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THE DECREE OF KLEINIAS

by

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## THE DECREE OF KLEINIAS

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to study the decree of Kleinias, with a view to determining its purpose and date, using epigraphic criteria and internal evidence. The arguments from historical context are merely summarized in Chapter 1, Introduction. Chapter 2 determines the readings. Chapter 3 discusses the evidence of the letter-forms and characterizes the mason. The conclusion of this chapter is that a date in the 430s is best. Chapter 4 discusses the evidence of spelling, which is of no help for dating, and formulae, which suggest a date in the late 440s or 430s. Chapter 5 gives the restoration of the text, and commentary. From internal evidence discussed in this chapter, a date after 453 and before 426 is necessary. The decree seems to be concerned not with recalcitrant subject cities, but only with dishonesty and poor bookkeeping. Chapter 6 briefly restates the evidence found in the previous chapters.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction	pages 1-4
Chapter 2: The Fragments	5-26
Chapter 3: The Cutting of the Stone	27-46
Chapter 4: Spelling and Formulae	47-56
Chapter 5: The Text: Restoration and Commentary	57-84
Chapter 6: Conclusion	85-86
Bibliography and Abbreviations	87-93

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Fragment 1	page 8
Figure 2: Fragment 2	11
Figure 3: Fragment 3	18
Figure 4: Fragment 4	22, 23
Figure 5: Letter-forms in the Decree of Kleinias	29, 30, 31
Figure 6: Fragment 4: Intermingling of Elements	44

## CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

The date of the decree of Kleinias has been much discussed, and various proposals have been put forward based on epigraphic arguments and on historical context. The latter involves a certain amount of subjectivity in the interpretation of the decree, as is shown by the fact that its date could be shifted from the 420s to the 440s upon the discovery of a new fragment that did reveal the name of the mover, but otherwise merely confirmed the tenor of previous restorations. I, therefore, do not propose to argue the historical context of the decree, but shall summarize here the proposals made and confine the main part of the thesis to epigraphic arguments, in order to establish upper and lower limits for the decree. The second chapter re-examines the text of the inscription to establish readings. The third chapter deals with the significance of the letter-forms used in this inscription, and the fourth with the significance of the spelling and formulae. The fifth chapter discusses the restoration of the decree and gives a commentary on it. Finally, the conclusion gathers together the indications of the previous chapters concerning the date and subject of the decree, but does not produce a definite date and context; it seems best, since the evidence is inconclusive, to state merely that the decree cannot be dated epigraphically.

Briefly, the historical arguments for a date have been these. At first, Meritt assigned the decree to the early 420s, because it appeared to come shortly before the decree of Kleonimos, D8, which

required the appointment of collectors of tribute.<sup>1</sup> Doubt that the two decrees were passed so close together, however, arising from a consideration of the differing use of the daseia, and of the general appearance of the cutting of the two decrees, was expressed by Woodward.<sup>2</sup> The bases for his doubt were invalid (see below, chapters 3 and 4), but doubt was reasonable: both decrees, it is true, concern the collecting of tribute, but this need not mean that they must have been passed at about the same time.

After the discovery of fragment 4, in which the name of the mover of the decree, Kleinias, is preserved, Hill and Meritt proposed a date before 446, the battle of Koroneia, for Kleinias was identified as the father of Alkibiades, who died there.<sup>3</sup> Wade-Gery preferred a specific date, 447; he argued that the decree was passed in reaction to the short quota-list of 447, List 7, and resulted in the long list, List 8, of 446, where the main body of the list shows complete payments for the current year, and arrears of payment are recorded in an appendix.<sup>4</sup> The letter-forms were considered to support this re-dating: Raubitschek, even before the discovery of fragment 4, had proposed a date in the 440s on that basis.<sup>5</sup>

This historical argument was elaborated in A.T.L., III, in a reconstruction of the events of the early forties that involved the

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1. D.A.T., p. 59.

2. J.H.S., LVIII (1938), p. 108.

3. Hesperia, XIII (1944), pp. 8-9.

4. Hesperia, XIV (1945), pp. 226-228.

5. A.J.P., LXI (1940), pp. 477-479.

Peace of Kallias and the resultant remission of tribute in 449/8.<sup>6</sup>

The decree of Kleinias, according to this reconstruction, was passed to help re-establish Athenian authority in the Empire after the re-imposition of tribute in 448/7, along with the Papyrus Decree, D13, and the Coinage Decree, D14.

De Ste Croix has argued that this reconstruction of the 440s is wrong, if the decree of Kleinias is indeed to be dated then. "If the decree of Cleinias...is to be dated in the spring of 447, as by A.T.L. III, 281, 289, the fact that it gives no indication at all of any allied 'recalcitrance' but only of incompetence and dishonesty which it was hoped to put right by more efficient machinery, with no reference to ἀργυρολόγοι νῆες or any kind of force, is rather strong evidence against supposing that the allies had been refusing to pay."<sup>7</sup> This forms part of his argument that the tribute of 449/8 was not in fact remitted at all. If, however, the decree of Kleinias be interpreted as purely a book-keeping decree, then there is no reason, beyond that of the name of the mover, for retaining it in the 440s; it could have been passed later.

Meiggs and Lewis have also expressed some uneasiness about this historical case, because some complements recorded in the appendix to List 8 have been shown by A.T.L., III, 59-61, to be the result, not of recalcitrance, but of late reporting of payments made to generals in the field. They retain a date in the 440s, however, because they feel that "the spirit of Kleinias' decree strongly

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6. A.T.L., III, pp. 275-300, esp. p. 281.

7. The Origins of the Peloponnesian War, p. 312.



resembles that of the Coinage decree, and for that decree also we accept a date in the early forties."<sup>8</sup>

Finally, Mattingly would date the decree of Kleinias to 425, shortly after the decree of Thoudippos, the re-assessment decree of 425/4, A9.<sup>9</sup> Of all the dates proposed, this alone can be ruled out completely. References to the bases of his proposal will be found from time to time; they are not valid, and it can be shown that the decree of Kleinias was passed before the decree of Kleonymos, D8, which belongs firmly in 426.

These then are the dates suggested on historical grounds.

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8. Greek Historical Inscriptions, pp. 120-121.

9. Historia, X (1961), pp. 150-169, esp. pp. 153-154; he also discusses the decree in several other articles, for which see the bibliography.

CHAPTER TWO  
THE FRAGMENTS

Fragment 1

Bibliography<sup>1</sup>: E.M. 13045; B. D. Meritt, D.A.T., p. 49; A. M. Woodward, J.H.S., LVIII (1938), pp. 108-109; Sterling Dow, A.J.A., XLII (1938), p. 602; A.T.L., I, D7; B. H. Hill and B. D. Meritt, Hesperia, XIII (1944), pp. 7-8; A.T.L., II, D7.

Photographs: B. D. Meritt, D.A.T., p. 44; A.T.L., I, p. 121; A.T.L., II, pl. II.

This fragment was found in 1926, when the post-classical additions to the west door of the Parthenon were removed, and was first published by Meritt in 1937.<sup>2</sup> According to his report, the stone is 0.47 metres high, 0.37 metres wide, and about 0.107 metres thick. The stone is preserved at the top and on the right side. "In its present condition fragment 1 has been reworked...the back has been cut away with a running drill. Along both preserved edges of the back there was executed a drafting about 0.005 metres to 0.008 metres wide. A similar drafting appears also at the bottom of the obverse face, where it runs along the under surface of the stone. It also returns across the bottom surface below the lateral face. Thus it appears that the present height of the block as preserved dates from the period of the reworking, when the back was chipped away and the rough surfaces were given a marginal dressing. The stone was again

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1. The bibliography does not include mere reprintings of the text.

2. D.A.T., pp. 43-60 (text and commentary).

broken before being built into the door of the Parthenon and only a very small section of the drafted surface along the bottom now remains."<sup>3</sup>

In the top right of this fragment there is an uninscribed area seventeen letter spaces wide and thirteen lines long. According to Sterling Dow, "It may be noted that the uninscribed area...is exactly square, as if for a square or round painted figure."<sup>4</sup> Woodward suggests that this space was perhaps occupied by a painting, presumably symbolising some process of the collection of tribute.<sup>5</sup> The use of decoration in this position, at the top right-hand corner of the stele, is found in I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 2496, which is dated to some time after the middle of the fourth century. It has a sculpture occupying ten lines and about sixteen letter spaces (the inscription is non-stoichedon). The text records the purchase of some buildings in the Peiraieus, but the sculpture decorating it does not appear to be inspired by the context. Kirchner<sup>6</sup> reports that it shows a man, possibly a hero, wearing a cloak and seated on a chair, stretching out his right hand to a woman standing on his left, who is holding what may be a wallet. Nearer in date to the decree of Kleinias is another decorated inscription, the decree of Kleonymos, D8, from 426. This decree has a sculptured relief on the top, which probably shows the jars or sacks in which the tribute was carried. These

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3. D.A.T., p. 49.

4. A.J.A., XLII (1938), p. 602.

5. J.H.S., LVIII (1938), p. 108.

6. The description is given in the commentary to I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 2496.

inscriptions and all other decorated inscriptions, however, have sculptured decorations. As Woodward admits, there is no parallel for a painted decoration on an inscription, although paint was used on letters.

Woodward thinks he sees part of a shield in three-quarter view in the photograph published by Meritt in D.A.T., p. 44. I cannot see any trace of it there, nor is there any trace of paint left on the stone. If in fact there was painting in this space, none of it remains, and the example of I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 2496 shows that its subject need not have been directly related to the text of the inscription.

FIGURE ONE  
FRAGMENT ONE

8

	16	20	25	30	35	40
2		Δ Ε				
		Ο Υ				
		Ο Ν				
5		Μ Β				
		Τ Ε Σ				
		Π Ο Σ Ε				
		Υ Λ Λ Ε				
		Τ Ο Σ Η				
10	Α Θ Ε Ν Α					
	Σ Θ Α Ι Π					
	Α Μ Μ Ε Ε Χ Σ					
	Σ Ι Τ Ο Μ Φ					
	Π Ο Λ Ι Σ Ε Σ					
15	Ρ Ο Ν Η Ο Ν Τ Ι Ν Α Ν Α Π Ο Π Ε Μ Π Ε Ι Σ Ε Μ Ε					
	Ι Α Π Ο Π Ε Μ Π Ε Τ Ο Α Θ Ε Ν Α Ζ Ε Τ Ο Σ Δ Ε Α					
	Τ Ο Γ Ρ Α Μ Μ Α Τ Ε Ι Ο Ν Ε Ν Τ Ε Ι Β Ο Λ Ε Ι Α					
	Ρ Τ Ο Μ Φ Ο Ρ Ο Ν Α Π Ο Δ Ι Δ Ο Σ Ι Η Ο Ι Δ Ε Π Ρ					
	Σ Ι Α Ε Κ Κ Λ Ε Σ Ι Α Ν Η Ο Ι Ε Σ Α Ν Τ Ο Ν Τ Ο Ι					
20	Π Ο Δ Ε Ι Χ Σ Α Ι Α Θ Ε Ν Α Ι Ο Ι Σ Τ Ο Μ Π Ο Λ					
		Ν Τ Ε Λ Ε Κ Α Ι Τ Ο Σ Ε Λ Λ Ι Π Ο				
		Ε Ν Α Ι Ο Σ Δ Ε Η Ε Λ Ο Μ Ε				
		Τ Α Σ Π Ο Λ Ε Σ Α Ν Τ				
					Ι Α Π Α Ι	
25					Ο Ν Τ	
						Τ
	16	20	25	30	35	40

Line 3, stoichos 22: Θ Meritt; O Hill and Meritt. The reading given by Hill and Meritt is accepted by all other editors. The squeezes show an elongated, slightly off-centre dot, not of the same depth as the rest of the letter. Other examples of theta have neat, precisely centred dots. Although the letter is badly scarred, there can be no doubt that omicron, undotted, is the correct reading.

Line 10, stoichos 19: Α scripsi; Α cett. On the squeezes all I can see is the lower part of the right leg of the letter.

Line 12, stoichos 17: Α McGregor<sup>7</sup>; The lower part of the right leg was seen on the stone by McGregor, and appears on the squeezes.

Line 18, stoichos 16: Ρ scripsi; Meritt reads nothing; Ρ cett. All that can be seen on the squeezes is the loop, but, since this could form a part of no other letter (there is no trace of the lower curve of beta), I print undotted rho.

Line 23, stoichos 31: Α scripsi; Α cett. Only the top is visible, and there is no trace of a crossbar.

Line 24, stoichoi 36, 37: ΙΑ scripsi; ΙΑ cett. Of the iota, only the top is visible. It is centred, but the vertical of lambda is sometimes centred in this inscription also. Of the alpha, only the top angle is visible.

Line 26, stoichos 40: Τ scripsi; Τ cett. Only the crossbar can be seen on the squeezes, and that faintly.

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7. A fresh examination of the stone was made by McGregor in 1972; this and other comments are from his notebook.

## Fragment 2

Bibliography: E.M. 6578; A. R. Rangabé, Ant. Hell., I, no. 277; K. S. Pittakys, in Éφ. Ἀρχ., 1854, no. 2071; I.G., I, 39, from transcripts by U. Koehler and I. Velsen; I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b; B. D. Meritt, D.A.T., pp. 43-47; A.T.L., I, D7; Sterling Dow, A.J.A., XLII (1938), p. 602; B. D. Meritt, Epigraphica Attica, p. 38; B. H. Hill and B. D. Meritt, Hesperia, XIII (1944), pp. 7-8; A.T.L., II, D7.

Photographs: B. D. Meritt, D.A.T., p. 46; A.T.L., I, p. 121.

The fragment was found on the Acropolis. According to I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b, the stone is 0.32 metres wide, 0.33 metres high, and 0.13 metres thick. These measurements are the maximum: the stone is broken on all sides and irregularly shaped. A part of the right edge is preserved (not the left, as is reported in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b, noted and corrected by Meritt), which fixes the position of the fragment horizontally in the stele. The vertical position is determined by the relation of this fragment to fragment 4, since the text of fragment 2 complements the text of fragment 4.

The numbering of lines is that of A.T.L., II.

