

VRG — Folder — 0019

Bul. Could say (ASA 05 1981, p 384)
Ant. old Greeks was a Persian by Alex.
"e.g. a 10,000".

2. 81. 81

[1]

Engineering in the ANABASIS

Bk II, ch. 4 The Median Wall - &
"corrupted" canals "a device to hurry
the crossing" of the Tigris Bridges and
bridges of boats

Bk III, ch. 2 "Impassable" rivers. You
just have to go up ^{toward} their springs.

Bk III, ch. 4 "Ruins of Nimrod"
"Lair" = Nimrod?
Big deserted city Desec. of walls. Another one
walls, and central eminence? (Not
distinguishable of granaries inside, nor
mention of audaces) - Pottery tiles on
stone foundation Villagers take refuge
on high parts -

Bk III, ch. 5 Bridge to Tigris ^{3 or 4 days} with skins.
Armenian villages, underground houses, cows
& chickens there also, and the people.

BSA 50, 1958, pp. 16 -

D. Lewis in Nelson & Melit

Makta Stoa

H, A, T.

μαρπεί στρά

↑

Not sure when other notes are

See also ref. 5 in Wydch (Agnes III)

19 II² 968, line 14

19 II² 958, p. 47 below

3
u

19 II² 3867

"In the second decree a further ref. to the Mahr. St.
implying deposited - refuge - doubtfully reached
p. 193 Partis. ammodin in line 55-57

Antioch. Eccl. iugurac, 686 391 B.C.

judicial suggests Alph. = M. S.

Schol. Antioch. Plut., 8037 Περὶ φ. Γαυ. Εὐο

p. 222 "telia"

b. XII. 82

Agnes III
p. 222

"On the other hand the Mahr.
Stra, which according to 19 II², 968, line 14 (3;
with 2nd ant. B.C.) was in the Karamanli, does
not correspond to any of the Stra in the
Agnes itself and may have been on the
street leading to the Dejlyk."

Further, was discovered of "Karamanli", which

It seems an even different thing. P. 223, bottom,
he puts out that "Karamanli" ed. as thought of modern Agnes
was in 4th ant. B.C. (326)

(P. 222, bottom)
in line 4th B.C.

On Kermori

S. Polity, ms. in Cav. inter, p. 13 w. 405 37.

K. an assoc. with the Eleusian cult; exs. have been found all over the Agave, and the ultimate source or intended destination of all was certainly to Eleusis at the ^{SE?} SW corner of the market square. ³⁷ [J. J. Pollitt, Hesperia, 1979, pp. 205-217]

Hesperia 48, 1979, pp. 205-233

210

JEROME J. POLLITT, "Kernos for the Athenian Agora"

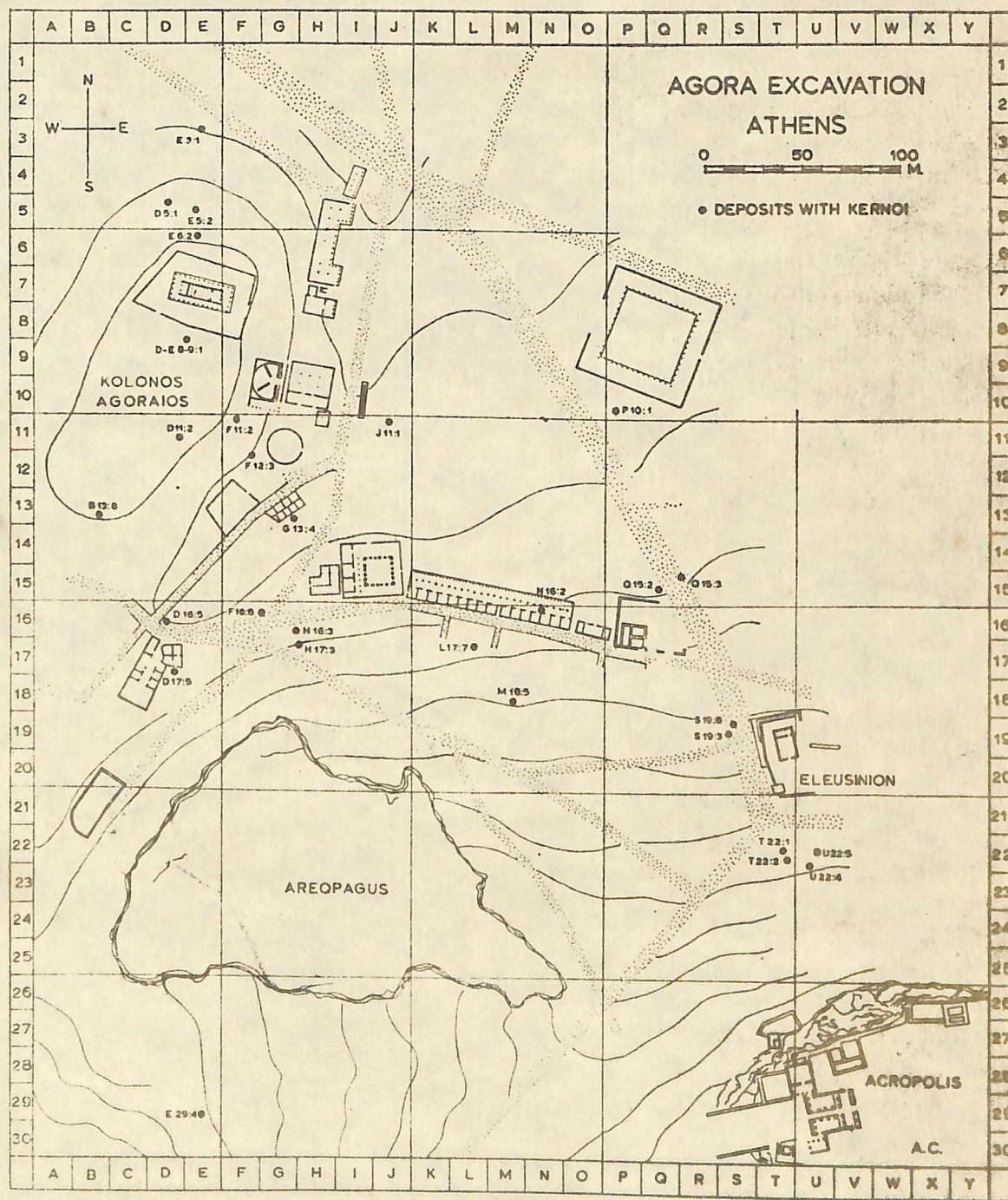


FIG. 2. Plan of the Athenian Agora showing locations of kernos deposits.

Middle Stes - signs of burning

As W.B.D. jr. had strongly reinforced the impression I got from ^{guidelines arch. plan} notebook description (attention called by Sara Riepp) that the remains of the MS showed strong signs of burning, I asked him if he knew of any mention in print ^{of} this situation. So he found it for me, by the way, in his Propylaea I book:

W.B. Dinsmore, Jr., The Propylaea to the Athenian Akropolis, I, The Predecessors, Princeton, 1980, p. 35, note 1:

"The stylobate and steps [of the Propylaea] however, were protected from burning timbers falling on them by the masonry superstructure above, and the flames from fallen timbers within the building were directed upward, not horizontally outward. An exact parallel to this situation exists in the Middle Stes. of the Athenian Agora. The fire that destroyed that building was so intense that the inner face of some architectural member is terribly mutilated, yet, at the east end of the structure where the stylobate, steps, and lower drums of the columns are preserved in situ, although fire damage on the back of the drums reaches down to within 0.20 of the stylobate, the steps and the stylobate itself are fresh and untouched by fire."

(X) Bill
15. XII
It is also
mentioned
in 1976
Guide,
p. 166.

⑤ 10. 8. 81

9. 7. 81
25

6.02

LURD is emphasizing that
"very single block" was burned.
"on the back" i.e. outside, he said.

Note on MS not books
Mostly on fire damage ⑤

Post hole in bit rock near E end.

p. 1591 (H2 VII)
p. 1592 "No trace of the rising geison from the stone
has yet been recognized." "June 13/64"

Fin = MS? (S.I.D.)

5. 17. 81

MS VII, p. 1526 (HAT) : "The main parts of the
stumps are heavily corroded, probably by fire, & note
similar traces on backs of many stone lying
down & of epistyle blocks." ⑤

In vol VII, several of indiv. drums, on
many of which there is a remark like this:

"Extent of fire damage excludes fragment."
(e.g. p. 1705)

(S.I. Drugg, on reading later parts of my ms.,
that was upon my attempt to explain why
there was no sign of burning on the drums.
& that said, no doubt the timber had been
pulled away for use elsewhere.

I don't see reference to burning on anything
but columns ⑤ ⑤ (Have looked at MS VII - and
epistyle heads)

Middle Stn : Destruction

WBD g. cd not remember it surviving Sulla.
But anyway its platform must have, which
gave access later (August period) to the
Idaeum

Actually, see Agroa XIV, p. 71. The middle
Stn "may have supported" for Sulla, but its
history is not so well documented in this period.
1st & early 2nd AD, S. Square occupied by "small
industrial establishments" with 2nd, shops closed,
area further shrunk. Helianic - E bldg rebuilt
3 walls of SSII repaired, but E stn not rebuilt. Rebuilt
bldgs, assume they resumed previous function "on
a reduced scale"

In the Guide (1976), both EA and HS are
destroyed by Herulians.

11.11.82

In most recently,

P.W. Lehmann, "The
So-called Tomb of Phibis
II: an Addendum,"

Imports via Alexander's
morning group

AJA. 86, 1982,

pp 437

442

We know the arch and barrel vault. See T. Boyd,
AJA. 82, 1978, pp. 83-100.
He suggests the engineers in A's outfit,
(i.e. those who had to arrange for rivers to be crossed,
etc., etc.) took note of artificers of people who had
a little wood or stone, yet managed to make big blocks
voussoirs making arches (of t.c. usually).

