

A ROMAN MONUMENT IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 13-18)

AMONG the innumerable marble blocks which have been found in the Ancient Agora of the Athenians there are several which ought, for reasons of similarity of proportions, material, workmanship, and provenience, to belong to the same monument. This study¹ will endeavor to draw together the various blocks of this monument and to reconstruct, as far as is now possible, its original plan and elevation. Of particular interest is the long known inscription (*I.G.*, II², 2776) which appears on the faces of two of the orthostates of the monument. The identification of the monument upon which this inscription was placed justifies the presentation of a new text together with commentary and discussion. It must be admitted from the beginning, however, that it is not possible to determine the location and purpose of the erection of the monument on the basis of the evidence now available.

I. THE BLOCKS

In both quality of material and workmanship the monument was less than distinguished. The marble is a white Pentelic tending toward pink with a prominent grain which has resulted in the fracture of some blocks and the uneven destruction of the finished surfaces due to weathering. These finished surfaces were, in areas neither visible on the monument nor in contact with other marble, very uneven and rough. On lateral faces of blocks to be joined to other blocks of the same course, there is evident a coarse anathyrosis with the visible joints closely fitted while the surfaces behind the joints take only general cognizance of the corresponding surfaces of their mates. Upper and lower surfaces, regardless of their contact with other elements, are only picked to an even surface with a medium point, while the moulded faces are smoothed with a medium rasp, but not finely polished. The mouldings retain only the general outlines of their profiles with any consistency, since their horizontal lines waver and vary, not only from block to block, but within each block. Thus the details of the profiles do not remain constant. Fortunately for the purpose of reconstruction,

¹ The existence of these blocks and the problems associated with them were first called to my attention by Professors T. L. Shear, Jr. and H. A. Thompson. For my knowledge of these blocks, for permission to study them, and for thoughtful suggestions, I am indebted to these two men. W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., whose drawings illustrate this discussion, has been of constant assistance, and without the benefit of his observing eye and skillful pen many details necessary to the reconstruction would have eluded me. E. Vanderpool has been helpful with the inscription on the orthostates of the monument and particularly with the location of many of the places listed therein. E. Vanderpool, Jr., has provided most of the photographs. For discussions and suggestions I would thank S. G. Miller, B. D. Meritt, L. S. Meritt, and C. K. Williams.

however, the moulded faces received their final treatment after the erection of the monument so that profiles of adjacent blocks neatly match one another at the joint.

A. THE BASE

The base blocks vary in length and depth, maintaining the height as a constant, although this dimension also varies from 0.614 to 0.645 m. The eight blocks of this base have a moulded face consisting of a large plinth (0.25 m. high), a large half-round, a fillet, a large cyma reversa, an astragal, and a cavetto which sweeps up to the top of the block (Fig. 1, a). The upper surfaces of all these blocks have cuttings for clamps and dowels, lewis holes and setting marks. The latter are not inscribed lines, but rather slight variations in the height of the upper surface which appears to have been an attempt to compensate for differences in the heights of the base blocks.

1 (A 3733). Moulded Corner Base Block. Fig. 2, a, Pl. 13, a.

Height: 0.645 m. Length: 1.414 m. Depth: 0.781 m. Length on return: 0.976 m.

Complete block with anathyrosis on left end and on return. Swallowtail clamp cutting on return, no clamp cutting on left end. Lewis hole near center. Circular dowel cutting between lewis and clamp.

2 (A 3732). Moulded Corner Base Block. Fig. 2, b, Pl. 13, b.

Height: 0.630 m. Length: 3.860 m. Depth: 0.778 m.

Three joining fragments of a corner block with only small chips missing from the original surface. Anathyrosis on the left end (as one faces the block). Rear surface rough-picked up to a strip of anathyrosis at the juncture of the back surface with the moulded right end. Between the normal rough-picking of the back surface and the anathyrosis is a vaguely concave rough-picked depression meant to receive a corresponding convex projection on the next block. Bottom surface picked to a uniform level. Top has cuttings for swallowtail clamp on the left end (no clamp on right), two central lewis holes, five dowel holes, two setting marks, one set of pry holes. Front surface has area roughly picked out near center of lower mouldings. Moulded face near right end and on return polished by later wear (traffic, feet?). Cavetto

on return has small incised cross, probably from re-use of block in church (below, p. 59).

3 (A 3738). Moulded Base Block. Fig. 2, c, Pl. 13, c.

Height: 0.614 m. Length: 2.429 m. Depth: 0.725 m.

Three joining fragments only the left of which preserves the full moulded face. Upper left corner completely missing. Anathyrosis on both ends, but left end, inside the smooth strip of anathyrosis, is a projected rather than a depressed rough-picked area. Upper surface has cuttings for hook clamp at right end (left upper surface not preserved), two lewis holes, three rectangular dowels (the left of these is cut into the left lewis), and two pry holes between the central and left dowels.

4 (A 3737). Moulded Corner Base Block. Fig. 3, a, Pl. 13, d.

Height: 0.626 m. Preserved length: 1.415 m. Depth: 0.860 m.

Upper left corner broken off, but joining fragment survives. Back surface rough-picked. Notch at left rear corner with anathyrosis on surface facing rear. Anathyrosis on right end, left end roughly cut off along line of return of mouldings. Top surface has cuttings for lewis hole in center, pry on right of small fragment. Hook clamp on right end, and hook clamp on left end running toward rear of block.

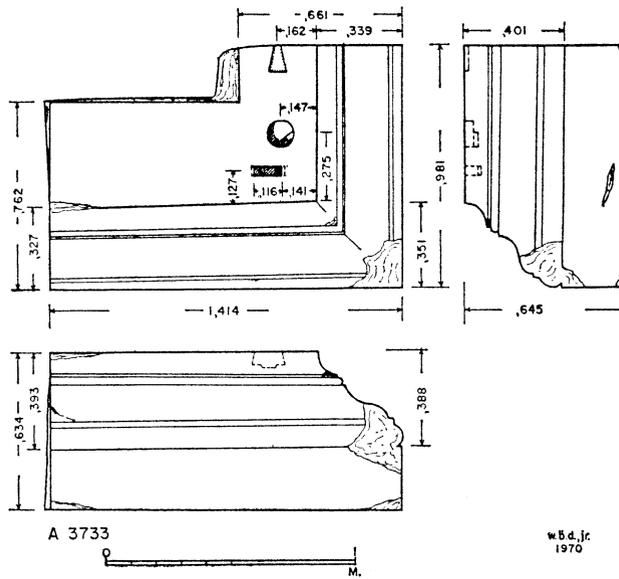


Fig. 2, a. Base Block 1.

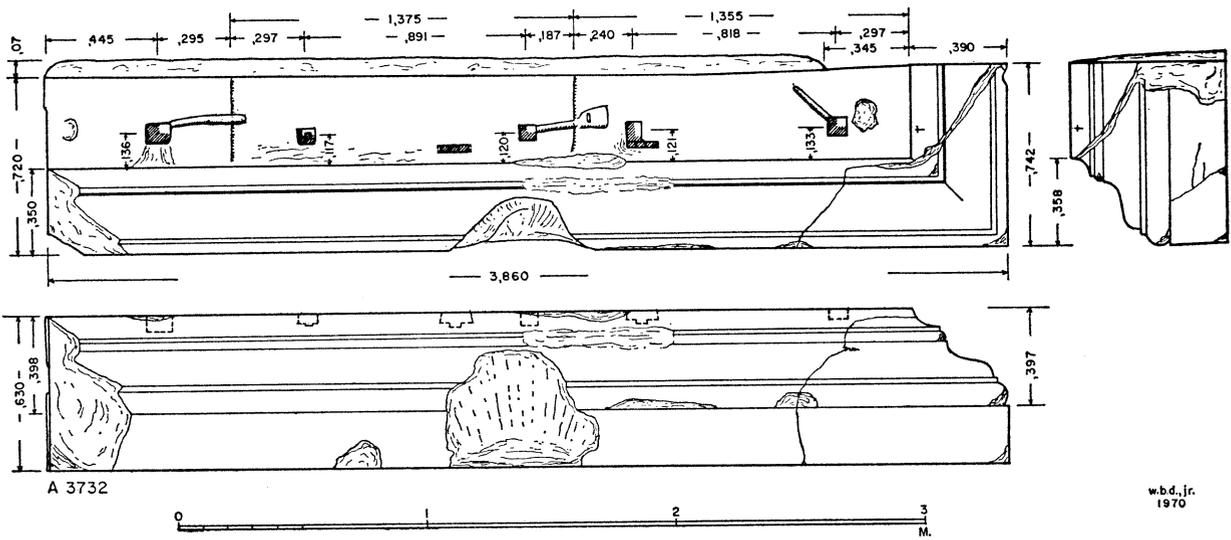


FIG. 2, b. Base Block 2.

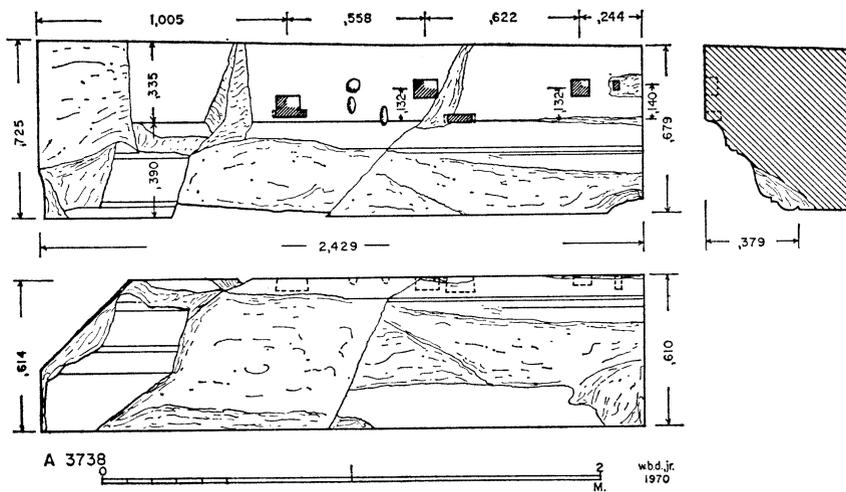


FIG. 2, c. Base Block 3.

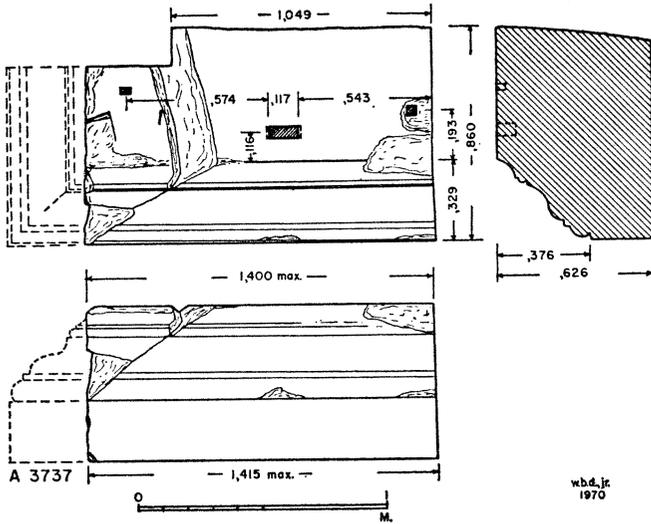


FIG. 3, a. Base Block 4.

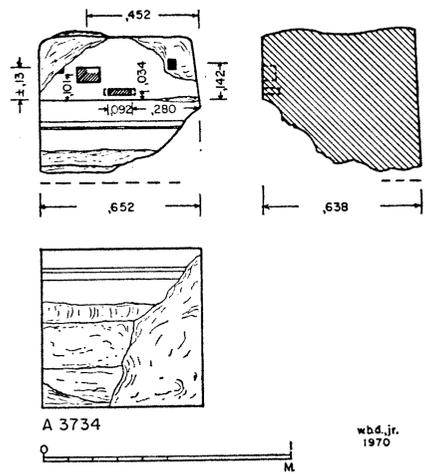


FIG. 3, c. Base Block 6.

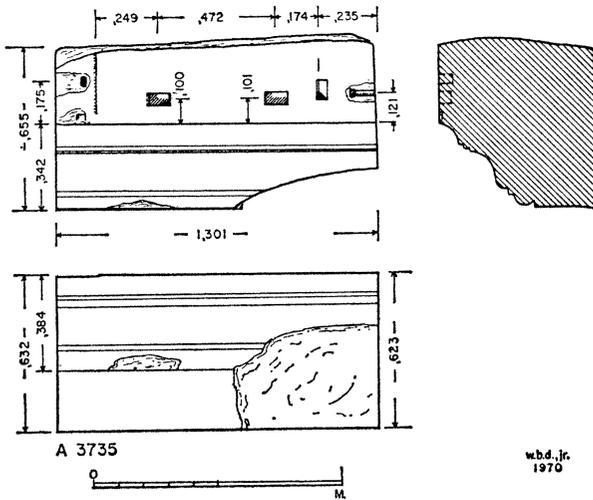


FIG. 3, b. Base Block 5.

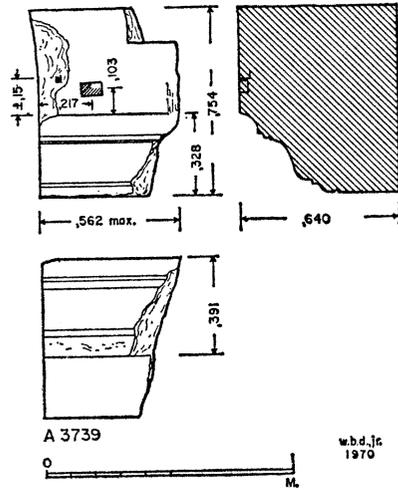


FIG. 3, d. Base Block 7.

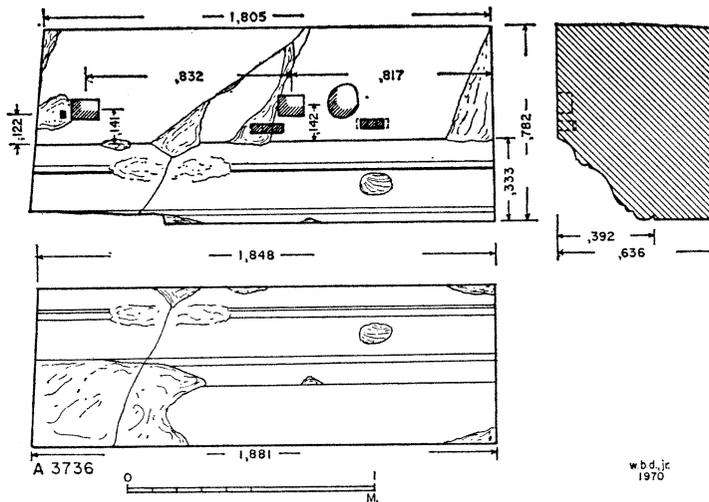


FIG. 3, e. Base Block 8.

Although the moulded return of this block is missing, the fact that it is a corner block can be established on the basis of: a) the rough cut of the existing left end with no anathyrosis; b) the anathyrosis of the rear surface of the notch at the rear left corner of the block; and c) the hook clamp cutting which runs off the back of this notch and thus to another block at right angles to this one. The cutting off of the moulded return will have occurred, most probably, when the block was built into the Post-Herulian Wall (below, p. 59).

5 (A 3735). Moulded Base Block. Fig. 3, b, Pl. 13, e.

Height: 0.632 m. Length: 1.301 m. Depth: 0.668 m.

Lower area (cyma reversa and below) broken away on right front surface of block. Back surface rough-picked. Anathyrosis on both ends. Top surface preserves cuttings for a hook clamp at both ends, two dowels (the left of which is a recut lewis), deep pry to right of block, setting mark to the left.

6 (A 3734). Moulded Base Block. Fig. 3, c, Pl. 13, f.

Height: 0.636 m. Length: 0.652 m. Preserved Depth: 0.539 m.

Front surface broken away below cyma reversa. Anathyrosis on both ends. Top surface has cuttings for dowel, lewis, hook clamp at both ends.

7 (A 3739). Moulded Corner Base Block. Fig. 3, d, Pl. 13, g.

Height: 0.640 m. Preserved length: 0.562 m. Depth: 0.754 m.

Right end broken away. Anathyrosis on left end. Top has cuttings for hook clamp to left and rectangular dowel. At the right rear extant corner is the beginning of a notch 0.14 m. deep. The surface facing the rear of this notch is rough-picked, but at a point 0.11 m. from the corner, there is an additional slight setback in the surface as if this were the point at which the returning block began. No upper surface is preserved in this area so that the existence of anathyrosis cannot be established.

8 (A 3736). Moulded Base Block. Fig. 3, e, Pl. 13, h.

Height: 0.636 m. Length: 1.881 m. Depth: 0.782 m.

Two joining fragments of badly chipped block. Half round and plinth broken away on lower left face. Gouged out circular area on surface of cyma reversa to right of center. Back surface rough-picked. Anathyrosis on both ends. Left end is cut at a slightly less than right angle to the front. Top surface has cuttings for hook clamp at left end (apparently no clamp ever on right end), two lewis holes, one circular and two rectangular dowels. Note that the circular dowel cutting on the top surface is less deep than the rectangular dowels and bears closer affinities to the gouged out area on the front of the block than to the dowels. It may, therefore, not be original.

