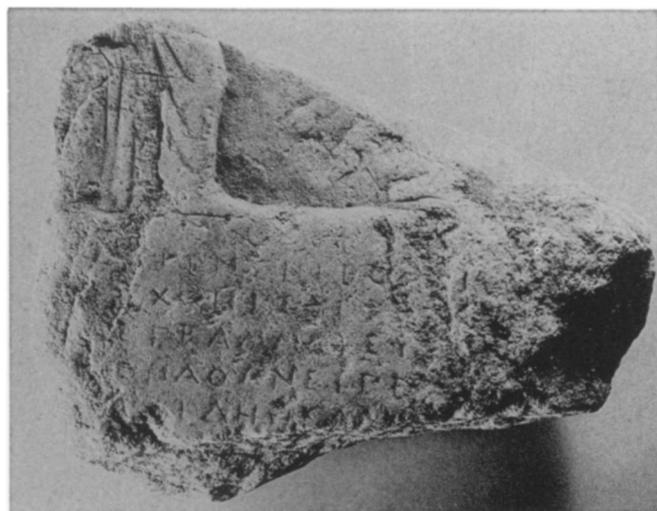


a

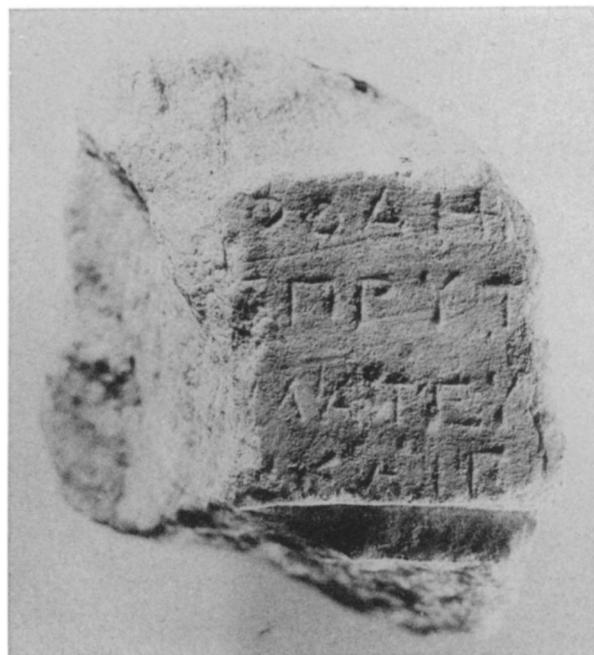


b

No. 52



No. 53



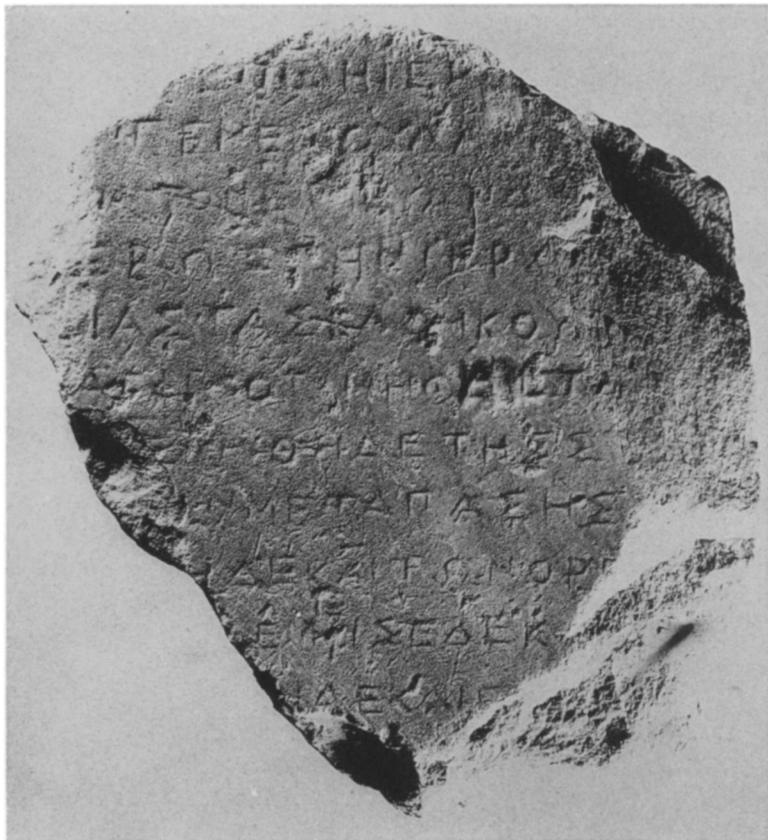
No. 54



No. 55



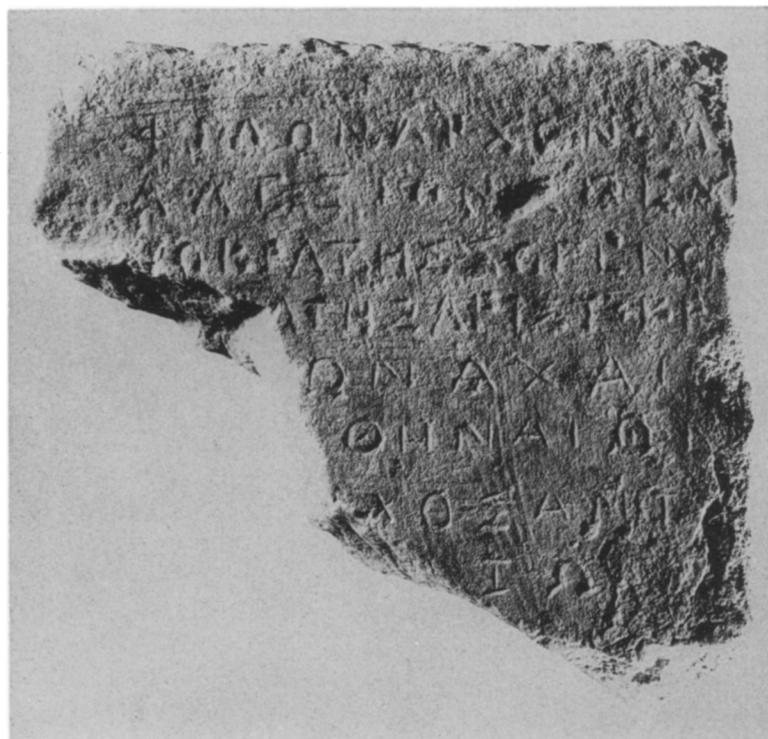
