

THE RESTORATION OF SANCTUARIES IN ATTICA: *I.G.*, II², 1035

(PLATES 45–49)

DESPITE the importance of this inscription for Attic topography ¹ it has received relatively little attention in the ninety years since its discovery, and a text has been essayed in print only twice. Its fragmentary condition has frustrated study; scholars concerned with it have usually devoted no more than a page or so to its exposition.² Perhaps this study will make the document and the evidence it affords more accessible.

The three known fragments of the stele have been previously published, but for convenience I give their descriptions here.

A = EM 13280. Broken above, below, and at the left, but preserving the right edge and the thickness. Found in 1884 in a Turkish dry-wall south of the Propylaea on the Acropolis.

Height, 1.127 m.; width, 0.555 m.; thickness, 0.089-0.097 m.

B = EM 8134. Broken on all sides, but with the thickness preserved. First identified by Adolf Wilhelm in 1902; findspot unknown.

Height, 0.190 m.; width, 0.219 m.; thickness, 0.090 m.

C = EM 8135. Broken on all sides. First identified by Adolf Wilhelm in 1902; findspot unknown.

Height, 0.310 m.; width, 0.245 m.; thickness, 0.068 m.

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² Texts: Chr. Tsountas, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1884, pp. 166-172 and 224; and Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 1935 with Addendum. Reference to these articles hereafter will be by the editors' names, and in the body of the article. The only extended treatments of the inscription are W. Gurlitt, *Über Pausanias*, Graz, 1890, pp. 209-212, with pp. 213-222 *passim* and notes on pp. 238-243; John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York, 1942, pp. 146-151; and J. H. Oliver, *A.J.P.*, XCIII, 1972, pp. 190-197.

TECHNICAL DATA

Surface. The face and right edge of the stele were dressed with a toothed chisel, the marks of which are still quite distinct. The dressing was carried down to within about 0.16 m. of the (present) bottom edge of the slab; below that the surface is finished much more roughly, apparently with a more widely spaced toothed chisel. The treatment of the lower part of the stone suggests that it was set in a base.

The face of the slab displays three shallow holes. They are artificial, as the punchmarks in them show. The uppermost hole has three letters of the text inscribed within it. The middle hole, more than twice as deep as the upper one, was skipped over by the engraver of the text; thus it is certain that these holes antedate the inscribing of the decree. The third hole, which is in uninscribed surface, is probably equally ancient. The three holes are roughly in a line some 0.07 m. from the right edge of the stone.

On the right edge itself, some 0.083 m. from the lower end, is a hole 0.016 m. deep, considerably nearer the inscribed face than the back. This feature resembles a pry hole, and its lower edge is the sharper.

The back surface presents a curious appearance. Its upper half is very roughly picked; below this area the stone is quite smoothly dressed, more so than the inscribed face, and then the bottom 0.16 m. (as on the other face) is much rougher, even more so than the upper part of the back. The greatest thickness of stone is in the area where the back is smoothly finished. These facts suggest that the back was once smoothly dressed, and was later cut down.

Lettering. The letters, done in non-stoichedon style, are of two sizes. Fragment B and lines 00-3 of Fragment A have letters 0.009 m. high, while the remainder of the text is done in letters of 0.007 m. or slightly less. The lines are separated by 0.003 to 0.005 m. The work is not quite so neat as it appears at first, for the rounded letters are rather awkwardly done, and carelessness is evident in the forming of the lambdas.

Relationship of the Fragments. The size of the lettering establishes that Fragment B is part of the former of two decrees on the stone, and so belongs above Fragment A. Fragment C joins A solidly at two points and so permits the nineteen letters on its surface to be related to the main body of the text. The join was made in 1973 by Mme. Peppas-Delmousou, Director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens.

Dimensions of the Stone. No line of text is preserved entire, but an estimate of the total width of the stele may still be made. In fact, three such estimates have been put forward; I shall treat two of them here and reserve the most recent one (J. H. Oliver's) for the later part of this article.³

³ See page 221.

Chr. Tsountas, who found the stone, believed it was originally some 0.963 m. wide, a view which rested entirely on suggested restorations of lines 15 and 16 as 142 and 144 letters long respectively. Since his lines are not based on known formulaic expressions, he probably intended them to be only suggestions; but I believe he was not far from correct.⁴

Henry R. Immerwahr⁵ got a wider stone from the following line of reasoning: lines 28 and 29 both end in uninscribed spaces of 0.296 and 0.464 m. respectively, and so may have been centered. Further, the final sentence there may have ended *Μητρόδωρος Ξένωνος Φυλάσιος ὤμνουν ἀποκαταστήσειν*, with the last word standing alone in the center of line 29. The length of this one word (0.105 m.), taken with the existing space of 0.464 m. which follows it, could then be added to an assumed blank of the same size to the left of the word to obtain the entire width of the stone. This line of reasoning produces a width of 1.033 m. There are, however, two problems with this view. First, the final syllable on the stone is *-σειν*, not *-σειν*. The restoration offered by Immerwahr must therefore assume a stonecutter's error. This is by no means impossible (see line 37) but is not inherently probable. Second, the view rests on the premise that the previous sentence ended at the end of line 27, leaving the whole of line 28 for a centered entry. But the evidence now shows that that sentence does run into line 28; see the commentary. For these reasons I have not adopted Immerwahr's reading.

I believe the width can be obtained from line 3. Tsountas⁶ restored the *-ναι* at the left side of the stone as [*μη̄ τετρυπημέ*]ναι, and was followed in this by Kirchner in the *I.G.* text. A rather better restoration would be [*τῶν ψήφων αἱ πλήρεις αἰς ἐδόκει τὴν ἐγφερομένην γνώμην κυρίαν εἶ*]ναι, a phrasing which appears in two contemporary inscriptions, one of which even shows the same archaic acrophonic numeral system seen in our inscription.⁷ It can be further asserted that this sentence began

⁴ His restorations: *δημοτε*[λή ὑπάρχει ἀναγράψαι ἐν στήλαιν δυοῖν τὸν ταμίαν τῆς ἱερᾶς διατάξεως καὶ ἀναθε]ῖναι κ.τ.λ. (line 15); and [*Ἀθηναῖ τῇ Σωτείραι· ἀπομοσθῶσαι δὲ αὐτὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν Μητρόδωρον μετὰ τοῦ βασι*]λέως κ.τ.λ. (line 16). Since line 16 has 77 letters in a preserved width of 0.515 m., 144 letters would occupy about 0.963 m.

⁵ In his unpublished notes, which he graciously made available to me.

⁶ *Op. cit.* (note 2), p. 165.

⁷ The texts are:

Agora I 6691 with *I.G.*, II², 1051, frag. d (B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 66-67 and pl. 22). *τῶν ψήφων αἱ πλήρεις αἰς ἐδόκει τὴν ἐγφερομένην γνώμην κυρίαν* [εἶναι] ΔΔΠ, αἱ δὲ *τετρυπημέ*[ναι α]ῖς οὐκ ἐδόκει οὐδεμία.

I.G., II², 1053, 11-13. [*τῶν ψήφων αἱ πλήρε*]ς αἰς ἐδόκει τὴν ἐγφερομένην γνώ[μην κυρίαν εἶναι . . .] *τριάκοντα πέντε, αἱ τετρυπημένα*[ι αἰς οὐκ ἐδόκει οὐδεμία.]

Note the virtually exact correspondence between these two texts (only the δὲ is omitted from the second), and the agreement between them and the preserved portion of line 3 in our inscription. Meritt dates both inscriptions (in the article cited in this note, p. 68) as "after 38 B.C."

at the left edge of the stone, since the line is set off from the text above by an unusually wide space. Now line 3 so restored would be 98 letters long, but there are blanks of *ca.* $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$, 2 and 3 spaces, and the occurrence of Ϝ twice adds another space. This gives a line of 107 normal letters, which would occupy a space of 1.05 m., the width of the stele.⁸ Finally, a stone 1.05 m. wide would accommodate an average line of 157 to 165 characters of the size used for the second decree and the catalogue.⁹ These considerations suggest that Tsountas was close in conjecturing a line length of 144 letters, and that Immerwahr was essentially correct.

