

# Accounts of Payments from the Treasury of Athena in 410-407? BC (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 375 and 377)

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## ACCOUNTS OF PAYMENTS FROM THE TREASURY OF ATHENA IN 410-407? BC (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 375 AND 377)<sup>1</sup>

#### S. D. Lambert

<u>IG I<sup>3</sup> 375</u> and <u>377</u>, respectively the front and reverse faces of the so-called "Choiseul Marble" in the Louvre, contain accounts of payments from the treasury of Athena. <u>375</u> is dated to 410/9 BC (archonship of Glaukippos, l. 1), and its text is not controversial. <u>377</u> is more difficult. This paper supports the English translations of <u>375</u> and <u>377</u> which are published today on AIO. It (a) presents a fresh text of <u>377</u>, (b) discusses its date, and (c) presents an annotated table of the accounts on both faces of the inscription.

#### **Text of** *IG* **I**<sup>3</sup> **377**

There are currently three texts of all or part of  $IG I^3$  377 in circulation, for the IG text, by David Lewis, published in 1981, but signed off in 1976, differs at numerous points, in particular in lines 1-27, from the, essentially contemporary, rival texts of Pritchett 1977, and Meritt 1978. The judgement of the last two scholars was severely distorted by the spirit of unbridled polemic which marred their work on this topic;<sup>2</sup> but both (especially Pritchett) had also made a close study of the stone and of numerous photographs, and their readings can not in every case be dismissed out of hand. Lewis' text is the best-judged, but it was informed by study of photographs rather than by independent autopsy, and though he attempted to give due credit to Pritchett, his loyalty to Meritt, of whom he was a pupil, is also apparent, here as elsewhere in IG I<sup>3</sup>. The stone is very difficult to read, and, as is well-known to every epigraphist with experience at the epigraphical "coal face", the evidence of photographs tends to be misleading or controversial precisely at those points where readings are most difficult. Further conventional autopsy would be laborious and would probably yield little; new technology for reading abraded stones offers a way forward; but in the meantime the translator needs a text to translate and the historian needs a text and a translation to work with. At the end of this paper I publish a composite interim text, which reproduces only those readings on which Lewis, Pritchett and Meritt were in agreement. It forms the basis for the translation of <u>IG I<sup>3</sup> 377</u> on AIO.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I prepared this paper and the associated translations while a Visiting Fellow of Utrecht University in spring 2014, and completed it in the excellent library of the Seminar für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik of the University of Heidelberg in May-July 2014. I am very grateful to my hosts in those places, Josine Blok and Christian Witschel, and for financial support to Utrecht University and the Humboldt Foundation. I thank Roy van Wijk for invaluable assistance during my stay in Utrecht. I am grateful to Christian Mann for his hospitality in Mannheim, where a short version of this paper was delivered in June 2014. I am grateful to members of the AIO Advisory Board, especially to Peter Rhodes and Josine Blok, for helpful discussion and comments on a draft. I thank John Morgan for his advice on the date of <u>IG I<sup>3</sup> 377</u> and for permission to summarise his new argument, which has important wider implications for our understanding of Athenian chronology. I use the following abbreviations:

Pritchett 1977: W. K. Pritchett, "The Choiseul Marble: a Palimpsest with Graffiti", *BCH* 101 (1977), 7-42;

Meritt 1978: B. D. Meritt, "The Choiseul Marble Again", Arch. Eph. 1978 [1980], 95-108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In my experience Pritchett's tendency to insist on perverse readings and Meritt's to develop fancifully speculative ones was exaggerated when, as here, they were at loggerheads.

#### Date of *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 377

A word is also needed on the date.<sup>3</sup> The front face of the inscription, <u>IG 1<sup>3</sup> 375</u>, neatly covers the accounts of a single year, whereas on <u>377</u> we have two blocks of text separated by a *vacat*: lines 1-27, before the *vacat*, contain entries from the last three prytanies of one year and the first two prytanies of a succeeding year; after the *vacat*, lines 28-52 contain entries from the second prytany of a year. Neither block preserves an archon date.

As Lewis makes clear (p. 359), the parameters for the date of 377 are supplied by the accounts on the front, <u>IG I³ 375</u>, explicitly dated to 410/9, and by <u>IG I³ 378</u>, which should date at the latest to 406/5. The years represented on our inscription should therefore be 409/8, 408/7 or 407/6. None of these three years can be ruled out, nor has there been agreement on whether the block of text after the *vacat* follows on in sequence from that before the *vacat*, but in my view the strongest theory is that the upper block of text belongs to 408/7 and the beginning of 407/6 and the lower block succeeds directly from it in 407/6. The two most important chronological indicators for the upper section are: (a) the names of the tribes in prytany; (b) the implied relationship between the Council's calendar and the lunar calendar.

