GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 17–25)

IN THIS ARTICLE are gathered several small fragments of inscriptions that were found between 1931 and 1967 in the excavations of the Athenian Agora. Their publication here is the consequence of my systematic investigation of all the fragments from the years 1931–1968 that are still unpublished.¹

1 (Pl. 17). Fragment of a decree
A fragment of bluish Pentelic marble found on March 19, 1937, in a Byzantine context at the north foot of the Areiopagos (K 17). The smooth-dressed right side is preserved, with a margin of 0.017 m.

P.H. 0.07 m.; p.W. 0.058 m.; p.Th. 0.032 m.
L.H. 0.007–0.008 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.014 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0135 m.
Agora Inv. No. I 4639
a. 400/399 a.? ΣΤΟΙΧ.
[-----------------------------]ου
[-----------------------------]μο
[-----------------------------]πο
[-----------------------------]ρ

This may form part of IG II², 11 (E.M. 6883), although the few letters preserved on this fragment are not really sufficient to permit a firm ascription.²

Line 1: The nu seems a little narrower than those on IG II², 11.

¹ I am grateful to Professor H. A. Thompson, the Director Emeritus of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for permission to study and to publish these fragments, and to Mrs. C. Peppas-Delmosou, the Director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, for permission to study and re-publish materials in the Epigraphical Museum. I am also very grateful to Professor C. Habicht for making it possible for me to study the extensive collection of squeezes at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J., during 1985 and 1987, when I was invited to be a Summer Visitor at the Institute. I acknowledge, too, financial assistance from the University of Calgary that enabled me to pursue this research.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

² On the identification of masons’ hands, see, most recently, my remarks on the mason of IG II², 144: Walbank, 1986, esp. pp. 345–347. The criteria employed are measurement of checker patterns, spacing, individual letter strokes, and identification of certain characteristic letter shapes. When two or more documents can be identified by these means as being the work of the same mason, other criteria may be employed, such as marble type and foliation, preserved thickness, treatment of face or back, line length, and, of course, content and context, to determine whether or not these documents derive from the same stele.
Line 2: If this fragment does belong with IG II², 11, one might restore here the same name that seems to be partially preserved in line 1 of IG II², 11: [δη]μο[τ--]; however, other restorations are possible, for instance, [δη]μο[τ--].

Line 3: A vertical stroke is preserved, sufficiently far to the right to suggest that it is the right hasta of a nu or eta.

Line 4: The top of this letter survives; the broken area below its loop could hide another loop, as of a beta.

The same mason seems to have inscribed IG II², 2a and b (undated, but possibly as late as 383/2 B.C.), 17 (394/3), 56 and 81 (both undated), 97 (375/4), and 1392 (398/7), but, for various reasons, none of these is likely to provide a home for the Agora fragment.

2 (Pl. 18). Honors for an unknown man
A fragment of badly abraded, micaceous Pentelic marble, found on the North Slope of the Akropolis on June 7, 1938, in a disturbed context over the west wall of the Klepsydra antechamber (T 27). 4 The flat, rough-picked back and right and left sides are preserved, with a left margin of 0.018 m. and a right margin of 0.017 m. at lines 18–19. There is space for ca. 10 lines below line 19, but it is not clear whether or not this space was ever inscribed.

P.H. 0.48 m.; W. 0.37 m.; Th. 0.10 m.
L.H. 0.01 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0105 m. and a vertical checker of 0.017 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 5520

ca. a. 400–390 a.

ΣTOIX. 31

4

[. . . ]Ε[....]...............
26

[. . ]Ε[....]...............
29

[. . . . . . . . . . . ]
31

[. . . . . . . . . . . ]
31

[. . . . . . . . . . . ]
30

[. . ]Ο[....]................ .]Λ[. .]Τ[.]
23

[. . ]Χ[....]...................
29

[. . . . . . . . . . . ]
31

[. . . . . . . . . . . ]
29

[. . . . . . . . . . . ]]
30

[. . . . . . . . . . . ]]
27

[. . ]Ε[....]...............
22

[. . . . . . . . . . . ]]
29

[. . . . . . . . . . . ]]
26

τό δε νηφίσομαι προς τό-

[δε αναγράψαι ἑστηκας Λυ]θ[μ][η][ν] τόν γρα-

3 On the date of these fragments, and their separation, see M. B. Walbank, “An Athenian Decree Re-Considered: Honours for Aristoxenos and Another Boiotian,” EchCl 26, n.s. 1, 1982 (pp. 259–274), p. 262.

4 For the report of this excavation, see A. W. Parsons, “Klepsydra and the Paved Court of the Python,” Hesperia 12, 1943, pp. 191–267. This deposit included material that may have come from the area of the Erechtheion in the course of repair work that was carried out during the Augustan era, and our stele is quite likely to have been among this material. The degree of wear on its face indicates, in any case, that it served as a doorstep or floor block for many years before it found its way to the Klepsydra antechamber.
15 [μματέα τῆς βολῆς...?] ἐς δὲ τῆν ἀνά- 
ΟΓ< [. . . . 10 . . . ]ς δ[θ]ναύ ΧΠΠ δραχμὰς κ-
[. . . . . . . . ]ς ἐς τὸ π[π]- 
[τῆς σ]τ[η]ς δό[ν]ναι [. . . . . . . . ]
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The hand is the same as those of IG II², 8 + 65 (= SEG XXXII, 10) and IG II², 12, but both the horizontal and vertical spacings are different, so that any attempt to link those documents with the one discussed here, except by date, must be abandoned. The date, however, is likely to be much the same as that of IG II², 8 + 65, that is, in the very late 5th or early 4th century B.C.⁵

**Line 15:** [ἔ μ πόλει?]

**Line 16:** The traces at the beginning of this line are a faint circular mark in the first stoichos followed in the next by the upper left corner of a rectangular letter and then by the upper left apex of a sigma or kappa; in the fourth stoichos there is a faint central vertical. At the other end of this line, the three numerals occupy slightly more than three stoichoi, presumably because of the great individual width of the second and third numerals, but the letters to either side do not seem to be displaced to left or right. Of these numerals, the traces are as follows: the upper tips of what may be a Χ (i.e. the numeral 1000) are preserved, although the bulk of this numeral has perished in a deep pockmark (it might be argued that the second of these marks is actually the upper stroke of a punctuation mark, such as often is found in decrees before and after a numeral formula; there is no trace, however, of any second punctuation mark after the last numeral, so that a numeral, rather than a punctuation mark, seems the likeliest reading here). The two following numerals are engraved as two very wide and short pis; from the bottom of the right vertical of the second there depends a small triangle, which seems to be a definite letter Δ (i.e. the numeral 10) rather than a random mark, so that I read in this stoichos the composite numeral 50; similarly, from the bottom of the right vertical of the first pi there extends to the left a short horizontal stroke, which I interpret as part of an H (i.e. the numeral 100), so that in this stoichos I read the composite numeral 500. Before the 1000-sign, a central vertical mark is interpreted as iota. Five stoichoi further to the left the tip of a diagonal stroke survives at the upper right corner of the stoichoi: this could be sigma, as I have printed, but a kappa cannot absolutely be ruled out. I tentatively restore, therefore, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀνάς δ[θ]ναύ [ν τῆς εἰκόνος] δ[θ]ναύ ΧΠΠ δραχμὰς. There are two reasons for this: (i) the formula for the recovery of the costs of engraving must surely occur in lines 18 ff.; (ii) the sum set aside in line 16 (apparently 1,550 drachmai) is too large to be applied solely to the cost of engraving: thus, some other expense, such as a gold crown or a statue, should be anticipated here.⁶ The final letter of line 16 is clearly a kappa: what is preserved at the end of line 17 makes it evident that some variant of the formula for invitation to

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⁵ H. B. Mattingly (“Methodology in Fifth-Century Greek History,” EchCl 32, n.s. 7, 1988, pp. 321–328) has recently revived his arguments that this decree should be dated to the time of the King’s Peace, in 387/6, but other commentators, including myself, put it close in date to IG II², 12, that is, in or near 399/8 B.C.