B. THE ORTHOSTATES

Like the base blocks, the six preserved orthostates² vary in width and depth, but maintain a relatively stable height of 1.610 to 1.615 m. Two of these blocks were inscribed, and the contents and significance of this inscription will be discussed below. Although most of their height presents a smooth, plain surface, the bottom 0.14 m. is moulded, curving outward in an apophyge which is followed by a half round at the extreme bottom of the blocks (Fig. 1, b).

² There exist numerous other fragments, clearly from this same series of orthostates, but too small and poorly preserved to yield information regarding dimensions or positions in the monument.

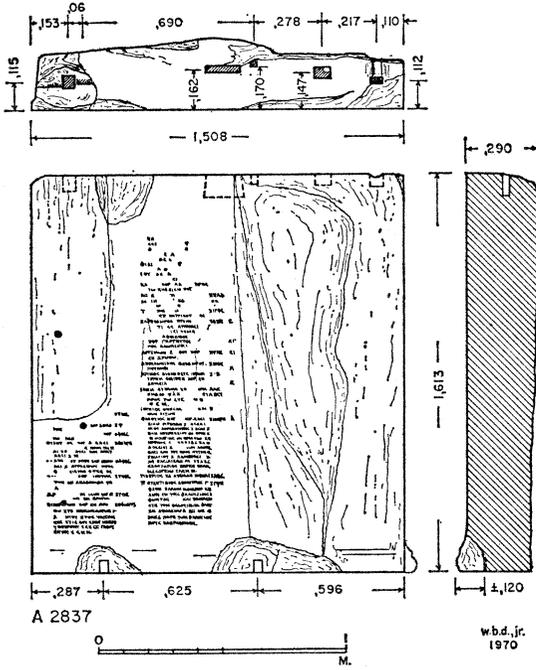


FIG. 4, a. Orthostate 9.

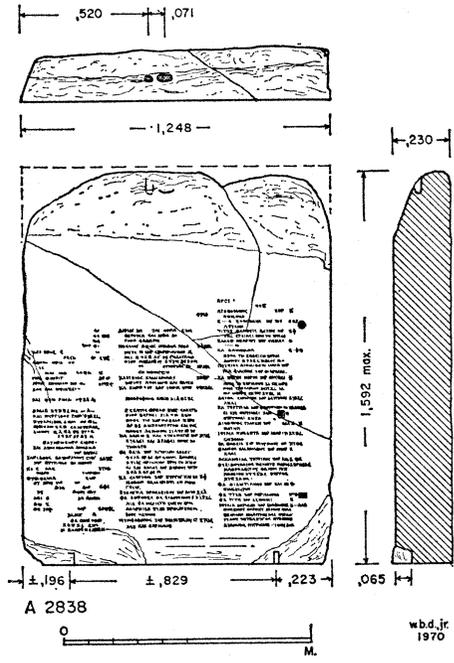


FIG. 4, b. Orthostate 10.

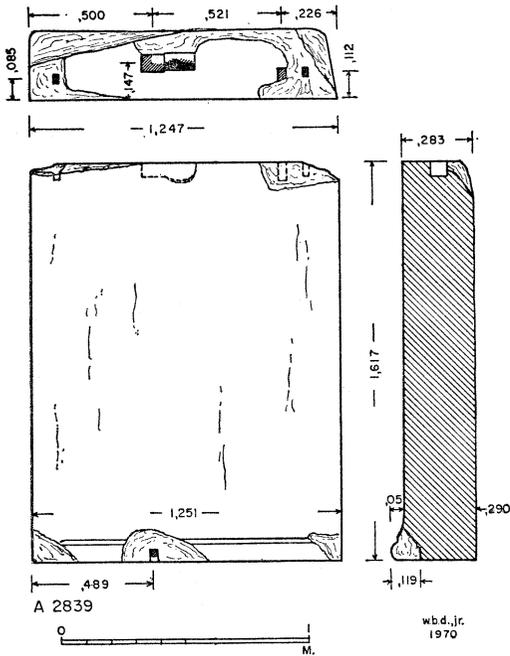


FIG. 4, c. Orthostate 11.

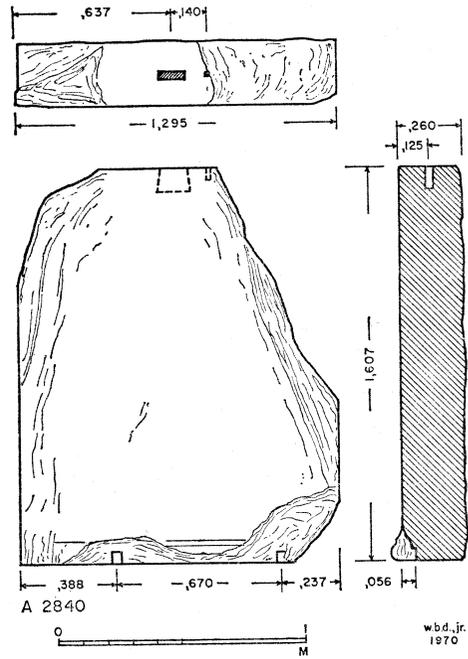


FIG. 4, d. Orthostate 12.

9 (A 2837). Inscribed Corner Orthostate. Fig. 4, a, Pl. 14.

Height: 1.613 m. Width: 1.508 m. Depth: 0.29 m.

Heavily cracked and weathered, upper left corner broken, but joining fragment still preserved. Anathyrosis on left side. Right side worked smooth down to where base moulding has been cut away. Bottom surface has two dowel cuttings. Top surface has cuttings for central lewis, two rectangular dowels the left one of which is just right of the left hook clamp and is broken away in the rear, hook clamp to left, hook clamp on right running back to return. The central lewis hole has lead in it but is too small for a normal lower dowel cutting. It may have been re-used for a clamp back into the core of the monument although the stone is broken away and the existence of such a clamp cannot be securely claimed. Front surface has three circular cuttings along the left side (central cutting further from edge) which were cut through the inscribed surface. The cuttings may be the result of clamps used to bind this block to orthostate **10** when they were in the Post-Herulian Wall, or they might have to do with an object (e.g. a bronze plaque) affixed to the surface of the monument after the inscription had lost its force, but before the dismantling of the monument.

10 (A 2838). Inscribed Orthostate. Fig. 4, b, Pl. 15.

Preserved height: 1.592 m. Width: 1.248 m. Depth: 0.23 m.

Three joining pieces in extremely battered condition. No original top surface or lower moulding on face preserved. Anathyrosis on both ends. Bottom surface has two dowel holes. Front surface has three circular cuttings along the right side with central one further from edge (cf. **9**).

11 (A 2839). Orthostate. Fig. 4, c, Pl. 16, a, c.

Height: 1.615 m. Width: 1.247 m. Depth: 0.283 m.

Complete except for chips. Base moulding on face well preserved. Front surface otherwise heavily weathered. Anathyrosis on both ends. Bottom has one dowel cutting. Top surface has cuttings for a hook clamp on both ends, a central lewis, one dowel which was cut into the left side of the lewis hole, and another dowel near the right edge.

12 (A 2840). Orthostate. Fig. 4, d, Pl. 16, a.

Height: 1.607 m. Width: 1.295 m. Depth: 0.26 m.

Badly weathered and broken off at upper left corner, along upper right side, and lower right corner. Anathyrosis on left side, right side not clear. Bottom surface has two dowel cuttings. Preserved part of upper surface has central cutting for lewis with lead preserved in hole and may, therefore, have been re-used as a dowel (cf. **14**).

13 (A 2841). Corner Orthostate. Fig. 5, a, Pl. 16, b, d.

Preserved height: *ca.* 1.60 m. Width: 1.322 m. Depth: 0.31 m.

Top broken away especially at corners, front surface badly weathered. Anathyrosis on right end, left worked smooth except near bottom where the base moulding has been cut away. Bottom surface has two dowel holes. Top surface not preserved.

14 (A 2842). Orthostate. Fig. 5, b, Pl. 16, b.

Height: 1.615 m. Preserved width: 1.34 m. Depth: 0.295 m.

Two joining fragments, missing are upper left corner and pieces from left side. Badly weathered. Anathyrosis on right side, left side in preserved area is too badly weathered to ascertain existence of anathyrosis. Bottom surface has two dowel cuttings. Top surface has central lewis hole which has lead in the cutting and may, therefore, have been re-used as a dowel (cf. **12**). Bottom surface has two dowels. Top surface has hook clamp cutting to right, left side not preserved.

II. PROVENIENCE AND HISTORY OF DISCOVERY OF THE BLOCKS

Of those blocks from the monument the discovery place of which is known, all were found built into the northern of the two late Roman towers at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos (Fig. 6). These two towers formed a gateway in the Post-Herulian Fortification Wall at the point where a street which led off to the Roman Market crossed the line of the wall. The earliest report concerns the orthostates

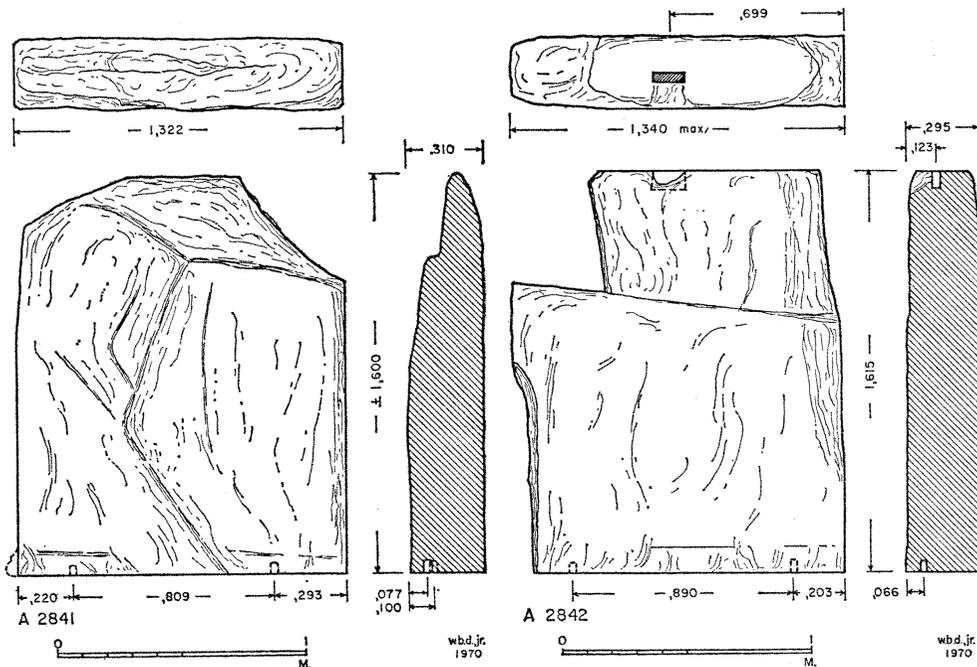


FIG. 5, a. Orthostate 13.

FIG. 5, b. Orthostate 14.

which were discovered built into the southern and western walls of the church of Panaghia Pyrgiotissa (i.e. the northern tower which had been converted into a church). That tower was dismantled more than a century ago by the Greek Archaeological Service.³

The place of discovery of the base blocks is equally clear. Two of them can be seen in photographs made twenty years ago when this same area of the Stoa of Attalos was again cleared. One of these blocks (6) was then in the western wall of the former

³ P. Eustratiades, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1870, no. 415, pp. 358 ff. Apparently only the six now extant orthostates were discovered at that time: "δύο ἐνεπίγραφοι πλάκες λευκοῦ μαρμάρου σπειροειδείς τὸ κάτω μέρος, αἵτινες ἦσαν ἐντετειχισμένοι ἐν τῇ μεσημβρινῇ πλευρᾷ ἄνωθεν τοῦ μαρμαρίνου κρηπιδώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς καλουμένης Πυργιωτίσσης Τέσσαρες ἄλλαι ἰσοῦσές ὅμοιαι πλάκες ἐντετειχισμένοι μετ' αὐτῶν ἄνωθεν τῶν σπειροειδῶν λίθων τοῦ κρηπιδώματος ἀπετέλουν ταινίαν ὑψηλὴν μέτρ. 1, 60, ἣτις εἶχε διασωθῆ ἐν τῇ μεσημβρινῇ καὶ δυτικῇ πλευρᾷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας."

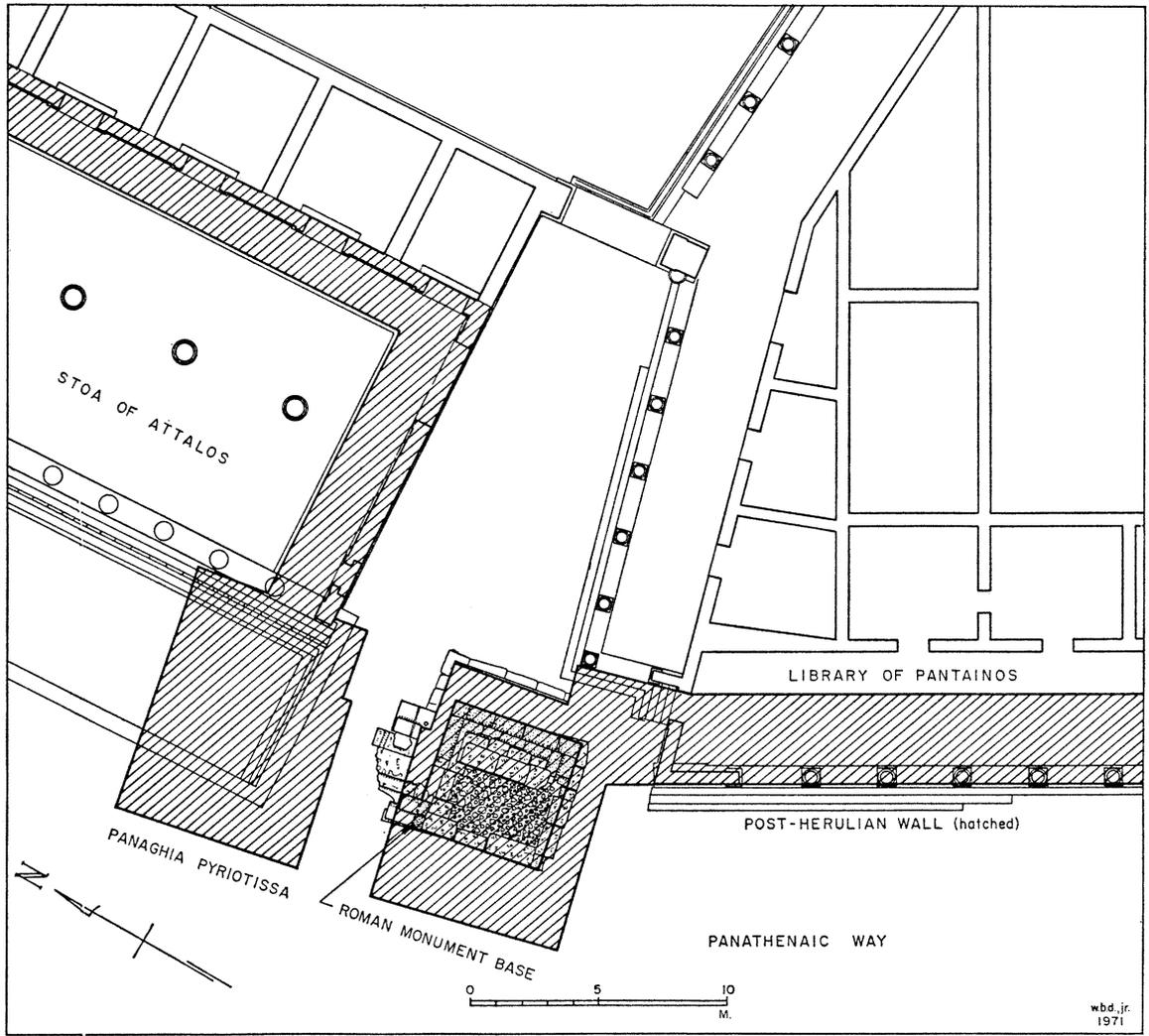


FIG. 6. South End of Stoa of Attalos and Northwest Corner of Library of Pantainos with Course of Post-Herulian Wall.

Panaghia Pyrgiotissa (Pl. 17, a), while another (4) was slightly west of this same wall (Pl. 17, b). Another photograph, made sometime before 1920,⁴ shows the remains of the Pyrgiotissa from the east with at least three of the base blocks (1, 2, 5) and the two inscribed orthostates (9, 10) in the background.

The provenience of the other three extant base blocks is unknown, but it is tempting to identify all the base blocks with the *σπειροειδείς (μαρμάρινοι) λίθοι* which Eustratiades⁵ said once composed the krepidoma of the church, and on top of which he found the orthostates.

III. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MONUMENT

The approach toward the reassembly of the monument will be to examine the evidence for every joint between blocks of the same course and for the junction of the courses (Figs. 7, 8, Pl. 17, c).