(a) Names of tribe in prytany.

Two arguments are in play, tending in opposite directions:

- (i) <u>IG 1<sup>3</sup> 476</u> shows that Aegeis held the ninth prytany in 408/7 (1. 282) and that tribe also holds the ninth prytany in the upper part of our inscription (1. 6). This suggests, but does not prove, that the upper part of <u>377</u> belongs to 408/7.
- (ii) <u>IG I<sup>3</sup> 476</u> also shows that the sequence of the tribes in prytany in prytanies 5, 7, 8 and 9 of 408/7, was as follows (the Roman numeral here is used to indicate the tribe's position in the "official" order, used for some purposes where official responsibilities rotated among the tribes):

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pryt. 5 Oeneis VI (l. 57)
pryt. 6 Unknown (l. 61)
pryt. 7 Leontis IV (l. 66)
pryt. 8 Pandionis III (ll. 183-4, 267-8)
pryt. 9 Aegeis II (l. 282)
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> To avoid becoming entangled in a morass of inconclusive arguments, I do not give full references to the twists and turns of previous scholarship on this point or to the weaker arguments that have been adduced. I also deliberately avoid stating whether, on this or that point, I "follow Meritt", or "follow Pritchett", since such statements tend to imply and embed misplaced tribal loyalties. It may help readers unversed in the Athenian calendar to be informed that the Athenian year consisted of 12 "lunar" months (i.e. months which followed in theory and possibly in practice a lunar cycle) of 30 days ("full") or 29 days ("hollow"): Hekatombaion, Metageitnion, Boedromion, Pyanopsion, Maimakterion, Posideon, Gamelion, Anthesterion, Elaphebolion, Mounichion, Thargelion, Skirophorion. Periodically intercalary months were inserted to ensure, over the long term, correspondence between this year and a solar year. In the late 5<sup>th</sup> century the Council's year was a "solar" year of 366 days, and was divided into 10 prytanies (periods during which the tribal contingents of the Council, or "prytanies", acted as its executive committee, in rotation, in random order). In the 4<sup>th</sup> century the Council's year was coterminous with the lunar year. See further below and *AIO Papers* no. 4, 23-25.

It has been held that this should imply that Erechtheis, tribe I in the official order, held the tenth prytany in 408/7, which is inconsistent with <u>IG I<sup>3</sup> 377</u>, 14, where the tenth prytany is held by Antiochis. This argument has much less weight than (i). There is no reason to suppose that, in this year, or in any other, tribes were deliberately made to hold prytanies in reverse official order. All our other evidence suggests that tribes held prytanies in a random order, and a random sequence occasionally produces an illusion that it is a deliberately ordered sequence. This is most likely what has happened in this case. In a random order, no sequence is more or less probable than any other sequence; and (pace Lewis, p. 359) no sound argument can be based on a calculation of the probability of this particular sequence occurring by chance; it is the same as the probability of any other sequence.

#### (b) Synchronism of the Council's calendar and the lunar calendar.

This is a matter of teasing out the implications of the calendar equations by which entries in these accounts are dated. So, for example, the first entry (l. 3) is dated: "on the twenty-third of the prytany (8), the third of Mounichion". On this topic I am grateful for the advice of Professor John Morgan of the University of Delaware, currently the foremost authority on the Athenian calendar, who has developed a persuasive (if, again, not quite conclusive) argument based on forward calculation from a well-established synchronism between the prytany calendar and the lunar calendar in 411. In 411 the first day of the first prytany coincided with 14 Skirophorion (Ath. Pol. 32.1), and Morgan shows in a chapter of a forthcoming book that if one projects forward from that equation on the basis of what we know about the workings of the Council's calendar and the lunar calendar at this period, and in particular on the assumption of a Council year of 366 days,<sup>4</sup> one would expect the equivalences in our inscription to have occurred at the end of 408/7 and the beginning of 407/6. More specifically, one would expect the equation 1 Hekatombaion = pryt. I 1 at the beginning of 407/6, as implicitly in the second year recorded in the upper part of <u>IG I<sup>3</sup> 377</u> (20<sup>th</sup> Hekatombaion = pryt. I 20, ll. 24-26).<sup>5</sup>