The width and thickness of the slab correspond strikingly with the dimensions of the flank metopes of the Hekatompedon.¹⁰ W. B. Dinsmoor's system makes these metopes, 36 of them, 1.01 m. wide in their exposed area; the actual width of the stone then ought to be 1.05 m.¹¹ Thickness of the metopes varied from 0.07 to 0.10 m., and the backs are rough-picked like our stone; their height was *ca.* 1.40 m.¹² A number of fragments of these metopes survive, notably the three still to be seen in a revetment at the corner of the Propylaia, and the two which bear the famous Hekatompedon inscription.¹³

⁸ In line 2, 52 letters occupy 0.51 m. This 1.05 m. is also the minimum needed if line 29 is to be centered.

⁹ Line 16 has 77 letters in a space of 0.515 m. Thus one may calculate $\frac{77}{.515} = \frac{157}{1.05}$ letters. But as the stonemason worked his letters grew smaller. Line 27 has 81 letters in 0.515 m.; therefore, $\frac{81}{.515} = \frac{165}{1.05}$.

¹⁰ For these metopes and the attempts to reconstruct the Hekatompedon on paper, see Theodor Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, Leipzig, 1904; Rudolf Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, Vienna, 1919; W. H. Schuchhardt, "Die Sima des Alten Athentempels der Akropolis," *Ath. Mitt.*, LX/LXI, 1935-36, pp. 1-111; and William B. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 109-151. In this article I refer to the Hekatompedon as Dinsmoor described it. He dates its construction to *ca.* 570 B.C. on stylistic grounds, and claims it was dedicated in 566 (p. 10 and note 12). It was demolished in 488 B.C., he believes, to make way for the Older Parthenon (pp. 117-118).

¹¹ Dinsmoor (*op. cit.* [note 10], pp. 142-143) gives only the exposed width, but Heberdey (*op. cit.* [note 10], pp. 138-139) and Schuchhardt (*op. cit.* [note 10], p. 85) both assume approximately 0.04 m. difference between actual and exposed widths of these metopes. The amount of flexibility to be found here is seen in the fact that Dinsmoor assumes variations of up to 0.02 m. in the widths of the individual metopes (p. 143).

¹² Wiegand, *op. cit.* (note 10), p. 110. The present back of our stone, however, seems once to have been smooth. See above, p. 208.

¹³ The revetment was part of the old Propylon; Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* (note 10), p. 148. The Hekatompedon inscription is *I.G.*, I², 3-4. For the bibliography, cf. F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris, 1962, pp. 4-6. There is some confusion in the type of marble used for the metopes. Hiller von Gaertringen in *I.G.* calls the Hekatompedon inscription Parian marble; John Travlos, in *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Athen*, Tübingen, 1971, p. 258, says the Hekatompedon metopes are island marble; Wiegand (*op. cit.* [note 10], p. 12) says the metopes in the revetment are Hymettos marble, but emphasizes that distinctions among various marbles are

So close a correspondence in size could be coincidental, but I suggest that it is not. Our stone may well have been one of these metopes; therefore to the calculated width of 1.05 m. I add an assumed height of 1.40 m. to obtain the original dimensions of the slab.¹⁴ If this view is correct, the stone came first to the Acropolis as a metope for the Hekatompedon in the second quarter of the sixth century; upon the destruction of that temple nearly a century later it was put to some unknown use, perhaps again architectural.¹⁵ Then in Augustan times it became the vehicle for *I.G.*, II², 1035.

TEXT¹⁶

I have retained the line numbers used by Tsountas and Kirchner in their respective texts, even though this has necessitated the insertion of lines 0 and 00 and of line 2a to complete the sentence of line 2.

ca. a. 10/9–3/2 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Fragment B

[---]ογτος ὁ καθιέρωσεν διὰ [----]
 [---]γ [κα]ι τῶν ταμειουσάντων π[---]
 [---]ηθηναι τῆς ἀποκαταστά[σεως ---]
 [----] θεῶν τινος ἢ ἡρώων ὑπ[----]
 5 [-----]μένη καὶ εἴ τ<ι>να κατὰ τὸ τ[-]
 [-----]ι τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν [ἡρώων ---]
 [-----] προνοη[θ -----]
 [-----]ρογ[-----]

Fragments A and C

00 [-----]σι[-----]
 0 [---]σ...πρ[-----]λια[-----]

not clear-cut ones. Yet it is generally agreed (Dinsmoor, p. 148 and Heberdey, *op. cit.* [note 10], p. 138; G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 81) that these metopes belong together. Therefore I think it is not impossible that *I.G.*, II², 1035 also comes from that set.

¹⁴ These dimensions are unusual, but by no means impossible for a free-standing stele. Compare *I.G.*, I², 950 (photo, D. W. Bradeen, *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pl. 7, no. 13), which is 1.545 m. high, 0.80 m. wide and 0.08 m. thick, and has no sign of attachments; and the decree *I.G.*, II², 1081, 1085, 1116 and Agora I 4853, assembled by J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 85-90, a stele restored as over 1.0 m. high, ca. 0.80 m. wide and 0.08-0.10 m. thick.

¹⁵ The "pry hole," the holes in the face of the stone, and the picking of an originally smooth back surface all point to at least one other use before the stone was inscribed as we now have it. It cannot have been part of the revetment of the old Propylon, however; the slabs used there had their edges chamfered. See Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* (note 10), p. 119.

¹⁶ Letters underlined in the text are ones read as certain by Kirchner or Tsountas but which I could not see. For the appearance of the restored text see Plate 49.

