

FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 55–57)

THE contents of this second instalment of financial documents from the Agora excavations are not so strictly limited to treasure-records as was the first instalment.¹ In fact, of the thirteen texts here published not more than nine fall into this category (Nos. 3, 4?, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12), whereas No. 1 consists of two fragments from the record of payments by the Treasurers of Athena, apparently in 404/3 B.C., Nos. 2 and 13(?) belong to lists of equipment in sanctuaries, and No. 7, though clearly relating to the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, is not an inventory but perhaps belongs to a list of regulations drawn up by its overseers (*ἐπιστάται*).

1 (Plate 55). Two opisthographic fragments of Pentelic marble. Fragment A was found in a modern wall (R 21) west of the Eleusinion and west of the Panathenaic Way on June 2, 1939. It is complete above only, with rough-picked top.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5799b.

Fragment B was found in Byzantine context near by (R 20) on May 4, 1939. It is complete on the left of Face *a* only, but part of the bottom surface is preserved.

Height of Face *a*, 0.075 m., of Face *b*, 0.09 m. with a blank space 0.035 m. high at the foot; width of Face *a*, 0.20 m., of Face *b*, 0.0125 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5799a.

a. 404/3 *a.* (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

A, *a* [----- ἐπὶ ---- ἄρχοντ]ος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ[ς βολῆς --]
 [-----]αν Χαριάδης Ἀγ[ρυλῆθεν . . . --]
 [-----]ων Μενεκράτης Οἰ[νάδος . . . --]

¹ *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 79-121. I wish to repeat here my grateful appreciation of the help and encouragement received from both B. D. Meritt, who supplied me with his own copies of these texts together with some valuable notes and suggestions for the improvement of this article, and Eugene Vanderpool, who kindly verified various dubious readings and answered miscellaneous questions concerning the stones themselves.

- 5 [----- Πρ]ασιεύς πρῶτος ἐγ[ραμμάτευε --]
 [-----] καὶ Π[αν]διονίδος πρυταν[ευοσῶν (?)] --]
 [----- πρυτανε]ύοσης παρέδοσαν Χαιρε[.¹⁸ --]
 [----- μά]χῳι [Πε]ραιεῖ, Ἐνθεμίῳι Π[αμνοσίῳι] --]
 [----- τ]ημὶ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτ[ανείας]⁸ --]
 [----- ι κ]αὶ εἰκοστῇ XXX· τετάρτ[ημὶ καὶ εἰκοστῇ] --]
 10 [-----] παραδοθέντος ΤΤΤΠ¹⁸ΗΗ [.¹⁸ --]
 [----- ί]δ[ο]ς ἄρχουσιν ἐς τ[. . .] γ [.¹⁴ --]
 [----- Ἐ]νθεμίῳι, Ἐνθεμιφῶντι [.¹⁴ --]
 [----- ἐ]πὶ τῆς [Οἰ]κείδ[ο]ς [. --]
 [-----] traces [-----]
- B, a [. . . ? . . . κα]ὶ τριακοστῆ[ι] -----]
 [s] Διαντίδος παραδοθέν[τος] ----- τ]
 ρίτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας Η [-----]
 Π¹⁸ΗΗΗΗΗΠ¹⁸· ἐνδεκάτῃ ΧΧΠ¹⁸Η [-----]
 5 Η· τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ [-----]
 [. . .]ΧΗΗΔΔΗΗΗ()μῆμῆ [καὶ εἰκοστῆι] ----- ημὶ κα]
 ἰ εἰκοστῆ[ι] ----- ημὶ καὶ τριακ]
 [οστ]ῆι ΤΤ [-----]
 (not more than one line missing to bottom of stone)
- A, b [----- . . .]στ[. . .] γ [. . .] κο[. . .] ε [-----]
 [----- . . .] φ [. . .] ὦν ἀμφ[ι] δέ[αι] -----]
 [----- . . .] ἰ ἀμφιδ[έ]αι δ [-----]
 [----- . . .] γος σταθμὸν ΧΠ¹⁸Η [-----]
 5 [----- κα]τὰ ψήφισμα βολῆς [-----]
 [-----] σιο σταθμὸν [-----]
 [-----] ἄι [. . .] ἄ [-----]
- B, b [-----] ἰ [. . .] ἰ [. . .] ξ [. . .]
 [----- ἐπὶ ----- ἄρ]χοντος ἀργ[υρ.]
 [-----] στατήρες Δ [. . .] ἰ
 [----- στατήρε]ς Κορίνθιοι Π¹⁸ ἄρ
 [----- Φ]ωκαϊκὸ χρυσίον
 [-----] ΔΗ) vacat

vacat

There can be no doubt that these two fragments, of which A is from the top and B from near the foot of a large stele, belong to the series recording payments made by the treasurers of Athena in one of the last few years of the fifth century B.C. Their discovery in 1939 was communicated to Dinsmoor, who ascribed them to the year

404/3 B.C.;² and without any wish to question his dating it may be helpful to summarize the evidence on which it rests.

In the first place, the Ionic script practically rules out any earlier date than that suggested. Secondly, the payments recorded in lines 8-9 of A, *a*, and lines 1-8 of B, *a*, are dated merely by the days of the successive prytanies, without mention of the months, as in *I.G.*, II², 1686, for the date of which the year 405/4 seems unassailable,³ in contrast to *I.G.*, I², 304, *b*, *c* (407/6 B.C.) and 305 (406/5 B.C.) where both prytany-dates and days of the month are recorded. Thirdly, as Dinsmoor has emphasized, this indication of the date is confirmed by the occurrence in line 2 of A, *a*, of the name of Chariades of Agryle, whom we know to have been the second of the overseers in the Erechtheion building-record of 409/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, I², 372, line 2) and a Hellenotamias in 406/5 B.C. (*I.G.*, I², 255, line 328). In our new text he appears as first in the list of the Treasurers of Athena.⁴ And finally, the general similarity of the style of writing to that of *I.G.*, II², 1686 (though perhaps not attributable to the same hand [or hands ?]), as well as the presumed dimensions of the stele, strongly suggests a close chronological relationship between the two. Moreover, the evidence from the contents, so far as we can restore them, does not conflict with the suggested date (404/3 B.C.), in spite of certain difficulties which cannot be overlooked.

On these assumptions as to date and contents we may proceed to restore lines 1-3 as follows:

[Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήλωσαν ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρο ἄρχοντ]ος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ[s βολῆς
 ἦι --- Πρασιεὺς πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτετε, ταμ]
 [ἰαί τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας ἦσ]αν Χαριάδης Ἀγ[ρυλῆθεν
 -----]
 [- -----] ἔνυπεται]ῶν, Μενεκράτης Οἰ[ναῖος, ---
 -----]

This restoration is to some extent provisional, since we do not know the name of the secretary of the Boule, though his deme, Prasiai, is in fact recorded again in line 4. There is also some uncertainty about the formula in the first portion of line 2, where the letters AN which precede the name of the first treasurer, Χαριάδης Ἀγ[ρυλῆθεν], indicate a formula hitherto unknown in any of our records of this class. As the position seems to rule out [παρέδοσ]αν, I suggest that [ἦσ]αν is by far the most likely alternative. Moreover, it is not clear whether we should restore the title of the treasurers as ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων or omit the τῶν as in the earlier examples of this class of document (e.g., *I.G.*, I², 293, 298, 302, 304), whereas in the headings of the *Traditiones* (*I.G.*, I², 233 ff.) τῶν is inserted. As the construction with ἦσαν

² *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I, 1940, p. 172.

³ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 109-121.

⁴ *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I, 1940, p. 172.

makes a definite statement, with the names of the *ταμίαι* as the predicate, the insertion of the article would seem to define their title more clearly and formally, and I prefer to insert it accordingly.

Even so, we cannot calculate exactly the number of letters to be allotted to each line; but a study of the relative positions of the surviving letters in the first two lines leads to an approximate solution. The words *Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆλθωσαν ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρο ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἧ* comprise 51 letters, *Πρασιεὺς πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε* comprise 25, and *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας ἦσαν* another 34. As *ἦσαν* falls directly below the *οντο* of *ἄρχοντος* in line 1, as the 31st to 34th letters in the line, the first 30 letters of line 2 would be *ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας*, leaving us to insert either *ἴαι τῶν* or *ταμίαι* as the first six. Assuming the correctness of the former alternative, with *ταμ* at the end of line 1, we have $51 + 25 + 3 = 79$ letters in line 1, without the name of the secretary; and as no Attic name has less than three letters and a twelve-letter name would be a probable maximum, our length of line would fall between the limits of 82 and 91 letters. Any attempt at a closer definition must be largely a matter of conjecture, but we may recall that a line of 84 letters is not infrequent in this class of document, and if accepted in the present case it would leave us with five letters for the secretary's name.⁵ And further, it is noteworthy that extremely few Athenian citizens are recorded as belonging to the deme of Prasiai in the fifth century. Among them a possible name of five letters for our secretary is *Λύκων*, who was chairman of the board of Treasurers of Athena in 419/8 B.C., and might possibly have been Secretary of the Boule fifteen years later.⁶

Before we decide in favor of an 84-letter line there is a difficulty which cannot be ignored. By the year 404/3 B.C., the presumed date for this inscription, the new joint board of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods had undoubtedly been created;⁷ and we must consider whether this can be reconciled with the restoration proposed for line 2. If we assume that the new board was responsible for our inscription, we must insert *καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν* after *Ἀθηναίας* and lengthen line 1 by adding 15 letters, so as to read — — — — *πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε, ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημ|άτων*, etc., giving a line of 99 letters. It is difficult to believe in a line-length so much in excess of the average, and it seems wiser to reject the longer alternative. In defence of the shorter version we may recall that at this date the board had two separate functions, namely, to pay over to the Hellenotamiai sums of money as required from the accumulated funds in the treasury of Athena, and also to check and hand over to their successors the sacred objects other than in cash, which, since the change of regime, included the property of "the Other Gods" as well as of Athena. In other words, the

⁵ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 119-120, with note 68. My suggestion of 92 letters per line for *I.G.*, II², 1686, face A, is perhaps slightly excessive, but not, I think, by as much as eight letters.

⁶ *I.G.*, I², 266 and 283; *P.A.*, 9274.

⁷ *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I, 1940, p. 170.

Tamiai as paymasters from her treasury were still strictly *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας*, but as curators of the (now combined) sacred objects they would presumably have used their fuller and more exact title.

Assuming the correctness of the 84-letter line, we see that the remainder of line 2 and most of line 3 were occupied with the names of the Tamiai, apparently in the order of their phylai. Following *Χαριάδης Ἀγ[ρὺλῆθεν]* there are 33 spaces in line 2 and the same number in line 3 before *Μενεκράτης Οἰ[ναίος]* of the phyle Hippothontis (VIII). The two letters before his name (ΩΝ) are presumably from the ending of the demotic *Ξυπεταιῶν* (Kekropis, VII), as the alternative [*ἐκ Κηδ*]ῶν (Erechtheis, I) is excluded by its position, and this phyle is already represented by Chariades above. This reduces the gap to 57 spaces, in which it would be impossible to insert the names and demotics of the phylai II-VI plus the name of which the demotic is [*Ξυπεται*]ῶν. The most likely suggestion is that three representatives were recorded here, to whose identity we have no clue.

The formula partly preserved in line 4 clearly points to the repetition of the name of the secretary of the Boule, and before this, to fill the gap after *Οἰ[ναίος]*, we have room for one more treasurer and the name and demotic of the secretary to the Tamiai. As an approximate restoration to link up lines 3 and 4, we may read *Μενεκράτης Οἰ[ναίος, --- ca. 16 ---, οἷς --- ca. 15 --- ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἦι Πρ]ασιεὺς πρῶτος ἐγ[ραμμάτευε --- ca. 30 ---]*.

In line 5 we meet an unusual formula, for from the 24th letter onwards we find *καὶ Π[αν]διονίδος πρυτανε ---*, indicating that the name of another phyle in prytany (perhaps more than one ?) preceded Pandionis. The strict system of accounting by specified days of a prytany, found lower down in our text, rules out any suggestion that this might be an instance of recording payments, or even totals, under two (or more) prytanies at a time. As an alternative I would suggest that we have here a statement that under these two (or more) prytanies no payments were made by the treasurers. No exact parallel is to be found in the accounts of the Tamiai, but we may compare *I.G.*, I², 370, where the overseers in charge of making and erecting the statues of Athena and Hephaistos record on three occasions *ἐπὶ --- ἄρχοντος οὐδὲν παρέλαβον*.⁸ Assuming that this entry followed directly after *ἐγραμμάτευε* in line 4, leaving us with 53 available spaces (30 in line 4 and 23 in line 5), we could exactly fill the space by inserting *Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος καὶ Λεωντίδος καὶ Αἰγιήδος* before *καὶ Π[αν]διονίδος*, indicating that no payments were made during the first four prytanies of the conciliar year. The order suggested is of course conjectural, but, in any case, we should require, on this view, the names of three phylai in the genitive, with *καὶ* inserted twice, following *Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐπὶ τῆς*, which we may regard as reasonably certain; and the choice of three names of phylai to total 28 letters is

⁸ Line 13 and two entries in line 18 (largely restored but quite certain).

restricted by the fact that we already have Pandionis in line 5, Oineis in line 13, and Aiantis in line 2 of fragment B, *a*. Moreover, Hippothontis with twelve letters in the genitive would have to be accompanied by two eight-letter names, for which Aigeis alone is available, as Oineis occurs below. The only alternative arrangement would be to restore two ten-letter names out of the three possible, namely, Ἐρεχθίδος, Κεκροπίδος, and Ἀντιοχίδος, together with Αἰγίδος.

Assuming, accordingly, that this entry concluded with καὶ Π[αν]διονίδος πρυτανε[υσοῶν οὐδὲν παρέδοσαν], we should expect to find it followed by the record of some payment in the fifth prytany, for which I would suggest [Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐπὶ τῆς . . .] . . . ἴδος πέμπτης πρυτανε[υ]σόσης, requiring a ten-letter genitive from among the alternatives cited above. After παρέδοσαν we have in Χαῖρε — — — the name of the first hellenotamias, whom we cannot hope to identify, and after a gap of 43 + 22 spaces — — — χωι [Πε]ραιεῖ, presumably [— — — μά]χωι, possibly [Νικομά]χωι who might indeed be the Nikomachos of Peiraieus known only from his tombstone (*P.A.*, 10959 = *I.G.*, II², 7180). As his deme belongs to Hippothontis (VIII) this would leave us with 59 spaces in which to complete the name of the first hellenotamias, Χαῖρε — — —, and insert probably three other names and demotics. Whatever the phyle of Χαῖρε — — —, it is clear that in any case three of the first seven phylai were not represented in the list. The next name, Ἀνθεμίωι, is followed by faint traces of a rho, justifying the restoration Ῥ[αμνοσίωι], and identifying him as the representative of Aiantis (IX). There is nothing left to show whether Antiochis (X) was also represented and whether the secretary's name followed; so we can do nothing to fill the gap before the payment before the thirteenth day of the prytany (at the earliest) which is to be found in line 8.