FIGURE TWO  
FRAGMENT TWO

11

	22	25	30	35	40
34			Ο Λ Ο Μ Ε Ν Ο		
35			Ν Ε Σ Ε Σ Α		
			Σ Α Γ Γ Ρ Α Φ Σ Ε Τ Α		
			Ε Σ Ε Κ Α Σ Τ Ο Σ		
			Ο Ι Κ Υ Ρ Ι Α Ε Σ Τ		
			Ο Α Ν Δ Ε Δ Ο Χ Σ Ε Ι		
40	Τ Α Ν Ε Σ Η Ο Τ Ι Α Ν Δ Ο Κ				
	Α Ν Τ Ι Σ Π Ε Ρ Ι Τ Ε Ν Α Π Α				
	Σ Α Δ Ι Κ Ε Ι Τ Α Σ Γ Ρ Α Φ Α				
	Α Τ Α Τ Α Υ Τ Α Τ Ο Σ Δ Ε				
			Ι Ν Α Κ Ι Ο Ν Λ Ε Λ		
45	Ν Τ Ο Φ Ο Ρ Ο Κ Α				
			Ι Α Π Ο Α		
	22	25	30	35	40



Line 34, stoichos 26:  $\text{O}$  I.G.,  $\text{I}^2$ , 66b, Meritt. The reading given by I.G.,  $\text{I}^2$ , 66b, according to Meritt, is based apparently on Velsen or Koehler, but is not found in Pittakys or Rangabé. Meritt alone accepted the reading, because of evidence that this fragment may have become more damaged since the original reading was made. Hill and Meritt drop the omicron, because the stone is too badly damaged for any letter ever to have been seen there.

Line 35, stoichos 35:  $\Gamma$  I.G.,  $\text{I}^2$ , 66b;  $\Gamma$  cett. Nothing at all can be seen on the photographs; on the squeezes I see a slanted stroke, at an odd angle, rather below the line and not as deep as the other letters. I do not believe it is a part of any letter, nor do I see any other trace.

Line 36, stoichos 25:  $\Sigma$  I.G.,  $\text{I}^2$ , 66b;  $\Sigma$  cett.

stoichoi 27, 28:  $\Gamma\Gamma$  scripsi;  $\Gamma\Gamma$  cett. Only the lower part of the left leg of the first letter and the lower part of the right leg of the second letter are visible.

stoichos 35:  $\Lambda$  Meritt;  $\Lambda$  cett. Only the left leg is visible on the squeezes.

Line 37, stoichos 24:  $\Gamma$  Meritt. Meritt's reading is rejected by Hill and Meritt, because of the "necessities of restoration." I can see no trace of the lower left leg of the gamma reported by Meritt.

stoichos 25:  $\text{E}$  Pittakys, Meritt;  $\text{E}$  cett. Traces of the two lower horizontals and of the vertical are visible on the squeezes; therefore I do not dot the letter.

stoichos 27:  $\Sigma$  Pittakys;  $\Theta$  Meritt. The marks interpreted by Pittakys as sigma are visible on the squeezes, but are clearly

scratches. Meritt's reading of theta also results from mistaking scratches for cuttings. The scratches can be seen on the squeezes, but are not deep enough to be letters. Of the original letter there is no trace. Hill and Meritt rejected Meritt's earlier reading, again on the grounds of the necessities of restoration.

Line 38, stoichos 25: O I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b, Meritt; O cett. The omicron is clear though incomplete on the squeezes and could not be part of any other letter.

stoichos 26: N I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b; I cett. In this stoichos there is a vertical stroke more than usually off-centre for an iota, and a very faint, high vertical stroke at the right edge of the stoichos, visible on the squeezes. The second vertical stroke, however, is also found on the line below and is probably a scratch. It is clear from the squeezes that no chisel cut touched the first vertical. The letter to be read in this space then is iota.

stoichos 27: K I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b; K cett. The vertical stroke and the top arm of the kappa are visible on the squeezes; no dot is needed.

stoichos 28: Y omnes. Meritt reports that the upsilon is no longer on the stone, though part of the upright was read by earlier editors. The squeezes show part of the upright clearly.

stoichos 35: O nonnulli. I see no traces of any letter in this stoichos on the squeezes.

Line 39, stoichos 23: O I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b; I Pittakys; Σ Meritt; Σ cett. This stoichos contains scratches, some of which may be the original marks of the chisel, which can be interpreted as the faint remains of sigma, mu, or iota. Of the three sigma is perhaps

the most likely, but I am by no means certain; I prefer to read nothing. It is certain, however, that no daseia was cut here, since, where the right hand vertical should be, the stone has clearly not been cut. This is particularly important, since we have here as a result the only unrestored instance in the decree of the omission of the daseia; this one omission makes restorations without the daseia acceptable.

stoichos 24: O nonnulli.

stoichos 25: I Pittakys; T alii. There is no trace on the squeezes.

Line 40, stoichos 22: T Velsen, Meritt; T cett. Koehler reports merely a horizontal. Only the right half is visible.

stoichos 24: Δ Rangabe; Ϟ Koehler; Υ I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b;  
N cett. The fragment seen by Koehler is clear on the squeezes.  
Line 41, stoichos 22: A scripsi; O Koehler; I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b; A cett.  
Only the top angle of the letter is visible.

stoichos 24: E Pittakys; T cett.

Line 42, stoichos 22: E I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b; Σ cett. The angle of the diagonals visible can only be the remains of a sigma.

stoichos 36: A I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b; A cett. Only the bottom of the left leg can be seen.

Line 43, stoichos 22: A I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66b, Meritt; A cett. Only the bottom of the right leg can be seen at the very edge of the break in the stone.

Line 44, stoichos 22: Σ nonnulli. McGregor reports that on the stone there is a trace of the centre angle, and some colour perhaps indicating a sigma. I see no trace of any letter on the squeezes.

stoichos 23:  $\Pi$  cett. Of the pi read by other editors, I see only what may be the top of the right vertical, but the stone is so mutilated that I cannot be sure whether the squeezes show a scar or a chisel-cut. McGregor reports the same stroke on the stone, and considers the reading doubtful.

stoichos 33:  $\Lambda$  I.G.,  $I^2$ , 66b;  $\Lambda$  cett. Only the vertical is visible on the squeezes.

Line 45, stoichos 31:  $\Delta$  scripsi;  $\Lambda$  cett. Only the top angle is visible on the squeezes.

stoichos 32:  $I$  I.G.,  $I^2$ , 66b, Meritt;  $I$  cett. There is no trace of any letter on the squeezes.

Line 46, stoichos 28:  $\wedge$  scripsi;  $\Delta$  I.G.,  $I^2$ , 66b, Mattingly<sup>8</sup>;  $\Delta$  Meritt;  $\Gamma$  cett. All that remains is the apex. The context does not rule out delta or gamma.

stoichos 29:  $\bar{\text{—}}$  scripsi. Meritt reports that Pittakys read additional letters on this and on following lines, but that these are to be attributed to blemishes on the stone. No other editor mentions them, or prints anything in this stoichos. McGregor, however, reports a horizontal chisel cut in the upper left of the stoichos, from the stone, and on the squeezes I see the same chisel cut quite clearly. It is not clear of what letter it forms a part.

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8. B.S.A., LXV (1970), p. 129.

## Fragment 3

Bibliography: Richard Pococke, Inscriptionum Antiquarum Graec(arum) et Latin(arum) Liber, p. 52, no. 42; Hugh James Rose, Inscriptiones Graecae Vetustissimae, p. 252 and pl. xxxii; Friederich Osann, Sylloge Inscriptionum Antiquarum Graecarum et Latinarum, pp. 11-14, no. III; August Boeckh, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, I, no. 75 with Addenda, p. 896; I.G., I, 38e, where readings by Mueller are used; E. L. Hicks, The Collection of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, I, Attika, no. VI; I.G., I, suppl., p. 13, no. 38a; I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66a; H. T. Wade-Gery, B.S.A., XXXIII (1933) p. 122, n. 1; B. D. Meritt, D.A.T., p. 47; A.T.L., I, D7; B. H. Hill and B. D. Meritt, Hesperia, XIII (1944), pp. 7-8; A.T.L., II, D7.

Photographs: B. D. Meritt, D.A.T., p. 48; A.T.L., I, p. 122.

The fragment was found on the Acropolis. According to Meritt, the stone is 0.493 metres high, 0.215 metres wide, and 0.148 metres thick. "The thickness alone is original, and shows the reverse face dressed smooth, and uninscribed. The left edge has also been dressed smooth, presumably by the same modern workman who squared off the top (and possibly also the bottom) with a view to making a shapely piece of marble out of a broken fragment." The right edge is preserved, not the left: all restorations before that of Meritt have the left margin intact, and occasionally print extra letters beyond the right margin. There is an uninscribed area 0.115 metres high below the last line; this fragment then contains the concluding lines of the decree. However, the measurements of both this uninscribed area and the total height of the fragment are necessarily approximate, since it has been set in a socle of unknown depth in

the British Museum.

FIGURE THREE  
FRAGMENT THREE

18

	27	30	35	40
57	Β Ο Λ Ε Ν Τ Ε Ν Ε Σ Ι			
	Ο Σ Ο Ι Δ Ε Τ Ε Ν Α Π Α			
	Α Γ Ε Γ Ρ Α Φ Α Τ Α Ι Ο Φ Ε			
60	Ι Δ Ε Ι Χ Σ Α Ι Τ Ο Ι Δ Ε Μ			
	Ε Τ Ι Σ Τ Ο Μ Π Ο Λ Ε Ο Ν Α			
	Ο Σ Ε Ο Σ Φ Α Σ Κ Ο Σ Α Α Π			
	Θ Α Ι Τ Ο Κ Ο Ι Ν Ο Ν Τ Ε Σ			
	Α Σ Τ Α Σ Π Ο Λ Ε Σ Κ Α Ι Τ			
65	Θ Α Ι Δ Ε Μ Ε Ε Χ Σ Ε Ν Α Ι			
	Τ Ο Σ Ο Φ Ε Λ Ε Τ Ο Η Ο Γ Ρ			
	Τ Ε Ν Δ Ε Γ Ρ Α Φ Ε Ν Ε Ν Α			
	Λ Ι Ο Ν Ι Ε Α Ν Δ Ε Τ Ι Σ Α			
	Κ Λ Ε Σ Ε Σ Η Ε Β Ο Λ Ε Β Ο			
70	Ε Σ Α Γ Ο Ν Τ Ο Ν Δ Ε Η Ο Ι			
	Ν Α Ι Ο Ι Σ Τ Ο Μ Φ Ο Ρ Ο Ν			
	Κ Α Τ Ε Σ Μ Ε Ν Υ Σ Ε Ο Σ Ε			
	Φ Ο Ρ Ο Κ Α Ι Τ Ο Π Ε Ρ Υ Σ			
	Ρ Ο Β Ο Λ Ε Υ Σ Α Σ Α Ν Ε Χ			
75	Π Ε Ρ Ι Τ Ε Ι Η Υ Σ Τ Ε Ρ Α			
	Ε Σ Η Α Ι Ρ Ε Σ Ε Ο Σ Χ Ρ Ε			
	27	30	35	40

Line 57, stoichos 27: N Boeckh.

stoichos 30: Σ Pococke; Λ cett.

stoichos 31: I Pococke; N cett.

stoichos 37: I Pococke; Σ cett.

stoichos 38: I scripsi; I nonnulli. Only the lower tip of the iota is visible.

Line 59, stoichos 40: E scripsi; E nonnulli. All that can be seen is the angle made by the vertical and the lowest horizontal, which appears to tilt upwards slightly.

Line 60, stoichos 27: N Boeckh; I cett.

Line 61, stoichos 40: Δ Mueller in I.G., I, 38e; A cett.

stoichos 41: A Mueller in I.G., I, 38e, Boeckh; M I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66a.

This stoichos was uninscribed, since the margin is at stoichos 40.

Line 64, stoichoi 27, 28: ΔE Pococke, Rose, I.G., I, 38e, Boeckh; AΣ cett.

Line 65, stoichos 38: M Rose; N cett.

Line 66, stoichos 38: Θ Rose; O cett.

stoichos 39: A Pococke, Rose; Γ cett.

Line 72, stoichos 27: Σ Mueller; Rose; K cett.

stoichos 41: Λ Boeckh, I.G., I, 38e, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66a. There is not, and cannot be, any letter in this space.

Line 74, stoichos 27: P Meritt, Hill and Meritt; p cett.

stoichos 40: X omnes, (Pocockio excepto).

Line 75, stoichos 41: I I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66a. There can be no letter in this stoichos.



## Fragment 4

Bibliography: E.M. 13044; Gorham P. Stevens, Hesperia, Suppl. III, p. 78, fig. 59; E. P. Blegen, A.J.A., XLIII (1939), p. 132; M. N. Tod, J.H.S., LXII (1942), p. 58; B. H. Hill and B. D. Meritt, Hesperia, XIII (1944), pp. 1-4; J. and L. Robert, R.E.G., LVII (1944), pp. 186-187; Stephen B. Luce, A.J.A., XLVIII (1944), p. 285; M. N. Tod, J.H.S., LXV (1945), p. 67; A.T.L., II, D7.

Photographs: B. H. Hill and B. D. Meritt, Hesperia, XIII (1944), p. 5; Gorham P. Stevens, Hesperia, Suppl. III, p. 78, fig. 59; A.T.L., II, pl. II.

This fragment was found in 1938 by Gorham P. Stevens in the south jamb of the east door of the Parthenon; it was first published by Hill and Meritt, who give a complete description of its use in the Parthenon. The stone is 0.82 metres high, 0.20 metres wide, and 0.148 metres thick. "The thickness is the only original dimension fully preserved, and it corresponds exactly with the fully preserved original thickness of D7, fragment 3...It is clearly for its use... in the Parthenon that the block was cut to its present form and dimensions. Its right side and lower end were very roughly chiseled and in the rear half of the left side was cut a rabbett 0.015 metres deep and 0.083 metres wide. This was cut with some precision, though the finish is distinctly inferior to the band of original surface (0.065 metres wide) left intact."<sup>9</sup> The stone is preserved at the top and on the left side, and broken at the bottom and on the right side.

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9. Hesperia, XIII (1944), p. 1.

The discovery of this fragment made necessary a complete revision of all restorations, which previously had been made on the assumption that on the upper left corner of the stone was another uninscribed square. Thus Meritt calculated that the inscription was stoichedon 23 to line 14, and stoichedon 57 thereafter. This fragment shows that in fact the inscription is stoichedon 23 to line 14, and stoichedon 40 thereafter.