- 1 [---]ιλους αὐτῶν [---]ηον[-]σοσθαι τοῖς ἀποδ-
- 2 [----] ἀποδόσεως τοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλ[ί]τας [στρατηγ]οῦ [τ]ὰ τούτων πραιτόμε-
- 2a [να -----]
- 3 [τῶν ψήφων αἱ πλήρεις, αἷς ἐδόκει τὴν ἐγφερομένην γνώμην κυρίαν εἶ]ναι ὕ XXX
 ΗΗΗΗ[□]ΔΙ ὕ αἱ δὲ τετυρημένα, αἷς οὐκ ἐδόκει^ν Η[□]Γ ὕ^ν
 [ἔδοξεν τῶι δῆμωι ---- εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ὁ δῆμος ἐψήφισται περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν] καὶ
 τεμενῶν ὅπως ἀποκατασταθῆι το[ί]ς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσι, ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχε
 καὶ τοῦ δῆ-
- 5 [μου ---- καὶ πρέπει ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων τὸ ἔργον] ἐπὶ τέλος ἀχθῆναι κ[αὶ τ]ὰ
 λοιπὰ τὰ δια[τείν]οντα πρὸς τε εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τεμε-
 [νῶν θεραπείαν διαμένειν ----] δεδόχθαι τῶι δῆμωι τὸν [μὲν] ἐπὶ τοὺς [ὀπλεί]τας
 στρατηγὸν Μητρόδωρον Ξένωνος Φυλάσιον
 [ἔχειν ἐπιμέλειαν περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τεμενῶν, ὅσα τε ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὰς τῶν
 θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων θυσία]ς καὶ τειμὰς ἀνείται τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ π[ροε]ψηφισμένοις
 ἀκολουθῶς καὶ ὅσα ἀποκαθίστησι πρὸς
 [εὐσέβειαν· τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη εἶναι τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχε·
 καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι εἰς τὸν μετὰ τ]αῦτα χ[ρόνον ἀ]ποδόσθαι τι τῶν ἱερῶν τεμενῶν
 κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον, μηδὲ ὠνήσασθαι μη-
 [δὲ ἀποτίμημα ἢ δῶρον λαβεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, εἶναι φάσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶι βουλο-
 μένωι, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα γράφει]ν κ[ατ]ὰ τῶ[ν] ἀποδομένων γραφὰς ἀσεβείας
 [κ]αὶ ὀφίλειν τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τὸ χρήμα ὅσου ἀπέδοντο·
- 10 [----- ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς] κιμ[έν]οις νόμοις· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάτριόν ἐστιν ἐν μηδεὶ
 τῶν τεμενῶν μῆτ' ἐντίκτειν μῆτ' ἐναπο-
 [θνήσκειν ----]ους [ί]διωτικῶν γεγονυῶν κτήσεων ἀπαρτήρητον αὐτῶν τὴν
 χρήσιν γεγενῆσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἐξη-
 [γητὴν ----] τὸν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας στρατηγὸν Μητρόδωρον Ξένωνος μετὰ
 τοῦ βασιλέως Μαντίου
 [Κλεομένους Μαραθωνίου κατὰ ἃ ὁ ἐξηγητῆς κελεύει ποιείσθαι ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς
 καὶ τεμένεσι θυσίαν ἀρεσ]τήριον [έ]κάσ[τ]ωι τῶν θεῶν καὶ [τ]ῶν ἡρώων παρι-
 στάνοντος θύματα τοῦ ταμίου κατὰ τὰ
 [πάτρια νόμιμα· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν τῆς ἱερᾶς διατάξεως ἐν στήλαιν λιθίνοι
 δυοῖν τάδε τὰ ψηφίσματα περὶ τῶ[ν] ἱερῶν κ]αὶ τεμενῶν [καὶ τ]ὰ ἀποκαταστα-
 θέντα ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη καὶ εἶ τινα δημοτε-
- 15 [λῆ ὄρη ὑπάρχει ἃ κατὰ τάδε τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀποκατασταθῆι ---- καὶ ἀναθε]ῖναι
 ἦν μὲν [ἐν Ἀκρο]πόλει παρὰ τ[ῆ]ι Πολιάδι Ἀθηνᾶι, ἦν δ' ἐν Πιραιεὶ παρὰ τῶι
 Διὶ τῶι Σωτήρι καὶ τῆ[ι]
 [Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Σωτείραι· ἀπομισθῶσαι δὲ αὐτὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας στρατηγὸν Μητρό-
 δωρον μετὰ τοῦ βασι]λέως καὶ τοῦ ταμίου [τῆς ἱ]ερᾶς διατ[άξε]ως εἰς τετραετίαν
 καὶ ἀναγράψαι ἐν στήλει τὰ τε τῶν μεμι-
 [σθωμένων ὀνόματα καὶ ὅσου ἕκαστος ἐμισθῶσατο καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐν ----· τὸ δὲ]

- ἀνάλ[ωμ]α εἰς τε τὰ θύματα [καὶ τὰς στηλάς μ]ερίσαι τῶι ταμ[ί]αι τῆς ἱερᾶς
 διατάξεως τοὺς καθεσταμέ-
- [νους -----] ἱερά κ[αὶ π]ρονοησόμενον [ὅπως μὴ αἰ τῶ]ν ἀνακτηθέντων ἱερῶν
 καὶ τεμενῶν μισθώσεις καὶ αἰ τῶν
- [δημοσίων οἰκιῶν -----]ουσ. μ. .εἰ δέ τινα διὰ τὴν ἀ[μέλεια]ν παραλ[έλε]ιπτ[αι]
 τῶν πεπραμένων ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦ ἢ ταμίου τῆς
- 20 [ἱερᾶς διατάξεως -----]νωι. . [τ]ῆν μίσ[θ]ω[σιν] γίνεσθ[αι τ]ῶν ἀν[ακτη]θησο-
 μέ[νω]ν κατὰ ταυτά· τὰ δὲ ὄρη τὰ δημόσια καὶ τὰς δημοτελεί[ς]
 [ἔσχατιὰς ----- Δῆ]μητρος καὶ Κόρης. . . .ωσεἰ σ . . . πασιν· εἰ δ[έ τ]ι γες
 ὑπερβάντες τοὺς ἱεροὺς ὄρους ἐπειργάσαν-
- [το τὴν ἱεράν γῆν -----]ν. . τον. . γαιτημα . . σθ.ον [εἰς τ]ῆν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ [ἐν
 Ἐλ]ευσίνι ἱεροῦ ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀνει-
 [μένον -----]ς μετ[ὰ] τῶν . . ἱερέα . . ενο. αὐτῆι ἀρχ[υ]ρολογούσα ἀπαρχὴν . . .
 . . . ἀνευ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆι θεῶι καὶ τ[---]
- [-----]νῆι ὄντα τ[ῆς π]όλεως δύο μ[ἐ]ν παραχρῆμα [ἀ]πὸ τῶν νῦν [κατεχ]όν-
 των ιδιωτῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἐξ αὐτ[αρ-]
- 25 [κείας γῆν αὐτῶν -----]ασ[. . . ἀναθῆ]ματα κα[ὶ ἀγ]ά[λα]ματα τὰ ἀνατεθέντα
 ὑπ' Ἀτ[τάλου β]ασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς
 [πόλεως ----- ὅπως τὰ ἱερά τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ] τεμ[ενῶν τὰ π]επολιτευμ[ένα πρ]ὸς
 ἀείμνηστον δό[ξ]αν τοῦ δ[ήμου ἀμετα]κίνητα διαμένῃ, ὀμνύειν τὸν αἰὲ λ[α-]
 [χόντα στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας· ----- διατ]ηρῆσαι [τὰ ἀπ]οκατασταθέν[τα τ]α
 ἱερά καὶ τεμένῃ· καὶ εἴ τινα [πρὸς θεῶν κ]αὶ ἡρώων θυσίας καὶ τιμᾶς [ἀν]είτα[ι]
 [ὑστερον τούτων, ὀμνύειν τὸν αἰὲ λαχόντα στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας διατηρῆσαι
 καὶ ταῦτα καθάπερ] Μη[τρόδ]ωρος Ξένωνος Φυλά[σιος ὄμνυ]εν. *vacat*
 [*vacat* τάδε ὁ δῆμος ἀπο]κα[έστη]σεν. *vacat*
- 30 [----- ἐν τῶι ἐπὶ -] κομήδους ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτ[ῶι] Μητρόδωρος Ξένωνος
 Φυλ[άσιος] τύδε ἀποκατέστησε·
 [----- τέμενος? τοῦ δεῖνα ὁ Σολ]ων ἀνήκε τῆι Πολ[ιάδ]ι καθι[ερ]ωθὲν πρότερον
 ὑπ' [αὐτοῦ το]ῦ κτίσαντος τὴν νῆσον
 [----- ὅπου κείτ]αι ἢ ἀρχαία πόλις ἢ [πρ]οσων[ο]μασθεῖσα Κυχ[ρεία·
 τέμεν]ος Αἴαντος ὁ καθιέρωσε
 [----- ἀκρωτήριον] ἐφ' οὗ κέεται τὸ Θ[εμισ]τ[οκ]λέους τρ[όπαι]ον κατὰ
 Περσῶν καὶ πολυάνδρειον τῶν
 [ἐν τῆι μάχῃ τελευτησάντων· -----]ένοις καὶ προθυσάμενο[ις] ἐν τῶι πρὸς
 Μ[εγαρέας] πρὸ τῆς νήσου πολέμωι· ὃ κῆπον ἐν κρ[---]
- 35 [----- ὅπου ὀρχή]σεις καὶ χορε[ῖ]αι ἐδρῶ[ντο . .] ἐνπλευ πόλει
 τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ Σόλωνο[ς]
 [-----]ν τὸ ἐν Ἐλαφυδρίοις αοντο γιαν τὸ παρὰ τὸν παρά-
 πλου τῶν ἱερῶν
 [νεῶν· -----]ο πρὸς τῆι καλουμένῃ π . . . αἰα¹¹ ν . . . " <Ἡε>τ<ιῶ>-
 νειαν ἐξ ἧς αἰ ἱεραὶ ναῦ[ς]

