

Thèse de doctorat présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de
l'Université de Fribourg (Suisse)

Aparchai and Phoroi
**A New Commented Edition of the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists
and Assessment Decrees**

Part I : Text

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Preface

A new edition of the tribute quota lists and assessment decrees needs, if not an excuse, then perhaps at least an explanation. Considering the primary importance of these historical sources, it is astonishing how little attention has been paid to the way they have been edited by Meritt, McGregor and Wade-Gery in *The Athenian Tribute Lists (ATL)* I-IV from 1939-1953 and by Meritt in *Inscriptiones Graecae (IG I³)* 254-291 from 1981 during the last several decades.¹ This negligence on the part of contemporary scholars, both ancient historians and, more surprisingly, also Greek epigraphists, stands in sharp contrast to the central place the lists take in academic articles, monographs and history books dealing with Greek history of the fifth century BC. If many have noticed that something was wrong and that someday eventually someone would have to undertake a re-edition of the whole, no project existed, as far as I could see, with exactly this purpose.² The unsatisfying state of the current editions explains why I wanted to try do a new one myself. In presenting a new edition of the Athenian Tribute Lists, the primary and initial objective has been to improve on an already existing presentation of an important historical source. I wished to correct what I believe are too optimistic renderings of what is actually preserved on the stones.

Where the main purpose has been to improve on an already existing edition, the secondary purpose of the thesis is to provide what I thought was missing from the previous ones. The introduction to the tribute lists and the research history fill a lacuna in the available material on fifth century history. Finally, in order not just to establish a catalogue of the inscriptions, but also to present a discussion on the ways the tribute lists have been used in recent scholarship, I present a study on the nature of the sources, followed by three chapters on their value for establishing the geographical position of the member states, their political status and their size and resources.

I will leave it to the reader to judge whether the requirements for an epigraphical edition have been met. A multitude of points of disagreement are inevitable, and a bulk of the 3,000 entries as printed, restored or commented can be subject to dispute. What I do hope is that the final product, with all its shortcomings, will illustrate better than previous editions what is actually left of the tribute lists, on the one hand, and how these inscriptions can be used as a historical source, on the other .

¹ On a general lack of interest in the Athenian Empire and epigraphy in the same period see Stroud 2006, 9-10.

² I have later heard that Professor Thomas Figueira is planning a re-edition, but I do not know if his plan has materialized, and if that is the case, how far along he would be by now.

The establishment and the lay-out of the lists have been the most time-consuming task, and it was originally intended as the core of the PhD-dissertation. There was a considerable amount of trial-and-error and learning-by-doing involved before I found an appropriate way of rendering the lists, the *apparatus* and the epigraphical commentary. The method chosen in this edition is based on the current way of editing inscriptions, with some modifications. After each text there follows an *apparatus* giving all the possible restitutions of the list in question. But contrary to normal practice, the epigraphical commentary is presented list by list in a separate volume. The first volume, Text, is the present introduction to the tribute lists and the assessment decrees, including a research history and four historical chapters, the second volume is the Catalogue of these lists and the third is the Epigraphical Commentary to the lists.

This choice has been made to facilitate the reading of the texts. If the epigraphical commentary were incorporated in the apparatus below, the latter would take up so much place that it would ruin the lay-out. The consultation of the texts has therefore been given higher priority than the possibility of presenting the lists and the commentary in one place. I hope that readers will agree that this is the best solution.³

For some time I considered editing and commenting the quota lists only. Given their religious character, they could have been printed in isolation. A monograph consecrated to the quota lists would emphasize the sacred character of this source. The corresponding disadvantage is that the quota lists and assessment decrees are intimately linked, and that ancient historians normally would be interested in consulting both sources simultaneously when looking for the attestations of the members of the Athenian League.

A thesis is a personal engagement, but many friends and scholars have been directly or indirectly involved. First I would like to thank Thomas Heine Nielsen, who invited me to do my master thesis under the auspices of the Copenhagen Polis Centre. I owe much to Mogens Herman Hansen, who suggested that I work on the tribute lists and who has been an unfailing support ever since. He has read an early version of the historical chapters and made very useful suggestions for Chapter 3 in particular. My thesis-supervisor Marcel Piérart engaged me as assistant-teacher at the University of Fribourg, which permitted me to stay in Fribourg during the four years that I worked on the thesis. He has also helped me come through when it all looked most dark. His familiarity with the lists has been a great contributing factor to my final

³ I thank Marcel Piérart, for having suggested separating the proposals for restorations from the epigraphical commentary.

work, and I am infinitely grateful for his help and comments both on the historical chapters and the epigraphical corpus.

This thesis would not have seen the light of day had former Director of The Epigraphical Museum in Athens, Charalambos Kritzas, been reluctant to give unlimited access to the tribute quota list and assessment decrees. On the contrary, he has on three different occasions permitted me to study all the fragments, both the ones exposed in the public rooms as well as the fragments which are kept in the storeroom of the Museum. Kritzas and his entire staff have always been extremely kind and helpful, and their attentiveness has made long days spent on examination of the stones less tedious.

I wish to thank the three consecutive directors of the Danish Institute at Athens, Signe Isager, Jørgen Mejer and Erik Hallager for having hosted me for three periods during altogether six months in the guest house of the Institute, thereby permitting me to study the tribute lists directly and to profit from the foreign institutions in Athens, mainly the American School at Athens, L'école Française d'Athènes and the Nordic Library. Thanks to Gunver Skytte, former director of the Danish Institute in Rome, I have been able to study one month there and to use the libraries, especially the ones of the German Archaeological Institute and of the American School in Rome. The hospitality of these two institutions and their librarians is exemplary.

I am grateful also to the American School in Athens and its former Director Stephen Tracy and former Mellon Professor James P. Sickinger for their help and advice at an early stage of my research. In the Epigraphical Museum I got assistance from Stephen Tracy and Angelos Matthaiou on readings directly on the stones. For the consultation of the oldest available squeezes I have benefitted from the kindness of Dr. Klaus Hallof who gave me access to those made by Kirchhoff, kept in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. On different occasions Lisa Kallet has willingly exchanged points of view on the tribute quota lists with me and has sent me an abstract of her important article on the isolated fragments which has been the back-bone for the discussion of these in the dissertation.

Christian Gorm Tortzen handed me his computer when my own suffered a break down. Monica Thon and Ditte Schwartz helped me in the process of transferring the fragments to megapixels. Christian Zubler, Adam Schwartz and Roger and Denise de la Perelle have read a draft and corrected the English in three different historical chapters. Veronique Suys and Adam Schwartz, again, have read and commented on the entire epigraphical corpus and corrected as much as they could in a limited amount of time. Marcel Piérart and Leopold Migeotte have also read the entire catalogue and given me their general impression. Finally,

Heather Taylor agreed to read the entire manuscript of this part of the dissertation twice. She has corrected errors and inaccuracies in the English as well as in the development of the arguments and has saved me from more errors than I care to think about. Since the above-mentioned friends and colleagues have contributed to making the dissertation better, it would needless to say be vain to blame them for the remaining errors, for which I alone am responsible.

I am indebted to the staff and the students of the Département des sciences de l'antiquité for having participated in no small way in making four years spent researching here in Switzerland a very nice experience. Special thanks must go to Claire-Lyse Curty for her superb management of the library. Her husband Olivier Curty and Veronique Dasen have provided encouragement all the way but especially in the last phase of the drafting. My Swiss friends Cédric Brélaz, based at l'Ecole Française d'Athènes, and Fabienne Marchand in Oxford have been valuable informants on epigraphical matters. They have also been useful in those rare cases where exotic books and rare articles were impossible to find here in Switzerland.

My mother in Denmark and parents-in-law in Belgium have played a substantial although indirect part in the process. But I owe most to my wife, Sandrine Ducaté, without whom I would never have finished the dissertation. She has not only been a daily support, providing encouragement, never doubting that I would be able to come through when at times the work seemed to have no end, but also gave birth to our beautiful daughter. Perrine took form simultaneously with my dissertation, but reached completion first in spite of all my efforts. Once arrived she delayed the final overhaul in a very effective but extremely delightful manner.

Introduction

In 478/7 the Athenians and the victors of the Persian Wars founded the Delian League (Thuc. I.96). The Athenians were the leaders - or at least the *primi inter pares* right from the outset. The league was an “Alliance under a Hegemon”⁴ already before it turned into an Empire.⁵ The headquarters were in the temple of Apollo, in Delos, but it was the Athenians who determined which cities were to make monetary contributions, *phoros*, and which were to provide ships. We know from Plutarch (*Arist.* 24) that it was the Athenian Aristides who was commissioned to estimate the size of the *phoros*, which we call tribute, that the allies had to pay.⁶ The Athenians were also solely responsible for the institution of the *hellenotamiai*, i.e. the “The Greek Treasurers,” under whose auspices was the handling of the tribute according to Thucydides (I.97). So if the Delian League only gradually grew into an Athenian Empire, the point of departure was a very firm Athenian position.⁷

At some point the treasure of the League was transferred from Delos to Athens. No literary source tells us when this happened,⁸ but from 454/3 onwards the Athenians began the practice of inscribing the *aparche*, i.e. the first-fruits, taken from the quota in the ratio of 1/60 and given to Athena (*IG I³ 259-91*).⁹ These stelae were erected on the Acropolis somewhere between the Parthenon and the Propylaea.¹⁰ There must have been 15-20 altogether: the so-called *lapis primus* (height 3.61 m., width 1.11 m., thickness 0.39 m.) contains the first fifteen years (454/3-439/8), the second stele (height 2.20 m., width 1.47 m., thickness 0.34 m.) contains the next eight years (438/7-430/29) and the subsequent lists were cut on their own smaller marble slabs. The last datable list is from 418/7, but we do not know exactly when the practice of inscribing the *aparche* ended. According to Thucydides (7.28.4) the Athenians replaced the tribute with a 5% harbour tax for the whole empire in 414/13.¹¹ The most economical solution would be to think that the last quota list should be dated to this year, in

⁴ Ehrenberg 1960, 112-13.

⁵ I have no scruples in qualifying the Athenian foreign politics as “imperialism” and their domain of influence as an “Empire.” These are the words modern politologists use when designating repeated muscular intervention of one country in another country’s affairs, especially when talking about the American Empire. Schuller 1974, 197-99, warns against “Empire,” but accepts “Imperialism.” Finley 1978a, 1 and 1978b, 102-3 is less concerned with legal definitions and more with the common use of the two terms in everyday language.

⁶ For a discussion on the basis of the taxation of Aristides, see chapter 3.1, p. 64-71.

⁷ See also Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 23.5. Thuc. 2.65 provides an example of a similar situation in the city of Athens.

⁸ Plut. *Per.* 12.1 only informs us that it took place in Perikles’ time.

⁹ The transfer of the League has therefore logically been interpreted as having taken place immediately before, viz. in 454. To my knowledge only Sealey 1976, 275 advanced the thesis that there is no necessary connection between the two events and that the *aparche* might have been given to Athena before that date.

¹⁰ For a tentative positioning of these stelae see *infra* p. 43-45.

¹¹ On the *eikoste* see now Kallet 2001, 195-201.

which case there were altogether 19 stelae. However, some scholars have argued that tribute was reintroduced some time before 410.¹² The basis for this hypothesis is Xenophon (*Hell.* I.3.9), who, writing about the events in 408, says that the Persian Satrap Pharnabazos accepted that the Calchedonians should pay “precisely the same tribute they had been accustomed to pay and settle the arrears of tribute.” But this seems to be a special agreement between the Chalchedonians and the Athenians and it is not sufficient evidence for a general reintroduction of the tribute, on which the sources are silent.¹³ No attempts have ever been made to date any fragments from the quota lists to the years 410-404 B.C.¹⁴

Under the name “tribute lists” we also find the assessment decrees, i.e. the decrees with which the Athenians settled which cities had to pay what for the following period, being generally of four years (*IG I³* 71, 77 and 100).¹⁵ Of the first (*IG I³* 71), called A9, i.e. the ninth assessment after the transfer of the league, dated to 425/4, we have about half of the inscribed surface. Of the second undated assessment (A10?) three relatively small fragments are preserved, traditionally dated to 422/1. But this dating is dependent upon the idea that it must follow A9 directly, which is not necessarily the case. Some isolated pieces, coupled with a handful of literary fragments from Krateros, have been attributed to one and the same assessment decree and dated to 410 by the *ATL*-editors (*IG I³* 100). However, as mentioned above,¹⁶ it is highly questionable that tribute was ever reintroduced. This means that there was no assessment in 414/3, *viz.* the year in which the 5 % tax took effect, nor in any of the years 410/9 or 406/5. Also, as we shall see later in a brief account on Krateros, there is no secure basis to date the literary references on, and there is absolutely nothing indicating that they need to have originated from the same decree as the five stones in question, the latter being undatable anyway.¹⁷ No fragments have been found of what we could call the proper tribute lists, i.e. lists registering the full incoming tribute. There are perhaps good reasons for this, which we will come back to in the chapter on the nature and the purpose of the quota lists. In order to avoid confusion, the term “quota lists” will be used here to distinguish the recordings

¹² Meiggs 1972, 369 believing that the harbour tax did not live up to expectations, being too difficult to administer. The other argument is that the fragments from the third preserved assessment decree could belong to 410, but as Meiggs stated (438-39) 418, 414 and 406 are other possible dates. Mattingly 1967, 13-15 (= 1996, 205-8); 1966, 321-21 (= 1996, 158-59) denies that tribute was ever introduced. Cf. also Kallet 2001, 222-23.

¹³ Tod *GHP²* 52; Mattingly 1966, 199-200 and 1967, 13-15 (= 1996, 206-8). See also Kallet 2001, 223-24. *IG I³* 101, ll. 31-33 (410/9-407) does speak of a voluntary payment by Neapolis in Thrace to the Hellenotamiai (partly restored), indicating that this was considered as a tribute; but again the payment is isolated, and could be considered part of the Athenian motivation to call the Neopolitans benefactors. It is true that the *Hellenotamiai* are attested after 414/3 but their tasks included much more than the collection of tribute.

¹⁴ But five small fragments from an assessment decree have been dated by the *ATL*-editors to 410/9 (*IG I³* 100).

¹⁵ Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 3.5. See also *IG I³* 61.5-9 and 27-32 (The Methone Decree) and 71.26-28, 31-33 and 55-57 (A9) where the taxation is linked with the Panathenaia.

¹⁶ See *supra* notes 13 and 14.

of the *aparche* from the taxation of the *phoros*, which consistently will be called “assessment decrees.” The term “tribute lists” is used exclusively when quota lists and assessment decrees are meant indistinctively.

We do not have much information about the administration of the tribute and the deduction of the first-fruits. It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct roughly what happened from the moment the tribute was assessed until the first-fruits for Athena were inscribed on stone. Three different kinds of sources for the collection of the tribute are available: first the literary sources, being basically Thucydides, Ps.-Xenophon, also known as the Old Oligarch, and to a minor extent Aristophanes; second the tribute quota lists, and third the Athenian decrees relating to their allies, comprising the three preserved assessment decrees. Among this latter group the standard decree and the assessment decree of 425/4 are particularly helpful, but both are from the 420's, the former perhaps even later, and the latter is probably the result of an extraordinary assessment imposing new conditions. Therefore, the information that these inscriptions contain do not necessarily illustrate the situation from 454/3 onwards.

The tribute quota lists recorded the first-fruits annually. This appears from the headings giving the serial number of each list except for one or two,¹⁸ but it is also explicitly mentioned in the decree on tribute payment dated to 448/7 (*IG I³ 74*). On the other hand, Ps.-Xenophon (*Ath.pol.* 3.5) tells us that the assessments of the allies took place every fourth year and this squares with the inscriptions, according to which the occasion was the Panathenaic Festivals (*IG I³ 61.8-9 and 28-32; 71.26-27*). Meritt discovered that these four year periods are reflected in the raising and lowering of tribute in the lists themselves.¹⁹ The following figure shows when Meritt thought the new assessments took place. As it appears from the figure, at least two assessments seem to have taken place outside the Panathenaic Festival years, *viz.* in 443/2 and 425/4; it is less certain that a new assessment was indeed undertaken in 428/7.²⁰ The evidence becomes more and more unreliable with the scarcity of fragments post-dating the 430s. I accept Meritt's division into the different periods of assessment except for the fact that A10 should begin already in 422/1,²¹ and that I seriously doubt that A12 ever took place. Also, the hypothetical attributions of the later fragments to specific years have not been accepted in this edition when the serial number is not preserved. Finally, as explained in the introduction to the *lapis primus* in the Catalogue, there is no reason to assume that the Athenians failed to collect tribute in the sixth year.

¹⁷ Mattingly 1979, 321 (= 1996, 159) dates these fragments to 418. Cf. also Kallet 2001, 223.

¹⁸ Namely list 8, cf. commentary on list 6 in the Catalogue. In list 1 it might be restored but need not be.

¹⁹ Meritt 1925c, 247-73.

²⁰ Mattingly 1961, 156 (= 1996, 72).

YEAR	OLYMPIAD	ASSESSMENT	LIST	ASSESSMENTS	REFERENCE
454/3	81.3	A1	List 1	Great Panathenaia	<i>IG I</i> ³ 259
453/2	81.4	A1	List 2		<i>IG I</i> ³ 260
452/1	82.1	A1	List 3		<i>IG I</i> ³ 261
451/0	82.2	A1	List 4		<i>IG I</i> ³ 262
450/49	82.3	A2	List 5	Great Panathenaia	<i>IG I</i> ³ 263
449/8	82.4		No list		
448/7	83.1	A2	List 7		<i>IG I</i> ³ 264
447/6	83.2	A2	List 8		<i>IG I</i> ³ 265
446/5	83.3	A3	List 9	Great Panathenaia	<i>IG I</i> ³ 266
445/4	83.4	A3	List 10		<i>IG I</i> ³ 267
444/3	84.1	A3	List 11		<i>IG I</i> ³ 268
443/2	84.2	A4	List 12		<i>IG I</i> ³ 269
442/1	84.3	A4	List 13	Great Panathenaia	<i>IG I</i> ³ 270
441/0	84.4	A4	List 14		<i>IG I</i> ³ 271
440/39	85.1	A4	List 15		<i>IG I</i> ³ 272
439/8	85.2	A4	List 16		<i>IG I</i> ³ 273
438/7	85.3	A5	List 17	Great Panathenaia	<i>IG I</i> ³ 274
437/6	85.4	A5	List 18		<i>IG I</i> ³ 275
436/5	86.1	A5	List 19		<i>IG I</i> ³ 276
435/4	86.2	A5	List 20		<i>IG I</i> ³ 277
434/3	86.3	A6	List 21	Great Panathenaia	<i>IG I</i> ³ 278
433/2	86.4	A6	List 22		<i>IG I</i> ³ 279
432/1	87.1	A6	List 23		<i>IG I</i> ³ 280
431/0	87.2	A6	List 24		
430/29	87.3	A7	List 25	Great Panathenaia	<i>IG I</i> ³ 281
429/8	87.4	A7	List 26		<i>IG I</i> ³ 282
428/7	88.1	A8	List 27		<i>IG I</i> ³ 283
427/6	88.2	A8	List 28		<i>IG I</i> ³ 284
426/5	88.3	A8	List 29	Great Panathenaia	
425/4	88.4	A9	List 30		<i>IG I</i> ³ 71
424/3	89.1	A9	List 31		
423/2	89.2	A9	List 32		
422/1	89.3	A9	List 33	Great Panathenaia	
421/0	89.4	A10	List 34		<i>IG I</i> ³ 285 <i>IG I</i> ³ 77
420/19	90.1	A10	List 35		<i>IG I</i> ³ 286
419/8	90.2	A10	List 36		
418/7	90.3	A11	List 37		<i>IG I</i> ³ 287
417/6	90.4	A11	List 38		<i>IG I</i> ³ 288
416/5	91.1	A11	List 39		<i>IG I</i> ³ 289
415/4	91.2	A11	List 40		<i>IG I</i> ³ 290
414/3	91.3			Tribute replaced by the 5% harbour tax	
410/9	92.3	A12		Great Panathenaia	<i>IG I</i> ³ 100

So every four years a new assessment took place and this assessment was recorded on stone from at least 425/4. We cannot know if the previous assessments had been recorded that way also. Such early assessment decrees might simply have been lost forever or the fragments not yet found. My personal opinion is that the sheer number of fragments attributed to the quota lists and to the assessment decree of 425/4, against the absence of fragments which might belong to an earlier assessment decree, could indicate that early assessments had been exposed

²¹ For the reasons for the down-dating from 422/1 to 421/0 see McGregor 1987, 202.

on wooden boards or kept on papyrus in the archives, but that they were not eternalized on stone. That they must necessarily have existed is obvious, since they were required for the comparison between the actually incoming and the previously assessed tribute. This view is supported by the so-called Kleinias decree (*IG I³ 34.18-22*): “The prytaneis, after the Dionysia, are to call an assembly for the *hellenotamiai* to report to the Athenians which of the cities have paid their tribute in full and which have defaulted, separately, however many there may be.” And further (43-46): “The *hellenotamiai* are to record and display on a whitened notice-board both the assessment of the tribute and the cities, as many as pay in full and record ...”²² However, the argument cannot be pressed since the Kleinias decree is not necessarily from before 430.²³ Following this line of thought, the totally unattested real tribute lists, i.e. recordings of what the allies actually paid, must also have been made before the *aparche* was deducted. This way of deducing the existence of an unattested document from an attested one has been called the method of the “indirect testimonials.”²⁴

The *hellenotamiai* were responsible for the collection of tribute according to Thucydides (1.97) and this is confirmed by several decrees (e.g. *IG I³ 34.20* and 44, 68.11 and 19). It seems from the prescript of the first list, if the restitution proposed in *IG I³ 259* is correct, that they handed it over to a board of religious magistrates who in turn presented the *aparche* for audit by the thirty (i.e. *logistai*). The observation made by Giovannini that *para tôn hellenotamiôn* cannot possibly mean “(handed over) by the *hellenotamiai*”, but on the contrary, “(handed over) from the *hellenotamiai*,” means that they were not responsible for the *aparche* but only for the *phoros*. Who the board of religious magistrates consisted of is not known although it might have been the treasurers of Athena.²⁵ In any case the attribution of the quota lists to the *hellenotamiai* seems effectively to be erroneous, which may be indirectly confirmed by the Kallias decree, where there is a clear distinction between the *hellenotamiai* and the board of magistrates who are to become responsible for the sacred money of Athena – the latter chosen by lot (*IG I³ 52.13-15*). Again the date is uncertain.²⁶

The *lapis primus*, the biggest of all the stelae, was inscribed on all four faces. Whereas the first and second lists covered two sides, the obverse and right lateral faces, all subsequent lists were inscribed on one side only. The first list counts six columns and a postscript, the second ten short columns, where later lists are inscribed in five columns. List 8 (list 7 in *ATL* and *IG*

²² Translation by Dillon and Garland 1994, p. 261-62.

²³ Meritt dated it to 448/7 in *IG I³ 34*, but Pritchett 1965, 439, denies that it could predate 438 and Mattingly 1966, 188-89 (= 1996, 140-41) proposes 426/5.

²⁴ Gschnitzer 1999.

²⁵ Paarmann 2004, 90.

²⁶ For a recent discussion of the date of the decree see Kallet-Marx 1989, 94-113.

I³) has just four columns and the lists on the narrow lateral faces are restricted to two columns. In the first year the entries were inscribed before the quotas separated only by a “:”. In all subsequent lists the quotas were inscribed first in their own column, followed by the ethnics in another column. Other particularities are the introduction of regional panels in the ninth year and the addition of headings on these panels in the eleventh: Ionia, Hellespont, Thrace, Caria, Islands. In 438/7 the Carian district was merged into the Ionian one. Such improvements in the administrative procedure and the layout of the lists may indicate that inscribing the *aparche* of the levied tribute was new for the Athenians in 454/3 and not a practise that had begun already in 478/7 with the establishment of the treasury on Delos.

Each list begins with a prescript, giving the name of the secretary of the board of the *hellenotamiae* and the serial number of the year counting from 454/3: “In the year of the eleventh board of which Strombichos of Cholleidae was secretary.” The prescript of the first list is somewhat longer than on the subsequent lists on the *lapis primus*, but unfortunately it is ill preserved. From the twelfth year (443/2) the name of the chairman of the board, in this case Sophokles from Kolonos, and a co-secretary was added to the name of the secretary. From the sixteenth year the demotic of the secretary is recorded. Only the first list gives a postscript with the total of the *aparche* in silver coins and Kyzikene gold Staters. As most on this first lists it is mutilated and the text cannot be restored with much confidence. The traditionally proposed amount of corresponding *phoros* is about 400 talents. The second stele is very fragmentary and no initial and more fully developed prescript survives, but the partially preserved headings of lists 34, on its own slab is useful, since it gives both the give ratio in which the *aparche* was paid in relation to the tribute and the serial number as well as the name of the archon, in this case Aristion, who was in office in 421/0. This has permitted the datation of all other lists carrying the serial number.

The entries are normally given as ethnics, i.e. Milesioi, rather than Miletos. But some 70 communities are attested with a toponym also, e.g. Bysbikos/Bysbikenoi, and 30 are attested with the toponym only, e.g. Leros. At least three regional ethnics, e.g. Lykioi, and five Carian dynasts, e.g. Syangeles hōn archei Pitres, are considered by present day scholars to constitute the exception to the rule, which says that mainly *poleis*, were members of the Delian League.²⁷ These members are more often than not recorded individually, but in some cases two or more cities are attested as community payments, syntelies, either explicitly, e.g. *Lykioi kai syn(teles)*,

²⁷ Cf. Hansen 2004c, 113. For a full discussion of this theory and on the toponyms in the tribute lists, see Chapter 4, p. 78-81.

and *Syngeles kai Amynandes* or indirectly when the payment of *Milesioi* is supposed to comprise the communities of Leros and Teichioussa also.²⁸

In the first assessment period (454/3 to 451/50) the average amount of tribute paying allies is 155. In the second period (450/49 to 447/6) 200 members are likely to have paid. However, in list 5, which has room for 195 members, at least twenty *poleis* from the Ionian, Carian and Hellespontine districts paid partial payments and many of these are attested twice in the same list. Had the list been intact, more of such double entries would probably exist. Since the partial payments and the second attestation of several *poleis* are found in the fifth column, the phenomenon has been interpreted as reluctance to pay the full tribute in the first place. At the end of the seventh list (list 8 in *ATL* and *IG I³*) supplementary payments are recorded for members, many of which appear already above, and again more might have if the list were completely preserved (Byzantium is even attested twice in 8.I.104-5). Three unique entries attest for payments directly to Athenian officials or officers in operation in the North: *es Eiona habderi* (8.I.105) and *ess Tenedon* (twice in 8.II.108 and 9). From list 15 a small fine for lateness is qualified as *epiphora*,²⁹ in list 26 the term *perusino* indicates a payment for a previous year.

In the lists of the sixth and seventh assessment periods (434/3-429/8) special rubrics are introduced, some of which are not fully understood:³⁰ πόλεις ἡὰς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρον,³¹ πόλεις αὐταὶ ταχσάμεναι,³² πόλεις αἶδε ἀρχαῖς ἔδοσαν τὸν φόρον, αἶδε πόλεις καταδελῶσι τὸν φόρον, αἶδε τῶν πόλεων αὐτὲν τὲν ἀπαρχὴν ἀπέγαγον,³³ μισθὸν ἐτέλεσαν αἶδε ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου τῆι στρατιᾷ, μισθὸν ἐτέλεσαν αἶδε ἀπὸ ἡελλεσποντίου φόρου, ταῖσδε ἔταχσαν οἱ τάκται ἐπὶ Κρ[...]*ο* γραμματεύοντος, ταῖσδε ἡε βολὲ οἱ πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι ἔταχσαν.³⁴ While these headings are introduced only now, the proceeding they reveal might be older without having left any traces.

No tribute quota list is completely preserved, but some of the regional panels are almost entire. This means that we can get a fair impression of the number and identity of the tribute paying members of specific regions in specific years. In the years following the introduction of the regional panels, the possibility of restitutions of partially preserved entries is naturally limited to members from these areas. This is a great advantage in comparison with the situation from 454/3 to 447/6.

²⁸ For an exhaustive list of all the *syntelies*, see *ATL* I, 446-49.

²⁹ On *epiphora*, see Eddy 1968.

³⁰ On the special rubrics, see *ATL* I, 449-57. For their translation and interpretation, see Lepper 1962.

³¹ Schuller 1981.

³² Couch 1929. Gomme 1953b.

³³ Meiggs 1972, p. 534.

³⁴ Smarczyk 1990, 656.

Of the assessment decrees only the one from 425/4 can be interpreted and understood in any comprehensive way. However, due to the hazards of survival it is difficult to compare it with contemporary tribute quota lists. The dating of the two other assessments is impossible.

The tribute lists are an important historical source for the historians of the fifth century. But because of their sheer size, some 3,000 entries, they are also a difficult source to grasp. It should be obvious that a reliable edition of them is required if they are to be used in any sensible way. Unfortunately, the two editions that most scholars would turn to, i.e. the four volumes of *ATL* on the one hand, and *IG I³* (71, 77, 100, 259-291) on the other, are not an adequate tool for either laymen or even, more surprisingly, specialist readers. These will certainly find much information, but not necessarily what they are searching for or in the right order. For instance, if someone using *IG I³* compares the text with what he sees on the reconstructed stelae in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, he will soon be surprised to discover that the edition contains much text that is not found on the stelae; and he will get no help from the *apparatus*. To find out where the supplementary readings come from, he will have to turn to the drawings in *ATL I* (Plates I to XXII), take the number of the fragment in the corresponding position, and then check the catalogue of fragments (*ATL I*, pages 6-126). Only by going through this procedure will he be informed whether a piece of an extant fragment has broken away, or the fragment has been weathered, lost, or has not been incorporated in the reconstruction because it is kept in the reserves of the Epigraphical or the Agora Museum or because it is in London or New York. And sometimes these indications are not even found in the *ATL* but only in previous editions by Meritt and West, to which there will be references instead.

Similar efforts must be made to understand how a broken entry has been restored to a full one or how big lacunas have been turned into whole ranges of totally supplied names and quotas. In *IG I³* these restitutions are not explained at all and the readers will have to turn to "Commentary on the Texts" in *ATL I* (p. 169-208), but here references are made to previous editions. The sheer number of articles cited will most probably soon discourage even the most ardent scholar, especially because there is no indication as to which publication has contributed with what. Also, the many doubtful restitutions proposed, initially *exempli gratia*, have not been sufficiently signaled, which means that too much confidence has been accorded to what is really only one out of many possible restitutions.

The student who would like to know what the tribute lists are all about will not have it easy either. The best thing he could do would be to search in *Der Neue Pauly*, where there is a

good article by P. J. Rhodes. But he will have to know that he must look under the article “Phoros” and not under “Tributlisten.” If he does not know this, he will probably not find Schwan’s comprehensive article in Pauly and Wissowa’s *Realencyclopädie* either (s.v. “Phoroi”). Alternatively he may begin with his history books, where there is sometimes ample information to be found, although it will be scattered throughout the book and rarely be comprehensive.³⁵ The only exception to this is the Appendix 6 (pp. 199-203) in McGregor’s *The Athenians and their Empire*, which has served as inspiration for my description of the lists above.

The purpose of this dissertation is to fulfil the following two objectives. The first is to provide an introduction to one of the most monumental inscriptions that have survived from Antiquity. This should, hopefully, make the consultation and general use of the lists easier as well as help users avoid the most obvious pitfalls. The second aim is to present an edition which is more faithful to the extant fragments. Such an edition will most likely disappoint many readers familiar with the previous editions, since a lot of what has been thought acquired knowledge has now been taken away. However, it will attempt to give a truer impression of what we really have. The philosophy behind the edition itself has been to keep the restoration restricted to a minimum. A reliable edition of the lists with an additional commentary will hopefully be a useful tool for ancient historians, scholars and students as well.

The historical aspect of the dissertation seemed to me essential, since the intrinsic value of a historical source depends directly on our understanding of it. I present three scholarly theories which I believe are based on a misunderstanding of the nature of the tribute lists. These are the assumptions 1) that the inscriptions can be used to localize the members states whose position is unknown, 2) that the size counted either in square kilometres or in inhabitants can be calculated for the member states from the *phoros* they paid to Athens, and finally 3) that we can obtain an insight in the political status as *poleis* depending on whether or not the member states were recorded with their ethnic, rather than with the toponym.

Fragments of the tribute lists have been found from the last quarter of the eighteenth century and they have been edited in every edition of Athenian inscriptions since then. This provides a unique opportunity to trace their modern history and how they have been treated by all previous editors of Athenian inscriptions. The Research History is meant to explain how and why the early editions are important in establishing a new text on the Athenian tribute lists, but also to give an idea of how editing practices have changed during the last two centuries.

³⁵ E.g. Meiggs 1972 and Sealey 1976.

Research History

The modern history of the Tribute List began a quarter of a millennium ago, when in 1763, at the age of 25, Oxford student Richard Chandler made a name for himself with his publication *Marmora Oxoniensia*, an edition of the Arundelian Marbles. He was subsequently chosen by the Society of Dilettanti to accompany the architect Nicolas Revet and the painter William Pars on the second mission of the Society to Greece and Turkey from 1764 to 1766.³⁶ The idea was to replace *Antiquities of Athens*, resulting from the previous journey which Nicolas Revet and the architect and painter James Stuart had undertaken in 1751-55. The new edition was to be entitled *Ionian Antiquities*.³⁷ The three travellers reached Athens in 1765 and of course visited the Acropolis. Chandler later gave an account of this visit in his *Travels in Greece*, published in 1776: “The marbles, which recorded the riches of the Athenians, have not all perished. We discovered some, which I carefully copied, among the farther end of the Parthenon.”³⁸ These copies were later published in *Inscriptiones Antiquae pleraeque nondum editae*, and one of them was from the tribute lists. Chandler, however, was unaware of the nature of that fragment.³⁹ The fragment was later lost and when it was found again, about half of it had broken away. Chandler’s 1776 edition is accordingly a primary source for fragment 32 of A9.

In 1817 the founding father of Greek epigraphy, August Böckh, breathed new air into the study of Classical Greece with his *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, on which he had been working for four years. In comparison to the second (1851) edition of this work, which, it is generally agreed, has never been superseded,⁴⁰ Böckh at the moment of the first edition only had knowledge of a very few inscriptions. But among those that he published was the fragment found by Chandler. In one of the chapters he dealt with the evidence for the tribute and its collection from the members of the Delian League, mention of which was until then only to be found in the literature.⁴¹ Deducing from his reading of Krateros that the Athenians must have made lists of the assessment of tribute and of the already paid tribute, he was able to identify the fragment found and published by Chandler as belonging to one of these.⁴²

At this time Böckh had already been working for two years on his brain child, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (CIG), i.e. the first collection of Greek inscriptions ever aiming to be

³⁶ Eisner 1991, 74.

³⁷ Eisner 1991, 74 and 71.

³⁸ Chandler 1775, p. 123.

³⁹ Chandler 1774, no. 23 p. 53.

⁴⁰ Gooch 1959, 29.

⁴¹ Berlin 1817, 427-33.

⁴² Böckh 1851, II, p. 369 and *id.* 1817, 432.

exhaustive.⁴³ The first fascicule was printed in 1825, and the entire Volume 1 was ready three years later. The fragment originally found by Chandler was included in the *CIG* I as no. 143 As for the inscription itself, Böckh simply reprinted the text from Chandler's edition, but he did provide a short commentary and its place of discovery: "in pavimento moscheae."⁴⁴ I have not been able to discover how he obtained this information not given by Chandler.

The liberation of Athens from the Turks in 1830 had created favourable circumstances for the exploration of the Greek antiquities, and with the opening of the Acropolis a large number of fragments were found and published. The first major recordings of inscriptions were by the Greek Pittakis, writing in French under the Gallicized name Pittakys. In 1835 he published *L'ancienne Athènes*, including about 60 isolated fragments from the tribute lists. Pittakis did not have access to adequate printing fonts for the Greek numerals, e.g. he had to use a horizontal "T" to print the one-drachme symbol "Ϡ," and he did not have the means to print either "Ϸ" nor "ϸ" or the like, but printed for these symbols "ΠΔ" and "ΠΗ" respectively. This system sometimes creates difficulties for the modern editor. On top of that, Pittakis' readings are far from being reliable and should only be used when we have no other source for a reading on a fragment now lost, or when a reading has been recorded in a dubious manner by other early editors. Pittakis later produced a few isolated fragments in different volumes of *Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογική*,⁴⁵ and the whole series of fragments of the tribute lists in *AEphem* 1853, nr. 32.

In the last quarter of the century Köhler complained that Pittakis had done no more than re-edit the same inscriptions twice and even refused to use the edition of 1853 at all, claiming that it was merely a copy of the *L'ancienne Athènes*.⁴⁶ Pittakis did gain a reputation for editing the same inscriptions several times, and some 70 fragments appear in both *L'ancienne Athènes* and *AEphem* 1853, but it is less than certain that he did it voluntarily and not just by error.⁴⁷

But if Pittakis cannot be accused of cheating, a serious drawback of his edition is that he often restored partially preserved entries tacitly. The result is clear enough when we are faced

⁴³ Böckh had stated the need for such an edition in the "Antrag der historisch-philologischen Klasse" from March 24, 1815. But as he pointed out in the preface of the *CIG* I (ix, note 4), Maffei had already proposed the undertaking of such an enterprise in 1732. Böckh received financing from the Prussian Academy, cf. Errington and Hallof 2002, 14.

⁴⁴ *CIG* I, no. 143, p. 205: "Exemplum hoc est descriptionis (ἀνεγραφής) tributorum a sociis solutorum, quae imperatur lege n. 75. atque aut ab Hellenotamiis facta est aut cura Areopagitarum. Et hanc quidem tabulam cur tributorum intentione ab Alcibiade potissimum Olymp. 89, 1-2. facta antiquiorem iudicem, nullam causam video: eadem non potest anno Olymp. 91,2 recentior haberi, quo circiter anna tributa sublata sunt, constituta in eorum locum vigesima rerum exportandarum et importandarum (Oec. civ. Ath. I. p. 348)."

⁴⁵ Namely in 1842, 1854, 1855, 1859, 1860, 1862.

⁴⁶ Köhler 1869, 1: "Einen neuen Abdruck vermehrt um einige Stücke hat sodann Pittakis in seiner 'Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογική' 1853, Nr. 32, gegeben. Derselbe ist trotz der gegentheiligen Versicherungen des Herausgebers mit wenigen Ausnahmen eine Wiederholung der älteren Abschriften und hat daher unberücksichtigt bleiben können."

with some of his wild propositions for otherwise unattested communities, and when we can compare with the readings on extant fragments. However, it may be unwise totally to ignore his publications, since these are sometimes preferable to those of other editors, e.g. his no. 1242 in *AEphem* 1853, which gives a row of names (*lapis primus* fr. 107) omitted for some unknown reason by Rangabé 1842, no. 215. But apart from a few instances, it is safest to refer exclusively to Rangabé, Böckh and Köhler. The latter's rejection of the utility of *AEphem* 1853 was therefore only partially well founded.⁴⁸

The next important publication was the one by A. R. Rangabé, who in 1842 in *Antiquités Helléniques* edited even more fragments. As the first, he tried to arrange the individual fragments into a series, using among other things the sigma with three bars as an indication for anteriority to the sigma with four bars.⁴⁹ Concerning the small sums paid on what we know now are the tribute quota lists, he thought of them as partials, paid every three days of the year, contrary to the full payments attested on a smaller number of the fragments which we now know are the assessment decrees.⁵⁰ Rangabé did not, however, separate these two kinds of fragments, but had them all lined up in one chronological line. This of course invalidates his entire arrangement. Concerning the readings of the individual fragments, Rangabé is far more reliable than Pittakis; his plates are useful and I have drawn heavily on his readings of lost fragments, or fragments preserved in a better condition than today. However, a lot of errors remain and extreme caution should be exercised when consulting his publications.

Profiting from the many discoveries and by the intermediary of Pittakis, Rangabé and his own correspondents, Kramer and his favourite pupil and friend O. Müller,⁵¹ and finally the Danish architect and artist Ross,⁵² Böckh was able to engage in a fuller discussion of the Athenian economy in the second and much enlarged edition of his *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener* from 1851. Lewis has called this monumental study, "the first book on a Greek subject

⁴⁷ Rangabé 1842, p. 7, n. 2.

⁴⁸ Pittakis had the curious habit of editing fragments more than once. Two fragments have even been edited thrice, namely frs. 54 and 76 from the *lapis primus* (Pittakis claiming the second time that fr. 54 was "recens repertum") in 1835 (p. 419 and 429), in 1853 (nos. 1239 and 1215), and finally 1859 (nos. 3552 and 3550). Another seventy fragments that had not been edited by Pittakis before appeared in *AEphem* 1853, but apart from fragments 39, 66 and 135 from *lapis primus*, fragment 1 from list 36 and fragment 23 from A9, they had already previously been published by Rangabé or Böckh or both.

⁴⁹ Rangabé 1842, 288.

⁵⁰ Rangabé 1842, 309-11 arguing that round amounts are arrived at by multiplying the sums by three. Not entirely convinced of his own hypothesis he added another explanation, p. 311: "Une dernière hypothèse serait enfin que ces listes ne représentent pas le tribut entier des villes, mais une partie seulement, peut-être la centième partie du tribut, qui était déposé dans le trésor sacré de Minerve." Thus he came very close to finding the true reason.

⁵¹ According to Gooch 1959, 35 the author of the "first important work of actual Greek history." He died on his first trip to Greece (*ibid.* 38).

⁵² Gooch 1920², 40. L. Ross was a Danish literate, nominated by the Greek government to supervise the partial reconstruction of the Parthenon and care of the antiquities as official curator.

which used inscriptions freely not only as curiosities but as integral parts of the evidence.”⁵³ In the second volume Böckh wrote a very long chapter which can be considered the first fully commented edition of the tribute lists,⁵⁴ and printed his edition of the tribute lists on 7 plates. Böckh never left Germany, a paradox for a man who knew ancient Greece better than most, but he had assistants and collaborators working for him in Athens. His edition is therefore not based on autopsies; rather the readings are taken directly from the notes and drawings sent to him from Greece, giving them a certain authority. However, his collaborators were not equally skilled in copying inscriptions, and although Böckh was a brilliant editor and the best man to do the job,⁵⁵ he was naturally incapable of correcting all the errors resulting from badly executed and unintelligible copies.⁵⁶ Editing inscriptions is already difficult in itself, and editing inscriptions one has not seen must be very hard indeed. Böckh, as already mentioned, never saw the stones, but had to rely on the drawings sent to him by his collaborators. Nevertheless, he did have three means at his disposal for establishing the order of the fragmented lists: 1) the letter forms (lists with ς being prior to lists with Σ), 2) the headings (“die wir als jährige voraussetzen”), and 3) the joins of the fragments.⁵⁷ He thereby managed to find a system in the chaos, although he did complain about the difficulties of getting there.⁵⁸ This system could only be intermediary until an editor with hands-on experience was to undertake the reorganization of all the fragments. The value of the second edition of *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener* therefore lies mainly in the readings of fragments now lost and fragments whose surface has suffered in the intervening century and a half. Whenever a fragment is preserved by Böckh only, or when he gives a better reading than Rangabé, I have therefore not hesitated to refer to it.

Böckh often had pertinent things to say about the tribute in general. But his most important contribution was to divide the tribute lists into two different kinds of sources, namely what he called the “tribute lists of the first category,” and “the tribute lists of the second category,”⁵⁹ corresponding to our quota lists and assessment decrees. He still could not

⁵³ Lewis 1971b, 37 (= 1997, 4).

⁵⁴ Böckh 1851, II, 369-747.

⁵⁵ Gooch 1959, 32; Tod *GHI*², 16-17.

⁵⁶ Bengtson 1977, 3, note 2: “Insbesondere war es misslich, das sich Böckh und seine Mitarbeiter vielfach auf ungenaue Kopien der epigraphischen Denkmäler stützen mussten. Die Forderung der Autopsie für jede einzelne Inschrift hat erst Theodor Mommsen aufgestellt und für das CIL durchgesetzt. Sie ist dann auch für die *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873ff.), die Nachfolgerin des CIG, zum Prinzip erhoben worden.”

⁵⁷ Böckh 1851, II, 556.

⁵⁸ Böckh 1851, II, 373-74.

⁵⁹ Böckh, 1851, II, 375: “Ich habe nämlich zwei verschiedene Klassen gebildet, in deren erster nur Tributquoten vorkommen, während die andere, von welcher nur acht Bruchstücke vorhanden sind, die vollen Tribute enthielt.”

know in what ratio the quotas had been paid. The relation 1 out of every 100, as proposed initially by Rangabé, remained a possibility. This problem was solved only twenty years later.

In commemoration of Böckh's hundredth birthday, a third edition of *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener* was published posthumously in 1883. The editor, Max Fränkel, provided extensive footnotes, in order to catch up with the progress in ancient history that had been made during the thirty years that had elapsed since the second edition. For our objective these two volumes are without much value, since Fränkel chose to leave out all inscriptions as these could now be consulted in the Corpora. When I refer to Böckh in this dissertation, it will therefore be exclusively to the 1851 edition.

Two years after the death of Böckh in 1867, Köhler submitted his doctoral thesis, a commented edition of the tribute quota lists and assessment decrees.⁶⁰ This was the first independent study on the tribute lists and, in contrast to Böckh, Köhler actually went to Greece and spent a considerable amount of time there.⁶¹ Since he studied the fragments in Athens, he could compare the physical aspect of the stones as well as of the hands, thus making use of what Meritt has later called the “three dimensional” epigraphical method,⁶² and he was able to make considerable progress in placing the fragments in their relative positions.⁶³

A major difference between Köhler's edition and the previous ones was that the fragment preserving the heading of the list of the 34th year had been found and published, by Köhler himself, four years earlier.⁶⁴ This fragment carries the words $\mu\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}$ ἀπὸ τῷ τάλαντο, which gave Köhler the key to the ratio in which the first-fruits had been given to Athena, i.e. 1/60. This was in itself an important contribution. But the fragment also contains an additional and crucial piece of information. The name of the archon Aristion is preserved on this fragment and he is known to have been in office in 421/0, thus giving a peg on which to hang the tribute quota lists, which had hitherto only been arranged in a relative chronological order according to their serial number. It was now possible to date all lists preserving the number in this range, as well as to restore the name of the archon, “Aristonos,” in the first list and date it to 454/3.⁶⁵ This

⁶⁰ Köhler 1869, 4.

⁶¹ Köhler had been sent to Athens by the Berlin Academy, cf. Kirchhoff *IG* I, vi. He spent his time there copying all the inscriptions, cf. Errington and Hallof, 2002, 16.

⁶² Meritt 1941, 3-14, e.g. p. 5.

⁶³ Köhler 1869, 2: “Die Zusammensetzung und Anordnung der Tributlisten musste, wenn sie mit Aussicht auf Erfolg unternommen werden sollte, von der äusseren Beschaffenheit und dem Schriftcharakter der einzelnen Bruchstücke ausgehen und konnte nur Angesichts der Originale gemacht werden.”

⁶⁴ Köhler 1865, 210.

⁶⁵ Köhler 1869, 1: “Unter den später zum Vorschein gekommenen Fragmenten ist das wichtigste der zuerst von mir in den Berichten der Berl. Akademie der Wissenschaften 1865 S. 210 mitgetheilte Anfang der 34. Liste, durch

restitution was confirmed in 1971 by the discovery of the latest fragment to be found carrying part of his name.⁶⁶

Apart from correcting the restitutions of Rangabé and Böckh in several ways, Köhler's contribution was the inclusion of almost all published fragments. Köhler knew of 89 fragments from the first stele,⁶⁷ in addition to which he presented an unpublished fragment from the first year (fr. 1) and another from the tenth (Köhler's fr. 61), but he had also assembled all the fragments from the assessment decree of 425/4 for the first time.⁶⁸ Like Böckh he did an epigraphical commentary on the lists. His readings are generally sound, as he tends to be prudent in his restitutions, preferring lacunas to uncertain restorations, but there are many errors, and contradictions between the readings on his plates and the lists presented in the texts. This may be due to the difficulty of printing broken letters. Köhler lived before the invention of the dot as a sign for a reading that would be unsure out of context. He therefore put partly preserved letters into square brackets even when their reading was certain, but other errors may simply have been caused during the drawing of the fragments or while transforming the drawings into printed lists. I have frequently referred to Köhler's edition, citing his plates for the reading of fragments now lost and for letters that have become unreadable.

The year following the publication of Köhler's edition of the tribute lists, Kirchhoff presented a smaller study in the same series of *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.⁶⁹ Kirchhoff accepted the general presentation of Köhler's lists, stating (p. 1): "man darf dreist behaupten, dass sie erst durch ihn eine Gestalt erhalten haben, in der sie als gesicherte Grundlagen historischer Untersuchungen benutzt werden können." But he had minor quibbles concerning the placing of the fragments of the second stele. He therefore prepared a new edition of the nineteenth list with Köhler's consent.

Kirchhoff became interested in the tribute lists, having been appointed to undertake the publication of all Athenian inscriptions pre-dating the Euclidian reform. Already when the indices had been completed by Curtius and Kirchhoff in 1877,⁷⁰ it was clear that the *CIG*, with its altogether 10,000 inscriptions, had become outdated. So while the final editing of this project was still in progress, a new corpus of inscriptions was begun, called *Inscriptiones Graecae*

welchen es möglich gewesen ist, das Anfangsjahr dieser Listen und das Verhältniss der in denselben verrechneten Quoten zu den vollen Tributsummen zu bestimmen."

⁶⁶ Meritt 1972b.

⁶⁷ Köhler 1869, 4.

⁶⁸ Köhler 1869, 1.

⁶⁹ Kirchhoff 1871.

⁷⁰ Reinach 1885, viii, says that the third volume had been completed by Franz using the notes of Böckh and the fourth volume had been completed by Roehl.

to distinguish it from its predecessor. The first volume with the Attic inscriptions prior to 403 appeared in 1873.

In preparing this volume Kirchhoff had had access to the notes sent to Böckh by Ross and the other collaborators.⁷¹ Kirchhoff also made use of Köhler's newly published thesis, but he also travelled to Athens and found points of divergence with regard to Köhler's work. He even made squeezes and from these undertook a paper reconstruction of the *stelae*.⁷² These squeezes are preserved today in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Kirchhoff had knowledge of 105 fragments, preserved or lost from the first stele. His numbering of the fragments was followed by the *ATL*-editors and is used in this thesis as well, since only a dozen or so have been given an additional inventory number. Kirchhoff's acquaintance with the stones makes the *IG I* a perfectly usable edition for the tribute lists, and partly makes up for the fact that Köhler's edition is rarely available in modern libraries. Until now the publications of the tribute lists had been made from a virtual representation of the fragments and Kirchhoff's paper reconstruction, but some time around the 1880s Lolling "built into plaster the fragments of the quota lists, [and] found that Kirchhoff's paper reconstruction of the second stele needed modification in certain important particulars."⁷³ I have not been able to find out more about this reconstruction. Nor, it seems, was it ever the basis of a new edition.

In 1908 A.M. Woodward published six new fragments of the tribute lists.⁷⁴ The same year Cavaignac issued *Etudes sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V^e siècle, Le Trésor d'Athènes de 480 à 404*, which was the first study since Böckh to reconsider the aspects of the Athenian Economy during the existence of the Delian League. Cavaignac did not deliver a full edition of the tribute quota lists, but a commentary on the preserved years, on the basis of which he restored a hypothetical first list, including 245 names, which is far too many for the 150 available lines.⁷⁵ But he did present a full print of the assessment decree of 425/4.

The second edition of the *IG I*, commonly called *Editio Minor* but referred to in this dissertation as *IG I²*, was edited by Hiller von Gaertringen and J. Kirchner in 1924. It is useful for the tribute lists (*IG I²* 63, 64 [the assessment decrees] and 191-205 [the quota list]), because it takes all previous contributions into account, but there is an abundance of errors, many of which can only be explained by the fact that the editor himself did not work at autopsy.

⁷¹ Kirchhoff *IG I*, vi.

⁷² Meritt and West 1927, 21 with reference to *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie* 1870, 89ff.

⁷³ Meritt and West 1927, 21.

⁷⁴ Woodward, 1908, p. 291: "I include in this paper seven Attic inscriptions, all previously unpublished with the exception of No. 5, which was published from an incomplete copy by Köhler in the *Corpus* (I.G. ii. 89)."

⁷⁵ Cavaignac 1908, XXXI-XLVII.

Such was the situation when in January 1925, the American School at Athens was granted the privilege of excavating the Athenian Agora, an event that resulted in what has been qualified as a new “spring” of Attic epigraphy.⁷⁶ Several successive campaigns were to unearth a multitude of inscribed marbles, among which were fragments from the quota lists as well as from the assessment decrees. The reason for this is simple: though both kinds of lists had originally been exposed at the Acropolis, some stelae had been taken down for reuse in buildings when they no longer served any purpose.⁷⁷

West and Meritt had begun independent studies on the tribute lists and met each other in 1924.⁷⁸ A long series of articles followed.⁷⁹ In 1925, i.e. the same year in which the American School had begun the excavations of the Agora, they decided to collaborate with a re-examination of the tribute lists in view. In short order, the publication of the lists 3, 4 and 11 (*TAPA* 56, 1925, 252-67), list 1 (*AJP* 47, 1926, 171-76), and the rest of the lists from the first stele (*HSCP* 37, 1926, 55-98) followed. And one year later came the publication of the lists of the second stele (*HSCP* 38, 1927, 21-73). Having discovered that the reconstruction of the first stele by Lolling was not correct, they undertook, with the acceptance of the director of the Epigraphical Museum, a new reconstruction of it in the summer of 1927.⁸⁰

In 1934 Meritt and West coedited the *Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*, presenting a new text with restitutions, commentary and a register of the tribute-paying members. The commentary on the reading was in most cases reduced to the comment: “For X READ Y.” The editors for the first time showed a desire to fill as many lacunas as possible, a fact that was immediately recognised by Nesselhauf in a review of the book.⁸¹ It has to be said to their credit, though, that the editors in the “Foreword” stated that “By far the most difficult problems are concerned with the text of the decrees. Until more fragments are discovered (if ever), much of the text must remain conjectural, but we believe that the restorations offered in the following

⁷⁶ Klaffenbach 1953, 24.

⁷⁷ The Athenian stelae share this fate with different kinds of inscriptions from all over the Greek world, with the exception of statue bases and altars because of their form. The second stele bears marks of a second use, as a wall, and the list previously dated to 429/8 (*IG* I³ 282) has been used as a threshold. Several smaller fragments were found during the nineteenth century integrated into buildings, whether ancient or modern, of the Acropolis, and still others have been found in deposits on the Agora.

⁷⁸ Lord 1947, 185-86.

⁷⁹ West 1925b, 135; Meritt 1925b, 29; West and Meritt 1925a; *SEG* V; West and Meritt 1934.

⁸⁰ Meritt 1929, 376 and Lord 1947, 192.

⁸¹ Nesselhauf 1936, 296-97: “Wenn aber ein Dekret, das 60 Zeilen zu je 70 Buchstaben umfasste und nur zu etwa einem Drittel erhalten ist, bis auf wenige Namen; für die es in der Tat keine Möglichkeit der Ergänzung gab, wiederhergestellt wird, so macht dieser keine Grenzen kennende Drang zur Vollständigkeit schon bedenklich, bevor man noch bemerkt, dass der Kommentar nicht im entsprechenden Verhältnis zur Ergänzung steht. So wertvoll der gesicherte Wortlaut einer Urkunde ist, so gerne verzichtet man auf wörtliche Wiederherstellung dort, wo man ihr nie selbständigen Wert beilegen kann, wenn nur anstatt dessen das Erhaltene im Blick auf die inhaltliche Rekonstruktion scharf und gründlich interpretiert wird. Dies vermißt man leider in diesem Buch.”

pages give at least the general sense of the inscription.”⁸² But this line of thought was continued in all subsequent publications and never did the warning *caveat* appear again.

Tod in his *Greek Historical Inscriptions* from 1933 presented the assessment decree more or less as it had been restored and sent to him by Meritt and West, but before seeing their final version.⁸³ Their proposals do not respect the line length of the *stèle* as currently reconstructed. But since there is no certain way of knowing the exact width of the list, it is not impossible that one or two letters should be added in each line or on the contrary be left out. Later, in 1950, Béquignon and Will (1950) tried to improve the second attempt of the restored text of the assessment decree by Meritt and West, but they were heavily influenced by the latter, accepting the majority of the restitutions without discussion. Both of the ensuing editions are exactly as “complete” as the *Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* and thus do not follow Nesselhauf’s call for prudence when facing big lacunas.⁸⁴ Finally, Meiggs and Lewis in their *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, published their own restoration. This is the most sensible of all editions of the assessment decree, and by far the best text hitherto,⁸⁵ but it is in my opinion still too influenced by the text of Meritt and West, and not all of it will be retained in our edition.

In 1935 all of the quota lists were edited in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (*SEG*) V. Contrary to previous editions, Meritt and West had managed here to find a place for all preserved fragments from the *stelae*. Thus for the first time, no “fragments of uncertain age” were printed separately. This of course is not necessarily an improvement. The commentary was in Latin and restricted to a minimum, e.g. the commentary to List 14.I.90: “Πλ[αγανῆς] suppl. W.M.” The preference for one restitution over another was hardly ever explained; in this particular case, the community of the Plaganes did not appear in subsequent editions.

In 1936, A.B. West was killed in a tragic car accident. Two other scholars, Oxford-based H.T. Wade-Gery and West’s Canadian pupil, M.F. McGregor, who both had already begun to work with West and Meritt, now joined Meritt and co-edited the first volume of *The Athenian tribute lists* (*ATL*) in 1939. As Meiggs has put it, this title is a serious understatement, since this monumental edition, finally appearing in four folio-sized volumes, contains much more than merely the tribute lists.⁸⁶ The first volume alone included a commentary and bibliography on each fragment, accompanied by photos of many although not all of them, the edition of the

⁸² West and Meritt 1934, v.

⁸³ Tod *GHP*, no. 66, 148-63.

⁸⁴ Cf. *supra* note 81.

⁸⁵ Meiggs and Lewis 1969, no. 69, 188-201. As it will appear from the Catalogue, I still reject many of their restitutions as conjectural. The chapter by Koch 1991, 312-69 is more valuable for the discussion of the jurisdiction than as a personal contribution towards a new text, although he does indeed present one.

⁸⁶ Meiggs 1972, vii.

quota lists and the assessment decrees, a list of the tributary allies with their annual payments, drawings of all lists, and a Gazetteer including all the communities named in the lists.

The difference between the *ATL* I and the previous editions was huge. Many more fragments were included than ever before, 180 for the *lapis primus* alone. If in *SEG* V all existing fragments had been given a relative position, the editors in addition now also found a position even for all the lost fragments. The advantage of this is obvious; not only does it eliminate the frustration of printing undated fragments in isolation, fragments which can hardly be used for anything, it also facilitates the structure of the Gazetteer and the chronological presentation of how the individual members appear in the tribute lists. But this progress was made at the expense of historical correctness. Since it is impossible to compare joins, hands and other external criteria on lost fragments with the extant ones, it is doubtful that all the attributions should be correct, and in this dissertation such attributions have not been upheld. In his review of *ATL* I Dow was rightly impressed by the confidence the *ATL*-editors had shown when finding the exact location for fr. 13, preserving only three mutilated quotas.⁸⁷ There are many other examples of this genre:⁸⁸ 25 lost fragments have been incorporated in the *lapis primus* alone and 15 in the second *stele*, with varying degrees of probability.⁸⁹ Far fewer have been put in connection with the subsequent preserved lists, and none with lists which have not otherwise survived. It is equally uncertain that all extant fragments have been correctly positioned, and the assignment of fragments, whether lost or preserved, is in some cases arbitrary.

Another major departure was caused by the discovery made by Wade-Gery in 1935. Previous editions, including *SEG* V, had supposed that the *lapis primus* contained fifteen lists: 1-6 on the obverse face, 7-8 on the right lateral, 9-13 on the reverse, and 14-15 on the left lateral face. However, in 1932 Wade-Gery showed that fragment 4 (right lateral face) and 5 of the first stele did not preserve part of the heading of an independent tribute list, *viz.* number 7, but on the contrary were the continuation of the first list with the postscript of the right side of the stele.⁹⁰

The reviews of the first volume of the *ATL* ranged from sheer enthusiasm to harsh criticism. U. Kahrstedt was happy finally to have found solid ground when consulting the tribute lists, whereas Roussel, a pupil and colleague of Louis Robert, hardly had anything

⁸⁷ Dow 1941a, 640.

⁸⁸ See *ATL* I, 65 comm. *ad fr.* 170: "The quotas in this lost fragment fit perfectly the names with which they are placed. There is no other position for the fragment with any of the known pieces of the first stele."

⁸⁹ Cf. *ATL* I, Plate II (*lapis primus*) and Plate XVII (second stele).

positive to say, criticizing the volume for, among other things, being too comprehensive.⁹¹ Jeanne and Louis Robert were not impressed either in their review of the second volume: “Une fois de plus, les lemmes sont, dans leur abondance sibylline, à peu près inutilisables.”⁹² They were also annoyed about the quality of the Gazetteer.⁹³ Finally Schlaifer pointed out that the commentary is useless and that an *apparatus* utterly missing.⁹⁴ But the majority of scholars reviewing the book, or otherwise commenting on it, hailed it for its qualities,⁹⁵ although some regretted an all too optimistic spirit that pervaded all three steps of the process: the placing of the fragments, the restitution of the entries and the coupling of the epigraphical data and the information provided by the ancient authors.⁹⁶ Concerning the first step, the placing of the individual fragments, Gomme wrote:

One may make use of a simile, of a gigantic jig-saw puzzle, or more than one puzzle, to illustrate what I think is the chief difference between us. Meritt, McGregor and Wade-Gery seem to me to be too sure of the position of the exact pieces, confident that, though nearly all broken, yet each retains some small bit of the original edge which, after much effort can be seen to fit the original edge or another broken piece; whereas I think that we have far too few pieces, whether whole or broken, to be sure that many fit exactly.⁹⁷

Other scholars have raised doubts about the possibility of finding the right position for each fragment when far more than half of the originals are lost.⁹⁸ The criticism is partly, but only partly, justified. It is true that the layman, when standing in front of the stelae in the Epigraphical Museum or looking at the drawings in the *ATL*, could get the impression of a jig-saw puzzle, where any one piece might fit anywhere. There is often ample space between the

⁹⁰ Wade-Gery 1932. For a full discussion see the introduction to the *lapis primus* in the Catalogue, p. 11.

⁹¹ Kahrstedt 1939 409-13; Roussel 1941b, 304-6. Accame 1941 gave a short but very positive assessment, and did not touch upon his disagreement with the identification of the missing list.

⁹² J. and L. Robert 1951, 151.

⁹³ J. and L. Robert 1951, 151-52: “Malgré ce qu’ils disent, p. 84, sur le but et la portée de leur commentaire géographique, les auteurs continuent en parfait contraste avec ces déclarations et en accord avec leur traitement antérieur du sujet, à ajouter des références dont un bon nombre sont aussi inutiles au sujet, ainsi délimités que sporadiques. Il y a de la confusion et au point de départ et dans la réalisation. Les auteurs improvisent au point de vue géographique et ils jonglent à l’occasion avec les localisations sans se rendre compte que presque partout l’exploration d’une région a été insuffisante pour permettre ces jeux et que nous ne savons même pas quels sont les sites de villes antiques. (...) Les éditeurs des *ATL* ne sont pas là sur le terrain attique, et ces matières sont très loin de l’épigraphie “architecturale” et “technique”; aussi ils ont écrit un commentaire qui est à la fois, comme il peut arriver, pléthorique et insuffisant.”

⁹⁴ Schlaifer 1940, 370.

⁹⁵ Oliver 1940, 379-81; Meiggs 1940, 104-106; Accame 1941, 154-55; Guarducci *Athenaeum* 1940, 221-233 (*non vid.*); Snijder *TG* 1939, 449 (*non vid.*); Parke *Hermathena* 44, 1939, 166-70 (*non vid.*).

⁹⁶ Against the optimistic attempt to find a relative position of all fragments see Gomme 1953a, 21. On the optimistic restitution of the single entries see e.g. Dow 1941a, 641: “List 3 is probably fairly typical. It is a text of 129 lines, of which 37 show divergences of one sort or another from the text *SEG* V, 3. Although there has been no considerable addition to the evidence, List 3 in *ATL* has 13 new restorations of amounts of tribute, and the question whether such liberality is justified in restorations, in List 3 and all the other lists, is likely to arouse discussion.”

⁹⁷ Gomme 1953a, 21.

⁹⁸ E.g. Sealey 1976, 245, 274-75. See also Rhodes 1985, 2, concerning the datation by the three bar sigma.

fragments in the plaster reconstruction, and it is not easy to see immediately why a fragment has been attributed to one and not another position. However, external evidence, such as corner fragments, top and bottom fragments, joins, as well as internal evidence such as headings, lines, style and hands, often give sufficient clues as to the position of many, if not most, of the preserved fragments. It is also true that Meritt and West often did not provide a commentary for the attribution of a fragment to a particular position, but Meritt did in fact once illustrate the structure behind the attributions of the majority of the fragments on the *lapis primus*.⁹⁹ This is not to say that all fragments have been securely positioned, and this is the first point where Meritt and West showed too much confidence. They would have done better to leave the dubious fragments in a category of their own, as all of their predecessors had done. In this dissertation they will be placed in isolation under the rubric: “undatable fragments.” This group remains very small compared with the total of 400 fragments. However, a more thorough study than mine might reveal further fragments assigned to their current position on insufficient basis.¹⁰⁰

The second point of criticism that has been directed against the *ATL* is the restitution of broken entries and the supplementation of the missing ones. Contrary to normal practice, Meritt and his colleagues made restitutions and supplied text in a great many lacunas, *exempli gratia*, restitutions which with time became considered as established facts. This is not only dangerous to the inadvertent reader, but it also sometimes gave them encouragement to make further restitutions and further historical reconstructions built on the former and so on.¹⁰¹ Meritt was explicit about this method. In his introduction to Greek Epigraphy, *Epigraphica Attica*, he recommended that restitutions should be made even if questionable as long as “the general sense and tenor of the argument can be carried through approximately as in the original by means of restoration.”¹⁰² He also advocated that these restitutions, however hypothetical, be made in the text and not relegated to the footnotes, quoting Hiller for the following statement: “Ein Corpus ist nur für Erwachsene da, und die müssen wissen, was eckige Klammern bedeuten, wenn nicht, so lassen sie besser ihre Hände von der Epigraphik.”¹⁰³ This statement is in direct contradiction to the recommendations of Louis Robert, who preferred the “principle of limitation.”¹⁰⁴ In their review of *ATL II*, Jeanne and Louis Robert commented on the

⁹⁹ Meritt 1929. With drawings of how the fragments join each other.

¹⁰⁰ Such a study is called upon by Stroud (2006, 10-18) who sees great perspectives in an eventual dismantling and rebuilding of the *lapis primus*.

¹⁰¹ See e.g. Rhodes 1985, 1-2 with note 6 and Paarmann 2007b for the case of Miletos in 454/3.

¹⁰² Meritt 1940, 109

¹⁰³ Meritt 1940, 129-30. The passage is from Hiller *Phil.Woch.* 1929, 1175.

¹⁰⁴ Robert 1961, 480 (= *OMS V*, 92): “Le premier principe est de limitation. Il est bien des lacunes dont la restitution ne peut être tentée et ne doit pas l’être. C’est un singulier succès du travail de plusieurs générations de

method used by the editors: “De telles restitutions dans un pareil volume donnent, tout-à-fait faussement, une impression de sûreté.”¹⁰⁵ The epigraphical commentaries in the various works of Meritt, West, Wade-Gery and McGregor, with their confidence of having always found a suitable restitution, is a far cry from the constant hesitations expressed in commentaries by e.g. S. D. Lambert in his *Rationes Centesimarum*: I have used his book for inspiration as it is a model in scholarly honesty.

Pritchett, who once had worked with Meritt,¹⁰⁶ eventually became a fierce critic of the *ATL*-editors, and the two of them continued their quarrel on other battlegrounds than the tribute lists. In a long series of articles and monographs, works which, I suppose, were hardly read closely by any other than the two scholars themselves, the two of them engaged in long-lasting dogfights, not always revealing the most positive sides of classical scholarship.¹⁰⁷ Pritchett once described the method used by Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor in the *ATL* as well as elsewhere as being influenced by “a kind of horror vacui.”¹⁰⁸ I do not have much sympathy for Pritchett’s way of arguing, but neither do I agree with McGregor when he defended his and Meritt’s approach to epigraphic texts:

The epigraphist depends upon the dot when the trace of the letter is *by itself* ambiguous, upon square brackets when he essays restoration, upon red ink when he draws a restored text. I have always assumed that advanced students (others do not study epigraphy) and scholars can read. The adult recognizes that some restorations are less probable than others and are printed *exempli gratia*. The epigraphist-historian believes that he knows what the document said; he is honour-bound to show that his reconstruction of the content could have been expressed in the space available on the original stele. The document restored and published as A9 (the assessment of 425 B.C.) in *ATL* 2 is an excellent illustration of a result reached after years of cumulative and patient thought and effort by many scholars. The authors of *ATL* do not claim that the words within brackets are precisely the words cut by the mason. What they do claim is that, in publishing the text as it *may* have been, they have not misrepresented the contents, not distorted history; for epigraphy is the servant of history and the recovery of historical truth is the goal. In the case of A9, who has been deceived?¹⁰⁹

critiques, raisonneurs et érudits, que l’on puisse dans bien des cas deviner avec certitude ce qui était gravé sur un morceau disparu de la pierre. Il est normal que l’on ne puisse y réussir toujours; il faut pratiquer dans certains cas l’art de ne pas savoir; on peut espérer d’ailleurs parfois que c’est partie remise et que l’accroissement de la documentation permettra plus tard, à nous même ou à nos successeurs, la vraie restitution.”

¹⁰⁵ L. and J. Robert, 1951, 151-52. They cite G. Klaffenbach, *D.Lit.*, 71 (1950), 33-38: “Was nun die Behandlung der Inschriften überhaupt angeht, so kann ich schwerste Bedenken gegen die Art ihrer Darbietung nicht unterdrücken. Gerade die Autorität der Herausgeber und die Monumentalität ihrer Publikation wird dazu beitragen, den dargebotenen Text mit allzu grossem Vertrauen hinzunehmen, und das ist doppelt gefährlich, weil hier kein hinreichender kritischer Apparat gegeben ist, der den Benutzer über alle die Möglichkeiten anderer Ergänzungen und Deutungen unterrichtet.” And further concerning the *ATL*-editors: “sie sind ... oft weit über das auch nur einigermaßen Sichere hinausgegangen und haben zuweilen eine inhaltlich wie sprachlich mehr als problematische Herstellung gegeben, die sich gelegentlich meinem Verständnis schlechterdings entzieht (...). Es sind ja durchaus nicht immer ihre eigenen Ergänzungen, aber sie hätten auch denen anderer gegenüber zurückhaltender sein sollen.”

¹⁰⁶ Pritchett and Meritt 1940 and 1941.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. Meritt 1932. Attacked by Pritchett and Neugebauer 1947. Meritt 1961b. Attacked by Pritchett 1963. See finally Pritchett 1970.

¹⁰⁸ Pritchett 1955, 61.

¹⁰⁹ McGregor 1966, 223.

The answer to McGregor must be first that it is not the task of an epigraphist to show his skills in Greek prose composition.¹¹⁰ Second, that it is not because a restitution is possible that it should be given any value.¹¹¹ And third, concerning McGregor's question "who has been deceived?," the answer is that a great many have, because users of epigraphical corpora are not necessarily epigraphists, and even if they are, they cannot always question the printed text.¹¹²

Woodhead, who did not side with any of the confronting parties, but who had much respect for the *ATL*-editors, wrote with direct address – it seems – to Meritt's use of Hiller's citation stating that "It is unfair to those who will use a publication to edit with a rigid austerity *usum editorum*, and to write in a complacent spirit of academic snobbery only for the happy few."¹¹³ One could add that the inconvenience of a restitution that is not close to certain is that it may influence even trained epigraphists and block their minds, impeding them from finding the solution which might prove to be the right one.

Finally, we come to the third point of criticism which has been advanced against the *ATL*-editors, and this mainly in most recent times, *viz.* their use of the literary evidence when restoring the tribute lists. Meritt (1940, 129) revealed how he saw the work of an epigraphist:

As a matter of text alone every restoration must be true in point of time and style to the inscription to which it belongs. Kirchner once remarked that when he came to the decrees of the Athenian state which were concerned with the expedition of Sicily, he turned for his guide to the pages of Thucydides and built up his restoration in the light of the history as related by that order.

For the tribute list this approach meant that names from the literature were added to the quota lists although they were never mentioned there, e.g. Kythera. The *ATL*-editors did not limit themselves to this procedure, but even made the epigraphical texts suit the literary by

¹¹⁰ Robert 1961, 480-81 (= *OMS* V, 91-92) distinguished between redoing ("refaire") an inscription, which is to be avoided and to re-establish ("rétablir") it, which should be the aim. "Ce n'est pas un jeu fascinant, un exercice, une rédaction; c'est une reconstitution de ce qui peut être rétabli avec certitude." (p. 480-81 [= *OMS* V, 92]).

¹¹¹ Robert 1961, 481 (= *OMS* V, 93).

¹¹² In all translations in all the major languages the text of A9 has been accepted almost *tel quel*.

¹¹³ Woodhead 1959b, 75 arguing 74-75 for editorial principles explicitly parallel to those recommended by Robert. Dow, who dedicated his *Conventions in Editing* to Jeanne et Louis Robert "in admiration for other things and because they have done most for good editorial usage," also has a serious attack on *Epigraphica Attica* and what he called "the principle of extreme freedom" (24): "The motto is *floreat restitutor, pereat lector*." Instead of accepting all restorations as presumably sound, the reader finds himself accepting none. This has happened. One contemporary historian-epigraphist declares of the texts in *ATL* that he accepts 'only what is on the stone.'" D. Lewis in a review of Dow's book disagreed, clearly siding with the *ATL*-editors (310): "Constructive editors are bound to throw up a certain amount of error on the way to truth, and we would be much poorer if they did not. If their readers do not question restored texts, they have been badly taught. I think there has been too much breast-beating by epigraphists over this question. My own suspicion is that the tyranny of restorations over the mind is much exaggerated; no one has, to my knowledge, in fact accepted uncritically the [νομο]θέται of the assessment-decree of 425 B.C., which makes its virtually inevitable appearance here. At least there are the warning square brackets." Like Meritt 1940 he cited Hiller quoted supra n. 103. I disagree with Lewis that the "tyranny of restorations over the mind" has been exaggerated.

amending the latter. This, as Hornblower has observed, results time and again in a trespass on editorial principles.¹¹⁴ Perhaps Meritt's revelations concerning his own method give the key to understanding how he, McGregor and Wade-Gery differed from their contemporary colleagues: consciously following the prescriptions of Hiller, they were working according to principles belonging to the former century, i.e. a philosophy which had already at that point become antiquated and replaced by another which was favoured by people like the Frenchman Robert, the Englishman Woodhead, and the American Dow, and which is still used today. An extreme view might be that Meritt and his colleagues could be called the last positivists, or perhaps better impressionists, in Greek Epigraphy.

The *ATL*-editors claimed in the preface of the first edition that "It would be pessimistic to suppose that further improvement will not be made."¹¹⁵ However, they were not open to criticism in the sense that they were entrenched in their positions, often being unwilling to change their point of view. This is true in the case of the missing list, but also e.g. in the discussion on the three bar-sigma, which is not directly related to the tribute lists but still shows the occasional stubbornness of Meritt and his colleagues. Mattingly was an outsider although supported by Robert, and it was only in 2004 that he was officially rehabilitated as the scholar who was right in down-dating the Standard Decree to the 420s, this after more than half a century of scholarly debate.¹¹⁶ So, in spite of their own words, the *ATL*-editors succeeded in establishing a quasi-monopoly not only on the tribute lists, but also on the other fifth-century inscriptions that they had worked on, and this monopoly lasted to the latest edition of these inscriptions in the *IG I*³.

World War II had crippled German scholarship, and the separation of the two Germanies, causing the unhappy location of the Berliner Academy in the eastern part of the city, did little to help the situation. Thus when at the 2nd international congress in epigraphy held in 1952 in Paris, G. Klaffenbach announced that the final volume of the Editio Minor of *Inscriptiones Graecae* was ready and that the time had come for a new edition, he observed that Germany now lacked necessary new recruits and that the domain of epigraphy had increasingly been

¹¹⁴ Hornblower 1996, 6-7, 98-99. See also E. Kirsten in *RE* XXII,1 col. 241, s.v. Pordoselene: "dahin führt auch Ptol. V 2, 5 und die Aufzählung bei Hierocles, dagegen Plin. n. h. V 138 nur nach der kühnen Emendation durch H. T. Wade-Gery *Am. Journ. Phil.* LIX (1938) 470 ff. Nach dieser (mit der Coniectur ἀπὲρ Ἐκάτου νῆσου καλοῦνται – in der Quelle – für *Pisistrati insulae*) auf jeden Fall nach Strabo LIII 618." *ATL I* 603-5 contains a full list of passages in ancient authors which have been emended in order to suit the tribute lists and related documents.

¹¹⁵ *ATL I*, intro xi.

¹¹⁶ At the round-table "The Athenian Standards Decree: New Text, New Contexts?," held at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 16-18 April 2004 and organized by C. Crowther and A. Meadows. It was due to new techniques that it was discovered that an inscription bearing a three-barred sigma should be dated to 418/7, thus invalidating the argument that the four-barred sigma replaced the three-barred one in 445 BC, cf. Mattingly 1996, 1.

overtaken by the Americans. He therefore appointed a group of Anglo-Saxon scholars to preside over the replacement.¹¹⁷ D. M. Lewis was later to become the chief editor of the *IG I³*. Lewis was a student of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, but had left England to write his doctoral dissertation at Princeton with Meritt as his supervisor.¹¹⁸ When he came back he was appointed professor at Christ Church, back-door neighbour to Corpus Christi College. Lewis is to be counted among the most notable epigraphists of the 20th century, and the choice of him as a general editor of the *IG* was a natural one. At first he had thought of going through all the inscriptions himself. This would probably have been the best solution. Unfortunately, he felt pressure from his old master and conceded to giving Meritt the responsibility for the editing of the fragments he had been working on in the previous five decades.¹¹⁹ In fact, this was a transgression of the unwritten rule that an editor of any inscription should not also be responsible for its incorporation in the *IG*. The decision was of long-lasting consequence, because the optimistic policy that had guided Meritt, McGregor and Wade-Gery in their previous publications was continued fully in this volume. Because no scholar from outside this circle was asked to re-study the inscriptions much hypothetical was re-printed and the opportunity to get a pair of fresh eyes to detect what has previously gone unnoticed was missed.

In his review of *IG I³*, Peter Herrmann, at this time still in Hamburg but soon to take over as head of the *IG* in Berlin after the unification of the two Germanies, regretted that the chief editor's sound policy had not been followed throughout and deplored the inaccuracies and outright violations of editing principles.¹²⁰ Several other scholars pointed out similar objections, either in their review or as part of their own research.¹²¹ This criticism was exclusively directed against the text for which Meritt and McGregor were responsible, whereas those by Lewis were taken as examples of epigraphic excellence. It should be noticed here that Meritt did provide the tribute list with an *apparatus*, but that this is very short and that it does not mention the readings of other editions, not even those for which he had been responsible.

By a curious coincidence, Lewis' very first and very last scientific articles, written at an interval of exactly forty years and both printed in the *Annals of the British School at Athens*, were related among other things to the tribute lists. In "Notes on Attic Inscriptions" from 1954, he took a critical view of some of the reconstructions published in the *ATL*, and in "The

¹¹⁷ Klaffenbach 1953, 22 and 24-25. He specifically named Meritt and the Institute of Advanced Studies as the man and the Institution that could fulfil that order.

¹¹⁸ Lewis 1952.

¹¹⁹ Rhodes 1985, 3.

¹²⁰ Herrmann 1984.

Athenian Tribute Quota-Lists, 453-450,” published posthumously in 1994, he recognized several proposals for improvements of the tribute lists as they were presented in the *IG I*³,¹²² thereby admitting that several restitutions of Meritt’s were unfounded.

More recently still in an important article, and one of the few truly independent studies on the quota lists in the last decades, Lisa Kallet (2004), who already several years ago had questioned the *ATL*-editors’ use of Thucydides when restoring A9,¹²³ has shown that many, if not all, of the fragments which were dated for the first time in the *SEG V* to the years in the period 421/0-415/4 (*IG I*³ 285-90) could in fact be attributed to any other year. This is because the arguments used by Meritt and his colleagues were built on several layers of hypotheses. She concludes that those fragments should preferably not be dated at all as long as we lack evidence. Moreover, she makes the reader aware of the fact that some of the associated fragments do not necessarily belong together. The choice of the current placing of the fragments, she argues, was in fact dictated by a theory stating that the assessment of 422/1 (A10) was based on the original by Aristeides in 478/7, which again conditioned that the quotas should reflect this whenever possible, even if this meant the fragments were “moved back and forth precisely because they posed a problem for the view of a moderate assessment in 422/1” (2004, 467). Kallet examines the fragments from the period 421/0 to 415/4, and questions the attribution of the fragments in general since they are the result of the same method (469). She even calls for a new examination of all the fragments of the tribute quota lists, although doubting that it will ever take place. The recent publication by Stroud (2006) might however spark an interest in such a project.

