

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS, I

(PLATES 28-36)

THIS report completes the preliminary publication of the inscriptions on stone found in the American School excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis. The first part of the report is published here; the latter part will appear shortly in a subsequent number of *Hesperia*. Of the inscriptions from the eight seasons of work on this site one hundred and thirty-six have already been published. Most of the inscriptions in this report are from the 1938 and 1939 seasons; like many of the other finds from this important excavation, they show great variety in both subject matter and chronology.¹

Few, if any, of the following stones were found in significant contexts; most of them seem originally to have been set up on the Acropolis and to have found their way later into the areas excavated by Professor Oscar Broneer and his assistants. Consequently, most of them are small and fragmentary, preserving only a few lines, or in some cases only a few letters, of text. The advisability of publishing such *frustula* has often been questioned, but in the present case publication can be justified on at least two counts. First, the American School excavations in this part of Athens were terminated in 1939 and it seems unlikely that they will be resumed in the immediate future. There is no reason, therefore, to hold these fragments in reserve in the hope that they will join other, more substantial pieces to be discovered at some later date. Secondly, even tiny fragments may, when properly understood, provide important new evidence about published inscriptions which have been intensively studied. No. 53 in this report is a good case in point since the discovery of three

¹ North Slope inscriptions are published by O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 43-46; II, 1933, pp. 372-414; IV, 1935, pp. 148-188; VII, 1938, pp. 262-263; E. Schweigert, VII, 1938, pp. 264-310; X, 1941, pp. 338-339; A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, nos. 95, 185, and 386; A. M. Woodward, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1953-1954, Part II, pp. 107-112; W. E. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 25-28.

The novice in Attic epigraphy works alone at his peril; I have had the benefit of assistance from many, although I bear full responsibility for all blunders that remain. To Professor Oscar Broneer special thanks are due for assigning this material to me and for much encouragement along the way. In the Epigraphical Museum every possible courtesy was extended to me by the successive Directors under whom I worked, Dr. Markellos Mitsos and Dr. Dina Peppas-Delmouzou, and also by their competent and friendly staff. I am indebted to Professor Broneer and Professor W. K. Pritchett for reading an earlier version of this report and to Joseph Breslin for valuable assistance with readings. To Professors B. D. Meritt, D. J. Geagan, D. W. Bradeen, C. N. Edmonson, M. Walbank, and to John S. Traill I am also grateful for many helpful suggestions.

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unpublished pieces in the Epigraphical Museum, which permit a reconstruction of the top of one of the most interesting decrees of Roman Athens, grew out of a study of two tiny North Slope fragments on one of which only half an eta is preserved. It is in the hope that readers may find homes for some of the other Acropolis fragments in this report that I have tried to describe them accurately and in detail regardless of their size.

For the finding places of inscriptions from the 1937 and 1938 seasons see the plans and descriptions in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 161-171; VIII, 1939, pp. 317-325. The 1939 campaign is briefly described in *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 252-256.

1 (Plate 28). Fragment from the top right corner of a stele of fine-crystalled, white marble. Part of top and right side preserved; broken on all other sides and back. Height of margin at top, 0.017 m. Width of margin at right, 0.012 m. Found on April 5, 1939 in mixed fill near the southern edge of the Central Area.

Height, 0.112 m. Width, 0.165 m. Thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

E.M. 13385.

ca. a. 440 a. (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

[ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι] δέμοι[. .]
 [--- ἐπρυτάνευε ---]ς ἔγραμ-
 [μάτευε¹¹ ἐπεστάτ]ε Κιν-
 [--- εἶπε ---]

Line 1: In the twenty-sixth stoichos there is the bottom of a centered vertical.

Line 3: Of the first letter only a horizontal stroke has survived along the top edge of the stoichos.

The checker-units are 0.015 m., horizontal, and 0.0195 m., vertical.

The letter-forms and Attic alphabet indicate a date in the fifth century for this small fragment of a decree. I have suggested ca. 440 because of its close physical resemblance to the fragmentary *I.G.*, I², 50, the treaty with Samos, which probably belongs in 439/8.² The similarities, which can be seen in the size and shape of the letters, the horizontal spacing, and the width of the right margin, suggest that the North Slope fragment may have been carved by the same mason at about the same time.

The fragmentary formula on E.M. 13385 can best be restored with a stoichedon line of twenty-eight letters; the accepted restoration of *I.G.*, I², 50 has thirty-five letters in each line.³

² See R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B. C.*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 151-154, no. 56.

³ Established by H. T. Wade-Gery, *C. P.*, XXVI, 1931, pp. 309-313.

Attic names beginning with Kin- are rare but the restoration of the orator in line 3 is not certain. For Kineas in the fifth century see Kirchner, *P. A.*, nos. 8431-8432; for Kinesias, no. 8438. The latter is the dithyrambic poet lampooned by Aristophanes in *Aves*, 1373-1410, and elsewhere, but his political activity is much later than 440.⁴

2 (Plate 28). Small fragment from the right side of a stele of fine-crystalled, white marble; broken on all other sides and back. Width of margin at right 0.003 m. Found on April 19, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.102 m. Width, 0.085 m. Thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

E.M. 13386.

ca. a. 440-420 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ονα
 [-----ἀρ]χιτέκ-
 [τον-----]ε̄ τὲν ἀκ-
 [ρόπολιν-----]ς με[.]
 5 [-----]ε̄[.]

Line 3: Of the first letter there survives only the tip of a horizontal stroke in the top right corner of the stoichos. Epigraphically zeta and tau are also possible readings.

Line 4: The top stroke of what appears to have been a four-barred sigma can be seen in the first letter-space.

Line 5: Below the epsilon in line 4 there remain in the top left corner of the stoichos parts of joining vertical and horizontal strokes which limit the possible readings to epsilon, pi, and perhaps gamma.

In this stoichedon text the horizontal checker-units are 0.013 m. and the vertical, 0.018 m.

The appearance of an architect and perhaps "the Acropolis" suggests parallels with documents such as *I.G.*, I², 88/89, regulations for construction of the Temple of Athena Nike, and *I.G.*, I², 111, a decree ordering work on an unidentified temple,⁵ or perhaps even with the second decree of Kallias, *I.G.*, I², 92. The spacing of the letters on the North Slope fragment is different from that employed on these inscriptions, but it resembles the arrangement of *I.G.*, I², 54 and *S.E.G.*, X, 44, both of which are also concerned with public works.⁶ The size of the letters on E.M. 13386, how-

⁴ See *I.G.*, II², 18; *R. E.*, XI, 1, coll. 479-481. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*, 2nd ed. revised by T. B. L. Webster, Oxford, 1962, pp. 43-45.

⁵ H. B. Mattingly has suggested that this decree marks the start of work on the Temple of Athena Nike, *Historia*, X, 1961, pp. 169-170.

⁶ Checker units of *S.E.G.*, X, 44 are 0.014 m., horizontal, and 0.017 m., vertical; of *I.G.*, I², 54, 0.0132 m., horizontal, and 0.019 m., vertical.

ever, and the narrow margin make unlikely its assignment to either of these documents. Although not one of these five parallel decrees can be exactly dated,⁷ most epigraphists agree in placing them within the broad limits of *ca.* 440-420, and it is to this period that E.M. 13386 may tentatively be assigned.

3 (Plate 28). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble; broken on all sides and back. Found on April 10, 1937 in late fill in the southern part of the main area.

Height, 0.113 m. Width, 0.062 m. Thickness, 0.076 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

E.M. 12917.

saec. V *a.* (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ματε[-----]
 [-----]ρεφ[-----]
 [-----]χα[-----]
 [-----]τ[-----]

Line 1: Only the right diagonal of the first letter is preserved just inside the break. Of the last letter there survives about one-half of a vertical stroke at the left edge of the stoichos.

Line 4: The only traces of a letter in this line are part of a horizontal stroke along the top of the stoichos and the top of a vertical which joins it at about its original mid-point. Zeta is the only other possible reading.

The checker-units, as far as they can be determined on so small a piece, are horizontal, 0.0185 m., vertical, *ca.* 0.022 m.

This fragment appears to belong to a public document of the fifth or early fourth century. If the very slight difference in height between the letters of lines 1-2 and 3-4 can be taken to indicate that the former belong to a heading, a possible restoration might be:

a. 384/3 *a.*

[Καλλιάδης -----]
 [. . ἔγραμ]μάτε[νεν]
 [ἐπὶ Διειτ]ρέφ[ους ἄρχοντος]
 [συμμαχία] Χα[λκιδέων τῶν ἐπ]-
 [ὶ Θράικης] τ[οῖς ἐσπερίοις.]

The restoration is modelled on that of *I.G.*, II², 36, lines 1-3. If valid, it would presumably mean that there were two stelai on the Acropolis carrying identical

⁷ For the disputed date of the Kallias and "Springhouse" decrees see Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 164; *Proceedings of the African Classical Association*, VII, 1964, pp. 35-55; B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LXXXIII, 1963, pp. 105-111; *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 15; Mattingly, *B.C.H.*, XCII, 1968, pp. 450-485; Meiggs and Lewis, *Gr. Hist. Inscript.*, pp. 158, 160.

texts of the alliance with the Thracian Chalcidians, not an impossible situation in view of the twin Acropolis stelai of the same archonship recording an alliance between Athens and Chios, *I.G.*, II², 34 and 35. Kalliades is the secretary in *I.G.*, II², 36, line 9. With a fragment as small as E.M. 12917, however, restorations of this sort are easier to propose than they are to accept; the piece might also be from the fifth century.

4 (Plate 28). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble; broken on all sides and back. Inscribed surface very badly worn. Found on April 12, 1937 in late fill in the northern part of the main area.

Height, 0.127 m. Width, 0.082 m. Thickness, 0.032 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.009-0.01 m.

E.M. 12913.

saec. V/IV *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[- - - - - . .] κ [. - - - - -]
 [- - - - - . .] υ σ ο υ [- - - - -]
 [- - - - - . .] α . θ [. - - - - -]
 [- - - - - . . .] γ α [- - - - -]
 5 [- - - - - . .] φ . ρ [. - - - - -]
 [- - - - - . . .] μ ρ [. . . - - - - -]

Line 1: Only the bottom tip of a centered vertical is visible in the first preserved letter-space. The dim outline of the lower half of kappa can be seen in the next stoichos but the surface here is badly worn and the traces may be illusory.

Line 3: The first preserved letter is triangular but only the apex has been preserved; Attic gamma, delta, and Ionic lambda are also possible.

Line 4: The first preserved letter may also be an Ionic lambda but not alpha or delta. In the bottom left corner of the last stoichos there is the end of a diagonal stroke.

Line 6: The very dim outline of a circular letter follows the mu at the beginning of this line.

The inscription is cut in a square stoichedon pattern in which the units measure 0.011 m. The size and spacing of the letters suggest that this small fragment is part of a public document of the fifth or fourth century B.C.

5 (Plate 28). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble, broken on all sides and back. Only a very small patch of inscribed surface has survived. Found on April 17, 1937 in late fill in the northern part of the main area.

Height, 0.118 m. Width, 0.088 m. Thickness, 0.047 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

E.M. 12903.

saec. V/IV *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. ?

[-----] ϵα [-----]
 [-----] μ [-----]
 [-----] ε [-----]
 [-----] ν [-----]

Line 1: In the top right corner of the first preserved letter-space there is the tip of a diagonal stroke: Υ, Σ, or Χ. After the alpha the bottom tip of a centered vertical has survived. Perhaps [---]σαι[---].

This piece is so fragmentary that its date and character remain obscure. Not enough letters have survived to show whether or not the text was inscribed in the stoichedon order. The vertical spacing,⁸ however, the height of the letters, and the dimensions of the epsilon are identical to those on E.M. 6713, a small fragment of the Erechtheion accounts for 408/7.⁹ As there is no physical point of contact with this or any other fragment of the Erechtheion accounts, the association must remain uncertain. The North Slope Excavations have produced three other fragments from the Erechtheion accounts of this same year.¹⁰

6 (Plate 29). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble; broken on all sides and back. Found on June 7, 1937, at a depth of 10 m. in Well Q.

Height, 0.117 m. Width, 0.10 m. Thickness, 0.051 m.

Height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m.

E.M. 12947.

saec. V *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----...] ν [-----]
 [-----] α ν α [-----]
 [-----] σ τ α γ [-----]
 [-----] λ [. . .]

Line 2: The tip of a diagonal stroke survives in the bottom right corner of the first stoichos. No strokes join it; alpha and gamma are the likeliest candidates but it could also be part of the right diagonal of a small mu which rides high in the line.

Line 3: Only the bottom stroke of a four-bar sigma is preserved in the first letter-space.

Line 4: Below the tau of line 3 there is the top 0.01 m. of a vertical stroke which is not aligned with the vertical of the tau. Iota is also a possible reading.

The large and carefully cut letters are arranged in a square stoichedon pattern with units of 0.025 m.

⁸ Four lines, measured on centers, equal 0.034 m.

⁹ *I.G.*, I², 374, frag. u; J. M. Paton *et al.*, *The Erechtheum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, p. 377, no. XXI; *S.E.G.*, X, 290.

¹⁰ See O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 390, no. 10; IV, 1935, pp. 161-163, nos. 19 and 21.

The size, shape, and spacing of the letters on this fragment resemble those on a number of fifth-century casualty lists recently grouped together by D. W. Bradeen.¹¹ We might restore the names [$\text{Ἄμφι} \text{ἄνα} \text{[χς]}$] in line 2 and [$\text{Ἄρι} \text{σταγ} \text{[όρας]}$] in line 3 to produce the normal alignment of the beginning of a column of names at the left. The large letters, however, might also indicate the heading of a different type of inscription or perhaps they are merely from the body of a text in which the words $\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ [— —] and [— —] ς $\tau\grave{\alpha}$ γ [—] occur.¹²

7 (Plate 29). Fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble inscribed on two contiguous faces; broken on all other sides and back. Found on May 4, 1939 in the dump of the Central Area.

Height, 0.078 m. Width, 0.13 m. Thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.03 m.

E.M. 13388.

saec. VI/V *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Face A.

[-----] $\xi\rho\sigma\iota$ [-----]
 [-----] ς : $\text{Ἐν} \alpha$ [-----]

Face B.

[-----] $\epsilon\theta\epsilon$ [-----]

Face A.

Line 1: At the left edge of the stone there appears to be the end of a stroke which slants slightly downward from left to right. If it is actually a stroke, it can belong only to epsilon. This is followed by a small segment of a circular letter; theta and phi are also epigraphically possible. Of the last letter the bottom part of a vertical stroke survives; iota is only one of several possible readings.

Line 2: The punctuation may have consisted of three dots; the bottom of the line is missing at this point. At the right edge there is a diagonal stroke slanting up from left to right; gamma, delta, mu, and nu are also possible.

Face B.

Line 1: Of the third letter there remains only the top left corner; epsilon and pi are the only epigraphic possibilities; probably [$\acute{\alpha}\nu$] $\epsilon\theta\epsilon$ [$\kappa\epsilon\nu$].

In line 1 of Face A θ $\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is possible; in line 2 perhaps [— —] ς : $\epsilon\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}$ [— —], instead of a name.

The fragment probably comes from an archaic Acropolis dedication in the form either of a pillar monument inscribed vertically on the front and on one of the lateral

¹¹ *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 30-34, no. 7; especially *I.G.*, I², 958. Cf. also pp. 35-38, no. 9 and pp. 60-61, no. 19.

¹² Perhaps $\tau\grave{\alpha}$ γ [$\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$]; cf. *I.G.*, I², 91, line 11.

surfaces, or of a rectangular base bearing inscriptions on both the front and on the top surface near the front edge.¹³ The letters on Face B are not quite as large as those on Face A and not as deeply cut. It is possible that the two inscriptions are not contemporary.

8 (Plate 29). Small fragment of large-crystalled, white marble. Original top surface partly preserved; broken on all other sides and back. Bevelled edge along the top, 0.01 m. in width. Found on April 1, 1937 in the main area.

Height, 0.091 m. Width, 0.134 m. Thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.024 m.

E.M. 12938.

init. saec. V a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]Χρομ[-----]
[-----]το

Line 1: Of the last letter there survives only the bottom tip of a diagonal stroke in the lower left corner of the letter-space.

Line 2: Part of a horizontal extending along the top of the letter-space remains just above the break. There is no trace of a joining stroke at its right edge; i. e. E, I, or T. After the omicron there is an unscribed area extending to the broken right edge of the fragment.

This fragment apparently belongs to the pillar monument found on the North Slope by O. Broneer in 1933 and published by him in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 151, no. 3 (Acropolis Museum 6973). The shape and size of the letters are identical on both pieces, as is the width of the bevelled corner above the inscribed face. The two fragments do not join.

The 1933 fragment (Fragment *a*) preserves the beginnings of three lines of text which were restored by A. E. Raubitschek in *D.A.A.*, p. 260, no. 228, as follows:

εὔχσατο [- ~ - - ἡο πατὲρ δεκάτην ἀναθῆναι]
ἡοι παῖδε[ς δ' ἔθεσαν Παλλάδι τριτογενεῖ]
Χρομον[ίδες ~ ~ - τε καὶ - ~ ~ - τόδ' ἄγαλμα]

The new piece (Fragment *b*) shows that a name, possibly the father's, is to be restored at the end of line 1 as Χρομ[- - -], and that line 2, which ends with [- - -]το, was shorter than line 1. The general sense of the inscription as restored by Raubitschek may remain unchanged; a father's unfulfilled vow was made good by the dedication set up by his sons. The name of the father in line 1 and the (eldest ?) son in line 3 may well have been the same, or perhaps the father's name was repeated

¹³ Cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, pp. 254-258, nos. 224-225.

in line 3. Broneer suggested *Χρόμον* for the latter and cited *I.G.*, II², 2704 as a parallel. Add now *S.E.G.*, X, 51, line 2; 425, line 8. Raubitschek preferred *Χρομονίδες*, a by-form of *Χρεμωνίδες*, but if line 1 is a dactylic hexameter, *Χρόμον* makes a smoother ending.

Raubitschek dated the letter-forms of Fragment *a* to the beginning of the fifth century and assigned six other Acropolis dedications to the same mason.

9 (Plate 29). Fragment of large-crystalled, white marble; part of original right side, back, and top preserved. Found on May 27, 1937 in late fill in the northern part of the main area.

Height, 0.055 m. Width, 0.142 m. Thickness, 0.135 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m.

E.M. 12944.

saec. V a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ρ^{ος}
 [-----]ο^ς π^α-
 [-----]

Line 1: Only the bottom of a vertical stroke and a joining diagonal slanting up to the right are preserved in the first letter-space; lambda is possible, though unlikely, since the diagonal joins the upright a short distance above the bottom. The width of the uninscribed space between the sigma and right edge of the block is 0.05 m.

Line 2: After the alpha, *vacat* 0.043 m.

Between the two lines of text there is a thin, incised guide-line.

This fragment apparently comes from the right side of a pillar capital similar to Raubitschek, *D.A.A.*, nos. 207-209. On the top surface there is a border, *ca.* 0.02-0.025 m. wide, around the three preserved sides of a rectangular socket for a statue or some other form of dedication. The floor of the socket is deeply picked with a point and provides a very uneven resting surface. It is *ca.* 0.09 m. from front to back. The bottom of the fragment is broken except for a small socket with the same deep picking which lies 0.085 m. from the right face of the block. It is 0.055 m. wide and seems to have been designed to receive the tenon of the pillar. The text is too fragmentary to permit a certain identification but the form of the monument indicates that it was probably an Acropolis dedication.

10 (Plate 29). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble; broken on all sides and back. Found on June 11, 1937 in late fill in central part of main area.

Height, 0.05 m. Width, 0.123 m. Thickness, 0.059 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

E.M. 12935.

saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] ι πα [-----]
 [-----] ος τ [-----]

Line 1: Only the very tip of a centered vertical has survived at the bottom of the first stoichos. It is followed by 0.012 m. of a vertical which lies along the left edge of the letter-space. Of the next letter the bottom tip of an unattached diagonal is preserved in the lower left corner of the stoichos.