"The So-called Tomb of Phibis II: a Diff. Interpretation"
P. Lehmann applies this to dating the tomb, the barrel vault of which she considers
requires us to date it later than the time of Ph. II's
death. She takes up Boyd's idea, and unobtrusively
adds to it the point that A. must have had with
him not only engineers for making bridges, etc., but
architects for laying out all those cities he founded
on his way.

I observe the numerous comments on how
far started remarkable it is that a granary at Pergamon in the
on the far 3rd cent B.C. has important features occurring also
to building in a Indus Valley in 2000 B.C. I suppose this
gives us Four Thousand derives from A's architects having seen how big
granaries are made in the East. And practicing
this knowledge in the cities they founded out there, And
coming back to the West, an idea made from their own
cities. I must suppose this basically the same
method of construction granaries must have contained -
the Indus Valley, or nearly, until A's times, although I do know of

any evidence to this effect. ^{see 1} the publs of
the Indus Valley stuff does show that people
were still making flour in basically the same
way it had been done in 2000 B.C.

Now I find an article showing that a form of
cap, the Kausia, was taken from and imitated
by the Macedonians. See B. M. Kingley, "The Cap
that survived Alexander," ASA 1981, pp. 39-46.
(We refer him to the arch and hand vault.)

Reference in ↑ to DBT ⁽¹⁹⁶²⁾ Tray 3 (pp. 53 ff.) 6. VI. 81
Here a nice summary on this hat, v. Macedon
for late 4th or, found in Cyprus, Alex. etc.
p. 54: "From Alex. the cap spreads to sites related
by trade & politics, as far west as Sicily, as far east
as Seleucia, etc." (No ref. here to Alexander as
responsible - or to Alex. at all.)

Kingley goes on (p. 41) "Undoubtedly, the cap was surely
worn first by garrisons and soldiers who were veterans
of Alexander's eastern campaigns. The Kausia of
Kardaras. It is significant that he had fought in
the region of the East where the cap is still worn."

Other storage bldg

See at FUSTAT, ARCE Newsletter Summer
 1981, p.30 (Scaulou): 6 roughly // structure
 in front of which are 15 high each with a
 threshold made composed of wooden planking
 "Flowing throughout was of pressed lathwork"
 "One had 7 things embedded
 storage - like jars - upper story.
 "Highly unsymmetrical planking" - "gray built"
 "rough boulder - constructed shoring" Dating:
 ca. 900-1000 for the units, ca 1000-1050 for
 the upper sitabak and rubble.

Wooden floors

See Archaeological Reports for 1979-80, pp. ⁶⁸69.
A house dated c. 490 destroyed by fire. "The floor
was made of bundles of sticks laid over a "bonfire"
of wooden branches and sticks that had already been
neatly laid over a layer of clay - this in turn covered
the dune of virgin sand of the proto-historic shore on
which the town was built, cradles and slay —"

Nat ~ SS II

replaced by Ph.

Some flow detail on attribute ^{data} for
 benches ^{is} possibly rough surface for guiding?
 (HAT, ~~HAT~~ 1968, p.49)

Turan water vein 8N, ibid p.52

200 cones with up to 27 in. single row,
 small AT groups.

Thermothelium 7 See Textbook pp.177-9

E.V.
could

[12] 5 V5
ca. 87.71
by request

HESPERIA

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1968

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METRONOMOI

(PLATE 9, a)

THE Metronomoi or Inspectors of Weights and Measures were a board of ten men chosen by lot, five of whom served in Athens and five in Piraeus. They were responsible for all weights and measures and had to see to it that sellers used honest ones. This information comes from Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians* (51, 2) and is repeated by some of the lexicographers. Apart from this we know very little of the Metronomoi. It is probable, however, that they are referred to in the late second century B.C. decree concerning weights and measures.¹ Their secretary is mentioned in an inscription from the Agora; and a lead weight countermarked apparently by the Metronomoi and several pots with lead validating seals attached have been found at the Agora.²

In the summer of 1967 an inscription set up by the Metronomoi themselves was discovered in the Agora Excavations. It gives the names of the five Athenian members of the board and their two secretaries for the year 222/1 B.C. and goes on to record the handing over of certain weights and measures, including bronze measures for grain, to the board of the following year.

1 (Plate 9, a.) Upper part of a flat-topped stele of Pentelic marble, broken below. A moulding runs across the top of the face and carries around the two narrow sides. The back is roughly picked. Clear traces of red coloring are preserved in the letters of lines 1, 7 and 9 and in the numeral in line 12. Found July 6, 1967, lying face upwards and imbedded in one of the uppermost (latest) earth floors of the third room from the east in South Stoa I (N 16).

Height, 0.275 m.; Width of stele above, 0.325 m., below 0.334 m.; Thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 7030

a. 222/1 a.

μετρονόμοι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρχελαίου ἄρχοντος (red)

Δημόστρατος ἑστιαῖόςθεν

Ἀριστοκράτης Ἀγγελῆθεν

¹ I.G., II², 1013, plus *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 127-131.

² Their secretary: *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 457-460, no. 7, line 18. The lead weight: Mabel Lang and Margaret Crosby, *The Athenian Agora*, X, *Weights, Measures and Tokens*, pp. 21-22, 27-28, no. LW 17; also illustrated in Mabel Lang, *The Athenian Citizen*, Excavations of the Athenian Agora Picture Book, No. 4, fig. 15. Pots with lead validating seals, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 108-113, and Lang-Crosby, *op. cit.*, p. 54, no. DM 66; and Lang, *op. cit.*, fig. 18.

- Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου Λαμπτρέυ(ς)
 5 Θεόδοτος Ἐκαλήθεν
 Ἐρητυμένης Οἰναῖος
 καὶ γραμματεὺς κληρωτός (red)
 Νικίας Φίλωνος Κυδαθηναίεύς
 καὶ γραμματεὺς αἰρετός (red)
 10 Ἡράκλειτος Τιμοθέου Κριωεύς
 τάδε παρέδωκαν μέτρα καὶ σταθμ
 ἄ· χαλκᾶ σιτηρὰ ἡμιέκτεα ΔΙΙ, χοῖνι (ΔΙΙ red)
 κας δύο, ἡμιχ[ο]ί[νικας -----]

The writing is not very careful and the letters are not always well formed or of uniform size. There are several mistakes some of which have been corrected, at least in part, by the scribe. In line 4, after the tau of the demotic, epsilon was written first then clumsily corrected to rho. After this comes epsilon without the middle cross bar, then upsilon. There was no room for the final sigma which was omitted. In line 6 the initial epsilon lacks the middle cross bar. There are several cases where the cross bar of an alpha has been omitted. In line 12, the lambda of χαλκᾶ was omitted, then crowded in later. An attempt was made to have each name more or less fill the line in which it stood. The letters of the shorter names are therefore larger and more widely spaced. Sometimes several letter spaces are left vacant between name and demotic. There are apices on some of the letters.

The use of red coloring in the letters of lines 1, 7 and 9 and for the numeral in line 12 is obviously intended to call attention to these parts of the inscription and particularly to set off the three lines as headings, making them true *rubrics*. Whether some other color was used in the remaining lines is not certain. No trace has survived, but we may guess that a dark color, perhaps blue, was used for contrast. Coloring, usually red, was frequently and probably generally used in Greek inscriptions to make the letters more easily legible. Different colors were occasionally used for alternate lines and even for alternate letters for decorative effect. I have not found any other instance of its use to emphasize headings as in our inscription, but the practice may have been more common than we realize as color has usually vanished completely from inscriptions as we find them today. Some Delian accounts pick out the numerals in red.³

Of the people mentioned in the inscription several either can be identified as individuals or can be associated with known families.

Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου Λαμπτρέυς. He served as thesmothetes eight years later

³ Examples of the use of color in various ways are cited by Wilhelm Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, I, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 205-207; Adolf Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, Wien, 1909, p. 240, note 5; Louis Robert, *C.R.A.I.*, 1955, p. 211; Margherita Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, I, Rome, 1967, pp. 457-458. For the Delian accounts see *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 561.

in 214/3 B.C.; see *I.G.*, II², 1706, line 114. For other references to himself and other members of his family, see *Index to Hesperia, Volumes I-X, Supplements I-VI*, p. 17, and J. Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica*, p. 20.

Ἐρητυμένης Οἰναῖος. He had served as councillor in the previous year, 223/2 B.C.; *Hesperia*, Supplement I, no. 28, line 60. For the date, see *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 394-397. For possible descendants, *Hesperia, Index, op. cit.*, p. 55.

Νικίας Φίλωνος Κυδαθηναίεύς. For the family, see J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, no. 10807.

Ἡράκλειτος Τιμοθέου Κριωεύς. Timotheos Krioieus, whose name appears on the tombstone of his wife dated in the first century after Christ, may be a descendant; *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 263, no. 68.

The Metronomoi and their secretaries appear to have been chosen on the basis of one from each tribe as was the case with other similar boards. At least, if we allow the man from Lamptrai to come from Lamptrai B (Erechtheis) rather than Lamptrai A (Antigonis), there is no duplication of tribal affiliation among the seven men named.

The board had two secretaries, one chosen by lot, the other elected. For other instances of this practice see *I.G.*, II², 1710 and 1711, and *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 445-446, 458-460. The two Corpus inscriptions, 1710 and 1711, may in fact be lists of metronomoi (or agoranomoi) serving in Piraeus.

The topographical implications of the new inscription are tantalizing. The stele was found in the third room from the east of South Stoa I. It was lying face up and was imbedded in one of the latest clay floors of the room. As the letters are still quite fresh and even retain traces of color, it was certainly never walked upon. It may possibly have served as a support for a table or some other object, but its location directly inside the door and just 1.05 m. away from it is against this. It seems more likely that the stele was on hand when the last clay floor was being laid in the room and that it was accidentally or deliberately placed where we found it and covered over.