No other arguments that have been developed on this issue seem to have weight. These two arguments suggest, though they do not prove, that the upper part of  $\underline{IG I^3 377}$  dates to the end of 408/7 and the beginning of 407/6.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This is implied for 426/5-423/2 by <u>IG I<sup>3</sup> 369</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> As Morgan also points out, this casts doubt on the usual interpretation of this inscription as showing that, from 407/6 onwards, the beginning of the Council year was systematically synchronised with the beginning of the lunar year. Morgan goes on to develop a further argument, which again seems to me persuasive, but not conclusive, based on the equations in this inscription, that, in 407/6, the Council year was not in fact coterminous with the lunar year, the Council year still consisted of 366 days, that it had 37 days in each of the first six prytanies and 36 in the last four prytanies (which arguably applied also in 426/5-423/2), and that the omitted day to create a hollow month in Metageitnion of this year was not δευτέρα φθίνοντος ("second of the waning month", i.e. penultimate day), but might have been ἐνάτη φθίνοντος ("ninth of the waning month", i.e.  $22^{nd}$ , the day on which the countdown to the end of the month begins). On the omitted day see also my remarks, "Athenian Chronology 352/1-322/1", in A. Tamis, C. J. Mackie and S. G. Byrne eds., *Philathenaios*. Studies in Honour of Michael J. Osborne (Athens, 2010), 100-101 = Inscribed Athenian Laws and Decrees (Leiden, 2012), 398-99. Morgan further suggests per ep. that the shift to a coterminous Council and lunar year may have coincided with the re-establishment of democracy after the fall of the Thirty, perhaps 403/2 BC. [On Morgan's view of the calendar of these years see further now AIO *Papers* no. 7 (2016), 9-10].

#### Date of *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 377 - Lower section

The lower part of <u>IG I<sup>3</sup> 377</u>, i.e. II. 27-52, following the *vacat*, would seem best taken as following on directly from the upper part. This is the most natural and obvious way to read the text; it is consistent with the fact that the tribe Erechtheis is named as holding the second prytany in both the last line of the upper part and the first line of the lower part; and it is also consistent with the fact that the first calendar equation in the lower part, 20 Metageitnion = pryt. II 13, follows on sequentially, at an interval of twelve days, from the last one given in the upper part, i.e. 8 Metageitnion = pryt. II 1.

Why is there a gap between the two sections of text? Several explanations are possible. One is that in this inscription the accounting year, appropriately enough for the treasurers of Athena, was conceived of as running from Panathenaia to Panathenaia (the principal day of which was the 28<sup>th</sup> of the first month of the year, Hekatombaion), and that the very last payment in the upper section, on 8 Metageitnion, a few days after the Panathenaia, was a carry-over from the previous year.

It seems, therefore, that while the date of  $\underline{IG \ I^3 \ 377}$  can not be proved, on current evidence it is a reasonable working hypothesis that all the entries on  $\underline{IG \ I^3 \ 377}$  date to the year 407, specifically to the last three prytanies of 408/7 and the first two of 407/6.

#### Table of payments in <u>IG I<sup>3</sup> 375</u> and <u>377</u>

Purpose (H = fodder for	Date	Recipient officials (h	Amount
horses, $D = diobelia$ , $U =$		= hellenotamiai, l =	
Unspecified, $O = obol^8$ ).		logistai) <sup>9</sup>	
375, 3-5 H	410/9 I	h Kallimachos of	3 talents 3,237
	Aiantis	Hagnous,	drachmas ½ obol
		Phrasiteleides (?) of	(Polias), 91 dr.
		Ikaria	31/4 ob. (Nike)
375, 5-6 Great Panathenaia	410/9 II	athlothetai, Philon of	5 tal. 1,000 dr.
	Aegeis	Kydathenaion <sup>10</sup>	(Polias)
375, 6-7 hekatomb	same	annual hieropoioi,	5,114 dr. <sup>12</sup>
		Diyllos of Erchia <sup>11</sup>	

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  The accounts for the period 409/8-408/7 pryt. I-VII were perhaps inscribed on another stele, which might be  $IG I^3$  376.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The diobelia was introduced by Kleophon (Ath. Pol. 28.3), supervised by Archedemos in 406/5 (Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.2) and dissolved by Kallikrates of Paiania (date unknown), "having first undertaken to add to the two obols a further obol" (Ath. Pol. 28.3). Josine Blok will publish elsewhere a paper which explores the nature of this payment. [*ZPE* 193, 2015, 87-102].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The nature of this payment will be discussed elsewhere by Josine Blok. [ZPE 193, 2015, 87-102].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For the names of the officials see the translations. I do not repeat them all in this table.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The athlothetai ("Games-masters") were responsible for the competitive elements of the Panathenaia that occurred every four years ("Great Panathenaia"), the hieropoioi for the elements, such as the sacrifices, which occurred every year ("Little" or "Annual Panathenaia").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See previous note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> From this point onwards in this account it is not specified whether payments are from the account of Athena Polias or the account of Athena Nike.

