

MORE FRAGMENTS OF MINING LEASES FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 1-3)

SEVEN fragments of poletai accounts recording the leases of the silver mines at Laureion have been found in the Athenian Agora since the publication in 1950¹ of the fragments found in the earlier seasons. These and a small scrap probably from the heading of a poletai record are published below. One of the new pieces, S5, joins a published fragment and gives us a heading dated in the year 346/5. No one of the others can be assigned definitely to any of the previously published fragments. They add new names to the lists of those Athenians who had interests in the mines and further topographical details but are too fragmentary to add anything significant to our understanding of the mining leases. Nineteen of the thirty-seven names sufficiently preserved to be wholly or partially identified are new to the mining prosopography, whereas eighteen are repeats of names already found in the mining texts.

S1 (Plate 1). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble found on November 12, 1953, among the marbles in the southwest corner of the square (*ca.* H 14). The inscribed face only is preserved.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, lines 1-7, 0.006 m.; lines 8-15, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 6641.

The writing is stoichedon, but the first seven lines with the larger letters are more widely spaced than the lower lines. The checker pattern in the upper lines is square with five units measuring 0.049 m.; in the lower lines five horizontal units measure 0.043 m., five vertical 0.048-0.049 m.

¹ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 189-312, hereafter referred to as "Leases"; the texts in that article will be referred to by their numbers, *i. e.* No. 3 or No. 4 without specific reference to the article. The new texts will be numbered S(uppement) 1 to 8 and so referred to. The coordinates of the place of discovery for Agora inscriptions in this and in subsequent reports will refer to the national topographical grid as adapted for the area of the Agora excavations. The scheme is conveniently illustrated in the drawing by John Travlos published in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, Plate 12.

The published material has been fully discussed by R. J. Hopper, "The Attic Silver Mines in the Fourth Century," in *B.S.A.*, XLVIII, 1953, pp. 200-254, hereafter referred to as Hopper. The publication has been noted by M. N. Tod in *J.H.S.*, LXXIV, 1954, p. 66 and by J. and L. Robert in *R.E.G.*, LXV, 1952, p. 141.

Hesperia, XXVI, 1

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	[..... ¹¹]—E. [-----]
	[..... ⁹] ΔΕΡΜΑΙ [-----]
	[..... ⁸] ΗΓΝ.ΑΜΙΕ[-----]
	[..... ⁸]ισιακὸν ἐ[πὶ -----]
5	[..... ¹⁰] ὠνειον [-----]
	[..... ¹⁰] ὠνητή[ς -----]
	[..... ⁸]Ι. ΗΓΔ Αἰ[-----]
	[..... ⁹] ἐ[πὶ τῆς Ἀκ[αμαντίδος -- πρυτανείας -]
	[..... ¹⁰]ΕΙΞ.ΜΜ[-----]
10	[..... ⁹]α. ΔΔ ὠνη[τῆς -----]
	[..... ⁹]ΤΑΣΥΝΤ[-----]
	[..... ⁹]ρατος Γ[-----]
	[..... ⁹] Δυκιππ[-----]
	[..... ¹¹]—ΡΡ[-----]
15	[..... ⁹]ΑΚ..Τ[-----]

The marble, the letter forms, and the spacing of the lower lines are very like those of No. 3 and this fragment may be from the same stele.

Line 2: Of the last letter, only a left vertical hasta is clearly preserved, but sufficient uninscribed original surface survives at the lower right to make the restoration of a kappa, and so the mine name Ἐρμαικ[όν], highly improbable.

Line 3: Possibly a mine name ending in -μίε[ιον].

Line 4: Aphrodisiakon or Artemisiakon or Teisiakon could equally well be restored.

Line 5: This is probably the ending of another mine name, hitherto unrecorded.

Lines 8-15: These lines may contain a record of confiscated property rather than mining leases.

S2 (Plate 2). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble found on April 26, 1949, in a late wall across the Great Drain southwest of the market square (D 16), broken at top, bottom, and right side. In the Roman period the back was re-used and part of the heading of a decree of A.D. 116/7 is preserved. Face A is much worn and flaked in spots and at one time had been partially covered with a gray cement.

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 6149.

The writing is stoichedon with a checker pattern in which ten horizontal units measure 0.074-0.075 m., ten vertical 0.07 m.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- [.....²⁵.....] Α[-----]
- [.....²⁵.....] Ξ[-----]
- [.....²⁰.....] ΟΝΑΙ[-----]
- [.....¹⁹.....] ΚΚΟΥΟ[-----]
- 5 [.....⁹..... μέταλλο]ν ἀπεγράψατο Β[ήσησιν (?) -----]
- [ὦι γεί-----]
- [.....¹⁴.....] \ νοτόθ τὰ Ἀσπέτο ἐ[δάφη -----]
- [ὠνη ----- ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον]
- [.....¹¹..... π]αλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον [-----]
- [ὦι γεί-----]
- [. . .⁵... πρὸς ἡ]λίῳ ἀνίον Κ[αλ]λαισχρο[-----]
- [ὠνη-----]
- [. . .⁸...] Παλλη ἀπεγράψατο Ἀναφλυ[στοῖ μέταλλον -----]
- [ὦι γεί-----]
- 10 [. . .⁵... Ἀγ(?)]ρυ πρὸς ἡλίῳ ἀνίον Δήμων Ἀγ[ρυ -----]
- [ὠνη ----- Παλλη ΔΔ ° Διόφαντος Θρασυμήδους Σφήττι ἀ
- [πεγράψα]το μ[έ]ταλλον ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι π[αλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον -----]
- [ὦι γεί-----]
- [. . .⁷... ἐ]ρ[γα]στήριον Θρασυλόχο Ἀν[αγυρ -----]
- [----- ὠν]
- [η Διόφ]αντος Θρασυμήδους Σφήττι ΔΔ ° Μ[-----]
- [----- ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ----- ἐν το
- [ἰς ...]χάρους ἐδάφεσιν οἷς γεί βορρᾶ [-----]
- [----- ὠνη -----]
- 15 [.....]μπου Προσπάλ ΔΔ ° Δι[ότ]ι[μ]ος Εὐων[υ ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον -----]
- [----- ὦι γεί βορρᾶ Δ
- [ιότι]μος Εὐωνυ νοτόθ ἡ ὀδο[ς] ἡ . . .⁶... ω[----- ὠν]
- [η Διότι]μος Εὐωνυ ΔΔ ° Εὐαίων Κηφισοδώρο Φ . . .⁶... ἀπεγράψατο μέ
- [ταλ]λον Θορικοῖ παλαιὸν ἀ[νασάξιμ]ον [-----]
- [ὦι γεί----- ὦ]
- [νη Ε(?)]υαίων Κηφισοδώρο Φ[. Δ]Δ ° [Ἀ]π[όληξ]ις Κηφισοδότο Αἶθα
- [μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο ----- παλαιὸ
- [ν ἀ]νασάξιμον στηλήν ἐχ[ον . . .⁵...]ει[ο]ν [ὦι γεί -----]
- [-----]

- 20 καὶ ἐσχατιὰ καὶ ἡ χαράδρ[α] ἡ . . . δ† ! φέ[ρουσα] -----]
 [----- χ]
 ωρίον καὶ οἰκία ὦνη Ἀπόληξι[ς Κ]ηφι[σ]οδό[το Αἶθα ΔΔ ° -----]
 [----- ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ----- ὦι γεί βο]
 [ρ]ῶ ὁ Βαμβίδειος λόφος νοτό[θ] ἡ ὁδο[ς] ἡ ἐπ[ι] -----]
 [φέρουσα ----- ὦνη ----- Ἀφι]
 [δ(?)]γα ΔΔ ° Φιλόφρων Πειραι ἀπεγράψατο μέ[ταλλον] -----]
 [----- σ]
 [τή]λην ἔχον ὦι γεί βορρᾶ Διότιμος Εὐών[υ] -----]
 [----- ὦνη Φιλόφρων Πειραι ΔΔ ° ----- ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον -----]
- 25 [. .]ι παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον στήλην ἔχον ἐν[-----]
 [ὦι γεί ----- ὦνη -----]
 [.] ΔΔ ° Ἀμειψίας Κυθήρ ἀπεγράψατ[ο μέταλλον] -----]
 [----- ὦι γεί βο]
 [ρ]ᾶ τὰ Διοφάνους ἐδάφη νοτ[ό]θ ἡ χαράδρα ἡ ἀ[πὸ] -----]
 [----- ὦνη Ἀμειψίας -----]
 [ο]υς Κ<υ>θήρ ΔΔ ° Ξενότιμος Προσπάλ ἀπεγρά[ψατο μέταλλον] -----]
 [----- ὦι γ]
 [ε]ί βορρᾶ Φεΐδιππος Πιθ[ε]υ[ο]τό[θ] . . .]Δ[-----]
 [----- ὦνη Ξενότιμος Προσπάλ ΔΔ ° -----]
- 30 ἀπορίδης Θεοπόμπου Κο[λ]ων[ῆ] ἀπ[εγρά]ψατο [μέταλλον] -----]
 [----- ὦι γεί βορρᾶ Ἀ]
 [ν]δρίου [χ]ωρίον Ἀλαι νοτόθ ἀγορὰ Β[ησ]αιέω[ν] -----]
 [----- ὦνη - ἀπορίδης Θεοπόμπο]
 [ν] Κολωνῆ ΔΔ ° Εὐ[α]νδρος Εὐα[ι]νέτο Ἐρχ[ι] ἀπε[γράψατο μέταλλον]
 [-----]
 [. . .]σιακὸν ὦι γεί βορρᾶ ἡ ὁ[δ]ὸς ἡ φέρ[. . . ΝΙ] -----]
 [----- ὦνη Εὐανδρος Εὐαινέτο Ἐρχι ΔΔ ° -----]
 [Τελ]ενίκο Περγα ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλο[ν] -----]
 [----- ὦι γεί -----]
- 35 [. . .]ΛΗΚΟΝ πρὸς ἡλίῳ δυομέ τὰ Ἀμφικ[----- ἐδάφη ὦνη -----]
 [Τελενίκο Περγα ΔΔ ° Ἐπικράτης Φιλοκράτους Ἐλευσί ἀπεγράψα]
 [το Φρ]εαρροὶ μέταλλον Ελ. ρωικὸν [π]αλ[αῖον ἀνασάξιμον] -----]
 [ὦι γεί ----- ὦνη Ἐ]
 [π]ικράτης Φιλοκράτους Ἐλευσί [Δ]Δ ° [-----]
 [ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον] ----- ὦι γεί π]
 [α]νταχόθεν Διοπέθους Φρ[ε]α χωρίον [ὦνη] -----]
 [ΔΔ ° Ἀγνίας Ὁάθεν(?) ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον] ----- Β]
 [ῆσ(?)]ησι παλαιὸν στήλην ἔχον [ὦ]ι γεί β[ορρᾶ] -----]
 [-----]