The fact that the words τῆς πρυτ[ανείας] follow δεκάτῃ in line 8, whereas they are omitted after εἰκοστῇ in line 9, suggests that the former payment may have been the first, or at latest perhaps the second, in the prytany. A similar omission of the words τῆς πρυτανείας was discussed in my notes on *I.G.*, II², 1686*b*, where we find them inserted after the first three or four entries, in lines 54 ff., but omitted after [— — — δ]εκάτῃ, in line 56, and subsequently.⁹ On the other (obverse) face of the stele, in lines 18 ff., these words were inserted in every recognizable entry of payments.

Here in line 10 the entry [— — —] παραδοθέντος ΤΤΤ[Ⓜ]ΗΗ[— — —] is obviously a summing up of payments in the prytany, and may be restored as [κεφάλαιον ἀργυρίου ἐπὶ τῆς — — — ἴδος] παραδοθέντος, etc., which fixes κεφάλαιον as approximately terminating line 9. This means that if we restore τετάρτ[η] καὶ εἰκοστῇ as the 36th to 54th letters of this line we should have 21 spaces to fill before κεφάλαιον, in which to insert the payment on the 24th day and one other dated payment, presumably on or after the 30th day, e.g., [. τριακοστῇ . . .⁶ . . . κεφάλαιον], or (perhaps less likely) [. . . μιᾷ καὶ τριακοστῇ . . . κεφάλαιον]. The total for this prytany amounted to nearly four talents, for the fourth figure seems to be [Ⓜ], followed by ΗΗ, after which

⁹ *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 116, where the line-numbers refer to this fragment only.

followed a number of figures which we cannot estimate exactly; but it would not be surprising if the total ended in an odd number of drachmai, and perhaps even obols, on the analogy of B, *a*, lines 4 and 6.

In any case we should expect to find next after this total the beginning of the payments of a new prytany; and after an unfamiliar formula in line 11 we have the remains of the names of at least two recipients in line 12, who are again presumably hellenotamiai as in lines 6-7 above. The puzzling remains of line 11, which at any rate cannot be restored as *καὶ συνάρχοσιν*, indicate almost certainly [τοῖς (?) ἐπὶ τῆς -- -- ἰ]δ[ο]ς ἄρχοσιν, followed by the purpose of the payment (or payments). A clue to the restoration of the name of the phyle is afforded by the mention of Oineis in line 13, [ἐ]πὶ τῆς [Οἰ]νείδ[ο]ς, which by its position seems most likely to belong to the summation of the payments under that prytany. This would enable us to restore lines 10-11: [ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνείδος ἕκτης πρυτανευόσης Ἑλληνοταμίαις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνείδ[ο]ς ἄρχοσιν, followed by ἐς τ[.]ν, for which I suggest ἐς τ[ῆ]ν [διωβελίαν], as in *I.G.*, I², 304, *passim*. If this is correctly restored we have proof that the distribution of the *διωβελία* continued to midwinter of 404/3, months after the fall of Athens, and that it continued to be distributed by the hellenotamiai during that period. I assume that the verb *παρέδοσαν* is to be inserted here, and that the amount distributed followed the names of the hellenotamiai in line 12. Of these names nothing survives except the demotic [Ἄν]ακαιεῖ of the representative of Hippothontis (VIII) and the name Ὀνησιφῶντι, who must have belonged to Aiantis (IX) or Antiochis (X). This means that if we insert *παρέδοσαν*, as suggested, in line 11, we have 26 letter-spaces available at the end of that line and 22 in line 12, in which there would not be room for more than two names and demotics, plus the missing name for the man from Anakaia, giving us only two names from among the first seven phylai, one from VIII, and one or two from one or both of IX and X, i.e., four or five in all. Whether these names were followed by *καὶ συνάρχοσιν* is quite uncertain, but if we are correct in recognizing the remains of a summation-formula in line 13 we should expect to find room for at any rate one other payment in this prytany besides that for the diobelía, to justify the mention of a total. This leads me to suggest that there were only four hellenotamiai mentioned and that perhaps *καὶ συνάρχοσιν* was not added.

The phrase in line 11, [ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνείδ]δ[ο]ς ἄρχοσιν, for which I know of no close parallel, suggests that on this occasion a rota was picked from the board of hellenotamiai to serve during this particular prytany, and the demotic [Ἄν]ακαιεῖ indicates a second representative of Hippothontis in addition to [Nikoma]chos of Peiraieus in line 7. There is no reason to suspect that they were not members of the same board, and thus we seem to have welcome confirmation of Meritt's contention that each phyle was (or might be) represented by two hellenotamiai in the years following 411 B.C.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 103, 126. The survival of the Hellenotamiai for, apparently, at least a year after the surrender of Athens in April, 404 B.C., is of no small interest, since

Of line 14 the fracture of the stone has removed all traces of the letters, except perhaps a triangular top in the 27th space, followed possibly by faint remains of gamma or epsilon.

With fragment B, *a*, from the lower left-hand corner of the stele we have the advantage of the left-hand margin and of a better preserved surface, but even with this help we cannot approximate to completing a single line. Yet it is clear that the entry of a payment on the 30 + th day in line 1 must have been followed by another, or at most two, before the beginning of the summation-formula which continues into line 2, [κεφάλαιον ἀργυρίο ἐπὶ τῆς] Διαιτιδος παραδοθέν[τος], giving us 43 spaces between τριακοστῆ[ι] and [κεφάλαιον]. In this gap it would be possible to restore [. . . τρίτει καὶ τριακοστῆι . . . ἔκτει καὶ τριακοστῆι . . .], any alternative days leaving even less space for the required numerals; but this implies the improbable result that three successive payments averaged only two figures each. At the risk of an equally bold conjecture, the available space could be filled by reading ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν πέμπτει καὶ τριακοστῆι, which would leave nine spaces in all for the numerals.

In line 2, after the missing total for the prytany of Aiantis, we should expect to find the preamble to the payments of the last prytany, ἐπὶ τῆς — — — ἰδος δεκάτης πρυτανεύσεως Ἑλληνοταμίαις παρέδοσαν, giving 47 letters without the name of the phyle. And as παραδοθέντος ended with the 22nd letter of the line and the line ended with the first tau of [τ]ρίτηι we have accounted for 70 letters, leaving only 14 for the total of the payment and the name of the phyle. As our choice seems limited to 10 or 12 spaces for the latter (Ἐρεχθίδος or Ἀντιοχίδος or Ἴπποθωντίδος), this would leave only two or four spaces for the sum of payments under Aiantis. This seems so improbable, in view of the long groups of figures found elsewhere in the text, that it is tempting to omit Ἑλληνοταμίαις and read τὰδε instead, which would give eleven or thirteen spaces for the total of the payments.

In lines 3-4 we have no clue to the days between the third and eleventh on which the missing payments were made, nor can we say if they were all in the simple form of the day of the month followed by a sum; and it is highly improbable that one payment was made on each of the seven available days, since the ordinal numerals from τετάρτηι to δεκάτει require 47 of the (approximately) 60 spaces, leaving quite insufficient room for six payments of the length indicated by other payments in this prytany. In fact, it would be more reasonable to assume that three, or at most four, were recorded in this gap, and that if τῆς πρυτανείας was inserted after the second date as well as the first the total is more likely to have been three only.

In line 4, after the probably incomplete entry for the eleventh day, we have no

it has been generally assumed that their existence was brought to an end by that disaster. There is no epigraphical record of their activities after the decree incorporating the Samians into the body politic (*I.G.*, II², 1, line 39 = Tod, *G.H.I.*, I², 96), where they are to pay for the engraving and erection of the stele, whereas the same duties in regard to the subsequent decree of 403/2 are entrusted to the Tamiai (*I.G.*, II², 1, line 67 = Tod, *G.H.I.*, II, 67, line 27).

less than 64 spaces in which to insert the remainder of that sum and the words *δωδεκάτει* and *τρίτει καὶ δεκάτει*, followed by their respective payments. The dates require 25 letters, leaving 39 in which to insert the end of the sum for the eleventh day, and two more, of which the second terminated in the two drachma-signs at the beginning of line 5. Including these surviving figures, namely, the four in line 4 and the two in line 5, the full space occupied by the three sums is that of 45 letters, and an average of 15 is by no means improbable.

In line 5 we again have 64 spaces in which to insert the payment for the 14th day and those for perhaps three other days from the 15th to the 20th, inclusive, assuming that the sum preserved in line 6 represents the full payment (after restoring the first two figures) for the last date in the preceding line. After this sum, the restoration *μιᾶι* [*καὶ εἰκοστῆι*] brings us to the 29th letter of the line, of which the last four must have been *ηι κα*, so as to link up with the *ἰ εἰκοστῆι* at the start of line 7; but it is hardly worth while to make any suggestion for the possible days and payments in the intervening gap of 51 spaces, beyond remarking that the last date in the line was at the latest the 29th day. When we finally reach line 8, where only *ει ΤΤ* survive, it seems preferable to restore [*τριακοστ*]ῆι, rather than to assume that the payments for the twenties of the prytany continued throughout the whole of lines 6 and 7. Whether this entry was followed by another payment or by the total for the prytany and then for the whole year it is impossible to decide; but in any case there cannot have been more than one line on this face below line 8, as part of the lower margin of the stele is preserved.

It remains to consider the size of the gap between fragments A and B on this face. As line 13 of A brings us to the end of the payments for the sixth prytany, if my calculations for the first five are correct, and line 2 of B gives us the end of those for the ninth, all that we lack is the full record for the seventh and eighth together with the entries for all of the ninth before the 31st(?) day. If there were no exceptional formulae inserted, it seems unlikely that the payments for these three periods, on the analogy of those for the tenth prytany, would have required appreciably more than twenty lines in all, so that line 1 of B might have been approximately the 34th line of the stele, giving us a total of 41 or 42 lines on this face.

We can now set out the text of A, *a*, and B, *a*, incorporating restorations and suggestions proposed above:

a. 404/3 *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 84

A, *a* [*Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήλωσαν ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρο ἄρχοντ*]ος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ[ς βολῆς
 ἥῃ Δύκων(?) Πρασιεὺς πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτενε, ταμ]
 [*ἰαί τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας ἥσ*]αν Χαριάδης Ἀγ[ρὺλῆθεν
 -----³⁴-----]
 [- -----²⁴----- Ἐυπεται]ών, Μενεκράτης Οἰ[ναῖος,

- οἷς -----^{ca. 15}-----]
- [ἐγγραμμάτευε, ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἤι Δύκων (?) Πρ]ασιεὺς πρῶτος
 ἐγ[ραμμάτευε, Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος (?)]
- 5 [καὶ Λεωντίδος καὶ Αἰγείδος] καὶ Π[αν]διονίδος πρυταν[ευοῶν
 οὐδὲν παρέδωσαν Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐπὶ τῆς Κε]
 [κροπίδος (?) πέμπτης πρυτανε]υόσης παρέδωσαν Χαιρε[-----
 -----⁴⁴-----]
- [-----¹⁶----- (?) Νικομά]χῳ [Πε]ραιεῖ, Ἀνθεμίῳ
 Ἐ[αμνοσίῳ, -----³⁴-----]
- [-----²⁰----- τ]ημὶ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτ[ανείας
 -----³⁸-----]
- [-----¹⁷----- μιᾷ (?) κ]αὶ εἰκοστῇ XXX· τετάρτ[η
 καὶ εἰκοστῇ ----- τριακοστῇ (?) ----- κεφάλαιον]
- 10 [ἄργυριό ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος (?)] παραδοθέντος ΤΤΤΓΓΗΗ[...⁹.....
 ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνείδος ἕκτης πρυτανευόσης Ἑλλ]
 [ηνοταμίαις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνεί]δ[ο]ς ἄρχουσιν ἐς τ[ῆ]ν [διωβελίαν
 παρέδωσαν -----²⁶-----]
- [-----²²----- Ἀν]ακαίῃ, Ὀνησιφῶντ[ι -----
 -----⁴⁴-----]
- [...⁸..... κεφάλαιον ἄργυριό ἐ]πι τῆς [Οἰ]νείδ[ο]ς [παραδοθέντος
 -----³⁴-----]
- [-----²⁶-----] traces [-----
 -----]
- (lacuna of about twenty lines)
- B, a [...⁷..... κα]ὶ τριακοστῇ[ι ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν (?) πέμπτῃ (?)
 καὶ τριακοστῇ κεφάλαιον ἄργυριό ἐπὶ τῇ]
 [ς] Αἰαντίδος παραδοθέν[τος¹¹..... ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος (?)
 δεκάτης πρυτανευόσης τάδε παρέδωσαν τ]
 ρίτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας Η[-----
 -----⁶⁵-----]
- ΓΓΗΗΗΗΓΓ· ἐνδεκάτῃ ΧΧΓΓΗ[.....¹¹..... δωδεκάτῃ¹⁵.....
 τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ¹³.....]
- 5 Η· τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ [-----⁴⁸-----
 ----- ἐνάτῃ (?) καὶ δεκάτῃ]
 [ΧΧ]ΧΗΗΔΔΗΗΗ()· μιᾷ [καὶ εἰκοστῇ -----
 -----⁴⁷----- ἐνάτῃ (?) κα]
- ὶ εἰκοστῇ[ι -----⁶⁵-----
 -----ει καὶ τριακ]
- [οστ]ῇ ΤΤ -----⁷⁷-----
 -----]
- (not more than one line missing to bottom of stone)

On Face *b* the upper fragment has suffered badly from the effects of weathering and surface injury, and offers no hope of extracting any continuous sense. On the evidence of the restorations proposed for Face *a* it appears that the fracture-line of Face *b* comes close to the central vertical line, and thus that the first letters preserved in lines 1-5 are approximately the 43rd letters in those lines. We should also note that there is an unscribed space of about 0.055 m. in height above line 1, which is practically on a level with line 4 of Face *a*, and one of about 0.04 m. below the last line of fragment B, indicating that the contents of this face were shorter than those of Face *a* by five, or perhaps six, lines.

In line 1 the only certain letters are ΣΤ . . .⁶ . . . Ε, with Ν (or just possibly Η) as the fourth letter, and faint traces of the lower half of kappa as the sixth. The seventh letter may have been omikron. The third letter is a mere circular depression on the stone but could be omikron. The traces suggest remains of the name [Ἄρυ]στ[ό]ν[ι]κ[ο]ς[ς]. In line 2 we must restore ἀμφ[ι]δέ[α] or the plural ἀμφ[ι]-δέ[αι], which word clearly recurs in line 3. In line 4 [ἐκ τῶ Παρθενῶ]νος seems reasonably likely, in default of a suitable epithet ending in -νος. But I cannot identify any possible object weighing upwards of 1600 drachmai from that source. Line 5, to be restored presumably as [κα]τὰ ψήφισμα βολῆς [ὃ ὁ δεῖνα εἶπε], must refer to the melting down, or handing over, of some object(s) in the custody of the Tamiai, to which we have no clue. Line 6 should apparently be read as [χρυσί]ο σταθμόν. Line 7 has only faint traces of three letters, of which the second is clearly iota.