- [-----] ἤρωος ὑλάζοντο . . . ντα¹⁰ σνασ . . ἅπασιν νέμειν καὶ ὑλάζεσ-
θαι. ^v
- [-----] φανω . . . γ πρὸς τῆι¹⁴ ὁ προσ[ωνό]μασται ἀπὸ τοῦ
στεφανώματος τῆς θεο[ύ]
- 40 [-----] ο θύειν¹² α¹¹ ον καὶ ψιλὰ τὰ προσόντα τῶι
Ἄσκληπιεῖω τὰ ἀνεθέν-
- [τα ----- τ]ῆς πόλεως⁸ τοῦ ἄ[γο]ντος ἐν τῶι Πελοποννησιακῶι
πολέμωι καὶ τὸ προσόν . ^v
- [-----] Π[ιρ]αιέως παρ' ἰππασίας τὰς π[ρ]ὸ[s] τῆν Ἀκτῆν . ^v ψιλὰ [τὰ
π]ροσόντα τῶι Διονυσιεῖωι καὶ τὰ προσόντα
- [-----] τὸ ἀρχαῖον βουλευτήριον . ^v ψύκτρας τὰς πρὸς τ[ο]ῖς νεωρίοις τοῦ
λιμένος τοῦ ἐν Ζέαι πρὸς τοῖς κλεί-
- [θροισ· -----] στρατήγιον τὸ ἀρχαῖον . ^v τέμενος Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης . ^v ψιλὸν τὸ
ἀνειμένον τῶι ἀρχαίωι θεάτρωι . ^v ψιλὰ τὰ
- 45 [προσόντα ----- ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς? Ἐ]ρκάνης ὁ ἰδρύσατο Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸ τῆς
περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίας . ^v ψύκτρας τὰς ἐν τῶι μεγάλωι
- [λιμένι ----- ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους] τοῦ περικλειομένου τοῖς νεωρίοις καὶ τῶι Ἀφρο-
δισίωι καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς μέχρι τῶν κλείθρων . ^v
- [-----] ἀπὸ τοῦ δίγματος τοῦ ἀνατεθέντος ὑπὸ Μάγνου καὶ τὸ προσὸν ὑπαιθρον,
ὅπου τύποι καὶ ^v
- [μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ κείνται ----- τέμενος τὸ π]αρὰ τὰ μακρὰ τίχη Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος . ^v
τέμενος Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης . ^v τεμένη Θησεῶς . ^v τέμενο-
- [ς -----] πρὸς Ἑμμητῶι καὶ τὰ προσόντα μέταλλα καὶ τὸ διόδιον τῆς
λιθοτομίας . ^v
- 50 [-----] ἀφέσεις τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑσπλήγων τοῦ Παναθηναϊκοῦ σταδίου καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ
[----- τ]έμενος Ἀθηνᾶς [Δ]αμπτῶσι τὸ λεγόμενον Δορύκλειον . *vacat*
- [----- καθιερωθ]έν κατὰ χρησμόν καὶ τὸν οἰκοδομηθέντα τόπον πρὸς τῶι
βωμῶι . ^v Ἑακίνθιον
- [----- ὅπου] πρὸ τῶν προβολῶν θύουσιν ἤρωι Στρατηγῶι . ^v ἱερὸν Εὐκλείας
καὶ Εὐνομίας .
- [-----] παλαίστραν . ^v οἰκίαν τῆν λεγομένην Κυρρήστον, ἣν ὁ δῆμος προσ-
κατεσκε[υ-]
- 55 [άσατο -----]έντα ἀνεθῆναι Διὶ [Ἄ]λυμ]πίωι καθότι καὶ πρότερον ἦν . ^v
<ο>ἴκησιν τὴν πρὸς
- [-----] πάσας καὶ παραδρομίδας . ^v τάφρους πάσας τὰς κύκλωι τίχ[ο]νς . ^v
Σαραπ-
- [ιεῖον -----] α σ ἀφώρισεν ἐν ἄστει . *vacat* 0.035 m. ἀκρόδρνα . ^v ζευγῶν
λι[-----]
- [----- χ]αρίε[ν] τέμε[νος Ἡ]βης . ^v ὄρος τὸ πρὸς Ἑμμητῶι . ^v ἐσχατιὰν Λαμπ-
τῶσι τὴν πρὸς [---]

[- - - ὄρη δ]ημόσια ἀ καὶ [. ᾗ]πασιν νέμειν κ[αὶ ὕ]λάζεσθαι. *vacat*
vacat 0.35 m.

Fragment B

The lettering on this fragment is similar to Fragment A except for the fact that theta is shown Θ. The letters Β Γ Ζ Α Ξ Φ Χ Ψ are not attested on it. The inconsistency of theta might be accidental, or might even mean that this is a fragment of the second copy of the decree, the one which was set up in Peiraeus (line 15). In any case it is not likely that this stone belongs to any other document; the similarities in language, marble, surface and letter size are too great to be dismissed.

Line 3: Here Wilhelm read ΔΕΚΑΙ; but ΘΗΝΑΙ is clearly visible on the stone and squeezes. Before theta is a possible eta, quite battered.

Line 8: Wilhelm read omicron and epsilon. First there appears the top third of a vertical stroke; then a full vertical with traces suggesting the loop of rho. Then there is the top half of a circular letter, not theta; based on its distance from the vertical following it, it is probably omicron. There follows the top half of a vertical, with the hint of the beginning of a diagonal near its top. I read a probable nu.

Fragment A

The drawing (Pl. 46) shows what I have been able to see on this major fragment itself and on squeezes; the commentary is confined to points on which my text differs significantly from the two previously published.

Lines 00-0: The traces in these lines were not recorded by Tsountas or Kirchner.

Line 9: The ninth letter from the end of the line is upsilon, not nu as printed in *I.G.*

Line 11: Near the end of the line Tsountas and Kirchner both restored γεγε[νῆσ] θαι. However, the letters are on the stone, inscribed in the shallow hole that mars the surface there. This is positive evidence that the hole antedates the inscribing of the stone.

Line 18: The lacuna προνοησόμενον [- - -]ν was taken as eight spaces and restored [ὅπως αἰ τῶ]ν by Tsountas, whom Kirchner followed. The space is 0.075 m. long and calls for ten letters; accordingly, I have restored [ὅπως μὴ αἰ τῶ]ν.

Line 23: The traces will not permit the reading [καθ]ιερ[ωμ]έν[ων], which was suggested by Lolling and adopted in *I.G.* ΙΕΡΕ can be read clearly, and the letter following was probably alpha. The reading ἀργ<νρ>ολογοῦσα was suggested to me by J. H. Oliver. This is consistent with Tsountas' diagram (which shows the two verticals one can still see after the first alpha) and with the text he printed: ἀ. .ολογοῦσα. Kirchner read ἀπολογοῦσα, which is unlikely epigraphically because it would mean a very wide pi, with a full-length right leg contrary to this stonemason's practice. Kirchner's reading is still less likely grammatically, for (as Professor Oliver pointed out to me) Liddell-Scott-Jones do not admit active forms for this verb.