- 40 [. . .] ακων καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ εἰς ἀγο[ρ]ὰν [Βησαϊέων (?) -----]
 [----- μέταλλον ὁ -----]
 [. . . ἔ]ργάζεται ὠνη Ἀγνίας Ὁά[θεν (?) ΔΔ ὦ Κηρυκίδης Εὐξιθέο ἐκ Κολωνοῦ]
 [ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ----- ὦι γεί -----]
 [. . . . ὁ] λ[ό]φος ὁ Βαμβίδειος π[ρὸς ἡλίω -----]
 [-----]
 [. . . . ὠν]η Κηρυκ[ίδ]ης Εὐξιθέ[ο ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ΔΔ ὦ -----]
 [ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ----- ἐν τοῖ]
 [ς ἐδάφε]σι τοῖς Θεμιστίο [ὦι γεί -----]
 [-----]
 45 [. . . ὦ . . .] [. . . ὦ . . .] Η[-----]

The text demands a long line but the exact number of letters cannot be determined. Normal restorations suggest a line close to ninety-five letters, whereas the position of the later decree on the back suggests an original width of the stele appropriate for only eighty-six or eighty-seven letters.² In the long line and in the omission of the colon to mark abbreviations, in the vacant unit left after the price, and in the genitive masculine ending in omicron, this text resembles No. 4. The stoichedon unit with the horizontal larger than the vertical is approximately the same as that of No. 4B. Conceivably this stone may come from a lower and thicker part of the same stele. But there are no traces of the original text on the re-used back surface and a few letters might well have survived if the original stele had been opisthographic as is No. 4. Whether from the same stele or a different one the two are probably closely contemporary and are probably to be dated in the 'fifties.

The fragmentary records of twenty-two leases are found on the stone. Wherever the relevant data are preserved the mine is classified as *palaion anasaximon* (with one exception, line 39, where the word *palaion* is not followed by *anasaximon*), priced at twenty drachmai, and the registrant and lessee are the same. These then were new leases of "old workings" at the standard price for the earlier period of twenty drachmai ("Leases," p. 197, form B). A record of a renewal or new cutting may be lurking in the missing part of the text but the probability would seem to be that all the records are of the same type. On this assumption tentative restorations have been written in in order to give a readable text although there is no reason to

² The decree of A.D. 116/7 on the back can be restored to read:

[ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Φλαο]νίου Μακρί
 [νου Ἀχαρνέω]ς ἐπὶ τῆς
 [----- πρυτανεί]ας ἡς ἔγραμ

On the assumption that the full width of the original stele was used at this time, the restorations suggest an original width of about 0.66 m. With ten letters occupying a space of 0.74 m. and with margins of about 0.01 m., the full width would accommodate about 87 letters.

assume that the order and the forms used are necessarily the original ones. Mines are registered or located at a variety of places with no clear geographical order: lease no. 2 and possibly nos. 15 and 20 at Besa, no. 4 at Anaphlystos, no. 5 at Thrasymos, no. 8 at Thorikos, nos. 10 and 21 at some place near the Bambideios Hill, and no. 18 at Phrearrhoi.

Lines 5-6, lease 2: Aspetos, owner of the *edaphe*, is probably to be identified with Aspetos of Kytheros named in the boundaries of a mine registered at Besa in No. 15, line 21 ("Leases," p. 244).³

Lines 7-8, lease 3: Kallaischros is probably to be identified with Kallaischros of Siphnos named in No. 20, line 3 ("Leases," p. 265).

Lines 9-10, lease 4: The registrant from Pallene may be any one of the four from Pallene found in the previously published texts or a hitherto unnamed fifth. Demon of Agryle appears in No. 1, line 58, as lessee of a Demetriakon at Nape (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 27).

Lines 11-13, lease 5: The lessee Diophantos son of Thrasymedes of Sphettos is probably the Diophantos of Sphettos (*P.A.*, 4438) who was active in public affairs in the second and third quarters of the fourth century. His grandson Diophantos (*P.A.*, 4439), son of Thrasymedes, is named on a tax record of the end of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 1601). The name of the father of Diophantos I appears here for the first time. Thrasylochos of Anagyrous, owner of a workshop named in the boundaries, leased two mines in 367/6, No. 1, lines 49 and 51 ("Leases," p. 244).

Lines 13-15, lease 6: The lessee from Prospalta cannot be identified with any previously known mine operator. An Epichares, a Diochares, and a Leochares are all known as owners of property in the mining district but there is no evidence on which to suggest an identification of any of the three with the owner of the *edaphe* in line 14.

Lines 15-16, lease 7: Diotimos of Euonymon, registrant and owner of property to the north of the mine, is named as owner of property in the district in No. 16, line 65, of *ca.* 342/1 and is restored as lessee in No. 26, lines 1 and 6. His father Diopethes also had interests in the mines ("Leases," p. 275). At the end of line 16 one might restore either ἡ ὁδὸ[ς] ἡ [εἰς Αὐλ]ῶ[να - -] or ἡ [ἀπὸ Μαρ]ῶ[νείου - -]. The property of Diotimos and Diopethes named in the other texts seems to be in the regions of Laureion and Thrasymos; so a road to Aulon is probably to be preferred.

Lines 16-18, lease 8: The lessee Euaion son of Kephisodoros is apparently unknown. Note that the first letter of the demotic is dotted.

Lines 18-21, lease 9: Apolexis son of Kephisodotos of Aithalidai, lessee, can now be restored with probability as lessee of a mine at Besa in No. 15, line 23. The Kephisodotos of Aithalidai who leased two mines in 367/6, No. 1, lines 56 and 73,

³ The page reference following the text reference indicates that the man in question is there discussed and/or identified.

will be his father and is probably to be identified with the Kephisodotos son of Apolexis of Aithalidai known from a dedication to Athena of the mid fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 4324). The present lessee Apolexis will be a hitherto unrecorded son ("Leases," p. 244). This is the first occurrence in these texts of the word *ἐσχάρια*. It probably has its usual Attic meaning of a boundary estate by the sea or mountains (L.S. and J., *G.-E. Lex.*, *sub v.*, second meaning).

Lines 21-23, lease 10: For the Bambideios Hill named as the northern boundary of this concession see discussion below under line 42.

Lines 23-24, lease 11: Philophron of Peiraeus, the registrant, owned property listed in the boundaries of a Theodosion at Amphitrope, No. 18, line 69. See above, lines 15-16, for Diotimos of Euonymon.

Lines 24-26, lease 12: The first preserved letter in line 25 will be the end of the place name.

Lines 26-28, lease 13: The registrant Ameipsias of Kytheros is not otherwise known. He can be restored as lessee in line 28 on the assumption that the patronymic is there included. Registrant and lessee are normally the same when, as in the case here, the price of the lease is twenty drachmai ("Leases," p. 197). Several men named Diophanes appear as property owners in the mining texts ("Leases," p. 224). Possibly the one in whose *edaphe* this concession lies is the same as the one named in the boundaries of a Nymphaikon at Maroneia, No. 14, line 7. There the property of another Kytherrian and a *charadra* are named in the boundaries.

Lines 28-29, lease 14: Xenotimos of Prospalta, the registrant, is not known. Pheidippos of Pithos, however, whose property forms the northern boundary of this concession, is found in many of the texts both as property owner and mine operator ("Leases," p. 234; named in Nos. 1, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, and 20). Note that property of Pheidippos and of a man from Prospalta are associated in the same record in No. 15, lines 45 and 47.

Lines 29-32, lease 15: The registrant and lessee are almost certainly the same person, — — — aporides son of Theopompos of Kolone. Andrios of Halai (*P.A.*, 840), restored as owner of the *chorion*, was the father of an Androkles who served as *epimeletes* either in 340/39 or 313/12 (*I.G.*, II², 2824). The Andrios named without demotic as owner of a *chorion* at the south of an Apolloniakon at Besa in No. 5, line 71, is probably the same man and the property perhaps the same. If the agora of Besa be correctly restored, this concession should lie close to the center of Besa. One is tempted to associate this mine with the Aphrodisiakon at Besa of No. 18, lines 33-37, and in that text to restore Androkles the son of Andrios as registrant and as owner of a *chorion* to the north, thus reading:

[.....²³..... Ἄνδροκ]λήης Ἄλαιε: ἀπεγράψατ
 [ο μέταλλον παλαιὸν ἀνασάξι: Βήσησ]ιν στήλην ἔχον Ἄφροδι
 [σιακὸν ὧι γεί: βορ: Ἄνδροκλέους χω]ρίον νοτόθ: Βησαιῶν ἀ
 [γορὰ (?) πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν:¹¹.....]λι: πρὸς ἡλίου δυομέ
 [.....²⁴..... ὠνη: Δ]υσικλήης Ζηλάρχου Σνπ

If it be the same concession, at least one intervening record is missing, *i. e.*, from the time when Androkles (who is giving up the concession in No. 18) took it on either directly from the son of Theopompos or after the latter had let it lapse. If the assumption of a seven-year lease for mines priced at twenty drachmai and for those taken on by a new registrant be correct ("Leases," pp. 201 ff.; cf. Hopper, pp. 235 ff.), there should be a minimum of fourteen years between the two texts. The year 341/0 has been suggested as the date of No. 18⁴ and a date in the middle 'fifties would seem to fit the requirements of the present text.