FIGURE FOUR  
FRAGMENT FOUR

22

		5	10
1	Θ	Ε	Ο
			Ι
	Ε	Δ	Ο
	Χ	Σ	Ε
	Ν	Τ	Ε
	Ι	Β	Ο
	Μ	Ο	Ι
	Ο	Ι	Ν
	Ε	Ι	Σ
	Ε	Π	Ρ
	Δ	Ι	Α
	Σ	Ε	Γ
	Ρ	Α	Μ
	Μ	Α	Τ
	Ε		
5	Ε	Π	Ε
	Σ	Τ	Α
	Τ	Ε	Κ
	Λ	Ε	Ν
	Ι		
	Ο	Λ	Ε
	Ν	Κ	Α
	Ι	Τ	Ο
	Σ	Α	Ρ
	Χ		
	Ι	Π	Ο
	Λ	Ε	Σ
	Ι	Κ	Α
	Ι	Τ	Ο
	Σ		
	Π	Ι	Μ
	Ε	Λ	Ε
	Σ	Θ	Α
	Ι	ἡ	Ο
	Π		
	Γ	Ε	Τ
	Α	Ι	ἡ
	Ο	Φ	Ο
	Ρ	Ο	Σ
	Κ		
10	Ε	Κ	Α
	Σ	Τ	Ο
	Ν	Κ	Α
	Ι	Α	Π
	Α		
	Ζ	Ε	Χ
	Σ	Υ	Μ
	Β	Ο	Λ
	Α	Δ	Ε
	Π		
	Ρ	Ο	Σ
	Τ	Α	Σ
	Π	Ο	Λ
	Ε	Σ	ἡ
	Ο		
	Ε	Ι	Α
	Δ	Ι	Κ
	Ε	Ν	Τ
	Ο	Ι	Σ
	Α		
	Ο	Ρ	Ο
	Ν	Γ	Ρ
	Α	Φ	Σ
	Α	Σ	Α
	Δ		
15	Γ	Ρ	Α
	Μ	Μ	Α
	Τ	Ε	Ι
	Ο	Ν	Τ
	Ο		
	Ν	Α	Μ
	Ε	Ν	Ε
	Τ	Ο	Ι
	Σ	Υ	Μ
	Β		
	Π	Α	Γ
	Ο	Ν	Τ
	Α	Σ	Α
	Π	Ο	Δ
	Ο		
	Ν	Α	Γ
	Ν	Ο	Ν
	Α	Ι	ἡ
	Ο	Τ	Α
	Μ		
	Υ	Τ	Α
	Ν	Ε	Σ
	Μ	Ε	Τ
	Α	Δ	Ι
	Ο		
20	Σ	ἡ	Ε
	Λ	Λ	Ε
	Ν	Ο	Τ
	Α	Μ	Ι
	Α		
	Ε	Ο	Ν
	Τ	Α	Σ
	Α	Π	Ο
	Δ	Ο	Σ
	Α		
	Σ	Α	Σ
	Χ	Ο	Ρ
	Ι	Σ	ἡ
	Ο	Σ	Α
	Ι		
	Ν	Ο	Σ
	Α	Ν	Δ
	Ρ	Α	Σ
	Τ	Ε	Τ
	Τ		
	Ι	Γ	Ρ
	Α	Φ	Σ
	Ο	Μ	Ε
	Ν	Ο	Σ
	Τ		
25	Τ	Ε	Σ
	Ο	Ν	Τ
	Α	Σ	Τ
	Ο	Μ	Μ

5

10

26 Ο Μ Ε Ν Δ Υ Ο Π Λ Ε Ν Ε  
Ρ Ι Ε Ρ Ο Σ Τ Α Χ Ε Ι Α  
Ι Ε Π Ι Θ Ρ Α Ι Κ Ε Σ Ε  
Β Ο Λ Ε Ν Κ Α Ι Ε Σ Τ Ο  
30 Λ Ε Υ Ε Σ Θ Α Ι Π Ε Ρ Ι  
Ε Ι Ε Α Ν Δ Ε Τ Ι Σ Α Θ  
Ν Φ Ο Ρ Ο Ν Η Ο Ν Δ Ε Ι  
Ο Ν Τ Ο Ι Σ Α Π Α Γ Ο  
Ρ Α Φ Ε Σ Θ Α Ι Π Ρ Ο Σ  
35 Ι Ο Ν Κ Α Ι Τ Ο Ν Χ Σ  
Ε Σ Τ Ε Μ Β Ο Λ Ε Ν  
Υ Ν Ε Σ Θ Ο Δ Ο Ρ  
Κ Α Τ Α Γ Ν Ο Ι Η  
Φ Ε Ρ Ε Τ Ο Ε Σ Τ  
40 Ν Γ Ν Ο Μ Α Σ Π Ο  
Ο Μ Π Α Θ Ε Ν Ε Α  
Ν Τ Ε Σ Β Ο Ο Σ Ε  
Ι Κ Α Τ Α Υ Τ Ο Κ  
Ο

5

10

Line 2, stoichos 13:  $\Delta$  Hill and Meritt;  $\Delta$  cett. I see no trace of the lambda. The squeezes, however, are rather faint, especially at the edges where the stone is worn, and the photographs are no more clear.

Line 3, stoichos 13:  $\Upsilon$  omnes.

Line 25, stoichos 13:  $\Xi$  omnes.

Line 26, stoichos 13:  $\Pi$  omnes.

Line 27, stoichos 13:  $\Sigma$  omnes.

Line 30, stoichos 13:  $\tau$  omnes.

Of the letters reported by all other editors for these five lines, I see no trace on the squeezes or photographs. See above on line 2.

Line 14, stoichos 13:  $\Delta$  scripsi;  $\Delta$  cett. Only the top of the left leg is visible on the squeezes; See above on line 2.

Line 16, stoichos 13:  $\beta$  scripsi;  $\beta$  cett. Only the vertical and the beginning of the top of the first curve are visible.

Line 33, stoichos 12:  $\Sigma$  omnes.

Line 37, stoichos 10:  $\theta$  omnes.

## The Original Stele

From a close examination of fragment 4, Hill and Meritt made the following reconstruction of the original stele. "The north side of this Parthenon doorway is less well preserved, but enough remains to show that repairs were effected there in just the same manner as on the south, with a block like the one here under discussion in width and thickness, though only 0.755 metres long...It is quite probable that this block (now lost) came from the lower left side of the same stele; [and] that its southern end...was the original bottom....

"These observations lead to some speculation about the total height of the inscription, for if they are correct the total height cannot have been less than 1.575 m. (0.82 m. plus 0.755m.). With some allowance for cutting one might estimate a minimum of 1.60 m. This is sufficient for at least 81 lines, more probably for 82 or 83. It must be noted, however, that the lower portion of the British Museum fragment (D7, frag. 3) is uninscribed. We do not know whether the original base of this fragment is preserved, but in any case we may assign to this piece a position so high in the stone that only four lines intervene between the last letters of D7, frag. 2 and the first line of D7, frag. 3. These stones cannot be moved closer together. Inasmuch as D7, frag. 2 is tied to the new piece from the Akropolis by its restoration, an absolute minimum of 71 lines is determined for the inscription.

"If one adds to these 71 lines an additional five lines to represent the bottom part of the British Museum fragment which is still visibly uninscribed, a minimum theoretical height in lines

for the original stele may be determined as 76. This figure comes so near to the height in lines of 82 or 83 which was suggested by adding the lost fragment from the north jamb of the Parthenon door to the preserved fragment from the south jamb, that we believe that disposition substantially correct. Translated into terms of textual reconstruction this means that we assume a lacuna of about ten lines between the upper and lower halves of the inscription."<sup>10</sup>

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10. Ibid., pp. 2-4.

# CHAPTER THREE

## THE CUTTING OF THE STONE

### The Letter-forms

The following table of letter-forms extant in this document gives the largest and smallest sizes, as well as the various shapes of each letter. To each letter-form a number has been given; this refers to the number assigned to that form in the table of letter-forms compiled by Walbank from securely dated documents.<sup>1</sup> Variants within each form are designated a, b, c. These variants do not affect the dating of the document, but will be useful in characterising the mason. When a form does not fit Walbank's table, I have employed the designation v(ariant).

To produce the drawings, I made a rubbing of each occurrence of each letter on the squeezes, selected the most characteristic forms of the letter, and checked these for accuracy against the squeeze, particularly in the case of letters significant for dating. These tracings I then transferred to the final table.

While studying the letter-forms, I counted the number of occurrences of each form. This, however, seemed to give the false impression that the forms are always separate and distinct, whereas in fact it is often almost impossible to distinguish between forms. Where a variation seemed significant, therefore, I have given a ratio, based on rough statistics, of how often a given form occurs, in proportion to other forms of the same letter, and have given actual

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10. M. B. Walbank, Athenian Proxenieš, p. 74.



statistics only where these seemed necessary and justified.

In the descriptions, the term "well-cut" means that joins are neatly made, curves are smooth, strokes are true, verticals are vertical, and horizontals horizontal. I have taken it into account that in some letters, for example, nu and pi, verticals at slightly less than an angle of  $90^{\circ}$  may be so cut deliberately, and in epsilon and lambda the slight tilting of horizontals may also be deliberate. The overall effect should be balanced and, where appropriate, symmetrical. The term "well-cut" does not refer to whether or not a letter is in proportion to other letters in the same area.

I I have noted the chronological significance of each letter-form or combination of forms, using Walbank's "Letter Shapes Found in Dated Fifth-century Inscriptions," and "Chart Depicting the Appearance or Disappearance of Key Shapes,"<sup>2</sup> and also McGregor's note-book, which includes undated documents. I have summarized the evidence at the end of the chapter.

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2. Walbank, pp. 75, 85.

FIGURE FIVE  
LETTER-FORMS IN THE DECREE OF KLEINIAS

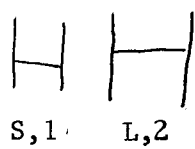
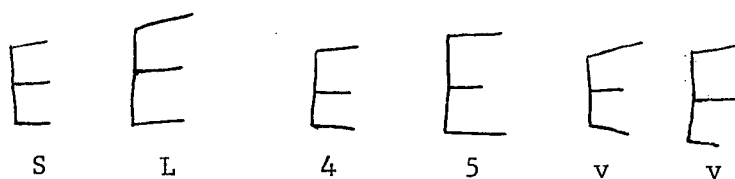
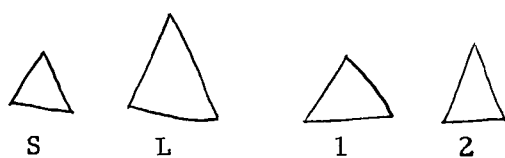
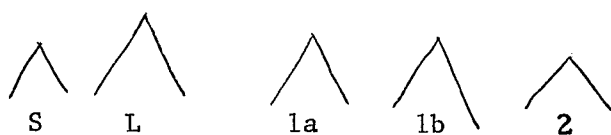
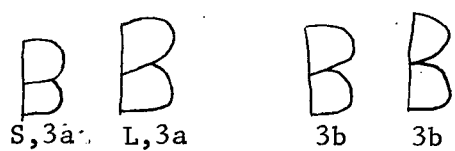


FIGURE FIVE  
LETTER-FORMS IN THE DECREE OF KLEINIAS (CONT'D)

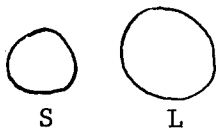
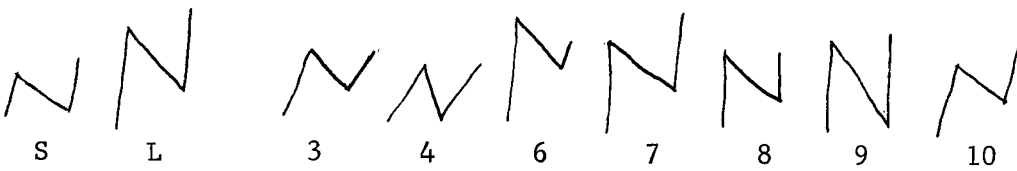
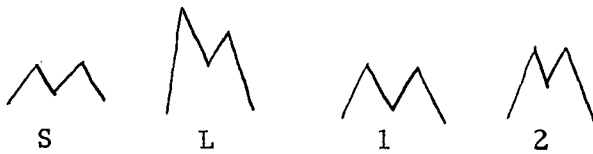
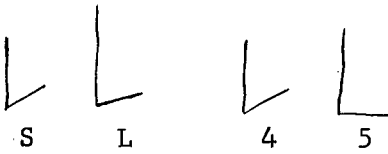
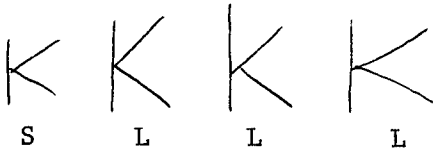
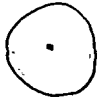
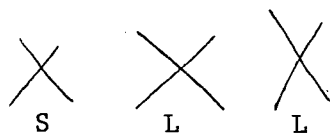
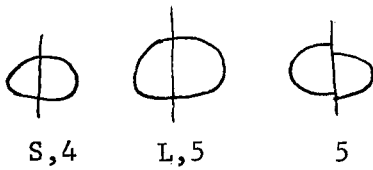
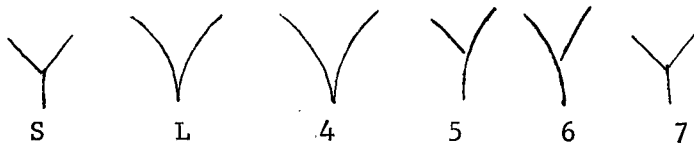
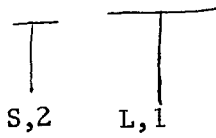
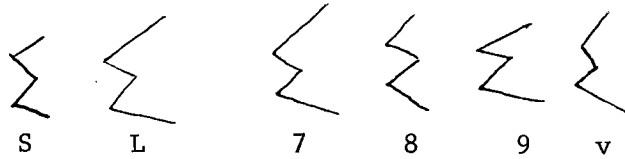
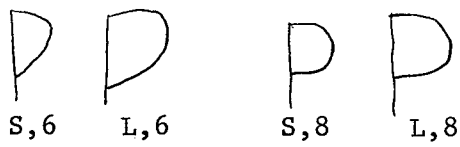


FIGURE FIVE  
LETTER-FORMS IN THE DECREE OF KLEINIAS (CONT'D)



Alpha: 3, 4, 5 (4, 5)<sup>3</sup>

Alpha 5 occurs only twice before 445 in securely dated documents. The exceptions are in 446.

Neither the combination of forms, nor the variety, has any significance for dating. The combinations alpha 3 and alpha 4, and alpha 4 and alpha 5, are very common. The combination alpha 3, alpha 4, and alpha 5 is found in only two dated inscriptions, in 440 and 406; and a combination of three or more forms of alpha occurs in only five inscriptions.

In the decree of Kleinias, alpha 4 occurs about twice as often as alpha 5, and four times as often as alpha 3. All three forms occur about twice as often small as large, and about four times as often well-cut as not. The worst cut letter in the inscription, however, is an alpha. Very few are cut in proportion to the letters nearby. The use of two or more cuts is often evident on both large and small letters of all types.

Beta: 3a, 3b

Before 445, beta 3 is found possibly twice, in 451 and 446. After 445 beta 3 is found in almost every inscription.

Out of ten examples of the letter, the type beta 3b is found only twice. There is not much variation in height for this letter, but considerable variation in width. The letter is well-cut only once.

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3. The numbers in parentheses are those assigned to the letter-shapes by McGregor in a note-book compiled in 1967-1968. I include them only when I disagree.

Gamma: 1, 1a, 2

The letter-forms have no significance for dating.

Gamma 2 occurs only once. Gamma 1a is found almost as often as gamma 1, and may be the result of a slip of the chisel. The letter is usually small and well-cut. Two chisel cuts are rarely evident.

Delta: 1, 2 (1)

The letter-forms have no significance for dating.