No. 56



No. 57



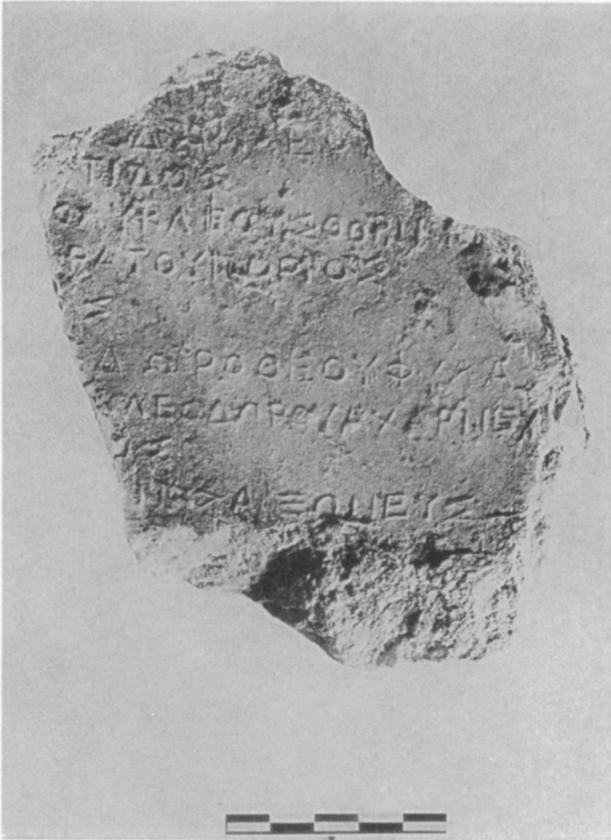
No. 59



No. 58



No. 60



No. 75



No. 64



No. 72



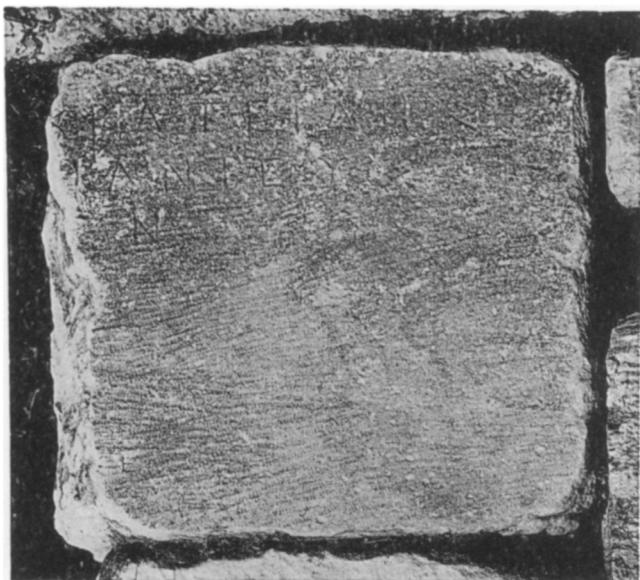
No. 71



No. 70



No. 65



No. 66