On the lower fragment of Face *b* we have merely the remains of various sums of money, mostly, if not all, in foreign currency, with the insertion of a date in line 2. In line 1 we have the end of a sum, apparently three obols, before which, separated by two spaces, is a vertical stroke. If this was †, perhaps we have a sum ending in 3 drachmai, 3 obols, followed by ΞΙ (rather than σι); if the penultimate letter is really xi, rather than epsilon, this might indicate a total, i.e., ξύ[μπαν κεφάλαιον]. In line 2 the restoration [ἄρ]χοντος is to be preferred to [ἔ]χοντος, which seems inappropriate in this context, and if, as seems likely, this introduces a summation, we might go further and restore, e.g., [κεφάλαιον τῶμ παραδοθέντων ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρο ἄρ]χοντος ἄργ[υ-ρίο ---] followed in line 3 by στατήρες Α[ἰγ]ι[ναῖοι ---], rather than ἀ[ργ]υ[ροῖ ---], or, even less likely, Ἀ[ττ]ι[κῶ χρυσίο ---], seeing that we have silver Corinthian staters at the end of line 4, where the lower stroke of the final sigma seems certain. The order of the words [στατήρε]ς Κορίνθιοι ₴ ἀρ[γυροῖ] seems cumbrous, but not improbable.

After another long gap in line 5 which we cannot hope to fill, we have an indeterminate number of Phokaian gold pieces, but whether staters or hektai, or both, is unknown, and the final entry on the stele is the end of a sum of money, presumably in Attic silver, namely 12 drachmai and one quarter-obol. By its position this surely belongs to a total rather than to a single item, and might include the silver equivalent

of the Phokaian gold in the line above, which might indeed have been preceded or followed by some other entry of gold coin. Before we part from these tantalizingly incomplete payments the possibility must not be overlooked that they may represent transfers from the Treasurers of the Other Gods, rather than from the Treasurers of Athena, since we find precisely Aiginetan and Corinthian staters and Phokaian hektai in the single surviving inventory drawn up by the former board.¹¹

¹¹ *I.G.*, I², 310, lines 114-115, Corinthian staters; lines 110-111, Aiginetan staters; lines 105-106, Phokaian hektai.

2 *a* (Plate 55). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, complete above and on the right, with smooth-dressed surfaces, found by a former workman in the wall of a modern house at the corner of ὁδὸς Ἀθηνᾶς and ὁδὸς Βύσσης (*ca.* 200 m. north of Monasteraki) on January 6, 1936.

Height, 0.245 m.; width, 0.188 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3298.

The inscription is cut in an almost square stoichedon pattern, in which 5 lines measure 0.05 m. and 5 rows measure 0.048 m. The vertical fracture on the left side is rough-picked, with bevelled edges (not original); the back is fairly smooth, but not polished or inscribed. There is part of a bronze peg in the upper surface, near the corner, which originally held another block in place above. And above line 1 there is a blank space 0.038 m. in height.

a. 413/2–412/1 *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 40(?)

[ἐπὶ Κλεοκρίτο ἄρχοντος Ἀθε]γαίοις νεοκόροι Ἀκε
 [-----²¹----- Χα]ιρέλεος Κικυννεύς, Χ
 [----- ηιερά σκεύ]ε τῷ Ποσειδῶνος τῷ ἡι
 [ππίο παρελάβομεν^v χαλκίον] θερμαντέριον, ἐχίν[ο]
 5 [σ(?) ----- κεκρυ]φαλείο ::||: χερόνιπτρα
 [----- ἠνπόστα]τον κρατέρος σιδερό
 [ν-----], ὕδρῖαι ::||: κάδοι ::|||: ποδ
 [ανιπτέρ (οἱ -ἔρες) -----] vacat
 [----- β]ουδόροι ::ΔΔ|||: ἕτεροι
 10 [-----]:: κνάθειον :: ἡάλυσις ἀπ
 [-----]εχς τυρόκνεστις :: μάχα
 [ιραι -----] χσύλινα :: τράπεζαι ::||: ε
 [-----]ρον ο[ύ]χ ὑγιέ[ς], τράπεζα
 [-----] vacat
 15 [-----²⁰----- ἐπ]ὶ Καλλίῳ ἄ[ρχο]ντος Ἀθε

[ναίους -----¹⁷-----] Χαιρέλε[ο]ς Κικυννεύ
 [s, -----²¹-----]ς Ἀχαρνε[ύς· h]ιερά σκεύ
 [ε τὸ Ποσειδῶνος . . .⁶. . . χέρ]νι[β]ος [χ]α[λκῶν . . .]μ[. . .]
 [-----]το[.]χορ[.¹².]

There is no difficulty in recognizing that this stele contains a list of the sacrificial and other apparatus in the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios at Kolonos, for the last nine letters of line 17 can only be read as [h]ιερά σκεύ[ε], and enable us to restore in line 3 [h]ιερά σκεύ[ε] τὸ Ποσειδῶνος, followed by τὸ hι-, obviously to be completed as τὸ hι[ππίο]. The fact that this inscription was discovered outside the limits of the Agora, actually about midway between Hadrian's Library and the site of the Acharnian Gate, need not surprise us, since another fragment of the same document was found earlier at the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite on the north slope of the Acropolis,¹² even further away from the site of Poseidon's sanctuary on the hill of Kolonos. As our new fragment enables us to make considerable improvements in the text of the other piece, I republish the latter here immediately below.

2 b (Plate 55). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides and at the back, found on the north slope of the Acropolis on March 2, 1932.

Height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. E. M. 12715.

This fragment was published by O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 391-393, No. 11, with a photograph on p. 392. Cf. also *S.E.G.*, X, 220.

a. 407/6-406/5 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 40(?)

[-----²⁵-----]αν περ[.¹⁰.]
 [-----²⁴-----]ε]ύς, Μελαν[.⁸.]
 [-----²¹-----]χ]αλκίων κρεε[.⁸.]
 [-----¹⁶-----]οὐχ ὕγι]ές vacat
 5 [-----¹⁶ (?)-----]ἐπὶ Καλ]λίῳ ἄρχοντο[ς Ἀθηναίῳ]
 [ις -----¹⁹-----]π]αρά Φαύλλο [Ἀχερδοσί(?)]
 [-----¹⁹-----]Χαι]ρέλεος Κικ[υννεύς, . . .]
 [-----¹⁸-----]ς Ἀχα]ρνεύς· λέβ[εσ(?)⁸.]
 [-----¹⁸-----]ὀβελ]ίσκον δέσ[με(?)⁸.]

¹² I owe to Meritt the information that these two stones seem to belong to the same document, as the stochedon measurements agree, and that though the letters on this piece look larger this may be because the surface is less worn than that of the new one. The photograph of 2 b I owe to the kindness of Dr. L. H. Jeffery.

10 [-----^{14(?)}-----παρέδ]ομεν ναυ[-----^{9(?)}-----]
 [-----^{8(?)}-----ἐπὶ Ἀλεχσίο ἄρχον]τος [-----^{9(?)}-----]

Unfortunately there is no definite clue to the position of this piece in the stele, but it seems quite possible that the vertical fracture on the left is a continuation of that in our new piece which contains the last 18 letters in each line. If so, line 5 should be restored as reading [-----ἐπὶ Καλ]λίο ἄρχοντο[ς ἈθENAίο], with *ις* carried over to the next line; but this must be considered as doubtful. Moreover, the relationship of the two fragments to one another is equally uncertain. The presence of the remains of a bronze peg at the top of the new fragment shows that it was surmounted by another block, presumably inscribed, but it does not follow that the old fragment must belong to this block, and it may equally well have belonged somewhere in the lower half of the same block as our new fragment. In any case, there is no indication of a possible join or of the exact amount missing, on this view, between the two pieces.

There is, however, one factor which might be decisive, namely, that the letters in the last two lines of Broneer's piece are appreciably more wide-spread than in the first nine lines, and the presence of the words [παρέδ]ομεν and [ἐπὶ ----- ἄρχον]τος, which seems reasonably certain, might point to this being the final entry of the whole stele, recording therefore the conveyance of all the contents inventoried above to some new board. On the assumption that this is, on the whole, the more likely view of the relationship of these two fragments, the new, upper, one may be cited as *a* and the other as *b*, to simplify further reference, now that we must consider the chronological problems involved. Prior to the discovery of *a* it was naturally impossible to decide which of the two archons named Kallias, who held office in 412/1 and 406/5 respectively, was mentioned in line 5 of *b*, but with the arrangement now proposed he must be the later of the two and the Kallias in line 15 of *a* must be the earlier one. This will imply that the entries contained in lines 1-14 of *a* presumably refer to the year of Kleokritos (413/2), and that lines 1-4 of *b* are the remains of the record of the year of Antigenes, predecessor of Kallias II. Consequently, the expected records of the intervening years 411/0 to 408/7 have perished with the loss of the central portion of the stele.

Before we turn to the details of the inventory we may note that there is no trace of the use of the Ionic script, and that the eta-sign is inserted before aspirated vowels in lines 3, 9, 10 (uncertain), and 17 of *a*, but omitted from ἰδρῖαι in line 7. The number of letters in each line is indicated by the obvious restoration in line 1 of *a*, namely, [ἐπὶ ----- ἄρχοντος Ἀθε]ναίοις νεοκόροι Ἀκε, giving 31 letters without the archon's name, and by inserting Κλεοκρίτο, as the name of the predecessor of Kallias I, we obtain 40 letters.

In lines 1-2, of the names of the Neokoroi who drew up this inventory only

Χαιρέλεος Κικυννεύς is certain. The name is rare, and it seems possible that he should be identified with the man of this name mentioned by Xenophon as one of the Thirty.¹³ The first name 'Ακε -- raises a difficulty,¹⁴ for these letters are separated by 21 spaces from the first letter of Chaireleos' name, and it is not easy to suggest a name and demotic which together total 24 letters. Alternately, the insertion of two names and demotics in 24 spaces would imply exceptionally short names in both cases, a dilemma which must be further examined in the light of the names of the Neokoroi found below in lines 16-17. In any case the number of the Neokoroi seems to have been not less than three nor more than four, which certainly calls for comment. With the exception of Didyma no other Greek sanctuary seems to have had more than a single official bearing this title; and no evidence exists, to my knowledge, of a body of Neokoroi with responsibilities for more than one sanctuary. Moreover, this appears to be the first occurrence of the title in an Attic inscription earlier than the year of Eukleides.¹⁵

There are faint traces, apparently of chi, at the end of line 2, presumably the beginning of the name of a colleague of Chaireleos, whose name and demotic occupied 15 spaces in all before the words [*hierà skeú*]ε τὸ Ποσειδῶνος which we may safely restore in the light of line 17. In line 4, after the letters ππίο, completing Poseidon's title, we have 19 spaces before *θερμαντέριον*, in which we require a verb whose subject is the names of the Neokoroi. Here *παρέλαβον* and *παρελάβομεν* seem obvious alternatives, leaving either eight or ten spaces to fill; and as it seems preferable to regard *θερμαντέριον* as an adjective I would suggest that the substantive required is *χαλκίον*, preceded by *παρελάβομεν*, with a vacant space separating the two words.¹⁶ The following item, ἐχίν[ος], is more likely to be a metal vessel than a clay cooking pot, but we cannot tell whether this object was a pot or a jug-like vessel.¹⁷

¹³ *Hellenica*, II, 3, 2 (*P.A.*, 15137). His phyle was Akamantis; Kirchner suggested an identification with *Χαιρέλεως Χαιρέον Ἀγνούσιος* (*P.A.*, 15138).

¹⁴ Meritt informs me that a latex squeeze definitely shows ΑΚΕ.

¹⁵ Aristotle, *Politics*, VIII, 1322b, does not mention Neokoroi. The only persons besides the priesthood whom he mentions are *ιεροποιοί*, *ναοφύλακες*, and *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων*; but Plato alludes to them (*Laws*, 759a, 953a), and Pollux, in his long list of *οἱ τῶν θεῶν θεραπευταί* (I, 14), mentions them next after *ιερείς*. For Neokoroi (number unknown) at Didyma, cf. Sterling Dow, *T.A.P.A.*, XCI, 1960, pp. 398-405, quoting the inscriptions of *Didyma*, II, Berlin, 1958, Nos. 392-401 (A. Rehm and R. Harder).

¹⁶ Cf. *χαλκία θερμαντήρι[α]* in *I.G.*, II², 1416, line 2, and *χαλκίον θερμα[ντήριον]* in *I.G.*, II², 1641, C, line 37, at Delos. Pollux (X, 66) cites such vessels as used to warm water for diluting wine, and also includes *χαλκίον* among the *σκεύη* of the *βαλανείον* (X, 63). See also Amyx, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 218-219.

¹⁷ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1424a, line 263 (p. 803), in the Chalkotheke, and *I.G.*, II², 1541, line 16, at Eleusis. In Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 53, 2 & 3, *ἐχίνοι* are the vessels used for the insertion of *γραμματεία* in cases of arbitration. See also J. E. Sandys's commentary on this passage for confirmatory extracts from Demosthenes, Harpokration, and others. For *ἐχίνος* as a clay cooking pot, cf. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1432 (but "jug" in Rogers's translation).

The first entry in line 5 is no doubt to be restored as [κεκρυ]φαλείο :||:; as the only possible alternative [ἄσ]φαλείο as an epithet of Poseidon must be ruled out, involving in any case an impossible word order, though it now appears that the cult of Poseidon with this title can be claimed for Athens as well as for Sparta.¹⁸ It seems preferable to regard the word as the nominative of the dual, rather than as genitive singular (implying two objects belonging to a single κεκρυφαλείον), and still more definitely to identify them as the head-bands of a bridle rather than as feminine head-dresses, although κεκρύφαλος is the more usual word in the former sense.¹⁹ They are followed by an uncertain number of χερώνιπτρα, for which we may compare *I.G.*, II², 1416, line 7, and from the 17th letter of line 6 onwards we must restore [ἠνπόστα]τον κρατῆρος σιδερό[ν]; whether the missing letters on the left included the entry of a krater (or more than one?) is unknown.

Line 7 ends with ποδ, no doubt ποδ[ανιπτέρ (or -ἔρες)], but the 23rd letter (before ἰδρίαί) is doubtful. We might expect it to have been Η, aspirating the upsilon of ἰδρίαί, but Meritt read it as a doubtful sigma, and I think it may equally well be the triple punctuation-sign found throughout our text, and am sure that it could not have been Η. I have not shown it in the transcript above. The second half of line 8 is left blank, and there is no indication whether any entry followed ποδ[ανιπτέρ (or -ἔρες)],²⁰ but in either case this arrangement must mark merely the end of a group of objects and not the end of the year's list.

In the second group, beginning with line 9, we can do little to restore the letters lost from the left-hand half of the text. Whilst the first entry is clearly to be restored as [β]ουδόροι :ΔΔ|||:; we cannot be certain whether the word is a noun or an adjective, as it is found in each capacity,²¹ but it presumably means here instruments for skinning the flesh of sacrificed victims. If it is an adjective I cannot suggest a suitable masculine equivalent to μάχαιρα—for the gender is clearly indicated by the following entry *ἕτεροι*—, but ὀβελοί and ὀβελίσκοι are conceivable alternatives, though admittedly βουπόροι would be a more appropriate epithet for spits and has classical and epigraphical parallels.²² The diminutive form would leave us with twelve available spaces before it; there would be fifteen if we prefer to restore ὀβελοί. If we regard

¹⁸ Pausanias, III, 11, 9, for Sparta. For Athens see lines 39-40 of the Themistokles decree, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 200, and the comments on Poseidon Asphaleios as protector of sailors by D. M. Lewis, *Class. Quart.*, XI, 1961, p. 65.