Line 27: Here Tsountas read καὶ ἐ[π]ι[τε]λ[έσειν τὰς τῶ]ν. Though Kirchner accepted this, it cannot stand. The first epsilon is followed by a complete iota and a tau of which only the left half of the top is missing. Then come ΙΝΑ, with only the nu open to question. Therefore one should read καὶ ἐ[π]ι[τε]λ[έσειν τὰς τῶ]ν. At the end of the long lacuna the previous editors read nu on the basis of a diagonal followed by a vertical. These two strokes do not touch one another, however, and in this inscription the diagonal of nu usually touches the right vertical above its lower end. The strokes are more probably ΑΙ, and the restoration should then be καὶ ἐ[π]ι[τε]λ[έσειν τὰς τῶ]ν.

The final letters of this line were in prior texts [ΤΑ]ΣΙΑ; but the sigma is clearly epsilon, and the pi must be read as IT. Were it a pi, it would be the only one in this inscription with no overhang of the horizontal to the left and with both legs of equal length. The phrase must be, as in line 7, τὴν ἀν[ε]στ[α]ν[τ]α[ν].

Line 31: The reading Πολ[ιᾶδ]ι, for which I am indebted to H. R. Immerwahr, is to be preferred to π[ό]λ[ε]ι of the published texts because the space between the lambda (which is very faintly visible on the stone) and the iota measures 0.015 m., enough for two or three letters.

The center of the stone is badly weathered in an area extending from line 31 to line 41. Professor Eugene Vanderpool suggests that it may once have been a floor slab in the corner of a building that served as a latrine (note the precise right angle where the weathering stops), and that it was subjected to accumulation of uric acid. Whether by that agent or some other, the marble has been eaten away, leaving very wide, shallow depressions where the grooves of the letters once were. Carbon wash and direct observation were of little use on this area. Water on the stone in strong raking light was helpful, as was patient scrutiny of repeated squeezes; but even at best the readings so obtained are very uncertain. I distinguish such letters by the term "ghosts."

The ghosts of upsilon and pi appear after πρότερον; Tsountas included them on his facsimile. Therefore Lolling's restoration [MEN] should be rejected.

Line 34: The first lacuna is 0.010 m. wide, too much for the reading -MENO[I]. I suggest -MENO[ΙΣ], although these two letters usually require 0.012 m. of space. This would give two participles in the same grammatical construction.

The next lacuna ought to be restored M[εγαρέας] (Toepffer¹⁷) and not M[ήδους] (Tsountas). The 0.050 m. space is too long for the latter word, as Tsountas himself (col. 224) later admitted.

Line 37: The word read by Tsountas as ἐτορνείαν and by Kirchner as ἐητώειαν is <ΕΗΤΟΡΝΕΙΑΝ> on the stone. The dissatisfaction of the editors is understandable, since the artisan stumbled at the awkward word. The correct spelling is <Ἡετιώειαν>.

Line 38: Both Tsountas and Kirchner start the line with ΕΘΟΣ, but I read the word as ΗΡΩΟΣ. The Η alone is questionable, since the lower two-thirds of the left vertical is missing. Pi and omega are wholly preserved. H. R. Immerwahr's unpublished notes also show ΗΡΩΟΣ.

Line 41: The two former editors began the line ΗΣ.ΟΑ..Ν. I can find no trace of the nu they saw, but there are traces to suggest [τ]ῆς πόλεως.

Line 44: The nu of ἀρχαῖον is defective; its diagonal was never cut.

Line 45: The reading [Ε]ρκάνης could be ακανής as Kirchner has it, for only a tiny mark near the top of the space remains of the disputed letter. The kappa is safe, though; the top of its vertical and the top half of its upper diagonal are preserved. The next letter is extant only as an apex, but must be alpha; lambda or delta could not be pronounced.

Line 47: The *I.G.* text reads δείγματος, adding an epsilon to the stonemason's ΔΙΓΜΑΤΟΣ. I have left this Roman-date spelling unaltered; cf. line 10 κιμένους, line 48 τίχη.

Line 49: Both printed editions show Ὑμηττὸ [ν]. The lower third of the circular letter is missing, and in the bracketed space is the upper half of a centered vertical. By comparison with the spacing of other letters, such as the nus of τῶν προβολῶν in line 53, I conclude that the missing letter is not nu but iota, and the ending is thus ΤΩΙ, dative. H. R. Immerwahr's notes also show this interpretation.

Line 55: Tsountas and Kirchner restored [Ὑμητ]τίωι in this line, but the traces do not support them. The letter on the stone is pi, not tau. It is entirely preserved, with the right leg shorter as is typical of this inscription. Therefore one should restore [Ὀλυμ]πίωι. E. Vanderpol was kind enough to verify this reading on the stone.

Near the end of the line the stonemason inadvertently made a theta of the omicron in οἴκησιν.

Line 57: Kirchner shows ζευγῶν λι, including two dotted letters Tsountas missed. The iota is now wholly gone, and only the very apex of lambda remains.

Line 58: The one-space blank after -ΒΗΣ at the beginning of the line is not in *I.G.*, but is in Tsountas' text.

At the end of the line both editors show τὴν πρὸς. The last four letters are now wholly gone, apparently through the loss of a chip since the beginning of this century, which also took away the iota on the line above.

¹⁷ *Quaestiones Pisistratae*, Dorpat, 1886, p. 21, note 2.

DATE

The nearly ninety years since the discovery of this inscription have produced no real agreement on its date. Estimates have varied by some 300 years.¹⁸ Indeed, soon after the stone was published two schools of thought developed. One (Kirchner, Keil) held that it must come from before Sulla's sack of Peiraeus because the port town could not have been as the document pictures it after that catastrophe; and because the old acrophonic numerals appear in the text. The other (Gurlitt, Wachsmuth) argued that the archon *-komedes* must be Lykomedes, who belongs to the second century after Christ, and that the orthography requires a date at least this late. The argument has been continued sporadically through the years. The last few decades have seen a shift toward the middle begun by Oliver, and a willingness to date the decree around Augustus' time.

¹⁸ Here are the dates advanced at various times:

- Tsountas, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1884, p. 168: 62 B.C.–A.D. 117;
 Toepffer, *Quaestiones Pisisstrateae*, Dorpat, 1886, p. 21, note 2: not before 31 B.C.;
 Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen in Alterthum*, Leipzig, 1890, vol. II, p. 12, note 1 and p. 58, note 4:
 2nd century after Christ;
 Gurlitt, *Über Pausanias*, pp. 209, 238-239: A.D. 138/9–170/1;
 Keil, *Hermes*, XXV, 1890, p. 319 and *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, X, 1890, p. 258: before 95 B.C.;
 Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*³, Berlin, 1900, p. 238: 48 B.C.–A.D. 117;
 Lolling, *Topographie von Athen*, Munich, 1901, p. 321, note 4: after A.D. 14/5;
 Foucart, *Journal des Savants*, 1907, p. 183: 1st century B.C.;
 Tod, *B.S.A.*, XVIII, 1911/12, p. 129: 2nd century after Christ; but in *B.S.A.*, XXVIII, 1926/7,
 p. 151 he accepted Graindor's later view of the 1st century after Christ;
 Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 1035: beginning 1st century B.C.;
 Graindor, *Chronologie des Archontes Athéniens sous l'Empire*, Académie Royale de Belgique, VIII,
 fasc. 2 et dernier 1922, pp. 142-144; A.D. 139/40–170/1, but he later chose the first century
 after Christ: *Musée Belge*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 117; *Athènes sous Auguste*, Cairo, 1930,
 p. 198; *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, Cairo, 1931, p. 162, note 2;
 Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 294: 2nd century
 after Christ;
 Day, *C.W.*, XXVI, 1933, pp. 138-140: A.D. 128/9–137/8; but in *Economic History*, p. 148, note
 158 he revised his view to make it Augustan, after Oliver examined the lettering;
 Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 17, note 3: 2nd century after Christ;
 Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia*, Baltimore, 1941, pp. 133-134: age of Augustus; then *A.J.P.*, XCIII,
 1972, pp. 190-191: 27/6 B.C.;
 Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 298: age of Augustus;
 Sarikakis, *The Hoplite-General in Athens*, Princeton, 1951, p. 71: reign of Augustus;
 Kahrstedt, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit*, Bern, 1954, p. 60, note 6:
 "der proletarischen Republik unter Mithradates";
 Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 319: age of Augustus;
 Geagan, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XII, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla*, Baltimore, 1967, pp. 10-11,
 note 56: age of Augustus;
 Behrend, *Attische Pachturkunden, Vestigia*, XII, Munich, 1970, p. 68: 100 B.C.–A.D. 200;
 Travlos, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 498: "aus römischer Zeit."