No. 68



No. 67



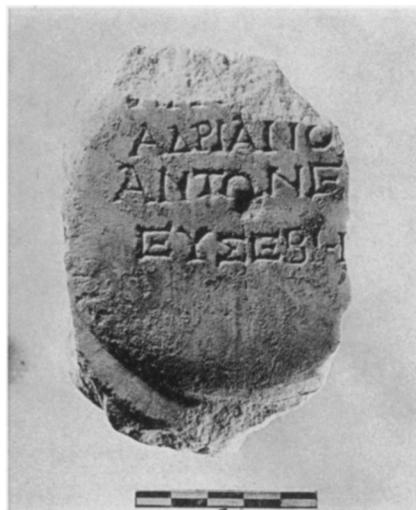
No. 69



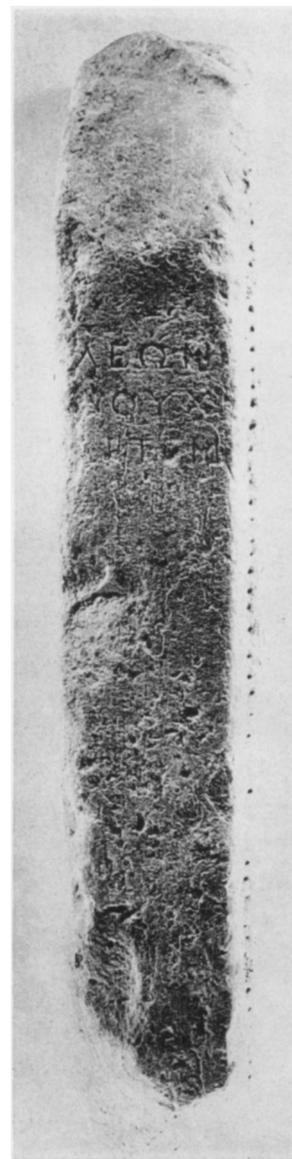
No. 74



No. 81



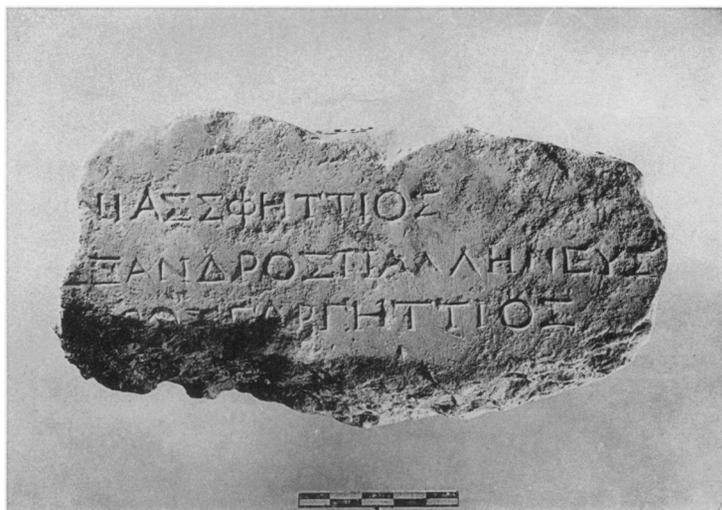
No. 77



No. 76