⁶ In one Athenian decree only, so far as I am aware, is the cost of a statue specified: in IG II², 555, line 12 (dated to the end of the 4th century B.C.), a bronze statue is ordered to be set up in Byzantion by a board of Athenian commissioners, and the sum of 3,000 drachmai is set aside for this purpose. The cost of gold crowns, however, is often given: cf. the sum of 300 drachmai stipulated as the cost of a gold crown awarded to Periandros in IG II², 2b, at about the same time as, or a little later than, the document here discussed. A crown, however, would involve poiesis, rather than anathesis. The latter term is almost always used for statues or, occasionally, for stelai. Certainly, the sum of 1,550 drachmai seems too much for a crown and far too great for a stele alone.
entertainment at the prytaneion should probably occupy the whole of this line, either κ[αλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξενία . . . (or ἐπὶ δεῖπνου . . .)]ω[.].α., κτλ. or κ[αὶ καλέσαι, κτλ.].

Line 17: The restoration will depend upon the identification of the person honored, whose name may be partly preserved before the words ἐς ρύτρι προβατίου. The omega of his name appears at first sight to be off center, but this is not so; rather, regular spacing is employed throughout this line, and it is the numeral above it that is off center because of its great width. Of the dotted alpha there exists only a faint triangular mark at the top center of the stelos; a mark here that resembles the top left corner of a nu is both too high and somewhat to the left of where it ought to be, if it were part of a letter. For the unusual spelling προβατίου, cf. IG II, 1, lines 37, 51, and 63 (403/2 B.C.).

Line 18: The letters at the left edge are very faint and uncertain, and so I have dotted them, although the restoration of the text seems to be secure; the right-hand half of this line is well preserved, except for the sigma, delta, and eta (of [ε]ς δὲ [τ]ην], which are fragmentary and consequently must be dotted.

Line 19: The surviving letter traces are so faint that dots must be employed wherever the possibility of a letter exists.

Who was the honorand? It is tempting, given the likely date of this document, to place it in the context either of the restoration of the democracy, following the overthrow of the Thirty, or of the triumphant return of Konon in 394 b.c., after his victory at Knidos. If I am correct in restoring a formula involving creation of a statue, one may speculate that the honorand was Konon himself, and, if so, Konon's death in 392 B.C. will provide a terminus post quem non.7 If the honorand is identified as Konon, two possible restorations for line 17 come to mind, but I put forward both with some diffidence. One might assume that Konon and his ally Euagoras of Salamis are here invited to the prytaneion, as follows: κ[αλέσαι δὲ Εὐάγοραυ καὶ Κόν]ω[ν], or that only Konon is invited, Euagoras having been so honored in a separate decree: κ[αὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνου Κόνω]ω[ν]. Neither of these restorations, however, seems entirely satisfactory.

If the decree is concerned with Konon, the date is likely to be close to that of the decree for his ally Euagoras.8 If so, and if it was similar in content and length to the decree for Euagoras, the stele will have extended a considerable distance above the point at which the stone breaks at the top, since it is logical to suppose that the expense and publication formulae found here will have derived from near the end of the decree; the lack of any certain trace of letters below line 19 is another indication that the decree may have ended here.

3 (Pl. 17). Fragment of an honorific decree

A fragment of Pentelic marble, found on February 24, 1938, in a mixed Classical and Roman context south of the Eleusinion (T 23). It is broken all around and at the back.

7 Statues of Konon (together with one erected later of his son Timotheos) and of King Euagoras of Salamis, who had made it possible for Konon to acquire his Phoenician fleet, stood in the Agora near the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios: see Isokrates, IX.57 and Pausanias, I.3.2 (= R. Wycherley, The Athenian Agora, III, Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia, Princeton 1957, no. 16); there was another statue of Konon on the Akropolis; see Pausanias, I.24.3. Konon disappeared in Persia in 392, and it is likely that he died at this time.

8 For the (presumably parallel) decree in honor of Euagoras, see D. M. Lewis and R. S. Stroud, "Athens Honors King Euagoras of Salamis," Hesperia 48, 1979, pp. 180–193 (= IG II, 20 + ). The date of this decree is unknown but is likely to have been 393 B.C.; if the document discussed here is the decree for Konon, it may have been passed at the same time or slightly earlier. We know, from Demosthenes (xx.69), the justification of the actual decree for Konon, [Ἀφεδρήσω τοὺς Ἀθηναίους συμμάχους], but it would be foolish to attempt to restore it anywhere on the surviving part of this stele.
Agora Inv. No. I 5257
ca. a. 390–370 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[---------------------]τασ [vvv]
[---------------------]καὶ ν [vv]
[---------------------]καὶ ν [vv]
[---------------------]σθα[ι vvv]
5 [---------------------]ια[----]

Line 1: [προζίνος καὶ εὔρεγε]τασ? The right tip of the bar of tau survives.
Line 4: [ἐπιμελεί]σθαι? The right tip of the upper diagonal of sigma is preserved.
Line 5: The apex of alpha survives.

The presence of what seems to be syllabic division in lines 2 and 3, together with identical letter forms (admittedly in a very small sample), spacing, and marble type, suggest that this tiny fragment may derive from the same stele as IG II², 181, a proxeny decree in favor of a certain Poseidanius and his son (E.M. 2604), dated by its letter forms to the period 390–370 B.C. Against this is the presence of finishing marks of a rasp on much, though by no means all, of the inscribed face of IG II², 181, whereas the face of the Agora fragment is smooth dressed. If it does derive from the same stele, this fragment must be set above or below the published text, but no satisfactory or convincing restoration comes to mind; the repetition, in lines 2 and 3, of the word καὶ suggests a sequence of services or rewards, if the latter, perhaps the grant of ateleia and enktesis together with priority of access to the Boule and Demos in case of need.⁹ The hand of IG II², 181 is very similar to, if not identical with, that found in IG II², 34 (384/3 B.C.), which does not, however, show any evidence of syllabic division and so cannot be the home of the new fragment; thus, a date in the second or third decades of the 4th century is suggested.

4 (Pl. 17). Two new fragments of IG II², 272?
Two more small fragments are now identified by letter forms, spacing, and marble type as perhaps deriving from this proxeny decree, to be added to the other new fragment published in 1985.¹⁰

Fragment a. Found on February 11, 1935, in a modern context east of the north part of the Odeion (N 10). It is broken all around and at the back.
P.H. 0.075 m.; p.W. 0.08 m.; p.Th. 0.05 m.
Agora Inv. No. I 2426

Fragment b. Hesperia 54, 1985, pp. 312–313, no. 2b (Agora Inv. No. 2580). It was found in a late context over the inner foundations of the Odeion (O 14).

⁹ Cf. IG II², 180, for instance.
Fragment c. Found on February 24, 1938, in a marble pile in the area west of the Stoa of Attalos (N–P 7–12). The smooth-dressed right side is preserved.

P.H. 0.084 m.; p.W. 0.079 m.; p.Th. 0.048 Tm.

Agora Inv. No. I 5263

Fragment d. IG II², 272 (= Hesperia 54, 1985, pp. 312–313, no. 2a (E.M. 2633). It was found on the Akropolis.

All fragments, L.H. 0.007–0.008 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern averaging 0.0135 × 0.0135 m.

c. 375 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 43

a. 

[b. 

[c. 

[d. 

Fragment a

Line 1: The bottom horizontal stroke of the last preserved letter slopes downward somewhat in the manner of the bottom stroke of a sigma, but the same is true of the bottom stroke of the epsilon of line 2 also, while that of the epsilon of line 4 slopes downwards even more sharply. In line 3 the vertical that I print as a dotted iota is set somewhat to the left of what is normal for a central vertical; there are, however, no traces of any letter strokes to the right of it. These features may provide arguments for rejecting the association of this piece with
IG II², 272. If this fragment does, indeed, derive from the same stele as that of IG II², 272, and if my interpretation of line 2 of fragment b is correct, the text of this decree may have included that of the earlier, 5th-century decree, as occurs in several other cases where a decree that had lapsed or that had been abrogated by the Thirty Tyrants was revived: thus, line 2 of this fragment might involve a reference to protection of the honorand from harm anywhere within the area of Asia Minor ruled by the Athenians, [ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐπηράω], for example (cf. IG II², 38 = IG I³, 161).

Fragment b: Above the last letter of the present line 2 there are faint diagonal marks that might be the feet of a mu: they are too widely set for alpha or lambda. In my original publication I thought that I saw the apex of a triangular letter below the last letter of line 3 and printed this as a dotted alpha. This letter trace does not exist (lines 2–3 in this publication correspond to lines 1–2 of the original publication).

Fragment c
Line 1: Perhaps [τῆς β]ολῆς?

Lines 2–4: There are random marks in the margin in each of these lines that at first appear to be parts of letters, gamma, lambda, and epsilon respectively, but a close examination of the stone indicates that these are probably not the remains of letters, convincing though they appear in photographs.