¹⁹ As in *I.G.*, II², 1388 B, line 74: ἵππικὸς κεκρύφαλος, ἐχήνια, Ξενοτίμος Καρκίνου ἀνέθηκε, substantially repeated in *I.G.*, II², 1400 lines 61-62, 1447 lines 28-29, and 1451 lines 27-28; cf. also Pollux, X, 55.

²⁰ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1424a, line 258 (p. 803).

²¹ As a noun, Babrius, *Fabulae*, 97, 7; as an epithet, Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 502, applied to the piercing wintry days of *Ἀθηναίων*.

²² See Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon*, s.v., for references to Herodotos, Xenophon, and Euripides. In an inscription, cf. *Insc. Délos*, 313 i, lines 15, 17, and comments by M. N. Tod, *Numismatic Chronicle*, XV, 1955, pp. 125-126.

[β]ουδόροι as a substantive, this would give twenty-one spaces, in which we could in fact restore τάδε σιδερά παρελάβομεν, but nevertheless I feel that the word is more likely to be the epithet.

In line 10 the item missing before κνάθειον comprised not less than two objects, as the single hasta surviving from the number is not placed centrally but to the right of the space available; but whether two, four, seven, or some even higher number ending with II stood here remains uncertain. The κνάθειον, a rare variant for κνάθιον, a diminutive of κνάθος used *metri gratia* by Nikander,²³ is, in view of the context, no doubt a bronze cup, perhaps used for dipping. It is not quite clear from the squeeze or photograph whether this was followed by :Ι: (as copied by Meritt) or by :Η, the aspirate as the first letter of *hálυσις*, but since other single objects are not followed by the single numeral sign I prefer to read :hálυσις, followed perhaps by ἀπ[εαγυῖα], though ἀπ[ὸ ---] is equally possible.

For the first three letters of line 11, εχς, with no punctuation following, I can offer no satisfactory restoration. They can hardly be a numeral, seeing that "six" is represented in the next line by ΠΙ, and the absence of punctuation suggests that it is the end of a noun, with *τυρόκνεστις* treated as an adjective; but what single object, ending presumably in -ηξ, and belonging to table furniture or sacrificial or culinary utensils, was recorded here, I cannot guess. No such word is to be found in the invaluable lists of table equipment and τὰ τοῦ μαγείρου σκεύη given by Pollux,²⁴ and in the few allusions to grating cheese in literature a knife seems to have been the normal utensil. (Is it possible that *μύρμηξ* might have been used to mean a cheese-grater with small raised spikes, like those in modern use? The word is quoted by Pollux as meaning a kind of spiked boxing-glove).²⁵

After an unknown number of μάχα[ιραι] and some other object(s) occupying the first 22 letters of line 12, χσύλινα presumably introduces a group of wooden objects. After the six tables we have faint, but fairly certain, traces of epsilon as the beginning of the next item, to which we have no further clue; and in line 13 [---]ρον ο[ὐ]χ ὑγιέ[s] offers a choice of [hété]ρον, [μικ]ρόν, or perhaps a noun. The last entry in this line was no doubt another wooden table (or more than one?).

After a line left completely or partly blank we come to the record of the following year, that of Kallias of 412/1 B.C., but it is by no means clear how we should restore the first half of the line, as the formula clearly differs from that of line 1, with 20 letters to be restored before [ἐπ]ὶ Καλλίῳ ἀ[ρχο]ντος. Somewhere in the first two lines we should require the words *νεοκόροι* and *παρέλαβον* or some similar verb with *νεοκόροι* as the subject. Our problem is further complicated by our uncertainty as to the nature of the following list. Does it in fact repeat the contents of lines 3-12 or

²³ *Theriaca*, 591.

²⁴ X, 80-114.

²⁵ III, 150.

only record the accessions of the year of Kallias? Any conjectures may profitably be postponed until we study the names of the Neokoroi in the light of lines 7-8 of fragment *b*.

In line 17, after the name of the last Neokoros, [— —]ς Ἀχαρνε[ύς], there is no doubt about [h]ιερά σκεύ[ε], but it is not certain if the objects were described as belonging to Poseidon, as in line 3 above, since any such restoration must take into account the surviving letters of line 18. As a personal name ending in -νικ[ος] cannot possibly have stood here, a reasonable suggestion is [χέρ]νικ[β]ος, perhaps followed by [χ]α[λκόν], and preceded by the name of a vessel to hold the lustral water, an elaborate periphrasis for *χερνυβείον*. On this view there would not be room for Ποσειδόνος τὸ λιππίο in the earlier part of the line, but if we insert in the 19 spaces available before [χέρ]νικ[β]ος the final epsilon of σκεύ[ε], followed by τὸ Ποσειδόνος, omitting the title, we shall have six spaces free for the name of the requisite vessel, which I cannot supply with certainty. In the rest of this line nothing survives except possible traces of the top of mu as the 37th letter; and in line 18, beginning with the 23rd letter, are apparently traces of τρ.χρρ, of which I can make nothing.

In the light of our study of *a*, we now turn to *b* with a fuller understanding. It may be assumed, in the first place, that the length of the first nine lines, except 4 and perhaps 9, was 40 letters, as on *a*, but the wider spacing of the last two, where seven letters occupy the space of eight in the lines above, indicates a shorter line, perhaps of 35 letters only. As to its position in relation to the edges of the stele, the only possible clue, as was suggested above, is the vertical split on the left, which might be a continuation of that on the left edge of *a*, with the result that there were 22 letters missing on the left before lines 3-9; thus, in lines 5/6 we should restore [—^{16(?)} — — — ἐπὶ Καλ]λίῳ ἄρχοντο[ς Ἀθηναί]ος]. It is at any rate certain that this line could not have begun with [ἐπὶ Καλ]λίῳ, as in line 1 of *a*, as this would make line 10 begin with [παρέδ]ομεν, without a subject for the verb and without an object (e.g., τάδε); and in view of the uncertainty of the restoration it would be unwise to suggest that it might be equated with line 15 of *a*, where there are 20 letters missing before [ἐπὶ] Καλλίῳ.

Lines 1 and 2 are most obscure: in the former, if the reading is certain, we have either an aorist third person plural (e.g., [παρέδοσ]αν) or an accusative singular (e.g., [τράπεζ]αν), followed by πεισ which I cannot explain; and in line 2, if -υς is the ending of a demotic in -εύς, Μελαν- is presumably from a personal name, as μελαν[οδόχον], an ink-pot, seems improbable in an inventory of this type.

In line 3, after [— — — χ]αλκίον we have κρεε, apparently indicating an intrusive Ionic form of κρεάγρα, as no similar compound beginning with κρη- seems to be known. In line 4 [οὐχ ὕγι]ές (masculine or neuter) is highly probable.

I have no satisfactory restoration to offer in line 5 for the 16 letters (assuming the calculation to be valid) which preceded [ἐπὶ Καλ]λίῳ, but it must be noted that the

list of items following the demotic [Ἄχα]ρνεύς in line 9 occupy less than two lines in all, which definitely suggests that they are the accessions of this year. One might be tempted to fill the gap with ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο, the formula used for the year's accessions in the *Traditiones* of the treasurers of Athena,²⁶ but it seems almost impossible to link such a form of wording with the words [π]αρά Φαῦλλο in the next line and with the names of the Neokoroi in the nominative in the two lines following. Another possibility, also filling 16 spaces, would be τὰδε τὰ ἱερὰ σκεύε, and if we continued with [ἐπὶ Καλ]λίῳ ἄρχοντο[s Ἶθυναίῳ], there would be exactly room to insert νεοκόροι παρελάβομεν before [π]αρά Φαῦλλο. This is more tempting than the first suggestion, but rests on two rather frail assumptions, namely, that Ἶθυναίῳ was in fact inserted after ἄρχοντο[s] (as in lines 1 and 15 of *a*) and that the word νεοκόροι could be separated from the names of Chaireleos and his colleagues by the words [π]αρά Φαῦλλο, presumably followed by his demotic. And in view of the further difficulty that neither of these suggestions would leave room for the insertion of Ποσειδῶνος, it seems more prudent to leave the first half of these two lines unrestored.

In line 6 we meet a formula not found in the corresponding passages of *a*: [π]αρά Φαῦλλο. It seems reasonable to suggest the demotic Ἰαχερδοσίῳ, and to identify Phayllos with the man who was active with Rhinon of Paiania in restoring the Democracy in 403 B.C.²⁷ But in what capacity he is mentioned here is far from certain. If he was the senior member of the Neokoroi of the previous year, he should presumably have handed over all the ἱερὰ σκεύε recorded in *a*, and would not have been concerned with the accessions of the following year. May we then conclude that he appears here as handing over, as implied by the preposition [π]αρά, some objects from another source, perhaps another sanctuary?

In line 7 we meet again [Χαι]ρέλεος Κικ[υ]ννεύς], whose demotic was not recognized by Broneer, as he thought that the damaged kappa might be beta, and suggested κίβ[σος]. Before his name we have 19 spaces to fill, assuming that the previous line ended with Ἰαχερδοσίῳ, but here again there is no certain solution. In the next line, after an interval of 22 spaces, the demotic [Ἄχα]ρνεύς points to the same colleague as we have in line 17 of *a*, of whose name only the final sigma has survived; and including this letter there are here also 22 spaces to fill after the demotic of Chaireleos, a clear indication that the colleague whose name is completely lost was the same man in both cases. After [Ἄχα]ρνεύς the letters λεβ- can only belong to λέβ[ες] (singular or plural?), and in line 9 we have a wide choice among diminutives ending in -ίσκος. Broneer's suggestion [χορμ]ίσκον seems inappropriate here, as meaning a feminine ornament, and among more likely restorations [τριποδ]ίσκον and [ὀβελ]ίσκον are equally tempting. If this item is in the accusative case, in contrast to

²⁶ *I.G.*, I², 233 ff. (*passim*), but in *I.G.*, I², 232, ἐπέτεια ἐγένετο (cf. *J.H.S.*, XLVIII, 1928, pp. 161 and 164 with note 4).

²⁷ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 38, 3 (cf. *P.A.*, 14125).

the nominative in lines 7, etc., of *a*, a single *τριποδίσκος* seems preferable to a single *ὀβελίσκος*; but if we connect it with the following letters *δεσ-* we may reasonably restore [*ὀβελ*]ίσκον *δέσ* [μ*ε*], meaning "a bundle of spits."²⁸

After an interval equal in height to one and a half lines we have finally [---] *ομεν ναυ* [---] in rather larger letters, spaced so that seven occupy the space of eight in the preceding lines, and in the last line we have *τος* directly below *ναυ*. Calculating that these two lines contained 35 letters each we might restore [---¹⁴(?)---] *παρέδ*]ομεν *ναυ* [---⁹(?)---] and [---⁸(?)--- *ἐπὶ Ἀλεχσίου ἄρχον*]τος [---⁹(?)---], but I have no satisfactory suggestions for the missing letters. If *ναυ-* was not a proper name it may have been a common noun like *ναυ*[*πεγοῖς*]. In normal circumstances this would seem to imply an unlikely transaction, but it does not seem impossible that in the final months of the Peloponnesian War there was an urgent demand for metal objects, of bronze and iron, from the builders in the dockyards. Moreover, the restoration *ναυ*[*πεγοῖς ἐκ τῷ νεορίῳ*], for which compare *I.G.*, I², 74, line 31 ([*hoi ναυπ*]εγοῖ *hoi ἐκ τῷ νεορίῳ*), would suitably fill the gap if we assume a vacant space after *ἐκ* at the end of line 10.

In studying the names of the Neokoroi it becomes clear that they were four in number and that Chaireleos was third of four in lines 1-3 of *a*, second of four in lines 16-17 of *a*, and second of four in lines 7-8 of *b*. The Neokoros from Acharnai was apparently the same in line 17 of *a* and in line 8 of *b*. His predecessors in both instances had names of equal length and may well have been identical, but whether either or both of them should be identified with *Χ*[---] of lines 1-2 of *a* it is impossible to say. In the light of our study there seems also little doubt that from line 14 of *a* onwards the inventory contains accessions dated by the years following Kleokritos (413/2), without repeating the contents of lines 1-13.

3 (Plate 56). Small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides and behind, with an uninscribed space below as though from near the foot of a stele, found on April 14, 1938, in a context of the second to third century after Christ in a brick drain south of the Eleusinion (U 22:1).

Height, 0.083 m.; width, 0.033 m.; thickness, 0.024 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m. (average).

Inv. No. I 5390.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[--- *σταθ*]μογ [---]
 [--- *σταθμὸν*] τοῦ [το ---]
 [-----]ΔΔΔ[-----]

²⁸ I know of no epigraphical parallel for *δέσμη* in this sense; but for the alternative, *δραχμή* (with or without *ὀβελῶν*) as a handful of spits, cf. M. N. Tod, *Numismatic Chronicle*, XX, 1960, p. 1, and the example of *ὀβελίσκων δραχμαί* (*sic*) in an inscription from Thespiiai quoted by Tod (*ibid.*, note 5), who also notes the association with *λέβητες*.

The size and spacing of the letters confirm the impression afforded by the contents, as far as they may be inferred from lines 2-3, that this fragment belongs almost certainly to one of the inventories drawn up by the Treasurers of Athena during the last third of the fifth century. The fact that the lower half is uninscribed, the vacant surface measuring 0.05 m. in height, indicates that it must belong to the end of a year's inventory, and presumably to the last of the (four?) lists inscribed on this face of the stele.

I cannot find that this piece could be joined, or even associated, with any of the surviving lists of this class, but the fact that we have in the last line an object weighing $-\Delta\Delta\Delta-$ drachmai leads to a probable identification. After a process of elimination the most likely choice seems to be *ποτέριον ἀργυρῶν σταθμῶν τούτο ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ*, which is found in the Pronaos list for 418/7 B.C. as item No. 23, immediately before the *ἐπέτεια* added in that year. As, moreover, this is the first list of a quadrennium, the list for 419/8 must have come at the foot of a stele which has not survived and have ended with this silver *ποτέριον*. When we note also that in the later list the corresponding three lines have approximately (though not exactly) the same relationship, the coincidence is surely significant; there must have been a slight irregularity in the line-lengths of our fragment, to account for the differences in the vertical alignment between the two passages,²⁹ and there can have been no *ἐπέτεια* in 419/8. I transcribe the two texts side by side to show the comparison:

<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 244	Inv. No. I 5390
σ τ α θ μ ὀ ν τ ο ὔ τ ο ν	σ τ α θ] μ ὀ ν [τ ο ὔ τ ο ν
σ τ α θ μ ὀ ν τ ο ὔ τ ο Δ	θ μ ὀ ν] τ ο ὔ [τ ο Δ Δ Δ Δ
ὀ ν τ ο ὔ τ ο Δ Δ Δ Γ Γ Γ	τ ο ὔ τ ο] Δ Δ Δ [Γ Γ Γ Γ

As a result of setting out in full the presumed contents of the list for 419/8, and supplying the introductory formulae from the Hekatompedon-list for this year (*I.G.*, I², 267), which need not be repeated here, I found that our new fragment, if rightly identified, would come from lines 15-17 of this year's record for the Pronaos, with the word *τού[το]* of the second line forming the 34th to 38th letters of line 16. It remains to transcribe these three lines so as to incorporate these suggestions and, I hope, to confirm my identification of this fragment:

15 [ύτον ΗΗ[□]ΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ· φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ, σταθ]μῶν [τούτον ΗΗΗΗΔΓΓΓ·
ἀργυρίς, σταθμῶ]

²⁹ I assume that the normal line-length of the stele to which this piece belongs was 62 letters, but that line 15 (= line 1 of our fragment) had 63 letters and line 16 only 60. In my provisional reconstruction of the whole list for this year I reckoned that lines 3, 8, and 10 had 61 letters each, but there is a slight margin for error over the spacing of the obol-signs. It seems pertinent to note that in *I.G.*, I², 244, the list of the following year, we find lines of 60, 61, and 62 letters.