Line 2: The last letter is either zeta or tau; half of a horizontal stroke is preserved along the top of the stoichos joined by the top of a vertical.

The sigma in line 2 has three bars; there are no other indications of the date or the character of this fragment.

11 (Plate 29). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble. Part of smoothly polished top surface preserved; broken on all other sides and back. Found on June 12, 1937 in late fill in central part of main area.

Height, 0.043 m. Width, 0.093 m. Thickness, 0.089 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

E.M. 12945.

saec. V a.

[---] εσϵ [---]

There is a thin, incised guide-line running horizontally along the tops of the letters. The most obvious restoration is ἐποί]εσϵ[ν] but it is far from certain. The form of epsilon with projecting vertical and slanting bars is no guarantee that our fragment is archaic. It occurs as late as 464 B.C. on Fragment D of the casualty list for Drabeskos; see D. W. Bradeen, *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, p. 72, b.

12 (Plate 29). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble. Part of smoothly dressed left side preserved; broken on all other sides and back. S. Lauffer, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, pp. 101-102; A. E. Raubitschek, *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, pp. 50, note 3, and 58; *D.A.A.*, p. 102, no. 95.

Height, 0.116 m. Width, 0.04 m. Thickness, 0.045 m.

Diameter of theta and phi, 0.022 m.

E.M. 12946.

Although S. Lauffer recognized that this fragment (Fragment *a*) comes from the left edge of E.M. 6455 (Fragment *b*) and A. E. Raubitschek brought the two pieces together in *D.A.A.*, p. 102, no. 95, no detailed description of the North Slope piece has yet been given. Both fragments preserve part of the left side of the monu-

ment but they do not join. The original top surface of Fragment *b* is preserved. The text is as follows:

<i>saec.</i> VI/V <i>a.</i>	ΣΤΟΙΧ.
Fr. <i>a</i>	Fr. <i>b</i>
[. . .] ρ υ [- - -]	
θ [. .] ε υ [- - -]	
φ [. .]	

In the initial stoichos of line 3 there is a painted phi which has not previously been recorded. It seems clear from its size and position that this letter was meant to be part of the original inscription, but that it was never actually inscribed. Its presence suggests that the mason may have drawn the other letters of his text with red paint before taking up his chisel.¹⁴

The interest of these two fragments lies in the checker pattern which was neatly incised for three lines of stoichedon text (Fig. 1). Although incised horizontal guide-lines were used on a number of Acropolis dedications¹⁵ and on a handful of Hellenistic texts,¹⁶ Attic masons seem generally to have preferred some easily removable substance like chalk for their guide-lines. Incised checker patterns are rarer still in Athens but there is a good parallel to our example in *I.G.*, I², 717.¹⁷

The guide-lines were executed very neatly¹⁸ and incised so lightly that it is difficult to detect them, even at eye-level, from a distance of more than a meter. When the base is placed on the ground, where it was originally set, the guide-lines are almost invisible to one standing in front of it, although the large letters are perfectly legible. The checker pattern is the simple variety illustrated in R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1938, p. 26.

¹⁴ Cf. G. Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 2nd ed. Göttingen, 1966, p. 48. The best example of this practice from fifth-century Athens is to be found on Stele V of the Attic Stelai; see W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 266.

¹⁵ For a list see Raubitschek, *D. A. A.*, pp. 438-439, and add our nos. 9, 11, and 18.

¹⁶ See, for instance, *I.G.*, II², 945; *S.E.G.*, XVI, 94; XVII, 66; XVIII, 153; *Hesperia*, Supplement I, pp. 117-118, no. 61; S. Dow, *A.J.A.*, LXVI, 1962, p. 361.

¹⁷ This stoichedon inscription was overlooked by R. P. Austin (see W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 535) and has played no part in recent discussions of the stoichedon style in Attic inscriptions. For the record, the following observations on this interesting fragment may be helpful. The marble of this thin plaque, described by Hiller as "candidus" and by Raubitschek, *D.A.A.*, p. 416, no. 387, as "Pentelic," is actually fine-crystalled and blue-gray in color. There are extensive traces of red paint on the top surface and the back is rough-picked in horizontal strokes except for a smooth band, 0.018 m. high, along the top. The height and width of the fragment, incorrectly given in *D.A.A.*, are 0.177 m. and 0.184 m. respectively. Lying 0.116 m. below the final letter of the text there is a compass-cut circle (not a *foramen*, as in *I.G.*, I², 717). For an incised checker pattern see *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 40, no. 50.

¹⁸ They are erroneously described as "horizontal striation," which resulted from the use of a big drove, in *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, p. 58 and *D.A.A.*, p. 102, no. 95.

At the left edge there is a margin 0.017 m. wide; presumably there ran along the now broken top of the inscribed face another margin 0.022 m. in height. The full height of line 1 cannot be determined, line 2 is 0.03 m. high and line 3 measures 0.029 m. in height. Only one horizontal unit is preserved to its full width; it measures 0.034 m.

It is curious that, after the carefully ruled grid was prepared, some of the letters were not neatly placed within their units (Fig. 1). Both preserved letters in line 1

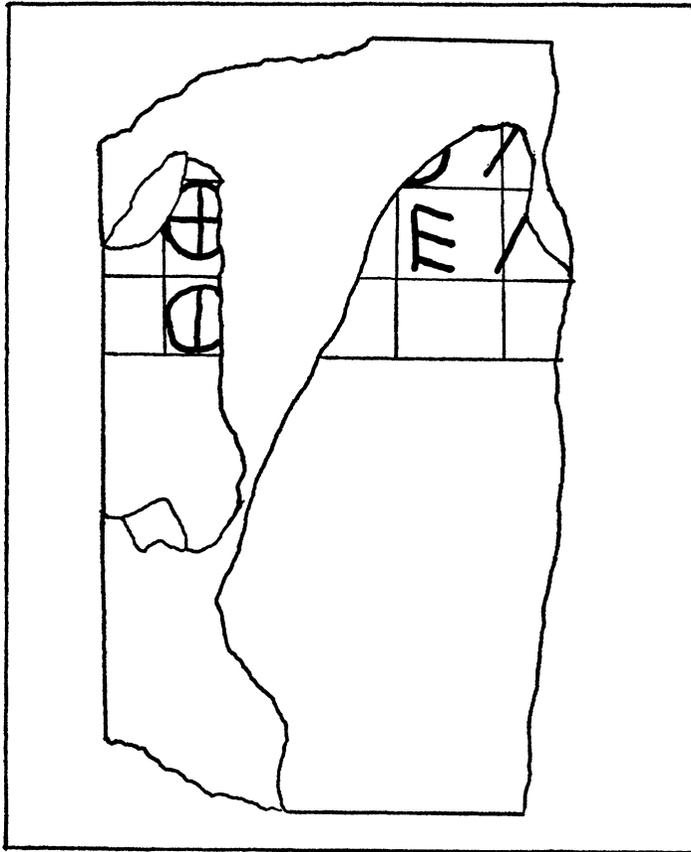


FIG. 1. No. 12.

and the theta and nu in line 2 all project slightly to the left into the neighboring stoichoi. These are not the only anomalies, for the distance from the left side of the stone, which is preserved on both fragments, to the vertical guide-line at the left of epsilon in line 2 is 0.102 m. If from this figure we subtract the width of the left margin, 0.017 m., the result is 0.085 m. Into this figure it is impossible to divide evenly the dimensions of the only preserved horizontal checker unit on the stone, i.e. 0.034 m. If vertical guide-lines were used in the area between our two fragments, they did not

define equal checker units of 0.034 m. We could, of course, postulate three stoichoi between the left margin and the epsilon in line 2, each measuring *ca.* 0.028 m., and thereby justify the restoration $\theta[\acute{\epsilon}\kappa]εϗ$, but this is only one possible solution. We are, in effect, restoring the checker pattern as well as the text, both on shaky foundations. This inscription provides an instructive example of a fragmentary stoichedon text for which it is certain that guide-lines were used; nevertheless, the measurements of the preserved checker pattern do not permit us rigidly to control restorations in the parts that are lost.

13 (Plate 29). Small fragment of large-crystalled, white marble probably from an unfluted column. Only a small part of the circumference is preserved; broken on all other sides. Found on April 1, 1937 in the main area.

Greatest preserved dimension, 0.128 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

E.M. 12937.

saec. V *a.*

[- - -] *ho λ* [- - -]

At the right edge, just inside the break, there is the bottom of a vertical stroke joined by a diagonal slanting upwards to the right. The traces probably come from the bottom of an Attic lambda.

For unfluted, dedicatory columns from the Acropolis with horizontal inscriptions see Raubitschek, *D.A.A.*, nos. 47-57. It is also possible that our fragment comes from a circular base like *D.A.A.*, nos. 160-167.

14 (Plate 29). Fragment of large-crystalled, white marble from the rim of a perirhanterion, broken on all sides. Found on April 26, 1939 in the Central Area.

Greatest preserved dimension, 0.167 m. Width of lip, 0.067 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

E.M. 13389

saec. VI/V *a.*

[- - -] *Καλικρ* [*άρες* - - -]

The vertical of the first letter has not survived.

The inscription is cut on the flat surface of the lip; as normal, the letters face outward. Inside the basin part of a crudely cut, shallow line is preserved following roughly the circumference of the interior. The profile of this fragment, which comes from one of the numerous archaic marble basins dedicated on the Acropolis, resembles no. 348 illustrated on p. 371 of A. E. Raubitschek, *D.A.A.* The name is too common

at Athens to permit an identification. For the spelling cf. *I.G.*, I², 420. The lettering is of the late sixth or early fifth century B.C.

15 (Plate 29). A small fragment of large-crystalled, white marble from the rim of a perirrhanterion. Full width of flat rim and part of outer wall preserved. Found on April 16, 1937 in late fill in the southern part of the main area.

Greatest preserved dimension, 0.07 m. Width of lip, *ca.* 0.035 m.

Diameter of omicron, 0.01 m.

E.M. 12939.

saec. V *a.* (?)

[- - -] ο [- - -]

To the left of the single, preserved letter there is 0.027 m. of uninscribed space; to the right there is 0.025 m. The profile is that of Raubitschek, *D.A.A.*, p. 371, no. 362.

16 (Plate 29). Fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble; original back and top surface preserved. Broken on all other sides. Found on April 24, 1939 in late fill in East Area.

Height, 0.048 m. Width, 0.145 m. Thickness, 0.083 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

E.M. 13390.

saec. V *a.* (?)

[- - -] α ν [- - -]

The large letters are spaced 0.045 m. apart and their proximity to the top surface suggests that this piece may belong to a monument base. The back is rough-picked and probably is the front wall of a socket, not the original back of the block. The shape of the nu probably indicates a date before the end of the fifth century B.C.

17 (Plate 29). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble; broken on all sides and back. Found on March 24, 1937 in the main area.

Height, 0.031 m. Width, 0.082 m. Thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m.

E.M. 13037.

saec. V *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[- - - -] ε γ [- - - -]

[- - - -] π ι [- - - -]

Line 1: Of the second letter only the bottom half of a diagonal stroke survives. Enough surface is preserved to show that there is no joining stroke at the bottom or at the right; mu and nu are also possible readings. Ionic lambda is possible, but unlikely, next to an epsilon with projecting vertical and slanting arms, on which see *supra* p. 000.

Line 2: After the pi the top of a vertical stroke has survived just above the break.

Since the letters in line 1 are more deeply cut and more widely spaced than those in line 2, they may belong to a heading of a public document, perhaps [---]ἐγ[ραμμάτευε].

18 (Plate 28). A small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble. Part of right side preserved; broken on all other sides and back. Found on April 12, 1937 in the main area.

Height, 0.062 m. Width, 0.118 m. Thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letter, *ca.* 0.015 m.

E.M. 13026.

saec. V a.

[---]ν

A thinly incised, horizontal guide-line lies below the letter and extends beyond it to the right side of the fragment, a distance of 0.085 m. The inscription was cut in a smooth band above a rough-picked area. There is also a smooth band, *ca.* 0.02 m. wide, at the right side; cf. Raubitschek, *D.A.A.*, no. 111. The shape of the nu looks archaic. O. Broneer points out that the letter may also be a mason's mark cut in a band of anathyrosis.

19 (Plate 29). Small chip of fine-crystalled, white marble; broken on all sides and back. Found on April 13, 1937 in late fill in the northern part of the main area.

Height, 0.034 m. Width, 0.053 m. Thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letter, 0.015 m.

E.M. 12941.

saec. V a.

[---]κ[---]

A single archaic kappa with 0.02 m. uninscribed to left and 0.019 m. to right.

20 (Plate 29). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides and back. Found on June 2, 1938 in modern fill in the main area.

Height, 0.025 m. Width, 0.099 m. Thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letter, *ca.* 0.02 m.

E.M. 13032.

saec. V a.

[---]α[---]

This piece has the same rough-picking of the inscribed surface and the same deeply cut strokes as E.M. 12740, which was also found on the North Slope; see O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1934, p. 407, no. 26 = Raubitschek, *D.A.A.*, no. 264. Although there is no physical join, it is probable that both fragments come from the same dedicatory monument of the fifth century B.C. Both fragments are shown in Plate 29.

21 (Plate 32). Fragment of fine-crystalled, bluish-white marble with top and rough-picked back preserved; broken on all other sides. Bevelled edge along the top. Found on May 10, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.093 m. Width, 0.088 m. Thickness, 0.047 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

E.M. 13387.

saec. VI a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ς ἀρετῆ[ς-----]

[-----]μαι ἀθ[-----]

[-----]ἰδι θ[-----]

Line 3: Although iota is the most likely reading for the first letter, not enough of the surface to the left of the stroke is preserved to exclude nu.

This small fragment with its neatly cut letters is probably from the base of a grave monument which supported a statue. The back surface is rough-picked, but it is not parallel to the inscribed face and at the bottom it flares slightly, indicating that it was probably part of a socket, not the original back of the monument.

The text is so fragmentary that restorations can only be *exempli gratia*. If [πα]ἰδι θ[ανόντι] stood in line 3, we could restore line 2 as [---^{nomen}--- ἐνθάδε κῆ]μαι Ἀθ[-----^{nomen}-----]; cf. *I.G.*, I², 1078; *S.E.G.*, X, 464.

The handsome lettering, which is the only indication of the date of this fragment, probably belongs to about the middle of the sixth century B.C.; cf. *I.G.*, I², 1014; L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford, 1961, p. 78, no. 29.

22 (Plate 31). Two joining fragments of fine-crystalled, white marble, broken on all sides and back. E.M. 13035 was found on July 8, 1937, in the dump and E.M. 13392 was found on May 13, 1939 near the northern edge of the Central Area. Combined measurements of the two fragments are as follows:

Height, 0.119 m. Width, 0.145 m. Thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

E.M. 13035 and 13392.

saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[----- . .]σ[.-----]
 [----- .]τῆν α[-----]
 [-----]ης καὶ [-----]
 [----- α]ὑτοῖ[-----]

Line 4: Of the dotted iota only the top of a centered vertical has survived.

For this stoichedon text a square checker pattern with units measuring 0.022 m. has been used. The same measurements are found on *I.G.*, II², 7, whose letters are also 0.012 m. high. Our new piece probably does not belong to this stele because of its smaller omicron but the text does seem to be that of a decree and the letter-forms suggest a date near the beginning of the fourth century.

23 (Plate 30). Fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble. Top preserved; broken on all other sides and back. Found on May 6, 1938 in late fill in the main area.

Height, 0.192 m. Width, 0.087 m. Thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.007-0.008 m.

E.M. 12964.

This piece is part of *I.G.*, II², 30 and will be designated Fragment *d*. B. D. Meritt, to whom I am grateful for pointing out the association of these fragments, has recently published another small piece of this inscription from the Agora Excavations which will be designated Fragment *e*. There are now five non-joining fragments from this fourth-century decree which relates to the affairs of Athenian cleruchs on Lemnos. The addition of the North Slope fragment to the opening lines of the text necessitates a new edition. For convenience I repeat the physical data on the previously published fragments with some additional observations. Photographs of all five pieces are also added.

Fragment *a*.

Top surface preserved; broken on all other sides and back. Found in 1849 on the Acropolis west of the Parthenon. *Ed. princeps*, K. S. Pittakis, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1853, pp. 855-856, no. 1375.

Height, 0.46 m. Width, 0.28 m. Thickness, 0.15 m.

E.M. 6916.

Fragment *b*.

Back surface preserved, smoothly dressed but not polished; probably not original (see *infra* p. 168); broken on all other sides. Found on the Acropolis before 1877. *Ed. princeps*, *I.G.*, II, 14.

Height, 0.215 m. Width, 0.20 m. Thickness, 0.145 m.
E.M. 6904.

Fragment *c*.

Broken on all sides and back. Found on the Acropolis before 1877.
Ed. princeps, *I.G.*, II, 14.

Height, 0.132 m. Width, 0.154 m. Thickness, 0.088 m.
E.M. 6905.

Fragment *e*.

Broken on all sides and back. Found on October 15, 1938 in the Agora Excavations, built into the wall of a modern house southwest of the Eleusinion, on the west side of the Panathenaic Way; Grid Reference: R 20. *Ed. princeps*, B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 266-267, no. 2.

Height, 0.192 m. Width, 0.188 m. Thickness, 0.153 m.¹⁹
Agora I 5588.

Fragments *a* and *d*.

a. 387/6 *a*.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῆι καὶ τῶι δῆμῳ· Θεόδοτος ἦρχε - - - - -]ις
 ἐπρυτάνευεν [.]ρι[. ^{ca.} 5. ἔγρα]μμάτευεν [- - - ἐπεστάτει - - - -]
 2 [εἶπεν εὐξασθαι μὲν τὸν κήρυκα αὐτίκα μάλα . . . ^{ca.} 9. . .]ι καὶ τοῖ[ς]
 δώδεκα θεοῖς, ἐ[ὰν . . . ^{ca.} 8. . .] συννεΐκηι [- - - - -]
 [- - - - - θυσίαν καὶ πρόσοδον ποιήσε]σθαι καθότι ἀν
 τῶι [δ]ήμ[ωι δοκῆι ταῦ]τα μὲν ἠϋχ[θαι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ - - - - -]
 4 [- - - - - δεδ]όχθαι τῶι δῆμῳ πρὸς τὸς [κλη-
 ρόχος τὸς ο]ϊκῶντας ἐν [Δήμῳι - - - - -]
 [- - - - - ἐπὶ τοῦ δεινα ἄρ]χοντος ἐν Δήμῳ[ω]ι
 ἐγένετ[ο . . . ^{ca.} 9-10. . .]τοῖς τὰς αὐτ[- - - - -]
 6 [- - - - - ἐὰν δέ τις - - - ? - - παρ]ὰ ταῦτα ἢ φαίνηι ἢ ἀπάγηι ἢ
 [. . . ^{ca.} 10. . .] ἀπογραφῆ[ν - - - - -]
 [- - - - - δημ]ευθῆι τῆς νῦν ἀπογεγραμμέ[νης γῆς ^{ca.} 4.]
 τα ἐγ Δήμῳ[ωι - - - - -]
 8 [- - - - -] ἐκτείσωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης [πρυ-
 τανείας. .]πεν ἐπι[- - - - -]

¹⁹ The measurements given in *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 266 are of the inscribed face. On the thickness, recorded in *Hesperia* as 0.145 m., see *infra* p. 168.