The suppliers of new fragments, i.e. the Acropolis, its slopes and the Agora, have probably dried up. Contrary to the situation in the seventies, when Meiggs (1972, 21), expressed the hope that many more could still show up, we should therefore not expect a large amount of new material, but at the best a new fragment once in a while.¹²⁴ A. Matthaiou has found and identified a fragment among the unidentified fragments in the reserves as belonging to the assessment decree of 425/4. He has recently confirmed that it probably belonged to lines 48-55, i.e. the end of the text of the decree.¹²⁵ This discovery, unsurprisingly some would say, renders previous restitutions obsolete. This is sufficient warning against further attempts before the new fragment can be incorporated. Another fragment has been identified by

¹²¹ E.g. Osborne 1982 and Mattingly 1984. Against the restitution of the lists on the basis of literature see Kallet-Marx 1993, 155-59.

¹²² Lewis 1954, 17-50 and Lewis 1994, 285-301,

¹²³ Kallet-Marx 1993, 155-59.

¹²⁴ McGregor 1987, 199 envisaged that the American School at Athens might take up excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis where five fragments had been found in the 1970s.

Matthaiou as belonging to the quota list of 442/1, where it only partly confirms previous restitutions. I have not seen this fragment, but Matthaiou (2006) gives a description of it.

In September 2002 I participated in the 12th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy held in Barcelona. Here I pointed out a perverse result of the method used abundantly by the *ATL*-editors of restoring entries in one list in analogy with other lists, which had gone unnoticed by previous scholars. In fact, in 31 cases the editors have restored names in various lists where the same names already appear unrestored.¹²⁶ This observation must lead to the conclusion that not only do these restorations have to be deleted, but that more generally the method of restoring entries in one list when nothing of the name or the quota is preserved, solely on analogy with entries in another, must be abandoned altogether. In this edition such supplements have not been made, except in lists 6 and 7, where the restitutions are printed in the footnotes and not in the text.

The tribute lists are attested through the physical fragments of the quota lists and assessment decrees. There are indeed some literary testimonia attesting that certain cities paid tribute, but nothing indicates that this information came from the tribute lists. So, for instance, when Thucydides in the account of the events of the summer of 424 wrote (4.57.4), that the Athenians decided that the Kytheraeans should pay a tribute of four talents, we are not entitled to create an entry [HHHH] [Κύθηρα] and put it somewhere in the Quota List of that year. This was done, however, by the *ATL*-editors, who even restored the name in two other lists of the ninth assessment period although nothing else of these lists is preserved (*ATL* I, 151).¹²⁷ In such cases, a watershed should be set between literature and epigraphy.

The situation is slightly different concerning the literary fragments from Krateros. We know very little about this author, called Krateros the Macedonian by Plutarch (*Arist.* 26.1).¹²⁸ His work is preserved only through some twenty-three fragments cited by later authors, who indicate that Krateros was the editor of a book in at least nine volumes, called συναγωγή ψηφισμάτων, or “A Collection of Decrees.”

No information exists about when Krateros lived, and it is only through the decrees cited that it is possible to give an estimation of his period of activity: In fact no preserved citation

¹²⁵ By letter, September 9th, 2006.

¹²⁶ Paarmann 2007a, forthcoming. Cf. also Hansen 2004c, 112: “in this inscription [IG I³, 265] there is a fairly large number of communities which for unknown reasons appear twice.”

¹²⁷ These restitutions were limited to one in the IG I³ 287.I.23. For the payment but non-inclusion of Kythera in the Empire see Kallet 2001, 200.

¹²⁸ The most comprehensive account of the identity of Krateros is Erdas 2002, 1-9, to which the chapter owes much. The known possibilities are Alexander’s general and his son also named Krateros. Niebuhr was the first to propose the latter, Jacoby preferred the former, cf. Erdas 2002, 1-2. That there was a third Macedonian Krateros remains entirely possible.

post-dates the fifth century. Whether this absence of fourth century decrees is due to the hazards of survival or to the fact that Krateros was working at the end of the fifth century is purely a matter of conjecture.¹²⁹ The earliest decrees he cited can be dated to 470-60 (FF10, 11 and 4), the most recent are from the last quarter of the century (F15).¹³⁰ There is nothing that indicates that Krateros originally presented the decrees in chronological order, and that book 3 contained decrees from the fifties (FF1-3), book four decrees from the forties (F4) and book nine the ones from 420-410 (FF6-8).¹³¹ This generally accepted, but probably erroneous impression has arisen from the fact that the *ATL*-editors supposed a chronological order in the publication of the decrees, and accordingly dated the fragments from the earlier books to times more remote, and fragments from the last book cited to the lowest possible date. The ends have met in a circular argument. In fact most of the datable decrees are cited in fragments for which no book number is given.¹³² The exceptions are F4, which can be dated to the forties and coming from book four, and F5, dated to 411 from the book nine. This does indicate a chronological order, but the likelihood that this should happen is 50 %.

Another question is what exactly it was that he copied from. Erdas believes he had access to the decrees in the state archive, but this assumption is based on the supposed chronological order that we have shown should not necessarily be taken for granted.¹³³ It might be that Krateros walked around on the Acropolis copying the stelae, i.e. the most important decrees, leaving aside the less important ones that were to be found only in the archives and of minor interest for a reading public. The very famous decrees preserved as citations from his collection could point in this direction, but their survival until modern times could evidently be due to their importance, and we have no means to decide between the two possibilities.

The fragments of Krateros are mainly preserved through Stephanos of Byzantion (6th Cent. A.D.). He is the author of a register of all *poleis* and other place names, a work which is unfortunately lost in its original form. However, the book called *Ethnica* survives. This is a later

¹²⁹ Erdas 2002, 5, thinks the absence is strange if the author should be Krateros the Younger, active at the turn of the fourth and third century. Keil 1895, 215 thought that only the fifth century was covered. Krech 1888, 19, thought that Krateros would have included all decrees until the battle of Chaeronea. For both cf. Erdas 2002, 28, n. 4. Jacoby believed Krateros had written ten books, and that the tenth included the decrees from the end of the fifth centuries (see Erdas 2002, 28). This is entirely hypothetical. Of course for Krateros, 410-400 BC was not the end of a century, but the argument is based on the curious assumption that each book covered a decade, by chance corresponding exactly with our time-reckoning.

¹³⁰ Erdas 2002, 27, confidently affirms that FF1-3 are from one decree datable to 454/3 and that FF6-8 are from one decree datable to 410/9. These dates were proposed by the *ATL*-editors, and as we shall see, they are highly questionable.

¹³¹ *Pace* Erdas 2002, 27.

¹³² See Erdas 2002, 305 but discounting the undatable fragments from the assessment decrees FF1-3 and 6-8.

¹³³ Erdas 2002, 27. See also 111-12 where she supposes that Krateros had access to the Metroon.

epitome, roughly containing the original number of entries,¹³⁴ but with far less information than in the original book. Often only the name, the location, the ethnic, and references to the authors of his information are given. Stephanos often cites his sources, although not as often as we would have liked him to. In some seven cases the name is Krateros, and among the decrees copied by Krateros some are clearly taken from the assessment decrees. This is evident from Krateros *FGrHist* 1342 F1, where he is cited for the following words: Καρικὸς φόρος Δῶρος Φασηλίται. Καρικὸς φόρος is used as district headings for the Carian panel in the tribute quota lists of the fourth assessment period (443/2-439/38).

Stephanos of Byzantion is, however, not alone in having assured the survival of Krateros' fragments of the assessment decrees; another author is Harpokration *FGrHist* 1342 F8: Κρατερός δὲ ἐν θ' τῶν Ψηφισμάτων φησὶν ὅτι Ἀθηναίους τὸ Νύμφαιον ἐτέλει τάλαντον.¹³⁵ That this is a straightforward reference to an assessment decree and not the quota lists is obvious from the fact that the book bore the title *On the Decrees*. All other fragments from the assessment decrees have, however, been preserved by Stephanos, and to those few that explicitly give the name of Krateros, we can add some dubious ones (s.v.): Δειρή. (...) ἔστι καὶ πόλις Ἀθηναίων συμμαχική. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Δειραῖος.¹³⁶ It is possible that Deire was not mentioned by Krateros, but that Stephanos had his information from some other author. Another problem is that no attested member of the Delian League is known under the name of Deire or Deraioi, and that we do not even know in which region of the five to search for it. Similar doubts arise when Stephanos cites two or more ethnics which we recognize as members of the League: it is possible, but by no means certain, that he had the assessment decrees of Krateros in front of him (s.v. *Andros*): “Andros: An island, one of the Cyclades (...) The ethnic is Andrios as Lindios, Knidios, Myndios.” Did Stephanos pick the three examples out of the blue? Or did he quote Krateros himself reporting the sequence of an assessment decree? An indication for this would be that the three cities are members of the Delian League (like Andros), that all belong to the Carian district, and that Knidos and Myndos appear together often, although in reverse order. Of course none of these examples can be used to establish any further argumentation. And this also goes for all other attestations of names when they appear together with known members of the Delian League. This means that I have left the following ethnics out of consideration: Deraioi, Skapsa, Phaselis, Chalkeatai, Skempsioi, Markaioi, Karenaioi, Strambaioi and Essioi, all of which appear in *ATL*.

¹³⁴ *OCD*³ s.v. Stephanos of Byzantion. See also Whitehead 1994b, 101 and Billerbeck 2006, 3*-4*.

¹³⁵ “Krateros in (the) ninth (book) of the decrees says that Nymphaion paid one talent to the Athenians.”

¹³⁶ “Deire. (...) there is also a *polis* allied with the Athenians. The ethnic is Deraios.”

The *ATL*-editors were following a more optimist tradition, beginning with Meineke, who in his edition of Stephanos has a discussion of Krateros' collection (1849, 714-22), and attributed all of the above-mentioned fragments to Krateros. His attributions were followed by Kreh (1888) in his monograph on and collection of fragments from Krateros, and the *ATL*-editors included the same fragments in *ATL*. Meritt later even took some of them into *IG I³ 100*, whereas subsequent editors, e.g. Jacoby and Erdas (2002), have only included the fragments explicitly attributed to Krateros. They may be right in doing so, but we must at least consider the possibility of other ones. Then when all certain and possible fragments have been collected, we can discuss what to do with them.

Meritt thought it right to include seven fragments in the *IG I³ 100*, but left six out. Why did he do that? The *ATL*-editors had collected all the testimonies of Krateros found in Stephanos and elsewhere. In *IG I³ 100* Meritt chose to marry the literary fragments with the epigraphical fragments of the undated assessment decree, which he thought belonged to 410/0. The result is that he printed the entries as they would have appeared on the hypothetical stone: *fr. 6* Ληψιμανδῆς[----], *fr. 3* Τυροδιζηνοί[----], *fr. 7* Ἀρταιοτεῖχῖται[----], *fr. 23* Μαρχαῖοι[----], Ἡσσιοῖ[----], *fr. 25* [Θράκιος φόρος], Σταγειῶται[----], Στραμβαῖοι[----], *fr. 26* Δεραῖοι[----], *fr. 8* [πόλεις ἐκ τοῦ Εὐξείνου] Νύμφαιον : T.

It is already questionable whether literary references belong in an epigraphical corpus, even when they are supposed to be copies of inscriptions. But there are more problems with the way Meritt integrates them with an epigraphical aspect and layout: notice the absence of sums assessed except in the case of Nymphaion, where τὸ Νύμφαιον ἐτέλει τάλαντον (*fr. 8*) becomes Νύμφαιον : T. Then, and this is more important, if one wants to use Krateros in the *IG I³*, it is not illogical to ask why not all fragments have been recorded. For what has happened to Doros (*fr. 1*), Karene and the other names recorded by Krateros and not taken into *IG I³ 100*? The explanation is that Krateros is cited by Stephanos of Byzantium for the following statement (F1):

There is also a Carian *polis* (by the name of) Doris, which Krateros catalogued among the Carian *poleis* in the third (book *On the Decrees*): Carian district: Doros, Phaselitai.

Now observing 1) that Krateros had ordered his books in chronological order, 2) The fragments from book 9 can be dated to 410/9 and 3) that those from book three are earlier than 451, since 4) book four mentions the *nautodikai*, whose establishment according to Aristotle was in 451 (*Ath.Pol.* 26.3), the *ATL*-editors concluded that F1 must be dated to 454/3 (*ATL I*, 203-4; *ATL III*, 9-11). This is all very learned, but none of the four points are decisive. Or to put it more rudely, all are postulations without any firm basis. We have already seen that

there is no clear evidence in favour of an original chronological order. There is, however, an argument against this datation: The Carian district existed as an independent district only from the 12th year (443/2) with the introduction of the panel headings, and to the 16th, (439/8) after which it was merged into the Ionian one, never to appear again on the tribute quota lists. The *ATL*-editors overcome this difficulty by proposing that the districts did not serve any purpose on the tribute quota lists but only on the assessment decrees, and that they could have existed there right from the start without having left any traces (*ATL* III, 12). This cannot be excluded, but it remains an unnecessarily complicated hypothesis. My conclusion is that the fragments from Krateros should be dated to the period 443/2 to 439/8 or are better not dated at all. And even if some could be dated and others not, it is a curious method to include the first group in the *IG* I³ and leave the second out. Either they are all taken in, or none of them are. This is why I have chosen not to include the literary fragments of Krateros in this edition. Since 2002 Erdas' excellent edition of the fragments attributed to Krateros has been available for those who wish to check which ethnics are explicitly mentioned as allied member states of the Athenian Empire by Krateros. The certain literary references to the assessment decrees are (Erdas 2002): FF1 (Doros and Phaselitai), 8 (Nymphaion). To these some dubious ones could be added: FF2 (Grynaioi, Pitanaioi, Karenaioi), 3 (Tyrodiza), 6 (Artaioteichitai), 7 (Lepsimandos), 19 (Chalcheates), 20 (Chalketores).

The Tribute Lists as a Historical Source

I now propose to examine the tribute lists as a historical source. In order to understand the role of these lists and their importance for the writing of 5th century history, we must, however, first study their nature and the purpose of their existence.

The importance of a historical source can be judged by questioning how we would be situated if we did not have it. Thucydides, Diodoros, Aristotle and the fourth century rhetors writing about the Athenian Empire are available, but they give only a vague idea about the extent of it, and hardly any idea at all about the number of tributary allies. Or this number would fluctuate between the 10 names given by Thucydides (7.57.4) and the figure of 1,000 mentioned by Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 707), which of course is a comical exaggeration. We would not know if the number of allies was more or less constant from 454 to 413. We would not even know that 454/3 was the first year in which the *aparche* of the *phoros* was recorded in Athens. Also we would have no idea how much each ally paid, because mention of the individual tribute is limited to one passage in Thucydides (4.57.4), where he says that Kythera was forced to pay four talents to the Athenians in 424. We would of course still have a handful

of references to Krateros, but he was apparently recording the assessments and not the tribute quotas, and compared to entries preserved in the tribute lists, these few fragments do not impress by their quantity.

Although absence of payments for a given member in a given year does not deliver positive evidence for this member being in revolt in that year, we would have no means of measuring the popularity of the empire among the members. As it is, we are able to draw conclusions from the second half of the century. Concerning the assessment decree from 425/4, the only one of the three that is usable in itself, it gives the impression that Athens was in financial difficulties in this period. This is the famous silence of Thucydides, who does not mention that a severe re-assessment took place in that year.¹³⁷

The vast majority of Classical as well as later literary sources are Athenian, or at least concern Athenian affairs and in that respect exactly as Atheno-centric as those with Athenian authors. This makes the tribute lists exceptional because, although an Athenian source, they give the same data for the 330 members mentioned in the quota lists and assessment decrees or for the 250 mentioned only in the quota lists, i.e. a third and a fourth respectively of all attested *poleis* known from the Classical Period.¹³⁸ In fact, apart from local inscriptions, the tribute lists are probably one of the most important historical sources, not only for the reconstruction of the history of the Empire, but also in giving an idea of the economic ability and political observation of the smaller *poleis* in the so-called third Greece, i.e. the Greek World beyond the *poleis* of Athens and Sparta: 39 place names and names of communities are attested only in the tribute lists,¹³⁹ to which can be added 65 that are attested in the tribute lists but then only by e.g. Ps.-Skylax, Stephanos of Byzantion or some local inscriptions or coins.¹⁴⁰

It is therefore only understandable that many scholars have turned to this, the most monumental and perhaps also richest inscription of Fifth Century Athens, if not the richest single inscription of all Antiquity in order to see if it could help resolve different kinds of

¹³⁷ Kallet 2004 has shown that the harsh re-assessment was not that harsh in many cases and that there are many cities, if not a majority, who either had their tribute fixed at the pre-425/4 level or even lowered.

¹³⁸ Counting with the 1,035 in Hansen and Nielsen 2004.

¹³⁹ Aison, Airoleion, Bargylia, Chalkeia (not in Hansen and Nielsen 2004), Daskyleion, Diakres, Diakrioi, Doros, Erineis, Erodioi, Eurymachitai, Gale, Haisa, Hiera, Hymisseis, Kamakai, Kodapeis, Kolonai, Kossaia, Kyrbissos, Narisbareis, Neapolis ap' Athenon, Othoros, Parpariotai, Pedieis, Peleiatai, Phegontioi, Polichnitai, Polichnaioi (not in Hansen and Nielsen 2004), Olaieis, Sarte, Serme, Silos, Sinos, Sombia, Strepsa, Tarbaneis, Thasthareis, Thymbra, Thyssos, Zone, are known from the tribute lists only.

¹⁴⁰ Alinda, Amos, Arlissos, Artaio Teichos, Aulai, Azeia, Bargasa, Biryti, Chalketor, Chios, Damnion Teichos, Dareion, Deris, Didymoteichitai, Gargara, Gentinos, Grynychai, Hyblisseis, Hydaieis, Hidisos, Idyros, Idyros, Isinda, Kallipolis, Karbasyanda, Karyanda, Kasolaba, Kelenderis, Keramos, Killareis, Krya, Kyllandos, Latmos, Lebedos, Lepsimandos, Madnasa, Marathesion, Mileitouteichos, Naxia, Olymos, Orgame, Ouranion, Palaiperkote, Perge, Passanda, Pidasas, Pharbelos, Pladasa, Polichne, Prassilos, Pynnos, Pythopolis, Serreion Teichos, Silyon, Skapsaioi, Syangela/Theangela, Taramptos, Telandros, Telemessos, Tereia, Termera,

questions. The tribute lists are a rich source, and they should of course be exploited extensively and under no circumstance be put aside and ignored. However, the tribute lists do not deliver the answers to all those questions we would like them to. And it is very important to know exactly where their limits as a historical source are to be found. We are entitled to search for questions that the tribute lists could possibly contain because of their purpose and nature, and not simply because it would be convenient if they contained that information. In the following chapters I will seek to show how in three cases scholars have thought it possible to use the tribute lists to answer particular questions. In each case I believe we have to be more prudent and answer the questions negatively: The tribute lists reveal only very little about the geographical position of the individual member states. They do not indicate the size of the *poleis*, either in square kilometres or in population. And finally, if the tribute lists can sometimes be used to establish the political status of the members, it is not always the case, at least not in the way that some scholars have attempted to do it.

Thesthoros, Thydonos, Tymnessos, Zereia are attested in the tribute lists and in one or two other sources, namely Ps.-Skylax, Plinius, Strabo, Pausanias, Steph.Byz., or on coins or local inscriptions.

Chapter 1. The Purpose of the Tribute Lists

1.1 The Tribute Quota Lists

1.1.1 Archives or Symbols?

We have seen in the introduction that three kinds of documents must have been created in the process from the taxation of the member states to the registration of the incoming tribute and the deduction of the *aparche* to Athena.¹⁴¹ It is interesting that only the last type, i.e. the quota lists, have left traces from the beginning of 454/3 to what Thucydides says is the end, *viz.* 413.¹⁴² Also, we have reason to believe that no assessment decree was recorded on stone before A9, dated to 425/4. Even more interesting is the fact that no fragments seem to originate from any tribute list proper. Köhler could still believe that this was due to the hazards of survival. Today, when so many fragments, close to 400, have been found from the quota lists and the assessment decrees, and none from the proper tribute lists at all, it is more likely that the records of the incoming tribute were never recorded on stone.¹⁴³ This makes it all the more reasonable to ask why the Athenians chose to inscribe the annual quotas to Athena on huge marble blocks, a procedure that must have been costly - and this already from mid-century, i.e. at a moment when it was perhaps not yet required by the epigraphical habit.¹⁴⁴ Before engaging in a tentative answer to the question of the reason behind the inscription of the *aparchai* and the assessments, I will try to show what purpose the tribute quota lists did not serve.

1.1.2 Archives?

There is no direct evidence for any state archive in the city of Athens before the end of the fifth century, when the Metroon was created. Therefore some scholars have thought that generally the erection of stelae served the purpose of publication and archiving. Such a view was refuted by Louis Robert, who clearly distinguished between 1) archives written on papyrus and stored indoors, 2) display for maximum, but temporary, publication on *pinakes* (i.e. wooden boards) and finally 3) inscriptions on stone for eternity.¹⁴⁵ But if his introduction to the study

¹⁴¹ See *supra* p. 7-9.

¹⁴² Thuc. 7.28.4.

¹⁴³ Köhler thought it was just a question of time before they were found. Sealey 1976, 274 wrote that: "it is not known whether lists of tribute, as distinct from lists of quotas, were inscribed." It has now become *communis opinio* to believe that they existed in some form but were not inscribed on stone. Giovannini 1990, 142 and 1997, 146. Sickinger 1999a, 67 with notes 21-23.

¹⁴⁴ Sealey 1976, 274. Raubitschek 1949, 437.

¹⁴⁵ Robert 1961, 459 (= *OMS* V, 71). See also Georgoudi 1988, 221-22 and Sickinger 1999b.

of Greek and Latin Epigraphy has known a great success in his home country, it has not achieved any major influence outside France, with the exception perhaps of Germany due to a translation of Robert's Introduction to Ancient Epigraphy.¹⁴⁶

In the last decades a new current has appeared on the scene. Its representatives have unearthed the archive theory in an attempt to approach the Greek world in what they believe is a more faithful way than is traditionally followed. These scholars blame the representatives of what they call the "fundamentalist" or "autonomous school," such as Eric Havelock, who sees a connection between literacy and intellectual development in society.¹⁴⁷ In reaction to this, they propose a study which they regard as disconnected from the standards of modern society, in the hope of being able to analyse each civilisation on its own premises.¹⁴⁸ In fact what they try to do is to avoid what they consider a Euro- or Helleno-centric approach,¹⁴⁹ according to which, societies without literacy are considered backward. But in this process they tend to exaggerate the differences between the modern and the ancient society, and ignore, or at least downplay, the similarities between Us and Them.¹⁵⁰

Students of this primitivist or revisionist school, with R. Thomas as its most prominent member, have thus seen the stones as the predecessors of the archives in the later Metroon.¹⁵¹ Curiously these scholars have been able to tie this view together with the conviction that inscriptions mainly had a symbolic value, and that they were not read but rather regarded as monuments.¹⁵² In order to prove that the texts were not read since not all were readable, the *lapis primus* has frequently been used as an example because, it was said, the upper parts of this stone, measuring 3.66 meters in height, could not have been read without a ladder.¹⁵³ I have shown elsewhere that this is untrue: The text at the top of the stone is visible and readable, and even if the average Athenian did perhaps not measure 1.80 m., I refuse to accept the argument that the inscription was too high up to be read.¹⁵⁴ Of course, the huge stone was chosen for its symbolic value, and so was the second stele and the slab with the assessment decree of 425/4,

¹⁴⁶ Robert 1970.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas 1992, 24.

¹⁴⁸ Thomas 1992, 28.

¹⁴⁹ Thomas 1992, 56 with reference to Bernal.

¹⁵⁰ The authors draw heavily on Finley, whose pessimistic views are well-known among ancient economists. Hedrick Jr. 1994 in an attack on those attributing modern standards to the Ancients quotes Finley abundantly.

¹⁵¹ Thomas 1992, 135. On 85 she even speaks of "stone archives of the Greeks."

¹⁵² Hedrick Jr. 1994, 170-71. Basing his reflections on Plato's *Phaedrus* 275a; 275c-e; 276d; 277-78a, Hedrick could write affirmatively that: "Writing, in other words, should be understood more in the fashion of a traditional monument than as a modern text." Hedrick denies a widespread literacy in Athens, and his argumentation seems to show that if not all people had high literary skills, the inscriptions could not serve any purpose at all. But his argumentation is based on little epigraphical evidence, much Finley and even more Plato – the latter a notoriously difficult historical source, since it is often impossible to know when his dialogues are reflecting the contemporary society rather than his own Utopia.

¹⁵³ Latest Pébarthe 2005, 178.

but the masons may have calculated the highest point possible still permitting the consultation of the stone.

Moreover James Sickinger has amply shown the invalidity of Rosalind Thomas and her followers' thesis in a recent book, where he also succeeds in proving the existence of various 5th century archives.¹⁵⁵ This view is not dependent on a majority of Athenians being literate: if only the upper level of the society could read the inscriptions, they would have served their purpose. However, we will see that the point of view of both Sickinger and of Thomas can be reconciled in the case of the tribute quota lists, which were indeed monuments but whose value resided also in being read by passers-by.¹⁵⁶

1.1.2 Accounts?

If the *lapis primus* and its successors had carried the total tribute, we could believe that they were meant as accounts. But in the case of the tribute-paying members, their payments must have been recorded on some sort of material before the 1/60 was levied.¹⁵⁷ The common explanation of the existence of the quota lists was limited until recent years to stating that the recordings of the *aparche* continued a tradition established on Delos before the transfer of the League treasure in 454/3. This is of course a reasonable assumption, but we have no proof at all that first-fruits were given to Delian Apollo from 478/7 to 455/4, and even if there is good reason to believe they were, it was most probably not inscribed on stone.¹⁵⁸ And even if first-fruits were given, the ratio was most certainly not 1/60, a ratio which was not much used elsewhere than in Athens.¹⁵⁹ In the absence of any reliable sources from the early period, I believe it is fruitless to try to analyze the quota lists simply as a continuation of a practice beginning already in 478.

It has not gone unnoticed that the Attic inscriptions before the middle of the fifth century come from the Acropolis and contain primarily, if not exclusively, religious texts, and there have been some tentative attempts to explain the appearance of the *lapis primus* and its successors as the result of some kind of sacred act. Several scholars have underlined the religious nature of the quota lists, contrasting them with the late appearance of the profane

¹⁵⁴ Paarmann 2005.

¹⁵⁵ Sickinger 2002.

¹⁵⁶ Sickinger and Thomas are both trying not to be too categorical, Thomas by not denying that inscriptions were sometimes read, and Sickinger by not depriving the inscriptions of any symbolic value, but their approaches remain fundamentally different. Cf. e.g. Sickinger 2002, 150 with a reference to Thomas 1989, in note 8.

¹⁵⁷ Sickinger 1999, 67. Paarmann 2004, 79

¹⁵⁸ First-fruit lists on stone made their first appearance in Athens. In Eleusis they were recorded on *pinakion*.

¹⁵⁹ See *infra* p. 47, n. 195.

inscriptions on the Acropolis.¹⁶⁰ Rhodes has written plausibly that the Athenians regarded sacrilege as a capital crime, and that the publication of the religious accounts was a way for the officials to be safeguarded against such accusations.¹⁶¹ This may be true for the later treasure lists, but it does not in itself explain the sudden appearance of the quota lists, the first series of them all. If the phrase “the publication on stone *stelae* served to certify the transaction for the public interest” is correct with respect to temple inventories from 434 onwards,¹⁶² it is not valid for the quota lists some twenty years before.

1.1.3 Votives?¹⁶³

If we focus on the *aparche* and put the lists into the Athenian tradition of offering first-fruits on the Acropolis, it is possible to take a step further. The religious aspect of the tribute quota lists has suffered from a lack of interest, on the one hand from religious historians, who are satisfied to quote them as additional evidence for their studies on cult practices,¹⁶⁴ but on the other a lack of interest from political historians of the fifth century, who rarely accord as much attention to religion as they should. To my knowledge no one has ever attempted to examine the quota lists thoroughly as votive offerings. This is what I will try to do here. Rather than just to notice that the quota lists are in fact recordings of the *aparche*, we should study the development of the practice of these kinds of offerings and then put the quotas into this context.

Before entering a discussion of the *aparche*, I will briefly outline what we know about the location of the *stelae*. If we had no information at all about the original position of these lists, we should suppose that they had been exposed either on the West pediment of the Parthenon, which served as a gallery for votive display, or in the area just in front of this and the Chalkoteke, where plenty of plinths are found.¹⁶⁵ The position of the tribute quota lists could very well be on the steps west of the Parthenon, actually housing “more than thirty-eight

¹⁶⁰ Lewis 1973, 193-94 compared the *rationes centesimarum* with the tribute-lists and the *φιάλαι ἐξελευθερικαί* explaining their presence on the Acropolis as motivated by religious concerns. Thomas 1992, 86: “I would not want to deny that the written contents of inscriptions were read if they were needed. But this is not incompatible with their having a monumental and symbolic role as well. Some otherwise curious features of inscriptions fit into place if we see them as more than merely documents, for instance the visual element already noted, or, more fundamental, the very selection of what went up on stone. It is well known, for example, that the famous fifth-century ‘Athenian tribute lists’ recorded in minute detail, not the total tribute collected from the Athenian empire, but the one sixtieth dedicated to the goddess Athena. In other words, the lists were for the goddess and were inscribed for some kind of sacred reason.” See also Osborne 1999, 346-47, cited *infra* p. 52, and Sickinger 1999b, 242 counting only nine profane inscriptions for the whole of the fifth century and further Parker 1996, 123.

¹⁶¹ Linders 1988. Harris 1994, 216. Rhodes 2001, 141.

¹⁶² Harris 1994, 219.

¹⁶³ For convenience I use the word “votive” although the offering was not necessarily connected with a vow. For the sense of the word “*ex-voto*,” cf. Scheid 1998, 86-87.

¹⁶⁴ For a brief mention in a work on votive offerings see Keesling 2003, 7.

cuttings for *stelae*.”¹⁶⁶ But one could also think that they had been placed somewhere between the Propylaea and the statue of Athena Promachos, where more inscriptions and votive offerings once stood.¹⁶⁷ On the right-hand side of the path leading from the Propylaea to the place where the statue once stood there are many cuttings, and it was stipulated in several decrees that they were to be put up close to the statue itself.¹⁶⁸

Unfortunately the tribute quota lists have not been found in their original position and we have no literary references mentioning them.¹⁶⁹ Pausanias did not include inscribed stelae in his account of his visit to the Acropolis at all. In fact we possess no explicit statement saying that the tribute quota lists were originally put up on the Acropolis. However, the evidence for this comes from the fact that the vast majority of fragments were found there.

As we saw above (p. 17), Chandler found the first fragment of an assessment decree “in pavimento porticus moscheae.” Few of the early discoverers of fragments and other antiques mention the exact location of their finds. And the editors who actually only gave sparse information. Kirchhoff wrote that all fragments had been found “in arce,” i.e. the Acropolis. The statement of Rangabé, according to whom the fragments came from the area between the Parthenon and the Erechtheion,¹⁷⁰ is in conflict with that of Pittakis, who wrote that they had been found around the Propylaea. Pritchett, who to my knowledge is the only scholar to have looked into the problem of the location of the *lapis primus*, decided to follow Pittakis,¹⁷¹ adding the information that also the *lapis secundus* and the assessment decrees were found *περὶ* and *παρὰ τὰ Προπυλαία*.¹⁷² On this basis Pritchett concluded that “There seems to be ample evidence that the whole series of documents relating to the tribute stood near the Propylaea.”¹⁷³

The vast majority of fragments had been found before modern archaeological methods were developed and the habit of making an index card for every discovered object did not exist yet. So we have to be content with the vague and general information provided by Pittakis, Rangabé, and Köhler. Only in some rare instances do these authors give an exact location. To these must be added the fragments discovered in the twentieth century, notably by the

¹⁶⁵ Hurwit 1999, 189-91 and Holtzmann 2003, 198, for the Great Steps of the Parthenon as a place for display.

¹⁶⁶ Hurwit 1999, 189.

¹⁶⁷ Stevens 1936, 456 and figure 12 p. 458.

¹⁶⁸ Holtzmann 2003, 190-91.

¹⁶⁹ Stephanos of Byzantium quotes Krateros, who apparently saw the quota lists or the assessment decrees, but since there is no statement saying so, we can only deduce that some of the city names came from either of these sources. On Krateros see *supra* p. 34-37.

¹⁷⁰ Rangabé 1842, 273-74.

¹⁷¹ Pritchett 1967, 115, with reference to *IG I*, p. 94.

¹⁷² Pittakis 1835, 410 (the errors are in the text): “Avant de descendre de la forteresse je publierai quelques inscriptions trouvées dans les excavations. A côté des Propylées sur différents fragments qui faisaient une j’ai lu cette inscription, c’est un catalogue de la contribution que les villes donnaient annuellement aux Athéniens.” See also 690, 691, 693, 742, 755, 759, 765, 767.

excavations of the American School at Athens. The latter have been found mainly on the Agora, but different fragments were located in odd corners of the Acropolis.

Pritchett ended his article with the hope that someone some day would look for the matching cuttings of the *stelae*.¹⁷⁴ In September 2004 I took up this invitation and spent an afternoon looking for plinths fitting the measurements of the *lapis primus* and *lapis secundus* and A9. Unfortunately, among the countless cuttings preserved to the right of one entering the Acropolis, there are none that could reasonably be identified as having hosted any of the three *stelae*.¹⁷⁵

It is difficult to be more specific, except that we can exclude the possibility that the lists were sheltered in the Propylaea, since this construction was begun only after 438 and since they show that kind of wear typically seen on *stelae* exposed to the elements.¹⁷⁶ Weathering could be an indication for the orientation of the stones. Several fragments from the *lapis primus* are worn, but only the upper part is heavily weathered. Also, there are even more pock-marks due to rain and wind on the back side of the stele, face B, than on the front side, face A. The wind responsible for this is most probably the Southern Wind, called Notias in Modern Greek, which brings wind and sand from Sahara during the winter. But it might also be the Northern Wind, Voria, which is active during both summer and winter.¹⁷⁷ This does not reveal much about the original placing of the stone, even if we assume that the surface most exposed to the elements is the one that faced the South. Seeing that the wind comes mostly from the South, we can probably deduce that the better preserved front side of the stone, face A, was facing either the Parthenon, or far more probably, remembering the information of Pittakis, facing Athena Promachos. Exactly this place would have been suitable for the first-fruit lists. Of course, until one or more plinths that fit the measurements of the *stelae* are found, nothing is certain and the hypothesis will remain purely conjectural.

But even if we cannot pin down the exact location we can indeed infer that the *lapis primus* and its successors stood somewhere between the Parthenon and the Propylaea. This in itself is important, seeing that both buildings were part of the imperial program. After the relocation from the East to the West side of the Acropolis and with its sheer size, the Parthenon was visible from the sea, and any incoming representative of an allied state or any merchant could

¹⁷³ Pritchett 1967, 116-17 with references to Rangabé, Pittakis and Kavvadis.

¹⁷⁴ Pritchett 1967, 119.

¹⁷⁵ Hurwit 1999, 51 has a picture of several plinths for smaller *stelae* (fig. 37).

¹⁷⁶ Pritchett 1967, 118-19 and note 29 p. 119.

¹⁷⁷ I am grateful towards the secretary of the Danish Institute in Athens for this information.

not fail to see it.¹⁷⁸ The Propylaia shared the proportions of the Parthenon,¹⁷⁹ was exactly as monumental and was also part of the self-confirmation of the Athenians.¹⁸⁰

With the transfer of the treasure of the League and the following offering of *aparche* to Athena Polias, the latter extended her realm from Athens and Attica to the whole of the Athenian Empire.¹⁸¹ The political imperialism was accompanied by some sort of religious imperialism,¹⁸² and at least from 448/7 or 447/6 representatives of the member states had to bring a cow and a panoply in addition to the tribute (*IG I³ 34*; *ML 46.41-43*). How does this affect our view of the tribute quota lists? It is obvious that the religious aspect of these lists is important. The Greek word *aparche* shows the religious nature of the content of the list. The prescript of the 34th list dating to 421/0 leaves no doubt that the member states were offering the 1/60 of the entire tribute as first-fruits to the goddess Athena: τὲν ἀπαρχὴν τῷ θεῷ μῶν ἀπὸ τῷ ταλάν[το].¹⁸³ When this is taken together with the fact that all the entries without exception appear in the nominative, it becomes evident that the allies are to be considered as an extension of the subject in the above-mentioned clause and thereby the donators of the *aparche*. It is therefore necessary to investigate the reasons behind these offerings.

Few, if any, have been puzzled by the fact that the Athenians and their allies chose to make these kinds of offerings from the *phoros*. Whenever Greeks made transactions, the Gods should have their share first.¹⁸⁴ This *do-ut-des* relationship permitted men and women to give thanks for previous help, as well as to ensure future assistance from the Gods.¹⁸⁵ Contrary to the sacrifice, during which the object offered disappeared during the process, the votive offering remained physically present for as long as it was not removed to make place for further votives.¹⁸⁶ And if the votive offering was inscribed, the inscriptions added to this long-lasting message. Also, as the inscriptions themselves tell, the donators expected future services from the Gods because of these *anathemata*.¹⁸⁷

¹⁷⁸ For the Parthenon as an imperial statement see Parker 1996, 141.

¹⁷⁹ Hurwit 1999, 193.

¹⁸⁰ Kasper-Butz 1990, 185-89 for the Parthenon (p. 185) and the Statue of Athena Promachos as votive offerings (p. 187). See also Holtzmann 2003, 105-6.

¹⁸¹ Kasper-Butz 1990, 185. See also Barron 1964, 35-48 and Meiggs 1972, 295-98.,

¹⁸² Parker 1996, 142-45 on the religious imperialism of Athens.

¹⁸³ I have corrected πόλες χαίδε ἀπέδοσα]ν in list 34 (*IG I³ 285.7*) to ... ἀνέθεσα]ν. This solves the problem of having an unattested coupling of ἀποδίδωμι with the noun ἀπαρχή, the latter being invariably used with forms of ἀνατίθημι. However, as Kallet 2004, 470-74 has shown the fragments bearing the title of this list might not originally have belonged together, and any restitution becomes purely hypothetical.

¹⁸⁴ Van Straten 1981, 72. Burkert 1985, 66-70. Rudhardt 1992, 222.

¹⁸⁵ Van Straten 1981, 72-73.

¹⁸⁶ Van Straten 1981, 74.

¹⁸⁷ Burkert 1985, 93.

Thus we are in the realm of inscribed votive offerings, whose origins go back to Archaic Times.¹⁸⁸ These votive offerings could take different forms, of which the *aparche*, literally “beginnings” (i.e. taken from the whole) is only one,¹⁸⁹ the *dekate* (tithe) and the *akrothinia* (the topmost of the pile) and different *agalma* being others.¹⁹⁰ All of them can appear on *anathemata*¹⁹¹ (votive offerings), a word created from the verb ἀνατίθημι, “set up as a votive gift,” “dedicate” (cf. *LSJ*).

The *aparchai*, i.e. the votive offerings that interest us here, are almost exclusively attested at the Acropolis in Athens in Archaic Times and they are all consecrated to Athena.¹⁹² It seems that the monuments on which the word *aparche* occurs are always of marble and that the word itself never designates gifts of little value.¹⁹³ An indication of the fact that it was the tangible stele and not the abstract list that was considered as the offering is seen in the detailed heading at the top of the *lapis primus*, which is not repeated on the subsequent lists of the same stele. This evidence is of course slight, because of the hazards of survival, but it is worth to observe that lengthy prescripts are found again in the lists 34 dating to 421/0 and 37 dating to 418/7, i.e. on the top of slabs, which bore the list of one year only.

The first attestation of the word *aparche* is dated to the middle of the sixth century and, with only a few Hellenistic examples, seems to go out of use early in the fourth century¹⁹⁴ without ever having gained any real importance outside Attica, where the *dekate* was widespread.¹⁹⁵ The *aparche* and the *dekate*, on the other hand, were used with equal frequency in Athens. However, if the two terms were used there almost as synonyms, one object being designated as both an *aparche* and as a *dekate*,¹⁹⁶ the normal situation is that the *dekate* is a tithe, whereas an *aparche* is almost always a percentage divisible by six.¹⁹⁷ And it seems that though the practice of offering both *aparche* and *dekate* coexisted for a time, there was no confusion between the two kinds of offerings.¹⁹⁸

It is generally assumed that the tradition of offering *aparchai* has its roots in the rural society, where parts of the harvest were separated from the rest.¹⁹⁹ The small part sacrificed should ensure that the people could consume their crops in peace without attracting the anger

¹⁸⁸ Lazzarini 1976, 56, has shown that the oldest is from the Heraion of Samos, being dated to ca. 660.

¹⁸⁹ Burkert 1985, 66.

¹⁹⁰ Lazzarini 1976, 87-98. Burkert 1985, 69. See also Giovannini 1990, 133.

¹⁹¹ Burkert 1985, 69.

¹⁹² Lazzarini 1976, 87.

¹⁹³ Lazzarini 1976, 87.

¹⁹⁴ Lazzarini 1976, 87. For the few Hellenistic examples see Lazzarini 1989-90, 848.

¹⁹⁵ Keesling 2003, 7.

¹⁹⁶ Lazzarini 1976, 89.

¹⁹⁷ Keesling 2003, 7.

¹⁹⁸ Rouse 1902, 54.

of the Gods.²⁰⁰ The sense was quickly changed from “part of the whole” into meaning simply “an offering.”²⁰¹ However, the initial practice of making this offering, for the same reasons as in the rural society, i.e. to avoid the anger of the Gods before the consumption, whether this be of crops or of fortunes, seems to have been maintained intact in the terminology. It is to be qualified as an “initial rite” performed at the beginning of sacrifices, and during this process it can transition from an abstract form into a physical and permanent form as an *anathema*.²⁰² We have already seen that the wording more or less preserved on list 34 is τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῆι θεῶι μῶν ἀπὸ τῶ ταλάν[το·] i.e. the *aparche* to the Goddess in the ratio of a mine to the talent and this permits us to conclude that the slabs bearing the inscribed quotas were considered as *anathemata* recording the offering of the *aparche* to Athena. Thus it becomes clear that the *lapis primus* together with the first-fruits allotted to the treasurers of Athena are to be considered as the physical representations of votive offerings, rather than as being the actual accounts of the payments of quotas or tribute.²⁰³ Athena was to see for herself who had shown religious piety, in order to know who she should favour in the future (so that she would receive more votive offerings and show more gratitude, etc.). The tribute quota lists fulfil the definition of a physical votive offering in that they are an object (marble *anathemata*), the gift is expressed (the quotas) and the donator (the member states) as well as the receiver (Athena) are mentioned in the text on this same object.²⁰⁴ The moment the *lapis primus* and its successors were erected and the text was inscribed, they became the possessions of Athena. We should therefore classify them among the biggest votive offerings ever, only behind the Parthenon, the Propylaea and the statue of Athena Promachos.²⁰⁵

One question remains: were the inscriptions only intended for Athena? Or were they also meant to be read by men, and in that case by whom? This, of course, is impossible to answer ultimately.²⁰⁶ But it is worth trying. Given the position of the stelae, the question is intimately linked with the question of who visited the Acropolis. It has been argued that although the Agora was normally a crowded place, the Acropolis was probably only visited by Athenians on

¹⁹⁹ Lazzarini 1976, 88.

²⁰⁰ Burkert 1979, 52-53. Van Straten 1981, 65. Rudhardt 1992, 219. See also Rouse 1902, 38-94, for an analysis using comparative ethnological arguments.

²⁰¹ Rouse 1902, 55. Lazzarini 1976, 89.

²⁰² Rudhardt 1986, 222.

²⁰³ Schuller 1974, 115 believes that the quota Lists were religious by appearance but political internally. He is followed by Kasper-Butz 1990, 40, and Gschnitzer 1999, 44, *pace* Meiggs 237. For the view that the political and religious worlds were intertwined see Parker 1996, chapter 8.

²⁰⁴ Lazzarini 1989-90, numbers three required elements for a votive: “Gli elementi fondamentali dell’iscrizione votiva sono tre: il nome del dedicante, il verbo di dedica, il nome della divinità.” And further: “Questa formula base si può ampliare, come vedremo, con l’aggiunta di altre notizioni.”

²⁰⁵ Kroll 1979, 351-52 has examined “The Parthenon Frieze as a Votive Relief.”

²⁰⁶ For the same question addressed to the financial inscriptions cf. Kallet-Marx 1994, 231.

holidays.²⁰⁷ However, both Athenians and foreigners are likely to have used the sanctuary for all sorts of occasions, just as they visited any other sanctuary. The stelae, therefore, must have been seen by many people on an everyday basis. Also, the Athenians more than any other city-state celebrated festivals, and altogether 120 days in a year counting 300 were devoted to religion. A majority of these festivals had the Acropolis as their starting point, even for the majority of them that were not honouring Athena.²⁰⁸ But if the inscriptions were seen, does this necessarily mean that they were they also actually read?

The revisionist or pessimist school represented by the followers of Finley believe that a majority of the Athenians were illiterate and that only “a small minority of Athenian citizens would have been able to read in better than a hesitant and rudimentary manner.”²⁰⁹ We will never come to know even an approximate percentage of the citizens who could read, but personally I take the exact opposite view from the pessimist school, and I am not alone in this belief.²¹⁰ But whether a majority or a minority of the population or even of the citizens could read, inscriptions were actually meant to be read by those who could – among men.²¹¹ Or rather their value lay in their *potentiality* of being read. The purpose of the inscriptions on the votive offerings was that the offering took place in the mind of the reader every time the text was read.²¹² This of course presupposed at least an occasional reader among the passers-by. Concerning inscribed votive objects in general, de Polignac writes:

Les dédicaces votives, qui donnent souvent le nom du donateur, paraissent en effet illustrer parfaitement un usage de l'écriture à satisfaire le désir de publicité et de commémoration. A condition bien entendu que l'inscription et son support disposent d'une visibilité suffisante: l'objet et le signe doivent en effet être exposés et offerts à la lecture pour prendre et garder sens dans la communauté humaine qui fréquentait ces sanctuaires.²¹³

Thus the inscription on the votive object commemorates the act of the donation. Every time a passer-by reads it, the proper act of donation is carried out, over and over again. The inscription gives the donation a lasting character; it literally perpetuates the pious act.²¹⁴ This seems obvious and it is astonishing that it has to be emphasized. In fact the situation is not

²⁰⁷ Osborne 1999, 346-47.

²⁰⁸ Hurwit 1999, 39-40.

²⁰⁹ Hedrick Jr. 1994, 162-63.

²¹⁰ I am convinced that the reduced number of letters, which as Spufford 2002, 68, says permits that one can write them inside the palm, would enable children with at least some leisure to learn them. See also Rhodes 2001, 144 who observes that the practice of ostracism presupposes, if it does not directly require, a reasonably widespread literacy. Davies 2003, 323-24 even claims a widespread literacy in the fifth century on the basis of attestations of ancient writing on different kinds of materials.

²¹¹ Kallet-Marx 1994, 231. Sickinger 2004, 97-98 with note 26 taking the symbolic value into consideration.

²¹² But see Pucci 1988, 483 for the contrary view, *viz.* that no human intervention was necessary and that only the Gods were the destinees.

²¹³ de Polignac 2005, 15. Following Lazzarini, he dates the beginning to the end of the 8th century and detects, (15-16), a steady increase in the number around the end of the 7th century for all of the Greek World.

very different from today when relatives of the dead hope that the memory of their loved ones will live on through, among other things, the inscription on the gravestone, an inscription which is of course directed towards those who visit the graveyard. If anyone argues otherwise he will have to explain why the Greeks did not throw their donations directly into wells or votive deposits, and why all inscribed votive offerings were within reach of the common people and not as in other cultures out of sight. The grave stelae were even placed along the ancient roads and addressed themselves to every traveller, asking him to stop for a while and give a thought to the defunct. Contrary to some examples from the Ancient Near East, we have yet to see a Greek inscription, whether religious or profane, archaic, classic or hellenistic, which could not be read because of inaccessibility.²¹⁵

The consultation of these inscriptions was not out of reach for as many Athenians as is usually thought. From the several visits I have paid to the Epigraphical Museum, where *lapis primus* and its fellow stones are preserved, I know that it is read by school-children. In fact the person responsible for the Educational Program, Ms. Maria Tsouli, guides school classes around the Museum almost every day of the week, stops at the same spot, showing them the lower part of face D of the *lapis primus*, and makes them read a few lines. The children, whose mother-tongue is not Ancient Greek, always succeed in deciphering the letters. Although we cannot of course compare the degree of literacy among the citizens of Ancient Athens, the situation must have been more or less similar. This is not to deny the enormous symbolic value that the *lapis primus* had then and to some degree even today,²¹⁶ nor that the recipient was Athena herself, but when the *anathemata* were read by men, the divine and human world met each other during this same process.

1.1.4 Conclusion

It was apparently a priority for the Athenians that Athena should be aware of the contributors in order to know who had asked for her protection. Just as the votive offering was repeated virtually over and over again every time someone saw the gifts that had been offered, so the *aparche* was given over and over again every time someone read these inscriptions.²¹⁷ In other

²¹⁴ There is a parallel here to the lasting character attributed to the honorific decrees mentioned by Dem. 20.64.

²¹⁵ de Polignac 2005, 16-20 discusses another category of votive offerings of a more private character, which due to the size and choice of support were less visible and therefore less appropriate for mass publication. And he concludes after an examination of the two categories, that some inscriptions were intended for the public, others for the private sphere.

²¹⁶ Rhodes 2001, 140-41: "In their published form these documents were valuable for what they symbolized as well as for the detailed information that they contained. We have a great league of allies, whose members make payments of tribute, from which we make offerings to Athena – an equivalent in writing of what Darius had shown pictorially on the Apadana at Persepolis."

²¹⁷ Svenbro 1988, 461-62. See also Hurwit 1999, 57 for the unscribed Moschophoros.

words, the stone spoke continually of the annual event of offering the first-fruits to Athena. That was the reason behind the inscription of the *lapis primus* and its successors. The tribute quota lists are inserted into a long tradition of inscribed votive offerings with the mention of *aparche*, attested already a hundred years before their appearance. Rather than being just put up for fear of sacrilege, they were there because of a sacrificial obligation towards the Goddess Athena. The tribute lists were not archives, they were not just symbols, nor accounts against accusations of sacrilege; they were inscribed votive offerings, and they may indeed have made precedence, starting the practice of putting public documents on display on the Acropolis in front of the Parthenon.

This interpretation does not divest the stelae of all symbolic value.²¹⁸ But the value was seen as much in the nature of the text itself as in the monumental size of the *lapis primus*, *lapis secundus* and the slab bearing the decree and the assessment of 425/4. This double purpose of the inscription is seen again in the fact that the addressee was Athena as well as the Athenian citizens and foreigners present on the Acropolis, on ordinary days or during festivals and holidays. And finally it is seen in the fact that the Greater Dionysia, on which occasion the tribute was collected, and the Greater Panathenaia, on which it was assessed, served as occasions for the “imperial as well as civic/sacred displays.”²¹⁹

A further argument supporting this could be found in recent studies that have shown that it was the *aparche* that, together with Athena’s other revenues, financed the Parthenon, the Propylaia, the Erechtheion, as well as her statues inside and outside the Parthenon.²²⁰ Previously it had been thought that it was the total tribute. Now, with the *aparche* as one of the big contributors to the imperial program through the cult of Athena, it becomes a reasonable possibility that Athena should be able to observe from a position on the most visible place the votive offerings of the allies who had funded her buildings. And this may lead to the view that the quota lists were erected in front of the statue of the Athena Promachos.

I have argued that the tribute quota lists were put up as votive offerings by the Athenians on behalf of the allied member states. This is my conviction, but it has to be somewhat balanced. First, it does not imply that all of the member states consented to being included in the votive offering. It might just as well have been imposed on them by the Athenians as a pretext. Another serious argument against my hypothesis might be that logically a votive inscription was made by the person who seeks protection, but that in this case it was

²¹⁸ Kallet-Marx 1994, 231 arrives at a similar conclusion for the accounts on the Acropolis and the Agora.

²¹⁹ Hurwit 1999, 139 with a reference, n. 9, to Goldhill 1987, 60-62.

apparently the Athenians who made it, and not the allies themselves. Also, it was the Athenians who received the tribute as an income, and it was they and not the allies who accordingly were to deduct the necessary *aparche*. There are two possibilities: Either the Athenians were the nominal donators, in which case restitution of the heading of list 34 and the former list 37 as they appear in *IG I³ 285* and *285* must be changed, or the allies were, the Athenians being the intermediary link. The latter view, I believe, is supported by the Methone decree in which the Methonians are to deliver the entire phoros or just the *aparche* to Athena (*IG I³ 61.5-9*). But it is true that the word *aparche* does not figure in this text. The *aparche* was the business of the Athenians and could not possibly be delivered by the allies.

1.2 The Assessment Decrees

I have tried to examine the votive character inherent in the tribute quota lists and to explain their existence, not in isolation, but in the context of other votive offerings present on the Acropolis. But what about the assessment decrees? What purpose did they serve? And why were they erected on the Acropolis rather than remaining in the political surroundings on the Agora? This is an altogether different topic, and an explanation should be sought in the general exposition of the political decisions which came into use from the end of the sixth century. Osborne has written about the role of the Acropolis in this context:

The importance of the Acropolis as a place of display must be related to its religious importance. Just as early inscribed laws are all from religious contexts, whether or not their provisions have to do with religion, and just as it seems to be religious visibility, rather than magisterial accountability, which lies behind the inscriptions of Athenian financial records, so with Athenian decrees, it is arguably for a divine as much as a human public that they are displayed. By inscribing them and erecting the stelae on the Acropolis, political decisions are taken from the sphere of debate, from the political world of the Pnyx and the agora, and replaced, set before the eyes of the gods, as records of human achievement inviting protection.²²¹

The phrase “for a divine as much as a human public” is important, but these two spheres are of course interrelated. In other words, if the decrees were intended only for consultation by the citizens, the texts could have been exposed on *pinakes*. As it was, some decisions were also inscribed on stone and this with an increasing frequency, beginning with the Salamis decree in c. 510-500 (*IG I³ 1*) but becoming normal practice only by the mid fifth century. The assessment decrees were exposed in permanent form on the Acropolis at least from 425/4. We can wonder why they were not put up for display already by 454/3, but the question cannot be

²²⁰ Conclusion arrived at by Kallet-Marx 1989 and Giovannini 1990 independently. For the treasury financing the buildings and the statue of Athena Polias see Giovannini 1990, 138-39, for the revenues, 139-42. The spoils from the battle of Marathon went to her treasury financing the statue of Athena Promachos, see p. 140.

settled. The most probable reason is that they were just not found important enough at that moment.

1.3. Conclusion: Θεοί and θεῶι

So we end up with two different explanations: one for the tribute quota lists and one for the assessment decrees. In both cases it is the religious factor that explains not only their presence on the Acropolis but also their very existence on a long-lasting material such as the marble stelae. The two explanations, however, are fairly different. The Athenians sought a divine sanction for their current political affairs and exposed their decrees on the Acropolis. The addressees were all the Gods, as testified by the fact that all decrees begin with the Greek word for Gods, in plural nominative or vocative: Θεοί, which was perhaps taken directly from the opening of the debate in the assembly (RO, xix).²²² However, in the earlier tribute quota lists the word Θεοί is apparently not found in the beginning, but this could merely be because more than half of the heading of the first list is lost. Instead the key word in the few longer headings (lists 34 and 37) is τῆι θεῶι, i.e. the pre-Euclidian form for dative singular feminine, better known under its post-Euclidean form: τῇ θεῷ. Only in the list numbered 34 do we find both forms: Θεοί as the invocation before the inscription, and τῆι θεῶι in the heading.

Where does this leave us concerning the initial question about the value of the tribute lists as a historical source? It certainly does not seem to affect the way we can address our questions about them. But the understanding of the source must precede the use of it. In any investigation the first step should be to ask why a source contains particular information in the first place. Can the tribute lists tell us anything about the geographical position, the political status or the size of the individual *poleis*. Could we expect such information in what is essentially a religious source in the case of the quota lists? Only then should the next step be undertaken: *viz.* to investigate whether or not the lists provide such information for the different well-attested *poleis*. And this second step must be based on the study of particular entries in the lists, including of course the evidence from other inscriptions and literary testimonia. Finally, only by comparing what we know, or believe we know, about the tribute

²²¹ Osborne 1999, 347. See also Davies 2003, 337 for a similar interpretation.

²²² In an unpublished dissertation Traywick has studied the use of Θεοί in the prescripts of all known Athenian decrees. He concludes in the published summary (1969, 326): “The second section attempts to explain the meanings of these expressions. Their forms are explored and translations sought. The proposition that ΘΕΟΙ is old Attic and stands for θεῶι is considered and rejected, principally because the orthography never gave way and because the identity of the hypothetical (one) god was never made known through elaboration. The form must be plural, either vocative or nominative. But lack of an article leaves the alternatives. No translation beyond ‘gods’ is justified.” I agree with Traywick’s conclusion.

lists with the data from the subsequent studies on the particular problems is it possible to draw a conclusion as to whether or not we can put these questions to the tribute lists.

Chapter 2. The Geographical Distribution of the Ethnics

2.1 The Organisation of the Quota Lists

Among the 250 place names and political and regional ethnics mentioned in the tribute quota lists, and the 330 names if we also include the entries of the assessment decrees, there are some for which even an approximative geographical position has not yet been identified.²²³ These are mainly Thracian and Carian communities, many of which, we must believe, were so unimportant in the overall history of Greece that they make their appearance in the tribute lists only to disappear again for ever, perhaps with the exception of being mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantion, or other lexicographical writers who had access to literary sources now lost. It is therefore understandable that several scholars, beginning with the first editors of the lists, have tried to see if the tribute lists themselves could provide the identification, supposing that by looking at the entries it should be possible to localize a given city because of its appearance with other cities in a given area.²²⁴

This is not an easy enterprise, since the tribute lists do not seem to follow a strict geographical order. From the first to the eighth year the entries appear on the tribute quota lists in no apparent order at all. From the ninth year onwards they were divided into geographical rubrics, and from the thirteenth year these rubrics carried the corresponding headings, indicating that the following entries were from the Carian, Ionian, Hellespontine, Island or Thracian panel.²²⁵ It is generally agreed that there was no further organisation of the entries, i.e. that within each district they simply reflect the order of the payment in Athens and

²²³ Erodioi, Eurymachitai and Kystiros are unlocated and we do not know to which district they belonged. The positions of the following place names and communities have not yet been located. Diakrioi and Diakres on Euboa (Island panel). Inside the Thracian panel: Haisa, Haison, Kithas, Kossaia, Miltoros, Othoros, Pistasos, Serme, Pharbelos, Phegetos, Polichne, Prassilos, Skapsa, Smilla, Thestoros, Tripoi, Zereia. Artaioteichitai, Gentinos, Harpagion, Kallipolis, Kolonai, Limnai, Metropolis, Otenoi, Polichne, Serioiteichitai, Sombia in the Hellespontine district. Tamyrake and Karousa in the Black Sea area. Karene, Elaioussa and Isinda in the Ionian district are unknown. The Carian communities: Amynanda, Arlissos, Bolbai, Chersonesos, Erines, Hyblisseis, Hylima, Kasolaba, Kodapes, Kyrbissos, Narisbara, Naxia, Oula, Parpariotai, Pelea, Polichne, Sambaktys, Siloi, Tarbanes, Thasthara, Ymissos. And finally Diakrioi, Diai and Pedieis on Rhodos (also in the Carian panel). This list excludes the 45 communities for which the approximate location is known, but no exact site identified beyond all doubt.

²²⁴ Rangabé 1842, 292 *et passim*; Böckh 1886, 427 *et passim*, Robert 1936, 274-84 (= *OMS* III, 1467-77); Nesselhauf 1933, 21, note 1; West 1937, 157-23, *ATL* I 481-2 *et passim*; J and L. Robert 1976, 160-62 (= *OMS* VII, 304-6); Bresson 1990, 101 and Descat 1994, 61-68.

²²⁵ This chapter takes its departure from an article of mine which appeared in Nielsen 2004 and which was the outcome of a postgraduate year spent in Fribourg 2001-2002. It will here be referred to as Paarmann 2004.

not size of tribute paid, nor the geographical position of the individual members – not to mention any attempt at an alphabetical grouping.²²⁶

There are, however, numerous cases where neighbouring cities have been recorded on the stone one above the other, and this has been taken by several scholars as an indication that the order of the entries can, in fact, be used to establish the geographical position of the allied members when this is unknown, even in spite of the apparent disorder.²²⁷ The idea is not absurd: There is no regular order in the entries, except perhaps the order of the payment, but sometimes neighbouring cities did in fact pay simultaneously, perhaps because their representatives had travelled together or because these cities formed a *syntely*, i.e. a pair or group of *poleis* that had been assessed as a unity and were required to pay their tribute together. These simultaneous payments were naturally recorded as one, which explains why neighbouring cities are frequently found one below the other.²²⁸

Now the interesting question is to what extent the frequent appearances of two names, one of which has an unknown location, can be interpreted as evidence for geographical proximity. And this question is intimately linked with another one, concerning the supposition that some kind of hidden order can be found in what appears as random registrations of the members in larger groupings of, say, ten to fifteen entries.

Initially I set out to find some such system, which would, I was convinced, eventually allow for a more accurate pinning down of the numerous localities whose geographical position is otherwise unknown. The result of this inquiry was largely negative since, according to my examination, the frequent repetitions of several entries in the same order were not geographically significant. On the contrary, frequent groupings included cities that were located far from each other, calling for another explanation than proximity.²²⁹

My conclusions concerning the tribute quota lists were that there is no general attempt to group names from the same regions in the first lists. In list 1 it very much looks like the opposite was the case, since there is a change in region for almost every new entry. Only ll. 18-23 in col. III show a consistent group of Ionian members, and there is a row of eleven Thracian names, six of which appear in two different *syntelies* beginning in IV.28 and ending in V.14. Of certain neighbouring cities appearing together we see the *poleis* of Chersonesos under the regional ethnic Chersonesitai appearing above Abydos (II.28-29), Kolophon,

²²⁶ This idea is explicitly stated in Eddy 1968, 132 with references to Beloch *RM* 43, 1888, 106, Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* III.1, 74-76, Nesselhauf *Klio* Beiheft 30, 1933, 41 (READ 21) and *ATL* III, 12-14, 30 and 39. See also Paarmann 2004, 77-78 and 86 n. 26 with references to Böckh 1886, vol. 2, 360-61.

²²⁷ This observation was made by Böckh 1886, vol. 2, 360-61; cf. 2004, 86, and note 26; Nesselhauf 1933, 21 and West 1937, 158; cf. Paarmann 2004, 87.

²²⁸ West 1937, 159.

Notion and Dios Hieron (III.21-23), Dikaia by Abdera and Abdera (IV.28-29), the syntelies already mentioned on Chalkidike (V.6-8 and 10-12) and Leros and Teichioussa (VI.19-22). To these one could also add Kedreai and Keramos, separated by some 25 kilometres across the Kedriatic bay. Other appearances of two member states from the same region cannot be included since they are either known to be far apart or because one of them is yet to be identified. Six or seven attestations of neighbouring cities appearing together on this list is perhaps significant. The problem is that we can only observe that it happens sometimes, but since there is no apparent system, we cannot go further and claim that when we find other appearances of ethnics of which one is unknown, then that community should be found in the neighbourhood of the other.

This holds true for each and every example of repeated groupings. For instance, in the fourth lists there seems to be a tendency to group the cities from the same districts together, but this only in the beginning and at the end of the list: Thrace (I.3-10), Caria (I.12-18), Islands (I.19-24), Thrace again (I.25-27), and Caria again (I.29-33). And after an almost complete blending of the entries of the different regions, we see ten Carian *poleis* grouped (V.24-33). It is possible to find some neighbouring cities one below the other, e.g. the cities on Pallene appear as one group (I.10), Pynos and Caunos (I.17-18). But in most cases there is no such geographical proximity, or we do not know if there is because one or more sites have yet to be found. And in the latter case, the tribute quota lists give only a vague hint, if any hint at all.

The picture remains the same even when these groupings appear repeatedly in different lists. I cite here some repeated groupings from the first two assessment periods: Narisbara (location unknown)-Mydona (259.VI.5-6 and 260.VII.4-5). Cheronesos-Pynos-Knidos (261.IV.8-10, 262.I.16-17 (without Pynos), 263.I.2-4, 264.I.16-17 (without Knidos), 265.I.18-19 (without Knidos). Kyllandos-Kyrbissos (259.V.16 and 20, 261.III.9-10, 262.I.32-33, 264.I.20 and 34, 265.I.19-20, 265.I.21-22). Those who have the time and the patience will easily be able to continue the list. But, and this is the disappointing part of the affair, however important these many repetitions may seem to be, they do not necessarily give a clue as to where to find an unknown member state. To prove this, it suffices to refer to the case of Didymon Teichos and Daunion Teichos, figuring together as many as twelve times.²³⁰ This is considerable and seems sufficiently significant compared to the three times when, although present in the same lists, they are not recorded together: (259.IV.11-12 and 17-18, 264.III.24 and IV.14, 265.II.53 and 73). And yet the two *poleis* are not to be found one next to the other as the *ATL*-editors

²²⁹ Paarmann 2004, 92 *et passim*.

presumed, but on the contrary they are separated by a distance of some 105 kilometres as the crow flies across the Propontis (*Barr.* 52. B2 [Daunion] and B4 [Didymon]).

2.2 *The Interpretation of the Data*

Observing the frequent appearance of repeated groupings that could not possibly be explained as geographically significant, another reason for their existence had to be found. It was here that the importance of the Athenian administration of the *aparche* appeared to me to have been neglected in the discussion of supposedly significant repetitions. Previous scholars have not given sufficient importance to the manipulation which was involved with the date, from the moment when the tribute was delivered to the time when the act was recorded. In fact during this process the original order can very well have been blurred. Nesselhauf had already noticed that the introduction of the districts panels must necessarily announce the end of the entries reflecting directly the moment of payment. The *ATL*-editors even thought that this process had begun with the third year, since they thought it possible to detect some tendency of grouping into districts already in this list.²³¹ Although the evidence for such early geographical groupings is very weak, their argument is apparently logical. But even if they are correct, which I doubt, the Athenians could have held several books open simultaneously, ready to record the payments of the *phoros* from the corresponding districts, and this unaffected by the introduction of the district panels.²³²

What seems to be a more important obstacle in the attempt to get from epigraphy to geography is the process during which the records of the *phoros* at last became records of *aparche*. Few sources have survived informing us about the administration of the tribute and the first-fruits, but these literary and epigraphical sources, together with common sense, can give us an approximate idea of what went on at the Acropolis from 454/4 to c. 415/4. First Thucydides (1.96.2) tells us that with the foundation of the Delian League, an office of *hellenotamiai*, i.e. Greek tax collectors, was created in order to receive the *phoros*. That is, he couples the word *hellenotamiai* with the Greek word for tax, *phoros*. This coupling is also found in the Kleinias decree (*IG* I³ 34 = *ML* 46 ll. 18-22), where *phoros* is admittedly not preserved but is an almost necessary restoration, as well as in the Kleonymos decree (*IG* I³ 68 = *ML* 68 ll. 11-19), where the two words are restored, but plausibly so. Both passages deal with the responsibility of the secretaries to register paying member states, partially paying *poleis* and

²³⁰ *IG* I³ 266.I.23-24, 269.II.3-4, 270.I.36-37, 271.I.27-28, 272.I.38-39, 277.IV.21-22, 279.I.103-4, 280.II.20-21, 281.III.21-22, 283.II.20 and 22, 285.II.84-85, 287.II.19-20.

²³¹ Paarmann 2004, 88-89 with references to Nesselhauf 1933, 20-21 and *ATL* III, 7.

²³² I use this occasion to correct my previous point of view in Paarmann 2004, 89.

defaulters. Thus it seems that the *hellenotamiai* were responsible for the *phoros*, but it is nowhere stated that they were also responsible for the *aparche*.

In fact the coupling of the *hellenotamiai* with the *aparche* is due to Christ, and it was only with the *IG I²* that the lists came to be identified as *Tabulae hellenotamiarum*, whereas they had previously been known as the *Tabulae logistarum*.²³³ There is no epigraphical confirmation for this supposition, since the grammatically correct translation of the heading of the first list is: “These first-fruits for the Goddess, deducted from the allied tribute in the ratio of one mine to the talent, and received from the *hellenotamiai*, of whom NN was secretary, have been presented for audit to the 30 (*logistai*).”²³⁴ Since the *aparche* was received from and not by the *hellenotamiai*, the board of magistrates responsible for the text was certainly not the *hellenotamiai* themselves, nor was it the *logistai*, but it could very well have been the treasurers of Athena.²³⁵

The emerging picture of the Athenian Administration concerning the allied tribute is that first the *hellenotamiai* taxed the individual member states once every fourth year, then they received the payments of the tribute every year. Then they made lists of these and of the partial or absent payments and presented these to the *logistai* for audition. When the list had been approved, they calculated and handed over the *aparche* to the unknown *arche*, (who may or may not have been the treasurers of Athena), who formally accepted and recorded the sums received. Only then do we arrive at the moment when the *aparchai* were officially consecrated to Athena. During these five different steps, the recordings underwent a corresponding manipulation, during which the original order may or may not have changed.

A careful examination of the entries in the tribute list reveals that what has been generally thought to be groups of communities paying in the same order several times is a phenomenon at least partly created by the Athenian secretaries. This is especially visible in the third and subsequent assessment periods, in contrast to the first two discussed above. First we have the lists 6 and 7 (former list 7 and 8), which are almost identical.²³⁶ The many similarities can be explained if we assume that the latter is a copy of the former. However, although the order of the two lists is more or less the same, there are intrusive elements disturbing this order, and an even better solution for this almost exactness between the lists is to think that they both follow one and the same model. I have argued that this model was the second assessment decree, which must have been consulted anyway for the payments of all four years in the second

²³³ Giovannini 1997, 147 and note 11 with a reference to J. Christ, *De publicis populi Atheniensis saeculo a. Chr Quinto et Quarto (Pars prior: Saeculum V.)*, 28-35.

²³⁴ Giovannini 1997, 150. Paarmann 2004, 89-90.

²³⁵ Giovannini 1997, 150-51 thought it was an otherwise unknown board created *ad hoc*. Paarmann 2004, 90 advocates for the treasurers of Athena. Giovannini 1997, 148 touches upon but does not develop this possibility. The hypothesis perhaps gains credibility when compared with the argumentation in Chapter 1.

assessment period.²³⁷ It is clear that an external factor other than the moment of payment was responsible for the similarity in the two lists, and that it follows that the repetition of a sequence of names in 7 and 8 cannot be taken to be geographically significant. Following this line of argument we can no longer say, e.g. that Kyllandos, Kyrbissos and Chios are necessarily neighbouring member states because they appear in this order in both list 7 and list 8, since they appear in a bigger sequence of at least 24 names which are identical in the two lists. And as Böckh observed, it is quite unlikely that cities paid in the same order in two different years.²³⁸

Böckh was not referring to the two lists in question but to the lists globally. In fact sequences of several names are found repeatedly in exactly or almost exactly the same order in many of the tribute lists. There are some resemblances between lists 6 and 7 and list 5,²³⁹ the same sequences of names are found in list 9 and 11, but curiously not in list 10. And these groupings are not only confined to the years in one and the same assessment periods, since we find the same sequences in lists 9, 11, 12, 13 and 15, belonging to the third and fourth assessment periods respectively.²⁴⁰ An explanation is readily at hand: the order of the entries in the assessment decrees, in some years but not all, influenced the order in the tribute lists and from these into the tribute quota lists, *and* when undertaking a new assessment and editing the new decree, the former were taken as the point of departure. The result will inevitably be that what have been taken to be geographically significant repetitions have arisen simply from administrative procedures and are, therefore, quite useless as indicators for the position of unidentified *poleis*.

Finally, we should expect no geographically significant grouping in the assessment decrees, since these were edited at the moment of taxation and not after the payment, which is why they cannot possibly reflect order of payment and therefore naturally not the geography either.²⁴¹ On the contrary, my examination showed that the administration in 425/4 in some cases aligned the taxed member states with the decreasing order of amounts. Interestingly this

²³⁶ This was noted already by Köhler 1869, 5.

²³⁷ Paarmann 2004, 81, 92-93 and 98. Lisa Kallet warned me at a congress in Oxford April 16th-18th 2004, against this argumentation, claiming that it was circular. However, one would be very naive to think that the Athenians good-heartedly relied on the honesty and fair play of the allies to such a point that they did not check the incoming tribute with the sums assessed. Meritt 1925c, 259, thought that cross-checking of the tribute with an assessment decree was a natural inference and the lines 18-22 of the Kleinias decree (*IG* I³ 34) can only be understood if such a cross-checking actually took place. The influence of the assessment decrees in the structure of lists 7 and 8 remains, I believe, the only possible explanation for the similarity between these two lists, as well as the frequent found grouped allies in the lists 9, 11, 12 and 13.

²³⁸ Böckh 1886, vol. 2, 360-61 adding that copying had taken place from a former list into a later.

²³⁹ Paarmann 2004, 95.

²⁴⁰ Paarmann 2004, 96-100.

²⁴¹ Böckh 1886, vol. 2, 360-61.

was not done simply according to the sums now assessed, but to the importance of the sums from previous assessment periods. This is a very concrete proof of the usage of previous assessment decrees. There are exceptions to this, but not enough to alter the overall pattern. And this again means that one should refrain from referring to the assessment decrees when trying to locate an unknown member of the Delian League.²⁴²

These were the conclusions that I published in 2004.²⁴³ Bresson and his colleagues, who have used the Tribute List in order to locate unknown Carian sites, have recently counter-attacked my view. In an appendix to a new article, in which they once again try to establish a relationship between the order of the entries in the tribute lists and the location of a Carian member of the league, this time Kodapa, they criticize both the method and the fact that I did not try to establish the criteria for the handling of the evidence which could lead to the localization of unlocated place names. They also attacked my conclusion pretending that I wanted to “prohibit” the use of the tribute lists for the purpose of localizing unknown *poleis*.²⁴⁴

They can disagree with my method and the following conclusions. But the way they formulate their objection misses the point. First, I have never intended to forbid anybody to do anything. I only wanted to warn against hasty conclusions drawn from the tribute lists. This impression was not based on research limited to one of the five districts, e.g. the Carian panel, but on study including all the entries on the lists, with the explicit aim of checking if there was an overall pattern in them indicating that we could reasonably expect a geographical reflection, thereby allowing us to rely on this source in order to find unidentified sites. Bresson and his colleagues focus on cities in the Carian district panel, but to take groups of cities out of their context in order to satisfy one’s own hypothesis would certainly be a bad method.

All in all, there are too many instances of such frequent groupings of ethnics which are clearly not geographically significant to give the impression that generally such groupings could be considered significant. And it can be proved by observing pairs or groups of members whose location is known. How Bresson and his colleagues can distinguish between the groupings which are geographically significant and those that are not, when one of the members is not yet localised, must remain a mystery.

²⁴² Paarmann 2004, 103-7.

²⁴³ *Pace* Paarmann 2004, 102, I do not think it would be worthwhile to undertake a new investigation including larger sequences. The examination that I undertook reveals that there is nothing more to be gained.

²⁴⁴ Bresson *et al.* 2005, 79. “Plutôt que de jeter un interdit on aurait attendu de B. Paarmann qu’il s’efforce de dégager quels pouvaient être les critères de maniement des indications données par les listes pour établir une géographie relative ayant une valeur prédictive (concrètement : tel site encore inconnu est à chercher dans le voisinage de tel autre, dont la localisation est déjà fixée).” See also P. Brun’s view on Nielsen 2004 and more specifically his response to Paarmann 2004 in <http://www.rea.u-bordeaux3.fr/nielsen.htm>.

However, their criticism can be turned around, because if Bresson and his colleagues believe that the tribute lists clarify the geographical positions of certain member states, they have utterly failed to explain what should be the reasons behind this presumed relationship and why they suppose that the entries in the tribute lists reflect the relative position of the place names. Thus they use the source without having “clarified the criteria for the handling of indications provided by the lists in order to establish a relative geography with a predictive value.” That is what they wanted from me,²⁴⁵ but in fact it is what they should have begun with themselves in the first place before attempting the localisation of cities.

Furthermore, their own conclusions confirm my point of view. If their method is supposed to work, it should be possible to point to a number of instances where an approximate location has been found for a *polis* through its appearance with neighbouring *poleis* in the tribute lists, a location later confirmed independently by some other irrefutable evidence. We have yet to see such an example, although Bresson and his colleagues pretend the contrary.²⁴⁶ So, if in their latest article they have found an exact location for *Kodapa*, it is thanks to an inscription found *in situ* on the site of Kapiz, mentioning the demos of the Kodapeans. The tribute lists do not appear to have been the determining factor. In fact they do not seem to have had any role at all. The position of *Kodapa* between *Syangela* and *Keramos*, just a few kilometres to the North-West of *Ouranion*, had not been predicted by the context in which it appears in the tribute lists. And after an examination of lists 2, 4, 6 and 7, which Bresson and his colleagues treat as two independent lists,²⁴⁷ 10 and A9,²⁴⁸ the authors admit that “L’impression d’ensemble reste partagé. (...). Si l’on n’avait que ces indices, il y aurait été tentant de placer les *Kodapeis* plus au nord et plus à l’intérieur et de les éloigner de la côte strictu sensu.”²⁴⁹ However, the authors seem to find confirmation for an already established conviction, because the only one of six lists that they find usable is list ten (note that this list is untouched by the repeated groupings found in 6, 7, 9, 11, 12 and 13).²⁵⁰ And in this list *Kodapa* follows *Arlissos*, and precedes *Pargasa*. *Arlissos*, Bresson and his colleagues say, is located in the area of *Hydai/Kydai*, some thirty kilometres to the North as the crow flies. So to conclude, I will give an answer to the question that Bresson, Brun, Descat and Konuk pose at the end of their article, *viz.* whether on the basis of the tribute lists it would be possible to have predicted, falsely, that *Kodapa* could have been found near *Iasos* or *Halicarnassus*. The answer is Yes.

²⁴⁵ Bresson *et al.* 2005, 81.

²⁴⁶ Bresson *et al.* 2005, 78-79, arguing for their having found three Carian localities, without indicating, however, if the tribute lists had any role whatsoever in these three establishments.

²⁴⁷ Pace Paarmann 2004, 92-95.

²⁴⁸ Warning against using the assessment decrees has been advanced in Paarmann 2004, 103-7.

²⁴⁹ Bresson *et al.* 2005, 75-76. Citation at 76-77.

Kodapa follows Arlissos in the area of Iasos in list 10, and also Lepsimandos, an island in the Dodecanes.

2.3 Conclusion

Where does this leave us? There is no indication that the entries in the tribute lists hide some abstract geographical pattern which can be used to establish the relative position of unknown member states. There are exceptions to this, but these are restricted to the *syntely*-payments either from what we must suppose are *poleis* on the same political and/or economic level, such as Athenai Diades and Dion, and groupings of larger *poleis* with their dependent *ones*, e.g. Miletos with Leros and Teichioussa, and Erythrai with Boutheia etc. This can be important. For instance the location of Teichioussa was more or less guessed at. However, it was not the tribute lists that gave the location now thought to be Teichioussa, but excavations on the site.²⁵¹

In most other cases all we can do is to observe that any two neighbouring cities often, but by no means always, appear together. But this information is only useful if it can be applied to other pairs of names often appearing together, where one of the names is of an unidentified place. However, the case of Daunion and Didymon Teichos, frequently appearing together but located on the opposite sides of the Hellespont, shows the danger of supposing a strict relationship between the order of the entries and the relative position of the member states. Louis Robert once wrote about contemporary attempts to find Thracian place names:

Pour l'identification d'aussi petites villes, si proches les unes des autres, comme il en apparaît tant dans les listes des tributs, on ne peut guère progresser au-delà des hypothèses que par des découvertes épigraphiques; tout au moins faudrait-il être sûr de connaître, par une exploration minutieuse, tous les sites antiques d'un district et faudrait-il savoir les ressources qu'offre à l'activité humaine chaque partie de cette région; et encore, je le répète, on ne peut guère arriver par combinaison à une distribution certaine des noms antiques par les sites et on s'amuse en réalité à jouer aux quatre coins avec des noms de villes.²⁵²

The situation in Caria is even more difficult than in Thrace because of the greater number of communities and the lack of reliable literary and epigraphical sources. The conclusion must therefore inevitably be that the tribute lists are only of very limited use when we want to search for for unlocated members of the Athenian League.

²⁵⁰ In their conclusion however (p. 79) the utility of all six is underscored without additional information.

²⁵¹ Lohmann 2004, 343-45.

²⁵² Robert 1940, 85-86.