- 16 [ν ταύτες ΗΔΗ· ποτέριον ἀργυρῶν, σταθμὸν] τοῦ[το ΔΔΔΔΓΗΗ·
ἀργυρίς, σταθμὸν τ]
- 17 [αύτες ΒΔ· ποτέριον ἀργυρῶν, σταθμὸν τούτο] ΔΔΔ[ΓΗΗΗ]. [*vacat*]

4 (Plate 56). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the back and part of the left edge preserved, found on May 26, 1937, in a Byzantine context in a pithos on the north slope of the Acropolis east of the Late Roman Fortification (U 25).

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. (original).

Height of letters in lines 1-2, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 4923.

The inscription is stoichedon, with a square chequer pattern in which the units measure 0.013 m.

fin. saec. V a.

ν αη[-----]

ν φερο[-----]

ν ΔΔΞΞΞ ήέ[κτ ---]

vacat

This does not appear to be related to any financial document published in *I.G.*, I², and its nature is quite uncertain. The shape of the fractured edges shows that the original width may have been very much more than that of the surviving portion of the inscribed face. Only one certain letter is preserved in line 1; in line 2 we have a choice between some form of the verb *φέρειν*, simple or compound, and some case of the uncommon Attic name *Εὐφηρος* (cf. *P.A.*, 6043-6045). In the latter event, a possible identification would be with Eupheros, father of that Prepis who was secretary of the Boule in 421/0 (*I.G.*, I², 81); and he may well have been the same man who contributed towards the cost of the Parthenon in 438/7 (*I.G.*, I², 348, line 81). But here again it is possible that the reference is to the son, [*Εὐ*] *φέρο* being a patronymic. In line 3 the numeral-signs are compressed so that three occupy approximately the space of two letters in the line above, and following the sum of 23 (or more?) staters we may confidently restore either, *ήέ[κτε]* or *ήέ[κται]*. The mention of this currency, together with the crowding of the symbols in line 3, suggests a date towards the end of the fifth century, which would suit better the suggestion that the son of Eupheros is the man mentioned above, and not the father, if it is assumed that we have a proper name in line 2.

5 (Plate 56). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides and at the back, found on March 31, 1938, in a Byzantine context southeast of the Market Square over the Panathenaic Way (S 17).

Height, 0.078 m.; width, 0.057 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.—0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5363.

The inscription is stoichedon, with a chequer pattern in which four lines measure 0.045 m. and four rows 0.039 m.

[. . ὑπόξ]υλο[- - - - -]
 [...]αι ΠΙΙΙ[- - - - -]
 [...] ἐπιχρυσ[σ - - - - -]
 [. χρ]υσος ἄρ[- - - - -]
 5 [...]ΔΔΔΙ[- - - - -]
 [...]ΠΗΙΖ[- - - - -]

Little can be made of this fragment at first sight, although the contents as far as they are intelligible suggest an attribution to one of the treasure-records of Athena (and the Other Gods?). The lettering points to a date probably in the first two decades of the fourth century B.C., and in fact definitely resembles that of *I.G.*, II², 1400 (a Hekatompedon-list of ca. 394/3), but it cannot belong to that stele as it lacks the punctuation marks (:) which usually precede the weights recorded there. Moreover, no object recorded in the Hekatompedon-lists is described as ὑπόξυλος (or -ον), which is the obvious restoration in line 1; but we do find this epithet used to describe a golden basket and two silver thymiateria in the Opisthodomos, a clue to be borne in mind.

In line 2 there seem to be only two possible choices from among known entries in the lists, where the number of objects ending in -αι is eight or nine, namely, χρυσίδες φιάλαι ὀκτώ, weighing 1405 drachmai, 3 obols, added to the contents of the Opisthodomos soon after 398/7, and ξιφομάχαιραι ΠΙΙΙ, which appear in the inventories of the Parthenon from 434/3 onwards, as the 20th item; they appear again early in the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 1380, line 8), and were still in existence at any rate as late as 367/6 (*I.G.*, II², 1428, line 167), where they are recorded as ἐκ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος. These may, I feel sure, be ruled out, as they are never associated elsewhere with objects of precious metal, and there is no need to assume a temporary disturbance of the regular order of recording the unweighed objects in or from the Parthenon, merely to fit a hypothetical restoration of the number ΠΙΙΙ[Ι]. On the other hand, if we accept the possible identity with the eight χρυσίδες φιάλαι in the Opisthodomos, we find that they are immediately followed in that list (*I.G.*, II², 1396) by a θυμιατήριον ἀργυρῶν ὑπόξυλον, ἵνα ἡ Νίκη, weighing 1448 drachmai, and I suggest that this is the object that accounts most naturally for the epithet [ὑπόξ]υλο- in line 1, for such minor transpositions in the order of these items need cause no surprise.

No object described as ἐπίχρυσος (cf. line 3) is known in *I.G.*, II², 1396, or in any other Opisthodomos list, but a tempting clue to the restoration of this line and

the next is to be found in the Parthenon-lists of the early fourth century. In these we have two items which, after initial separation, come to be entered successively, namely, *συβήνη ἐλεφαντίνη ἢ παρὰ Μηθυμαίων ἐπίχρυσος* and *ἀκινάκης ἐπίχρυσος* (or occasionally *χρυσός*), between which we must choose later for restoring the object indicated by *ἐπίχρυ[σος]* in line 3; and a no less welcome clue is to be found in the fact that the former of these two votives is immediately preceded in two lists by a twisted gold ring of Artemis Brauronia, *δακτύλιος στρεπτὸς χρυσὸς Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας, σταθμὸν ΗΙΙΙΙ*. This supplies a convincing restoration for the puzzling *[- - - χρ]υσος ἀρ[- - -]* in line 4, and there is no need to pursue, or even suggest, such alternatives as might tempt one to restore *ἀρ[ιθμός]* or *ἀρ[ιστέλον]*.

In line 5 the hasta following the third delta is placed centrally, indicating that it could not belong to pi but must be a single unit-sign in either a number or a weight, i.e., either 31 (or more) objects or 30 drachmai, 1 obol (or more). For the former an attractive possibility would be *κυμβία λεία χρυσᾶ ΔΔΔΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΔΔΔΔΗΗΗ*, familiar from the Parthenon-lists *I.G.*, II², 1375 lines 13-15, 1377 lines 19-20, and 1394 lines 2-3.

In line 6 I have no suggestion to offer for the item of which the final symbols of the weight are 7 drachmai, 1½ obols. The symbol for five drachmai seems to be partially preserved at the very edge of the stone before the first drachma-sign.

Summing up these rather speculative suggestions, one might suppose that the items in lines 1-2 had been in the Opisthodomos, and those in lines 3-5 in the Parthenon, with no clue to the nature or location of the uncertain item in line 6. It looks, therefore, as if this list should belong to a combined inventory of the objects in these two repositories, which on the evidence of the writing (for what it is worth) should presumably be dated before 385/4 when their contents were combined in one list with those of the Hekatompedon (*I.G.*, II², 1407 + 1414).³⁰ Admittedly we have no other direct evidence for such a preliminary concentration, but it may seem a reasonable step for the Treasurers to have taken if there were no substantial additions being made to the contents of the Opisthodomos or the Parthenon in the few years before 385/4. This might gain support from the fact that we have, apparently, only one fragment of a Parthenon-list later than 395/4 and only two from the Opisthodomos later than 398/7, in contrast with the Hekatompedon, for which the surviving stelai or fragments offer a continuous series down to 390/89 inclusive.³¹

A restoration, incorporating these suggestions, is here offered on the basis of a line-length of 69 letters:

³⁰ *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I, 1940, pp. 377-394.

³¹ Cf. West-Woodward, *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, pp. 70-73. Of the Parthenon-lists *I.G.*, II², 1380 seems likely to be later than 395/4 B.C. (unless possibly it belongs to 396/5). Of the Opisthodomos-lists, *I.G.*, II², 1396 and 1397 both have four entries following the last one recorded in *I.G.*, II², 1378 + 1398 (398/7 B.C.), though not in the same order.

paullo ante a. 385/4 *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 69

[. θυματήριον ἀργυρῶν ὑπόξ]υλο[ν ἵνα ἡ Νίκη, σταθμὸν ΧΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΗΗ·
χρυσίδες φιάλαι]

[τῆς θεῆς, πρῶτος ῥυμός, φιάλ]αι Π|||, [σταθμὸν ΧΗΗΗΗΠ|||· συβήνη
ἐλεφαντίνη ἢ παρὰ Μηθυμνα]

[ἰων ἐπίχρυσος· ἀκινάκης] ἐπίχρυ[σος ἄστατος· -----³³-----]

[. δακτύλιος στρεπτὸς χρ]υσοῦς Ἄρ[τέμιδος Βραυρωνίας, σταθμὸν
Η||| Η· -----¹⁸-----]

5 [...⁷... κυμβία λεία χρυσᾶ]ΔΔΔΙ[|Η, σταθμὸν τούτων ΔΔΔΔΗΗΗ·
-----²¹-----]
[-----²²-----]ΠΗΗΙ[· [-----⁴⁴-----].

6 (Plate 56). Small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides and behind, found on July 28, 1937, on the north slope of the Acropolis, in a loose fill behind the east wall of the basin of Klepsydra (T 27).

Height, 0.093 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.037 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.—0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 4996.

The inscription is stoichedon, with a chequer pattern in which four lines measure 0.048 m. and four rows 0.035 m.

a. 384/3—376/5 *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[— . . .]^v Δ [— — — — —]

[— . . . ἐ]πιχρυ[σ — — — —]

[— . . .]|||^vδ [— — — — —]

[— . . . ἰο]ν ἐπίτ[ηκτον? — —]

5 [— . . . χ]ρυσος [— — — — —]

[— . . .]ων χρ[υσ — — — —]

[— . . .]ΗΗ [— — — — —]

This fragment seems to belong to the inventories of the Treasurers of Athena, but cannot be identified as duplicating any known list. Its date, in view of the writing, seems to be rather later than that implied for No. 5 (e.g., a smaller chi and a tallish narrow omega, very similar to those of the stele *I.G.*, II², 1421 + 1423 + 1424 of 374/3 B.C.). Clearly it could not belong to this latter stele, which records all weights in the left margin of each column, whilst on this fragment they appear in the text (cf. lines 3 and 7), proving that it could not come from a stele arranged in columns and is therefore presumably earlier than 374/3.

It is noteworthy that in line 3 the obol signs are followed by an uninscribed space, with no punctuation, and so it is doubtful whether the uninscribed space before the

delta in line 1 indicates the beginning of a weight or of a word which was preceded by a weight. In lines 2 and 4 the words *ἐπίχρυσος* and *ἐπίτηκτος* are of such common occurrence, especially in the earlier columnar lists, that it is not worth while to suggest restorations. In line 3, however, the presence of an object with a weight ending in five obols gives a more restricted choice. We may, for instance, rule out as inappropriate to the context the crown dedicated by Lysander, weighing 66 drachmai, 5 obols (*I.G.*, II², 1388, lines 31-33), and the two crowns dedicated in 370/69 (*I.G.*, II², 1425, lines 124-125), weighing respectively 70 drachmai, 5 obols, and 66 drachmai, 5 obols. This still leaves us with a possible choice between the gold *εἰλικτήρες* of Artemis Brauronia, weighing 3 drachmai, 5 obols (*I.G.*, II², 1425, lines 39-40), and the *[φι]άλη χαλ[κο]κρὰς βαρβαρική*, dedicated by Kleon, weighing 167 drachmai, 5 obols (*I.G.*, II², 1425, lines 91-92); but since neither of these is followed, either in this or in any other list where they occur, by an object beginning with delta, we are left without a clue. For this following word *δοκιμείον* (or *δοκιμεία*) is perhaps more likely than *δακτύλιος*. It is worth noting, though it may be merely a coincidence, that the *εἰλικτήρες* mentioned above follow, after one intervening item, the entry of 46 *δοκιμεία λείαι χρυσαί*, weighing 89 drachmai, 3 obols (*I.G.*, II², 1425, lines 35-36), but it would be unwise to base any restoration on this frail evidence.³²

In line 6 *[χλιδ]ῶν χρ[υσία ἔχων]* is a possible restoration, and this bracelet might be identical with one or other of these objects transferred from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron to the Opisthodomos, but recorded in the Hekatompedon-list of 398/7 (*I.G.*, II², 1388, lines 85 and 93). In this case it would be strange that it had not been transferred to the custody of the Treasurers of the Other Gods when that board was reconstituted in 385/4; and in view of this difficulty it seems preferable to seek an alternative restoration, namely, *[δακτύλιος ἀπείρ]ων χρ[υσός, ὃν Πλάθτις Διγνήτης ἀνέθηκε, σταθμὸν τοῦτο: ΙϚ:*, found in the same Hekatompedon-list in lines 39-40. However, as this ring does not reappear in the columnar lists from 374/3 onwards, we cannot tell at what date it disappeared.

In view of these many uncertainties, it is safest to conclude that if our fragment does in fact belong to one of the inventories drawn up by the Treasurers of Athena it is most likely to belong to some year between 384/3 and 376/5 not occupied by *I.G.*, II², 1412, 1413, 1415.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS BRAURONIA³³

This group includes Nos. 7-10. It seems appropriate to publish here, together with three fragments of inventories drawn up by the Epistatai of the Brauroneion, a

³² For the conclusions to be drawn from the (first?) appearance of a group of *δοκιμεία* in *I.G.*, II², 1415, lines 10-14 (375/4 B.C.?), see W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 118-119, and note 1, *ad fin.*

³³ I wish to acknowledge here my indebtedness to Dr. Tullia Rönne of Stockholm for much

stele on which their name appears in the first line (No. 7). Unfortunately, owing to its worn surface, little can be deciphered after the surviving letters in line 1.

7 (Plate 57). Large fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on March 1, 1937, in a modern retaining wall west of the Stoa of Attalos (P 11-12).

Height, 0.396 m.; width, 0.162 m.; thickness, 0.91 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4575.