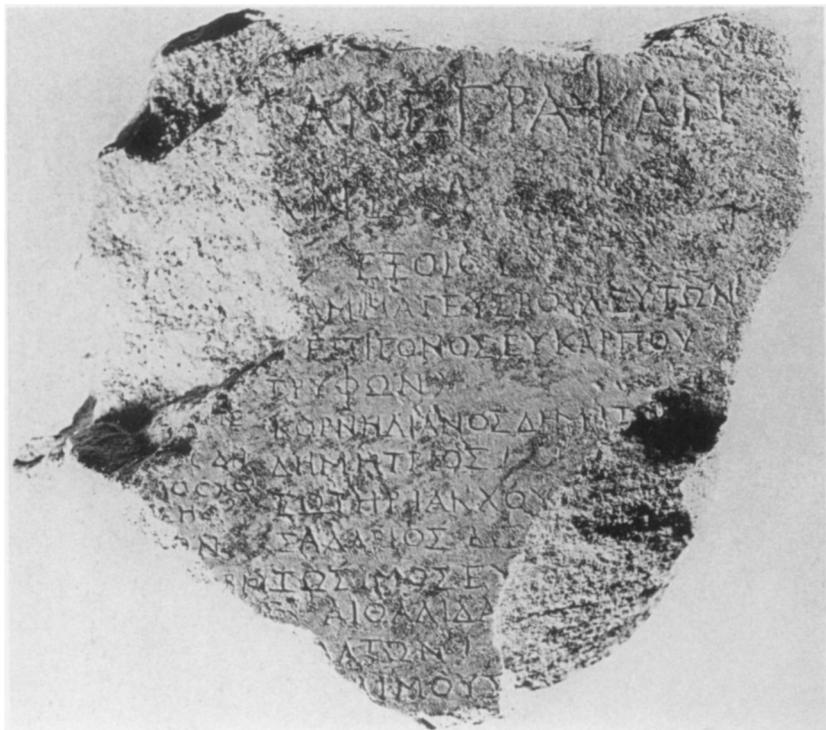
No. 73



No. 80



No. 61



No. 62



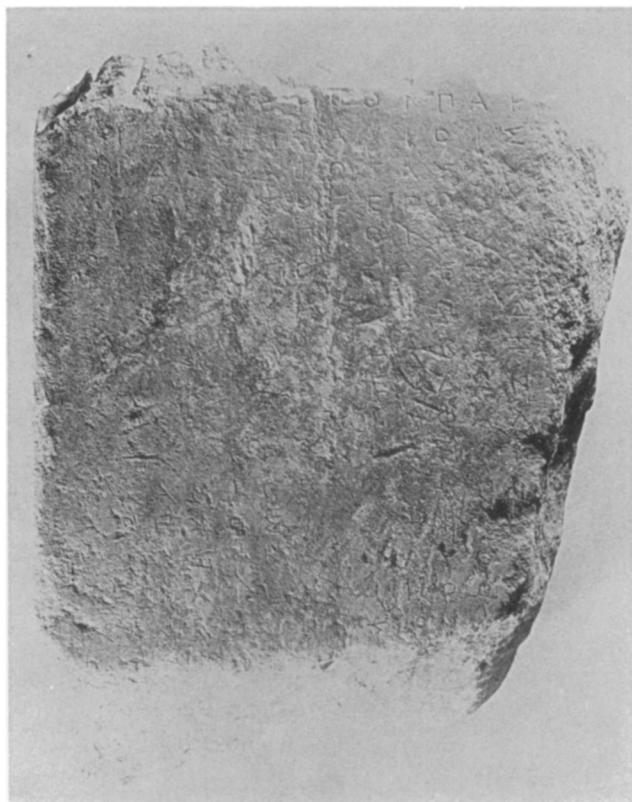
No. 79



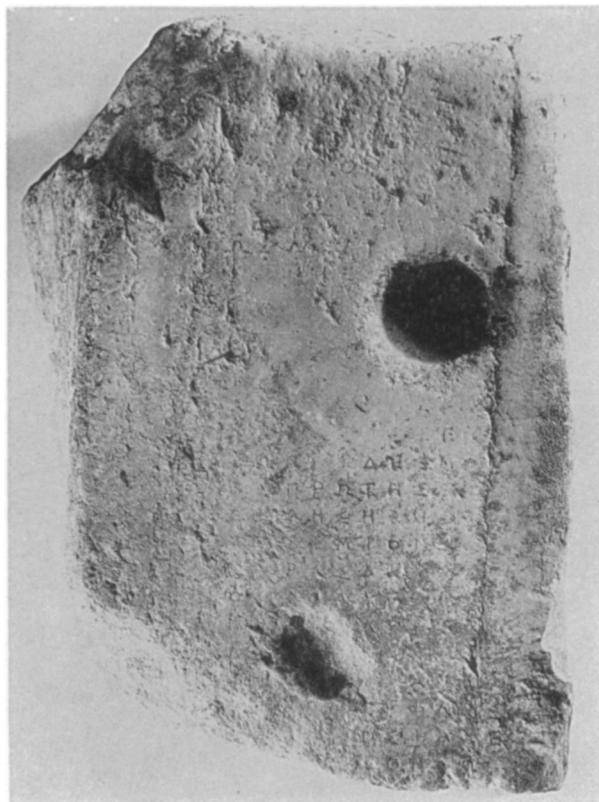
No. 83



No. 82



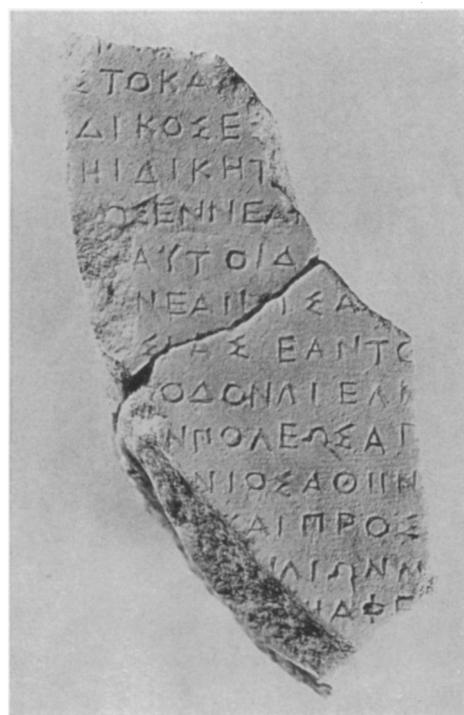