Lines 32-33, lease 16: Euainetos of Erchia, father of the registrant Euandros, is named as trierarch in *I.G.*, II², 1609, line 56, a text that cannot be later than 370/69. The Euainetos of Erchia who appears in the naval record of 323/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1632, line 303; *P.A.*, 5247) may possibly be the same person. Euandros appears to be a new name for the deme Erchia.

Lines 33-35, lease 17: Two men named Telenikos of the deme Pergase are known. The first (*P.A.*, 13504) was the father of a Teleas who served as secretary in 415/4, and the second was *lampadophoros* in the second half of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 3105, line 32, *P.A.*, 13505). The father of the registrant in the present text is perhaps the grandson of the first and the grandfather of the second.

Lines 35-37, lease 18: This is the first occurrence of Phrearrhoi, if the restoration be correct, used as a place name in the texts. With this as an example it might be restored in No. 13, lines 16-17, where the text seems to demand either the location or the name of a mine beginning with Φρ-. The appearance of Φρεαρροῖ here as the place of registration or location of a mine invalidates the generalization ("Leases," p. 194) that no deme for which a corresponding town name was not attested (by a form in the singular or a road leading to or from it) is found used as a place name in the inscriptions. The lessee, Epikrates son of Philokrates of Eleusis, is probably the Epikrates of Eleusis (*P.A.*, 4890) whose son Philokrates (*P.A.*, 14609) was one of the opponents of Demosthenes after Chaeroneia. He might be restored as lessee in No. 16a + b, line 55, which would then read:

[ινὸν (?) φέρο: ὠνη: Ἐπικράτης Φι]λ[οκράτου]ς Ἐλευ: ΗΗΗΗ

Lines 37-38, lease 19: Diopethes of Phrearrhoi by whose property the concession is surrounded is probably to be identified with Diopethes son of Diokleides of

⁴ See Hopper's reservations, p. 215; he seems to accept 346/5 as a reasonable date *post quem*.

Phrearrhoi (*P.A.*, 4329), trierarch in 325/4. In No. 13, lines 21-22, he is named apparently as lessee or registrant ("Leases," p. 234).

Lines 38-41, lease 20: The restoration [Βήσ]ησι in lines 38-39 is based on the suggested reading in the next line of the agora of Besa (for which see above, line 31). [Ἄμφιτροπ]ησι is another possibility. I assume the word *anasaximon* was omitted in line 39 by mistake after *palaion*.

Lines 41-43, lease 21: The lessee Kerykides son of Euxitheos is almost certainly to be identified with the Kerykides of Kolonos named, apparently as worker of a hill, in No. 13, line 20. By comparison with the present text in which the Bambideios Hill is named as one of the boundaries of a mine leased by Kerykides one might suggest for lines 19-21 of No. 13:

[βορρά:⁸ ἰε(?)]ρὸν νοτόθ: ὁ λόφος
[ὁ Βαμβίδεος ὁ ἡργάσ]ατο Κηρυκίδης ἐκ Κο
[λ:⁸ ὠνη: Διο]πείθ[ης] Διοκλείδο⁵

The Bambideios Hill, variously spelled as Βαμβίδειος, Βαμβίδεος and Βαβίδειος, is given as the location of a mine named Heroikon in No. 16a, line 57, and is found in two fragmentary texts: No. 2, line 13, apparently as the location of a mine, and No. 5, line 89, where the case ending is not preserved. So it may be restored either as a location or a boundary. In this text it is listed as a boundary both in line 22 and in the present lease, line 42. Unfortunately there is no certain clue as to its location.

Lines 43-45, lease 22: Themistios, the owner of the *edaphe*, is perhaps the Themistios named as owner of a workshop in No. 4, line 10.

S3 (Plate 1). Fragment of a stele of white to gray marble with bluish veins found on March 30, 1954, built into a late Roman wall in the southwest part of the Agora (H 14). It is broken on all sides, the face much worn and the readings uncertain.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.043 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 6647.

The writing is stoichedon with a checker pattern in which ten horizontal units measure approximately 0.076 m., and ten vertical 0.068 m.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[.¹³] ΛΟ [-----]
[ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε]σιν τ[οῖς] ΘΙ. [-----]

⁵ The relationship between lines 20, 21, and 22 of No. 13 is very puzzling. Is it possible that the stone-cutter omitted one or more lines?

[...⁷... Ἄρτ]εμισιακὸν ἐ[π]ὶ .Ο [------]
 [...¹⁰...]έου χω[ρ]ία πρὸς ἠλίο[------]
 5 [...⁹... μ]έταλλον ἀνασάξιμον [------]
 [...⁹... σ]τήλη[ν] ἔχον . ΝΗΞΕΝΟΤ[------]
 [...⁵... μέταλ]λον ὃ [ἀπεγράψατ]ο.η[------]
 [...⁶... πρὸς ἠ]λίο ἀ[νιό]ν [ὁδο]ς Βήσα[ζε]-----
 [... ἀπεγράψα]το μέτα[λλ]ο[ν] παλ[αι]ὸν [ἀνασάξιμον]-----
 10 [...⁹... ἐπ]ὶ Θράσν[μ]ο[ν] νοτόθ.Ε[------]
 [...¹²...] στήλην ἔχον [------]
 [...¹²...] ὠνη Φιλ[------]
 [...⁵... ὦι γεί β]ορρά ὃ λόφος νο[τό]-----
 [...¹³...] κὸν ΑΛΛ[------]
 15 [...¹³...] ΟΥΛΙΚΟ..ΛΛ[------]
 [...¹⁵...] ἐργαστήριον [ν]-----
 [...¹⁵...] ον Κλεομε[------]

In the omission of the colon to mark abbreviations, in the occasional use of a genitive in omicron, and in the use of a non-square checker pattern in which the horizontal unit is larger than vertical, this fragment closely resembles No. 4B and the preceding fragment S2. This text also suggests a long line and so is probably from a single-column stele. The slight difference as measured in the stoichedon units suggests that it is probably not from the same stele as either of the others, but presumably it will be closely contemporary. No. 22 of the earlier publication would seem to be misplaced there. The single use of the colon published as certain in line 10 is an error; the upsilon of Anaphly(stios) is clear in the photograph. With the checker pattern also not square the fragment probably should be placed earlier and associated with this group, Nos. 4, S2 and S3.

The stone preserves the very fragmentary records of eight or nine leases of which one is of an *anasaximon* mine, line 5, and a second apparently a *palaion anasaximon*, line 9.

Line 10: Thrasymos is probably the destination of a road or gully named in the boundaries.

Line 13: If the last two letters be correctly read and restored, this is one of the rare cases in which the name or description of the hill mentioned in the boundaries is not given.

S4 (Plate 3). Fragment of white, probably Pentelic, marble found in the long late Roman wall to the east of the Panathenaic Way (O 9-N 7) in January, 1950. It joins No. 24. The inscribed face, smooth-picked top, and smooth-worn back are preserved. The dimensions given are those of the two pieces joined.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness at top, 0.095 m., at bottom, 0.093 m.
 Height of letters, lines 1-3, 0.005-0.006 m., lines 4-8, 0.004 m.
 Inv. No. I 6263 + I 4580.

The larger letters of the first three lines are not strictly stoichedon; the letter units average *ca.* 0.0085 m. The smaller letters are set in a square checker pattern of which ten units measure *ca.* 0.074 m. Two units are left vacant between the columns on fragment a.

a. 346/5 a.

[----- ἐπὶ Ἄρχιζου ἄρχ[οντ]ος πραθέ[ντα -----]
 [-----] ρβου Ἐρμε[ι: Λ] εωσθένη[ς -----]
 [----- Θρα] συμῆδης Ἀ[ν] σιμάχου [-----]

Col. I ΣΤΟΙΧ.

5 [----- ὠνη: ----- Πα] λλη: XXXI^Ϟ
 [----- ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ] εσιν τοῖ
 [ς ----- ὦι γεί: βορρά: ----- Σο] ννι: νο
 [τό: ----- ὠνη: -----] Παια
 [νι: ----- ἐν τ] οῖς
 [ἐδάφ] εσιν τοῖς [-----]
 10 [-----]

Col. II ΣΤΟΙΧ.

15 Ἐ[ρμ] αικὸν ἐπ[ὶ ----- ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ] εσιν τοῖς [-----]
 [. . Σ] φηττί: ᾧ[ι γεί: βορρά: -----]
 [νοτό]: ὁ λόφος [πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνι: μέταλλον (?) ὁ -----]
 [. . . . Φ] ηγ: ἐρ[γά] ζεται πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ -----]
 [.] ον φέ[ρ] ουσα [-----]
 [.] ΛΙ [-----]

The new fragment gives the name of the archon Archias and so dates this record to the year 346/5. The first three lines in the larger letters contained the heading and the names of the ten poletai for the year and their secretary. These must have carried across the full width of the stele. Below in the small letters are parts of two columns of text. Possible restorations suggest a line between thirty-seven and forty letters long for these columns, but the exact number of letters in a line cannot be established with any certainty.