This study has not produced evidence to fix the decree in a single year, but we can now, I think, narrow the search to one decade. The evidence is cumulative, and is best treated one thread at a time.

Orthography. The most notable clue under this head is a tendency for ι and $\epsilon\iota$ to be confused. The tendency runs to replacing $\epsilon\iota$ with simple ι : $\kappa\mu[\acute{\epsilon}\nu]ο\iota\varsigma$ (line 10), $\Pi\rho\alpha\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ (15), $\delta\acute{\iota}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (47), $\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\eta$ (48), $\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (56). Yet the artisan will sometimes cut $\epsilon\iota$ for a long iota: $\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (line 7), but $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (line 27); $\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (line 12). This carelessness in spelling two near-identical sounds began to appear around 100 B.C. and continued in Attic inscriptions throughout the empire.¹⁹

Letter Forms. This canon is not very helpful for documents of Roman date, but it may be used with caution. The reader may compare the lettering of this decree with no. 113 of Kirchner's *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*², Berlin, 1948, which is dated 52/1 B.C. The close similarity of the letter forms (note especially ξ , Γ , P and K) suggests a date early rather than late in the Roman period. J. H. Oliver has judged the lettering to be Augustan,²⁰ and D. J. Geagan, who examined the lettering at my request in 1970, concurs in that view.

Datable Internal References. It is unfortunate that most such references are too early to be helpful (e.g., the Themistokles trophy on Salamis: 479 B.C.), and those few which would be helpful are hardest to date (e.g., *-komedes* as archon). The overall question, "when could all the shrines named have required restoration at the same time?" will be taken up a bit later in this article; for now it is sufficient to cite two dates which are fairly solid and serve as working *termini post* and *ante quem*.

The Horologion or Tower of the Winds in the Roman Market was completed by a little after the middle of the first century B.C.²¹ Its appearance in line 54 establishes that the inscription cannot be earlier than *ca.* 30 B.C., even if the Tower fell into neglect almost from the time it was completed. At least a decade must have elapsed before it could need restoration. We therefore have a *terminus post quem* of *ca.* 30 B.C.

¹⁹ K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*³, p. 48; cf. Gurlitt, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, XXVII, 1890, p. 843.

²⁰ *Op. cit.* (note 18), p. 133. See also his letter to John Day on this subject, quoted in Day, *Economic History*, p. 148, note 163.

²¹ D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture*², Cambridge, 1954, p. 338 and T. Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 56, note 1, both say *ca.* 50 B.C.; Graindor (*Musée Belge*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 115; *Byzantion*, III, 1926, p. 30; and *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 197), Day (*Economic History*, pp. 130-132 and *C.W.*, XXVI, 1933, p. 139, note 31), Robinson (*A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 302), and Travlos (*op. cit.* [note 13], p. 281) are in substantial agreement on the period 47-37 B.C. For earlier views cf. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 302, where the citations are assembled. I take it as certain that the reference in line 54 is to the Horologion; only Robinson (pp. 298-299, note 21) has denied this, and he did so under the mistaken conviction that the inscription includes no shrines within the city wall.

The moat of Athens, or *taphros*, appears in line 56. Excavation has shown²² that sometime in the first half of the first century after Christ the *taphros* was filled in with earth and rubble. Had it been cleaned in accordance with our inscription *after* that date, the datable pottery would not have been there for modern investigators to find; therefore the inscription cannot date from later than the middle of the first century after Christ. These dates reinforce the inference obtained from the letter forms that the decree is Augustan.

Of course, the bare possibility exists that the decree dates from the reigns of Tiberius, Gaius, or Claudius; yet archaeological evidence suggests that very little building took place in Athens under these three emperors.²³ Moreover, the most likely of the three to have looked with favor on this Athenian revival is Claudius, who did not come to power until 41. So late a date strains the evidence of the filling in of the *taphros*, which is judged to have occurred *in the first half* of the century.

If one scans the evidence of the individual shrines with the assumption that the decree was passed in Augustus' reign, no problems emerge. The evidence for the use of the various sanctuaries is everywhere consistent with a period of neglect prior to Augustus and a general restoration in his regime.

Hoplite General and King Archon. The former of these is Metrodoros, son of Xenon, of Phyle (line 6), dated only as "princiate of Augustus" by Sarikakis,²⁴ and not identifiable with certainty. But if he is the grandfather of the Metrodoros who was archon sometime between A.D. 40/1 and 53/4,²⁵ the chronology will fit well enough. Some sixty years would separate them, and we arrive at a date of 20-14 B.C., with a leeway of a few years on either side.

The King Archon Mantias of line 12 may be provisionally identified as *Mavτίας* (II) *Κλεομένους Μαραθώνιος*,²⁶ who was born *ca.* 60 B.C. That date I infer from the fact that his son Kleomenes II was old enough to be archon *thesmothetes* around A.D. 22/3 and had become a father before (or very shortly after) the turn of the era.²⁷ It was a prominent family; Mantias II's aunt Panarista had helped to weave the sacred *peplos* of Athena shortly after the beginning of the century.²⁸ Mantias would then have been a close contemporary of Augustus, and might have been King Archon at nearly any time in the latter's reign, though a member of so noteworthy a family

²² J. Travlos, *Πολεοδομικὴ Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1960, pp. 93-94.

²³ P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 160. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², Munich, 1931, pp. 99-100.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* (note 18), pp. 26 and 70-71.

²⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1735; cf. Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 81; S. Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 179; Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 84; and J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 51, 53. That Metrodoros has no patronymic or demotic preserved.

²⁶ Stemma in *I.G.*, II², 3488.

²⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1730, 13; cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 160. His parenthood is certified by *I.G.*, II², 3529, a dedication to Demeter and Kore by Kleomenes and his wife for their daughter.

²⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1034, col. 2, line 9.

would not have been likely to have to wait beyond age 60 (the turn of the era) for that honor.

Nikanor and Salamis. An important date for this question is the purchase of Salamis by Gaius Julius Nikanor and his subsequent gift of it to the city of Athens. This dramatic individual,²⁹ distinguished for his wealth, his poetry, his public service, and his friendship with Augustus, bought back the island for Athens after the city had been compelled to sell it. From ephebic inscriptions Graindor has shown that the loss of the island occurred around the time of Sulla, but the inscriptions do not show when Athens got it back; they show only that it was still "foreign" (ephebes from there listed as foreigners in the catalogues) as late as the 30's B.C.³⁰ By the time of Strabo it was back in Athenian hands (IX, 394: *καὶ νῦν μὲν ἔχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν νῆσον*), and Dio Chrysostom records that it was Nikanor who bought it back for them (XXXI, 116).

It would be very helpful to know the exact date of the gift, for it was probably the occasion for our decree. As John Day argued, "What could be more reasonable than to suppose that many lands on Salamis had been alienated from public or from sacred control during the period when Salamis was not under the jurisdiction of Athens, and that upon regaining the island the Athenians found it necessary to rectify the conditions there?"³¹ Unfortunately, a precise date is not yet available; but an approximation can be derived from two pieces of evidence.