No. 84, Face A



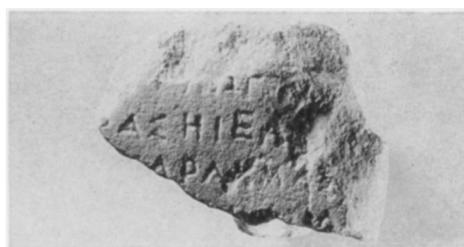
No. 84, Face B



No. 86



No. 85a



No. 85b



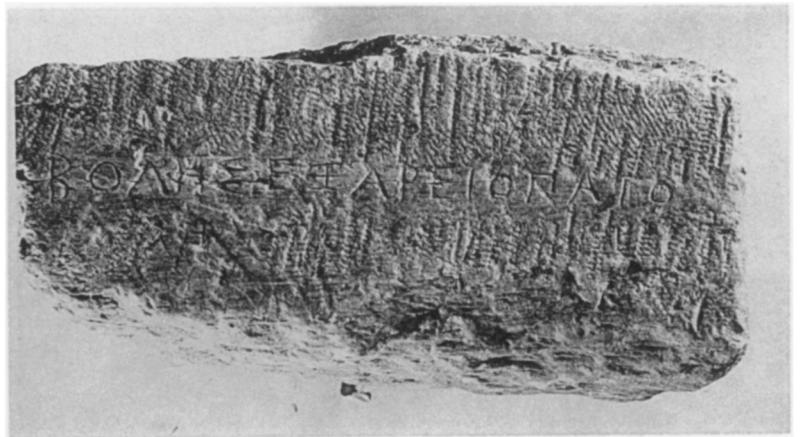
I.G., II², 46: Frags. *b, d, m** (cf. No. 85)