Line 2: The first preserved letter is, I believe, a rather flat sigma, but epsilon cannot be ruled out. The width of the fully preserved alpha in line 2 is less than those of the alphas on IG II², 272, again, perhaps, a reason for rejecting the association with it.

Line 3: Some form of the word γράμματευς is likely.

Line 4: The last real letter is definitely an epsilon, although in the photograph, as well as on squeezes, it looks more like a sigma: it is overlaid by a series of diagonal scratches running up from the left to the right; in particular, a long diagonal scratch extends from beyond the left side of the vertical up into the space above the stoischos and on into the margin, destroying the original letter stroke, the top bar of the epsilon; part of the vertical and the middle bar of this epsilon survive, the former partly overlain by this scratch. A second diagonal scratch runs up from the left and below the bottom left corner of the epsilon, roughly parallel to the first diagonal scratch, splaying out and terminating at the right end of the middle bar of epsilon.

Line 5: The apex of a triangular letter may survive, below the epsilon of line 4.

The Akropolis fragment presumably stayed near the place of erection of the stele, while the three Agora fragments, if, indeed, they all derive from the same stele as that of the Akropolis fragment, probably became separated when their part of the stele was broken up in the Agora. Such small fragments are unlikely to have traveled very far after this; that they come from different locations within the Agora may provide another argument for rejecting their association with one another. Yet, these locations are not all that far apart. If all the Agora fragments do, indeed, derive from the same stele and from that of the Akropolis fragment, their relationship is not clear. A careful reexamination of IG II², 272 and of the three Agora fragments indicates that, while the horizontal spacing is consistent on all four fragments, their vertical spacing is more varied than I had indicated in my previous publication: on d (E.M. 2633) the vertical spacing from line to line is as follows: 0.013, 0.016, 0.014, 0.015, 0.014, 0.015, [0.014] m.; on a (I 2426) it is 0.015, 0.014, 0.015 m.; on b (I 2580) it is 0.013–0.014 m.; and on c (I 5263) it is 0.014, 0.015, 0.014, [0.015] m. Lines 3–6 of E.M. 2633 are identically spaced, as are lines 1–4 of I 5263, and these fragments might therefore be set alongside one another, as correspondences in the text, in fact, suggest they may. If the traces in the right margin of I 5263 are, as I believe, random marks, not letters, the right margins of I 2580 and I 5263 are identical, so that these two fragments ought to be placed very close to one another. I 2426 could be set above or below E.M. 2633, but its
vertical spacing suggests that it might fit alongside lines 4–6 of E.M. 2633. Despite this similarity, I have numbered it fragment a in my arrangement of the fragments, since I have been unable to devise a convincing restoration of it alongside E.M. 2633.

The orthography, so far as it is restorable, suggests a date near 375 B.C., rather than a half-century later, as I and previous editors had suggested. A. G. Woodhead had already suggested to me independently (per ep.) that the letter forms did not rule out a date in the first half of the 4th century, and such a date would fit better with a restoration such as that which I have proposed for the second line of fragment b.11

5 (Pl. 17). Heading of a decree
A fragment of Pentelic marble, found on June 4, 1938, in a Late Roman context in the shaft of a brick drain, south of the Eleusinion (U 22:1). It is broken all around and at the back. There is a vertical uninscribed space of 0.02 m. above line 1.

P.H. 0.062 m.; p.W. 0.043 m.; p.Th. 0.03 m.
L.H. 0.009 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.014 m. and a vertical checker of 0.028 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 5487
ca. a. 370–365 a.?  ΣΤΟΪΧ.

\[ \text{vacat} \]
\[ \text{\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots} \] θει[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots]
\[ \text{\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots} \] ος [\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots]

Line 1: [\ 'Επεξ]θεί (?). The epsilon has a central bar that is slightly shorter than are the two outer bars, and its vertical stroke extends slightly above the top horizontal. I have tentatively restored the dative of Erechtheus here; but, since the surface of the stone has perished after the iota, it is perfectly possible that other letters followed it, that this iota is not the end of a word after all, and that we have here part of a personal name, a demotic, or an ethnic. Thus, the identification of this document as the heading of a decree concerned with the cult of Erechtheus must remain speculative. A heading in which the cult or cult owner is named in the first line and the Secretary to the Boule is named in the second line would be normal in the early years of the 4th century B.C., where I believe this fragment should be placed.

Line 2: [\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots ζυγνομάτευε?]. The sigma is cut with its outer diagonals long and almost horizontal and its inner diagonals both shorter and more steeply inclined. There is a suggestion of serifs in the horizontal strokes of the epsilon and also in the outer diagonals of sigma, caused by a slight splaying of the two chisel cuts that make up these letter strokes; this phenomenon is more common in inscriptions of the latter part of the 4th century but is also found earlier in the century, for instance, sometimes in the first decree, especially its heading and subscript, of IG II², 43 (dated to 378/7 B.C.), which, I think, may be the work of the same mason.

Apart from the suggestion of serifs, the few letters preserved here seem identical to their counterparts on Agora Inv. No. I 6755;12 also, the diameter of the theta of line 1 is the same as that of the theta of line 6 of I 6755. There is some variation in the heights of the sigmas of

11 See my comments in Hesperia 54, 1985, p. 313.
I 6755, but those of its line 4 are exactly the same height as that of line 2 of I 5487, which is fully preserved except for the extreme right tip of its bottom diagonal. The vertical strokes (of epsilon and iota) on I 5487 are of the same height as those of epsilon and iota on I 6755, but in line 1 of I 5487 the top horizontal of epsilon is set a little closer to the top of the vertical than it is in the epsilon of I 6755, so that this letter appears to be taller than its counterparts on I 6755 but is not. The heights of other letters on I 6755 are slightly less, since the mason is not consistent in his use of chisels: for instance, the verticals of eta are 0.008 m., by comparison with those of iota and epsilon, which are 0.009 m. in height. An approximate date for I 6755 is provided by its letter forms; the mason was he who inscribed the master decree of the Second Athenian Maritime Confederacy, IG II², 43, Decree I, in 378/7 B.C. and the decree IG II², 105, dated to 368/7 B.C., and perhaps also Face A of IG II², 144, dated ca. 368 B.C., but there are some very slight differences among these, perhaps attributable to the passage of time: I 6755 is closest in appearance to IG II², 105 and 144 and should therefore be placed in or soon after 370 B.C.

The marble type, too, is the same as that of I 6755, and the horizontal spacing is the same, but the vertical spacing of I 5487 is greater than that on I 6755 and twice that of its horizontal register, as might be appropriate in a heading. Thus, despite the very small sample of letters upon which to base the attribution, I believe that this fragment may derive from the top of I 6755. The decree of I 6755 deals with the affairs of an unknown cult, whose property may be being put out for rent in order to bring in revenue; the new fragment, if it is part of the same stele, may identify the cult with whose affairs I 6755 is concerned as that of Erechtheus.

6 (Pl. 19). *Symbola* agreement with an unknown state
A fragment of Pentelic marble, found on May 23, 1936, in a marble pile in the southeast part of the Market Square (N–O 16–17). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.145 m.; p.W. 0.085 m.; p.Th. 0.06 m.
L.H. 0.006 m.; stoichedon, with an almost square checker pattern, 0.009 × 0.0095 m.

13 One of the referees for this article remarked that, from observation of squeezes and photographs, the horizontals of the epsilons on I 6755 tend to be the same length and that the letters of the second line of Agora I 5487 are smaller than those of the first and appear to be smaller than those on I 6755. Having studied the stones at first hand, however, as well as the squeezes and photographs, I cannot agree with these comments: in particular, since neither of the two partially preserved letters in line 2 of I 5487 contains a vertical, it is hardly possible to demonstrate that these letters are smaller than those of the first line.

14 For a photograph of IG II², 43, see J. Kirchner and G. Klaffenbach, *Imagines inscriptionum atticarum*², Berlin 1948, pl. 50. For Face A of IG II², 144, see Walbank, 1986, pls. 71–73.