[-----]αν τὸν ἐσιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν κα[....
^{ca. 13}...]θων[-----]
 10 [-----]βολῆς εἴτε τρεῖς κατὰ τὸ δ[....
^{ca. 13}...]ο[-----]
 [-----]παρ]ὰ τῷ Θεσίῳ ἐν ἡτινι
 12 [-----]ι πεντακοσιομεδίωνων
 του[-----]
 [-----]αι τοῖς κληροχοῖς τὰ
 τε ἐκτείσ[ματα -----]
 14 [-----]εις τῶν οἰκιῶν τῶν δεδημε[υ-
 μένων -----]
 [-----]ἐ]γ Λήμνο εἰσάγοσιν ὀπό-
 16 [-----]σοι ἂν[-----]
 [-----]τ]ῷ δημοσίῳ ὀπόσοι ἂν
 μὴ ἐκτ[είσωσι -----]
 [-----]ων ὀπόσῃ δ' αὐτοῖ
 18 [-----]τ]ὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ ἀφορίσ-
 ματα ἐσ[-----]
 [-----]της αὐτῆ ἢ
 20 [-----]τοῖς κλη]ροχοῖς ἢ ἐν-
 οφέλεσθαί τις κ[-----]
 [-----]ὀφέλ]ουτες τῷ
 22 [-----]δημοσίῳ εἶχον ἐπ[-----]
 μὲν ἄλλα[-----]
 [-----]ἀμφισβητῶν τῆς
 24 [-----]γῆς ἢ τῆ[ς -----] δ]ίκαις, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
 λάχη δις [-----]
 [-----]ἢ δίκη τῆν τε ἀνά-
 26 [-----]κρισιν π[-----]
 παρὰ [-----]
 [-----]ἀμφι]σ[β]ητῶν ἕνα λόγον
 πρι[-----]

lacuna

Fragment *b*.

28 [-----]ιν[-----]
 [-----στησ]άτω ἐν ἀκροπό[λει-----]
 30 [-----]ολων καὶ μὴ ἐξένα[ι-----]
 [-----μήτε-----]ναι μήτε μισθῶσαι πλὴν[-----]
 32 [-----ῶ]νος μηνὸς τῷ μετὰ Θεό[δοτον ἄρχοντα-----]
 [-----] γῆν τὸς κληρόχος καὶ[-----]
 34 [-----καθάπ]ερ τοῖς ἐς Σαλαμ[ίνα-----]
 [-----ἀφικ]νομένων ε[-----]
 36 [-----] . | . √ ∩ | [-----]
lacuna

Fragment *c*.

[-----]σ[-----]
 38 [-----]ηται ὁ α[-----]
 [-----ὀνόματ]α πατρόθεν[-----]
 40 [-----]α ἐγ Λήμνο ἐς[-----]
 [-----]ιλην μηδενὶ μη[-----]
 42 [-----]η τῶν κληρ[όχων-----]
 [-----]ιον ὅπο[-----]
 44 [-----]σι καὶ τ[-----]
 [-----]ιτ[-----]
lacuna

Fragment *e*.

46 [-----]ιε. . . ια[-----]
 [-----ἀ]ποδόσθαι τὸς κληρ[όχος-----]
 48 [-----]ν οἰκῆσων ἐς Δῆμ[νον-----]
 [-----ἐ]ὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ὁ α[-----]
 50 [-----]ν οἰκῶσι ἐν Δῆμ[νῳ-----]
 [-----]ν τοῖς ἐν Δῆμ[νῳ-----]
 52 [-----]σιάσαντες [-----]
 [-----]σηι ο[-----]

Fragments *a* and *d*:

The only original edge preserved on all five fragments is the top of Fragments *a* and *d*. Although there is no physical point of contact between these two pieces, it is clear from the text that Fragment *d* lies to the right of Fragment *a* and, with the exception of a short interval, forms a continuous text with it. By actually placing the two fragments together in physical contact we can roughly determine the *minimum* length of the space between them. As far as the physical characteristics of the stones

are concerned, they could be much farther apart but the text of lines 1-3 shows that this minimum distance need not be increased by much in order to reach the original position of the two fragments.

Line 1: A strip 0.05 m. high was left uninscribed above line 1; there is no indication on Fragments *a* or *d* that a prescript was ever carved here, as was suggested by S. Luria, *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Sciences de Russie*, 1924, p. 130.

K. S. Pittakis, *loc. cit.* and 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1855, pp. 1306-1307, no. 2626, insisted that the letters of line 1 are larger than those in the main body of the text. Actually the letter heights are consistently *ca.* 0.007-0.008 m. throughout the inscription but line 1 is more widely spaced than the others; ten letters measured on centers here equal *ca.* 0.082 m., whereas in line 2 no run of ten letters occupies more than *ca.* 0.072 m.

After the final nu in ἐπρωτάνευεν a hole has removed all traces of the next letter. To the right of this scar there is some original surface preserved where the letters here added to the *Corpus* text may be read. After the clear rho there is the bottom half of a vertical stroke which appears to be in the center of the letter-space; iota is only one of several possible readings. The minimum interval between the two fragments at this point is 0.082 m., measured from the right side of the rho to the left side of the first mu in [ἐγρα]μμάτευεν. There is room then for at least nine or ten letters in this interval which helps to set the minimum number of letters in the Secretary's name at seven or eight.

Line 2: The first letter, not reported in the *Corpus*, is a clear iota. The minimum interval between Fragments *a* and *d* in this line is 0.077 m., leaving room for at least ten or eleven letters to be restored. The Ionic form συνενείκηι is unusual; contrast συνενείκηι in *I.G.*, II², 112, line 9; 114, line 8 (restored); and K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, Berlin, 1900, p. 183.

Line 3: At least 9-10 letters are missing between the two fragments in this line as the minimum interval is 0.075 m. Of the last preserved letter there remain only the ends of diagonal strokes in the top and bottom left corner of the letter-space.

Line 4: The minimum interval of 0.065 m. between the two fragments requires a restoration containing at least 8-9 letters. The first letter preserved on Fragment *d* is represented only by a vertical stroke at the right edge of the space. Not enough of the original surface is preserved to the left to exclude possible joining strokes.

Line 5: In the bottom right corner of the first preserved letter-space there is the tip of an isolated diagonal. I have dotted the tau since only the tip of a horizontal stroke survives in the top left corner of the space. Again here the restoration is controlled by the minimum interval of 0.075 m. between the two fragments, which requires at least 9-10 letters. This measurement also holds true for lines 6-8.

Line 7: Of the dotted tau only the tip of a horizontal is preserved in the top right corner of the letter-space.

Line 9: The minimum interval between Fragments *a* and *d* here is 0.095 m. requiring a restoration of at least 12-13 letters. At the right edge of Fragment *a* there is the tip of an isolated diagonal in the bottom left corner of the letter-space which I have printed as a dotted alpha. Of the circular letter at the left edge of Fragment *d* not enough of the center is preserved to permit a choice between theta and omicron.

Line 10: The last letter preserved on Fragment *d* is represented by a small segment of an arc at the top of the letter space directly below the omega in line 9. The possible readings are limited to Θ, Ο, or Ω. As in line 9 at least 12-13 letters should be restored between ΤΩΔ and this letter.

Line 19: The last preserved letter, not reported in the *Corpus*, is a clear tau.

Line 20: The stone has ἐνοφέλεσθαι, not ἐνοφέιλεσθαι as in *I.G.*, II².

Line 21: A chip out of the surface of the stone has removed all trace of the mu and sigma of *δημοσίωι* which were printed as certain in the *Corpus*.

Line 25: Add to the *Corpus* text a clear pi at the right edge of Fragment *a*.

Line 27: At the left edge of Fragment *a* in the first preserved letter-space there is the top slanting bar of a sigma. After EN the next two letters are represented by identical traces; in each case the apex of a triangular letter has been preserved above the break, i. e. alpha, delta, or lambda. Of the circular letter in the following space not enough is preserved to permit a choice between omicron and theta. Next comes a horizontal along the top edge of the space joined at the left by the upper part of a vertical, i. e. gamma or epsilon. Only the upper part of the circular letter in the next space has survived. I can see no clear traces of a letter in the next space except the top part of a vertical in the upper right corner. The *Corpus* is misleading here since iota would seem to be excluded by the wide spacing to the left of this stroke, i. e., H or N. After the pi there appears to be the top part of beta or rho. In the next space there is the top of a vertical stroke which falls very close to the traces in the previous space; iota is a likely candidate. Of the circular letter reported at the end of this line in the *Corpus* I can see no trace on the stone today; the original surface is not preserved at this point and the break is not recent.

Fragment *b*:

Line 28: It is impossible to tell whether the vertical at the right edge of the first preserved letter space stood alone or was joined by another stroke.

Line 29: Of the first letter there is the tip of a diagonal in the bottom right corner of the space.

Line 31: Since the publication of the *Corpus* the stone has been damaged in such a way that the initial nu in this line is lost.

Line 36: A horizontal stroke can be seen along the top of the first preserved letter-space of this line. It is followed, after an interval of one space, by the top of a vertical stroke. The next letter is gone but there then follows the top half of either Y or X. Not enough of the next letter is preserved to permit a choice between B or P. Directly following this letter is the top of a vertical stroke in the upper left corner of the space.

Fragment *c*:

Line 37: New letters recovered in this line make it necessary to change the numbering of the lines in Fragment *c* which appears in the *Corpus*. In the first preserved space there is the tip of a diagonal stroke in the bottom right corner; i. e. alpha, lambda, or mu. The next letter must have been either alpha or lambda since the bottoms of two unattached diagonal strokes are preserved.

Line 38: At the right edge of the first preserved letter-space there is a vertical stroke; not enough of the original surface remains to show whether or not it stands alone, so that iota is also possible. There is the tip of a diagonal stroke in the bottom left corner of the last preserved letter-space.

Line 39: Of the last letter the bottom of a vertical stroke can be seen in the lower left corner of the space.

Line 40: The first letter is a clear alpha, not delta as in the *Corpus*. The last letter is probably sigma since the juncture of the two bottom strokes survives just inside the break.

Line 41: To the left of the first letter reported in the *Corpus*, H, there are parts of two letters preserved. Of the first there is the top of a vertical stroke; it is followed by the apex of a triangular letter.

Line 43: Before the first omicron there survives the top of a vertical stroke.

Line 44: Only the left side of the tau is preserved but there can be little doubt about the reading.

Line 45: The top bar of the last preserved letter is not strictly horizontal but it must, I think, belong to zeta or tau and not to sigma, as reported in the *Corpus*, since the left end is preserved and there is no trace of a joining stroke.

Fragment *e*:

Line 46: In the first preserved letter-space there is a vertical stroke at the right side. This is followed by the bottom half of epsilon. For the next three spaces the surface is badly damaged, but above the theta of [ἀ]ποδόσθαι in line 2 there is part of a vertical stroke which is followed by alpha.

Line 48: Squeezes show that the first letter is a clear nu and need not be dotted. The next two letters were printed as dotted eta and dotted kappa in *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 266, no. 2. The lower half of the kappa is perfectly preserved; since the traces exclude any other letter, I print it without a dot. Of the letter in front of the kappa all that has survived is the bottom half of a vertical which lies fairly close to the upright of the kappa. Between this stroke and the nu at the beginning of the line there is one letter-space which bears the traces of a circular letter. About two-thirds of the circumference are preserved, but the center is damaged, i. e. theta or omicron. Its presence here rules out eta as a possible reading and restricts the choice for the vertical in the following space to iota. Gamma, pi, rho, and tau are excluded by the proximity of the stroke to the kappa in the next letter-space. Of the dotted eta after the kappa there remains a vertical stroke along the left edge of the letter-space.

Line 49: In the last preserved space there are the two diagonals of a triangular letter not joined at the bottom by another stroke, but the center of the letter is gone.

Although the position of Fragments *a* and *d* can be fixed at the top middle of the original stele, the physical characteristics of the other three pieces do not enable us to place them with any certainty. A few possibilities, however, can be eliminated. If the restoration of lines 1 and 2 is even approximately correct, there is not enough room between Fragment *a* and the left side of the stele to accommodate Fragments *b* or *e*. Fragment *c* is not too wide to be placed here but it is difficult to make its text run continuously with that of Fragment *a*. There is ample space to the right of Fragments *a* and *d* for the three floating fragments, but again here there are textual difficulties in the way. It seems much more likely that their original positions are to be sought below Fragments *a* and *d*.

One slight restriction on their lateral positions in the lower part of the stele may be provided by a vein on the inscribed surface of Fragment *a* which is ca. 0.005-0.01 m. wide and much lighter in color than the surface either side of it. Although this vein runs from the top all the way to the broken bottom of Fragment *a*, it cannot be detected on the inscribed surface of any of the three floating fragments. We cannot be sure, of course, how far the vein extended beyond the bottom of Fragment *a* but its absence on Fragments *b*, *c*, and *e* suggests that they should not be placed directly below the other two pieces.

The thickness of the several fragments is of little help in seeking their original positions since, with one exception, their backs are broken away. It is clear from Fragment *a* that at the top the stele was more than 0.15 m. thick and Fragment *e* has a thickness of at least 0.153 m. The back surface of Fragment *b* is smoothly dressed, but it is not parallel to the inscribed face and has the added anomaly of being thicker at the top, 0.145 m., than it is at the bottom, 0.139 m. It seems clear, therefore, that the back surface of Fragment *b* has been reworked as part of some later use of the stone.

All that we can conclude is that the stele was more than 0.153 m. thick and *ca.* 0.85-0.90 m. wide.²⁰ If Fragment *b* is placed directly below Fragment *a*, we have a minimum height of *ca.* 0.65 m. for the stele, but in view of the proportion of thickness to width, it is much more likely that the original height was at least twice this figure.

The only attempt to fix the length of line in this non-stoichedon text was based on a combination of Fragments *b* and *c* which yielded a total of about 70-75 letters per line; S. Luria, *op. cit.*; cf. *S.E.G.*, III, no. 73. It is now clear from the association of Fragments *a* and *d* that a much longer line is required, but restoration, unfortunately, still remains our only guide in establishing its length. By way of example I have restored lines 1 and 2 with about 95-100 letters each, but this is at best only a working hypothesis since, even if we could be sure that all the officials are listed, the lengths of their names and the name of the deity in line 2 remain uncertain. With so many variables precision is impossible, but a line as short as 70-75 letters seems improbable.

In the absence of a prescript, the archon's name has been restored as desirable in a document which contains temporal references like those in lines 9 and 32. The latter reference, — — — ὦνος μηνὸς τῷ μετὰ Θεό[δοτον ἄρχοντα] — — —, is the only explicit evidence for the date of the decree and it has been claimed as evidence for 386/5.²¹ The Peace of Antalkidas was signed in the winter of 387/6 in the archonship of Theodotos, Diodoros, XIV, 110; our decree has been placed in the following year when Mystichides was archon. If, however, both the month referred to in line 32 and the decree itself fell in the archonship of Mystichides, it is difficult to understand why the previous archon's name was cited in this manner. It is possible that the phrase is a quotation from a document of 387/6 which referred ahead to a specific month in the subsequent archonship, but in the absence of the context it is more natural to take the phrase at face-value as a reference ahead to a year whose eponymous archon was as yet unknown. The date was defined, as normal,²² in terms of the present archon, Theodotos, and the decree may therefore be placed in his year, 387/6.

For the herald's proclamation in line 2 cf. *I.G.*, II², 112, lines 6-9, and 114, lines 6-8, both of 362/1. The Twelve Gods are coupled in our text with at least one other deity, perhaps [τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ] as in *I.G.*, II², 114, line 8, which deals with the sending of cleruchs to Poteidaia.

I.G., II², 112 and 114 also provide the closest parallels for the use of *συμφέρω* in the protasis which follows and for the beginning of line 3. The gap between Fragments *a* and *d*, however, necessitates a slight departure from the formula, ἐὰν

²⁰ This is the approximate width required by a restored first line of *ca.* 95-100 letters.

²¹ See Kirchner's note in *I.G.*, II², 30. His dating is followed by B. D. Meritt, *op. cit.*, and by *S.E.G.* Others follow U. Köhler, *I.G.*, II, 14, in placing the decree in 387/6; cf. A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, Manchester, 1964, p. 187.

²² Cf. *I.G.*, II², 140, lines 13-16.

συνενείγκη Ἀθηναίων τῶι δήμῳ. Perhaps ἐ[ὰν Ἀθηναίους] συνενείκη [τὰ δόξαντα περὶ Δήμῳ] or ἐ[ὰν τὰ δόξαντα] συνενείκη [Ἀθηναίων τῶι δήμῳ].

In lines 3 and 4 Kirchner, *apud* Luria, *op. cit.*, p. 130, suggested the restoration [ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ δέινα εἰσήνεγκαν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν δεδ]όχθαι, cf. *I.G.*, II², 112, line 13. He also objected that to take δεδόχθαι . . . πρὸς τὸς . . . in line 4 as referring to those sent from Lemnos, i.e. πρὸς τὸς [πρέσβες] was “ungriechisch.” The new fragment invalidates Luria’s restoration, πρὸς τὸς [τούτων λόγος ἀποκρίνασθαι]; perhaps Kirchner’s objection can be met by restoring an infinitive after ἐν [Δήμῳ] which could be taken with πρὸς τὸς . . .

Luria recognized in line 6 a curse formula against anyone who attempts to alter or cancel the provisions of the ἀπογραφή. Again, the addition of Fragment *d* invalidates his rather ambitious restoration and shows the danger of proposing an alternative of similar length. In the gap between Fragments *a* and *d* we might tentatively restore . . . ἢ ἀπάγη ἢ [εἶπηι ὡς δεῖ τὴν] ἀπογραφὴν [λύειν or καταλύσαι], cf. *I.G.*, II², 43, lines 51-54; 411, line 30; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 527, line 96. I have left a gap after ἐὰν δέ τις for the possible insertion of the common ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ιδιώτης. M. N. Tod has collected helpful examples of this formula in *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 154.

It appears from the occurrence of ἀπογραφή and the corresponding verb ἀπογράφω in lines 6 and 7 that prior to the time of the decree a declaration of confiscation of certain lands on Lemnos had taken place.²³ S. Luria suggested that the date of this declaration was given in line 5; he restored [ἢ ἀπογραφή, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ δέινα ἄρχ]οντος ἐν Δήμ[ω]ι ἐγένετ[ο].²⁴ He made the further attractive suggestion that the ἀπογραφὴ took place in 394/3 shortly after Konon’s victory at the battle of Knidos when the Spartan harmosts were driven out of the islands and the coastal cities; Xenophon, *Hell.*, IV, 8, 1-2.

Spartan control of Lemnos was probably established soon after the battle of

²³ See also line 14 for confiscated houses. The best discussion of *apographe* is still that of J. H. Lipsius, *Das Attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, II, Part 1, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 299-308, but new evidence has come to light since he wrote. See M. I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens*, New Brunswick, N. J., 1952, pp. 207, note 19; 210; 280, note 23; 281, note 28.

²⁴ If the archon in line 5 is the eponymous Athenian official, then Kirchner’s restoration, *apud* Luria, *op. cit.*, p. 131, note 1, should be considered [ἐπὶ Εὐβολίδο ἄρχ]οντος, 394/3. In Lemnos itself we hear of strategoi and hipparchoi sent out from Athens but the eponymous magistrate seems to have been an archon who is to be distinguished from his counterpart in Athens.

Some of the evidence for Lemnian magistrates is to be found in G. Gilbert, *The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens*, London, 1895, pp. 450-452 and G. Busolt, H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, II, Munich, 1926, pp. 1129, 1278, but many more Lemnian inscriptions have been found since these handbooks appeared. For the archons see *I.G.*, XII, Part 8, 18, line 6; 19, lines 1 and 8; 27, line 9; *Annuario*, XV-XVI, 1932-33, pp. 298-299, no. 6, line 1; *Annuario*, N. S., III-IV, 1941-43, p. 75, no. 1, line 3; p. 76, no. 2, line 1; pp. 79-80, no. 3, lines 1 and 4; pp. 81-82, no. 4, line 1; pp. 89-91, no. 11, line 3; pp. 96-98, no. 16, line 1. An unpublished horos stone, which I saw in April 1963 outside the Myrina Museum, is also dated in lines 1 and 2 by the archon.