375, 7-8 H	410/9 III	h Perikles of	2 tal. 5,420 dr.
	Oineis	Cholargos	·
375, 8-9 H	same	same	2 tal. 5,400 dr.
375, 9-10, for Hermon,	same	same	6 tal.
archon at Pylos <sup>13</sup>			
375, 10 D	same	same	2 tal.
375, 11-12 H	410/9 IV	h Perikles of Chol.	3 tal.
	Akam.		
375, 12 D	same	same	8 tal. 1,355 dr.
375, 14 D	410/9 V	h Perikles of Chol.	4 tal. 2,200 dr.
	Kek.		
375, 14-15 U	410/9 VI	h Dionysios of	1,284 dr.
	Leon. 3	Kydathenaion	
375, 15-16 U	410/9 VI 9	h Thrason of	3 tal. 1,083 dr. 2
		Boutadai	ob.
375, 16-17 for the general	410/9 VI 11	h Proxenos of	3740 dr. 1¼ ob.
from Eretria, Eukleides,		Aphidna	
acknowledgement <sup>14</sup>			
375, 18-19 U	410/9 VI 13	h Perikles of Chol.	[one digit] +
			4,906 dr.
375, 19 U	410/9 VI 28	h Spoudias of Phlya	2 tal. 2,000 [one
			or two digits] +
			100 dr.
375, 20-21 the (money)	410/9 VI 30	h Anaitios of Sphettos	57 tal. 1,000 dr.
from Samos,		and his deputy	
acknowledged <sup>15</sup>			
257 21 22 5	440/0 7 777	51.1D1 1 CYT. 1	4 . 1
375, 21-22 D	410/9 VII	[h] Dionysios of Kyd.	1 tal.
277 22 22 5	Antioch. 5	1.50	1 . 1 . 1 . 2 . 2 . 1
375, 22-23 D	410/9 VII 7	h Thrason of Bout.	1 tal. 1,232 dr.
275 22 24 11	410/03/11/7	1 D1 1 41 C	3½ ob.
375, 23-24 H	410/9 VII 7	h Phalanthos of	4 tal. (?)
		Alopeke	
275 24 25 H	410/0 VIII 16	h Proxenos of	1 524 dr 2 ob
375, 24-25 U	410/9 VII 16		1,534 dr. 3 ob.
275 25 26 H	410/0 VIII 24	Aphidna	5 400 dr
375, 25-26 U	410/9 VII 24	h Eupolis of Aphidna	5,400 dr.
	1		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> This payment was perhaps in the context of defence against the ultimately successful Spartan attempt to re-establish control over Pylos at this period. See Ath. Pol. 27.5 with Rhodes ad loc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> This seems to have been a book transaction. In other words income for Athena arising in Eretria was not remitted to Athens, but appropriated directly for military use by Eukleides, apparently an Athenian general operating in Euboea. The income perhaps arose wholly or in part from rentals of properties in Eretria owned by Athena. Cf. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 418, 9 with N. Papazarkadas, *Sacred and Public Land in Ancient Athens* (Oxford, 2009), 91-92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> As with the payment to Eretria, this was a book transaction. Samos was also the location of sacred estates owned by Athena, and functioned at this period as the major Athenian base for naval operations. See Papazarkadas, 92.