Delta 2 occurs only a little oftener than delta 1. The letter is normally small, and frequently badly cut. For example, one line may curve at the end, in order to meet the end of another; or the whole letter may be lopsided, with the horizontal and one leg longer than the other; or the horizontal may tilt. The very small deltas are often, but not always, above the line.

Epsilon: 4, 5, two unclassifiable variants (4)

Epsilon 5 does not occur before 435 in securely dated documents. There are three possible exceptions in undated documents.

Epsilon does not occur in combination very often, but, of the combinations, epsilon 4 and epsilon 5 is the most common.

Epsilon 4 occurs more than three times as often as epsilon 5. Epsilon 4 is rather more often large than small, about 4:3, and about as often badly cut as well cut. Epsilon 5 is about twice as often large as small, and is badly cut in only about half the large versions. There are about a dozen variants.

In the badly cut letters, there are two types of error discernible. In one, the three horizontal strokes were apparently cut first, then the vertical was made with two cuts, one joining the first and second horizontals, and one joining the second and third. The result is that

the vertical appears curved. In the other type, the vertical has been cut first, and the mason has miscalculated where the horizontals ought to begin, so that they do not join the vertical neatly.

Zeta: 1

The letter-form has no significance for dating.

Daseia: 1, 2 (1)

The letter-form has no significance for dating.

Daseia 2 occurs only twice, once small and once large. The letter is usually small and well-cut. It occurs badly cut only once, when apparently the verticals were made in two strokes each, first down to the crossbar, then to the line, with the result that they appear curved.

Theta: 4

The letter-form has no significance for dating.

The letter is usually somewhat irregular in shape, although it is never badly cut, and the centre dot is neat and well placed.

Iota:

An exceptionally large iota, extending well below the line, is found in fragment 4, line 13. This may well be the result of a slip of the chisel, since it occurs nowhere else in this inscription.

Kappa: 2

The letter-form has no significance for dating.

The letter is usually small. The vertical often appears curved, probably because it was cut with two strokes. There are two large kappas.

Lambda: 4, 5

Lambda 5 does not usually occur before 425, but Walbank notes

exceptions in 447, 431, and 428. However, I cannot find the exception from 447 in the chart of "Letter Shapes Found in Dated Fifth-century Inscriptions."

Variation in lambda is fairly common, although the combination of lambda 4 and lambda 5 occurs in only a third of the inscriptions with variation in lambda after 425.

On lambda 5, Raubitschek reports, "Lambda with its shorter stroke almost horizontally engraved occurs in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 19, 20, 529, and on the Koroneia epigram."<sup>4</sup> I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 19, 20 is the treaty with Egesta, which is dated by Meiggs and Lewis to 458/7<sup>5</sup>, but by Mattingly to 418/7.<sup>6</sup> The Koroneia epigram is dated by Bradeen to the mid-century<sup>7</sup>, but by Mattingly to the 420s.<sup>8</sup> The reference to I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 529 is unclear, since this inscription is undated but has Ionic xi and is probably late. Of the inscriptions studied by McGregor, the earliest with lambda 5 is I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 73, from the late 430s or 420s. Before that of the inscriptions described as having flattish lambda 4, the earliest is I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 53, from the late 430s. This letter-form then tends to be late, although there are some early examples.

There are about twice as many examples of lambda 5 as of lambda 4. Of the examples of lambda 4, only four at most have an angle at all pronounced. The letter is usually small and well-cut, although

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4. A.J.P., LXI (1940), p. 478.

5. Greek Historical Inscriptions, pp. 81-82.

6. Historia, XII (1963), pp. 267-268.

7. C.Q., XIX (1969), pp. 145-159.

8. Historia, XII (1963), pp. 261-2.



the horizontal does not always join the vertical neatly.

Mu: 1, 2 (2)

Mu 1 occurs only twice before 445 in securely dated inscriptions, in the Salamis decree, which is certainly very early, and again in 447. In other inscriptions it is never very common; it does not, then, have any significance for dating.

Most examples are mu 2, small. The letter is cut badly about half the time. Mu 1 occurs definitely once, and four times the centre is cut to a level with one of the outside strokes. The other stroke is longer, perhaps because of a slip of the chisel. I do not think it is a definite style, because the mason evidently had difficulty with this letter, which he normally did not cut in this way, and because there is evidence elsewhere for slipping of the chisel. There is a tendency for this letter to be lopsided.

Nu: 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 (9, 7, 6, 4)

The statistics alone speak for the futility of trying to date a document by the forms of nu. In securely dated documents, nu 3 occurs only once after 445, in 440. Nu 6 does not occur before 445 or after 435. Nu 8 does not occur before 445, except once in 460. Nu 9 does not occur before 445, except once in 460. Nu 10 probably does not occur more than once after 435; it may occur in 425, and again in 408. All these have further probable exceptions in undated documents.

In addition, it is often very difficult to decide between two different forms of nu. There are examples of each form in the document, but the number of variants, and the number of badly cut examples, imply that this letter was difficult to cut. Moreover, the verticals

are often only just off the vertical, which makes it difficult to distinguish between nu 7 and nu 10, and nu 6 and nu 8.

Both nu 7 and nu 10 occur about fifteen times each. These two forms prevail. Nu 4 has two clear examples, and nu 9 a few more; together, there are about a dozen examples of nu 4 and nu 9. Nu 3 has three clear examples, nu 6 has four, and nu 8 has seven.

Variation in nu is no more helpful than the forms of nu. In securely dated documents, the occurrence of more than two forms of nu in one inscription appears to be an early phenomenon, although there are examples found up until 418. In documents that are not securely dated, however, the majority of those showing variation are found probably after 434, down to 409.

This letter is often badly cut, with the use of two or more cuts often evident. The incompetence of the mason, then, rather than the date when the stone was cut, accounts for the great variety. Some of the smaller examples of this letter are cut above the line. The letter is about as often large as small.

Omicron: 1

The letter-form has no significance for dating.

The size of the letter varies in proportion to the size of the surrounding letters. The letter is often well cut, and never very badly cut.

Pi: 1a, 1b

The letter-form has no significance for dating.

There are about twice as many examples of 1b as of 1a. The form 1a occurs as often small as large; and 1b occurs twice as often small as large.

Rho: 6, 8

The letter-form has no significance for dating.

Rho 8 occurs about twice as often as rho 6. There are approximately the same number of large letters as small for each type. The curves are usually well made and smooth, but do not always join the vertical neatly, and are sometimes out of proportion to the size of the vertical.

Raubitschek reports, as an early feature, "the rho, which closes against the upright at an acute angle about two-thirds of the way down towards the bottom."<sup>9</sup> In reply to this Meiggs notes, "Similar rhos can be found in S.E.G., X, 81 (equals I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 68/9), very probably to be dated in 424/3."<sup>10</sup> It should also be pointed out that a rho such as Raubitschek describes occurs perhaps three times, out of at least thirty-five examples of the letter.

Sigma: 7, 8, 9, one variant (8, 9)

Sigma 7 occurs only once before 445, in 452. Sigma 8 occurs only once before 445, in 460. Sigma 9 does not occur before 445; there are no exceptions in securely dated documents. After 445, these forms, especially sigma 7, become the prevailing forms immediately.

Three forms of sigma in one inscription are never very common, but examples are found throughout the second half of the fifth century. The amount of variety seems to be another indication of the lack of skill of the mason.

Raubitschek says that "to determine an upper limit [for this

9. A.J.P., LXI (1940), p. 478.

10. J.H.S., LXXXVI (1966), p. 97.

inscription], we may point out that only few public inscriptions (engraved in Attic script) of the period before 449 B.C. contain examples of four bar sigma, and in these it appears almost exclusively in the heading."<sup>11</sup>

There are about the same number of examples of sigma 8 as of sigma 9. In each form, there are about twice as many small examples as large. Sigma 7 occurs twice definitely, although it may be simply sigma 9, badly cut. There are four examples of the variant, which may be sigma 8, with a slip of the chisel accounting for the length of the bottom stroke.

Tau: 1, 2 (1)

The letter-form has no significance for dating.

Tau occurs only rarely.

The letter is cut badly more than half the time. The most frequent error is the cutting of the horizontal off-centre, sometimes sloped. Three times the horizontal crosses the vertical below the top, and twice the horizontal has been made in two sections on either side of the vertical, with the result that it looks curved.

Upsilon: 4, 5, 6, 7 (4, 6, 7)

Upsilon 4 does not occur after 430, except once in 414. Upsilon 5 occurs only twice after 430, in 419 and 417. Upsilon 5 is merely the mirror image of upsilon 6, which occurs until 425, then twice more in 413 and 412. These conclusions are borne out by the evidence from undated inscriptions.

Variety in upsilon combining some curved form of the letter with

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11. A.J.P., LXI (1940), p. 479.

some straight form is quite common. Great variety in upsilon such as is found in this inscription is not particularly common, and is found almost exclusively after 450, and before 433.

Raubitschek gives as an example of early letter-forms in this inscription upsilon 4.<sup>12</sup> Meiggs says, "Upsilon with curving strokes continues through the thirties but is extremely rare after 430. The only examples I have found are in Parthenon inventories of 414/3 and 411/0 (I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 272 and 253)...Until an upsilon with curving strokes is found in an inscription securely dated in the twenties it is reasonable to insist on a date before 430 for the Cleinias decree."<sup>13</sup>

Upsilon 4 occurs in five clear examples, upsilon 5 and upsilon 6 in five, and upsilon 7 in only one.

Phi: 4, 5 (4)

Phi 5 does not occur before 445 in securely dated inscriptions. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of undated inscriptions.

There are about an equal number of examples of each type, about half of which, in each case, are badly cut. There are two types of error. In the first, the oval is cut asymmetrically, and is off-centre on the vertical. In the other, the two halves of the oval have been cut separately, and do not join the vertical at the same points.

Chi: 2

The letter-form has no significance for dating.

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12. A.J.P., LXI (1940), p. 479.

13. J.H.S., LXXXVI (1966), p. 97, and n. 43.

The letter has a tendency to be wide and slightly lopsided.  
The tall, thin chi is unusual.

The summary of letter-forms, as they are significant for dating, is as follows.

Not common before 445: Alpha 5 Exceptions: 446, twice

Beta 3 451, 446

Sigma 7 452

Sigma 8 460

Sigma 9 none

Phi 5 none

Not common before 435: Epsilon 5 Exceptions: three, in undated  
documents

Not common before 425: Lambda 5 Exceptions: 431, 428, and possibly  
two more

Not common after 430: Upsilon 5 Exceptions: 419, 417

Upsilon 4 414

Not common after 425: Upsilon 6 Exceptions: 413, 412

In addition, variety in upsilon is not normally found after 433.

The problem then is that in this inscription are found forms that are early, for example upsilon, combined with forms that are late, for example epsilon and lambda. If it is accepted as a general rule that early forms may be found late, for example, in inscriptions made by inexperienced stone-cutters who are still imitating forms cut by the masons from whom they learned and have not yet developed a definite style of their own, but that late forms are less often found early, since once a definite style has been adopted by a mason

he rarely changed it to accommodate a new letter-form,<sup>14</sup> then the best period in which to place this inscription according to the evidence of the letter-forms is in the 430s.

Another method of dating based on the cutting of the stone has been suggested by Meiggs, who says, "The disposition of the letters over the space is unlike the style of the twenties but can be paralleled in the forties."<sup>15</sup> This statement assumes consistent spacing of the letters in the inscription. Since, however, the letters vary so much in size, both height and width, and in style, and since some letters, for example mu, nu, and delta, are sometimes on the line, sometimes above it, such consistency is impossible. Thus fragment 3, line 76 is crowded as are most of the lines towards the end of this fragment, whereas in fragment 1, line 15, and in the top of fragment 2, line 34, the letters are smaller and therefore further apart. No conclusion for the date of this inscription can be drawn from the disposition of the letters over the space.

#### The Mason

The above conclusion is based in part on the assumption that this inscription was cut by an inexperienced cutter, and also that it was cut by only one mason.

That the second assumption is correct is clear. The two most striking elements in the cutting of this inscription are the variation in the size of the letters, and the forms used. As to the letter

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14. Stephen Tracy, G.R.B.S., XI (1970), pp. 321-333.

15. H.S.C.P., LXVII (1963), p. 22.

sizes, although the division between large and small letters is easy to see on fragment 3, line 69, where small lettering stops, the same distinction is impossible to see on fragment 4, where the letters of lines 2 and 3 and lines 14 and 15 are definitely large, but the letters of lines 4 and 5 are not, and the letters of lines 11 and 16 are definitely small. No distinction then between one mason and another can be made on the basis of letter-size, and the dividing line on fragment 3 must be attributed to the end of one day's work and the beginning of the next. Nor can a line be drawn on the basis of letter-forms or competence in cutting. To illustrate this, I have shown on a chart the distribution of epsilon 4 and epsilon 5 on fragment 4, lines 1-28, and in addition have marked on this chart the letters that are exceptionally badly cut. It is clear from the intermingling of these elements that the stone was cut by one mason.

That the mason was inexperienced cannot be so clearly shown, but there is sufficient evidence of incompetence and indecision over what form to use to make it at least very likely that this is the right conclusion.

The amount of variety in the inscription is the strongest argument for an inexperienced mason. Inscriptions showing three or more forms of a letter, for more than one letter, are quite uncommon. In the inscriptions studied by McGregor<sup>16</sup>, there are only ten. In the chart of securely dated documents given by Walbank, there are eleven. Although these tend to be before 435, there are not enough to use for purposes of dating. Rather, the small number seems to indicate

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16. See above, note 3.



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	P	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
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	.	5	.	.	.	P	.	.	4	.	4	.	.

that with experience a mason dropped some of the variants, which, as I have suggested, may simply have been unsuccessful attempts at other forms. This inscription is very unusual in having four letters with such variation of three or more forms (alpha, nu, sigma, and upsilon). Here then is a very strong indication of a mason who has not yet definitely established a style.

A necessary result of this is that it is highly unlikely that another inscription cut later by the same mason could be identified as such, since we cannot know which forms of the letters he finally decided on.

In addition, the number of badly made letters argues for an inexperienced mason. There are a number of places where the chisel seems to have slipped, so that the resulting letter is lopsided. There are also several places where an attempt has been made to correct a letter, for example, in the curving strokes of some deltas. Finally, there are several letters that are simply badly planned and badly executed, of which the most striking example is on fragment 3, line 70, the first alpha.

The mason has not yet settled on a method of cutting even the simplest of letters. The crossbar of tau, for example, is sometimes made in a single cut, sometimes in two cuts. Some of the straight lines that appear to curve may have been cut by driving the point of a very short chisel along for an indefinite distance, a method that would explain the slipping of the chisel in, for example, iota. It would also explain why it is impossible to decide what tools the mason used, and thereby to identify other inscriptions cut by him, since, if he used only straight chisels of the length of the various

straight lines, he would have had a very large number indeed.