A. THE JOINT BETWEEN CORNER BASE BLOCKS **1** (A 3733) and **2** (A 3732).

The obvious starting point within the base blocks lies in the presence on one end of each of two blocks of cuttings for swallowtail clamps. The clamp normally used on the monument is a hook clamp, and swallowtail clamps occur only on these two blocks.⁵ These are the return of the corner block **1** and the left end of the corner block **2**. These blocks, therefore, belong together and the joint is confirmed both by the equal distance of the clamps from the front edges of their blocks and by the correspondences of the moulding profiles at this point. The latter are distinctive, especially with regard to the cavetto which has a particularly tight curve giving it a deeper and more vertical profile in this area. So too, the inner curve of the cyma reversa is deeper on these faces of the same blocks than on the faces of the other base blocks. Finally, there is the evidence of the dowels vis-à-vis an orthostate. On the top surface of base block **2** there is a setting mark 0.745 m. from the left end. About 0.40 m. from the same left end, there is a rectangular dowel cutting from which a pour channel runs out to the right and crosses the setting line. On the upper surface of base block **1** there is also a dowel cutting about 0.30 m. from the end of the return which joined block **2**. Among the preserved orthostates there is one, **13** (A 2841), which fits with its right edge (which has anathyrosis) on the setting line of the base block and has dowels in its bottom surface which correspond precisely to the two cuttings in blocks **1** and **2**. Although the top of orthostate **13** is no longer preserved, the lower left side was clearly smooth down to an area where the lower apophyge and half round have been cut away. Thus orthostate **13** was a corner orthostate neatly matching the corner of base block **1**, and it provides binding evidence as to the validity of the joint between base blocks **1** and **2** (Fig. 7). This joint gives us two corners of one side and therefore the overall dimension of this side of the monument as 4.841 m.

⁴ G. Guidi, "Il Muro Valeriano a S. Demetrio Katiphori e la Questione del Diogeneion," *Annuario*, IV-V, 1921/2, p. 35, fig. 2.

⁵ This fact is not so startling in its context as it might first appear. There seems to have been no standard of construction for the monument. We have already noted how moulding profiles vary, and we may now call attention to some of the other anomalies of the construction of the monument. These include the binding together of the base blocks with both hook and swallowtail clamps, while in two places no clamps were ever used; the presence of lewis holes so near the face of the blocks that they will have been exposed (e.g. base block **3**); the variations in depths and lengths of blocks; the occasional, but not universal, use of pour channels for dowels, of setting marks, and of pry holes; the various methods of forming corners; and many other anomalies which will become apparent in the course of the discussion.

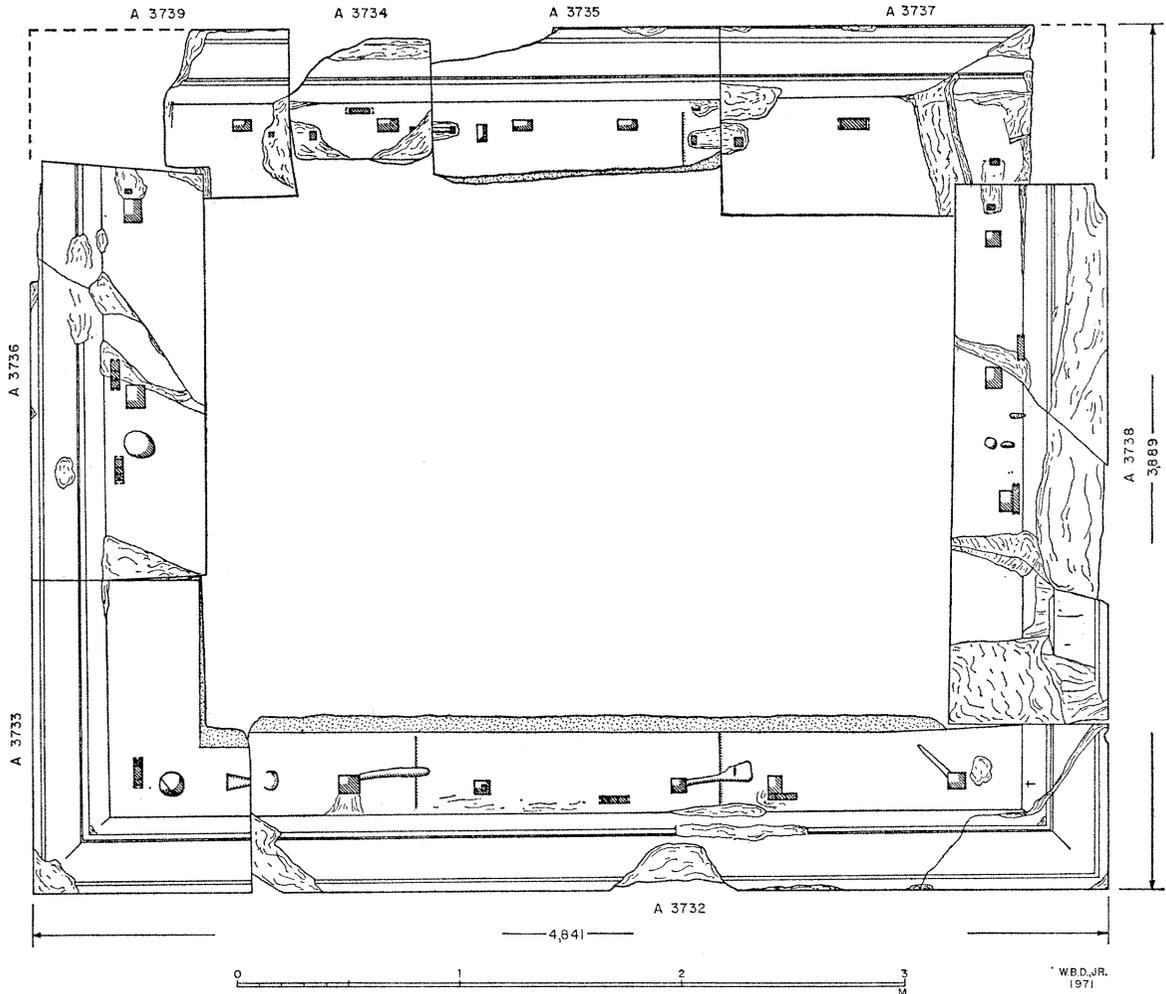


FIG. 7. Reconstruction of Base Blocks.

B. THE JOINT BETWEEN CORNER BASE BLOCK 2 (A 3732) AND BASE BLOCK 3 (A 3738).

This joint is suggested by the peculiar treatment of the joint surfaces behind the anathyrosis. The surface of block 2 is hollowed out in a roughly concave depression which is especially pronounced near the moulded face just behind the anathyrosis (Pl. 16, e). The corresponding surface of block 3 has a rough-picked surface behind the anathyrosis which projects and forms, as it were, the positive from which the negative depression of block 2 takes its form (Pl. 16, f). The evidence from the lack of a clamp at the joint on the top surface of block 2 is not conclusive since the corresponding area of block 3 is broken away, but, assuming that we possess all of the base blocks of the monument, no other block lacks a clamp in this position.

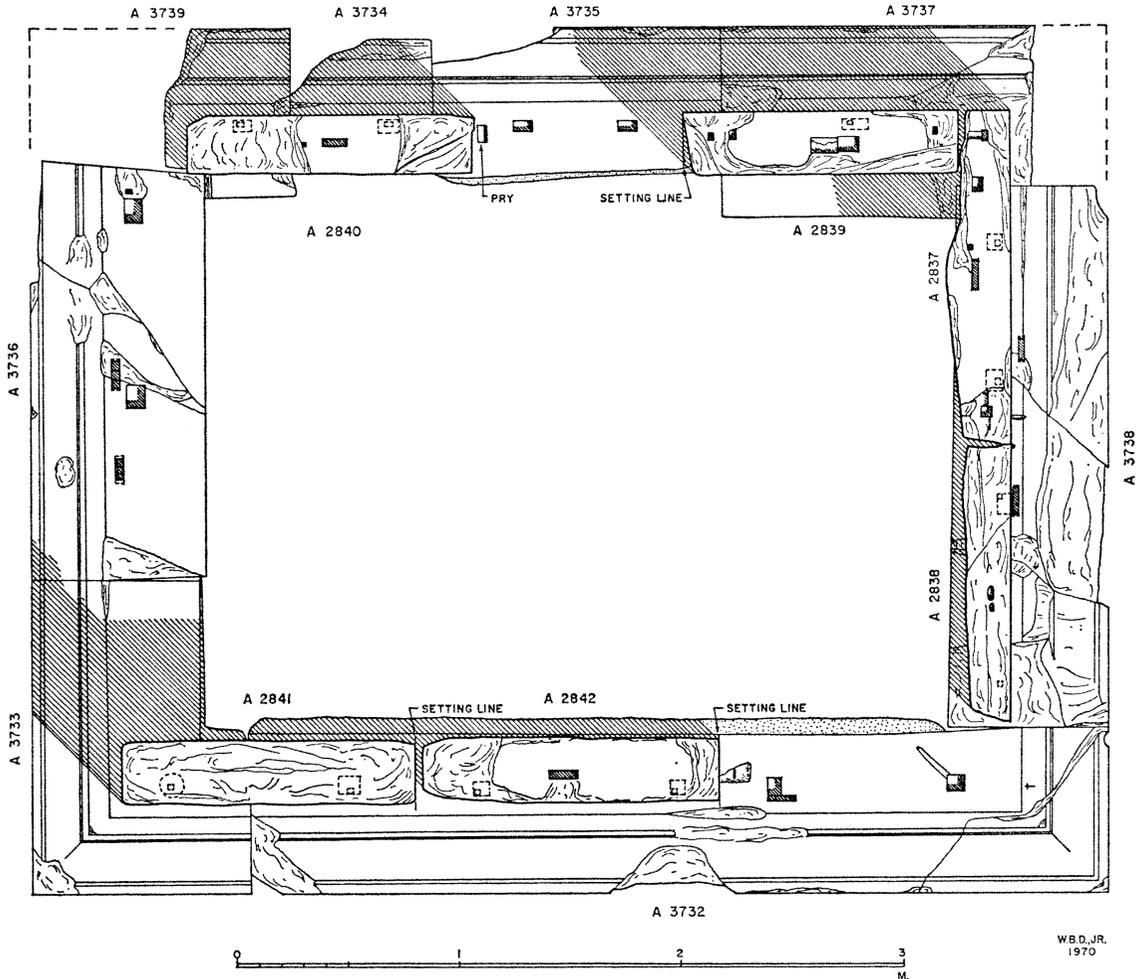


FIG. 8. Reconstruction of Base Blocks with Orthostates set above.

The same missing fragment from the left end of block **3** also deprives us of certain knowledge of the existence of the dowel which ought to have been in this area for the orthostate. Nonetheless, orthostate **10** (A 2838) surely belonged in this position. One might have suggested as much because of the alignment of the right edge of orthostate **10** with the pry mark on the top surface of base block **3** vis-à-vis the correspondence of the dowel on the right bottom surface of orthostate **10** with the cutting for a dowel on the top of base block **3**. Even better evidence, however, comes from the inscription on the faces of orthostates **9** and **10** which shows that these blocks must have been situated side by side with orthostate **10** to the left of orthostate **9**. It will be shown below that the latter must occupy the next position to the right of the former on the top of base block **3**. Thus the position of orthostate **10** on the left half of base block **3** can be regarded as certain (Fig. 8).

This placement of orthostate **10** has a bearing on the joint between base blocks **2** and **3**. With these two base blocks so joined and with orthostate **10** so placed, there is sufficient space to the left of the left side of orthostate **10** to allow the no longer extant orthostate on the right end of base block **2** to pass from the long face of block **2** up to the corner and make the necessary return. That the orthostate on the right end of base block **2** was a corner orthostate is clearly indicated by the position of the dowel cutting with its oblique pour channel on the right end of block **2**.⁶

C. THE JOINT BETWEEN BASE BLOCK **3** (A 3738) AND CORNER BASE BLOCK **4** (A 3737).

As noted in the catalogue, corner base block **4** has had its left end cut off so that no help for the reconstruction is forthcoming with regard to the profiles at the joint. This missing area also deprives us of a finished edge from which to measure to check the alignment of the hook clamps of the two blocks. The rough back surfaces of the blocks are too uneven to provide a secure point for measurement, but at least these surfaces, with regard to the clamp cuttings, do not preclude the joint between the two blocks. More positive evidence comes from the orthostate **9** (A 2837) which is inscribed on its face and forms a corner on its right side. Thus orthostate **9** must match with a base block not only its dowels and overall dimensions, but also its corner. These requirements are satisfied only by placing this orthostate on the right side of base block **3** and overlapping onto base block **4** which had the corner corresponding to that of the orthostate. Final confirmation comes from the left side of the orthostate which falls over the pry in the center of base block **3** (Fig. 8). This joint gives us the other overall dimension of the base of the monument as 3.889 m.

D. THE JOINT BETWEEN BASE BLOCK **4** (A 3737) AND BASE BLOCK **5** (A 3735).

These two blocks ought to be joined because of the similarities of their moulding profiles at the joint, and because of the correspondence of the distance of their hook clamps from the moulded face. With this joint made, there is space for an orthostate overlapping the joint which ought to be about 1.25 m. wide (i.e. the distance from the setting mark on the left end of base block **5** both to the pry on the left end of base block **4** and to the back of orthostate **9**). Within this area there are no apparent cuttings for dowels on the upper surface of the base blocks, but it is not impossible that the central lewis of base block **4** was re-used for this function.⁷ If so, we may

⁶ It will be clear from the drawing that, if the orthostate on the right end of base block **2** had stopped short of the corner so that another orthostate, coming in at right angles, had to carry the return around to the front of base block **2**, then the joint between these two orthostates would have fallen over the dowel cutting in the top of the base block, a situation which would make the pour channel of that dowel cutting completely unnecessary.

⁷ Nearly analogous situations exist elsewhere in the monument where dowels were cut into lewis holes with the latter partially re-used, therefore, as dowels. Compare the next to the last dowel

place orthostate **11** (A 2839) in this position. Not only are the requirements of width and dowel correspondence fulfilled by orthostate **11** in this position, but also the hook clamp on the left side of the orthostate matches that running to the rear on the right side of orthostate **9** (Fig. 8). The satisfactory placement of orthostate **11** on base blocks **4** and **5** supports the validity of the joint between these two base blocks.

E. THE JOINTS BETWEEN BASE BLOCK **5** (A 3735), BASE BLOCK **6** (A 3734), AND BASE BLOCK **7** (A 3739).

These joints are suggested by the correspondence of the distances from face to clamp. While the moulded faces are so badly preserved as to preclude certainty, they do not argue against such an arrangement. The best evidence, however, comes from the orthostate which sat above these base blocks. This orthostate had to begin just to the right of the pry on the right end of block **5** and had to have two lower dowels (one in block **6**, one in block **7**). Since base block **7**, although broken off on the right end, is a corner block, and since we already know the overall dimension of the monument, the original length of this block can be closely estimated, and so therefore can the necessary width of the orthostate which rested on blocks **5**, **6**, and **7**. This orthostate must have been either a corner orthostate extending out to the end of base block **7** in order to make the corner return, or it must have stopped short so that another orthostate could come in at right angles, overlap the end of the orthostate on top of base blocks **5**, **6**, and **7**, and thus make the corner return in the opposite direction. In the first case, the orthostate on top of base blocks **5**, **6**, and **7** will have had a width of about 1.60 m., in the second case a width of about 1.30 m. There is an extant orthostate, **12** (A 2840), whose width is 1.295 m. and whose bottom surface has two dowels which fall precisely into the cuttings on top of base blocks **6** and **7** when its left edge is set just to the right of the pry mark on base block **5** (Fig. 8).

F. THE JOINTS BETWEEN BASE BLOCK **7** (A 3739), BASE BLOCK **8** (A 3736), AND BASE BLOCK **1** (A 3733).

The reconstruction has now come to the point where there remains only a gap between base blocks **7** and **1**. Base block **8** exactly fills this gap which is in itself a strong argument that it belongs here. With the right end of base block **7** broken away, there is no evidence forthcoming from clamps or moulding profiles on the left end of block **8**. At the right joint, however, the profile of block **8** matches perfectly that of block **1**. The left end of the latter has no clamp cutting and while the upper surface of the right end of block **8** is slightly broken away, the break is not deep enough to have removed all traces of the hook of a clamp. There is no other base block which lacks a

from the right on base block **2** and the dowel in the top of orthostate **11**. In the latter instance, dowel and lewis not only overlap, but both still preserve lead.

clamp in the appropriate position. Block 8 must belong in this relationship to block 1, and it should be noted that, so placed, block 8 fills precisely the gap between blocks 7 and 1 and thus completes the other short side of the monument.

G. THE ORTHOSTATES

In the course of proving the joints of the various base blocks it has been helpful to use the evidence of five of the six extant orthostates so that only one, 14 (A 2842), remains to be set in its original position. This is clearly the central position on base block 2 (A 3732) based on the dual correspondence of the dowels of the orthostate to those of the base vis-à-vis the width of the space between the setting lines on the base block and the width of the orthostate (Fig. 8).

One potential question should be answered. It might be pointed out that the dowel cuttings on base block 8 (A 3736) are about 0.85 m. apart, and that two of the orthostates, 10 and 13, have dowels set apart by a similar dimension. The reasons for the placement of these two orthostates in other positions have already been presented, but one ought to mention the reasons why they could not have belonged on top of base block 8. It must be remembered that the orthostate which occupied the position on top of base block 8 was a corner orthostate with a return on its left end. Orthostate 10 has anathyrosis on its left side and thus is excluded as a candidate for the position on block 8. It would, moreover, require a certain perversity to separate it from its inscribed mate, orthostate 9. On the other hand, orthostate 13 is a corner orthostate with a return on its left side. It can be excluded from the position on block 8 because of the distance from its left side to its left dowel which is 0.20 m. The dimension for the same space on the orthostate which sat on base block 8 has to have been in the range of 0.37 to 0.45 m.