275 26 27 11	410/9 VII 27	h Kallias of	1 to 1 2 565 dm
375, 26-27 U	410/9 VII 27		1 tal. 2,565 dr.
275 27 20 11	410/0 1/11	Euonymon	4½ ob.
375, 27-30 U	410/9 VIII	h Proxenos	3 tal. 634 dr. 4
	Hipp. 12, 24,	h Dionysios	ob.;
	36	h Thrason	3 tal. 4,318 dr.
			1½ ob.;
			1 tal. 3,329 dr. 3
275 20 24 11	410/0 IV	1.0	ob.
375, 30-34 U	410/9 IX	h Proxenos	2,188 dr. 1 ob.;
	Erech. 12,	h Dionysios	[ <i>one digit</i> ] + 3 tal.
	23, 36	h Thrason	793 dr. 3 ob.;
			2 tal. 3,850 dr.
275 24 26 FN 11	410/0 377.25	NT 1 1	2½ ob.
375, 34-36 The allies	410/9 IX 36	Named generals on	21 tal. 1,000 dr.;
acknowledged money from		Samos, and trierarchs	6 tal.; 5 tal.; 5 tal.
Samos <sup>16</sup>			3,896 dr.; 3,000
	110/077		dr.; []
375, 37-40	410/9 X Pan.	h Proxenos	5 tal. 442 dr. 5
	11, 23, 36	h	ob.;
		h	2 tal. 5,090 dr. 3
			ob.; 5 tal. 4,656
			dr. 4 ob.
375, 40	Total	-	
[375 D	Total		at least 16 tal.
			4787 dr. 31/4
			ob. <sup>17</sup> ]
19			
377 Upper <sup>18</sup>			
377, 2-4 U	408/7? VIII	l [named]	[ <i>one digit?</i> ] + 1
	23 = Moun.		tal. 2,500 dr. +
	3		[up to seven
			digits]
377, 4-5 U	408/7? VIII	h -on of Kollytos (?),	1 tal. + [ <i>two</i>
,	26 = Moun.	-sistratos of	<i>digits</i> ] + 20 dr. +
	6	[Phaleron?]	[up to six digits]
377, 5-7 U	408/7? IX	h Lysitheos of	[up to three
,	Aegeis 2 =	Thymaitadai	<i>digits</i> ] + 10 dr. +
	Moun. 17		[up to six digits]
377, 7-9 D	408/7? IX 4	h Athenodoros of	2 tal. + [ <i>one</i>
,	= Moun.	Melite	digit?]
	<1>8		J
<u> </u>	I	1	1

Another book transaction. Cf. previous note.This sum is not given on the stone, but is included here for ease of reference. It is a minimum, as there are a number of entries in the accounts where the use to which the money is to be put is unspecified.

<sup>18</sup> It would seem from the calendar equations in the upper section of  $\frac{377}{18}$  that there were severe calendrical irregularities in the second half of Mounichion.

377, 9-10 O	408/7? IX 7	1 Archedemos of	-
	= Moun. 25	Marathon, 19 h	
		Kephalion (?) of	
		Kopros	
377, 11-13 O	408/7? IX	1 Archedemos of	1,250 dr.
	15 = Tharg.	Marathon, h	
	2	Athenodoros of	
		Melite	
377, 13-14 O	408/7? IX -	1 Archedemos of	-
	= Tharg. 11	Paionidai	
377, 14-16 O	408/7? X	1 Archedemos of	1,100 dr.
	Antioch. 12	Paionidai	
	= Skir. 5	h Protarchos of	
		Probalinthos	
377, 16-18 U	408/7? X 12	l Archedemos of P.	-
	= Skir. 5	h -sistratos of	
		Phaleron;	
	[X] - = Skir.		
	-	h Lysitheos of Thym.	[up to two digits]
			+ 20 (?) dr.
377, 18-20 To Thorikos <sup>20</sup>	408/7? X - =	h Protarchos of	1 tal.
	Skir	Probalinthos	
$377, 20-22 \text{ O}?^{21}$	408/7? X 23	l Archedemos of -	[one or two
	$=$ Skir. $16^{22}$		digits?] + 20 dr. +
377, 22-23 U	408/7? X 33	h Lysitheos of Th.	150 dr. +?
	= Skir		
377, 23-25 D	407/6? I	h Lysitheos of	[up to 3 digits] +
	Ant. or	Thymaitadai	10 dr.? +
	Hipp. 20 =		
	Hek. 20		
377, 25-26 U	407/6? I 20	?	17 tal., 1,500 dr.
	= Hek. 20		
377, 26-27 U	407/6? II	h	1 tal. +?
	Erech. 1 =		
	Met. 8		
377 Lower <sup>23</sup>			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The logistai are associated with the hellenotamiai in relation to the obol grant, but not the diobelia. The significance of this will be discussed by Josine Blok.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> If this was for the fortification of Thorikos in 409 to receive grain ships diverted in consequence of the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia (Xen. *Hell.* I 2, 1), the accounting may have been somewhat delayed. W. K. Pritchett, "Loans of Athena in 407 BC", *Ancient Society* 8 (1977), 33-47, at 46-47, however, takes the payment to be "for assisting the military operation".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> It is not certain that this entry relates to the obol grant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> After the date there is the following obscure wording: ". . . of - and Eua- and Amphikedes, from the "

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> On the interpretation of the calendar equations see above n. 5.