15 The rules of phonology for this period make impossible the restoration of I 5487 as the opening lines of a decree preamble, as follows: [ἐδοξείν τῶι δήμω, Ἐρέχθεις ἐπρυτάνευε] ——— ἐγραμμάτευε ——— [ἐπεστάτη] ———; although I suppose that it would be possible to restore some such phrase as [ἐδοξείν τῶι Ἐρέχθεις ἐπρυτάνευε] thus making this a decree of the phyle of the Erechtheidai, the normal formulation seems to be ἐδοξείν τῆι Ἐρέχθεσι δοκίμα (cf. IG II², 1138, for example). See L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, I, Berlin 1980, pp. 49–50: the name of the phyle should be spelled with eta rather than epsilon. [Ἄγα]βει (τῦχει) seems unlikely, in view of the date assigned here.
Agora Inv. No. I 4184
ante med. s. IV a.

\[\text{ΣΤΟΙΧ.}\]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Line 3: [\'Λ]κάνθια[ι]ο[ι]? (or the accusative or dative case of this word).} \\
\text{Line 7: [οὔτ' αὐτὸς] ἐγ[ω οὔτ' ἄλλος ἤμοι οὔτ' ἄλλη εἰδότος ἤμοδο?] (part of an oath: cf. IG II², 144 + [ = Walbank, 1986, pp. 319–354], Face B, fragments b + c, line 12).} \\
\text{Line 10: or ὀμηλ[έω]?}
\end{array}\]

The language of this document, so far as it can be restored, suggests that it may have contained the terms of a symbola agreement between Athens and another state, perhaps Akanthos. The letter forms and their height and spacing, as also the marble type and its foliation, are identical with those of IG II², 278 (E.M. 7120), to which is appended a rider in which a certain Echedamos and another man are granted Athenian proxenia, and it is thus not unlikely that the new fragment derives from the same stele; the body of the decree could be concerned with the affairs of Akanthos(?), with Echedamos and his colleague honored at its conclusion. It should be noted that the line of 57 letters of IG II², 278 is unusually long for a proxeny decree but would be normal for a symbola document, which would have contained a number of long and complicated clauses. Thus, it might be similar to IG II², 144, where the proxenoi are concerned in the preliminaries to the acceptance of the terms of the symbola agreement, except that, in this case, the reference to proxenoi would come in an amendment, not in the body of the decree, and the individuals concerned would not have held the proxenia at the time when the agreement was being negotiated but evidently would have earned it as a result of their efforts in Athens’ behalf. The marble from which both fragments are cut has foliation almost parallel to the inscribed face, so that, when it has weathered, the face tends to be abraded in vertical grooves and the stele breaks into almost flat flakes. The same kind of marble and foliation occur on IG II², 281 (E.M. 7124), and it

\footnote{For Akanthos, see IG II², 210 + 259, dated 349/8 B.C. For similar symbola documents of the first half of the 4th century, see IG II², 144 + ( = Walbank, 1986, pp. 319–354) and 179, and SEG XVII, 17, 19, and 20.}

\footnote{See Walbank, 1986, esp. p. 333, fragment a.}
is abraded in the same way. Since the letter forms and their height and checker patterns are virtually the same as those of I 4184, I wonder whether IG II², 281 could be part of the reverse of the same stele as that to which, I believe, I 4184 and IG II², 278 may belong. It contains the text of an oath, among other clauses, and is described in the Corpus as “foederis instrumentum”, but such clauses might just as likely be part of a symbola agreement. If so, it might be part of the same text as that of I 4184 and IG II², 278, or else part of another agreement entered into at about the same date (there is an uninscribed vertical space below the last inscribed line of IG II², 281 that is greater in height than a similar uninscribed space below the decree and before the proxenial amendment of IG II², 278; unless IG II², 281 derives from below IG II², 278, this rules out the attribution of IG II², 281 to the same face of the stele as IG II², 278). If the stele of IG II², 278 was “normal”, we may calculate that its original thickness would have been about 0.100 m.¹⁸ If it derives from the same stele as does IG II², 281, and if both derive from near the bottom of this stele, the present thickness of IG II², 278 (0.089 m.), however, combined with that of IG II², 281 (0.075 m.), would make up a stele at least ca. 0.164 m. thick, possibly too much for a freestanding stele but quite close to the thickness of the stele of IG II², 144, which, I have suggested, may have formed part of a “wall” of stelai recording such symbola agreements.¹⁹ Three other published documents that exhibit similar script and spacing, but which are inscribed on marble of a slightly different type, are the symbola agreement Agora I 3055,²⁰ IG II², 254 (E.M. 2657), a decree which seems to be concerned with the affairs of exiles, and Agora I 5713, a treaty or symbola agreement.²¹ All are of about the same date as the document here discussed.

7 (Pl. 17). Fragment of a decree
A fragment of micaceous Pentelic marble, found on June 4, 1938, in a disturbed context on the north slope of the Akropolis, in the Klepsydra antechamber (T 27). It is broken all around and at the back. There is a vertical uninscribed space of 0.024 m. below the last line. Marble type, letter forms, spacing, and line length are identical with those of IG II², 187 (E.M. 7016), and it thus may derive from the same stele.

P.H. 0.085 m.; p.W. 0.09 m.; p.Th. 0.053 m.
L.H. 0.007–0.008 m.; stoichedon, with a checker pattern measuring 0.0152 × 0.0173 m. in lines 1–2, and 0.0152 × 0.0148 m. in lines 2–4.

¹⁸ Since the line length of IG II², 278 is 57 letters and the horizontal checker 0.0084 m., the restored width of the stele should be ca. 0.480 m.; by “Dow’s Formula”, this produces a restored thickness of ca. 0.105 m. See S. Dow, review of B. D. Meritt, Epigraphica Attica, CP 37, 1942, p. 324: the ratio of thickness compared to width compared to height of decree stelai is 1:4½:9.

¹⁹ When I republished the fragments of IG II², 144, which are parts of an opisthographic stele, I suggested (Walbank, 1986, pp. 348–349, note 37) that it might have formed one element of a “wall” of stelai, set up on the Akropolis to provide easy reference to a series of such symbola agreements that had all been entered into at about the same time. Its thickness is from 0.148 m. to 0.156 m.; its bottom is not preserved, so that the maximum thickness may have been greater yet.


The vertical spacing in the upper part of the new fragment is the same as that of IG II², 187; that this spacing was reduced in the final lines would not be surprising if the decree as a whole contained a series of long and elaborate clauses, thus leaving little space for the final publication and invitation clauses. The date should be close to that of IG II², 134 (E.M. 6972), which is by the same hand and is securely dated to 354/3 B.C.

If I am correct in associating this with IG II², 187, an interesting point emerges: the latter decree is one in which a certain Tim[oma]ch[os] is praised for his services to the State, perhaps in negotiations between the Athenian generals in the eastern Aegean and the Persian satrap Ariobarzanes. In the citation of this decree his progonoi are recorded as having been proxenoi and euergetai of Athens. In an earlier publication of IG II², 187, I suggested that the original proxeny had been awarded late in the 5th century B.C. and that the honorand had now reminded the Athenians of this and petitioned to have the proxenies renewed. If, however, my association of this decree with the new Agora fragment is correct, such an interpretation becomes unlikely: the restorations that I put forward here indicate that the honorand was already an Athenian, since he is invited to entertainment in the pry-taneion, not [ἐπὶ ξένω], the phrase usual in invitations issued to foreigners, but [ἐπὶ δείπνον], the wording employed in the case of Athenian citizens. It follows, then, that, if I 5504 belongs with it, IG II², 187 may not be a renewal of a proxeny decree at all, but a grant of citizenship (or the re-affirmation of an earlier grant of citizenship). The restoration put forward for lines 3–4, however, is based on the assumption that the orthography was consistent: if it was not, as, in fact, seems to be the case in IG II², 187, lines 5 (αὖτοῦ) and 6 ([ἀποφαίνοσι]), then one might restore [καλέσαι δὲ [ἐπὶ ξένω εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον] νεόν εἰς α][]βριον, or, perhaps better, [ἐπὶ ξένω εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον] εἰον εἰς α][]βριον, thus removing the possibility that the honorand was an Athenian citizen.

8 (Pl. 19). Fragment of a decree
A fragment of Pentelic marble, found on February 28, 1938, in a marble pile west of the Eleusinion (Q–R 17–19). The smooth-dressed left side is preserved.