Chapter 3. Tribute Amount and the Size of the *Poleis*

3.1 *Tribute Amount and Surface Area*

Measurements of the surface areas are lacking in our records for all of the 1,035 *poleis* attested in Classical times, and so are population censuses.²⁵³ It would therefore be convenient if the tribute lists could help in giving us an idea about the size of the surface, or even the population in either number of citizens or number of inhabitants, or both, in those *poleis* that were members of the Delian League.

In 1916 Beloch set out to ask on what basis Aristides taxed the member states in 478 BC, believing that he had searched for inspiration in the old taxation of the Ionian cities by the Persians. Herodotos (6.42) explicitly states that Artaphrenes, the governor of Sardes, measured the surface of each tributary state and imposed a corresponding sum.²⁵⁴ Beloch began his research with the geographical panel of the islands and used recently published surface measurements. He then turned to the islands and peninsulas in the other regions, the advantage of the islands being of course that, contrary to most other *poleis*, it is possible to calculate their surface exactly.²⁵⁵ For each city Beloch calculated the tax burden in the relationship of the amount of drachmas paid in tribute to the surface in square kilometres. Unfortunately no clear picture emerged, *viz.* he was unable to arrive at a fixed ratio valid for and applicable to all tributary *poleis*. On the contrary, he arrived at very different figures for Karpathos and Kasos, paying 11 and 20 dr. respectively per square kilometre, and Thasos and Aigina, paying 458 and 1,667 dr. respectively per square kilometre, with the majority of member states lying in between these two extremes. Beloch explained these exceptionally high sums by extraordinary factors such as the richness and rivalry of Aigina with Athens, the mines and the *peraia* of Thasos.²⁵⁶ But for some of the lower sums he assumed a direct relationship between surface area and tribute, and even between population and tribute size, without however explaining the relationship between the two.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ The first probably never existed, the second were undertaken with the aim of knowing the number of soldiers, but have not survived. For most of the members of the Delian League, it is however possible roughly to assess the size of the territory.

²⁵⁴ Beloch 1916, chapter "XXV Die Veranlagung der Tribute im athenischen Reiche," 356-71.

²⁵⁵ Beloch 1916, 357, with references.

²⁵⁶ Beloch 1916, 358-59 (Aigina) and 365 (Thasos).

²⁵⁷ Beloch 1916, 360: "Andererseits waren Ios und Syros sehr niedrig besteuert, sie scheinen also nur dünn bevölkert gewesen zu sein, wie Ios noch heute (21 auf 1 qkm), während Syros seine heutige Blüte nur seiner Hauptstadt zu danken hat, die im Altertum ganz unbedeutend gewesen ist. Die übrigen Inseln waren annähernd nach ihrer Größe besteuert."

For Lemnos paying 9,000 dr. and later 4,300 dr. for a surface of 497 square kilometres and Imbros paying 1,000 dr. for a surface of 256 square kilometres, Beloch found confirmation in a different amount of production of crops in an inscription from 329/8 BC, reflecting the difference in tribute "fast genau."²⁵⁸ In the case of Ikos, covering a surface of 79,8 square kilometres and paying only 1,500 dr., he referred to a modern population census of only 689 inhabitants, but confronted with Skiathos being half the size of Peparethos and paying only 1,000 dr., he was puzzled and wanted to see a dependence of this island on Peparethos and a contribution for the community of the Palaiskithians only.²⁵⁹ Next Beloch turned to the three Chalcidian peninsulas and explained the high contributions of Pallene in comparison to those of Athos as a corresponding difference in the quality of the land. Again, faced with the particularly important payment of Mende, he explains:

Sehr auffallend aber ist die hohe Belastung von Mende, das zwar ein sehr reiches, aber doch nur kleines Gebiet hatte und als Stadt keinesweg bedeutend gewesen ist; nicht minder das starke Schwanken des Tributes, der 450 auf fast das doppelte steigt, um dann 447 auf ein Drittel zu sinken; hier müssen besondere Verhältnisse obgewaltet haben, die sich unserer Kenntnisse entziehen.²⁶⁰

In spite of his own basic assumption that a measurement of the arable land had been conducted before the taxation of the member states, but because the tax burden showed such variations between the drachmas paid and the surface in square kilometres, Beloch had to conclude that there was no strict relationship between the surface and the tribute paid.²⁶¹ The Cyclades generally paid twice as much as the Carian islands, Paros paying almost thrice the sum of the three Rhodian cities together, and these discrepancies made it likely, according to Beloch, that political reasons had to be taken into account also. So, for instance, he explained that the Athenians avoided putting a heavier tax burden on the members than the Persians had done.²⁶² This thesis of Beloch's has found many supporters during the twentieth century. The idea that the Athenians used the tribute as a political means to govern their empire, *viz.* the example of the tribute of Aigina, was further developed by Nesselhauf in his monograph from 1933. He thought that the 460 talents, which according to Thucydides (1.96.2) was assessed by Aristides, was a fixed normal sum that had to be attained each year in the period 478 to 425, but that it was possible for Athens to manoeuvre inside the limits of this sum, punishing certain members with harsher assessments, whereas friends or cities liable to go into an alliance

²⁵⁸ Beloch 1916, 362 with reference to *CLA* IV.2, 834b, p. 203 and Foucart, *BCH* 8, 1884, p. 211.

²⁵⁹ Beloch 1916, 363.

²⁶⁰ Beloch 1916, 365.

²⁶¹ Beloch 1916, 369.

²⁶² Beloch 1916, 390.

with an enemy of Athens could be taxed more lightly as a reward for not doing so, as long as the total sum attained the 460 talents.²⁶³

Nesselhauf was severely criticised by Schäfer, who claimed that the fluctuations in the tribute of the *poleis* closely reflected the changes in their income. To claim that the Athenians had to use the means of assessing the tributary allies more harshly than necessary, said Schäfer, would be to underestimate their imperial control.²⁶⁴ There is certainly not much that speaks in favour of a fixed normal sum of 460 talents, nor has this theory ever been taken up since, but Schäfer goes too far when he denies the Athenians the means of taxing their member states on any other grounds than the economic ones. In sum, both Nesselhauf and Schäfer probably shared part of the truth: the first observing that Athens used the taxation as they liked, the latter paying attention to the different kinds of *prosodoi* in the individual member states.²⁶⁵

Twelve years later Cavaignac examined the whole question again, observing that the tribute lists, together with the edict of the maximum of Diocletian and the Domesday Book, are one of the best statistical instruments for pre-modern studies.²⁶⁶ Like Beloch, he supposed that the 460 talents collected by the assessment of Aristeides had had to be based on the previous Persian assessment, both calculated from the harvesting of the crops. In the best positivist style, he then proceeded to calculate the amount of wheat that could have been behind the sum of 460 talents and arrived at a total of 14 million hectolitres of corn.²⁶⁷ The error in this calculation is of course that not every *drachm* paid had been earned on crops: Aigina and Thasos, the two biggest contributors, were not reputed for their agriculture, Thasian wine being the exception, but for their trade and mines respectively.²⁶⁸

Cavaignac was perfectly aware that the individual quotas could not be taken at a one-to-one ratio of the cities' economic abilities, since the tribute size was liable to depend also on revolts, repressions, compensations for war, confiscations and *clerouchies*, but he thought himself able to correct these alterations given, as he said, that their reasons and backgrounds are known.²⁶⁹ Diverging from Beloch at some points, especially regarding the anomalous high sums, Cavaignac arrived at an average of 100 dr. paid per square kilometre.²⁷⁰ In the chapter devoted to the individual *poleis*, he explained the 1,667 dr. per square kilometre paid by Aigina

²⁶³ Nesselhauf 1933, 13.

²⁶⁴ Schäfer 1939, 225-30. Against assessments as punishment (226-26), for reflecting income (229-30).

²⁶⁵ Schäfer 1939, 229-30.

²⁶⁶ Cavaignac 1951, 59.

²⁶⁷ Cavaignac 1951, 60.

²⁶⁸ Hdt. 6.46 writing on the period of the Ionian revolt clearly shows that agriculture did exist at Thasos but that Thasian mines on the mainland played a bigger role in the income of the island.

²⁶⁹ Cavaignac 1951, 65.

²⁷⁰ Cavaignac 1951, 66.

as due to the vindictive Athenian feelings toward this island,²⁷¹ and the 50 dr. per square kilometre paid by the *poleis* of Euboia as due to the confiscation of land through the installation of a *clerouchy* by Athens.²⁷² Other exceptions would be that the Parians had their marble, the Siphnians their mines, whereas for Kythnos and Andros paying the double of the average of 100 dr. per square kilometre, there was no known explanation.²⁷³ Thus often, but by no means always, Cavaignac was able to explain higher sums by the presence of other income than crops, but basically he remained convinced that the tribute could give an idea of the size of the other populations because it reflected the arable surface.

In 1969 Pounds used the contributions of Beloch, Cavaignac and the tribute lists in order to approach an approximate number of ancient Greek city-states. He arrived at the number of 750 *poleis*, an estimation that remained accepted until recent times.²⁷⁴ Next he proceeded to a study of the tribute amounts paid in the very first year of the preserved lists, and concentrating on the Chalchidian peninsula, he concluded from a comparison with modern production figures that 50,000 inhabitants could have been sustained by the production of the cropland. Given that there are 28 attested league members from the peninsula, he calculated an average of 1,785 persons per *polis* and then divided the total sum of 407,000 dr. (67 talents, 5,000 drachmae) out on the 28 *poleis*, arriving at 14,260 dr. (2 talents 2,460 dr. [READ 14,535 dr., i.e. 2 t. 2,535 dr.]): “If the average polis in this area had a population of about 1,785 persons, then a talent of tribute can be taken to represent a population of about 750. This is, of course, to give a precision to the assessment which the Greeks themselves probably never conceived.”²⁷⁵

The second problem is that most of the members paid in round sums: 1,000 drachmas or 3,000 drachmas, or 1 talent or 2, 10, 15 or 30 talents.²⁷⁶ And even when the tribute was lowered as compensation for the loss of territory, the reduction was equally rough: Andros from 12 to 6 talents and Lemnos from 9 to 4 talents.²⁷⁷

The same is true when 9 out of 10 of the members underwent a steep raise with the assessment of 425/4. At this point the tribute was raised, e.g. from 1,000 to 2,000 dr. for Grynchai, from 2,000 to 6,000 dr. for Athenai and Dios and from 3 to 5 talents for Chalkis. It

²⁷¹ Cavaignac 1951, 67.

²⁷² Cavaignac 1951, 67: “L’île était pourtant fertile, importait du blé à Athènes.” Read “exportait” for “importait.”

²⁷³ Cavaignac 1951, 68.

²⁷⁴ Pounds 1969, 137 adding that: “we have no means of knowing what fraction the *poleis* named in the Tribute Lists formed of the total number of Greek *poleis* at this time.” This situation has now changed, with the publication of the *Inventory* of the Copenhagen *Polis* Centre having numbered the attested *poleis* to 1,035; cf. Hansen and Nielsen 2004.

²⁷⁵ Pounds 1969, 142.

²⁷⁶ Nixon and Price 1990, 143-44.

²⁷⁷ Jones 1974, 152.

is therefore necessary to ask if we can keep the theory of a fixed ratio between the size of the cities and their corresponding tribute, or whether there was no such ratio at all.

The whole picture depends on how we read the sources and especially how we interpret Plutarch. Independently of the previously mentioned scholarship, Ruschenbusch in 1982 set out to prove a fixed ratio between the tribute sum and the population size, opening his article with the following statement.²⁷⁸

Wie Plutarch (Aristid. 24, 1) berichtet, war im ersten athenischen Seebund für die Festsetzung der Tribute neben sonstigen Einkünften wie z.B. Hafenzöllen die Anbaufläche maßgebend. Es besteht also bei *Poleis*, die von der Landwirtschaft leben, eine feste Relation zwischen der Höhe des Tributs und der Größe der Anbaufläche derart, daß X Plethren einen Tribut von Y Drachmen ergeben. Unter der Voraussetzung, daß es zwischen den einzelnen Poleis in der Verteilung des Grundbesitzes keine großen Unterschiede gegeben hat, bestimmt sich aus der Größe der Anbaufläche die Bevölkerungsdichte und damit die Bürgerzahl derart, daß X Plethren einer Zahl von Z Bürgern entsprechen. Daraus folgt, daß die Höhe des Tributs auch ein Maßstab für die Zahl der Bürger ist.

This affirmative statement suffers from three *non sequiturs*; first: it is not given that we have to suppose a fixed relationship between the tribute size and the surface area; second: even if there were such a relationship, it is a matter of dispute whether this could be translated into a relationship to population density; and third: we can therefore not presuppose that the tribute size is an indicator for the number of inhabitants in the *poleis*.

Ruschenbusch then proceeded by using the modern census of population from 1889 to 1971, in order to find a maximum of population size that could possibly be sustained by agriculture on each member of the Island panel in the tribute lists of 431 BC, and compared these with the tribute they paid. Here we are dealing with another unsupported assumption, *viz.* that modern census figures can be used directly to give an impression of ancient population sizes. Another weak point is when Ruschenbusch adduces a Hellenistic decree (*IG XII 3.249*) that had been enacted by 95 votes at Anaphe, from which he deduces a citizen body of 100-110.²⁷⁹ In fact the inscription only shows that there were at least 95 adult males with civic rights, and the upper limit is impossible to know. But Ruschenbusch then puts the modern census figures together with this and shows that the citizens could have numbered no more than 140, with a corresponding total of 530 inhabitants.²⁸⁰

Having examined the other smaller islands in the Aegean, he concluded that the ratio between the tribute and the population was a talent per 800 citizens; i.e. very close to the 750 citizens per talent reckoned by Pounds. But this, he thought, was only true for the *poleis* paying

²⁷⁸ Ruschenbusch 1983, 125.

²⁷⁹ Ruschenbusch 1983, 126.

1 talent or less, since the higher tribute sums, he explained, were conditioned by other income and therefore difficult to assess.²⁸¹ Ruschenbusch, in an article written three years later, was nevertheless convinced that the figures could be converted into a total assessment of the 238 member states paying in 431, which he divided into seven different groups, each with from 66 citizens to 1,333 citizens, corresponding to 265 and 5,330 inhabitants.²⁸² What is surprising here is the fact that in his first article on the subject, Ruschenbusch admits a limitation to the theory as applicable only to the smaller cities, whereas in the next article he happily applies it to all known member states. Ruschenbusch has gone far beyond any other scholar in his use of the tribute lists as indicators for the size of the members of the Delian League. As mentioned above, he did not insert his study into the research history. This means that he mentioned neither the studies comparable to his, nor the ones arriving at a wholly different conclusion.

In his monograph "The Athenian Empire," Meiggs devoted a chapter to the first assessment. According to him, Aristides did not simply take over the old Persian assessment as described by Herodotos, but would for various reasons have considered all the different kinds of income that the cities possessed before his assessment, even though Meiggs refused to characterize Plutarch as a reliable source.²⁸³ The same idea is found in a posthumously published article from 1974 by Jones. He used the same passage in Plutarch to arrive at the exact opposite conclusion from Beloch's, *viz.* that Aristides did not proceed in the way that Artaphrenes did: "There is no hint of any census, and there would hardly have been time for one."²⁸⁴ It is perhaps appropriate now to see what exactly Plutarch wrote in his *Life of Aristides* (24.1):

The Hellenes used to pay a sort of contribution for the war even while the Lacedaemonians had the leadership, but now they wished to be assessed equably city by city. So they asked the Athenians for Aristides, and commissioned him to inspect their several territories and revenues, and then to fix the assessments according to each member's worth and ability to pay. And yet, though he became master of such power, and though after a fashion Hellas put all her property in his sole hands, poor as he was when he went forth on this mission, he came back from it poorer still, and he made his assessments of money not only with purity and justice, but also to the grateful satisfaction and convenience of all concerned.

It is very clear from this passage that Aristides had to take the general income of the individual cities into account and not only the surface area. Ruschenbusch's reading of this

²⁸⁰ Ruschenbusch 1986, 127 with note 7.

²⁸¹ Ruschenbusch 1986, 128.

²⁸² Ruschenbusch 1986, 143.

²⁸³ Meiggs 1972, 62-63 and note 2 on p. 62: "It is safe to infer that there cannot have been a great difference between the Greek and Persian assessments. It is not safe to infer from the figures that Aristides took over the Persian assessment. The problem is discussed in Cavaignac, *Population et Capitale*, 35; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*² ii. I. 64."

²⁸⁴ Jones 1974, 152.

passage is entirely erroneous and his deductions unfounded. Jones also made reference to a passage in Diodoros (11.47), which according to Meiggs derives from Ephoros:²⁸⁵

At once, then, Aristeides advised all the allies as they were holding a general assembly to designate the island of Delos as their common treasury and to deposit there all the money they collected, and towards the war which they suspected would come from the Persians to impose a levy upon all the cities according to their means, so that the entire sum collected would amount to five hundred and sixty talents. And when he was appointed to allocate the levy, he distributed the sum so accurately and justly that all the cities consented to it. Consequently, since he was considered to have accomplished an impossible thing, he won for himself a very high reputation for justice, and because he excelled in that virtue he was given the epithet of 'the Just.'

Here again we see that the assessment was based on general income. There is perhaps nothing in the passage by Plutarch that he could not have read out of Diodoros and his use of the qualification of Aristeides as "the Just."²⁸⁶ However, we have every reason to believe that the procedure undertaken by Aristeides as described by Diodoros and Plutarch is correct, whereas we have no evidence at all for the fact that Aristeides should simply have reused an already existing Persian level or method of taxation.²⁸⁷ This idea is often supported by a reference to Herodotos, who wrote (6.42):

and he [Artaphernes] measured their lands by parasangs, which is the Persian name for a distance of thirty furlongs, and appointed that each people should according to this measurement pay a tribute which has remained fixed ever since that time to this day, even as it was ordained by Artaphrenes; the sum appointed was about the same as that which they had rendered heretofore.²⁸⁸

But in 1966 Murray refuted the idea that Aristeides had used the taxation of Artaphrenes and that this could be read out of this passage, since, according to Murray, it was not the basis of the taxation that remained the same but the *phoros* itself.²⁸⁹ This conclusion makes it impossible to refer to Herodotos for a confirmation that the taxation based solely on the quantity and perhaps also quality of the soil was reused by the Athenians. Nor is it possible to say that the Athenians in Herodotos' time received the same as the Persians had received in tribute, since Herodotos explicitly says that it was the individual tribute that remained the same and not the total sum.²⁹⁰

In 1990 Nixon and Price looked through the whole material afresh in an attempt to give an appreciation of "The Size and Resources of Greek Cities," in the same way that Pounds had done thirty years before, using the best preserved of the pre-war tribute lists, i.e. the one from

²⁸⁵ Meiggs 1972, 60.

²⁸⁶ For an assessment of Plutarch in this respect, cf. Meiggs 1972, 59.

²⁸⁷ Nesselhauf 1933, 109-10 with note 3.

²⁸⁸ Translation Bernadette Perrin, Loeb, Cambridge Ma, 1914-16.

²⁸⁹ Murray 1966, 142-43.

²⁹⁰ Murray 1966, 144-45.

441 BC.²⁹¹ Using more literary sources than any of their predecessors, Nixon and Price found that the *poleis* in general disposed of a variety of income in the form of taxes on all sorts of consumer goods, transport and sales, and they argued that Aristeides would have taken these different revenues into account.²⁹² Contrary to Pounds, they did not solely concentrate on the agricultural factor in their calculations. As for Ruschenbusch's thesis claiming a ratio of 1 talent to 800 citizens, they simply rejected it.²⁹³ First, because the Greeks themselves did not know how many they were, which to my mind is a minor objection since one could presuppose that a certain number of landowners or production staff was required, thus reflecting a ratio, although indirectly. Second, because the calculation, according to Ruschenbusch, only worked for the smaller contributors, whereas it revealed absurd figures for the bigger ones. And as Nixon and Price observed, the system has either to be valid for all or otherwise be rejected.²⁹⁴ The next possibility, i.e. that Aristeides had calculated the arable surface, was also denied: "Thasos is nearly five times as big as Aegina and yet pays the same amount of tribute, and the ratio is even worse if Thasos had some mainland territory at this time." Considering the same differences as Beloch had indicated between the tax burden in relation to the arable surface, they arrived at the conclusion that "The basis of Athenian assessments cannot have been the size of territories."²⁹⁵

Nixon and Price then tried to show what Aristeides could have considered, and came to the conclusion that a general evaluation of the production would be most likely. Citing the example of Iasos, which Strabo (14.658c) says was infertile but rich in fish, they thought that the quality of land as well as the total production of all kinds of products must have lain behind the assessment.²⁹⁶ But more than this, Thasos, which we have already seen paid much more than the average, had mines, and Paros marble. Nixon and Price conclude that "In short, there was no one criterion underlying the tribute assessments, and any attempt to establish a simple correlation between tribute and population or tribute and agricultural land is doomed to failure."²⁹⁷ On the contrary, Nixon and Price believed that the Athenians were liable to take all resources into account before assessing the member states and that this was not only an equitable way of maximizing tribute but also in accordance with what Plutarch says about the very first assessment (*Arist.* 24.1).

²⁹¹ Nixon and Price 1990, 140.

²⁹² Nixon and Price 1990, 144.

²⁹³ Nixon and Price 1990, 146, with note 9 on and note 10 on Ruschenbusch.

²⁹⁴ Nixon and Price 1990, 147.

²⁹⁵ Nixon and Price 1990, 148.

²⁹⁶ Nixon and Price 1990, 148.

²⁹⁷ Nixon and Price 1990, 149-50.

Nixon and Price were, as was Meiggs, unwilling to give Plutarch's statement more credit than it deserved, but were able to give their theory a firm basis using other epigraphical and literary sources.²⁹⁸ They ended their article with an examination of three of the big contributors on the one hand: Thasos, Byzantion and Keos, confirming that these cities did in fact possess a variety of revenues, and another examination of the smaller contributors, paying a talent or less, on the other. Here they totally demolished one of the arguments favoured by Ruschenbusch, *viz.* that Iasos had 800 citizens, by showing that Diodoros Siculus (13.104.7) does not say that directly, but only that the Spartan Lysander in 405 B.C. killed 800 “males of military age” in this city, and by questioning the usefulness of referring to modern census data in the study of ancient population figures.²⁹⁹ However, Nixon and Price are probably wrong when they translate “hebontes” with “males of military age.” Diodoros and the majority of other references in the Classical Literature attest for *hebontes* and *hebedon* only in the sense “adult males” in opposition to women and children.³⁰⁰ A better argument against the usability of Diodor's 800 Iasian males would be that our tribute date for Iasos belongs to the 440s and 430s, and Thucydides tells us (8.23.3-4) that the Syracusans carried out an *andraspodismos* in the city in 412. The 800 men killed by Lysander in 405 can, therefore, not possibly have been equivalent to the citizen group on the basis of which the tribute of one talent had been calculated.³⁰¹ Since the case of Iasos is the only peg on which Ruschenbusch could hang his 1 talent = 800 citizens theory, there is no longer any basis to uphold such a view, and it should therefore be abandoned.³⁰²

In 1995 Tenger wanted to test the theory of a fixed ratio between the population size or arable land on the one side and the tribute paid by the *poleis* on the other, apparently believing that such a relationship did exist, although it had to be used with some modifications.³⁰³ His method was also different from that of previous scholars. Where Nixon and Price had scrutinized one tribute quota list only, Tenger undertook a study of the different revenues of the *poleis* in one specific area, the Troas, which he then compared to the tribute that the cities in this region paid. And precisely because he focused on one region, he could show that the income there had origins other than agriculture: it was generated by everything from corn and wine production to the fishing of mackerel, tuna and oysters, through the sale of gold, precious

²⁹⁸ Nixon and Price 1990, 150-51. With notes 17 (ML 69 19-22) and 18 (Antiphon fr. 51 Thalheim).

²⁹⁹ Nixon and Price 1990, 160-61.

³⁰⁰ Diod. 14.9, 16.34.3, 18.22.2, and McDougall 1983, s.v. ἡβηδόν. Cf. also Thuc. 5.32.1; 5.116.4; Dem. 59.103; Aeschin. 2.142; Appian *Illyr.* 47.8; Dion. Hall. *Thuc.*, 15.33. Only in Dion. Hall. *Hist.Rom.* is the word *hebontes* used in opposition to *parebekotes*. I am grateful to M. H. Hansen for these references.

³⁰¹ Hansen 2006. For the “efficiency” of *andraspodismois* see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 122.

³⁰² This was also the conclusion drawn by Nixon and Price 1990, 160.

³⁰³ Tenger 1995, 139 and 157.

stones and truffles, harbour fees and other taxes on markets and trade. Only in the case of Gargara does agriculture seem to be the one and only source of income, and Tenger compares this with the small tribute paid, 4,500 dr., which is far less than in other cities where agriculture played a smaller role or no role at all. Referring to surface surveys of Neandreaia, which paid 2,000 dr., Tenger could prove that Ruschenbusch's estimation of the number of its citizens, i.e. 1,066, is far too low.³⁰⁴ And he concluded by stating that agriculture had a share in the income of almost all of the 17 *poleis* investigated, but that many disposed of a large variety of other revenues. Without rejecting the hypothesis of Ruschenbusch entirely, he concluded that it should be used with reservations and proposed that this conclusion could be enlarged to include all the tributary members.³⁰⁵

Finally, Kallet has taken up the question briefly, before discussing the 5 % harbour tax introduced in 413. She allows for different sources for the estimation of the revenues of any given city, but basing her argument on Tenger's study and using the fragmentary speech of Antiphon on the "Tribute of Samothrace," she allows a great importance for agriculture as the basis of the assessment.³⁰⁶

3.2 Examination of the Evidence

It already appears from this survey that it is not easy to establish a fixed and usable ratio in order to arrive at even a rough estimation of the *poleis*, whether this be in terms of surface area or size of population. The reasons for this are many, and most importantly the fluctuations of the tributary allies. Very few members, attested over a reasonably long period, pay exactly the same from the beginning to the end. It is of course possible to find examples of stable payments, but they are a minority. In one case, that of Karystos, we see payments of 12 talents raised suddenly to 72 talents and finally lowered to 5 talents. Not only do these changes make it impossible to calculate anything sensible concerning the size of Karystos itself, but they should also effectively warn us that the preserved tribute sums for the individual member states might not be the "normal" sum, but rather a result of some obscure cause that we cannot possibly ever discover.

This alone means that the idea of a fixed ratio between the surface area and the tribute is difficult to maintain. Of course, there will always be a tendency for big *poleis* to have paid an important amount of tribute and for smaller and unimportant ones to have paid small sums.

³⁰⁴ Tenger 1995, 150-51 (Gargara); 152 (Neandreaia).

³⁰⁵ Tenger 1995, 157-58.

³⁰⁶ Kallet 2001, 201-202. For the exact wording of the Tribute of Samothrace, see Register s.v. Samothrace.

But there seems to be little hope for the possibility that this general rule can be applied to the individual *poleis*.

Previous studies on the subject have taken their point of departure from the tribute size and then calculated an estimated size for the individual *poleis*, however haphazard this may be. The only sensible way to proceed is the exact opposite: to begin with the size of the *poleis*, and *then* to check whether there is some kind of system. The Appendix at the end of this volume gives the approximative size calculated for most of the members of the Delian League by the collaborators of the Copenhagen *Polis* Centre, and the average of the contributions of the individual members of the Delian League. From this list it is possible to divide the member states into seven groups according to their size. I have taken the average tribute contribution of each group. These groups should give a general idea of the ratio between the size of the *poleis* and the sum they paid in tribute, leaving out all names attested only through the assessment decrees, as well as those, of course, for which no tribute is attested and those included in unspecified *syntely* payments.

Group	Size	Number	Tribute range	Total Tribute	Average Tribute
1-1?	0-25 km ²	13 ³⁰⁷	250-2,500 dr.	17,400 dr.	1,338 dr.
1 or 2	1-25 or 25-100 km ²	38	100-18,000 dr.	150,650 dr.	3,964 dr.
2	25-100 km ²	30 ³⁰⁸	500-36,000 dr.	177,667 dr.	5,922 dr.
2 or 3	25-100 km ² or 100-200 km ²	14	500-12,000 dr.	67,500 dr.	4,821 dr.
3	100-200 km ²	16 ³⁰⁹	1,250-128,400 dr.	301,313 dr.	18,832 dr.
4	200-500 km ²	10 ³¹⁰	6,000-147,000 dr.	501,000 dr.	50,100 dr.
5	< 500 km ²	15 ³¹¹	6,000-103,817 dr.	589,317 dr.	39,288 dr.

There is a general rise in the tribute paid, appearing even more clearly from the average. However, a lowering of this same average appears twice: Group 2 pays more than Group 2 or 3, and Group 5 pays less than Group 4. Even had this not been the case, the extreme differences between the individual amounts paid in tribute inside each and every one of the seven groups show sufficiently clearly that it would be impossible to calculate anything useful from the individual tribute payment of a member state for which the size of the territory happens to be still unknown.

It is possible to go further in order to prove that there was no simple relationship between the quota and the size of the *poleis*. Several scholars, beginning with Beloch, have supposed that the assessments, apart from being based on the wealth of the cities, also reflected the foreign

³⁰⁷ Damnion Teichos, attested with 1,000 and 15,000 dr., and Koresia, with 13,500 dr., have been left out.

³⁰⁸ I have disregarded Aigina, Kythnos, Mende, Poteidaia and Skione because of their special characters.

³⁰⁹ Methone, paying *aparche* only, has been left out.

³¹⁰ Neandreaia, with its payment of only 2,000 dr., and Kythera, not in the tribute lists, have been left out.

politics of the Athenians, and although this point of view was attacked severely by Schäfer, there is much to be said for it. Ideology must have played its part, of course, but we know that Athens on many occasions appeared to be exactly as pragmatic as we would suppose any superpower to be, in order to obtain its aims. Thus we should not be surprised to see high tribute sums as punishment for reluctant members, and small ones as rewards for faithful friends or as a protective means to avoid border cities joining an alliance with an enemy of Athens.

The first example is the tribute of 180,000 dr. or 30 talents paid by Aigina to its old rival and enemy. *Communis opinio* regards this exceptionally high sum as due to the wish of the Athenians to cripple the island. This is a hypothesis that is based on the fact that the Athenians later deported the whole population and installed a *clerouchy*. Next we have the Thasians paying a similar sum, but only from the tenth or eleventh assessment periods. Until then they paid three talents, and this ten-fold increase has been explained by a theory that the Athenians had imposed a war indemnity on the Thasians, making them pay the costs of the suppression of the revolt in 465-63, and that when this indemnity had been paid, the tribute returned to its normal size.³¹²

On the other end of the scale but geographically very close to Thasos, we find Neapolis paying 1,000 dr., a ridiculously low sum considering its strategical position as both a harbour city and its situation on what would later be the Egnatia Road. However, this low assessment could reflect Athenian politics of providing favourable conditions for the Neopolitans, who were also the enemies of Thasos.³¹³ A decree dating to 409-407 (*IG I³ 101*), honouring the loyal Neopolitans, states that they had fought with the Athenians against Thasos, and even more interesting in this respect: they had given the Hellenotamiai “both willingly and spontaneously” the sum of 5 T 4,800 dr. This sum would correspond to 34 years of tribute payment reaching back into the time preceding the foundation of the league. This alone makes it impossible to believe that the sum mentioned had anything to do with tribute, which is also apparent from the second decree stating: “As to the first fruits to the Virgin Goddess which even earlier were given to the goddess, (the matter) shall be discussed in the (Assembly) of the People with them.”³¹⁴ This statement shows that the sum paid to the *hellenotamiai* amounting to 5 T 4,800

³¹¹ I have not taken Chios and Samos (not in the tribute lists), Kios and Tyrodiza (paying only 1,000 and 750 dr.) and Miletos into account. The latter because the payment fluctuates between 30,000 and 60,000 dr. and because we cannot know if half of the 60,000 dr. was in fact paid by Leros and Teichioussa.

³¹² Meiggs' hypothesis (1972, 86) is based on Thuc. 1.101.3. For two other hypotheses cf. Pébarthe 1999, 131, not accepting Meiggs' theory, but reckoning the increase as a result of the restitution of the *peraia*.

³¹³ ML no 89, p. 274. For the 2,000 dr. given there READ 1,000 dr.

³¹⁴ Tod believed as I do that this was Athena Parthenos in Athens, but Meritt and Andrewes thought that it was the local diety.

dr. was not the same as the tribute. The Neopolitans received for their loyalty, which is also revealed in the consistent payments of the tribute, the title of benefactors (*euergetai*) and access to the council. The conclusion must be that Neopolitans disposed of a fortune which was substantial enough to allow for a far higher tribute than they actually paid. In this case, therefore, the tribute cannot be used to estimate either the size of the city or its wealth. For how many other cities could a low assessment hide not poverty or smallness, but favourable politics on the part of the Athenians, without our knowing anything about it?

The last example is Methone in Macedonia, which paid three hundred drachmas in 432/1 and 429/8, but only as *aparche*. It appears from the Methone Decree (*IG I³ 61*) that the decision to restrict the payment to the *aparche* and grant exemption from tribute was a decision taken in the assembly. It is explicitly stated that the Athenians will be lenient regarding arrears if the Methonians continue to show good will towards them (*IG I³ 61.9-16*). This concession from the side of the Athenians is best explained by a reference to Perdikkas mentioned a few lines lower in the decree. His dominant position in the area is reason enough why the Athenians would avoid being too harsh on the Methonians lest they conclude an alliance with this notorious enemy of Athens. Perdikkas is told in the amendment that he shall leave the Methonians go to sea as well as have access to his land as before, and that he shall refrain from doing them any harm or pass through their territory without their permission. Thus we have a clear example of the existence of what Schäfer denied: taxation of the allies according to external factors, i.e. the tribute was artificially kept low to keep a member in the alliance. One last observation is that Nixon and Price in their article discussed above wrote that:

The orthodox view is that the burden of paying tribute fell principally on the rich; in other words, that the conversion of resources into cash had already been carried out by individual members of the state, especially the upper class. The responsibility for collection of tribute fell perhaps on the wealthy men appointed as tribute collectors, but there is hardly any evidence that the wealthy had normally to pay the tribute themselves directly.³¹⁵

In fact we have just one piece of evidence that proves that the citizens were taxed directly and that the state then paid the taxes to the Athenians: a proxeny decree honouring Proxenides, son of Proxenos from Knidos, ca. 415 (*IG I³ 91*) states that he shall be exempt from all taxes except from the tribute that he will have to pay to the *eklogeis* like every other Knidian (ll. 24-27). This is the only source giving an idea of where the tribute money came from. There is not much information about Proxenides, but the fact that it had been in his power to assist the Athenians points to a certain wealth. Although it is not strictly necessary, Proxenides is likely to

³¹⁵ Nixon and Price 1990, 151 with references to Rhodes 1985, p. 37; ML 68 (= *IG I³ 68*) [φόρο ἐγλογέας] restored in lines 6-7; Antiphon FF53, 56 and Thucydides 3.19.

have been hosting Athenian ambassadors at his own expense and eventually to have acted favourably towards the Athenians in the Knidian assembly. He is therefore not just an ordinary Knidian. But it says in the decree that all Knidians had to pay the tribute. It is perhaps not hazardous to think that generally the burden of taxation lay on all citizens in the different member states and that accordingly the tribute assessment and amount paid reflected the overall income of these same citizens, and thus also their different kinds of jobs, from landowners to fishers of snails.

3.3 Conclusion

To conclude, we can say only one thing for certain: Artaphrenes measured the surface of the Ionian cities and assessed them accordingly. However, even if it would be reasonable to suppose that the Athenians would save time and energy by reusing the Persian assessment for the Ionian cities, we have no sources whatsoever that point in that direction.³¹⁶

That the Athenians should have cut themselves off from the possibility of gaining extra income by not taking all of the resources of each and every member state into consideration would not only be absurd, but is also contradicted by the fact that even the scholars who have been convinced that arable land lay behind the tribute assessment have had to disregard the bigger contributors. When trying to calculate the size of the *poleis*, the studies of these scholars also seem to suffer from a variety of errors and *non sequiturs*, such as the supposition that modern census figures and measurements of arable land can give any idea of the size, production and carrying capacity of ancient cities. It therefore seems that it is impossible to find a fixed relationship between the tribute paid and the size of the *poleis*.

Also, Diodoros and Plutarch explicitly said that Aristeides took different kinds of income into account when he assessed the different cities, and that it was for this that he received his good reputation. When scholars have tried to evaluate the income of the different member states, it has become apparent that agriculture cannot have been the only source of income nor account for all the money paid in tribute. This conclusion makes it obvious that The tribute lists cannot be used to estimate even approximately the surface area or the number of inhabitants in the *poleis*. However, the amount of tribute paid can still give an idea of the purchasing power of the big contributors, e.g. a city paying 10 talents must have been rich or big, or both, and generally we can assume that a city paying 1,000 dr. or less was a small one. We just cannot be sure that this is always the case, and rigid calculations would probably best be avoided.

³¹⁶ Rhodes 1992, 37.

Chapter 4. Ethnics and Toponyms in the Tribute Lists

As long as Greek Prose Composition has existed, pupils and students have been taught that the Ancient Greeks, when referring to their own and other *poleis*, did not use the name of the city itself, i.e. the toponym, but the derived adjective in plural, i.e. the ethnic: Athens was not at war against Aigina but the Athenians fought the Aiginetans. We also know that the 31 victors, all called *poleis*, from the battle of Plataia are inscribed on the Snake Column with their ethnics.³¹⁷ Gschnitzer once referred to Tittmann, who already in 1822 had explained this use as the manifestation of the fact that the Greeks identified their *poleis* as the sum of the citizens.³¹⁸ This is a sensible explanation and has been followed ever since.³¹⁹ Thus the Copenhagen *Polis* Centre has recently used the attestation of ethnics as one among a variety of other indications that a given city was considered by the Ancient Greeks themselves to be a *polis*.³²⁰

The members of the Delian League were generally called *poleis*, both in the inscriptions and by the classical authors. In fact πόλεις seems to have been used as a synonym for σύμμαχοι, i.e. allies.³²¹ We should therefore a priori expect these members to be inscribed exclusively with their ethnics. But if in the tribute lists a vast majority of tributary states are mentioned with their ethnics: Ἀβδερῖται, Βαργυλιῆς, Γαλέφσιοι, some members are sometimes written with the ethnic, sometimes with the toponym: Αἴσον, Αἰσόνοιοι, Βεσβικός, Βυσβικενοί, Δασκύλειον, Δασκυλειανοί, whereas others are attested with their toponym only: Ἀρχέσσεια, Βέλβινα, Δῶρος.³²² Apart from these apparent exceptions to the rule, at least three regional ethnics: *Bottiaioi*, *Kares* and *Lykioi*, and five individuals, all dynasts ruling either Carian *poleis* or some Carians, i.e. regions, also appear in the tribute lists and are thus comprised under the heading *poleis*, although they would hardly have been thought of as city-states.³²³

The question now is whether or not the use of these two different designations, ethnics and toponyms, reveals a corresponding difference in the political status of the members. This was indeed the position of Gschnitzer, who in another study took the example of Leros and

³¹⁷ ML no. 27, p. 58.

³¹⁸ Gschnitzer 1955, 121 (= 1969, 272). Gschnitzer defined the *polis* from this point of view.

³¹⁹ So e.g. Finley 1966.

³²⁰ Unless it can be proved that the ethnic was a sub-ethnic, indicating in that case rather that the political entity was a deme, rather than a *polis*. See esp. Hansen 1996b, 169-96.

³²¹ Schuller 1995, 165 in notes 2-14 with references. *IG* I³ 34, 60, 61, 63, 67, 75, 83, 86, 89, 91, 93, 101 and 118. For Thucydides see 2.9.1. Aristophanes also wrote: εἰσὼν γε πόλεις χίλιοι ἀὶ νῦν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπάγουσιν (*Vesp.* 707). The number of course is a comical exaggeration, not to be taken seriously.

³²² For the full lists of member states appearing only with the toponym and those appearing also with their ethnic, see *infra*. p. 81 and 82, figs. 1 and 2.

³²³ On the three different kind of members: *poleis*, regions and individuals, see Hansen 2004c, 113.

Teichioussa. These two communities appear with their toponyms in the tribute lists and never with their ethnic except for the first list, where they are called the “Milesians from Leros” and “Milesians from Teichioussa.” On the basis of this observation Gschnitzer took the consequence of his own previous observation and dependent theory, arguing that Leros and Teichioussa were not *poleis* since there was no attested community of Lerians or Teichioussans, either in the tribute lists or elsewhere.³²⁴ This is a probable conclusion, and The Copenhagen *Polis* Centre has catalogued the two names as non-*poleis* in the absence of any indication pointing to the contrary.³²⁵ The problem now is whether the simple mention of a toponym in the tribute lists is sufficient evidence for us to conclude that a given name was not a *polis*.

In 1994 Schuller gave a short paper during the second Symposium of the Copenhagen *Polis* Centre, stating with admirable clarity that either the dynasts had to be counted as *poleis*, which is obviously absurd, or the term *poleis* as a designation for the allies was simply a “Pauschalterminus,” i.e. a collective designation or a generic term that could allow for occasional exceptions. Among these exceptions would count 1) the dynasts 2) the regions and 3) the cities which, Schuller supposed, were not to be regarded as *poleis*. To the latter group belonged the cities which were mentioned with a toponym in the lists.³²⁶ Hansen has come to the same conclusion regarding the fact that the Greeks could use the word “Πόλις, as the Generic Term for State,” but that this use could sometimes include units which were not *poleis*.³²⁷

As a respondent to Schuller during the above-mentioned Symposium, Avram was partially convinced by this argument, but was well aware that some places are sometimes mentioned with toponyms, sometimes with ethnics, and some even fluctuating back again to the ethnic, and he proposed hesitatingly that political or administrative changes, for which the sources are lacking, lay behind these alternations if it was not just erroneous registration by the masons.³²⁸ Avram concluded by expressing the hope that future fragments might help resolve the problem.³²⁹

³²⁴ Gschnitzer 1958, 120.

³²⁵ Hansen 2004c, 114-115.

³²⁶ Schuller 1995, 168. Schuller had already in a previous article advanced a theory concerning the toponyms, claiming that the toponyms in the ἰδῶται-rubric were the result of a registering of these places without the political institutions having played any role (1981). Unfortunately, in his 1995 article Schuller did not make it clear how he arrived at a theory explaining that the toponyms were used for places that were not yet *poleis*, when initially he set out from another theory explaining that they reflected places that were not yet members.

³²⁷ Hansen 1997, 10-11.

³²⁸ Avram 1995, 195.

³²⁹ Avram 1995, 200.

There is not much hope that new fragments from the tribute lists will be found. And if some day, contrary to what we could reasonably expect, we should possess every fragment and thus be able to complete all the lists and decrees, we would just have more of the same kind of evidence that we already possess. Concerning the use of toponyms in the lists, this would bring us no further. I therefore propose reconsidering the question again.

First of all, the practice concerning the Greek way of designating their *poleis* is less strict than supposed until recently, and Schuller's theory on the alternations in the entries of the tribute lists must therefore be regarded as totally erroneous. Hornblower, in writing the preface to his third edition of *The Greek World*, explained:

Since the 1980s I have been converted to the view that we should write of (for instance) 'the Spartans' rather than 'Sparta' when we mean not the place but the decision-making elite human beings there. (...) It would be nice to be able to add that my new preference can be justified by the practice of the ancient Greeks themselves, who spoke – or so I was told long ago when learning to write Greek prose – of decisions being made by 'the Athenians' not 'by Athens'. But this is one of those 'rules' one has to unlearn, because Thucydides himself is quite capable of saying for instance that 'Stagiros' (not 'the Stagirans') revolted from Athens (4.88.1).³³⁰

This new insight has been gained from studies such as Whitehead's; he has assembled all the instances where toponyms are used of *poleis*, even when these are acting as political decision makers, and proven that there is no strict logic in the use of the ethnics in preference to the toponyms.³³¹ This being so, the case cannot have been very different concerning the inscriptions. So generally it should be allowed that the Greek secretaries and masons occasionally used toponyms for *poleis*, and specifically in the case of the tribute quota lists and assessment decrees.

But internal evidence against Schuller's theory can also be cited. For instance, even allowing for the use of polis as a generic term, it seems odd that the special rubric πόλεις ἡασηονίδισται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν would include only two *poleis* and eleven non-*poleis*, since there are only two ethnics among the thirteen names. And if this is not enough to discard the theory, we have more arguments at hand. First we will look at the members attested exclusively with a toponym (HN = Hansen and Nielsen 2004):

Fig. 1

Name	Assessments	Quota List	HN	Type
Achilleion	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77)	∅	766	A:α
Antandros	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77)	∅	767	A:β
Apollonia	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	∅	682	A:α
Arkesseia	∅	IG I ³ 263-65, 269 <i>et passim</i>	486	A
Arlissos	∅	IG I ³ 267	875	B:γ

³³⁰ Hornblower 2002, xiv-v.

³³¹ Whitehead 1996b. See now also Hansen 2004a, 56 for the attestations of toponyms used in the political sense.

Aspendos	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	Ø	1001	A:β
Astyra Troïka	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	Ø	771	C:?
Belbina	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	Ø	359	A
Bisanthe	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77), A11? (100)	Ø	673	B:α
Bormiskos	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77),	Ø	547	C?
Dareion	A9 (IG I ³ 71),	Ø	739	B:?
Dikaia by Abdera	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77)	IG I ³ 259, 261-67, 270 <i>et passim</i>	643	A:α
Drys	A10? (IG I ³ 77)	Ø	644	B:?
Doros	A?? (Krateros F1)	Ø	Ø	
Gigonos	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	IG I ³ 278.VI.32	572	A:α?
Haisa	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	IG I ³ 278	573	A:α
Hamaxitos	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77)	Ø	778	A:α
Herakleion	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77)	Ø	537	A
Hiera	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	Ø	Not in HN, cf. p. 112	Ø
Idyros, Ityra	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	Ø	1002	A:γ
Kamakai	Ø	IG I ³ 285	576	A:?
Kelenderis	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	Ø	1008	A:α
Keria	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	Ø	495	C
Kithas	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	IG I ³ 278	579	A:α?
Kleonai	A10? (IG I ³ 77)	IG I ³ 278, 279, 281, 282	580	A:β
Larisa	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77)	Ø	818	A:β
Leros	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	IG I ³ 284, 285, 289	Cf. p. 114, no. 504 p. 1083	C
Metropolis	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10 (77)	Ø	749	B:α
Nasos.	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10 (77)	Ø	823	A:α
Nymphaion	A?? Krateros F8	Ø	704	[A]:β
Ophryneion	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77)	Ø	786	[A]:α
Perge	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	Ø	1003	A:β
Piloros	A10? (IG I ³ 77)	IG I ³ 278	593	A:α?
(P)istasos	A10? (IG I ³ 77)	IG I ³ 278	594	[A]:?
Posideion Euboa	A9 (IG I ³ 77)	Ø	376	C
Posideion Thrace	A10? (IG I ³ 77)	Ø	597	C:?
Prasilos	Ø	285	599	B:?
Rhoiteon	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77)	Ø	790	A:α
Sale	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	Ø	649	A:α?
Sinos	A10? (IG I ³ 77)	IG I ³ 278, 279, 285	606	[A]:?
Smilla	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	IG I ³ 278	611	A:α?
Sombia	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10?	IG I ³ 283, 285, 287	762	B:?
Teichioussa	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	IG I ³ 284, 285, 289	Cf. p. 114	Ø
Tereia	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77)	Ø	763	C:?
Thestoros	A10? (IG I ³ 77)	Ø	617	C:?
Trailos	A9 (IG I ³ 71), A10? (77)	Ø	555	B:β
Tripoi	A10? (IG I ³ 77)	IG I ³ 285	621	[A]:?
Zeleia	A9 (IG I ³ 71)	IG I ³ 271	764	A:α?
Zereia	A10? (IG I ³ 77)	Ø	622	C:?
Zone	A10? (IG I ³ 77)	Ø	651	A:α?

This first list contains 50 names which are attested in the tribute lists at least once with a toponym, and never with an ethnic. It is interesting to observe that a majority of the toponyms are found in the assessment decrees. Only Arkesseia, Arlissos, Gigonos, Haisa, Thydonos, Kamakai, Kithas, Kleonai, Leros, Piloros, Pistasos, Prasilos, Sinos, Smilla, Sombia,

Teichioussa, Tripoi and Zeleia are also found in one or more of the tribute quota lists. These attestations are frequent in the 21st list from 434/3 (*IG I³ 278*) (Haisa, Gigonos, Pistasos, Kithas, Piloros and Smilla), which could indicate that something special is happening in this year. Most of the toponyms figure only once, twice or thrice, but some appear more frequently. This is the case of Arkesseia, Kleonai, Leros, Sinos, Sombia and Teichioussa. We will come back to how this can be later in the chapter. The next thing to do is to look at the members who appear sometimes with a toponym, sometimes with an ethnic.

Fig. 2

Name	Toponym	Ethnic	HN	Type
(H)aison	<i>IG I³ 262, 271</i>	<i>IG I³ 259, 263-65 et passim</i>	∅	∅
Artaiou Teichos	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), A10? (77)	A11? (<i>IG I³ 100</i>), <i>IG I³ 283</i>	735	C:β
Astyra Mysia	<i>IG I³ 262 (x 2)</i>	<i>IG I³ 259-60 et passim</i>	770	[A]:
Athenai Diades	<i>IG I³ 261 et passim</i>	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), <i>IG I³ 264</i>	364	[A]:α
Besbikos	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), <i>IG I³ 278, 283</i>	<i>IG I³ 281-82, 287</i>	738	[A]:?
Boutheia*	<i>IG I³ 269, 270 et passim</i>	<i>IG I³ 259 et passim,</i>	839	B
Brykous*	282 (x 2)	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), A10 ? (77), A11 ? (100), <i>IG I³ 264-65</i>	487	A
Daskyleion	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), 269, 261 <i>et p.</i>	<i>IG I³ 278</i>	740	B:α
Dikaia Eretriôn	<i>IG I³ 266-71 et passim</i>	<i>IG I³ 259-60, 263-65 et passim</i>	568	[A]:α
Elaia by Myrina	<i>IG I³ 266, 270 et passim</i>	<i>IG I³ 259, 261 et passim</i>	807	[A]:α
Kimolos	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>)	<i>IG I³ 289</i>	496	B
Kindye	<i>IG I³ 263</i>	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), <i>IG I³ 260-69</i>	902	B:b.
Kyrbissos	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), <i>IG I³ 259 et p.</i>	<i>IG I³ 262-65</i>	909	C:?
Lamponeia	<i>IG I³ 259 et passim</i>	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), <i>IG I³ 262, 269 et passim</i>	783	B:?
Myrina by Kyme	<i>IG I³ 266, 282</i>	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), <i>IG I³ 272-73, 279 et passim</i>	822	A:α
Naxia by Myrina	<i>IG I³ 267</i>	<i>IG I³ 259, 261-62, 264-65 et passim</i>	917	C:?
Neandreia	<i>IG I³ 259, 261-63 et passim</i>	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), A11? (<i>IG I³ 100</i>)	785	A:α
Neapolis in Thrace	<i>IG I³ 259, 263-68 et passim</i>	<i>IG I³ 269, 276-80, 282</i>	634	A:α
Neapolis ap'Athenôn	<i>IG I³ 263</i>	<i>IG I³ 259, 260, 262-66 et passim</i>	677	B:α
Notion	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), <i>IG I³ 285</i>	<i>IG I³ 259, 266 et passim</i>	858.	A
Othoros	<i>IG I³ 278</i>	A10? (<i>IG I³ 77</i>), <i>IG I³ 264-66, 269 et passim</i>	590	[A]:?
Perkote	<i>IG I³ 264-70, 281</i>	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), <i>IG I³ 259, 261 et passim</i>	788	A:α
Pharbelos	<i>IG I³ 268</i>	A10? (<i>IG I³ 77</i>), <i>IG I³ 259, 263-67</i>	591	[A]:?
Pholegandros	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>)	<i>IG I³ 288-89</i>	513	B
Pleume	A10? (<i>IG I³ 77</i>)	<i>IG I³ 278, 282, 290</i>	595	[A]:?
Poteidaia	A10? (<i>IG I³ 77</i>)	<i>IG I³ 269-72, 276-79</i>	598	A:α
Priapos by Parion	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), <i>IG I³ 266-67</i>	<i>IG I³ 259, 264-65</i>	758	A:α
Serme	A10? (<i>IG I³ 77</i>)	<i>IG I³ 262-70, 272 et passim</i>	603	C:?
Syme	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>)	<i>IG I³ 281-82</i>	522	[A]
Telos	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>)	A11? (<i>IG I³ 100</i>), <i>IG I³ 284, 290</i>	524	B
Tyrodiza	A9 (<i>IG I³ 71</i>), <i>IG I³ 266-67</i>	A11? (<i>IG I³ 100</i>), <i>IG I³ 261</i>	681	B:?

We can now address the question as to whether these altogether 81 members were *poleis* or not. As seen in the two columns to the right, the vast majority of the names are included in the *Inventory of the Archaic and Classical Poleis*, by Hansen and Nielsen (2004). The symbols in the right column are explained by Hansen as follows (7-8):

Type of *POLIS* comprises four categories: A, [A], B, and C. Type: A means that the community in question is called *polis* in at least one source of the Archaic and/or Classical period, no matter

whether *polis* is used in the political, territorial or urban sense. Type [A] signifies a community subsumed under the heading *poleis* alongside a number of other communities. A community is classified B or C if it is not called *polis* in any source or the Archaic and/or Classical period, but is known for one or more of the activities characteristic of a *polis*: being a member of a federation, striking coins, passing a proxeny decree, appointing a *theorodokos* to host foreign *theoroi*, having a victor in one of the Panhellenic games, possessing a *prytaneion* or a *bouleuerion*, defeating its neighbours in a battle, etc. The difference between B and C is that, in the case of B, we believe that the community was probably a *polis* and that it is only due to lack of sources that it is not explicitly attested as such, whereas in the C cases the identification of the site as a *polis* is less certain and in some cases a possibility only. Types α , β and γ indicate the degree of Hellenicity.

For the present purpose we only need the first categories, i.e. the degree to which a name has been identified as a *polis*. Among 50 names in the first list, 25 are attested in the ancient sources as *poleis*, A, and among the 31 in the second list 9 are thus attested. Of the category [A] we find 5 in the first list and 9 in the second. The category B is represented 8 times in both lists, whereas the category C is found 9 times among the names attested with toponym only and four times among the names attested with both toponym and ethnic. Lastly we have two names that are not included by Hansen and Nielsen (2004): Doros and Haison, and two names that have been judged not to be *poleis*: Hieria and Teichioussa.

With this information we can do some maths, concentrating on the first of the two lists. Of altogether 50 entries 25 are attested as *poleis* in the ancient sources, to which should be added 5 subsumed under the title *polis/poleis*. 8 communities show the characteristics of a normal *polis* without ever being called so, and 9 show fewer of these characteristics and are less likely to be *poleis*. This means that as many as 38 of the 50 or close to 4/5 are likely to have been *poleis*. Only three are likely to have been localities without the political status of a *polis*; these are Hieria, Leros and Teichioussa. Thus we can already conclude that it is improbable that the use of toponyms should reflect the political status of the members.³³²

Some would perhaps now object that the indications for *polis* status as outlined by Hansen and followed by the collaborators of the Copenhagen *Polis* Centre are not valid criteria for the current investigation. I do not personally share their doubts concerning his theories, but even more arguments can be brought forward for these sceptics.

First we can look at the 31 names that are attested by toponym and ethnic. According to Schuller's theory, we should be able to see a development from the use of toponyms for the individual communities on this list towards the use of ethnics, reflecting a development from non-*polis* to *polis* status. As we have already noticed in the beginning and as a glance at figure 2

³³² Hansen 2004a, 112 has done a similar calculation based on the 324 ethnics in the lists, of which 165 are explicitly called *poleis* in the sources, whereas 81 are attested for one or more of the characteristics of a *polis*, which leaves 78 (7 are not in the inventory) for which there is no such evidence apart from their membership of the league.

shows, this is not apparent. On the contrary, the toponyms seem to appear in no detectable order at all. We can take Athenai Diades, registered with a toponym in 452/1 and 450/49, with an ethnic in 448/7, then again with a toponym in 444/3-442/1, whereas ethnics are used again in 433/2 and 432/1. In the first preserved assessment decree, Athenai Diades is then again recorded with the ethnic. This is an extreme case, but other names show great variation in the appellations, which again means that the conclusion must be that the toponyms are not valid indicators for non-*polis* status.

Another argument against Schuller's theory is provided by the entries for Daskyleion. In 434/3 this Propontic city is attested first with the toponym and a geographical qualification: [Δα]σκύλειον [ἐν] | Πρωποντίδι (21.IV.7-8), but immediately below follows another entry: [Δα]σκυλειανοί | [ἐπ]ιφορᾶς (21.IV.9-10). Although the term *epiphora* is not entirely understood, it appears systematically after an entry of the same name, and it is therefore so much harder to believe that the two different kinds of entries should reflect a change in the political status of Daskyleion.

If we can exclude that the use of toponyms should hide any differentiation of the political status, we still have to attempt an explanation of why some 81 names out of 330 have been inscribed on the tribute quota lists and assessment decrees with a toponym instead of an ethnic at least once. In order to do so, it is necessary first to check if there is a common denominator for all the members attested with a toponym. There is indeed: except for a very few, they are all small insignificant places paying insignificant sums, just as Schuller and Avram correctly noticed. For instance, Belbina, attested only once in A9 and taxed only 300 dr., seems to have had a proverbial reputation for insignificance and unimportance.³³³ But Myrina paying a talent, Dikaia of the Eretrians paying between 1 and 5 talents, and Poteidaia paying 6 and 15 talents were not without importance altogether. So the answer has to be qualified slightly. I believe we can advance two different explanations for two different groups registered by their toponyms, roughly corresponding to those in the two lists of figs. 1 and 2.

A ethnic is created as the adjective of a place name, e.g. Μίλετος, Μιλέσιοι. An analogy to modern times can facilitate the understanding of the problem: although all of us know that a person from the capital of most countries, most would hesitate before they attempted to create an adjective from a smaller cities. And if they tried anyway, they would most probably get it wrong. This analogy explains why so many insignificant contributors were named by their toponym. And to return, if not to Classical Antiquity then at least to Medieval times, Stephanos

³³³ Her. 8.125, Plat. *Rep.* 329e and Plut. *Them.* 18.5.

of Byzantion, who must be considered a professional in ethnics, was often mistaken when he tried to form an ethnic from a toponym.³³⁴

If the Athenian Empire had had an administration like the one developed for the Roman Empire, it would have employed professional secretaries who would have learned the names of all the subjects, or who would have known where to find them. But Athens did not have such an administration and did not even possess professional secretaries for its own domestic affairs. We know that the *grammateis tes boules*, who were responsible for the inscriptions of the Boule, were elected from a pool of *bouleutai*, themselves chosen by lot among the ordinary citizens and in function for one lunar month or 35-36 days.³³⁵ This means that it was *idiotai*, i.e. unprofessional laymen, who took care of the affairs of the state, and this indicates that no long tradition or accumulation of knowledge could be passed on from civil servant to civil servant. This probably also explains why there are more toponyms in the assessment decrees than in the quota lists: sitting in Athens and taxing the different members, the secretaries often had no means of knowing what the citizens in a one-horse town called themselves, or they did not bother to find out.³³⁶ On the other hand, representatives of the individual member states were necessarily present when the tribute was paid, and the Athenian secretaries would therefore be able to ask them the ethnic if they were in doubt, although much indicates that often they did not even do so, or again that neither they nor the representatives cared much about whether it was the toponym or the ethnic that was inscribed.³³⁷ The individual lists show different percentages of toponyms to ethnics; some have none and others like list 21 (= IG I³ 278) have a high number.³³⁸ It therefore seems that administrative business was an important factor in the choice of the toponym, and that in the end it did not really matter whether or not a toponym was used.

The other explanation concerns a number of toponyms used for *poleis* which were not that small at all. Indeed it seems that the toponym was sometimes, but by no means always, favoured when accompanied by a geographical qualification, if just for reasons of space. For example, “Dikaia by Abdera” is always attested like that, and never are the citizens called “Dikaiopolitai,”³³⁹ Elaia is variably called “Elaiea para Myrinan” and “Elaiitai para Myrinan,”

³³⁴ Whitehead 1994, 104-5, with a reference to Robert 1946, 65-66.

³³⁵ Rhodes 1972, 134-6.

³³⁶ This is my answer to Hansen who writes (2004c, 122): “For unknown reasons toponyms occur much more frequently in the assessment decrees than in the tribute lists.”

³³⁷ I believe Athenai Diades illustrates this theory neatly: The toponym is used frequently, perhaps because of the dislike of the most obvious ethnic: Athenaioi, used only once, whereas the citizens most probably called themselves Athenitai,, attested thrice.

³³⁸ Eleven of these are attested in the *idiotai*-rubric (21.VI.18-35).

³³⁹ Dikaiopolitai Eretrion apoikoi are also called Dikaia Eretri(on) and even Dikaiopolitai Eretrion.

Myrina is known both as “Myrina by Kyme” and “Myrinaioi by Kyme,” whereas Naxia is only attested by toponym in the year where it appears with the qualification “by Mydona”; in all the other ten years an ethnic is used. This probably explains why Daskyleion, as discussed above, was first recorded with the toponym, by Propontis, followed by Daskyleianoī *epiphoras*.

The two reasons advanced here to explain the existence of toponyms lead to the conclusion that we cannot detect a political differentiation in the use of the toponyms or in the alternating use of toponyms and ethnics in the quota lists and assessment decrees. The conclusion must therefore be that if the attestation of an ethnic for a given place indicates that this place was a *polis*, the argument cannot be used the other way round, thereby enabling us to determine that a given community would be a sub-division of a *polis*, simply because a toponym is used in a context where we would have supposed there would be an ethnic. If, therefore, it is correct, as is probably the case, that Leros and Teichoussa were demes to Miletos, it cannot be proven simply because they appear with an toponym in the tribute lists, but because the ethnics from these two places are completely unattested in all extant sources.

It would have been preferable if such demes were not included as members of the Alliance, and I would be happy if somebody could prove that Leros and Teichoussa were *poleis* in the fifth century. In that case it would be easier to argue that membership in itself would be an indication for *polis*-status. For the moment this is not so, and we must conclude that the entries attested under the title *poleis*, could in some rare cases be demes, regions or dynasts, all of which are obviously excluded from *polis*-status.

Conclusion: On the Shoulders of Giants

With the exception of the first chapter on the nature of the tribute quota lists and the assessment decrees, the previous studies have all been very deconstructive, if not just destructive.³⁴⁰ The underlying thesis behind each of the examinations has been that the tribute lists can serve as a historical source only to a certain limit and that scholars must know exactly where this limit is before they attempt to use the lists to build their theories on. I believe I have made clear that the tribute quota lists and assessment decrees cannot be used to give more than a very rough impression of the economic ability of a given member state, and that they will only give a hazy idea about the location of *poleis* whose geographical position has yet to be determined. And, finally, that they will only serve as an argument for *polis*-status in the sense that most members were *poleis*, whereby it would *a priori* be logical to deduce the *polis*-status from the membership. But even in the last case, the argument cannot be pressed, since three different kinds of political entities existed in the member pool: viz. the *poleis*, the regions and the dynasts. Previous scholars have tried to squeeze too much information out of these lists. It was worth trying, but it has turned out to be a failure in all instances.

Does this undermine the value of the tribute lists as a historical source? I do not think so. They still give a very vivid and much more detailed picture of the members of the Delian League than does Thucydides. For obvious reasons he could not include mention of all 250 member states attested in the quota lists, let alone those 330 attested if we include the assessment decrees also, and we are very fortunate to have such a record of all of them, even though more than half of the original text has been lost.

But it is all not just negative. The previous discussions have not only highlighted what the tribute quota lists are not, but also what they are, i.e. religious texts with a secondary political content. Together with the assessment decrees and other decrees not published but briefly discussed in this dissertation, they might give some insight into how the Athenian Administration worked and how *Empire* and *Religion*, *Phoros* and *Aparche*, sacred and profane, money and magistrates were interrelated and worked together. It is therefore my hope that the outcome of my research has not only been negative, but that it also contributes somewhat to our general understanding of the Greek World in the Fifth Century B.C.

In the introduction I postulated that the current editions, the *ATL* and the *IG I³*, of the tribute lists contained a certain number of inaccuracies, unjustified restorations and outright

³⁴⁰ In this sense it follows up on Paarmann 2004; cf. Brun's commentary on <http://www.rea.u-bordeaux3.fr/nielsen.htm>.

errors due to the editorial method of Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor. This objection is not my own, nor is it new. Dozens of scholars have criticized the result of the three distinctive steps that led to the final editions, viz. 1) the assembling of the fragments, 2) the restoration of the fragmentary or missing entries, and finally 3) the use of the literary *testimonia*. The preceding examination of what I believe to be the totality of the evidence has shown that the criticism was justified. To this may be added a certain number of points which have not previously been noticed. It is necessary first to go through the weak ones numbered above.

1) It has not been possible to examine each of the fragments, measuring them individually and comparing them with each other to check if they join. This is partly due to the fact that I have only been able to study the stones for a limited period in Athens, namely six months, and partly because the vast majority have been embedded in plaster casts. The current reconstruction is fundamental for the general understanding of the monuments, which would be blurred were the fragments isolated. But this same reconstruction prevents researchers from examining the individual fragments, checking the joins, scrutinizing the back sides, or comparing hands on one fragment with those on another. This would be less serious if the fundamental edition provided all the necessary information. Unfortunately, the publication of the fragments in the *ATL* contains no description of the fragments, no measurements and no examination of the hands. True, the publication gives an exhaustive bibliography of each fragment, but in many instances one is disappointed by the absence of argumentation as to why a given fragment was attributed to a certain position.³⁴¹ As stated above, I have not been able to make up for these shortcomings. It would require a team of scholars based in Athens to undertake such an enterprise, and not least, permission from the Greek authorities to dismantle the *lapis primus*, the *lapis secundus*, and the slab with the assessment decree from 425/4. This permission will not be given unless some weighty argument is advanced that could justify such an enterprise, e.g. that the restorations were so faulty that it would require a re-examination of the evidence.

To conclude the question of the relative position of the fragments, we can note that West and Meritt have been meticulous in their reconstruction of the stelae. Gomme was correct in being sceptical, since explanations are often lacking and because of the tendency of the *ATL*-editors to be too confident concerning the ability to find the correct place for all of the fragments. Some fragments have indeed, as the *ATL*-editors admitted themselves, been located solely *exempli gratia*. But the impression that any one fragment might belong at another position

on one stele, or on another stele altogether, in most cases simply does not hold. The exception for this is seen in the association and the dating of the fragments of the later years. Lisa Kallet has observed that these assignments are arbitrary and that the theory behind their dating is a house of cards. Her arguments and conclusions have been followed in the present edition. As with the fragments mentioned above for which no evidence of their relative position exists, these stones have been printed apart under the heading “undatable fragments.”

2) The next step in the process of presenting an edition of any inscription is the transcription and restoration of the text preserved on the fragments. In the case of the *ATL*, an important weakness is the absence of description of what is preserved and what is not. Each fragment is published with its individual bibliography, but all too often no text follows explaining what is seen on the fragment, or why this restitution has been chosen in preference to another. Concerning the absence of description of the fragments, this drawback is partly compensated for by the frequent photographs, which allow the reader to check for himself. However, there are photographs of less than half of the four hundred fragments, and not all of them are of such a quality as to permit a personal judgment. As to the restitutions of the entries, some explanations will be found in the chapter “Readings” in *ATL* I. But not all the possible restitutions are given, and often the reader will ask himself why only one restitution was given when several were possible. And when such information is given, it is often restricted to a comment stating that X has been preferred to Y. I have tried to indicate every possible restitution of every broken entry in the apparatus. The difference between my edition and *IG I³* 259-91, where empty space is found instead of a developed *apparatus* is evident.

Several restitutions have posed particular problems. One example is Meritt’s proposal for restoring *Neopolitai ek Mileto en Leukoi Akroterioi* in 1.III.18-20. I have argued in the commentary, and extended the discussion in a forthcoming article devoted to this particular restitution,³⁴² that Marcel Piérart must be right in claiming that this restitution is impossible. Various scholars working on particular parts of the Athenian Empire have pointed out several other less apparent errors. It is only fair to say that Meritt printed most of these alternative readings in the apparatus of *IG I³*. So we read in the apparatus to 71.IV.165 that Pippidi (*Studii Classici* 7, 1965, 329-30) proposed Ka[llatis] where Meritt has Ka[rkinitis].

This leads us to a discussion of the use of the literary evidence. I have devoted a chapter to the use of Krateros as an epigraphical source, a practice with which I disagree. Another

³⁴¹ As we saw *supra* note 99, Meritt 1929 did offer a drawing and an explanation for the position of the fragments of the *lapis primus*, but this was not reiterated in *ATL*. West and Meritt 1927 are generous about the relative position of the fragments on A9, but again this information was left out in *ATL* I.

³⁴² Paarmann 2007b.

point that was taken up in that discussion was Lisa Kallet's disproof of the restitution of the names in the Aktaian district panel and the total figure, which was made to correspond with the total given by Thucydides.

These three points all refer to existing material in the previous editions. The second half of my contribution largely consists of material which has not been gathered for the tribute lists before. The Research History seeks to make up for the absence of any good introduction to those editors who worked before Meritt and West. In fact it is only too easy to get the impression that they were the first to edit the lists, since no reference is given to the editions preceding *IG I*² in the *IG I*³. I have tried to rehabilitate the earliest editors also, giving them the place they deserve by attributing to them the restitutions that they were the first to make. Just as this dissertation would have been impossible without the work of the *ATL*-editors, the latter did not invent everything *ex nihilo*, but stood on an already well-established tradition, to which their enormous bibliography testifies.

Is this then to be considered the final edition of the tribute lists? I certainly hope not. First, it should give rise to a debate on the editorial principles used. Some will be provoked and will sooner or later take up an edition of parts or all of the tribute lists. If this hope is fulfilled after fifty years of standstill in the area, the present dissertation will have fulfilled its purpose. Second, the day will come, perhaps after some decades, when a new team of scholars will work through all the Attic inscriptions with the purpose of editing the *IG I*³. If those editors disagree with my readings, be it a minority or a majority, the edition will at least have served the purpose of raising the question whether what we have had until now was a sufficiently reliable edition of the texts.

These are in sum the improvements I have sought to make on the existing editions of the tribute lists and assessment decrees. Much has been criticized and changed, but a close reading of the edition will reveal that even more has been retained. Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor were not incompetent; on the contrary, they established with joint effort an edition of the tribute lists which was and is usable and useful, and laid the foundations on which all future work on these sources must stand. The three of them possessed a global vision of the history of Greece in Classical times which is difficult to equal. They were, in the opinion of the present author, often misled by their own theories, but the simple fact that they could concoct grand theories on the relationships between literary and epigraphic evidence testifies to their superb control of the ancient literary testimonia and great familiarity with an enormous amount of epigraphic evidence.

The philosophy of the *ATL*-editors was different to that of most modern scholars. Their desire always to present a restitution or a developed theory, where they should in many cases have admitted that the state of the evidence was too weak to permit certain conclusions, can at times be irritating, as can their persistence in holding on to these theories even when new evidence speaks against them. However, this observation does not in any way undermine the quality of their efforts. It is only fair to say that I owe them everything, since this study would not have been possible had they not done all the preliminary work, presenting their results in numerous articles and publications. In that respect the image of a dwarf standing on the shoulders of giants is very appropriate.

Future Perspectives

Does this dissertation replace the *Athenian Tribute Lists* by Meritt, McGregor and Wade-Gery? It certainly does not. Many informations on the fragments, discussions on historical matters, the decrees on collection and reception of tribute and related passages from the ancient authors, a register, the *Gazetteer* and much more has not been included in this edition. The *ATL* is perhaps slightly dated, but it will always remain necessary to return to what Meritt and his colleagues had to say. Unfortunately it is out of print, but it could be convenient if Ares Publishers could do a reduced reprint of the four volumes. This would eventually permit a larger distribution of a publication now only available in long established scholarly libraries. Such a re-edition would probably stir new interest in the old subject among ancient historians and Greek epigraphists, young or old. The *lapis primus* should be dismantled as former director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, Charalambos Kritzas, has announced in 1994.³⁴³ Only then will it be possible to know for certain whether the joins reported by West and Meritt are really convincing, and new joins might perhaps be found also.³⁴⁴

New techniques such as laser beams might be useful for a reading of the very badly preserved stele, numbered 26 in *ATL* I and *IG* I³, especially but also for all other difficult surfaces of any fragment in the long series. As pointed out by Stroud several fragments whose surface is not preserved have been identified as probably belonging to the tribute lists. And all fragments with or without original surface should be examined by epigraphists and geologists.³⁴⁵ Finally it would be interesting to do a new *Gazetteer* of all the members of the League. Tenger has shown the way it could be done, himself studying the region of Troas. Such a study might well be attempted for all the regions.

³⁴³ For the necessity of a dismantling see now Stroud 2006, 14-18 with ref. to *ADelt* 49 (1994) B. [1999] p. 17.

³⁴⁴ As Stroud 2006, 15 hypothesizes.

Appendix: Size of the Members of the Delian League

The size of ancient Greek cities is for the most part unknown. For some cities it is, however, possible to calculate roughly the surface area that they could have covered. In the following I have used the six groups from the divisions and calculated or estimated the surface area as given in Hansen and Nielsen 2004. The placing of each member equally depends on the respective articles in that inventory.

1 = < 25 km ²
2 = 25-100 km ²
3 = 100-200 km ²
4 = 200-500 km ²
5 = >500 km ²
U = unlocated

Group 1a. Size 1-1?³⁴⁶

Name	Tribute	Name	Tribute
Aioleion	500 dr.	Lepsimandos	1,250 dr.
Astyra	500 dr.	Marathesion	2,500 dr.
Athenai	2,000 dr.	Neapolis ap'Athenon	300 dr.
Bysbikos	3,000 dr.	Pleume	1,000 dr.
Damnion Teichos	1,000 and 15,000 dr.	Rhenaia	600 dr.
Dion	2,500 dr.	Saros	250 dr.
Karyanda	1,500 dr.	Telandros	1,500 dr.
Koresia	13,500 dr.		

It can be seen from the figure that the smallest *poleis* in general pay the smallest sums, as would be expected. There are two exceptions to this rule: the 15,000 dr. of Damnion and the 13,500 of Koresia. We cannot know the reasons behind such anomalies, but if they are left out, we arrive at approximately 1,400 dr. as a medium payment for these cities.

³⁴⁵ 2006, 15-16, n. 7.

³⁴⁶ Assessment decrees only: Belbina, Keria, Orgame, Kimmerikon, Nymphaion, Artaiou Teichos. Syntely payments: Halasarna, Panormos, Selinous, Haisa.

Group 1b. Size 1 or 2³⁴⁷

Name	Tribute	Name	Tribute
Aineia	18,000 dr.	Krya	2,000 dr.
Airai	12,000 dr.	Medmasa	9,000 dr.
Amynandeis	3,000 dr.	Mekyberna	5,000 dr.
Arkesseia	1,000 dr.	Myndos	750 dr.
Artake	3,000 dr.	Myrina	6,000 dr.
Bargylia	1,000 dr.	Naxia	750 dr.
Brykous	500 dr.	Notion	2,000 dr.
Chalketor	2,000 dr.	Olophyxos	1,750 dr.
Dion	6,000 dr.	Paisos	1,000 dr.
Dios Hieron	1,000 dr.	Perkote	1,250 dr.
Euromos	3,500 dr.	Pitane	1,000 dr.
Gentinos	500 dr.	Pteleon	100 dr.
Grynchai	2,000 dr.	Pygela	6,000 dr.
Gryneion	1,500 dr.	Sermylia	24,000 dr.
Hydaies	400 dr.	Sinos	1,150 dr.
Karbasyanda	1,000 dr.	Styra	6,000 dr.
Killareis	1,000 dr.	Termera	9,000 dr.
Kindye	6,000 dr.	Thasthareis	500 dr.
Kleonai	500 dr.	Thyssos	9,500 dr.

In this group, consisting of members with a territory of up to 25 or between 25-100 km², the normal sums seem to be situated around a few thousand drachmas. The average payment is 4,171 dr. paid (129,400 divided by 31), but if we remove those which look like extraordinarily high payments, such as for Aineia, Airai and Sermylia, we arrive at 79,150 dr. Divided between 28 members this gives an average of 2,860 dr. per member state.

³⁴⁷ Assessment decrees only: Posideion, Hamaxitos, Ophryneion. In unspecified syntely: Gigonos.

Group 2. Size 2³⁴⁸

Name	Tribute	Name	Tribute
Aige	2,500 dr.	Mykonos	6,000 dr.
Aigina	18,000 dr.	Neapolis	2,000 dr.
Anaphe	2,000 dr.	Neapolis	1,000 dr.
Aphytis	12,000 dr.	Nisyros	7,500 dr.
Argilos	7,500 dr.	Pholegandros	1,000 dr.
Assera	2,700 dr.	Poteidaia	36,000 dr.
Astypalaia	9,000 dr.	Sane	4,000 dr.
Chalke	2,500 dr.	Seriphos	9,000 dr.
Dardanos	7,500 dr.	Sigeion	3,500 dr.
Gargara	4,500 dr.	Sikinos	500 dr.
Ikos	1,500 dr.	Siphnos	18,000 dr.
Kalymna	6,000 dr.	Skiathos	1,000 dr.
Karpathos	1,000 dr.	Skione	30,000 dr.
Kasos	1,000 dr.	Syme	1,800 dr.
Kimolos	1,000 dr.	Tenedos	27,000 dr.
Kythnos	27,000 dr.	Thera	18,000 dr.
Limnai	1,167 dr.	Therampos	1,000 dr.
Mende	39,000 dr.		

From this group we can leave the following *poleis* out of consideration, either because they were extraordinarily high tribute contributors or because their situation changed drastically during the second half of the fifth century: Aigina, Kythnos, Mende, Poteidaia and Skione. This leaves 30 communities paying altogether 122,500 dr., giving an average of 4,375 dr. per member.

³⁴⁸ Assessment decrees only: Bisanthe, Bormiskos, Melos, Telos, Zone. Syntelies: Amorgos, Ioulis, Kartheia, Keos, Leros, Peparethos, Poiessa.

Group 3. Size 2 or 3³⁴⁹

Name	Tribute	Name	Tribute
Alopekonnesos	2,000 dr.	Myous	7,500 dr.
Dikaia	2,500 dr.	Priapos	500 dr.
Elaia	1,000 dr.	Sarte	1,500 dr.
Elaious	2,500 dr.	Singos	11,250 dr.
Iasos	12,000 dr.	Skabala	3,250 dr.
Kyme	10,500 dr.	Stolos/Skolos	5,000 dr.
Lebedos	2,000 dr.	Syangela	6,000 dr.

The payment of Priapos looks oddly low. If we discount for this, the average is 5,153 dr. per *polis*.

Group 4. Size 3³⁵⁰

Name	Tribute	Name	Tribute
Akantos	18,000 dr.	Paros	128,400 dr.
Berga	3,080 dr.	Phokaia	15,000 dr.
Galepsos	3,333 dr.	Prokonnesos	18,000 dr.
Hephaistia	18,000 dr.	Samothrace	4,000 dr.
Ios	7,000 dr.	Syros	1,250 dr.
Madytos	1,250 dr.	Tenos	15,000 dr.
Methone	300 dr. (only <i>aparché</i>)	Thermai	3,000 dr.
Myrina	6,000 dr.	Torone	54,000 dr.
Oine	6,000 dr.		

Among the seventeen members in this group we should either discount the Methonians altogether, or the 300 dr. should be multiplied by 60, in order to arrive at an imaginary, although plausible, tribute sum. In the first case the average of the 16 remaining *poleis* is 18,832 dr. If we include the 18,000 that the Methonians must logically have been expected to pay, the average for the 17 members is 18,783 dr.

³⁴⁹ Assessment decree only: Drys.

³⁵⁰ Assessment decrees only: Herakleion, Nikonion, Sale. Syntelies: Astypalaia, Kos, Meropis. I have left out the Chersonesitai ap Agoras, paying 108,000 dr., 82,000 dr. and then 6,000 dr., because of these fluctuations.

Group 5. Size 4³⁵¹

Name	Tribute	Name	Tribute
Abydos	30,000 dr.	Karystos	147,000 dr.
Andros	54,000 dr.	Kythera	24,000 dr.
Assos	6,000 dr.	Naxos	44,000 dr.
Ialysos	48,000 dr.	Neandreaia	2,000 dr.
Imbros	36,000 dr.	Selymbria	45,000 dr.

³⁵¹ assessment decrees: Tomis. Also, I have not taken the following into account: Skyros, being attested in Th. 1.98.2 only, and Histiaia, first size 4 then size 5, but paying only 1,000 dr.