It seems clear, then, that this inscription was cut by an inexperienced mason, still using some of the forms he had, perhaps, been taught, but also experimenting with some new forms.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SPELLING AND FORMULAE

#### Spelling

In the decrees of the fifth century there are various characteristics that can be used as criteria for dating.<sup>1</sup> None of these, unfortunately, appear in the decree of Kleinias, whose spelling can be paralleled throughout the second half of the fifth century. In this section, then, I shall simply discuss the types of spelling that, because they vary from document to document, might be considered as indicating some date for an inscription, in order to demonstrate how valid they might be, and how they affect the dating of the decree of Kleinias.

The following characteristics of spelling will be discussed: the use of  $\Sigma$  for  $X\Sigma$ ; the use of the daseia to represent rough breathing; and one- and two-syllable dative plural endings of the first and second declensions. In addition I shall discuss the spelling of the name Kleinias.

It is not clear with whom the final responsibility for the spelling of a decree rested. In some decrees it is evident that the spelling

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1. The most recent discussion of the spelling in Attic inscriptions is a thesis by L. L. Threatte, The Phonology of Attic Inscriptions (1970), summarized in H.S.C.P., LXXIV (1970), pp. 344-348. Another discussion is by K. Meisterhans, edited by Eduard Schwyzler, Grammatik der Attische Inschriften (Berlin, 1900); see also W. Lademann, De Titulis Atticis Quaestiones Orthographicae et Grammaticae (1915).

of some words has been altered; for example, in the Athenian treaty with Leontini, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 52, line 16,  $\Sigma$  has been deleted and replaced by  $X\Sigma$ . On this occasion, what the mason cut was corrected, but it is impossible to decide whether normally his own spelling would stand, should it differ from that of the secretary who normally was responsible for the final draft of a decree<sup>2</sup>, or if slight aberrations would be overlooked. Further, even when correction has taken place, the mason may have originally been following his copy rather than his preference. Since on many decrees, including the decree of Kleinias, the spelling is inconsistent, we may well be dealing with a mixture of the stonecutter's and the secretary's spelling, of whom the former may often have been Ionian, the latter always Athenian. Variants and early Ionicisms, then, may not be used as criteria for dating. Only if a document consistently shows a late form, for example  $\Sigma$  in place of  $X\Sigma$ , may the form be taken as a possible indication of late date.

Use of  $\Sigma$  for  $X\Sigma$ : The decree of Kleinias uses  $X\Sigma$  rather than  $\Sigma$  on all but one occasion; thus  $X\Sigma$  appears in the text in lines 11 and 35, and is restored in lines 8, 30, and 31. The use of  $\Sigma$  for  $X\Sigma$  appears once, in line 16,  $\sigma\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\alpha$ . Mattingly has twice attempted to show that this mixture of spellings indicates a transitional period in the 420s.<sup>3</sup> However, the use of both  $\Sigma$  and

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2. Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae, line 432.

3. Ancient Society and Institutions, p. 198; B.C.H., XCII:II, (1968), p. 468.

XΣ appears as early as 460, in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 6, and the use of Σ for XΣ is found in the quota-lists in 454/3, List 1; 446/5, List 9; and 445/4, List 10. Meritt considers that it was the stonecutter who decided which form should be used in a given inscription;<sup>4</sup> we cannot, however, be sure.

Use of the daseia: Rough breathing is represented by the daseia in unrestored text on all but one occasion throughout this decree, for example, in lines 9/10, *ἡ ἐκάστον* and in line 15, *ἡόντιν*. Only once can the symbol be shown to have been omitted, in line 39, ὅταν. That it was omitted here is clear because of the certain restoration; moreover, as was pointed out in Chapter 1, while it is impossible to discern from the impressions on the squeeze what letter originally came before the omicron, it could not possibly have been a daseia. This certain example is important in that it allows the omission of the daseia in restoration, for example, in line 71, ἐλίαιαν.

The use of the daseia in this decree and in the decree of Kleonymos, D8, appeared to Woodward to indicate a considerable difference in the dates of the two decrees, since the latter consistently omits the daseia, while the former, in the state of preservation it was then in, appeared always to use it; this observation is no longer valid, however.<sup>5</sup>

The use of the daseia is not important for the dating of inscriptions. "Though there seems to be a period in the 450s and 440s in which

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4. Hesperia, XIV (1945), p. 80.

5. J.H.S., LVIII (1938), p. 108.

it was frequently omitted, there is no discernible pattern of gradually increasing use or disuse."<sup>6</sup>

Dative Plurals: The masculine dative plurals in this inscription all have one-syllable endings, for example, Ἀθελναιόοις. Such datives are common at all times. There are also two-syllable dative plural endings to be found in some inscriptions, for example, Ἀθελναιόοισιν in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 349 from 437/6, and I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 352 from 434/3. After this date all masculine plurals in securely dated inscriptions are of the form to be found in the decree of Kleinias.

Feminine dative plural endings of the first declension are all of two syllables in this inscription. Thus there is τῷσιν in lines 6/7; [χιλίαισι] or [μυρίαισι] in line 37, where the certain restoration makes necessary the longer version with two iotas, rather than either [χιλίασι] or [χιλίας] ; and [δραχμῶσιν] in line 37. These examples make the two-syllable restoration ηλλενοταμία[σιν] in line 20 virtually certain. These two-syllable endings are, however, of no use for dating. "Our evidence is...that the two syllable ending of the dative plural persists much longer, and more exclusively, than that of the second declension, and then disappears, with great suddenness, round about the year 420."<sup>7</sup>

Κλενίας : The spelling of the name is of no significance either for identifying the mover of the decree, or for dating the decree. "Κλινίος is the spelling used on the ostraca of the elder Alcibiades (c. 460), and inscriptions on vases of the sixth century provide

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6. Walbank, p. 66, n. 31.

7. H. T. Wade-Gery, J.H.S., LI (1931), p. 81.

similar examples; Κλενίας and Κλεινίας are the forms on stone inscriptions of the later fifth century."<sup>8</sup> The only other examples of this name in inscriptions from the second half of the fifth century concern Alkibiades. In one of them, from about 414, which records the sale of his confiscated property, his patronymic is spelled Κλεινίο ; and in the other, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 302, line 39, from 416/5, it is plausibly restored as Κλεινίο . The spelling Κλενίας , as in our decree, occurs nowhere else, and could then be either yet a further variation on the name within the Alkmaionid family, or the name of someone from outside it.

#### Formulae

It is tempting, since dating by letter-forms and by spelling is so inconclusive, to use dating by formulae, although the evidence for these is comparatively quite small. Dating by formulae, however, can surely be valid only if there are two or more possible formulae, one of which ceases to be used by a certain date, at which the use of another begins. If similar phrases appear in two documents on the same subject, and if there are no other documents on the same subject preserved, in which a different phrase is used, then the similarity of phrase in the first two documents cannot be considered an indication that they are to be dated at about the same time.

I have selected only five formulae for discussion in this section, three of them used by Mattingly for dating the decree of Kleinias, and two others that seem to be valid for dating. Other phrases in

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8. L. L. Threatte, H.S.C.P., LXXIV (1970), pp. 344-5.



the decree are of little help. Where formulae are used, they are so common that they provide no useful termini, as for example the phrase  $\pi\alpha\theta\tilde{\epsilon}\nu\ \tilde{\epsilon}\ \acute{\alpha}[\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota]$  (line 41), which appears in the regulations for Miletos, D11, from 450/49, and in the decree of Kleonymos, D8, from 426/5; where, on the other hand, formulae are not used, although appropriate ones are found in other documents, this may be pure chance, and need not indicate a date before the development of the formulae.

Thus, for example, in the decree of Kleonymos, D8, from 426/5,

$\kappa\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\chi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon[v]$  is used to mean 'yearly,' but this is expressed by  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \tilde{\epsilon}\ \nu\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$  in the financial decrees of Kallias, D2, lines 26/7, from 434, and similar phrases are used both in the Methone decrees, D4, line 36, from 426/5, and in the decree of Kleinias, lines 9/10. For these reasons I have limited my discussion of formulae to refutation of invalid arguments based on formulae, and suggesting two that seem to me to be plausible.

Line 1:  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$  : In decrees and laws this heading is found only after 433/2, when two securely dated instances of it are found, in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 51 and 52, the Athenian treaties with Rhegion and Leontinoi. Thereafter it is found quite frequently, in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 53 from before 432; I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 60 from 427/6; the reassessment decree, A9, from 425/4; I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 84 from 421/0; I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 94 from 418/7; I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 101 from 412/1, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 108 from 410/09; I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 110a from 410/09; I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 120 from 408/7; and I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 128 from before 428/7.

In accounts the heading is found somewhat earlier. I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 376, from sometime after 446/5, is the earliest example; the next is from 437/6 where it is restored in the accounts of the Propylaia. It is

also found, restored, in the accounts of the Propylaia from 434/3, in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 366, and unrestored in the accounts of the Pronaos, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 232, from the same year. It is not found again until 422/1, when it is on the stone in the accounts of the Hekatompedon, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 264, and of the Parthenon, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 280; it is not found in the earlier accounts of either of these buildings. The heading also occurs in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 370 from 421, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 313 from 408/7, and I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 355a, of uncertain date.

The evidence of decrees then shows that the use of the heading is a phenomenon of the 430s and later; building accounts demonstrate that it does appear somewhat earlier in a specific type of document.

Lines 6/7: ἄρχ[οντας ἐν] τεῷ πόλεσι : Mattingly argues that this phrase, which also appears in the decree of Klearchos, D14, from ?450-446, may be an indication of late date. "In the first Leonides decree of c. 430 B.C., the ἄρχοντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν appear in the periphrasis ἐν δε τεῷ ἄλλεσι πόλεσι κοίτινες Ἀθηναίων ἄρχοσι ἐν τεῷ ὑπερορίᾳ (I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 56, 5ff.).

Perhaps this in itself is a good indication that the shorthand description was not yet current."<sup>9</sup> The "shorthand description," however, never became absolutely standard usage: in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 108, lines 45ff., from 410/09, the phrase used is τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κοὶ ἂν ἑκάστοτε ἄρχοσι τῶν συμμάχων, and a similar phrase, τὸν ἄρχοντα τὸν ἐν Σκιάθῳ ὃς ἂν εἴ ἑκάστοτε, is found in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 118, line 19, from 409/8. The choice of phrase seems to depend on the whim of the secretary; we have no evidence of earlier

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9. Ancient Society and Institutions, p. 205.

long descriptions gradually being replaced by a shorter phrase, and we may on the contrary have evidence that early "shorthand descriptions" in official language were gradually replaced by a greater regard for accuracy.

Line 22: *ἡόσαι* [*ἄν τινες ὅσιν*]: Mattingly has accepted this restoration as certain, and on the basis of it has argued that this decree is therefore to be dated close to the decree of Kleonymos, D8, from 426, where the phrase is found mostly, though not completely, restored (line 52). "The variation from normal idiom, though slight, is unmistakeable. It could be a passing fashion of the 420s." He adds, "The addition of *τινες* gives the phrase a distinctive flavour--an almost personal trick of style."<sup>10</sup> He has failed to show, however, what the normal idiom is; and the "personal trick of style" is found both in Homer and in Herodotos.<sup>11</sup>

Lines 26-28: *ἐπ[ὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Νέσον καὶ ἐπ' Ἰονίας]...[ἐπὶ τὰς ἐφ' Ἐλλεσπόντο κα]ὶ ἐπὶ Θράκης*: The number of geographical districts has been used to date the decree.

Hill and Meritt argue, "Inasmuch as one may gather from lines 26-28 of this inscription that the date of it must be during those years when there were four administrative divisions of the Athenian Empire, it is evident that it must be placed either between 450 and 446, or after 438."<sup>12</sup> They give a date before 447 for the decree. Between 443 and 438 there were five districts of the Empire; and there

10. Ancient Society and Institutions, p. 203; p. 219, n. 55.

11. See, for example, Odyssey, X, 45, and Herodotos, I, 193.

12. Hesperia, XIII (1944), p. 8.

is evidence, in a fragment of the assessment of 454/3 mentioned by Krateros, and preserved by Stephanos of Byzantion, that such a grouping went back to the fifties.<sup>13</sup>

Mattingly, rejecting the early date, uses the number of districts, and the order in which they are given, to date this decree, that of Klearchos, D14, and Perikles' Congress Decree, D12, to sometime after 438; the decree of Kleinias he dates to 426.<sup>14</sup>

I do not think that this criterion, the number and order of the districts in a given decree, can be used for assigning a date to the decree, since the wording of decrees is not consistent. In the decrees of Klearchos, D14, and Perikles, D12, Karia, though visited by the herald for Ionia, is at least mentioned; and the decree of Thoudippos, A9, the reassessment decree of 425/4, when there were certainly four districts, also mentions Karia. The quota-lists, on the other hand, do not mention Karia at all by this time. Moreover, the restoration of the passage in the decree of Kleinias is not certain,

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13. A.T.L., II, A1; see also A.T.L., I, pp. 203-204, and A.T.L., III, p. 9, and comments, pp. 11-12: "These geographical headings do not, of course, imply administrative districts; nor do the geographical divisions in the later assessment decrees and quota lists imply administrative districts. There is no reason, in fact, except that of orderly record and bookkeeping convenience, why the geographical districts should ever have appeared in the quota lists; in the assessment decrees they were probably useful primarily in defining the routes of the heralds who announced the assessments."

14. Historia, X (1961), pp. 148-188, esp. 166-169,

since it is possible to restore line 26 to include Karia (see Chapter 5).

For a detailed refutation of Mattingly's arguments, see Meritt and Wade-Gery, J.H.S., LXXXII (1962), pp. 67-74.

Lines 30/31: [Χ<sub>σ</sub>υ<sub>ν</sub>ε<sub>χ</sub>ὼς *ἡέος* ἄν διαπραχθ]ῖ : This phrase is found in the decree of Thoudippos, A9, from 425/4, and also occurs, though with *συνεχὼς* separated from the rest by a qualifying phrase, in the second Methone decree, D4, from 424/3, lines 54-5. These provide the basis for the restoration of the phrase in the decree of Kleinias. A variant, χ[*συνεχῆς* *ἡίνα* τ]ᾶ[*χσ*]ε<sub>ς</sub> γ[*έ*]νονται, is also found in the decree of Thoudippos.

The same sentiment is expressed, by the use of the phrase ἕως ἄν, in the second decree of Kallias, D2, line 7, from 434, and in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 49, line 15, from soon after 442/1. These decrees use a specific verb, in place of the all-purpose διαπραχθῖ. The use of the phrase, then, could go back at least as far as 442.