23 On this point, see, most recently, A. S. Henry, Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees, Hildesheim/Zurich/New York 1983, pp. 262–290, where earlier discussions of this privilege are summarized.
The marble type, letter sizes, letter shapes, and spacing are the same as those of the documents IG II², 346 and 356 (E.M. 7164 and E.M. 2552, respectively). IG II², 346 is dated to 332/1 B.C. and has a line of 25 letters; IG II², 356 is dated to 327/6 B.C. and has a line of 20 letters. Since the latter is virtually complete, however, IG II², 346, which is the end of one decree and the beginning of a second in honor of an unknown foreigner, the son of Aristides, seems to be the more likely mate for the document discussed here. If my tentative restorations are correct, the person honored will have been involved in the ransom of Athenian citizens, perhaps held captive in Asia Minor, and a date in the late 330’s or early 320’s might be suggested: the context could be similar to those of IG II², 283 and 284, for instance. The traces surviving in line 3 suggest, however, something like what is found in IG II², 270, lines 6–7: [καὶ νῦν λέγων καὶ πρᾶττ]ων ἀγαθ[ῶν ὃτι ἄν δύνηται ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑλευθερίας τῶν Ἐλλ[ῆνων], and, if so, the date of I 5271 might be pushed back even further, to the period before 336/5 B.C., where its editors place IG II², 270.

24 See H. Pope, Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions, New York 1935, p. 103: she makes no guess as to his origins.
9 (Pl. 20). Fragment of a decree
A fragment of bluish Pentelic (or pale Hymettian) marble, found on April 24, 1936, in a Turkish context north of the Eleusinion, over the area of the Post-Herulian Wall (S 17). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.112 m.; p.W. 0.063 m.; p.Th. 0.006 m.
L.H. 0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.012 × 0.012 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 4034
ca. a. 335–320 a.?  ΣΤΟΙΧ.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Line 3: } & \text{The tip of the left arm of upsilon survives.} \\
\text{Line 4: } & \text{The right tip of the bar of tau is preserved.} \\
\text{Line 5: } & \text{[\epsilonπ\epsilonω]κεύ?} \\
\text{Line 7: } & \text{The tip of the upper diagonal of sigma survives; kappa, chi, or upsilon seems less likely. Perhaps one should restore [δ\piως δ'\αιν πάντες]είδωσαιν δ'tι (cf. IG II², 448, line 16, etc.).}
\end{align*}
\]

Marble type, spacing, letter size, and hand are very similar to those of IG II², 257 (E.M. 5270), which might, indeed, derive from the same stele: this fragment has a line length of 33 letters and is the end of a decree but is not securely dated (in the Corpus it is placed in or before 336/5 B.C., but this date may be a little too early). Close, too, is the appearance of Agora Inv. No. I 5655, from the period of the anagrapheis, 321/0–319/8 B.C., but there are enough differences, particularly in the shape of epsilon, to make it unlikely that it derives from the same stele as the new fragment. On the evidence of the letter forms, therefore, a date in the late 330’s or in the 320’s seems likely for the Agora fragment.

10 (Pl. 20). Decree of the year of Hegesias?
A fragment of Pentelic marble, found on April 28, 1939, in a modern house wall west of the Panathenaic Way and southwest of the Eleusinion (R 21). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.107 m.; p.W. 0.092 m.; p.Th. 0.036 m.
L.H. 0.007–0.008 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.0158 × 0.0158 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 5792

ca. 324/3 a.?  

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[ἐκκλησία κυρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεξήγετο]
[-------------------] Ἐπικ[-------]
[--- ἐδοξέω τῶν δήμων ---.] Θεογ[-------]
[--- εἰπεν ἐπειδή ---] Ἀθη[-------]

5  [-------------------] ια[-------]

This may be by the same hand as Agora Inv. No. I 4224,26 which has a line length of 31 letters, but the findspots of the three fragments of I 4224 are at the opposite side of the Agora area, a long way from that of the new fragment, and this may provide an argument against associating it with I 4224.

Line 2: The arms of kappa are partly preserved, but the vertical has disappeared. The demotic of the proedros will be Epikephios. As in IG II², 372, 373, and 375 (all dated to 322/1 B.C.), the formula [καλ συμπρόεδροι] will have been omitted after the name of the proedros. The pi is considerably wider than the only pi surviving on I 4224; this, too, provides an argument for dissociating this fragment from I 4224.

Line 3: The last preserved letter seems to be a gamma, but pi cannot be ruled out.

Line 5: Only the tops of these letters survive.

If this fragment does, after all, derive from the same stele as I 4224, the gap between the two will have been quite small. The remaining two fragments of Agora I 4224 (b and c) cannot be securely placed on the stele but show no obvious links with the new fragment. By the same hand as I 4224 are IG II², 416 and, probably also, Agora Inv. No. I 4568, a statue base signed by Praxiteles as sculptor.27

11 (Pl. 19). Fragment of a decree

A fragment of pale Hymettian marble, found on January 14, 1937, in a modern house wall outside the Market Square on the southeast, east of the Post-Herulian Wall (U 22). The left side is preserved.

P.H. 0.115 m.; p.W. 0.05 m.; p.Th. 0.046 m.
L.H. 0.004–0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.012 m. and a vertical checker of 0.012 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 4421.

ca. 322/1 a.?  

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

δα[-------------------]
πυ[-------------------]
ονε[-------------------]

26 B. D. Meritt, “Greek Inscriptions,” Hesperia 10, 1941 (pp. 38–64), pp. 50–52, no. 13 a. The fragments were found near the Hephaisteion, west of the Agora.

27 Hesperia 27, 1938, pp. 329–330 (= SEG XVIII, 85). A second base signed by Praxiteles, Agora Inv. No. I 4615 (Meritt in Meritt, Woodhead, and Stamires [footnote 20 above], pp. 200–203, no. 50), is probably by the same hand as that of IG II², 248, a decree dated around the middle of the 4th century B.C.
This fragment may be part of the same stele as IG II², 372 (E.M. 7184, dated to 322/1 B.C.) but does not join it: the marble of both fragments is very close grained, almost glassy, and similarly colored, and the letter forms and spacing seem identical. The surviving text, however, cannot be placed anywhere alongside IG II², 372 and, if it belongs with it, must therefore derive from the body of the decree. I have not been able to devise convincing restorations for it; IG II², 372 has a line length of 27 letters.

12 (Pl. 19). Fragment of a decree
A fragment of badly abraded, micaceous Pentelic marble, found on April 2, 1935, in a modern wall over the east end of the Middle Stoa (N 12). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.192 m.; p.W. 0.115 m.; p.Th. 0.062 m.
L.H. 0.007–0.008 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0155 m. and a vertical checker that averages 0.015 m. (ranging from 0.015–0.017 m.).

Agora Inv. No. I 2720
ca. a. 321/0–319/8 a.? ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26?

Line 1: [διατ]ελ[εί]? The left foot of lambda survives.
Line 4: The diagonal of nu is rather higher in the stoichos than is that of the nu in the line above; the mason may have started to inscribe a kappa here. A long, almost horizontal mark at the top of the stoichos seems to be a random mark, not part of a letter stroke. In the next stoichos the bottom of the vertical of rho survives.
Line 6: [ἐπαυ]έσαι or [καλ]έσαι?
Line 8: The tops of these letters survive.

This fragment is by the same hand and has the same marble type, letter size, and spacing and, perhaps, can be restored with the same line length as IG II², 397 (E.M. 2704), a decree dated to the period of the anagrapheis (321–318 B.C.); despite the small sample of letters on which to base this attribution, it may, therefore, derive from the same stele. IG II², 397 preserves the publication and cost formulae of a decree; its content is unknown.
13 (Pl. 21). Honorific decree
A fragment of Pentelic marble, found on May 2, 1935, in a mixed Late Roman and Turkish context in the northeast part of the Odeion (M 10). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.18 m.; p.W. 0.13 m.; p.Th. 0.11 m.
L.H. 0.007–0.008 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.0155 × 0.0155 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 2821
ca. a. 318–307 a.?  ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[------.....]ο[---------------------------]
[------.....]κα[-------------------------]
[------.....]σον[------------------------]
[------.....]εξε[------------------------]

5  [------.....]θε[------------------------]
[------.....]να[------------------------]
[------.....]μο[-------------------------]
[------.....]αρ]γρ[ινον ?------------------]
[------.....]δ]ημ[ον ?

vacat

Line 1: The bottom of a circular letter survives.
Line 2: The left foot of alpha is preserved.
Line 3: Part of a patronymic?
Line 4: εξε[ναι]?
Line 5: [κα]θε[ναι]? This is unlikely to be a publication formula, however, since by this time, στήσαι was the usual word in publication formulae.
Line 6: [δο]ν δα[νται]?
Line 7: The second apex of mu is preserved.
Line 8: The right tip of the horizontal of gamma survives.