Where the stele was originally set up we do not know, but the presumption is strong that it is to be associated with the room in which it was found. To be sure, among the bases for which we have evidence in the room or in the colonnade in front of the room none is suitable for our stele, but a suitable base might well have existed and have later disappeared. The stele might also have been set into one of the walls of the room the upper parts of which were of mud brick.⁴

If the stele is indeed to be associated with the room in which it was found it gives us a clue to the use of the room, namely as the office of the Metronomoi. This is obviously not enough to enable us to identify the whole building beyond suggesting

⁴ A stele is still to be seen set into the wall of a room in the Palaestra by the Lake in Delos; Philippe Bruneau and Jean Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, p. 123; *Rev. Arch.*, XXIX-XXX, 1948, pp. 263-264 (= *Mélanges Charles Picard*).

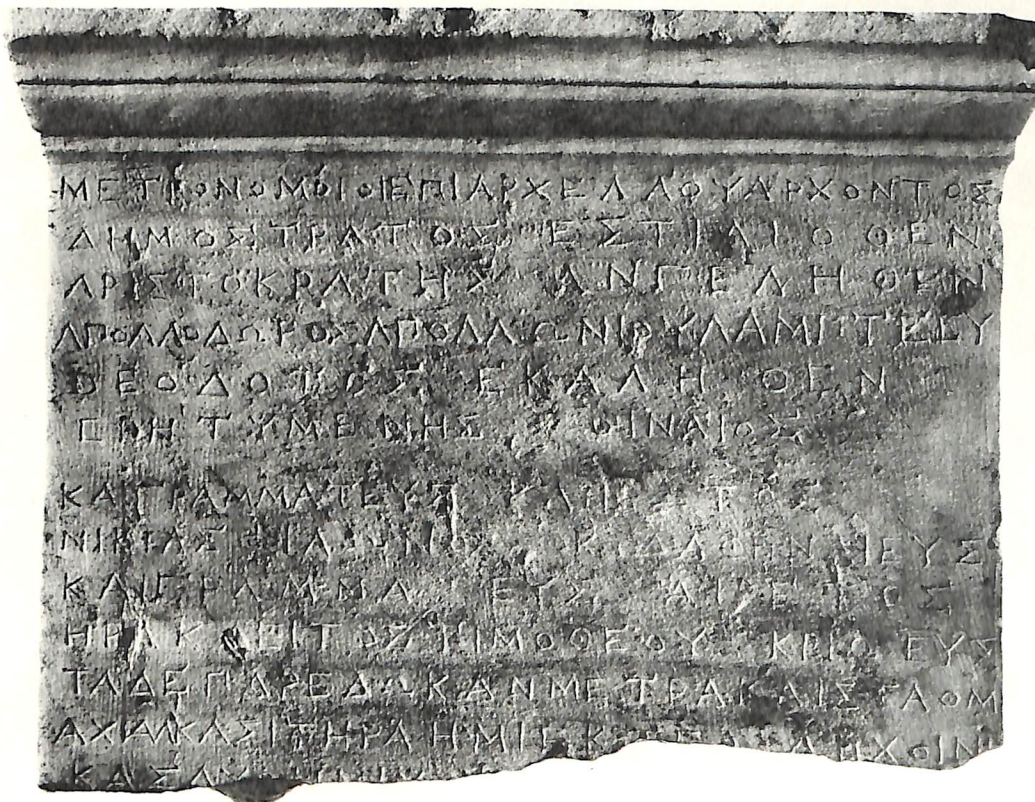
17.111 81
No count
on the measure
- accepted what
they might imply
(as a rule)

that it was used, in part at least, as government offices, a reasonable enough suggestion in any case on general grounds. Nor is the mention in the inscription of grain measures enough to establish an identification for the building. Yet in this connection it is worth recalling the Alphetopolis Stoa, the flour market of ancient Athens, which was certainly on or near the Agora, and which is mentioned in 391 B.C. by Aristophanes along with two other Agora stoas (*Ecclesiazusae*, 684-686). South Stoa I, built in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., and remaining in use until the middle of the second century B.C., is at least a possible candidate for the Alphetopolis. But unfortunately the evidence does not really suffice to support this, or any other, suggestion that has been made as to the identification of this building.⁵

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS

⁵ See above, pp. 55-56.



a. Metronomoi Inscription (I 7030)



b. Base for Votive Offering (I 7015)

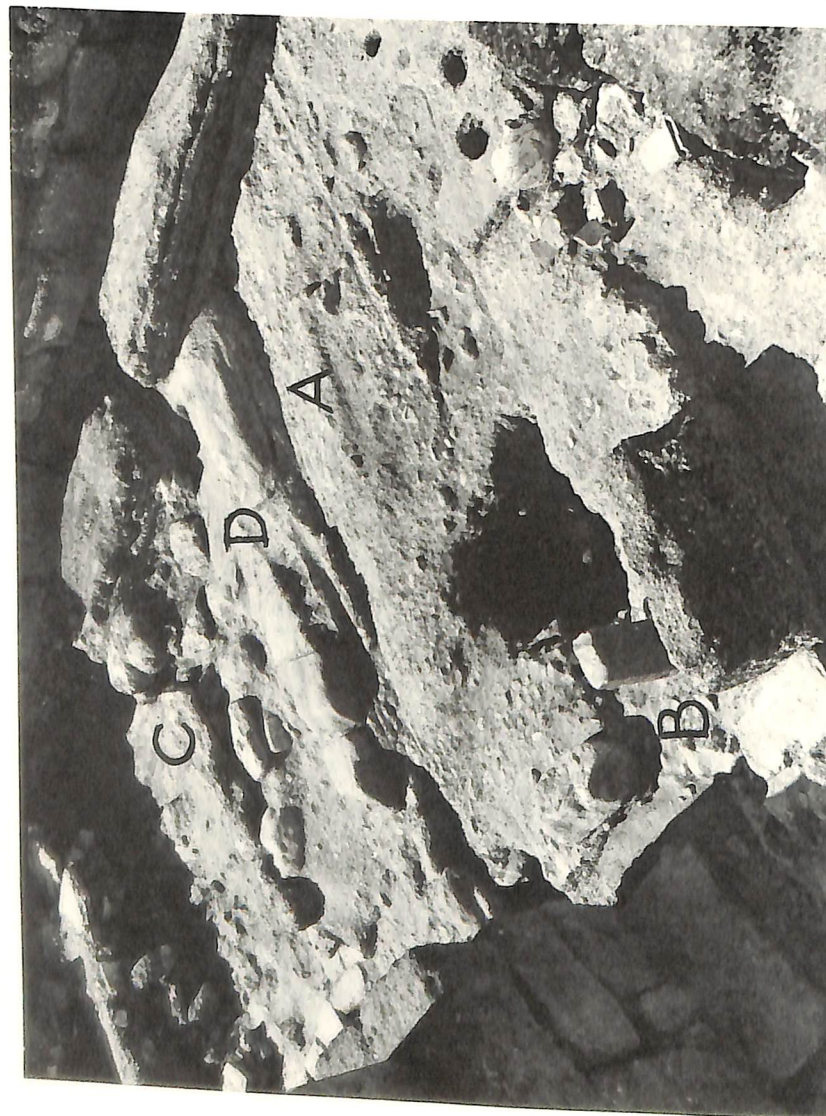


c.



d.

c.-d. Silver Drachm found below Floor of South Stoa I, Room VIII



a. Early Road below West End of Middle Stoa, from Northwest.
A = Roadway, B = Horos, C = Monument Base, D = Curb



b. Horos (I 7039)

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITY IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1966-1967

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By

BERT HODGE HILL WITH DRAWINGS BY LEWEY T. LANDS

SUPPLEMENTED AND REVISED BY CHARLES KAUFMAN WILLIAMS II

Following excavation around the 4th century Doric Temple of Zeus at Nemea in 1924 to 1927, Bert Hodge Hill continued to study each block for every shred of evidence for the reconstruction of the temple and Lewey Lands converted his findings and conclusions into drawings (actual and restored plans, elevations and details), but the word description was only in note form when Mr. Hill died. Charles Kaufman Williams II has put his notes, measurements and annotated drawings into a text describing the ruins, the building member by member, materials, mouldings, empolion cuttings, mason's marks, and evidence for the date of the temple. For that date, *ca.* 330 into the 320s, his own further investigation at Nemea in 1962 and 1964 has added significant evidence. When Hill's notes and Williams' excavations required changes in the drawings, Williams has made new drawings and he has added a full photographic record of the temple.

Mr. Hill's "inspiration, initiative and first patient study of the details," Mr. Lands' "handsome drawings, following the best classical tradition," and Mr. Williams' "drawings of equally high excellence . . . and critical discussion of the evidence for the dating" (to quote Carl Blegen's Foreword) combine to give a detailed presentation of this neglected temple worthy of its high quality and interest.

Published May 1967. xvii + 49 pp. with 43 figures quarto, 29 plates 17 x 22 inches, all in cloth portfolio. \$20.00.

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FORTIFIED MILITARY CAMPS IN ATTICA

By JAMES R. McCREDIE

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HESPERIA SUPPLEMENT XII

THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION AFTER SULLA

By DANIEL J. GEAGAN

This work uses the text of every known Athenian inscription dated after the constitution of Sulla, the number of which has increased greatly since the last previous study of the Athenian Constitution, especially as a result of the excavations in the Athenian Agora. The author gives all references to civic offices and institutions and studies the evidence for each office in a separate chapter. "The appropriateness of using the capture of Athens by Sulla as a point of division in the history of the Athenian Constitution is confirmed by the evidence from alterations in the nature of the institutions and documentation." To the chapters on Archons, Hoplite General, Areopagus Acting with the Other Civic Corporations, Boule of the Areopagus and Its Herald, Boule and Demos, Committees, Officers and Servants of the Council, Various Other Magistrates and Officials, and Liturgies are added five appendices: I lists all dedications, arranged chronologically by formula, in which one of the common formulae is used; II gives notes on two inscriptions; III publishes a catalogue from the Eleusinion at Athens; IV publishes five letters from the Emperor Commodus concerning the Gerusia of the Athenians, and V publishes a prytany list of A.D. 168/9. Full Indexes of sources (literary and epigraphical), of Greek names and of names and subjects in English complete the apparatus and facilitate the use of the work.