No. 87



No. 88



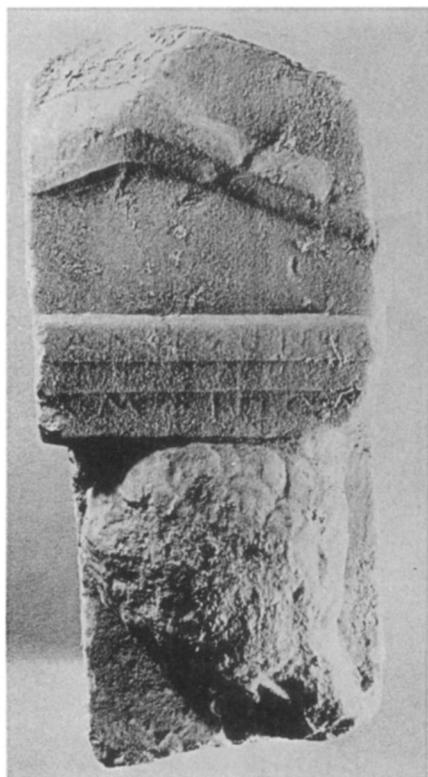
No. 89



No. 90



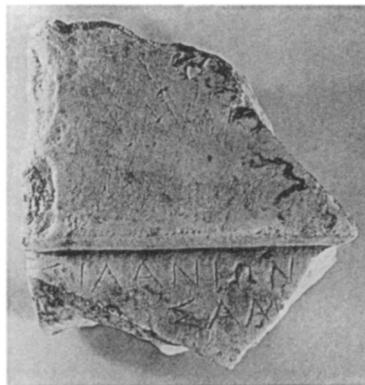
No. 91



No. 92



No. 93

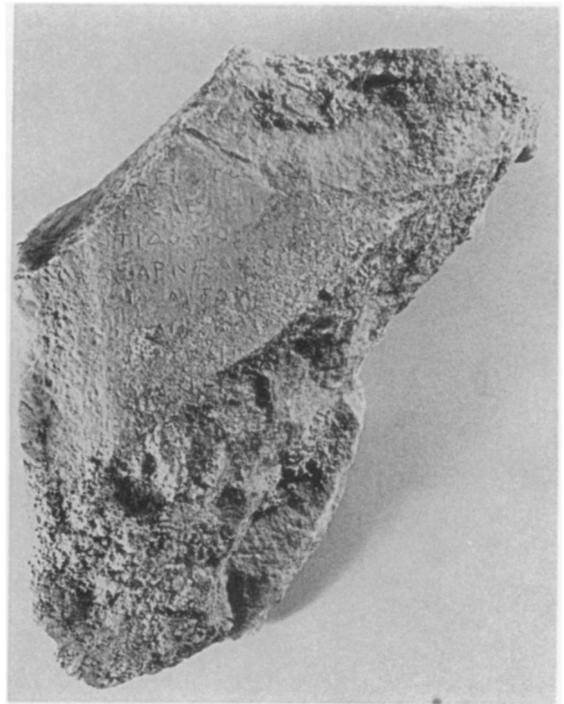


No. 94

PLATE 61



No. 95



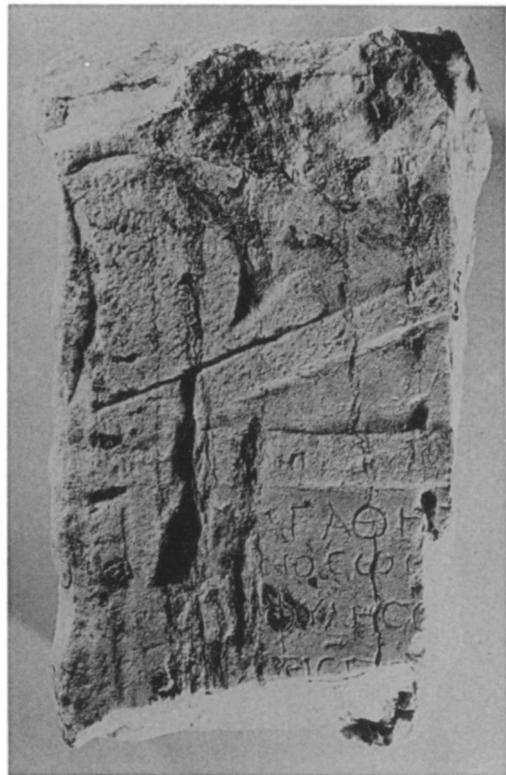
No. 96



No. 99