377, 28-30 <sup>24</sup> D	407/6? II	h Lysitheos of	for Athena
	Erech. 13 =	Thymaitadai	Nike, <sup>25</sup> 215 dr. 4
	Met. 20		ob.
377, 30-32 D	407/6? II 17	h Thrasylochos of	113 dr.
	= 25 Met.	Thorikos	
377, 32-34 D	407/6? II 17	h Lysitheos of	for Athena
	= 25 Met.	Thymaitadai	Nike, <sup>26</sup> 986 dr. 1
			ob.
377, 34-36 D	407/6? II 18	h Protarchos of	[ <i>one digit</i> ] + 2 dr.
	= 26 Met.	Probalinthos	
377, 36-37 D	407/6? II 19	h Protarchos of	205 or 210 or 250
	= 27 Met.	Probalinthos	dr.
377, 38-39 D	407/6? II 22	h Lysitheos of	17 dr. 4 ob.
	= last day of	Thymaitadai	
	Met.		
377, 39-41 D	407/6? II 23	h Thrasylochos of	162 dr. 2 ob.
	= 1 Boed.	Thorikos	
377, 41-43 D	407/6? II 24	h Lysitheos of	6 dr. 3½ ob.
	= 2 Boed.	Thymaitadai	
377, 43-44 D	407/6? II 26	h Lysitheos of	85 dr. + [ <i>one or</i>
	= 4 Boed.	Thymaitadai	two digits]
377, 45-46 D	407/6? II 30	h Lysitheos of	for Athena
	= 8 Boed.	Thymaitadai	Nike, <sup>27</sup> 506 dr. +
			[one digit]
377, 46-48 D	407/6? II 30	h Lysitheos of	82 dr.
	= 8 Boed.	Thymaitadai	
377, 48-50 D	407/6? II 36	h Protarchos of	28 dr. 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ob.
	= 14 Boed.	Probalinthos	
377, 50-52 D?	407/6? II 36	h Lysitheos of	
	= 14 Boed.	Thymaitadai	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> These lines begin a new section of text, separated from the previous section by a vacat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> This perhaps means that this cost was to be attributed specifically to the account of Athena Nike (rather than Athena Polias), just as some expenses listed in 375 are attributed specifically to A. Polias or A. Nike (375, 4-5, 6). Note that in two of the three instances of this specification there is another payment on the same day, presumably from A. Polias.