The top and back are preserved, with a raised band 0.057 m. high at the top of the face; there is no clue to the original width of the stele. The letters in the later lines seem to slope down slightly to the right.

ante med. saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-- ἐπι]στάται Βρα[υρωνόθεν? -----]

[-- ...⁷...] Ἰφι[-----]

3 [-- ...⁶...] Χολ[-----]

ca. 19 lines quite illegible or with traces only

[---¹⁴.....]ει[-----]

[---¹⁰.....]α[.]σθαι [-----]

25 [---¹⁴.....]αφ[-----]

The height of the letters (0.007 m.) indicates that this is not an inventory of the normal Brauronian type, and, as the few letters faintly discernible in the later lines are of the same size and spacing as those in lines 1-3, there can be no question of the opening lines being a heading in larger script than the rest of the text. It looks as if the names and demotics of the Epistatai of the Brauroneion occupied lines 2 and 3, at least, as well as, perhaps, part of line 1. As this stele is clearly not an inventory, and, equally clearly, exhibits none of the regular formulae of a decree in the opening lines, it may well be a list of regulations drawn up by the Epistatai setting forth their duties and responsibilities. This is, at least, one possible interpretation.

8 (Plate 57). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, found on July 8, 1935, among collected marbles near the northeast corner of the Odeion (N 10).

Height, 0.37 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 3235.

helpful information on the subject of these Brauroneion lists, which she has studied much more systematically than I have.

The writing is stoichedon, with a square chequer pattern in which the units measure *ca.* 0.007 m. The original right face and back are preserved, with a possible anathyrosis below (B.D.M.), but the greater portion of the inscribed face has been chiselled out to form a panel with a star in relief, perhaps as a coffer block, leaving three to four columns of letters on the right and four lines below.

Fortunately, enough survives in the last four lines to enable us to identify the contents as comprising miscellaneous dedications, including silver objects, from the years before and during 352/1 B.C. To anticipate the relevant commentary, the clue to the identification is found in the last preserved line: $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu[\delta]\nu : \text{I}\zeta : \text{Εὐκτήη}[- - -]$, for this is clearly the same entry as $[\sigma\tau]α\theta : \text{I}\zeta : \text{Εὐκτήη}[- - -]$ in *I.G.*, II², 1517 A, lines 74-75, which is followed by $\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \Theta[\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron : \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta]$ (i.e., 351/0). It is regrettable that only about a quarter of this column is preserved, but even so it helps us to some extent in restoring the new fragment, where at most only four letters have survived at the ends of lines 1-33. Observing that in *I.G.*, II², 1517, we have in this area $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta :$ and $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron :$ (or $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu :$), but $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ and $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (as a presumed restoration) in our new fragment, and that the former has 31 letters to the line as against 29, we find that some cross-restoration is possible in lines 17-24, 28-29, and 33-37, where the contents seem mostly to be identical, but at other points there seem to have been several additional entries in the new fragment.

In lines 1-17 it is safer to suggest only a minimum of restorations, especially as some of the surviving letters are either doubtful or only partially preserved. Probably eleven lines have been obliterated by damage to the stone above line 1, and no doubt there were many more lines on the missing portion above the fracture. After collating a copy kindly supplied by Meritt with a squeeze and photograph, my reading of the text is as follows:

<i>a.</i> 355/4—352/1 <i>a.</i>	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29
[----- ²⁵ -----]	δ]ύο μ
[-----]	]ωτ
[-----]	]ον :
[-----]	]κερ
5 [-----]	]νπα
[-----]	]ονγ
[-----]	]ιδι
[-----]	]νπα
[-----]	]ς κρ
10 [----- ²⁰ -----]	ἐπιστ]άται
[----- ²² -----]	ἐπὶ] ἄ]ρχο
[ντος -----]	]τρι
[-----]	]ν[. .]

15 [-----]σου[.]
 [-----²⁵-----]ις ν[.]
 [-----]νιασ
 [-----¹³-----]αττις :|||: ἔτ]ερος
 354/3 [... τάδε ἐπὶ Διοτίμου ἄρχοντος] ἀνετ
 [έθη εἰς τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἄστατα κ]αὶ πα
 20 [ρέδοσαν οἱ ἐπιστάται οἱ ἐπὶ Θε]υδήμ
 353/2 [ου ἄρχοντος ἐπιστάταις τοῖς ἐ]πὶ Ἄρ
 352/1 [ιστοδήμου ἄρχοντος Λυσίαι Ἄχ]αρνε
 [ὶ καὶ συνάρχοσιν¹⁰..... φ]ιάλη
 [-----²¹-----]ἄστα]τος σ
 25 [-----]εν ἀν
 [-----]σα βα
 [-----]ιον σ
 352/1 [-----¹⁸-----]ἐπὶ Ἄριστοδήμ]ου ἄρ
 [χοντος ἀνετέθη εἰς τὸν Παρθεν]ῶνα Λ
 30 [-----²³-----]Ἄχ]αρνε
 [-----]δ[.]τοι
 [-----]εταδι
 [-----]κερχνίον σ]ταθμὸ
 [ν:.....⁵.....: Ἡ]δυλίγη δακτύλιος σταθμ
 35 [ὄν :|Γ: ἐξέβ]αλέν τις ὄβολον, οὗτος π
 [ρὸς τῇ φιάλ]η· κερχνίον καὶ ἐνώιδι
 [α ἀργυρᾶ δύο] σταθμ[ὸ]ν :|C: Εὐκτῆ[...]
 [-----]

No restoration can be offered for items in the first nine lines, though *νπα* in lines 5 and 8 might be completed as [εἰς τὸ]ν Πα[ρθενῶνα], which I restore more confidently in line 29. The conjunction of [ἐπιστ]άται and [ἄ]ρχο[ντος] in lines 10-12 surely points to a transaction during an archon's year.

In line 16 final *νιασ* might be restored either as [Βραυρω]νίας or as [---]νι ἄσ[τατ---]; and in line 17 [ἔτ]ερος may well refer to the same item as ἔτε[ρος] in *I.G.*, II², 1517 A, line 66,³⁴ where, after a gap of 16 spaces, we have [ἄρ]χον: ἀνετέθ[η]. As we have ἀνετ[έθη] in lines 18-19 of our new text after a gap of 25 letters after [ἔτ]ερος, of which eight are required for the word ἄρχοντος, these two entries are surely to be equated, since the difference of only one letter-space is not a

³⁴ The letters [---]αττις in *I.G.*, II², 1517 A, line 66, may be from the end of a proper name, for which there are several possibilities, masculine and feminine, to be restored, perhaps, in a relative clause, e.g., [--- οὗς ἀνέθηκε ---]αττις :|||. But the name appears complete in Attica in the fourth century as *Αττις (*I.G.*, II², 10904).

vital objection, especially if weight-signs are concerned. In *I.G.*, II², 1517, in fact, groups of these are frequently compressed into less than one space for each, whilst in our text, to judge by the instance in line 37, where :ΙϞ: occupy four spaces, these signs are spaced accurately in the stoichedon pattern. Assuming also that εἰς τὸν Παρθενῶνα followed ἀνετέθη in each case, and that ἄστατα came next, and that the name of the archon preceding the verb was Diotimos, we may suggest a restoration for *I.G.*, II², 1517 A, conformable to that of the new fragment, lines 17-29:

I.G., II², 1517 A, lines 66-71

	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 31
αττις :|||: ἔτε[ρος . τάδε ἐπὶ Διοτίμου ἄρ]	
χον : ἀνετέθ[η εἰς τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἄστατα]	
Εὐφροσύνη φ[----- ¹³ -----? ἐν κιβωτί]	
ωι ἄστατος Λ[-----]	
70 ἐνώιδιον· ἐπ[ὶ Ἀριστοδήμου ἄρχον : ἀνε]	
τέθη εἰς τὸν [Παρθενῶνα ⁹ κερ]	

It will be seen that in this text there is no mention of the handing over by the Epistatai of the year of Thoudemos (353/2) to those of the next year, but that the dedication by Euphrosyne is listed as the first item under the year of Diotimos (354/3).

The restoration of lines 21-22 above is derived from the passage in *I.G.*, II², 1524, lines 51-54, where Λυσίας Ἀχαρνεύς and his *συνάρχοντες* appear as the Epistatai in the year of Aristodemos, but in reference to some other dedications; and it seems quite possible that the [φ]ιάλη at the end of line 23 might be the dedication by Euphrosyne, after whose name in line 68 of *I.G.*, II², 1517, only the letter phi is preserved. Moreover, my restoration of line 23 in the new text leaves ten spaces available after *συνάρχοσιν*, and if we allot the first space to the punctuation sign (:) Εὐφροσύνη exactly fills the gap before [φ]ιάλη. This, however, does not clear up all the difficulties involved, since we should expect her gift to be in the accusative, but there is no doubt that the epithet ἄστατος, both in *I.G.*, II², 1517, line 69, and as restored in the new text in line 24, is in the nominative; and whether we retain the restoration [πρὸς τῶι τοίχ]ωι printed in the Corpus or restore [ἐν κιβωτί]ωι as I suggest above for *I.G.*, II², 1517, we are left with a gap after φ[ιάλην] of either five or eight letters, which I cannot explain. Moreover, the corresponding gaps in the new text would be seven or ten letters in length, and I see no way of accounting for the difference unless some word was abbreviated by two letters in *I.G.*, II², 1517, but written out in full in the new text.

Moreover, the fact that [ἄστα]τος is followed by a sigma on our fragment and ἄστατος by a lambda in line 69 of *I.G.*, II², 1517, must be due to some additional entries in the former, which apparently fill the next three lines; but we regain contact

in lines 28-29, where we may confidently restore [ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδήμου ἄρχουτος ἀνετέθη εἰς τὸν Παρθενῶνα Δ - -], and this links the ἐπ[ί] in line 70 of *I.G.*, II², 1517, with [ἀνε]τέθη εἰς τὸν [- - -] in lines 70-71, and Ἀριστοδήμου ἄρχον : exactly fills the gap in line 70.

Lower down again we have indication of items inserted in our fragment which are not found in *I.G.*, II², 1517, for in the latter only nine letter-spaces separate [Παρθενῶνα] from [κερ]χνίον in line 71. The entry [κερ]χνίον must be substituted for the restoration of the *Corpus* [κυλί]χνιον in lines 71-72 on the evidence that κερχνίον appears in line 37 of our new text. Against these nine letter-spaces there are three lines plus 16 letters (= 103 letter-spaces) in the new fragment. I can offer no explanation for filling this gap, unless [Ἀχ]αρνε in line 31 is a repetition of the demotic of Lysias whom we met above in line 22.

In line 33 εταδι is most enigmatic; the epsilon is certain, which rules out [παρα]-σταδι (unless conceivably an engraver's error?), and I can only suggest, but not explain, that we have some such word as [μ]εταδι[δόμενα]; and at the end of line 34 I feel sure of [στ]αθμό[ν], with the cross-bar of the alpha omitted.

In line 35, after the ring weighing one and one half obols dedicated by [Ἡδ]υλίνη, whose name I have not traced elsewhere in the Brauroneion lists,³⁵ comes an unexpected and unusual entry. In line 73 of *I.G.*, II², 1517, we find εξεβ, which has been restored as ἐξ ἐβ[ένου], though no other object of ebony is recorded in any other Attic dedication;³⁶ but our new fragment exactly supplies the missing letters, to enable us to complete the word as ἐξέβαλεν. But for this fortunate coincidence one might well have been baffled by αλεντις ὄβολον, but now we see the meaning: "somebody has dropped an obol, and it is lying against the phiale." Again I can quote no close parallel, for though we sometimes find reference to an object being lost or broken,³⁷ this description of a casual find at least indicates scrupulous honesty on the part of the officials in compiling their inventory. The text of *I.G.*, II², 1517, must also be here revised:

I.G., II², 1517 A, lines 73-74

ταθ :|T| : ἐξέβ[αλέν τις ὄβολον οὗτος πρὸ] ΣΤΟΙΧ. 31
 s τῆι φιάλῃ κ[ερχνίον καὶ ἐνώϊδια :|I| : στ]

Line 74, without ἀργυρᾶ, here matches lines 36-37 of the new fragment; the correspondence between lines 74-75 of *I.G.*, II², 1517 A, and the last line of the new fragment has already been noted above. The word κερχνίον must be a diminutive of

³⁵ In addition to four instances of this name cited by Kirchner (*P.A.*, 6384-6387), I have to thank Meritt for three other references: *I.G.*, II², 1534 line 271, 10125, and 11585a (p. 896).

³⁶ We find, however, a dedication of ebony, weighing 48 minai, at Delos (*Insc. Délos*, 442 B, line 165).

³⁷ One example may suffice [τέτραχ]μα ξξ, τῶν ἀπο[λωλότων] τὰ εὐρεθέντα (*I.G.*, II², 1534, line 112).

κέρχνος, which on the authority of Pollux (VII, 99) means τῶν ἀργυρίων κονιορτός, “silver dust,” but how it was treated for the purpose of this dedication I cannot suggest.⁸⁸ In any case the quantity must have been trifling, as its weight combined with two ἐνώδια was only one and one half obols.

9 (Plate 57). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the back roughly dressed and a strip 0.09 m. wide gouged off the face on the left, found on November 1, 1949, at the surface between the east end of the Middle Stoa and the Stoa of Attalos (P 12).

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 6250.

The inscription is stoichedon, with a square chequer pattern in which the units measure *ca.* 0.0069 m.

post a. 341/0 *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32

	[----- ἀνευ εἴ]	
	[λικος·] δίφρου[ς ----- ²⁰ -----]	
	[... ⁵ ...]ον ποτήρ[ιον χαλκοῦν ἐπιγέγραπτ]	
	[: ιε]ρὸς Ἀρτέμιδ[ος ----- ¹⁷ -----]	
5	[ἐπ]ιγέγραπτ: [Γ][Τ][Τ][----- ¹⁷ -----]	
	[. κ]ύλικά ψυκτήρι[ον ----- ¹⁶ -----]	
	[. .]ρα ψυκτήριον [----- ¹⁹ -----]	
	[. .]ιον χαλκοῦν [----- ²⁰ -----]	
	[ . .]|| χοῦδιον χαλκ[οῦν ----- ¹⁵ -----]	
10	[Πα]ρδαλὶς Κλεαρέτ[ου ----- ¹⁵ -----]	
	[θυ]ματήριον ἀργυ[ροῦν ----- ¹² ----- ὄ]	
	[πέ]ρ πήχεως τοῦτο σε[σήμανται? - ⁸ - -]	
	[. .]ον στῦλον ἔχον σφ[----- ¹⁶ -----]	
	[ . .] ^|το τετράγωνον ε[----- ¹⁶ -----]	
15	[... π]ροσανατεθέν[τα ----- ¹⁵ -----]	
	[... ⁶ ...]ικον φιάλη[ν ----- ¹⁶ -----]	
	[... ⁶ ...]χαλκοῦν ἀνε[πίγραφ: - - ⁹ - -]	
	[... ⁵ ...]πρὸσωπα ἔχο[ν ----- ¹⁶ -----]	
	[... ἀν]επίγραφ: ο[----- ¹⁷ -----]	
20	[... ⁹ ...]ἀνε[πίγραφ: ----- ¹³ -----]	
	[-----]	

⁸⁸ For two other examples of κέρχμιον among votive offerings at the Asklepieion, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1533, lines 19, 23, for which Kirchner refers to O. Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, p. 306, note 1, and to F. Leonard in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Kernos (XI, 326). Leonard rejects Rubensohn's thesis that κέρχμος was identical with κέρνος.