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Plates

Plate 1 : Drawing of the first stele (after *ATL*, vol. I, pl. I)

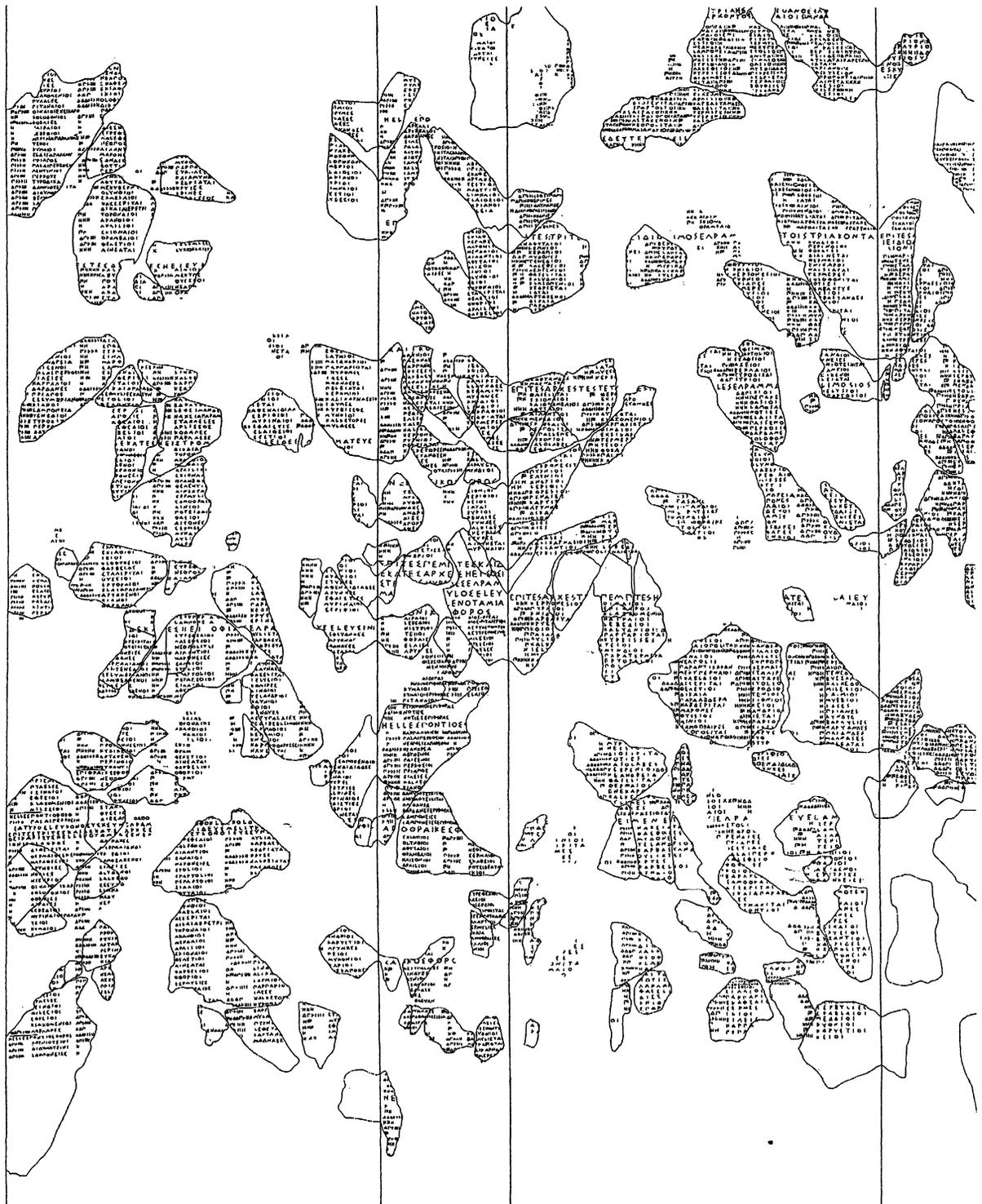


Plate 2: Diagram showing the relative positions of fragments of the first stele (After *ATL*, vol. I, pl. II)

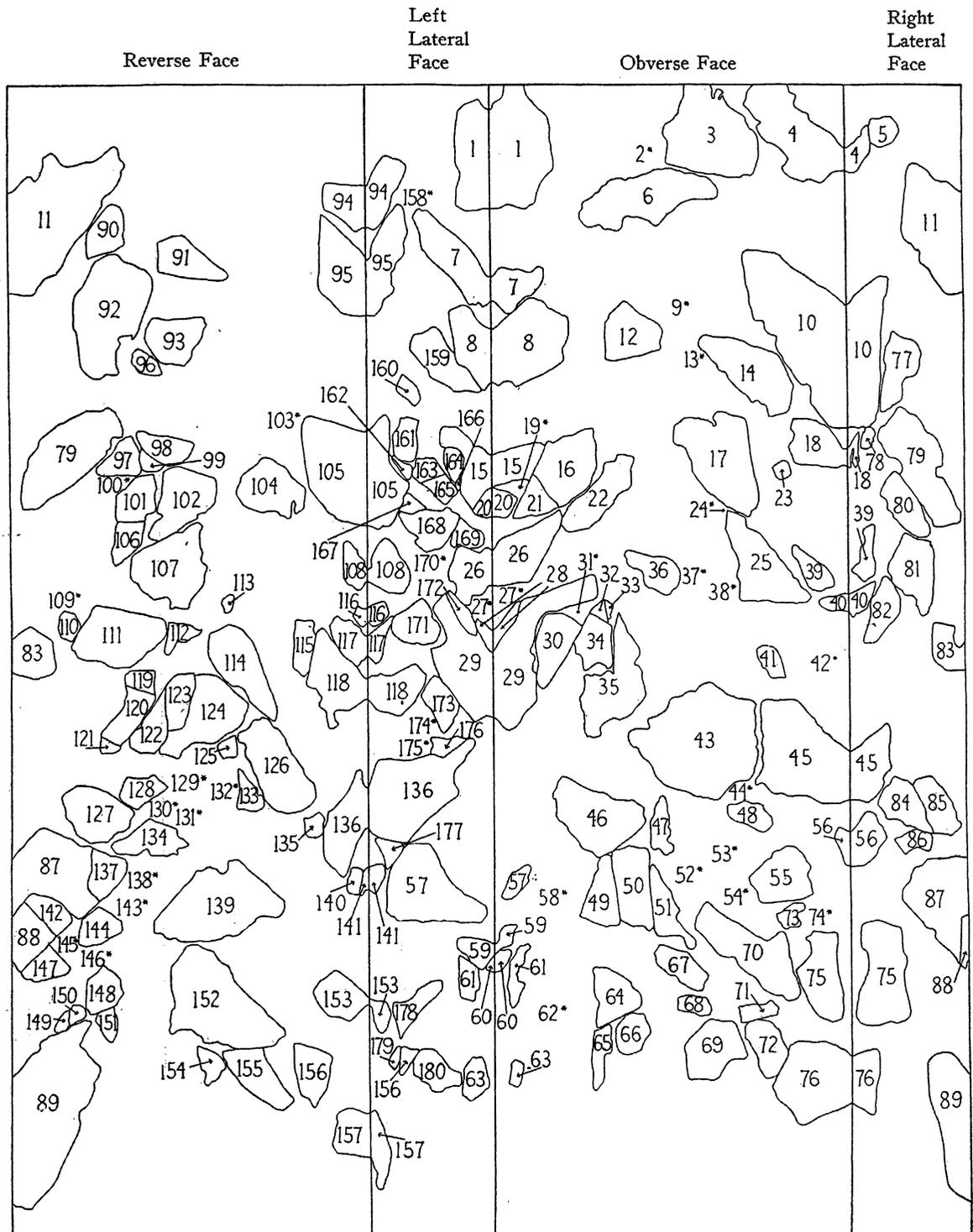


Plate 6 : Section of the first stele (obverse), showing List 5 (after *ATL*, vol. I, pl. VI)

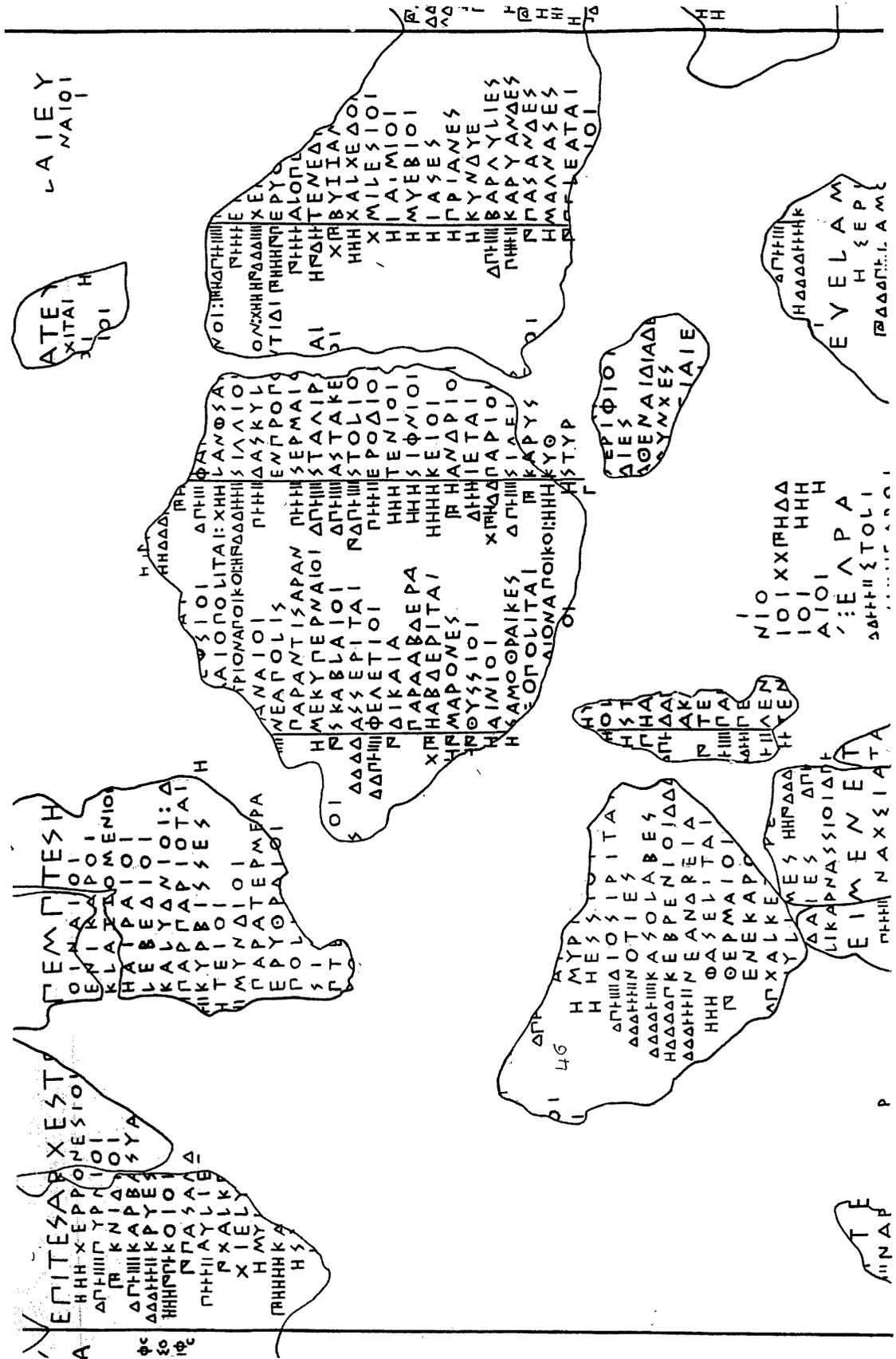


Plate 8 : Right lateral face of the first stele, showing List 8 (after *ATL*, vol. I, pl. VIII)

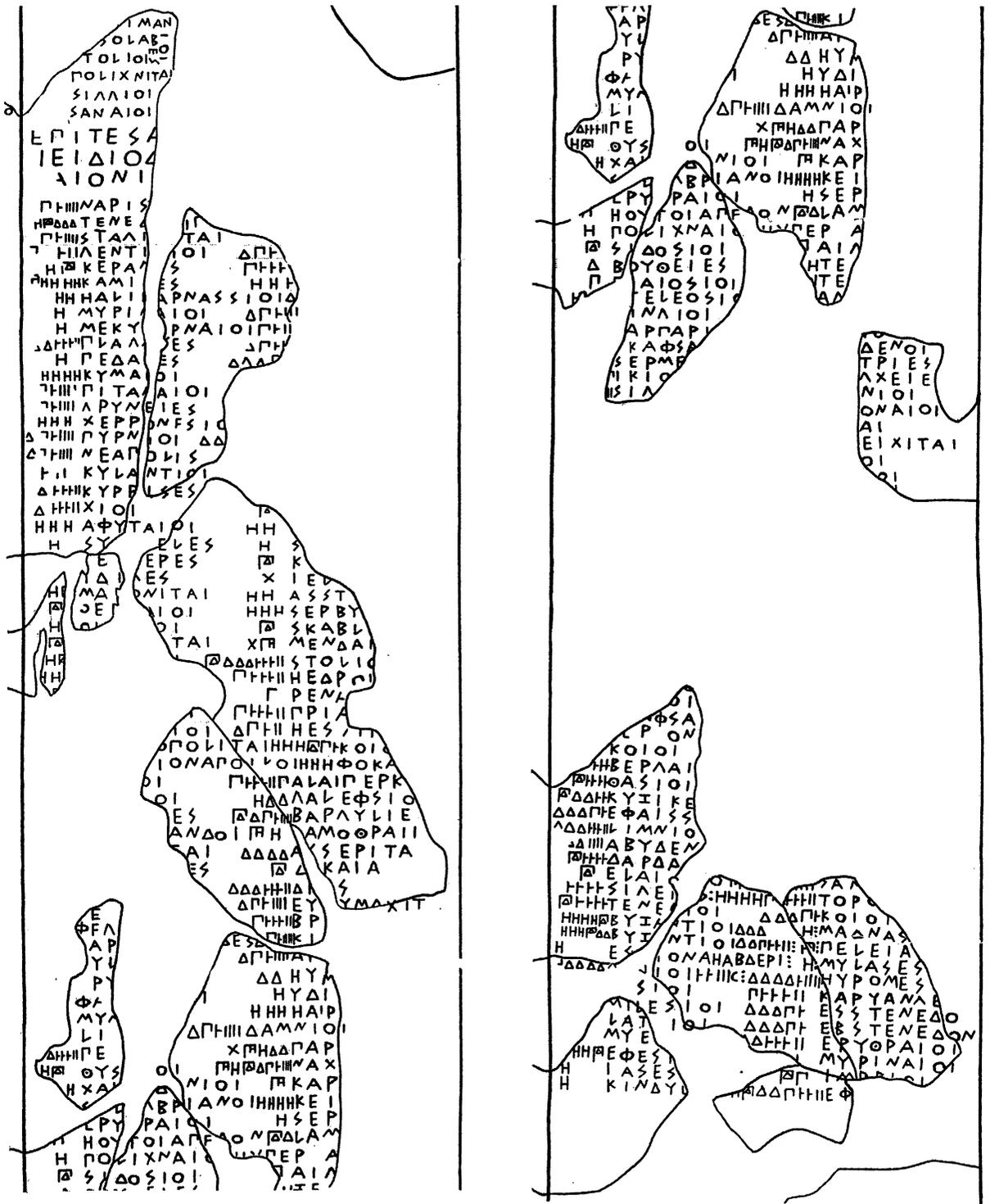


Plate 17 : Diagram showing the relative positions of the fragments of the second stele (after *ATL*, vol. I, pl. XVII)

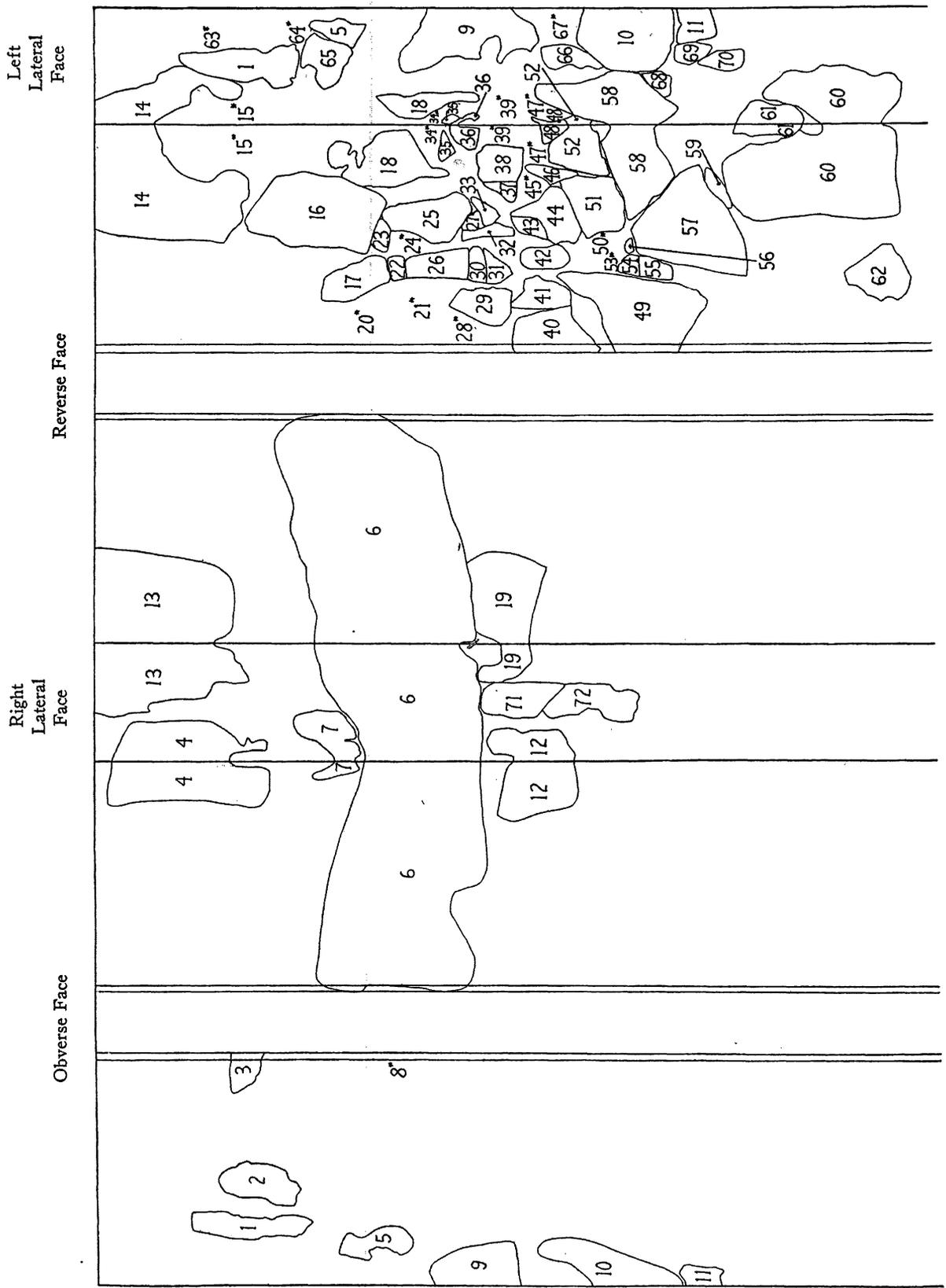


Plate 18 : Upper part of the second stele (obverse), showing Lists 16 and 17 (after *ATL*, vol. I, pl. XVIII)

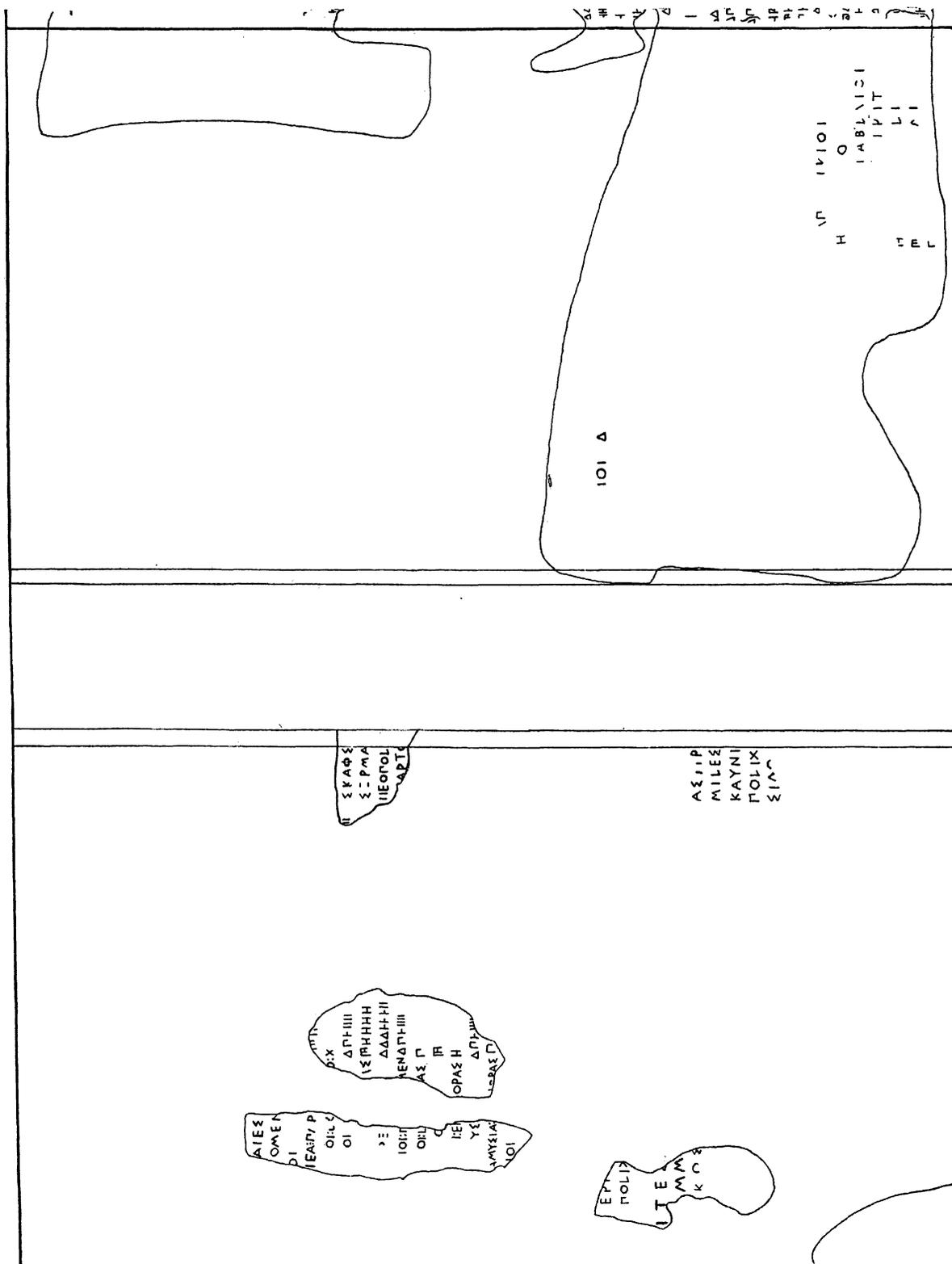


Plate 19 : Upper part of the second stele (reverse), showing Lists 19 and part of List 20 (after *ATL*, vol. I, pl. XIX)

ΔΡ ΔΔ ΔΔ ΔΡ ΗΗ ΧΧ ΡΑ ΗΗ ΗΗ Ρ Ρ
 Η Γ
 ΗΙΑ ΔΙ'ΗΙ
 ΘΡΑΙΚΕΣ Ρ
 ΙΤΑΙ ΔΔΔΡ
 ΟΙ
 ΧΕΤΑΙΖ
 ΙΟΙ ΔΔΡ
 ΙΟΙ ΡΡΡΗ
 ΑΝΑΙΟΙ ΡΗΗΗ
 ΙΡΙΤΑΙ ΔΡΗΗΗ
 ΑΤΟΛΙΟΙ Ρ
 ΙΟΙ Η Σ
 ΑΙΟΙ ΔΔΡ
 ΡΙΟΙ Η-ΗΙ Η
 ΡΝΙΤΑΙ ΗΗ Α
 ΞΕΛΡΑΜΜ
 ΑΚΕΝΟΙ ΔΡΗΗΗ
 ΑΝΑΝΟΙ ΡΗ
 ΑΥΤΙΟΙ ΡΗ
 ΑΝΑΙΟΙ ΧΡ
 ΣΕ ΤΤΟΙ Χ
 ΑΛΓΕΚΟΝΕΣΙΟΙΧ
 ΧΕΡΡΟΝΕΚΙΤΑΙ:Η
 ΑΠΛΟΡΑΣ
 ΕΛΥΙΟΙ
 ΣΕΛΥΑΡΙΑΝΟΙ ΡΗΗΗ
 ΑΙΚΙΟ
 ΑΦΥ
 ΣΡΑΡΤΟΛΙΟΙ Η
 ΑΙΝ
 ΜΕΙ
 ΟΥΣ
 ΙΧ
 ΑΧΑΡ
 ΕΟΝ
 ΔΔΔΗΗΑ
 ΑΗΗΗ ΜΑ
 ΗΗ ΛΥ
 ΗΗ ΧΑ
 ΗΗ ΑΛΓΕΚΟΝΕΣΙΟΙΧ
 ΧΕΡΡΟΝΕΚΙΤΑΙ:Η
 ΑΠΛΟΡΑΣ
 ΕΛΥΙΟΙ
 ΣΕΛΥΑΡΙΑΝΟΙ ΡΗΗΗ
 ΑΙΚΙΟ
 ΑΦΥ
 ΣΡΑΡΤΟΛΙΟΙ Η
 ΑΙΝ
 ΜΕΙ
 ΟΥΣ
 ΕΣ
 ΙΔΕΣ
 ΙΟΙ
 ΙΕΣ
 ΟΙ
 ΤΙΕΣ Ρ ΔΡ
 ΝΤΙΟΣΦΟΡΟΣ
 ΡΡΑΛΙΑΝΟΙ:Η
 ΛΕΙΕΣ
 ΑΝΟΙ
 ΙΑΡΕΣ
 ΗΗ
 ΗΗ
 ΗΗ

ΕΠΙ
 ΗΕΛ
 Τ
 Σ
 Ι
 ΙΟΙ
 Ε

Plate 24 : The tribute districts of the Athenian Empire (after Meiggs 1972, map I)

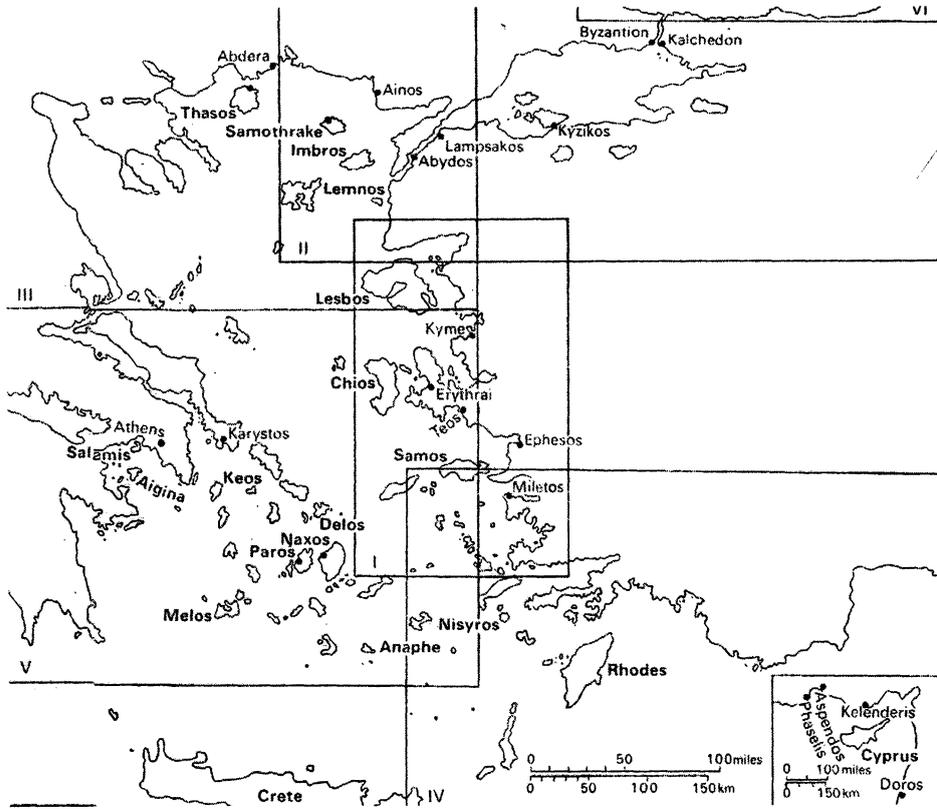


Plate 25 : The Ionian district (after Meiggs 1972, map I, I)

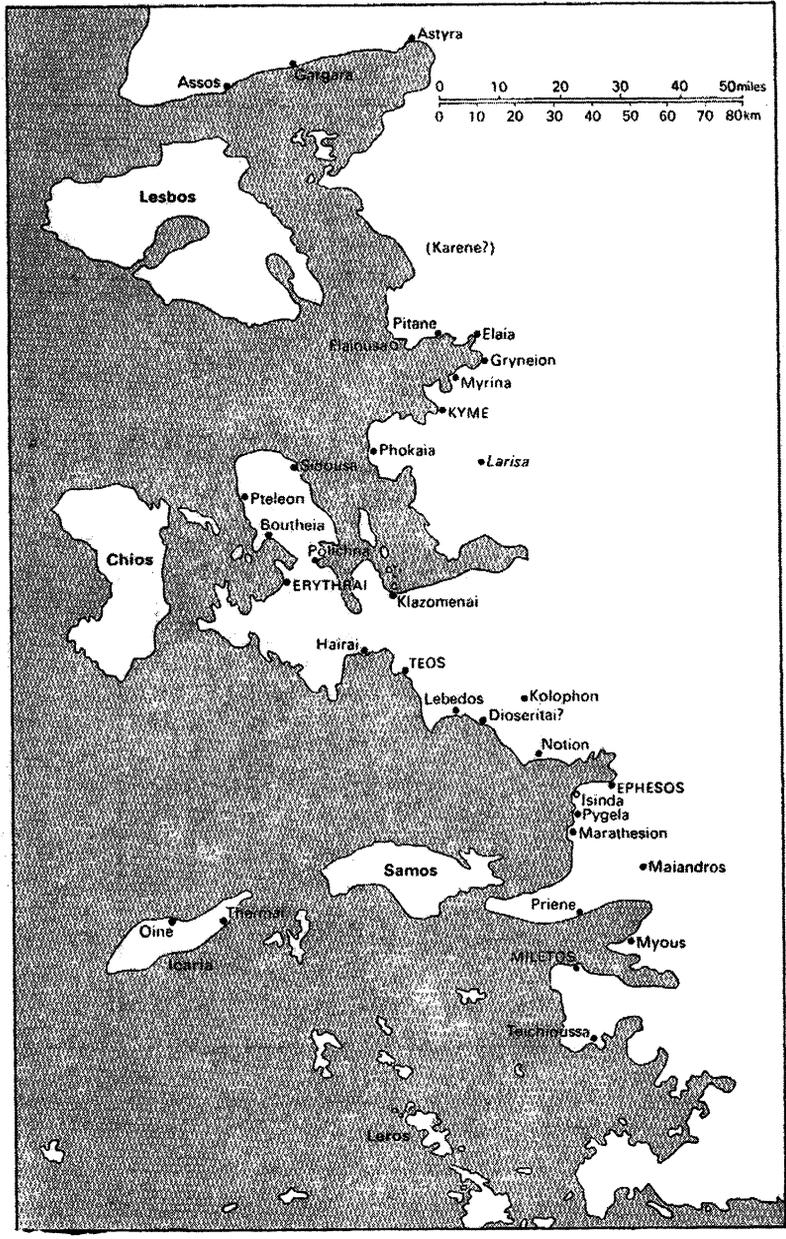


Plate 27 : The Thraceward district (after Meiggs 1972, map I, III)

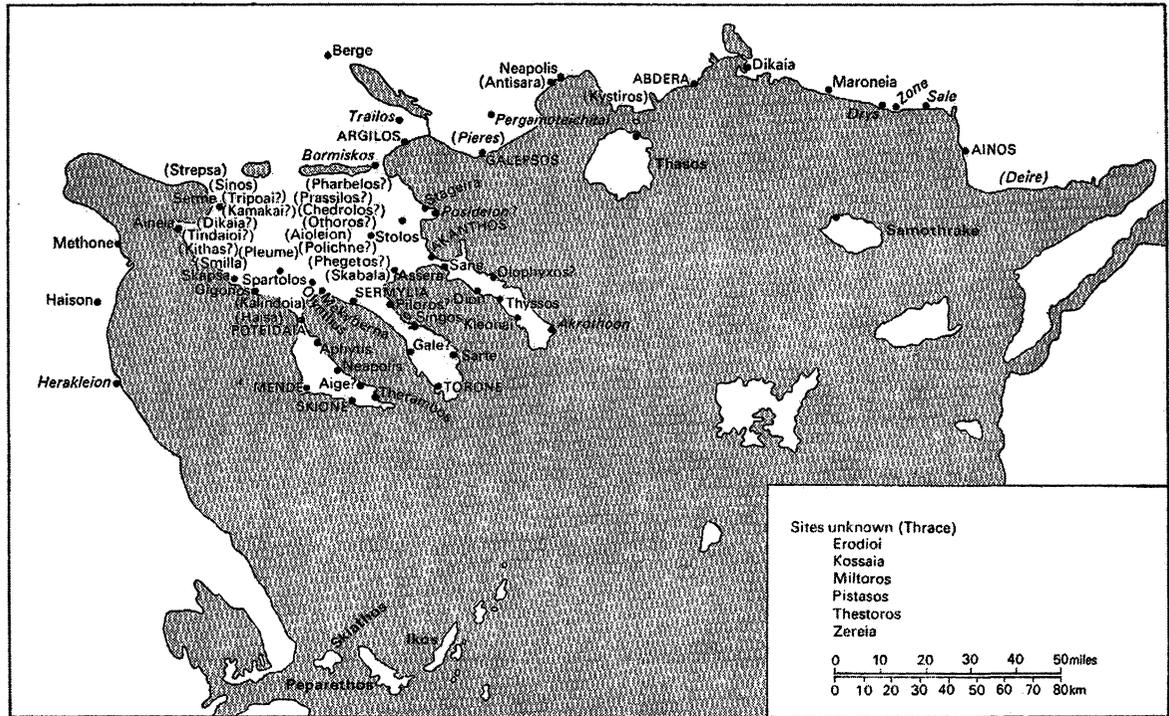


Plate 28 : The Karian district (after Meiggs 1972, map, I, IV)

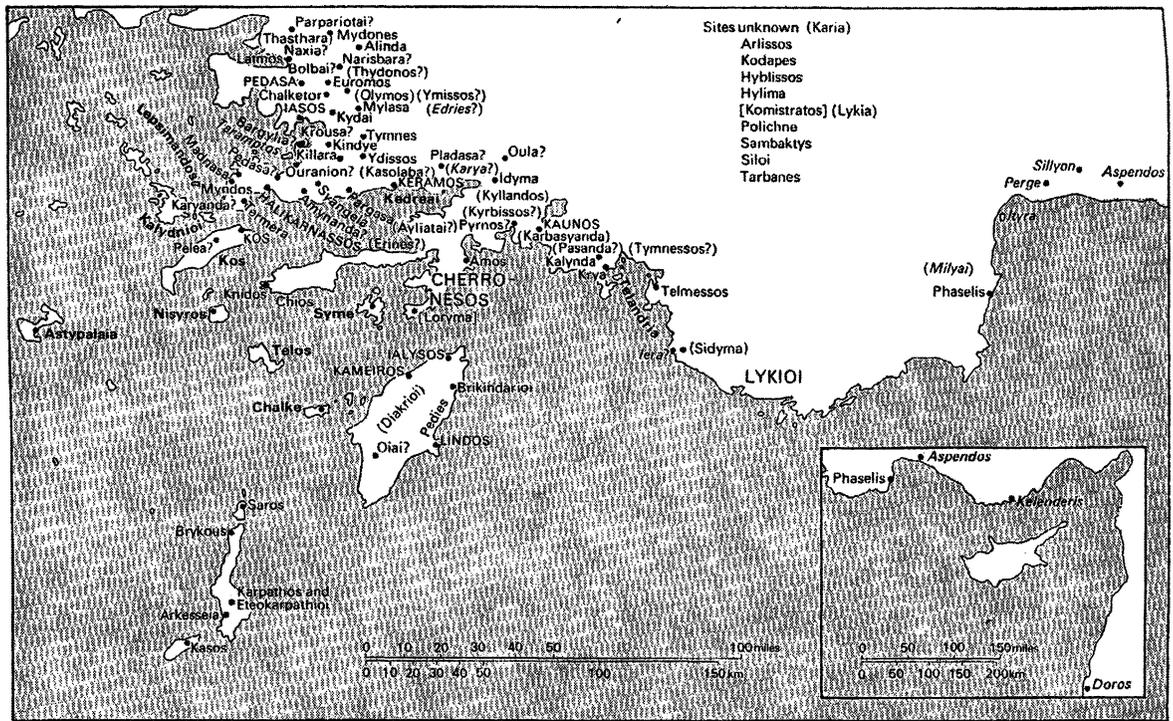


Plate 29 : The Island district (after Meiggs 1972, map I, V)



Plate 30 : The Euxine district (after Meiggs 1972, map I, VI)

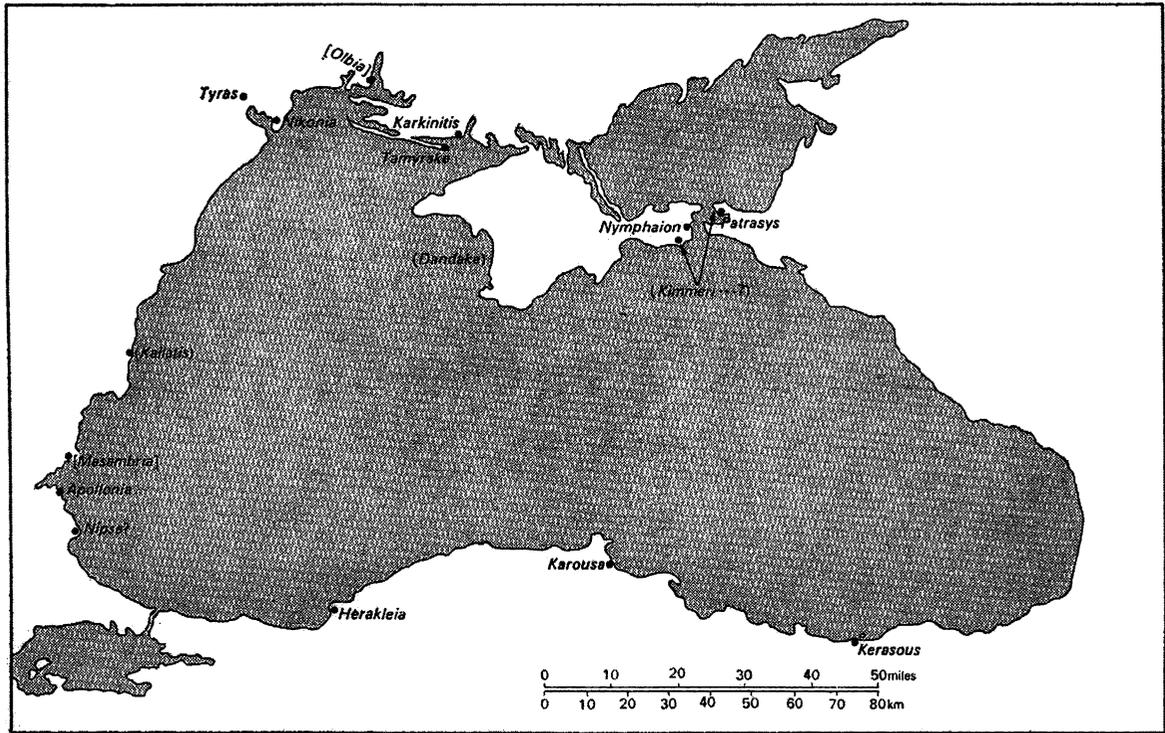
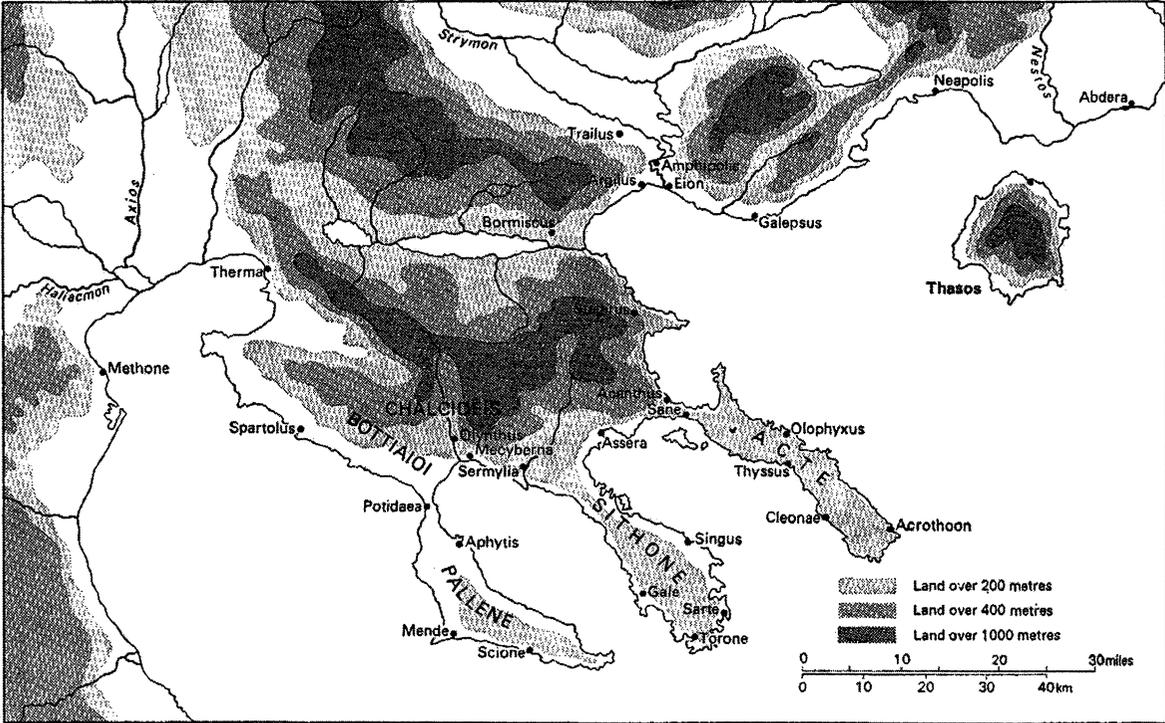


Plate 31 : Chalcidice and the North-East (after Meiggs 1972, map 2)



Thèse de doctorat présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de
l'Université de Fribourg (Suisse)

Aparchai and Phoroi
**A New Commented Edition of the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists
and Assessment Decrees**

Part II A : Catalogue

Bjørn Paarmann
(Danemark)

2007

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Editing Conventions

The conventions used in this edition are based on those given in Bodel (2001, xxv-xxvi), which again are a modified version of the Leyden system originally devised for papyrological texts. In comparison with Bodel's list some changes have been made in the presentation of the symbols. The letters have been changed from Roman to Greek, the diacritical signs irrelevant to the Tribute Lists have been left out and other symbols have been added, some of which have been taken directly from Tod *GHP*, xx and ML. Finally the different explanations of the individual diacritical signs have in some cases been altered slightly in order to reflect the editing principles followed in this edition.

α	The letter is fragmentary and the reading would be uncertain in another context.
+	The letter is so badly damaged that it cannot be restored.
ABΓ	The letters are clear but their significance is uncertain.
αβγ	Letters seen by a previous editor but no longer visible.
[αβγ]	Letters missing because of damage to the writing surface and supplied by the editor.
(αβγ)	An abbreviation expanded by the editor.
᾿αβγ᾿	Text corrected by the editor.
{αβγ}	Text included by mistake and removed by the editor.
<αβγ>	Text omitted by mistake and supplied by the editor.
[[αβγ]]	Letters erased in antiquity.
αβγ	Letters inscribed in an erasure. «αβγ» in Bodel.
[.]	One letter is missing. Not in Bodel.
[..]	Two letters are missing. Not in Bodel.
[...]	Three letters are missing. Not in Bodel.
[. . 4 . .]	Four letters are missing. Not in Bodel.
[- c. 5 -]	Approximately five letters are missing.
v, vv, vvv	One, two or three space(s) space left vacant by the engraver. Not in Bodel.
<i>vacat</i>	Indicates that the engraver has left vacant the remainder of the line. Not in Bodel.
(vac. c. 5)	The surface is left blank for a space of approximately five letters.
↑	The letters continue vertically upwards. Probably only found in the Tribute Lists.
↓	The letters continue vertically downwards. Probably only found in the Tribute Lists.
	In the running text indicates the beginning of a fresh line on the stone. Not in Bodel.
αβ	Two letters or figures, often iotas and obols, occupy 1 stoichos. Not in Bodel.
: and :	Represent original separation-marks in the Greek text. Not in Bodel.
and	These and other signs: /, \, ¯, C,) etc. represents strokes and curves as on the stone.

Previous editors of the tribute lists have followed different systems. In *ATL* and *IG I³ 259-291* there is no indication of letters seen only by the early editors, the only exception being the *latus sinistrum* of *IG I³ 282*, which contrary to the other lists has not been taken over by Meritt from the *ATL*, but is based on a later study by Bradeen and McGregor (1973). The latter two also used the dot much more generously than did Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor in the *ATL*. For the corrections made by the editor angular brackets <αβγ> were used. No symbol was used for illegible letters in the *ATL* and *IG I³ 259-90*, but restorations mostly attempted. In this edition such letter traces are indicated with +.

Editing inscriptions is not an exact science and discussions may arise, and have indeed arisen, about whether a letter should be dotted when there is no doubt about its identification in the given context. Following Dow (1971) I have used the dot for traces which in isolation could be from more than one letter, even when there is actually no question about the correct reading. Lewis (1971, 310) objected to this that he “may not always be prepared to print εδϕξεν on the off chance that it may really be εδθξεν.” This view is perfectly understandable and I cannot pretend to have respected my own orthodoxy everywhere, but I have nevertheless tried to do so in order to present a coherent, if perhaps more rigid system, rather than Lewis’ flexible, if perhaps more intelligent one.

In the cases where early editors have seen dubious letters now totally lost I have printed αβγ, but ambiguity would be the result if these diacritical signs were used also when only few or faint traces are preserved where previous editors have reported full letters. Therefore such letters are underlined. The use of the diacritical sign ‘αβγ’ has been very sparse, because I follow the modern practice of correcting as little as possible. Quotas which are evidently erroneous as in list 3 and obvious omissions have been rectified. Contrary to the *ATL*-editors I have avoided to make emendations in the ethnics when only the ending is preserved.

The traditional bibliography is used in preference to the French system which distinguishes between the editors who have actually seen the stones and those, given in parentheses, who have not. A lemma contains the scholarly contributions, which have a bearing on the readings of the lists. In the *apparatus* only the possible restorations are given. The presentation of previous editors’ readings is found in the Epigraphical Commentary. When a restitution is obvious the name of its first editors is not always mentioned. References to readings by the early editors are given with ‘no.’ and not ‘fr.’ because several fragments are often grouped under one single number when they joined with each other. The exact position and size of figures and letters, crowding, alignment to the left or right margin in the columns, etc. have only been reproduced very occasionally because it is neither possible nor desirable to do otherwise. It would have been preferable but has proven impossible to print the quotas of two-line entries in bracketed position. In list 5 and 6 the fifty drachm sign has the form of Γ with a pendant diagonal stroke. I cannot print this symbol and use ₯ throughout.

Method

The first thing to do when one wants to edit an inscription anew is to examine the stone thoroughly. I have spent four months visiting the stelae regularly and making drawings of the lists preserved on the *lapis primus*. Drawing an inscription gives an intimacy with the styles and hands used on the inscriptions, but a drawing can never be anything more than an impression at the moment. Since it has not been possible to make squeezes of the fragments, I asked for permission to photograph them instead. This edition is based on some two hundred digital photos of the four hundred fragments. The vast majority of these are kept in the Epigraphical Museum, but a dozen are to be found in the Agora Museum. I have not had the possibility to see fr. 60 of the *lapis primus*, which is in London (BM, no. 63.5-16.1) nor fr. 21 of A9 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Alexander 1926, 176-77), but the plaster copy of the first embedded in the and the photo of the second in *ATL* I has been sufficient to give an idea of what is preserved. Only very late in the process did I decide to include the Sicilian contributions in this edition. This means that I have not asked for permission to see the fragments *Ag. I 4859*, *EM 6695* and *Ag. I 2916*. Contrary to all the other inscriptions the inclusion of this one therefore is no more than a reproduction of the text in *IG I³ 291*. Finally I have not been able to profit from two new fragments which have recently been discovered to be from the tribute quota lists and from A9 respectively. They are yet to be published by Matthaïou and I have neither seen the stones nor a transcription of their content.

I have used the principle of limitation recommended by Robert (1961, 29-31), i.e. to restore only so much that the discovery of a new fragment would not be an embarrassment. Mention of all previous restorations has been attempted, but some might have escaped my attention. Especially when these proposals were presented in isolation in minor articles it has not always been possible to cite the authors directly; in these cases references are given instead to the following edition in which they appear. In order to avoid endless repetition, the fact that I do not agree with a reading is only shown implicitly through the non-inclusion of this reading in the printed text or in the *apparatus* below. When any previous reading does not correspond to the traces on the stone it is however always notified. In general I have refrained from restoring the quotas when these are entirely lost, because many preserved quotas attest to frequent fluctuation from one year to another. When some traces of the quota are preserved and they correspond to the normal payment of a given ally the restoration has been attempted. The names of the contributors have been restored according to the likelihood of possible identification which differs from case to case.

Epigraphical Considerations

The tribute quota lists are written with the Classical and not the Archaic letterforms. The first fifteen lists, however, are astride on the transition from the old Classical to the new Classical alphabet. Rangabé and Böckh placed the change of the sigmas with three bars to the sigma with four bars in the eleventh year, but in fact the transition took place already with the ninth year. The four bar sigma, however, appears once already in the prescript of the second list as pointed out by Köhler (1869, 4) and is found exclusively in the sixth (list 7 in *ATL* and *IG I³*). Köhler also noticed that the three bar sigma in the third year had such an unusually closed lower angle that it was easy to attribute all fragments with this particularity to this list. Another feature observed by Köhler is that the third list is more 'modern' than the surrounding ones because the rhos have a round and not a 'penant' shaped loop. Such loops are otherwise only seen from the twelfth list onwards. Tailed rho is found only in the heading of the fourth list, in 4.V.31 and on EM 6654 dated to 427/6 or 426/5 in *IG I³* 284. Alphas have a horizontal centre bar only from the twelfth list; until then the centre bar is either upward or downward sloping.

The tribute lists precede the writing reform of Eukleides (403/2) when the Athenians adopted the Ionian alphabet. Only in list 26 of 429/8 do we find H = η as well as H = h. The list with the Sicilian contributions perhaps dating to the 420s (*IG I³* 291) also has - - 'Αθ]ηναῖοι. Lambda invariably has the form L with the second stroke sloping upwards and gamma is only attested in the form of Λ.

The Tribute Quota Lists. Part 1

These are the recordings of the *aparchai* given to Athena by the members of the Delian League from 454/3 onwards. The lists probably were the responsibility of the treasurers of Athena to whom the *hellenotamiai* had handed over the *aparche* in the ratio of one mine to every talent, i.e. 1/60 of the collected tribute (Paarmann 2004, 90). The first fifteen years (454/3-440/39) were cut on the so-called *lapis primus*, the following eight (439/8-432/1) on the second stele, and each of the following years was inscribed on its own smaller marble slabs.

Lapis Primus

1-15 The first fifteen years were inscribed on the *lapis primus*. The stele as reconstructed by Meritt and West was at least 3.583 m. high, 1.105 m. wide and 0.385 m. thick.¹ It was inscribed on all four faces. Less than half of the original text is preserved through 184 fragments found on the Acropolis, on its slopes and on the Agora. A vast majority of these are kept in the Epigraphical Museum. Only very few have their own inventory number,² the vast majority are identified through a running numbering system reflecting their present position on the stele.³ The following five given here with their inventory numbers, fr. 23 (*Ag.* I 4481), fr. 78 (*Ag.* I 4538), fr. 133 (*Ag.* I 4903) and fr. 169 (*Ag.* I 4570) are kept in the Agora Museum. Fr. 60 (BM, no. 63.5-16.1) has for reasons and at a date unknown to me been taken to England and is kept in the British Museum. A plaster cast in a slightly brownish colour has been made of it and inserted into the supposed original position.

A small fragment (MA 20196) containing four lines has very recently been transferred from the Acropolis Museum to the Epigraphical Museum. Angelos Matthaiou (2006, 29-30) has identified it as belonging to *IG I³ 270*, 29-33 (= List 13 from 442/1 lines 29-33). It gives the last ethnic of the Hellespontine panel, the heading and the first ethnic of the Thracian panel. Matthaiou gives some names on the fragment, but does not provide the exact letters of each line. Since I have not had the occasion to see the fragment myself, I am unable to give the necessary new restitution of the lines in question. In any event it comes to the discoverer to publish the new fragment. So, a final presentation of this list will therefore have to wait for this publication which will hopefully come in a near future.

Other fragments not seen in the present reconstruction of the *lapis primus* are the 30 lost ones. The following were reported only by the earliest editors, or by one of Böckh's three correspondents. A full bibliography of all fragments can be found in *ATL* I. (of = obverse face; llf = left lateral face):

¹ For a different view on width and height of the *stèle*, cf. Pritchett 1964d and 1964e.

² Namely fr. 48 (EM 5224), fr. 68 (EM 4488), fr. 110 (EM 5395), fr. 113 (EM 2510), fr. 116 (EM 6651), fr. 154 (EM 5388), fr. 162 (EM 5398), fr. 179 (EM 5389).

Fr.	Pitt. 1835	Rang.	Böckh, Pl., No.	Pitt. 1853	Köhler	Lost	Commentary
2	433		I, 1			before Köhler	once part of fr. 3
9		I, no. 136	I, VI		Pl. I, no. 6b	before Köhler	once part of fr. 12
13		I, no. 247	VII, 247	no. 1278		before Köhler	
19		I, no. 137	I, VII	no. 1154	Pl. II, no. 9a	after Köhler	
24	430	I, no. 142	II, XVIII	no. 1162	p. 14	before Köhler	
27 of	421	I, no. 139	II, IX	no. 1156	Pl. II, no. 16a	after Köhler	
27 llf	421	I, no. 139'	II, LII	no. 1158	Pl. VI, no. 16b		
31		I, no. 139	II, IX	no. 1156	Pl. II, no. 16a	after Köhler	once part of frs. 29-32
37	425	II, no. 2480	VI, CXXI		p. 14	before Köhler	once part of fr. 36
38			VII, 243c	no. 1283	Pl. II, no. 14	after Köhler	once part of fr. 37
42		I, no. 204	V, LXXXII	no. 1231	Pl. II, no. 18	after Köhler	read with fr. 41 Köhler
44	410f.	I, no. 134	I, IV		Pl. II, no. 20a	before Köhler	
52	416	I, 212	VI, XXX.B	no. 1239	Pl. III, no. 23*	before Köhler	
53		I, no. 245	VII, 245	no. 1275	Pl. VI, no. 85	before Köhler	
54	416	I, no. 212	VI, XXXB	no. 1239	Pl. III, no. 23*	before Köhler	until 1835 part of fr. 52
58		I, no. 229	VI, CXXIV	no. 1259	Pl. III, no. 25*	before Köhler	
62		I, no. 237	VII, XXIX III, XXIX	no. 1267	Pl. III, no. 27*	before Köhler	
74		I, no. 187	V, CXI	no. 1212	Pl. III, no. 37	after Köhler	
100			V, CXXI			before Köhler	
103		I, no. 232	VII, CXXV	no. 1262	Pl. IX, fr. 13*	before Köhler	
109		I, no. 242	VII, 242	no. 1272	Pl. IX, fr. 15*	before Köhler	
129	423	I, no. 163	III, XXXVII	no. 1187	Pl. V, no. 73*	before Köhler	
130		I, no. 162	IV, XXXVIII	no. 1186	Pl. V, no. 72	after Köhler	once part of fr. 128
131	420		V, (CXX)		Pl. V, no. 74*	1835-1841	
132		I, no. 238	VII, 238	no. 1268	Pl. IX, fr. 22*	before Köhler	
138		I, no. 162	IV, XXXVIII	no. 1186	Pl. V, no. 72	after Köhler	
143	430f.	I, no. 162	IV, XXXVIII	no. 1186	Pl. V, no. 72	after Köhler	
145	420 & 423	I, no. 162	IV, XXXVIII	no. 1186	Pl. V, no. 72	before Köhler	
146	430f.	I, no. 162	IV, XXXVIII	no. 1186	Pl. V, no. 72	before Köhler	once part of fr. 143
158			V, LXXXVI		Pl. VI, no. 83	after Köhler	joined frs. 95 and 7
170	416	I, no. 235	VII, 235	no. 1265	Pl. VII, no. 235	before Köhler	

In many cases the early editors saw the fragments in a better preserved state than we have them today. Since then parts have been lost, surfaces have weathered, edges worn and pieces have broken apart leaving lacunas between the two fragments. It is not possible to list all such fragments here, but references will be made continuously to their running number and to the name of the editor who first reported the letters now lost, or to more editors when different readings have been presented.

The fragments were placed in their current position in the plaster reconstruction made by Meritt and West in 1927 and 1928 under the supervision of the then director of the Epigraphical Museum, Basileio Leonardo (Matthaiou 2006, 30). Although more than half of the original stele is lost, the reconstruction is not altogether haphazard. As Meritt (1929) has shown many pieces actually join each other, and although these joins are often not seen on the surface because of the surrounding plaster, they are found deeper in the stone. Meritt provided no detailed commentary for the placing of each of the individual fragments, but his drawing makes perfectly clear how he and West proceeded in attributing most of the fragments to their current relative positions.

³ The numbers were given by Kirchhoff (*IG I³*) and then taken over by Meritt and West, cf. West and Meritt 1926b, 55.

Even for those pieces which do not join any other fragment a high degree of probability can be gained on two different grounds. First the external criteria such as the edges of corner stones, colour and texture of the fragment, letter forms and execution of numerals (e.g. in list five the pendant delta in Γ has been reduced to a single downward sloping stroke going from the left corner to the right tip), hands and style, layout of the lists and alignment of the entries in the column of the numerals and of the ethnics etc. all give good indications of the relative position of an isolated fragment if only some lines are preserved. Then we have the internal criteria such as spelling and numbering of the list in the headings, also the appearance of ethnics already mentioned in one lists will normally exclude it from this same list. By using these two methods Meritt and West have in all probability found the position for most of the 180 fragments, that they had at their disposal at the time. It would require another team of senior scholars to restudy all the fragments to prove the contrary. As it is, only a handful of the 184 fragments have not been inserted in the plaster reconstruction, and it is therefore impossible to undertake a study of the individual fragments, without a previous dismantling of the stone. The Greek authorities will probably only authorize such a project if someone comes up with very good reasons for questioning the current positions, and that is unlikely to happen. In most cases we will have to put our faith in the reconstruction as it is.

But some fragments have certainly been attributed to a position which is no more than possible, and therefore most probably erroneous. When these attributions are based solely on methods of exclusion or are given *exempli gratia*, we have every reason to be suspicious. Meritt and his colleagues were explicit about their favouring the collation of any given fragment lost or preserved, with other fragments now preserved, thereby excluding the possibility that the original position of the fragment in question would be in a non-preserved context (cf. e.g. *ATL* I, 65). This is of course an arbitrary procedure, since with so many fragments and entire lists lost, the chances are high that the small extant fragments would belong to one of those.

In the case of a restricted amount of smaller fragments I doubt that the right position has been found. This goes especially for the lost ones, but not all. Many of the lost fragments are securely positioned because they were reported by the early editors as forming part with or joining a fragment which is still preserved today and whose position is known. Sometimes the join between a lost and preserved fragment has been established *a posteriori* on the grounds that the lost fragment preserved parts of lines seen on the other fragment. When the latter is securely positioned, the location of the lost fragment should of course be considered equally certain.

If this is not the case there is little if no reason to attribute a lost fragment to one position rather than to another. The relative position of the following fragments in the *ATL* I, should be considered hypothetical: fr. 13 in front of fr. 14 giving the first part of the quotas for Chersonesos, Pynos and

Priapos (3.IV.9-11).⁴ It is uncertain whether fr. 23 (*Ag. I* 4481) facing fr. 18 giving the quotas for Spartolos and some unknown names (4.V.3-6) is correctly placed.⁵ On the contrary frs. 36-37 (the latter lost but once part of 36) have been attributed to List 4 because Pittakis 1853, p. 770, no. 1283 recorded it as contiguous with fr. 38 (now lost). Fr. 38 shares lines with fr. 25, which is securely positioned. The *ATL*-editors assumed that fr. 53 (now lost) would fit frs. 52 and 54 also lost. This identification hinges on a numeral from fr. 54 given by Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. XXX.B, l. 3: ΙΟΙ ΧΧΓ, which the *ATL*-editors thought were continued on fr. 53 also recorded by Böckh 1851 Pl. VII, no. 245: ΠΗΔΔ, *ATL* I, 31 comm. *ad* fr. 53): “We assume that it was broken off from fragment 52, the break running through the symbol for 500 drachmai in such a way as to allow Π to be read on each piece of stone.” Another indication, they adduced, would be that the numerals on fr. 53 Böckh’s 1851, Pl. VII, no. 245 were aligned to the left, a feature which is found on List 5 and “in part only of 3, 4, 7 and 8, and nowhere else.” This might be just possible - although by no means certain - if the resulting figure ΧΧΠΗΔΔ (156,600 dr.) was attested, but that is not the case. The *ATL*-editors did not hesitate to restore ΧΧΠΗΔΔ [Αἰγινῆται] (*IG* I³ 263.IV.39). And although only two communities, namely Aigina and Thasos, paid anything near this kind of tribute (both 180,000 dr.), and Thasos only from the eleventh year (*IG* I³ 268.II.15), I have not followed the collation.

Another fragment whose position is not altogether certain is fr. 58, which was lost before Köhler. Here, however, I have left it in place (6.I.2-8), since the letters from line 2-5 fit the initials preserved on the extant fr. 57. If we follow *SEG* V (p. 7 comm. *ad* 6.I.8), it also shares traces of three letters in line 8 and with the other three lines preserved on fr. 49. This is based on a doubtful reading of Rangabé and Böckh (cf. comm. *ad*. 6.I.8), which I follow because of complementary evidence: as in the case of fr. 62, where there is a connection with fr. 61, the internal evidence comes from the sequence of entries 6 and 7, which the current positions of fr. 58 and fr. 62 respect, and this should probably be enough to make them virtually certain.

⁴ The *ATL*-editors wrote (I, 16): “The numerals preserved on this lost fragment do not fit elsewhere.” This may be true, what goes for the preserved fragments; but fr. 13 might very well have joined a fragment now lost. The preserved quotas, 12,000 dr., 1,000 dr. and 500 dr. are among the most frequently paid, and it should not be difficult to find another sequence of three communities paying exactly these sums.

⁵ According to the *ATL*-editors (I, 20): “This fragment, found in the Agora excavations on February 6, 1937, certainly belongs to the first stele. The arrangement of the numerals is of a sort which is found only in Lists 2-8, and the 50-drachma sign is not of the type in 2 and 5 (and column II of List 7). This leaves 3, 4 (except column II), and 8. The cross-bars on the drachma symbols in the new fragment are long and tend to run into the following figures. This is a characteristic of List 4, and led us to suspect that the Agora piece should be assigned to that year. The spacing agrees. We therefore placed the fragment tentatively against fragment 18, in such a manner that the quota ΗΗ would fall opposite Σπαρτόλοι (4, V, 3) (...).” Meritt and his colleagues go on to say that Schweigert based in Athens at that time confirmed by letter that this position would fit, though no perfect join exists, stating: “but at least there are indications that the fragment belonged here. And there are certainly no physical characteristics which hinder its placement here.” I fear that this kind of argumentation is not sufficient to persuade us that the right place for the fragment has been found.

The eight letters preserved in three lines on fr. 100, seen by Böckh's correspondents (1851, Pl. V, no. LIX) fit the endings of 10.II.29-31, where Assera, Neapolis and Skapsa were already restored by Köhler, although he had not made the collation with this fragment. Here I have hesitantly followed *SEG* V. On the contrary I find no reason to follow the attribution of fr. 103 by *SEG* V to List 10 where it is supposed to give the quotas for the partially preserved lines 16 and 17 in column V. The only factor that speaks in favour of this assignment is the preserved quota FH on fr. 103, which actually fits Ephesos on fr. 105, but FH is a very frequent numeral.

For fr. 109 there is no connection with fr. 110 or any other fragment on List 11 for that matter. The preserved letters could be restored as from Klazomena, Pygela, Pitane, which is a sequence found in List 9. The two lists 9 and List 11 do share the same order for many of the entries, but that is hardly sufficient argument to place fr. 109 right here. The proposition was made by West and accepted by Meritt (1937c, 104-5) who wrote: "The assignment cannot, of course, be considered certain, for the test of an actual join between the stones cannot be made until, if ever, the small fragment represented as *S.E.G.*, V, 40 is again found. But the new position seems to have a sufficient degree of probability in its favor to justify its use in the reconstruction of the text." I do not agree with this statement and have accordingly printed fr. 109 independently among the other undated fragments.

The last fragment from the *lapis primus* whose position I have not accepted is fr. 170 attributed by the *ATL*-editors to 14.II.89-91 (I, p. 65): "The quotas in this lost fragment fit perfectly the names with which they are placed. There is no other position for the fragment with any of the known pieces of the first stele." But the lost fragment only carries three partially preserved quotas and although the *ATL*-editors may be right, they may also be wrong. In fact, there is no reason to believe that these three quotas necessarily belong to a known fragment, let alone a known fragment from the first stele. As in all other cases where a fragment has been attributed by the *ATL*-editors to an uncertain position I have removed it and printed it at the end of the catalogue among the dubious fragments.

There is another major issue that remains to be resolved. The discovery of Wade-Gery (1935) that the fragments 4, 5 and 11 were the continuation of the first list at the top of the right lateral face and not as previously thought an independent list 7 had as result that the fifteen lists on *lapis primus* were reduced to fourteen. And yet we know that most of the lists were numbered and that the last bears the heading ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ, i.e. when the seventh (board of magistrates were in office). Only the list at the bottom of the obverse face was never numbered. However some lists which originally had been provided with a serial number have later lost it. That is the case for the list on the upper part of right lateral face. The result is that we have two lists following number 5 from 450/49 and preceding number 9 from 446/5, but three years to which they could belong: 449/8, 448/7, and

447/6. The *ATL*-editors (I, p. 175) opted for 448/7 and 447/6 stating firmly that because of the Peace of Callias “No tribute was collected in 449/8.” They consequently restored ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὀγδόης | [h]ῆι Διοδ[ῆς ἐγραμμάτευε] Παιονί[δες] in the list which precedes list nine on the top of the right face of the stele. Allen (1971, 58-59) hypothesizes about the missing number in our list 6.

A year after the appearance of the *ATL* I, Gomme (1940, 65-67) attacked this theory in an article that was to be the first in a long series on the subject of the supposedly missing list. The reading Διοδ[ῆς requiring a line length of 20 letters goes back to Meritt (1937c, 66-69), but Gomme (1940, 66-67) thought that Διόδ[οτος or Διοδ[όρος in line 2 of the prescript and a general line length of 22 letters in the heading as given originally in *SEG* V would suit better, simply because Διοδῆς is a very rare name. Thereby ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἑβδόμης] becomes the compulsory reading since the two extra letters in Διόδ[οτος or Διοδ[όρος in line 2 should be matched directly by the two supplementary letters of ἑβδόμης in line 1, which again means that “447-6 (year 8) and not 449-8 is the missing year.”

Later Dow followed Gomme’s argumentation, but only partly. In two different articles (1942b, 380-84 and 1943, 25-26) he argued that 22 letters were in fact preferable for epigraphical reasons, but contrary to Gomme who never went to Greece to inspect the stone (Hornblower 1996, 6), Dow believed upon inspection that the upper part of the reverse face would have been the original place for the the eighth list. Accordingly he did not believe that any list was missing at all, but on the contrary that there might have been room for a short list at the top of the reverse side of the stele.⁶

Taking the same view in an article entitled “La pace di Callia e le liste dei tributi” Accame (1952, 225-26) supported for the restitution ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἑβδόμης] on epigraphical grounds. Furthermore, he argued, there is plenty of space below the list on the right lateral face and on the top of the reverse face; this space could have been occupied by the original list 8. The *ATL*-editors had linked the absence of the sixth list with the historical problematic Peace of Callias, but Accame went the other way around and doubted that a long list as the one on the right lateral face could have been made in a year, which as 447/6, saw many revolts. In fact it contains many more communities and communities which paid arrears corresponding to a difference of 304,940 dr. between this and the preceding list. Lewis (1954, 25-29) came to the same conclusion, but against all these arguments McGregor (1962) replied that one list was missing because no fragments of it had been found and that this list must be the sixth because of the aforementioned Peace of Callias. This is not only an argument *ex silentio*, but is also completely circular in the sense that the *ATL*-editors had attributed none of the preserved fragments to this list, exactly because of the supposed Peace of Callias.

⁶ Cf. also Pritchett 1964, 1966, 126-29, 1972 esp. 158-59, 1995, 168-72, and Samons II 2000, 80-81, and n. 246.

Pritchett (1964e) joined the defenders of the fifteen lists arguing that there was space for an eighth list, but he did not succeed in persuading the *ATL*-editors (Meritt 1966 and McGregor 1967b). Pritchett has also advocated for a crowning member, whose back side would have provided enough room for list of a normal length (latest 1970a and 1995, 168-72). However, there is no evidence on the stone that such a relief should have originally been placed there, it would have been unprecedented both in size and time, since reliefs on inscribed *stelai* are generally much smaller and attested only from 426/5, and then are much more frequent on honorary decrees and alliances (Lawton 1995, p. 5, p. 81 and Pl. I p. 90).

Lastly Piérart (1987, 297-98) has proposed to follow Dow believing in the existence of a short list 8 on the top of the reverse side of the stele. An argument against any missing year and thus indirectly in favour of such a small list can be found in the so-called Methonaian decree (*IG I³ 61.5-9*) from 430/29. Here the Athenians stipulated that either the Methonaians were to pay the entire tribute or they should be allowed to pay only the part to the goddess; they finally decided for the latter solution (*IG I³ 282.I.51-53*). That the Methonaians could be totally exempt from tribute is not envisaged. It seems that the Athenians would insist on always giving the *aparche* to Athena no matter the political or economical circumstances and abrogation from this rule might have been considered as a religious offence. Although there is no evidence for three lists, and not two only, between list five and list nine, I believe that the arguments for a unattested list 8 are stronger than those for a non-existing list 6. The idea that the Athenians should have ceased to levy tribute just five years after they had moved the treasury to Athens and begun to inscribe the quotas on a stele with room for so many years seems incredible to me. Also, it should not be forgotten that the peace of Callias is a fourth century literary construct rather than a fifth century historical fact. In this edition I will therefore assume that list 8 was originally placed at the top of the reverse face of *lapis primus*, although it might have been smaller than the average due to widespread revolts in 447/6 (Piérart 1987, 297-98, *pace* Lewis 1992, 123-25). The list without a running number at the bottom of the obverse face is taken as number 6 (= number 7 in *IG I³*) and the list at the bottom of the right lateral face, whose number is lost has been given the number seven (= no. 8 in *IG I³*). According to this theory the disposition of the stone would then be:

Obverse Face	Right Lateral Face	Reverse Face	Left Lateral Face
List 1. Numbered.	List 1. Postscriptum.	List 8. Not preserved. Short.	List 14. Numbered.
List 2. Numbered.	List 2. Cols. VIII-X.	List 9. Numbered.	
List 3. Numbered.	List 7. Number lost.	List 10. Numbered.	
List 4. Numbered.		List 11. Numbered.	List 15. Numbered.
List 5. Numbered.		List 12. Numbered.	
List 6. Unnumbered.	List 8. Not preserved?	List 13. Numbered.	

List 1, 454/3. Eds.: *IG* I 226, fr. 3 and 232; *IG* I² 191 col. I and 197; West and Meritt (WM) 1926a, 81-83, 172 and drawing p. 175; West and Meritt, 1926b, 171-76; *SEG* V, nos. 1 and 7; *ATL* I; *ATL* II; Meritt 1972, 403-17; *IG* I³ 259.

[. ca. 18 Σ Υ Μ [. . . 5 . . .
 [. ca. 17 Ε Π Ρ [. . 4 . .] τ
 [. ca. 17 έ] π ì 'Α [ρ] ί [σ τ ο ν ο ς]
 [άν τ ο max. 15]

	I	II	III
5	[.]ε -----	[. max. 14] ^{vv}	Πεδα[σ]ῆς : Η[- ? -]
	-----	[. max. 14] ^{vv}	'Α[σ]τυρενο[ί : - - -]
	-----	[. max. 14] ^{vv}	Βυζάντιοι : - - - -]
	-----	[. max. 13] ^{vvv}	Καμιρῆς : Π[- ? -]
	-----	Σ[. c. 11] ^{vvv}	Θερμαῖοι
10	-----	Θ[. c. 12] ^{vvv}	[έ-] 'Ικάρο[: - -]
	-----	[. max. 10] ^{vvv}	[Δ]αυνο-
	-----	[. max. 10] ^{vv}	τειχίτ[αι : ΔΓΓ-Ι] ^{vv}
	-----	Π'[. c. 10] ^v	Σαμοθρᾶ[ικες :] ΠΗ[- ? -]
	-----	Θ[. c. 10] ^{Η-Ι}	'Αστυπαλ[αιῆς :] ΗΗ ^v
15	-----	Το[ροναῖοι : Χ]ΗΗ	Μενδαῖοι : ΠΗΗ Η
	[. 7]αι -----	Κα[ρύσσιοι] : ΧΗΗ	Σελυμ[β]ρ[ιανοί :] ΠΗΗΗΗ
	-----	Πε[ρκόσιοι : Δ]ΓΓ-Ι	Αιγάντ[ιοι :] Π
	[. 7]ο -----	[Π]ε[παρέθιοι] : ΗΗΗ	Νεοπο[λίτ]αι : ΗΔΔ
	-----	[.]α[. c. 8]ΔΓ ^v	Μιλέσιοι : - - - -]
20	-----	----- ^{vvv}	'Ακ+[. 6]ι : ΗΗΗ
f	[. 7]ι : Η -----	[. c. 10] : Π	Κο[λοφό]νιοι : ΗΗΗ
	[. 7] ΠΗΗ[- ? -]	[. c. 10] ^{Η-Ι}	Νοτ[ι]ῆς : ΔΔΔΗ-Η-Η
	[Αἴνιοι :] ΧΗΗ	-----	Διοσιρῖται : ΔΓΓ-Ι
	[. 7]οι : ΠΗ[- ? -]	----- ^{vvv}	Σπартόλιοι : ΗΗ
25	[. 6]ται : Δ[- -]	[. c. 7] 'Ολοφ]ύχσ-	Αἰραῖοι : ΗΗΗ
	[. 7]ς : Η[- ? -]	[ιοι c. 7] ΔΔΔΗ-Η-Η	Λινδῖον Οἰᾶται : ΠΓ
	[. 5]οι : Η[- ? -]	[. c. 6]υς : ΗΓΓ-Ι	'Αστακενοί : ΗΠ
	[. 5]ῆται : [- -]	[Χερρονεσί]ται : ΧΠΗΗΗ	Νεοπολίται : Π
	[. 9] ΠΔ [- ? -]	[. c. 10] ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΓΓ-Η-Η	Μαιάνδρ[ιοι] : ΠΔΓΓ-Ι
	[vacat]	vacat	vacat

Col. I 6 [Β]εργαῖοι : Π (IG I³ in the apparatus), [Ρ]ε[ναιῆς : - -], [Λ]ε[βέδιοι : - -], [Λ]ε[μνιοι : - -], [Λ]ε[φσιμάνιοι : - -], [Π]ε[διῆς : - -], [Π]ε[λειᾶται : - -], [Π]ε[ρίνθιοι : - -], [Φ]ε[γέτιοι : - -], [Ρ]ε[ναιῆς : - -], [Σ]ε[ρίφιοι : - -], [Σ]ε[ρμαῖοι : - -], [Σ]ε[ῆσσιοι : - -] [Τ]έ[ιοι : - -], [Τ]ε[λάνδριοι : - -], [Τ]ε[νέδιοι : - -], [Τ]έ[νιοι : - -] || 22 [Ἐφέσιοι:] ΠΗΗ|Π (IG I³), [Λέμνιοι:] ΠΗΗ|ΗΗ || 23 (IG I³) || 25 [Ναχσιᾶ]ται : Δ[ΓΓ-Η]||| (IG I³) the only attested possibility || Col. II 9 Σ[αναῖοι : - -], Σ[ερίφιοι : ΗΗ], Σ[ερμαῖοι : ΓΓ-Η-Η], Σ[ίλιοι : ΔΔΓ], Σ[ίφνιοι : ΗΗΗ], Σ[κάφσιοι : Η], Σ[κίαθος : ΔΓΓ-Η]|||, Σ[τυρῆς : Η], Σ[ύριοι : ΔΔΓ] || 10 Θ[ασσαρῆς : ΓΓ-Η-Η], Θ[ύδονος : ΔΓΓ-Η]||| || 9-10 Σ[κιοναῖοι καὶ] | Θ[ραμβαῖοι : ΠΗ] (IG I³) || 13 Π[ε]λειᾶται : ΠΔΓΓ-Η|||, Π[ι]ταναῖοι : ΔΓΓ-Η|||, Π[ρ]ιαπῆς : ΓΓ-Η||| (IG I³) || 14 Θ[ύδονος : ΔΓΓ-Η]|||, Θ[ύσσιοι : ΔΓΓ-Η]||| (IG I³) || 17 Π[ε]ρκόσιοι : Δ[ΓΓ-Η]||| (IG I³), Π[ε]λε(ι)ᾶται : ΠΔ[ΓΓ-Η]||| || 19 [η]α[ισόνιοι : Δ]ΔΓ (IG I³), [Γ]α[ργαρῆς : ΠΔ]ΔΓ || 25-26 [Διῆς καὶ 'Ολοφύχσ | [ιοι ἔχς 'Αθο : - -]ΔΔΔΗ-Η-Η (MW 1926), [Σαναῖοι : 'Ολοφύχσ- | [ιοι : Διῆς : ΗΗ]ΔΔΔΗ-Η-Η (ATL I) || 27 [Σαμβακτύς (IG I³) || Col. V 6-7 Η[ΗΗΗΠ]Η-Η-, Η[ΗΗΠΔ]Η-Η-, Η[ΗΠΔΔ]Η-Η-, Η[ΠΔΔΔ]Η-Η-, Η[ΠΔΔΔ]Η-Η- are just some of the possible restitutions || Postscript: [ΠΧ]ΧΗΗΗΔΔ[-?-(5 T. 2.320+ dr. [383+ T in tribute]) or [ΠΤ]ΧΗΗΗΔΔ[-?-(IG I³) (6 T. 1.320+ dr. [333+ T in tribute]); cf. ATL III, p. 6 and ML no. 39, p. 87-88.