Aigospotamoi in 405/4²⁵ and was confirmed in the peace treaty which ended the war.²⁶ There is no explicit evidence for the fate of the residents of Lemnos, who were either descendants of the original Athenian colonists or cleruchs sent out sometime in the fifth century, but it is unlikely that the Spartans expelled the entire population.²⁷ Spartan rule, however, may have brought with it, as in Athens, a drastic re-alignment of the political forces on the island and curtailment of the democratic institutions established by the Athenians.²⁸ Under these conditions some Lemnians, out of loyalty to Athens or for other reasons, may have found it expedient to leave the island, or perhaps their departure was not altogether voluntary. Others may have profited by remaining and working closely with the Spartan governor. At any rate, it is hard to believe that the distribution of land on Lemnos remained, after ten years of Spartan rule, in the same equal parcels which the Athenians had allotted to their cleruchs.²⁹

When Konon expelled the Spartans in 393 there were probably further dislocations in politics and ownership of property on Lemnos. If the *apographe* which is upheld in the opening lines of our decree was made at this time, the property of Spartan sympathizers might have provided one of its main targets. We do not know the details of the settlement made in 393, but Athenian control of Lemnos was maintained for the next six years only by force of arms. It was not until the Peace of Antalkidas that Lemnos was officially recognized as an Athenian possession.³⁰ To judge from the present decree, it was at this time that the Athenians reorganized the distribution of land on the island on the cleruchy system.

For the payments in the ninth prytany in line 8 cf. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 47, 3-4.

In line 12 Luria suggested [πλήν ἰππέων κα]ὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων and aptly cited the fifth-century Brea decree, *I.G.*, I², 45, lines 39-42, ἐς δὲ | [B]ρέαν ἐχ θεῶν καὶ

²⁵ Xenophon, *Hell.*, II, 2, 2 and 5-6.

²⁶ Andokides, *De Pace*, 11-12; cf. H. Bengtson, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, II, Munich and Berlin, 1962, p. 153, no. 211.

²⁷ For a good discussion of this and other Lemnian problems, with bibliography, see A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City*, pp. 175-190. On the question of the expulsion of the cleruchs see P. A. Brunt's judicious comments in *Ancient Society and Institutions, Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday*, Oxford, 1966, p. 80.

²⁸ A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City*, p. 186, has shown that *I.G.*, II², 7180 and *I.G.*, XII, Part 8, 2 do not supply certain evidence about the state of Lemnian affairs 404-394.

²⁹ Some of the Athenian cleruchs who held land on Lemnos may not have been in residence when the Spartans came. Their lots may have been redistributed by the Spartans. For Athenian cleruchs as absentee landlords see A. H. M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge, 1957, pp. 171-177, and Brunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-87.

³⁰ Peace negotiations had broken down in 392 because the Athenians had failed to win recognition of their claim to Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros; Xenophon, *Hell.*, IV, 8, 15. Mere possession was not enough when an Athenian fleet no longer ruled the Aegean. Andokides' argument about mere possession, put forward in 392, was unsuccessful, *De Pace*, 11-12. For the importance of Lemnos as a source of Athenian grain see R. Seager, *Historia*, XV, 1966, p. 172.

ζε|[υ]γιτων ἰέναι τὸς ἀπο|[ί]κος.³¹ It appears that the property-qualifications of the new cleruchs were the subject of this part of the decree.

The isolated clause *ὁπόσην δ' αὐτοὶ ἠργάζοντο* in line 17 and the bold restoration [*ἐργάζεσθαι ἄνευ δ*]όλων in line 30 cannot sustain Luria's conclusion that our decree lays down for the new Lemnian cleruchs exceptional rules which hark back to a Peisistratean "doktrinäre Vorschrift," viz. *τὴν γῆν αὐτὸν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ μισθοῦν*.³²

The *ἀφορίσματα* in line 18 may be sacred properties or *temene* such as the one mentioned in *S.E.G.*, III, 117, lines 8-11, (303/2 B.C.), *ὑπὲρ τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ ἐν Δήμῳ τοῦ ἀφορισθέντος . . . τὸ ἀφορισθὲν χωρίον*. For the practice compare Hyperides, III, 16, (Blass) *ὡς πρότερον τοὺς ὀριστὰς τοὺς πενήκοντα ἐξελόντας αὐτὸ (sc. τὸ ὄρος) τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀφορίσαντας*.

In line 22 it is possible to restore the formula which introduces a rider, e.g. [*ὁ δεῖνα εἶπεν περὶ τ*]ῶν κληρόχων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα [*καθάπερ τῇ βολῇ . . .*]. The concentration of legal terms in the next five lines suggests that the purpose of this supplement was to define judicial procedures covering disputes over land on Lemnos. The clause *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ . . .* in line 24 and the use of the singular participle *ἀμφισβητῶν* in lines 23 and 27 suggest that the rider may have opened with the legal formula *ἐὰν δέ τις . . .* In line 23 *ἢ τῆ[ς οἰκίας]* is possible and perhaps in line 26 a time interval is indicated, e.g. [*τριακόνα ἡμερ*]ῶν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον.

Fragment *b* clearly contains restrictions on the leasing of land in Lemnos and in line 34 there is a reference to regulations governing Athenian cleruchs on Salamis. The appearance of [*ἀ*]ποδόσθαι in line 47 may add support to Luria's theory that there were also restrictions on the alienability of the cleruch's land, as in the excellent parallels which he cites on p. 132 of his study of our text. His ambitious restorations of Fragments *b* and *c*, however, and the sweeping generalizations on land tenure in Lemnos which he draws from them cannot, in their present form, be accepted.³³ Epigraphically these restorations are unconvincing since his association of Fragment *b*, lines 30-31 with Fragment *c*, line 41 etc. produces an improbably short line of 70-75 letters. Moreover, the crucial restoration of [*γ*]ῆν at the beginning of line 41 is ruled out by the traces on the stone described *supra* p. 000.

Although line 34 probably contains a reference to Athenian cleruchs on Salamis, we are not justified in following Luria in his citation of *I.G.*, I², 1 as evidence for the *details* of land tenure in Lemnos after the Peace of Antalkidas. The occurrence

³¹ Luria's other parallel of Thucydides, III, 16, 1 *αὐτοὶ τε πλὴν ἱππέων καὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμων καὶ οἱ μέτοκοι*, is valuable only for its phraseology, as this passage has nothing to do with cleruchs or colonists.

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 133 and *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso*, Milan, 1925, pp. 313-315.

³³ Equally uncertain is V. Ehrenberg's assertion, based on lines 31-34, that the Lemnian cleruchs were "peasants bound to the soil"; see his *Aspects of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1946, p. 133.

of the word γῆν in line 33 is no guarantee, in a text with lines of *ca.* 95-100 letters, that [καθάπ]ερ τοῖς ἐς Σαλαμ[ῖνα] in the next line must refer to regulations about land on Salamis; other things are covered in the Salamis decree, e.g. τελέν καὶ στρατ[εύεσθαι], line 3. Moreover, a reference to rules for Salaminian cleruchs is not necessarily a reference to the fragmentary sixth-century text which we possess. Leaving aside the question of the physical survival of the stele on the Acropolis, it is possible that there were later enactments which superseded *I.G.*, I², 1.³⁴

But even if these two objections be dismissed, the minimal value of the Salamis decree for reconstructing the much more detailed regulations contained in *I.G.*, II², 30 can be appreciated by glancing at the text and *apparatus criticus* of the former in the admirable version given by Meiggs and Lewis.³⁵ A comparison of the range of supplements for the fragmentary lines 2-5 with the alleged correspondences between the Salamis decree and our text published by Luria in *Kadmos*, III, 1964, p. 105 clearly shows that restoration has been overworked in bringing the two texts into line.

The rules governing land tenure in the fourth-century cleruchy on Lemnos were complex. Certain forms of leasing were prohibited, but line 31 shows that exceptions could be made. Fragment *e* now adds tantalizing clauses about the residency of the cleruchs on the island, a controversial question reopened by A. H. M. Jones in his *Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge, 1957, pp. 168-177.³⁶

The addition of two new fragments to *I.G.*, II², 30 and the recent publication of a text from 370/69, which lists confiscated property on Lemnos,³⁷ point up the need for a detailed study of land tenure on the island. As M. I. Finley observed,³⁸ the Lemnian *horoi*, hitherto treated only in the context of their fellows from Attika and Amorgos, must be brought into closer play with *I.G.*, II², 30. The new information about the *apographe* procedure in the opening lines of our decree and in the Agora inscription of 370/69 ought also to be examined in more detail and incorporated into a new study of this legal process.

24 (Plate 32). Fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble, very badly discolored. Part of left side preserved; broken on all other sides and back. The left side forms slightly less than a right-angle with the inscribed face. Found on May 18, 1939 in the Central Area.

³⁴ There may have been some reorganization of land-holding on Salamis after the Persian Wars. The Athenians granted land on the island at this time to at least one additional cleruch, Antidoros of Lemnos, Herodotos, VIII, 11, 3; there may have been others.

³⁵ *Gr. Hist. Inscript.*, pp. 25-27, no. 14.

³⁶ See also Brunt, *Ancient Society and Institutions*, pp. 81-87.

³⁷ *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 25-28, no. 33. It is possible that more can be won from this difficult stone; cf. Meritt's observation, p. 25, that "there are traces on the stone which have not been here included in the transcript."

³⁸ *Land and Credit*, p. 200, note 26.

Height, 0.11 m. Width, 0.11 m. Thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

E.M. 13391.

saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]
 ν χαλ[-----]
 τῆν π[-----]
 καθ[-----]
 5 τω[-----]

Line 1: Of the second letter only the end of a diagonal stroke survives in the bottom right corner of the stoichos. Its angle is such as to limit the possible readings to kappa and chi. At the end of the line there is the left diagonal of a triangular letter.

The checker-units are 0.018 m., horizontal, and 0.021 m., vertical. This fragment appears to be from a decree of the early fourth century.

25 (Plate 31). Fragment of a stele of fine-crystallized, white marble with original rough-picked back preserved; broken on all other sides. *Ca.* 0.02 m. above the first line of text there is a raised band, 0.026 m. in height, and a small patch of original surface above it. Found on May 15, 1939 in mixed fill in the Central Area.

Height, 0.153 m. Width, 0.125 m. Thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

E.M. 13393.

The size and shape of the lettering on this stone are exactly identical to that of E.M. 12892, a fragment of a decree found on the North Slope and published by E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, 303, no. 27.³⁹ Especially striking are the slightly leftward tilt of the tau and the shape of sigma and kappa. Measurement shows that not only were chisels of the same lengths used on both pieces, but the checker patterns are also exactly the same, with units of 0.013 m. vertically and horizontally. On their original back surfaces both pieces exhibit identical rough picking. Finally, it will be seen that both fragments can best be restored with a stoichedon line of 20 letters. I suggest, therefore, that the two fragments belong to the same stele and offer a reconstructed text of the whole.

a. 320/19 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 20

[Ἀναγραφὲν]ς Ἀρχέδικ[ος Ν]-
 [αυκρίτου Δ]αμπτρὲν[ς ἐπὶ]

³⁹ See also A. M. Woodward, *B.S.A.*, LI, 1956, pp. 6-8, no. IX; *S.E.G.*, XVI, 60.

[Νεαίχμου ᾗ]ρχοντος ἐ[πὶ τ]-
 [ῆς⁹]ος δεκ[άτης]
 5 [πρυτανείας ῆι .]ατη[. .⁴ .]
 [----- ἐγραμμάτευεν]
 [----- calendric -----]
 [----- equation -----]
 [----- τῶν]
 10 [προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ---]
 [----- name ----- demotic -----]
 [ἔδοξεν τῶι δῆμῳι ---]
 [----- name ----- patronymic -----]
 [----- demotic -----]
 15 [εἶπεν· ἐπειδ]ῆ Δ[υκ]ί[σ]κος τ
 [. . . .¹⁰]ογ[. .]ος τόν τ-
 [ε ἔμπροσθεν] χ[ρό]νον διετ-
 [έλει εὔνους] ᾧ[ν] τῶ[ι] δ<ῆμ>ῳι
 [τῶι Ἀθηναίων κ]α[ι] τῶν ἐκ τ-
 20 [ῆς ναυμαχίας ᾗ]λόντων πο-
 [λλοὺς τῶν πολι]τῶν ἐκομί-
 [σατο καὶ ἀπέστ]ειλεν Ἀθή-
 [ναζε ἀναλώμασιν τ]ο[ῖς αὖ]-
 [τοῦ¹⁸]νπ[. .]
 25 [. . . .¹⁷]ιτ[. .]
 [. . . .¹¹ Ἀθ]ῆ[ναί]ων [ε]-
 [ἕτε ξένων οἷς ᾗ]ν ἐ[ν]τυγχ[ά]-
 [νηι δεδόχθαι τῶι] δῆμῳι [ἐ]-
 [παινέσαι μὲν δι]κα[ι]οσ[ύ]ν-
 30 [ῆς ἔνεκα . . .⁵ . . . στ]εφαν[ω] .]
 [. . . .¹⁴]σεν[. . .]
 [. . . .¹⁴]ον εἴ[. . .]

The exact length of the lacuna between the two fragments can only be roughly estimated since it depends on the variable lengths of the names and on the space required for the calendric equation; the numbering of the lines must, therefore, remain conjectural. In the lower fragment I have printed Woodward's supplements; the underlined letters are those reported by Schweigert and Woodward which I have not been able to see either on the stone or on squeezes. In the case of the lambda in line 15, the sigma in line 16, and the phi in line 30, the letters are clear on the stone and need not be dotted as they are in previous editions. In line 18 the stone has Δ Ν Η Ω Ι, with a horizontal line through the center of Ν. In the final

letter-spaces of lines 15 and 22, where Schweigert and Woodward read clear letters, there is not, in my view, any original surface preserved. The eleventh letter in line 16 could also be theta and the twelfth could be epsilon or pi. In line 17 I detect the faint outline of chi. The last letter in line 32 is unlikely to have been iota since only a vertical stroke survives at the left side of the stoichos and the surface to the right is gone.

This is the eighth preserved decree from the archonship of Neaichmos when Archedikos was Anagrapheus, 320/19 B.C.⁴⁰ The length of the line can be established at 20 letters on the basis of the restorations in lines 1-3, and the stoichedon requirements in turn limit the restoration of the name of the prytanizing tribe in line 4 to Akamantis or Pandionis. Each of these tribes is represented by one other decree from this same year, but in both cases the number of the prytany has not survived.

If we restore Akamantis as the tenth prytany in line 4, then the very fragmentary *I.G.*, II², 383 may be restored as follows:⁴¹

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25

[Θ ε] ο ί

3 [Ἐναγραφεὺς Ἄρχ]έδικος Ν[ακρί]-
[του Λαμπτρῶ ἐπὶ Ν]εαίχμ[ου ἄρχον]-
[τος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄκαμ]αντί[δος δεκάτ]-
[ης πρυτανείας ἦν . . .]ψι[.]

This restoration of Akamantis as the tenth prytany does not conflict with the known calendar equations for 320/19.⁴²

If, however, we restore Pandionis as the tenth prytany in our North Slope inscription, we must then restore δεκάτης in line 4 of *I.G.*, II², 383 b as follows:⁴³

⁴⁰ The other seven are *I.G.*, II², 380-383, 383 b (Addenda), 384, *S.E.G.*, XXI, 306. S. Dow, *H.S.C.P.*, LXVII, 1963, p. 43, has shown that *I.G.*, II², 336 b does not belong to 320/19, as previously assumed by W. K. Pritchett, B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1940, p. 7; W. K. Pritchett, O. Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1947, p. 62; B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley, 1961, p. 119.

⁴¹ For Dinsmoor's correction of the spacing in the *Corpus* see his *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 23.

⁴² For the spelling πρυτανείας cf. *I.G.*, II², 373, line 17. If πρυτανείας is restored, it would be impossible to assign *I.G.*, II², 383 to the tenth prytany since no known Attic name begins with ψι[- - -]. For the calendar equations of 320/19 see *infra*, p. 177.

⁴³ To my knowledge this restoration, which was made by B. Leonardos when he first published the inscription in Ἄρχ. Δελτ., 1915, pp. 195-224, has been accepted by all scholars except B. D. Meritt. In his *The Athenian Year*, pp. 113-117, Meritt proposed to restore the number of the prytany in line 4 as τρίτης v, cf. *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 432-434. The principle of basing a restoration on the assumption of a vacant letter space was attacked by S. Dow, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-67, and by W. K. Pritchett, *Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone: University of California Studies in Classical Archaeology*, IV, 1963, p. 375.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25

- 3 ἐπὶ Νεαίχμ[ου ἄρχουτος ἐπὶ τῆς]
 Πανδιονίδ[ος δεκάτης πρυτανε]-
 ίας ἤι Στρατ[ωνίδης Παιανιεύς]
 6 ἐγραμμάτευ[εν δευτέραί φθίνο]-
 ντος, δε[κ]άτη[ι τῆς πρυτανείας.]

If, in this intercalary year,⁴⁴ the first four prytanies had 39 days and the last six 38 days each, the tenth day of the tenth prytany in the period of the ten tribes would be the 356th day of the year.⁴⁵ In a year of 384 (± 1) days there would be 28 (± 1) days remaining. In the festival calendar, however, there are still thirty or thirty-one dates left; i.e. Thargelion 30 plus Skirophorion 1 to *ultimo*. Skirophorion might be hollow or full. It is necessary, therefore, to assume some tampering with the festival calendar which had to be corrected by the suppression of one or two dates after the date of our restored equation in *I.G.*, II², 383b, Thargelion (XI) 2[9]=Prytany [X] 10. If Prytany X was of 38 days, two or three (if Skirophorion were full) dates were suppressed. The assumption that one date was suppressed would mean that Prytany X was of 39 days, Skirophorion hollow, and the year of 385 days.⁴⁶

The calendric evidence for 320/19 may be summarized as follows:

<i>Evidence</i>	<i>Number and Name of Prytany</i>	<i>Day of Prytany</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Day of Month</i>	<i>Day of Year</i>
<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 380	II Erechtheis	31	Boedromion III	11	70
<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 381	V Antiochis	36	Posideon VI ²	14	192
382					
<i>S.E.G.</i> , XXI, 306 ⁴⁷	[VI Oineis]?	[24]?	[Gamelion VII]?	[10]?	218?
<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 383 b	[X] Pandionis	10	Thargelion XI	[2]9	356

One of the first two months would have been full. Of the first six months, four would have been full or one date was suppressed before the time of the second

⁴⁴ *I. G.*, II², 381, lines 5-6, Ποσιδεῶνος ὑστέρον.

⁴⁵ See Pritchett, Neugebauer, *Calendars of Athens*, pp. 37, 62.

⁴⁶ The word *δευτέραί* is restored in line 6 of *I.G.*, II², 383 b on the theory of least calendric disturbance.

⁴⁷ Of this inscription there have now been proposed seven different restorations which yield four different calendar equations. Until new evidence is available it is best not to regard any of the restored equations as rigidly determining the calendar of this year. Bibliography in *S.E.G.*, XXI, 306.

equation. It may be noted that at Babylon four of the first six months after the summer solstice were full and two hollow in this year.⁴⁸

It is also possible to interpret our calendar equation in terms of a distribution of prytanies with varying lengths such as that postulated by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 433. The length of Prytany VII on Meritt's table would have to be changed to 38 days and Prytany X would have 39 days. On this reckoning 355 days have elapsed by the time we reach Prytany [X] 10 and the tampering amounted to only one day before Thargelion 29. In order to keep the length of Thargelion to 30 days and to assign the remaining 29 days of the year in such a way as to avoid a month of less than 29 days, it is necessary to assume that Thargelion *ἔνη καὶ νέα* was the one date suppressed. Skirophorion will then have had 29 days and the intercalary year was of 384 days.

The new evidence provided by our North Slope fragment is tantalizing but, unfortunately, not decisive enough to establish the identity of the tenth prytany beyond doubt or to permit a clear choice between the two methods of reconstructing the calendar of 320/19. The important calendric information which *I.G.*, II², 383 b affords, if my restoration is correct, is that there was suppression in the festival calendar very late in the year.⁴⁹

In restoring the lower part of this text Woodward suggested that the honorand, Lykiskos of line 15, had assisted in the recovery and ransoming of Athenian sailors captured in the "Hellenic War" of 323. Among the parallel documents he adduced is *I.G.*, II², 398 of 320/19. This parallel now derives added force from the addition of the top fragment to the North Slope text which dates our decree to the same year.