The reconstruction is now as nearly complete as possible at present. All the blocks have been set back in their original positions and the result is a large rectangular monument measuring 3.889 by 4.841 m. with the inscribed orthostates next to one another on one short side of the monument. One more point should be noted which, while not proving the validity of the reconstruction, does support it. It would appear that there was a standard unit of measurement in operation for the construction of the monument. This unit is ± 0.325 m. With this standard, the base blocks are two units high, the orthostates five. Although it might be coincidence, the reconstructed dimensions of the monument measure, on this same standard, twelve by fifteen.

IV. THE DATE OF THE MONUMENT

One of the several problems resulting from the lack of both an original site for the monument and its upper elements is the question regarding the date of construction. There is only the evidence which the base and orthostate blocks can provide. As will be seen in the following section, the date of the inscription on orthostates 9 and

10 belongs in the decade of A.D. 130 to 140, or perhaps a little later. The monument must be contemporary or earlier, and we have only the mouldings to help. The crucial point here involves the use of a cyma reversa base moulding (Fig. 1, a).

Although the cyma reversa was very popular, in fact the favored moulding, in classical Greece for the base of walls, pedestals, altars, etc., its use was gradually superseded by the cyma recta. The latter is very rare in the earlier periods, but is occasionally used in the later Hellenistic era.⁸ In the Roman world of late Republican times, there is a clear preference for the cyma recta as a base moulding so that the cyma reversa is the exception rather than the rule.⁹ Although no comprehensive study of mouldings of the Roman period in Greece now exists, it would seem that the use of the cyma reversa was decidedly less popular than the cyma recta in Greece as well as elsewhere during the first century of the empire.¹⁰ This trend meets a reversal in the second century after Christ, especially during the Hadrianic and Antonine periods when the cyma reversa frequently appears. During this era, the cyma reversa is clearly part of a classicistic revival, not only because of the frequency of its use, but also because of the (apparently universal) use of the cyma reversa with a crowning projecting fillet.¹¹ Our base blocks lack this projecting fillet, and it is for this reason that we ought, most probably, to think of the monument as early Hadrianic or late Trajanic when the cyma reversa was beginning to be used again in Athens; the monument is not quite in the mainstream of the full Hadrianic classicizing tendency. Such a dating gains strength from a comparison with the base moulding of the Monument of Philopappos which belongs in the years A.D. 114-116.¹² The base of this

⁸ L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Cambridge, 1936, pp. 99-100, 180-182.

⁹ L. T. Shoe, *Etruscan and Republican Roman Mouldings (M.A.A.R., XXVII)*, 1965, pp. 181-187.

¹⁰ This observation is admittedly based only on my impressions from the many Roman monuments in Greece, and especially Athens, and cannot claim to be the result of an exhaustive survey. Nonetheless, I believe it to be correct. At such an important Roman center as Philippi I have never been able to find a cyma reversa base, while cyma rectas abound for statue bases, monument bases, altars, toichobates, etc. A walk through the Athenian Agora will show that all those statue and monument bases of epigraphically indisputable first century after Christ date have the cyma recta, none the reversa. At Corinth, however, both types appear in about equal ratio. The buildings of this period are not well known, but we may cite certain examples of the cyma recta in this position: the base of the stage front of the Odeion of Agrippa in the Athenian Agora (cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 65, fig. 11); the podium base of Temple E at Corinth (cf. Freeman, *Corinth*, I, ii, Cambridge, 1941, pp. 184-185, no. 3, fig. 123); the paratid base of the Propylaea at Corinth (cf. Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, i, Cambridge, 1932, p. 182, fig. 127); the base of a tomb at Kenchreai (cf. Cummer, *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, p. 211, pl. 38).

¹¹ E.g. on the pedestals for antae and for the giants in the Odeion of Agrippa (the mid-second century rebuilding; cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 114, fig. 20 and p. 112, fig. 18); the pedestals on the west side of the Arch of Hadrian; the *scaenae frons* of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus; the toichobate of the recently discovered Hadrianic Basilica at the northeast corner of the Athenian Agora.

¹² J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, III, London, 1794, chapter V, plate V.

monument, like that from the Agora, is composed of a high plinth, a large half round, a fillet, and a cyma reversa. It must be admitted that the proportions are not exactly the same since the cyma reversa of the Philopappos monument is somewhat less vertical than ours. This is due mainly to the slightly tighter inner curve of our cyma reversa. Nonetheless, the similarities are striking enough to justify a provisional dating of the base in the Agora to the first quarter of the second century after Christ, and perhaps toward the middle of that period.

V. THE INSCRIPTION ON THE ORTHOSTATES

As mentioned before, two of the six surviving orthostates¹³ preserve parts of a lengthy inscription which has long been known, but not recently studied (Pls. 14, 15).¹⁴ Since the upper front surfaces of both stones are badly battered, all traces of heading have long since disappeared. Lower down the stones are inscribed in columns, three on orthostate **10**, two more columns and a few letters preserved from a third on orthostate **9**. The position of the two stones and thus of the text which they bear, relative to one another, has always been considered to have been with **10** on the left, **9** on the right. Such an arrangement is partially justified by the matching sets of holes on their faces, and further substantiated, as has been seen, by the demands of the dowel cuttings in the orthostates relative to those in the base blocks.

The columns of the text are made up of a series of names of men or women, sometimes more than one in the same entry, each followed by one or more pieces of property identified by their locations and often by physical attributes. The property is then equated with a sum of money in Denarii which appears in the margin to the right of the column. When more than one property follows the name of a person (or persons), the sums are listed for each property within the column, while the total for all the properties associated with that individual appears in the right margin.¹⁵ The left margin of each column is violated by each new entry with the first two or three letters of each new proper name projecting into the left margin (Pl. 18).

But the profile is more nearly that shown by M. Santangelo, "Il Monumento di C. Julius Antiochos Philopappos in Atene," *Annuario*, III-V, 1941-43, p. 182, fig. 27. The inner curve is actually not so tight as shown by Stuart and Revett.

¹³ Of the other four, the surface of one (**11**, A 2839) is sufficiently well preserved to allow a definite statement that it was never inscribed. The same certainty is not possible with respect to the other three orthostates today, but Eustratiades thought that they had not been inscribed.

¹⁴ The original publication was by Eustratiades, *op. cit.* (note 3), no. 415; the most recent edition by J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 2776. For general discussions of the inscription and its significance see P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934 (henceforth cited as Graindor), pp. 182 ff.; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York, 1942 (henceforth cited as Day), pp. 221-235; and U. Kahrstedt, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit*, Bern, 1954 (henceforth cited as Kahrstedt), pp. 48 ff.

¹⁵ The only exception to the normal system of entry is in lines 90 ff. where it appears that there are sub-entries for men with a specified proportion of the property and the money associated with it.

In the hundred years since their discovery, the stones have suffered greatly and only a fraction of the letters once seen are still visible. The text given below is, therefore, essentially that of Kirchner with those letters now legible underlined. A sample of the letter style (lines 100-118) can be seen in Plate 18.

Letter Height: 0.011 m.

Symbols and abbreviations: ¹⁶

- * = Denarii (one Denarius = one Old Drachma)
 ∟ = 1/2 Denarius
 ΔP = Drachma (thus ΔPA = one Drachma, ΔPB = two Drachmai, etc. N.B. one New Drachma = 1/6 Denarius)
 S = 1/2 Drachma (1/12 Denarius)
 - = 1 Obol (1/36 Denarius)
) = 1/2 Obol (1/72 Denarius)
 † = 900
 † = Koppa (90)
 ' = Thousands
 Ⓜ = Total ¹⁷
 χωρ = χωρίου

Stone A (Orthostate 10), Column I

	----- √	
	----- ΟΣ	*TOE
	----- ΛΙΑ	
	[----- χωρ] Φ[λ]v-	
5	[ἦσι πρὸς τ]ϖ̂ Σ----- ϖ	
	----- ΣΚΥ -- ς 'Av[κ]υλ-	*YOE
	[ἦθε]v χωρ Φλυῆσι πρὸς	
	- ΙΣ -----	
	----- ΝΑΙ. ΜΟ[-- χωρ] Φλυῆσι	* --
10	[πρ]ὸ[ς τϖ̂] Αἰθ[ί]οπι	ΔΡΑΣ
	-- 'Αρρία [Ἄ]θήνιον <u>χωρ</u> Μήνι-	*' ς † ΞΗΔΡΑΣ
	[δο]ς καὶ 'Απολλωνίου <u>Αἰθαλιδῶ</u>	

¹⁶ With the exception of the symbols noted, alphabetic numerals are used to indicate the sums of money.

¹⁷ This symbol occurs only following the last sum of money in a listing of two or more properties (cf. Pl. 18, line 11 therein) and indicates a stop to the property associated with a given person. As such its explanation as a contraction of *γίγονται ὁμοῦ* based on papyrological analogies is quite reasonable; cf. A. Wilhelm, *Anzeiger Wiener Akad.*, 1924, p. 136.

- καὶ ψειλοῦ Ἀμφιαράου *ΥΚΕ Αἰ-
 θαλιδῶ *ΥΞΒΖ με[γ]ά<λ>λης αὐ(λ)ῆς
 15 καὶ πυργιδίου Γαργητοῖ *ΒΧΠΖΖ
 πυραμίδος *['Α]ΟΕ Ἴ(ω)νιδῶ *ΩΙΒΖ
 Εἰφιστιαδῶ *ΣΝ ὁ σχαστηρίας Κο-
 λω[ν]οῖ *ΣΛΒΖ κήπου πρὸς τ-
 [----- *ΥΚΓ]ΔΡΔΣ [῀]
 20 ----- Ὀλυμπιοδώρου Σ[τ]ειριεύς [* --]
 [καὶ Ἀπολλ]ωνία Ἀπολλοδώρ[ο]ν
 ----- χωρ Βατήσι
 [Χα]ρίλαος Ὀ[λ]υμπιοδώρου Στειριεύς *ΑΠΕ
 χωρ πυργ[ι]δίου ἐν μεσογείῳ
 25 ΚΛ Σ -- ^ΛΣ ----- *ΤΚΕ
 - ΜΕΡΟ [----- Ἴ]ωνιδῶ
 Οὐειψαν[ί]α [----- χ]ωρ -- [* -]
 ου πρὸς τῶ -- φ
 ----- ΔΙΟ ----- ΕΩ ----- *ΦΙ
 30 - ΡΗ ----- ἄσου Φλυ-
 ῆσι [*-----]ας Λακκία-
 [δ]ῶ [*----- ῀]
 -- ος Ἴοφ ----- ΩΡ -- * ΓΥΞΒΖ
 ----- ΑΛΙΣΤ -- Λ -
 35 ----- ΦΛ Ὀῆσι *ΒΣΝ
 ----- *ΦΠΖΖ ἐπι-
 ----- ν Ἀ[χαρνῆ]σι *ΧΚΕ? ῀

Column II

- *ΥΦΔ

 Αρριος Ἀπ[--- καὶ Ἀρρία Σνμ]-- [--]
 40 φέρουσα καὶ Ἀρρία Δο ---
 ρίων Φαληροῖ -----
 Πόπλιος Αἴλιος Ἄττα[λο]ς Παλλη- *ΑΧΠΖΖ
 νεὺς Ν^ε [χω]ρ Στρατω[ν]ιανοῦ Ὡ
 [α]σι * [↑] ΞΗΔΡΔΣ Γλαυκω[ν]ιδ-
 45 [ου] ἐ[ν μ]εσογ[εί]φ *ΥΙΗΔΡΔΣ ῀
 ----- ΟΣ --- ἐσχατιᾶς Πο- * . ΠΔΡΑ[Σ]
 -- ἐν μεσο[γείφ]

- [Κλαύ]διος Καλ[λις]τόμαχος *ΧΟ.ΔΡΑΣ
χω[ρίο]ν Ἀθμονοῖ καὶ Φλνῆσι
- 50 Κλ Πάνν[υχ]ος χωρ Ἰωνιδῶ πρὸς τῶ
ἀνδροφόνω κῶνω *ΑΦΞΒΖ
ἔσχατιᾶς Ὀρεαδῶ *ΧΚΕ σχαστη-
ριῶν Βατήσι *ΑΣΝ Ἀετοῦ
πρὸς τῶ Κορ[υ]ωδαλῶ *ΑΡΝΣ
- 55 ΔΡΑΣ ἀμπελουργῶν καὶ συκα-
μείνου Ἀθμονοῖ *ΑΙΓΔΡΔΣ Ἰ
Κλ Δαμῶ ἡ καὶ Συναμάτη χωρ Ἀν-
κυλήσι καὶ Ἀγρυλλήσι πρὸς τῶ
Ἰμητῶ *ΤΟΕ
- 60 Φλ Φίλα χωρ Κυπρίων Δαμπτράσι
*ΣΠΑΔΡΑΣ Θρ[ά]σωνος Δαμπτράσι
*ΤΙΒΖ Θριωσίω πρὸς τῶ Μύρμη-
κι καὶ ἄλλον χωρ μέρους τρίτου
*ΦΛΑΔΡΔΣ Ἰ
- 65 Κλ Ἐλευθέριον χωρ πύρ[γ]ου καὶ κω-
μωδῶν Παλληνῆσι ἐν μεσο-
γείω *Φ
Εὐκαρπία Ἡρακλείδου χωρ Ἀθμονοῖ *ΧΛ
Φλ Δωρόθεος Φλ Φιλότειμος Φλ Δολ- *ΧΠΖΖ
- 70 λία Φλ Μεγίστη κήπου πρὸς τῆ
Ἀχαρνικῆ πύλη προσαγορευομέ-
νου Κειονίου
Νυμφόδοτος χωρ Πολυστράτου Στή- *ΤΟΕ
λης καὶ Ἐλπιανο[ύ]

Column III

- 75 ΛΠCI ----- [*--]
----- ΟΣΠ -----
- Ἀγαθόμ[ορος?] ----- χωρ [*-]
Ἀθμονο[ί] -----
- Ε. . . . ς Πα[ν]θάλης -- ιου. . . . του Ἐ- *.ΟΕ
80 λευ[σίνι] -----
- Τίτος Φλάουι[ος Ἀσυ]λος? χωρ -- *Φ --
χης Ἐρχ[ιᾶ]σι πρὸς τῶ Τρι[κε]φ[ά]λω
Καλ ις Νε[άρ]χου χωρ Σικ[ε]λίας πρὸς τῶ *-
. . . . φ

- 85 Κλ Δαμόκλεια [χωρ -----] * . ΦΕ
 πρὸς τῷ Κηφεισῶ ποταμῷ * --
 δωνου *↑ΛΖΖ μέσου χωρίο[v * - ῥ̣]
 Ἴ[ού]νιο[ς] Διο[μ]ιδεύς, Ἴο[υνί]α Εὐπλοια, Ἴου- [* -]
 νία Φιλίππη χωρ ἐν Ἀκαδημεία
- 90 Κλ Χάρης Κακόρινος χωρ . . . Φλυῆσι * -
 πρὸς τῷ περσικῶνι, Κλ Με[νε]χάρηα με-
 ρῶν τεσσάρων *ΣΠΖΖ, Κλ Δέκο[μος? -]
 ὠ μέρους ἕκτου *ΞΒΖ (Ῐ)
 [Δ]είος Σω[τί]ων[ο]ς χωρ δευτέρου Ἀν[κυ]- *ΥΛΖΖ
 λῆσι
- 95 Κλ Τερτύλλα χωρ φρουρίω[ν] Ἀφίδ[νη]- *'ΑΧΟΕ[ΔΡΑ]
 σι *ΥΕ Ὀτρυνῆσι *ΩΙ --- [*ΥΔ]
 Ὀτρυνῆσι *Ν5 Ῐ [Ῐ]
 [Δι]όδωρος Γλαύκου χ[ωρ] ----- Ἀλι]- [* -]Ν
 μούντι
- 100 Ἰουλία Πωλλίττα χωρ Ἀχαρνῆσι πρὸς τῷ *ΞΒΖ
 ἐμβόλω
Φλ Θάλεια χωρ Μητρώου ἐν Ὠρωπῷ *ΤΟΕ
Φλῶρος Καλάμδος χωρ Κυναρίων Ἀνα- * -
 κάσι
- 105 Ἀσκληπιάς Ταυρίσκου χωρ Ἀχαρνῆσι * . ΟΕ
 Οὐειβούλλιος Πεμπτείδης Μαραθ χωρ Ἐρ- *['ΒΡ]Μ5 Ῐ Ε-
 μαφροδείτου Φλυῆσι *ΦΞΒΖ πέτρας
Παιανοῖ *Υ95 Ῐ Ε-) πέτρας Παιανιο[ῖ]]
- 110 *ΥΠΖΖ Ῐ
Φλ Φιλωτιανὸς χωρ Ἀντιπατριανοῦ καὶ Κο- * -
 νιοκαύστου Φλυῆσι
Φλ Ἀλυπος χωρ περσικῶνος Φλυῆσι *↑Ν5 Ῐ -
Φλ Τύχη χωρ Ἀζηνιάσι * -
- 115 Ἰουλία Ἀντιόχη χωρ Ἀναφλύστου, πύργου Ἴπ- [* --] Ῐ AS
 πονείκου Θορικοῦ, Ἐπι[κ]ούρου Φίλα Λυσίου
βησσῶν Ἀμφιτροπῆσι, ἐσχατίας πυρ-
γιδίου τετραπυργίας Ἀτηνῆσι, Φρεαρρίου
Αὐλῶνος Νιγριανοῦ Ἀχραδούντος Ἴωνιδῶ