The relative positions of the letters in the heading and in the first preserved column are hard to fit together in any normal restoration. The price given at the end of the first line of text (line 4) would seem to suggest that these lines were from

the second column of a stele and that line 4 represents the end of a record started at the bottom of a first column. If this were the first record on the stele, one would have expected it to begin with a prytny date ("Leases," p. 192). A prytny date, the description of a mine, even with the boundaries omitted, and the name of the lessee can scarcely be fitted into a forty-letter line. But if we assume a missing first column to the left we are left with the almost impossibly large number of about sixty-one letters preceding the archon's name in line 1. If however lines 4-8 be assigned to the first column instead of the second, in spite of the implications of the first line, there would be room for about twenty-six letters to the left of the archon. In that case the heading suggested in the original publication of the right half of this fragment, No. 24, with twenty-five letters before the archon's name would fit reasonably well:

[μέταλλα καὶ δημόπρατα τὰ ἐπὶ] Ἄρχ[χ]ίου ἄρχ[οντ]ος
πραθέ[ντα· πωληταί - - -]

One is thus left a choice between an abnormally short first record or an abnormally long heading.⁶

Col. 1, line 4: At least three demesmen from Pallene are known from the other mining texts as lessee or registrant. The price of three thousand five hundred drachmai suggests a mine in operation (see below p. 14).

Lines 5-8: On the assumption that this is the same concession as that recorded in No. 5, lines 16-19, one can restore a line of 38 to 40 letters reading (at 38):

[.....²¹..... ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ]εσιν τοῖ
[ς Τίμωνος : ὦι γεί: βορ: Διοκλῆς Σο]ννι: νο
[τό: Ἀριστίων : ὠνη: Σίμος Διοδώρου] Παια
[νι:²⁹..... ἐν τ]οῖς

By lengthening the presumably abbreviated demotics of the owners of the *edaphe* and of the property at the south one could restore a thirty-nine or forty letter line. This restoration gives the same *edaphe* and the same boundaries at the north and south, and assumes that the eastern and western boundaries are omitted in the present text. The lessee has changed. I have suggested Simos the son of Diodoros of Paiania as lessee because in a much restored text, No. 13, lines 41-46, he is apparently named as lessee of a mine of which the eastern boundary is the property of Diokles of Sounion. He also is found as lessee in No. 16 a + b, line 62. Phanotheos son of Lysippos of Paiania, registrant and lessee of a mine at Amphitrope, No. 18, lines 60-64, could be restored instead of Simos, by shifting the abbreviation of the demotic of Aristion.

⁶ As noted in "Leases," p. 271, no parallels for the suggested heading have been found. Headings are preserved only in Nos. 1, 34, 37, and perhaps S8.

Col. II, lines 11-15: There are no obvious connections between the Hermaikon here recorded and those found in the other texts. If the shortest place name, either ἐπ[ὶ Σούνιον] or ἐπ[ὶ Λαύρεον] (see No. 13 and No. 16 for this shortened form) be restored in line 11, on a forty letter line only six letters are left for the name of the owner of the *edaphē*.

S5 (Plate 1). Fragment of a stele of white marble found on May 2, 1949, built into the long late Roman wall to the east of the Panathenaic Way (O 8). The back at the sides has been cut down, apparently with the intention of making a small pilaster, but part of the smooth worn original back is left in the center of the piece. The stone is broken at the top, bottom and both sides.

Height, 0.163 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.091 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 6168.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern of which ten units measure 0.074-0.075 m.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 39 ?

[.....¹⁹.....] ΟΛ[.....¹⁸.....]
 [.....¹¹..... Ἀμφιτρ]οπήσιν [.....¹⁶.....]
 [.....¹³.....] νοτό: Φιλιππ[ο.....¹⁴.....]
 [.....¹⁸.....]ς Μαραθ: ὠνη: Α| [.....¹³.....]
 5 [.....¹⁰.....]ϕ: μέταλλον παλαιὸν [ἀνασάξιμον. . .]
 [.....⁸.....] ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Να[υσικλέους (?) ὦι]
 [γεί: βορρ: ἦ] χαράδρα ἢ ἀπὸ Λαυρείο[υ ἐπὶ Θάλινον (?)]
 [φέρουσα πρὸς] ἡλίου ἀνι: ἦ αὐτῇ νοτό [.....¹⁰.....]
 [.....⁹..... π]ρὸς ἡλίου δυο: Εὐβουλο[.....¹⁰.....]
 10 [.....⁷..... ὠνητ]ῆς Κτησίας Εὐαγίδο[υ Φιλα: ...⁶...]
 [.....¹³.....]ου Θορίκι: μέτα[λλον ἀπεγράψατ]
 [ο¹²..... π]αλαιὸν ἀνασά[ξιμον ὦι γεί: βορ]
 [.....⁹..... αρδαμ]ηττὸς νοτό [.....¹⁶.....]
 [..... πρὸς ἡλίου δυ]ο: Σμικυθο[--- ὠνητῆς ---]
 15 [.....¹⁷.....]ΤΤϕϕϕ: [.....¹⁶.....]
 [.....¹⁶..... Δι]ονυσ[ιακὸν¹².....]

This fragment may well be from the same stele as S4. The place of finding is the same and the marble and the stoichedon unit seem to be the same on the two pieces. S4 is thinner at the bottom than at the top so this piece which is two millimeters thinner could easily be fitted into the same stele lower down. The shape of the letter phi, however, is distinctly different on the two stones. Further, the length of line is

far from certain on both fragments. Therefore it has been decided to give this piece a separate number. A line of thirty-nine letters has been suggested on the basis of the restorations in lines 6-8.

Lines 2-4, lease 1: A concession at Amphitrope (?).

Lines 5-10, lease 2: No registrant is named. The lessee Ktesias son of Euagides of Philaidai is probably the Ktesias of Philaidai (*P.A.*, 8848) whose son Euagides served as *choregos* in 328/7 (*P.A.*, 5232, *I.G.*, II², 3052). Topographically this concession is related to that recorded in No. 16 a + b, lines 50-55, in which the ravine or gully from Laureion to Thalinos (?) is also named. Neither text preserves the name or place of the concession. Both however may have been located in the same property, for line 51 of No. 16 a + b can be restored to read:

[ην ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς] N[a]ν[σικλέους (?) ^AΠ]λω: ὦι γ: νοτ

With normal restorations in No. 16 the ravine is west of the mine rather than north and east of it as it is in this present text, and the other boundaries do not seem to coincide. Thus the two concessions are probably near each other but not identical. It is gratifying to find the ravine from Laureion fully preserved in the present text. The village or settlement of Laureion is thus established inland and not on the coast.

Lines 11-15, lease 3: The price of two talents 5550 drachmai (or 17,550 drachmai)⁷ is much the highest so far found in the texts. The three nearest are a price of 6100 drachmai in No. 16b, line 299, of 3500 drachmai (or more) in S5, line 4, and one of 2000 drachmai in No. 18, line 3, and all are in very fragmentary contexts. The mine is classified as *palaion anasaximon*, but the high price suggests a mine in operation rather than one that has been lying idle on which the previous lease had already expired.⁸ Presumably the lease is being taken over by another operator and the full text, if preserved, would name the new operator as lessee in the gap in line 15 and the registrant from Thorikos in line 11 would be the former operator. In the majority of cases in which the registrant and lessee are different the mine is classified as *anasaximon*. There are however a few other leases like this one in which two operators are named and the mine is described as *palaion anasaximon* ("Leases," p. 197, note 28). For the [-αρδαμ]ηττός named to the north of the mine see No. 20, line 45 ("Leases," p. 267). It may well be the name, or part of the name, of a hill. In No. 20 it is named in the northern boundary of a mine ἐμ Φιλομηλιδῶν, which in

⁷ On the stone only the faint outline of the last Π is clear, but the reading Ϝ for fifty rather than Π for five is probable, for ten is the smallest unit found in the other recorded prices ("Leases," pp. 286 ff.). One wishes that the colon before the number were preserved thus removing the remote possibility that the two taus might have belonged to an abbreviated demotic with the colon that should have separated them from the number carelessly omitted.

⁸ For discussion of the prices see "Leases," pp. 202-204, and Hopper, pp. 224-227.

turn seems to be in Thorikos (No. 16a, lines 70-71). Note also that in No. 20 property of Smikythos is named in the boundaries of the next record. There must be a close geographical relationship between these three leases, but the texts are too fragmentary to attempt to identify the concession of the present text with either of those of No. 20, though it well may be one or the other.

S6 (Plate 1). Fragment of a stele of grayish Hymettian marble found on May 10, 1951, in disturbed fill just west of the great altar near the Metroon (J 10). Only the inscribed face and the original right side, dressed with a toothed chisel, are preserved.

Height, 0.182 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 6354.

The writing is stoichedon set in a square checker pattern of which ten units measure *ca.* 0.073 m. The margin at the right edge is 0.015 m. wide. The last two letters of line 15 and the last one of line 19 are written in the margin. Traces of red paint are preserved in the numerals.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 37 (?)