26 (Plate 31). Fragment of a stele of fine-crystalled, white marble with original rough-picked back preserved; broken on all other sides. Found on May 12, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.18 m. Width, 0.19 m. Thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

E.M. 13407.

saec. IV *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

ca. 27-30

[— — — — —]ς Μητ[— — — — —]

⁴⁸ See R. A. Parker, W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.—A.D. 75*, Providence, 1956, p. 36; B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, p. 115.

⁴⁹ For the suppression of dates late in the year see W. K. Pritchett, *The Choiseul Marble: University of California Publications, Classical Studies*, V, 1970, pp. 25, 29-31. *S.E.G.*, XXI, 422 is possibly the best example since its equation, Thargelion 11 (*κατ' ἄρχοντα*) = Thargelion 18 (*κατὰ θεόν*) = Prytany XI, 23, shows that the festival calendar had been retarded by seven days. In the forty-one days remaining in the year after Thargelion 18 seven dates had to be suppressed.

[-----]λις Προκλ[-----]
 [ἐἴπε· ἐ]παινέσαι Πα[ντ φιλ]-
 [οτιμ]ίας ἔνεκα τ[ῆς εἰς Ἀθηναίους καὶ]
 5 [στεφ]ανῶ[σ]αι χρυ[σῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ]
 [πεντα]κο[σί]ων δρ[αχμῶν -----]
 [καὶ εἶ]ναι Παντ[. Ἀθηνα]-
 [ἰον κα]ὶ τῶν εἰσφ[-----]
 [.]μη ἐξεί[ναι -----]
 10 [-----]ια[-----]

Line 1: In the last preserved letter-space only the bottom of a vertical stroke has survived.

Line 2: Of the first letter only the right diagonal stroke is preserved. At the right edge of the stone the left diagonal of a triangular letter is preserved. As the cross-bar of alpha was not added by this mason, epigraphically, these two letters may also be alphas.

Line 3: In the last letter-space the traces and the possible readings are exactly the same as those in the last space of line 2.

Line 7: Of the third and fourth letters only the bottoms of vertical strokes remain.

Line 8: Only a small segment of the left side of the loop of phi is preserved.

Line 10: After the iota only the apex of a triangular letter has survived.

The restored length of line in this honorary decree is based on the formula in lines 5-6 and on the assumption that only one person is being honored. In line 2 Προκλ[είδου] or Προκλ[έους] is probably to be restored, with a demotic occupying the rest of the line. I have not found a prosopographical link between either Prokleides or Prokles and any of the known Attic names ending in -λις. Only the first two letters of the honorand's name survive in line 3; he reappears in line 7, in both cases probably with a short patronymic or ethnic. In lines 3-4 [φιλοτιμ]ίας is *exempli gratia* (cf. εὐνοίας, ἀνδραγαθίας, etc.), as is the price of the gold crown in lines 5-6. The fact that the value of the gold crown is specified suggests a date before the end of the fourth century;⁵⁰ the sloppy lettering, with Λ representing alpha and lambda, would not be out of place in the last quarter of the century.

In line 6 κατὰ τὸν νόμον would fit the space but in the only fourth-century parallel known to me in which this phrase follows the price of a crown the letters have been cut *in rasura*.⁵¹ I have no solution for lines 8-9. Perhaps in line 8 there is some reference to the *eisphorai* which frequently appear in citizenship decrees.

27 (Plate 31). Fragment of fine-crystallized, white marble from the top of a stele. Original rough-picked back and flat top preserved; broken on all other sides. Mould-

⁵⁰ See Kirchner's notes to *I.G.*, II², 493 and 495; A. C. Johnson, *C. P.*, IX, 1914, p. 428. We need a new study of this formula.

⁵¹ *S.E.G.*, XXI, 342, line 8, end of the fourth century. Could the erasure and the crowding of the letters in this anomalous line be explained by the proximity of the decree to the date when the formula was changed?

ing in four bands preserved above line 2. Line 1 is inscribed in the second band from the top, which is a cyma reversa. Found on May 8, 1937 in the underground passage.

Height, 0.115 m. Width, 0.096 m. Maximum original thickness, 0.088 m.; thickness at level of line 2, 0.066 m.

Height of letters, line 1, 0.009 m.; line 2, 0.007 m.

E.M. 12902.

saec. IV a. (?)

Θ [ε ο ί]
 [-----]τιμο[-----]

Line 2: Only the tip of a horizontal stroke has survived in the top right corner of the first preserved letter-space.

The traces in line 2 probably belong to a name and the position of the theta in the line above suggests that it is close to the left edge of the stone. In public documents the most likely candidate for a name in this position on the stone is the eponymous archon. We might then suggest [Ἐπι] Τιμο[κράτους ἀρχοντος] 364/5 or [Ἐπὶ Διο]τίμο[ν ἀρχοντος] 354/3 or 285/4. These are the only archons of the fourth and third centuries whose names fit the traces in line 2.⁵²

28 (Plate 32). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides and back. Found on April 29, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.071 m. Width, 0.048 m. Thickness, 0.036 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

E.M. 13396.

saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]να[-----]
 [-----]της[-----]
 [-----]πυθ[-----]
 [-----]αί[-----]

Line 3: Only a fraction of the circumference of a circular letter survives inside the break at the right side of the stone.

Line 4: Of the dotted iota there remains only the upper third; eta and kappa are also possible.

The checker-units are 0.012 m., horizontally, and 0.017 m., vertically, as far as

⁵² None of the Anagrapheis of 321-318 or 294-291 can be restored; see S. Dow, *H.S.C.P.*, LXVII, 1963, p. 42.

they can be determined on so small a fragment. The lettering and spacing probably indicate that this piece belongs to a public document of the fourth century.

29 (Plate 32). Fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides and back. Found on May 10, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.088 m. Width, 0.115 m. Thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.008 m.

E.M. 13412.

saec. IV *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]αια [-----]
 [-----ε]κ Καρχ[ηδόνοσ-----]
 [-----κ]εκομικ [-----]
 [-----]νη δ' ἐξ 'Ι [-----]
 5 [-----τ]ὸν λοιπ[ὸν-----]
 [-----]σ [-----]

Line 1: Only the bottom of a centered vertical has survived after the alpha. It is followed by the ends of two diagonals at the bottom of the stoichos, i. e. alpha or lambda.

The checker-units measure 0.015 m., horizontally and vertically. This fragment apparently comes from a decree dealing with relations between Athens and Carthage. The verb in line 3 suggests that someone or something was brought to Athens from Carthage but there does not seem to be enough preserved on the stone to speculate further on the incident to which these lines refer. The verb should probably be restored in the third person singular or plural.

Athens had diplomatic relations with Carthage as early as 406 B.C.⁵³ and *ca.* 330 B.C. two Carthaginian ambassadors were honored by Athens, *I.G.*, II², 418.⁵⁴

30 (Plate 33). Fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides and back. *Ca.* 0.01 m. above line 1 there is a slight projection which marks the line of an original moulding. Found on April 18, 1939 in mixed fill in the Central Area.

Height, 0.122 m. Width, 0.145 m. Thickness, 0.123 m.

Height of letters, 0.005-0.006 m.

E.M. 13398.

⁵³ H. Bengtson, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, II, Munich, 1962, pp. 151-152, no. 208; K. F. Stroheker, *Historia*, III, 1954-1955, pp. 163-171; Meiggs and Lewis, *Gr. Hist. Inscript.*, pp. 280-281, no. 92. For Athenian designs on Carthage earlier in the century see Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1300-1304 and Plutarch, *Perikles*, 20.

⁵⁴ For discussions of this occasion E. L. Hicks, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1882, p. 242, no. 142, and W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, I³, Leipzig, 1915, p. 542, no. 321, are still valuable.

a. 306/5 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 41?

[Ἐπὶ Κοροΐβου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιον[ίδος. ^{5?}...]
 [...πρυτανείας ἧι Πάμφιλος] Θεογείτον[ος Ῥαμνούσ]-
 [ιος ἐγραμμάτευε^{10?}.....]ς δεκάτε[ι.....^{9?}.....]
 [...^{11?}..... τῆς πρυτανείας,] ἐκκλησί[α^{9?}.....]
 [...^{25?}.....]ο[...]^{10?}απ[.....^{10?}.....]

Line 2: Only a small fraction of a circular letter is preserved at the left edge of the stone.

The text is inscribed in a square stoichedon pattern with units of 0.0147 m.

This fragmentary decree may be dated to the archonship of Koroibos, 306/5 B.C., on the evidence of the secretary's name in line 2. Several other decrees have survived from this year and their evidence enables us to eliminate as the number of the prytany of Pandionis *ἑβδόμης*, *δεκάτης*, *ἐνδεκάτης*, and *δωδεκάτης*.⁵⁵ A further control on the restoration of the numeral in line 1 is provided by the spacing in the second half of line 2 and the first half of line 3 where the words Θεογείτονος Ῥαμνούσιος ἐγραμμάτευε must be accommodated. In order to provide enough space in line 3 after ἐγραμμάτευε⁵⁶ to restore the name of the month which follows, the number of the prytany in line 1 must have at least eight letters. A shorter numeral would make it impossible to fit even the shortest month names, [Ποσιδεῶνο]ς and [Γαμηλιῶνο]ς into line 3 without assuming abbreviation of the demotic or irregularities in the stoichedon order.⁵⁷ Of the possible numerals, then, only *δευτέρας* and *τετάρτης* qualify. Since in this year of the twelve tribes the months and the prytanies were roughly equivalent,⁵⁸ the second prytany fell in Metageitnion. If *δευτέρας* is restored in line 1, however, [Μεταγεινιῶνο]ς is three letters too long to fit into the space in line 3. By this process of elimination we are left with *τετάρτης* as the numeral to be restored in line 1, and this is perhaps the most satisfactory solution since [Πυανοψιῶνο]ς, the fourth month, will fit into the space in line 3.

⁵⁵ Demetrias held the seventh prytany; see *I.G.*, II², 470; *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 5, no. 6. Oineis held the tenth prytany; see *I.G.*, II², 471; 472 + 169; 473; 1492 B, lines 97-98. The evidence for Akamantis as the eleventh prytany and Antiochis as the twelfth is provided by *I.G.*, II², 1492 B, lines 104, 113, 119. Other decrees of this year are *I.G.*, II², 467-469, 474-476, 675 + 525 (W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LVIII, 1937, pp. 329-333), 773 (S. Dow, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 415-416). For discussions of the year of Koroibos see Pritchett, *op. cit.*; B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, pp. 138-139; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, p. 9.

⁵⁶ For the absence of the nu movable see *I.G.*, II², 380, line 4; 495, line 4.

⁵⁷ This restriction would seem to eliminate *δγδδης* also and thereby enable us to assign *I.G.*, II², 675 + 525, which was passed in the eighth prytany, to Antigonis. Pandionis had previously been the only other prytany which could be restored in line 2 of this text; see Pritchett, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 55), p. 332.

⁵⁸ For a schematic representation of the months and prytanies of this year see Pritchett, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 55) p. 330, and Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, p. 9.

The restoration of *τετάρτης* and *Πινανοψιδῶνος* in lines 1 and 3 produces a stoichedon line of 41 letters, but this proves to be a stumbling-block when we turn to the calendar equation at the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4. There seems to be no way to restore an equation here without assuming some irregularity in the stoichedon spacing. The supplements which perhaps involve the least irregularity are [*Πινανοψιδῶνο*]ς δεκάτε[ι ὑστέραι, μιᾷ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας] and [*Πινανοψιδῶνο*]ς δεκάτε[ι ἰσταμένον νν ἑνδεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας], but the former demands the crowding of two letters into one stoichos at two different points and the latter rests upon the assumption that two letter-spaces were left uninscribed.

When the preserved text exhibits no such anomalies, restorations which are based upon them cannot be regarded seriously. In view of the very fragmentary nature of this inscription, the possibility of tampering with the festival calendar, and the frequency with which new discoveries disprove restorations of calendar equations, it is best not to attempt a restoration of this text until more evidence is available for the calendar of 306/5 B.C.

31 (Plate 33). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides and back. Found on May 15, 1939 built into a late wall.

Height, 0.09 m. Width, 0.088 m. Thickness, 0.067 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

E.M. 13394.

saec. IV/III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	[-----] α ν τ [-----]
	[-----] γ ω σ κ [-----]
	[-----] ν καὶ η [-----]
	[-----] ν χρυσ [-----]
5	[-----] τ ὦι δὴ [μωι -----]
	[-----] ν ε [-----]

Line 1: After the uninscribed space there is the bottom of a centered vertical.

Line 2: At the broken left edge of the stone there is a small depression which seems to be the bottom right corner of nu.

For this stoichedon text square checker-units measuring 0.0105 m. were used. The text is so fragmentary that restorations can only be *exempli gratia*. Perhaps in line 4, [*στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸ*]ν χρυσ[ὶ στεφάνωι]. If this and the restoration in line 5 are correct, the fragment would seem to belong to a decree of the fourth or third century.

32 (Plate 33). Fragment of a stele of fine-crystalled, white marble with original right side and rough-picked back preserved; broken on all other sides. The top

surface has been worked but it is not flat and does not represent an original edge. Height of uninscribed band above line 1, *ca.* 0.003m. Found on May 12, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.20 m. Width, 0.135 m. Thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

E.M. 13401.

ca. a. 350-250 *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----τ]ρίτη[ς...]
 [-----τρ]ιακο[στῆ]
 [ι-----ἐκκλ]ησία[...]
 [-----]ν Χαιρ[...]
 5 [-----συμπρό]εδροι[...]
 [-----]αιων[...]
 [-----Φρ]εάρρ[ιο]
 [ς-----]ρατ[...]
 [-----]ΛΛ[...]
 10 [-----]ΛΛ[...]

The checker-units measure 0.014 m., horizontally, and 0.013 m., vertically. Since the crossbar of alpha was not added by this mason, all alphas and lambdas in this text are, epigraphically, interchangeable.

This fragmentary decree can probably be assigned to the period *ca.* 350-250 B.C. on the basis of the letter-forms. In decrees of this period the word *τρίτη* occurring in line 1 is almost certainly the number of the prytany. [Τρ]ιακο[στῆ] in line 2 must denote the day of the prytany and in line 3 [ἐκκλ]ησία can be recognized. A further control on the restoration of the preamble is supplied by the reading [συμπρό]εδροι in line 5, which in turn makes it very likely that line 4 should be restored as [τῶν προέδρων ἐπειρήφιζε]ν Χαιρ[-----]. We thus have five more or less certainly identified elements from the preamble on which to base a restoration. Moreover, the stone is thick enough so that, if necessary, a stoichedon line of considerable length may be restored, perhaps as long as *ca.* 60-65 letters.

Difficulty arises, however, when we attempt to restore the most frequently occurring elements in preambles of this period: archon's name, prytany name and number, secretary, and calendar equation.

[Ἐπὶ ----- ἄρχοντας, ἐπὶ τῆς ----- τ]ρίτη[ς πρυ]-
 [τανείας ----- τρ]ιακο[στῆ]-
 [ι τῆς πρυτανείας ----- ἐκκ]λησία [...]

[----- τῶν προέδρων ἐπειρήφιζε]ν Χαιρ[...]
 [----- συμπρό]εδροι[...]

It will be seen at once that there are anomalies in this restoration. First, there is not enough space in line 2 to accommodate the secretary as well as a month name and a date. Secondly, there is a lengthy gap between *πρυτανείας* and *ἐκκλησία* in line 3, which is without a parallel in decrees of this period in which these two elements are present. Thirdly, the space between *ἐπειρήφιζεν* in line 4 and *συμπρόεδροι* in line 5 can only be filled by restoring two very long names and one of the longest demotics, a possible though desperate solution.

If, to remove the first anomaly, the length of line is increased by postulating, for instance, an Anagrapheus in line 1, the difficulties in line 3-5 become insuperable and another problem arises in the size of the gap between *ἐκκλησία* and *τῶν προέδρων*. In order to fill the latter we must resort to a restoration improbably longer than *ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*, which seems to be about the longest certainly attested phrase in this period.⁵⁹ It is clear, therefore, that either the secretary or the date in the festival calendar was omitted in line 2. Although there are parallels for such omissions,⁶⁰ the other difficulties in this restoration remain serious enough to force its rejection.

In view of the anomalies in our fragment and the wide range of possible restorations in preambles of this period, any supplements must be regarded with suspicion even, as in the present case, when it is possible to identify five of the normal elements.⁶¹ By way of example only I offer the following restoration; it is but one way of juggling the pieces. It has the dubious merits of being based upon the known elements only and of having a close parallel in *I.G.*, II², 449, but at the same time we must postulate an uninscribed space in line 3 which breaks the stoichedon order.⁶²

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25

[Ἐπὶ τῆς . . . ἰδος τ]ρίτη[ς πρυ]-
 [τανείας . . . τρ]ιακο[στῆ]-

⁵⁹ See *I.G.*, II², 702, line 5; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 97, no. 17, line 6 (restored). A phrase of equal length appears in *S.E.G.*, XXI, 312, line 6, *ἐκκλησία κατὰ ψήφισμα βουλῆς*. In a decree of the mid-third century published by W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. 22, the clause [*ἐκκλησία ἐν Δι*]ονύσο[ν κατὰ δήμον ψήφισμα ὃ¹⁹ *ἐπ*]εν has been restored. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 838, lines 5-7 (226/5).

⁶⁰ E.g., *I.G.*, II², 450, 453, 662, Secretary omitted; 205, 224, 231, festival date omitted.

⁶¹ A cursory examination of Attic decrees of 352-230 B.C. in which the preambles are preserved or not subject to wholesale restoration reveals at least seventy-five different ways in which the components are listed. This does not include the decrees in which the Anagrapheis are present, on which see S. Dow, *H.S.C.P.*, LXVII, 1963, pp. 38-54; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 425-438.

⁶² For a single uninscribed space in a similar position in a preamble see *I.G.*, II², 684, line 5.

[ι τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλ]ησία [υ τῶ]-
 [υ προέδρων ἐπειφήφιζε]ν Χαιρ[. . .]
 5 [.....⁹..... καὶ συμπρό]εδροι [.. .]
 [.....^{name 19 demotic}.....]αιων[. . .]
 [.....^{demotic 17 name}..... Φρ]εάρρ[ιω]
 [s^{name 19 demotic}.....]ρατ[. . .]
 [.....^{demotic 21 name}.....]λα[. . .]
 10 [.....^{name 21 demotic}.....]λα[. . .]

Line 1: Erechtheis, Antiochis, and Kekropis are the possible choices.

Line 2: The space is too small for a date from the festival calendar or for a month; the restoration of the day of the prytany is restricted spatially to τρίτη καί, ὀγδόη καί, and ἐνάτη καί.

Line 3: Ἐκκλησία now follows immediately after πρυτανείας without a gap, as is normal.

Line 5: In decrees where the proedroi were named, καί was apparently added before the word συμπρόεδροι only after 307/6; see S. Dow, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 337.

Lines 6 and 8: The letters near the ends of these lines will be from the names of συμπρόεδροι.

Line 9: The two letters are identical and may represent double alpha, double lambda, αλ or λα. From their position it is likely that they are part of a demotic.

Line 10: The readings here are exactly the same as in line 9 although in this case the two letters probably belong to a name.

The anomalies of a restoration with a longer line have been removed but at the cost of omitting the archon's name, the secretary, and the month name and date. It is possible, therefore, that our decree, like the closely parallel *I.G.*, II², 449, was not the only decree on the stone and that above it there stood another decree in which the omitted information was included. In the absence of this vital information it is not possible to assign a specific date to the North Slope fragment. The fact that the chairman's patronymic is probably lacking in line 5 may indicate a date before 307/6; see S. Dow, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 337; B. D. Meritt, *ibid.*, p. 439.

33 (Plate 33). Fragment of an opisthographic stele of fine-crystalled, blue-gray marble broken on all sides. Found on April 25, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.168 m. Width, 0.15 m. Thickness, 0.102 m.

Height of letters, 0.005-0.006 m. (both faces).