The first is an inscription³² which honors Nikanor and mentions various properties on Salamis. It almost certainly has some connection with the purchase of the island or the events which followed, and it is dated by the archonship of Lakon. Graindor thinks this Lakon is the son of Julius Eurykles, who fought with Augustus at Actium.³³ While we do not have exact dates here, it is unlikely that the son of one of the officers of Actium would be mature enough to be eponymous archon before ca. 15 B.C., and perhaps a decade or more later is most probable.

The second bit of evidence is that Augustus staged a naval battle between Persians and Athenians in 2 B.C., with the Athenians winning.³⁴ This attention to Salamis

²⁹ Cf. Stein, Kroll, and Wendel, *s.v.* Nikanor (18) and (22), *R.E.*, XVII, pp. 270-272; Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 8-10, 168, 176; Sarikakis, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp. 73-74; and Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 317-319.

³⁰ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 9.

³¹ Day, *Economic History*, pp. 148-149.

³² *I.G.*, II², 1069, now associated with various other fragments. For a skeleton text see Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 68-71, no. 13. Meritt simply dates it "aet. augusti."

³³ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 10. Lakon apparently has not yet been dated more precisely than "aetate augusti"—see Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 82-84, and note 31, above.

³⁴ Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, I, 171-172. Raubitschek, in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 319, claimed that Julius Nikanor led the Athenians in that sham battle, thus winning a new battle of Salamis

would come most appropriately soon after the philanthropist had returned the island to Athens' control, and our attention is then directed to the last decade before Christ.

A combination of these bits of evidence suggests that the island of Salamis was returned to Athens by Nikanor sometime in the last decade B.C. A date materially earlier would do violence to the evidence concerning Lakon's archonship, and a date after 2 B.C. would involve the incongruity of the Athenians "defending" a Salamis which did not even belong to Athens.

The Date. Now it should be possible to display the results of the evidence we have been considering. A glance at the chart (Fig. 1) shows that a date prior to 20 B.C. is quite unlikely. The open years 19/8–17/6 are not so open as they appear, for Demeas must be fitted in there somewhere.³⁵ If both *-komedes* (this inscription) and Lakon (*I.G.*, II², 1069) must also be placed there, the crowding becomes severe. Besides, this period is really too early for Nikanor. The years which follow, down through 11/0, are already assigned; but there is room in the period 10/9 through 3/2 to fit in both *-komedes* and Lakon.³⁶ Therefore I offer the period 10/9 through 3/2 as the date of the inscription, with the observation that the first years of that period fit best the presumed ages of Metrodoros the Hoplite General and Mantias the King Archon.

The View taken by Oliver. James H. Oliver has recently found reason to date this inscription "almost precisely in the year 27/6 B.C."³⁷ He rests his conclusion on two principal considerations, each deserving of careful notice.

He has restored the line-length as *ca.* 105 characters by this version of lines 15-16: [ἐκθε]ῖναι ἦν μὲ[ν ἐν Ἀκροπ]όλει παρὰ [τῆι Π]ολιάδι Ἀθηνᾶι, ἦν δ' ἐν Πιραιεῖ παρὰ τῶι Διὶ τῶι Σωτήρι καὶ τῆ[ι] | [Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Σωτείραι, ἐστὶ τοῦ βασιλ]έως καὶ τοῦ ταμί[ο]υ τῆς ἰ]ερᾶς διαταξέως εἰς τετραετίαν καὶ ἀναγράψαι ἐν στήλῃ κ.τ.λ. "to publish which for a period of four years, one on the Acropolis by Athena Polias, the other at Piraeus by Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, it is the duty of the basileus and of the treasurer of the sacred diataxis," etc.

This restoration has the advantage that it permits one to read the stone as it

and earning the title which we know the Athenians gave him: the New Themistokles. His theory has been rejected by G. W. Bowersock (*Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford, 1965, p. 96, note 7) and L. and J. Robert (*R.E.G.*, LXVIII, 1955, p. 210, note 79). It seems to me that his purchase of the island for Athens would be enough to explain the title the Athenians gave him.

³⁵ See Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 29-103 and Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 1-57. I have not entered the names of the archons on Figure 1, but have only indicated which years have names definitely assigned to them and are thus excluded. For names and evidence the reader may consult the articles cited in this note.

³⁶ Only three others must go in this period: Νικίας Σαραπίωνος Ἀθμονεύς (a. 10/9–2/1); Ξένων Μεννέου Φλεύς (post a. 9/8); and Ἀπόληξις ἐξ Οἴου (8/7–2/1). See the preceding note.

³⁷ J. H. Oliver, *A.J.P.*, XCIII, 1972, pp. 190-197.

is inscribed ($\eta\nu$), and not edit it into $\tau\eta\nu$, twice in the line. Previous editors had not commented on the matter, and their insertion of tau implies that they viewed it as a stonecutter's error. Yet there is another possibility, one which will make it unnecessary either to charge the stonecutter with a double error or to criticize the framers

Year		Metrodoros	Mantias	Nikanor
30/29	assigned			
29/8				
28/7				
27/6				
26/5	assigned			
25/4			F	
24/3		F		
23/2			L	
22/1		L		
21/0	assigned		O	
20/19	assigned	O		
19/8			R	
18/7		R		
17/6			U	
16/5	assigned	U		
15/4	assigned		I	F
14/3	assigned	I		
13/2	assigned		T	L
12/1	assigned	T		O
11/0	assigned			R
10/9				
9/8				
8/7				
7/6				U
6/5				
5/4				I
4/3				
3/2				T
2/1				(naumachia)
1/1				

FIG. 1.

with an awkward, double-relative construction. It may be an example of the substitution of the relative for the demonstrative definite article. The usage appears in Greek sporadically from the time of Demosthenes on.³⁸

It is the length of the line, however, which is the weak point of this restoration. As Oliver has it, only some 29 characters are missing at the left. With so short a line, some of the expressions will not make sense. Take line 4: [$\epsilon\delta\omicron\xi\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\iota\ \delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\iota\ \cdot$

³⁸ See H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, Cambridge, 1956, sec. 1110. The usage is not in Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*².

——— εἶπε· περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ] κ.τ.λ. This is 39 letters, ten more than Oliver permits, and yet it allows only six spaces for a proposer's name. Line 3, of course, would need a totally different restoration. Line 13, with just the name I have restored and *θυσίαν ἄρεσ]τήριον*, is 30 letters, and still needs a verb. Line 29 would be uncentered, far to the left. The stone cannot have been so narrow as Oliver has made it.³⁹

The other major point in Oliver's argument is that *I.G.*, II², 1035 should be studied alongside the Leyden inscription from Cyme. The latter is a ruling in 27 B.C. by the consuls Augustus and Agrippa, and a letter of the proconsul Vinicius, both of which concern the restoration of public and sacred properties to the control of the individual city-states. The ruling is based on a *iussus Augusti* authorizing the restoration. Persons who have taken over the properties must relinquish them, and furniture and other movable items from the shrines are to be recovered as well. Both seizure and sale of the properties by individuals are forbidden. Oliver believes that *I.G.*, II², 1035 is also based on that imperial *iussus*.

The similarity of subject matter does argue for a connection between the inscriptions; unfortunately, the imperial order itself has perished, and we know of it only from a mention in the Leyden inscription. We could be more certain of the relationships if the text of the *iussus* were available for comparison.

There is no doubt that the *iussus Augusti* is a valuable piece of evidence, but we need not infer, as Oliver does, that Athens immediately made use of it to recover its properties.⁴⁰ There was ill will between Athens and the young Caesar for some years after Actium; even as late as 22/1 B.C. he was still angry enough at them to winter on Aigina as a deliberate slight to the Athenians.⁴¹ Their attitude toward him was displayed when he came to the city; a statue of Athena on the Acropolis turned round and spat blood.⁴² For these reasons I believe it is unlikely that Athens would have laid claim to the *iussus Augusti* so early; but she may have done so later, when her relationship with the emperor was not so strained. It is possible that, when the recovery of Salamis in the last decade B.C. provided the occasion, the twenty-year-old imperial order provided the legal basis for the restoration of the Attic shrines.