Cf. *ATL* III, 6; Dow 1942b, 373-75; Giovannini 1990, 150-51; Lewis 1954, 27; *id.* 1981, 77, n. 43; *id.* 1992, 116, n. 72; *id.* 1994, 286-301; Mattingly 1984; McGregor 1967b; Meritt 1937c, 63-64, 73 and 96-97; *id.* 1943, 224-25; ML no. 39; Paarmann 2007b. Piérart 1974, 163-67; *id.* 1985, 288-92; Pritchett 1966, 127-29; Raubitschek 1985; Rhodes 1992, 58-59; Wade-Gery 1935;

παρ]ὰ τῶν ἡελλε[ν ο τ]α μι ὦ ν ἡ[ο ῖ ς ⁷ . . .] Στοιχ. ca. 56
 ρι ά κ ο [ν τ α ἄ π] ε φ ἄ ν θ ε σ α ν [τ ῆ ι θ ε ὄ ι]
 ἄ ρ χ ο ν τ ο ς Ἄ [θ ε ν] α ἰ ο ι ς · μ ν ᾱ ἄ [π ὀ τ ὄ τ α λ] -

IV	V	VI	
[Μαρ]ονῖται : Η ^ρ	ἡβδ[ερῖ]ται : ΧΗΗ ^ρ ΔΔΔΓΠ	Ναρ[ι]σ[βαρῆς : - - -]	5
[Λί]νδιοι : ^ρ ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΔ[- [?] -]	Ὀλύθ[ιοι] : Σκα- ^{νννν}	Μυδ[ο]νῆς[: - -]	
[Οἰ]ναῖοι ἐν Ἴ-	βλαῖοι : Ἄσ[σε]-	Κιανοί : Δ[Γ ^ρ -ΙΙΙΙ]	
κάροι : ΗΔΔΔΗ ^ρ Η[Ι] ^v	ρῖται : Η[. . ⁴ . .]Η-ΙΙ[- [?] -]	Ἄρτακενοί[: ΔΓ ^ρ -ΙΙΙΙ]	
Ἔσσιοι : Η	Σερμυλ[ιῆ]ς : ^ρ ΗΗΗ ^ρ ΔΔΗ ^ρ Η[- [?] -]	Νεάπολις	
Νεάνδρεια : ΔΔΔΗ ^ρ Η[Ι]	Μεκυπερν[αῖ]οι <i>vacat</i>	[ἐ]ν Θράικει : ΔΓ ^ρ -ΙΙΙΙ]	10
Λαμπόνεια : ΔΓ ^ρ -ΙΙΙ[Ι]	Στόλιοι : Πο[λ]ι -	Βερύσιοι ἠυπὸ	
ἡλικαρ-	χνῖται : ΗΗΔ[Δ]ΔΗ[Ι]	τῆι Ἰδει : ΔΓ ^ρ -ΙΙΙ	
νασοῆς : Η ^ρ ΔΓ ^ρ -ΙΙΙΙ	Σίνγιοι : ΗΗ[. [?]]Η-Η	Αύλιᾶται Κᾶρες : Γ ^ρ Η-Η[Ι]	
Στρεφσαῖοι : Η	Θάσιοι : ΗΗΗ	Ἰᾶται : Η	
Γαλέφσιοι : Η ^ρ	Μυσοί : ΔΔΔΗ[- - -]	Παριανοί : Η	15
Κυρβισσός : ΔΔΔΗ ^ρ Η[Ι]	Πίκρες Συνα[ν] [- - - - -]	Δασκύλειον	
Διδυμοτε-	Κεδριῆται[: - -]	[ἐ]ν Προποντίδι : Γ ^ρ Η-Η[Ι]	
χῖται : ΔΓ ^ρ -ΙΙΙΙ	Κεράμιοι : [- -]	[Α]ἰγινῆται : ΧΧΧ	
Δ[ι]καιοπο-	Βουθειῆς : [- -]	Μιλέσιοι	
λῖται[ι :] ΗΗΗΗ	Κυλλάνδι[οι : - -]	[ἐ]χς Λέρο : ΗΗΗ	20
Κλαζομέν[ιοι : - -]	[Χ]ίοι : +++	[Μ]ιλέσιοι	
Ἄργίλιοι : Χ ^ρ (sic!)	-----	[ἐκ Τ]ειχιό[σ]σε[ις : - -]	
Καρβασυανδῆς : [- - -]	-----	-----	
Φασελῖται : ^ρ Η ^{νν}	-----	-----	
Τερμερῆς : ΗΗ ^ρ ^{νν}	-----	-----	25
Κεβρένιοι : ΗΗΗ	-----	-----	
Κασολα[βῆς : - - - - -]	-----	-----	
Δίκ[αία -]	-----	-----	
πά[ρ] Ἄβδερα : - -]	-----	-----	
<i>vacat</i>	[<i>vacat</i>]	[<i>vacat</i>]	

Postscriptum

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 20

[-----]

[-----]

[-----]

[-----]

5 [-----]

[. . ⁴ . .]++NE[. . . . ¹³]

[ἀργύ]ριον : κ[αἰ τὸ χρυσίον]

[τῶ] ἀργυρίο : [κεφάλαιον ἔν]

[.]ΧΗΗΗΔΔ[. . . . ¹¹]

10 [χ]ρυσίο σύμ[παντος Κυζικ]-

ενο κ[ε]φά[λαιον ἐν στατέρ]-

ες Κυ[ζικενοί ⁹]-

ΑΗΕ[. ¹⁷]

vacat

Cf. Camp 1974, 314-24; Eddy 1973; Lewis 1981, 77, n. 43; *id.* 1992, 116, n. 72; *id.* 1994, 300; McGregor 1976b, 280-82; Meritt 1937c, 72-73; Meritt 1940a, 58-61 and note 16; Nesselhauf 1933b, 187-90; Rhodes 1992, 58 and n. 86; Thompson 1981; Threatte 1984a, 99; Wade-Gery 1935; 135-36.

έ γ ρ α μ μ ά τ ε υ ε : τ ο ῖ ς τ ρ ι ά κ ο ν τ α ·]					
V		VI		VII	
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	[.] ^Ρ	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	ΔΔΓ	++-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	ΔΓΓ-III	Ναρ[ισβαρῆς]
-----	-----	-----	-----	ΓΓΓ-Π	Θασσθ[αρῆς]
-----	-----	-----	-----	[.] <i>vacat</i>	Ἰγρες
-----	-----	[HΔΔΔ]	[Ῥοινᾶιοι]	^Ρ	Καύνιοι
-----	[... ⁶ ...]οι	ΓΓΓ-Π	ἐν [Ῥικάροι]	[.] <i>vacat</i>	Πασσανδ[ῆς]
-----	[... ⁵ ...]ῆς	HHH	Κολο[φόνιοι]	ΔΔΔΓΓ-Π	Κρυῆς
-----	[Ἄστυπα]λαιῆς	ΔΔΔΓΓ-Π	Νοτιῆ[ς]	H	Στρεφσαῖ[οι]
-----	[Σαμοθρ]ᾶικες	ΔΓΓ-III	Διοσιρ[ῖται]	^Ρ HHH	Χαλχεδ[όνιοι]
-----	[... ⁶ ...]ῆς	^Ρ HH ^Ρ	Ἐφέσιοι	-----	-----
-----	[... ^{max 6} ...]ῆς	H	Ἰᾶται	ΔΓΓ-[IIII]	-----
-----	[ἠεφαισ]τιῆς	ΧHH	Αῖνιοι	ΓΓΓ-ΓΓΓ	Ἄ[στυρενοί]
-----	[... ^{max 7} ...]ῆς	ΓΓΓ-Π	Μύνδιοι	ΔΓΓ-III	Γρυν[ειῆς]
-----	[Λαμφοακ]ῆνοι	ΓΓΓ-Π	Αύλιᾶται	ΔΓΓ-III	Πιτανα[ῖοι]
-----	[... ⁸ ...]αι	ΔΓΓ-III	Καρβασσανδῆς	H ^Ρ	Ἄστακεν[οί]
-----	[... ^{max 8} ...]ῆς	H ^Ρ	Μαρονῖται	HH	Σπαρτόλιο[ι]
<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>	

Col. I 12 Βο[λβαί]ῆς (*ATL* I) no other attested Carian member would fit, but members from other regions may originally have appeared in the lacuna, *pace ATL* III, 8-9 || Col. III. 2 HHHH- [Σερμυλ]ιῆ[ς] (*SEG* V), but see commentary, HHHH- [Μιλέσοι]ι ἐκ - - (Rhodes, *CAH* V², 58 note 86) || Col. IV 16 Ἄστυπαλαιῆς being present in V.11 the only attested candidate is Ἄρισβαῖοι (*IG* I³) || Col. V 12 [^ΡH] [Σαμοθρ]ᾶικες (*IG* I³) or [^ΡHH] [Σαμοθρ]ᾶικες Lewis (1994, p. 298) || 15 (*IG* I³) No other attested member would suit the ending || Col. VI. 8-9 ΓΓΓ-Π being attested only twice (15.I.41 and 27.III.21) this is most probably a two line entry. Only Ῥοινᾶιοι suit the remaining traces || Col. VII. 17 [ΧHH] [Λαμφοακ]ῆνοι (*IG* I³) || Col. IX 5 *Pace* Threatte 1984a, 99 || 9 [ἠερχομ]ῆνοι Lewis (1981 and 1994, 300). No attested league member fits [-⁶-]ῆνοι, Κλαζομένιοι being attested in VIII.6.

List 3, 452/1. Eds.: *IG* 228 and suppl. p. 35; *IG* I² 193; Meritt and West (MW) 1925c, 252-67 with Pl. facing p. 253; *SEG* V; *ATL* I; *ATL* II; *IG* I³ 261.

[έπ]ι τῆς : τρίτε[ς ἀρχῆς ἡ]ῆι Διο[τ]ιμος ἔγραμ						
	I		II		III	
	(H)HH	Ἄφυταῖοι		{[... ⁸ ...]ι	ΔΓΓ-	Βερού[σιοι]
	[P]HHHH	Λέμνιοι	H vac.	{[... ⁷ ...]ο vac.	-III	ἡυπό τῆ[ι ἴδ]ει
	HΓP	Κεράμιοι		{[... ⁷ ...]νει ν	ΔΓΓ-III	Ἐλαῖται
5	ΔΔΓ	Μυδονῆς	[P]HH[- ? -]	[... ⁷ ...]ι	HHH	Πεπαρέθ[ιοι]
	HHHHΓP	Τενέδιοι	ΔΓΓ-III	[... ⁷ ...]ι	ΔΔΔΓΓ-III	Νεάνδρε[ια]
	HΓP	Γαλέφσιοι	[H]P	[... ^{max. 7} ...] vac.	HΓPΔΓΓ-III	Ἄλικαρν[ιασσῆς]
	ΓΓΓΓII	Γεντίνιοι	Γ[- ? -]	[... ⁷ ...]οι	HH	Κυλλάνδ[ιοι]
	HΓP	Φασελῖται	vacat	[... ⁸ ...]αῖοι	ΔΔΔΓΓ-III	Κυρ[βισσός]
10	HΓP	Καλύδνιοι	H[- ? -]	-----	P	-----
	HΓP	Κλαζομένιοι	H[- ? -]	[... ⁷ ...]αι	-----	-----
	P	Κεδριῆται	[P]H	[Σαμοθραῖ]κες	-----	-----
	H	Ἰᾶται	-----	-----	-----	-----
	ΔΔΔΓΓ-III	Ἄρτακενοί	-----	-----	-----	-----
15	P	Δίκαια	-----	-----	-----	-----
		παρὰ Ἄβ[δερα]	-----	-----	-----	-----
	H+	Ἄστ[ι- - - -]	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
20	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
25	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	[Δασκύλειον]
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	[έν Προπον]τίδι
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	[... ^{c. 6} ...]ε[ς]
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	[... ^{c. 6} ...]ι
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	[... ^{c. 5} ...]αται
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	[... ^{c. 5} ...]εσιοι
30	----- Υ. ΙΟΙ	HΓP	Μυέσσ[ιοι]	-----	[... ^{c. 5} ...] vac.
	[ΔΓΓ]III	Καρυανδῆς	X[P]HHH	Χερσο[νεοῖται]	-----	-----
	HH	Μαδναοῆς		vacat		[vacat]

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Col. I 17 HΓP Ἄστακενοί HH and Ἄστυπαλαιῆς (both Köhler), HH Ἄστυπαλαιῆς (*ATL* I) || Col. II 2-4 The size and position of the quota indicates that this is a three-line entry. The ultimate in 3 could not be either ethnic or toponym, unless it was divided between this and the following line. Other possibilities are ἀπό, ἡυπό, (Διῆς ἡοι ἐχς) Ἄθο, (Διῆς ἀπό) Κεναῖο, (Θεραῖοι ἐχς) Ἰκάρο, (Οἰναῖοι ἐχς) Ἰκάρο, but nothing seems to fit the number of letters in the lacuna, and some other unattested name cannot be excluded. Finally it could simply be a scribal error for [-⁷-]οι. In 4 -νει corresponds to nothing attested in the tribute lists || 8-9 [P]H [Σκιοναῖ]οι | [καὶ Θραμβ]αῖοι (*SEG* V) is highly likely || 11 H[P] [Μαρονῖτ]αι (Köhler) || 12 No other attested member suits the traces || Col. III 24-25 The preserved ending is sufficient to identify this community; this being so, it gives the approximate length for the following lines; see however the commentary on the restitution in *ATL* I || Col. IV 5 Μαδύτιοι only attested from 444/3 (11.II.10), Μαϊάνδριοι (*SEG* V), Μαραθέσιοι (*ATL* I, p. 172 “a less likely restoration. Its first appearance is in 12,I,5),” Μαρονῖται, if not already attested in column II.11 || *ATL* I, p. 16: “The initial letter in line 6 is iota or tau.” || 14 Αἰραῖοι, Ἐρόδιοι, Γαλαῖοι, Λίνδιοι (Köhler, *SEG* V), Οἰναῖοι, Σαναῖοι (*ATL* I, p. 172) || 15 Αἰραῖοι, Ἄνδριοι, Ἀργίλιοι, Λίνδιοι, Νάχσιοι, Οἰναῖοι, Ὀθόριοι, Σαναῖοι, Σέστιοι, Σίφνιοι, Στόλιοι (*SEG* V) || 17 The absence of any ethnic on -NEIOI makes [Προκον]νέ[ς]οιοι (*ATL* I) a possible restitution, but I refuse to emend an ending || Col. V 23 Σί[νγιοι] or Σί[γγιοι] || 25 Αἰνιᾶται (*ATL* I), Αὔλιᾶται || 31 [Π]ελειᾶται (Rangabé and *ATL* I), [Ζ]ελειᾶται (Böckh).

[μ ά τ ε υ ε] : τ ο ῖ ς τ ρ ι ά κ ο ν τ α ·

	IV		V	
<u>ΔΓΗΙΙΙ</u>	Πε[ρκόσιοι]	ΧΗΗ	Κυμαῖοι	
<u>ΧΗΗ</u>	Αἰ[νιοι]	Χ	Περίνθιοι	
<u>Η^Ρ</u>	Νι[σύριοι]	[Η]ΗΗ	Φοκαῖες	
-----	Μα[-----]	[Χ]ΧΧ	Αιγιῆται	5
-- I	I-----	-----	Θερμαῖοι	
[^Ρ ΔΓ]ΗΙΙΙ	Θύσσιοι		ἐν Ἰκάροι	
[ΗΗ]Η	Κνίδιοι	-----	Ναχσιᾶται	
-- Η fr. 13	Χερσονέσιοι	Η[Η ^Ρ]	Τερμερῆς	
-----	Πύρνιοι	ΗΗΗ	Κολοφονῖται	10
-----	Πριαπῆς	ΔΔΔΗΗΗ	Νοτιῆς	
-----	[Κα]μερῆς	Η	Σαμβακτύς	
-----	[Ἴε]λύσιοι	^Ρ ΗΗ ^Ρ	Ἐφέσιοι	
-----	[. ³ .]ἼΟΙ	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Καρβασσανδῆς	
-----	[. . ⁵ . .]οι	^Ρ	Κα[ύ]νιοι	15
-----	[. . ⁵ . .]εσ	ΔΔΔΗΗΗ	Κρυ[ῆς]	
-----	[. . . ⁶ . . .]ΝΕΙΟΙ	Χ ¹ ^Ρ	ἡβ[δ]ερῖται	
-----	[. . . ⁷ . . .]οι	ΓΗΗΗ	Μύν[διοι]	
-----	[. . . . ⁸ . . .]ι	^Ρ ΗΗ ^Ρ	Χαλ[χεδό]νιοι	
-----	-----	ΗΗΗ	Θάσ[ιοι]	20
-----	-----	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Παι[σεν]οί	
-----	-----	^Ρ ΔΔΓ	Γαρ[γαρῆς]	
-----	-----	[ΗΗ]ΗΗ	Σί[νγιοι]	
-----	[Κα]σολα[βῆς]	[. [?] .] ^Ρ	Γ-----	
-----	[Λ]εφσιμάν[ιοι]	-----	[. ³ .]ιαται	25
ΗΗ	Σ[π]αρτόλιοι	-----	[Πι]τανάῖοι	
Η	Σκάφσιοι	-----	[Γρ]υνεῖς	
ΓΗΙΙΙ	Ἄζειοί	-----	[Δαυ]νιοτειχῖται	
ΔΔΔΓΗΗΗ	Βεργαῖοι	-----	[Βυ]ζάντιοι	
ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Τυρόδιζαι	-----	[Κυ]ζικενοί	30
ΔΔΓ	Σύριοι	-----	[Π]ελειᾶται	
	<i>fin.col.</i>		<i>fin.col.</i>	

List 4, 451/0. Eds.: *IG* 229 and suppl. p. 71; *IG* I² 194; Meritt and West (MW) 1925c, 252-67, with Pl. facing p. 255 and 258; *id.* 1927, 45-46; *id.* 1928, 288; *SEG* V; *ATL* I; *ATL* II; *IG* I³ 262.

ἐ π ἰ τ ῆ ς ἀ ρ χ ῆ ς τ ε ς τ ε τ ᾱ [ρ] τ ε ς		h [ē i... ⁷ ...] λ ε ς	
	I	II	III
	Φασεῖται	Θερμ[αῖοι]	-----
	Σκιοναῖοι	vacat	-----
	καὶ Θραμ[β]αῖοι	ΔΓΓ-III	Καριβα]σανδῆς
5	Ἄφυταῖοι	ΔΔΔΓΓ-III	Κρυ[εῖ]ς
	Αἰγάντιοι	ΓΓΓ-III	Αὐ[λ]εᾶται
	Μενδαῖοι	ΗΗ	Κλαζομένοι
	Σκ[α]φσαῖοι	ΔΓΓ-III	[Γ]αρπαριῶτα[ι]
	Νεοπολίται	ΗΔΔΔΓΓ-III	Οἰναῖοι
10	ἐ[κ] Παλλένες	vacat	ἐχς Ἴκαρο
	[Μ]υκόνιοι	ΗΗΗ	Τερμερῆ[ς]
	[Κ]ασολαβῆς	ΠΗ	Τεῖοι
	[Λ]εφσ[ιμάν]ιοι	ΗΗΗ	Φοκαῖ[ε]ς
	... ⁶ ... ΙΑΙ	ΓΓΓ-III	Παλα[ι]περκόσιοι
15	... ⁵ ... ΙΟΙ	ΠΗΗΗΗ	Καμ[ε]ρῆς
	[Χ]ερρονεσίτ[αι]	Η	-----
	Πύρνιοι	-----	-----
	Καύνιοι	-----	-----
	Ἄνδριοι	-----	-----
20	Σερίφιοι	-----	-----
	Κορέσιοι	-----	-----
	Ῥεναῖες	-----	-----
	Καρύστι[οι]	-----	-----
	Γρυνχῆ[ς]	-----	-----
25	Δίκαι[α]	-----	-----
	Ὀλοφ[ύχσιοι]	[ΗΗΗ]Η	Σίν[γιοι]
	Διῆ[ς]	ΗΗ	Μαρ[ονῖ]ται
	Διῆ[ς]	ΠΠΔΔΔΔΓ-III	Σερ[μυλιῆ]ς
	Ο[- 3 -]ΕΣ	ΠΔΓΓ-III	Θυσ[σσιοι]
30	[Π]εδασῆς	ΧΗΗ	Κυμ[αῖοι]
	ἡλικαρνάσιοι	ΗΗ	Κα[λ]ύδν[ιοι]
	Κυλλάντιοι	ΗΗΗ	Λεβέδι[οι]
	Κυρβισσῆς	ΔΓΓ-III Πολιχναῖοι	Κα[- -]
	vacat	vacat	[vacat]

Col. I 14 Ἄβδερῖται, Αἰγινῆται, Διοσιρῖται, Κεδριᾶται (*ATL* I, cf. p. 172: “The restoration [Κεδριᾶ]ται is made on geographical grounds and is preferred to [Χαλκεᾶ]ται or [Πελειᾶ]ται” and “Note the geographical order from [Κεδριᾶ]ται to Καύνιοι.”), Νεοπολίται, Πελειᾶται, Σταγιρῖται, Χαλκεᾶται || 15 Αἰραῖοι, Ἄκάνθιοι, Ἀργίλιοι, Ἐφέσιοι, Ἐρόδιοι, Γαλαῖοι (only attested from 433/2), Ἰμβριοι, Κνίδιοι (*ATL* I probably on geographical grounds), Κύθνιοι, Λάτμιοι, Λέμνιοι, Λίνδιοι, Νάχσιοι, Νισύριοι, Ὀθόριοι, Σαναῖοι, Σέστιοι (only attested from 446/5), Σίφνιοι. There is no analogy to Kasolaba-Lepsimandos (frequently attested together) followed by Kedreia-Kaunos || 29 Βουθειῆς (Köhler), Κοδαπές (MW 1926) perhaps better since Köhler indicated only three vacant spaces || Col. II 15 The unusual quota and the upper part of the slanting stroke preserved in the third stoichos makes Kamiros certain || Col. III 33 Πολιχναῖοι καὶ σύν (*SEG* V), Πολιχναῖοι Καρῆς (*ATL* I) in analogy with Χῖοι Κᾶρες. The entry is an hapax, the community otherwise unattested, but the small sum could speak against a syntely payment || Col. V 20 Σαναῖοι, Σαρταῖοι (only attested from 434/3).

ἐ γ ρ α μ μ ά [τ ε υ ε η α] λ ι μ ό σ ι ο ς

	IV		V	
ΔΔΓ	Ίκιοι	-----	Ίελύσιοι	
ΗΗΗ	Πεπαρέ[θιοι]	----- fr. 23	Σπαρτόλιοι	
ΗΗΗ	Θάσιοι	-----	[.....]ι	
ΧΗΗ	Λαμφσακ[ενοί]	-----	-----	5
ΔΔΔΗΗΗ	Νοτιῆς	-----	-----	
ΔΓΗΗΗ	Ἐλαιῖτα[ι]	-----	-----	
ΔΓΗΗΗ	Παισηνοί	-----	-----	
[Δ]ΓΗΗΗ	Περκόσιο[ι]	-----	-----	
Η ^π	Δαρδανῆς	-----	-----	10
-----	Κολοφόν[ιοι]	-----	-----	
-----	Α[ι]νεᾶτα[ι]	-----	-----	
-----	Να[χ]σιῆ[ται]	-----	-----	
-----	Ξελύν[βριανοί]	-----	-----	
-----	Κῶιοι	-----	-----	15
-----	Ἰόλυνθ[ιοι]	-----	-----	
-----	[Σ]καβλαῖοι	-----	-----	
-----	[Στ]ρεφ[σ]αῖο[ι]	-----	-----	
-----	[.]ΛΙΣΣΕΣ	-----	-----	
-----	[Πα]κτύ[ε]ς <i>vacat</i>	Η[- - -]	Σ -----	20
-----	[. ³ .]ΙΟ[Ι]	ΗΔ[- -]	ΑΛΙ[- - - - -]	
-----	[Νεά]νδρεια	ΗΔΔ[- -]	Κεῖο[ι]	
-----	[Λαμ]πονῆς	ΔΓΗ[ΙΙΙΙ]	[.]ισσυρι-----	
-----	[Βερ]γαῖοι	ΔΔΔΗΗ[ΗΗ]	[Χ]αλκετο[ρῆς]	
-----	[Ἄβυ]δενοί	ΓΗΗΗ	[Κ]υδαιῆς	25
Η ^π	[Κερ]αμῆς	ΔΓΗΗΗ	η[υ]βλισοῆς	
ΔΔΓ	Α[ῖ]σον	ΓΗΗΗ	Ὀ[ρ]ανιῆται	
ΔΓΗΗΗ	Ν[αρ]ισβαρῆς	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Κιλλαρῆ[ς]	
ΓΗΗΗ	Θ[ασ]θαρῆς	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Θύδ[ονος]	
Η	[Μυρ]ιναῖοι	ΔΔΓ	Σίλο[ι]	30
ΔΓΗΗΗ	-----	Η	Τ[ε]λάν]δριοι	
ΓΗΗΗ	-----	----- / ΙΟΙ	
-----	-----	-----	-----	
	<i>vacat</i>		[<i>vacat</i>]	

List 5. 450/49. Eds. *IG* I 230; *IG* I² 195, 192.17-27, 197.16-20+; Meritt and West (MW) 1926b, 63-69 and Pl. V-VI; *SEG* V; *ATL* I; *ATL* II; *IG* I³ 263.

ἐ π ἰ τ ῆ ς ἄ ρ χ ῆ ς τ ῆ [ς]			π έ μ π τ ε ς h[ε̃ ι c. 11			
	I		II		III	
	HHH	Χερρονέσιοι	-----	Οἶναῖοι	-----	-----
	ΔΓΗ-III	Πύρνοιοι	[vacat]	ἐν Ἰκάροι	-----	-----
	Ρ	Κνίδιοι	-----	Κλαζζομένιοι[ι]	-----	-----
5	ΔΓΗ-III	Καρβασοα[νδῆς]	-----	hairaῖοι	-----	-----
	ΔΔΔΗΗ-II	Κρυῆς	-----	Λεβέδιοι	-----	-----
	HHHΡΓΗ	Κοῖοι	-----	Καλύδνιοι :	Δ---	-----
	Ρ	Πανσανδ[ῆς]	[ΔΓΗ-III]I	Παρπαραῖοι	-----	[... ⁶ ...]αι
	ΓΗΗ-II	Αὐλιῆ[ται]	[ΔΔΔΗΗ]-II	Κυρβισοῆς	H[Ρ]	[Γαλ]έφσιοι
10	Ρ	Χαλκεῖ[ται]	[Ρ]H	Τεῖοι	-----	[Δι]καιοπολῖται :
	Χ	Ἰελύ[σιοι]	[ΓΗΗ]-II	Μύνδιοι	[vacat]	ἸἘρε]τριὸν ἄποικοι
	H	Μυλ[ασῆς]	[vacat]	παρὰ Τέρμερα	-----	[Σ]αναῖοι
	ΡHHHH	Καίμιρῆς	[vacat]	ἸΕρυθραῖοι	[ΔΓΗ-III]	Νεάπολις
	H	Συ[αγγελῆς]	[vacat]	Πολι[χναῖοι]	vacat	παρ' Ἀντισάραν
15	vacat		-----	{Σιδ[όσιοι]	H	Μεκυπερναῖοι
	-----	-----	[vacat]	Πτε[λεόσιοι]	Ρ	Σκαβλαῖοι
	-----	-----	[vacat]	{Βο[υθειῆς]	ΔΔΔΔ	ἸΑσερῖται
	-----	-----	-----	[... ⁸ ...]vac.	ΔΔΓΗ-III	Φεγέτιοι
	-----	-----	-----	-----	Ρ	Δίκαια
20	-----	-----	-----	-----	vacat	παρὰ Ἀβδερὰ
	-----	-----	-----	-----	ΧΡ	ἠαβδερίται
	-----	-----	-----	-----	HΡ	Μαρονῆς
	-----	-----	-----	-----	[H]Ρ	Θύσσιοι
	-----	-----	-----	-----	[XH]H	Αἴνιοι
25	-----	[... ⁹ ...]ι	-----	-----	[Ρ]H	Σαμοθράικες
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	[N]εοπολῖται
	-----	[... ⁷ ...]οι	[vacat]	ἸΑΙ[-]-----	[vacat]	[Μενδ]αῖον ἄποικοι
	-----	[... ⁷ ...]ι	H	Μύρι[ναῖοι]	-----	[... ⁶ ...]οι
	-----	-----	H	ἠέσσιοι	-----	ἠυ[-----]
30	-----	-----	ΔΓΗ-III	Διοσιρῖται	[H]H	ἸΟλ[ύνθιοι]
	-----	-----	ΔΔΔΗΗ-II	Νοτιῆς	H	Στ[ρεφσαῖοι]
	-----	-----	ΔΔΔΔΗ-III	Κασολαβῆς	[ΔΔ]Γ	ἠα[ισόνιοι]
	-----	-----	HΔΔΔΔΓ	Κεβρένιοι	ΔΔΔΔΓΗ	Δα[ρδανῆς]
	-----	-----	ΔΔΔΗΗ-II	Νεάνδρεια	ννν[. .]νν	ἸΑκ[άνθιοι?]
35	-----	-----	HHH	Φασελῖται	[HH]Ρ	Τε[ρμερῆς]
	-----	-----	Ρ	Θερμαῖοι	[ΔΡ]Η-III	Παρ[γασῆς]
	-----	-----	[vacat]	ἐν Ἰκάρο[ι]	[HHHΡΔΔ]ΔΗΗ	Πε[ρίνθιοι]
	-----	-----	[ΔΔ]ΔΓ	Χαλκεῖ[ο]ρῆ[ς]	[ΓΗΗ]-II	Γεν[τί]νιο[ι]
	-----	-----	-----	[.]ΥΛΙΑΕΣ	HHΡΔΔΔ[ΓΗ]-Η	Τεν[έδ]ιοι
40	-----	-----	-----	[Κυ]δαῖῆς	ΔΓΗ-III	[... ⁵ ...]οι
	-----	-----	-----	[ἠα]λικαρνάσσιοι	ΔΓΗ-III	[Σκαφσ]αῖοι

[fin. col.]

fin. col.

fin. col.

Col. I 14-5 Συ[αγγελῆς] | ἠ[ὸν Πίικρες ἄρχει] (Köhler, *ATL* I); Συ[αγγελῆς] | κ[αῖ Ἀμυνανδῆς] (*ATL* I, p. 174) || Col. II 39 [H]υλιμῆς (*ATL* I), but [K]υλλαῆς (unknown) is possible || Col. III 8 [Αἰνεᾶτ]αι (*ATL* I), [Χαλκεᾶτ]αι, [Κεδριᾶτ]αι, [Ναχσιᾶτ]αι, [Τυρόδιζ]αι || 28-29 [ΔΓΗ-III] [Βερούσιοι] | ἠυ[πὸ τῆ Ἰδει] (*ATL* I), but independent entries are possible || 29 ἠυβλισοῆς, ἠυδισοῆς || 33 ΔΔΔΔΓΗ (2,760 dr.) only attested for Dardanos, but the vacant space in 34 could indicate a two line entry || 34 The surface is preserved in such a way that alpha in the third letter space is compulsory || Col. IV 2 [Δαυνιοτει]χῖται or [Διδυμοτει]χῖται || 8 Πτοτεῖδαῖα, Σελυμβριανοί (*ATL* I) || 39 Aigina,

List 6. 449/8. Eds. *IG* I 231, 267 (list 6); *IG* I² 196, 303 (list 6); Meritt 1925e; Meritt and West (MW) 1926b, 83-94 and Pl. XVI-XVII (list 6); *SEG* V (list 6); *ATL* I (list 7); *ATL* II (7); *IG* I³ 264 (list 7).

	[ἐ π] ἰ	τ ῆ [ς ἄ ρ χ ῆ ς ἡ] ῆ ι	Μ ε ν ἑ τ [. ³ .]
		I	II
	[ΔΓΓ-Ι]ΙΙΙ	Ναρ[ισβα]ρ[ῆς]	Ναχσιᾶτα[ι]
	[-?-]ΓΓΓ-ΙΙ	Τεν[έδι]οι	Θασθαρεῖς
	[ΓΓΓ-ΓΓ]ΙΙ	Γ[εντ]ί[νιοι]	Μυδονεῖς
5	[ΔΓΓ]Γ-ΙΙΙΙ	Σ[τα]γί[ριτα]ι	Τελάνδριοι
	-----	Κ[ερα]μῆς	Καρβασού'α'νδ[ῆς]
	-----	[Καμρ]ῆς	Ούλιᾶται
	-----	[ἡλικ]ἄρ[χ]ῶ[σσοι]οι	Κρυεῖς
	-----	[Μυριναῖοι]	Φαρβέλιοι
10	-----	[Μεκυπερναῖοι]	Μύνδιοι
	[ΔΔΔ]ΓΓΓ-ΙΙ	Π[λαδασῆς]	[Λί]νδιοι
	-----	[Πεδασῆς]	[Πεδιῆ]ς
	[Π]ΗΗΗΗ	[Κυμαῖοι]	-----
	[Δ]ΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	[Πιταναῖοι]	-----
15	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	[Γ]ρυ[νειῆς]	-----
	ΗΗΗ	Χερ[ρονέσιοι]	[. ^{max. 7} .] <i>vacat</i>
	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙ[Ι]	Πύ[ρριοι]	[. ^{max. 7} .] <i>vacat</i>
	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙ[ΙΙ]	Νε[άπολις]	[. ^{max. 7} .] <i>vacat</i>
	ΗΗ	Κ[υλλάντιοι]	[. . . ⁷ . . .]ι
20	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓ-ΙΙ	Κ[υρβίσσῆς]	ΗΗ[Η]
	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓ-ΙΙ	Χ[ῖοι]	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ
	ΗΗΗ	'Αφ[υταῖοι]ι	ΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ
	-----	Συ[αγγελ]ῆς	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ
	-----	Τ[ερμε]ρῆς	ΔΔΔΓ
25	[- ^{ca. 4} -]ΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	'Ι[δου]μῆς	ΔΔΓ
	-----	[Μαρ]ονῖ[τα]ι	ΗΠ
	-----	[Θερ]μαῖο[ι]	ΧΗΗΗΗ
	-----	[Οἰναῖ]ο[ι]	ΗΠ
	-----	-----	ΔΔΔΗ[ΓΓΓ-ΙΙ]
30	-----	-----	Π ^Δ Δ[ΔΓ]
	-----	-----	ΗΗ
	-----	-----	Η
	-----	-----	Π
	-----	-----	ΗΗ
35	-----	[Δικαιοπολί]ται	-----
	[<i>vacat</i>]	'Ε[ρετριὸν ἄποικ]οι	-----
	-----	Ἄ[ῖ]νιοι	-----
	-----	Κα[ύνιοι]	-----
		<i>vacat</i>	[<i>vacat</i>]

Col. I 6-28 Partially preserved or missing entries have been restored in analogy with List 7.I.8-31 || 29-34 have been restored in *SEG* V and *ATL* I in analogy with 7.I.31-36, where the entries are themselves partially restored || 35-38 The restitutions are secured by analogy with 7.I.37-40 || 16-20 The *ATL*-editors restored these lines in analogy with 7.II.6-10, but there only the quotas are preserved, and the restitutions of both sequences therefore remain conjectural: i.e. the names in 7 and the quotas and names in 6 || 19 ΗΗΗ Κ[εβρένιοι] (*ATL* I); no other name fits || 21 ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Κ[ιανοι], ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Κ[οδαπῆς] *ATL* I || 22 Only Azeia and Hydaieus paid 400 dr., the preserved initials should make the reading certain || 35 The restitution by the *ATL*-editors hinges on the preserved quota in 6.II.35 and 7.II.25, the second letter preserved here

Cf. Accame 1952, 223-37; *ATL* I, 175; Dow 1942b, 380-84; *id.* 1943, 25-26; Gomme 1940, 65-76; Lewis 1954, 25-29; McGregor 1962; *id.* 1967b; Meritt 1966; Piérart 1987, 291; Pritchett 1964; *id.* 1966, 126-29; *id.* 1972, 158-59; *id.* 1995, 168-72; Samons II 2000, 80-81; Wade-Gery 1935;

ς : έ γ ρ α [μ μ ά τ υ] ε υ ε		Λ α μ [π τ ρ ε ύ ς]	
	III		IV
[^ϕ Δ]ΔΔΗΗΗII	Στόλι[οι]	H	Σερί[φιοι]
[Γ ⁺]ΗΗII	ἡεδρόλι[οι]	^ϕ ΔΔΔΓ ⁺ IIII	Λαμφ[σακενοί]
Γ	ῥεναιῆς	^ϕ	Αιγά[ντιοι]
-----	Πριαπῆς	HHH	Τενέ[διοι]
-----	ἡεστιαῖ[ς]	^ϕ H	Τέιο[ι]
-----	[Π]αλαιπερκ[όσ]ιοι	^ϕ H	Ἄν[δ]ριοι
-----	Γαλέφοιο[ι]	-----	Μυκόνοι
-----	Φοκ[αι]ῆς	[HHΔΔΔ]ΔΓ ⁺	Θάσιοι
[HHH ^ϕ Γ ⁺]Η	Κοῖοι	- - IIII	Ἄβυδανοί
[ΔΓ ⁺ II]II	Βαργυλι[ῆς]	[?.]H	Ἐρετριῆς
-----	Σαμοθραι[κῆς]	[ΔΓ ⁺]IIII	Βρ[υ]νχειῆς
Δ[ΔΔΔ]	Ἄσσεριῖται	[HH]Η	[Σίφν]ιοι
^ϕ	[Δ]ικαία παρ' Ἄβδ[ερα]	ΔΓ ⁺ [IIII]	[Διδ]υμοτε'ι'χί[ται]
ΔΔΔΗ[ΗΗII]	[Δ]ιῆς	ΔΗΗΗ	[Ἴατα]ι <i>vacat</i>
ΔΓ[ΗΗIII]	[Εὐ]ρυμαχίται	^ϕ HH ^ϕ ΔΔΔΔIIII	[Τορο]ναῖοι
Γ[ΗΗΗII]	[Βρυ]κόντιοι	Δ[Δ]ΔΔΓ ⁺	[Δαρδ]ανῆς
ΔΓ[ΗΗIII]	[Κιαν]οί	-----	Π[ρι]ανῆς
ΔΓ ⁺ [IIII]	[Ἄρκε]σσεια	-----	Σ[τ]υρῆς
ΔΔ	ἡ[υμι]σῆς	ΔΔΔ[ΗΗΗIIII]	Ἄθ[ε]ναῖοι
H	ἕ[δι]σῆς	Δ[Γ ⁺]IIII	Β[ε]ρύσιοι
HHH	ἡ[αιρα]ῖοι	- - - + + - - -	Βυζάντιοι
[X] ^ϕ ΗΔΔ	[Πάρι]οι	+ <i>vacat</i>	Χαλκιδῆς
HH ^ϕ ΔΓ ⁺ IIII	Ν[άχ]σιοι	^ϕ	Νεοπολίται
^ϕ H	Σε[λυμβρ]ιανοί	[Δ]Γ ⁺ IIII	Λα[μ]πόνεια
	Ἐ[ρυθραῖ]οι	ΔΓ ⁺ IIII	[Παι]σενοί
	ἡοῦ[τι]οι ἀπέγαγον ἡυπέρ	ΔΓ ⁺ IIII	[Περκ]ότε
-----	{ [Π]ολιχναῖοι : κα[ι] ἡυπέρ ἡαυτῶν	H	[. . . .]οι
	[Σ]ιδόσιοι : Βουθ[ε]ῖες : Ἐ[λαιό]σιοι	-----	-----
	[Πτελεό]σιοι	M[-----]	
-----	Σίγγιοι	<i>vacat</i> [.]	-----
[ΔΓ ⁺ ΗIIII]	Παρπάρ[ιοι]	ΔΔΔ[- -]	-----
[Δ]Γ ⁺ IIII	Σκαφσαῖο[ι]	ΔΔΓ[ΗΗIII]	[Φ]εγέτιο[ι]
Γ ⁺ IIII	Σερμῆς	HHH	Σερβυλιῆς
[Δ]ΔΓ	Ἴκιοι	^ϕ	Σκαβλαῖοι
[Δ]ΗΗIIII	Σιγείῆς	X ^ϕ	Με'ν'δαῖοι
Γ	ἡ[αρπά]γιοι	HHH	Κύθνιοι
[H]HH	Πεπα[ρέθ]ιοι	^ϕ	Καρύστιοι
	<i>vacat</i>	HHHH	Κεῖοι
			<i>vacat</i>

and the initial there. Only Στυρῆς would fit the remaining traces, and they already appear in IV.19 || 36 [^ϕ] [Κεδριᾶται] (*ATL* I) in analogy with 7.II.26 ^ϕΚ[εδριᾶται] where there is no other obvious candidate, but the sequence is not comparable in list 7 where six entries separate Strepsa from Stolos against three only here || 37 [X] [Ἰελύσιοι] (*ATL* I) in analogy with 7.II.27, but see note on 36 || 38 HH [Ἄστυπαλαιῆς] (*ATL* I) in analogy with 7.II.28, but see note on 36 || Col. III 18-25 restored in analogy with 7.II.48-55 || Col. IV 15 Only Ios is attested for 840 dr. and few names are so short as to fit the preserved ultimate, the reading could also be Ἰῆται || 30 M[ετὰ Διούσια] *ATL* I is possible, but there is no analogy for this entry.

List 7. 447/6. Eds. *IG* I 233; *IG* I² 198; Meritt and West (MW) 1926b, 63-71 and Pl. VII; *SEG* V (list 8); *ATL* I (list 8); *ATL* II (list 8); *IG* I³ 265. Cf. Accame 1952, 223-37; *ATL* I, 175; Dow 1942b, 371-84; *id.* 1943, 25-26; Gehrke 1980, 27; Gomme, 1940, 66; Lewis 1954, 25-29; McGregor 1962; *id.* 1967b; Meritt 1925d, 321-24; *id.* 1937c, 66-69; *id.* 1943, 223-34; *id.* 1966; Nesselhauf 1933, 16-19; Piérart 1987, 291-303; Pritchett 1964e, 130-31; *id.* 1966, 126-29; *id.* 1972, 158-59; *id.* 1995, 168-72; Samons II 2000, 80-81.

		ἔπιτῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἑβδόμης] ΣΤΟΙΧ. 22	
		[h] ἔιδιοδ[ο?ος ἔγραμμάτευε]	
		Πᾶιονί[δεσ·]	
		I	II
	[Δ]Γ ^Γ IIII	Ναρισ[βαρῆς]	-----
5	[H]H ^Π ΔΔΔΓ[ΓΓΓ]	Τενέδι[οι]	-----
	[Δ]Γ ^Γ IIII	Σταγ[ιρῖ]ται	-----
	Γ[ΓΓ]ΓΓ	Γεντ[ίν]ιοι	ΔΓ ^Γ [IIII]
	H ^Π	Κεραμ[ῆς]	Γ ^Γ Γ ^Γ [II]
	Π ^Π HHHH	Καμί[ρ]ῆς	HHH
10	HH	ἡλικαρνάσσιοι	Δ-----
	H	Μυριναῖοι	ΔΓ ^Γ III[I]
	H	Μεκυ[πε]ρναῖοι	Γ ^Γ Γ[ΓII]
	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓΓII	Πλαδαεῖς	ΔΔΔΓ
	H	Πεδα[σ]ῆς	ΔΓ ^Γ I[III]
15	[Π]HHHH	Κυμαῖοι	-----
	[Δ]Γ ^Γ III[I]	[Π]ιτα[ναῖ]οι	-----
	[Δ]Γ ^Γ IIII	Γρυνεῖς	-----
	HHH	Χερρονέσιο[ι]	-----
	ΔΓ ^Γ IIII	Πύρνιοι	ΔΔ[ΔΓΓΓII]
20	ΔΓ ^Γ IIII	Νεάπολις	-----
	HH	Κυλάντι[οι]	-----
	[Δ]Δ[Δ]ΓΓΓII	Κυρβισῆς	-----
	[Δ]Δ[Δ]ΓΓΓII	Χῖοι	Π ^Π
	HHH	Ἄφυταῖοι	HH
25	H	Συ[αγγ]ελῆς	H
	-----	[Τερμ]ερές	Π ^Π
	-----	Ἰδιμῆς	Χ
	H ^Π	Μαρονῖται	HH
	Π ^Π	Θερ[μ]αῖοι	HHH
30	H	Οἰ[ναῖ]οι	Π ^Π
	Π ^Π	[Χαλκε]ᾶται	Χ ^Π
	[?]H ^Π [- ? -]	[... ⁶ ...]ι	Π ^Π ΔΔΔΓΓΓII
	HH[- ? -]	-----	Γ ^Γ ΓΓII
	[.]Γ ^Γ ---	-----	Γ
35	-----	[... ⁷ ...]ι	Γ ^Γ ΓΓII
	-----	[... ⁶ ...]ιοι	ΔΓ ^Γ II[II]
	-----	[Δικαιοπ]ολῖται	HHHΠ ^Π Γ ^Γ
	[vacat]	[Ἐρετρ]ιὸν ἀπο[ι]κοι	HHH
	-----	[Αἰν]ιοι	Γ ^Γ ΓΓII
40	-----	[Καύν]ιοι	HΔΔ
	-----	[Θασθα]ρῆς	Π ^Π ΔΓ ^Γ I[II]
	-----	[Λεφσίμ]ανδοι	Π ^Π H
	-----	[Ναχσιᾶ]ται	ΔΔΔΔ
	-----	[Κασολαβ]ῆς	Π ^Π
45	-----	[Μυδον]ῆς	ΔΔΔΓΓΓII
			Δ[ι]εῖς

-----	[Τ]ε[λάνδριοι]	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Εύ[ρ]υμαχ[ίται]	
-----	Φεγ[έτιοι]	ΓΓ-ΓΓ-ΙΙ	Βρ[υκόντιοι]	
-----	[Κ]αρ[ίβασσαν]δῆς	[Δ]ΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Κι[ανοί]	
-----	[Ο]ύ[λιᾶται]	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Ἄρ[κέσσεια]	
50 -----	[Κ]ρυ[ῖς]	ΔΔ	θυμ[ισσῆς]	50
-----	Φα[ρβέλιοι]	Η	θυδι[σσεῖς]	
-----	Μύν[διοι]	ΗΗΗ	χα[ρ]αῖοι	
-----	Λίν[διοι]	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Δαμνιοτ[ειχίται]	
-----	Πε[διῆς]	ΧΠΗΔΔ	Πάρι[οι]	
55 -----	Πε[διῆς]	ΠΗΠΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Νάχ[ισιοι]	55
-----	Θύσ[σιοι]	Π	Καρ[ύστιοι]	
-----	Χαλ[χε]δ[ό]νιοι	ΗΗΗΗ	Κεῖ[οι]	
-----	Σ[ε]λ[υ]μβριανοί	Η	Σερ[φιοι]	
-----	Ἐρυ[θ]ραῖοι	ΠΔ	Λαμ[φσακενοί]	
60 -----	Ἰοῦτοι ἀπῆγαγον			
-----	Πολιχναῖο[ν] ἡῦπερ [κ]α[ι] ἡαυτῶν	Π	Αιγ[άντιοι]	60
-----	Σιδόσιοι	[ΗΗ]Η	Τέν[ιοι]	
-----	Βουθειῆς	-----	Τέ[ιοι]	
-----	Ἐ[λ]αιόσιοι	-----	Ἄν[δριοι]	
-----	[Π]τελεόσιο[ι]	-----	[Μυκόνιοι]	65
65 -----	[Σ]ίνγιοι	-----	[Θάσι]ο[ι]	
-----	[Π]αρπάρι[οι]	-----	[Ἄβυ]δενοί	
-----	Σκαφσα[ῖοι]	-----	Ἐρετ[ριῆς]	
-----	Σερμ[ῖς]	-----	[Βρυ]γχειῖ[ς]	
-----	Ἰκιο[ι]	-----	[Σίφ]νιοι	70
70 -----	Σιγ[ειῖς]	-----	[Τορ]οναῖοι	
-----	-----	-----	[Ἰᾶτ]αι	
-----	-----	-----	[Διδυμοτ]ειχίτ[αι]	
-----	-----	-----	[. . . ⁵ . . .]οι	
75 -----	-----	-----	[. . . ⁶ . . .]οι	75
-----	-----	-----	[. . . ⁵ . . .]ι	
-----	-----	-----	-----	
-----	-----	-----	-----	
80 -----	-----	-----	-----	80
-----	-----	-----	-----	
-----	-----	-----	-----	
-----	-----	-----	-----	
85 -----	-----	-----	-----	85
-----	-----	-----	-----	
-----	-----	-----	-----	
-----	[. . . ⁵ . . .]Ο[- - -]	-----	-----	
-----	[. . . ⁴ . . .]Ο[- - -]	-----	-----	
90 -----	[. . .]ΦΣΑΙ[- - -]	-----	-----	90
-----	[Χ]ερ[ρ]ονε[σίται]	-----	-----	
-----	Κῶιοι	-----	-----	
-----	Βεργαῖ[οι]	-----	-----	
-----	Θάσιοι	-----	-----	
95 -----	Κυζικε[νοί]	-----	-----	95
-----	Ἐφαισσο[τιῆς]	-----	-----	
-----	Λιμνῖο[ι]	-----	-----	
-----	Ἄβυδεν[οί]	-----	-----	
-----	Δαρδα[νῆς]	-----	-----	
100 -----	Ἐλαιό[σιοι]	+ - - +	Σαν[αῖοι]	100
-----	Σιγαι[ῖς] :	ΗΗΗΗΓ[Γ]-ΓΓ-ΙΙ	Τορο[ναῖοι]	
-----	Τενέδιοι	ΔΔΔΓΓ	Κῶιοι	

	HHHH ^ρ ΔΔΔ	Βυζάντιοι	H :	Μαδνασ[ῆς]	
	HHH ^ρ ΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓII :	Βυζ[ά]ντιοι	ρ :	Πελειᾶ[ται]	
105	H	ἔς [Ὶ]όνᾱ χαβδερι :	H :	Μυλασῆς	105
	HΔΔΔ[Δ]ΓΓIIIC :	Α[ῖ]νιοι	ΔΔΔΔΓΓIIII	hyρομῆς	
	-----	[Θά]σιοι	ΓΓΓΓII	Καρυαν'δ'ῆ[ς]	
	-----	Μι[λ]ῆσιοι	ΔΔΔΓΓ	ἔς Τένεδ[ον]	
	-----	Λάτ[μ]ιοι	ΔΔΔΓΓ	ἔς Τένεδον	
110	-----	Μυέ[σ]ιοι	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓΓII	Ἐρυθραῖοι	110
	[ρ]HHH ^ρ	Ἐφέσι[οι]	- - I	Μυριναῖοι	
	H	Ἰασῆς	ρΓ	Ἰμβριοι	
	H	Κινδυ[ῆς]	H ^ρ ΔΔΓΓΓII	Ἐφ[α]ισστιῆς	
		<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>	

Heading 2: Διόδοτος or Διοδόρος, cf. Commentary || Col. I 26. Cf. 6.I.24 || 31 No other attested member not already appearing in this list fits || 32 The attested possibilities for the quota are HHH^ρ, HHH^ρΔΓΓ-IIII, HHH^ρΔΔ, HHH^ρΔΔΔΓΓ-IIII and ρHH^ρΔΓΓ-IIII, but only ρHH^ρΔΓΓ-IIII Νάχσιοι would fit the ultimate and they are already attested in II.55 || 39 The restitution reposes on the analogy with 6.I.37 and the unusual few letters || 46-50 Restored in analogy with 6.II.5-8 || 71-86 The entries have been restored in *ATL* I on the assumption that those members appearing in List 6 should appear in 7, which is possible, but not necessary. Even if the assumption is correct, the exact order is impossible to reconstruct || 71 [Γ] [χαρπάγιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.III.37 || 72 [HHH] [Πεπαρέθιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.III.38 || 73 [HHH] Κύθνιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.37 || 74 [H] [Δαρδανῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.17. This community is already appearing in 7.I.99 paying 3,240 dr. and the *ATL*-editors probably assumed that this would make up for the partial payment of only 2,760 dr. the year before. This assumption is probably correct, but there is no evidence for placing the entry in line 72 || 75 [H] [Πριανῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.18 || 76 [H] [Στυρῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.19 || 77 [ΔΔΔΓΓ-II] [ἈθENAῖοι] Cf. 6.IV.20 || 78 [Βερύσιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.20 || 79 - - [Βυζάντιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.21. Byzantium is already attested in I.103 and 104 paying 28,000 dr. and 23,840 dr. The payment in I.79 could be the normal one, amounting to 90,000 dr. in the second assessment period, and the two other then be arrears of previous partials, or, alternatively, it could be a partial in itself amounting to 38,160 dr. || 80 [ρ] [Χαλκιδῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.23 || 81 [ρ] [Νεοπολίται] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.24 || 82 [ΔΓΓ-IIII] [Λαμπόνεια] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.25 || 83 [ΔΓΓ-IIII] [Παισενόι] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.26 || 84 [ΔΓΓ-IIII] [Περκότε] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.27 || 85[H] [ἠέσσιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.28 || 86 - - - - [huλιμῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 6.IV.29 || 90 [Λα]νφα[κενοί] *ATL* I, thereby creating a double entry since we find ρΔ Λαμ[φοσ]ακενοί in II.59, although this clearly must be a partial payment. Σκαφοαῖοι proposed in *IG* P would suit the traces, but is already attested in I.67, with its normal quota of 1,000 dr. No other attested member would suit the traces || Col. II 9-14 The quotas follow (with one exception) the same sequence as in 6.II.20 where the initials permit a restitution of the names. The *ATL*-editors restituted all the names except three in column II of this list, even adding names for which only the quota is preserved in this list and nothing in List 6. I have only accepted those for which there is a preserved quota and a corresponding name preserved in List 6 || 7 ΔΓΓ-IIII] [Σύριοι] (*ATL* I) is possible, but reposes only on the quota and the analogy with 6.II.17 where it is restored because it fits the maximum letters available || 8 ΓΓΓ-IIII] [Ἐθόριοι] (*ATL* I) is possible, but reposes only on the quota and the analogy with 6.II.17, where it is restored because it fits the maximum letters available || 9 HHH [Κεβρένιοι] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.20, where there is no other attested possibility || 10 Δ - - - - [. ⁷ .]. (*ATL* I) Cf. 7.II.19, note that if we accept this restitution the entries 9 and 10 would be inversed in comparison with List 6 || 11 ΔΓΓ-IIII] [Κοδαπῆς] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.21 || 12 ΓΓ-IIII] [Κυδαῖς] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.22 || 13 ΔΓΓ-IIII] [Διοσιρῖται] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.23 || 14 ΔΔΔΓ [Χαλχετορῆς] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.24 || 15 - - [Ἐλοφύχσιοι] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.23 || 16 [H^ρ] [Κλαζομένιοι] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.26 || 17 [X^ρ] [χαβδερίται] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.27, where the quota is ΧΗΗΗΗ || 18 [H^ρ] [Καλύδνιοι] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.26 || 19 I follow the *ATL*-editors *pace* Köhler. Cf. 6.II.29 || 20 [ρ^ρΔΔΓ] [Γαργαρές] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.30 || 21 [HHH] [Φασελῖται] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.31 || 22 [H] [Διῆς] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.32 || 23 <ρ> [Κνίδιοι] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.34; but the stone has ρ and we are not entitled to emend this on the sole basis of an analogy with List 7 || 24 HH [Σπαρτόλιοι] (*ATL* I). Cf. 7.II.24 || 25 *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.34 || 26 *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.35.

List 8. 447/6. Cf. the bibliography for List 6 and 7.

This list is not preserved; see the discussion on the dating of the lists 6, 7 and 8 *supra*, p. 10-11.

List 9. 446/5. Eds. *IG* I 234; *IG* I² 199 with add. p. 303; Meritt 1925d, 321-24; Meritt and West (MW) 1926b, 75-79, and Pl. XI-XII; *SEG* V; *ATL* I; *ATL* II; *IG* I³ 266.

[ἐ π ι τ ῆ ς ἄ ρ χ ῆ ς τ ῆ ς ἐ ν ἄ τ ε ς ἡ ἔ ι -----					
	I		II		III
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	[... ⁶ ...]Ο		[.]++[--]		
	[. ³ .]οιοι		[M]ενδα[ῖοι]		
5	[. ³ .]†ΕΣ	[ΔΓ†-II]	Νεάπολ[ις]		
	[. ³ .] ΕΣ	ΔΓ†-III	Σκαφσα[ῖοι]		
	[Νι]σύριοι	ΔΓ†-III	Σκιάθ[οι]		
	[Κ]λαζομένιοι	ΔΔΓ	*ΙΚιοι		
	Πυγαλῆς	ΔΔΔΗ††-II	Ὀλοφύ[χσιοι]		
10	[Δ]Γ†-III	ΔΓ†-III	Δίκα[ια]		
	ῬΔΓ†-III	<i>vacat</i>	παρ' [*Αβδερα]		
	ἩῬ	ΔΓ†-III	Σ[ταγριῖται]		
	ἩῬΔΔΔΓ†-III	Η	Θ[ύ]σ[οι]		
	Ἡ	Η	Διῆς ἡ[οι] ἐχς *Αθο]		
15	Η	Η	Στρεφσ[αῖοι]		
	Η	ἩῬ	Γαλέφσ[οι]		
	ῬΗ	Ῥ	Νεοπολ[ῖται]		
	ῬΗΗΗΗ	ΔΔΔΗ††-II	Αιγάντ[οι]		
	ΔΓ†-III	Η[Ῥ]	Μαρονῖ[ται]		Λεφ[σιμανδῆς]
20	Γ†††-II	[Ῥ]ΔΓ†-III	Σαναῖο[ι]	[Δ]ΔΓ	Μυδον[ῆς]
	Γ†††-II	ΗΗ	Βοττια[ῖοι -?]	ΔΓ†-III	Παρπαρ[ῖοται]
	Γ†††-II	ΗΗΗ	Πεπα[ρέθι]οι	[?]ΔΔΓ	Συαγγελ[ῆς]
	ΔΓ†-III	ΗΗ	Σ[ι]γγ[οι]	[<i>vacat</i>]	καὶ Ἀμυναν[δῆς]
	Γ†††-II	Η	Ἀφυταῖ[οι]	Ῥ	Κεδριάται
25	ΔΓ†-III	[ῬΔΓ†-III]	Μεκυβερν[αῖοι]	ΔΔΔΗ††-II	Κρυιῆς
	ΔΓ†-III	-----	Ὀλύνθιοι	[ΔΓ†-III]	Ἐρινῆς
	ΔΓ†-III	[ΔΔΔ]†††-II	Σκαβλαῖοι	Δ[ΔΔΗ††-II]	[Κ]υρβισσος
	ΔΓ†-III	[Δ]ΔΔΔ	ἡσσερίται	Δ	-----
	ΔΓ†-III	[.] <i>vacat</i>	Δίκαια : Ἐρετριῶν	Δ	-----
30	ΔΔΔΗ††-II	ῬΗ	Τοροναῖοι	Γ	-----
	-----	ΗΗΗ	Ἀκάνθιοι	-----	-----
	-----	Η	Ἀργίλιοι	-----	-----
	-----	ῬΗ	Σκιοναῖοι	-----	-----
	-----	ΔΓ†-III	Θραμβαῖοι	-----	-----
35	-----	ΔΓ†-III	Φεγέτιοι	Η	Τελμέσσο[οι]
	-----	ΗΗΗ	Αἰνεᾶται	Χ	Λύκιοι : καὶ συν
	[<i>vacat</i>]		<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>

Col. I 2-19 The Ionian district panel (first part) || Col. I 3 If Köhler's omikron is correct then Θερμαῖοι, Ἴσινδιοι, Μιλέσιοι, Μυέσσιοι, Νισύριοι are possible || 4 [*Ἐφέ]σιοι (Köhler) and [ἡέσ]σιοι (*ATL* I) there are no other attested possibilities among the Ionian members || 5 If the *ATL*-editors were correct in seeing nu then [Γρυ]νῆς might just be possible || 6 Νοτιῆς is the only possibility among the attested Ionian members || 20-30 The Hellespontine district panel || 28 There is no other Hellespontine member paying 1,000 dr. on Λα- || 29 There is no other Hellespontine member paying 1,000 dr. beginning with a pi || Col. III 3-11 entries restored by *SEG* V in analogy with the Hellespontine district in 12.III.26-33 and 13.III.25-32 || III.12-19 entries restored by *SEG* V in analogy with the Carian district in 11.III.16-23. All of these names might perhaps have been present in this column, but we can not know it exactly and the order might not have been the same. List 9 shows similarities with Lists 11, 12 and 13 e.g. 9.II.5-8 and 11.20-23, 9.II.21-25 and 12.III.10-14, 9.II.21-30 and 13.II.10-19, but there are minor differences which set them apart ||

List 11. 444/3. Eds. *IG* I 236 and suppl. 227 (69a); *IG* I² 201; Meritt 1925d, 321-24; Meritt 1926, 189-90; Meritt and West (MW) 1925c, 252-67 and Pl. facing p. 261 and 264; *SEG* V 11,12 (I 8-11.) 40; *ATL* I; *ATL* II; *IG* I³ 268.

	[έ]π[ι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἡεν]	δεκάτες	ἡεῖ	Στρόμβιχος
	I	II	III	
	-----	[Παρ]ιανοί	-----	Δίκαια Ἐ[ρετριῶν]
	-----	[Προκ]ο[ν]νεσ[ιοι]	[P]H	Τορον[αῖοι]
	-----	[Τεν]έδιοι	H H H	Ἄκά[ν]θιοι[ι]
5	-----	[Ἄβυ]δανοί	P	Μ[εν]δαῖοι[ι]
	-----	[Χαλ]χεδόνιοι[ι]	H	Ἀργίλιοι
	-----	[Χερ]ρονεσίτ[αι]	P H	Σκιοναῖοι[ι]
	-----	[Ἄλ]οπεκον[έσιοι]	ΔΓΓ-III	Θραμβαῖοι[ι]
	-----	[Σέ]στιοι	ΔΓΓ-III	Φεγέντιοι[ι]
10	-----	[Μα]δύτιοι	H H H	Αἰνεᾶτα[ι]
	-----	[Ἐλ]αῖό[σιοι]	P	Σερμυλι[ῆς]
	-----	[Λιμναῖοι]	P H	Σαμοθραικ[ῆς]
	-----	[Σελυμβρι]ανοί	X	Αἴνιοι
	-----	[... ⁷ ...]οι	P H	Ποτειδαία
15	-----	[... ⁷ ...]οι	X X X	Θάσιοι
	-----	[Λαμπσα]κενοί	ΔΔΓ	Αἰσονῆς
	-----	-----	ΓΓΓΓ-II	Σερμῆς
	-----	-----	ΓΓΓΓ-II	Μύνδιοι[ι]
	-----	-----	-----	Α[ύ]λι[ᾶται]
20	-----	[ΔΓΓ-II]III	-----	Καρβ[ασουανδῆς]
	[... ⁷ ...]ῆς	[ΔΓΓ-I]III	-----	-----
	[... ⁶ ...]οι	[Δ]ΔΓ	ΓΓΓΓ-II	-----
	[Μυριναῖοι παρὰ Κύ	ΔΔΔΓΓ-II	ΔΓΓ-III-I	Πύρν[ιοι]
	[P]H Τέ[ιοι]	ΔΓΓ-III	H	Στρεφσ[αῖοι]
25	P H Ἐφέ[σιοι]	ΔΓΓ-III	P	Νεοπολι[ῖται]
	P H H H Κυμαῖ[οι]	H	ΔΔΔΓΓ-II	Αἰγά[ντιοι]
	P ΔΓΓ-III Πολιχ[ιναῖοι Ἐ]ρυθ	P H H	H P	Μ[αρονῖται]
	I-III Ἐλαιό[σιοι Ἐρυθ]ραί	ΔΓΓ-III	P [ΔΓΓ-III]	-----
	ΓΓΓΓ-II Ἄστυρ[ενοὶ Μυσο]ί	ΔΔΔΓΓ-II	-----	[... ⁸ ...]οι
30	ΓΓΓΓ-II Πάλαιπ[ερκόσιοι]	-----	-----	[... ⁹ ...]ι
	ΓΓΓΓ-II Γ[ε]ντίν[ιοι]	-----	-----	-----
	ΓΓΓΓ-II Περκό[τε]	-----	H?	-----
	[ΔΓΓ-III] Δ	-----	P [ΔΓΓ-III]	Μερκπερ[ν]αῖοι[ι]
	-----	-----	Δ[ΓΓ-III]	Λαμπόνε[ι]α
	[fin. col.]	[fin. col.]		[fin. col.]

Col. I 21 [H^PΔΔΔΓΓ-II-III] [Φοκαί]ῆς *ATL* I hypothesizing that the long quota continued into the column of the names. The absence of a Ionian candidate for [-⁷-]ῆς and the quasi-analogy with 9.11-14 perhaps favours this solution || 22 Ἰσίνδιοι, Λεβέδιοι (*ATL* I), Μιλέσιοι, Μυέσσιοι, Νισύριοι. Σιδόσιοι is improbable without the Erythraian syntely. The quasi-analogy with 9.11-14 could speak in favour of Λεβέδιοι || 33 Ἀστακενοί (*ATL* I), Δαυνιοτειχῖται and Διδυμοτειχῖται would fit || Col. II 14-15 Πέρινθιοι and Βυζάντιοι (*ATL* I) are both possible, but the order is unknown. Ἀρισβαῖοι, Ἀστακενοί, Κεβρένιοι (attested until list 8) and Κυζικενοί would be possible from the Hellespontine group || 19 [ΔΓΓ-III] [Νεάπολις] *SEG* V in analogy with 9.II.2 and 12.II.28 where the sequence is the same until Thyssos || 33 Although ἡαρπαγῖανοι are Hellespontine *ATL* I restored [H] [Διῆς], a Thracian member, probably because no attested Hellespontine member is shorter than six letters; but Thracian Κίθας (only attested in 434/3) and Σίνος (only attested from 434/3) would also fit || 34 If this is the Thracian panel (cf. comm. to 33): Ἐρόδιοι (only attested to 450/49), Ὀθόριοι, Σαναῖοι (if not already present in III.28), Σίγγιοι and Στόλιοι *ATL* I || Col. III 21 [P] [Καύνιοι] *ATL* I, but there is no parallel to this sequence || 22 ΓΓΓΓ-II [Παργασῆς] *ATL* I, but there is

Χ ο] λ λ ε ί δ ε ς ἔ γ [ρ α μ] μ ά τ ε υ ε ·

IV	V
----- [... ⁷ ...] <i>vacat</i> -----	----- [. ³ .] +ιοι -----
----- -----	----- [. . ⁵ .] ι -----
----- -----	----- -----
----- -----	----- -----
----- -----	----- -----
----- -----	----- [. . . ⁶ . . .] ἔς -----
----- -----	----- [. . . ⁶ . . .] ται -----
----- -----	----- [. . . ⁶ . . .] οι ----- 10
----- -----	----- [. . . ⁶ . . .] ι -----
----- -----	----- [. . . ⁶ . . .] ς -----
----- -----	----- [Τελάνδ] ριοι -----
----- -----	----- [. . ⁶ . .] αι -----
----- -----	----- [. . ⁶ . .] ----- 15
----- -----	----- [. . . ⁷ . . .] ς -----
----- -----	----- [. . . . ⁹] ς -----
[Η] Δ Δ Γ -----	----- -----
Η Η Η -----	----- -----
Η Η ^Ρ Δ -----	----- -----
[.] <i>vacat</i> -----	----- -----
----- -----	----- [. . ⁴ . .] ι -----
----- -----	----- Η Η [὞ Ανδ] ριοι -----
Η Η -----	----- Η Η Η Η [Κῆ] οι -----
Ρ -----	----- Η Η Η Σίφ [ν] οι ----- 25
Ρ -----	----- Η Η Η Κύθνιοι -----
Γ Η Η Η -----	----- Η Κα [ρ υ α ν δ ῆ ς] -----
Δ Γ Η Η -----	----- Ρ Δ Γ Η Η Η [὞ Ανδ] ριοι -----
Η -----	----- Δ Γ Η Η Η Γ ρ υ ν χ ῆ ς -----
Δ Δ Γ -----	----- Η Η Η Ἐ φ α ι σ τ ι ῆ ς ----- 30
Δ Γ Η Η -----	----- Η ^Ρ Μ υ ρ ι ν α ῖ ο ι -----
Ρ -----	----- ----- Σ ε ρ ῖ φ ο ι -----
Δ Δ Δ Η Η Η -----	----- ----- <i>vacat</i> -----
Δ Γ Η Η -----	----- ----- <i>vacat</i> -----

fin. col.

no parallel, Ναχοιῆται (if not already attested in V.15), Ὀλοιῆς (or Ούλιᾶται) (only attested in 453/3 and 452/1) and Ούρανηῆται (only attested in 453/3 and 448/7) are also possible || 23-33 This sequence is roughly the same as 12.III.2-13 and 13.III.3-13 which should make the following restitution relatively certain || 28 Ρ [Δ Γ Η] Η Η Η [Σ α ν α ῖ ο ι] *ATL* I. Cf. 12.III.7 and 13.III.7 || 29 [Η Η] [Σ π α ρ τ ὄ λ ο ι] *ATL* I. Cf. 12.III.9 and 13.III.9 || 30 [Η Η Η] [Π ε π α ρ ἔ θ ο ι] *ATL* I. Cf. 12.III.10 and 13.III.10 || 31 [Η Η] [Σ ἰ ν γ ο ι] *ATL* I. Cf. 12.III.11 and 13.III.11 || 32 [Η] [὞ Α φ υ τ ᾶ ο ι] *ATL* I. Cf. 12.III.12 and 13.III.12 || Col. IV 25 [Σ υ α γ γ ε λ ῆ ς] *ATL* I in analogy with 9.III.19-20 || 26 ὞ Α μ [υ ν α ν δ ῆ ς] (*ATL* I) is not attested paying this sum, ὞ Α μ ὄ ρ γ ο ι would fit, but is attested only from 434/3 and paid one talent || Col. V 6 [Δ Δ Δ Η Η Η] [Χ α λ κ ε ἰ ᾶ τ α ι] *ATL* I. Cf. 12.IV.6 and 13.IV.7 || 7 [Ρ] [Π α σ α ν δ ῆ ς] *ATL* I. Cf. 12.IV.7 and 13.IV.8 || 8 [Κ λ α υ ν δ] ἔ ς *SEG* V. Cf. 12.IV.8 and 13.IV.9 || 9 *SEG* V; [Η Η Η] [Φ α σ ε λ ῖ] τ α ι *ATL* I. Cf. 12.IV.9 and 13.IV.10 || 10 [Ἐ λ ῦ σ ο ι] *SEG* V. Cf. 12.IV.10 and 13.IV.11 (quota only) || 11 [Ρ Η] [Λ ἰ ν δ ο ι] *ATL* I. Cf. 12.IV.12 || 12 [Κ α μ ι ρ ῆ ς] *SEG* V. Cf. 12.IV.11 || 13 [Ρ] [Τ ε λ ᾶ ν δ] ρ ο ι *ATL* I. Cf. 12.IV.13 No other Carian name fits || 14-17 No analogy || 14 [Π ε λ ε ᾶ τ] α ι (*SEG* V) is the only attested possibility among the Carian names || 15 [Π ε λ ε ᾶ τ] α ι (*ATL* I) is the only Carian name that would fit.

ι ά ς έ γ ρ α [μ μ ά τ] ξ υ ε Έ λ ε υ σ ί ν ι

	IV		V	
ΓΗΗΗII	Αύλιᾶτα[ι]	-----	Λεφσανδῆς	
ΔΓΗ-III	Καρβασα[νδῆς]	-----	[Κ]αρβασανδῆς	
Ϝ	Κεδριῆτα[ι]	-----	Μαδνασῆς	
ΔΔΔΗΗΗII	Κρίλυῆς	-----	[Π]ελεᾶται	5
ΔΔΔΗΗΗII	Χα[λκ]εᾶτα[ι]	-----	[Μύν]δι[οί]	
Ϝ	Πασανδῆς	-----	[Καλ]ύδ[νιοι]	
Η	[Κ]λαυνδῆς	-----	[Τερ]μερ[ῆς]	
ΗΗΗ	Φασελίται	-----	-----	
Ϝ[Η]	Ίελύσιοι	-----	-----	10
ϜΗ	Καμιρῆς	-----	-----	
ϜΗ	Λίνδιοι	[Ν ε σ ι ο τ ι κ ὸ φ ὄ ρ ο]	-----	
Ϝ	Τελάνδριοι	-----	-----	
Ϝ	Κάυνιοι	Η[?]	-----	
-----	Κῶιοι	ΗΗ	-----	15
-----	Κινδυῆς	ϜΗϜ[ΔΓΗ-III]	[Νάχσιοι]	
[Η]Ϝ	Ἄστυπαλαῖα	ΗΗΗ	-----	
[Η-]III	Πεδιῆς ἐλΛίνδοι	ΗΗΗ	-----	
[Δ]ΓΗ-III	Καρπάθιοι	ϜΗ	[Ἄνδριοι]	
[Η]Ϝ	Κεράμιοι	Ϝ	[Καρύστιοι]	20
[ΗΗ]Η	Κνίδιοι	ΔΓΗ-III	[Γρυνχῆς]	
[Δ]ΓΗ-III	Καρπάθο Ἄρκέσει(α)	ΗΗΗΗ	[Κεῖοι]	
[ΔΓ]ΗΗ	Ναχο[ι]ῆται	Η	[Μυκόν]ιοι	
-----	Πλα[δασε]ς	ΧϜΗΗ[Η]	[Πάρ]ιοι	
-----	-----	-----	Δ[ι]ῆς ἀπὸ Κεναῖο	25
-----	-----	[ΔΔΔ]ΗΗΗII	Ἄθῆναι Διάδες	
-----	-----	-----	Ἰῆται	
-----	-----	-----	Ῥεναῖοι	
-----	-----	-----	Στυρῆς	
-----	-----	-----	[Ἐ]ρετριῆς	30
-----	-----	-----	[Χ]αλκιδῆς	
-----	-----	-----	[Μ]υριναῖοι	
-----	-----	-----	[Ἐ]φαιστιες	
[Ϝ]ΔΔΔΓΗ-III	[Μυλασῆς]	-----	[Ἰμ]βριοι	
[.] vacat	-----	-----	[Αἰγι]νῆται	35

λ [ε] ς Κ ο λ ο [ν ῆ θ ε ν η ε λ λ ε ν ο τ α μ ι α] ς ῆ ν

|| Col. II 2 Ἄρισβαῖοι (ATL I), Βερύσιοι, Παισενοί, Σκάφοιοι || 14 [Σέστιοι] SEG V. Cf. 11.II.9 and 13.II.10 || 15 [Λιμναῖοι] SEG V. Cf. 13.II.11 || 16 [Μαδύτιοι] SEG V. Cf. 11.II.10 and 13.II.12 || 17 [Χερρονεσίται] SEG V. Cf. 13.II.13 || 19 Παριανοί SEG V. Cf. 13.II.17. It is slightly more probable than Παισενοί given its position below Alopekonnesos in List 13 || Col. III 15 SEG V. Cf. 13.III.15 || 32 No other member fits quota and initial || 33 [Σερμηῆς] SEG V. [Σερμαιῆς] ATL I Cf. 11.III.17 || Col. IV 25-34 Restored by SEG V and ATL I in analogy with 13.IV.24-33. But the lists cannot be identical, since in list 12 there are nine entries between Pladasa and Mylasa, and in list 13 only eight. One of these, Lindos, is attested in 12.IV.12. Having two names more in 12 ruins the possibility of finding the original order || 25 [Ἄλικαρνάσσιοι] ATL I || 26 [Λάτμιοι] ATL I || 27 [Μυδονῆς] ATL I || 28 [Παρπαριῶται] ATL I || 29 [Ἰασῆς] ATL I || 30 [Χαλκετορῆς] ATL I || 31 [ἠυρομῆς] ATL I || 32 [Βαργυλιῆται] ATL I. Cf. 13.IV.32 || 33 [Πύρνιοι] ATL I || 34 SEG V. Cf. 13.IV.32 || 35 SEG V. Cf. 12.III.31 || Col. V 13 [Σύριοι] ATL I is possible but conjectural || 14 Η [Σερίφιοι] SEG V is the only island member that suits the partly preserved quota and is attested in the first assessment periods || 15 ΗΗ [Τένιοι] SEG V. Cf. commentary on 15 || 17 ΗΗΗ [Σίφνιοι] SEG V. Cf. commentary on 15 || 18 ΗΗΗ [Κύθνιοι] SEG V. Cf. commentary on 15 || 15-22 SEG V restored in analogy with 13.V.19-25 and on the basis of the preserved quotas.

List 13. 442/1. Eds. *IG* I 238; *IG* I² 203; Meritt and West (MW) 1926b, 94-96 and Pl. XVIII; *id.* 1928, 296-97; *SEG* V; *ATL* I; *ATL* II; *IG* I³ 270.

ἐπὶ τῆς τρίτης καὶ δεκάτε[ς] ἄρχες [hēi Χαλ]κιδεύς
 ος Ἴκαριεύς ἠελλενοτα μιάς ἔν, Σα[τυρος Λευκοῖ

	I		II		III
	Ἴονικός φόρος	H	Δα[ρ]δανῆς	-----	[Στ]ρεφσαῖοι
	Γ̣+̣+̣+̣II Διοσιρίται	Γ	ἡαρπαγίανο[ί]	-----	Γαλέφσοι
5	῜ Θερμαῖοι ἔχς Ἴ	HHΔΔΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣II	Τε[ν]έδιοι	-----	Αἰγάντιοι
	῜ Μαραθέσιοι	XHH	Λαμφσακενοί	[῜ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣]III	Σαναῖοι
	ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III Γρυειῆς	ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III	Σιγειῆς	[- -] vac.	Μαρονειῆς
	ΔΔΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣II Νοτιῆς	[H]HHH	Ἄβυδανο[ί]	[῜]ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III	Στόλιοι
	H Νισύριοι	῜HHHH	Καλχεδο[νιοι]	HH	Σπαρτόλιοι
10	῜ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III Οἰναῖοι] Ἴκάρ	Γ̣+̣+̣+̣+̣II	Σέστιο[ί]	HHH	Πεπαρέθιοι
	[H]῜ Κολο[φ]όνιοι	Γ̣+̣+̣+̣+̣II	Λιμνα[ῖοι]	-----	Σίγγιοι
	HH Φοκαῖες	Γ̣+̣+̣+̣+̣II	Μαδύ[ῖοι]	-----	[Ἄ]φυταῖοι
	H Αἰραιῆς	H	Χερ[ρονεῖται]	-----	[Μεκ]υπερν[αῖοι]
	H Λεβέδιοι	ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III	Ἄ[λοπεκοννέσιοι]	-----	[Ἄ]λύνθιοι
15	H Μυριναῖοι παρὰ Κ	῜	[Ἐ]λαιόσιοι	-----	[Σ]καβλαῖοι
	[῜]H Τέιοι	ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III	Π[ε]ρκότε	-----	Ἄσσερῖται
	[῜H]HHH Κυμαῖοι	ΔΔΔ[Γ̣+̣+̣+̣]II	Παρ[ι]ανοί	-----	Δίκαια Ἐρετρι(ὄν)
	----- Ἐλα[ῖα]	[H]HH	Προκ[οννέσιοι]	-----	Τοροναῖοι
	-----	῜HHHH	Κυζικ[ενοί]	-----	Ἄκάνθιοι
20	-----	ΔΔΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣II	Ἄρτακ[ενοί]	-----	Μενδαῖοι
	-----	X	Περίνθ[ιοι]	-----	Ἄργίλιοι
	-----	X῜ΔΔΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III	Βυζά[ντιοι]	-----	Σκιοναῖοι
	-----	ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III	Κιαν[οί]	-----	Φεγέτιοι
	----- [Πολιχνῖτ]αι	HH	Ἄρι[σβαῖοι]	-----	Αἰνεᾶται
25	----- [Πτελεό]σιοι	Γ	Νεάπ[ολις]	-----	Φαρβέλιοι
	----- [Σιδόσι]οι	Γ̣+̣+̣+̣+̣II	Ἄζζε[ῖοι]	-----	Ἄθόριοι
	----- [Βούθε]ια	Γ̣+̣+̣+̣+̣II	Πρία[πος]	-----	Σερμυλιῆς
	----- [Μυέ]σσιοι	῜	Σελυ[μβριανοί]	-----	Σ[αμοθ]ρᾶικε[ς]
	----- [Π]υγελῆς	Δ[ΔΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣]II	Νεά[νδρεια]	-----	[Αἶνιοι] vacat
30	----- [Ἰ]σίνδιοι	-----	-----	-----	[Ποτειδε]ᾶται
	----- Μιλέσιοι	ἐ π [ἰ Θ ρ ᾶ ἰ κ ε ς φ ὄ ρ ο ς]	-----	-----	[... ⁶ ...]ε[ς]
	----- Ἐφέσιοι	ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III	-----	-----	[... ⁷ ...]ε[ς]
	----- Κλαζομένιοι	ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III	-----	-----	[... ^{max. 7} ...] vac.
	῜ΔΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III Γαργαῖες	ΔΔΓ̣	[Ἰ]κιοι	-----	[... ⁸ ...]ι
35	ἠελλεσπόντιος φόρος	ΔΔΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣II	-----	-----	[Νεάπολις Μ]ενδαῖ(ον)
	ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III Δαυνοτειχῖ(ται)	ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III	[Σταγ]ιρίται	-----	-----
	ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III Διδυμοτειχῖ(ται)	H	[Θύ]σσιοι	-----	-----
	ΔΓ̣+̣+̣+̣III Λαμπονειῆς	H	[Διῆς ἀπὸ τῷ Ἄθ	-----	-----
			ο]		
	vacat		vacat		vacat

Col. II 14 Ἄστακενοί MW 1926b; Ἄ[λοπεκοννέσιοι] *SEG* V || 30 Τυρόδιζα (only attested until 445/44), Παλαιπερκόσιοι MW 1926b || 32-28 The correspondences between the quotas in this column and 9.II.3-12, 11.20-26, 12.28-35 might provide the ethnics here although the group is smaller and some quotas would fit two different names || 32 Νεάπολις or Νεαπολίται. Cf. 9.II.3, 10.II.30, 12.II.28; Σκαφσαῖοι MW 1926b. Cf. 9.II.4, 10.II.31, 11.II.20, 12.II.29 || 33 Σκαφσαῖοι. Cf. 9.II.4, 10.II.31, 11.II.20, 12.II.29; Σκιάθιοι MW 1926b; cf. 9.II.5, 10.II.21, 12.II.30 || 34 Cf. 9.II.6, 11.I.22, 12.II.31 || 35 Δίκαια παρ' Ἄβδερρα cf. 9.II.8-9; Ἄλοφύχσιοι MW 1926b. Cf. 9.II.7, 11.II.23, 12.II.32 || 36 Cf. 9.II.10, 11.II.25, 12.II.33 || 37 Cf. 9.II.11, 11.II.26, 12.II.34 || Col. III.29 The vacant space and the analogy with 11.III.13 and 12.III.29 make this restitution plausible || 31 [ἡαισον]ῆς MW 1926b. Cf. 9.II.16 and 12.III.32 is plausible. No other attested name would fit || 32 Νεάπολις MW 1926 without analogy; Σερμαῖες *ATL* I. Cf. 11.III.17

Μελιτεύ[ς ἐγραμμάτευε Δ]ο[ρ]ύφιλ-
συνε[γραμμάτευε·] *vacat*

	IV		V	
ΓΗΗ[Η]II	Αύλιᾶτ[αι]	-----	[Πελειᾶτ]αι	
ΔΓΗ-III	Καρβασυ[ανδῆς]	-----	-----	
Ϝ	Κεδριᾶται	-----	-----	5
ΔΔΔΗΗΗII	Κρυῆς	-----	-----	
ΔΔΔΗΗΗII	Χαλκειᾶται	-----	-----	
Ϝ	Πασανδῆς	-----	-----	
Η	Κλα[υνδῆς]	-----	-----	
ΗΗΗ	[Φάσελιται]	-----	-----	10
ϜΗ	[Ἰελύσιοι]	-----	-----	
Ϝ[Η]	[Καμιρῆς]	-----	-----	
-----	-----	-----	-----	
-----	-----	-----	-----	
-----	-----	-----	-----	15
-----	-----	-----	-----	
ΗϜ	[Ἰαστυπαλαιῆς]	-----	-----	
ΗIII	[Πεδιῆς ἐλ Λίνδοι]	-----	-----	
ΔΓΗ-[IIII]	[Καρπάθιοι]	-----	[Τέ]νιοι	
ΗϜ	[Κεράμιοι]	-----	ἄνδριοι	20
ΗΗΗ	[Κνίδιοι]	-----	Καρύστιοι	
ΔΓΗ-III	[Καρπάθιοι Ἀρκέσσεια]	[ΔΓΗ-II]II	Γρυνχῆς	
ΗIII	Ν[αχσιῆται]	-----	Κεῖοι	
[Δ]ΔΔΗΗΗII	Πλα[δασῆς]	-----	Μυκόνιοι	
ϜΗ	Λίνδ[ιοι]	-----	Πάριοι	25
ΗϜΔΓΗ-III	Ἰαλικαρ[νάσιοι]	-----	[Δι]ῆς ἀπὸ Κεν[αίω]	
Η	Λάτμιοι	-----	[Ἰ]θῆναι Δι[άδες]	
ΔΓΗ-III	Παρπαριοτ[αι]	-----	-----	
Η	Ἰασῆς	-----	-----	
ΔΔΔΓ	Χαλκετορῆ[ς]	-----	-----	30
[Δ]ΔΔΔΗ-III	ἠυρομῆς	ΗΗ[Η]	[Ἰ]ρετριῆς]	
ΔΓΗ-III	Βαρυ[υλιῆται]	ΗΗΗ	Χα[λκιδῆς]	
ϜΔΔΔΗΗΗII	Μυλα[σῆς]	ΔΓΗ-III	Σύρ[ιοι]	
ΔΓΗ-III	Πύρνι[νιοι]	ΗϜ	Μυρ[ριναῖοι]	
[ΔΓ]Η-III	Λεφσανδῆς]	ΗΗΗ	Ἰεφ[αστιῆς]	35
[ΓΗΗΗ]II	Καρσανδῆς]	Η	Ἰμβριοι]	
-----	Μαδναςῆ[ς]	XXX	Αἰ[γινῆται]	
	<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>	

|| 33 Δίκαια *ATL I* || 34 Ἰαβδερίται *ATL I*; Θραμβαῖοι *MW 1926b* || 37 Καρικὸς φόρος *SEG V* || 38 Καρικὸς φόρος *MW 1926b*; Χερρονέσιοι *SEG V*. Cf. 12.III.35 || Col. II.10-23 The restitutions by *MW 1926b* are likely, since the sequence from 13.IV.3-25 is the same as in 12.IV.3-24, except that Lindos appears in 12.IV.12 and 13.IV.25 || 10 *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.9 || 11 *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.10 || 12 *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.11 || 13 [Τε]λάνδριοι *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.13 || 14 Καύνιοι *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.14 || 15 [Κοῖοι] *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.15 || 16 [Κινδυῆς] *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.16 || 17 *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.17 || 18 *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.18 || 19 *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.19 || 20 *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.20 || 21 *MW 1926b*; cf. 12.IV.21 || 22 *MW 1926b*; cf. 12.IV.22 || 23 *MW 1926b*; cf. 12.IV.23 || 24 *MW 1926b*; Cf. 12.IV.24 || 25 *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.IV.13 || Col. IV.4-6 restored by *MW 1926b* in analogy with 12.V.6-8. The correspondences Λεφσανδῆς-Καρσανδῆς-Μαδναςῆς-Πελειᾶται found in 12.V.2-5 and 13.IV.35-V.3 speak in favour of this || 4 Μύνδιοι *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.V.6 || 5 Καλύδνιοι *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.V.7 || 6 Τερμερῆς *MW 1926b*. Cf. 12.V.8.