The evidence so completely gathered, so conveniently put together and so soundly interpreted will make this a standard reference work on the Athenian Constitution for years to come.

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E. Vanderpool "Metronomoi" Hesperia,
Vol. XXXVII, 1968, pp 73-76.

See also

Judeich, +
my annotations
there -

Note for Ag. III [

Mahar Stoa

no. 3 is that few words: 15th 2 968, 14

other 2 refs in index given no other
ancient refs to Mahar Stoa [because the
and Persians]

14.01

under no. 3, there is a
passage, Schol. Aristophanes,
mentioning the Mahar Stoa,
a numbered passage given
⊕ This is to do with
the Mahar Stoa (all under

IDENTIFY

or

BLDGs

3. VI. 81

it is pretty complicated &

had thought perhaps he did
not catalogue the passages in this regular way
because he thought the place outside the
Agora. ask him some time.

14.01

IDENTIFY

OF

BLDG'S

See also

judicial, +
my annotations
there -

Note for Ag. Tit [

Makra Sutra

no. 3 is that few words = 15 #² 968, 14

own 2 refs in index given no other
ancient refs to Makra Sutra [- because the
was not included Percussions]

However, under no. 3, there is a
reference to a passage, Schol. Aristophanes
Birds, line 997, mentioning the Makra Sutra.
Why is that not a numbered passage given
even in full ?? ⊕ This is to me about
what is behind the Makra Sutra ("act like a
madman").

3.VI.81

One sees it is pretty complicated &
quite.

⊗ 13.V.82 I had thought perhaps he did
not catalogue the passage in this regular way
because he thought the place outside the
Agony. ask him some time.

984 σπλαγχνεύειν: 'σπλάγχνων μεταλαβείν.'

987 και φείδου μηδέν: πλάττεται ὡς καὶ τούτου ὄντος ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς.

988 μήτ' ἦν Λάμπων ἢ: χρησμολόγος ὁ Λάμπων. 'μήτε, φησὶ, εἴτε αὐτὸς ἢ ὁ Λάμπων φείδου αὐτοῦ, εἴαν λέγῃ ὅτι καὶ ὡς αἰετὸς γενήσῃ.'

ἄλλως: εἴρηται περὶ Λάμπωνος, ὁ δὲ Διοπίθης νῦν μὲν ὡς χρησμολόγος, ἑτέρωθι δὲ ὡς κυλλὸς καὶ δωροδόκος, Σύμμαχος δὲ καὶ μανιῶδης φησὶ.

μήτ' ἦν ὁ μέγας Διοπίθης: Σύμμαχος· ὅτι Διοπίθης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἱππομανέωνος ἦν, ὡς Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσι δηλὸν ποιεῖ. παράκειται δὲ καὶ τῷ Φρυνίχου ἔμπροσθεν ἐν Κρόνῳ.

"ἀνὴρ" χορεύει καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καλὰ.

βούλει Διοπίθῃ "μεταδράμῳ" καὶ τύμπα;,"

καὶ Ἀμειψίας ἐν Κρόνῳ.

"ὥστε ποιοῦντες χρησμοὺς ἑαυτοὶ

διδόασ' ἄδειν"

Διοπίθει τῷ παραμεινομένῳ."

994 τίς ὁ κόθορνος: οἷον 'τί ὑποδησάμενος πάρε;', οὕτω μὲν Σύμμαχος Δίδυμος δὲ 'πρὸς τί "ὑποδέδεσται" τὸ "ἀμφοτεροδέξιον"; τίς ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς ὁδοῦ;'

997 Μέτων: ἄριστος ἀστρονόμος καὶ γεωμέτρης· τούτου ἐστὶν ὁ τίς.

984 σπλάγχνων μεταλαβείν: this reading is found also in U.

988 χρησμολόγος: cf. Schol. 521. χρησμολογεῖ VR; ἐχρησμολόγηι R. collat. ford.

εἴρηται: Schol. 521. — ἐτέρωθι: cf. Eq. 1085 and the scholium. — μανιῶδης: cf. Vesp. 380 and the scholium.

ἐν Κρόνῳ: M. II 583; K. I 372. — ἀνὴρ: Dindorf. — μεταδράμῳ: Γ. collat. The previous editors read μεταδραμῶ. — ἐν Κρόνῳ: M. II 701; K. I 672. — Κρόνῳ: Christianus. — αὐτοὶ διδόασ' ἄδειν: Dobree. αὐτοῖς δῶσαν δὲ οὐκ αὐτοὶ διδοσθαι, closing a tetrameter, Fritzsche. αὐτοὶ φασὶ δεδῶσθαι Διοπίθει, closing a tetrameter, Schneider. — παραμεινομένῳ: παραπαινομένῳ Halbertsma, but erroneously, since the form would be παραπαίοντι.

994 Suid. κόθορνος. — GM preserve the note in the form that is nearest to the original. — πρὸς τί: all the MSS. except R have πρὸς τὸ τί. Δίδυμος δὲ πρὸς τὸ ("τίς ὁ κόθορνος;") "τί ὑποδέδεσται τὸ ἀμφοτεροδέξιον;"? Qu. Δίδυμος δὲ οὕτω πρὸς τὸ "τί ὑποδέδεσται τὸ ἀμφοτεροδέξιον;" "τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς ὁδοῦ;"? Didymus would thus object to the literal interpretation that some other scholar had advanced, and would himself interpret Aristophanes's remark (τίς ὁ κόθορνος;) metaphorically. — ὑποδέδεσται τὸ ἀμφοτεροδέξιον: Zacher. cf. Suid. κόθορνος· ὑπόδημα ἀμφοτεροδέξιον. Ἀριστοφάνης· "τίς ὁ κόθορνος τῶν ποδῶν τῶν δεξιῶν ὡς variant (cf. EP). Qu. τί ὑποδέδεσται ὡς δεξιῶν; the loss of αὐτοὶ being due to haplography?

984 σπλαγχνεύειν) σπλαγχνα μεταλαβείν

987 Γ 131" inf.] καὶ φείδου μηδέν: — πλάττεται ὡς καὶ τούτου ὄντος ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς: —

988 int. S μήτ' (init.)] χρησμολογεῖ ὁ λάμπων. μήτε φησὶ εἴαν αὐτὸς ἢ ὁ λάμπων φείδου αὐτοῦ εἴαν λέγῃ ὅτι καὶ ὡς αἰετὸς γενήσῃ: ἄλλως: εἴρηται περὶ Λάμπωνος ὁ δὲ Διοπίθης νῦν μὲν ὡς χρησμολόγος. ἑτέρωθι δὲ ὡς κυλλὸς καὶ δωροδόκος σύμμαχος δὲ καὶ μανιῶδης φησὶ: —

988 int. S ὁ μέγας] σύμμαχος ὅτι Διοπίθης ὁ ῥήτωρ υπομανώδης ἦν ὡς Τηλεκλείδης. ἐν ἀμφικτύοσι δηλὸν ποιεῖ παράκειται δὲ καὶ τὰ Φρυνίχου ἐμπροσθεν ἐν Κρόνῳ ἀνὴρ χορεύει καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καλὰ βούλει Διοπίθῃ μεταδραμῶ καὶ τύμπα καὶ ἀμειψίας ἐν κοινῷ ὥστε ποιοῦντες χρησμοὺς αὐτοῖς διδοσθαι αὐτοῖς Διοπίθει τῷ παραμεινομένῳ: —

994 ext. S τίς (init.)] Δίδυμος οὐπρος το τί υποδέδεσται τὸ δεξιὸν. τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς ὁδοῦ: —

994 τίς ὁ κόθορνος) οἷον τι υποδησάμενος πάρε:

997 ext. et inf. S μέτων] μέτων: ἄριστος ἀστρονόμος καὶ γεωμέτρης του

984 Om. GM — σπλαγχνεύειν) RΓ² [καὶ σπλαγχνεύειν Γ σπλαγχνεύειν R] σπλαγχνα] Γ² σπλαχνων RFP — μεταλαβείν] ἐπιθυμεί R μεταλαμβά-
νει Γ λαμβάνειν Γ²

987 Om. VGRMP — μὴδ' αἰετοῦ ἐν νεφέλῃσι E]

988 S λάμπων ἢ M [μήτ' ἦν (ἦν E) λάμπων (add. ἦ ΓEP) ΓEP
μήτ' ἦν ὁ λάμπων R] χρησμολογεῖ] χρησμολόγος ΓEMP — ὁ λάμπων φείδου]
φείδου Γ — αἰετὸς REP — ἄλλως . . . μανιῶδης φησὶ] om. R — ἄλλως
λάμπωνος] om. ΓEMP — ἐτέρωθι δὲ] om. M ἐτέρωθι Γ — μανιῶδης] μανι-
ῶδης Γ — φησὶ] add. τὸν Διοπίθῃ (Διοπίθην M) τὸν ῥήτορα ΓEMP

988 Om. M [Διοπίθης R — Γ*E*P*] σύμμαχος . . . ἦν] om. ΓEP —
υπομανώδης] ὑπερμανιώδης G υπομανιώδης R — ὡς] ὡς καὶ ΓEP — δηλὸν ποιεῖ]
δηλῶσαι Γ — παράκειται . . . παραμεινομένῳ] om. R — Φρυνίχου] Φρυνίχου
Γ — ἐμπροσθεν] ἔμπροσθεν ΓEP — μεταδραμῶ] μεταδραμῶν G μεταδραμῶν Γ
μεταδραμῶ EP — χρησμοὺς αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῖς χρησμοὺς Γ — Διοπίθει] Διοπίθῃ G