Below line 9 there is an uninscribed vertical space, but 0.016 m. below and to the left of the eta of line 9 there is a slightly sloping mark that might be the right tip of the upper diagonal of a sigma, perhaps the end of the citation [δ δήμος].

This fragment is by the same hand as, and shares marble type, letter size, and spacing with IG II², 451 (E.M. 7060), which is securely dated to 313/2 B.C.; it might, therefore, derive from the same stele and, if so, would have a line of 33 letters. The last two lines of the Agora document might contain the formula for the recovery of the cost of publication. What survives in lines 4–6, however, suggests a restoration on the lines of IG II², 450 b, lines 7–12 (dated to 314/3 B.C.), where an honorand is permitted to have a bronze equestrian statue of himself set up in the Agora, wherever he wishes, “except beside Harmodios and Aristogeiton.” Indeed, line 7 could be restored with the same limiting formula that occurs in lines 11–12 of IG II², 450 b: [πλην παρ’ Ἀρμοδίον καὶ ᾿Αριστογείτωνα]. I have found it impossible, however, to contrive a coherent and convincing text that combines all

28 A small, hitherto unrestored fragment, IG II², 762 (E.M. 2474), which is not securely dated, is also by this hand but is of a different kind of marble. This fragment was edited from the notebooks of A. Wilhelm, who suggested, hesitantly, that it might be dated at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.
these restorations. If this fragment is not a part of IG II², 451, its date should nonetheless be put within the same general period, the era of Demetrios of Phaleron, from which, unfortunately, few dated inscriptions survive.

14 (Pl. 20). Decree of the year of Anaxikrates?
A fragment of bluish Pentelic marble, found on March 31, 1938, in late fill at the northeast corner of the Church of the Hypapanti (T 21). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.09 m.; p.W. 0.066 m.; p.Th. 0.042 m.
L.H. 0.007 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.016 × 0.016 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 5372
ca. a. 307/6 a.

\[\text{ΣΤΟΙΧ.}\]

\[-\ldots\ldots\, ] αυ[ ]
\[-\ldots\ldots\, ] ουκλ[ ]
\[-\ldots\ldots\, ] κο[ ]
\[-\ldots\ldots\, ] σαν[ ]
\[-\ldots\ldots\, ] σια[ ]

Line 2: The tip of the right arm of upsilon is preserved. This line might involve, for instance, the end of a patronymic and the beginning of an ethnic or demotic: [- - - - - - - - ] ου Κλ [- - - - ].

Line 5: The tops of these letters are preserved.

The marble type, letter height, spacing, and hand (so far as may be ascertained from the small number of letters preserved) are the same as those of IG II², 458 (E.M. 7393, dated to 307/6 B.C.), and it may well derive from the same stele, but, if so, it must come from the body of the decree, below the point where the published text breaks off. One might restore, e.g., [ἐπαυέφαυ] in line 1, continuing with the name of the honorand in line 2. If this be correct, one might expect this to be the end of an introductory ἐπειδὴ clause, justifying whatever honors were awarded. Beyond this, it is impossible to say what was the subject of the decree.

15 (Pl. 21). Decree of the year of Leostratos
b. A small flake of micaceous Pentelic marble, found on May 23, 1938, in the latest repair of the Post-Herulian Wall, opposite the west passage of the Klepsydra (T 27). It is broken all around and at the back. It is part of but does not join Agora Inv. No. I 7070 (15 a; Pl. 21), lines 11–13.²⁹ The additional letters are shown underlined in the text below.

P.H. 0.06 m.; p.W. 0.076 m.; p.Th. 0.026 m.
L.H. 0.007 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.015 m. and a vertical checker of 0.014 m.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

Agora Inv. No. I 5463

10 [τοὺς ἐπὶ Νυκκόληνος] ἄρχοντας  

I 5463 [προγρ.]άψι [αὐτῶι τῇ]ν δοκίμασι [ὅν] 
[αὐ ν ἐν τῷ Μετ [ἀγείτυ]] ὄνι μηνί, [ὅ] 
[ποσ] ἄν ὀλ [δι [ἀπρόβο][ν] [τ] ἐσ πα[ρά τῷ]- 
[ι βασιλεί] ὀπαντε] [ἐν] δεικ[νύν] 

15 [ται, κτλ. ———————————— ]

The date is the twelfth prytany of the year (from IG II², 496 + 507, of which this decree is a copy, except that the honorand is different). The new fragment merely confirms what had already been restored in I 7070.

16 (Pl. 22). Decree of the year of Leostratos

A small fragment from the upper right corner of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, found on February 10, 1938, in a Late Roman context, northeast of the Odeion (N 9). The top and right side are preserved, with two lines of inscription, the upper on the projecting fascia. It joins the upper right corner of Agora Inv. No. I 6516.30

P.H. 0.069 m.; p.W. 0.097 m.; p.Th. 0.02 m.
L.H. 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.011 × 0.011 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 5215

5 [θεο] [ἐ] Λεωστράτου ἄρχοντας ἁγιὰς Λι —
[ιοφάντος Διονυσο] ὀδόρον Φ[γγοῦσιος]

The new fragment (the letters underlined in the text above) merely confirms what had already been inferred about line 2.

17 (Pl. 22). Decree of the year of Leostratos

A fragment of Pentelic marble, found on May 19, 1938, in the wall of a Byzantine building south of the Altar of the Twelve Gods (K 6). The smooth-dressed right side is preserved, with a margin of 0.011–0.012 m. It joins the upper right side of Agora Inv. No. I 5709, of which six contiguous fragments are already known, corresponding to lines 3–8 of that document (the letters underlined in the text below).31

31 E. Schweigert, “Greek Inscriptions,” Hesperia 9, 1940 (pp. 309–357), pp. 348–351, no. 45.
P.H. 0.09 m.; p.W. 0.056 m.; p.Th. 0.02 m.
L.H. 0.006 m.; stoched, with a horizontal checker of 0.0115 m. and a vertical checker of 0.012 m. (not square, as was reported in the editio princeps of I 5709).

Agora Inv. No. I 5444

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Sigma TOIX. 35 \\
I 5709 \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\end{array}
\]

Because of the join, and the preservation of the right edge on the new fragment, the margin of the published text of I 5709 must be moved nine letter spaces to the left, and the text of lines 4–5 must be emended. The precise date is unknown, except that it is likely to have been in the latter part of the archon year.

Lines 4–6: The restoration is suggested by A. G. Woodhead (per ep.), who informs me that it was G. Daux who first recognized that the last preserved letter of line 4 on I 5709 was a tau, not an epsilon, as it was reported in the editio princeps.\(^{32}\) The horizontal and part of the vertical of tau are preserved.

18 (Pl. 23). Fragment of an honorific decree

A fragment of bluish Pentelic marble, found on June 23, 1937, east of the Post-Herulian Wall on the north slope of the Akropolis (T 24). The pick-dressed left side is preserved, with a margin of 0.018 m.

P.H. 0.11 m.; p.W. 0.089 m.; p.Th. 0.077 m.
L.H. 0.005–0.007 m.; stoched, with a square checker pattern, 0.012 × 0.012 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 4988

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Sigma TOIX. \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \\
\end{array}
\]

Line 1: The bottom left corner of delta survives.
Line 4: The left foot of alpha survives on the break.
Line 7: The tip of the right diagonal of upsilon is preserved.

Line 1 may contain the end of the main decree, perhaps naming the honorand in the formula for invitation to entertainment in the Prytaneion; if so, the orator formula in line 2 may represent the beginning of an amendment to the main decree. What this amendment may have been, is not immediately clear: one might restore, for instance, [οἶκος]ντι in lines 4–5, and [Ἀθήνα]νησιο[ν] in lines 6–7, but it is doubtful whether this should be regarded as a grant of ateleia, since the resulting formula would be without parallel. Similarly, the restoration of a grant of enktesis would also produce an unparalleled formula. The hand is very close to that of IG II², 484, so that a date around 303/2 B.C. may be considered likely.

19 (Pl. 24). Two decree fragments perhaps inscribed by the same mason
Two fragments of bluish Pentelic marble, found at different times and places but appearing to be identical in letter forms, spacing, and marble type to one another, as well as to two published decrees, IG II², 503 (dated to 302/1 B.C.) and 528 (undated). 23 may also be by this hand but should be dated perhaps 20 years later than IG II², 503.

a. Found on June 11, 1937, on the north slope of the Akropolis, in the original filling of the Post-Herulian Wall, over the Paved Court below the Klepsydra (T 26–27). The left side is preserved with a margin of 0.014 m. (top)—0.017 m. (bottom).
  P.H. 0.11 m.; p.W. 0.115 m.; p.Th. 0.077 m.
  L.H. 0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.01 × 0.01 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 4960
ca. a. 302/1 a.?  ΣΤΟΙΧ.