The conclusion of this examination of spelling and formulae is, then, that the former cannot be used as evidence, while the latter provide two possible bases for dating the decree in or after 442.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## THE TEXT: RESTORATION AND COMMENTARY

Θεοί

- ἔδοχσεν τῇ βο[λῇ καὶ τῷ]ι δέ-  
μοι, Οἰνεῖς ἐπρ[υτάνευε, Σπ]ου-  
δίας ἐγγραμμάτε[υε, ...6..]ον
- 5 ἐπεστάτε, Κλενί[ας εἶπε· τὲ]μ β-  
ολὲν καὶ τὸς ἄρχ[οντας ἐν] τῆς-  
ι πόλεσι καὶ τὸς [ἐπισκό]πος ἐ-  
πιμέλεσθαι νόπ[ος ἂν χσ]υλλέ-  
γεται ἡ φόρος κ[ατὰ τὸ ἔ]τος ἡ-
- 10 ἕκαστον καὶ ἀπά[γεται] Ἀθένα-  
ζε· χσύμβολα δὲ π[οιέσα]σθαι π-  
ρὸς τὰς πόλεις, νό[πος] ἅμ με ἔχσ-  
ῃ ἀδικῆν τοῖς ἀ[πάγο]σι τὸμ φ-  
όρον· γράψασα δ[ὲ] ἡ πόλις ἐς
- 15 γραμματεῖον τὸ[μ φό]ρον, ἡόντιν' ἂν ἀποπέμπει, σεμε-  
ναμένε τῷ συμβ[όλο]ι ἀποπεμπέτο Ἀθέναζε· τὸς δὲ ἀ-  
πάγοντας ἀπο[δοῦναι] τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐν τῇ βολῇ ἀ-  
ναγνῶναι νόταμ[πε]ρ τὸμ φόρον ἀποδιδῶσι· ἡοι δὲ πρ-  
υτάνες μετὰ Διο[νύ]σια ἐκκλησίαν ποιесάντων τοῖ-
- 20 ς ἡελλενοταμίᾳ[σι ἀ]ποδεῖχσαι ἈθENAÍOIS τὸμ πόλ-  
εον τὰς ἀποδόσα[ς τὸμ φόρον ἐ]ντελῆ καὶ τὰς ἐλλιπό-  
σας χορίς, ἡόσαι [ἂν....9....·Ἀθ]εναίος δὲ ἡελομέ-  
νος ἄνδρας τέττ[αρας ἀποπέμπεν ἐπὶ] τὰς πόλεις ἀντ-  
ιγραφσομένος τ[ὸμ φόρον τὸν ἀποδοθέντα κα]ὶ ἀπαι-
- 25 τέσοντας τὸμ μ[ὲ] ἀποδοθέντα παρὰ τὸν ἐλλιποσ]ῶν, τ-

ὁ μὲν δύο πλεῖν ἐ[π.....23.....ἐπὶ] τ-  
 ριέρος ταχεία[ς, τὸ δὲ δύο ἐπὶ τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλεσπόντο κα]-  
 ι ἐπὶ θράικες· ἐ[σάγεν δὲ ταῦτα τὸς πρυτάνες ἐς τὲμ]  
 βολὲν καὶ ἐς τὸ[ν δῆμον εὐθύς μετὰ Διονύσια καὶ βο]-  
 30 λεύεσθαι περὶ [τούτον χσυνεχῶς ἡέος ἄν διαπραχθ]-  
 εῖ· ἔάν δέ τις Ἀθ[εναῖος ἔ χσύμμαχος ἀδικῇ περὶ τὸ]-  
 ν φόρον ἡὸν δεῖ [τὰς πόλεις γραφσάσας ἐς γραμματεῖ]-  
 ον τοῖς ἀπάγο[σιν ἀποπέμπεν Ἀθέναζε, ἔστο αὐτὸν γ]-  
 ράφεσθαι πρὸς [τὸς πρυτάνες τῷ β]ολομένο[ι Ἀθена]-  
 35 ῖον καὶ τῶν χσ[υμμάχον· ἡοι δὲ πρυτά]νες ἐσα[γόντων]  
 ἐς τὲμ βολὲν [τὲν γραφὲν ἡέν τι]ς ἄγ[γραφσετα]ι ἔ εὐθ]-  
 υνέσθο δόρ[ον....8...δραχμ]ῆς[ι ἡ]έκαστος· [ἡὸ δ' ἄν]  
 καταγνῶι ἡ[ε βολὲ, μὲ τιμᾶν αὐτ]ῶι κυρία ἔστ[ο, ἄλλ' ἐσ]-  
 φερέτο ἐς τ[ὲν ἐλῖαίαν εὐθύς·] ὅ[τ]αν δὲ δόχσει [ἀδικῇ]-  
 40 ν, γνόμας πο[ιέσθον ἡοι πρυ]τάνες ἡό τι ἄν δοκ[εῖ αὐτ]-  
 ὲμ παθεῖν ἔ ἀ[ποτεῖσαι· καὶ ἐ]άν τις περὶ τὲν ἀπα[γογὲ]-  
 ν τῆς βοῆς ἔ [τῆς πανῆοπλία]ς ἀδικῇ, τὰς γραφᾶ[ς ἔνα]-  
 ι κατ' αὐτῷ ἡ[αὶ τὲν ζεμίαν ἡ]ατὰ ταῦτά· τὸς δὲ [ἡελλεν]-  
 ο[ταμίας ἀναγράφαντας ἐς π]ινάκιον λελ[ευκομέν]-  
 45 [ον.....20.....]ν τῷ φόρο κα[ὶ.....8...]  
 [.....23.....]ι ἀπο [.....12....]

(c. 10 lines lost)

[.....24.....τὲμ] βολὲν τὲν ἐσι[ῶσ]-  
 [αν περὶ τῶν ἀπαγόντων τῶμ φόρον· ἡ]όσοι δὲ τῶν ἀπα[γ]-  
 [όντων.....21.....]αγεγράφαι ὀφέ-  
 60 [λοντες.....20.....]ιδεῖχσαι τῷ δεμ-  
 [.....22.....ἔάν δ]έ τις τῶμ πόλεον ἀ-

[μφισβετῆι περὶ τῷ φόρῳ τῆς ἀποδ]όσεος, φάσκοσα ἀπ-  
 [οδεδοκέναι.....16.....]θαι τὸ κοινὸν τῆς  
 [πόλεος.....20.....]ας τὰς πόλεις καὶ τ-  
 65 [.....26.....]θαι δὲ μὲ ἐχσῆναι  
 [.....26.....]τος ὀφελέτο ἡο γρ-  
 [αφσάμενος.....17.....] τὲν δὲ γραφὲν ἔνα-  
 [ι πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον μενὶ Γαμε]λιῶνι· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀ-  
 [.....26.....]κλέσες, ἡε βολὲ βο-  
 70 [λευ.....23.....] ἐσαγόντον δὲ ἡοι  
 [ἐσαγογῆς ἐς τὲν ἐλῖαίαν τὸς Ἀθε]ναίοις τὸν φόρον  
 [.....19.....τὸν πῖνα]κα τῆς μενύσεος ε  
 [.....21.....τῷ νέο] φόρῳ καὶ τῷ περυσ-  
 [ινῷ.....12.....τὲν δὲ βολὲν π]ροβολεύεσασαν ἐχ-  
 75 [σενεγκῆν.....18.....]πέρῃ τῇι ἡυστερα-  
 [ῖαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον.....12.....τ]ῆς ἡαιρέσεος χρε-  
 [ματίσαι-----] vacat.

Line 1: Θεοί . For a discussion of the significance of this heading, see Chapter 4. Θεοῖσιν would give a symmetrical arrangement of the letters, with one letter of the invocation falling over every third letter of line 2. The dative form used as a heading, however, has no parallel in Athenian decrees of the fifth century: Θεοί is the usual form. Symmetry, moreover, is of no apparent concern in the cutting of this document.

For a brief discussion of the meaning and history of such headings see Paul Traywick, H.S.C.P., LXXXIII (1969), pp. 325-328.



Line 3: [Σπ]οὔδιος: Mattingly has used the name of the secretary to date this decree. "Timoteles of Acharnai, secretary of Kekropis in 425/4, came from the tribe Oineis. The secretary of Oineis this year was a certain Spoudias, whose demotic is unknown. I think that this dating must now be accepted for the famous decree of Kleinias.... It becomes very tempting to identify this Spoudias with Spoudias Phlyeus, the hellenotamias of 410/09 from Kekropis (I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 304, A19), though the name is found with other possible tribes in the fourth century (PA 12866 and 12868: SEG XVII, 83).<sup>1</sup> If I am right, Oineis and Kekropis will have provided secretaries for each other in 425/4. This would of course have been the chance result of the lot. But we find the same phenomenon in 422/1, when Kekropis apparently provided the secretary for Aigeis (Prepis), and Aigeis for Kekropis (Mnesitheos). Within so short a space of time I again incline to reject coincidence. It looks as though the tribes at the period may have 'paired off' each year before balloting for the first period began. We have no material for checking the theory properly before 403/2, when it breaks down."<sup>1</sup> Briefly, then, his argument is this: Spoudias is probably from the tribe Kekropis. He is acting as secretary for the tribe Oineis. We know that in 425/4 Oineis supplied the secretary for Kekropis. If tribes customarily paired off to supply each other with secretaries, as we know happened once, then the decree of Kleinias must be from 425/4.

There are two difficulties with this argument. First, we do not have enough evidence to assume such 'pairing off' was customary, nor

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1. B.C.H., XCII (1968), p. 485.

do we have any statement from any ancient author. Second, the name Spoudias occurs twice in inscriptions from before 440, precisely the period from which Mattingly wishes to remove the decree of Kleinias. One, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 853, is an unidentified inscription of early date. The other, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 942, is a list of the dead from about 446. Between 446 and 410, when Spoudias Phlyeus appears, the name is found only once, in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 949, a casualty list of about 425; however, this Spoudias is from the tribe Oineis, and, according to Ferguson, the tribe of the secretary and the tribe for which he was secretary were never the same.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence of the name of the secretary, then, is inconclusive.

Line 5: Κλενί[ας]. The name of the man who moved this decree has been used to date it. "[T]he only Kleinias who can be considered orator of the decree is the father of Alkibiades. And inasmuch as he died in 447 the prosopographical argument serves to fix the date still more precisely in the early forties. Surely the brother and cousin of Alkibiades can be ruled out. Alkibiades himself was born about 450 and his brother Kleinias was younger than he. Consequently he can hardly have attained the necessary thirty years to entitle him to a seat on the Council before 426. Nor is it probable that

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2. W. S. Ferguson, The Athenian Secretaries, Cornell Classical Studies, VII (1898), p. 19. This conclusion is based on the evidence of twenty-eight inscriptions over an eighty-year period, in which the two tribes were never the same, and not on any statement by any ancient author that this was law.

the cousin belonging to the younger branch of the family should have been sufficiently old to act as councillor at any time when this decree may have been passed."<sup>3</sup>

However, the identification is by no means certain. "Apart from the serious possibility that the mover is otherwise unknown to us, there are still one or two known bearers of the name...P.A. 8510 is two persons, Alkibiades' father being distinct from the Kleinias of Herodotos VII.17 (P.A. Addenda no. 597). The latter who fought at Artemision in 480 was perhaps born between 520 and 510...; he would be something over 60 in 447, and it is possible (though not very likely) that the decree is his. He was Alkibiades' great-uncle. It was perhaps the same man whose son was strategos in 431 and 430: if not the same, then here is another claimant of the right age and standing. And there is Kleinias the son of Pedieus, named as καλός on vases of the second quarter of the century..., who would perhaps be old enough if the decree is of 447, and certainly would be if it be of 438 or later. That is to say, Alkibiades' father is not the only Kleinias among the leading Athenians of about this time."<sup>4</sup>

In addition, there are a few appearances in the fourth century of the name Kleinias. In the period 400-350, a Philon son of Kleinias is found.<sup>5</sup> In 325, Kleinias the son of Philon of the deme Xypetaion is diaitetes.<sup>6</sup> At the end of the fourth century, another Philon

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3. Hill and Meritt, Hesperia, XIII (1944), p. 9.

4. Wade-Gery, Hesperia, XIV (1945), pp. 216-217, n. 10.

5. P. A., 14814.

6. P. A., 8509.

son of Kleinias is mentioned.<sup>7</sup> The reference to the deme makes it clear that this family is not connected with that of Alkibiades. Here then is evidence of a politically active family, of which the Kleinias of this decree might have been a member.

To judge from the number of possible candidates, therefore, a date cannot be determined solely on the assumption that the mover of the decree is the father of Alkibiades.

Line 6: ἀρχ[οντας]. This term refers to the Athenian officials in each city. In cases where there were no Athenian officials, local officials might be used, but see below, on [ἐπισκό]πος. The powers of these local archontes were limited early, for example, in lawsuits involving the citizens of their states honoured by Athens, by I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 16 (dated perhaps to 465)<sup>8</sup>, and possibly also by I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 29 (from before 446). When the Coinage decree, D14, was passed, the local archontes in those cities that did not have Athenian archontes were made responsible for fulfilling the measures of that decree. Such cities were probably to be found in the Athenian Empire at any time; D21, from 428/7, for example, shows that there were no Athenian officials in Therambos.<sup>9</sup>

The presence of Athenian archontes in the cities need not be considered an indication of a date in the 420s, on the grounds that

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7. P. A., 14815.

8. For a discussion of the date, see Wade-Gery, in Essays in Greek History, pp. 180-200.

9. See the discussion in A.T.L., III, pp. 145-146.

it shows developed imperialism:<sup>10</sup> it is attested throughout the second half of the fifth century. Archontes are found in Miletos, where they may have been appointed specifically for the task at hand.<sup>11</sup> Thucydides mentions their presence in Samos in 440.<sup>12</sup> They may have been present there in connexion with the establishment of a new constitution, that is, again appointed specially for the task at hand. They are first generally attested in cities of the Empire in the decree of Klearchos, which was probably passed in 449/8.<sup>13</sup>

Proxeny-decrees, whose context is less controversial, give more evidence. I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 56, from about 440-35, mentions *hoίτινες Ἀθηναίων ἄρχοσι ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ*; ; a similar phrase, [*ἄρχοντες ἐν τῇ ὑπ[ερ]ορίᾳ*], is restored in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 177, from about 445-430. After 430, these officials disappear from proxeny-decrees for a time, and the generals are found looking after the interests of the honorands outside Athens. They reappear in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 368, from about 430-415, where they are acting with the generals.

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10. This is the argument of Mattingly, in Ancient Society and Institutions, pp. 204-206.

11. D11, lines 37, 41, 47, 64. See the discussion of this decree by Oliver, T.A.P.A., LXVI (1935), 177-198, esp. p. 188; see also Bradeen and McGregor, in Studies in Fifth Century Attic Epigraphy, pp. 24-70.

12. Thucydides, I, 115.

13. For a summary of the problem of the date of this decree, see Meiggs and Lewis, Greek Historical Inscriptions, pp. 114-117. Other suggestions for a date are after 439.

In addition to the evidence from the fifth century for the presence of archontes, there are also two later references. Aristotle says that there were "about seven hundred" Athenian state officials abroad.<sup>14</sup> Archontes are also mentioned in Bekker's Anecdota (A.T.L., II, T44), in the definition of ἐκκλογεῖς: οἱ ἐκκλέγοντες τοὺς φόρους ἵνα οἱ ἄρχοντες λάβωσιν. Neither of these references gives any indication of the period to which they belong.