E.M. 13405.

saec. III *a.* (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 50(?)

Face A.

[----- π]όλει π[-----]
 [-----]ληλυθε[-----]
 [-----]κλητον[-----]
 [.....¹⁹.....]φανῶς ε[.....¹⁷..... ἀγαθέϊ τυ]-

5 [χει· δεδόχθαι τεί βουλ]εί· τὸς π[ροέδρους τοὺς λαχόντας εἰς τῆ]-
 [ν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν χρ]ηματίσ[αι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλ]-
 [λεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς] τὸν δῆ[μον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεί βουλεῖ ἐπαινέσ]-
 [αι μὲν¹⁸.]νδρο[.¹¹. καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸ]-
 [ν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ] τὸ[ν νόμον -----]

Line 2: Of the first letter only the tip of a diagonal stroke survives in the lower right corner of the stoichos.

Line 6: In the first letter-space a vertical stroke is preserved at the right edge; the surface to the left of it is gone.

Line 9: Of the dotted tau only a horizontal stroke along the top of the letter-space is visible.

Face B.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]καὶ [-----]
 [-----]χε[.]ουτος[-----]
 [-----]ειν ὁ δῆμος [-----]
 [-----]Κρατῖνον 'Α[-----]

Line 1: In the bottom left corner of the first preserved stoichos there is the end of a vertical stroke.

The letters on both faces are the same in size and shape and the spacing of the stoichedon order is identical: units of 0.012 m., horizontal, and 0.015 m., vertical. Face B has a smoother polished surface than Face A. On the basis of the tentative restorations on Face A, which yield a stoichedon line of 50 letters, the approximate width of the original stele may be calculated at *ca.* 0.60-0.65 m. It is also possible to restore the decree on Face A with a longer line by using the formula *τοὺς π[ροέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν ἐν τῶι δῆμωι]* in lines 5 and 6. Consequently, my restorations of lines 8-9 on Face A, in which [---]νδρο[---] is interpreted as part of a patronymic, are only *exempli gratia*. In line 2 perhaps [κατε]λήλυθε, cf. *I.G.*, II², 448, line 62. Line 3 may contain part of a name or perhaps [ἔκ]κλητον, cf. *I.G.*, II², 111, line 74; 179, line 14; 404, line 17. The name in line 4 of Face B is too common to permit a positive identification.

34 (Plate 34). Fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble with original right side and rough-picked back preserved; broken on all other sides. The right side forms less than a right-angle with the inscribed face. Inscribed surface very badly worn and almost illegible. Found on May 28, 1937 built into a late wall in the underground passage.

Height, 0.20 m. Width, 0.249 m. Thickness, 0.098 m. at bottom, 0.087 m. at top. Height of letters, *ca.* 0.005 m.

E.M. 12933

saec. IV/III a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

vacat 0.015 m.

[-----]ρ[.⁵...]οον[.]ο[.]λ[.]
 [-----]⁹]τ[οὐ]ς πολ[λ]οὐ-
 [ς-----]¹⁰]α[. . .]αν[.]οι
 [-----]⁹]ιρεο[.]α[.]
 5 [-----]⁷ τὸν] δῆμον τὸ[ν.]
 [-----] . . .]δομ[. . .]νουλουσ[.]
 [-----]⁶]ογ ἐπ[.¹⁰]
 [-----] τῶ]ν Τηνίων καὶ ἀθ[.]
 [-----] . . .]ιας καὶ ε[.¹¹]
 10 [--- ἐπὶ ξένια] εἰς τὸ πρυτανε[ῖον εἰς]
 [αὔριον.]
 [-----]ρυσ εκ[.]ερα[.]ξε[.⁷]
 [-----] ἐπει]δὴ δὲ αἱ συνθη[καὶ]
 [-----]χ[.]το[.¹³]

The surface of this stone is so worn and battered that many of the readings must remain uncertain. Even some of the undotted letters produce combinations which seem impossible. In the upper left corner above line 1 there is a small patch of uninscribed surface which seems to indicate that line 1 begins a new section of the text, if not the actual beginning of the document, but the original top of the stele has not survived. An uninscribed band divides the first eleven lines of text from another section below it which extends to the broken bottom of the stone. In the upper section a square stoichedon checker pattern was used with units of 0.011 m. For the lower section the units are 0.008 m., horizontally, and 0.011 m., vertically. In the upper section, however, the stoichedon pattern was violated in at least two places: in line 4 where the letters are not aligned with those in the lines above and below; at the beginning of line 10 where ΕΙ occupy one letter-space. Elsewhere iota seems to stand alone in its own stoichos. These irregularities show that restorations must not be rigidly controlled by the number of dots I have printed in the text to indicate missing letters.

Line 1: The three circular letters could all be read as thetas since only the circumference has survived in each case. Since the center of the triangular letter is damaged, alpha is also possible but the ends of the diagonals stand free, thus excluding delta.

Line 2: Nu is also a possible reading for the dotted pi; only the left vertical and the upper part of the right remain.

Line 4: Of the first preserved letter only the bottom of a centered vertical can be seen.

Line 5: At the right edge of the second stoichos there is a vertical stroke with the surface to the left of it damaged.

Line 6: For the dotted lambda alpha is also an epigraphic possibility.

Line 7: The second letter may also be read as pi since only the left vertical and the upper part of the right vertical survive. Of the dotted pi only a vertical remains at the left edge of the stoichos.

Line 8: Of the first letter only the bottom of a vertical can be seen in the lower left corner of the stoichos. The dim outline of a triangular letter is visible in the second-last space. It is followed by a circular letter which might also be omicron.

Line 12: The first letter is either rho or phi; only the right half of the loop is preserved just inside the break. The dotted alpha may also be lambda since the center is damaged. Only the dimmest outline of an epsilon can be made out in front of the clear epsilon near the end of the line; it is very uncertain.

This text apparently deals with relations between Athens and Tenos, which is the subject of *I.G.*, II², 279 (*ca.* 370-340); 660 A (*ca.* 325); 466 (307/6); and 660 B (281/0).⁶³ The North Slope fragment does not seem to belong to any of these documents, although the shapes of the letters and the spacing are closest to *I.G.*, II², 466.⁶⁴ On these grounds we might assign a tentative date of *ca.* 325-300 to the new decree. In line 6 the nu is certain, thus excluding the possibility of reading *δούλους*. At the end of line 7 *ἐπ[αινέσαι τὸν δῆμον τὸ]ν Τηνίων* seems too short for the space; perhaps *ἐπ[αινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶ]ν Τηνίων*, cf. *I.G.*, II², 466, line 35; 660 B, line 40. I cannot make any sense out of line 12, unless *ἐκ [Κ]ερα[μ]έε[ων]* is possible. The *συνθη[κα]* in line 13 may be related in some way to *τὰ σύνβολα* ----- *τὰ πρὸς Τηνίους κα[ὶ Ἀθην]αίους* in *I.G.*, II², 466, lines 32-35.

35 (Plate 32). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble, broken on all sides and back. Found on May 26, 1937 in late fill in the northern part of the main area.

Height, 0.074 m. Width, 0.058 m. Thickness, 0.031 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

E.M. 12905

saec. IV/III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ω[-----]
 [-----]αυ[-----]
 [-----]ν κα[-----]
 [-----]ι[-----]

Line 2: Only the tip of a diagonal has survived in the bottom right corner of the first stoichos.

A square checker pattern with units of 0.015 m. was used for this stoichedon text.

⁶³ For brief discussions of these decrees with bibliographies see J. Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions*, Prague, 1966, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et Historica Monographia*, XV, pp. 53-54, 78-79, 93-95. For a fourth-century catalogue of Tenian envoys possibly related to one of these decrees see *I.G.*, II², 2378.

⁶⁴ *I.G.*, II², 466 has the same thickness and rough-picked back as the North Slope fragment. Its stoichedon spacing is slightly wider with square checker-units of 0.0113 m.

36 (Plate 32). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, light gray marble with original top surface preserved; broken on all other sides and back. Found on May 10, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.053 m. Width, 0.06 m. Thickness, 0.014 m.

Height of letters, line 1, 0.016 m.; line 2, 0.01 m.

E.M. 13402.

saec. V/IV *a.*(?)

[-----]ε[-----]
[-----]εντ[-----]

Line 2: Only the tip of a horizontal stroke is preserved in the top left corner of the last letter-space.

This fragment comes from the top of an inscription which had a one-line heading in letters larger than those in the main body of the text. A possible restoration of line 2 would be: [ἔδοξ]εν τ[ῆι βουλῆι ---].

The rough tooling of the surface is not unlike that of *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 307, no. 31.

37 (Plate 32). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble preserving original left side; broken on all other sides and back. Found on April 24, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.085 m. Width, 0.043 m. Thickness, 0.02 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

E.M. 13403.

saec. V/IV *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

ε[-----]
πα[-----]
εν[-----]
ιστ[-----]
[.]υρ[-----]

Line 2: Of the second letter only the end of a diagonal stroke survives in the bottom left corner of the letter-space.

The checker-units, as far as they can be determined on so small a piece, are 0.011 m., horizontal, and 0.017 m., vertical.

38 (Plate 32). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides and back. Brought into the excavation by children on March 9, 1937.

Height, 0.059 m. Width, 0.071 m. Thickness, 0.025 m.
 Height of letters, 0.009 m.
 E.M. 12901.

saec. IV/III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ο[-----]
 [-----]πρo[-----]
 [-----]ιοφ[-----]

The checker pattern is probably square with units of 0.017 m. but there is very little text on which to base one's measurements. The size and spacing of the letters are suitable for a public document.

39 (Plate 34). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble, broken on all sides and back. Found on May 13, 1939 near the northern edge of the Central Area.

Height, 0.082 m. Width, 0.105 m. Thickness, 0.035 m.
 Height of letters, 0.005-0.006 m.
 E.M. 13399.

saec. IV/III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]αντ[-----]
 [-----]αυ[.]τ[-----]
 [-----]και[-----]
 [-----]εισ[-----]
 [-----]χ[.]ν[-----]

Line 2: Of the dotted alpha both diagonal strokes are preserved but the surface between them is badly worn and there is no trace of a cross-bar.

Line 3: Just inside the break at the beginning of this line there is the tip of what seems to be a slanting stroke. It probably is the end of the bottom diagonal of kappa but this is not certain.

The checker-units measure *ca.* 0.012 m. both horizontally and vertically. In line 5 perhaps [ἄρ]χ[ο]ν[τος]. The lettering and spacing probably indicate that this small fragment comes from a public document.

40 (Plate 34). A small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides and back. Found on May 18, 1938 in mixed fill in the main area.

Height, 0.092 m. Width, 0.044 m. Thickness, 0.028 m.
 Height of letters, 0.008 m.
 E.M. 13016.

saec. IV/III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]τε[-----]

[-----]εδρ[-----]
 [-----]να[-----]
 [-----]ημ[-----]
 5 [-----]αν[-----]

Line 1: Of the first letter only the vertical survives; the top is broken away.

The checker-units are 0.014 m., horizontal, and 0.017 m., vertical. This tiny fragment appears to belong to a public document. Perhaps [στυμπρό]εδρ[οι] in line 2.

41 (Plate 34). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides and back. Found on May 2, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.088 m. Width, 0.086 m. Thickness, 0.027 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

E.M. 13395.

saec. IV/III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]α[-----]
 [-----]απα[-----]
 [-----]παρὰ ω[---]
 [-----]τε[.]λνμ[---]
 5 [-----]το]ὺ θεοῦ κ[---]
 [-----]ς ὑπὸ του[---]
 [-----]την παρ[---]

Line 2: Of the first letter only the tip of a diagonal survives in the bottom right corner of the space.

Line 3: In the first stoichos there is the bottom of a vertical stroke which does not extend all the way to the bottom of the line.

Line 4: Alpha and lambda are both possible readings in the fourth stoichos since only the two diagonals can be seen. In the last space only the left side of mu can be seen.

Line 7: In the fifth stoichos the apex remains of a triangular letter above the break. Of the final letter there survives the top of a vertical joined by a small piece of a stroke to the right; i. e. beta, gamma, epsilon, pi, or rho.

A square checker pattern with units of 0.011 m. was used for this stoichedon fragment which seems to be from a decree.

42 (Plate 34). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, blue marble with white streaks; original left side preserved, broken on all other sides and back. Found on April 24, 1939 in mixed fill in the East Area.

Height, 0.075 m. Width, 0.055 m. Thickness, 0.026 m.

Height of letters, 0.005-0.006 m.

E.M. 13406.

saec. III *a.*(?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

φῖ[-----]
 καὶ [-----]
 ἔνεκ[α -----]
 καὶ το[-----]
 γραμ[ματέα -----]

Line 1: The surface to the right of phi is sufficiently preserved to show the bottom of a centered vertical.

Line 3: The bottom horizontal of the second epsilon does not appear to have been cut.

The checker-units are 0.0083 m., horizontally, and 0.011 m., vertically. Enough surface is preserved below line 5 to show that we have the end of the text of this decree. The word ἔνεκ[α] in line 3 suggests that the decree was honorary and the letters in the last line probably belong to the publication formula.

43 (Plate 34). Fragment of a stele of fine-crystalled, blue-gray marble preserving the left side; broken on all other sides and back. Date and place of finding not recorded; brought to the Epigraphical Museum in 1939 with other fragments from the 1938 season.

Height, 0.142 m. Width, 0.048 m. Thickness, 0.058 m.

Height of letters, 0.005-0.006 m.

E.M. 12965.

ca. a. 300-250 *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[.]τε[-----]
 ἰζε[----- γρ]
 αμμ[ατε -----]
 νο[-----]
 5 τῆν [-----]
 τε[-----]
 σο[-----]
 εἰ[-----]
 ἰφ[-----]

Line 8: Only the top of a centered vertical is preserved in the second stoichos.

A square checker pattern has been used with units of 0.0145 m. This thin sliver from the left side of a stele appears to preserve part of a decree but there are too few letters preserved to make a restoration credible. The lettering, especially epsilon without the middle stroke, probably belongs to the first half of the third century.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Cf. Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 87 (261/0); *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 352, no. 48 (287-278).

44 (Plate 34). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides; possibly part of original back preserved. Found on April 24, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.12 m. Width, 0.112 m. Thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

E.M. 13397.

saec. IV/III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] λ η ι τ [-----]
 [-----] ρ [.] ο [-----]
 [-----] σ [-----]

Line 2: The first preserved letter is either gamma, pi, or rho; the vertical is preserved with slight traces of a stroke joining it at the top right.

As far as they can be determined on so small a piece the checker-units are 0.017 m., horizontally and vertically. The character of this battered fragment is uncertain; it may be part of a public document. In line 1 perhaps [τῆι βου]λῆι.

45 (Plate 36). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides and back. Found on May 22, 1937 in late fill in the northern part of the main area.

Height, 0.113 m. Width, 0.078 m. Thickness, 0.036 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

E.M. 12921.

saec. III *a.* (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] ε ν σ [-----]
 [-----] ι ε ι [-----]
 [-----] ν τ [-----]
 [-----] α ι η [-----]
 5 [-----] σ α [-----]
 [-----] α ι τ [-----]
 [-----] γ ε ι [-----]

Line 4: In the first space only the right diagonal of a triangular letter is preserved. It is followed by the bottom half of a centered vertical with the top broken away.

Line 7: In the upper right corner of the first stoichos there is the top of a vertical stroke; eta is also possible. Of the dotted iota only the top of a centered vertical survives; kappa cannot be excluded.

The horizontal checker-unit measures 0.011 m.; the vertical is 0.0125 m. The lettering is very sloppy with the central bar of epsilon and the two middle strokes of sigma omitted. The fragment appears to come from a public document.

46 (Plate 34). Fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble with rough-picked back preserved; broken on all other sides. The original surface has been largely removed by a later cutting which created a recessed, rectangular (?) area. The letters that survive are in the thin band to the left of this cutting and below it where the surface is very badly worn. Found on April 23, 1937 built into a modern house wall.

Height, 0.152 m. Width, 0.10 m. Thickness, 0.093 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.005 m.

E.M. 13001.

saec. III *a.*(?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ρ[-----]
 [-----]
 [-----]νο[-----]
 [-----]γων κα[-----]
 [-----]αυτο[-----]

Line 5: Only the apex of a triangular letter is preserved above the break in the first letter-space.

This text has a checker pattern with horizontal units of 0.0113 m. and vertical of 0.012 m. The same spacing is found on E.M. 12967, a fragmentary decree from the North Slope of the Acropolis published by E. Schweigert in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 338-339. The size and shape of the letters are identical on both pieces and the back surfaces are both rough-picked. Since the thickness of both stones is also the same, it is possible that these two fragments are from the same stele. The new piece, unfortunately, is too poorly preserved to supply any additional information either for E.M. 12967 or for *I.G.*, II², 672, of which Schweigert recognized E.M. 12967 to be a copy. In line 4 perhaps [στρατη]γων. *I.G.*, II², 672 cannot be accurately dated, although Schweigert and Meritt have suggested 280/79; see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 578; VII, 1938, p. 104.

47 (Plate 35). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble with the right side preserved, broken on all other sides and back. Found on May 8, 1939 in the Central Area.

Height, 0.081 m. Width, 0.086 m. Thickness, 0.033 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

E.M. 13404.

saec. IV *a.* (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ?

[-----]το[.]
 [-----]ογ[.]

There is *ca.* 0.03 m. of unscribed space above line 1. The horizontal and vertical spacing is *ca.* 0.017 m. on centers. This fragment probably comes from a public document.

48 (Plate 36). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble badly discolored and broken on all sides and back. Found on May 26, 1937 in a late wall in the underground passage.

Height, 0.079 m. Width, 0.081 m. Thickness, 0.044 m.

Height of letters, 0.004-0.005 m.

E.M. 12911

saec. IV/III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] οὐς φίλο [-----]
 [----- τ] ἦς ὁμογ [οίας --]
 [-----] εἴτε^v
 [-----] τῶν^v
 5 [-----] ας π^v
 [-----] αβ^v

Line 2: At the left edge of the final stoichos there is a vertical stroke; the surface to the right of it is gone.

To the right of the last letter in lines 3-6 there is *ca.* 0.007 m. of unscribed space. The horizontal checker-units of 0.01 m. are such that if these four spaces were inscribed, some trace of letters ought to have survived. It is possible also that we have the last letter in both of the first two lines but this is uncertain since the right side of the stone is not preserved. For the spacing cf. *I.G.*, II², 513.

In line 1 we might restore [τ] οὐς φίλο [υς τοὺς Ἀθηναίων]; cf. *I.G.*, II², 111, line 33, or [πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναί] οὐς φίλο [τιμίας]. Together with line 2 this phraseology indicates that the fragment is from a decree.

49 (Plate 36). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides and back. Only a tiny patch of the badly worn and discolored inscribed surface is preserved. Found on April 16, 1937 built into a late wall in the central part of the main area.

Height, 0.112 m. Width, 0.107 m. Thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

E.M. 13007.

saec. IV/III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] ι [-----]

[-----]ιαι[-----]
 [-----]σμ[-----]

The size and spacing of the letters probably indicate a public document. As far as they can be determined the checker-units are *ca.* 0.01 m., horizontal, and 0.015 m., vertical.

50 (Plate 35). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, blue-gray marble broken on all sides and back. Found on March 30, 1939 in mixed fill near the southern edge of the Central Area.

Height, 0.078 m. Width, 0.09 m. Thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

E.M. 13400.

saec. IV/III *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] ει[-----]
 [---- ἀναγράψαι τό]δε τὸ ψή[φισμα τὸν γραμματέα --- ἐν στήλῃ]
 [λιθίνῃ καὶ ἀναθεῖ]ναι ἐ<ν> ἀκρ[οπόλει -----]
 [-----]ο φ[-----]

Line 1: Of the dotted iota only the bottom part of a centered vertical survives.

Line 4: At the broken bottom edge of the stone there is part of the arc of a circular letter.

This small fragment preserves part of the formula from the end of a decree in which the erection of a stele on the Acropolis is specified. The lettering is very sloppy and the nu of ἐν in line 3 was omitted.