Frag. a, Face A



Frag. a, Face B

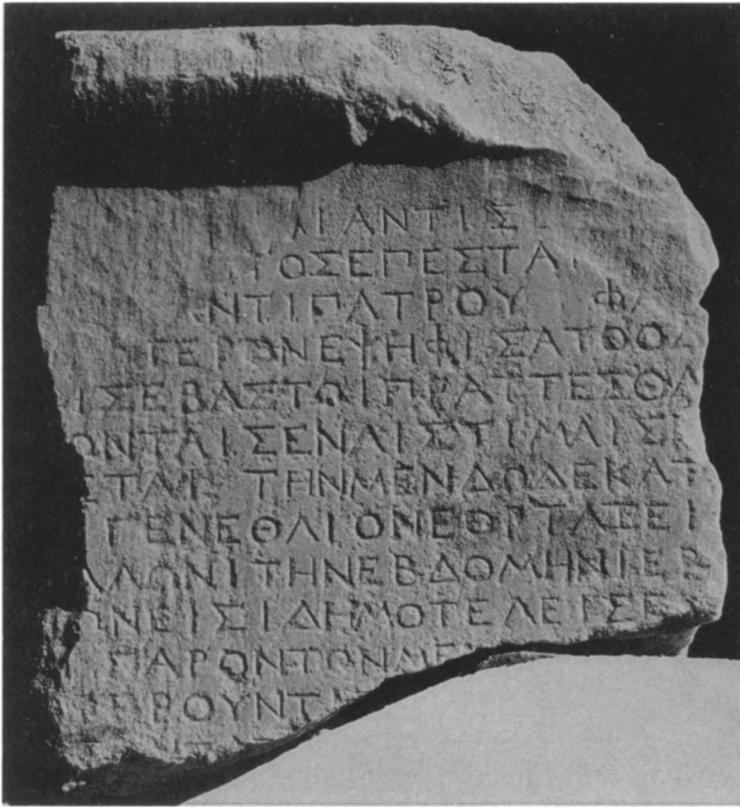


Frag. b, Face A

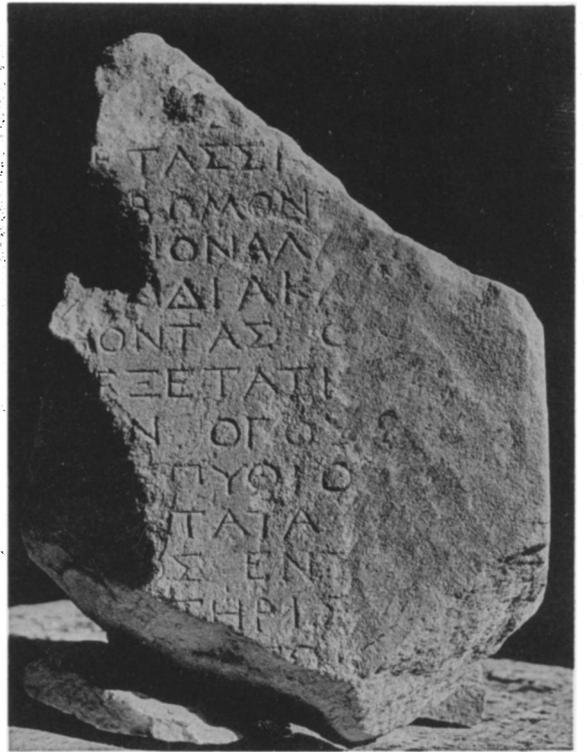


Frag. b, Face B

No. 97



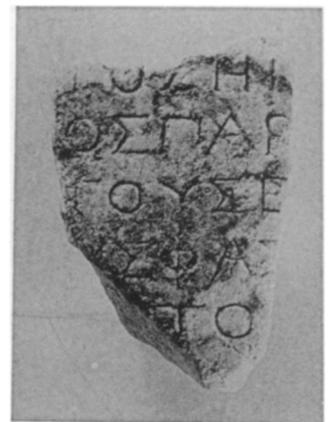
No. 98, Frag. a (I.G., II², 1071)



No. 98, Frag. b



No. 100



No. 98, Frag. c