The evidence of the decrees and of Thucydides seems to show that throughout the period in which dates for the decree of Kleinias have been suggested, that is, from 447 to 425, Athenian archontes were found throughout the Empire.

Line 7: [ἐπισκό]πος . These are the "travelling Commissioners"<sup>15</sup> who may have carried out the provisions of this decree in those cities that did not have Athenian archontes, or have ensured that the local archontes did so.

There are only three fifth-century references to these officials. Two of these are in the regulations for Erythrai, BD10, from 453/2, where they are acting in conjunction with the phrourarch; in lines 12-16 they are helping to establish a council, after which they will leave. The third reference is in Aristophanes' Birds (lines 1022-1026), produced in 414, in which an episkopos arrives apparently to help set up the constitution of the new nation. "Aristophanes shows that

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14. Aristotle, Ath. Pol., 24, 3; the number has been questioned.

But see A.T.L., III, p. 146.

15. Meiggs and Lewis, p. 119; see also Oliver, T.A.P.A., LXVI (1935), p. 188.

they counted on the support of local Athenian proxenoi, that they were interested in legal and political affairs, and that they expected to be treated with deference."<sup>16</sup> There is no reference in either to any connection with the collection of tribute. This suggests that the decree of Kleinias was passed before there were any officials whose sole duty it was to see to the collection of tribute, that is, before the decree of Kleonymos, D8, in 426.<sup>17</sup>

Harpokration refers to two ancient authors who use the term episkopoi, Antiphon and Theophrastos.<sup>18</sup> His explanation of the term suggests that they represented tight control over allied affairs by the Athenians; their presence, then, from before 450 indicates 'developed imperialism' by that time.

Line 11: χσῦμβολα : There is some dispute about the exact significance of this word. Lewis maintains that what is meant is a stick, or coin, or something of that sort, broken in half, of which one half was used by the allied cities to seal the grammateion, and the other kept at Athens and used to verify the impression when the tribute arrived at Athens. Such an impression would not be as easy to forge as that of an ordinary state-seal; moreover, there is no evidence to show that all cities had such seals at this time.<sup>19</sup> Wallace

16. A.T.L., III, p. 144.

17. Mattingly gives the decree of Kleinias a date after the decree of Kleonymos; we may have here an indication that this is wrong.

18. A.T.L., II, T14 and T65.

19. Phoenix, IX (1955), pp. 32-34.

agrees that the allies may not, before this decree, have had special seals, but that by its provisions Athens made special seals for them, of which impressions were kept for verification. "Why should states clumsily use half coins or stick ends to seal with instead of seal-stones which had been in common use for centuries?"<sup>20</sup>

The wording of this decree, and the one parallel instance of the use of symbola, in which the wording is exactly the same (I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 141, line 19, from 367, honouring the king of Sidon), indicate only that what is in question is something made specifically for the occasion, not state-seals already in use. Of the suggestions made, it is impossible to choose, on the basis of the evidence, between seals made especially for the tribute, and broken seals, which would be easier to use than broken sticks, and harder to forge than seals; perhaps specially-made seals of the ordinary type are more likely.

The seals were used to seal the tablet on which the amount of tribute was written, not the container itself, which was quite bulky. For the procedure of verification, see I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 141, lines 18-25.

Lines 16-18: There is some disagreement whether the apodektai played any part in the receiving of tribute along with the hellenotamiai. In support of this view is the testimony of Pollux (VIII, 97 = A.T.L., II, T98a), who specifically says that they did.<sup>21</sup> Rhodes, who feels

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20. Phoenix, IX (1955), p. 34. See also his article in Phoenix, III (1949), pp. 70-73.

21. The view that they did play a part is presented in A.T.L., III, p. 12.



that the apodektai were not involved, comments, "In view of Thucydides' contempt for technicalities and the pre-454 context of the passage this [that the apodektai were not involved] cannot be inferred with certainty from T. I. 96. ii. Pollux indeed would have imperial revenue like domestic paid in the first instance to the apodectae...But despite the Cleisthenic origin alleged for the apodectae in Andr. 324 F 5 they are not mentioned before 418/17...and if in the 440s they did exist and receive tribute their absence from M&L 46, 16-22 [the decree of Kleinias] is surprising."<sup>22</sup> In 418/17 they are found in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 94, lines 15-18, where they are to give their revenue, whose source is not mentioned, to the treasurers of the Other Gods. In the decree, of Kleinias, the procedure is described virtually in shorthand: even the hellenotamiai are not mentioned in connection with the actual receiving of the money. It is impossible to decide on the basis of this inscription, then, whether or not the apodektai took part in receiving the allied tribute.

Line 22: [ἄν τινες ὄσιν· Ἀθ] Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7; [ἄμ με ἀποδοῶσι· Ἀθ] a possibility noted but rejected by Hill and Meritt; [ἄν ἐλλίπῳσιν· Ἀθ] R.G. Thomas, reported in Meiggs and Lewis; [ἄμ....9..... Ἀθ] Meiggs and Lewis. The restoration made by Thomas is redundant even for official language, although line 36 of this decree shows that it is certainly not impossible. Hill and Meritt reject the second suggestion because it "does not seem to make allowance for partial payments." "The use of the word

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22. P. J. Rhodes, The Athenian Boule, pp. 98-99, n. 8.

[ἐ]ντελεῖ in line 21 implies the distinction between cities that paid in full on the one hand, and cities whose obligations were not completely met on the other."<sup>23</sup> The restoration finally accepted by Hill and Meritt does not add much to the meaning of the passage, unless it be taken as, 'all, whether they have paid nothing, or even if they have paid in part,' or, 'all, whether they have not paid through inability, through dishonesty on the part of the courier, or through recalcitrance.' On this interpretation it shows sternness and inflexibility on the part of the Athenians.

Lines 23-24: ἀντὶ γραφισμένου . If the giving of receipts is a provision for the year of this decree and for subsequent years also, why are they not given to the bearers of the tribute, at Athens, to take home with them again? If this is a provision for this year only, then how much of what follows is a provision only for this year? Why have receipts not been given before? The answer to the first two questions may be that for this year, since some of the tribute-bearers brought the money early and have already left Athens, the receipts will be brought to them, but that for the future they will be given in Athens, and that this provision is the only one that applies only to this year. As to the last, the recording of the payment at Athens may have been considered sufficient before.

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23. *Hesperia*, XIII (1944), p. 12. In support of their argument is the use of the word ἐλλιπός in lines 21-22; the same word is used in line 18 of the decree of Kleonymos, D8, where it appears to summarize the longer specification of lines 14-15.

Line 24: [τὸν ἀποδοθέντα] A.T.L., II, D7; [τῷσι ἀποδόσεσι]  
 A. Griffin, reported in Meiggs and Lewis. I accept the restoration  
 of Griffin, because it allows for the giving of receipts both to  
 those who have paid in full, and to those who have paid only in part.

Lines 26-28: ἐ[πὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Νέσον καὶ ἐπ' Ἰονίας]...  
 [ἐπὶ τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλεσπόντο κα]ῖ ἐπὶ Θράικες. The restoration  
 given is based on D14, section 9, where the same order occurs, but  
 slightly different wording is used. It is possible, however, to  
 give a different wording, which includes Karia: ἐπ' Ἰονίαν καὶ  
 Καρίαν καὶ Νέσος. This restoration receives support from the  
 fact that the phrase ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Νέσον is not found elsewhere,  
 although the phraseology is by no means fixed.

For a discussion of the significance of the number and order  
 of the districts see Chapter 4 and the works referred to there.

Lines 30/1: [χσυνεχῶς ἡέος ἄν διαπραχθ]ῇ. For a discussion  
 of this phrase and the bases of its restoration here see Chapter 4.

Lines 33/4: [ἔστο αὐτὸν γ] ράφεισθαι πρὸς [τὸς πρυτάνες].

For the procedure here described see Aristotle, Ath. Pol., 43, 4.

The decree of Kleinias here is making arrangements closely paralleling  
 those in private law.

Oliver, in commenting on the decree concerning Miletos, D10,  
 defines epimeletai as "Athenian officials who received from allies  
 charges against those persons who tried to persuade their government  
 not to fulfill the obligations in respect to tribute."<sup>24</sup> This decree

was probably passed before that of Kleinias, yet we do not find these officials handling the indictments. Either therefore they were responsible only for receiving indictments elsewhere than at Athens, or the indictments mentioned in the decree of Kleinias are not against those trying to prevent the collection of tribute, that is, attempting to persuade cities to defy Athens, but against those who interfere with the delivery of tribute; a private crime rather than treason, involving defaulting couriers or men stealing from them, for reasons of private gain, not political disturbance. In this case, we are not dealing with recalcitrant cities at all.

Line 37: [χιλίσιασι] Meiggs and Lewis; [μυριάσι] A.T.L., II, D7.

The amount of the fine to be restored seems only partially dependent on the date to be assigned to this decree. Generally, the larger amount is later, but a fine of ten thousand drachmai is found in a decree from before 450, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 16, Athenian relations with Phaselis.

The amount of the fine has some significance for the procedure prescribed by the subsequent lines of the decree, and explains why the boule was not made responsible for the final decision concerning the penalty. "Since each of the prytanes could be fined a sum which must be restored as 1,000 or 10,000 drachmae if they failed to bring the case before the boule, any suitable penalty would obviously be in excess of the boule's 500 drachmae limit."<sup>25</sup>

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24. T.A.P.A., LXVI (1935), p. 194.

25. Rhodes, p. 152.

Line 38: [ἡδὲ δ' ἄν] καταγνῶι ἡ[ε βολέ, μὲ τιμᾶν αὐτ]ῶι  
 κυρία ἔστο. There is no parallel in inscriptions to this curtail-  
 ment of the powers of the boule, although an indication that they  
 were sometimes curtailed may be found in the decree concerning Miletos,  
 D11, line 86: ἡε βολέ αὐτοκράτ[ορ ἔστο]. A reference to the  
 restriction of the powers of the boule is found in Aristotle, Ath. Pol.,  
 45, 1, an account of the circumstances in which the powers were cur-  
 tailed, but with no indication of when this took place. Rhodes  
 argues that the powers of the boule were restricted from the time  
 when it was first given judicial powers through the reforms of Ephialtes,  
 but that the restriction was not quite as complete as Aristotle  
 would have us believe, since in the fourth century it had authority  
 to impose fines of 500 drachmai.<sup>26</sup>

The arrangements described by Aristotle are not exactly the same  
 as those found in the decree of Kleinias, but are closer to the decree  
 of Kleonymos, D8, from 426. This may indicate that the decree of  
 Kleinias represents an earlier stage of court-procedure.

Line 39: [ἐλῑαίαν]. Rhodes considers that this term is being used in  
 a very specific way. "The development of the separate δικαστήρια  
 and reduction of the archons' judicial power are poorly attested, but  
 I suspect that the old concept of the heliaia as a judicial session  
 of the ekklesia lingered for some time after it had become normal  
 for the heliaia to be divided into δικαστήρια. Perhaps the last  
 active occurrence of the old sense of the word is its restoration

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26. Rhodes, pp. 179-207.

in Clinias' tribute decree."<sup>27</sup> We cannot, however, deduce this. The term δικάστηριον is more usual, and is found from 450/49, in the decree concerning Miletos, D10, on. The term ἐλίσια is used in only two other decrees, one from 446, the Athenian settlement with Chalkis, D17, line 75, where it is described as τὲν τῶν θεσμοθετῶν and the other, A9, from 425/4, line 14, where it is not given any further description. A9 also uses δικάστηριον three times, without qualification. By this time, then, either the two were being used synonymously, or they were used of two separate institutions or functions of the same institution. How the term is being used in the decree of Kleinias is impossible to decide, but the use of the term in other decrees shows that it certainly need not indicate an early date.

Line 40: πο[ιέσθον] P. J. Rhodes; πο[ιόντων] A.T.L., II, D7.

In justification of his restoration, Rhodes says, "The prytanes are surely expected to hold a debate in the boule rather than make proposals on their own account."<sup>28</sup> For a similar instance, see Thucydides III, 36, 2.

Line 42: τῆς βοῆς ἐ [τῆς πανθοπλίας]ς : "The restoration of πανθοπλίας [here and in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 45, the decrees of Brea, and A9, the reassessment decree of 425/4] rests on evidence of Inscripfen von Priene<sup>5</sup> in which Priene votes, shortly before 325 B.C., to send

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27. Rhodes, pp. 168-169.

28. Rhodes, p. 189, n. 4.

to Athens for each 4-yearly Panathenaia a panoply in memory of ancient friendship and kinship. We must probably understand this "ancient kinship" in the sense that Priene was a colony of Athens and that she assumes the consequent obligation." In the second Athenian confederacy, ca 372/1, Paros also sent a cow and panoply, "precisely because they were acknowledged to be Athenian colonists."<sup>29</sup>

The obligation is first mentioned, aside from the decree of Kleinias, in the decree for the colonists of Brea, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 45, in 445. It had probably become the standard contribution of the allies after 453/2, when Erythrai as a colony of Athens was required to bring σιτόν instead. In 425/4, by a provision of the assessment-decree, A9, the sending of a cow and panoply is made an obligation of all subject cities. Since, however, by this assessment-decree some cities were assessed for the first time, it may simply be extending the obligation to these cities also, in addition to previously assessed cities who had already come under the obligation; it need not be extending the obligation to all subject cities for the first time, and indeed the brevity of the reference seems to indicate that it is already a well-known requirement.

Line 44: [πινάκιον λελευκομένον] The term πινάκιον is found in three other inscriptions of the fifth century. In two of these, D1, line 11, and I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 127, line 10, it is used of records of debts; in the third, I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 76, line 27, it is used of a record of first fruits at Eleusis. In the decree of Themistokles, the term

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29. Meritt and Wade-Gery, J.H.S., LXXXII (1962), pp. 69-70.

λευκώματα is used of a list of Athenian citizens. The term πινάκιον λελευκομένον is used in Aristotle, Ath. Pol., 48, 20 of that on which an individual writes a charge against a magistrate. In I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1237, line 62 it is used to mean simply 'notice board.' Although the term may be used in this straight-forward way, it may also be used of accusations; we might therefore expect to find it used here not to record the names of those who have paid in full, but of those cities that have defaulted, or the names of couriers or others who have offended. For this reason I have not accepted the restoration proposed for lines 45-6, [ἀποφαίνεν καὶ τὸν τάχσι]ν τῷ φόρῳ καὶ [τὰς πόλεις | ἡόσαι ἂν ἀποδοῖσιν ἐντελέσῃκα]ι...

Line 46: ἀπογ[ράφεν] Meiggs and Lewis; ἀπογ[ράφσαι] Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7; ἀποδ Mattingly<sup>30</sup>. There is not enough of the letter following ἀπο to justify a valid restoration.