Stone B (Orthostate 9), Column I

120 ----- . . . στο -----
 ----- ω . ν -----

['*]'ΒΛ Ῐ

Φιλαρ[γυρί]ων) χωρ ἐν ᾿Ωρω- *BΦΙΔΡΓS-)

 πῶ [*TS-)] Μεικωνιαστῶν *TΞBZ

 Δ. .⁵ . . . ἦτον *TOE ὑπόπροι-

 155 [κο]s? [*]Y[I]E Δι. αου *XKE μεικροῦ

 ὑπο[χ]ρόνου *ΣΚ[E] Π . . . γάθου

 Ἐρυθοῖ *ΣH M̄

Stone B, Column II

Column III

Κλ -----

 ασι ----- v -----

 160 φ ----- χ -----

 ----- ε. . λ -----

 ----- λε. Δι -----

 Φιλι ----- γ ----- [* -]

 ----- λ. . ω -----

 165 Ἴο[v -----] δε. . α ----- [* -]

 ----- σι -----

 Κλ --- χ[ω]ρ Αλ[----- πρὸς]

 [τῶ] Κ[ηφει]σῶ ποτ[αμῶ]

 Ἄσ. . ε ----- τ ----- [*] ΠΑΔ

 170 Δ. . ο. . ιη --- κο ----- [*]ΘΕ

 --- ω --- σ -----

 Τ. . . . ποι --- ω ----- [*]'Γ. ΦΕ

 --- ΣΓ [Πα]τρικοῦ --- σι

 Κ[α]ρπόδωρος Πρέιμ[ου ---]

 175 --- τι. . . σσ. . Ἄτη[νῆ]σι --- *ΥΛΖΖ Σ

 --- ιει. σσμη -----

 --- Ἄθμ[ον]ο[ί?] -----

 [χ]ω[ρ] Γ[α]ργηττοῖ * ----- ΕΓ

 γος Ἄλωπεκῆσι

 180 Ἄρτέμων Ε. .⁵ . . . θου [χωρ -----] *ΥΝΕ ΕΙ

 ἐν ᾿Ωρωπῶ

 Ἄπολ[λ]ων[ίδ]ης Θεοδώρο[v χ]ωρ *ΩΟΕ

 Ποταμοῖ

 Ἴούνη[ος] Δ[ι]ομ[ι]δέυς, Ἴο[υνία Εὔ]πλοια *B Λ

 185 [Ἴο]υν[ί]α Φιλίππ[η] χω[ρ ἐν] Ἄ[κ]α-

 [δ]η[μεία]? Ε

 Ἴου[νία] Εὔ[π]λοια χω ----- κης Λακ- [* -]

 [κιαδ]ῶ *AX ----- Σ \ΛΕΣΙ

 πρὸς τῶ Εὐκ ----- ω *

	(for land) in Ionidai, 812 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii;	
	(for land) in Iphistiadai, 250 Denarii;	
	for a <i>schasteria</i> in Kolonos, 232 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii:	
	for a garden adjoining the -- 723 $\frac{3}{4}$	
	Denarii Total	
20	-- son of Olympiodoros of Steiria and Apollonia daughter of Apollodoros -- (are to pay) for land in Bate	? Denarii
	Charilaos son of Olympiodoros of Steiria (is to pay) for land with a tower in the Mesogeia	1085 Denarii
25	Claudius S - ls -- (is to pay) for a ? part of land --- in Ionidai	325 Denarii
	Vipsania ----- (is to pay) for land adjoining the ?	? Denarii
	--- Dio --- eo --- (is to pay) for	510 Denarii
30	-- asou in Phlya, ? Denarii; for -- -- in Lakkiadai, ? Denarii Total	
	-- os son of Ioph -- (is to pay) for land	3462 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii
35	---- alist ---- l ---- phl in Oe, 2250 Denarii; for ---, 587 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii; for --- in Acharnai, 625 Denarii Total	
	-----	794 Denarii

40	Arrios son of Ap -- and Arria Sympherousa and Arria Do -- (are to pay for) -- in Phaleron	
	Poplios Ailios Attalos the Younger of Pallene (is to pay) for land of Stratonianos in Oa, 968 $\frac{3}{4}$ Denarii; for land of Glaukonides	1687 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii
45	in the Mesogeia, 718 $\frac{3}{4}$ Denarii Total	
	--- os (is to pay) for a borderland estate of Po --- in the Mesogeia	[.] 80 $\frac{1}{4}$ Denarii
	Claudius Kallistomachos (is to pay) for land in Athmonon and Phlya	67[.] $\frac{1}{4}$ Denarii
50	Claudius Pannychos (is to pay) for land in Ionidai adjoining the 'man-slaughtering pinetree,' 1562 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii; for a border-	5687 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii

	land estate in Oreadai, 625 Denarii; for <i>schasteriai</i> in Bate, 1250 Denarii; for the land of ' the eagle ' adjoining Korydallos,	
55	1156 $\frac{1}{4}$ Denarii; for vineyards and a mulberry tree in Athmonon, 1093 $\frac{3}{4}$ Denarii Total	
	Claudia Damo also called Synamate (is to pay) for land in Ankyle and Agryle adjoining Hymettos	375 Denarii
60	Flavia Phila (is to pay) for Kyprian land in Lamptraï, 281 $\frac{1}{4}$ Denarii; for land of Thrason in Lamptraï, 312 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii; (for land) in Thriosion adjoining the Myrmex and of other land a third part, 531 $\frac{3}{4}$ Denarii Total	1125 Denarii
65	Claudia Eleutherion (is to pay) for land with a tower and <i>komodoi</i> in Pallene in the Mesogeia	500 Denarii
	Eukarpia, daughter of Herakleides, (is to pay) for land in Athmonon	630 Denarii
	Flavios Dorotheos, Flavios Philoteimos, Flavia Lollia, Flavia Megiste (are to pay) for a garden adjoining the Acharnian Gate called the Keionian	687 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii
70	Nymphodotos son of Nymphodotos (is to pay) for land of Polystratos Stele and Elpionianos	375 Denarii
75	apsi ----- ----- osp -----	? Denarii
	Agathomoros --- (is to pay) for land in Athmonon	? Denarii
	E -- s Panthales --- iou -- tou in Eleusis	[.]75 Denarii
80	Titos Flavios Asylos (is to pay) for land -- ches in Erchia adjoining the Trikephalos Kal[.]is son of Nearchos (is to pay) for land of Sikelia adjoining the ---	5[. .] Denarii ? Denarii
85	Claudia Damokleia (is to pay) for land -- adjoining the Kephisos river, ? Denarii; for -- donou, 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii; for land in the middle, ? Denarii Total	[.]505 Denarii
	Iounios of Diomeia, Iounia Euploia, Iounia	? Denarii

	Philippe (are to pay) for land in the Akademy	
90	Claudius Chares Kakorinos (is to pay) for land -- in Phlya adjoining the peach orchard, Claudia Menecharea for four parts, 287 ½ Denarii; Claudius Dekomos for a sixth part, 62 ½ Denarii	? Denarii
	Total	
	Deios son of Sotion (is to pay) for a second (piece of) land in Ankyle	437 ½ Denarii
95	Claudia Tertylla (is to pay) for land with guardposts in Aphidna, 405 Denarii; for land in Otryne, 810 Denarii; for -- 404 Denarii; for land in Otryne, 56 ¼ Denarii	1675 ¼ Denarii
	Total	
100	Diodoros son of Glaukos (is to pay) for land -- in Halimous	[.]50 Denarii
	Ioulia Pollitta (is to pay) for land in Acharnai adjoining the Embolos	62 ½ Denarii
	Flavia Thaleia (is to pay) for land of the Metroon in Oropos	375 Denarii
105	Phloros Kalamidos (is to pay) for land of the Kynarioi in Anakaia	? Denarii
	Asklepias daughter of Tauriskos (is to pay) for land in Acharnai	[.]75 Denarii
	Veiboullios Pempteides of Marathon (is to pay) for land of Hermaphroditos in Phlya, 562 ½ Denarii; for rocky land in Paiania, 796 ⅞ Denarii; for rocky land in Paiania, 787 ½ Denarii	2146 ⅞ Denarii
110	Total	
	Flavius Philotianos (is to pay) for land of Antipatrianos and Koniokaustos in Phlya	? Denarii
	Flavius Alypos (is to pay) for land with a peach orchard in Phlya	956 ⅝ Denarii
	Flavia Tyche (is to pay) for land in Azenia	? Denarii
115	Ioulia Antioche (is to pay) for land in Anaphlystos; for a tower of Hipponikos of Thorikos; Phila daughter of Lysias for glens of Epikouros in Amphitrope; for a borderland estate, a small tower, and a four-	? ¼ Denarii

	towered villa in Atene; (for land) of Aulon of Phrearrhioi and Nigrianos of Achradous in Ionidai	
120	--- l -- oto -- o u ----- ----- o . u ----- n -- okl -- ----- ito . esy ----- ----- e Claudius Eudolos --	2035 Denarii
125	--- s Poly ----- Keram -- o ----- 205 Denarii; - r -- i - -- eitoi. ? Denarii; ----- ----- para . esto -----	755 Denarii
130	-- in Phaleron, 3[. .] Denarii; -- -- , [.]41 Denarii: for a garden adjoining the pool ----- -- of Ioulianos ----- <i>six lines not preserved</i>	[. .]5 Denarii
135	----- ----- ----- (is to pay) for land in Athmonon ----- (is to pay) for land in Azenia	[.]88 $\frac{3}{8}$ Denarii [.]9[. .] Denarii
140	Vent . phl -- (is to pay) for land in Ankyle (?), 5 [. .] Denarii; ----- adjoining the Hippian gate, 7[.] Denarii; --- lysi -- kes in Ankyle, ? Denarii Total	1950 Denarii
145	--- des -- strate (is to pay) for land in Azenia, ? Denarii; for a country garden adjoining the ph -----; for a melon patch, 325 Denarii Total ----- (is to pay) for land --- of the Iphontiastoi in the Akademy adjoining the L ---	1502 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii 382 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii
150	Hor as son of Isias (is to pay) for land Hip ----- on in Oropos Philargyrion son of Philargyrion (is to pay) for land in Oropos, 300 $\frac{1}{8}$ Denarii; for land of the Meikoniastoi, 362 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii; for L --- etou, 375 Denarii; for land	375 Denarii 2510 $\frac{5}{8}$ Denarii

155	remaining from a dowry (?), 415 Denarii; for land Ai. aou, 625 Denarii; for land on a short-term lease, 225 Denarii; for land of P. . . gathos in Erython, 208 Denarii Total	
160	kl ----- asi ----- y ----- ph -- - ch ----- e. . l ----- le. -- Phili ----- g ----- l. . o -----	? Denarii
165	Iou ----- de. a ----- si -- Claudius --- (is to pay) for land Al -- adjoining the Kephisos River	? Denarii
	As. . e -- t -----	81 1/2 Denarii
170	L. . o. . ie ----- ko ----- o -- T. . . . poi --- o --- of Patrikos -- si Karpodoros son of Preimos ----- ti --	[.]75 Denarii 3505 Denarii 737 1/2 Denarii
175	-- ss -- in Atene --- iei. ssme -- -- in Athmonon --- for land in Gargettos, ? Denarii; ----- in Alopeke Total	
180	Artemon son of E. . . . thos (is to pay) for land in Oropos	755 Denarii
	Apollonides son of Theodoros (is to pay) for land in Potamos	875 Denarii
	Iounios of Diomeia, Iounia Euploia, Iounia	2000 Denarii
185	Philippe (are to pay) for land in the Akademy Iounia Euploia (is to pay) for land -- in Lakkiadai, 16[. .] Denarii; ----- adjoining the temple of Eukleia (?), []75 Denarii	? Denarii
190	Total Iounios Onesas ----- for new in Aixone	? Denarii
	Flavius Met --- (is to pay) for land in Oa, 1800 Denarii; (for land) in Eiresidai, ? Denarii; for -- of Asklepios in Achradous,	15, 750 Denarii
195	?Denarii; for -- in the Thriasian Plain, 2250 Denarii; for . . of the Kekropeion in the Thriasian Plain, [.]50 Denarii; for a borderland estate in the Thriasian Plain, 1125 Denarii; (for land) of Hieron e. , 1, 562 1/2 Denarii; for an inn e. ion and	
200	a potter's shop adjoining them in Alopeke, ?	

	Denarii; for a forest in Lamptrai, 1500	
	Denarii; for walnut trees in Acharnai,	
	437 ½ Denarii; for a <i>schateria</i> , 1125	
	Denarii; for walnut trees in the Mesogeia,	
	1250 Denarii	Total
205	Tiberius Claudius Lysiades (is to pay) for woodless lands in Potamos	[.]32 ½ Denarii
	Poplius Ventidios Demetrios (is to pay) for land and large and small cattle stalls (which are) in the Flavian lands of Demaphon — — — and walnut trees with the Flavian lands of Phanopte and Apollonia in Oropos which he bought from the heirs of Tiberius Flavius Euphanes	3750 Denarii

C. COMMENTARY

Line 10. $[\pi\rho]\delta[s\ \tau\hat{\omega}] \text{ Αἰθ}[\acute{\iota}\omega]\pi\upsilon$. This is the first preserved of several topographical indicators for various properties, often, as here, coupled with the property's more general location within a deme (e.g. lines 50-51, 57-59, 82), but sometimes without an indication of the deme location (e.g. lines 24, 44-45, 203-204). The precise meaning of this phrase is obscure to me, and I know of no landmark around the deme of Phlya with which to connect it.

Line 12. Αἰθαλιδῶ . We encounter here the first of the frequently repeated ending $-\omega$ which is used with some deme names. It appears to be a genitive plural with a strange *apocope* of the final *nu*. The use of this form is both consistent and confined to the following: Aithalidai (lines 12, 14); Ionidai (lines 16, 26, 50, 119); Eiphistiadai (line 17); Lakkiadai (lines 31, 187-8); Eiresidai (line 194); and Oreadai (line 52). I know of no explanation for this phenomenon nor for the use of the genitive to localize the property. The possibility of an implication of deme ownership, past or present, of the property is excluded by this case, where the property belongs, or had belonged, to Menis and Apollonios. All other demes are placed in the more normal dative of place.¹⁸

Lines 14-15. $\mu\epsilon[\gamma]\acute{\alpha}\langle\lambda\rangle\lambda\eta\varsigma \alpha\upsilon(\lambda)\hat{\eta}\varsigma$. This emendation for the Με. ἄλλης Αὔης of Eustratiades, followed by Kirchner, is suggested by the context. We have to do with an entry of a piece of property in Gargettos a part of which was certainly a small tower (πυργίδιον).¹⁹ The old reading would suppose the coupling of a proper name,

¹⁸ The contention by Day, p. 231, that deme ownership is implicit in this genitive fails to account for the 'middle men' mentioned in the two cases cited above. It also seems to place heavy demands on the law of averages to assert that, for example, all the property mentioned in the inscription in connection with Ionidai was once owned by that deme.

¹⁹ See Aristophanes, *Equites*, 793, for this diminutive of πύργος .

by means of a straight conjunction, with the tower in order to define the property. If one assumes the whole property to have been something like a farm complex, then a "large courtyard and a small tower in Gargettos" makes good sense.²⁰ Unfortunately the stone preserves too little now to settle the question, but Dittenberger's reading (*I.G.*, III, 61) supports the emendation for he noted a missing letter in the second word ΑΥ.ΗΣ. One wonders if Eustratiades had not simply transposed a lambda from the second word to the first.

Line 16. *πυραμίδος*. Like the previous entry, the pyramid is probably best understood as some sort of farm building the shape of which caught a reflection in its name. Such buildings are known to exist in the Argolid.²¹

Line 16. Ἰ(ω)νιδῶ. Although the stone is no longer clear here, this correction by Dittenberger for Eustratiades' Ἰουιδῶ is certainly proper.

Line 17. *σχαστηρίας*. Although Mommsen,²² followed by Dittenberger and Kirchner, took the *schasteria* to be a proper noun identifying a person or place, it ought more probably to belong to the category of buildings or establishments like the "large courtyard and small tower" (lines 14-15) or the "inn . . . and the potter's shop adjoining" (lines 199-201). Just what sort of establishment is intended is not so clear. Day (p. 232) called it "a contrivance with a release mechanism of some sort," and little more than this can be said on the basis of other occurrences of the word.²³ From the other mentions of *schasteriai* in our text (lines 52, 203), the relatively large amounts of money connected with them, and the localization of two of them within demes, we may conclude that they were stationary and of considerable value. We ought probably to imagine some piece of heavy machinery performing a service for more people than merely the owner; that is, an establishment belonging to the same genre as the lumber mill or flour mill.

Line 20. [*] In accordance with the new heading within this column, a total will have appeared in the right margin of this line. This is also true of lines 39, 77, 88, 163, 165, and 167.

²⁰ One may gain a vivid, and I believe correct, visual image of the property described in our text from the remains of various ancient farming establishments as, for example, the 'Princess Tower' complex near Sounion; cf. J. H. Young, "Studies in South Attica, Country Estates at Sounion," *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 122-146.