51 (Plate 35). Fragment of a stele of fine-crystalled, blue-gray marble with rough-picked left side and back preserved, broken on all other sides. Found on May 16, 1939 in the Central Area.

This piece joins the left side of E.M. 12727, another North Slope fragment published by O. Broneer in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 406, no. 24. The combined text and dimensions of the two fragments are as follows:

Height, 0.34 m. Width, 0.29 m. Thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, 0.005-0.006 m.

E.M. 13408 + 12727.

ca. a. 200-150 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

ca. 41-47

[...]ε[-----]
 [.]ἰς πρὸς [-----]ε[-----]δια]-

- τελεῖ κα[τὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμ]ιν αὐ[.....^{ca. 16}..... ἦ]-
 ν ἔχει πρὸ[ς^{ca. 14}.....]σιν κα[ὶ περὶ τούτων ἀπομει]-
 5 αρτυρήκ[ασιν αὐτῶι πλεί]ους τῶν π[ολιτῶν, τῶι δὲ δήμωι π]-
 ἀτριόν ἐστιν [χάριτας] ἀξίας ἀποδ[ιδόναι τοῖς εἰς ἑαυτ]-
 ὸν φιλοτιμου[μένοι]ς ^{vvvv} ἀγαθε[ὶ τύχει δεδόχθαι τεῖ βο]-
 υλεῖ τοὺς λαχ[όντα]ς προέδρους ε[ἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκ]-
 [λ]ησίαν χρηματ[ίσαι] περὶ τούτων, [γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλεσθ]-
 10 [αι] τῆς βουλῆς εἰ[ς τὸ]ν δῆμον ὅτι δο[κεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ ἐπ]-
 [αι]νέσαι Στράτων[α] Τίμωνος Ἄρ[γείον καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτ]-
 [ὸν χρ]υσῶι στεφάνωι κ[α]τὰ τὸν νόμ[ον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ φ]-
 [ιλοτ]ιμίας τῆς εἰς τὸν [δ]ῆμον τὸν Ἄ[θηναίων καὶ ἀνεπιέν]-
 [τὸν στ]έφανον τούτον Διογυσίων τε [τῶν ἐν ἄστει καινοῖς]
 15 [τραγω]υδοῖς. τῆς δ' ἀναγ[ορ]εύσεως ἐ[πιμεληθῆναι τοὺς]
 [στρατ]ηγούς. δεδόςθαι δ' [α]ὐτῶι κα[ὶ πολιτείαν δοκιμασ]-
 [θέντ]ι ἐν τῶι δικαστηρίωι κατὰ τ[ὸν νόμον. τοὺς δὲ θεσμ]-
 [οθέντα]ς ὅταν πληρῶσιν δικ[α]στή[ριον εἰς ἓνα καὶ πεντακο]-
 [σίον]ς δικαστὰς εἰσαγαγ[εῖν αὐ]τ[ῶι τὴν δοκιμασίαν καὶ μὴ π]-
 20 [αρόντι] καὶ γράψασθαι αὐτὸν [.....^{ca. 22}.....]
 [...⁵⁻⁸...] εἶναι δ' αὐτῶι καὶ εἰς τ[ὸν λοιπὸν διατηροῦντι τὴν]
 [εἰς τὴν] βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμο[ν εὐνοίαν εὐρέσθαι καὶ]
 [ἄλλο ἄ]γαθὸν καὶ τιμηθῆν[αι.....^{ca. 20}..... ἀνα]-
 [γράψαι] δ' ἐτόδε τὸ ψήφισμ[α τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτα]-
 25 [νεῖαν ἐν σ]τήλει λ[ι]θί[ν]ει [-----]

Line 1: Of the first letter only a horizontal stroke survives along the bottom of the space.

Line 2: A centered vertical stroke broken away at the top can be seen in the first preserved space. Above the nu in line 3 there is the bottom of a vertical stroke just below the broken top edge of the stone.

Line 3: The length of the restoration is determined by the space between the two fragments at this point, 0.155 m., which leaves room for about seventeen letters.

Line 5: Only the vertical of the dotted kappa is preserved. Of the last preserved letter only a vertical stroke survives at the left edge of the letter-space.

Line 6: Of the dotted alpha only the bottom tip of the right diagonal survives.

Line 8: In the last preserved space there is the bottom tip of a vertical stroke just inside the break; there is no trace of a joining horizontal but since these two strokes seldom meet the vertical of epsilon on this stone, epsilon is a possible reading.

Line 9: Only the top of a vertical stroke survives in the first preserved letter-space.

Line 10: The top of the thirteenth letter is broken away.

Line 11: Of the dotted nu only the tip of a vertical stroke remains in the bottom left corner of the letter-space. The second letter of the ethnic is represented only by a vertical stroke; the surface to the right of it is broken away.

Line 14: The tip of a vertical stroke can be seen in the top right corner of the twenty-first space.

Line 17: The bottom three lines in the smaller fragment, lines 17-19, have been broken off in the Museum since 1933 and the missing piece has not yet been found. My readings are from

Broneer's photograph. Of the dotted tau there is only the left end of an unattached horizontal in the top left corner of the space.

Line 19: In the twenty-sixth space are a horizontal along the top of the letter-space and a joining, centered vertical below it. From the photograph I would interpret this as the top of a tau rather than a gamma as reported by Broneer.

Line 23: At the right edge of the stone just inside the break a vertical stroke has survived.

Athenian citizenship and a gold crown are bestowed on Straton, son of Timon, by this decree. The letter-forms, in which the cross-bar of alpha, the middle horizontal of epsilon, and the dot of theta are all omitted, probably indicate a date in the first half of the second century B.C. Broneer's restoration of a non-stoichedon line of ca. 43-45 letters is now confirmed by the addition of the larger, joining fragment, although slight adjustments are necessary at the left margin of his text. The restorations I have suggested for the opening six lines must be regarded as *exempli gratia* and not as definitive.

Straton's ethnic in line 11 is uncertain; see the note on the reading *supra* p. 198. Epigraphically, other short ethnics like Δί[νδιον], Αἶ[νιον], etc. are also possible. For both Straton and Timon at Argos see M. Mitsos, 'Αργολικὴ Προσωπογραφία, Athens, 1952, pp. 163-164, 176. H. Pope's suggestion⁶⁶ that our line 11 be restored [Νίκανδρον] Τίμωνος Ἀργείων, on the evidence of *I.G.*, II², 2315, line 18, must now be rejected, but since the date of the latter is "post a. 180,"⁶⁷ Timon could possibly have been the father of both Straton and Nikandros.

After the first word in line 15 the mason apparently omitted one whole line. Broneer pointed to the copulative τε in line 14 as evidence that games at the Panathenaic and Eleusinian festivals were probably also included in the original formula. The omitted words καὶ Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι would have occupied the rest of line 15 and the first twelve or fourteen letter-spaces in line 16 directly under τραγωδοῖς. Since the next clause on the stone begins immediately after τραγωδοῖς with τῆς δ' ἀναγ[ορ]εύσεως in line 15 and occupies almost exactly the same amount of space as the omitted words, it is possible that the error arose from a stone-mason's copy in which the lines of text were laid out exactly as they were to be inscribed on the stone. Scribal errors are frequently inexplicable but this one may have occurred when the mason skipped down one line in his copy.

In line 20 there is the beginning of the normal formula in citizenship decrees, γράψασθαι αὐτὸν φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἂν βούληται. As there is not enough room for this whole clause before εἶναι in line 21, perhaps part of it was unintentionally omitted.

In line 23 καταξίως τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν or καταξίως ὧν ἂν εὐεργετήσῃ would fit the space; cf. *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 219-220, no. 16, line 3 and *I.G.*, II², 844, line 28.

⁶⁶ *Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions*, Dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1935, p. 230.

⁶⁷ I give Kirchner's date from *I.G.*, II²; Mitsos assigns this inscription to 250-200.

52 (Plate 35). Fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble with green, micaceous streaks, broken on all sides. The back surface is very rough and probably not original. Found on May 27, 1938 in late fill in the main area.

Height, 0.166 m. Width, 0.11 m. Thickness, 0.041 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

E.M. 13011.

aet. Imp. Rom.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ασ[-----]
 [-----]ων π[-----]
 [-----]ειν π[-----]
 [-----]α πολλῶ[ν-----]
 5 [-----]σις τὸ δὲ[-----]
 [-----]ἀνάγκη [-----]
 [-----]γίς μου [-----]
 [-----]ὅτι τω[-----]
 [-----]νεκτ[-----]
 10 [-----]η[-----]

Line 1: Of the first letter only the tip of a diagonal has survived in the lower right corner of the space. It is followed by a horizontal along the bottom of the next space which is joined at the left by a diagonal; delta is also a possible reading.

Line 4: Only the end of the right diagonal of the first letter can be seen in the bottom right corner of the space.

Line 8: Of the dotted tau only a horizontal stroke survives at the top of the letter-space.

Line 10: At the bottom of the stone where the surface is damaged there appears to be the dim outline of eta.

The shape and arrangement of the letters suggest that this fragment may be from an Imperial letter; cf. μου in line 7. In line 4 perhaps Ἀπόλλω[ν] and in line 7 [σφρα]γίς.

53 (Plate 36). Small fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble broken on all sides and back. Found on April 8, 1937 in late fill in the southern section of the main area.

Height, 0.068 m. Width, 0.042 m. Thickness, 0.022 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

E.M. 13028.

aet. Imp. Rom.

[-----]ειν[-----]
 [-----]ισ[-----]

Line 2: Only the top of a vertical has survived in the first letter-space and the stone to the left is broken away.

The size, shape, and spacing of the letters, plus the identical dressing of the inscribed surface, all indicate that this tiny fragment comes from *I.G.*, II², 1076, a decree in honor of Julia Domna as Athena Polias, of which sixteen fragments have already been published, two from the North Slope excavations.⁶⁸ Our new piece does not make a physical join with any of the known fragments nor does it preserve enough text to assign it to a specific place in this large stele. It will be designated Fragment *u*, see *infra* p. 203.

Study of this small piece led to the discovery of four more fragments in the Epigraphical Museum from the same decree. All four belong to the top of the stele and supply new evidence about the beginning of the decree. All are hitherto unpublished and I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Peppas-Delmouzou and to the Greek Archaeological Service for permission to include them in this report.

One of the new fragments, E.M. 12990, was found in the North Slope excavations on April 14, 1937 east of the Church of the Savior. A second, E.M. 5700, was found on the Acropolis but the Epigraphical Museum Inventory has no further information. The finding places of E.M. 3813 and 5029 are not recorded in the Museum Inventory. All four fragments are 0.07 m. thick and have the smoothly polished back surface that is characteristic of this stele.

In order to facilitate future reference to the many scattered pieces of this inscription I offer a new numbering of the fragments in which the errors in the *Corpus* numbering are corrected⁶⁹ and the new fragments published by J. H. Oliver and *infra* are included. See Figure 2 and Plate 36.⁷⁰

Fragment *a* (E.M. 5029).

Fragments *b* (E.M. 12990) + *c* (E.M. 3813) + *d* (E.M. 5700).

Fragments *e* (E.M. 8369) + *f* (E.M. 8370) + *g* (E.M. 8375) + *h* (E.M. 8373)
+ *i* (E.M. 8379) + *j* (E.M. 8374).

Fragments *k* (Agora I 5680) + *l* (E.M. 8376) + *m* (E.M. 12751).

Fragments *n* (E.M. 4646) + *o* (E.M. 8371) + *p* (E.M. 3490) + *q* (E.M. 8377)
+ *r* (E.M. 8372).

Fragment *s* (E.M. 3144).

⁶⁸ See the revised editions by O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 178-184, and J. H. Oliver, *H.S.C.P.*, Supplementary vol. I, *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson*, Cambridge, Mass., 1940, pp. 521-530. The latter has valuable photographs, bibliography, and *apparatus criticus*.

⁶⁹ Cf. O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 179, note 4.

⁷⁰ In Plate 36 Fragment *k* from the Agora is not shown; for its position see the photograph and drawing published by J. H. Oliver, *op. cit.* The floating Fragments *s*, *t*, and *u* are also not shown on Plate 36.

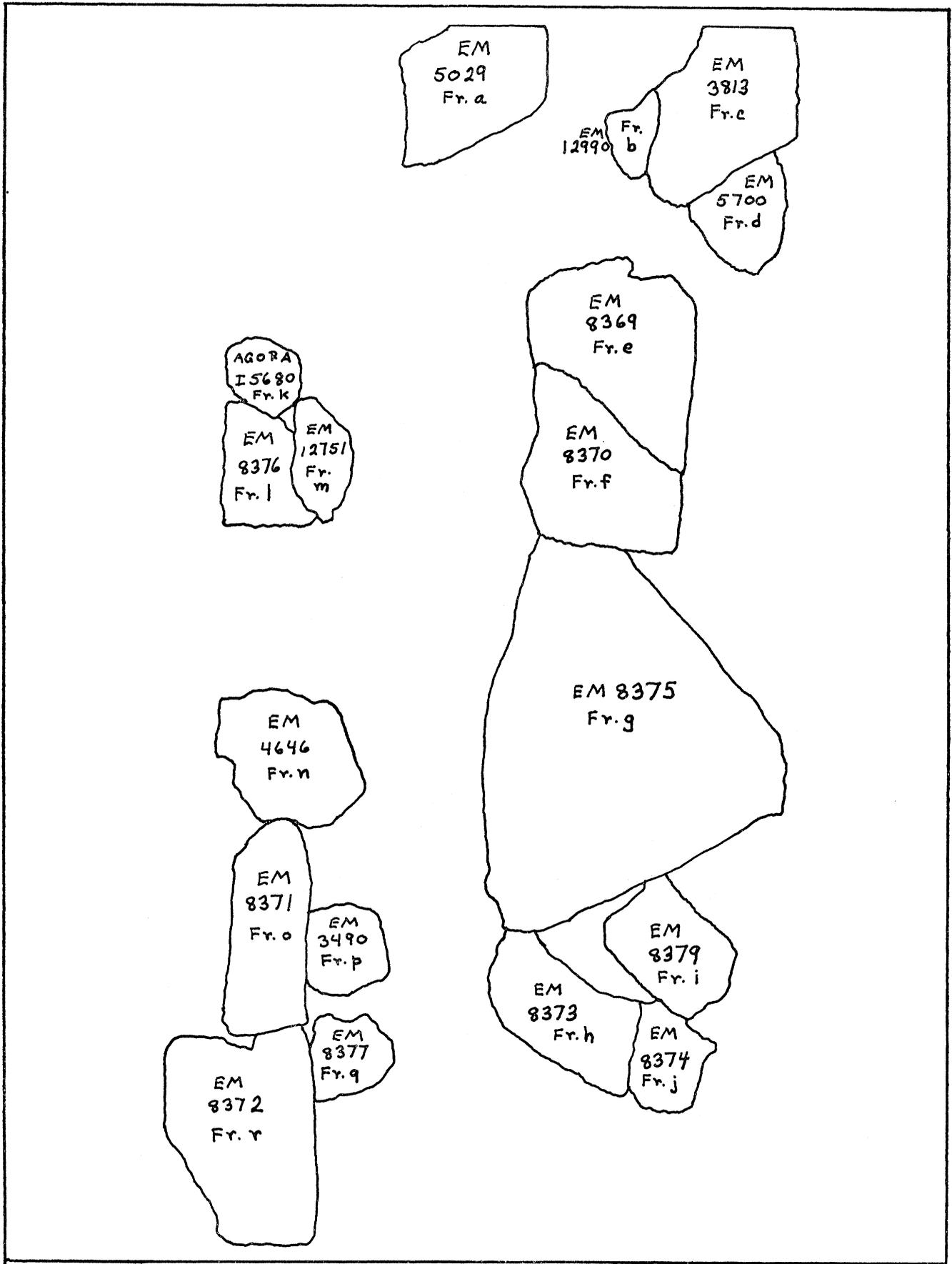


FIG. 2. No. 53.

Fragment *t* (E.M. 12731).

Fragment *u* (E.M. 13028).

The four new fragments are as follows:

Fragment *a* (Plate 36).

Part of original top and smoothly polished back preserved; broken on all other sides. This fragment comes from the top center of the stele and preserves part of a pediment in low relief in the center of which is inscribed a plain circle.

Height, 0.228 m. Width, 0.213 m. Thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.033 m.

E.M. 5029.

Fragments *b+c+d* (Plate 36).

Three joining fragments from the top right corner of the stele; part of original top, right side, and smoothly polished back preserved. Right corner of pediment preserved in low relief with akroterion above.

Height, 0.37 m. Width, 0.277 m. Thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, line 1, 0.029 m., line 2, 0.015 m., lines 3-6, 0.017 m.

E.M. 12990+3813+5700.

['Αγαθ] ἦι [Τύ] χηι

[-----] αειυς εἶπευ
 [----- Α] ὑτο [κ] ράτο [ρ. . .]
 [-----] εχει ἐξ [. . .]
 [-----] αυ π [. . . .]
 [-----] Γ [.]

Line 1: These two words are carved in the pediment, one on each side of the central circle. The two final letters of the first word are slightly larger than the corresponding letters of [Τύ]χηι. Of the dotted chi only the tip of a finial survives at the top of the line inside the break.

Line 2: This line is inscribed in the band which marks the bottom of the pediment and is set off by two grooves from the lines above and below it. Directly below the eta of ['Αγαθ] ἦι there are faint traces of two or perhaps three letters. Only the tops have survived and the readings are extremely doubtful. Of the first such letter part of a horizontal stroke can be seen in the top right corner of the space. It is joined at its right end by a vertical stroke or a serif which extends below it for *ca.* 0.003 m. before the stone breaks off; possible readings are gamma, epsilon, xi, sigma, or tau. In the next letter-space there are the tops of two vertical strokes spaced *ca.* 0.012 m. apart; they could belong to eta or even to two separate letters. These traces lie *ca.* 0.34 m. from the restored left side of the stele but there are too many variables in the way of estimating their exact position in the line. If we could assume that there was at the beginning of the line an un-inscribed space of 0.05 m. corresponding to the space after εἶπευ, and if the letters of line 2 were

evenly spaced throughout, then on the basis of the spacing in the preserved part of the line we could estimate the total number of letters in the line at *ca.* 56 and also place the uncertain traces on Fragment *a* roughly in the twentieth letter-space. But these criteria cannot be regarded as binding. Of the final letter a break has removed all but the left vertical.

Line 4: Of the first letter only the tip of a stroke survives in the bottom right corner of the space; epsilon is only one of several possibilities.

Line 6: The unattached end of a horizontal can be seen in the top right corner of the space. Of the next letter there is the top part of a vertical joined at the right by a horizontal along the top of the space; gamma, epsilon, and pi are the likeliest readings.

Fragment *a* can be placed in its correct lateral position in the stele on the basis of the centered relief circle and the pediment preserved above line 2. The angle and the dimensions of the pediment confirm Broneer's determination of the width of the stele as *ca.* 0.85 m. and show that his length of line of *ca.* 36-44 letters is correct. Since neither Fragment *a* nor Fragments *b+c+d* can be joined to Fragment *e*, which lies closer to the top than any of its fellows, there is still a *lacuna* of indeterminate height between line 6 and the topmost line of Fragment *e*. The original stele was at least 1.75 m. high.

A. von Premerstein established that this decree must be dated after 196 when Julia Domna received the title *mater castrorum*.⁷¹ It has also long been recognized that our stele carries an amended version of an earlier decree. The proposer of the original decree is named in line 10: Ἑλπιδηφ[όρος]άδου Παληνε[ύς],⁷² and two fragments of this earlier document have been found in the Agora Excavations.⁷³ Unfortunately, the identity of the proposer of our amended version still remains obscure, the final letters of his demotic [- - - - -]αιεύς in line 2 supplying the only clue.⁷⁴ The Emperor in line 3 is probably Septimius Severus and since the second omicron is certain, one of the oblique cases is to be restored. In line 3 perhaps ἔχει ἐξ[ουσίαν] or some form of ἐξήγησις; cf. line 37 and *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, p. 200, no. 52, line 4.