[.....²⁹..... Φρεά]
 [.....³¹..... Μυ] ρρι:
 [μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο¹³.....]: Ἴθινα
 [ικὸν ἀνασάξιμον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τ]οῖς Λεωχά
 [ρους Κοπρεῖ: ὧι γείτων πρὸς ἡλίω]ν ἀνιόντος:
 5 [ἐργαστήριον Λεωχάρους καὶ τὸ Ἴθιῶν δνομέν
 [ου:⁷..... καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ⁸.....]κεσα εἰς τὴν ἀγ
 [ορὰν τὴν Βησαιῶν φέρουσα νοτό]θ ὁδὸς ἡ εἰς ἀγ
 [ορὰν τὴν Βησαιῶν φέρουσα βορρ:] Λεωχάρης Λέο
 [ντος (?) Κόπρει: ὧνητ:⁶..... ἐκ] Κερα: ΓΗΗΗΗΗ: Ἴν
 10 [.....¹⁷..... μέταλλον] ἀπεγράψατο ἐκ
 [τῶν μετᾶλλων τῶν ἐπὶ⁹.....]υς πραθέντων
 [ἐργάσιμον¹⁸..... ὃ Ἴπι(?)κρ]άτης Εὐωνυμ
 [ἀπεγράψατο (?) ὧι γεί: βορ:⁹.....]χον ὃ ἡργάζ
 [ετο²⁶.....]τ: Ἴντικρ
 15 [άτης²⁵..... Ἴντιφώντος
 [.....³¹.....]ν Φυλακ
 [.....³².....]νίκου
 [.....³³.....]ουτος
 [.....³⁴.....]το Ο
 20 [.....³⁵.....]ου

In the preliminary report on the finding of this stone, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 113, it was suggested that lines 1-9 contained the record of a sale of confiscated property. A closer study of the text, however, suggests that these lines as well as the lower ones are part of a record of a mining lease.

This text corresponds closely to Nos. 10 and 11 in the size of the stoichedon unit, in the letter shapes and in the use of an unabbreviated form such as ἀνούτος in line 3.

The stone contains two fragmentary records. The first, lines 1-9, is apparently a later lease of the Athenaikon mine already recorded in No. 14, lines 28-35. The second, lines 9-15, seems to be the renewal of a mine in working order brought forward from an earlier stele which is dated by the archon's name (mostly missing) in line 11. Whether this be the renewal of a long or of a short term lease, or as seems probable an irregular renewal before the first lease had expired, the year from which it is renewed cannot be earlier than that of No. 14. The present stone, on these assumptions, would then be seven or more years later than No. 14, *i. e.*, one long term lease of seven years, plus one or more short term leases of three years each.⁹

A line of thirty-seven letters has been tentatively restored because it fits best in the first record and corresponds to the length of line fairly well established for No. 10. If this be correct the only suitable archon for line 11 would be Ktesikles (*i. e.*, a name of 11 letters in the genitive ending in ο]υς) of 334/3.¹⁰ The present fragment then would date from one of the years soon after, No. 14 would be seven or more probably ten or thirteen years earlier, and No. 10, if part of the same stele, would be brought down into the low 'thirties. Because of the uncertainties of restoration in line 11 and also of the length of line (the identity of the mine of the first record with that of No. 14 could be forced into a thirty-nine letter line), the name of the archon has not been written into the text. The name of Themistokles, archon in 347/6, would fit into a line of thirty-nine letters, that of Sosigenes, archon in 342/1, into one of thirty-eight letters.

Lines 1-9, lease of a concession Athenaikon for 900 drachmai: restorations have been suggested on the assumption that this is the same concession as that recorded in No. 14, lines 28-35, which could then be restored to read:

$$\begin{array}{l} [\eta: \Delta\Delta: \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \dots\dots\dots^{21}\dots\dots \text{Μυρ} \\ \dots\dots\dots^{19}\dots\dots \text{Φρεάρ} \end{array} \right\} \rhoι: \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}[\psi\alpha] \\ [\tau\omicron \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu \dots\dots\dots^{16}\dots\dots \text{'Αθ\eta}] \nu\alpha\iota\kappa\omicron\nu \sigma\tau\acute{\eta}[\lambda\eta] \end{array}$$

⁹ See "Leases," pp. 199 ff., for the probable length of leases; cf. Hopper, p. 237.

¹⁰ The name of Agathokles, archon in 357/6 would fit the required number of letters. That restoration would make this stele at least as early as 350 and No. 14 earlier than 357, for No. 14 cannot date from that year because of the partially preserved prytany date in lines 44-45. These have been restored to read: ἐπ[ι] τῆς 'Α[ντιοχίδος ἐνάτης (or ὀγδόης)] πρυτανείας Μουνηγιῶνος κτλ. In 357/6 Hippothontis held the eighth prytany (*I.G.*, II², 122) and Aigeis the ninth (*I.G.*, II², 123). Even a date as early as 357/6 seems improbable and a still earlier one highly improbable.

[ν ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Λεωχά]ρου[ς] Κοπρέι[ου]
 [ῶι γεί: πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν: ἐργαστή]ριον Λεωχ[ά]ρ[ου]
 [ς καὶ τὸ Ἡρώιον βορρ: τὰ ἐδάφη τὰ Λ]εωχάρους: π[ρὸς]
 [ἡλίου δυο: ἢ ὁδὸς ἢ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν] φέρουσα τῆ[ν Βησ]
 [αῖων καὶ . . . ? . . . νοτόθ: ἢ ὁδὸς ἢ εἰς τ]ῆν ἀγο[ρὰν τῆ]
 [ν Βησαιῶν φέρουσα τιμή: ΔΔ: (?) . . . ? . . .] ΦΞΣ[. . . ? . . .]

The two differences in the boundaries thus restored, the additional descriptive word ending in -- *κεσα* in line 6 of the present text, and the fact that the property of Leochares at the north is given in the nominative in the one text¹¹ and described as *edaphe* in the other, are differences only in phraseology. The registrant in both is from a deme whose abbreviated demotic ends in -- *ρι*, that is, Phrearrhoi or Myrrhinous. I assume that it is the same man and that the history of this lease ran somewhat as follows. The gentleman from Phrearrhoi (or Myrrhinous) leased a *palaion anasaximon* mine for twenty drachmai (No. 14), worked it for the full long term period of seven (?) years, may have renewed it himself as *ergasimon* mine for one or more short term periods of three years each, and then gave up his lease to or was outbid by the gentleman from Keramos for nine hundred drachmai.

Line 2: A place name is probably to be restored.

Lines 5-6: The Heroion, tentatively restored, does not appear elsewhere in the mining texts. The same is true of the adjective ending in -- *κεσα*. See No. 4, line 20, for another example of an adjective and place name both used in the description of a road.

Lines 9-15, a renewal from an earlier stele: The tentative restoration in line 11 is intended to be the equivalent of the phrase *ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ -- ἄρχοντος*. The name of an archon would fill out the line. See the discussion just above for the possibilities. If line 12 were so restored as to make the man from Euonymon owner of property named as the northern boundary, there would not be sufficient space for both the classification and the name of the mine. Therefore I assume that he is the previous lessee and that this is the record of an irregular renewal before the original lease had expired in spite of the use of the verb *ἀπεγράψατο*. In the other texts the verb used in this case seems to be *εἰσήνευκε* ("Leases," pp. 200 ff.).

Lines 9-10: Assuming that the registrant and lessee are the same, as is normal for renewals, one might restore *Ἄν[τικράτης -]* from line 14 or possibly *Ἄν[τιφῶν Ἄντιφῶντος -]* from line 15.

¹¹ The use of the patronymic of a man named as property owner is unusual. Line 8 could be restored

[ορὰν {βορρ: }
 {καὶ τὸ } μέταλλον ὃ ἠργάζετο] Λεωχάρης Λεο

This would accord better with the use of the patronymic, but I hesitate to omit the usual *φέρουσα*.

Line 12: Perhaps this is the Epikrates son of Isokrates of Euonymon who is named as lessee in No. 16a, line 123, and restored as lessee in No. 20, lines 19-20.

Line 13: The letters -- *χον* are probably the end of the name of a mine listed as one of the boundaries. Note that in line 14 the stone-cutter corrected an original chi to a kappa. Did he perhaps make the same error here and fail to correct it?

Line 16: *Φυλακ* --- is either the name of a mine or of a man; if the latter, *Φύλακος* or *Φυλακίδης* might be suggested.

S7 (Plate 3). A fragment of gray-blue Hymettian marble found on May 22, 1950, in a marble pile on the north slope of the Acropolis (*ca.* S 18). It is broken on all sides; a bit of rough surface with deep pick marks may be part of an original rough-picked back.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.005-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 6287.

The writing is not stoichedon; ten lines measure *ca.* 0.005 m.

[-----]της Β[ησαι(?) -----]
 [-----] ἀνα]σάξιμον [-----]
 [-----] τὸ Ἄρ]τέμιδος ἱερὸν ΧΥ[-----]
 [ὠνη: -----]κράτης Ἄμφικράτ[ους -----]
 5 [--- Ἄριστοκράτ]ου Τειθρά: ἀπεγρά[ψαπο μέτ]α[λλον -----]
 [-----] γῶνι καλουμένω[ι ᾧ]ι γεί βορρ: μ[-----]
 [-----] Ἰ]ποτραγῶν δυομένου Φιλοκράτ[-----]
 [ὠνη: -----] Ἄρι]στοκ[ρά]του Τειθράσιος ὁ ΟΥ [-----]
 [-----] ἀνασά]ξιμον στήλην ἔχον Νυνφαικὸ[ν -----]
 10 [-----]έου ἡλίου ἀνιόντος [-----]
 [-----] Ἐλπίου Ἄναφλυ[-----]
 [-----] | Σ [-----]

The text is very like that of Nos. 32a and 32b in the use of a non-stoichedon line and in the limited use of abbreviations, and the spacing seems to correspond fairly well. The letters, however, on this fragment are much more carelessly cut than on No. 32a;¹² so it is probably safer to assume that it comes from a separate though probably closely contemporary stele.