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³⁹ There is an additional difficulty with this view. It has the officials *publishing the names* for a four-year period, while the period referred to is more probably the term of the *leases*. Leases for four years appear in the nearly contemporary inscription (*Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 68-69, no. 13A and pl. 23) recently published by Meritt.

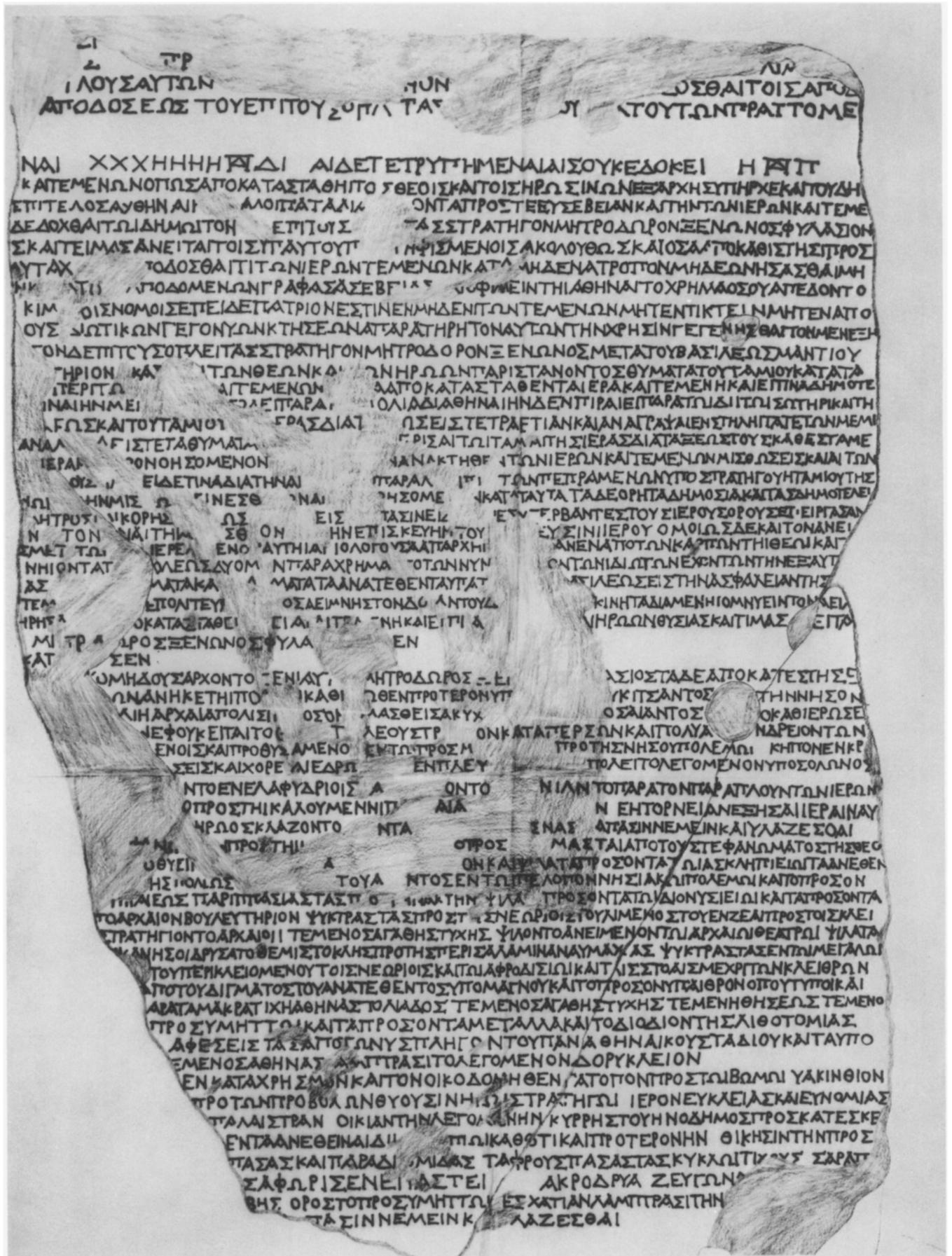
⁴⁰ Oliver admits that some states did not act at all to recover the domain; *op. cit.* (note 37), p. 197, note 14.

⁴¹ G. W. Bowersock, *Cl. Quart.*, n.s., XIV, 1964, pp. 120-121; *idem*, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 105-106.

⁴² *Ibid.*



The Stele, fragments A and C. Photograph courtesy of the Greek Archaeological Service.

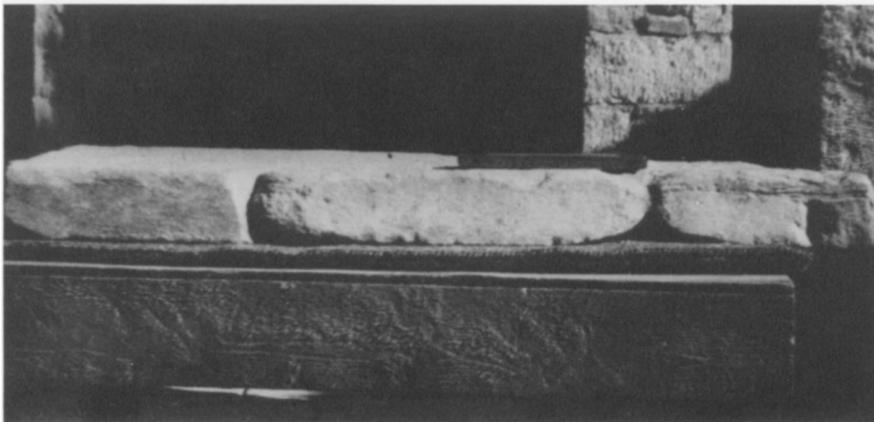
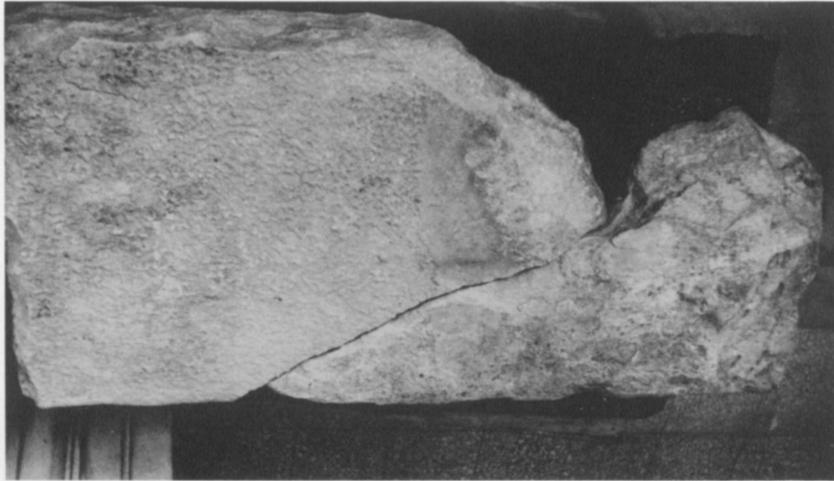


GERALD R. CULLEY: THE RESTORATION OF SANCTUARIES IN ATTICA: I.G., II², 1035



The battered central portion. Photograph Bartzioti and Ioannidou

GERALD R. CULLEY: THE RESTORATION OF SANCTUARIES IN ATTICA: *I.G.*, II², 1035



a-c. Back and side views. Photographs, H. Immerwahr