It is obvious that this text is from one of the inventories of the Brauroneion. The stoichedon pattern is only a trifle smaller than the normal dimensions found in this series, which range between 0.007 m. and 0.0076 m. for the chequer unit. Moreover, the items in lines 2-4 correspond to those partly preserved in the last five lines of *I.G.*, II², 1517*d*, lines 225-229, though this does not enable us to complete with certainty a whole line on either stone; and we should note that the latter belongs to the right-hand column of the reverse face of the stele, with the margin preserved, and hence stoichedon 32 and not 31 as in the *Corpus*. As this text must have ended with the incomplete line 229, it is obvious that the contents of our new fragment, from line 6 onwards, represent additional dedications, proving that it is to be dated later than *I.G.*, II², 1517.

For purposes of comparison I reproduce here, with the corrected stoichedon length of line, the last five lines of *I.G.*, II², 1517*d*:

I.G., II², 1517*d*, lines 225-229

225	[	-	-	-	-	-¹⁹	-	-	-	-	]	ἔλικος·	δίφρο[. .]
	[	-	-	-	-	-¹⁸	-	-	-	-	-	]	πο]τήριον χαλκ[οῦ]
	[	ν	-	-	-	- ²¹	-	-	-	-	-	]	ἱερὸς Ἄρτ[έμ]
	[	ιδος	-	-	-	- ²³	-	-	-	-	-	]	επι[. .]
	[	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	]	vacat

It is not easy to calculate the line-length of our new fragment, for the lacunae in the corresponding lines of the two texts differ in length. This seems to imply some alteration in the order of the missing words rather than any additional entry, for the total number of letter-spaces in *I.G.*, II², 1517*d*, from *δίφρο*[. .] to the end of Ἄρτ[έμιδος] is two lines plus eleven letters (i.e., 75 letters), whilst in the new fragment we have two lines plus ten letters, pointing likewise to a line-length of 32 letters, which I have conjecturally adopted in my transcript.

In view of this similarity, we may assume that *ἔλικος* preceded *δίφρον*[ς] in lines 1-2, but I cannot explain the sense here, whether it be noun or epithet, but if it is in fact a noun it seems reasonably likely that it means a screw rather than a spiral shell;³⁹ in this case *ἄνευ ἔλικος*, which would account for the genitive, might be suggested in the absence of any helpful parallel.

In line 3 we might expect that some masculine substantive preceded [*ι*ε]ρὸς Ἄρτ[έμιδος] of the next line, but this would involve the insertion of *ἐπιγέγραπτ*: in line 4, leaving only six spaces before the repetition of this verb in line 5, in which we should expect the name of a further dedication as well as the word *σταθμόν* (perhaps abbreviated). Moreover, the recording of the weight shows that this must have been

³⁹ For dedications of shells, whether natural or artificial, the word used is *κόγκος* and not *ἔλιξ*; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1533, lines 58-59, [κ]όγκος ἐν [κ]ιβ [: Παρί]ου λίθου, and *ibid.*, lines 5-6, *κόγκον Παρίου λίθου*.

an object of precious metal, for the weight could not be that of the ποτήρ[ιον χαλκοῦν] in line 3. The only solution seems to be that the word [ιέ]ρός was written in the masculine, in spite of the object concerned being a neuter noun, and that we must insert ἐπιγέγραπτ: before [ιέ]ρός, where we have exactly eleven spaces available. We must accordingly assume, *exempli gratia*, that some object, perhaps a short word followed by χρυσῆ σταθμ:, was recorded in the 17 spaces available at the end of line 4; but if we compare this with the parallel passage in *I.G.*, II², 1517*d*, we find that 23 spaces are to be filled between Ἄρτ[έμιδος] and ἐπι[. . .] at the end of line 228, where the verb must clearly be completed as ἐπι[γέ|γραπτ:] as the final item in the list. To reconcile these two entries I can only suggest that σταθμ: was after all omitted from line 4 of our new text but inserted in *I.G.*, II², 1517*d*.

From line 6 onwards we have no help from any other list in this series and no certain clue to the completion of any single line. The use of the accusative in [κ]ύλικα (line 6) suggests that some of the missing letters in line 5 comprised a dedicator's name and ἀνέθηκε, but whether [. . .]ρα at the beginning of line 7 is the end of a feminine name or of the accusative of some noun such as κρατήρ or ψυκτήρ cannot be decided, and from here to the end of our fragment in line 20 there is nothing to show whether the dedications are in the nominative or accusative.

The rare diminutive ψυκτήριον (lines 6 and 7) occurs also among the contents of the Chalkotheke (*I.G.*, II², 1424*a* [p. 803], line 265) but is apparently not recorded in *I.G.*, II², 1425, of a few years later. It was apparently transferred with other bronze objects from the same source to the sanctuary of Eleusis, if we may identify it with the ψυκτήριον μικρὸν οὐχ ὑγιές in the Eleusinian inventory *I.G.*, II², 1541, lines 14-15.⁴⁰

It is not worth enumerating the various alternatives possible in line 8; but before χοῖδιον (another rare term) in line 9 there seem to be two close-set hastas, perhaps from eta or nu, which could hardly be numerals as no punctuation follows, and this letter may be the end of the name of the dedicator.

In line 10 we have clearly a donor's name; the second and third letters preserved are almost certainly ΔΑ, and the name [Πα]ρδαλῖς though unknown in Attica, may be compared with other feminine names borrowed from animals. Klearetos, her father or husband, is a very rare Attic name (cf. *P.A.*, 8469 only, who must be some two generations later).⁴¹ Whether her dedication(s) preceded or followed her name it is impossible to say.

In line 11 it is strange to find a silver thymiaterion in this list of mostly bronze objects, and again it is impossible to decide whether it should be connected with the

⁴⁰ For this transfer see Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 116. At Eleusis the number of ψυκτήρια has grown to four (*I.G.*, II², 1542, lines 22-23) of which two have neither handles nor bases, whilst in *I.G.*, II², 1544, line 56 (329/8 B.C.), three of these four are described as [μο]χθηρά.

⁴¹ Meritt kindly draws my attention to [Κλεά]ρετος in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 89, No. 10, line 232 (= *I.G.*, I², 964, line 101).

puzzling contents of lines 11-12, for which [ὑπὲρ] ρήχεως τοῦτο σε[σήμανται] is a possible restoration, though the use of the genitive seems to forbid us to interpret it as meaning “above a cubit” (in length). But it seems also possible that we have in fact an epithet, formed on the analogy of δίπηχυς, τρίπηχυς, τετράπηχυς, for all of which there is good classical authority, and we might add παράπηχυν quoted by Pollux and applied to a ἱμάτιον and compare such compounds of ὑπέρ as ὑπέριμετρος.⁴² In any case the clue to a solution of this passage must have been contained in the missing twelve letters of line 11, for which any suggestion would be reckless.

In line 13 we have some object with, presumably, a column-like shaft or support, but it is uncertain whether the letters –]ον are from its name or from an epithet, e.g., [ξύλων]ον; in the latter event, if we accept the restoration σε[σήμανται] in line 12, we should have only five letters for the name of the object, and in the absence of any likely word it is preferable to assume that the object with στῦλος was a noun in twelve letters, to which, again, we have no clue. After ἔχον I would read σφ but offer no restoration.

Line 14 is no less enigmatic, for after αι or δι (compressed into one space) we have τὸ τετράγωνον ε[– –]. I cannot understand the construction, and can only note that this epithet might be used of a mirror, as in an inventory from Delos,⁴³ or of a foot-stool, as in the Asklepieion inventory *I.G.*, II², 1533, lines 65-66: [σ]φ[ελίσ]κος τετράγωνος. The latter example might suggest that the letters σφ following ἔχον in the previous line should be completed as σφ[ελίσκος] (rather than σφ[ραγίς] or σφ[ενδόνη], which are more likely to have been recorded among items of jewelry), and that the word τετράγωνον was part of the description of this object; but there are other possible alternatives, e.g., σφ[αγείον].

With line 15 we come to a list of additional dedications, but there is nothing to help us to complete the formula or to restore the noun, or its epithet [– –]ικον, before φιάλη[ν] in line 16.

In the last four lines we have apparently at least three objects each followed by the adjective ἀνεπίγραφ(ον) in abbreviated form, and in line 18 an unidentifiable object (or more than one) to which masks were attached. Little need be added beyond the conclusion that this fragment seems to belong to the last column of the reverse of a stele which must be dated at any rate after 341/0, as it contains items supplementing the parallel list in *I.G.*, II², 1517*d*, where no item is mentioned as dedicated later than that year.

10 (Plate 57). Small fragment of Hymettian marble, with the left margin preserved

⁴² We may compare, for recorded measurements of vessels, θυματήριον ξύλι: πηχναῖον ἐπίχρυσον, in the Asklepieion (*I.G.*, II², 1533, line 7), and φιάλας δύο ὡς πηχναίας (*Insc. Délos*, 1441, line 24 [= 1450, line 25]).

⁴³ *Insc. Délos*, 1443, lines 15-16.

but otherwise broken, found on April 24, 1935, in an early Byzantine context over the east end of the Middle Stoa (O 13).

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.077 m.; thickness, 0.032 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.—0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 2837.

The writing is stoichedon with a chequer pattern in which the units measure 0.0067 m. vertically by 0.007 m. horizontally.

ca. a. 341/0 a. (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 35

	[σ]ταθ: || [----- χ]
	ρυσία ἔ[χον (?) -----]
	κορυφισ[τῆς (?) -----]
	ους θυγάτ[ηρ -----]
5	ὑποδερῖς [χρυσῆ σταθ: ----- δακτύλιος λε]
	υκοῦ χρυσ[ίου σταθ: ---- τάδε ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ν]
	εὼ ἢ ἰέρεα [παρέδωκεν ----- σταθ:]
	††: Ἄριστ[τ ----- πρ]
	ὄς τῶι κί[ονι -----]
10	Ἐλπίνον [----- ἀσ]
	τάτου[s -----]
	λη ἀν[έθηκε (?) -----]
	ΛΟ[-----]

This fragment belongs almost certainly to a Brauroneion inventory, and it is to be located, probably, somewhere in the obverse face of its stele. The pattern of the lettering and the contents, as well as the width of the column (calculated as about 35 letters), support this attribution, but no other surviving list helps us to a fuller restoration of the contents. Though the surface has suffered from weathering very few of the letters are doubtful, but there seem to be a few instances of inaccuracy on the part of the engraver.

Line 2: I cannot trace any example in this series of an item of jewelry described as χρυσία ἔχων (or ἔχον, *vel sim.*), but we find both an ὄχθουβος and a χλιδών so described in *I.G.*, II², 1388, lines 83-85, apparently under the heading (line 73) ἐν τῶι Ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτῆς Βραυρων[όθε]ν. It seems, however, unlikely that any of these survived some sixty years to reappear in our list.

In line 3 I restore κορυφισ[τῆς], meaning a diadem or similar hair-ornament, for which I know no other example in any list of dedications, and the line must have ended with the name of the man whose daughter dedicated some unknown object named in line 4.

The last letter preserved in line 5 is not clear, but the traces suggest sigma rather than delta, and I assume that it was followed by χρυσῆ σταθ: -- to fill the gap before [δακτύλιος λε]υκοῦ χρυσοῦ, which gives us the approximate length of the line, depending on the weight of the ὑποδερῖς (probably, in the light of other examples, between one and two drachmai). For other examples of rings of pale gold (electrum?) in these lists see *I.G.*, II², 1517 A, lines 102-103 (cf. 1524 A, lines 16-17) and *I.G.*, II², 1518a, lines 8-9. After the weight of this ring we can restore [τάδε ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ν]εὼ ἡ ἱέρα [παρέδωκεν], but there is no room to insert τοῖς ἐπιστάταις as well as the name of the object weighing two drachmai and a half-obol (or possibly more).⁴⁴

The figures for weight at the beginning of line 8 were presumably followed by a dedication from Aris[t- -], though the engraver seems to have cut delta for alpha. For the name, no doubt feminine, there are several possibilities.

The fourth and sixth letters in line 9 are somewhat damaged, but I feel sure that they are omega and kappa and thus restore [πρ]ὸς τῶι κί[ου], as in *I.G.*, II², 1517 A, line 46, which is in a different context from that of our fragment.

Line 10: There is no chance of restoring the name of the wife or daughter of Elpines (or Elpinos), for both names are fairly common in the fourth century, or of determining whether the word [ἄσ]τάτου[s] which best accounts for the letters surviving in line 11 refers to her dedications.

There are no certain traces of any letter following ληαν in line 12, for which a name ending in -λη followed by ἀν[έθηκε] seems the likeliest restoration; and in line 13 the initial letters ΛΘ may well be the faint remains of [στ]αθ[: -].

NOTE ON THE BRAURONEION INVENTORIES

To facilitate the study of the fragments of this series, it may be helpful to show in tabular form the number and contents of the now known fragments, as published here and in the *Corpus* (*I.G.*, II², 1514 ff.), together with a single small piece found at Brauron and published a few years ago in *Πρακτικά*. No single stele is complete, and in no case have we evidence for a stele with more than three columns on either face or with either one column only or two. It is no less clear that where we have an opisthographic stele the front face records dedications in gold or silver, with occasional miscellaneous additions, and that the lists of garments dedicated by women appeared only on the back, followed in some instances (perhaps in all) by lists of offerings in bronze, tin, iron, ivory, and wood. On the other hand, it seems that these opisthographic stelai were, if not exceptional, at least less numerous than those which contained lists of garments only. Of the stelai published in the *Corpus* Nos. 1515, 1516, 1522, 1523, 1525, 1528, 1529, and 1530(?), apparently preserve their original thickness and yet are inscribed on one face only with lists of garments; as to No. 1514

⁴⁴ For two other instances of objects handed over by the priestess of Artemis Brauronia, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1519, line 11, and 1524, lines 44-45.

in the British Museum certainty is impossible, for it has been cut down to a thin slab, perhaps by Lord Elgin's instructions before it was brought to England. This leaves us with only three stelai inscribed on both sides, for there can be no doubt that Nos. 1517, 1518, 1519, and 1520 belong to the same stele (of Pentelic marble), as Kirchner had suspected, and Nos. 1521 and 1524 are of Hymettian marble but of different thickness. I omit from this list Nos. 1526 and 1527 as I do not believe that they belong to our series.⁴⁵

Including the new fragment from Brauron and our three from the Agora we thus have at present a maximum of seventeen stelai, which might be reduced if it could be shown that some of these belong together—a matter worth investigating (see Post-script, p. 186). I add to the table a note of the years covered by the contents when they afford any evidence for dating.