The stone contains the fragmentary records of three leases. The classification

¹² I am indebted to A. E. Raubitschek, who compared the squeezes of 32a (the original is in the British Museum) and the new piece from the Agora, for this observation. No. 32b is in Berlin and I have seen neither the original nor a squeeze.

of the first and third is preserved as *anasaximon*, and *palaion* could be restored in both. The intervening one, lease 2, was presumably the same.

Lines 1-4, lease 1: The sanctuary of Artemis named in line 3 suggests that the beta of line 1 should be completed in some form of Besa, for an Artemision appears in No. 5, line 76, as the southern boundary of Athenaikon at Besa.

Lines 5-8, lease 2: The same person presumably is named as registrant and lessee, lines 5 and 8, as is normal for *palaion anasaximon* mines. His father Aristokrates of Teithras is apparently hitherto unknown. For Hypotragon in line 7 see the road from Hypotragon to Laureion listed as part of the southern boundary of Eudoteion at Laureion in No. 16a, line 53 ("Leases," p. 249). The *-γωνι καλουμένω[ι]* of line 6 might be restored to read *[- - - ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ(?) τῷ Ὑποτρα]γωνι καλουμένω[ι]*. But it seems curious to have the place name, if such it be, listed as the eastern or southern boundary of a mine already described as in that place. A *- - γων καλούμενος* is also found in No. 32a, line 4. On present evidence it is impossible to decide whether there are two place names ending in *- - γων* in the mining region, Hypotragon of No. 16a and line 7, and the *- - γων καλούμενος* of No. 32a and line 6, or whether they are the same. In line 8 the traces of the last two letters do not seem to represent a numeral as one would expect here for the price. Note that the same is true in No. 32a, line 12, where the letters ΕΓΓΟ -- clearly follow the name of the lessee.

Lines 9-11, lease 3: A mine or mines called Nymphaikon are recorded in No. 4, line 7, at Sounion, in No. 5, lines 53-54, and No. 14, line 4, probably at Maroneia, and in No. 38, line 7. There is no evidence on which to suggest an identification. I have found no record of an Elpias from Anaphlystos. In the present text he is either owner of property named in the boundaries or the father of the lessee.

S8 (Plate 3). Upper right corner of a stele of gray to white veined marble found on June 28, 1935, in a well west of the Tholos (G 11:4) which was abandoned and used as a dump at about the end of the fourth century B.C. The inscribed face, smooth-picked top and right side are preserved.

Height, 0.05 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.032 m.

Height of letters, 0.004-0.005 m.

Inv. No. 3060.

The writing is stoichedon set in a pattern of which the horizontal unit is *ca.* 0.007 m., and the vertical unit *ca.* 0.01 m.

[πωληταὶ -----]ς Στρυμ[. . . .]
 [-----]ι: Εὐπολις Εὐ[θ]
 [ήμονος Ἄλαι:(?)-----]ι: Εὐκράτης Μα
 [----- οἷς ἐγραμμά]τενε Τιμο
 [-----]

This small scrap would seem to be part of the heading of an annual account of a board of magistrates. The well in which it was found lies about five meters to the west of the Tholos along the south edge of the Bouleuterion Plateia, *i. e.*, in the area where many fragments of mining leases have been found.¹³ Therefore it is suggested that this is part of the heading of one of the poletai accounts.¹⁴ The letter forms suggest a date in the last half of the fourth century, possibly the last third. This fragment is placed at the end of the series because its connection with the mining leases is not definitely established.

Line 1: I have found no parallel before Roman times for an Attic name beginning $\Sigma\rho\rho\mu$ --.

Line 2: Eupolis son of Euthemon of Halai (*P.A.*, 5940) is named among the donors on *I.G.*, II², 2820, a dedication dated to the years between 360 and 350. His father and his brother Euktemon (*P.A.*, 5791) appear on the same list and his brother is also found in the naval record of 323/2. Thus the identification of the poletes of our text with the donor would fit the chronological requirements.

Line 4: In *I.G.*, II², 1544, an Eleusinian inventory of 329/8, the name of the secretary follows rather than precedes $\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\nu$, just as it does in this line.

LIST OF NAMES ARRANGED BY DEMOTICS

The names found in the previously published mining texts are preceded by an asterisk

Agrylethen	* Andrios, property owner, S2 31
* Demon, property owner, S2 10	Kerameus
Aithalides	-- lessee, S6 9
* Apolexis Kephisodotou, lessee, S2 21	Koloneis
Anagyrasios	* Kerykides Euxitheou, lessee, S2 43
* Thrasylochos, owner of workshop, S2 12	Kolonethen
Anaphlystios	-- aporides Theopompou, registrant and lessee, S2 30, 31-32
-- son of Elpias, lessee, S7 11	Kopreios
Aphidnaios (?)	* Leochares Leontos (?), owner of <i>edaphe</i> , workshop and unspecified property, S6 3-4, 5, 8-9
-- lessee, S2 22-23	Kytherrhios
Eleusinius	Ameipsias -- ous, registrant and lessee, S2 26, 28
* Epikrates Philokratous, lessee, S2 37	Marathonios
Erchieus	-- s, owner of property or workshop, S5 4
Euandros Euaineto, registrant, S2 32	Myrrhinousios (?)
Euonymeis	-- registrant, S6 1
* Diotimos, lessee and property owner, S2 15, 15-16, 24	
* Epikrates (?), mine operator (?), S6 12	
Halaieus	

¹³ "Leases," p. 191 and note 6.

¹⁴ The poletai may have been the only board of magistrates who set up their annual accounts in the Agora.

- Oathen (?)
 Hagnias, lessee, S2 41
- Paianieus
 --- lessee, S4 7
- Palleneis
 -- registrant, S2 9
 -- lessee, S4 4
- Peiraeus
 * Philophon, registrant, S2 23
- Pergasethen
 -- son of Telenikos, registrant, S2 33-34
- Phegaieus
 --- mine operator, S4 14
- Philaidēs
 Ktesias Euagidou, lessee, S5 10
- Phrearrhioi
 * Diopēithēs, owner of *chorion*, S2 38
 --- registrant, S6 1
- Pitheus
 * Pheidippos, property owner, S2 29
- Prospaltioi
 Xenotimos, registrant, S2 28
 -- son of -- mpos, lessee, S2 15
- Sounieus
 -- property owner, S4 6
- Sphettios
 Diophantos Thrasymedes, lessee, S2 13
 -- owner of *edaphē*, S4 12
- Teithrasios
 -- son of Aristokrates, registrant and lessee
 S7 5, 8
- Thorikios
 -- son of -- ou, registrant, S5 11

EPIGRAPHICAL INDEX

NAMES OF MEN

The names found in the previously published mining texts are preceded by an asterisk

- Αἰ[---], S1 7
- Ἀλ[---], lessee, S5 4
- Ἀγνίας Ὄβ[θεν (?)], lessee, S2 41
- Ἀμειψίας Κυθήρ(ριος), registrant and lessee,
 S2 26; [Ἀ.- -ο]υς Κ., S2 27-28
- Ἀμφικ[---], owner of [εδάφη], S2 35
- Ἀμφικράτ[ης], father of lessee [---]κράτης,
 S7 4
- Ἄν[---], registrant, S6 9
- * [Ἄν]δριος Ἀλαι(εύς), owner of *chorion*, S2
 30-31
- Ἀντικρ[άτης], lessee (?), S6 14-15
- [Ἄ]ντιφῶν, S6 15
- * Ἀπόληξι[s Κ]ηφι[σ]οδό[το Αἶθα(λίδης)],
 lessee, S2 21; [Ἄ]π[όληξις Κ. Αἶθα(λίδης)],
 registrant, S2 18
- [Ἄρι]στοκ[ρά]της (Τειθράσιος), father of
 registrant and lessee, S7 8; [Ἄριστοκ-
 ράτ]ης (Τ.), S7 5
- Ἄρ[χ]ίας, archon 346/5, S4 1
- * Ἄσπερος, owner of *edaphē*, S2 6
- * Δῆμων Ἄγ[ρυ(λήθεν)], property owner, S2
 10
- * Διοπέιθης Φρ[ε]ά(ρριος), owner of *chorion*,
 S2 38
- * Δι[ότ]ι[μ]ος Εὔων[υ(μείς)], registrant S2
 15; Δ. Εὔων[υ(μείς)], property owner, S2
 24; [Διότι]μος Εὔωνυ(μείς), S2 15-16
- ?* Διοφάνης, owner of *edaphē*, S2 27
- [Διάφ]αντος Θρασυμήδους Σφήττι(ος), lessee,
 S2 13
- Ἐλπίας (Ἀναφλύστιος), father of lessee (?),
 S7 11
- * [Ἐπ]ικράτης Φιλοκράτους Ἐλευσί(νιος), les-
 see, S2 37
- ?* [Ἐπικρ]άτης Εὔωνυμ(εύς), mine operator
 (?), S6 12
- Εὐαγίδ[ης] (Φιλαίδης), father of Κτησίας,
 S5 10
- [Ε]ύαιων Κηφισοδόρο Φ[---], lessee, S2 18
- Εὔα[ί]νετος (Ἐρχιεύς), father of Εὔ[α]νδρος,
 S2 32
- Εὔ[α]νδρος Εὔα[ί]νέτο Ἐρχ[ι(εύς)], regis-
 trant, S2 32
- Εὔβουλο[s], property owner, S5 9