Col. I 12 The vertical could be either the left stroke of Η or, given its position close to the name column, an obol sign. It seems to be cut too low to have appeared originally in Line 12, and if it is not accidental should perhaps be interpreted as the quota for a two line entry. In that case $\text{Ϝ}\Delta\Gamma\text{Ϝ}\text{III}$ Οἰνᾶῖοι | ἐχς Ἰκάρου would be possible; but see commentary on 13 || 13 $\text{H}\text{Ϝ}$ Κλαζομένιοι; $\text{H}\text{Ϝ}$ Κολοφόνιοι if not preserved in II.11; $\Delta\Gamma\text{Ϝ}\text{III}$ Πιτταναῖοι (*ATL* I); Η Πριᾶνες; $\text{Ϝ}\text{H}$ Τέιοι || Col. II 10 Βουθειῖς || Col. II 22-33 [Γ] [Νεάπολις] [ἀπ' Ἀθενῶν] *ATL* I on the basis of the position of the lost quota, but see commentary *ad loc.* || 24 ΗΗΗ Κεβρένιοι (only attested until 447/6), ΗΗ Ϝ ΔΔΔΓϜϜ Τενέδιοι *ATL* I || 26 Perinthos is the only Hellespontine member attested with a quota of 10 talents || 27 No other attested member would fit || Col. I 42 No other attested member fit would, Skione and Torone being attested in II.41 and 52 || 45 No other Thracian city counts 12 letters || 46-47 The ending in the second line makes a two line entry certain and Neapolis is then the only attested possibility || 54 [Ἀσσ]ε[ρῖτα]ι falls one letter short of the required space || Col. II 58 Γαλαῖοι (only attested until 436/5); Ἐρόδιοι (only attested from 436/5); Στόλιοι (*ATL* I); Σίγγιοι || Col. II 64 Τ[ε]λάνδριοι (*ATL* I); only Παδανδῆς would fit the initial, but the vertical seems to be inscribed in the middle of the stoichos favouring a tau.

List 15. 440/39. IG I 240; IG I² 205; Meritt and West (MW) 1926b, 96-98 and Pl. XIX; *id.* 1928, 295; SEG V; ATL I; ATL I; IG I³ 272. Cf. McGregor 1976a, 171-72; Meritt 1972b, 420-21, (fr. 181); Woodward 1908, 291-96.

	ἐ π ἰ τ ῆ ς π έ μ π τ ε ς κ α ἰ δ -		
	ἐ κ α τ ε ς ἄ ρ χ ῆ ς ἡ ἔ ι		Σ ο σ ῖ -
	σ τ ρ [α τ] ο ς ἡ υ β ἄ δ ε ς		ἐ γ ρ α μ -
	μ ἄ [τ ε υ ε , Ἄ ἰ σ χ] υ λ ο ς Ἐ λ ε υ -		
5	[σ] ἰ [ν ι ο ς] ἡ [ε λ] λ ε ν ο τ α μ ῖ α -		5
	[ς] ἔ [ν ·] ἰ ο ν ι κ [ὀ ς] φ ὀ ρ ο ς ὕ ὕ		
	I		II
	H Αἰραῖοι	ΓΓΓΓII	Διοσιρῖται
	H Λεβέδιοι	IIII	Διοσιρῖται ἐπιφορ(ᾶς)
	H Νισύριοι	ΓΓΓΓ[II]	Ἄστυρενοὶ Μυσο(ί)
10	PH Τέμιοι	IIII	Ἄστυρενοὶ ἐπιφορ(ᾶς) 10
	HH Φοκαῖῆς[ς]	PH	Μιλέσιοι
	ΔΓΓIIII Ἐλαιέα	H	Μυέσιοι
	[Δ]ΓΓIIII Γρυν[ε]ῖς	H	[Π]υγελεῖς
	----- Κολ[ο]φόνιοι	PH	Ἐφέσιοι
15	----- [Οἰναῖοι] ἔχς Ἰκάρο	ΔΓΓIIII	[Ἰσίνδ]ιοι 15
	----- [Κλαζο]μένιοι	PHH	[Ἐρυθρα]ῖοι
	----- [Θερμαῖοι] ἔχς Ἰκάρο	ΔΓΓ[IIII]	[Βούθεια]
	----- [Μυριν]αῖοι παρ[ὶ]ὰ Κ(ύμ)	ΓΓΓΓII	[Σιδόσιοι]
	----- [Μυ]ριναῖοι ἐπιφορᾶς	PHΓΓII	Πολ[ι]χν[ῖ]ται
20	----- Κυμαῖοι	ΓIIII	Πτελεό[σιοι] 20
	----- Κυμαῖοι ἐπιφορᾶς	ΓIIII	Ἐλαιόσ[ιοι]
	[ΔΓΓ]IIII Πιταναῖοι		<i>vacat</i>
	[ΓΓ]IIII Πιταναῖοι ἐπιφορᾶς		<i>vacat</i>
	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓII Νοτιῆς		<i>vacat</i>
25	ΓIIIC Νοτιῆς ἐπιφορᾶς		<i>vacat</i> 25
	ἡ ε λ λ σ π ο ν τ ι ο ς φ [ὀ ρ ο ς]		
	Γ ἡρπαγῖανοί	HHPHΔΔΔΓΓΓII	[Τενέδιοι]
	Γ Παλαιπερκόσιοι	ΔΔΔΓΓΓII	Π[αριανοί]
	Γ Νεάπολις ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν	H	Χ[ερρονέσιοι]
30	ΔΔΔΓΓΓII Νεάνδρεα	ΔΓΓIIII	----- 30
	HHHH Ἄβυδανοί	ΓΓΓ[ΓII]	-----
	ΔΓΓIIII Παισενοί	Γ-----	-----
	ΔΓΓIIII Περκόσιοι	-----	-----
	ΓΓΓΓII Πρίαπος	-----	-----
35	ΔΓΓIIII Σιγείες	-----	----- 35
	PHHHH Χαλχεδ[όνιοι]	-----	-----
	[Δ]ΓΓIIII Κιανοί	-----	-----
	ΔΓΓIIII Δαμν[ι]οτειχῖται	-----	-----
	ΔΓΓIIII Διδύμοτειχῖται	-----	-----
40	H <i>vacat</i> Δα[ρ]δανῆς	I-----	----- 40
	ΓΓΓΓII Δαρδανῆς ἐπιφορᾶς	-----	-----
	ΔΓΓII[II] Λαμπονεῖς	-----	-----
	ΓIIII Λαμπονεῖς ἐπιφορᾶς	-----	-----
	ἄ π ὀ Θ ρ α ι κ ῆ ς φ [ὀ ρ ο ς]		
45	ΔΓΓ[IIII] Σκιάθιοι	PHΔΓΓIIII	Σ----- 45
	H[H] Ὀλύνθιοι	PH	Με[ν]δαῖοι
	----- Ἀφυταῖοι	PH	Νεοπο[λί]ται

Column II 16-17 The restitutions of Boutheia and Sidousa are virtually assured by the Erythraean context || 27 Only Tenedos is attested with 17,280 dr. || 28 Parion alone fits the remains || 29 Chersonesitai alone fit the quota and the preserved initial || 30 Hellespontine Alopekonesos (*ATL I*), Astakos (only attested until A3), Berytis (only attested until A3), Daunion (present in I.38), Didymon (present in I.39), Kallipolis (only attested from A6), Kianoi (present in I.37), Lamponeia (present in I.42), Paisos (present in I.32), Perkote (present in I.33), Sestos (paid 500 dr. until A4), Sigeion (present in I.35) and Skapsaiοι (present in II.49) are attested with 1,000 dr. || 31 and 32 Daskyleion; Gentinos (unattested beyond A3), Limnai, Madytos (present in I.28), Priapos (present in I.34) and Sestos are attested with 500 dr. *ATL I* has Sestos in 31 and Madytos in 32 in analogy with 10.IV32-33 and V.2-5, 11.II.7-12, 12.II.14-18, 13.II.10-15, 14.I.34-36 and II.34-36, 20.V.5-11, 22.II.21-26, 23.II.26-32 and 26.III.52-58 (*ATL I*, 180 note *ad* 10.V.2-5 and 184 note *ad loc*) adding (180): “In 12, 14, 15, 20, 22, 23, and 26 the name Παριανοί also appears with the Chersonese group.” Note however that 10.V.2-5, 12.II.14-17, 23.II.26-31 are fully restored. In 10 the order is Elaious-Sestos, in 11 Chersonesitai-Alopekonesos-Sestos-Madytos-Elaious-Limnai in 13 Sestos-Limnai-Madytos-Chersonesitai-Alopekonesos-Elaious, in 14 Chersonesitai-Alopekonesos and Sestos-Madytos-Limnai-Elaious. The order Chersonesos-Alopekonesos-Sestos-Madytos-Limnai-Elaious proposed by *ATL I* is possible, but not compulsory || 33 and 34 *ATL I* restored [Γ†††] [Μαδύττιοι] and [P] [Λιμναῖοι]; cf. note above || 45 In all 13 members are attested with the sum of 4,000 dr. and of these only Θύσσιοι, Μεκυπερναῖοι (*ATL I*), Σαναῖοι and Στόλιοι are Thracian. Thyssos’ tribute was raised to 1 ½ talent in the second assessment period and can be excluded. *ATL I* (185 note *ad loc.*) explained: “The restoration is based upon the order in 14, I, 45-47 and II, 45. For the cross column order see the note on 14, II, 58 (p. 184). Σαναῖοι and Στόλιοι are the other Thracian peoples who pay 4000 drachmai as tribute.” According to their argument the sequence Mekyllerna-Neapolis-Mende in 14 would form a parallel to Mekyllerna-Mende-Neapolis in 15, but a part from Skiathos’ position at the beginning of both lists I find few other correspondences: only Dion, Aige, Samothrakes and Ainos seem to be inscribed close to each other in both lists. This group appears in the upper third part of 14, but at the end of 15. Sane and Stolos, both in 14, cannot be excluded. The evidence of the stone favours one of these two, since the surface of the first letter space is preserved in such a way as that the lower part of the first stroke of mu would have been apparent, whereas a sigma, whose lower stroke begins somewhat above the letter line would suit the traces admirably. Compare with ME in 46 and ΣΕΡΜΑΙΟΙ in 48. I believe that the tip of the left join between the first and second and the third and fourth stroke are preserved in the same position as 48 || Column I 81 Θασθαρεῖς, Κασολαβεῖς (absent from full panel in 14), Κλαυνδεῖς, Μαδνασεῖς, Ναρισβαρεῖς (*ATL I*), Πλαδασεῖς, Ταρβανεῖς, Χαλκετορεῖς || Column II 68 Three Carian members are attested with 6 talents in the relevant assessment periods: Ialysos, Kamiros and Lindos (*ATL I*). Kamiros is already present in I.78. The explanation for preferring Lindos to Ialysos is contradictory to the layout of this list, cf. commentary. Ialysos remains a possibility || 69 ΔΓ[†-III] [Πύρνοιοι] *ATL I*, Ἐρινεῖς (not attested after A3), Ναχσιᾶται || 70 Η[†]λασεῖς] *ATL I* in analogy with 14.II.79-80. The preserved letters in 14 and the partially preserved quotas in 15 make Iasos-Hyromos a likely restitution in the latter list, but Latmos and Medmasa restored by the *ATL*-editors in II.66 and II.74 would suit the quota || 71 ΔΔ[ΔΔ†-III] [hyromēs] *ATL I*. See commentary to 70 || Column I 92 Ἰμβριοι, Μυκόνιοι, Στυρεῖς and Σερίφιοι paid 6,000 dr. || 93 Ἄνδριοι (*SEG V*) is the only island paying 36,000 dr. || 94 Ἀθῆναι Διάδες (*SEG V*) and Διῖς (ἀπὸ Κεναῖο) are the only island members attested with 2,000 dr. in the relevant assessment periods. Normally Dion precedes Athenai || 95 Ἐρετριεῖς (restored in 99 by *ATL I*), Ἐφαιστιεῖς (restored in 102 by *ATL I*), Κύθνιοι Σίφνιοι, Χαλκιδεῖς (*ATL I*) || 96 Γρυνχεῖς (*SEG V*) and Σύριοι (restored in 98 by *SEG V*) are the only island members attested with 1,000 dr. || 97 Ἰᾶται (*SEG V*) are the only island members attested with 3,000 dr. || 98 Γρυνχεῖς (*ATL I*) and Σύριοι alone paid 1,000 dr. || 99 Ἐρετριεῖς (*ATL I*), Χαλκιδεῖς (restored in 95 by *ATL I*), Ἐφαιστιεῖς (restored in 102 by *ATL I*), Κύθνιοι and Σίφνιοι paid 18,000 || 100 Only Ἰβηναῖοι is attested with 300 dr. || Column II 93 Π†††ΔΓ†††† Νάχσιοι is the only attested possibility || 94 Η†† Μυρωναῖοι if ΗΗ can be excluded || 95 Π† Καρύστιοι, Π† Ἄνδριοι (restored in 93), Χ†Π† Πάριοι (Meritt and McGregor) are the only possibilities with [?][P][?].

The Second Stele

The Tribute Quota Lists of the eight years between 439/8-432/1 (Lists 16-23) were inscribed on the second stele, measuring at least 2,192 m. in height, 1,471 m. in length and 0,34 in thickness. 73 fragments have been found on the Acropolis and the Agora. They have all been integrated in the plaster reconstruction in the Epigraphical Museum except for frs. 41 (= *Ag. I* 4910) and 40a (= *Ag. I* 6403). Fr. 41 “was rediscovered near the entrance to the Akropolis in 1937.” (*ATL I*, 67). Fr. 40a was found in June 1951 in a “Late Roman context north of Altar of Temple of Ares.” (file card on *Ag. I* 6403) and was identified and added to the stone by Meritt (1961a, 262-63 and Pl. 50).

The second stele is far less well preserved than the *lapis primus*. The stone shows signs of having been reused already in antiquity: it was cut vertically in two almost equal parts. These parts were thought to be from two different stones until Fimmen in 1913 showed that they were actually from the same (*ATL I*, 67). Smooth rims had been prepared on the new edges, but it is not obvious for what purpose. The fragments 3 and 6 preserve the rims of the obverse face. Fragments 6, 40 and 49 preserve the rims of the reverse face (the approximate position of fr. 3 is ascertained thanks to this rim). These edges are perfectly vertical, thereby preserving the cut made for the reuse of the stone. It is estimated that 0,186 m. width was lost during the cutting of the stone (*ATL I*, 67). For the sake of the reuse the surface has been smoothed at several places, which has caused the disappearance of the original text even when the relevant fragments are preserved. This goes for the fragments 4, 6, 7, 12, 13, 19, 71 and 72, the only fragments left from half of the stone. The *ATL*-editors attributed lost fragments to the second stele, these fragments are indicated here:

Fr.	Rangabé	Böckh, Pl., No.	Pitt. 1853	Köhler,	Lost	Commentary
8		IV, CIV		IV, 56*	before Köhler	preserves smooth edge
15	I, no. 194 I, no. 194'	V, LXXV V, LXXXIV	1218 1219	VII, 90a VII, 90b	before Köhler	corner fr. contingent with fr. 14
20	I, no. 236	VII, CXXVIII	1266	IX, 14*	before Köhler	Meritt 1937c 109-110
21	I, no. 181	IV, LXIII	1199	VII, 91a	before Köhler	Once part of fr. 22-28
24	I, no. 181	IV, LXIII	1199	VII, 91a	after Köhler	Once part of fr. 21-28
28	I, no. 181	IV, LXIII	1199	VII, 91a	after Köhler	Once part of fr. 21-27
39	I, no. 181'	IV, LXXII	1201	VII, 91b	after Köhler	
45	I, no. 181	IV, LXIII	1199	not in Köhler	before Köhler	
47	I, 181'	IV, LXXII	1201	VII, 91b	before Köhler	
53	I, 181	IV, LXIII	1199	VII, 91a	after Köhler	
63	I, 244	VII, CXXXI	1274	IX, 16*	before Köhler	
64	I, no. 172	II, LV	1158	VI, no number*	before Köhler	
67	I, no. 186'	V, XCVII	1210	VII, 98	after Köhler	

As in the case of the *lapis primus* I have removed fragments, preserved or lost, when I believe that they have been attributed to the individual lists on uncertain grounds. The place they occupy in *IG I*³ has been indicated by a square. The following fragments have been removed: frs. 3, 18 and 20.

List 16. 439/8. Ed. *IG* I 245; *IG* I² 206, 208a, 211a+; Meritt 1925d, 292-98; West and Meritt (WM) 1927, 31-32 and Pl. VI-VII; *SEG* V; *ATL* I; *ATL* II; *IG* I³ 273.

		[ἐ π ἰ τ ῆ ς ἡ ἑ κ τ ε ς κ α ἰ δ ε κ ᾶ τ ε ς ἄ ρ χ ῆ ς ἡ ἔ ι			
		[ἡ ε λ λ ε ν ο τ α μ ῖ α ς ἔ ν -----			
		I	II	III	
	-----	-----	-----	fr. 3 -	-----
5	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	[ἡελλεσπόντιος φόρος]	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
10	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
15	-----	[ἡαιρ]αιῆς	-----	-----	-----
	-----	[Κλαζ]ομέν[ιοι]	-----	-----	-----
	-----	[Τεί]οι <i>vacat</i>	-----	-----	-----
	-----	[Ἐλα]ιέα : παρ[ὰ Μύριναν]	[.]Η[?]	-----	-----
	-----	[Οἰναῖ]οι : ἐχ[ς Ἰκάρ]ο	Χ	[Περί]νθιοι	-----
	-----	[... ⁷ ...]	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	[ΔΓΗ-ΙΙ]Ι	Σκαφο[αῖοι]
	-----	[... ⁷ ... ἐπιφορ]ᾶς	ΡΗΗΗΗ	-----	Σερμα[ῖοι]
20	-----	-----	ΔΔΔΗΗΗ	-----	Νεοπολ[ῖται]
	-----	[Μυριναῖ]οι : π[αρά Κύ]μεν	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	-----	Σπαρτό[λιοι]
	-----	[Μυριναῖ]οι : ἐ[πιφο]ρᾶς	Γ	-----	-----
	-----	[Πιταν]αῖο[ι]	Ρ[- ? -]	-----	-----
	-----	[Πιταναῖ]οι : ἐπ[ι]φορᾶς	Η[- ? -]	-----	-----
25	-----	[Ἄστυρα Μ]ύσι[α]	ΔΓΗΙΙ[ΙΙ]	-----	-----
	-----	[Ἄστυρ]α Μύσια : ἐ[πι]φορᾶς	Γ[- ? -]	-----	-----
	-----	[... ⁴ ...]οι	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
30	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	Ἐρυ[θραῖοι]	-----	-----	-----
	-----	Πολιχ[νῖται]	-----	-----	-----
	-----	<i>vacat</i>	[<i>vacat</i>]	[<i>vacat</i>]	-----

Col. II 17 No other Hellespontine member paid 60,000 dr. in the relevant assessment periods || 18 Σέστιοι, Δαυνιοτεῖχῖται, Διδυμοτεῖχῖται, Κιανοί, Λαμπονεῖς, Παισενοί and Σιγειῖς paid 1,000 dr. || 19 Κυζικενοί and Χαλχεδόνιοι paid 54,000 dr. || 20 Ἄλοπεκονέσιοι, Ἄρτακενοί (*ATL* I) and Νεάνδρεια paid 2,000 dr. || 22 ἡαρπαγῖοι (MW 1927) and Νεάπολις ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν (restored by *ATL* I in 26) paid 300 dr.

List 17. 438/7. Eds. *IG* I 246; *IG* P 207, 199.35-39, 208; Meritt and West (MW) 1927, 33 and Pl. VI-VIII; *SEG* V 17, 10 (V 9-13); *ATL* I; *ATL* I; *IG* P 274.

[ἐ π] ἰ τ ῆ ς [η ε β δ ό μ ε ς κ α ἰ δ ε κ ά τ ε ς ἀ ρ χ ῆ ς
 [ἐ γ ρ α μ] μ ά [τ ε υ ε , η ε λ λ ε ν ο τ α μ ί α ς ἔ ν -----

	I		II		III
	[ἰωνι]κός [φόρος]	-----	-----	-----	----- fr. 8
5	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
10	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
20	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
25	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	[fin.col.]		[fin.col.]		[fin.col.]

Heading 1 End: χαγνόσιος or Ῥαμνόσιος; cf. *IG* P 445, l. 293 || Col. VI 12 Στόλιοι is the only attested Thracian member that fits both quota and the reported omikron (or theta) || 14 [Σταγ]ιρῖτ[αι] (Köhler), [Ἄσσ]ερίτ[αι] (*ATL* I). No other attested Thracian member would fit || 15 Η [Σερμυ]λι[ῆς] (Köhler); Η [Ἄργι]λι[οι] *SEG* V; Η [Αιο]λι[ται] and [Στό]λι[οι] would fit in a loose stoichedon order, but the former is attested with 500 dr. only.

ο ν ε ύ ς]			
]			
IV	V	VI	
[ηελλεσπόντιος φόρος]			5
		.. Η	10
	[Θράκιος φόρος]	Γ-	
	[Αινε]ᾶται	ΔΓϜ-[III]	15
	[Σαμο]θραϊκες	Ϝ <i>vacat</i>	[Αιγάντιο]ι
	[... ⁶ ...]ίται	ΔΔΔϜ-[ϜϜ II]	[Όλοφ]ύχ[σι]οι
	[... ⁷ ...]ι	Ϝ	Ά[σ]σερίται
	[... ⁶ ...]λιοι		[Διῆς] ἐκ τῶ Ἄθο
	[Ποτει]δεᾶται	Δ[ΓϜ-III]	[Νεο]πολίτ[αι]
	[... ⁵ ...]λιοι	ΔΔΓ	[ΰ]κι]οι
	[... ⁵ ...]ιοι	ΓϜϜϜ II	
	[Μεκυπε]ρναῖοι	ϜΗΗΗ	Μ[ενδαῖοι]
	[Στα]γίριται	ΔΓϜ-III	Σ[κ - - - - -]
	[Σπα]ρτόλιοι	Ϝ	Σ[καβλαῖοι]
	[... ³ ...]\ ΟΙ	Η	Σ[τ]ρεφσαῖοι
	[... ³ ...]\ ΟΙ	ΔΔΓ	η[αισόνιοι]
	[Όθό]ριοι	ϜϜϜϜ I	η[αισόνιοι ἐπιφορᾶς]
	[Μαρ]ονῖται	ΗΗ[Η]Η	Α[ῖ]γιοι
[vacat]	X		<i>vacat</i>
	<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>

λ ο ς . . . ⁷ . . .] Ἄ χ α ρ [ν ε] ὕ ς ἐ γ ρ α μ μ ᾶ τ ε υ ε .
 ἐ κ Κ ε ρ α μ] ἑ ο ν .

IV		V		VI	
-----	fr. 20	ΔΔΔΗΗΗII	Ἄ[ρ]τακενοί		Νεο[πολι]ται
-----		Η	Παριανοί	ΔΓΗIII	παρ' Ἀντισιά[ραν]
-----		[ΔΔ]ΔΗΗΗII	Μα[δ]ύτιοι	ϜΗ	Ποτειδεᾶται 5
-----		[ΓΗΗ]ΗII	Λιμναῖοι	ΧϜ	Σκιοναῖοι
-----		[ΔΓ]ΗIII	Σέστιοι	ΧΧ[Χ]	Θάσιοι
-----		[ΔΔΔΗ]ΗΗII	Ἄλοπεκοννέσιοι :	Χ	ἡβδερίτα[ι]
-----	[. . . . ⁸]"		Χε[ρ]ρονεῖται :	Η	Στρεφσαῖοι
-----	[Μυριναῖ]οι	Η	ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς	Ϝ	Νεοπολι[ται] 10
-----	[Ἐφαισσο]τιεῖς	Ϝ	Ἐλ[α]ίωσιοι		Μενδα[ο]ν
-----		ΔΓ[-?]	Σελυμβριανοί	ΓΗΗII	Σερ[μαῖ]οι
	[ἡλλεσπό]ντιος φόρος		[Θρ]άκιο[ς] φόρος	ϜΗ	Σαμοθράικες
-----	[ἡα]ρπαγίανοι :	Η	Ἄφυ[τ]αῖοι	Ϝ	Ἄσο[ε]ρίτα[ι]
-----	[Σι]γειεῖς	Η[Η]	Σπα[ρ]τόλιοι	Η	Δι[καιοπολι]ται 15
-----	[Κι]ανοί	Η	Αἰν[ε]ᾶται		[Ἐρετρι]ῶν
-----	[Πρι]απῆς	Η	Πεπα[ρ]έθιοι	ΔΓΗ[IIII]	[Σταγι]ρίτα[ι]
-----	[Ἄζ]ειεῖς	Η	Θύσσι[οι]	ΗΙ[Ι]	Σταγιρίται ἐπιφορᾶ[ς]
-----	[Δα]ρδανῆς	Η	Μεκ[υπ]ερναῖοι		Δίκαια παρᾶ
-----	[Πε]ρίνθιοι	Η	Διε[ς] ἐκ τῷ Ἄθο		ἡάβδερα 20
-----	[Δα]υνιοτεῖχῖται	Δ[ΓΗ]IIII	Σ[κιάθ]ιοι	-----	Ἄκάνθιοι
-----	[Δι]δυμοτεῖχῖται :	Δ[-?]	[- ^{max 5-6} -] <i>vacat</i>	[ΔΓΗ]IIII	Φεγέτι[οι]
-----	[Κα]λχεδόνιοι	-----	Τορ[οναῖ]οι	ΔΓΗIII[Ι]	[Φ]αρβέλιοι ἄτακ[τοι]
-----	[Τε]νεδιοι	ΗΗ	Ἰόλυν[θ]ιοι	ΔΗIII	Ἰοθόριοι ἄ[ταχ]τοι
-----	[Ἄβ]υδενοί	ΔΔΔΗΗ[ΗΗ]	Ἰολοφ[ύχ]σιοι	ΓΗΗΗII	Χεδρόλιοι 25
-----	[Βυ]ζάντιοι	ϜΗΗΗ	Μενδα[ί]οι	ΗΗΗΗϜ	Σερμυλιεῖς
-----	[Πα]ισενοί	Χ	Μαρονῖται	Η	Σαναῖοι
-----	[Παι]σενοί ἐπιφορᾶς :	ΔΔΓ	ἡαισόνιοι	ΔΔΔΗΗΗII	Σκαβλαῖοι
-----	[Λα]μφσακενοί :	ΔΓΗIII	[Θ]ρα[μ]βαῖοι	ΗΗΗ	Σίγγιοι
-----	[Κυ]ζικε[ν]ο[ί]	[.] ^{vacat}	[Αιγιά]ντιοι	ϜΗΗ	Βεργαῖοι 30
-----	[Πρ]οκο[ν]νέσιοι	ΔΗΗΗII	[. . . .]οι ἄτακτοι	ΔΓΗIII	Μιλτόριοι
	<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>

Column IV 10 and 12 [Μυριναῖ]οι and [Ἰ]μβριοι (SEG V in analogy with 12.V.32 and 34, 13.V.33 and 35, 14.I.105 and 106 and II.105). In 10 Ἐρυθραῖοι (perhaps unlikely alone without its syntely) and Πιτταναῖοι would be possible.

List 21. 434/3. Eds. *IG I* 243; *IG I²* 211; Meritt and West (MW) 1927, 21-31 and Pl. III and XI; *SEG* V; *ATL I*; *ATL II*; Meritt 1961, 262-63, note 75 with Pl. 50 (fr. 40a). *IG I³* 278.

[ἐ π ἰ τ ῆ ς μ ι ᾶ ς κ α ἰ ε ἰ κ ο σ τ ῆ ς ἄ ρ χ ῆ ς
 [ἐ γ ρ α μ μ ᾶ τ ε υ ε , ἡ ε λ λ ε ν ο τ α μ ῖ α ς ἔ ν

	I		II		III
5	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
10	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
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15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
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20	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
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25	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
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	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
30	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
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	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
35	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	[vacat]		[vacat]		[vacat]

Cf. Bannier 1913, 229; Busolt 1897, 207-9, note 4; Nesselhauf 1933, 54-56 and 59-61; West 1925c, 180-187; *id.* 1926a, 250-54.

η̃ι Π ρ ο τ ό ν ι] κ ο ς ἔ κ Κ ε ρ α μέ ο ν Ἐ π ι χ ά ρ ο [ς]
 . . ⁵ . . μ α] χ ο ς Χ α ρ ι δ έ μ ο Χ σ υ π ε τ α ι ό ν

	IV		V		VI	
-----	[Λα]μπονειῖς	Ϝ	Νεοπολιῖται	Η	Στόλιοι	
-----	[Λα]μπονειῖς		Με[ν]δαῖοι	ΗΗ	Σίγγιοι	
-----	[ἐπ]ιφορᾶς	ΗΗΗΓΗΗΗ	Σπαρτολι[οι]		πόλες αὐταῖ	5
-----	[Ἐ]υδενοί	ϜΗΗΗ	Μενδαῖοι		φόρον ταχσάμεναι	
-----	[Δα]σκύλειον	Χ	Μαρονῖται	ΓΗΗΗ	Αἰολῖται	
-----	[ἐν] Προποντίδι	ΔΔΓ	Ἴκιοι	Ϝ	Γαλαῖοι	
-----	[Δα]σκυλειανοί	ΗΗΗΗϜ	Σερμυλιῖς	Ϝ	Μιλκό[ριοι]	
-----	[ἐπ]ιφορᾶς	Η	Σαναῖοι	Η	ΑΛΙ[- -]	10
-----	[Κα]λχεδόνιοι	ΓΗΗ[ΗΗ]	Σερμαῖοι	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Κ[άσιοι]	
-----	[Καλ]χεδόνιοι	ΔΓ[ΗΗΗ]	Σκιάθιοι	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Κα[λλιπολιῖται]	
-----	[ἐπιφορ]ᾶς	Η	Στρεφσαῖοι	ΔΔΓ	Σαρ[ταῖοι]	
-----	[- ^{max 8} -] <i>vacat</i>		Νεοπολιῖται	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Ἐτ[- - - -]	
-----			παρ' Ἀντισάραν	ΓΗΗΗ	Φα[- - - -]	15
-----			Θύσσιοι	ΔΓΗΗΗ		
-----			Γεγέτιοι	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Πλευ[μῆς]	
-----			Αἰνεᾶται		πόλες ἡς ἠ[οι]	
-----			Πεπαρ[έθιοι]		ιδιόται ἐνέ[γ]ρα-	
-----			[- ^{max 9} -] <i>vacat</i>		φσαν φόρον	20
-----			[Ποτειδεᾶτ]αι		φέρεν	
-----				Δ	Πίλορος	
-----			[Μεκυπερνα]ῖοι	ΓΗΗΗ	Κλεοναί	
-----			[Διῆς ἐκ τῷ Ἄ]θο	ΔΔΓ	Σίνος	
-----				ΔΗΗΗ	Διακρῆς	25
-----					ἀπὸ Χαλκιδέο[ν]	
-----				ΓΗΗΗ	Πίστασος	
-----				ΔΔΔ	Σύμε	
-----					Τινδαῖοι	
-----			[Σαμοθράικε]ς		Κίθας	30
-----				Ϝ	Σμίλλα	
-----					Γίγονος	
-----			Δ[ίκαια]		χαῖσα	
-----		[.]	πα[ρὰ χάβδε]ρα	Ϝ	Βυσβικός	
-----		ΧΧΧ	Θάσι[οι]	ΓΗΗΗ	Ἔθορος	35
-----		Ϝ	Ἄσσε[ρῖται]	ἄτακτος	πόλις	
-----		Ϝ	Σκαβ[λαῖοι]	Γ	Κυστίριοι	
	[<i>vacat</i>]		<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>	

Col. V 21 Ποτειδεᾶτ]αι (Köhler). No other attested Thracian member fits. || 23 Only [Μεκυπερνα]ῖοι (Köhler) suits the ultimates || 24 [Διῆς ἐκ τῷ Ἄ]θο (Köhler) is the only attested possibility. || 30 [Σαμοθράικε]ς (Köhler) alone fills the requirements of 11 letters || Col. VI 10 Ἀμ[όργιοι] Köhler in analogy with 22.II.80, but M does not suit traces || 11 Κ[άσιοι] (Köhler) in analogy with 22.II.83 || 12 Κα[λλιπολιῖται] (Köhler) in analogy with 22.II.87 || 13 Σαρ[τριοι] (Köhler) in analogy with 22.II.79 || 14 Ἐτ[εοκαρπάθιοι] (Köhler) in analogy with 22.II.81-82 || 15 Φαρβέλιοι (Köhler) in analogy with 22.II.86 || 16 [Χεδρόλιοι] MW 1927, Pl. XI in analogy with 22.II.88.

List 22. 433/2. Eds. *IG* 244; *IG* I² 212; Meritt and West (MW) 1927, 21-31, 35-41 with Pl. IV and XII; *SEG* V; *ATL* I; *ATL* II; *IG* I³ 279. Cf. Nesselhauf 1933, 57, n. 1, 97 and 100; West 1935, p. 81.

a. 433/2 ἐ π ἰ τ ῆ ς δ υ ο κ α ι ε ι] - ΣΤΟΙΧ. 14
κ ο σ τ [ῆ ς ἄ ρ χ ῆ ς ἡ ῆ ι] -
Φ ι λ ε [. ¹⁰] -
έ κ τ ο [. ¹⁰] -
5 ἐ γ ρ α μ [α τ ε υ ε , ἡ ε λ] - 5
λ ε ν ο τ [α μ ί α ς ἔ ν Δ ι] -
ο ν ὕ σ ι ο ς - - - - - 8-10 - - - - -

	I		II	
	[Ἰ]ονικός φόρος	-----	-----	
	Καῦνιοι	Γ[-?-]	-----	
10	Ταλάνδριοι	Η[Η]ῚΔΔ[ΓΓ-ΓΓ]	[Τενέδιοι]	10
	Πασανδῆς		[Δασκύλειον]	
	[Καρ]βασανδῆς	ΓΓ-ΓΓ-Η	[ἐν Προποντίδι]	
	[παρὰ Κ]αυνῶν	ΔΔΓΓ-ΓΓ[Ι]	[Λ------]	
	[... max. 6 ...] ^{vacat}		Δ[------]	
15	[...]ΚΑΤΑΙ	ΓΓ	ἐπ[ιφορᾶς]	15
	[Μαρ]αθέσι[ο]ι	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Παι[σενοί]	
	[Ἰσί]νδιοι	ῚΗ	Ἄβυ[δενοί]	
	[Ἄσ]τυπαλαῖες	Ὶ	Βρυ[λλεανοί]	
	[Λί]νδιοι		-----	
20	Πει[δ]ιες	ΔΔΓ	-----	20
	ἔ[γ Λίνδ]ο	Η	[Χερρονεῖται]	
	Χ[ερρονέ]σιοι	Ὶ	-----	
	Πύ[ρ]νιοι	ΔΔΔΓΓ-ΓΓ[ΙΙ]	-----	
	Ν[αχσιᾶ]ται	ΔΔΔΓΓ-ΓΓ[ΙΙ]	-----	
25	[...]ῖοι	[Δ]ΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	[Λ------]	25
	Κ[ολο]φόνιοι	Γ-ΙΙΙ	Λ[----- ἐπιφορᾶς]	
	[... ⁵ ...] ^ν	Η	Π[αριανοί]	
	[Πελεᾶ]ται	ΗΗΗ	Πρ[οκοννέ]σιοι	
	-----	ΔΔΔΓΓ-ΓΓ-Η	[Ἄ]ρτακ[ενοί]	
30	-----	ῚΗΗΗΗ	[Κ]υζικ[ενοί]	30
	-----	[.]ΗῚΙC	Λαμφ[σ]ακε[νοί]	
	[Ἐλαίεα] ^{vacat}	ΧῚΗΗΗΔΔΔ	Βυζάντιοι	
	[παρὰ Μ]ύριναν	ΔΓ	Σελυμβρια[νοί]	
	[Θερμαῖ]οι		Θράικιος φόρο[ς]	
35	ἔχς Ἰκάρ]ο	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Γαλέφσιοι	35
	-----		Νεοπολίτα[ι]	
	-----	[Δ]ΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	παρ' Ἀντισ[άραν]	
	-----	-----	[Α]ῖνεᾶτα[ι]	
	-----	-----	[Ὀλοφύ]χσ[ι]οι	
40	-----	-----	-----	40
	[Κ]αμ[ιρῆς]	-----	-----	
	Χαλ[κεᾶ]ται	-----	-----	
	Κυμ[αῖ]οι	-----	-----	
	Τέ[ι]οι	-----	-----	
45	Ἰελ[ύ]σιοι	ΗΗ	-----	45
	Φασ[ελῖ]ται	Η	Μ[εκυπερναῖ]οι	
	Νισ[ύρι]οι		Νεοπ[ολῖ]ται	
	Ἐρύ[θραῖ]οι	Ὶ	Μενδαῖον	
	καὶ χ[ισυντελῆς]	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Σκαφσαῖοι	
50	Μυρι[ναῖ]οι	Η	Θύσσιοι	50

	Η	παρά [Κύμεν]	-----	Βεργαῖοι	
		Οἶνα[ῖοι]	-----	Σκιάθιοι	
	Η	[ἐ]χς [Ἰκάρο]	-----	Πεπαρέθλιοι	
	Ρ ^{vacat}	[Κ]οῖοι[ι]	[ΔΓΓ-Ι]ΙΙΙ	Ἄργυλιοι	
55	[Η]Ρ ^α	[Κ]αλύ[δνιοι]	-----	Δικαιοπολίτ[αι]	55
	[ΔΓ]Γ-ΙΙΙΙΙ	[Π]ιτα[ναῖοι]	-----	Ἐρετριῶν	
		[Π]ιτα[ναῖοι]	[ΓΓΓ-Γ]Γ-ΙΙ	Σερμαῖοι	
	ΙΙΙC	[ἐ]πιφ[ορᾶς]	-----	Διῆς ἐκ τῷ Ἄθο	
	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓ-Γ-ΙΙ	-----	-----	[Ἰ]κιοι	
60		-----	-----	[Σαμο]θραῖκες	60
	[Γ]Γ-ΙΙΙΙΙ	-----	[Χ]ΧΧ	Θάσιοι	
	-----	Π	-----	Μαρονῖται	
	-----	Τ	-----	Φεγέτιοι	
	-----	Μι[λέσιοι]	-----	Αἰγάντιοι	
65	[ΡΗ]ΗΡ ^α	Ἐφ[έσιοι]	-----	Θραμβαῖοι	65
	ΗΙ-	Λ	-----	ἡιόνιοι[οι]	
	ΗΡ ^α ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	ἡαλικαρν[ασσεῖς]	-----	Ἀκάνθ[ιοι]	
	Η	Λάτμιο[ι]	Η	Στρεφσαῖοι	
	Η	Ἰασεῖς	ΧΡ ^α	ἡαβδερίτ[αι]	
70	Η	Μαδνα[σεῖς]	ΧΡ ^α	Ποτειδεᾶτ[αι]	70
		Νεσιοτικὸς [φόρο]ς	ΔΔΓ	Σκαβλαῖοι	
	Η ^{vacat}	Σερίφιοι	Ρ ^α	Ἄσσερίται	
	ΗΗΗ	Χαλκιδε[ς]	ΗΗΗΓΓΓ-Γ-ΙΙ	Σπαρτόλιοι	
	ΗΗΗ	Κεῖιοι	Η	Σαναῖοι	
75	ΗΗ	Τένιοι	Η	Σίγγιοι	75
	[Ρ]ΗΡ ^α ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ :	Νάχσιοι[οι]		πόλεις αὐταῖ	
	[.] ^{vacat}	Μυκόνιοι		ταχσάμεναι	
	ΡΗ	Ἄνδριοι	Ρ ^α	Γαλαῖοι	
	ΗΗΗ	Σίφνιοι	ΔΔΓ	Σαρταῖοι	
80	ΔΔΓ	Σύριοι	Η	Ἀμόργιοι	80
	Η ^{vacat}	Στυρεῖς		Ἐτεοκαρπάθιοι[οι]	
	[Η]ΗΗ	Ἐρετριεῖς	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	ἐκ Καρπάθο	
	[Δ]ΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Γρυνχεῖς	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Κάσιοι	
	Γ ^{vacat}	Ῥεναῖεῖς	ΓΓΓ-Γ-ΙΙ	Αἰολῖται	
85	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓ-Γ-ΙΙ	Ἀθηνῖται	Ρ ^α	Μιλόριοι	85
	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓ-Γ-ΙΙ	Διῆς ἀπὸ Κεναί:	ΓΓΓ-Γ-ΙΙ	Φαρβέλιοι	
	Ρ ^α	Ἰέται	[Δ]ΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Καλλιπολίται[ι]	
	[.]ΗΗΗΗ	Α[ιγ]ινῆται	[ΔΓΓ-ΙΙ]ΙΙ	Χεδρόλιοι	
	[. . .]Δ	-----		πόλεις ἡὰς	
90	-----	-----		ἡοι ἰδιῶται	90
	-----	-----		ἐνέγραψαν	
	-----	-----		φόρον φέρον	
	-----	-----	[Γ]ΓΓ-Γ-ΙΙ	Κλ[ε]οναί	
	-----	-----		Δ[ια]κρῆς	
95	-----	-----	ΔΓΓ-Γ-ΙΙ	[ἀπὸ] Χαλκι[δέον]	95
	-----	-----	ΔΔΔ	-----	
	-----	[. . . ca. 10 . . .]ι	ΓΓΓ-Γ-ΙΙ	-----	
	-----	-----	ΔΔΓ	-----	
	-----	-----		-----	
100	ΔΔΔΓΓ-Γ-ΙΙ	-----	ΔΔΔΓΓ-Γ-ΙΙ	-----	
	ΡΗ	Κ[αλχεδόνιοι]			
	Χ	Π[ερίνθιοι]			
	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Διδυμ[οτειχῖται]	nonnulli vv.		
	ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Δαυνιοτ[ειχῖται]	perierunt		
105	Η	Δαρδανεῖ[ς]			
	ΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Ἄζειεῖς			

vacat

vacat

Col. I 14 ΔΔΔΓ†††III *Αμιοι, Δ[ΔΔ†††II] [Κρυῆς] (*ATL* I), Δ[ΔΔ†††II] [Νοτιῆς] (MW 1927) are among the possibilities attested in this and adjacent assessment periods || 28 There are no other candidates Naxia being attested in I.24 and Phaselis in I.46 || 41 No other member fits || I 59 (and by extension 60-61) Γρυνηῆς (*ATL* I), Κεδριᾶται, Κρυῆς, Νοτιῆς paid 2,000 dr. in this or adjacent assessment periods || 62 Π[υγαλῆς] (*ATL* I), Π[ελειᾶται] are among the Ionian/Carian cities on pi attested in this or adjacent assessment periods || 63 Τε[λμέσσιοι] (*IG* I³), Τε[ρμερῆς] (MW 1927) are among the attested possibilities || 97 [Γ] [ἡρπαγίανοι] (*ATL* I) is the only member on eleven letters, Βυσβικενοί counting ten and Χερρονεοῖται counting twelve (*ATL* I in II.21) || 100 [ἼΑλοπεκοννέσιοι] (*SEG* V), restored by *ATL* I in II.23, [Νεανδρειῆς] (*ATL* I) || 101 [Μαδύτιοι], restored by *ATL* I in II.24 || Col. II 9 [ἡρπαγίανοι], restored by *ATL* I in I.97, [Πρίαπος] restored by *ATL* I in I.96, Παλαιπερκόσιοι, restored by *ATL* I in 19-20 || 10 There is no other attested member paying ΗΗ^Α or ΠΗ^Α || 11-12 There is no other member fitting both the quota and the position of the quota || 13-15 [Λαμπονειῆς] | Λ[αμπονειῆς ἐπιφορᾶς] *SEG* V; [Λιμναῖοι] | Λ[ιμναῖοι ἐπιφορᾶς] restored by *SEG* V in 24-25 || 19-20 [Περκόσιοι καὶ] | [Παλαιπερκόσιοι] *ATL* I || 21 Köhler. No other HellsPontine member paid 1 talent, Παριανοί being attested in II.27 || 22 [Βυσβικενοί] or [ἼΕλαιόσιοι] Köhler. Normally the Chersonese *poleis*, the Chersonesitans from Agora, Elaious, Alopekonnesos, Madytos, Sestos and Limnai are recorded together || 23 ἼΑλοπεκοννέσιοι *ATL* I; ἼΑρτακενοί *SEG* V; Μαδύτιοι (restored in II.24 by *ATL* I); Νεανδρειῆς (restored in I.100 by *ATL* I) || 24-25 [Λαμπονειῆς] | Λ[αμπονειῆς ἐπιφορᾶς] Köhler (restored by *SEG* V in II.13-15); [Λιμναῖοι] | Λ[ιμναῖοι ἐπιφορᾶς] *SEG* V || 30 Köhler. No other Hellespontine member paid 54,000 dr. || 45 Köhler. No other Thracian member is attested with 12,000 dr. in the relevant assessment periods || 96 [Σύμε] *IG* I³ || 96 [Σίνος] *IG* I³.

EM 6856. Formerly List 26. Three fragments of a stele at least 1.59 m. high (bottom not preserved), 0.824 m. wide and 0,178 m. thick.

Eds: frs. 1-2: Pittakis 1835, 411-12; fr. 1: Rangabé 1841, 272-73, nos. 223-223¹ and Pittakis 1853 nos. 1252, 1253; fr. 3: Rangabé *ibid*, no. 224; Pittakis *ibid*. 1254; fr. 3: Köhler 1869, 59-62 and 85-86, with Pl. IX, nos. 105a and b; *IG I* 257-258; *IG I*² 216, 217, 231; Meritt 1927, 180-85 and Pl. X p. 184; *SEG V*; *ATL I* (list 26) and *ATL II* (list 26); Bradeen and McGregor (BM) 1973, 3-23, *IG I*³ 282. Cf. Mattingly 1961, 168, n. 89 (= 1996, 28); *id.* 1970, 133-40 (= 1996, 287-300) and 140-41 (= 1996, 300-3); *id.* 1978, 83-88, (= 1996, 427-33); *id.* 1980, 1-25; Piérart 1984, 163-65; *id.* 1985, 298-99; *id.* 1988, 309-21.

	[..... ³⁴]	ι π π ο ς Φ υ λ ά σ ι ο ς		ΣΤΟΙΧ. 47
	[..... ³¹]	δ..ο. Ἀ ν α γ υ ρ ά σ ι ο ς		
	[..... ⁴¹]	ο ς Σ φ έ τ -		
	[..... ⁴²]	ε π ι κ . -		
5	[-----]			5
		I	II	III
		[Θράκιος]	[Νεοιοτικός φόρος]	[Ἴονικός]
	-----	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----	-----
10	ΔΓΗ-III[II]	Ἀ[φυτ]αι[οι]	-----	[Βρυκῶς] Καρπάθο
	ΔΓΗ-III	Σταγ[ιρίται]	-----	[Βρυκῶς] πε[ρ]υσινῶ
	HHH	-----	-----	-----
	HHHHH	Σκιοναῖοι	-----	-----
	HHH	Ἀκάνθιοι	Ϝ	[Βρικι]νδάριοι
	HHHH	Μενδαῖοι	-----	[Μυριναῖοι πα]ρὰ Κύμεν
15	Ϝ vacat	Νεοπολιται	HH	[χαλικαρν]άσσιοι
		Μενδαῖον	ΔΓΗ-III	-----
	XXX	Θάσιοι	ϜΗ	-----
	ΔΔΓ	Ἴκιοι	HHH	[. ⁶⁻⁸ .]IIAI
		Νεοπολιται	H	-----
20	ΔΓΗ-III	π[α]ρ Ἀντισάραν	H	[Ἐλαιέα πα]ρὰ Μύριναν
	ΔΔΓ	[Γ]αλέ[φ]σιοι	H	-----
	-----	Διῆς ἔχς Ἄθο	ΔΔΓ	-----
	-----	[Αἰ]γάντιοι	-----	-----

EM 6771, 6783, 6783a, Ag. I 5229, EM 6785, EM 6786 and 6655. Formerly List 25. 430/29. Eight fragments reconstructed in EM: *A* = EM 6771; *B* = EM 6783 and 6783a; *C* = Ag. I 5229, EM 6785, EM 6786 and 6655, height 1,15 m., width 0,905 m., thickness 0,15 m.

Edd. *IG* I 259 and 266; *IG* I² 218; *SEG* V (list 28); *ATL* I (list 25); *ATL* II (list 25); *IG* I³ 281.

Cf. Bradeen and McGregor (BM) 1973, 127-28; Cavaignac 1908, XXXVI and Fig. 8; Köhler 1896, 141-46, no. 2; Mattingly 1961a, 155-60 (= 1996, 70-77); *id.* 1961b, 166-68 (= 1996, 26-28); *id.* 1966, 179-84 (= 1996, 127-33); *id.* 1970, 133-40 (= 1996, 287-300); *id.* 1978a, 30-31; *id.* 1978b, 87 (= 1996, 432); *id.* 1980, 21-25; *id.* 1996, 525; Meiggs 1972, 531-37; Meritt 1967b, 50-51; *id.* 1980 21-25; *id.* 1925e, 321-24; *id.* 1932, 3-25; *id.* 1934b, 283-86; *id.* 1939, 52-53; *id.* 1937c, 98-100; Meritt and Wade-Gery 1962, 73-74; Nesselhauf 1933, 69-74 and 140-41; Piérart 1984, 173-74 and p. 163, n. 53; *id.* 1985, 298-99; *id.* 1988, 308-21; Pritchett 1964c, 479-80; Schuller 1981, 148; Wilhelm 1909, 41 and 47; Woodward 1908-9, 229-42.

[.....] ΣΤΟΙΧ. 65
 [.....]
 [.....³⁴..... Δι]ο[νύ]σιο[ς] Ἄκαρ]νεύς, [.....¹⁴.....]
 [.....¹⁶.....]πιος, Αἴσχρο^ν Μα^{ρα}θόνιος, Φιλοτάδες Π^αλλεν[εύς *vacat*]

<i>A</i>	I	II	III	
5	[Ἰουικός]	Θράικιος	ηελλεσπόν[τιος]	5
-----	[... ⁹ ...]ς	Ἰκιοί <i>rasura</i>	Καλχ[εδόνιοι]	
-----	[... ⁷ ...]οι	Μενδαῖοι	Κια[νοί]	
-----	[... ⁶ ...]ται	Μαρόνιται	Προ[κονέσιοι]	
-----	[Θερμαῖοι] ἔχς Ἰκάρο	Σκιάθιοι	Κυζ[ικενοί]	
10	[... ⁶ ...]ιοι	Ἄφυταῖοι	Ἄρτ[ακενοί]	10
-----	[Διάκριοι] ἔχς Ῥοδο	Θάσιοι	Σιγ[ειῖς]	
-----	[Πεδιῖς] ἐγ Λίνδο	Πέπαρέθιοι	Τενέ[διοι]	
-----	[Καρπά]θιοι	Νεοπολίται Μενδαίων	Λαμφ[σακενοί]	
-----	[... ⁴ ...]ιοι	Σκιοναῖοι	Βρυ[λλειανοί]	
15	[... ⁵ ...]ιοι	Θύσσι[οι]	Ἐλα[ιόσιοι]	15
-----	[... ^{max. 5} ...] <i>vacat</i>	Σαμοθ[ρ]ᾶικες	Λαμπο[νειῖς]	
-----	[Χαλκεῖ]ῖται	Τοροναῖοι	Ἄβυδε[νοί]	
-----	[... ⁶ ...]ται ἀπὸ Καρίας	Τοροναῖοι	Βυζάν[τιοι]	

20	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	[Έρυθραῖοι [Βουθει]ῆς Έρυθραῖον [Πτελεό]σιοι Έρυθραῖον [Πολιχναῖοι] Έρυθραῖον [Σιδόσιοι] Έρυθραῖον [... ⁷ ...]ι	HHH ΔΓΗΙΙΙ H ΔΔΔΗΗΗΙ X ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Ἄκάνθιοι Αἰνειᾶται Διῆς ἔχς ἾΑθο Ἰλοφύχσιοι ἔχς ἾΑθο Ἄβδερῖται Ἄργ[ί]λιοι	HHHHH H X HHHΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΓΗΗΗΙ ΔΔΔΓ	Σελυμ[βριανοί] Περίν[θιοι] Δανυ[ιοτειχῖται] Διδυμοτειχῖται Δασ[κύλειον] Παρ[ιανοί]		
25	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	[... ⁸ ...]ς [... ⁸ ...] <i>vacat</i> [... ⁸ ...] ἀπὸ Κ]αῦνο [... ¹² ...] ἀπὸ Κα]ύνο	ΔΓΗΗΗ HHHHH ΔΓΗΙΙΙ <i>vacat</i> <i>vacat</i> <i>vacat</i>	Θραμβαῖοι Αἰγάντιοι Σαναῖοι <i>vacat</i> <i>vacat</i> <i>vacat</i>	ΓΗΗΗΙ ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΓΗΙΙΙ ΔΓΗΙΙΙ Γ ΗΗ	Παλ[αιπερκόσιοι] Περ[κότε] Ἄζ[ειῆς] Πα[ισενοί] χα[ρπαγιοί]		25
30	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	30
35	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	35
40	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	[... ⁸ ...] <i>vacat</i> [... ⁷ ...]οι [... ⁶ ...]οι [... ⁶ ...]ῆς ἠένο [... ⁶ ...]οι	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	40
45	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	[Πυγελ]ῆς [Πυγελ]ῆς ἠένες ἐπιφορᾶς [Μύνδ]ιοι παρὰ Τέρμερα [Κλαζο]μένιοι [Φοκα]ῖες [Τεί]οι	HHH ΔΔΓ H HHH HH H HH	Νε[ισιοτικός] ----- [Σ]ύρ[ιοι] Μυκόν[ιοι] Χαλκιδῆς ἾΑνδριοι Σερίφιοι Τένιοι	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	[Δ]Γ <i>vacat</i> [Δ]ΔΔΗΗ <i>vacat</i> [.]ΔΔΔΔΓ[-?]- ΔΔΔΗΗ <i>vacat</i> ΔΔΔΔΓ[-?]- HHHHΔΓ[-?]- HΔΗΗΗ[-?]-	[Καλχεδ]όνιοι ----- ----- ----- ----- [Βυζάντιοι] -----	45
50	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	[Μυρι]ναῖοι παρὰ Κύμεν [Έλαῖ]ται παρὰ Μύριναν	HHH HHH HHH HHH HHH HHH	----- ----- [Έ]ρετριῆς ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	50

	-----	[Γαρ]γαρεῖς	HHH	-----	ΔΔΓΗ[-?-]	[Ἄ]λοποκοννέσιοι	
		<i>vacat</i>	HHH	-----		ταῖσδε ἔτ]αχσανθοι τάκται	
55		<i>vacat</i>	H[-?-]	-----		ἐπὶ Κρ[α..]ο γραμματεύοντος	55
		<i>vacat</i>	Γ-----	-----	[Δ]ΓΗ-ΙΙ[ΙΙ]	Καλλιπολίται	
		<i>vacat</i>	-----	-----	[Δ]ΔΓ	Σαρταῖοι	
		<i>vacat</i>	-----	-----	-----	Ἄμόργιοι	
	[... ¹⁰⁻¹¹ ...]	σαν αἶδε ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρο	-----	-----	-----	<i>vacat</i>	
60	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	ταῖσδε ἡ[ε] βολὲ καὶ οἱ πεντακόσιοι	60
	-----	[Ἐρυ]θραῖοι	-----	-----	-----	καὶ χί[λιοι ἔτ]αχσαν	
	-----	[...]	-----	-----	ΓΗ-Η[ΗΙ]	-----	
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
65	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	65
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	

Unknown number of lines lost

Col. I 10 [Καλύδν]ιοι (*SEG V*), [Μιλέσ]ιοι (restored in 14 by *ATL I*), [Μυριναῖ]οι, [Πιταναῖ]οι (restored in 19 by *SEG V*) || 18 Κεδριᾶται (*ATL I*), Ναχσιᾶται, Ὀρανηῖται, Πελειᾶται (*JG P*) || 16 Ἄμιοι, Ἰασεῖς (*ATL I*), [Κῶ]ιοι, [Κρυεῖς], [Τεῖοι] (restored in I.50 by *ATL I*) || 42 Ἰσίνδιοι (restored in 44 by *ATL I*), Λεβέδιοι (*ATL I*), Μιλέσιοι (restored in I.14 by *ATL I*) Μυέσσιοι (restored in I.15 by *ATL I*) || 44 Ἰσίνδιοι (*ATL I*), Λεβέδιοι (restored in I.42 by *ATL I*), Μιλέσιοι (restored in I.14 by *ATL I*), Μυέσσιοι (restored in I.15 by *ATL I*) || 50 Ἄμιοι, Κῶιοι, Τεῖοι (*ATL I*) || Col. II.52 Ῥεναιῖς, Σάριοι (*ATL I*), Βέλβινα is also attested with 300 dr. but only in A9. || 45 No other attested name fits the remains and the preserved quota || 44 Ἐφαιστιῖς] (quotas lost between A4 [18,000 dr.] and A10 [12,000 dr.]), [Κεῖ]οι (*ATL I*), [Κύθνιοι], [Σίφνιοι], [Θεραῖοι] || 53 Ἐφαιστιῖς] (quotas lost between A4 [18,000 dr.] and A10 [12,000 dr.]), [Κεῖ]οι, [Κύθνιοι], [Σίφνιοι] (*ATL I*), [Θεραῖοι] || 54 Ἐφαιστιῖς] (quotas lost between A4 [18,000 dr.] and A10 [12,000 dr.]), [Κεῖ]οι, [Κύθνιοι], [Σίφνιοι], [Θεραῖοι] (*ATL I*) || 56 Γ Σάριοι, Γ Ῥεναιῖς, ῬΗῬΔΓ'ΙΙΙΙ Νάχσιοι, Ῥ Καρύστιοι || Col. III. 53 ΔΔΓΗ (1,560 dr.) ΔΔΓΗΗ (1,620 dr.), ΔΔΓΗΗΗ (1,680 dr.), ΔΔΓΗΗΗΗ (1,740 dr.), ΔΔΓΗΗΗΗΗ (1,800 dr.) and any of these with one to five obol signs || 55 Κρ[ανα]ῶ or Κρ[ατι]ῶ.

EM 6856. Lateral Face. Formerly Part of List 26. 429/8. Eds. Pittakis 1835, 411-12; Rangabé 1842, no. 223'; Böckh 1851, Pl. VII, fr. C; Pittakis 1853, no. 1253; Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, fr. 15*b*, and pp. 85-86, fr. 12; *IG I* 258; Meritt and West 1925*b*, 434-39; *IG I²* 231; *SEG V* 25; *ATL I* and *ATL II* fr. 2; *IG I³* 282.I.*latus sinistrum*.

Cf. Beloch 1884, 45; Pedroli 1891, 121; Cavaignac 1908, 47; Dahms 1904, 61-76; West 1925*d*, 440-44; West and Meritt 1925-26, 60-62; Meritt and West (MW) 1927, 48; Meritt 1927, 180-85; Meritt 1932, 7-12.

This is the left lateral face of the stone that bears the former list no. 26 (EM 6856). It is either the continuation of this list on the left lateral face, as proposed by the *ATL*-editors or, the view taken here, the continuation of the list on the right lateral face, as was the usual practice. Cf. the full discussion in the commentary on the former list 26. A small sliver from the left edge seen only by Pittakis broke away between 1835 and 1869 and was numbered fr. 2 in *ATL I*.

Col. ? Lateral Face	
	[heλ]λεσπόντι[ος]
[ΔΓ]	Χαλχεδόνιοι
[. .]Δ†	Δαρδανῆς
[. .]ΔΔΓ	Λαμψακενοί
5 [X]ϞΗ† III	Βυζάντιοι
[. .]Π	Ἄβυδενενοί
[. .]Η††	Παρ[ι]ανοί
[. .]Δ††	Μαδύτι[οι]
[. .]ΔΔ††	Ἐλί[α]ίοσι[οι]
10 [.]ΔΔ†	Κυ[ζι]κενοί
	[π]ολῆς αἰ[δ]ε ἀρχαῖς
	[ἔ]δοσαν τὸμ φόρον
	[. .]Π Λιμναῖοι [ἐ]ν Χερρονήσο[ι]
	[.]Γ <i>vac.</i> Χερρον[ν]εσίται ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς
15	χαίδε πόλεις κατα-
	[.]ελῶσι τὸμ φόρον
	<i>vacat</i>
	[. .] <i>vac.</i> Μυριναῖοι
	[. . .] <i>vac.</i> Ἰμβριοι
20 [Δ]Γ† III	Σέστιοι
[.]ΔΔ††	Ἄλοπο[κ]οννήσιο[ι]
	<i>vacat</i>

EM 6863, 6854, 6865. Formerly List 27. 428/7. Four fragments: fr. 1 (EM 6652). Back side and right face preserved and inscribed, height 0,16 m., width 0,165 m., thickness 0,098 m.; frs. 2, 3, 4 (EM 6863-65) sharing joins. Right side preserved and inscribed, backside uninscribed height 0,338 m. width 0,445 m., thickness 0,098 m..

Eds. Rangabé 1842, no. 164 (fr. 3); Böckh 1851, Pl. III, no. CIII; Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII frs. 6a and b and p. 81 no. 6 (fr. 1), Pl. VIII, fr. 5 and p. 81 no. 5 (fr. 3); *IG I suppl.* p. 175 no. 272e (fr. 1), 250 (fr. 2), suppl. p. 175 no. 272d (fr. 3), 261 (fr. 4); *IG I²* 214. 215; *SEG V* 29; *ATL I* and *ATL II*, 27; *IG I³* 283.

Cf. Bauer 1918, 191; Mattingly 1961a, 166-68 (= 1996, 26-29); *id.* 1961b, 155-60 (= 1996, 70-77); *id.* 1966, 179-84 (= 1996, 127-34); *id.* 1967 (1971) 30-31 (= 1996, 319-20); *id.* 1970, 133-40 (= 1996, 287-300); *id.* 1978, 83-85 (= 1996, 427-430); Meritt 1937c, 111-12; *id.* 1940, 9-13; Nesselhauf 1933, 73-77, 90 and 141; Piérart 1984, 172-76; *id.* 1985, 298-99; *id.* 1988, 309-21; Schwahn 1941, 32-48; Wilhelm 1909, 47-51; Woodward 1914, 291, 5;

(Col. I lost)		II	fr. 1	III	
				<i>lacuna</i>	
			[ΔΓ]Γ-II]III	Ἐτεοκαρ[πάθιοι]	
			[<i>vacat</i>]	Καρπάθο	
			[ΔΓ]Γ-III	Ἄρκέσεια	
	5	-----	-----	Κάσιοι	5
		-----	-----	Καρπάθιοι	
		-----	-----	Χαλκειᾶται	
		-----	-----	[Κ]εδριῆται	
				<i>lacuna</i>	
	10		-----orig. fr. 1	-----	10
			-----	-----	
			-----	-----	
	15		-----	-----	15
		<i>lacuna</i>		<i>lacuna</i>	
			Η	ἠέσσοι	
frs. 2-4		[<i>vacat</i>]	Η	Μυριναῖοι πα[ρα Κύμην	
		[ΓΓΓΓ]II	ΔΔΔΓΓΓII	Γρυνειῆς	
		-----	Χ	Ἰελύσιοι	
	20	-----	ΗΗ	Κνίδιοι	20
		-----	Γ	Σάριοι	
		-----	ΡΔΔΓ	Γαργαρεῖς	
		-----	Γ-III	Νοτιῆς	
		-----	[Γ]ΓΓΓII	Κολοφόνιο[ι]	
	25	-----	-----	[Διο]σιρῖται	25
		-----	-----	[. . . ⁴ . . .] <i>vacat</i>	
		-----	ΡΗ	Κλαζομέ[νιοι]	
		-----	ΧΗΗ	Ἐρυθραῖοι	
		-----	ΔΓΓ-III	Βουθειῆς	
	30	-----	ΗΡ	Πολιχνῖται	30
		[ΔΓΓ]III		Ἄναφαῖοι :	
		[ΓΓΓ]II	χαῖδε τῶν πόλεον Χερρονε σίοις		
			συντελεῖς ὄσαι ἀπέδοσαν		

	<i>vacat</i>	ΔΔΔΓ†††III	*Αμιοι	
		ΔΓ††††II	Λε[. . .]αν?	
35		Δ[----]	-----	35
			[<i>vacat</i>]	
		<i>Reverse Face</i>		
fr. 1	<i>vacat</i> E	-----		
	[.]HHH ^Π ΔΔΔ[- ? -]	-----		
	^Π ΔΔΔ†I	-----		
39	[X]XΔΓ††††III	-----		39
		<i>End of column</i>		

Col. II 28 [Ἴασι]ῆς and [Κρυ]ῆς (*ATL* I) || Col. III 17 the entry continues on the right lateral face || 26 [Ἴασι]ῆς (*ATL* I) [Κρυ]ῆς || 31 the entry continues on the right lateral face || 39 Only Aigina, Byzantion (*ATL* I) and Thasos paid 120,000+ dr., the Aiginetan community having ceased to exist in 431 BC. The advantage of restoring [Βυζάντιοι] lies in the fact that the latter were often contributing different and uneven sums whereas Thasos was regularly paying HHH and XXX. Even so we are not obliged to look for a Hellenistic candidate for 37 since this special rubric could have included members from different regions. Unless Ἐλλεσπόντιος of course should be restored in 36.

Adespota. Formerly Part of List 27 (fr. 1). 428/7

Rangabé p. 253, no. 239

ΑΙ
 Ι Δ
 ΙΧΙ Η
 ΗΗΗΗ
 ΠΗΗΗ†
 ΧΠΗΗΗ
 Η^ΠΔΔ
 ΠΗΗΓ

EM 6654. Formerly List 28 or 29. 427/6 or 426/5. Broken on all sides, but topmost part of right face might be the original edge. Height 0,335 m., width 0,26 m., thickness 0,094 m.

Eds. Pittakis 1835, p. 422; Rangabé 1842 I no. 174; Böckh 1851, II² Pl. IV, no. CV and p. 532, no. CV; Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 11 and p. 84; *IG* I² 222; *SEG* V 26; *ATL* I (list 28); *ATL* II 28 (list 28); *IG* I³ 284.

Cf. Mattingly 1961a, 166-68 (= 1996, 26-28); *id.* 1961b, 155-60; *id.* 1966, 179-84 (127-33); *id.* 1967 (1971), 30-31; *id.* 1970, 133-40.

		<i>lacuna</i>
	-----	Βουθειῆς
	-----	Ἐλαιόσιοι
	-----	Ἐρυθραίων
	-----	Ἴασῆς
5	-----	ἡαιραῖοι
	^Π ΔΔΔ[Δ]††††II	Κλαζομένιοι
	-----	Συαγγελῆς
	-----	ὄν ἄρχει Πίτρης
	-----	Πεδιῆ[ς] ἐν Λίνδοι
10	-----	Ἴε[λύσ]ιοι
	-----	Καμπεῖς
	-----	Τέλιοι
	-----	Κνίδιοι
	-----	Λίνδιοι

15	-----	Μιλέσιοι
		Λέρος
	[- -]Δ[.]Γ-II	Τειχιόσσα
	-----	Κόιοι
	-----	Χαλκειᾶται
20	-----	Ἔσσιοι
	-----	Μύνδιο[ι]
	-----	Διά[κρίοι]
	-----	ἐ[ρ] Ῥόδοι]

lacuna

6 $\overset{\text{P}}{\Delta}\Delta[\Delta]\text{I-I}[\text{I}]\text{II}$ is more likely than $\overset{\text{P}}{\Delta}\Delta[\Delta]\text{I-I}[\text{I}]\text{II}$ because of the high sums paid by Klazomenai in this period.

List 34. 421/0. Two fragments: fr. 1 (EM 6764) written on both sides, right and top edge preserved, height 0, 24 m., width 0,39 m., thickness 0,121 m; fr. 3 (EM 6652) left edge preserved, height 0.307 m., width. 0,175 m., thickness 0,125 m..

Eds. Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, nos. 107a and b, 78-79; *IG I 260A*; *SEG V*; *IG I² 220A*; West and Meritt 1925b, 59-69; *SEG V*; *ATL I*; *ATL II*; *IG I³ 34*.

Cf. Dahms 1904, 22; Drew-Bear and Pritchett, 1973, 36-44; Kallet 2004, 470-74; Köhler 1896, 145; Meritt 1971, 41-42; Meritt and McGregor 1967, 85-91; *id.*, 1971, 91-92; Nesselhauf 1933, 76-77; Pritchett 1966a, 173-75; *id.* 1969c, 171-73; *id.* 1969a, 368-70; West 1925b, 131-51; West and Meritt, 1924, 41-49 (phot. p. 42); Wilhelm 1922, 47; Woodward 1914, 291-92;

	[θ	ε]	ο	ί ·		
	[ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἤϊ Μενεκλῆς πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε, ἔρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίους Ἀριστίον ^{vv}					
	[ἡλλενοταμίαι ἔσαν ¹³]θεν, ἡδύλος Φιλαίδες, Πραχσίβολος Παιαν ^v					
	[ιεύς, ²⁶]αρχίδες Κεφαλῆθεν, Ἐργαμένες Ἀχαρνεύς ^{vv}					
5	[. ³¹]ς, Ἀριστοκράτες Φαλερεύς, Ἀριστοτέλης ^{vv} 5					
	[. ⁸]οῖς ¹⁸ εἰς ἐγραμμάτευε· ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τρια-					
	[κοστῆς ἀρχῆς ¹³]ἀνέθεσα]ν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνᾶν ἀπὸ τῷ ταλάν[το·]					
	I		II		III	
	-----	-----	-----	Ἐλαιέα παρὰ	ΔΗΗΗII	Τριποαί
	-----	-----	-----	[Μ]υρινᾶν	ΔΗΗΗII	Σίνος
10	-----	-----	-----	Κυμαῖοι	ΔΓ vac.	Πράσιλος 10
	-----	-----	-----	[Κα]ύνιοι	Δ vac.	Καμακαί
	-----	-----	-----	[Π]ασανδῆς	ΗΙΙΙ[Ι]	Σαρτ[αῖοι]
	-----	-----	-----	[Κα]ρβασανδῆς	Χ- ---	-----
	-----	-----	-----	[πα]ρὰ Καῦ[νον]	-----	-----

Reverse face

1 πόλες αἶδε στρατιᾶι
μίσθον ἐτέλεσαν

ΗΗ Ἐφαιστιῆς
Η Ἴμβριοι

5 ΓΗΗΗII Μυριναῖοι

vacat
vacat
vacat
vacat

10 [. ¹⁵]ΙΛΝ

EM 6758. Formerly Part of List 34 (fr. 2). 421/0. EM 6758 back preserved, height 0,33 m., width. 0,22 m., thickness 0,133 m.

EM 6652. Formerly Part of List 34 (fr. 2). 421/0. Left edge preserved, height 0.307 m, width 175, thickness 0,125 m. This fragment was associated by Woodward 1914 with EM 6764 thus forming part of the 34th list. However there are no joins and no internal evidence for the attribution except for the similarity of the hands.

Eds. *IG I* suppl; p. 72, no. 272b; Kirchhoff 1880, pp. 454-456; Wilhelm, 1909, p. 50; Woodward 1914, 291-92; *IG I*² 220 A; West and Meritt 1924 (1926) 41-49 with a photograph on p. 42; *AJA* 29, 1929, p. 321; *SEG V* (1931), 34 fr. 2; Nesselhauf 1933, 76-77; *ATL I* no. 34 with Fig. 137 (photograph); *ATL II* no. 34 fr. 2; *IG I*³ no. 34 fr. 2.

1	-----	[. ¹¹⁻¹²]ι	-----	-----	1
	-----	[. ⁹] <i>vacat</i>	-----	-----	
	-----	[. ⁷]οί	-----	-----	
	-----	['Αρτακε]νοι	Η	-----	
5	-----	[Σέστ]ιοι	Ϝ	-----	5
	-----	[Χερ]ρονεῖται	Η	-----	
	-----	[ἀπ'] 'Αγορᾶς	Ϝ	-----	
	-----	['Α]λοποκοννέσιοι	Ϝ	-----	
	-----	Σιγειῖς	-----	-----	
10	[ΔΔΔΗΗΗ]ι	Μαδύτιοι	Η	-----	10
	-----	Παλαιπερκόσιοι	-----	-----	
		'Ελαιόσιοι	-----	-----	
	[. .] ^ν	ἐκ Χερρονέσο	-----	-----	
	[. .] ^ν	Καλχεδόνιοι	-----	-----	
15	Η ^ν	Δαυνοτειχῖται	-----	-----	15
	[. .] ^ν	Διδυμοτειχῖται	-----	-----	
	[ϜΔ]ΓΗΗΗ	Σομβία	-----	-----	
	[. .] ^ν	Σερι[οτειχῖται]	-----	-----	
	[. .] ^ν	Βέσ[βικος]	-----	-----	
20	<i>rasura</i>		-----	-----	20

1 ἡρπαγῖανοί, Καλλιπολίται, Λαμφσακενοί, Προκοννέσιοι (*ATL I*), Πυθοπολίται (only attested in A10), Σελυμβριανοί || 3 'Αρισβαῖοι, 'Αρτακενοί (restored in 73 by *ATL*), Βυζάντιοι, 'Ελαιόσιοι, Κυζικηνοί (*ATL I*), Περίνθιοι, Περκόσιοι (but the toponym is more frequent) || 4 'Αρτακενοί (*ATL I*); Κυζικηνοί.

EM 6752. Formerly Part of List 34. 421/0. The back is preserved, height, 0,33 m., width 0,22 m. 0,133 thickness. This fragment was associated in 1914 by Woodward with EM 6764 thus forming part of the 34th list. However there are no joins and no internal evidence for the attribution except for the similarity of the hands. Judging from the size of the letters Kramer supposed that it belonged to the 22nd list on the second stele (Köhler 1869, p. 82-83).

Eds. Pittakis, 1859, fr. 3549; Köhler Pl. VIII, no. 9 and p. 82-83; *IG I* 262; *IG I²* 220A; Meritt and West 1924 (1926) 41-49 with a photograph on p. 42; id. 1925b, 59-69; West 1925b, 135-51; *SEG V* 1931, no. 34; *ATL I* no. 34; *IG I³* 285.

Cf. Dahms 1904, p. 54; Wilhelm 1909, p. 50; Woodward 1914, 291-92; Nesselhauf 1933, 76-77; cf. Fig. 138 (photograph).

1	H - - ΔΓϜ-III	----- -----	1
	<i>vacat</i> X	Μι[λέσιοι] Λέρ[ος]	
5	HHH	Τειχ[ιῶσσα]	5
	HHH	Ἴασῆς Μύνδι[οι παρὰ]	
	ΔΓϜ-III	Τέρμερα	
	[Γ]ϜϜϜ-II	Κολοφόν[ιοι]	
10	ΔΔΔϜϜϜ-II	Νότιον	10
	ΓϜϜϜ-II	Διοσιρῖτ[αι]	
	X ^Ϝ	Λίνδιοι Πεδιῆς	
	H	ἐλ Λίνδ[οι]	
15	Ϝ	Ἴελύσ[ιοι]	15
	HH	Διάκ[ριοι] ἐρ Ῥ[όδοι]	
	HH	Β[ρικινδάριοι] [ἐρ Ῥόδοι]	
20	H HH	-----	20
	[.]ΔΔ	-----	

EM 12789. Formerly List 35(?). 420/19. Four pieces, left edge preserved. Height 0,109 m., width 0,087 m., thickness 0,03 m. Phot. *ATL*, I p. 104. Eds. Brooner 1935, 157-58, no. 12 with a photo Fig. 46, p. 157; *ATL I* (list 35), 1-7 (fr. 1); *ATL II* (list 35; *IG I³* 286 (no. 35). Cf. Kallet 2004, 474-75.

[Δ]ΔΔϜϜϜ-II] -----
[ϜΔ]ΓϜ-III -----
[Δ]ΓϜ-III -----
5 -----
 ?['Ι]ον[ικός]?
----- Ϝ?