994 S κόθορνος M [τίς ἡ ἐπίνοια GR ὁ κόθορνος Γ τίς ὁ κόθορνος EP]
Qu. τίς ὁ κόθορνος? 2, 1 ΓEMP — Δίδυμος . . . τί] οὕτω μὲν σύμμαχος.
Δίδυμος δὲ πρὸς τὸ τί GM, οὕτω σύμμαχος πρὸς τὸ τί EP — Δίδυμος] καὶ Δίδυ-
μος R — οὐπρος το τί] οὐ πρὸς τοῦτ' G οὐτω. τι R — υποδέδεσται] Γ² ὑποδέ-
δεσται Γ — ὑποδέδοται G — τὸ δεξιὸν] Γ τῷ δεξιῷ Γ² τῷ δεξιῷ EP — τίς . . .
ἐστὶν] om. EP — ἐστὶν] om. GM — τῆς ὁδοῦ] Γ² τῆς θεοῦ Γ τοῦ θεοῦ G

994 Om. GR [Γ*E*M*P*]

997 S μέτων [μέτων] ὅστις εἰμ' ἐγώ Γ] ἄριστος] μέτων ἄριστος Γ —
ἀστρονόμος καὶ γεωμέτρης] ἱατρὸς καὶ ἀστρονόμος Σ — του ἐστι] Γ τούτου ἐστι

997 Suid. Μέτων. — τούτου ἐστὶν: see the Collation; but cf. οὐδ' ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς at
the end of the second scholium on 997, where the correction (P) is required. —

ὁ λεγόμενος Μέτωνος. φησὶ δὲ Καλλίστρατος ἐν Κολωνῷ ἀνάθημά τι εἶναι αὐτοῦ ἀστρολογικόν, Εὐφρόνιος δὲ ὅτι τῶν δῆμων ἦν ἐκ Κολωνοῦ. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ψεῦδος, Φιλόχορος γὰρ «Λευκονοέα» φησὶν αὐτόν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Καλλιστράτου «ἄδηλον», ἴσως γὰρ ἦν τι καὶ ἐν Κολωνῷ. ὁ δὲ Φιλόχορος ἐν Κολωνῷ μὲν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν θείναι λέγει, ἐπὶ Ἀψευδούς δὲ «τοῦ» πρὸ Πυθουδῶρος ἡλιοτρόπιον ἐν τῇ νῦν οὔσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν τῇ πνικῇ «μήποτε οὖν τὸ χωρίον» φασὶ τινες, «ἐκείνο» ἅπαν, ᾧ περιλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ πνίξ, Κολωνός ἐστιν ὁ ἕτερος ὁ μίσθιος λεγόμενος, οὗ μέρος τι νῦν σὺν ἡμέρᾳ γέγονε Κολωνὸν καλεῖν τὸ ὅπισθεν τῆς μακρᾶς στοᾶς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι Μελίτη γὰρ ἅπαν ἐκείνο, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὁρισμοῖς γέγραπται τῆς πόλεως. ἴσως δὲ ἐν Κολωνῷ κρήνην τινα κατεσκευάσατο. φησὶ γοῦν Φρύνιχος Μονοτρόπῳ.

“Α τίς δ' ἔστιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα φροντίζων; Β Μέτων
ὁ Λευκονοεύς. Α οἷδ', ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων.”

καθεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ Μονότροπος ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ «χρόνου», ὡς εἴρηται.
ἄλλως: ἴσως ἐν τῷ Κολωνῷ κρήνην τινα «κατεμηχανήσατο» τῶς οὔσαν,

αὐτοῦ . . . δὲ ὅτι: the scribe of V appears to have omitted a whole line from the original. — τῶν δῆμων: τὸν δῆμον VI. The same error occurs, in the expression of this formula, in the MSS. of other authors. — Φιλόχορος: Müller I 400. — Λευκονοέα: Dindorf. All previous editors here read Λευκονοέα. The form Λευκονοεύς gradually displaces Λευκονοεύς in Attic inscriptions. — ἄδηλον: Dobree, who gave the reason is conclusive: “Malim ἄδηλον, servato γάρ.” The emendation is adopted by von Wilamowitz and Maass. — ἐπὶ Ἀψευδούς: V, anticipating the correction of Scaliger. — τοῦ: Dindorf. — ἅπαν ᾧ: Wachsmuth. πᾶν ᾧ Dobree. ἐπὶ ᾧ Forchhammer. — περιλαμβάνεται: Dobree. — ὁ ἕτερος: οὗ ἕτερος Dobree, but his interpretation of this part of the passage must be rejected: “a quo diversitas fuerit alter Colonus ὁ μίσθιος.” — μίσθιος: MSS., anticipating Meursius's correction. — οὗ: V and probably Γ, anticipating Sauppe's emendation. — Κολωνός: Sauppe. τὸ Κολωνόν MSS. τὸ is here due, probably, to the following τὸ ὅπισθεν κτέ. — γοῦν: von Wilamowitz, and adopted by van Leeuwen. “Fortasse ὁ φησὶ δ'” Bothe. — Μονοτρόπῳ: M. II 589; K. I 376. — ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα φροντίζων: it is impossible to determine, without the context, whether this phrase gives a reasonable sense. It may be that μετὰ conceals the proper name, and that the verses should read:

“Α τίς δ' ἔσθ' ὁ Μέτων ὁ ταῦτα φροντίζων; Β Μέτων
ὁ Λευκονοεύς. Α οἷδ', ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων.”

If the assumption that μετὰ displaced Μέτων seems improbable, we might read:

Α τίς δ' ἔστιν ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον; Β ὁ φροντίζων Μέτων

(Meton, the deep thinker!), but the form of the anapaest in the fourth line is here doubtful. Cf. the editors on Vesp. 1369. — The verses have been variously emended: τίς δ' ἔστιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ταύτης φροντίζων; Küster. τίς δ' ἔστιν ὁ μετὰ

ἐστὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτός ὁ λεγόμενος μετωνός φησὶ δὲ καλλίστρατος ἐν Κολωνῷ ἀνάθηματι εἶναι τὸν δῆμον ἦν ἐκ Κολωνοῦ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ψεῦδος φιλόχορος γὰρ Λευκονοέα φησὶ αὐτόν. τὸ δὲ τοῦ καλλιστράτου δῆλον. ἴσως γὰρ ἦν τί καὶ ἐν Κολωνῷ ὁ δὲ φιλόχορος ἐν Κολωνῷ μὲν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν θείναι λέγει ἐπὶ Ἀψευδούς δὲ πρὸ πυθουδῶρος ἡλιοτρόπιον ἐν τῇ νῦν οὔσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν τῇ μήποτε οὖν τὸ χωρίον φασὶ τινες ἐκείνο ἐπάνω παραλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ πνίξ Κολωνός ἐστιν ὁ ἕτερος ὁ μίσθιος λεγόμενος οὗ μέρος τι νῦν σὺν ἡμέρᾳ γέγονε τὸ Κολωνόν καλεῖν τὸ ὅπισθεν τῆς μακρᾶς στοᾶς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι μελίτη γὰρ ἅπαν ἐκείνο ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὁρισμοῖς γέγραπται τῆς πόλεως. ἴσως δὲ ἐν Κολωνῷ κρήνην τινα κατεσκευάσατο. φησὶ ὁ φρύνιχος μόνος τρόπῳ τίς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ μετα ταῦτα ταύτης φροντίζων. μέτων ὁ Λευκονοεύς οἶδα ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων καθεῖται δὲ ὁ μονότροπος ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου εἴρηται: — ἄλλως: ἴσως ἐν τῷ

Γ τοῦτου ἐστὶν ΕΡΞ τουτέστιν GRM—ὁ ἐνιαυτός . . . μετωνός] ὁ λεγόμενος Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός Σ—ἐνιαυτός] ἐνιαυτοῦ Γ—μετωνός] μετεώνος Γ μέτων Μ—φησὶ . . . εἶναι] Καλλίστρατος δὲ φησὶν αὐτοῦ ἐν Κολωνῷ ἀνάθηματι ἀστρολογικόν. Εὐφρόνιος δὲ, ὅτι Σ—ἀνάθηματι] ἀνάθηματι R ἀνάθηματι Γ ἀνάθηματι Γ² ΕΡ—εἶναι τὸν δῆμον] εἶναι αὐτοῦ ἀστρολογικόν R εἶναι αὐτοῦ ἀστρολογικόν. Εὐφρόνιος δὲ ὅτι τὸν δῆμον (τῶν δῆμων EMP and Σ in cod. ABV) ΓΕΜΡ—τὸν δῆμον . . . ἢ ἀνάθημα ἀστρολογικόν] om. R—ἦν] om. Μ—[ε] Γ² εἰς Γ—μὲν οὖν] δὲ ΓΕΜΡ—γὰρ] δὲ ΓΕΜΡ—Λευκονοέα] Λευκονοέα Γ Λευκονοέα ΕΜ Λευκονοέα Ρ—φησὶ αὐτόν] αὐτόν φησὶ. ψευδὲς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Μ—[ἴσως . . . εἴρηται: — ἄλλως] om. Μ—φιλόχορος] Γ² φρύνιχος Γ—μὲν] μὲν οὖν Γ—αὐτόν οὐδὲν] οὐδὲν αὐτόν Ε—θεῖναι λέγει] λέγει θεῖναι ΓΕΡ—[εἶναι] εἶναι Γ—ἐπὶ Ἀψευδούς] Ἀψευδῶς Γ ψευδῶς Γ² ΕΡ—πρὸ] πρὸ Γ—πνικῇ] πνικῇ Γ² τῇ πνικῇ ΕΡΞ—τινὲς ἐκείνο] ἐκείνο τινὲς Γ—ἐπάνω] ὁ ἐπάνω Γ—μίσθιος] μίσθος Ρ—οὗ] οὗ Γ οὕτως Γ² ΕΡ—νῦν] om. Γ²—τινα κατεσκευάσατο] κατεσκευάσατο τινα Γ—μόνος τρόπῳ] μονοτρόπῳ ΓΕΡΞ—δὲ ἐστὶν] δ' ἐστὶν ΡΞ—ταύτης] om. Σ—Λευκονοεύς] Λευκονοεύς Γ Λευκονοεύς ΕΡ Λευκονοεύς Σ (cod. AB)—οἶδα] οἶδ' Σ (cod. AV)—δὲ] δὲ καὶ ΓΕΡ—ἄλλως . . .