<table>
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<td>3</td>
<td>το</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>νη</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ω</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line 2: The left foot of omega survives.
Lines 3, 5 and 8: The left vertical of eta survives on the break in each case.
Line 6: The left side of a circular letter is preserved.

The margin is too wide to permit this fragment to be associated with IG II², 503, so wide, indeed, that this fragment may be part of a list, rather than of a decree.

b. Found on March 30, 1936, in a marble pile from the area of the Hephaisteion (F 7). It is broken all around and at the back.
P.H. 0.084 m.; p.W. 0.185 m.; p.Th. 0.076 m.
L.H. 0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.01 × 0.01 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 3918
ca. a. 302/1 a.?

ΣTOIX.

[---. .πί[---------------]
[---. ]τωί δ[ήμωι] ---------------]
[---. ]πᾶσι κα[-------]
[---. ]αυ καὶ τὴν [-------]
5 [---. ]ρονον βασ[-------------]
[---. ]εμος ίνα [-----------------]
[---. ]ε[. ]ρ[---------------]

Line 1: The bottom of a high right vertical is preserved, followed by a vertical set at the left side of its stoichos; iotas on this fragment tend to be set to the left.

Line 2: The left diagonal of delta survives, but its base has perished in a patch of abrasion.


Line 5: [χ]ρόνον? The upper diagonal of what may be sigma survives after alpha. Perhaps one should restore [θ]ρόνον βα[σιλήν]? (cf. Herodotos 1.14). The first preserved letter is definitely a rho.

Line 6: [πάλ]εμος? (or the personal pronoun ἐμός?).

Line 7: The tops of these letters survive. Thus, a gamma and a beta are equally possible.

What little may be conjectured about the surviving text seems out of keeping with that of IG II2, 503, so that IG II2, 528 may be a more likely candidate for association. It is unlikely to derive from the same stele as that of a because of the difference in findspots.

20 (Pl. 23). Decree in honor of an unknown man
A fragment from the upper left corner of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, found on February 10, 1936, in a 4th-century B.C. context in a cistern south of the Hephaisteion (D 8–9). The first line of the text is inscribed on the fascia. The back of the stele is not preserved.

P.H. 0.17 m.; p.W. 0.155 m.; p.Th. 0.092 m.
L.H. (line 1) 0.006 m.; (lines 2–5), 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.0124 × 0.0124 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 3392
fin. s. IV a.

ΣTOIX.

[ά]γαθ[εί τύχει]
[. . . . . .9]σέταιο[σ εἰπεν] --------------------------]
[. . . . . .10]τουδ[ι]--------------------------]
[. . . . . .11]μαστ[--------------------------]
5 [. . . . . .13]ο[λ]--------------------------]
Line 1: The first surviving letter appears to be a gamma, but, since there is no name or formula that begins ΓΔΟ, I assume that this is part of the invocatory phrase [δ]γαθ[ε] ιάχ, or else, that the letters preserved here are incomplete and that the apparent second letter is merely a random mark, so that the regular invocation [Θ]εο[ι] can be restored. If the first surviving letter is regarded as an incomplete pi, one of the several names that begin Πλοντ- might be restored here, as the name of the honorand;\(^{33}\) this I think to be unlikely, however. Another possibility is that this is the beginning of a personal name such as [\'Α]γάθον.

Line 2: In this, as in lines 1 (?) and 4, the crossbar of alpha is omitted. At the left, the tips of the arms of upsilon are preserved, followed by the right tips of the outer arms of sigma. Unless there is a mason’s error, it does not seem possible, therefore, to restore here a demotic [Ξ]υ<π>ταίος (of which, in any case, the only attested form is Ευπταίον),\(^{34}\) although this must be part of a name, probably that of an orator, since there is no possibility of restoring an archon formula here. Thus, this is likely to have been a decree of some other body than the State. What its context was is uncertain, but a possible restoration in line 3, [λεπές (or λεπέα)] τοῦ Δ[ουστοῦ],\(^{35}\) may provide a clue. It is perhaps less likely that an honorand was named here, perhaps a foreigner, with the preserved letters restored as parts of a patronymic and an ethnic: [-----]τοῦ Δι[--].

The fill of the cistern in which the fragment was found is described as “4th to early 3rd century with Hellenistic disturbance” (S. I. Rotroff, The Athenian Agora, XXII, Hellenistic Pottery, Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls, Princeton 1982, p. 98). See also P. E. Corbett, Hesperia 24, 1955, p. 178.

The possibility of an early date for the context in which this fragment was found suggests that it may have been deliberately destroyed soon after its erection, perhaps as a result of the activities of the honorand in the service of one or other of the Macedonian war lords of the period after Alexander’s death. The findspot of this fragment, near the Hephaisteion, suggests that it may have been set up by some organization whose headquarters were near that temple, such as, for instance, the deme Melite, or the phyle Aiantis (both of which would rule out any such restoration as [Ξ]υ<π>ταίος in line 2).\(^{36}\)

This may be by the same hand as Agora Inv. No. I 2767\(^{37}\) but is not part of the same stele.

21 (Pl. 24). Fragment of an honorary decree
A fragment of Pentelic marble, found on June 8, 1938, in a marble pile in the area west of the Stoa of Attalos (N–P 7–12). The right side is preserved, with a margin of 0.014 m.

P.H. 0.082 m.; p.W. 0.059 m.; p.Th. 0.038 m.
L.H. 0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.0103 × 0.0103 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 5526
init. s. III a.

ΣΣΟΙΧ.

[-----]ΑΔΔ
[-----]ɛπιαυέ-
[σαυ δε? -----] Και Ε-

\(^{33}\) See F. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit, Halle 1917, p. 372.

\(^{34}\) See Agora XV, p. 474.

\(^{35}\) Cf. IG II\(^1\), 1163.

\(^{36}\) See Agora III (footnote 7 above), no. 246.

Line 1: The feet of these letters are preserved.
Line 2: The right foot of alpha survives.
Line 4: The last letter is either a lambda or an alpha inscribed without crossbar. If the latter, we might restore $[\sigma\tau]\epsilon\phi\varsigma[\nu\omega\sigma]\;vel.\;sim.?$ (or part of a name such as Kephalos?).
Line 6: The tops of these letters are preserved.

This may be part of the same stele as Agora Inv. No. I 5836 but, if so, does not join it. The surviving text of I 5836 contains praise for and the grant of gold crowns to two or more men who had either come to Athens from Phokis or, more likely, had gone as an Athenian embassy to Phokis and then returned to Athens. If it belongs with this decree, the new fragment probably should be placed a little above I 5836, if my restoration of lines 2–3 is correct, but the precise relationship of the two fragments cannot be determined.

22 (Pl. 23). Fragments of an honorific decree
Two non-joining fragments of Pentelic marble, found at different times and places, whose letter forms, spacing, and marble type suggest that they may derive from the same stele as IG II², 385a (= SEG XXI, 355: E.M. 7131).
a. Found in the summer of 1935 in a marble pile at the southwest corner of the Market Square (G 14). It is broken all around and at the back.
   P.H. 0.132 m.; p.W. 0.092 m.; p.Th. 0.056 m.
Agora Inv. No. I 3233
b. Found in the same place and at the same time as fragment a. The smooth-picked right side is preserved, with a margin of 0.01 m.
   P.H. 0.116 m.; p.W. 0.11 m.; p.Th. 0.054 m.
Agora Inv. No. I 3234

Both fragments: L.H. 0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.012 $\times$ 0.012 m.
a. 292/1 a. $\Sigma$TOIX. 34?

Meritt (footnote 21 above), pp. 258–259, no. 62, pl. 47.
Fragment a

Line 3: As the photograph shows, the traces before omicron are ambiguous, and it is probably better not to try to read anything here; delta and kappa are both possibilities, however, and, if this fragment does indeed derive from the same stele as does IG II², 385a, one might restore the patronymic ['^Ara]tto\nu'k]ov. After upsilon the next letter might be a damaged epsilon or xi, but, again, it is probably better not to attempt to restore anything here.

Line 5: The right tip of the bar of tau survives.

Line 6: What survives here is a vertical stroke at the right edge of the stoichos, possibly too long for that of pi.