Ag. I 4809, EM 12798, Ag. I 7397. Formerly Part of List 37 (frs. 1, 3 and 5). 418/7. Three fragments, fr. 1 (Ag. I 4809), fr. 2 (EM 12798 (= fr. 3 in *IG I³*)) and fr. 3 (Ag. I 7397 (= fr. 5 in *IG I³*)) showing no joins on the surface but reportedly on the back and sharing text. Developed Attic Letters. Stoichedon 50 (prescript). Photos of frs. 1 and 3: Meritt 1939, 54; fr. 2: *ATL I*, 100. Eds. *ATL I*, 33; Meritt 1939, 54-59; *id.* 1941d, 10; *id.* 1948b, 31ff.; *ATL I* (list 33) *ATL II* (list 33); *ATL III*, 357; *IG I³* 288. Cf. Kallet, 2004, 475-80; Mattingly 1964, 47; Meiggs 1950, 63.

		fr. 1	
		[ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἤϊ ... ⁷ ... Ἀ]φιδναῖος πρῶτ[ος ἐγγραμμάτευε, ἔρχε]	
		[δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ... ⁷ ... Σκ]αμβονίδες ἐπὶ τῆς ... ¹⁶ ...] -	
		[κοστῆς ἀρχῆς, ἠελλενοταμί]αι ἔσαν ἠοῖς Ἀντ[... ¹⁷ ...]	
5		[... ¹⁶ ... Περγ]ασῆθεν, Μνεσίθεο[ς Ἀραφένιος, ... ⁷ ...]	
		[... ¹⁶ ... Εὐπυ]ρίδες, Αἰσχίνες Π[εριοίδες, ... ⁸ ...]	5
		[... ²¹ ...]αιεύς <i>vacat</i>	
		[... ¹⁹ ... ἀπ]αρχὲν τῆ θεοῖ μνά[ν ἀπ]ὸ τῶ ταλάντ[ο ... ^{νν}]	fr. 2
	I	II	
	Fragment 2	-----	ἠελλε[σ]πόντιο[ς]
	-----	-----	Η Σι[γε]ιῆς
10	-----	XX	Κ[υζι]κενοί
	-----	πλ -----	[Ἀρτα]κενοί
	-----	[- ^{max 7} -] ^v	Κια[ν]οί
	-----	[. . .] ^{vvvv}	Βυσ[βι]κενοί
	-----	[. . .] ^{vvv}	Προ[κ]οννέσσιοι
15	-----	[. . .]IIII	Παρ[ια]νοί
	-----	[. . .] ^v	Καλχ[εδ]όνι[οι]
	-----	[. . .] ^{vvv}	Σελυ[μβριανοί]
	-----	[. . .] ^{vvv}	Σερι[οτειχῖται]
	-----	[. . .] ^{vvv}	Διδυ[μοτειχῖται]
20	-----	[. . .] ^{vvv}	Δαυνι[οτειχῖται]
	-----	[. . .]I-IIII ^v	Σομβία
	-----	[. . .]ΔΓΓΓII	Περίνθ[ιοι]
	-----	[. . .]I-IIII ^v	Βρυλλε[ιανοί]
	-----	[. . .] ^{vvvv}	Λανφσακ[ενοί]
	-----	-----	[Ἀβυ]δενο[ί]
	-----	fr. 4	-----
	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----
	-----	-----	-----

Col. II 12 ΠΔΓΓIIII (*ATL I*) or ΓΓIIII || 22 [ΠΔΓΓ]I-IIII (*IG I³*)

Ag. I 4809b. Formerly Part of List 37 (fr. 4). 418/7. Fragment broken on all sides. Height 0,053 m, width 0,054 m., thickness 0,048 m. Photos: Meritt 1948b, Pl. 8. Eds. *ATL II* (list 33); *ATL IV*, p. IX, n. 9; *IG I³* 287; Cf. Meritt 1948b, 31-32 and Pl. 8, 15; Meritt and McGregor 1967, 85-89; ML 75.

1	-----	[.]E-----	1
	-----	XE-----	
	-----	A-----	
	-----	K-----	
5	-----	-----	5

EM 6784. Formerly Part of List 37 (fr. 2). 418/7. Fragment of a marble stele broken on all sides, height 0,237 m., width 0,213 m., thickness. 0,108 m. Eds: Köhler 1896, 147-48, fr. 4; Wilhelm 1909, p. 51; *IG I²* 223; Meritt and West (MW) 1927, 69-70 with a drawing on Pl. 20; *SEG V* 1931, no. 30; Nesselhauf 1933, p. 75; *ATL I* no. 33 and Fig. 133 p. 100 photo and Fig. 134, p. 101; *IG I³* 287.

 ΔΕ		
 ΑΙΔΕ		
	Νεσιστ[ικός]		
5	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----	'Αναφ[αῖοι] Θερα[ῖοι] Σερίφ[ιοι] 'Ἴετα[ι] Τένιο[ι] Σίφνι[οι] "Ανδριο[ι] Σικινῆ[ται] Κύθνιοι	5
10	----- [- - -] -----	10	

EM 6751. Formerly List 38. 417/6. Fragment from a marble stele with the left side preserved. Height 0,165 m., width 0,203 m., thickness 0,08 m. Developed Attic letters. Eds. Lolling 1889, 108-9, no. 1; *IG I* suppl. 175, no. 272f; *IG I²* 224; West 1925b, 146, note 2; Meritt and West (MW), 1927, 70-71 with a drawing Pl. XXI; *SEG V* 1931, (list 37); *ATL I* (list 36); *IG I³* 288. Cf. Pedroli 1891, 205-6; Cavaignac 1908, p. 38; Nesselhauf 1933, 76-77; *ATL III*, 65-66; Kallet 2004, 480.

	I [Νεσιοτικός]	
	<i>lacuna</i>	
5	----- ΡΗΗ[ΗΗ] ΡΗ ΓΓΓΓΗΗ ΔΓΓΓΗΗ Ρ Η 10 ΡΗ ΧΡΗΗΗΗ	[Διάκριοι] έν Ε[ύβοίαι] Νάχαι[οι] Κύθν[ιοι] Σικιν[ῆται] Φολεγάνδρ[ιοι] 'Ἴετα Μυκόνιοι Κεῖοι [Πάριοι]

EM 13048. Formerly part of List 39 (fr. 1). 416/5. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, preserving the original top. Height 0,103 m., width 0,074 m., thickness 0,035 m. Found at the Nike bastion in 1939. Eds. Welter 1939, 2-22; *ATL II*, p. 39 (fr. 1); Meritt 1941a, 1-8 (fr. 1). *IG I³* 289. Cf. Kallet 2004, p. 482-84 and note 75; photo Fig. 7 p. 481.

5	-----	

I have not been able to detect any letters on this fragment. Cf. Kallet 2004 for some traces.

EM 13049. Formerly Part of List 39 (fr. 2). 416/5. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, preserving the original left side. Height 0,485 m., width 0,191 m., thickness 0,08 m. Found at the Nike bastion in 1939. Eds. Welter 1939, 2-22; *ATL* II p. 39 (frs. 1 and 2); Meritt 1941a, 1-8 (frs. 1 and 2); *IG* I³ 289, fr. 2. Cf. Kallet 2004, 480-87, photo Fig. 8, p. 481.

	[...]++[.....]	
	[...]ΣΤΟ[.....]	
	[. 3 .]τῶ ταλ[άντο]	
	I	
	[Νε]σιοτ[ικός]	
5	-----	'Α[ναφαῖοι]

	ΗΙ ^{vac.}	Σε[ρίφιοι]
	ῤ'ΔΓ'ΗΙΙΙ	'Αθε[νῖται]
	ῤ'Η	Κεό[.] Sic !
10	Γ'Η'Η'Η	'Ρενα[ιῆς]
	ῤ'	Διακρ[ῆς]
	vacat	ἀπὸ Χα[λκιδέον]
	Γ'Η'Η'Η	Σικιν[ῆται]
	-----	Κιμόλιοι
15	ῤ'Η	Κύθνιοι
	ῤ'	'Ἴεται
	ῤ'ΗΗ	*Ανδριοι
	ῤ'	Καρύστι[οι]
	ΔΓ'Η'Η[ΙΙ]	Γρ'υ'γχεῖς
20	[Χ]ῤ'[ΗΗΗ]	Πάριοι
	-----	Φολεγάνδ[ριοι]
	-----	Σίφνιοι
	-----	Νάχσιοι
	-----	Μυκόνιο[ι]
25	-----	Τένιοι
	-----	[Σ]ύριοι
	-----	[. . 4 . .]'Λ[- ----]

other columns lost

5 There are no other attested members on A- in the Island panel, Athenai being present in 8, Andros in 11 and Aigina having lost its population in 431 BC || 11 Κεῖδο[ι] (*ATL* II) or Κέο[ς] (toponym unattested in the lists) || 27 [Κερ]ία (only in A9) and [Χαλκ]ιδῆς (*ATL* II) are possible if the nick in the fifth stoichos is really a centered vertical.

EM 6650a and b. Formerly Part of List 39 (fr. 3). 416/5. Two fragments of a marble stele; EM 6650b lost before Köhler, but seen as one piece by Pittakis.

Eds. Pittakis, 1835, 411 (frs. 3 and 4); Franz 1836, 126, no. 5 (from Kramer's notes) with a drawing on Plate D; Franz 1837, 337; Davidoff 1839-40, vol. II, 75-76; 1851 Pl. V, fr. LXIV; Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 8; *IG* I 251, fr. 20; Dahms 1904, 54; Cavaignac 1908, XLVII; Fimmen 1913, 236-37; *IG* I² 219; Meritt and West (MW) 1927, 55-64 with drawings on Pl. XVI; *SEG* V 1931 no. 36; Nesselhauf 1933, p. 75-76; *ATL* I no. 35 (frs. 3 and 4) with a photograph Fig. 140 p. 104; *IG* I³ 289. EM 6650b same bibliography, to which come Rangabé 1842, no. 184 and Pittakis 1853, no. 1208.

[.] | | -----

	X ^{vacat}	-----	
	HHH	-----	
		<u>Μ</u> [ιλέσιοι]	
5	X	<u>Λ</u> έρος]	5
	vacat	<u>Τ</u> ειχ[ιόσσα]	
	X ^Π	<u>Κ</u> λαζο[μένιοι]	
	Γ ^Η ΗΗ	<u>Κ</u> ολοφ[όνιοι]	
	[ΔΔΔ]ΗΗΗ	<u>Ν</u> οτιέ[ς]	
10	[Γ ^Η Η]Η	<u>Δ</u> ιοσε[ρίται]	10
	-----	<u>Ε</u> φέσιοι]	
	[ΔΓ ^Η Η]Η	<u>Ι</u> σίνδιο[ι]	
	-----	<u>Ε</u> ρυθραῖοι]	

2 X Καμερῆς (*ATL I*) || 3 HHH Ἴασῆς (*ATL I*)

EM 6653. Formerly Part of List 40 (fr. 1). 415/4. Fragment of pentelic marble. Left edge and back preserved.

Eds. Pittakis 1853, no. 2111 (READ 2011); Rangabé 1855, no. 2479; Köhler Pl. VIII, no. 10; Kirchhoff 1871, 217ff.; *IG I* 263, fr. *a*; Wilhelm 1909, p. 49; Woodward 1914, 292; Bauer 1918, 192ff.; *IG I*² 221, fr. *a*; Meritt and West 1927, 67-69, with a drawing on Plate 18; *SEG V* (list 35); *ATL I* (list 37); *IG I*³ 290, (list 40). Kallet 2004, 487-490.

	Γ ^Η ΗΗ[Η]	-----
	Γ ^Η ΗΗ	Αύλ[ιᾶται]
	ΗΗΗ	Σάριοι
5	ΔΔΓ	Καρπάθιοι
	ΔΓ ^Η ΗΗ	Κάσιοι
	ΔΓ ^Η ΗΗ	Καρνανδῆς
	X ^Π	Λ[ί]νδιοι
	X	Μιλέσιοι
10	-----	Καμερῆς
	-----	Ἴελ[ύσιοι]
	-----	Ἴα[σ]ῆς
	-----	Πεδιῆς ἐν Λίνδοι
	[Δ]ΔΔΗΗΗ	Χαλκιᾶται
15	-----	Βρικινδάριοι
	[Η]Η	Διάκριοι ἐρ Ῥό[δοι]
	[Π]Η	[Φ]ασελῖται
	-----	Μυριν[αῖοι]
	-----	[Κ]αλύδνιοι
20	-----	Κε -----

20 Κε[δριῆται] (*ATL I*); Κε[ράμιοι] (provided EM 6653 and 6756 do not belong together, cf. EM 6756 line 4: Κεράμιοι).

EM 6756. Formerly Part of List 40 (fr. 2). 415/4. Fragment of pentelic marble. Left edge and back preserved.

Eds. *IG I* suppl. p. 72, no. 272 *a*; Wilhelm 1909, p. 49; Woodward 1914, 292; Bauer 1918, 192ff.; *IG I*² 221, fr. *c*; Meritt and West 1927, 67-69 with a drawing on Plate 18; *SEG V* (list 35); *ATL I* (list 37); *IG I*³ 290 no. 40. Cf. Kallet, 2004, 487-490.

----- [.³ .] \E-----
 ----- [Ἴ]εοκαρ[πάθιοι]
 ----- [Π]υγελῆς
 ----- Κεράμιοι
 5 ----- Ἐφέσιοι
 ----- Τέλιοι
 ----- Μαραθέσιοι
 ----- Ἐρυ[θραῖοι]

EM 120. Formerly Part of List 40 (fr. 3). 415/4. Fragment of pentelic marble with its left edge preserved. Lost between 1934 and 1939.

Eds. Meritt 1934, 69 with a photograph in Fig. 4; *ATL I* List 37 fr. 3 with a photograph in Fig. 143 p. 105; *ATL II* List 40 fr. 3.; *IG I³* 290; Cf. Kallet 2004, 487-90.

ΔΓΓ-[ΙΙΙΙ] -----
 ΔΔΔ[ΓΓΓ-ΙΙ] -----
 ϜΔΔ- --- -----
 ΗΗ vac. -----
 ΓΓ[ΓΓ]ΙΙ -----

3 The attested possibilities are ϜΔΔΓ Γαργαρεῖς (Ionia); ϜΔΔΓ-Ι - paid by an unknown member in a special rubric of 283.pars aversa.2; ϜΔΔΓΓΓ-ΙΙ Πεδιῆς ἐγ Λίνδο (Caria); ϜΔΔΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Μυλασῆς (Caria) unattested after A4.

EM 6702. Formerly part of List (fr.) 415/4. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble preserving back and right side. Height 0,276 m., width 0,146 m., thickness 0,115 m. Developed Attic lettering. Non-stoichedon. Photos: *ATL I*, p. 105-6.

Eds. Rangabé I, 353; Böckh II², Pl. V, no. 202b CXIX; Köhler, Pl. VIII fr. 4; Kirchhoff 1871, 217ff.; *IG I* 263, fr. b; Wilhelm 1909, 49; *IG I²* 221 (fr. a); Meritt and West 1927, 67-69 with a drawing on Pl. XVIII; *SEG V* 1931, 35; *ATL I* 37 (fr. 4); *ATL II* 40 (fr. 4); *IG I³* 290 (fr. 4). Cf. Bauer 1918, 192; Kallet 2004, 487-90; Meritt 1939a, 48-90; West 1925, p. 146, note 1; Woodward 1914, 292-93;

----- [. .⁴ . .] ΝϞ[- - -]
 ----- [. .⁴ . .] ῆς

 ----- [. .⁴ . .] αῖοι
 5 ----- [Νε]οπολίται
 ----- [Π]επαρέθιοι
 ----- Μεοθναῖοι
 ----- Αἰγάντιοι
 ----- Μενδαῖοι
 10 ----- Σαρταῖοι
 ----- Σαναῖοι
 ----- Σκαφο[αῖοι]
 ----- Σκιά[θιοι]

1 [Ἴ]εοκαρ[πάθιοι] Köhler if this is the end of the Thracian panel and if a loose stoichedon order was used [Ἰ]εοκαρ[πάθιοι] *SEG V* if this is the end of the Hellespontine panel.

EM 6657. Formerly Part of List 40 (fr. 5). 415/4. Fragment of pentelic marble with right edge and back preserved. Height 0,18 m., width 0,108 m., thickness 0,117 m.

Eds. *IG I* suppl. p. 72, no. 272c; Wilhelm 1909, p.49; Woodward 1914, p. 292; Bauer 1918, 192 f; *IG I*³ 221, fr. d; Meritt and West 1927, 67-68 with a drawing on Pl. 18; *SEG V* 1931, no. 35; *ATL I* no. 37, fr. 5; *ATL II*, no. 40 fr. 5; *IG I*³ 290. Cf. Kallet 2004, 487-90. Photos: *ATL I* Fig. 145 p. 106; Kallet 2004, Fig. 12, p. 489.

----- ----- ς
 ----- ----- μῆς
 ----- ----- ς
 ----- ----- νειῆς
 5 ----- ----- σιοι

 10 ----- ΔΙΟΣΕΝΤΑ

1 [Σερ]μῆς (Bauer); [Πλευ]μῆς (*ATL I*) || 4 [Μαρο]νειῆς (Bauer); [Γρυ]νειῆς (Woodward) || 5 [Γαλέφ]σιοι (Bauer); [Ἰελεύ]σιοι (Woodward)

Some Isolated Fragments from the First and Second Stelae.

The following fragments, preserved or lost have not been integrated in the present edition, because of the uncertainty of the relative position. I have printed them according to there place on the *lapis primus* and the second stele, because they have no inventory number: the only way to identify them is by their serial number on the stone. For a bibliography of the individual fragments, cf. *ATL I*, 6-66 (1st stele), 71-90 (2nd stele). I have not followed the reading of the *ATL*-editors who see “the horizontal and the rigth vertical of pi on the edge of fr. 3 on the second stele. It does not appear on their photo fig. 94 (I, p. 71).

1 st stele, fr. 13, <i>IG I</i> ³ 261.IV.9-11 <u>HH</u> <u>ΔΓϚ</u> <u>ΓϚϚ</u>	1 st stele, fr. 23 <i>IG I</i> ³ 262.V.3-6 <u>HH</u> <u>Ϟ</u> <u>ΓϚϚϚII</u> <u>ΓϚϚϚ[III]</u>	1 st stele, fr. 53, <i>IG I</i> ³ 263.IV.39-41 <u>ϞHHΔΔ</u> <u>HHH</u> <u>H</u>	1 st stele, fr. 103 <i>IG I</i> ³ 267.IV.14-18 <u>L I I Ϛ</u> <u>O I</u> <u>N I O I</u> <u>NE T A</u> <u>Ϟ H</u>	1 st stele, fr. 109 <i>IG I</i> ³ , 268.I.16-18 <u>ME</u> <u>Σ</u> <u>A I O I</u>
1 st stele, fr. 170, <i>IG I</i> ³ 271.II.89-91 <u>HH</u> <u>H</u> <u>HHH</u>	2 nd stele, fr. 3 <i>IG I</i> ³ 273.III.18-20 <u>II ΣΚΑΦΣ</u> <u>ΣΕΡΜΑ</u> <u>I IEOΠOL</u> <u>APTO</u>	2 nd stele, fr. 8 <i>IG I</i> ³ 274.III.3-7. <u>A Σ I I P</u> <u>M I L E Σ</u> <u>K A Y N I</u> <u>Π O L I X</u> <u>Σ I ^ ^</u>	2 nd stele, fr. 20 <i>IG I</i> ³ 277.IV.3-8 <u>EΣ</u> <u>IΔEΣ</u> <u>IOI</u> <u>I</u> <u>IEΣ</u> <u>I</u>	

The Tribute Quota Lists. Part 2.

Three fragments: *a* (Ag. I 4859) found on the Acropolis, top side preserved. Height 0,128 m., width 0,09 m., thickness 0,09 m.; *b* (EM 6695) found in the Theatre of Herodes Atticus. Broken on all sides: height 0,10 m., width 0,07 m., thickness 0,10; *c* (Ag. I 2916) found on the Agora. Broken on all sides: height 0,091m., width 0,10 m., thickness 0,10.

Eds. *b* *IG* I² 324*a*; *a-c* Meritt 1957, 198-200 (*SEG* XVII 7). Cf. Dover *HCT* IV 312, 316, 439; Ampolo 1987; Andrewes *CAH* V² (1992), 452 n. 37; Kallet-Marx 1993, 153.

a. 427-424? a

vacat 0,043
 [---]παρὰ Ναχσι[ιον ---]
 [--- .]ΤΧΗΗΗΓ----
 [--- .]ΗΗ^ΠΙΙΙΙ/ ----
 [--- .]Ι παρὰ ---
 [--- .]ΧΧΧ^Π ---
 -----^{νν} -----
 lacuna

b

Col. I

 [- - 'Αθ]ηναίοις
 10 [- - τ]άδε

 ----- ν

Col. II

15 Κα[ταναίοι ----]
 ΔΔΔ -----
 Σικε[λοῖ ----]
 Η^ΠΔ -----
 'Ρεγί[νοι ----]
 20 ^ΠΧΧΓ -----
 Σικε[λοῖ ----]
 γίγν[εται ----]

lacuna

c

25 ^ΠΧ -----
 Δ^Ι // -----
 Η[. . .]ΙΙ -----
 γίγνε[ται ----]
 ἦοι δὲ Σικελοῖ ---- ἐπέδοσαν
 [.]ΔΤ *vacat*
 [κεφά]λαι[ον σύμπαντος ---]

The Assessment Decrees

Census 9. 425/4. Forty-five fragments of a marble stele found on the Acropolis and on its slopes. All are reconstructed by Meritt and West in 1933 (EM 6858) except fr. 6 (once part of fr. 7, now lost), fr. 21, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Alexander 1926, 176-77), fr. 44 (EM 6728) and a unpublished fragment found recently by Matthaïou in the Epigraphical Museum.

Eds. Köhler 1869, 63-75, 149-53, 205-10 and Pl. X; *IG I* 37; *IG I²* 63 and p. 302; West 1931, 174-93; Meritt and West (MW) 1934; Meritt and Wade-Gery (MW-G) 1936, 377-94; *ATL I* A9 and 107-17; *ATL II* A9; Tod *GHP*, 66 (1-60); *ML* 69 (1-60); *IG I³* 71; Koch 1991, 309-68, (1-60); *IG I³* 71.

Cf. Béquignon and Will (BW) 1950, 5-34; Dow 1941, 70-84; Gomme 1956, 500-4; Kallet 1993, 155-59; Mattingly 1996, 12-14; McGregor 1935, 146-64; Meritt 1940, 131-38; *id* 1971, 110-13; *id*, 1981, 89-93; Meritt and Wade-Gery (MW-G) 1936, 377-94; Nesselhauf 1936, 298; Osborne 1982, 255-58; Rhodes 1972, 229-30.

425/4	θ	[ε	ο	ί·]	
	Τ	ά	[χ	σ	ι]
			ς	[φ]	ό
					[ρ
					ο·]
					έδοχσεν τέ[ι βολέι και τῶι δέμοι· ... ^{6 or 7} ...] έπρ[υτάνευε, . ³ .] \ον έγρα[μμάτευε, ... ⁷ ... έπε-]
					στάτε, Θόδιπ[πος έίπε· πέμφσαι .. ^{ca. 7} ...] έκ τὸν [... ¹¹ ...] άν χερο[τονε ... ⁹ ... τὰ-]
5					ς πόλες δύο [μέν έπ ... ¹⁵ ...], δύο δέ έπί ... ⁷ ... δύο διέ έπί Ν[έσος, δύο δέ έφ' 'Ελλέσπ]-
					οντον· ηούτ[οι δέ ... ¹⁴ ...] κοινῶι η[... ¹³ ...] εος πα[ρ ... ¹³ ... Μαι]-
					μακτεριῶν[ος μενός· ... ¹¹ ...] εσαγογεα[ς ... ⁹ ... τούτ]ος δέ [... ⁸ ... και γραμμα]-
					τέα και χου[γγραμματέα ... ⁹ ...] ὄν· ηε δέ β[ολέ ... ¹² ...] ΣΘΟ[... ²⁴ ...]-
					ρας· ηούτοι [... ¹⁹ ...] ὄν· άφ' ές ά[ν ... ³³ ...] τ]-
10					ές έμέρας η[εκάστες ... ¹³ ... δραχμάς] ηεκαστ[ος ... ³⁰ ... η]-
					οι ηορκοτα[ι ... ²¹ ...] τυγχ[άνοσιν ... ²⁷ ...] τε]-
					ν άυτέν ζεμ[ίαν ... ³² ...] +++ [... ²³ ...] φσε]-
					φίσεται ηο [δέμος ... ⁸ ... ηο λα]χόν και η[ο ηολεμάρ]χος [... ²² ...] τ]-
					εί έλιαίαι [... ²³ ...] λας τῶ[ν] έλιαστῶν· έ[άν δέ ηοι τάκται με τάττοσι τέσι]
15					ηολεσι κατ[ά τὰς] δια[δικασίας εϋθυ]νέσθο μ[υ]ρίασι δραχ[μ]εσι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ηέκαστος άυ]-
					τῶν· ηοι δέ [ηομολ]έται [δικαστέρ]ιον νέον και θ[ιστάν]τον + [... ²⁶ ...]-
					ε όλέζον· έγίνε]το, τὰς [νϋν τάχ]σες χσ[ύν] τ[ε]ι [β]ολέι χσυντα[χσάν]τον ... ¹⁹ ...]-
					αίας ά[ρ]χες [κατὰ] μέρος ηαπάσας Π[ο]σιδειῶνος με]νός· χ[ρ]εματιζ ... ¹⁹ ...]-
					[ά]πὸ ηομεν[ίας] κατὰ τ[αυτὰ] ηίνα ταχθ[ε]ί[η] ηο φό[ρ]ος έν τῶι Π[ο]σιδειῶνι μενί· ... ¹⁴ ...]-
20					[.] χ[ρ]εματιζέτο και χ[... ¹⁵ ...] ες γί]νονται έάμ [μέ ... ²³ ...] τ-
					[ὸ]ν δέ φόρο[ν] όλέζ]ο με π[ό]λει ... ταχσάν]τον με]δεμιάι έ ηο[... ²³ ...] ΟΙΤ-
					[.] έάμ με τ[ις] φαίν]εται άπορία ηόστε όσ]ες τ[ε]ς χόρας άδυ]νάτο με πλείο άπά]γεν· τέν]δέ τ[ε]-
					[ν] γ]νόμεν [... ⁸ ...] + [... ¹¹ ...] τὸμ φόρο[ν] ηὸς άν ταχθ[ε]ί ... ¹⁸ ...] γρα[φ]-
					[ας] ηο γρ[α]μματεύς τ[ε]ς βολ[ε]ς έν δυοῖν στ[ε]λα[ι]ν λιθ[ι]ναιν [καταθ[ε]το τ[ε]μ μεν έν τῶι Βο]λευ[τε]-
25					ρ]ίοι τέ]ν δέ έν πόλει ... ¹⁶ ... ηο[ι] [π]ολέ]ται τ[ὸ] δέ άργύριον παρασχόν]τον ηοι κ[ο]-
					λακρέτ]αι· ... ²⁵ ...] πόλ]εσι περὶ τῶ φόρο προ τ[ὸ]μ Παναθηναῖον τ[ὸ]μ με]γ]-
					άλον· έ+] ... ²⁴ ...] άν τυ[γ]χάνει ηρυτ[ρανεύ]οσα τὰς τάχ]σες κατὰ Π[α]ναθη[ε]-
					ναία· [... ²⁷ ...] σι έ]ς τὸν δέμον και ... ¹³ ...] δικαστ[ε]ρίον
					περὶ τῶ [... ²⁴ ...] έπὶ σ[φ]ῶν άυτῶν όφ[έ]λεν ... ²¹ ...] ++ ε τέ
30					[ι 'Α]θηνα[ίαι ... ¹² ...] Ρ[... ⁷ ...] και τῶ[ι] δεμοσίοι η[... ²¹ ...] σι
					[δ]ραχμ[ε]σι ηέκαστον τ[ὸ]μ ηρ]υτ[α]νεον και έάν τ[ις] άλλος δι[... ¹² ...] [... ⁶ ...] με έ]ναι τ-

[ὰς] τάχσες κατὰ Παναθένα[ια [τὰ μεγάλα] ἐπὶ τῆς πρυτανείας ἡτίς ἄν πρότε [πρυτα]νεύει ἄτ-
 [ι]μος ἔσ[το καὶ] τὰ χρέματα] αὐτὸ δ[ι]μοσί[α ἔσ]το καὶ τῆς θεῶ [τὸ ἐπιδέκατον] ἐχ[σενε]γκέτο δὲ τ-
 35 αὐτὰ ἐς [τὸν] δῆμον [ἡε .⁴ .]ς π[ρ]υτα[νε]ία ἐπ[ά]ναγκες ἐπει[δ]άν ἡέκει ἡε] στρα[τι]ὰ ἐς τρίτεν ἐ- 35
 μέραν [πρῶτ]ον μετ[ὰ τὰ ἡιε]ρά· ἐ[άν] δὲ [μὲ] δ[ια]π[ρ]αχθῆι ἐν ταύ[τει] χρεματί[ζεν] πε[ρ]ι τούτο πρ[ῶ]τ-
 ον τῆι [ἡυ]σ[τε]ραία[ι χυνε]λχὸς [ἡε]λος [δι]απ[ρ]αχθῆι ἐπὶ τῆ[. . . .⁹ . . .]ς πρυτανείας ἐάν δι[ε] μ-
 40 ἐ ἔχσεν[έ]γκοσι ἐς [τὸν] δῆμον ἔ [μὲ] δι[α]π[ρ]ά[χ]σο[ι]σι ἐπὶ σφῶν α[ὐτῶν] εὐθυ[ν]έσθο μυρίασι δρ[α]μῆ- 40
 σιν ἡέ[κασ]τος τὸμ [πρυτάν]εον [φ]όρ[ο]ν ἡος δι[α]κολύον ἐπιδ[ῶ]ναι ἐς τὰς στρα[τι]άς. τὸς δι[ε] .⁴ .]-
 κας πρ[ο]σκεκλεμέ[ν]ος .³ .]ἔνα[ι] ἡ[υ]π[ὸ] τῶν] δεμοσίων κλετέ[ρον] ἡίνα ἡε βολ[έ] δικά[σ]ει αὐτὸς ἐ-
 40 ἀμ μὲ ὀρ[τ]ῶς δοκο[σ]ι διακοίν[ε]ν τὰς δι[ε] πορείας τοῖς κέρυχ[σ]ι τοῖς ἰῶσι χουγγράφ[ο]σαι κατὰ τ[ι]- 40
 ον ἡόρ[κο]ν τ[ι]ο[ς] τάκ[τ]ας ἡέ[ο]ς τ[ῶ] πορ[ε]υθ[έ]σον[τα]ι ἡίνα μὲ αὐ[τ]οῖ ἄτακτοῖ ἰοσι ἡοι δὲ κέρυκες]
 τας τάχ[σ]ες τῆσι π[ό]λεσι . . .⁷ . . .] / [. . .]κα[. . .⁵ . . .]ο[ν] ἡόπο ἄν δοκῆ[ι]¹⁷ ἡο τι δὲ πε-
 45 [γ]οισιν [ἡ]αι πόλεις [.²⁵]ς ἡότ[ι]αν χουντάχσει ἡε βολέ τ[ῆ]ν τάχσι- 45
 [ν τῶ] φ[ό]ρο, ἡίνα ἔι [.²⁸] πόλ[ε]μον· τὸς δὲ στρατεγὸς] χρῆσθαι π-
 ερι τὸ φ[ό]ρο κατα[.³⁷] κατὰ γέν[ε] καὶ θάλλαταν πρ-
 45 ὄτον πό[σ]α δῆ ἔ ε[. . .⁷ . . .] A [.³⁵] τῆς βολῆς τῆι προ-
 [. . .⁷ . . .] τούτο α[ί]ει δίκ[α]ς [.²⁷] ὄν ἄλλον δικαστερίον ἐὰμ μ-
 50 [ε . . .⁶ . . .] T+ προ[. . .⁷ . . .] + A [.²⁰] ἡο δῆμ[ο]ς· τοῖς δὲ κέρυχ[σ]ι τοῖς ἰῶσι τ- 50
 ῶμ μισθὸν] ἀποδό[ν]τον²² εἶπ[ε]· τὰ μὲ[ν] ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆι βολῆι, τὰς
 [δὲ τάχσες] ἡόσαι [ἄν] κατ[ὰ] π[ό]λιν¹³ τὸς πρ[υ]τάνε[ς] ἡοὶ ἄν τότε τυγχάνοσι πρυτ-
 50 [ανεύοντ]ες καὶ τῶ[ν] γραμμά[τε]α τῆς βολῆς . . .⁷ . . . ἐς τὸ δικαστερίον ἡόταν περὶ τῶν τάχσ-
 [εον] εἰ ἡόπος ἄν α[. . .⁵ . . .] νθ[.¹⁹] ἰ^ν ἔδοχσ[ε]ν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι δέμοι· A-
 55 [ιγῆ]ς] ἐπρυτάνευ[ε], . . .] π[ι]πος ἐγραμμά[τε]υε, -⁷ -]ορος ἐπει[τά]τε], Θόδιππος εἶπε· ἡοπόσ- 55
 [εσι] πό[λ]εσι φόρος [ἐτά]χθε ἐπὶ τ[η]ς [β]ολῆς ἡῆι Πλειστί[ας] πρῶτος [ἐγρ]αμμά[τε]υε, ἐπὶ Στρατοκ-
 [λέος] ἄρχοντος βῶ[ν] καὶ πανηοπ[λ]ίαν ἀπάγην ἐς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα] ἡαπάσας· πεμπόντον
 55 δι[ε] ἐν] τῆι πομπῆι [.¹⁰] K [.¹³] ἔταχσεν τὸμ φόρον τῆσι πόλεσιν ἡε βολ[έ]-
 ἡῆι [Πλ]ειστί[ας] π[ρ]ῶτος ἐγγραμμά[τε]υε καὶ ἡε] ἐλαία ἐπὶ Στρατοκ[λέος] ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐσ-
 60 ἀγογ[έ]ο[ν] ἡοῖς Κα[.^{8 or 10}] ἐγρ[α]μμά[τε]υε^{7 or 9}]ς. 60

vacat

	I	II	III	IV	
	Νεοιστικός φόρος	----	-----	-----	[Σ]τρεφσαῖο[ι]
	ΔΔΔ Πάριοι	----	-----	-----	[..]ΕΡΕΣΣΓ----
	Δ ^π Νάχσ[ο]ι	----	-----	-----	[. . .]ΑΜΟ----
	Δ ^π Ἄνδρ[ο]ι	----	-----	-----	[. . .]ΛΑΛ----
65	Δ ^π Μέλι[ο]ι	----	-----	-----	
	π ^τ ΤΤΤΤ Σίφν[ο]ι	----	-----	-----	
	Δ ^π Ἐρετρ[ι]ῆς	----	-----	-----	
	π ^τ Θεραῖ[ο]ι	----	-----	-----	
	Δ Κεῖο[ι]	----	Μυσ	-----	
70	π ^τ Καρύσι[ο]ι	----	.. Ε Ι Λ	-----	70
	Δ Χαλκι[δ]ῆς	----	[Παρι]αν[ο]ί	-----	
	π ^τ Κύθν[ο]ι	----	[Δαρδ]ανῆς	-----	
	Δ Τέν[ι]ο[ι]	----	[Χερρ]όνεσ[ί]ται	-----	
	ΤΤ Στ[υ]ρῆς	----	[ἀπ' Ἄγ]ορᾶς	-----	
75	[ΤΤ] Μ[υ]κόνι[ο]ι	----	[. . . ⁴ .]υλε vac.	-----	75
	[ΤΤ] [Σ]ερίφιο[ι]	----	[Πολι]χνῖται	-----	
	[ΤΤ] Ἴεται	----	[Βρυλ]λειανοί	-----	
	[Τ] vac. Διῆς	----	[Ἐλαι]όσιοι	-----	
	Τ Ἄθηνῖται	----	[ἐν Χε]ρρονέσιοι	-----	
80	Τ Σύριοι	----	[Βύσβ]ικος	-----	80
	ΧΧ Γρυγχῆς	----	[Νεαν]δρειῆς	-----	
	Χ Ἴρεναῖς	----	Ἄρτακενοί	-----	

		Διακρῆς ἀπ[ὸ]	----	-----	----	['Αλο]ποκουνέσιοι	<i>vacat</i>	-----	
	XX	Χαλκιδέον	----	-----	----	[Μαδ]ύτιοι	XXX	-----	
85	X	Ἄναφαῖοι	----	-----	----	[Λαμ]πονεῖς	<i>vacat</i>	-----	85
	<i>vacat</i>	Κερία ΔIII	----	-----	----	['Αστ]υρα Τρο[ῖ]κά	T	-----	
	XX	Φολέγανδρος	----	-----	----	[Κολο]νῆς	<i>rasura</i>	-----	
	HHH	Βέλβινα	----	-----	----	[Περκ]όσιο[ι]	XXX	-----	
	X	Κίμολος	----	-----	----	[. ⁴ .]οι	T <i>vac.</i>	-----	
90	X	Σικινῆται	----	+-----	----	[Παισε]νοί	[.] <i>vac.</i>	-----	90
		Ποσίδειον	----	Πε[-----]	----	[. . ⁵ . .]ιο[ι]	-----	-----	
	H	ἐν Εὐβοίαι	----	Τελ[άνδριοι]	----	[. . ⁵ . .]+ +	-----	-----	
		Διά[κρ]οι	----	Πτελ[εόσιοι]	----	[. . ⁵ . .]ες	-----	-----	
	TXX	ἐν Ε[ὐβ]οία[ι]	----	[Κ]αρυ[ῆς παρὰ]	----	[. . ⁵ . .]οι	-----	-----	
95	<i>vacat</i>	[h]εφ[αιστ]ιῆς]	T	[']δυμ[α]	----	[Διδυμ]οτειχῖται	-----	-----	95
	TTTT	[h]ο[ι ἐν Λέμνοι]		[Κι]λλ[αρῆς]	----	[. ⁴ .]καλίται	-----	-----	
	-----	-----	TT	[hō]ν Σα[-- ἄρχει]	----	[. . ⁵ . .]ος	-----	-----	
	-----	-----	Δ	[Κ]αύνιοι	----	[. ⁴ .]αρποι	-----	-----	
	-----	-----	T	['Ε]ρινῆς	----	[. ⁴ .]νιοι	-----	-----	
100	-----	-----	H <i>vac.</i>	['Υ]ρομῆς	----	[Παλαι]περκόσιο[ι]	-----	-----	100
	-----	-----	TT[?]	[Χ]αλκετορ[ῆς]	----	[. . . ⁷ . .]ιο[ι -?]	-----	-----	
	-----	-----	XX[?]	[Λε]φσιμαν[δῆς]	----	-----	-----	-----	
	-----	-----	XX[?]	[Κοδα]πῆς	----	-----	-----	-----	
	-----	-----	XX[?]	[Χαλ]κεᾶτ[αι]	----	-----	-----	-----	
105	-----	-----	TT[?]	[Χῖο]ι Κᾶρες]	----	Νεοπολίται	-----	-----	105
	-----	-----	XX[?]	[Κυρ]βισσό[ς]	----	παρὰ Χερρόνε[σον]	-----	-----	
	['Ιονκὸς φόρος?]	[.] <i>vac.</i>	[Νοτι]ον <i>vac.</i>	-----	-----	Λιμναῖοι	-----	-----	
	-----	XX[?]	[. . ⁵ . .]ΕΣ[?]	----	-----	Τυρόδιζα	Χ	-----	
	-----	XX[?]	-----	-----	-----	Δαρῆιον παρὰ	Δ	-----	
110	-----	X <i>vac.</i>	-----	-----	-----	[. . . .]H τὸν Μυσίαν	Δ	-----	110
	-----	X <i>vac.</i>	-----	-----	-----	[Τ]ερεία παρὰ	Δ	-----	
	-----	[. . .] [-----]	-----	[.]λονε	----	[Βρ]ύλλειον	T	-----	
	-----	[. . .]P[-----]	-----	[Π]έργε	----	[Σομβ]ία	Χ	-----	
	-----	.YMI[-----]	-----	[Σ]ίλλυ[ον]	----	['Αρταί]ο τείχος	T	-----	
115	-----	[Τ]άραμ[πτὸ]ς]	-----	[.]ραν[-----]	----	ἐπὶ τοῖι 'Ρύνδακι	XX	-----	115
	-----	[Κ]ροσῆ[ς]	-----	[.]βυδα[-----]	----	[. max. 9 .]	XXX	-----	
	-----	Ἵορα[ν]ι[ῆ]ται]	-----	[.]οκα[-----]	----	-----	-----	-----	
	-----	Ταύτεσι [σ]ύμπ[ας] ἡο]	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
	-----	φόρος ἐτάχθε	Δ[-----]	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
120	-----	Λίνδιοι	T <i>vac.</i>	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	120
	-----	Μιλέσιοι Λέρ[ος]	T <i>vac.</i>	-----	-----	[η]ελλεσποντιό φόρο]	-----	-----	
	-----	Τειχιοσσα	XX[-----]	-----	-----	κεφ[άλαιον]	-----	-----	
	-----	Καμιρῆς	TT[-----]	-----	-----	HHH ^P	-----	-----	
	-----	Κυμαῖοι	XX	-----	-----	Ἄκτα[ῖαι πόλεις]	[Θραϊκί]ο φόρο]	-----	
125	-----	Ἐφέσιοι	[X]X	-----	-----	[.]? <i>vac.</i> Line perhaps vacant	[κεφάλαι]ον : HHHHΔ-	-----	125
	-----	Ἐρυθραῖοι	[X]X	-----	-----	[. .]TTν.	[πόλεις] ἐκ τῶ Εὐ[χ]αίνο]	-----	
	-----	Τέμιοι	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
	-----	Ἰελύσιοι	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
	-----	Φασελῖται	-----	-----	-----	TTTT		-----	
130	-----	[Τ]ελεμέσιο[ι]	-----	['Ετεοκαρ]πάθιοι	----	TTT		-----	130
	-----	[Κλ]αυνδῆς	-----	[. . . ⁷ . . .]ς	----	Π	Σ	-----	
	-----	[Κῶ]ιοι	-----	-----	-----	TT	-----	-----	
	-----	[. . ⁴ . .]νδριοι	-----	-----	-----	TT		-----	
	-----	Κνί[δι]οι	-----	-----	-----	TXXX	Σ	-----	
135	-----	Κολο[φόνι]οι	-----	-----	-----	X	Κ	-----	135
	-----	ἡαιρ[αῖοι]	[.] <i>vac.</i>	'Α+	-----	Γ	Γ	-----	
	-----	[Χερρ]ονέσιοι	[.] <i>vac.</i>	Μιπ-	-----	-----	Σ	-----	

Census 10? Three joining fragments of a marble stele found on the Acropolis. EM (6866).

IG I 37z" (fr. 1); *IG I 543* (fr. 2); Lolling 1888, 115, 1 (fr. 3). *IG I s. p. 140, 137. IG I² 64 III.IV+* (fr. 1-3); *ATL I A10+* with 117-20 and 207-8; *ATL II A10+*. *IG I³ 77*.

Cf. *AL III 90-1. 347-53*; Bannier 1916, 1067 and 1268; Cavaignac 1908, XLV and Pl. I. 3; Kallet 1993, 155-59; ML 227; Pritchett 1973, 379-84; Wilhelm 1909, 48 and 53;

[cols. I-III lost] 422/1		IV lacuna		V		[col. VI lost]
	XXXX	Σομβ[ία]				
		Ἄρταίο [τείχος ἐπὶ τοῖ]				
5	X	Ῥύνδακι				5
	XX	Ἄτλενοί				
	H	Πυθοπολιτα[ι]				
		Μετρόπολις				
	T	παρὰ Πρίαπον				
10	TT	Βισάνθε				10
		ἡελλεσπόντιο φόρ[ο]				
		[κ]εφάλαιον		XX- ?-	-----	
		[-?]ϜΔΔ[Δ]Δ	ϞϞΗΗΗΗ- ?-	XXX	-----	
		[Ἄκ]ταῖται πόλις		H	Κλε[οναί]	
15	[- -]TT	Ἄνταν[δ]ρ[ος]		X	Ἄθόρ[ιοι]	15
	[. . .] vacat	Ῥοίτειον		Ϟ	Ἰστασος	
	-----	Νέσος Πορδοσελένε		Ϟ	Αιολιταί	
	-----	[Ἄμα]χσιτός		Ϟ	Ζερεία	
	-----	Λαρ[ί]σα		Ϟ	Φαρβέλιοι	
20	-----	[Ἄ]φ[ρύν]ειον		Ϟ	Σέρμε	20
	-----	[. ^{max 5} .] vacat		X	Ἐρέκλειον	
	-----	[. ^{max 5} .] vacat		Δ	Σίγγιοι	
	-----	[Ἄχιλλε]ιον		Δ	Μεκυβερναῖοι	
	-----	[. . . ⁷ . . .] vacat		Δ	Γαλαῖοι	
25	-----	[. . . ⁸ . . .] vacat		T	Τράϊλος	25
	-----	-----		X	Βορμίσκος	
	-----	-----			Ζόνε παρὰ	
	-----	-----		TT	Σέρρειον	
	-----	-----			Δρυῖς παρὰ	
30	-----	[. ¹⁴]A		T	Σέρρειον	30
		lacuna		XXX	Σάλε	
				X	Ποσίδειον	
					Ἄκρόθιοι	
				[. . .] vacat	οἱ ἐν Ἄθροι	
35	-----			-----	Πλεύμε	35
	-----			-----	Θέστορος	
	-----			-----	«Πί[κ]λορος»	
	-----			-----	«Σίνος»	
	-----			-----	[. . .]OAI	
40					«vacat»	40
				-----	[πόλε]ς	
					[Κροσσί]δος	
					«[. . . ⁷ . . .]vacat»	
					«[. . . ⁸ . . .]vacat»	
45						45

some lines missing

Census 11? Five fragments found on the Agora (*Ag.* I 832), between May 15 and 25, 1933, in section H' # 255, a-e, all in classical context (*a*: burnt layer, *b*: just above classical floor, *c* and *d*: lowest layer above cl. floor, *e*: lowest layer above bedrock). *a* (= fr. 5) broken on all faces, height 0,014, width 0,045, thickness 0,039; *b* (= fr. 3) broken on all faces, height 0,103, width 0,105, thickness 0,043; *c* (= fr. 4) broken on all faces, height 0,123, width 0,09, thickness 0,044; *d* (= fr. 2) broken on all faces, height 0,081, width 0,094, thickness 0,034; *e* (= fr. 1) left edge preserved, height 0,085, width 0,075, thickness 0,035. Ionic lettering showing (fr. 2) Η for η and Λ for λ. Non-stoichedon. Phot. Meritt 1936b, 387; *ATL* I, 120. Letter height: 0,007-0,008 m. Numerals 0,007 m.

Edd: Meritt 1936b, 386-89; *ATL* I, p. 208; *ATL* II; *IG* P³ 100. Cf. Mattingly 1967, 13-14; Meiggs 1972, 438-39; Erdas 2002.

fr. 1 [.]O- ----- Κεῖνοι[: ----] Καρύ[στικοι : - -]	fr. 2 ----- ΣΚΤ ----- Νεανδρ[ειῆς : - -] Μιλητο[τειχῖται : - -] [.]Λ/ -----	fr. 3 ----- Σ : ΠΗ
fr. 4 -----ΚΟΙΙ ---- -----ΟΙ : Τ -----ρεις [: - -] -----ΕΝΙ ---- -----Ρ-----		fr. 5 ----- Ε : ΤΤ ----- Σ : ΧΧ

Thèse de doctorat présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de
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Aparchai and Phoroi
**A New Commented Edition of the Athenian Tribute Quota Lists
and Assessment Decrees**

Part II B : Epigraphical Commentary

Bjørn Paarmann
(Danemark)

2007

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Lapis Primus

List 1

The first list is preserved on the fragments 1, 1a, 2 (now lost), 3, 4, 5 and 6 || **HEADING 1-4:** The heading has been restored differently in every one of the different editions, but the new fr. 1a rendered all previous restorations obsolete; only the name of the archon, securely identified by Köhler 1869, 1, naturally withstood the discovery. The restitution by Meritt 1972, who published this fragment is not beyond dispute and the fact alone that he presented two different possibilities for the first five words in the first line should make us sceptic about both readings. The heading as presented by Meritt 1972 and *IG I³ 259* is [ἀπαρχαὶ αἰδέε χορὶς χ]σὺμ[πασαί παρ]ὰ τῶν ἑλλ[ενοταμιῶν ἡ]οῖς [-⁷-] | [-⁷- ἐγραμμάτευ]ε πρ[ὸ]τ[αι τοῖσι] τριάκο[ν]τα ἀπεφάνθησαν [τῆι θεῶι] | [τῷ χουμμαχικῷ φόρο ἐ]πὶ Ἄρισ[το]νος [ἄρχοντος Ἄ]θ[εν]αῖος μνᾶ ἀ[πὸ τῷ ταλ-] | [άντο ·] *vacat*. Being uncertain about the reading of three first letters in the first line Meritt gave as an alternative for χορὶς χ]σὺμ[πασαί the restitution κατὰ πό]λιν [πασαί?, which he printed in the apparatus of *IG I³ 259*. Although ΣΥΜ is almost certainly read many other restitutions might be possible, since no analogy exists in the other lists || **1 Beg.:** The difference between the two restitutions mentioned above is caused by a lower diagonal in the 19th stoichos (fr.1a), which according to Meritt 1972 could be either from lambda or sigma. I favour the latter, since there is no sign of a joining vertical. The following letter is either I or Y as observed by Meritt, but the upper part of the supposed vertical is curved and therefore probably accidental. The right wing of Y is preserved. Finally Meritt hesitated between M and N in the following stoichos, but both outer strokes of M are preserved and the inclination of these does not match the nus in this list. **Mid.:** (frs. 2 and 3) T..HIK.....AMIONHO Rangabé 1842, p. 236, no. 131; T..HIK.....AMIONEΘ Böckh 1851, Pl. 1, no. 1; ATONH.LL/ TC < HELL.....AMIONHOI Pittakis 1853, p. 692, no. 1146; it is difficult to put faith in this reading unconfirmed by earlier as well as later editors; AMIONHO Köhler 1869, Pl. 1, no. 1a || **2 Pace** Meritt 1972, I find no confirmation for T in the 22nd stoichos. **Mid.:** (frs. 2 and 3) PIAKO.....EOANΘE Rangabé 1842, p. 236, no. 131; TPIAKO.....EΓOANΘE Böckh 1851, Pl. 1, no. 1; TPIAKO.....EOANΘE...EC Pittakis 1853, p. 692, no. 1146; TPIAKO.....EOANΘE...N Köhler 1869, Pl. 1, no. 1a, restoring ἀν(έ)θε[σα]ν;

ΤΡΙΑΚΟ.....ΕΟΑΝΘΕΣΑΝ *ATL* I restoring ἀπ[ε]φάνθησαν, ΣΑ are pockmarked but discernible || **3 Beg.:** For Meritt’s readings see discussion on Heading 1-4 *supra*; [ἀπό τῶν πόλεον Raubitschek 1984, 272-73. In the 19th stoichos erosion has scarred I in such a way that any other letter can be excluded. I do not see traces of the Ϛ as reported by Meritt 1972. **Mid.:** (frs. 2 and 3) ΠΧΟΝΤΟΣ .⁵ . ΑΙΟΙΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 236, no. 131; ΠΧΟΝΤΟΣ .⁵ . ΑΙΟΙΣ : ΜΝ Böckh 1851, Pl. 1, no. 1; ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ .⁵ . ΑΙΟΙΣ:ΜΝΑΜC Pittakis 1853, p. 692, no. 1146, probably restoring rather than seeing Λ in ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ, but if so why did he not print Α? Probably because he only detected the apex. ΠΧΟΝΤΟΣ/ΑΙΟΙΣ : ΜΝΑ ^ Köhler 1869, Pl. 1, no. 1a, restoring μνᾶ [ἀπό τῶ ταλ]-; μνᾶ [ἀπό τῶ ταλ]- *ATL* I. The top of the obverse side of fr. 4 is pockmarked due to long exposure to the elements, but two apices are visible in the following two *stoichoi*, of the first the lower strokes might just be discernible. The second alpha, which I dot, was erroneously read as mu by Pittakis. The surface is curved where he reported C, but he might have seen this. Having published fr. 1 (EM 6764) from the heading of List 34, which gives the name of the archon of 421/20 and the ratio of the *aparché* to the *phoros*, Köhler 1869, 6 was able to restore ll. 1-4: [Τάδε τοῦ φόρου τοῦ παρ[ά] τῶν Ἑλληνοταμιῶν, οἷς] | [ἔγραμμά τευεν, οἱ] τριάκο[ντα τῆς Θεοῦ ἀν(έ)θε[σα]ν ἀπαρχ-] | [ἦν ἐπὶ Ἀρίστωνος ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις· μνᾶν [ἀπό τοῦ] | [ταλάντου] admitting (p. 7) that: “Z. 3 ist angenommen worden, es sei ANΘΕΣΑΝ eingehauen gewesen statt ANEΘΕΣΑΝ, doch bleibt die Fassung problematisch.” Note that Meritt 1972 kept the ‘vacat’ after ταλάντου in line 4 (cf. his restoration *supra* on Heading 1-4), although there is no evidence for this being the last word. For the expression ‘at the rate of one mina in the talent’ cf. also ML no. 60, line 13 || **COLUMN I-II** Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2 was the first to assign our fr. 1 to this list and he read at least one letter in nearly every line of column I and II. However, he thought it was too mutilated to be taken into consideration (p. 8) || **COLUMN I 5** [B]ε[ργαῖοι : Ϝ] Meritt *IG* I³ in the *apparatus*. Traces of the initial could perhaps be interpreted as a vertical with a ‘penant’ shaped loop, but these are probably accidental marks, since the letter would then have be placed somewhat lower than the following ones || **6-7** and **9-11** isolated alphas and omikrons reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2, and accepted in *SEG* V, but rightly rejected in *ATL* I p. 6 || **14** -- ο -- - Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; [.⁸]\| : [.]Γ[.]|||]; [Σταγριῖτ]αι : [Δ]Γ[Ϝ]||| : *ATL* I; the traces are too faint to allow any certain reading || **15** -- ο -- - Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; [Φαρβέ]λ[ι]ο[ι] : [Δ]Γ[Ϝ]||| : *ATL* I; I find no confirmation

for this reading || **16** -- αι --- Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; [Ἐλαῖται : Δ]Γ[Γ-Π]|| : *SEG* V. I see no clear traces of the quota || **17** -- ε --- Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; [Τελε]ε[μέσ]σ[ιοι : - -] WM 1926a; [. ⁷ .]σ --- *ATL* I; [Χερρονέ]σ[ιοι : ΗΗΗ] Meritt *IG* I³ in the apparatus; traces compatible with a sigma in the 8th stoichos are clear on my photo, but the letter is uncertain || **18** WM 1926a; -- ι --- Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; [Ἀρισβαῖ]ο[ι : ΗΗ] || **19** Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2 saw nothing; [. ⁷ .] ι --- WM 1926a; [Τενέδιο]ι[: ΗΗΗΗ^ϕ] Meritt *IG* I³ in the apparatus, but the supposed stroke is too tall for an iota. The traces of the following letter are compatible with an Α or a Δ || **20** [. ⁷ .]ι[:] Δ --- *ATL* I; a separation mark is perhaps visible above the one in 21, but it is uncertain || **21** -- -||| Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; [- ⁶ -]οι : Η *ATL* I, but Ο is not extant || **22** -- -^ϕΗ| | - - Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; [- -]^ϕΗΗ WM 1926a; [Ἐφέσιο]ι : ^ϕΗΗ[^ϕ] *ATL* I; I see no traces of the ultimate iota in the name, nor of the separation mark || **23** [- -]ΗΗ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; [Αἰνιοι :] ΧΗΗ *SEG* V, correctly taking the lower and upper right tips from two diagonals to be from Χ; [Αἰνιοι] : ΧΗΗ *ATL* I, but I do not see the separation mark || **24** [- -]οι : Γ¹ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; [- ⁷ -]οι : Γ[Γ-Π] WM 1926a, [- ⁷ -]οι : Γ[Γ-Π] *ATL* I; [Γεντίνοι]οι : Γ[Γ-Π] Meritt *IG* I³ in the apparatus. The length of the upper bar of Γ indicates ^ϕ or ^ϕ; ^ϕ being rare for obvious reasons I prefer ^ϕΗ || **25** [Θρανη]ται : Δ[Γ[Γ-Π]] WM 1926a, an unattested community in the tribute lists; [Ναχοῖα]ται : Δ[Γ[Γ-Π]] *ATL* I. The tau is not certain, but if it is correct no other attested member would fit || **26** [- -]ς : Η Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; ?[Μαδνασῆ]ς : Η[Η] WM 1926a; [Μαδνασῆ]ς : Η[Η] or [Δαρδανῆ]ς : Η[Η] *SEG* V; [Μαδνασῆ]ς : ΗΗ *ATL* I. There are no traces of Ε || **27** [Λάτμι]οι or [Σαναῖ]οι *SEG* V; [Κνίδι]οι : Η[ΗΗ] Meritt 1972 and *IG* I³ in the apparatus || **28** Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2 recorded Γ Τ ^ Ι : ^ϕ ^ which has been taken into in all subsequent editions. However, ^ϕ ^ does not fit the remaining traces in this line, but in the line below. The way Kirchhoff transcribed ΑΙ in *IG* I just like Köhler as though they were fragmented, which they are not, and the fact that the *ATL*-editors (I, p. 6) explicitly stated that they depended on Köhler's reading. I have accordingly taken Γ Τ ^ Ι : as l. 28 and ^ϕ ^ as 29 || **COLUMN II 1-24** With the discovery of fr. 1a Meritt (1972) was able to supply quotas, partial and full, to several of the entries in these lines or at least vacant spaces to the right of some of the lost quotas || **8** 'Ε- - - (fr. 1) *ATL* I, 'Ε[ρόδιοι : Γ[Γ-Π]] (frs. 1 and 1a) Meritt 1972. I find no confirmation for Ε nor was it reported by earlier editors || **9** Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2 has

nothing in this line || 10 'Ο - - - Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; rightly corrected to Θ - - - by *SEG V* || 9-10 Σ[κιοναῖοι καὶ] | Θ[ραμβαῖοι : ϜΗ] *ATL I*; Σ[κιοναῖοι καὶ] ' | Θ[ραμβαῖοι : ϜΗ]^ν Meritt 1972 and *IG I³*, but independent entries are possible || 11 Π[ριανῆς : Η ^ν]^ν Meritt 1972 proposing also Π[ασανδῆς : Ϝ], Π[ερίνθιοι : Χ] and Π[υγελῆς : Η] in the *apparatus* of *IG I³*. I do not see Π || 12 Κ[υδαιῆς : ΓΓ-ΠΠ] Meritt 1972 || 13 I do not see more of the second letter than did Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2, *pace* Π[ριαπῆς : ΓΓ-ΠΠ] Meritt 1972 || 14 Θ - - - Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2; Θ[ύσσιοι : ϜΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠ] *ATL I*, Θ[ύσσιοι : ϜΔΓΓ]-ΠΠΠ Meritt 1972, but the supposed right wing of Υ is on the edge of the fragment, could be accidental and is too upright to be from this letter || 15-16 Meritt 1972; *pace* Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 2: ΙΑ in l. 15 || 17 Meritt 1972, but Π[ε]λ[ει]ᾶ[ται] : ϜΔ]ΓΓ-ΠΠΠ is also possible || 19 [h]α[ισόνιοι : Δ]ΔΓ Meritt 1972, but [Γ]α[ργαῖς : ϜΔ]ΔΓ is possible and the faint traces of the initial fit the Γ || 25-26 [Διῆς καὶ 'Ολοφύ]χσ | [ιοι ἐχς 'Αθο : Η]ΔΔΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠ WM 1926a; [Διῆς καὶ 'Ολο]φύ]χσ | [ιοι ἐχς 'Αθο : Η]ΔΔΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠ *SEG V*, 4: “pars litterarum Φ et Υ in lap. legg. W.M;” [Σαναῖοι : 'Ολο]φύ]χσ- | [ιοι : Διῆς : ΗΗ]ΔΔΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠ *ATL I* based on Tod *GHP²* no. 30, p. 50: 'Ολο]φύ]χσ-. Only the vertical from Υ is preserved || 27 - ις ΗΓΓ-ΠΠΠ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 3 and p. 7; -³- ις : ΗΓΓ-ΠΠΠ WM 1926a; [Σαμβακτ]ύς : ΗΓΓ-ΠΠΠ *SEG V*. I see a right wing joining a lower vertical. If this is the right reading, then Sambaktys is the only possible attested name in -υς || 28 Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 3 and p. 7 || 29 ['Αβυδενοί :] ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠΠ *ATL I*, but [Τενέδιοι :] is possible. But neither 10.II.3 ΗΗΗΗΓΓ-Ϛ 'Αβυδενοί nor 3.I.6 Τενέδιοι are clear analogies and one numeral or more may have been lost. The possibilities are ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠΠ (26.260 dr.), ϜΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠΠ (56.260 dr.), ΧΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠΠ (86.260 dr.). ΧϜΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠΠ (116.260 dr.). All are unattested. **COLUMN III 5** Πεδασῆς : ΗΗ Meritt 1972, Pl. 99 but his photo shows neither E nor the first sigma || 6 'Αστυρενο[ί : ΓΓ-ΠΠΠ] Meritt 1972 || 7 Βυζάντιο[ι : ΧϜ] Meritt 1972 || 8 [Κ]αμipῆς : Ϝ[ΗΗΗΗ] Meritt 1972 || 9-10 Θερμαῖοι | [ἐν] 'Ικάρο[ι : Ϝ] Meritt 1972, cf. 3.V.6-7, but see 4.II.2-3 Θερμαῖοι | ἐχς ['Ικάρο : Ϝ] || 11-12 ΠΠΠ reported by Pittakis 1835, p. 433 no. 2, but Müller recorded ΠΠΠ (in Böckh 1851, Pl. I, no. 1), I follow Müller || 13 ΓΠΠ Pittakis 1835 p. 433 no. 2 and Müller (in Böckh 1851, Pl. I, no. 1), corrected to ϜΠΠ by WM 1926a, 174, but ϜΠΠ Lewis 1994, whom I follow || 14 ΠΠΠ ΠΠΠ Pittakis 1835, p. 433 no. 2 confirmed in 1972 by fr. 1a;

ΗΗΗ Müller (in Böckh 1851, Pl. I, no. 1) || **15** † Pittakis p. 433 no. 2; ΗΗΗ Müller (in Böckh 1851, Pl. I, no. 1), confirmed by fr. 1a || **16** ΓΗΓΗΗΗΗ Pittakis 1835 p. 433 no. 2, this is impossible even accounting for his way of transcribing Ϝ as ΓΗ, since ϜϜΗΗΗ would be written ΧΗΗΗ; ΓΗΗΗΗ Müller (in Böckh 1851, Pl. I, no. 1), ϜΗΗΗΗ happens to be the quota of Selymbria || **17** ΔΗ††ΔΔ Pittakis 1835 p. 433 no. 2; ΔΙ Müller interpreted by Piérart 1974 as the faint remains of Ϝ, accepted by Lewis 1994, *pace* Meritt 1972 and *ATL* I following Pittakis with correction: ΔΔ|Δ††||; Αιγάντ[ιοι : ΔΔ|Δ††|| Meritt 1972 adding fr. 1a. The left tip of the horizontal of T is visible. *Pace* Meritt (1972, 405) 2,000 dr. was not the normal quota before the third assessment period. I follow Piérart 1974 taking Muller’s ΔΙ to be from Ϝ || **18-20** Νεοπο[λιται ἐκ ὠ | Μιλέτο ἐν Λευκῶι] | Ἄκρ[οτερίοι] : ΗΗΗ Meritt 1972, but cf. Paarmann 2007b with references || **18** Lewis 1994 || **19** *Pace* Meritt 1972; the preserved surface suits Ϛ, better than T; Μιλέ[σιοι - -] *IG* I³ in the apparatus following Pierart 1974 || **20** Ἄκρ[.ᶜ].ι : ΗΗΗ “oppidum ignotum” *IG* I³; Ἄκρ[αίφνιοι] : ΗΗΗ Lewis 1981, 77, n. 43 and 1992, 116, n. 72; cf. comm. *ad* 2.IX.9 and Paarmann 2007b || **21** Κο[λοφό]νιοι : ΗΗΗ Meritt 1972 || **COLUMN IV 5** Köhler 1869, p. 6 || **6** [Λί]νδιοι : ϜΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ[†III] Köhler 1869, p. 6, which is too long; [Λί]νδιοι : ϜΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ[Γ] WM 1926a; [Λί]νδιοι : ϜΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓ *ATL* I, but Γ is not extant || **7** [Οι]ναῖοι ἐν ἴ- | κάροι : ΗΔΔΔ††[III] Köhler 1869, p. 6; [Οι]ναῖοι ἐν ἴ- | κάροι : ΗΔΔΔ††[II] WM 1926a || **17** Initial reported by Pittakis 1853, no. 1146 and Rangabé 1842, p. 254, no. 131 || **19-20** [Δικαι]οπο- | λιται ΗΗ]ΗΗ Köhler 1869, p. 7; Δ[ικ]αιοπο- | λιται[ι :] ΗΗΗΗ WM 1926a; Köhler left a space between the lower part of fr. 3 and the upper part of fr. 6, whereas WM 1926a made them join || **23** Καρβασσανδῆς : [ΔΓ†-III] *ATL* I || **21** Κλαζομέν[ιοι : ΗϜ] *ATL* I || **22** Ἀργίλιοι : ΧϜ (63,000 dr.) the mason; <Η>Ϝ *ATL* I with comm. *ATL* III, 5-6 *pace* Gomme 1950, 277 who read 10 ½ [= ΧϜ] “unless his reference to the 15 talents is merely an error.” (note 1), but following Perdrizet: Argilos paid Η (6,000) and later ΔΓ†-III (1,000), making ΗϜ (9,000) more probable || **27** Κασο[λαβῆς] Köhler 1869, p. 7; Κασο[λαβῆς : - -] WM 1926a; Κασο[λαβῆς : ΔΔΔΔ†-III] *ATL* I || **28-29** Δί[καια -] | πα[ρ’ Ἄβδερα] Köhler 1869, p. 7; Δί[καια -] | πα[ρ’ Ἄβδερα] WM 1926a; Δί[καια -] | πα[ρ’ Ἄβδερα : Ϝ] *ATL* I || **COLUMN V 5** ηβ[ιδερῖ]ται previous editors, but the lower bar from Δ is visible. The final two obol signs are written

below the line due to lack of space || 6-8 Ὀλύθη[ιοι] Σκα- | βλαῖοι Ἄσση- | ρῖται H....- Köhler 1869, p. 6; βλαῖοι WM 1926a; correctly since Köhler 1869, Pl. I no. 1a, gave >LAIO; ρῖται : H.⁵- WM 1926a; ρῖται : H[HHΔΓ]-||| SEG V (16,000 dr.); H[HHΔΓ]-||| ATL I; H[HFΔΓ]-||| ATL II (19,000 dr.) with comm. ATL III, 6 explaining that Olynthos later paid 12,000, Skabala 3,000 dr. and Assera 2,400 dr.: “The total of the three figures is less than the old restoration by 26 2/3 drachmai and greater than the new by 23 1/3. Admittedly there is not much to choose between them, but we believe that the less than full composite payment is slightly to be favoured.” The last two obol signs are not as clear as stated || 9 ΣΕΡΜΥΛ... <FHHFΔΔΗ-||| Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 1a; Σερμυλι[ιῆς] : FHHFΔΔΗ- (46,320 dr.) SEG V; but this not only ignores what Köhler saw, it also discounts for the unpreserved surface after -Η-. Since Sermylia is never attested paying more than 7 talents and normally far less, I take the < given by Köhler as the final sigma of the name rather than X from the beginning of the quota. A letter count in the surrounding lines is inconclusive making both solutions possible. Köhler observed, p. 7: “die letzte Ziffer ist unsicher (Δ|||) Rangabé und Böckh, Η- eine meiner Abschriften, dagegen wie im Texte steht bereits Müller.” || 11 Στόλιοι : F...I Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 1a adding, p. 7: “Die Obolen-Zeichen in dieser und der folgenden Zeile sind unsicher und vielleicht nur Risse im Stein.” But see note on 11-12 || 12 ΧΑ. Λ Pittakis 1835, p. 432; ΧΑΛΚΑΙ Pittakis 1853, no. 1146; ΧΑ.ΤΑ|| Müller (in Böckh 1851, Pl. I, no. 1); Χ...Λ : ||| Rangabé 1842, p. 236, no. 131; [Κ]ά[ψ]α Η[ΗΗ] ... I Böckh following Rangabé; Χασταί : ΗΗ[Δ][Δ]Η-||| Köhler 1869, p. 6 || 11-12 Στόλιοι : Π[ο]λι - | χνῖται : ΗΗ[Δ][Δ]Η-||| SEG V || 13 the ATL-editors read Σίνδιοι : ΗΗ[.]Η-||| assuming an error on the part of the cutter, but the supposed bottom stroke of the delta is not certain and ΣΙΝΛΙΟΙ might be possible; Σίγγιοι : ΗΗ[ΗΗΓ]-Η-||| Köhler 1869, p. 6; Σίγγιοι : ΗΗ[Γ]-Η-||| SEG V; Σίν(γ)λιοι : ΗΗ[.]Η-||| ATL I || 15 ΜΥΣΟΙ : ΔΔΗ- Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 1a; Μυσοί : ΔΔΗ-||| SEG V || 16 Πίκρες Συαν[γ]ελεύς : Η| ATL I; : F] ATL II because Amynanda appears in List 2 indicating that they paid individually in the first assessment period (ATL III, 6) || 17 Κεδριῆτα[ι : - -] Köhler 1869, 7; but -I was reported by Pittakis 1835, p. 433 and Müller (in Böckh 1851, p. 378) || 19 : reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 1a || 20 ΚΥΛΛΑΝΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 1a by error, corrected by Kirchhoff in IG I; Κυλλάνδι[οι : ?H] WM 1926a || 21 . ' Ο ' Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 1a; [Χ]ιοι [: - -] SEG V;

Χῖοι : Κ[α]ρῆς : ΔΔΔΗΗΗ|| *ATL* I, Χῖοι : Κ[α]ρῆς : ΔΔΔΗΗΗ|| *ATL* II || **COLUMN VI 5**
 Να[ρι]σ[βαρῆς] Köhler 1869 p. 6; Να[ρ]ισ[βαρῆς] : ΔΓ[Η]|| *ATL* I || **6** Köhler 1869, p. 6;
 Μυδ[ο]νῆς : ΔΔΓ[Η] *ATL* I || **7** Κια[ν]οί : Δ[Γ]|| Köhler 1869, p. 6; I see the upper tip of the
 third stroke in N || **8** Ἄ[ρ]χτακνηοί : - - Köhler 1869, p. 6; Ἄρχτακενοί : - - WM 1926a,
 Ἄρχτακενοί : ΔΔΔΗΗΗ|| *ATL* I. I see the tip of the final iota || **9-10** [Ν]εά[π]ολις | [έν]
 [Θρ]άκη ΔΓ[Η]|| Köhler 1869, p. 6; [Ν]εάπολις | [έν] [Θρ]άκει ΔΓ[Η]|| MW 1926;
 Νεάπολις | [έν] [Θρ]άκει : ΔΓ[Η]|| *ATL* I || **9-10** [Δ]ασκύλειον [έν] Προποντίδι earlier
 editors, but \ΑΣΚΥΛΕΙΟΝ and part of the third stroke in of N in έν are extant || **21**
 .. Γ' Χ' Γ' Σ Σ Γ' Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 1a || **POSTSCRIPT 1-6** Wade-Gery 1935, 104-6
 having discovered that frs. 4-5 and 10-11 gave the postscript of List 1, proposed [Ἐπὶ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς ἡῖ .⁶ .] | [.⁴ .ἐγραμμάτευε: ἐλογί]- | [σαντο ἡοι τριάκοντα λογ]- | [ίσταί τὰς
 ἀπαρχὰς τῷ φόρ]- | [ο ἡοπόσαι τῆι θεῷ ἀπὸ τῷ]- | [μ πόλ]εον ἔ[σαν : χορὶς τό τε] |
 [ἀργύριον: καὶ τὸ χρυσεῖον] | [τῷ ἀργυρίο: [κεφάλαιον ἔν] | [ΓΧ]ΧΧΗΗΗΔΔ[.¹¹ .] | [χρυσίο
 σύμπαντος Κυζικ]- | [ενῶ: κ[ε]φά[λαιον ἔν στατῆρες | Κυζικενοὶ : .⁴ .έκοντ]- | α ἔχ[ς: ἡέκται
 τέτταρες ὅ] accepted in *ATL* I, but the last line was rejected in *ATL* II with comm. *ATL* III, 6
 on the ground that the restitution could be either 56 or 96 talents. The editors also corrected
 the figure in line 9 to [ΓΤ]ΧΧΗΗΗΔΔ[.¹¹ .]. Pritchett 1966 attacked the entire restitution as
 unfounded since it had no support on the stone. In *IG* I³ Meritt gave a totally different but
 equally unfounded restitution, although evidently based on the heading of the list (*IG* I³ 259):
 [παρὰ τῶν ἡελλενοταμιῶν] | [ἡοῖς .¹⁴ .ἐγ]- | [γραμμάτευε τοῖσι τριάκο]- | [ντα ἀπεφάνθησαν
 ἀπαρχα]- | [ὶ ἡοπόσαι τῆι θεῷ ἀπὸ τῷ]- | [μ πόλ]εον ἔ[σαν : χορὶς τό τε] κτλ. || **6** -Η-
 Rangabé 1842, p. 253, no. 248; ... P *SEG* V; [.⁴ .]εονε[*ATL* I; [.⁴ .]εονε[*IG* I³ || **7-8** *ATL* I || **9**
 [ΓΧ]ΧΧΗΗΗΔΔ *ATL* I; [ΓΧ]ΧΧΗΗΗΔΔ *ATL* II, cf. *ATL* III, 6 and ML 87-88 || **10-11**
 [χρυσίο σύμπαντος Κυζικ]- | ενῶ Wade-Gery, *pace* Pritchett 1966 rejecting nu in 11 || **11-12**
 : κ[ε]φά[λαιον ἔν στατῆρ]- | ες Κυζικενοὶ *pace* Pritchett 1966 preferring ο and α to φ. Köhler
 1869, p. 20 had denied the possibility of restoring anything from frs. 4 and 5.