ταῦτα ταύτης φροντίζων; Dindorf. Α τίς δ' ἔστιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα φροντίζων; Β Μέτων Bothe. τίς δ' ἔσθ' ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα φροντίζων; Μέτων Fritzsche. τίς δ' ἔστιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα φροντίζων; Μέτων Bothe. τίς δ' ἔστιν ὁ τὰς κρήνας φροντίζων; Μέτων Bothe. τίς δ' ἔστιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦθ', ὁ φροντίζων; Μέτων von Wilamowitz. The second verse: Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοεύς, δδ' ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων Scaliger. Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοεύς, οἶδ', ὁ (sic) κρήνας ἄγων Küster. ὁ Λευκονοεύς, εὐ οἶδ', ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων Toup. Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοεύς, ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων Dindorf. ὁ Λευκονοεύς. Α ἐγὼ δ', ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων Bergk. Α ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων; Blaydes. For Λευκονοεύς (Ρ) Bentley proposed Κολωνοεύς (Λευκων-, Κολων-). — χρόνου: Dobree. χωρίου MSS. Χαβρίου Bentley. — ὡς: Dobree. The alternative would be to read ὅτι δὲ καθεῖται κτέ. — εἴρηται: in the third hypothesis. “εἴρηται vel προεἴρηται” Meineke. κρήνην . . . οὔσαν: i.e. Meton took a source which was there in those days

Note from Agn. XIV

Alphitopalis 1 Ag. XIV, p 98, note 216;

" — the upper, southward-facing storey may have been merely a promenade or extended porch, but it may also have served some commercial purpose (on which I to Stoa Alphit., when barley (sic) was sold; on Ag. III, pp 21, 1924 Hepp 1968, p. 56). 4

but on p. 172 "was presumably a flour market; its site is a matter of conjecture."

Makras Stoa (in Ag. XIV)

index gives p. 75 (nothing there)

p. 82³ points to "in Karpurite" possibly

on street Agn. — Diphys

p. 103 (nothing there!)

Note: Hepp. 1968
is also correct & E.V.
identif. (?) SSI
w. Alphitopalis.

(X)

Hepp. 1968, p. 56, HAT's report on Agn., 1916-7

Upper storey of SSI - arguably south exposure, on a much-used thoroughfare, readily accessible, for Tiberian ²⁹ get
note 29/ Alphitopalis "when barley was sold, of Ag. IV, esp. p. 193
Picture of Hepp. 2 cursis ?

begin

MSBF notes

A. Boghelt is due to work on the law-courts. Suggestion finds are in the neighborhoods of the Spu Blag and its predecessor. (Not only jinnas' balls.)

No suggestion finds near to Middle Sts. The plasterers ^{which were found there} are mostly of not all the wrong kind for choosing jinnas. A to for choosing members of a board.

14.VIII.80

Some little discussion after coffee between A. Boghelt, T.L.S. jr. & WBD jr. about the Middle Sts., and where were the lawcourts. A.B. repeated his observation that the plasterers found near to MSBF are not to trust to select jinnas. Query as to how much litigation went on, anyway, in 2nd cell. Nobody had confidence in local judges, and they went in arbiters, referred to as fikastari. The square Blag, its cost, and when the price was then become available to build up something else, and whether it was now expected that it was to be finished (WBD jr., who said he heard from Philip Townsend that none of the 5 walls was even laid, just trenches dug for it. But I have seen blocks in place - found by 5 garden, and T.L.S. jr. says the go son (?) was laid.) T.L.S. jr. mentions that in study

8 N 5 1
outside wall
is seen

ing the order of date of est. of Sq. Bldg last
year, Bldg (and TLS sign) 2m & condense the
to date end of 4th, not 3/4. (So the unit count
all to SAT as belonging.)

Wor
one
mind
2/2
3rd
on
2nd
6th

→ It seems Arakbade given with a
where the trial was held of Alkade, etc.
of Unit in E Eleusina.

Bill D, last ~~document~~ asked about
A.B. agreed with HAT in wanting a "solid wall"
along the N side of the MS; he referred to the curtain
bet the columns. So from that, A.B. said he
was not using the M.S. for his lawsuit, the
testimonies of which he is here to study.

On identification of the Middle Stoa etc.

A few days ago, at Tea, E. Harrison mentioned the dining rooms in S.S.I., and I think is ready to accept it as the Alphitopolis mentioned by An. Zecley, 682. She was aware I had proposed this in my text of 26.VT.56 (see end). Her reasons however are that she thinks the Elevation area extended that far, and that the " is a right place for a flower market.

On identy. of M. S. 102, etc.

See F. Vanderpool, "Metronomori," Hesperia 1968, pp. 73-76, esp. p. 76. He actually suggests ident. of S. S. 102 I with Tr. alpestris.

^{But} Was any part of ^{S. S. I} still in use by 222/1 BC?
Well, yes! and until est. of M. S.

3m P. 21
Schul. on Birds but 997 is to an
whole page the region behind the
Makre Stone is not Kolour
but Melite.

S.V. 66

14.12

Notes on Alphenopolis [and the Long Stone]

I look up again the refs. in Wyzdewy.

Wyzdewy^{no}
7

Note that the Feeling (lines 684-6) mention certainly
suggest that the ἀδφίτοπωδης is near the Royal
Stone and ^{was} "the one beside" the Royal Stone.

632 Schul. Arch. Penton 1837
And in the passage about the περίπραγμα
ταυιδωρ ἐν τῇ Ἀγορᾷ ἐν ᾧ ἀδφίτο
ἐπιπράσσαντο

This certainly indicates grain was sold in
the Agora, in late 5th B.C.

And could it refer to the slab enclosure in
the MS? Are there any stone slabs for this or
just slabs perhaps for wood? Or can Tavidas
be a stone? **7.11.66 I see WBD fr. They were
stone walls, at the top of the MS. But there might have
replaced earlier boards.**

p. 193 under (7) the ref. to a passage in
Thucydides, Charch, IV, 3, οἱ ἡγοῖ 3v
τῇ Ἀγορᾷ. [*i.e.*, grain into the Agora.]

A painting by Zeuxis was in the Alphenopolis
— a dice building there. [See MHS Anat. Painting,
2. lived at the time of the Peloponnesian Wars,
came from the West, lived for a time in Athens.]

Refs. to Long Stoa, Alphitopolis,

Testimony, p. 21, ^{see also in} 3 _{in}, 2 mscr., and Burds, l. 997 (Schol.)

→ It is customary to call the region behind the Madra Stoa Kolonos ("but it is not, all that is Melite"). Look up Wych. "The garden of ^{Phoenice} Zephy" in Phoenice 1959 (attached)

Test, p. 147

Eccelegizomus, 681 ff.

Section K

[of the scholasticus?] is to go to the Alphitopolis Stoa to dinner (other Section to other named stoa) [in the Agne]

1. 10.64

Needs further study. See ^{red} annotations on pencil note of 6 = 16. VI. 56 in folder containing MSBF typescript of 26. ~~see~~ VI. 56.

8. VI. 66

Look up D. Lewis's article up 8 by Wych. BSA 50, 1955, p. 16 - Wych. p. 74 of Annals says "D. Lewis has argued strongly and convincingly for the view that the Kolonos was not a deme at all but merely a district, which was included in the deme Melite." - i.e. not a hill.

WYCHERLEY

will all join with.

[14.14]

See p. 74, w. note 8

(in connection w. position of

Long Stoa -

in front of the

regimen columns
on marble

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THE GARDEN OF EPICURUS

R. E. WYCHERLEY

IT IS commonly assumed, on the evidence of Epicurus' will and of Cicero,¹ that Epicurus' house and the garden were distinct, even that while the house was in the city the garden was out in the suburbs, in the direction of the Academy. Professor N. W. DeWitt, in an ingenious article, and again in his excellent book on Epicurus,² explains the curious word *τρικύλιστος* as referring to a three-wheeled chair, used by Epicurus when he became infirm, and represents Epicurus as commuting daily between his house and the garden. He may well be right about *τρικύλιστος*. Epicurus commuting daily makes an interesting picture but somehow seems incongruous; but for the special topographical evidence, judging by what one is told about their mode of life, one would certainly think of Epicurus as actually residing in or beside the garden with his circle of friends.

The Greek philosophical school was essentially an extension of the Greek household.³ The scene of Plato's *Protagoras* (314e-316a) gives the prototype; there we can see the process of extension beginning. In one colonnade a group walks up and down peripatetic fashion with Protagoras, in another Hippias' pupils sit at his feet; in an adjoining room a third group gathers round Prodikos. Here of course we have no philosophical school but the house of a wealthy Athenian patron almost bursting itself to accommodate a mixed group of educators and their followers. Something of this intimate domestic character was maintained by the philosophical schools, or at least by some of them—the Cynics were very different. For the Epicureans above all the pursuit of philosophy was a matter of friends living their lives fully together, not merely getting together for study and discussion. "His friends came together from all parts and lived with him (*συνεβίου*) in his garden."⁴ In accounts of Epicurean activities the emphasis is constantly on this intimate sharing of life.

To realize or approach the Epicurean idea of philosophic communion, house and garden must surely have been, if not a single unit, then at least closely associated. A garden would provide the kind of extension of the household which was needed. If one can bring them together without defying the evidence, one feels strongly impelled to do so. In the

¹Diog. Laert. 10.17; Cicero *de Fin.* 5.1 ff.

²CP 35 (1940) 183ff.; *Epicurus and his Philosophy* (Minneapolis 1954) 92.

³DeWitt, *op.cit.* 91.

⁴Diog. Laert. 10.10, quoting Apollodoros.

light of recent study of the demes of western Athens, I believe that this can be done, and that the site can be identified with some accuracy.