26 See previous note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> See previous note.

#### Composite text of IG I<sup>3</sup> 377, Pritchett 1977 and Meritt 1978.

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[....λ]ογισταῖς [...^6...]PA^-A[..]O[.....^10....]ι χρεμ[α]το[ν] καὶ ἐκ το[......^21......]
                                                                                                                 stoich, 73
          [εκε̃?]θεν, Φαινίπποι Παιονίδει, τρίτε[ι καὶ] εἰκοστε̂ι [τε̂ς πρ]υτα[νείας (8)] τρί[τ]ει Μονιχιονος ἱ[στ]-
408/7 BC?
          [αμ]ένο [.]ΤΧΧ[....^7...] έλλενοταμίαις καὶ παρέ[δ]ρο[ις...^6...]ονι Κολλυτε\tilde{i}? ['Ερα or Nαυ]σιστράτοι [Φα]-
          [λερ?]εῖ ἔκτει καὶ εἰκοστὲι τ[ε]ς πρυτανείας ἕ[κ]τει Μον[ιχι]ονος [ἱσταμ]έ[ν]ο Τ[..]ΔΔ[......]· ἐπὶ [τε]-
     5
          [ς Α]ἰγείδος (9) ελλενοταμίαις [κ]αὶ [π]αρέδροις [Λ]υσιθέοι [Θυμαι]τάδει καὶ συνάρχοσιν δευτέραι
           [τε]ς πρυτανείας εβδόμει επὶ δέκα Μονιχιο[νος . . .]\Delta[. . . ελ]\lambdaενοτ[αμίαις] κ[αὶ] παρέδροις Ά-
           [θεν]οδόροι Μελιτεῖ καὶ συ[νά]ρχοσιν τετάρ[τ]ε[ι τêς πρυτανεί]ας ὀγδόει <ἐπὶ δέκα> [Μ]ονιχιôνο[ς] ἐ[ς] τ[ὲν] δ[ι]-
          [οβ]ελίαν ΤΤ[.] λογισταῖ[ς] Άρχεδέμοι [Μ]αραθ[ονίοι καὶ συνάρχ]οσιν [καὶ ἑλλ]ενο[τα]μίαις Κεφ?[α]-
          λιονι Κ<ο>πρείοι ἐβδόμει τὲ[ς] πρυτανείας ἕ[κτ]ει [φθ]ίν[οντος] Μονιχιôνος ἐ[ς τὸ]ν ὀβολὸν [...⁵..]
          [.] · λογισταῖς [Άρ]χεδέμοι [Μ]αραθονίοι καὶ συν[ά]ρ[χοσιν καὶ ἑλλε]νο[ταμίαις] Ἀθην[οδ]όροι Μελ[ιτ]
          πένπτηι καὶ δεκάτηι τῆς πρυτα{τα}[νε]ίας δευτέραι Θαρ[γηλιôνος ἱσ]ταμένο [ἐκ?] τôν - - - - - - - -
                                                                                                                 non-stoich.
          [.]ον οἱ λογισταὶ ἐς τὸν ὀβολὸν ΧΗΗΕ [λ]ογισταῖ[ς Άρχε]δή[μοι Παι]ο[ν]ίδηι [κ]αὶ [συνάρχοσιν - - - -]
          τῆς πρυτανείας ἑνδε[κάτηι] Θαργηλιôνο[ς] [.]\Lambda[. .]\Gamma[. . ἐς τὸ]ν ὀβολὸ[ν – -]· ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος (10) [λογισταῖς Ἀρχεδή]-
          μοι Παιονίδηι καὶ συνάρχοσιν καὶ ἑλληνοταμίαι[ς Προτ]άρχοι Προ[βα]λι[σί]οι [καὶ συ]νά[ρχ]ο[σιν δοδεκάτηι τῆς
    15
                                                                                                     πρυτανείας πέν]-
          πτηι ἱσταμένο Σκιροφοριονος το[.. τ]ον ὀβολὸν ΧΗ· λογ[ισ]ταῖ[ς] Ἀρχεδήμοι Παιο[νίδηι καὶ συνάρχοσιν καὶ ἑλληνοταμίαις
          τοι Φαληρεῖ καὶ συνάρχοσιν δοδεκάτηι τ[ῆς π]ρυταν[ε]ίας π[έ]γπτ[ηι ἱστ]α[μένο Σκι]ροφορ[ιôνος - - - - ἑλληνοτα]-
          μίαις καὶ παρέδ : Λυσιθέοι Θυμαι καὶ συνάρχοσιν [- - - τῆς πρυτα]νείας [- - Σκιροφ]ο[ριôνος] [..]ΔΔ· ἑλ[ληνοτα]-
          μίαις καὶ παρέδροις Προτάρχοι Προβα[λ]ισίοι καὶ συνάρχοσιν [---- τῆς πρυτα]νείας [--- φθίνον]-
          τος Σκιροφοριôνος ἐς Θορικὸν Τ· λογισταῖς [Άρχ]εδήμοι [- καὶ συνάρχοσιν καὶ ἑλληνοταμίαι]ς Κ̞ε[φαλί?]ο-
     20
          νι Κοπρείοι καὶ συνάρχοσιν τρίτηι καὶ εἰ[κ]οσ[τ]ῆι τῆς [πρυ]τανείας ἕκτ[ηι ἐ]πὶ [δέκ]α Σ[κ]ιροφ[ο]ρ[ι]ôν[ος - - -]
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vacat 0.038