- Εὐκράτης Μα[---], poletes (?), S8 3
 Εὐ[θήμων] ('Αλαιεύς), father of Εὐπολις, S8
 2-3
 Εὐξίθεος (ἐκ Κολωνοῦ), father of Κηρυκ[ίδ]ης,
 S2 43
 Εὐπολις Εὐ[θήμονος 'Αλαι(εύς)], poletes (?),
 S8 2-3
- Θε[---], owner of *edaphē*, S3 2
 * Θεμίστιο[ς], owner of *edaphē*, S2 44
 Θεόπομπος (Κολωνήθεν), father of [-]απο-
 ρίδης, S2 30
 * Θρασύλοχος 'Αν[αγυρ(άσιος)], owner of work-
 shop, S2 12
 [Θρα]συμήδης Ἀ[υ]σιμάχον, poletes *a.* 346/5
a., S4 3
 Θρασυμήδης (Σφήττιος), father of [Διόφ]αντος,
 S2 13
- * Κ[άλ]λαισχρο[ς], owner of property or
 workshop, S2 8
 * Κηρυκ[ίδ]ης Εὐξίθέ[ο ἐκ Κολωνοῦ], lessee,
 S2 43
 [Κ]ηφι[σ]όδο[τος] (Αἰθαλίδης), father of
 'Απόληξι[ς], S2 21; [Κ.] (Αἰθαλίδης), father
 of ['Α]π[ό]ληξις, S2 18
 Κηφισόδωρος (Φ----), father of [Ε]υάϊων,
 S2 18
 Κλεομε[---], owner of property or work-
 shop, S3 17
 Κτησίας Εὐαγίδο[υ Φιλα(ίδης)], lessee, S5 10
- Λέω[ν] (?) (Κόπρειος), father of Λεωχάρης,
 S6 8-9
 [Λ]εωσθένη[ς], poletes *a.* 346/5 *a.*, S4 2
 * Λεωχά[ρης Κόπρει(ος)], owner of *edaphē*,
 S6 3-4; [Λ.], owner of workshop, S6 5;
 Λ. Λέο[ντος] (?) Κ., owner of property,
 S6 8-9
 Λύκιπ[ος], S1 13
 Λ[υ]σίμαχος, father of [Θρα]συμήδης, S4 3
- * Να[υσικλῆς (?)], owner of *edaphē*, S5 6
 Ξενοτίμος Προσπάλ(τιος), registrant, S2 28
 * Σμίκυθο[ς], owner of property or workshop,
 S5 14
 Στρυμ[---], father of poletes (?), S8 1
- [Τελ]ένικος (Περγασήθεν), father of regis-
 trant, S2 34
 Τιμο[---], secretary of poletai (?), S8 4
- * Φείδιππος Πιθ[ε(ύς)], property owner, S2 29
 Φιλ[---], lessee, S3 12
 Φίλιππ[ος], owner of property or workshop,
 S5 3
 Φιλοκράτ[ης], property owner, S7 7
 Φιλοκράτης ('Ελευσίσιος), father of 'Επ[ι]-
 κράτης], S2 36-37
 * Φιλόφρων Πειραι(εύς), registrant, S2 23
 Φυλακ[---], name of man or mine, S6 16
- [-]απορίδης Θεοπόμπου Κο[λ]ων[ή] (θεν),
 registrant, S2 29-30; [-]απορίδης Θ.
 Κολωνή(θεν), lessee, S2 31-32
 [-]έου, S3 4
 [-]κράτης 'Αμφικράτ[ους], lessee, S7 4
 [-]μπου Προσπάλ(τιος), lessee, S2 15
 [-]νίκου (genitive), S6 17
 [-]οντος (genitive), S6 18
 [-]ου Θεορίκι(ος), registrant, S5 11
 [-]ο[υ]ς Κ<υ>θήρ(ριος), father of ['Αμει-
 ψίας], S2 27-28
 [-]ρατος, S1 12
 [-]ρβου 'Ερμε[ι(ος)], poletes, S4 2
 [-]ς Μαραθ(ώνιος), owner of property
 or workshop, S5 4
 [-]χάρους (genitive), owner of *edaphē*,
 S2 14

NAMES OF MINES

- 'Αθηνα[κόν], S6 2-3
 ['Αρτ]εμισιακόν ἐ[π]ι[-], S3 3
 [Δι]ονσ[ιακόν], S5 16
- Ελ ρωικόν ([Φρ]εαρροί), S2 36
 'Ε[ρμ]αικόν ἐπ[ι]----, S4 11
 Νυνφαικό[ν], S7 9

Φυλακ[— —], name of mine or man, S6 16	[— —]ληκόν, S2 35
[. . ⁵ . .]ει[ο]ν, S2 19	[— —]σιακόν, S2 33
[— —]ισιακόν, S1 4	[— —]χον, mine named in boundaries, S6 13
[— —]κόν, S3 14	[— —]ώνειον, S1 5

GEOGRAPHICAL

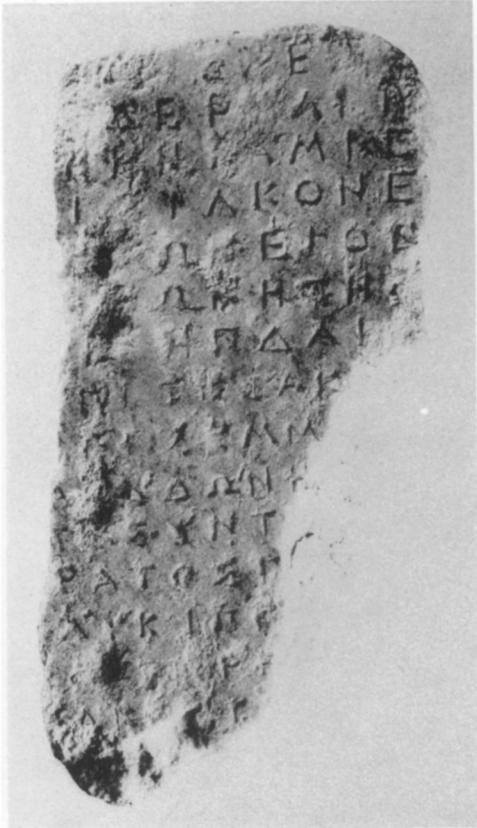
All place names, including sanctuaries, which appear in the texts are listed below. Demotics of persons are not included. For those see the list of names arranged by demes.

[Ἄμφιτρ]οπήσιν (location of mine), S5 2	[Ἡ]ρώιον, S6 5
Ἄναφλυ[στοί] (location of mine), S2 9	Θάλινος: [Θάλινον (?)], S5 7
*Ἄρτεμις: [τὸ Ἄρ]τέμιδος ἱερόν, S7 3	Θορικοί (location of mine), S2 17
Βαμβίδειος: ὁ Β. λόφος, S2 22; [ὁ] λ[ό]φος ὁ Β., S2 42	Θράσσυμος: ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι (location of mine), S2 11; [ἐπ]ὶ Θράσσ[μ]ο[ν] (road to), S3 10
Βῆσα: Β[ήσησιν] (location of mine), S2 5; [Βῆσ]ησι, S2 39; Β[ήσαι(?)]— —, S7 1; Βῆσα[ζέ] (road to), S3 8; ἀγορὰ Β[ήσ]αιέω[ν], S2 31; εἰς ἀγο[ρ]ὰν [Β.], S2 40; εἰς τὴν ἀγ[ορὰν τὴν Βησαιῶν], S6 6-7; εἰς ἀγ[ορὰν τὴν Β.], S6 7-8	Δαύρειον: ἀπὸ Δαυρείο[ν] (ravine from), S5 7
	[Υ]ποτραγών, S7 7
	[Φρ]εαρροί, (location of mine), S2 36
	[— —]αρδαμ]ηττός, S5 13
	[— —]γών: [— —]γώνι καλουμένω[ι], S7 6
	[— —]κεσα, S6 6