²¹ Cf. L. Lord, "The 'Pyramids' of Argolis," *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 481 ff. Although Lord assigned to these pyramids a defensive function as part of a series of fortifications and watch towers, he noted certain features which ought to indicate a more utilitarian function for them. These include the rectangular basins with outlets through, and a part of, the original construction. One of these basins still contained slaked lime at the time of excavation. Whatever the proper interpretation of these pyramids with their accoutrements, they belong with those more utilitarian buildings collected by Young, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

²² "Athenische Stiftungsurkunde," *Hermes*, V, 1871, p. 129; cf. p. 130, note 1.

²³ Cf. [Aristotle], *De mundo*, 398b; Polybios, VIII, 5, 10 and 6, 4; Hero of Alexandria, *Περὶ αὐτοματοποιητικῆς*, XIII, 9.

Line 35. ΦΛ Ὀῆσι. One might be tempted to read this, with Dittenberger, as Φλυῆσι but the *omicron* is clear on the stone. Thus the reading ΦΛ breaks the normal pattern of a genitive preceding the deme. Either Eustratiades misread this, or the ΦΛ actually represents the sum of a previous entry (i.e. 530 Denarii) which would help fill the otherwise difficult to explain gap of more than two lines between the χωρ of line 33 and the presumed first monetary entry in line 35. If this is true, however, either the reading of the total in the right margin (*ΓΥΞΒΖ) or else the reading of one of the smaller sums within the column, is incorrect.

Line 42. Πόπλιος Δῖλιος Ἄρτα[λο]ς Παλλη|νεύς. Prytanis in A.D. 138/9; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1764, line 39.

Line 48. [Κλαύ]διος Καλ[λίσ]τόμαχος. Prytanis probably in the first half of the second century after Christ; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1760, line 4.

Line 52. ἐσχατιᾶς. For reasons unknown to me this word has suffered various interpretations: pasture or fallow land;²⁴ pasture with forests and thickets;²⁵ wooded land.²⁶ The more normal meaning, the application of which is not excluded here, is that of a farm or estate which is near the limits of arable land (i.e. at mountain foot or sea side).²⁷ Such a locative force in the word would agree with the placement of the *eschatia* of Timarchos in Sphettos²⁸ (i.e. at the eastern foot of Hymettos) and also with the other two cases in our text: line 117 in Atene at the sea, and line 197 in the Thriasian plain either at the sea or at the western foot of Aigaleos. That an *eschatia* is to be defined in wider terms (as a farm) than those interpretations listed above is shown by that *eschatia* belonging to Phainippos²⁹ which had a circuit of over 40 stades and was equipped with buildings, two threshing floors, and a stand of timber.

Line 52. Ὀρεαδῶ. I cannot explain the use of a genitive plural, without its final *nu*, as in the cases of Ionidai, Aithalidai, etc., for what apparently is not a deme. See above, on line 12.

Line 55. ἀμπελουργῶν καὶ συκαμείνον. Graindor (pp. 183-184), followed by Day (p. 231), took this word (ἀμπελουργοί) to refer to an association of vineyard owners which had previously held the plot of land. Such an interpretation would result, as in the case of line 14 above, in the coupling of people and objects (i.e. the vineyard owners and a mulberry tree) by a simple conjunction. It is preferable that both words should belong to the same category. However, the reading here seems secure as

²⁴ "terrain de pacage, terrain en friche," A. Jardé, *Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque*, Paris, 1925, p. 93, note 2.

²⁵ Day, p. 230.

²⁶ "Waldstücke, nicht Vorwerke," Kahrstedt, p. 47, note 2.

²⁷ So Graindor, p. 186, note 3, citing Photios: τὰ πρὸς τοῖς τέρμασι τῶν χωρίων ἐσχατιὰς ἔλεγον· οἷς γεινιᾶ ἔτε ὄρος ἔτε θάλασσα.

²⁸ Aischines, I, 97.

²⁹ Demosthenes, XLII, 5-7.

published and we must either allow the sense to stand as taken by Graindor or else assume an error in the inscribing which omitted the *epsilon* and *iota* from ἀμπελουργείων. With this assumption, although it is otherwise undocumented and impossible to prove, the property in the text would be explicable as consisting of vineyards and a mulberry tree.³⁰

Line 62. Θριωσίω. For the otherwise unknown place-name Thriosios,³¹ Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, XXII, 1887, p. 120) restored θριῶσι, but the stone is still legible here and confirms Eustratiades' original reading. Since *iota* subscripts are not noted on the stone, we might have to do with another genitive plural as in the case of Oreadai (line 52); in either case the word must have a locative force.

Line 62. πρὸς τῷ Μύρμη|κι. It is not clear where the property, or even the Myrmex, should be located, but we may note the presence of a "Myrmex Alley" in northern Athens, in the deme of Skambonidai.³²

Line 64. Ⓜ There is no reason for the brackets in Kirchner's text. The symbol was clear on the stone 100 years ago and remains so today.

Lines 65-66. χωρ πύρ[γ]ου καὶ κω|μωδῶν. Is this another example of the coupling of a physical attribute of land with people? That is, was the property equipped with a tower and previously owned by an association of comedians? One might suggest that the κωμωδοί were actually some further embellishment of the property and that the word derives from the Latin *commodum*. The sense would then be "land with a tower and conveniences (or small storage chambers?)."

Line 69. Φλ Δωρόθεος Φλ Φιλότειμος. Prytaneis from Marathon in about A.D. 120; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1073, lines 10-11. Dorotheos is also known from an inscription of about the middle of the second century; cf. *I.G.*, II², 3605.

Line 73. Νυμφόδοτος). Nymphodotos was an ephebe in A.D. 125/6; cf. *I.G.*, II², 2037, line 9, and he appears on a list of people from Azenia in the middle of the second century after Christ; cf. *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 78. His brother Demetrios was a prytanis in the archonship of L. Nummius Memis.³³

Line 83. Καλ.ις Νε[άρ]χου. The first name of this entry was completely bracketed by Dittenberger since Eustratiades did not reproduce the letters clearly in his drawing of the stone ("in tabula lithographica paucae reliquiae inveniuntur"). Although the letters have now completely perished from the stone, my copy of

³⁰ There is no apparent justification for the definition of ἀμπελουργοί as "eine Flurbezeichnung" by Kahrstedt, p. 47, note 2.

³¹ Kahrstedt (p. 52, note 12) places this property in Lamptrai ("Thrision ist eine Flur in Lamptrai"), but does not cite his evidence for this location. Might there be some confusion with the entry of the previous line (61): Θρ[ά]σωνος Λαμπτράσι?

³² Cf. Hesychios, Μύρμηκος ἀτραπούς: Ἀθήνησιν, ἐν Σκαμβωνιδῶν ἔστι Μύρμηκος ἀτραπούς, ἀπὸ ἥρωος Μύρμηκος ὀνομαζομένη.

³³ Dated to the period 138/9 to 150/1 by J. Notopoulos, "The Method of Choosing Archons in Athens," *A.J.P.*, LXV, 1944, p. 165.

Eustratiades' drawing shows the first three letters as he read them, but the last two, after a space, look more like ΙΣ. Thus the name might rather be Καλ.ις.

Lines 83-84. χωρ Σικ[ε]λίας πρὸς τῷ | . . ω.φ. This property ought perhaps to be located on the Hill of Sikelia southwest of Mouseion Hill.³⁴ The conjectured restoration of Kahrstedt (p. 49, note 2) is topographically attractive: πρὸς τῷ [Ἰλίσσο]φ. This would place the property on the northern side of the Hill of Sikelia, but this suggestion fails to account for the first *omega* read by Eustratiades in line 84.

Line 87. μέσον [χ]ωρίο[υ]. All editors have followed the restoration by Eustratiades of this as μέσον [Δ]ωρίο[υ], a locative phrase referring to an otherwise unknown place. It seems as possible, however, to read μέσον χωρίου with the meaning of "land in the middle," or perhaps "medium-sized land." The full spelling of χωρίου, rather than the more usual abbreviation, is paralleled in line 49, and the lithograph of Eustratiades has what appears to be the two upper strokes of a *chi* in the proper position.

Line 90. Κλ Χάρης Κακόρινος. This is the reading of Eustratiades and is what exists on the stone as opposed to the Κλ Χάρης (ὁ) κα(ὶ) Κόριν(θ)ος of Kirchner.

Line 91. πρὸς τῷ περσικῶνι. Again it is unclear whether the *persikon* is a proper or a common noun; that is, is the property located with regard to some place known as the Persikon, or to a peach orchard? My preference is toward the latter interpretation. The word reappears in line 113.

Line 93. (Ϻ). Although the symbol should appear, the stone is well preserved and was certainly never inscribed. The reason for this may be that there is only one piece of property involved with only one payment which is to be divided among the three men listed in the entry.

Line 104. Φλῶρος Καλάμιδος. Prytanis from Marathon about A.D. 120; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1073, line 21. Kirchner brackets the *lambda* of the second name, but it is still clear on the stone (cf. Pl. 18).

Lines 107-108. χωρ Ἐρ|μαφροδείτου. As in the case of land associated with Amphiaraos (line 13), this property would seem to have been a part of the holdings of Hermaphroditos who may have had a sanctuary in Alopeke.³⁵

Line 108. *ΦΞΒΖ. As is visible both in Eustratiades' lithograph and in our Plate 18 (line 9 therein), the numeral Φ was originally omitted by the inscriber of the stone and had to be inserted later above and between the * and the Ξ.

Lines 111-112. Κο|νιοκάστου. Kirchner brackets the *nu*, but it is on the stone (Pl. 18).

Lines 115-119. This whole section, appearing at the bottom of its column, is atypical in the absence of sums for individual properties. Furthermore, what would

³⁴ Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1931, pp. 45, 139, 458.

³⁵ The existence of this sanctuary of Hermaphroditos is, however, based solely on the troubled text of Alkiphron, *Epist.*, II, 35 (ed. Schepers): *εις Ἐρμαφροδίτου τῷ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.*

seem to be diverse holdings in the same deme are grouped together without conjunctions (e.g. *ἔσχατιᾶς πυργιδίου τετραπυργίας Ἀτηνῆσι* would more normally be listed as either *ἔσχατιᾶς καὶ πυργιδίου καὶ τετραπυργίας Ἀτηνῆσι*, or else as *ἔσχατιᾶς Ἀτηνῆσι * . . πυργιδίου Ἀτηνῆσι * . . τετραπυργίας Ἀτηνῆσι * . .*). This compression of the text would appear to be the result of a lack of space at the end of the stone. Unfortunately, the sense of the text is consequently obscured. Particularly difficult are the last two lines. The final word, *Ἴωνιδῶ*, should have the same locative force as elsewhere in the text and thus indicates a different piece of property from that located in Atene in the previous line. By my translation I have indicated that I should take the meaning to be: *χωρίου Αἰλῶνος Φρεαρρίου καὶ Νιγριανοῦ Ἀχραδοῦντος Ἴωνιδῶ*. This does, however, involve a peculiar inversion in the name and demotic in the text. It has been suggested to me that the second and fourth proper names be taken as patronymics with the sense as follows: “for a borderland estate, a small tower, and a four-towered villa in Atene (belonging to) Phrearrhios son of Aulon and Nigrianos son of Achrades of Ionidai.” Yet another possibility is that the four names should refer to four different men, balanced by the “four-towered villa” and that one should read “belonging to Phrearrhios, Aulon, Nigrianos, and Achrades of Ionidai.”

Line 141-142. *π[ρὸ]ς τῆι Ἰππά|δι*. Judeich³⁶ has suggested that this topographic point is to be connected with the *Ἰππάδες πύλαι* which he takes to be another name for the *Διοχάρους πύλαι*. Judeich locates the latter gate on the northeast side of ancient Athens near the modern Constitution Square.

Line 174. *Κ[α]ρπόδωρος Πρέιμ[ου]*. Perhaps the son of a *Πρῆμος Καρποδώρου Εἵτεαί* who was an ephebe around A.D. 110; cf. *I.G.*, II², 2020, line 30.

Line 189. *πρὸς τῶ Εὐκ — — — — φ*. The conjectured restoration of this line by Dittenberger was *πρὸς τῶ Εὐκ[λείας να]ῶ* and this reading would place the property near the Greek Agora where Pausanias saw the sanctuary of Eukleia.³⁷ The letters in this area of the stone are now completely weathered away, and Eustratiades' drawing of the stone would indicate that there was space for rather more letters (i.e. in the range of 9 to 12) than Dittenberger's restoration would demand.

Line 192. *Αἰξῶν[ῆσι]*. The stone is, and was a century ago, without any original surface to the right of the *νι*. Thus this restoration by Dittenberger is both possible and preferable to the Eustratiades-Kirchner reading of *Αἰξῶν*.

Line 193. *Φ[λά]ουιος Μητ — — (sic)* is the reading of Kirchner and Eustratiades. Dittenberger, however, restored the name as *Φ[ούλ]ουιος Μητ[ροδώρου]* who is known as an archon of the period before A.D. 112/3; cf. *I.G.*, II², 2021, line 13. Apart from the divergency in the spelling of Fulvius in the two Greek texts, there is no epigraphi-

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 143, note 2.

³⁷ Pausanias, I, 14, 5. This sanctuary is mentioned by Pausanias after the Eleusinion and before the Hephaisteion and the Stoa Basileios. Thus the shrine is to be located in the Agora or its immediate vicinity.

cal reason for the rejection of Dittenberger's suggestion. There may be, however, a chronological basis for agreement with the reading of Eustratiades and Kirchner for, as we shall see, the inscribing of our text probably occurred some twenty years or more after the archonship of Fulvius Metrodorou of Sounion. Such a span of time might be considered as prohibitively long for the reappearance of the same Fulvius in our text.

Line 201. $\overline{\Lambda\mu\pi(\tau)\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota}$. This is surely the proper correction for a misspelling. The mu and pi are still clear on the stone as is the apex of the alpha in the second space to the right. Since previous editors have read rho in the intervening space, we must supply the omitted tau.

Line 202. $[\beta]\overline{\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}}[\nu]$. Another ambiguous word which may refer to walnut trees (Day) or royal lands (Graindor),³⁸ or define the word with an ambiguity equal to its own, "Einheiten des Umfangs" (Kahrstedt).

Line 205. $\overline{\text{Τιβέριος Κλ Λνσιάδη}}[s]$. Archon in the middle of the second century after Christ; cf. *I.G.*, II², 3609.

Line 207. $\overline{\beta\acute{\alpha}\iota\lambda\omega\nu}$. This word has been explained by Day (p. 232, note 304) as a contraction of $\overline{\beta\omicron\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omega\nu}$, or cattle stalls.

Line 212. $[\text{Τι?}]\overline{\Phi\lambda\alpha\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\iota\omicron\nu\text{ Εὐφά}|\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma}$. Archon in 124/5; cf. *Insc. Délos*, 2536, line 17. The phi of Flavius is clear on the stone and need not be restored as it appears in the text of Kirchner.

D. THE DATE OF THE INSCRIPTION

Since Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, 61) showed that several of the names listed in this inscription occur elsewhere in Hadrianic texts, a date in the reign of Hadrian has been accepted for this document. However, more precision in dating is possible due to more recent discoveries. In particular, it is known that Flavius Euphanes (line 212) was archon in A.D. 124/5. This is a secure *terminus post quem* for our text which relates that Flavius has died and that his heirs have sold some of their inherited property. A certain space of time after the date of Flavius' archonship must be allowed for his death and the sale of the land so that we come into the decade of the 130's.

That this is the proper period of time for our text is substantiated by the case of Nymphodotos (line 73) who was an epebe in A.D. 125/6, and whose brother, Demetrios, was a prytanis during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Nymphodotos was

³⁸ As pointed out by Kahrstedt (p. 48), there is no basis for the additional contention of Graindor (p. 183) that these $\overline{\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}}$ are to be identified with the lands which had been confiscated earlier from Hipparchos, the grandfather of Herodes Atticus. Graindor's view would preclude any other source of Imperial lands and also fail to account for the fact that the former lands of Hipparchos had already been sold into private ownership by the Fiscus (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1100, lines 4-5: $\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \overline{\text{Ἰππάρχου χωρία τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ φύσκου πραθέντα}}$) and thus no longer, if ever, are to be identified as Imperial.

surely not in a property-holding position before the late 120's at the earliest. Again, Karpodoros (line 174) could not have been able to own property before the 130's since his father, Primos, was himself an *ephebe* in *ca.* A.D. 110.

Such a secure *terminus ante quem* for the inscription is not so easily found. However, three men, Flavius Dorotheos, Flavius Philoteimos (line 69), and Florus Kalamidios (line 104) are known as *prytaneis* in *ca.* A.D. 120. Inasmuch as all three were still active at the time of the inscription of our text, its date ought not to go much beyond about A.D. 140, although it might be as much as a decade later. Thus the inscription can be considered as late Hadrianic or early Antonine.

It will be noted that this date for the inscription means that it was added later to a pre-existing monument, since, based on the style of the mouldings, the monument would seem to have been a product of the Trajanic period.

E. THE PURPOSE OF THE INSCRIPTION

In the absence of a heading for the stone, the purpose of the inscription can only be inferred from the text itself. This is a difficult task when faced by "bookkeeper's" Greek which makes entries and relies on column headings, as it were, to show the relationship between the different parts of each entry. So much is clear that the person or persons at the beginning of each entry are either to pay or to receive a sum of money with regard to a specific piece of property. Since it is difficult to envisage a situation when so much property would be transferred into the possession of a single person, or even into that of a larger corporate group (e.g. the government), or so much money coming out from a single person (there is a total of 62,553.025 Denarii in, at the most, only about half of the original text), it has always been assumed that the people mentioned were to be responsible for the payment rather than the receipt of the listed monies.