ἐπὶ τὲς Ἐρεχθείδος δευ[τ]έρας Ε[...]ΕΡ[....] ἑλ[λ]ενοταμ[ί]α[ις καὶ] παρέδρο[ις Λυσι]θέοι Θυμαιτά- stoich. 73 or 74 δει καὶ συνάρχοσι τρίτ[ει] καὶ δεκάτε[ι] τε[ς] π[ρ]υταν[ε]ία[ς δεκάτ]ει π[ρο]τέραι Μ[ε]ταγειτνιονος ές τὲν διοβελίαν Ἀθενα[ία]ι Νίκει ΗΗΔΓΙΙΙΙ ελλενοταμ[ίαις κ]αὶ παρέδροις Θρ[ασυλ]όχοι Θορικίοι καὶ συνάρχοσι ἑβδό[μ]ει καὶ δεκάτει τêς π[ρ]υτανείας ἕ[κ]τει φθί[ν]ο[ντ]ος Μεταγειτνιôνο[ς] ές τὲν διοβελίαν ΗΔΗΗΗ [έ]λλενοταμίαις [κ]αὶ π[α]ρέδροις [Λυσι]θέοι Θυμ[αιτ]άδει καὶ συνάρχοσ[ι] έβδόμει καὶ δεκάτει τε[ς] πρυτανείας έκτει φ[θ]ίνοντ[ος] Μεταγειτνιον[ος ε]ς τεν διοβελίαν Άθεναίαι Νίκει ΕΗΗΗΗΕΔ[ΔΔ] ΓΗ ελλενοταμίαι [ς] καὶ παρέδροις Πρ[οτ]άρχοι Προβαλισίοι καὶ συνάρχοσι ὀ[γδ]όει καὶ δεκάτει [τε]ς πρυτανείας πέμ[π]τε[ι φθί]νον[τ]ος [Μ]ε[τ]αγειτνιονος ἐς τεν-35 ν διοβελία[ν .]Η- ελλενοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Π[ροτά]ρχοι [Π]ροβα[λισ]ίοι καὶ συνάρχοσι ἐνάτει καὶ δεκ[άτ]ει τêς πρυτανείας τε[τ]ράδι φθίνοντος Μετα[γε]ιτνιονος ές τèν διοβελίαν ΗΗ... έλλενοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Λυσιθέοι Θυμαιτάδει [κ]αὶ σ[υ]νά[ρχο]σι δευτέραι καὶ εἰκοστ[ει] τες πρυτανείας ένει καὶ [ν]έαι Μεταγειτνιονος ἐς τεν διοβελίαν ΔΓΗΗΙΙΙ. ελλενοταμίαις [καὶ] παρέδροις Θρασυλόχοι Θ[ο]ρικίοι καὶ συνάρχοσι τρίτει καὶ εἰκοστει τες πρυτανείας [ν]ο[με]-40 νίαι Βοεδρομιονος ές τὲν διοβελίαν ΗΓΔΗΗ έλλενοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Λυσιθέοι Θυ[μαι]τάδει καὶ συνάρχοσι τετάρτει καὶ εἰκοστει τες πρυτανείας δευτέραι Βοεδρομιονος ές τ[εν]

- διοβελίαν ΓΗΙΙΟ έλλενοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Λυσιθέοι Θ[υμ]αιτάδει καὶ συνάρχοσι ἕκτε[ι] καὶ εἰκοστει τες πρυτανείας τετράδι ἱσταμένο Βοεδρομι[ο]νος ἐς τὲν διοβελίαν ΕΔΔΔΓ[.¹ οτ ². ελ]-
- 45 λενοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Λυσιθέοι Θυ[μ]αιτάδει καὶ συνάρχοσι τριακοστει τες πρυτα[νεί]- ας ὀγδόει ἱσταμένο Βοεδρομιονος ἐς τεν διοβελίαν ἢθεναίαι [Ν]ίκει ϜΓΗ[.]· ἑλλενοταμία[ις κα]- ὶ παρέδροις Λυσθέοι Θυμαιτάδει καὶ συνάρχοσι τριακοστει τες πρυτανε[ί]ας ὀγδόει ἱστ[αμέ]- νο Βοεδρομιονος ἐς τεν διοβελίαν ϜΔΔΔΗ- ἑλλενοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Προτάρχοι {[Π]ρο[τάρ]- χοι} Προβαλισίοι καὶ συνάρχοσι ἕκτει καὶ τριακοστει τες πρυτανείας τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα [Βοε]-
- 1-2 in. Perhaps Ἀρχείδέμο]ι Νομενίο Μαραθο[v]ίοι (thus *IG* I³), cf. l. 9 etc., the patronymic added uniquely here to help differentiate this man from Archedemos of Paionidai, named next.
- 4. -ονι Κολλυτεῖ Ἐρασιστράτοι [. .l. . .] ει Pritchett 1977, Meritt 1978, -ι Να[υσι]στράτοι [Φαlλερ]εῖ IG  $I^3$ .
- 12-13. [ἐκ] τον ταμι[ον τοῦ]το π[αρέλα]|βον IG  $I^3$  seems the most plausible of the readings proposed.
- 16-17. Ναυσιστρά] τοι *IG* I<sup>3</sup> (cf. l. 4).
- 23 fin. The candidates for the tribe are ἀντιοχίδος (Pritchett) and Ἱπποθοντίδος (Meritt, Lewis).
- 37 fin. HHF or HH $\Delta$  or HH $\Gamma$ .