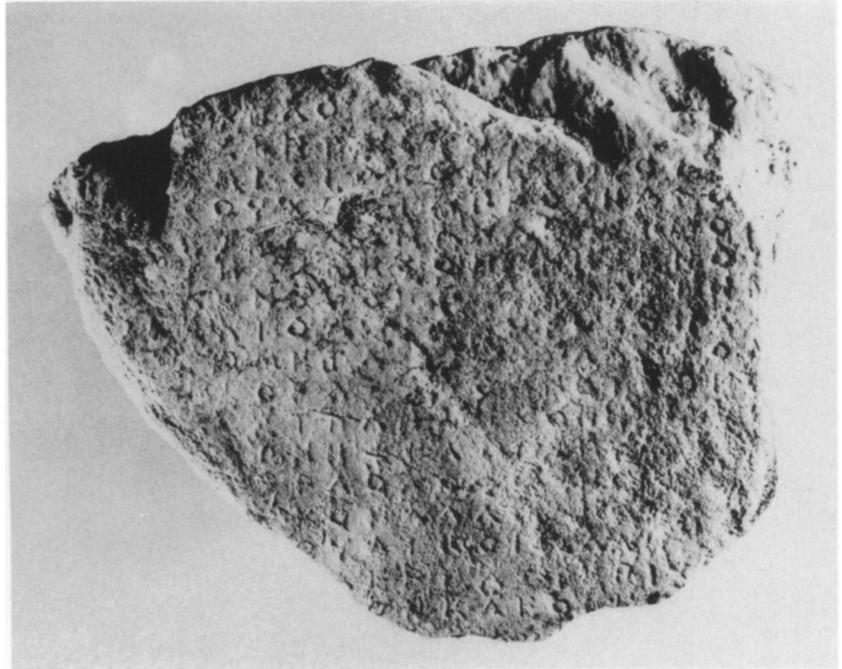
SIGNIFICANT WORDS

ἀγορά: ἀγορὰ Β[ήσ]αιέω[ν], S2 31; εἰς ἀγο[ρ]ὰν [Βησαιέων], S2 40; εἰς τὴν ἀγ[ορὰν τὴν Βησαιῶν], S6 6-7; εἰς ἀγ[ορὰν τὴν Β.], S6 7-8	καλέω: καλουμένω[ι], S7 6
ἀνασάξιμον, S2 7, [11], 17, 19, 25, [36]; S3 5, [9]; S5 [5], 12; S6 [3]; S7 2, 9	λόφος, S2 22, 42, S3 13, S4 13
ἀνειμι: ἀνιόντος (variously abbreviated), <i>passim</i>	μέταλλον, <i>passim</i> as mine being leased; as boundary of another mine [S2 40], S3 7, [S4 13]; [μετάλλων], S6 11
ἀρχων: ἀρχ[οντ]ος, S4 1	νοτόθεν (variously abbreviated), <i>passim</i> .
ἀπογράφω: ἀπεγράψατο, <i>passim</i>	ὄδος, S2 16, 22, 33, 40, [S3 8], S4 [14], S6 [6], 7
βορράθεν (variously abbreviated), <i>passim</i>	οἰκία, S2 21
γείτων (variously abbreviated), <i>passim</i>	παλαιόν, S2 7, [11], 17, [18], 25, 36, 39, S3 9, S5 5, 12
δύω: δυομένου (variously abbreviated), <i>passim</i>	[πα]νταχόθεν, S2 38
ἔδαφος: ἐδάφη, S2 [6], 27, [35]; ἐδάφει(ν), S2 14, 44; S3 2; S4 5, [9], [11]; S5 6; [S6 3]	πέρνημι: παθέ[ντα], S4 1; παθέντων, S6 11
ἐργάζομαι: [ἐ]ργάζεται, S2 41; ἐρ[γάζεται], S4 14; ἡργάζ[ετο], S6 13	πρυτανεία: [πρυτανείας], S1 8
ἐργάσιμος: [ἐργάσιμον], S6 12	στήλη: στήλην, <i>passim</i>
ἐργαστήριον, S2 12, S3 16, [S6 5]	φέρω: φέρουσα [S2 22], [S 6 7, 8]; φέ[ρουσα], S2 20, S4 15
ἔσχατιά, S2 20	χαράδρα, S2 20, 27, S5 7
ἥλιος: ἡλίον, <i>passim</i>	χωρίον, S2 20-21, 31, 38; χω[ρ]ία, S3 4
ἱερόν, S7 3	ὠνητής (variously abbreviated), <i>passim</i>

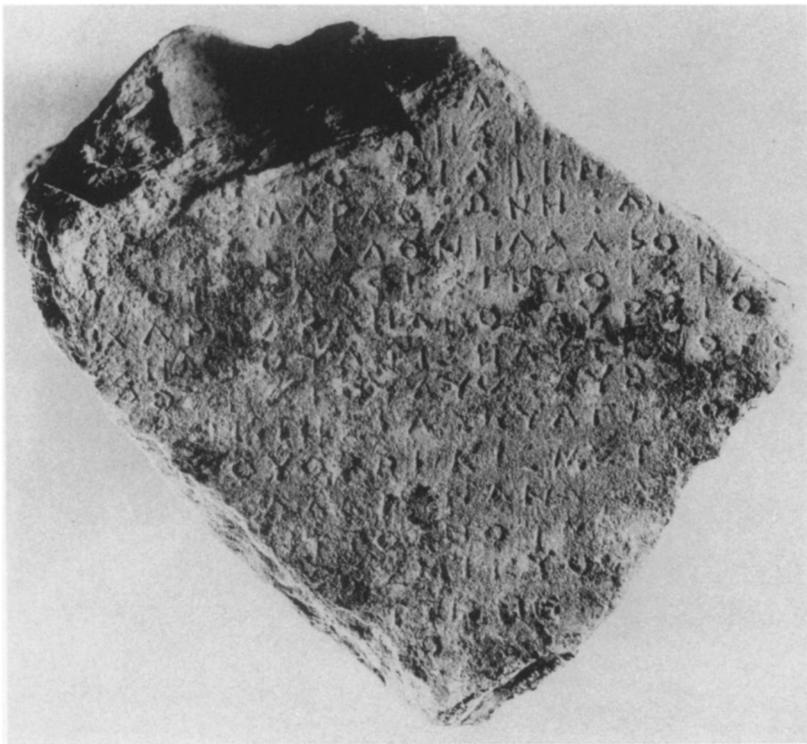
MARGARET CROSBY



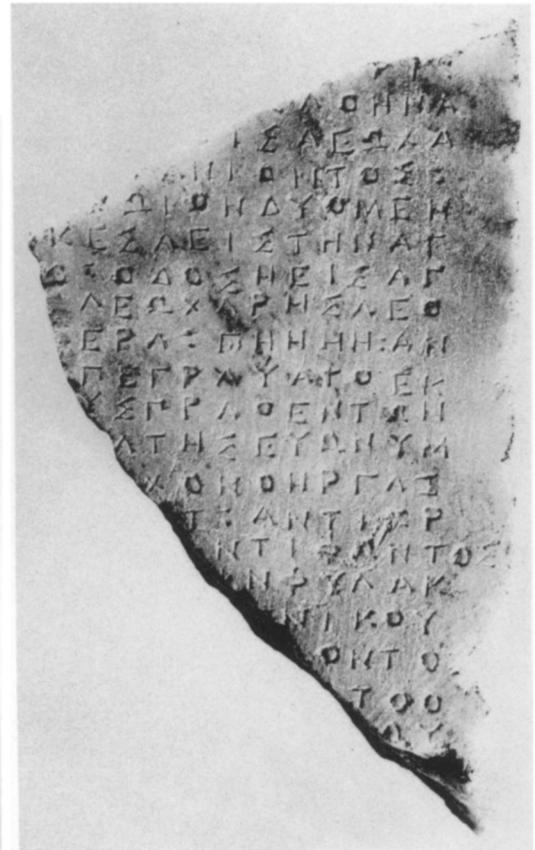
No. S1



No. S3



No. S5



No. S6



No. S2

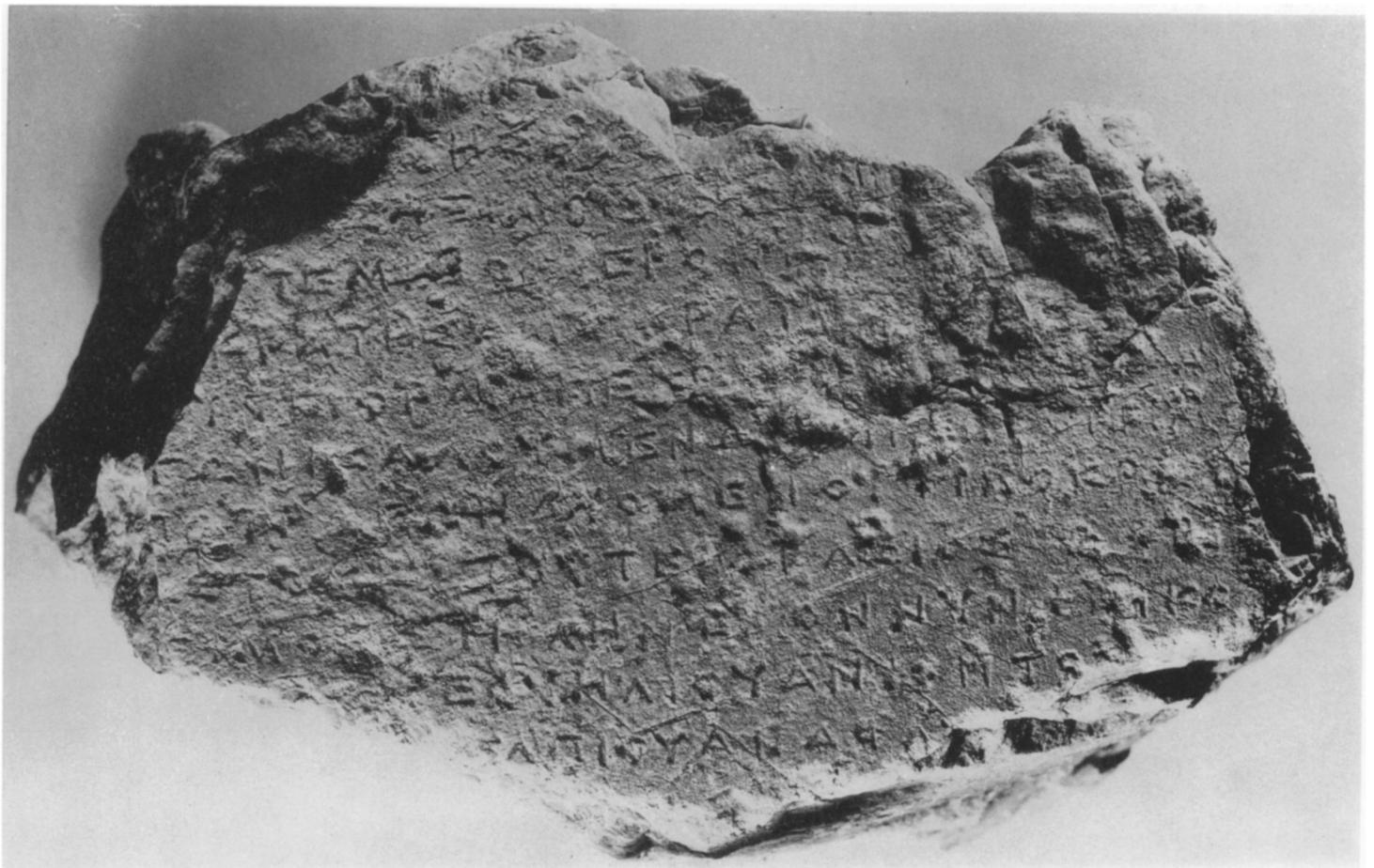
MARGARET CROSBY: MORE FRAGMENTS OF MINING LEASES FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



No. 54



No. 58



No. 57