There are other questions, however, which have not been so generally agreed upon. That is, what do the sums of money represent, and what is the relationship of the money to the property? Eustratiades³⁹ considered the list to be a *cadastre*, a summary of the property holdings and their assessed value for an individual, and compared our text to those from Astypalaia (*I.G.*, XII, 3, 180) and Thera (*I.G.*, XII, 3, 343-349). However, Mommsen⁴⁰ pointed out that this was not likely since the range of the sums of money for individual properties was so broad (56 $\frac{1}{6}$ Denarii, line 98 to 3505 Denarii, line 172)⁴¹ that the highest sum was too high (relative to

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 367-368.

⁴⁰ T. Mommsen, "Athenische Stiftungsurkunde," *Hermes*, V, 1871, p. 131.

⁴¹ These are the figures for individual properties, not totals for personal entries which run much higher. Day (p. 221, note 254) uses 2687 $\frac{1}{2}$ Denarii (line 15) as his highest individual entry and states that two higher ones (3505 Denarii, line 172, and 3750 Denarii, line 206) are based on dubious restorations. That is not true, for both sums were read from the stone and the latter is still visible today. Day might rather have contended that these two sums represented the value

the lowest) to be the assessed tax, while the lowest was too low (relative to the highest) to be the assessed value of the property upon which taxes were to be paid. Instead, Mommsen considered the text to represent an *obligatio praediorum*, or endowment, whereby money was lent out at a given rate with property as security. The periodic payment of interest was to provide a steady income for a specific program such as the Flavian alimentary program in Italy.⁴² Noting that many of the fractional entries of money could, by the multiplication of 8%, be resolved into whole numbers, or into fractions no larger than $\frac{1}{2}$, Mommsen took the sums on the stone to represent principal upon which an interest was to be paid at the rate of 8%.

Whatever the truth of the more general meaning of the text, Mommsen's observation regarding the nature of the sums of money is not valid. First of all, as pointed out by Day,⁴³ this would require that round numbers were desirable for the amounts of interest and that the principal was deliberately given a fractional character in a large number of cases so as to yield this "whole number" interest. Secondly, it is simply not true that all the listed sums so resolve themselves to whole numbers when multiplied by 4 or some multiple thereof. Such a principle will work only if the fractions are $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{3}{4}$, but there are sums with smaller fractions which do not become whole numbers when they are multiplied by 8%: 56 $\frac{1}{8}$ Denarii, line 98; 796 $\frac{7}{8}$ Denarii, line 109; 300 $\frac{1}{8}$ Denarii, line 153; 81 $\frac{1}{8}$ Denarii, line 168. Thus Mommsen's reasons for taking the sums of money in the text as principal rather than interest are not valid.

Furthermore, as Day points out, the argument which Mommsen used to exclude mutually the sums as being either assessed values of property or taxes assessed on property (i.e. the "highest too high, lowest too low" argument) is not correct because a third century B.C. inscription from Tenos⁴⁴ records the sale of properties which range in value from 60 to 8,000 Drachmai. This is a range of prices even greater than that of our text. Finally, Mommsen's objections to Eustratiades' interpretation are equally applicable to his own theory of an *obligatio praediorum* since the listed amounts of money, whether principal or interest, are associated directly with pieces of property and surely reflect real differences in the values of properties used, in effect, as collateral on loans. This does not disprove Mommsen's theory, but it does remove his objections to Eustratiades' interpretation.

of more than one property each, the former since the text of the entry is partially destroyed and 3505 Denarii might be the total for two or more entries; the latter because it represents the stonemason's compression of the text like that of lines 115 ff. Even in the latter instance, one could make a strong argument for the topographic unity of the property described, and the two-line entry for 3505 Denarii (lines 172-173) seems too short for more than one property ever to have been listed.

⁴² For that program see F. Bourne, "The Roman Alimentary Program and Italian Agriculture," *T.A.P.A.*, XCI, 1960, pp. 47 ff.

⁴³ Day, p. 224.

⁴⁴ *I.G.*, XII, 5, 872.

Yet another interpretation has been proposed by Graindor⁴⁵ who would see in our text a record of the sale of non-moveable real estate which is paralleled by the document from Tenos mentioned above. Graindor's objections to Mommsen's *obligatio praediorum* were based on the lack of a close correspondence between our text and other, Latin, records of alimentary programs. First of all, the properties were, in Graindor's opinion, too vaguely described to qualify for an *obligatio praediorum* (e.g. lines 62-63: ἄλλον χωρ(ίου) μέρους τρίτου). Secondly, the method of entry in our text differs too much from that of the Latin texts.⁴⁶ The Greek text has the person in the nominative, the Latin has him in the ablative. Our text has only one sum of money for each property, the Latin has the assessed value of the property, the amount of money received as principal on that property, and the amount of interest to be paid each year. Graindor also noted that Mommsen's 8% interest rate was much higher than the maximum 6% rate found in Latin *alimenta*.

The last objection is of no consequence for, as we have seen, the interest rate proposed by Mommsen is almost certainly incorrect, and a specific rate of interest, if such is actually implicit in the sums, cannot be derived without knowledge of the amount of capital (or of interest, whichever is not indicated by the listed sums).⁴⁷ The other objections depend upon the assumption that an *obligatio praediorum* established in Greece would be recorded in the same manner as one founded in Italy. There is no way to test this assumption, and the objections must be regarded as having a less than binding force.

In any case, Graindor's interpretation cannot be accepted since the text itself informs us that the sale of land is not involved. The people at the head of each entry cannot be buying the property since Poplios Ventidios (lines 206-214) is said to have purchased (ἡγόρακε) some of the land associated with his name. Neither can the people be selling the land since one property associated with Philargyriion (lines 153-157) appears not to be his, but rather held by him on a short term lease (μικροῦ ὑποχρόνου).

One basic question which must be answered is whether the sums listed in our text represent the total or a partial value of the properties associated with them. Day⁴⁸ has argued, I believe correctly, that the presence of so many fractional values

⁴⁵ Graindor, pp. 186-190. The alternative interpretation by Graindor for the text as the record of mortgages with the properties providing collateral for the loans from the ἀργυροταμίαι was discarded by Day on the basis of the presence in the text of many Athenians of considerable wealth and prominent status (e.g. Tiberius Claudius Lysiades, line 205). Such people would presumably not be in a financial position which required loans.

⁴⁶ Cf. *C.I.L.*, IX, 1455; XI, 1147.

⁴⁷ The source of the rates of interest proposed by Day (p. 224: 4⅛%, 5%, 6¼%, 8⅓%, 12½%, 25%) is unknown to me and not identified by him. The same objections raised to Mommsen's interest rate are applicable here. All the sums listed in the text cannot be resolved into whole numbers by any of Day's interest rates, either as principal or as interest. The question of the size of a rate of interest cannot be answered with the information available.

⁴⁸ Day, p. 223. The additional contentions of Day and of Graindor regarding the real value of

indicates that the sums represent parts of a whole. Certainly one would expect that the values of properties would be in more or less round figures.⁴⁹ If this explanation of the sums of money is granted (for it cannot be proven conclusively), then the money is a fraction of the total value of the land which can be interpreted as a percentage to be paid by the owners either for taxes or for some endowment program.

Although there is no good basis for choosing between these two interpretations, the case of Flavia Phila (lines 60-64) is more easily understood with the *obligatio praediorum* interpretation. Among the other property associated with Flavia is "a third part of other land." Such a phrase can be explained if one imagines that the other owner(s) of this property did not choose to partake of the program,⁵⁰ or that Flavia did not wish to put up the whole of the property as collateral. Then too, if our text were representative of a tax assessment, one would expect all the tax for a single person to be listed together under his or her name in one place. Iouinia Euploia appears in two different places (lines 88 and 187) with different properties.⁵¹ A general heading at the now destroyed top of the stone will have provided the information regarding the rate of interest, the period when payments were due, and the purpose for which the collected funds were to be used.

If we may conclude, with less than full security, that the text is an *obligatio praediorum*, we may only suggest the purpose to which the funds thus raised were put. One obvious suggestion is an alimentary program to provide food for less wealthy Athenians of this period. Another is to associate the funds with the endowments for academic and educational purposes which were established by both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.⁵² In this connection we might remember that, although we do not know the original location of the monument with its inscription, the place of discovery of the blocks is surrounded by the Odeion of Agrippa, the Library of Pantainos, and the Library of Hadrian. There is, however, no evidence for determining the real purpose of the inscription, and the purpose of the monument itself is not known.

money during this period (Day, low value; Graindor, high value) have no validity since, in the absence of contemporary evidence from Greece, both scholars were forced to rely upon property values from the late classical and Hellenistic times.

⁴⁹ Certainly the amounts of the loans in the *Ligures Baebani* (C.I.L., IX, 1455) are in round numbers of sesterces. It is interesting, but not conclusive, to compare the ranges of the sums in the Latin document with those of the Greek text. The highest amount loaned to any one person in the Latin text is 10,610 Denarii (Col. II, lines 17-29) with an interest of 265½ Denarii. The lowest amount is 250 Denarii (Col. III, lines 6-8) with an interest of 6¼ Denarii. In our text, the range for personal entries is from 15,750 Denarii (line 192) to 81⅙ Denarii (line 169). The highest amount is thus well above that of the Latin text with regard to the money loaned, while the lowest in the Athenian inscription is below that of the Latin text.

⁵⁰ Ambiguity is not, however, lacking with this supposition since the other owner(s) might have been exempted from a tax.

⁵¹ The third appearance of her name (line 184) seems to be an error which duplicates the first entry (line 88).

⁵² See J. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, New York, 1909, pp. 83 ff.

Moreover, the inscription, as we have seen, appears to have been added to the monument after its erection and may very well have no connection with the original meaning of the monument.

F. LOCATION OF THE PROPERTY LISTED IN *I.G.*, II², 2776

The following is a table of those properties whose location is preserved in our text. This table is included because it shows some topographical information of interest and because it reveals, as might be expected, that the properties located in good agricultural areas were the most valuable.

In the column for the value of the property a “?” indicates that the value is not preserved; a “x” in association with numbers indicates that the value is not completely preserved (e.g., x75 means that a number is missing on the stone just before 75 and that the value to be connected with the property was some hundreds and seventy-five).

In the column for the total amount of money to be associated with a locality, (min) indicates that one or more of the properties has a “x” in its sum. There is also a “+” for each property which has no sum of money preserved. All sums are in Denarii.

<i>Deme</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Additional information</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Total for Area</i>
Acharnai	37		625	
	103	πρὸς τῷ ἐμβόλῳ	62.5	
	106		x75	
	202	βασιλικῶν	437.5	1300 (min)
Acherdous	195	Ἄσκληπιοῦ	?	?
Agryle		see Ankyle		
Aithalidai	12	καὶ ψειλοῦ Ἀμφιαράου	725	
	14		462.5	1187.5
Alopeke	179		?	
	200	πανδοκείου καὶ τοῦ προσόντος αὐτοῖς κεραμείου	?	?
Amphitrope	117	βησσῶν	?	?
Anakaia	105	κυναρίων	?	?
Anaphlystos	113		?	?
Ankyle	58	(and Agryle) πρὸς τῷ Ὑμηττῷ	375	
	95	χωρ δευτέρου	437.5	
	143		?	812.5+
Aphidna	96	φρουρίων	405	405
Atene	118	ἐσχατιᾶς πυργιδίου τετραπυργίας	?	
	175		?	?

<i>Deme</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Total for Area</i>	<i>Additional information</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Athmonon	49	(and Phlya)	67x.25	
	56	ἀμπελουργῶν καὶ συκαμείνου	1093.75	
	68		630	
	78		?	
	137		?	
	177		?	2394 (min) +++
Azenia	114		?	
	139		565.5	
	145		?	565.5 ++
Bate	22		?	
	53	σχαστηριῶν	1250	1250 +
Eiresidai	194		?	?
Eleusis	79		x75	x75
Erchia	82	πρὸς τῷ τρικεφάλῳ	5xx	5xx
Gargettos	15	μεγάλης αὐλῆς καὶ πυργιδίου	2687.5	
	178		?	2687.5 +
Halimous	100		x50	x50
Ionidai	16		812.5	
	26		325	
	51	πρὸς τῷ ἀνδροφόνῳ κώνῳ	1562.5	
	119		?	2700+
Iphistiadai	17		25x	25x
Kolonos	18	σχαστηρίας	233.5	233.5
Lakkiadai	32		?	
	188		16xx	16xx +
Lamptrai	60	Κυπρίων	281.25	
	61	Θράσωνος	312.5	
	201	ὑλῆς	1500	2093.75
Oa	44		968.75	
	193		1800	2768.75
Oe	35		2250	2250
Otryne	97		810	
	98		56.16	866.16
Paiania	108	πέτρας	796.875	
	109	πέτρας	787.5	1584.375
Pallene	66	πύργου καὶ κωμωδῶν ἐν μεσογειῳ	500	500
Phaleron	41		?	
	130		?	??

<i>Deme</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Additional information</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Total for Area</i>
Phlya	4		375	
	7		475	
	9	πρὸς τῷ Αἰθίοπι	?	
	30		?	
	49	(and Athmonon)	67x.25	
	91	πρὸς τῷ περσικῶνι	?	
	108	χωρ Ἐρμαφροδείτου	562.5	
	112		?	
Potamos	113	περσικῶνος	956.19	3038.94 ++++
	184		875	
	205	ψειλῶν	x32.5	907.5 (min)
Thorikos	116	πύργου	?	?

PROPERTY LOCATED OTHERWISE THAN BY DEME

<i>Site</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Additional information</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Total for Area</i>
Acharnian		κῆπου προσαγορευομένου		
Gate	70	Κειονίου	687.5	687.5
Akademy	89		?	
	149		382.5	
	186		2000	2382.5 +
Ἐρυθοῖ	157		208	208
ἐν Θριασίῳ	196	Κεκροπέιου	xx50	
	197	ἐσχατιᾶς	1125	1175 (min)
Θριωσίῳ	62	πρὸς τῷ Μύρμηκι	531.75	531.75
προς τῷ	86		?	
Κηφεισῷ				
ποταμῷ	167		?	??
προς τῷ Κο-				
ρυωδαλῷ	53-4		1156.25	1156.25
ἐν μεσογειῳ	24	πυργιδίου	1085	
	45		718.75	
	47	ἐσχατιᾶς	x80.25	
	204	βασιλικῶν	1250	3134 (min)
	Oreadai	52		625
Oropos	103	χωρ Μητρώου	375	
	151		375	
	153		300.125	
	181		755	
	211		?	1805.125 +

VI. PROBLEMS

All the factual material available with regard to the monument has now been presented, but there remain all too significant gaps which make the study less than complete. The best one can do with the information now available is to define these problems.

A. THE LOCATION

Where did the monument originally stand? The provenience of the blocks from the tower of the Post-Herulian Wall might suggest that the original site of the monument is to be sought in the immediate vicinity of the south end of the Stoa of Attalos. Indeed, the southern of the two late Roman towers (Fig. 6) has as its core the foundations of an earlier Roman monument, and I had thought that our monument should belong there. However, the dimensions of the reconstructed monument vis-à-vis those of the foundations in the tower preclude such an association.⁵³ Nor have I been able to find, either in this area or in the rest of the Agora, any foundations which can be said to have once supported our monument. The few foundations which are large enough to have carried the monument are of the wrong proportions. It is, of course, possible that the original position was somewhere in the unexcavated area between the Stoa of Attalos and the Roman Market, but the monument cannot be attached to any extant foundations.⁵⁴

B. UPPER MEMBERS

What element went above the orthostates? Why is so much of the lower part of the monument extant, while the elements from above remain unknown? Part of the answer lies in the deficiency of orthostates with preserved upper dowels. Lacking the complete set of these dowels, it is impossible to assign single blocks to the monument, and the only series of moulded crown blocks which I have been able to recognize as nearly complete cannot belong to the monument.⁵⁵

⁵³ The overall dimensions of the foundations are nearly square (5.15 x 5.35 m.) as opposed to the more rectangular base of the monument (3.889 x 4.841 m.). Moreover, the preserved width of the core of the foundations at the level of the base course is 3.48 m. This must be the minimum interior dimension of any monument to sit on these foundations. The inner dimension of our monument is nowhere larger than 3.35 m. and it is therefore too small for the foundations.

⁵⁴ It should be noted that, wherever the monument was originally situated, the base course will almost certainly have been somewhat above ground level. The lewis cuttings in all the blocks of the base course, as well as in the orthostates, indicate that the blocks were lifted, most likely to rest at a higher level above a podium like that of the monument of Philopappos.

⁵⁵ This series of crown blocks (Agora Inv. Nos. A 3740-3746, 3750, 3751, 3775) was found re-used in the foundations of the same late Roman tower which produced the blocks of our monument. Furthermore, they are similar to the blocks of our monument in terms of scale, workmanship, and material. Unfortunately, these crown blocks cannot be properly matched with the orthostates with regard to dowel spacing. Even more conclusive is the fact that there are too many crown blocks

C. SCULPTURAL ADORNMENT

It is obvious that our monument must have carried sculpture above, but there is no positive indication of what this was. To place any sculptural figures on the monument without the tangible evidence of bases and plinths would beg the question of the purpose of the monument. However, there is one suggestion which, while incapable of proof, ought to be mentioned since it opens interesting possibilities. Might the monument have been surmounted by the Iliad, Odyssey, and Homer?⁵⁶ The first two statues of this group were found at the base of the west wall of the same tower which yielded the base and orthostates of the monument, while the inscribed base of the Iliad came from a Byzantine well about forty meters away within the area of the Middle Stoa. The date of the statues is certainly in the second century after Christ, probably Trajanic or Hadrianic,⁵⁷ and the material is a prominently grained Pentelic. Thus the provenience, date, and material of the figures would agree with their association with our monument, but such a connection cannot be proven. The original suggestion for their position (in the Library of Pantainos) is just as attractive, and perhaps a little more so since the treatment of the backs of the figures is flat and the surface not completely finished. They would, therefore, be better placed in front of a wall and not on a free-standing monument.