Line 57: [...χρεματίσαι δὲ καὶ τὲμ] βολέν Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7; [...τὲμ] βολέν Meiggs and Lewis. For another use of the verb χρεματίσαι, see the final lines of this decree. Against the restoration of it here is simply the fact that we do not know the context, nor even whether the council is the subject.

Lines 57-58: τὸν ἐσι[ῶσ|αν] For a similar phrase see I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 94, line 31, from 418/7.

The restored term is important for the timetable<sup>o</sup> of action

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30. B.S.A., LXV (1970), p. 129.



envisaged by the decree. "Inasmuch as the provisions of the earlier lines, notably lines 18-19 with their reference to a meeting of the Ekklesia to be called after the Dionysiac festival, imply a date for the inscription at about the time of the Dionysia it is apparent that the action to be taken by the new council as envisaged in lines 57 ff. can have been begun only in midsummer after a lapse of several months."<sup>31</sup>

Lines 58-59: [ἀν]αγεγράφεται has been the accepted restoration in line 59 since it appeared in C.I.G., I, no. 75.

[ἡ]όσοι δὲ τῶν ἀπα[γ]όντων Ἀθήναζε ἐς τὸ πινάκιον ἀν]αγεγράφεται Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7, Meiggs and Lewis; [ἡ]όσοι δὲ τῶν ἀπα[γόντων τῶν φόρον ἐς τὴν σανίδα...] Mattingly;<sup>32</sup> [ἐν τῇ σανίδι] Mattingly.<sup>33</sup> The restoration given by Hill and Meritt closely follows the thought of lines 44f., through the repetition of πινάκιον, and should therefore assume that the ἀπαγόντων are the cities, as they are in other inscriptions. Meritt in his commentary on D8, lines 20f., says, "The ἀπάγοντες were not the men who brought the money from the cities to Athens, but the cities themselves. The form of the participle (masculine) is conditioned by the type of record which the hellenotamiai made with the cities listed (as in the quota lists) by the nominatives of the ethnic."<sup>34</sup>

31. Hill and Meritt, Hesperia, XIII (1944), p. 14.

32. C.Q., XVI (1966), p. 189;

33. B.S.A., LXV (1970), p. 130.

34. D.A.T., p. 34.

Hill and Meritt, however, in their commentary on line 58 of the decree of Kleinias, say, "The word ἀπάγοντες as here used is almost a technical term and this inscription makes it clear that when the apagontes are spoken of the people named are the couriers who transported the money. Meritt's argument...that they were the cities who paid and not the couriers who travelled was correct for the tribute quota lists but is not applicable here."<sup>35</sup> If the couriers are referred to, and not the cities, then the reference to πινάκιον is perhaps wrong, for it involves the cities, not individuals, with whom the hellenotamiai of lines 43-44 were in no way concerned.

Mattingly has attempted a different solution by giving a restoration closely parallel with D8, the decree of Kleonymos. "The purpose of the record was presumably to ensure that responsibility could be brought home--either to the community that gave short measure or to the agent who played false. This was Kleinias' main aim...D8 ensured that the couriers' names were listed, whenever any tribute was missing, and D7. 58ff. in fact reflects this arrangement. The discovery that a clause of D7 depends on D8 means that Kleinias' decree must be put later than the second prytany of 426/5."<sup>36</sup> The restoration of these lines is however by no means certain. It is possible to restore them as a close parallel of D3, lines 9-11, thus: *ὅσοι δὲ τῶν ἀπα[γ]όντων Ἀθηναίοις τὰ ὀφελέματα ἢ ἄ γεγράφαι ὀφέλλοντες*. The passage from D3 is as follows: *[τῶν δὲ ὀφ- [εἰ]λεμάτων ἢ γεγράφαι τοῖς δημοσίοις τ[οῖς τῶν Ἀθε]-*

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35. *Hesperia*, XIII (1944), p. 11.

36. *B.S.A.*, LXV (1970), p. 131.

[να] <ί>οι Μεθοναῖοι ὀφείλοντες. It is also possible to restore them with a reference to the πίνακα of line 72, thus: *ὅσοι δὲ τῶν ἀπα[γ]όντων Ἀθέναζε ἐς τὸν πίνακα κατ]αγεγράφεται.* For this reason I have left the lines unrestored.

Lines 59-60: ὀφέ[λ]οντες ἐν τῇ βολῇ ἐπ[ι]δεῖχσαι Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7; [κα]ὶ δεῖχσαι, [ἐὰν δύνοντα]ι, δεῖχσαι Mattingly.<sup>37</sup> Mattingly has emphasized the impossibility of restoring these lines with any confidence, and following his doubt I have left them unrestored.

Lines 60-61: τῶι δέμ[η] [οι] Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7, Meiggs and Lewis. The possibility suggested above is perhaps the most likely, given the procedure described at line 20. Another possibility, however, is τῶι δέμ[η] [οσιόι]; for an example of this word used in connection with tribute see the phrase from D3 quoted above, on lines 58-59. The parallel phrasing from D3 and my first suggested alternate restoration of line 59 support this restoration. I have preferred therefore to leave the word unrestored because of the lack of secure context.

Lines 60-61: τῶι δέμ[η] [οι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἑκάσταν· ἐὰν δ]έ

The full restoration offered by Hill and Meritt and by A.T.L., II, D7 is based on the restoration of δέμοι, which is not certain, as I have pointed out. Furthermore, it assumes that the δῆμος is that

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37. B.S.A., LXV (1970), p. 131, n.9.

of each individual city, and therefore that each city was a democracy, but it is more likely, if δέμοι is the right restoration, that the Athenian demos is meant here, to whom a report concerning the state of arrears or of debt is being given. The assembly of each individual city is referred to by the term τὸ κοινόν.

Lines 61-62: α | [...] D.A.T., A.T.L., I, D7; ἀ | [μφοσβετῆι] Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7, Meiggs and Lewis. This restoration was first made by Boeckh, who read a mu at the end of line 61. The mu has been relinquished; the restoration, which did not appear in A.T.L., I, D7 or D.A.T., has since reappeared. I am not completely satisfied that there are enough letters left to make this restoration certain, although the restorations of [τῆς ἀποδ]όσεος and of ἀπ | [οδεδοκῆναι] which are mutually confirmatory, narrow the possibilities for line 61.

Line 63: [χσυνάγασ]θαι Boeckh.

Line 63: τὸ κοινόν. This can refer simply to the main assembly of the state as a whole, for example in A9, line 6 and in Aristophanes' Knights, line 774, or to the assembly of the state as a financially responsible body, as in I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 116, the Athenian treaty with Selymbria, lines 23-24, from 407. It does not mean, as was suggested by Boeckh, the assembly of the allies. Here it seems to mean the assembly of the citizens of a state, gathered to hear the decree of the Athenians, to learn the extent of their responsibility for arrears, and if appropriate to enter protests. Mattingly suggests that the term "surely implies a contrast between community and individuals

(here οἱ ἀπάγοντες ?) against whom the γραφαί of 66ff. probably lie."<sup>38</sup> The κοινὸν then is apparently responsible for collecting the money to send to Athens, not, as later under the provisions of the decree of Kleonimos, D8, lines 8-9, the collectors of tribute.

Line 65: ... ]θαῖ D.A.T., A.T.L., I, D7; [γράφεισ]θαῖ Boeckh, Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7, Meiggs and Lewis. Hicks, who accepts the restoration τῆς χουμμάχιας in line 64, comments that these lines "seem to prescribe that disputes should be referred to a general court of the confederation and in the meantime that other legal proceedings (γράφεισθαι) should be suspended."<sup>39</sup> His suggestion may be sound, in that other proceedings in the court of the Polemarch (cf. line 68) may be suspended, although the two passages are rather widely separated for this. It may alternatively be a restriction, that trials not be held elsewhere than at Athens. The restoration is not, however, certain, and I have not printed it.

Line 66: [τῷ κοινῷ δὲ μὲ εἰπόν]τος. Boeckh; [τῷ δὲ γραφέν]τος A.T.L., II, D7, Hill and Meritt. Boeckh's restoration, although probably wrong, demonstrates that the word ending in -τος need not be dependent on ὀφελέτο; I have therefore not printed any restoration.

Lines 66-67: γρ|[αφομένος] Boeckh; γρ|[αφσάμενος] D.A.T., A.T.L., I, D7, Meiggs and Lewis; ἢ ο γρ|[αφσάμενος τὸν τίμεν ἐάν

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38. B.S.A., LXV (1970), p. 131, n.9.

39. The Collection of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, I, Attika, no. VI.

φεύγει] .Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7.

Line 68: [πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον] This restoration receives support from A9, line 13, and from D23, lines 20-24, and from Aristotle, Ath. Pol., 58, all of which demonstrate that the Polemarch handled cases in which foreigners were involved; from A9 in particular it is clear that he also handled cases involving tribute. Photius also mentions the Polemarch, and says προειστήκει μὲν τῶν τε ξένων καὶ τῶν μετοίκων, οὐκ ἤμειψε δὲ τὴν κλησιν. This is interesting in view of the mention in line 69 of κλέσες but not particularly illuminating, except in that it may show that the two lines are part of a provision dealing with the same judicial procedure.

Line 68: [ἐν τῷ Γαμ]λιῶνι Boeckh; [μὲν Γαμ]λιῶνι Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7, Meiggs and Lewis. The restoration of the name of the month is supported by the evidence of A9, in which it is specified that, during the immediately preceding month of Posideion, decisions are to be made in the Polemarch's court concerning appeals and the final assessment of tribute. If this was also the case in earlier years, and since appeals could be made concerning assessment in years other than assessment-years, then the logical time for hearing cases concerning incomplete payment due to cheating would be in the following month. Moreover, the only other possibilities are Elaphebolion, when the Great Dionysia were held, and Thargelion, two months later than Elaphebolion and the second last month of the year; its restoration then would contradict lines 57-58, [τῷ] βολὲν τὲν ἐσ[ῶσαν].

The restoration of the month is interesting for the interpretation of the second half of the document. As can be seen from line 18, the decree was probably passed just before the Dionysia in Elaphebolion; Gamelion is ten months later, by which time, as the urgency of the first part of the decree shows, all outstanding money from the tribute will have been paid. The decree is now concerned with whether or not some individual was responsible for incomplete payment, and is ensuring his prosecution and possible reimbursement for the cities cheated. If this was standard procedure, that the arrears of tribute should be paid by the cities and the reason for the lateness questioned later, then we cannot expect any irregularity of the type whose causes this decree is supposed to regulate to appear in the quota lists.

Lines 68-69: ἄ|[ῥοισβετῆι] Boeckh, Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7, Meiggs and Lewis; ἄ|[...] D.A.T., A.T.L., I, D7; ἄ|[λλος] Mattingly.<sup>40</sup>  
There is not enough left for any secure restoration.

Lines 69-70: βο[λευέτο] Boeckh; βο[λευέσθο] I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66a; βο[λευσάτο] D.A.T., A.T.L., I, D7; βο[λευσαμένε] Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7, Meiggs and Lewis.

Lines 70-71: ἐσαγόντων δὲ ἡοι|[ἐσαγογῆς τὸς ὀφλῶντας Ἀθε]ναίοις I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66a; [...Ἀθε]ναίοις D.A.T., A.T.L., I, D7; ἐσαγόντων δὲ ἡοι|[ἐσαγογῆς ἐς τὴν ἐλίαιαν τὸς Ἀθε]ναίοις Hill and

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40. C.Q., XVI (1966), p. 188.

Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7, Meiggs and Lewis. The restoration suggested by I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 66a has been retained in spirit by the restoration of line 72, [ὀφέλοντας].

Line 72: Nothing is restored by either D.A.T. or A.T.L., I, D7, except for [πίνα]κα. [ὀφέλοντας ηεχσῆς κατὰ τὸμ πίνα]κα Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7, Meiggs and Lewis. This restoration is by no means certain, since ἀπάγοντας is an alternative for ὀφέλοντας and a longer word, eliminating the need for the following ηεχσῆς is also possible. A.T.L., I, D7 and D.A.T. did not restore the words κατὰ τὸμ, which leaves yet more space for an alternative restoration.

Line 72: [κατὰ τὸμ πίνα]κα The πίνακα does not refer back to the πινάκιον of line 44, although it may be referred to in line 59 (see note, above). The term μῆγυσις is used of cases against individuals, not states.<sup>41</sup>

Line 72: Hill and Meritt, A.T.L., II, D7, and Meiggs and Lewis all punctuate at the end of the line thus: μενύσεος· ἐ. No punctuation after μενύσεος is elsewhere given. Moreover, it cannot be assumed that the word to follow had smooth breathing, since the daseia to show rough breathing is omitted in line 39 and might also have been

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41. See, for example, Andokides, 1, 23, and Plato, Laws, 932d. In the decree regulating relations with Chalkis, D17, the word used for 'denounce' is κατερῶ, line 25.



omitted here.

Lines 73-74:  $\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma \left| \begin{smallmatrix} \text{[}\iota\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\text{]} \end{smallmatrix} \right.$  Boeckh. That the spelling of Boeckh is wrong, and  $\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma \left| \begin{smallmatrix} \text{[}\iota\nu\tilde{\omicron}\text{]} \end{smallmatrix} \right.$  right, is clear from A.T.L., II, p. 30 (List 26, IV, 10). This passage may perhaps refer to the prosecution of those who have committed a crime concerning the previous year's tribute, and will be found to have done so with the tribute of the present year also.

## CHAPTER SIX

## CONCLUSION

The indications of date emerging from the preceding chapters are as follows:

1. From letter-forms, a date somewhere in the thirties is best suited to the evidence.
2. From spelling, there is nothing to conclude.
3. From formulae, a date at the very end of the 440s or later seems to fit the evidence best.
4. The study of individual provisions shows that the decree was probably passed after 453, when Erythrai was required to bring  $\sigma\tilde{\iota}\tau\acute{o}\nu$  to the Great Panathenaia (see Chapter 5, on line 42), and before the decree of Kleonymos, D8, from 426, when collectors of tribute were to be appointed (see Chapter 5, on line 63; in addition, possible evidence from judicial procedure, on line 38.)

The primary purpose of this decree is to ensure that couriers shall have no chance to embezzle on the way to Athens; since they are expected to deliver what remains of the money, clearly only small sums can have been involved, for in previous years they can scarcely have expected large sums missing to go unnoticed. The decree of Kleinias is not then concerned with the defaulting reflected in the quota-lists before 447/6.

Moreover, the decree of Kleinias emphasizes the speed with which the four men are to collect what is still owing from the tribute, and clearly expects no difficulty in collecting it.

I conclude then that the decree of Kleinias is primarily a

book-keeping decree, passed to prevent couriers from embezzling tribute on its way to Athens, and in no way concerned with or expecting recalcitrance on the part of the cities; it was probably passed some time in the 440s or 430s. A more accurate date, or a more detailed context, cannot be determined on the basis of epigraphic and internal evidence.

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