The main problem has been that whereas the house is said to have been in Melite, a deme generally located southwest of the Agora and some distance to the south of the Dipylon, the garden was seen by Cicero and his friends while walking out from near the Dipylon to the Academy. When they are already at the Academy, Atticus speaks of "the garden of Epicurus, which we were passing just now."⁵ Without evidence to the contrary, one would naturally look for a philosophical garden in the suburbs, like the gardens of Plato and Theophrastos, where there was more space and greater seclusion. But quite apart from any connection between garden and house, Pliny says (19.50) that Epicurus was the first to have a rustic garden *in ipsa urbe*. There is no reason why one should not accept this location, and take it literally to mean within the walls; and Judeich does so, while still keeping house and garden distinct,⁶ as he was bound to do since he placed the deme Kolonos (Agoraios) between Melite and the Dipylon, in the neighbourhood of which we must locate the Garden. Cicero says, "At the appointed time we turned up at Piso's place" (for their proposed *ambulatio postmeridiana* after the morning's lecture session in the Ptolemaion); "from there we traversed the six stades from the Dipylon" to the Academy. This does not make sense unless Piso's lodging was quite near to the Dipylon, so that as a starting point for the walk they are not differentiated. We can therefore locate the garden inside the wall not far from the Dipylon, and assume that Cicero saw it in the short walk from Piso's lodging to the gate.

The house was in Melite, i.e., according to Judeich, well to the south, Kolonos being interposed. The deme Melite must in any case extend sufficiently far north to include *part* of the hill called Kolonos Agoraios, since the shrine of Eurysakes was both in Melite and on the Kolonos.⁷ The existence of a deme Kolonos (Agoraios) has been doubted before; and recently D. Lewis has argued strongly and convincingly for the view that this Kolonos was not a deme at all but merely a district, which was included in the deme Melite.⁸ If this is correct, and I believe it is, then Melite is further extended and can approach the line of the street from the Agora to the Dipylon, and the Dipylon itself. Melite was a large and populous deme, including industrial districts as well as the houses of a number of wealthy and notable citizens;⁹ and it requires

⁵Cic. *de Fin.* 5.3.

⁶W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (Munich 1931) 364, 391 and Abb. 14, p. 171.

⁷See R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*: Vol. 3, *Testimonia* (Princeton 1957) 90.

⁸*BSA* 50 (1955) 16; Schol. Aristophanes *Birds* 997 supports this view.

⁹Judeich, 390.

plenty of room, as R. Young points out in discussing the demes of the Agora neighbourhood, though he keeps the deme Kolonos.¹⁰ If Kolonos is eliminated, Melite can approach or possibly even include the site which I have postulated for the garden, and house and garden can come close together, perhaps at a point near the north end of "Melite Street." There are slight indications of the course of this street which is calculated to have run across the deme from the southeast in the direction of the Dipylon.¹¹

The will of Epicurus, preserved by Diogenes (10. 17), does indeed treat the garden and the house as separate pieces of property, or rather as *separable*—the "house in Melite" is distinguished as alienable after Hermarchos' death, but in fact it remained like the garden under Epicurean control (see the letter of Cicero quoted below). The relevant part runs as follows, "I bequeath all my property to Amynomachos and Timokrates, on condition that they shall place the garden and all that pertains to it (τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ) at the disposal of Hermarchos and his fellow-philosophers and Hermarchos' successors, to spend their time there on philosophy (ἐνδιατρίβειν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν)." Further provisions for the maintenance of the life of the school follow. "The house in Melite let Amynomachos and Timokrates place at the disposal of Hermarchos and his fellow-philosophers to live in as long as Hermarchos is alive." The specification of the deme in the case of the house may be no more than a formula. The garden too may have been in Melite; if not it may have been hard by in Kerameis. The language used does not necessarily mean that house and garden were at a distance from one another. Indeed such an interpretation would have not only in the head but the members commuting, which seems even more inconceivable. House and garden may be thought of as near to one another, possibly adjacent, forming a close unit, like the Master's residence closely linked to a college court.

There is a curious epilogue. In 51 B.C. Memmius sought to acquire and rebuild on some dilapidated house-property which had belonged to Epicurus. Patro and the Epicureans left no stone unturned to frustrate this scheme; Cicero, writing somewhat apologetically to Memmius, speaks of the place as *nescio quid illud Epicuri parietinarum*; and in a letter to Atticus confirms the site in Melite (*quae de parietinis in Melita laboravi*).¹² One knows to what length such enthusiasts can go, but one prefers to think that this property about which the Epicureans made such a fuss was an adjunct of their precious garden, still their true abode and their spiritual home.

¹⁰*Hesperia* 20 (1951) 142.

¹¹*Hesperia* 20 (1951) 167; cf. plan on p. 146.

¹²*Ad Fam.* 13. 1.3; *ad Att.* 5.19.3.

Epicurus' garden, like Plato's and Dr. Jowett's, was a little one. Seneca speaks of his *hortuli*,¹³ Juvenal of his *parvi horti*.¹⁴ The house too was not large. Cicero says,¹⁵ *At vero Epicurus una in domo, et ea quidem angusta, quam magnos quantaque amoris conspiratione consentientes tenuit amicorum greges! quod fit etiam nunc ab Epicureis*. This remark, incidentally, when one remembers what Diogenes says about Epicurus and his friends living together in the garden, makes better sense if one can associate garden and house. Epicurus himself said that the philosopher should not attempt to draw crowds (*ὄχλαγωγῆσαι*).¹⁶ This does not conflict with Cicero's words. Cicero is speaking in rather exaggerated language, and in any case it is all a question of relative numbers. What Epicurus disapproved of was Theophrastus' habit of giving popular lectures to thousands at the Lyceum.¹⁷ Epicurus avoided not only the Agora but the gymnasia. The Epicurean garden was something different from the spacious arboriculture of the gymnasium with its *peripatoi* and *dromoi*; the Epicurean society retained the intimacy of the household.

That Epicurus' garden was in the confines of the city is not altogether surprising or unprecedented. Gardens attached to houses would naturally be rare in the crowded urban area of Athens, or indeed of most Greek cities; they became commoner in the Hellenistic age, but that they were not unknown even before Epicurus' time, and how one might be acquired, is clearly shown by Isaïos 5. 11: Leochares "bought and demolished their ancestral house, and made the garden adjoining his own house in the city (*ἐν ἄστει*)."¹⁸ Pliny was not quite right in saying that Epicurus was the first. One hears of other gardens attached to houses. An Athenian inscription of ca. 350 B.C.¹⁹ speaks of the dedication to Asklepios of the house of Demon and the garden adjoining. In a fragment of the *Moirai* of Hermippos,²⁰ in which Pericles is criticized, early in the Peloponnesian War, the garden door of the house (*κηπαία θύρα*) is mentioned. There are several other references to gardens adjoining houses and to garden doors,²⁰ but only in Isaïos is it quite plain that a town house is in question.

¹³*Epist.* 21. 10.

¹⁴14.319; cf. Plutarch, *Non Posse Suaviter Vиви* 1098b, *εἰς τὸ κηπίδιον ἐνδεδυκότα*.

¹⁵*De Fin.* 1.65.

¹⁶Diog. Laert. 10.120.

¹⁷Diog. Laert. 5.37; *ἀπήντων* must mean that 2000 used to turn up at a single performance, though this may well be an exaggeration.

¹⁸W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ (Leipzig 1915-1924) 1005; *IG II²* 4969.

¹⁹Athenaeus 15.668a; T. Kock, *CAF* (Leipzig 1880-1888) 1.237, No. 47.

²⁰Demosthenes 47.53; cf. 53.15ff.; house gardens are not uncommon in New Comedy; cf. F. Olck in *RE* 7 (1910) col. 785 s.v. "Gartenbau," and R. Martin, *L'Urbanisme dans la Grèce Antique* (Paris 1956) 249.

There were also sacred gardens attached to shrines, and leased for cultivation to

If the garden, with the house nearby, was on our proposed site, then it was not only within the city, but in a well-populated and busy quarter. In fact the peace and quiet which Epicurus and his friends knew would then be something like what one experiences in a college court adjoining a busy street, or that extraordinary sense of withdrawal and detachment which one feels when buried in a library in the heart of a teeming city.

provide revenue for the maintenance of the cult; and one or two of these may have been within the city. An inscription of 333/2 B.C., recently found in the northern part of the ancient city, tells of the leasing of the *kepos* of a *heroon* (P. G. Ballinda and N. I. Pantazopoulos, *Πραγμ. Ἀκαδ. Αθ.* 13 [1948] 5ff.; cf. *REG* 63 [1950] 148); A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaïos (*Polemon* 3 [1948] 148) thinks that the hero in question was the Heros Iatros, since other inscriptions relating to his cult have been found near the same place. Neleus and Basile had an olive-grove on the south side of the city (*IG I²* 94, of 418/7 B.C.); Judeich places it within the walls (p. 387; Plan I, G 7), but it may have been immediately outside.

The "Garden of Hephaistos" is a rather different matter, and its date is in any case uncertain. I am particularly indebted to Mrs. Dorothy Thompson, the discoverer and publisher of the Garden of Hephaistos (*Hesperia* 6 [1937] 396ff.; cf. *Archaeology* 4 [1951] 41ff.), with whom I discussed these matters while working at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LIBERAL TEMPER IN GREEK POLITICS. By E. A. HAVELOCK. New Haven: Yale University Press; Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. 443. (\$6.00)

WHEN I first heard the title of Professor Havelock's latest book I was a little incredulous. Was there ever a liberal temper in Greek politics? Spartan militarism, Athenian imperialism, the violence and intransigence of political life in many cities, their toleration of slavery, their attitude towards women and foreigners—all these seemed to typify everything illiberal. But if their political behavior was narrow-minded and repressive, were there not a few choice spirits of more liberal temper—Protagoras, Herodotus, Euripides, Democritus? And so indeed it turns out; Havelock's book is mainly about the pre-Socratics. He writes (p. 11), "What is here styled Greek liberalism grew and flowered in an intellectual climate which lay outside those walls with which Plato's idealism and Aristotle's teleology surrounded the Greek citizen and his city-state." This is perfectly true and well worth saying; and Havelock's introductory chapter started off at least one reader with high hopes and a thoroughly sympathetic attitude. Many of the hopes were fulfilled, but many others were sadly disappointed, and sympathy waned a little when credulity was strained too much.