TABLE OF BRAURONEION INVENTORIES

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	<i>Marble</i>	<i>Letter-spaces per line</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Years covered by contents</i>
1514	Pentelic	40	Garments	350/49-344/3
1515	Hymettian	40	Garments	349/8-345/4
1516	Hymettian	44	Garments	346/5-344/3 (five lines more than in 1514)
1517	} Pentelic	face 31 back 32	Gold & Silver Garments and misc. metals	353/2-341/0 345/4-342/1(?)
1518				
1519				
1520				
1521	Hymettian	unknown	Same as in Nos. 1517- 1520 (?)	348/7-346/5(?) face (?)-342/1 back
1522	Hymettian	44(?)	Garments and bronze objects	339/8-336/5
1523	Pentelic	40	Garments	(?)
1524	Hymettian	face 34 back 34	Gold & Silver Garments and bronze objects	353/2-334/3 344/3-(?)
1525	Hymettian	40	Garments	344/3-343/2
1528	Hymettian	unknown	Garments	(?)

⁴⁵ Dr. Tullia Rönne (cf. note 33, above) agrees in rejecting these two texts from our series.

not been cut down) and the fact that certain entries cannot be paralleled in other lists of Attic dedications combine to defy an attribution to any known series of inventories. The style and spacing of the letters would suit a date near the middle of the fourth century. As no single item can be restored in full, there is no clue to the length of the lines, and little comment is required.

In line 2 the letters *ενων* seem more likely to belong to the genitive plural of a participle than to [ἐν τῶι Παρθ]ενῶν[ι] (*vel sim.*).

For [ἐν ἐλ]ύτρωι in lines 2-3 compare *I.G.*, II², 1464, lines 14 and 16 (the latter referring to an ἄτρακτος). By a coincidence we find these preceded in line 12 by a κίβωτος, as in the first line of our fragment, but in spite of another instance of resemblance to this inventory of the Chalkotheke (lines 11-12 below) the differences in the other items forbid us to associate the two lists.

The letter after the iota in line 5 is doubtful, but traces on the squeeze suggest sigma rather than delta.

In lines 5-6 for [συντετ]ριμμέν[ον?] compare λέβης συντετριμμένος in a Delian inventory, *Insc. Délos*, 442 B, line 166.

In lines 6-7, of possible feminine names ending in -ρινόη I suggest [Χαι]ρινόη as the most likely, though I cannot find it as an Attic name.

In line 8 [.]αμίους :|:Ι[-] is baffling: [Σ]αμίους suggests no intelligible sense, and [κερ]αμίους, "among the clay vessels," seems just possible as defining where an object was placed, but I feel that [προγ]αμίους, "among the wedding gifts," is rather more tempting. The last preserved letter is apparently iota, and in any case begins a new entry.

In line 9 the use of the indicative κατέαγεν instead of the more familiar participle κατεαγώς (*vel sim.*) can be matched in *I.G.*, II², 1469 B, lines 94-95: τούτω[ν τὰ ἔλυτρα κατ]έαγεν, in a Chalkotheke-list.

In line 10, taking χαλκοῦς as certain, I suggest τε[τρυπημένος], and for other examples of leaky vessels so described compare the Eleusinian inventory *I.G.*, II², 1544, lines 59 and 69 (the latter perhaps a μέδιμνος).

In line 11, after [κά]θοπτρον we have no doubt στῦ[λον ἔχον] (the left-hand bar of the upsilon is clearer on the squeeze than on the photograph). The possibility of a unique spelling [κάτ]ροπτρον for "mirror" is not to be excluded, but the initial letter of the line looks more like theta than a broken rho; see the theta in line 4 above.

It is strange to find in line 12 a helmet among mainly feminine dedications, but it seems again to be merely a coincidence that a κράνο[ς] follows shortly after a κάτροπτο[ν] (*sic*) in the Chalkotheke-list *I.G.*, II², 1464, lines 25 and 28, of which the contents are much more miscellaneous.

For *ιατρ* in line 13 we have a choice between [- - -]ια τρ[ία] and possibly [μάχαιρα] *ιατρ*[ική], and for *κρ* in line 13 [μι]κρ[όν] is not unlikely.

These notes on the contents bring us no closer to identifying the building in which

this miscellany was dedicated, but the finding-place was not far from the Eleusinion, and this seems at any rate a reasonable attribution.

12 (Plate 56). Fragment of Pentelic marble, originally opisthographic, broken on all sides, found on March 4, 1937, in a late context south of the Eleusinion (T 22), in the area of the Late Roman Fortification.

The back is worn quite smooth.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.063 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.—0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4566.

ca. med. saec. IV a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	[-----] I M A [-----]	
	[-----] ἐν τ] ὦι νεώ[ι -----]	
	[-----] ιτ[.] υσφ[-----]	
	[-----] Η ^Π : Γ ^Π προσ[-----]	
5	[-- δακτύλιο]ι χρυσοῖ ἀπ[είρονες (?) --]	
	[-----] ος : γρύψ : σ Γ[-----]	
	[-----] τα ^Π : σπαστή[ρ -----]	
	[--- στα]θμόν : ΧΗΗΔΔΔ[-----]	
	[-----] σταθμόν : Χ[-----]	
10	[-----] λοι χαλκ[οῖ -----]	
	[-----] να ἐκ το[ῦ -----]	

Owing to the damaged surface and the irregular lettering several readings are uncertain and only a few items in the list are intelligible. They include objects of gold and bronze, and the weight of 1230(+) drachmai in line 8, as also a weight of 1000(+) drachmai in line 9, probably refers to some massive silver vessel such as a thymiaterion.

In line 2 I feel fairly sure of [ἐν τ] ὦι νεώ[ι]. In line 4 if the first four symbols stand for 156 we may wonder why there is a clear mark of punctuation after ^Π; but if we take the sum to be only 150 what can one do with *πιπροσ*[---]? At the end of line 5 the pi is reasonably certain, and ἀπ[είρονες] invites the restoration of [δακτύλιο]ι before χρυσοῖ. After γρύψ in line 6 the letters might be σϵ or σπ, and if the latter perhaps σπ[αθίς], or σπ[αστήρ] as suggested by the next line. The presence of a γρύψ is of no help towards identifying this list, for it can scarcely be the creature familiar from the Parthenon-lists of the fifth century,⁴⁶ and last traceable in *I.G.*, II², 1428, line 199 (367/6 B.C.). In line 7 the reading is beyond doubt, but I cannot explain σπαστή[ρ], which seems to be a word hitherto unknown, although Pollux cites

⁴⁶ *I.G.*, I², 276 ff. (restored correctly in lists prior to *I.G.*, I², 280, of 422/1 B.C.).

ἐπισπαστήρ in the sense of “door-handle.”⁴⁷ The weights in lines 8 and 9 must surely belong to some silver objects, perhaps thymiateria, as suggested above, or even exceptionally heavy hydriai,⁴⁸ for the absence of *τούτων* implies that they cannot refer to groups of objects. The first letter in line 10 must have been either delta or lambda, suggesting [κά]δοι or [ῆ]λοι, and in the last line nothing is certain before the final *το*, though the traces of the four preceding letters might lead to the reading [---]να ἐκ το[ῦ ---]. Unfortunately none of these suggestions helps to identify the source of the inventory.

13 (Plate 56). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides and at the back, found on May 13, 1947, in an early Byzantine context in the industrial area east of the Great Drain (D 17).

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.022 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.—0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5980.

saec. IV *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]γονος Ἄ[-----]

[-- Τι *vel* Δη]μοσθένης καὶ Κτ[ησ---]

[τράπεζα (?) σ]τρο[γ]γύλη *vacat*

[(?) στεγαστ]ῆρες ΔΔΓΙ *vacat*

5 [-----]ΓΙΙΙ *vacat*

Little can be made of this fragment, with remains of names in lines 1-2 and an inventory in lines 3-5. Thus it is uncertain whether the alpha at the end of line 1 belongs to another name in the nominative, or to a patronymic, or to a demotic; and we must note the inconsistency with line 2, where two names without patronymic or demotic are coupled with *καί*.

It is not even certain whether lines 3-5 contain a list of the equipment of a sanctuary or of a household. I suggest *τράπεζα* as the circular object, and assume that one table would suffice, whether for ritual or for domestic purposes. On this view, and assuming that line 4 began under the tau of *τράπεζα*, there are about eight letters to supply at the beginning of the line. I have no satisfactory suggestion to offer, as it is not easy in any case to think of an article of equipment of which twenty-six pieces were required. Although it falls short by one letter of the required length of the word I would suggest [στεγαστ]ῆρες, “cover tiles,” as at least a possible, and not inappro-

⁴⁷ X, 22. Could *σπαστήρ* possibly mean “feeding-bottle,” derived from *σπᾶν* in the sense of “to suck,” for which see Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon*, *s.v.*, III?

⁴⁸ For a group of hydriai with weights ranging from 1130(+) to 1300(+) drachmai, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1432, lines 1-5.

private, restoration, particularly if we conclude that this is an inventory of private possessions.

POSTSCRIPT

After this article had been despatched to the Editor, David Lewis at my suggestion kindly examined certain of the Brauroneion inventories in the Epigraphical Museum to test the possibility of attributing to the same stele any pairs of fragments which exhibit the same (actual or possible) length of line. He reports as follows:

“*I.G.*, II², 1523 (line-length 40 letters) seems to be from the same stele as 1514 (in the British Museum) and is opisthographic.” Wesley Thompson, of the American School of Classical Studies, adds that there are only a very few scattered letters visible on this (the obverse) face, of which the surface is much corroded.

“No. 1516 (line-length 44 letters) is smooth, but apparently uninscribed, on the obverse, and seems to belong with 1522, which has traces of lettering on the obverse.”

“Nos. 1521 B and 1525 (line-length 40 letters), seem to belong together.” This is in fact more doubtful, as there is no clear indication of the line-length of 1521 B. If the association is correct, 1521 would be located close to the lower edge of 1525, which records the dedication of garments ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου ἀρχοντος (343/2 B.C.) in lines 8 ff., but lacks the last four items; while 1521 B, line 4, begins with ἐπὶ Σω[σιγένοῦς – –] (342/1). As the other two stelai which contain the four entries missing from 1525 are both incomplete (1517 B, lines 131-134; 1524 B, lines 146-149), they do not help us to restore the few letters which alone survive in 1521 B, lines 1-3 (numbered 62-64 in the *Corpus*). Further study of the two fragments should prove decisive for, or against, the association.

If all three of these suggestions are correct, they would enable us to reduce the presumed number of known stelai from seventeen (as shown in my table, pp. 181-182 *supra*) to fourteen, and to enlarge the number of opisthographic stelai from three to six.

A. M. WOODWARD

TUNBRIDGE WELLS
ENGLAND



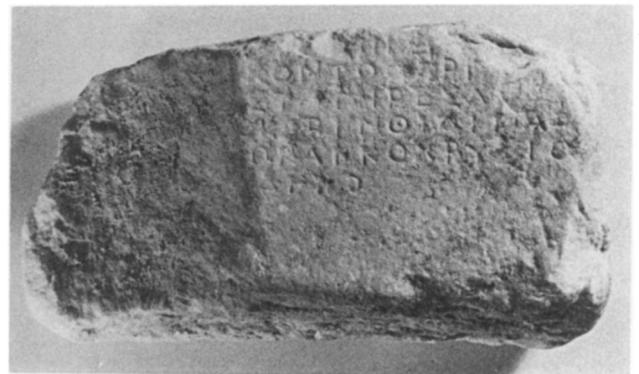
No. 1 Aa



No. 1 Ab



No. 1 Ba



No. 1 Bb



No. 2a



No. 2b



No. 5



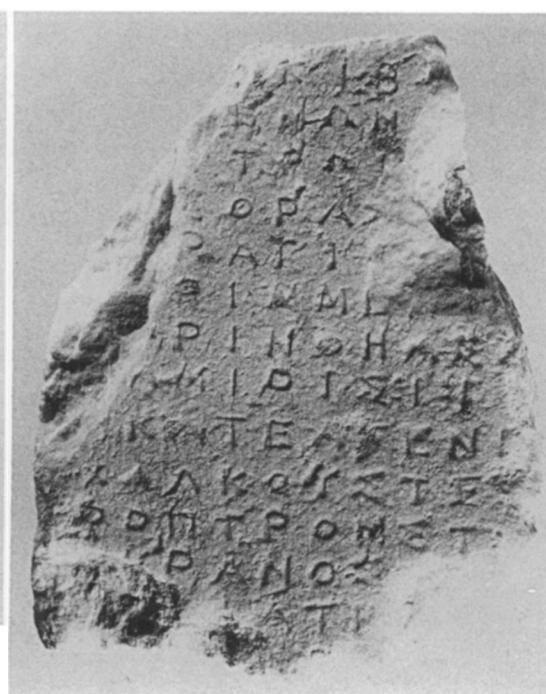
No. 4



No. 3



No. 6



No. 11



No. 12



No. 13



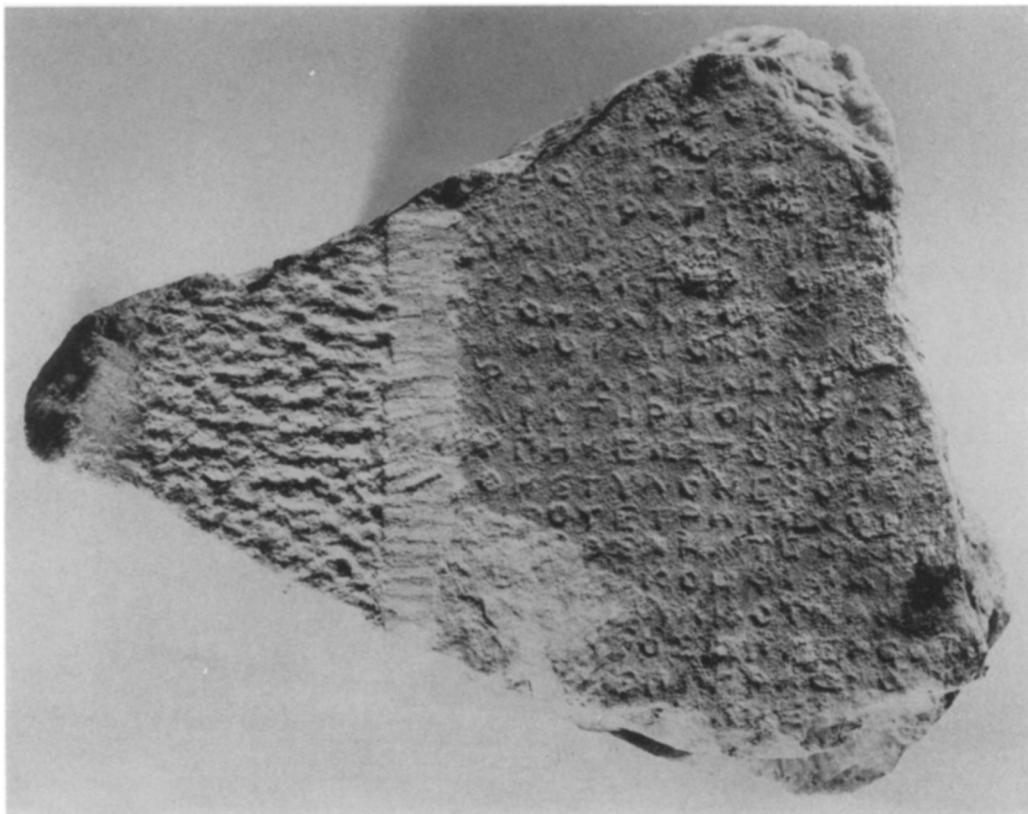
No. 7



No. 10



No. 8



No. 9