D. THE PURPOSE OF THE MONUMENT

This, the fundamental question concerning the monument, can hardly be answered without secure knowledge of the location of the monument or of its sculpture. Given the general provenience near the Library of Pantainos, the possible connection with a Homeric sculptural group, and the (unproven) interpretation of the inscription as the financing of an endowment for the University of Athens, the monument would have had an academic flavor, but this can be suggested only as a possibility.

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in the series. No matter what arrangement is attempted, there is always at least one crown block left over. Finally, certain joints within the crown series can be proven, and they give a short dimension for the series which is too narrow for that of our base.

⁵⁶ For the discussions of this group, and previous bibliography, see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 62-64, and A. E. Raubitschek, *ibid.*, pp. 317-319.

⁵⁷ G. Treu, "Standbilder der Ilias und Odyssee zu Athen," *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 160-169.



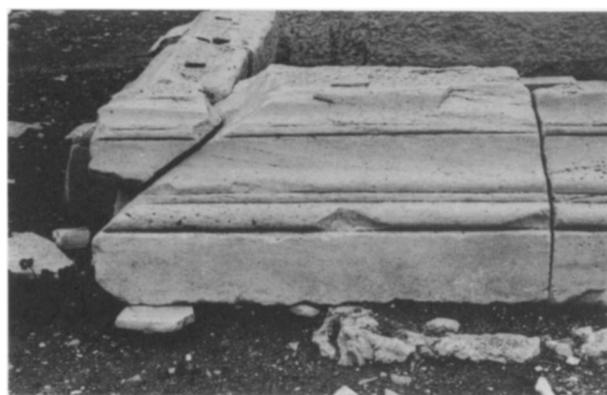
a. Base Block 1 (A 3733)



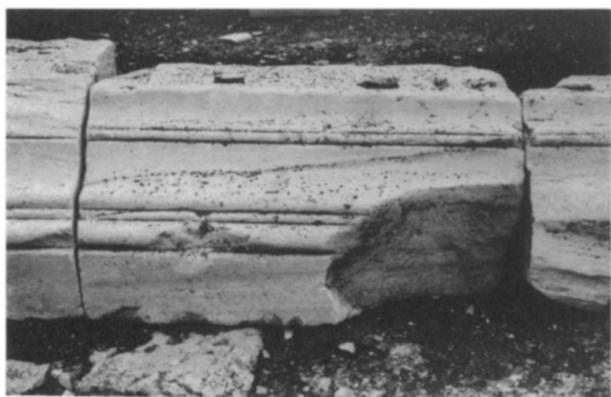
d. Base Block 4 (A 3737)



c. Base Block 3 (A 3738)



b. Base Block 2 (A 3732)



e. Base Block 5 (A 3735)



f. Base Block 6 (A 3734)



g. Base Block 7 (A 3739)

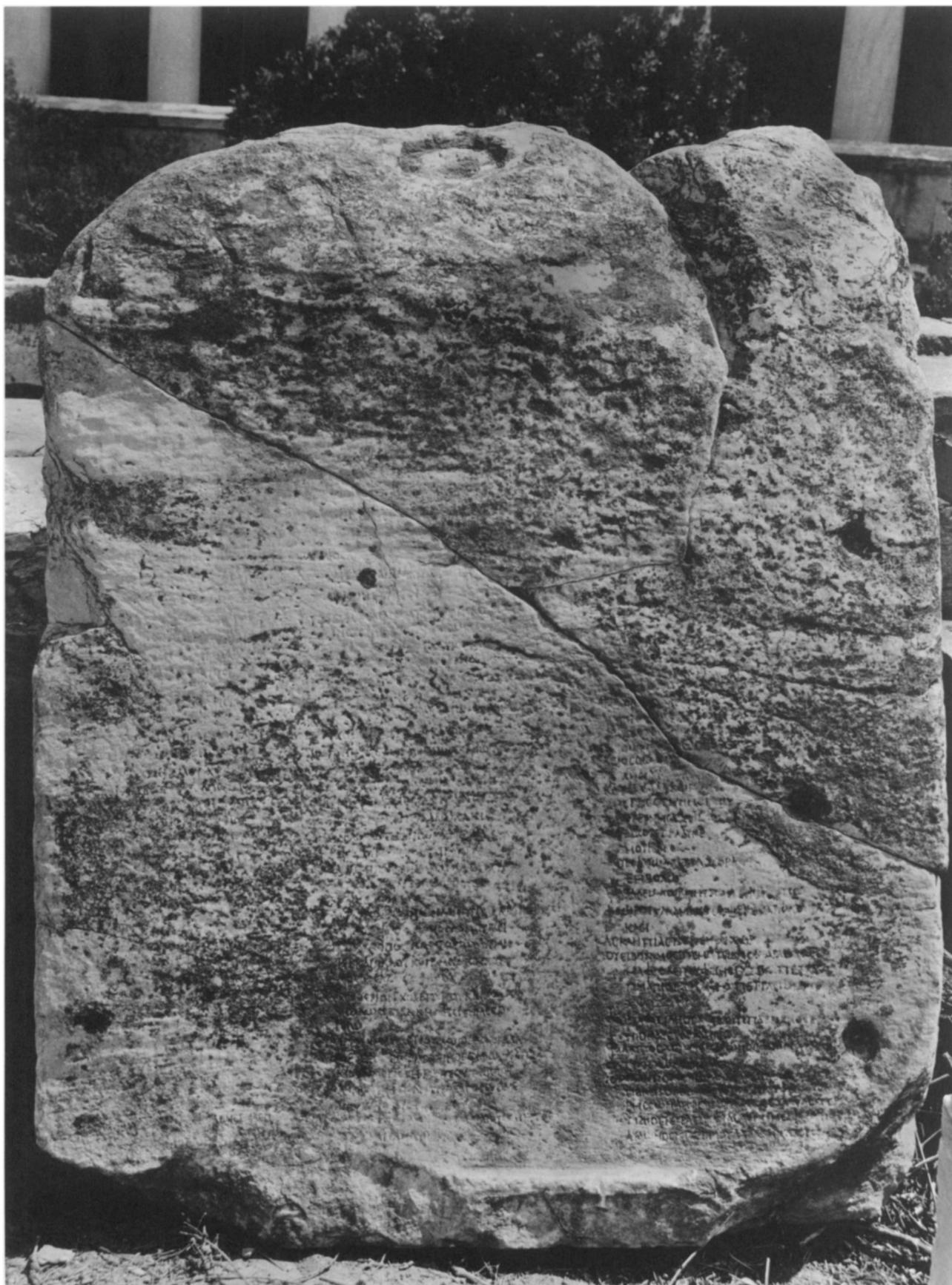


h. Base Block 8 (A 3736)



Inscribed Corner Orthostate 9 (A 2837)

STEPHEN G. MILLER: A ROMAN MONUMENT IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



Inscripted Orthostate 10 (A 2838)

STEPHEN G. MILLER: A ROMAN MONUMENT IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

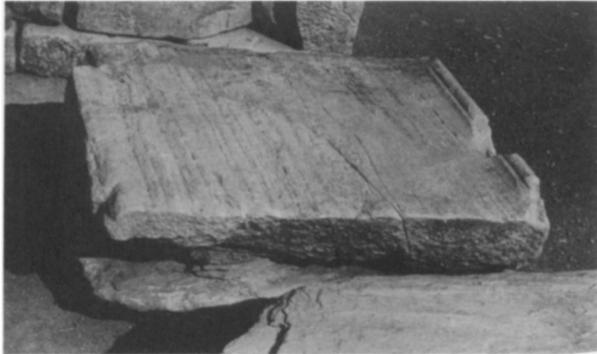
PLATE 16



a. Top, Orthostate 11 (A 2839); Bottom, Orthostate 12 (A 2840)



b. Top, Orthostate 13 (A 2841); Bottom, Orthostate 14 (A 2842)



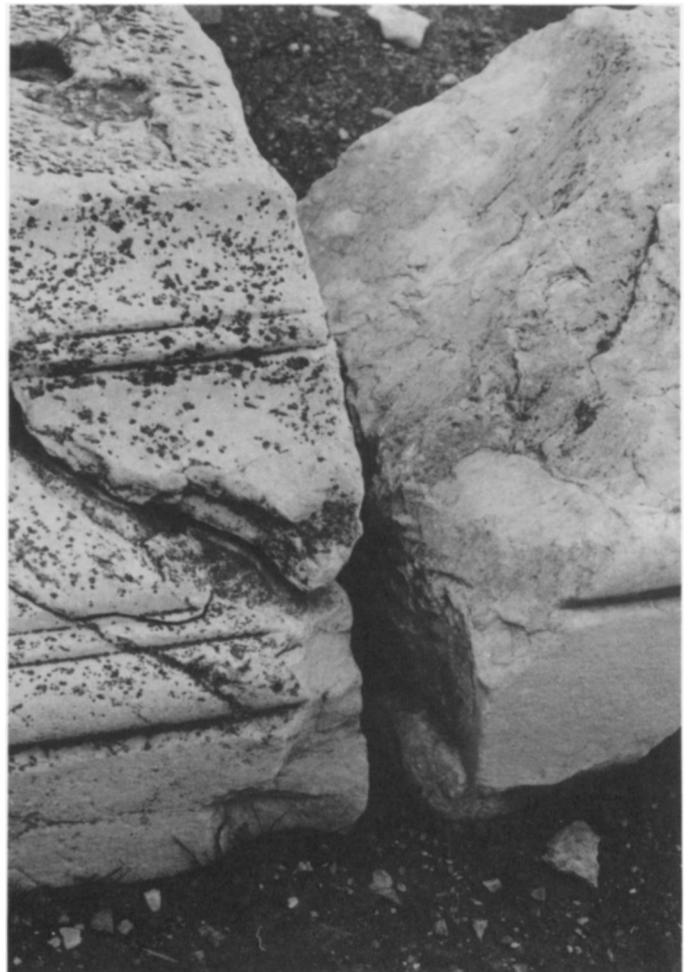
c. Orthostate 11 (A 2839)



d. Orthostate 13 (A 2841)



e. Joint between Base Blocks 2 and 3 from right



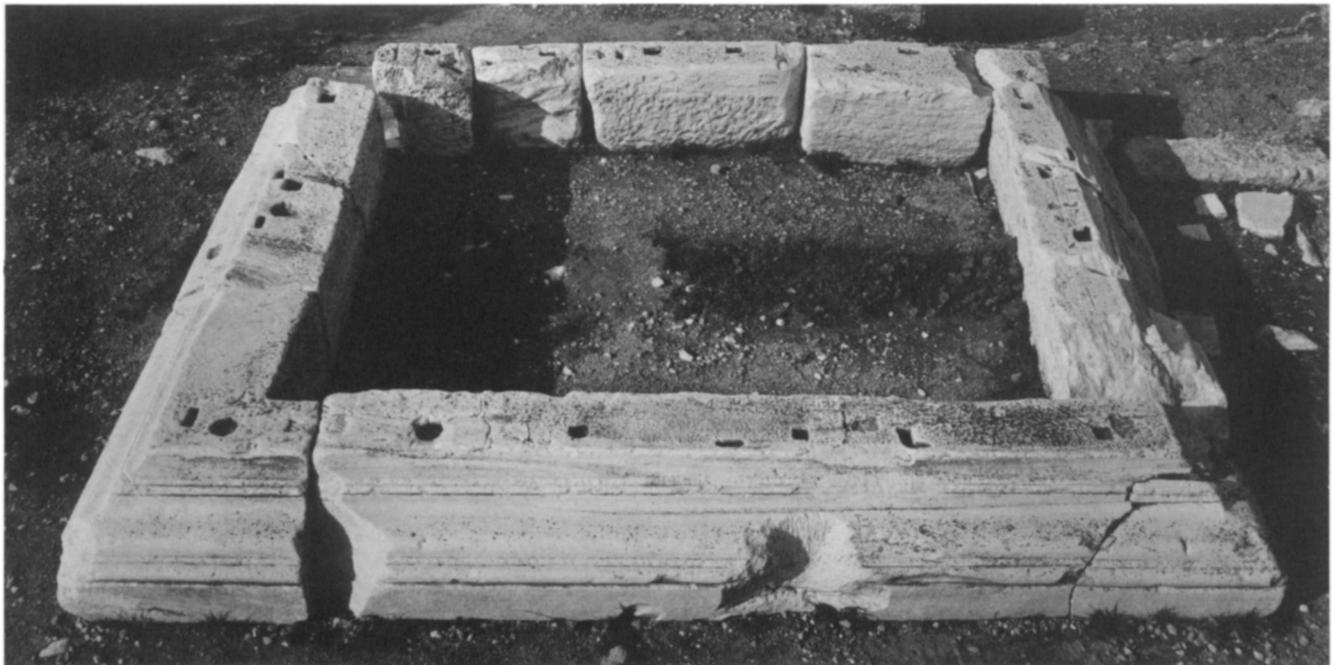
f. Joint between Base Blocks 2 and 3 from left



a. South End of Stoa of Attalos and Post-Herulian Walls from the West. Arrow at Base Block 6

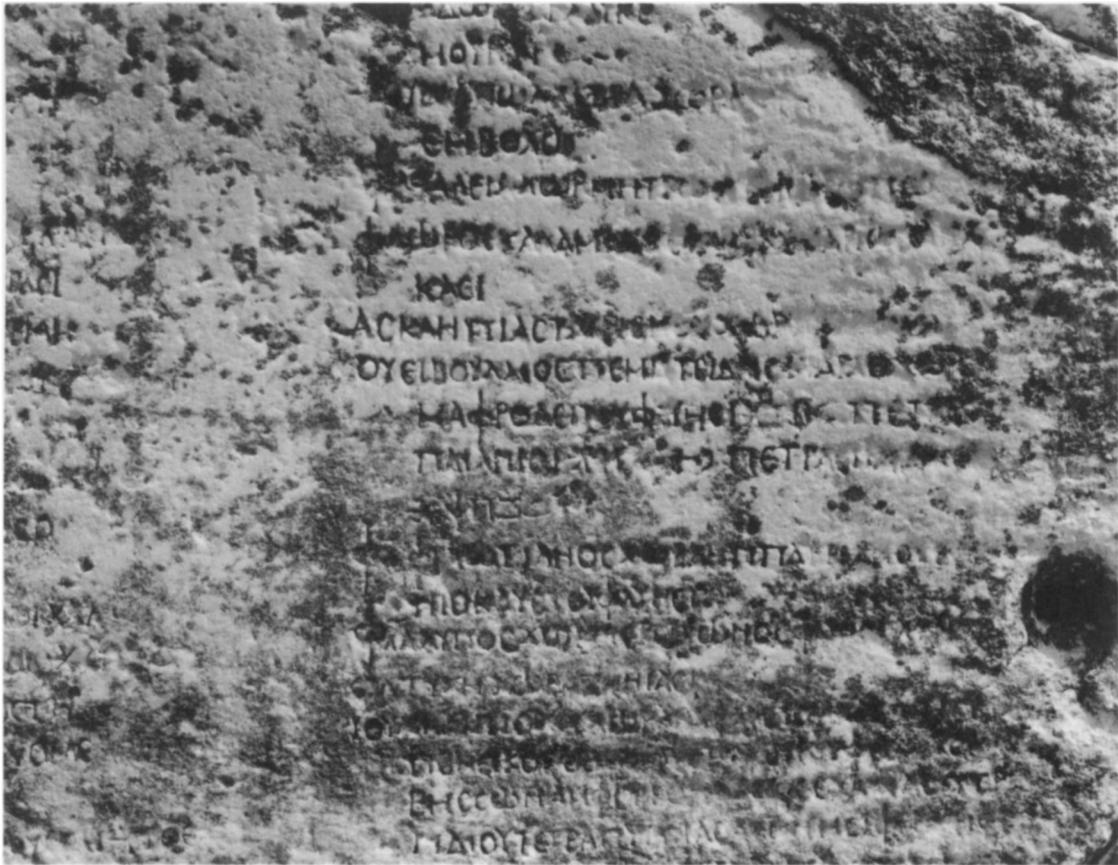


b. Line of Panathenaic Way between Middle Stoa and Stoa of Attalos from South. Arrow at Base Block 4. To right of arrow, Line of West Wall of North Tower (Pyrgiotissa)



c. Base Blocks set in Reconstructed Order. Base Blocks 1 and 2 at bottom

STEPHEN G. MILLER: A ROMAN MONUMENT IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



Detail of Lines 100-118 on Inscribed Face of Orthostate 10
STEPHEN G. MILLER: A ROMAN MONUMENT IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



Inscription from Karystos Honoring Appius Claudius Pulcher
HUGH J. MASON AND MALCOLM B. WALLACE: APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER
AND THE HOLLOWS OF EUBOIA