Part of the trouble here is that the reader, almost any reader, will have to enlarge "liberalism" to cover a great deal more than it usually does. "Liberal" is held to mean not simply the opposite of "illiberal" but also "secular" and "rationalist" and especially "anti-Platonic, anti-idealistic," and even too, "anti-Aristotelian." Certainly Plato and Aristotle were notoriously non-liberal, but must therefore all their pet aversions qualify for the epithet liberal? For Havelock the liberal approach is also the scientific, especially genetic, biological-historical, evolutionary. But "evolution" is used in two different ways; sometimes of the pre-history of the human race, its emergence from mud and slime, or whatever the pre-amoeba stage might be, on the other the Promethean or Protagorean sense of man's progress in the arts of civilisation. The descent of man and the ascent of man are two different things, and only the latter has any clear connexion with the liberal temper as I see it. The very idea of progress has a liberalizing and a liberating force, as I am sure Professor Havelock would agree. Progress is not inevitable but at least it is still possible.

Professor Havelock has severe criticism for "those platitudes which

MSBF

B. 17.59

14.15

"As you know, even my studies
sometimes bump into topo-
graphical problems. I would
still like to think that the
"middle stone" was really the
(new) floor market, project
begun, at least, with the help
of the floor-dealer Pharooses
I. . . ."

vg & Wyndy, etc. of today
acknowledging his article -
GRBS 2.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
54 SOUIDIAS STREET, ATHENS, 140
CABLES: AMSCHOOL ATHENS



Nov. 28, 1981
ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΙΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ
ΟΔΟΣ ΣΟΥΔΙΑΣ 54, ΑΘΗΝΑΙ, 140
ΤΗΛ. 736-313

rec'd from [unclear]
guthrie Dec. 29

Dear Miss Grace,

The archon Tychandros seems reliably dated to 160/59, though of course the archon list does periodically need revision. Ben Meritt in his most recent list, published in Historia 26 (1977) pp. 161-191, retains this date ^{for} Tychandros.

Pharnaces is now generally thought to have come to power ca. 185 and died ~~there~~ around 156. The evidence for the later date is of course the evidence of the Delian inscription in question.

Durbaek # 73 = Inscriptions de Delos 1497. Since the latter is the standard publication, I think I would refer to it in any publication. As to what Pharnaces actually gave, I'm afraid the language of the decree is too vague to say anything much. Some sort of monetary gift in installments seems implied. The choice of Delos as a location for the statues may simply be, as you say, the most conspicuous place and i. the one conferring most honor. I, however, still have the feeling that locating the statues and inscription on Delos (cf. lines 23-24 and 29) suggests that Pharnaces' largesse was somehow connected with the recently established "Athenian" Delos.

Sorry I can't be of more help.

Sincerely,
Steve [Tracy]

Perhaps doubtless built S. Str II
which is fairly contemp. with L. EA.
Aniropolis, it seems, also had a grain. N. Str.
(Hall. A. Str., p. 301) (like Pharnaces?)

On Pharnaces of Pontus
did he build the M.S.?

Post. SEHW, p. 630: "Not less significant of Athens' commercial relations are the honours conferred by her on Antiochus IV, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, and above all Pharnaces of Pontus, and the gifts received by her from them. The last of these, it is to be borne in mind, became about this time master of the two greatest commercial ports on the southern coast of the Euxine, Amisus and Sinope, both very important centres of the grain trade, and both closely connected with Athens in the past. . . . " (a lot more here that is interesting.)

They did import grain: cf. SEHW p. 593

What about the M.S. as a grain market?

Look up, for Post.'s note 35 on d. v. (p. 1469):

Foreigner, Hall. A. Str., pp. 298 ff.

CAT IX, p. 220, n. 3 (Post. on Pontus)

P. 302: "Soudier before 171 BC he had agreed to pay 5 and Pharnaces the gift of a sum of money in annual Antiochus IV."

Dow: Hesperus IV, p. 91, on date of Ph.'s death: after 160/59 BC (and married Nysa girl by then)

(Some interesting epigraphical refs. too) —

Q 4

036

F. Durrbach, Choix d'inscriptions de Dode, Paris, 1921,

(no. 73.

|| see p. 102: if we look in his reign for a date when he

- 1) would have had particular occasion and desire to pose as a bursar (or Athens), it was about 183: "se montrer généreux envers Athènes, c'était flatter à la fois ses nouveaux sujets et le ville d'où ils étaient originaires, et cette attitude couronnant tout particulièrement au maître de Suïssa et d'Amisos."

Text, and a Fr. Transl., pp. 97 - 100

Plutarchus had undertaken to pay certain sums at intervals ^{to the city of Athens}, which he had not been able to complete, because of other difficulties and obligations. They are missing his energies (and those of his ancestors), and hoping to get something on account.

It is dated after his marriage to Nysa, who is mentioned in it. Durrbach says 172/1, but
(H. cop. 100)
Dow 160/59 — "We know now."

(orig. 1)

7. VI. 56
pp. 264-5
(in Judeich, & W. G. 1914)
O grain market: an inner market place and Alphitopos.

There are references as early as Aristotle. Could it have been originally, S. Stoa I - Judeich says there were "partitions" (θηαία, which are otherwise interpreted by others, as "boards" on which to put flour or grain?). Then replaced by

1. VII. 60

3

12. VI. 56

16.03

⊗ But note they are speaking not
of a hill at all, but a district,
perhaps a deme. Q. Wysz. in
Phoenice 13, 1959, p. 74, note 8.

⊗⊗ The identity of Kolonos
Agros as Thessalon Hill has been
disputed: cf. Judeich p. 44, note 2, p. 176
See if any are assembled by Wysz. are
that there are 1 or 2? "the hill is to
be seen?"

MS, supplemented by E (from banking part - of its tables) and
S Stra II. Sch. Ant. p. 997
References indicate Kolonos (Agros) was

See plan
Judeich p. 394
- column base
to long stoa -
and also to
but small
thing.

"Leclercq" it, apparently, but there is nothing better on the W side.
"Long stoa" is what all the S ones are. a striking milestone was set
up in front of (top) to mark
also. 19 II² 965, 14
Herselen Pontica was another great center of grain trade, SE HW
Altum merchants partly controlled it, SE HW p. 630
p. 630
8. VI. 56

16. VI. 56
Note this passage
in general is
cited by HAT
Heupel XIII
p. 45, note 15
w. ref. to this
dining room
notion (in
ref. to bank
in wall, long
stoa, etc.)

One of Wysz.'s references to "the plan when barley is
sold" states that it was used as a dining room for
"Section K." [But this is a joke - Arist. Eccl. 682.]

Note bases,
some with
sculpture, in
SSI rooms
& colonades
look up
the typical

See ref. in Judeich, pp. 364 ff. and pp. 448 ff. on the
counterpart Makers Stoa and Alkibiopolis in Peiraeus,
built by Pericles - p. 365, note 1: in Alkibiopolis was
in the Agora, it was the oldest "Kaufhalle", built
before 392 when Aristotle's Eccl. was produced.
It was set up with wooden partitions, and must
have been very long as all the grain trade was carried
on in it, or prob. is = 5 Makers Stoa.

(On the way, found a fine picture of Pl. I,
CAH Vol. 9 Pl. IV, 2, m.) See also SE HW pl IX,
2
(big)

12. VI. 56

On stoa financed, or partly financed, by foreign donors
see R. Martin, Recherches sur l'Agora Grecque (1951) p. 500 ff.
This multiple financing could not but spoil

the unity of the construction: "Ils voulaient se surmonter dans leurs créations; l'œuvre n'est plus l'expression des sentiments de la communauté, mais un titre de gloire pour un nombre limité de citoyens. D'autre part, la participation de plusieurs donateurs à une même construction, les lenteurs apportées dans la concentration des fonds, les arrêts et les reprises des travaux contribuent à rompre l'unité de l'édifice."

Note on Pleuroneus, from SEHW (in case of materiality)
his character & power, ^{II} p. 663, 665

183 BC the talent Siniper & Amiens (p. 630, 663-4)

and established strong Pontus (p. 58, 578, 630, 665, 830)

183-179

in spite of being (to coalition with Eumenes II) the war &

made himself ruler of N coast (p. 59, 636, 665, 673, p. 1512 note 38)

after 179

his continued influence over more distant gulf cities, e.g.

Odessos on NW shore of Bl. Sea, & Chersonesos; his

retention of colonies of Siniper, Cerasus & Colyora.

Also his cordial relations w. Athens (p. 665)

[p. 1482, note 75a: an inscr. found in Varna (Odessos) which needs further study]

Finally this is the matter of the
 main ~~and central~~ floor ventilated below,
 a feature of the Indian Valley granaries
 which appears surprisingly 1700
 years old in the Bengali "Houses"
 of the 3rd cent. B.C.,
 and this is regularly found in
 these granaries, ~~as to the~~ ^{stone} ~~provision~~
 against damp. We have no material
 evidence of such a floor in the M.S. as
 a provision against damp, it might be
 somewhat
 partly reflected by the high podium on
 which the building is set, composed
 partly of layers of potshards and of stone
 building chips. However, it seems

The
 {

267. E. 82

The ~~other~~ changes named by these writers
~~appear in~~ on other sets of theses
all appear in the sequence of change
names.

alpha. cost of latest MSBF, + $\pi =$, spreads

Ἀθηνῶσις
 Ἀγέστρεως
 Ἀρατοφάνης
 Ἀριστείδης
 Ἀριστείδης
 Ἀρίων
 Ἀρξιδάμης
 Ἀντίγνης
 Καλλικράτης
 Κλεονόμος
 Νικ. Ἰδ.
 Ξενοφάνης
 Ξύπραστος