RONALD S. STROUD

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY.

⁷¹ See line 23. [τῆι μητ]ρὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων. *Jahreshefte*, XVI, 1913, p. 254.

⁷² In *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 285. A. G. Woodhead suggested that the patronymic be restored as [Ἄσκληπι]άδου.

⁷³ J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 84-85, no. 36, and B. D. Meritt, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 200-201, no. 52. Cf. *S.E.G.*, XXI, 504, where, however, only the text of the second fragment is reprinted.

⁷⁴ If Broneer's restoration of lines 9-10 is correct, [ὁ συνε]ργός μου τῆς ἐ[πιμελη]τείας, the proposer of our decree was, or had been, an Epimeletes. On the several officers with this title in Roman Athens see D. J. Geagan, *Hesperia*, Supplement XII, 1967, pp. 117-121. Only three of the many Epimeletai collected by Geagan have demotics which fit the traces in our line 2, but all are too early in date; *I.G.*, II², 2877; 3268; *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 112.



1



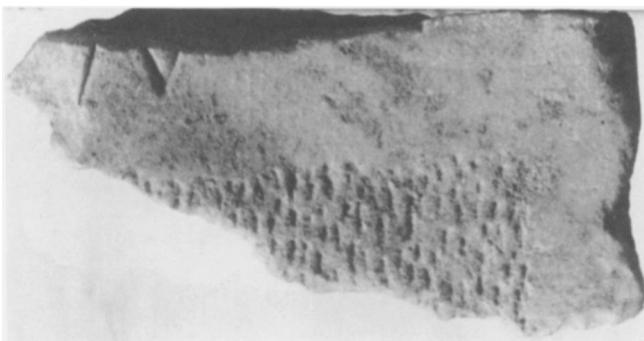
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2



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18



5



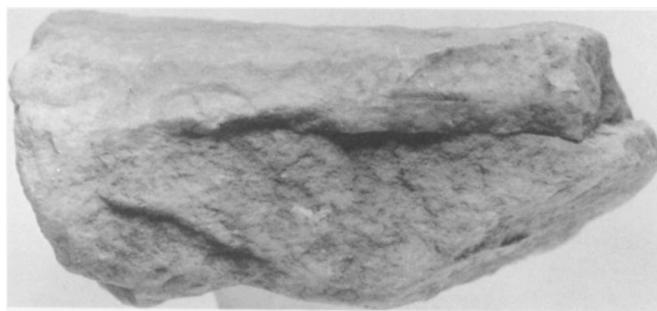
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8



7 Face A



7 Face B



13



10



11



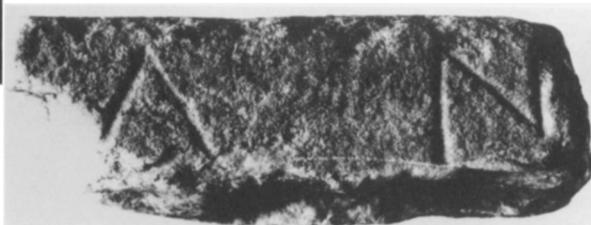
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12
Fragment
a



12 Fragment b



16



17



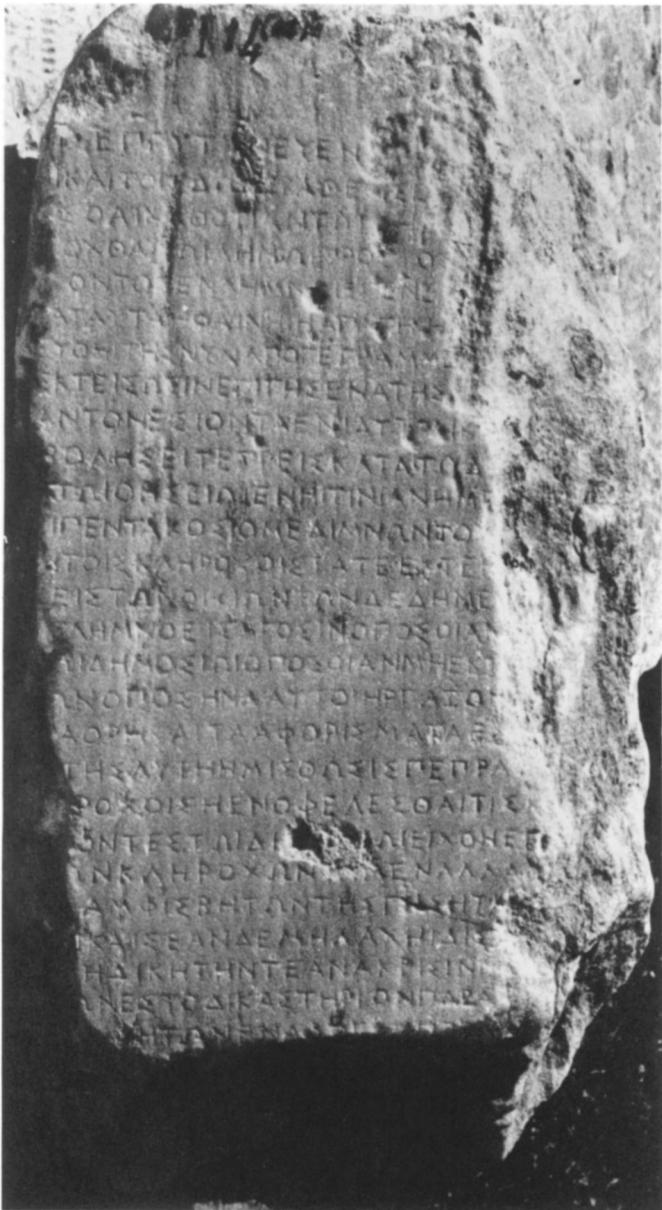
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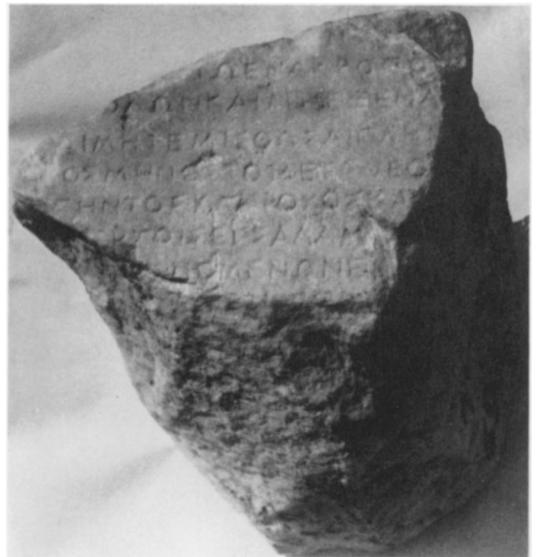
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19



23 Fragment a



23 Fragment b



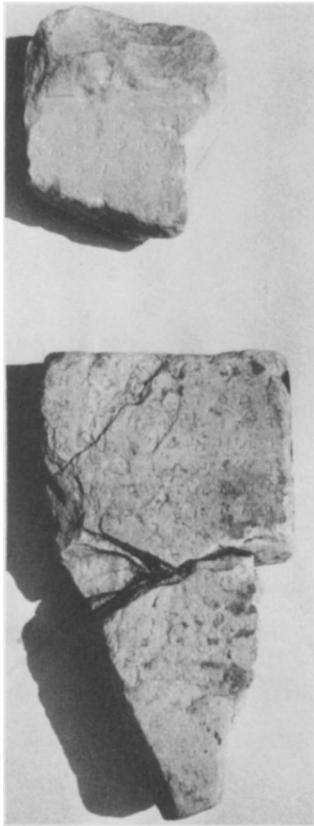
23 Fragment c



23 Fragment d



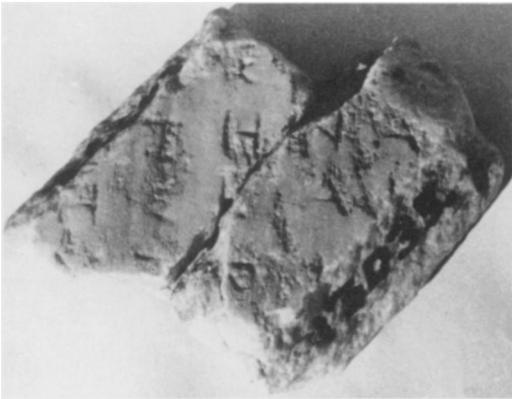
23 Fragment e



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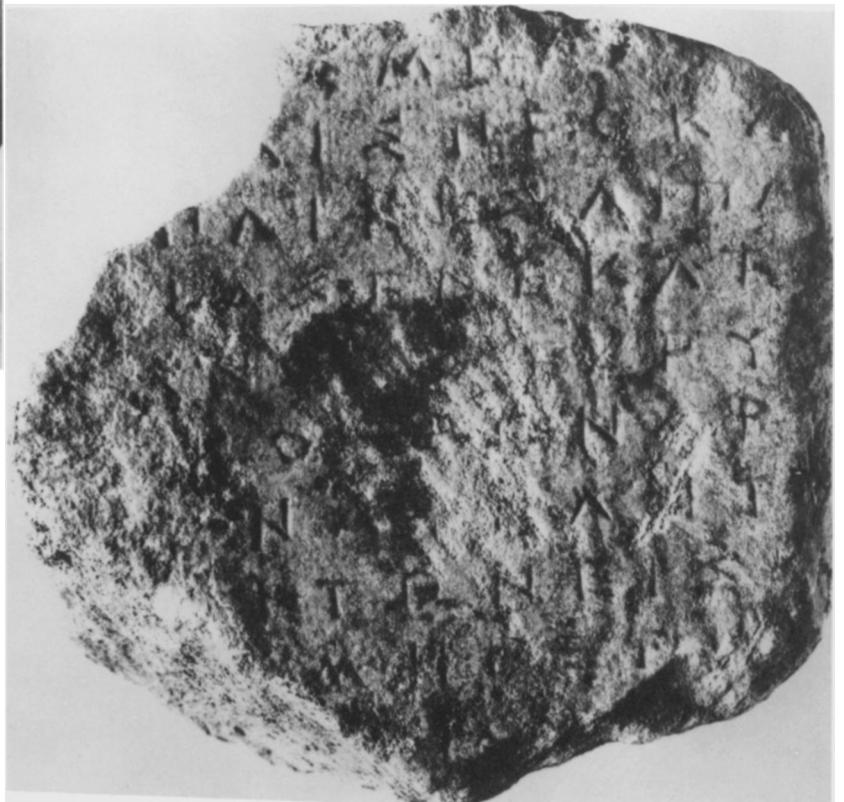
25 Fragment a



22



27



26

PLATE 32



21



24



29



28



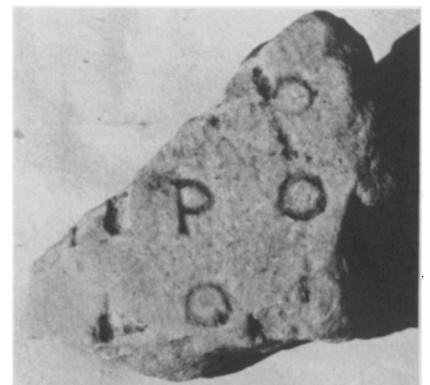
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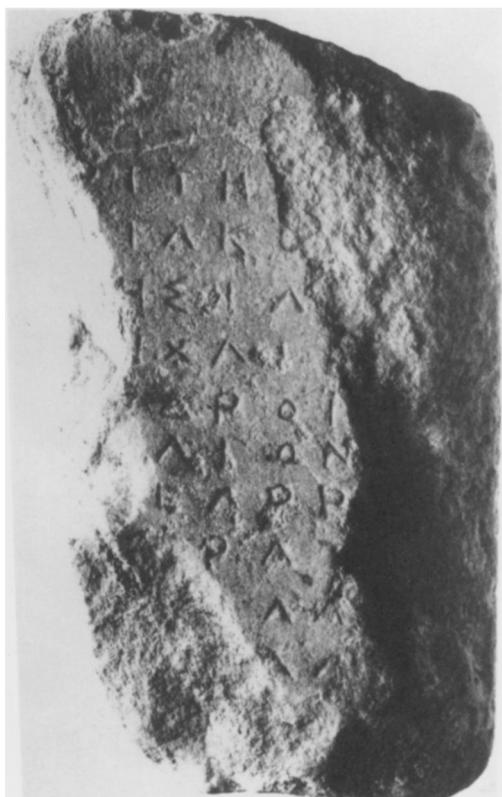
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31



33 Face A

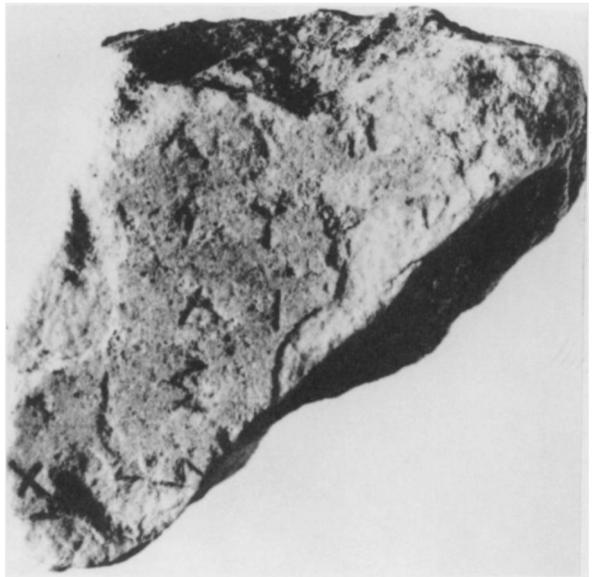


33 Face B

PLATE 34



34



39



40



42



43



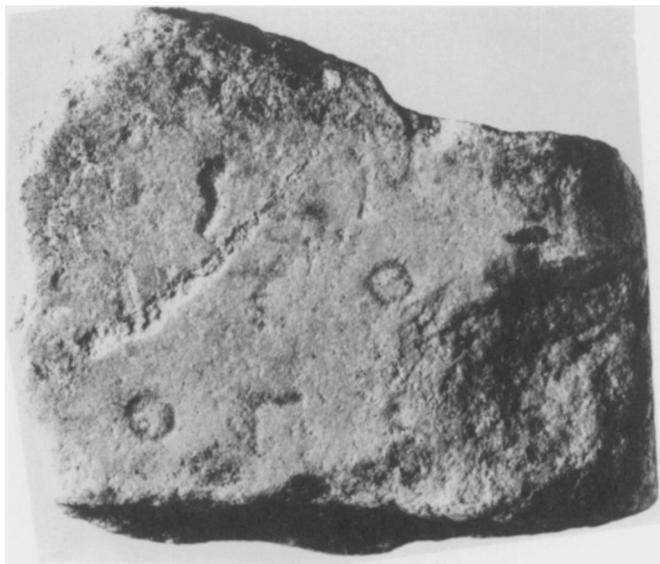
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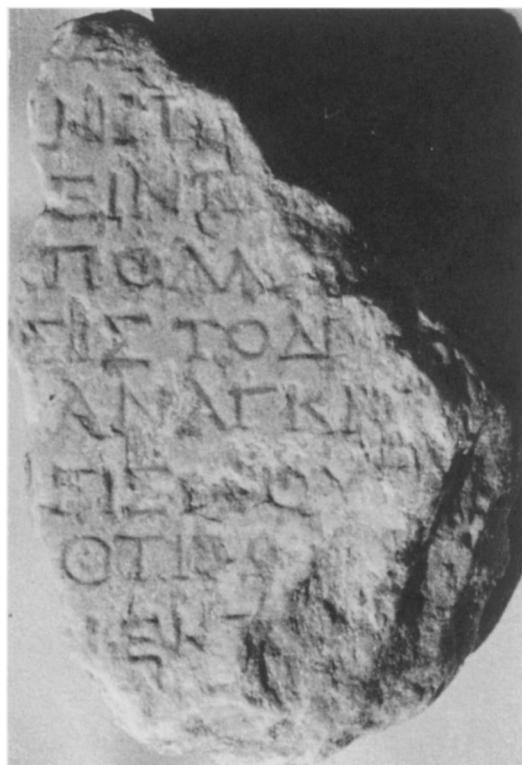
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51



52



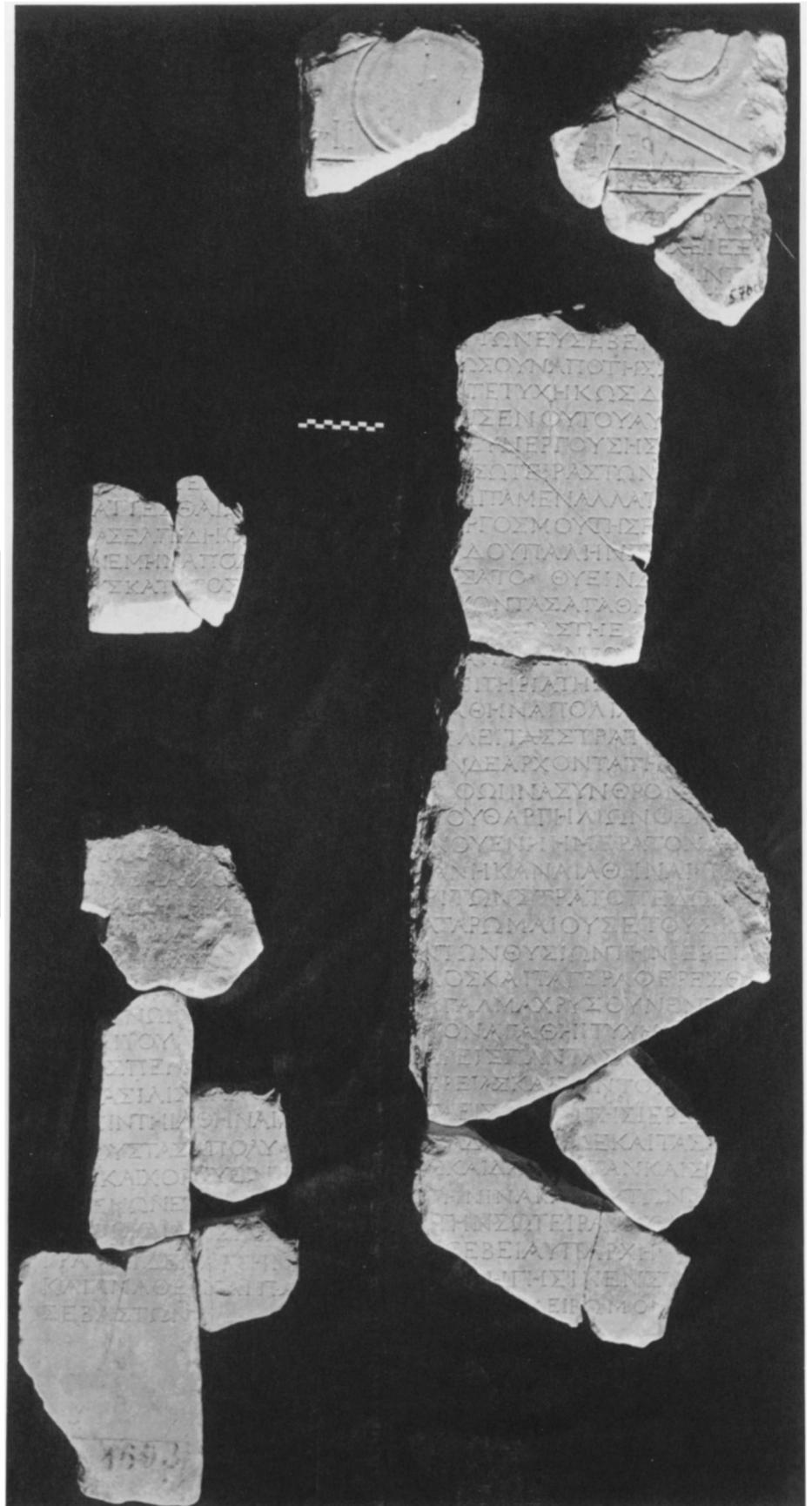
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48



49



53

53 Fragment u