Line 7: The top loop of this letter survives; beta is equally possible.

Fragment b

Line 4: The right foot of alpha is preserved.

Line 5: This might be part of a name, ending, perhaps, in -\(\epsilon \pi \nu \sigma \). The surface around the iota is damaged, and it might be possible to read a partial sigma here, in which case one might restore \([\chi \rho \epsilon \iota] \alpha \varsigma \pi \) [\(\alpha \rho \epsilon \chi \omega \nu \)].

Line 6: The tops of these letters survive.

For the restorations offered above, see IG II², 132, 398, 428, and 467.\(^{39}\) If these fragments do, indeed, derive from the same stele as does IG II², 385a, the son of Aristonikos(?) was probably a foreigner, to judge by the clauses that can be restored on fragments a and b. From b, it appears that his father before him had also been of service to Athens, and it is tempting to read into these clauses a grant of \(\text{proxenia} \), although none of the usual proxenial formulae can be restored here.

23 (Pl. 25). Fragment of a decree

Found on March 21, 1936, in a Late Roman context over the foundations of the terrace wall of the Stoa of Attalos, opposite Shop XVII (P 8). The left side is preserved, with a margin of ca. 0.011 m.

P.H. 0.129 m.; p.W. 0.071 m.; p.Th. 0.027 m.

L.H. 0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.01 \(\times\) 0.01 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 3828

c. 280–270 a.?

\[\alpha \] \[\Sigma \] TOIX. 34

\[
\begin{array}{l}
[\ldots ] \sigma \alpha [\ldots ] 29 \\
\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \alpha \nu \varepsilon [\sigma \alpha i \ldots ] 25 \\
[\kappa ] \alpha \iota \tau [\ldots ] 30 
\end{array}
\]

\(^{39}\) The restorations of IG II², 385a upon which I base my discussion are those put forward by S. Dow (\(\text{HSCP}\) 67, 1963, pp. 51–53 [\(=\) SEG XXI, 355]) and accepted by the editor of SEG. IG II², 385b has nothing to do with IG II², 385a and is dated to the end of the 4th century (see SEG XXI, 341).
The surface is much more damaged than it appears to be in the photograph: I have dotted letters that appear to be complete but whose reading is uncertain. In certain lights it appears that lines 5 and 6 read, respectively, [.].ANAGRA[.] and [.].EATONK[.] or [.].EATOYΔ[.]: possibly, the mason inscribed [.].Αναγρά[ψαι] and [τὸν γραμμα|τ]έα τὸν κ[ατὰ] here in error, then partially erased this and inscribed the text that I give here. What line 5 actually says is a puzzle: at first sight, it appears to contain the phrase [έ|κ]άστο[ν αυτῶν], but I find it impossible to reconcile this with the rest of the line, unless one reads, for example, [έ|κ]άστο[ν αυτῶν καὶ ἀναγράψαι τὸν γραμματέα], which is one letter too many; on the other hand, if one restores ἀναγρά[ψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμμα|τ]έα τὸν δ[ήμον ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνη καὶ στήσαι], which would fit the space with a line length of 34 letters, the Secretary’s title would agree with what is found in IG II², 660, lines 43–46 (281/0 B.C.), which, in any case, provide the closest parallels. The hand appears to be the same as that of IG II², 503, but the cost formula restored here indicates that this fragment must be dated some 20 years later than IG II², 503, which is dated to 302/1 B.C.

24 (Pl. 25). Fragment of a prytany decree
A fragment of micaceous Pentelic marble, with greenish mica foliation, found in January, 1935, in a marble pile in the area of the west end of the Middle Stoa (H–I 12–13). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.155 m.; p.W. 0.06 m.; p.Th. 0.07 m.
L.H. 0.007 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0155 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0146 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 2354

ca. a. 260–250 a.  

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 34

[----------------------- ἐπαί]-
[νέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν κηρύκα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ]  
[δήμου] Φιλ[-------------------- κ]-
[αι τῶν] γρα][ματέα τοῦ δήμου]  
[. . . .5 . . . Ἑρ[---- καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα ----]  
[. . . .5 . . . ο]ν Δ[-------------------- ἀναγράψαι]

5 [δὲ τόδε]ε τὸ [ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ]  
[πρυτα]νε[ίαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνη καὶ στήσαι]  
[ἐν τῶι] πρυ[ντα[νικῶι] εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τ]-
[ῆς στήλης] [μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τεί διοικήσει τ]-
[ο γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα vacat ]
If the above restorations are correct, this document will be part of the conclusion of a prytany decree. I have not been able to find any other stone that is by the same hand.

25 (Pl. 25). Fragment of a prytany decree
Fragment of blue-gray, white-flecked Hymentian marble, found on April 15, 1938, in the north wall of the Church of the Hypapanti (T 21). It is broken all around and at the back.

P.H. 0.015 m.; p.W. 0.12 m.; p.Th. 0.10 m.
L.H. 0.005 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.012 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 5392
ca. 250–240 a. Non-ΣTOIX. ca. 53–55
[ἐπὶ --------- ἀρξοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς --------- πρυτανείας ἦ]  
[------------- ἐγραμμάτε[νευ, ---------]  
[------------- τῆς πρυτανείας. ἐκκλησία, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν]  
[------------- καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησαν]  
5 [------------- ογ[ερνος] --------- εἴπερ ὑπὲρ ἄν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἷ]  

Non-ΣTOIX. ca. 75–77
[πρυτάνειας τῆς '1π]ποθων[τίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ὄν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησίας Ἀπόλλων τῷ Προστ]-  
[ατριώα καὶ τῶν ἄλ]ων θυσίαν ὄν ἐποίησαν τοῖς δεόις οἷς πάτριου ἦ]  
[ἀγαθεὶ τύχει· δεδο[θαί τὰ [ών ὁμήρι τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι ἀ ἀποφαίνουσι γεγονέναι εἰς τοῖ]-  
[ἢ οἰς εἰς ἔθνον ἔφ] [ν ὁ γειεῖ καὶ σωτηρία τῆς τε βουλής καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἐπείδη δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τ]-  
10 <[άς τε θυσίας ἔθνου] ἐποίαν πάσας ὡςι καθῆκον καλῶς καὶ φιλοτιμῶς, τῶν δὲ ἄλλω ἐπιμελήσαται ἀπάντων]>  
[ἐν τεί πρυτανείαι ἔν αὐτοῖς προσέχετον οὶ τε νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου, ὡσπορότας τοὺς]  
[πρυτάνειας τῆς '1π]ποθων[ωτιόδον σπουδῆς ἑκάκι καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς φυλήτας καὶ στεφανώσαι]  
[χρυσοι στεφάνωι κα] [τὰ τῶν νόμων κτλ. ---------]  

The text follows closely that of Agora XV, no. 84, lines 1–11, except that the mason appears to have omitted one line (line 8 of no. 84) and has given shorter lines to the preamble than to the rest of the decree (for such a practice, cf. Agora XV, no. 87). The letter forms seem to be identical with those of Agora Inv. No. I 3394, which is dated to 251/0 B.C. and likewise with those of the prytany inscription Agora Inv. No. I 4890, which contains a list of prytaneis of Hippothontis and thus may well derive from the same stele as does the present document.

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40 Cf. Agora XV, no. 89, lines 35–49, dated to 254/3 B.C.
43 I am grateful to Professor A. G. Woodhead, who has discussed many of these texts with me (per ep.) in the context of his forthcoming volume in the Agora series (The Athenian Agora, XVI, The Inscriptions, The Decrees). Many of his comments and suggestions are incorporated in the texts printed here. At his suggestion, and for the convenience of the reader, I give here a concordance to Agora XVI: see Addendum, p. 98 below.
ADDENDUM


1 = XVI, no. 30
2 = XVI, no. 31
3 = XVI, no. 59
4 = XVI, no. 45
5 = XVI, no. 32
6 = XVI, no. 58
7 = XVI, no. 60
8 = XVI, no. 81
9 = XVI, no. 98
10 = XVI, no. 132

11 = XVI, no. 95
12 = XVI, no. 99
13 = XVI, no. 106
14 = XVI, no. 108
15 = XVI, no. 117
16 = XVI, no. 116
17 = XVI, no. 122
18 = XVI, no. 119
19 = XVI, no. 126
21 = XVI, no. 156
1. I 4639

3. I 5257

4 a. I 2426

4 c. I 5263

5. I 5487

7. I 5504

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