List 2

This list is preserved on the fragments 6, 7, 8, 9 (lost), 10, 10a and 11. Wade-Gery, 1935, discovered that what had hitherto been taken as the bottom of list 7 was in fact a continuation of list 2 on the right lateral face, adding 46 lines to an otherwise very short list. One June 24, 1972 a new fragment, fr. 10a was found (McGregor 1976b, 280), later published by Camp 1974. He attributed it to the *lapis primus* and this exact position because it showed the same kind of water wear and weathering as the other fragments from the second list, because it shares a physical join with fr. 10 and because it has the P^{a} sign in the form of Γ . Note that the pictures fig. b and c of the fragment have been inverted on Camp's Pl. 63. When McGregor supervised its insertion into the *lapis primus*, it became evident that columns I-IX were one line longer than had hitherto been supposed || **HEADING 1** *ATL* I, 170 explaining: "The restoration [τοῖς τριάκοντα] is based upon the mention of the thirty logistai in the prescripts of 1 and 3. For Λέον supplied as secretary of the hellenotamiai cf. *IG* I² 16 line 4 (Tod *GHI* no. 32) and the mid-fifth century treaty between Athens and Hermione, Oliver, *Hesperia* II 1933, 494-7, 63." || **COLUMN I 2-11** restored in *ATL* III, 8-9 and analogy with 4.V.20-1, 23-26 and 28-31. This is all conjectural, however, since there is no compelling reason to believe that the two series of names were identical in lists 2 and 4, and because there is no room in the second list for all of the names preserved in the fourth (Keos in 4.V.22 and Ouranion in 27 have been left out of the restitution in 2.I.2-11) || **2** [Σ/ . - - -] *ATL* III, p. 8. Cf 4.V.20 || **3** [H^πΙ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Ἄλιπδῆς] *ATL* III, 8. Cf 4.V.21 and my comm. *infra* || **4** [ΔΓΗΗ] [. σουρι- -] *ATL* III, 8. Cf 4.V.23 || **5** [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Χαλκετορῆς] *ATL* III, 8. Cf 4.V.24 || **6** [ΓΗΗ] [Κυδαίῆς] *ATL* III, 8. Cf 4.V.25 || **7** [ΔΓΗΗ] [ἠυβλισηῆς] *ATL* III, 8. Cf 4.V.26 || **8** [ΔΓΗΗ] [Κιλλαρῆς] *ATL* III, 8. Cf 4.V.28 || **9** [ΔΓΗΗ] [Θύδονος] *ATL* III, 8. Cf 4.V.29 || **10** [ΔΔΓΙΙΙ] [Σίλοι] *ATL* III, 8. Cf 4.V.30 || **11** [H.³.] [Τελάνδριοι] *ATL* III, 8. Cf 4.V.31 || **12** ΔΓΙ Λ.....) Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 5a, restoring ΔΓ[Η-ΙΙΙ] [Βουθειε]ς p. 8; ΔΓ[Η-Η] Β[ουθειε]ς WM 1926b; ΔΓΗΗ Βο[υθειε]ς *SEG* V, becoming less likely although not impossible with the discovery of Wade-Gery's that the three columns on the right lateral face belongs to this list, since Boutheia appears already in X.5; ΔΓΗΗ Βο[λβα]ίῆς *ATL* I, 171, but this name is unattested and is based only on Stephanos who has: Βόλβαι· πόλις Καρίας (...) τὸ ἔθνικὸν Βολβαῖος. There is no evidence that this was ever a tributary ally. Neither can I follow *SEG* V (4 comm. *ad loc.*): "pars inferior litterarum B et O in lapide servatur." Only the lower extremity of the first letter

is preserved. A left hasta is certain, and the stroke cut diagonally from the base tends to curve slightly. It looks like a lambda with the second stroke slanting upwards, *pace* *ATL* I, 10: “It is best interpreted as a beta.” || **13** ΔΓΗΗΙ ΛΕΦΣΙΜΑΝΙΚ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 5a || **14-16** On the irregular amounts in these lines see *ATL* III, 7-8. On irregular Carian amounts in general see Eddy 1973 and Vickers 1995, 41-48 || **16** Πακτύες Ἰδυμ[εύς] Köhler 1869, p. 8; Πάκτυες Ἰδυμ[ῆς] Böckh 1851, p. 430; Πακτυῆς Ἰδυμ[ῆς] Nesselhauf 1933, 126, notes 2 and 3; Πακτύες Ἰδυμ[εύς] *ATL* I || **17** ΔΓΗΗΙ ΟΡΑΝΙΕΤ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 5a, restoring Θρασιῆτ[αι] p. 9; Ὀρασιῆτ[αι] *SEG* V, correctly || **18** ΔΓΗΗΙ Τ.ΥΒΑΝΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 5a, restoring Τ[ρ]υβανῆς p. 9, first corrected in *ATL* I || **COLUMN II 2** [ΔΓΗΗΙΙ] [Κο]δαπῆς *ATL* I || **COLUMN III 2** ΗΗΗ - - - ΙΓ - Köhler 1869, Pl. 1, no. 3, restoring ΗΗΗ[Η] - - - ιῆς (sic!) p. 9; ΗΗΗΗ[ΓΗΗΗΙ] [Σερμυλιῆς] *SEG* V (= 24,500 dr.) explaining that the first numeral in 4.I.28 ΠΠΔΔΔΔΗΙΙΙ (= 35,500 dr.) could represent the normal tribute of Sermylia amounting to 30,000 dr. and that the remaining figures (5,500 dr.) could be arrears from the second year (24,500 + 5,500 = 30,000); ΗΗΗΗ- [Σερμυλιῆς] *ATL* I, but the preserved letters are fragmentary and the distance between the last Η and the two letters is difficult to calculate exactly; for this see Meritt 1937c, 72-73. With the discovery of Wade-Gery’s, 1935, the Sermylia are attested in IX.6, which makes Rhodes (*CAH* V², 58 note 86) propose hesitantly [Μιλέσιο]ι ἐκ - - || **2** [.⁷]ς WM 1926b || **3** *ATL* I || **COLUMN IV 16-19** (= fr. 9) reported only by Rangabé 1842, p. 238, no. 136 || **16** ΗΗ Ἄ[βυδηνοί] Köhler 1869, p. 9; ΗΗ Ἄ[- - WM 1926b; ΗΗ Ἄ[λιιδῆς] *ATL* I; ΗΗ Ἄ[ρισβαῖοι] *ATL* II with comm. *ATL* III, 6-7 || **COLUMN V 10** ΕΣ reported by Pittakis 1853, no. 1163; -Σ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a, as today, || **11** [ΗΗ] Ἄστυπαλαῖς *ATL* I || **12** ΑΙΚΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a; \ΙΚΕΣ today || **13** ΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a || **15** [ηεφαισ]τιῆς WM 1926b; Ἐφαισσι[σ]τιῆς *ATL* I, 171: “Hephaistia appears only in A9, I, 95 with the rough breathing. In 20, IV, 11 the restoration should be Ἐφαισσι[σ]τιῆς (...). We therefore restore Ἐφαισσι[σ]τιῆς, with doubling of sigma before tau, in the present instance.” Fr. 10a shows other examples of double sigma, cf. VII.6 and 9 || **17** ἸΝΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a || **COLUMN VI 8-9** Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a recorded ΗΗ followed by a lower triangle as from Β or Ε followed by a vertical, however, the letters are still preserved, and the second is most certainly a Ν as printed in *ATL* I, *pace* WM 1926b: ΗΗΗ || Ἐ[λαίοσιοι] || **10** ΗΗΗ ΚΟΛΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a || **11** WM 1926b;

ΔΔΔΓ-/// NOTIE Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a; The quota is written smaller to compensate for the intruding Astypalaia from column V || 12 ΔΓΓ-III Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a; The quota is written smaller to compensate for the intruding Samothrace from col. V || **COLUMN VII 3-12** Camp 1974, 314-16 added fr. 10a and restored these lines || 3 Π¹ - - - Camp 1974, but McGregor 1976b, 280-82, because all quotas in this list are aligned to the left, concluded that Π¹ must be the second and third numerals. If this is so, the first numeral must be Η and the third probably an accidental mark or a Δ from ΗΠ¹ΔΓΓ-III || 4 ΔΔΓ - - - Camp 1974, 314 commenting (p. 316-17): “The alignment of the figures suggests that the full quota here was twenty-five drachmas” and proposing: Μυδονῆς since this community “lay close geographically to Narisbara (line 5) and Thasthara (line 6) and often appears in conjunction with these two cities on the other lists.” This is possible although conjectural || 5 - - Ἱγρες Camp 1974, 315; [Π¹] Ἱγρες McGregor 1976b, 280-82 || 9 [Π¹] Πασσανδ[ῆς] McGregor 1976b, 280-82 || 12 Camp 1974, 315: “As only the upper tips of the letters are visible the reading of this line is not absolutely secure. In the first stoichos of the name the ends of two splaying strokes are clear. In the second stoichos there is the apex of a triangular letter. In the third, there is the top of a vertical stroke, slightly off the centre to the left. In the fourth letter space the traces are faint, though there is a diagonal stroke rising toward the left, suggesting a chi or perhaps upsilon. The epsilon is clear in the fifth stoichos and there is what can be taken as the tip of a letter in the middle of the sixth. Of the quota the Π¹ is clear, followed by six vertical strokes, tentatively read as ΗΗΗ.” I follow this reading, since Kalchedon, proposed by Camp, is the only attested possibility with a quota on Π¹- and a name on ΧΑΛ- || 15 the cutter omitted the horizontal in Γ || **COLUMN VIII 2** [Α]β[υδανοί] Camp 1974, 314 reporting the lower half of a beta apparent on the tip of the fragment (316), cf. his photo Pl. 63 fig. b. On the grounds that this should be the second letter of the name, he restored Abydos in preference to Abdera which, as he wrote, is attested with *daseia* in the first assessment periods. In this place however, McGregor 1976b, 280-82, read an E, which has been taken into *IG I³*: [.]E[- - -] || 3 [ΗΗΗ] Κεβ[ρένιοι] Camp 1974, 314 || 4 [Η] Σκάφ[σιοι] Camp 1974, 314 in preference to [ΔΓΓ-III] Σκάφ[σαῖοι] since the quota of the latter would have been apparent on the preserved surface (316) || 5 [ΔΓΓ]Γ-III Παισενοί Camp 1974, but the iota is certain || 6 Camp 1974, 317 || 7-8 [Η] Φ[ο]κκαῖῆς | παρὰ [.]ε[.]κ Camp 1974, 315 reporting that the upper half of K and the lower tip of the vertical could be read on his squeeze. In l. 8 Camp saw both diagonal strokes

from the second A in παρὰ, but dotted the letter. Since the uninscribed surface is intact in between and the characteristic dot from the upper triangle and crossbar of alpha is visible, excluding Δ, I remove the dot as I do for the final omikron, which is perfectly clear. The final omikron is inscribed below the line due to lack of space. No known name fits these five letters || 9 ΗΗ^Ϟ Φ[ο]καῖες Camp 1974, 315: “The figure Ϟ is visible as part of the quota, along with three vertical strokes to the left, apparently part of ΗΗ.” Camp saw the upper part of kappa on his squeeze. All of A is visible || 10 Camp 1974, 315 || 11 [Η] Μυρι[ναῖοι] Camp 1974, 315 || 12 Camp 1974, 315 || 14 -ΙΜΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 7b; [Λεφο]ιμαν[δ]οί *SEG V*; [Λεφο]ιμάνιοι *ATL I*; -ΙΟΙ is written perpendicularly below the line || 15 [Κα]σολαβῆς *SEG V*; -ΕΣ written perpendicularly below the line || 16 [Π]τολ[ε]όν Köhler 1869, p. 21 no. c ignoring the final letters written vertically downwards; first noticed by *SEG V*; [Σ]τόλιοι *SEG V* || 17 Πολιχνῖται *SEG V* || 18 - /ΛΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 7b; Σίγγοι *SEG V* || 19 [Η] Σαναῖοι *ATL I* || **COLUMN IX 2** ΙΑΙΡΛΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 39a; ἡιραῖοι *SEG V*; [ΗΗΗ] ἡιραῖοι *ATL I* || 3 [Ϟ] Νεοπολίται *ATL I* || 4 'ΟΛ[ύ]νθιοι *SEG V*; [ΗΗ] 'Ολύνθιοι *ATL I* || 4 The Υ is pockmarked but its original form is still visible. The left wing is untouched || 5 [Μ]ηκυβερναί. Köhler 1869, p. 20 and Threatte 1980a, 99, but -ΙΟΙ is written perpendicularly above the line, cf. note on VIII.16; [Η] [Μ]εκυβερναῖοι *ATL I* || 6 [Σερβ]υλιῆς Köhler 1869, p. 20; [Σε]ρμυλιῆς *ATL I*, 15 *comm. ad. fr.* 11: “Traces of the third and fourth letters of [Σε]ρμυλιῆς (line 6) make the corrected spelling certain.” I find no confirmation for the reported traces in the third and fourth *stoichoi* || 7 part of Φ is visible; Rangabé 1842, p. 258, no. 154, mistook it for Υ; *SEG V*; [Η^Ϟ] [Γαλέ]φοιοι *ATL I* || 8 *ATL I*; -ΤΑΙ written perpendicularly above the line || 9 ΙΓ Ι³; [Η^Ϟ] [Κλαζομ]ένιοι *ATL I*; retained by Camp 1976, 315, proposing [Κυζζικ]ενοί (317) since: “It is possible that the first iota is in fact weathering or a mason’s error”; [Κυζζικ]ενοί McGregor 1976, 280-82; [ηερχομ]ένιοι Lewis 1981, p. 77 n. 43, and 1994, 300, admitting that this would be the only Boeotian member, but see note on I.III.20; ΕΝΙΟΙ is written perpendicularly above the line cf. note on VIII.16 || **COLUMN X 2** ϞΔΓϞ-ΙΙΙΙ Πελειᾶτα[ι] Köhler 1869, p. 21 (list 7), but the ultimate is written perpendicularly above the line; cf. note on VIII.16 || 10 ΔΓϞ-ΙΙΙΙ [Β]αργυλιῆς Köhler 1869, p. 21, but -ς is written perpendicularly below the line; cf. note on VIII.16 || 11 ΔΓϞ-ΙΙΙΙ [ΐ]δυμ[ῆς] Köhler 1869, p. 21, but -ΕΙ is written perpendicularly above the line; cf. note on VIII.16.

List 3

The third list is preserved on the fragments 7, 8, 9 (lost), 12, 10, 13 (lost), 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18. The mason who cut this list made a great many errors. In the columns 1 and 5 the quotas are aligned to the left, whereas in the columns 2-4 they are aligned to the right. This could be due to a change of mason, perhaps also indicated by the apparently different hands that cut these same columns. They must then both have been inattentive, since erroneous quotas are found in all five columns. Rangabé and Böckh printed these as such, e.g. ΗΓ for Η^Ϟ, and were incorrectly criticized for this by Köhler 1869, p. 11 claiming to have seen the pendant letters || **HEADING 1** ΛΙΔΙΟ ΙΜΟΣΕΛΡΑΝ (frs. 12 and 9) Rangabé 1842, p. 238, no. 136 || **COLUMN I 2** SEG V; .ΙΗ ΑΦΥΤΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 5*a* restoring [Η]ΗΗ κτλ. p. 10; Rangabé 1842, p. 237, no. 135 and Böckh 1851, Pl. I, no. V have a whole second vertical and the centre bar of the second Η || **3** ΗΗΗΗ κτλ. Rangabé 1842, p. 237, no. 135, restoring ^ϞΗΗΗΗ Λήμνεοι p. 254; ΗΗΗΗ κτλ. Böckh 1851, Pl. I, no. V, restoring ΗΗΗΗ Λήμνιοι; .ΙΗΗΗ ΛΕΜΝΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 5*a* restoring [^ϞΗ]ΗΗΗ Λήμνιοι, p. 11; [^Ϟ]ΗΗΗΗ Λήμνιοι *IG I* || **4** ΗΓ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΟΙ the stone; Η^Ϟ κτλ. Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 5*a* by error || **6** ΗΗΗΗΓ ΤΕΝΕΔΙΟΙ the stone || **9** ^ϞΙ Ι ΦΑΣΕΛΙΤΑΙ the stone; note the unusually large sigma with curved strokes and a very open lower angle; ^ϞΙ¹ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 5*a* by error || **10** Note the tulip-shaped upsilon with curved strokes || **11** The zeta is small, only two thirds of the normal height, and ‘hangs’ from the top of the letter space || **16** παρὰ Ἐβδ[ερα] *SEG V* || **17** Η¹ΑΣΤ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 5*a*, restoring Η[^Ϟ] Ἄστ[ακενοί] (p. 10), but giving Η[Η] Ἄστ[υπαλαιῆς] as an alternative (p. 11); ΗΗ Ἄστ[ακενοί] *SEG V*; ΗΗ Ἄστ[υπαλαιῆς] *ATL I* (cf. p. 11 and 171), but Köhler’s proposal is still possible since the second Η is not visible || **18** .. ᾿ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 5*a*, restoring ... Τ- p. 10, rejected by *ATL* || **30** Υ.ΙΟΙ Köhler, Pl. II, no. 9*a*; ... ΥΚΙΟΙ *SEG V* || **29-30** [Τελέμεσσιοι] | [καὶ Λ]ύκιοι *ATL III*, 7; this suits the traces, but the proposed entry is unattested; Rangabé 1842, p. 238, no. 137, did not record anything and Böckh 1851, Pl. I, no. VII only the omikron. For these Lycian communities see Childs 1981, 55-62 || **31** ΙΙΙΙ ΚΑΡΥΑΝΔΕΣ Köhler, Pl. II, no. 9*a*, restoring [ΔΓΓ]ΙΙΙΙ κτλ., p. 10, but the bottom part of the strokes are still visible and the second, a diagonal, looks accidental; ΓΓΓΓ, the normal quota of Karyanda, should not be excluded || **COLUMN II 2-4** The size, the double of the normal ones, and the position of the quota indicates that this is a three-line entry. 2 -Ι Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 6*a*. In 3 he gave a full omikron as the ultima. No

ethnic or toponym would fit unless inscribed in two lines. Alternatively one could think of ἀπὸ, ἠντὸ, (Διῆς ἦοι ἔχς) Ἄθῶ, (Διῆς ἀπὸ) Κενάιο, (Θερμαῖοι ἔχς) Ἰκάρῶ, (Οἰναῖοι ἔχς) Ἰκάρῶ, but no entry fits the lacuna, and some other unattested name cannot be excluded. This is all the more likely since in 4 the ending -νει corresponds to nothing attested in the tribute lists; [.ῶ]νει *ATL* I, commenting p. 16: “The letter before the nu is not on the stone, but so much of the surface is preserved that the letter could only have been iota.” This seems correct || 5 ΓΗΗ the stone; ΠΗΗ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 5*a* incorrectly, restoring ΠΗΗ[Η] [Μενδαῖοι], p. 10 and unjustifiably criticizing Rangabé and Böckh for their reading p. 11. The error was first corrected in *SEG* V || 6 ΔΓΓ-[ΙΙΙΙ]οι Köhler 1869, p. 10; ΔΓΓ-[ΙΙΙΙ] [Σκαφοῖοι] *SEG* V || 7 Ι Ι for Η the stone; as always in these cases Köhler 1860, Pl. 1, no. 5*a* tacitly corrects the mason printing ΗΠ - - p. 10; ΗΠ [Μυκόνιοι] *SEG* V, but note that Köhler apparently saw all of the second figure. Meritt in *IG* I³ Addenda et Corrigenda comm. *ad loc.* adds: “[Μυκόνιοι] non iam supplere volebat McGregor per epistulam.” || 8-9 Köhler 1860, Pl. 1, nos. 5*a*-6 and p. 10 not noticing the bracket position of the figure Γ restored nothing in I and [Π]- - Μ[ηκυβερν]αῖοι in 9; the mu is neither on the stone nor in his uppercase text; the error was corrected in *IG* I. Π[Η] [Σκιοναῖοι] | [καὶ Θραμβ]αῖοι *SEG* V is highly likely || 11 Η[Π] [Μαρονῖτ]αι Köhler 1869, p. 10 || 12 -ΚΕΣ Rangabé 1842, no. 136, p. 238 and Böckh 1851, Pl. I, no. VI; Köhler 1869, Pl. 1, nos. 5*a*-6 only the upper halves of the figure and the three ultimas, restoring [ΠΗ] [Σαμοθρᾶ]ικες, the only attested name that fits the traces, none of which is visible today with confidence; Π [Η] [Σαμοθρᾶ]ικες *IG* I; ΠΗ [Σαμοθρᾶ]ικες *SEG* V || 28 \ | L E / Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 9*a*, restoring Μιλήσ[ιοι] p. 10 || 29 Köhler 1869, p. 10; Η Λάτμιοι *SEG* V || 31 ΗΓ the stone || 32 ΠΗΗΗ : ΧΕΡΣΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 9*a* || **COLUMN III 2-3** ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ ΒΕΡΥ... | ΙΙΙΙ ΗΥΓΟΤΛ...ΕΙ (= fr. 9) Köhler Pl. I, nos. 6*a*-*b*, restoring ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Βερυ[τίται] | ΙΙΙΙ ὑπὸ τῆ [ῶ]ιδ]η p. 10; corrected to Βερύ[σιοι] in analogy with I.VI.11-12 *et passim* in *SEG* V || 5 ΓΕΓΑΡΕ Köhler 1869 Pl. I, no. 6*a* restoring Πεπαρέ[θιοι] p. 10; Πεπαρέθ[ιοι] *SEG* V || 8 ΗΠΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙ the stone; ΗΠΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙ Ἰλικαρ[νασσῆς] Köhler 1869, p. 10; the first slanting stroke of nu, and perhaps the second also, both unrecorded by previous editors, is apparent from the photo || 9 ΗΗ Κυλλάν[διοι] Köhler 1869, p. 10 || **24-25** [Δασκύλιον] [ἐν Προποντ]ίδι Köhler 1869, p. 10; [ΓΓ-ΓΓ-ΙΙ] [Δασκύλειον] [ἐν τῆ Προπον]τίδι *ATL* I, correcting the spacing by moving the fragment to the right and adding the article in the

name “since the final nu of [Δασκύλιον] should show on the stone on the preserved surface above the first iota of Προποντιῖδι, but does not.” My photo, however, shows what could be the first slanting stroke of this nu. We should not accord too much importance to the stoichedon script, cf. *ATL* I, 18: “In line 26 the final sigma is placed slightly to the left of the tau above. The last three letters of 29 (IOI) actually occupy slightly more than two letter spaces.” I therefore discard the unattested ἐν τῆι Προποντιῖδι and keep the original position of the fragment and the previous spacing || **26** [ΔΔΔΓΓΓ] Ἀθῆναι Διάδ]ες *ATL* I; Rangabé 1842, p. 238, no. 138 reported a full epsilon, Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 11 the lower third || **28** -- TA/// Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 11, restoring [Παρπαρι]ῶται; not confirmed by Rangabé 1842, p. 238, no. 138 or Böckh 1851, Pl. I, no. VIII; [Παρπαρι]ῶται *IG* I; [Παρπαρι]ῶτα[ι] *SEG* V; [Ἰ] [Λινδίων Οἰ]ῶται *ATL* I printing \ TA| on the left edge of fr. 17 on Pl. IV || **29** -- [Προκονν]ήσιοι Köhler 1869, p. 10; -- [Ἀλοπεκονν]έσιοι *ATL* I || **31** [ΓΓΓΓ] [Αύλι]ῶται Kāre]ς *ATL* I, representing / on the left edge of fr. 17 on their Pl. IV; I see nothing here nor did previous editors || **COLUMN IV 2-5** Fr. 9, now lost, was reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 238, no. 136. Köhler printed it as Pl. I, no. 6b, but explicitly stated (p. 11) that he had not seen the fragment || **2** ΔΓΓΓΓ ΓΓ Rangabé 1842, p. 238, no. 136; ΔΓΓΓΓ Γ[ερκώσιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 10; no other member fits || **3** ΧΗΗ ΑΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 238, no. 136; ΧΗΗ Α[νιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 10 with typo, corrected in *IG* I || **4** ΗἸ ΝΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 238, no. 136; ΗἸ Νι[σύριοι] Köhler 1869, p. 10. Nisyros is only attested with Η, but no other attested entry suit the remains || **5** Μ ^ Rangabé 1842, p. 238, no. 136; [Ἰ] ΔΓΓΓΓ Μ[α]ιάνδριοι *SEG* V || **6** *ATL* I, p. 16: “The initial letter in line 6 is iota or tau.” || **9-11** The *ATL* I put a small fragment (fr. 13) seen by Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 247 here. The assignment is possible, because the quotas fit Chersonesos, Purnos and Priapos, but conjectural since there is no evidence for a physical join and ΗΗΗ, ΔΓΓΓΓ, ΓΓΓΓ are among the most frequent quotas || **9** ΗΗΗ Χερσονέσιοι *ATL* I || **10** ΔΓΓΓΓ Πύρνιοι *ATL* I || **11** ΓΓΓΓ Πριαπῆς *ATL* I || **12** Köhler 1869, p. 10; [Ἰ] ΗΗΗΗ [Κα]μερῆς *ATL* I || **13** [Ἰ] ἠλ]ύσιοι Köhler 1869, p. 10; [Χ] [Ἰ] λ]ύσιοι *ATL* I || **14** [Ἰ] ν]διοι Köhler 1869, p. 10; [Ἰ] ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓ [Ἰ] ν]διοι *ATL* I || **15** [Στόλι]οι *ATL* I || **17** [-⁶ -]ΝΕΙΟΙ the stone; [-⁶ -]ναιοι *SEG* V; [Προκονν]έ(σ)οιοι *ATL* I, cf. p. 172: “There is no possible restoration of [-⁶ -]ΝΕΙΟΙ in line 17 and we must assume that the stonecutter omitted a sigma between epsilon and iota. The correction is an easy one to make in view of the several

errors in this list.” || **18** The space between 17 and the preserved letters below, OI, is bigger than usual, but not quite enough to permit a line between the two as recorded by Köhler 1869. *SEG V* did not have that, but *ATL I* (p. 16-17) returned to Köhler’s solution. I doubt that this is correct and would prefer to bring the broader unscripted space together with the problematic reading of NEIOI in 17 || **19** -OI Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 8 || **24** *SEG V*; ...OL Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 11 restoring [Κασ]ολ[αβῆς] p. 10 || **25** ΔΔ .- ΦΣΙΜΑΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 11, restoring ΔΔ- [Λ]εφοιμαν[δῆς] Köhler 1869, p. 10 || **Column V 3** the quota not recorded by previous editors is apparent just below the in X line 2 || **4** An upper tip of the right vertical in the first H is perhaps visible, but I would hesitate to print it || **11** ΔΔΔΗΗΗ .OTIEΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. I, nos. 7a-8, restoring ΔΔΔΗΗΗ [N]οτιῆς p. 10. I believe a nick of the third stroke of N is preserved on the left edge of fr. 10, and another of the first might be visible on the right edge of fr. 14; Νοτιῆς *SEG V*. Pl. IV in *ATL I* incorrectly gives a full ς || **16** ΔΔΔΗΗΗ KP I Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a; Κρυ[ῆς] *ATL I* || **17** Χ^π : the mason omitted the bar in the pendant H; unnoticed in previous editions || **19** Π^πΗΗ^π the stone, the mason having omitted the bar in the pendant H unnoticed by Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a and all subsequent editors || **22** .ΔΔΓ ΛΑΙ.....ς Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a, restoring [Π^π]ΔΔΓ Γα[ργαρή]ς p. 10, but a complete quota was read by Rangabé 1842, p. 240, no. 145; Γαρ[γαρῆς] *ATL I* || **24** ..^π I Köhler 1869, Pl. I, no. 7a, restoring [ΗΗ]^π - - - but Rangabé 1842, p. 240, no. 245 reported a full initial, Γ, and Γ is apparent today || **25** ...ΙΑΙ/ΛΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 12 restoring [Αύλ]ιᾶται p. 10; [ΗΗΗ] [Αίν]ιᾶται *ATL I*, explaining (p. 172) that “part of the tail [of lambda] ought to show on the stone.” However, the traces on the stone could be compatible with the lower triangle of lambda, and the surface is not so intact as to exclude a position further to the left || **26** [Πι]ταναῖοι Köhler 1869, p. 10; [ΔΓ^π-ΙΙΙΙ] [Πι]ταναῖοι *ATL I* || **27** [Γρ]υνειῆς Köhler 1869, p. 10; [ΔΓ^π-ΙΙΙΙ] [Γρ]υνειῆς *ATL I* || **28** ...ΝΙΟΤΕΙΧΙΤ/ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 12, restoring [Δαυ]νιοτειχῖται p. 10; [ΔΓ^π-ΙΙΙΙ] [Δαυ]νιοτειχῖται *ATL I* || **29** _ΑΝΤΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 12, restoring [Βυζ]άντιοι p. 10; [Χ^π] [Βυζ]άντιοι *ATL I* || **31** [Πε]λειᾶται Rangabé 1842, p. 240, no. 147, [Ze]λειᾶται Böckh 1851, p. 442; =ΛΕΙΑΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 12, restoring: [.]ελειᾶται p. 10 and explaining p. 11 that the preceding entries would suggest [Z]ελειᾶται, but that these do not appear in the earlier lists; [Z]ελειᾶται *IG I*; [Π]ελειᾶται *ATL I* and comm. *ad loc.* p. 172.

List 4

The fourth list is preserved on the fragments 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 (= Ag. 4481), 24 (lost), 25, 26, 27 (lost), 28, 29, 30, 31 (lost), 32, 33, 34 and 35, 36, 37 (lost), 38 (lost), 39 and 40. There is an unusual large vacant space below the list preserved on the fragments 29, 30, 34 and 35 || **1** **HEADING** ΤΕΤ/ (= fr. 16) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 9a. Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς τετά[ρτ]ες ἡ[ῆ].⁵]λες ἐγραμμά[τευε χα]λιμόσιος MW 1925c || **COLUMN I 2** Φασελῖται MW 1925c || **4** Köhler 1869, p. 12; Θραμβαῖοι MW 1925c || **6-9** Fr. 19 was seen by Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 9a || **6** **ΑΙΛΑΝΤ.ΟΙ** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 9a; Αἰγάντιοι MW 1925c || **7** **ΡΗΗΗ ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΙ** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 9a || **8** **ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ ΣΚ.ΦΣΑΙΟΙ** Köhler 1869 Pl. II, no. 9a || **9** **ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΙ** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 9a || **10** The upper tip of ς not reported by previous editors is preserved on fr. 16 || **12** **ΔΔΔΔΓ-ΙΙΙ . ΑΣΟΛΑΒΕ** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 9a; **ΔΔΔΔΓ-ΙΙΙΙ .ΑΣΟΛΑΒΕΣ** MW 1925c || **13** **-ΟΙ** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a; [Λ]εφο[ιμάν]οι MW 1925c || **14** **-ΙΑΙ** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a, restoring ...ι[α]ι, p. 13 by error; -ται MW 1925c; [Ρ] [Κεδριῆ]ται *ATL* I, cf. p. 172: “The restoration [Κεδριᾶ]ται is made on geographical grounds and is preferred to [Χαλκεᾶ]ται or [Πελειᾶ]ται.” || **15** [Κνίδ]οι Köhler 1869, p. 13; [ΗΗΗ] [Κνίδ]οι *ATL* I || **16** MW 1925c; **Λ ΠΡΟΝΕ.ΙΤ** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no.16a restoring [Χ]ερρονη[σ]ίτ[αι], p. 13; [ΗΗΗ] [Χ]ερρονεοῖτ[αι] *ATL* I || **17** **ΙΙΙ ΓΥΡΝΙΟΙ** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no.16a restoring **ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Πύρνιοι** p. 13; but *pace* all previous editors Γ is clear || **18** **ΚΑΥΝΙΟΙ** (= fr. 26) seen by Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a, 19-22 and 24-25; ultimas and penultimas reported by Rangabé 1842, no. 139, p. 239 || **25** Ultimate iota reported by Pittakis 1835, p. 421 || **26** **ΟΛΟΦ** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a || **27-32** fr. 27 was seen by Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a || **27** **Η ΔΙΕ** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a || **28** **ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ ΔΓΓ** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a || **29** **ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ . ς ς** Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a, restoring [B]o[υθει]ῆς, p. 13; **ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ [Κ]ο[δραπ]ῆς** MW 1925c with Spartan explanation *SEG* V, 5: “[B]o[υθει]ῆς priores; pro certo corr. W.M.” || **30** **Η Δ . . ΔΑΣΕΣ** (= fr. 27) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a || **31** **Ι **ΔΓΓ**- -]** **ΗΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΙΟΙ** (= fr. 27) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a || **32** **ΗΗ ΚΥΛΛΑΝΤΙΟΙ** (= fr. 27) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a || **33** **ΔΔΔ.ΓΓ-ΙΙ ΚΥΡΒΙΣΣΕΣ** (= frs. 27, 29, 30) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a || **COLUMN II 5** **Κρυ[ῆ]ς** MW 1925c; but the sigma was not reported by previous editors, cf. Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 10, nor is it visible today || **7** **Η **ΚΙ**// \AZOMENIOI**

Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 9a-10 restoring Η^F Κλαζομένοι p. 12 and followed by subsequent editors || **8** ΔΓ^F-IIII \ΡΓΑΡΙΟΤΛ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 9a-10 restoring ΔΓ^F-IIII [Π]αρπαριῶτα[u] p. 12 and followed by subsequent editors || **9** ΗΔΔΔ^F-^F//// Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 9a restoring ΗΔΔΔ^F-^F[^F-II] p. 12; ΗΔΔΔ^F-^F[II] *ATL* I || **10** Η^F Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 10 restoring ΗΗ^F and followed by subsequent editors || **13** ΗΗΗ ΦΟΚΑΙ (= edge of fr. 22) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a || **14** Γ^F-^F-IIII ΠΑΙ ^ (= edge of fr. 22) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a || **16** Λ[άτμοι] MW 1925c, followed by *ATL* I, proposing also an iota p. 20, *comm. ad fr.* 22 and p. 172 note *ad loc.*: “If the initial letter is iota, the restoration should be ’Ι[ᾶτα].” But Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 10, recorded the tip of a vertical left off the centre, compatible with the traces preserved today indicating lambda, since the upper surface to the right is preserved || **26** Ι Ι ΣΙΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a restoring [ΗΗΗ]Η Σίγ[γιοι] p. 12 correctly changed in *ATL* I to [ΗΗΗ]Η Σίν[γιοι] (cf. p. 24, *comm. ad fr.* 29): “In 4, II, 26 the reading should be Σίν[γιοι] not Σίγ[γιοι].” In fact the short second and third strokes of nu are preserved || **30** ΚΥ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a restoring Κυ[μαῖοι] p. 13; Κυμ[αῖοι] MW 1925c || **31** Η^F ΚΑ. ΥΔ/ (= fr. 33) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a, restoring Κα[λ]ύδ[νιοι]; Κα[λ]ύδν[ιοι] MW 1925c || **32** ΗΗΗ ΛΕΒΕΔΙ (= fr. 33) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a || **33** ΔΓ^F-IIII ΠΟΛ ‘ΝΑΙΟΙΚΑ (= fr. 33) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16a, restoring Πολιχναῖοι καὶ συν-; Πολιχναῖοι Καρ[ῆς] (*ATL* I), but traces of the rho are not visible on fr. 35, *pace* the drawing on *ATL* Pl. V || **COLUMN III 21** (= fr. 36) ΔΓ^F Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 14; ΔΓ^F-I[IIII] *ATL* I || **23-26** fr. 38 was seen by Pittakis 1853, no. 1283 and Rangabé 1855, no. 2480 || **23** ^F ΠΑΣΑΝΔ Pittakis 1853, no. 1283 and Rangabé 1855, no. 2480 || **24** Γ^F-IIII ΠΙΤΑΝΑΙΟ Pittakis 1853, no. 1283 and Rangabé 1855, no. 2480; Γ^F-IIII . . . ΑΝΑΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. CXXI || **25** IIII Β.ΡΓΥΛΙΕ Pittakis 1853, no. 1283 and Rangabé 1855, no. 2480; IIII . . . ΝΥΛΙΕΣ Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. CXXI || **26** ΜΥ.ΔΙΟΙ Rangabé 1855, no. 2480; ^F II ΜΥ . . Λ . . ΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. CXXI || **27** Σ..ΟΘΡΑΙΚ Rangabé 1855, no. 2480; Θ ΟΡΑΙΚΕ Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. CXXI || **28** ΣΤΟΛΙΟΙ Rangabé 1855, no. 2480; ΟΛΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. CXXI || **29** ΕΛΕΤΙΟΙ Rangabé 1855, no. 2480; ΔΕΙΤΟ Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. CXXI; [ΔΔΓ^F-IIII] [Φ]εγέτιοι *SEG* V || **30** ...Π.Λ . Rangabé 1855, no. 2480; [Κεδρ]όλιοι Köhler 1869, p. 14; the *ATL*-editors explained (I, 25) that Rangabé was at fault and (p. 173): “We make no restoration since

[Νεάπ]όλ[ις παρ' Ἀντισάρων] and [Χεδρ]όλ[ιοι] are both possible.” || **COLUMN IV 11** ΚΟΛΟΦΟΝ Rangabé 1842, no. 138, p. 238; Κολοφόν[ιοι] MW 1925c; [HHH] Κολοφόν[ιοι] *ATL I* || **12** Α Rangabé 1842, no. 142, p. 240; [HHH] Α[ι]νιᾶτα[ι] *ATL I* || **13** ΝΑ Rangabé 1842, no. 142, p. 240; [ΔΓΓ-III] Να[χ]οἰῆ[ται] *ATL I* || **14** ΣΕ . ΥΜ Rangabé 1842, no. 142, p. 240; [ΦHHHH] Σελυν[βριανοί] *ATL I* || **15** ΚΟ . ΟΙ Rangabé 1842, no. 142, p. 240, but Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 13 only has <ΟΙΟ>; [Φ] Κῶιοι; [HH] *ATL I* || **16** Ὀλύνοθ[ιοι] *ATL I* || **17** [Φ] [Σ]καβλαῖο[ι] *ATL I* || **18** [H] [Στ]ρεφ[σ]αῖο[ι] *ATL I* || **19** [Μυ]γισσοῆς Köhler 1869; [ΔΔ] [hυ]μισσοῆς *ATL I*, but the first preserved letter has the form Λ, the surface is uninscribed on both sides of this letter || **21** [H] [Ἔσσο]ιο[ι] *ATL I* following Köhler recording a vertical and an omikron in the fourth and fifth stoichos. However, two verticals are clearly visible before the omikron || **22** [ΔΔΔΓΓ-III] [Νεά]νδρεια *ATL I* || **22** [ΔΓΓ-III] [Λαμ]πονῆς *ATL I* || **26** Ι ΑΜ . Σ (= fr. 38 [lost] and fr. 25) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 14 || **27** Η / . . ΟΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 14 || **28** ΔΓΓ-III Λ . ΣΝ . ἘΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 14 || **29** ΓΓΓ-III Σ . . ΘΑ Ι Ι ΕΣ (= fr. 38 lost and fr. 25) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 14 || **30** Η . . . ΙΝΑΙΟΙ (= fr. 38 [lost] and fr. 25) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 14 || **31** ΔΓΓ-III (= fr. 38) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 14 || **32** ΓΓΓ-III (= fr. 38) Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 14; ΓΓΓ-III [Ἀζ]ειο[ι] *SEG V*, without explanation || **COLUMN V 2** [X] Ἰελύσιοι *ATL I* || **20** MW 1925c; Σ/ *ATL I*; *pace* previous editors I see a vertical exactly above the left vertical from Η the line below, since the surface to the left is uninscribed and there is no trace of a pendant Η or Δ, this numeral must be Η || **21** ΗΔ --- Ἀλ[ι]νδῆς Meritt 1939b, *contra* Flacelière et al. 1939, p. 458 || **31** ^ in the second letter Rangabé 1842, p. 240, no. 142 and Böckh 1851, Pl. II, no. XVIII perhaps not independently, since an upper horizontal and the tip of the vertical of tau are preserved on the stone; Η ΤΛ by Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 13, restoring Η Τα - - p. 13 without fr. 40. I take Köhler's Λ as a loan from Rangabé and Böckh and interpret their reading as a common false one, his way of representing the two first letters entirely does not inspire confidence when compared with the remains available for his predecessors. The alternative would imply that fr. 40 has wrongly assigned by MW 1925c restoring Τ[ελάν]δροιοι (the only member on Τ- paying 6,000 dr.) since. The upper horizontal of epsilon is perhaps even detectable, where the three editors reported an apex. Notice the tailed rho || **32** ΚΙΟΙ or ΣΙΟΙ are possible readings; [Τελμέσ]οιοι *SEG V* || **32-33** [Τελμέσ]οιοι | [καὶ Λύκιοι] *ATL III*, 7. This entry is otherwise unattested.

List 5

The fifth list is preserved on the fragments 29, 30, 34, 35, 41, 42 (lost), 43, 44 (lost), 45, 46, 47, 48, 52 and 53 (both lost), 55 and 56 (empty space) || **HEADING – COLUMN I 2-15** It seems to appear from the colour of the stone and from Rangabé's and Köhler's readings of letters no longer visible (underlined) that the flaking away of the surface between frs. 29 and 30 has taken place in recent times || **HEADING 1 Beg.** ΕΓ'ΙΤΕΣΑΡΧΕΣΤ..ΓΕΜΓΤΕΣ Η Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16*a*; an extremity of the join between the vertical and upper horizontal is preserved from epsilon in the 13th stoichos, which I dot following *SEG V*. **End.** ΛΑΙΕΥ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 18 || **COLUMN I 2** ΧΕΠΠΟΝΕΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16*a* || **3** ΓΥΡΝΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16*a* || **4** ΚΝΙΔΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16*a* || **8** ΓΑΣΑΝΔΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16*a* || **9** ΑΥΛΙΕ[~] Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16*a* || **15** Συ[αγγελῆς] | [ῶν ... ἄρχει] Köhler 1869, p. 16 reporting the left wing of upsilon in the edge of fr. 29, Pl. II, no. 16*a*; Συ[αγγελῆς] | ἡ[ῶν Πίκρες ἄρχει] *ATL I*, proposing also Συ[αγγελῆς] | κ[αὶ Ἀμυνανδῆς], p. 174 || **COLUMN II 2-3** ΟΙΝΑΙΟΙ | ΕΝΙΚΑΡΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16*a*; [Η] Οἰναῖοι | ἐν Ἰκάροι *ATL I* || **4** ΚΛΑΖ . ΟΜΕΝΙΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16*a*; [Η^ϕ] Κλαζζομένιοι *ATL I* || **5** [ΗΗΗ] χαιραῖοι *ATL I* || **6** [ΗΗΗ] Λεβέδιοι *ATL I* || **7** [Η^ϕ] Καλύδνιοι *ATL I* || **9** [ΔΔΔΗΗ] Η-Η Κυρβισοῆς *SEG V* || **11** [ΓΗΗΗ] Η Μύνδιοι *SEG V* || **12** ΓΑΡΑΤΕΡΜΕ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16*a* || **13** ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 16*a* || **15** [ΔΔΔΔΓ] *ATL III*, pp. 34-35 || **17** [Β]ο[υθειῆς] *SEG V*; Βο[υθειῆς] *ATL I* || **26-27** ΔΓΗ[~] | Α, Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 19 restoring ΔΓΗ-[IIII] [Νεάπολις] | ἀ[π'] Ἀθηνῶν p. 16, no. *b*; ΔΓΗ-[IIII] [Καρπάθο] | Ἀρ[κέσσεια] *SEG V* || **28** ΧΑΛΚΕΤ Köhler 1869, Pl. II fr. 19, restoring [ΔΔ]ΔΓ Χαλκή[τορες] p. 16, no. *b* || **39** . ΥΛΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 19, restoring [Κ]υλλ[άνδιοι] p. 16, no. *b*; Συλιμῆς *SEG V*; Ηυλιμῆς *ATL I*; Nothing certain can be made of the traces of the initial, but the position of the possible vertical tips does not confirm Η. The fourth letter is a vertical to the left of the centre, corresponding more to lambda (Köhler) than to iota (*ATL*). The following letter, preserved on fr. 50, looks like an unusually large Λ, viz. alpha or gamma but was read as mu by Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 22, who had not joined fr. 50 with fr. 46 || **COLUMN III 8** Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 22; [Αἰνεᾶτ]αι *SEG V*; [ΗΗΗ] [Αἰνεᾶτ]αι *ATL I* || **9** Quota supplied by *SEG V* emending Ν from Müller's notes in Böckh 1851, Pl. II, no. IX, l. 30 || **10** [Η] [Δι]καιοπολῖται *SEG V* || **12** [Η] [Σ]αναῖοι *ATL I* || **23** Η^ϕ

Θύσσιοι *SEG V* || **26** [P] [N]εοπολίται *ATL I* || **28** *SEG V*; OI Pittakis 1835, p. 411;I
 Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a || **29** [ΔΔΔΓ-III] ηυ[ρομῆς] [*SEG V* || **28-29** [ΔΓΓ-III] [Βερούσι]οι |
 ηυ[πὸ τῆι ᾿Ιδει] *ATL I* || **30** *SEG V* || **31** *SEG V* || **32** *SEG V* || **33** ΔΓΓ- ΔΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. I,
 no. 4; ΔΔΔΔΓΓ- Δα[ρδανῆς] *SEG V*; ΔΔΔΔΓΓ- Δαρ[δανῆς] *ATL I* || **34** [P] ᾿Ακ[άνθιοι] *SEG*
V; [P] ᾿Ακ[άνθιοι] *ATL I* || **35** The quotas in this list are aligned to the right. We should
 therefore expect the quota immediately before AK, but here we find two to three spaces
 vacant. Either the mason forgot it or it is found unusually far to the left, exactly in the lacuna,
 of at the most two letter spaces between fr. 46 and fr. 47. The surface is preserved in such a
 way that one would expect to see something of a vertical had it been inscribed. An alpha
 seems the most likely restitution || **36** [ΔΓΓΓ-III] Πα[- -] *SEG V*; [ΔΓΓΓ-III] Παρ[γασῆς] *ATL I*,
 perhaps correctly since a vertical with the upper left extremity of an adjoining horizontal,
 which could be from a loop || **37-41** = frs. 52 and 54 || **COLUMN IV 2** [ΔΓΓ-III]
 [Δ....οται]χίται *SEG V* || **3** OI Rangabé 1842, p. 250, no. 205; [-⁸-]οί *SEG V*; [Κυζζικεν]οί
ATL I || **4** *Pace ATL I*, Pl. VI, no editor has reported IOI in this line, but only OI as preserved
 today; [Προκοννέσ]οι *SEG V*; [HHH] κτλ. *ATL I* || **5** [ΔΔΔΓΓΓ-III] ᾿Αρτακενοί *ATL I*, “based
 on the frequent grouping of Κυζικενοί, Προκοννέσιοι, and ᾿Αρτακενοί,” *ATL I*, 174, note *ad*
loc. || **6** Rangabé 1842, p. 237, no. 134, reported the lower half of a H including the centre bar
 followed by the lower tip of a vertical and as the third numeral a vertical to the left of the
 centre with an adjoining downwards sloping stroke, making the figure look like a rho with
 only the upper half of a ‘penant’ shaped loop, but it would also suit the way of cutting the
 fifty drachmai symbol with only one oblique pendant stroke used in this list. I therefore
 follow *SEG V* in printing HHH[Ⓜ] - - . But *pace ATL V*, printing HHH[Ⓜ]|- - I find no confirmation
 for the lower tip of the | preserved on the stone, on the contrary the space where this numeral
 should be is uninscribed. Also, only the combinations HHH[Ⓜ] and HHH[Ⓜ]Δ- - are possible, the
 latter being excluded here, we should expect Phokaia or Termera, but neither seems possible ||
7 HHΔΔΔI *SEG V*, but the space following the last Δ seems to me to be uninscribed.
 HHΔΔΔΓ-II (13,880 dr.) and HHΔΔΔΓΓ-II (14,000 dr.) are only attested for two Thracian
 syntelies (I.V.10-12 and I.II.25) || **8** P[Ⓜ]H [Σελυμβριανοί] *SEG V*; a bigger quota can be
 excluded because of the arrangement of the quotas to the right in this list ||
10 LANΦΣAK. NOI : Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a || **11** ΣΙΑΛΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a ||

22 ΑΝΔΡΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a || **24** Köhler 1869 || **25** ΓΑΡΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a || **26** ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a; corrected by 26 *SEG V* (p. 7 note *ad loc.*): “Καρύσ[σ]τ[ιο]ι: primum iota iamdudum periit, ita ut etiam Koehlero 20a uncae ponendae fuissent.” I hesitantly follow *SEG V*, since a letter count on the stele shows that there is room for the second sigma, which may have then been lost, absorbed by the lacuna between frs. 43 and 45 already in Köhler’s days || **27** ΚΥΘ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a || **27** ΣΤΥΡ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a || **29** Γ on the stone and recorded by Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a; Γ [Ῥεν]αι[ῆς] *SEG V*, without any explanation. There are letter traces in the fifth, the tip of a lower vertical, and sixth stoichos, two lower extremities, but nothing corresponding to the *SEG V*-reading. It is odd that *SEG V* did not take P^{r} and P^{f} into consideration. However, the possibility of reading a longer figure in combination with any of these three numerals seems excluded because of the position of the traces considering the layout of this list aligning the quotas to the right and observing the vacant space of the preserved surface left off Γ || **30** [Η] Σερίφιοι *ATL I* || **31** [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] κτλ. *ATL I* || **32** [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] κτλ. *ATL I* || **33** [ΔΓΗΗΗ] [Γ]ρυνχῆς *ATL I* || **34** [ΔΓΗΗΗ] κτλ. *ATL I* || **35** [ῬΗῬΔΓΗΗΗ] [Νάχσιο]ι *ATL I* || **39-41** The *ATL*-editors attributed this place to the lost fragment 53, on what I believe is uncertain evidence. I have removed the fragment and corrected the readings || **39** (= fr. 52) ΧΧΓ Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. XXX.B; ΧΧΓ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 23* curiously proposing ΧΧ[Χ Αιγινῆται] in his commentary p. 18; ΧΧΓ - - *SEG V*, but with the attribution of fr. 53 the *ATL*-editors gave ΧΧ P^{f} ΗΗΔΔ [Αιγινῆται] otherwise unattested || **40** ΗΗΗ [Ἐφαισσιῆς] *ATL I* ascribing fr. 53 to this place || **41** Η [Μυριναῖο]ι *ATL I* but *ATL*-editors ascribing fr. 53 to this place || **COLUMN V 2** [ΧΗΗ] [Τορο]ναῖοι *SEG V*; [ΔΓΗΗΗ] [Πιτα]ναῖοι *ATL I*; but Köhler (1869) who as the last editor saw fr. 42 transcribed the quota on fr. 41 in a bracket position, Η...ναῖοι (p. 15), as was this a two line entry; cf. his Pl. II, nos. 17-18 || **3** [Ἄβυδανοί] *ATL I* || **10** *SEG V*; ΗΗΔΓΗΗΗΗΗΗ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a; P^{f} ΗΔΓΗΗΗΗΗΗΗ Π[ερίνθιοι] *ATL I* || **11** *SEG V* || **24** ΔΓΗΗΗΗ ΒΑΡΛΥΛΙΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a || **27** ΜΑΛΝΑΣΕΣ the stone || **28** P^{r} . P^{f} ΕΑΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 20a, restoring P^{f} [Π]ελεῖται p. 17; Π[ελεῖ]ται *ATL I* || **29** [P^{f} ΗΗ P^{f}] [Ἐφέσ]ιοι *ATL I* || **30** [ΔΔΔΔΗΗΗΗ] [ἡυρομῆς] *ATL III* || **40** *SEG V*.

List 6

The sixth list is preserved on the fragments 49, 50, 51, 55, 57, 58 (lost), 62 (lost), 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76 and 76 || **HEADING**, ἐπιτῆς κτλ. I follow *SEG V*, *pace* Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 21*a* seeing the lower tip of the third letter, but I dot the letter *pace* *ATL I*. **Mid**. Μενέτιμος *SEG V*, but Μενετέλες (*ATL I*, p. 176) is also possible. No other name on Μενετ- is attested in *LGN*, II Attica. / : ΕΛΡΑ (= fr. 54, lost) Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 23* || **COLUMN I 2-6** Collation of frs. 57 and 58 made by Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 25* || **2** Second P (= fr. 58) Rangabé 1842, no. 229, p. 252; || NAP....P Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 25*, restoring [ΔΓΓ]||| Ναρι[ισβα]ρ[ῆς] p. 18 || **3** ΟΙ (= fr. 58) Rangabé 1842, no. 229, p. 252; ρ-|| TE¹.....ΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 25*, restoring - ρ-|| Τε[νέδι]οι p. 18; [.]|| Τε[νέδι]οι *ATL I* || **4** ΙΝΙΟΙ (= fr. 58) Rangabé 1842, no. 229, p. 252; || Λ^Γ.....ΙΝΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 25*, restoring [ΓΓ]|| Γ[εντ]ίνοι p. 18 || **5** ΙΡΙΤΑ (= fr. 58) Rangabé 1842, no. 229, p. 252; ρ-|| ΙΡΙΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 25* erroneously giving the ultima, restoring [ΔΓ]|| Σ[ταγ]ιρίται, corrected in *ATL I* || **6** ΜΕΣ (= fr. 58) Rangabé 1842, no. 229, p. 252; || I.....ΜΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 25*, restoring [Κερα]μῆς; [Η^Π] Κεραμῆς *ATL I*. Cf. 7.I.8. But Köhler's reading excludes this || **7** ΕΣ (= fr. 58) Rangabé 1842, no. 229, p. 252;ΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 25*, restoring [Καμ]ῆς p. 18; [Η^ΠΗΗ] [Καμ]ῆς *ATL I*. Cf. 7.I.9 || **8** Λ Ι Ι (= fr. 58) Rangabé 1842, no. 229, p. 252, Λ Ν Ι Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. CXXIV; ΗΗΗΗ .⁵. Λ .Ι.⁴.ΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 25*, restoring - - [Ἀλικαρνάσιοι] (Sic!) p. 18; *SEG V*, p. 7 note *ad loc.* following Köhler took the letters reported by Rangabé and Böckh to be the remains of APN. [ΗΗ] [χαλικ]αρνάσοι *ATL I*, cf. 7 or 8.I.10. I follow this restoration because of the similarity with the entries in 7.I and in particular with 7.I.10; cf. the discussion of fr. 58 in the introduction, but the three letters should be dotted and I do not restore the quota. But the ultimas are visible || **9** Köhler 1869, p. 18; [Η] [Μυριναῖοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 7.I.11 || **10** *SEG V*; [Η] [Μεκυβερναῖοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 7.I.12 || **11** *ATL I*; [ΔΔΔ]|| Π[λαγαρῆς] Köhler 1869, p. 18; Π[λαγανῆς] *SEG V*; Π[λαδασῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 7.I.13 || **12** Köhler 1869, p. 18; [Η] [Πεδασῆς] *SEG V*. Cf. 7.I.14 || **14** Köhler 1869, p. 18 || **15** ΔΓΓ-|| ΠΥ (= frs. 59-60) Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 26*a* restoring [Γ]ρ[υ]νειῆς p. 18; Γρ[υ]νειῆς *SEG V*; I do not detect the lower right extremity of gamma on fr. 61 *pace* *ATL I*, Pl. VII, perhaps following Rangabé 1842, no. 195, p. 248: ΔΓΓ-|| ΠΥ || **16** The upper part of the loop of rho,

not recorded previously, is clear || **17** *SEG* V; ΔΓΓ-III Πύ[ρνοι] Köhler 1869, p. 18; ΔΓΓ-III *ATL* I || **18** ΔΓΓ-III NE Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 26a, restoring ΔΓΓ-III[I] Ne[άπολις] p. 18; I follow *SEG* V taking the lost obol symbol to be the third and not the fourth, i.e. the one before the obol symbol preserved on fr. 61 || **20** .ΔΓΓ-III K (= fr. 61) Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 26a, restoring [Δ]ΔΔΓΓ-III K[υρβισσῆς] p. 18 || **21** .ΔΓΓ-III > Köhler 1869, Pl. II, no. 26a (= fr. 61) restoring [Δ]ΔΔΓΓ-III X[ῖοι] p. 18 || **22-30** Frs. 61 and 62 collated by Köhler 1869, Pl. III, nos. 26a and 27*. Böckh 1851, Pl. II, no. XXIX, incorrectly took fr. 62 to be a duplicate of Rangabé 1842, p. 242, no. 155, col. I (= our fr. 103, lost). These two fragments preserve the same endings, but fr. 103 has more letters per line than fr. 62. Böckh restored these letters in this list || **22** **Beg.** ΙΗΗ ΑΦ (= fr. 61) reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 195' although in two different lines; fragments collated by Köhler: ΗΗ ΑΦ Köhler 1869, Pl. 26a, restoring [Η]ΗΗ 'Αφ[υταῖοι] p. 18; I follow *SEG* V accepting Rangabé's reading. **End:** final iota (= fr. 62) reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 253, no. 237 || **23** Köhler 1869, p. 18; ΕΣ (= fr. 62) reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 253, no. 237 || **24** ΠΕΣ (= fr. 62) Rangabé 1842, p. 253, no. 237 [ΗΗ^ϕ] Τ[ερεμ]εῖς *ATL* I || **25** ΕΣ (= fr. 62) Rangabé 1842, p. 253, no. 237; [^ϕΔ]ΓΓ-III 'Ι[δυμ]ῆς Köhler 1869, p. 18; [Η^ϕΔ]ΓΓ-III 'Ι[δυμ]ῆς Nesselhauf 1933, p. 105; [^ϕΔΔΔ]ΓΓ-III 'Ι[δυμ]ῆς *ATL* I, comm. p. 170, following Meritt 1937, p. 77 n. 4. I agree with the former that the quota must be a long one, but the only attested quotas of Idyma are 1.I.16: ΗΔΓΓ-III Πακτύες 'Ιδυμ[εύς] and in 10.V.27: [ΔΔΔ Γ]Γ-III 'Ιδυμῆς. || **26** ΟΝΙΤΑ = fr. 62) Rangabé 1842, p. 253, no. 237; [Μαρ]ωνῖτα[i] Köhler 1869, p. 18; [Η^ϕ] [Μαρ]ωνῖτα[i] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.I.28 || **27** ΜΑΙΟ (= fr. 62) Rangabé 1842, p. 253, no. 237; [Θερ]μαῖοι *IG* I following Köhler 1869, p. 20 || **28** Ο (= fr. 62) Rangabé 1842, p. 253, no. 237; [Οιν]αῖο[i] *IG* I following Köhler 1869, p. 20; retained in *ATL* I, p. 179 *comm. ad loc.* because of the analogy with 7.I.33 (their list 8) || **29** [Χαλκεᾶται] *SEG* V; [^ϕ] [Χαλκεᾶται] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.I.31 || **30** [. ⁶ .i] *SEG* V; [?^ϕΗ^ϕ] [. ⁶ .i] *ATL* I. Cf. 7 or 8.I.32 || **29-34** I have not followed *ATL* I in restoring these lines in analogy with 7.I.31-36. The number of entries between Oinai and Dikaia is the same in the two lists, but the six entries in list 7 are conjectural restitutions themselves || **31** [ΗΗΗ] [Λεβέδιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.I.33 || **32** [Γ - -] - - *ATL* I. But this should be [Γ - -] allowing for ^ϕ and ^ϕ. Cf. 8.I.34 || **33** [ΗΗΗ] [Αινεᾶται] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.I.35 || **34** [ΔΔΓ] [ηαισόνιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.I.36 || **35-36** *SEG* V; [Η] [Δικαιοπολίται] 'Ε[ρετρι]ὸν ἄποικοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 8.I.37-38 || **37** *SEG* V. Cf. 7.I.106;

Αἰ[γινῆται] Köhler 1869, p. 19; [XHH] Αἰ[νιοι] *ATL* I || **COLUMN II 3** In the fifth stoichos of the name the mason first cut a round letter, then erased the right side and corrected it to alpha || 6 ΚΑΡΒΑΣΥΛΑΝΔ the stone || 11 .. Ν^ΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 22, restoring [X] [Λί[ν[δ]ιοι] p. 18 || 12 ^ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 22; [Πεδιῆ]ς *SEG* V; [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] κτλ. *ATL* I || 13 [Θύσσιοι] *SEG* V; [H^Π] κτλ. *ATL* I. Cf. 7.I.55, but note that the sequence of the remaining names is far from identical in the two lists. It is therefore not given that they were following the same order for Lindos, Pedies and Thyssos || 16 .⁷ .ι *SEG* V; [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Σαναῖοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.6, where it is completely restored. *Pace ATL* I (Pl. VII) I do not find any confirmation for the ultimate on the upper left part of fr. 67, nor was this reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. III, fr. 36. The *ATL*-editors restored [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Σαναῖοι] here, but [H] [Σαναῖοι] in 7.II.6, which is probably explained by the double entry (created by themselves) in List 7 (*IG* I³ 265.II.6: [H] [Σαναῖοι] and 265.II.100: ^Π[ΔΗΗΗ] [Σαναῖοι]); the normal quota of Sane is 6,000 dr. (= H) || 17 [ΔΓΗΗΗ] [Σύριοι] *SEG* V. Cf. 8.II.7 || 18 [ΓΗΗΗ] [Ἐρόδιοι] *SEG* V; [ΓΗΗΗ] [Ἐορόριοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.8 || 19 .⁸ .ι *SEG* V; [Δ.] [.⁷ .ι] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.10 || 20 ΗΗΗ Κ[ολοφόνιοι] *SEG* V; ΗΗΗ Κ[εβρένιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.9 || 21 ΔΓΗΗΗ Κ Köhler 1869, 18, l. 14; ΔΓΗΗΗ Κ[οδαπῆς] *SEG* V || 22 ΓΗΗΗ Κυ - - Köhler 1869, 18, l. 15; ΓΗΗΗ Κυ[δαιῆς] *ATL* I || 35 T was reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 34 restoring [Σ]τ[ρεφσαῖοι] 19, l. 28; The tip of a vertical is preserved in the column of the quotas on fr. 65, not reported by Köhler. Its position and the preserved surface to its left side, indicate that *SEG* V were correct in restoring [H] [Σ]τ[ρεφσαῖοι]. Cf. 7.II.25 || 36 [Κεδριᾶται] *SEG* V; [^Π] [Κεδριᾶται] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.26, but see comm. to 6.II.36 || 37 [Ἐλύσιοι] *SEG* V; [X] [Ἐλύσιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 8.II.27, but see comm. to 6.II.37 || 38 [Ἄστυπαλαιῆς] *SEG* V; ΗΗ [Ἄστυπαλαιῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 8.II.28, but see comm. to 6.II.38 || **COLUMN III** 2-9 (= frs. 52 and 54) Köhler 1869, fr. 23* || 2 ΔΔΗΗΗ ΣΤΟΛΙ Köhler 1869, fr. 23*; restoring [^ΠΔ]ΔΔΗΗΗ Στώλιοι p. 18 || 3 ΗΗΗ ΗΕΔΡΟΛ Köhler 1869, fr. 23*, restoring [ΓΗΗΗ]ΗΗ Ἐδρώλιοι p. 18 || 4 Γ ΠΕΝΑΙΕΣ Köhler 1869, fr. 23* || 5 ΠΡΙΑΠΕΣ Köhler 1869, fr. 23*; [ΓΗΗΗ] Πριαπῆς *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.35 || 6 Ι ΕΣΤΙΑΕ Köhler 1869, fr. 23*, restoring Ἐστιαῖ[ς] p. 18; ηεστιαῖ[ς] *SEG* V; [ΔΓΗΗΗ] ηεστιαῖ[ς] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.36 || 7 ΑΛΑΙΠΕΡΚ .^ΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, fr. 23*, restoring [Π]αλαιπερκ[ώ]σιοι p. 18; ΓΗΗΗ [Π]αλαιπερκ[ό]σιοι *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.39 || 8 \ΑΛΕΦΣΙΟ Köhler 1869, fr. 23*, restoring Γαλήψιοι (Sic!) p. 18; [^Π] Γαλέψιοι *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.40 || 9

ΦΟΚ..ΕΣ Köhler 1869, fr. 23*, restoring Φωκ[αῖης] p. 18; Φοκα[ι]ῆς *SEG V*; [HHH] κτλ. *ATL I*; I follow *SEG V* in printing A outside square brackets, since a tip of the first diagonal is preserved on fr. 70. The drawing in *ATL I*, Pl. VII is incorrect, since none of the early editors have reported the upper part of this same stroke as preserved on fr. 54 || **12** Δ[ΔΔΔ] Ἀσσηρῖται Köhler 1869, p. 18. Cf. 7.II.43 || **18** *SEG V*. Cf. 7.II.48 || **19** ΔΓΓ-Ι[III] [Ἄρ - - -] *SEG V*; ΔΓΓ-Ι[III] [Ἀρκέσσεια] *ATL I*. Cf. 7.II.49 || **20** ΔΔ [Υ] Köhler 1869, p. 19, l. 39; ΔΔ h[υδαιῆς] *SEG V*; ΔΔ h[υμισσῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 7.II.50 || **21** Η Υ[δισσῆς] Köhler 1869, p. 19, l. 40; Η h[υδαιῆς] *SEG V*; Η Υ[δισσῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 7.II.51 || **22** *SEG V*. Cf. 7.II.52 || **23** *SEG V*. Cf. 7.II.54 || **24** *SEG V*. Cf. 7.II.53 || **25** *SEG V*. Cf. 7.II.55 || **28** ϜHHHH Ἐρυθραῖοι κτλ. *ATL I*. Cf. 7.I.59-64 || **COLUMN IV 2** Η Σερ[ι]φοῖοι Köhler 1869, p. 18; ϜΔΔΔΓΓ-III Λαμ - - - - Köhler 1869, p. 18; Λαμφ[σακενοῖοι] *SEG V*, but only the lower corner of a bottom round is apparent. The mason wrote the four obol symbols below the line due to lack of space || **7-12** (= fr. 74) Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 37 || **7** AN . . IO I Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 37 restoring Ἄν[δρ]ιοῖοι p. 18; Ἄν[δρ]ιοῖοι *SEG V*; Ἄνδρῖοι *ATL I*, but none of the early editors recorded ΔI || **8** \ΥKONIOI Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 37, restoring Μυκόνιοι p. 18; [HϜ] Μυκόνιοι *ATL I* || **9** ΔΓΓ- ΘΑΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 37, restoring [HHΔΔΔ]ΔΓΓ- Θάσιοι p. 18; the Γ is written beneath the line due to lack of space; [HHΔΔΔ]ΔΓΓ- Θάσιοι *SEG V* || **10** IIII AB` ΔΕΝΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 37 || **11** -Η ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 37, restoring ---Η Ἐρετριῆς; [Ϝ]Η Ἐρετριῆς *ATL I*, *pace* Piérart 1987, 291 n. 2 proposing [HH]Η. Comparison with the size and position of [Ϝ]Η in l. 6 might favour the *ATL*-reading, but the indentation of the quota in l. 7 clearly shows that exact computing is impossible || **12** IIII BP.NXEIEΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 37, restoring [ΔΓΓ-Ι]III Βρ[υ]νχειῆς p. 18 || **13** *SEG V*. Cf. 8.II.70; ΗΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 38 restoring Η[HH] [Κυθν]ιοῖοι p. 18, but cf. IV.37 || **14** ΥΜΟΤΕΧ the stone. ΔΓΓ-Ι[III] Διδ[υ]μοτεχ[ῖται] Köhler 1869, p. 18 || **15** ΔΓΓ-ΓΓ...I Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 38; restoring ΔΓΓ-ΓΓ-ΓΓ-ΓΓ 'ἄττα]ι p. 18; Cf. 8.II.72 || **18** Γ..ΙΑΝΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 38, restoring Π[ρ]ιανῆς p. 18; [H] Π[ρ]ιανῆς *SEG V* || **20** ΔΔΔ//ΓΓ-II ΑΞΕΝΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 38, restoring ΔΔΔ[ΓΓ]ΓΓ-II Ἀθηναῖοι p. 18 || **22** IIII/Γ/IIII BYZANTIOI Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 38; [. ?]ΓΓ-ΓΓ-ΓΓ *ATL I*, cf. p. 36 *note ad* fr. 70 || **23** Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 38, reported the lower half of X in the quota and restored [X]

Χαλκιδῆς (his way of dotting a letter) p. 19; Η Χαλκιδῆς *IG I²* 196; P^{A} Χαλκιδῆς *SEG V*, cf. comm. *ATL I*, p. 36; ΗΗΗ? Piérart 1987, p. 291, n. 2 || **24** P^{A} ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 38; ΝΕC without quota Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. XCI || **25** Η-Η-Η-Η .Α.ΜΠΟΝΕΙΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. III, no. 38, restoring [ΔΓ]Η-Η-Η-Η [Λ]α[μ]πώνεια p. 19, but Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. XCI has Η-Η-Η-Η ΛΑ || **26** Η Η Η Η / Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. XCI; - - [Παισ]ηνοί Köhler 1869, p. 19 curiously omitting the quota; Δ[Γ]Η-Η-Η-Η Παι[σ]ηνοί *SEG V*, 8; Σ was reported by Rangabé 1842, Pl. 245, no. 178 || **27** Ο Rangabé 1842, Pl. 245, no. 178; [Περκ]ώτε Köhler 1869, p. 19 curiously omitting the quota; ΔΓΗ-Η-Η-Η [Περκ]ώτε *SEG V* || **28** Η [héσσι]οι *SEG V* || **29** [ηυλιμῆ]ς *SEG V* || **30** *SEG V* || **31** The vacant space on fr. 72 and the alignment of the quotas to the right indicates that the quota consisted of one numeral only; cf. the lines below, this effectively excludes the restitution [ΔΔΓ] [Λεφοίμανδος] (*ATL I*) || **32** There is room for only two numerals, although the following figures could have been cramped; ΔΔΔ[Η-Η-Η] would suit the space better ΔΔΔ[Η-Η-Η] [Κασολαβῆς] (*ATL I*) || **36** X^{P} ΜΕΔΑΙΟΙ the stone.

List 7

The seventh list is preserved on the fragments 10, 18, 39, 40, 45, 56, 77, 78 (= *Ag.* 4538), 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85 and 86 || **HEADING** 1 Rangabé 1842, p. 240, no. 145' reported three horizontals from the initial epsilon. **End.:** ὀγδῶδες Meritt 1937c; ἡεβδόμης Accame 1952, Dow 1942b and 1943, Piérart 1987 || **2** I find no confirmation for the *daseia*, nor was this reported by editors before the *SEG V*; Διοδ[. .ος *SEG V*; Διοδ[ῆς *ATL I*, counting 20 and not 22 letter spaces, cf. Meritt 1937c, 66-67, Tod 1938, 139, Dow 1942b, 374-75, Piérart 1987. Cf. the introduction to *lapis primus* in the Catalogue, p. 12 || **3** I believe a pockmark taking the form of the corner of the initial Γ is visible || I follow *IG I² pace* *SEG V*, in dotting the alpha of which only the diagonals are extant || **COLUMN I 6** Köhler 1869, 22; [Δ]ΓΗ-Η-Η-Η Σταγι[ρῆ]ται *ATL I* || **7** Köhler 1869, 22; Γεντί[ν]ιοι *SEG V* || **17** ΕΙΕ' seen by Pittakis 1835, p. 426, [Δ]ΓΗ-Η-Η-Η Γρυν[ει]ῆς Köhler, 1869, 22; [Δ]ΓΗ-Η-Η-Η Γρυνειῆς *SEG V* || **18** ΗΗΗ Χερρον[έ]σιο[ι] Köhler 1869, 22; ΗΗΗ Χερρονέσιο[ι] *SEG V* || **21** νΤΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 241, no. 146 || **22** ΙΕΣ Pittakis 1835, p. 426 and Rangabé 1842, p. 241, no. 146 || **23** ΔΔΗ-Η-Η ΧΙΟΙ Pittakis 1853, no. 1164, || **24** Τ seen by Pittakis 1853, no. 1164; ΑΙ seen by Pittakis. 1835, p. 426, only || **26** Köhler 1869, 22; [ΗΗ P] [Τ]ε[ρμ]ερεῖς *ATL I* || **30** *SEG V* || **33** ΗΗ[Η] [Λεβέδιοι] *ATL I*

without explanation, but probably because not already attested in this list || **35** [HHH] [Αἰνεᾶτα]ἰ *ATL* I without explanation, but probably because not already attested in this list || **36** [ΔΔΓ] [ἡαισιόνιοι] *ATL* I without explanation, but probably because not already in this list || **37** T reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 242, no. 155' || **38** [Ἐρετρ]ιῶν ἄποικιοι Köhler 1869, 22, [Ἐρετρ]ιῶν ἄποικοι *SEG* V || **39** *SEG* V. Cf. 7.I.37 || **40-46** There is an approximate analogy with 6.I.36 and II.2-5, but the sequence in 6 is Kaunos, Naxia, Thasthara, Mydona, Telandros, whereas it is Kaunos, Thasthara, Lepsimandos, Naxia, Kasolaba, Myndos, Telandros here || **40** *SEG* V; [F] [Καύνιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.I.38 || **41** *SEG* V; [ΓΓΓΓ] [Θασθα]ρῆς *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.3 || **42** *SEG* V; [ΔΔΓ] [Λεφσίμα]νδοι *ATL* I. Cf. 7.IV.31 || **43** *SEG* V. [ΓΓΓΓ] [Ναχσιᾶ]ται *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.2 || **44** *SEG* V; [ΔΔΔΔΓΓ] [Κασολαβ]ῆς *ATL* I. Cf. 7.IV.32 || **45** *SEG* V. [ΔΔΓ] [Μυδον]ῆς *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.4 || **46** *SEG* V; [F] [Τ]ε[λάνδριοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.5 || **47** *SEG* V. [ΔΔΓΓ] Φεγ[έτιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.IV.33 || **48** *SEG* V; [ΔΓΓ] [Κ]αρ[βασουαν]δῆς *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.6 || **49** [Α]ύ[λιᾶται] *SEG* V; [ΓΓΓΓ] [Α]ύ[λιᾶται] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.7 || **50** *SEG* V; [ΔΔΔΓ] [Κ]ρυ[ῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.8 || **51** *SEG* V. [ΔΓΓ] Φα[ρβέλιο]ἰ *ATL* I || **52** *SEG* V; [ΓΓΓΓ] Μύν[διοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.10 || **53** I see the N not recorded by previous editors. Λί[νδιοι] *SEG* V; [X] Λί[νδιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 7.II.11 || **54** *SEG* V || **55** OI Rangabé 1842, p. 250, no. 211 || **56** *SEG* V. Cf. 7.III.26 || **65** [HH] [Σ]ίνγιοι *ATL* I || **66** [Π]αρπαρι[ῶται] or [Π]αρπάρ[ιοι] *SEG* V; [ΔΓΓ] [Π]αρπάρ[ιοι] *ATL* I || **67** [ΔΓΓ] [Σ]καφσα[ῖοι] *ATL* I || **68** [ΓΓΓΓ] Σερμ[ῆς] *ATL* I || **70** Köhler 1869, 22; [ΔΓΓ] *SEG* V || **88** I hesitantly follow *SEG* V printing O || **89** [Ἀ]ξει[οί] *IG* I², rejected in *SEG* V and subsequent editions || **90** [Σκα]φσα[ῖοι] *IG* I²; [Λαμ]φσα[κενοί] *SEG* V; [Λα]νφσα[κενοί] *ATL* I; I detect what they took to be the join of the second and third stroke of nu on the left edge of fr. 45, cf. *ATL* I, Pl. VIII, but another letter is not excluded. A very clear vertical, not reported by previous editors, is detectable on the right edge of the same fragment. The distance between the alpha and this vertical speaks in favour of a position in the middle of the letter space and not to the left of the centre, which means that iota is more likely than kappa. In any case the restitution is conjectural, cf. commentary || **91** *IG* I²; I hesitantly follow this reading, but traces of epsilon are no longer extant || **92** [ΔΔΔΔΓ]ΓΓΓΓ *SEG* V; [F]ΓΓΓΓ *ATL* I || **97** ΛΙΜΝΙΟΙ the mason forgot the alpha || **98** [.]ΔΔΔΔ 'Αβυδεν[οί] *ATL* I || **99** ΔΑΡΔΑ Rangabé 1842, p. 237, no. 134' || **102** Köhler 1869, 24; FΓΓΓΓ Τενέδιοι *SEG* V || **106** -ΔΔΔ ^ ^

Rangabé 1842, p. 237, no. 134' and VIOI Rangabé 1842, p. 236, no. 132, || **107** ΣΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 236, no. 132 || **108** ΕΣΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 236, no. 132;; Μιλέσιοι *SEG V*; [X] Μιλέσιοι *ATL II*; [F] Μιλέσιοι Gehrke 1980, 27 || **109** ΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, no. 132, p. 236; Λάτ[μ]ιοι *SEG V*; [H] Λάτ[μ]ιοι *ATL I* || **110** *SEG V*; [H] Μυέ[σσιοι] *ATL I* || **113** Köhler 1869, p. 24; Η Κινδυῆ[ς] *SEG V* || **COLUMN II 6** - - [.⁷.ι] *SEG V*; [H] [Σαναῖοι] *ATL I* in analogy with 6.II.16 where they had restored [ΔΔΔ†††] [Σαναῖοι]. I quote *ATL I*, p. 177: “The regular quota of Σαναῖοι in the second assessment period was 100 drachmai. In 5, III, 12 the restoration must be [H], since a numeral as long as ΔΔΔ†††, or FΔΔΔ†††, is precluded by the physical disposition of the stones and the lost letter at the right of fragment 35 (cf. Plate VI). In 8, II, 100 the quota is read F[ΔΓ†]|||, which must be interpreted as complementary to the quota of the previous year. We have therefore restored [ΔΔΔ†††] in the list of 448/7 and a full quota of [H] in 8, II, 6, paid in addition to the amount still due from the previous year. Cf. Meritt, *D.A.T.*, p. 79, where the quota of *S.E.G.* V, 6, col. II, line 16 should be corrected to [ΔΔΔ†††].” Thus, the only basis for supposing another quota than FΔΓ†||| is the lack of space in List 5, but as the Pl. VI clearly shows, the column of the quotas is not preserved for Sane in List 5, and if it is true that there is no room for FΔΓ†||| after Myndos by Termera in column II, if the mason would give a stoichos to each numeral, except ||| filling out one only, he elsewhere, 5.IV.11, 5.V.10 and 5.V.12, has managed to inscribe longer quotas cramped. A second objection is that the *ATL*-editors nowhere explained why Sane should be restored in List 6 (their list 7), where only the final iota is preserved. As it is, there is no reason to suppose that FΔΓ†||| was not the normal quota for Sane, as it was in the third and fourth assessment periods. F[ΔΓ†]||| Σαν[αῖοι] is possible. The only reason to suppose another entry in List 7 is the position at the end of the list, where there is evidence for at least one other double entry: Torone (6.II.71 and 6.II.101). But even should we accept this hypothesis, there is no reason to restore Sane exactly in 7.II.6 || **7** [Σύριοι] *SEG V*. Cf. their 7.II.17, where there is no explanation; the restitution is based solely on the fact that there is room for six letters || **8** [Ἐρόδιοι] *SEG V*; [Ἰοθόριοι] *ATL I*. Cf. their 7.II.19, where there is no explanation; the restitution is based solely on the fact that there is room for seven letters || **9** [Κολοφόνιοι] *SEG V*; [Κεβρένιοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 6.II.20 || **10** [- - - - -] *SEG V*; [.⁷.ι] *ATL I*. Cf. 6.II.19 || **11** [Κοδαπῆς] *SEG V*. Cf. 6.II.21 || **12** [Κυ - - -] *SEG V*; [Κυδαῖς] *ATL I*. Cf. 6.II.22 ||

13 [Διοσιρίται] *SEG V*. Cf. 6.II.23 || **14** [Χαλκετορῆς] *SEG V*. Cf. 6.II.24 || **15** [Ῥολοφύχσιοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 6.II.25 || **16** [Κλαζομένιοι] *SEG V*; [H^F] [Κλαζομένιοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 6.II.26 || **17** [ἡαβδερίται] *SEG V*; [X^F] [ἡαβδερίται] *ATL I*. Cf. 6.II.27 || **18** [Καλύδνιοι] *SEG V*; [H^F] [Καλύδνιοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 6.II.28 || **19** *SEG V*. Cf. 6.II.29 || **20** [Γαργαρῆς] *SEG V*; [F^{ΔΔΓ}] [Γαργαρῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 6.II.30 || **21** [Φασελίται] *SEG V*; [HHH] [Φασελίται] *ATL I*, cf. 6.II.31 || **22** [Διῆς] *SEG V*; [H] [Διῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 6.II.32 || **23** <F> [Κνίδιοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 6.II.33; the emendation reprinted in *ATL I* and *IG I³* is unacceptable || **24** HH [Σπαρτόλιοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 6.II.34 || **25** H Σ[τρεφσαῖοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 7.II.35 || **26** F^Κ [εδριάται] *SEG V*; F^Κ [εδριῆται] *ATL I*. Cf. 6.II.36 || **31** Köhler 1869, 22; X^F Μενδαῖ[οι] *ATL I* || **36** The vertical from T Rangabé 1842, no. 155', p. 242; ΔΓΓ-Π[Π] ἡε[σ]τ[ι]αῖ[ε]ς] *SEG V*; ΔΓΓ-Π[Π] ἡεσ[τ]ι[αῖ]ε[ς] *ATL I* || **37** HHH^FΓΓ-Κοῖο[ι] *SEG V*, but the reading of the second O is questionable || **38** Köhler 1869, 22; HHH ΦΟΡΑ Rangabé 1842, no. 155', p. 242 || **41** Köhler 1869, 22; F^{ΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠ} Βαργυλιῆ[ς] *SEG V*; Γ-ΠΠΠ was not recorded before, cf. Rangabé 1842, no. 148, p. 241 (F^{ΔΓΓ-Γ}) and fr. 155', p. 242 (ΒΑΡΛΥΛΙΕ), but possible traces remain of the first obol sign on fr. 80 and of the fourth on fr. 79 || **45** Köhler 1869, 23; ΔΔΔΓΓ-Γ-Π Δι[ε]ῖ[ς] *SEG V* || **46** Köhler 1869, p. 23; ΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠ Εύ[ρ]υμαχῖτ[αι] *SEG V* || **47** Köhler 1869, p. 23 || **48** Köhler 1869, p. 23; ΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠ Κι[ανοί] *SEG V* || **50** ΔΔ ἡυ[δαιῆς] *SEG V*; ΔΔ ἡυμ[ισσεῖς] *ATL I* || **53** Vertical in T Rangabé 1842, no. 211, p. 250 || **54** X^FHΔΔ Πάρ[οι] Köhler 1869, p. 23 || **62** [HH]H Τή[νιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 23 and subsequent editors || **63** Köhler 1869, p. 23; [F^Η]H Τέ[οι] *ATL I* || **64** Köhler 1869, p. 23; [F^Η] Ἄν[δριοι] *ATL I* || **65** [Μυκόνιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 23; [F^Η] κτλ. *ATL I*. Cf. 6.IV.8 || **66** Köhler 1869, p. 23. Cf. 6.IV.9; [Θάσ]ιο[ι] *ATL I* || **68** Köhler 1869, p. 23; F^Η [Ἐρε]τριῆς *ATL I* || **69** Köhler 1869, p. 23; [ΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠ] [Βρυ]γχειῆ[ς] *ATL I* || **70** [Κύθ]νιοι Köhler 1869, p. 23; [Σίφ]νιοι *SEG V*; [HHH] [Σίφ]νιοι *ATL I*. Cf. 6.IV.13 || **71** [Σκι]ωναῖοι Köhler 1869, p. 23; [Τορ]λοναῖοι *SEG V*; [XHH] κτλ. *ATL I*. Cf. 6.IV.16 || **72** Köhler 1869, p. 23 || **73** Köhler 1869, 23; [ΔΓΓ-ΠΠΠ] [Διδυμο]τ[ει]χῖται *ATL I* || **74-84** The *ATL*-editors restored these lines in approximate analogy with cols. I.108-13 and II.103-7, (cf. *ATL III* 61) because some of the entries at the end of the list are supplementary payments from the same year. This might be the case for the others also, although they are not already attested twice or three times in this same list. I accept the hypothesis, but refuse to supply the eleven names Ephesos,

Miletos, Myous, Latmos, Iasos, Kindya, Medmasa, Peleia, Mylasa, Hyromeis and Karyanda, because their order of appearance is unknown. In absence of the relevant fragment we cannot know in which order they appeared, if they did, and the restitutions should therefore be rejected || **74** Köhler 1869, p. 23; [ῬΗΗῬ] [Ἐφέσοι] *ATL* I || **75** Köhler 1869, 23; [X] [Μιλέσοι] *ATL* I || **76** Köhler 1869, p. 23; [H] [Μυέσσιοι] *ATL* II. But see 8.I.110 || **77** [H] [Λάτμιοι] *ATL* III, 35-36. But see 8.I.109 || **78** [H] [Ἰασεῖς] *ATL* II. But see 8.I.112 || **79** [H] [Κινδυεῖς] *ATL* III, 35-36. But see 8.I.113 || **80** [H] [Μαδνασεῖς] *ATL* III, 35-6. But see 8.II.103 || **81** [Ῥ] [Πελειᾶται] *ATL* III, 35-36. But see 8.II.104 || **82** [H] [Μυλασεῖς] *ATL* III. But see 8.II.105 || **83** [ΔΔΔΔΓ-III] [ἠυρομεῖς] *ATL* III. But see 8.II.106 || **84** [ΓΓΓ-III] [Καρυανδεῖς] *ATL* III. But see 8.II.107 || **107** ΚΑΡΥΑΝΛΕ the stone || **112** The upper parts of the 3rd to the 5th letters are preserved on fr. 85; ῬΓ Ἰμβριοι *SEG* V || **113** ΗῬΔΔΓΓΓ-III Ἡφ[αισοστιῆς] Köhler 1869, p. 24; ΗῬΔΔΓΓΓ-III Ἐφ[αισοστιῆς] *SEG* V.

List 9

The ninth list is preserved on the fragments 11, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95 || **HEADING:** 1 [ἐπι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς] ἐν[άτες ἡῖ κτλ.] MW 1925b, 75; ἀ[ρχῆς] *ATL* I; *pace* Lewis 1954, 25-29, denying A, followed by *IG* I³ restoring [ἐπι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς] ἐν[άτες ἡῖ κτλ.] || **COLUMN I 2-3** I follow Lewis, 1954, 25-29, in intercalating two lines between the supposed position of the heading and the first preserved line. The *ATL*-editors believed that LN were visible on the upper right edge of the reverse side of fr. 11, our [. .]++[- - -] in II.3 and interpreted this as from the heading, but Lewis has shown that these letters are not bigger than the following, and therefore most probably part of the entries in the second column || **3** The lower half of O in the sixth stoichos was reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 39b, but not taken into consideration by the *ATL*-editors || **4** [Ἐφέσοι] Köhler 1869, p. 27; [H] [ἡέσοιοι] *ATL* I, the lower stroke being preserved from sigma, and reported as such by Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 39b || **5** .⁴.ες *SEG* V; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Γρου]νεῖς *ATL* I, cf. their commentary p. 178; but the first stroke is completely vertical and what would be the second and third would meet above the middle of the letter space, which is not the case in line 10; out of context it looks more like a pi, but no Ionian name ends in ...πες. The entry [Γρου]νεῖς is only otherwise attested by Krateros F2 || **6** ... \ΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 39b; [Νοτι]εῖς *SEG* V; [ΔΔΔΓΓ-III] [Νοτ]ιεῖς *ATL* I. I agree with the *ATL*-editors, *pace* Köhler, that a vertical suits the traces better than a diagonal || **7**

[Nι]ούριοι Köhler 1869, p. 27 || **8** [H^Ϟ] [Κλ]αζομένοι *ATL* I || **9** [H] Πυγαλῆς *ATL* I || **11** [Ϟ]ΔΓ^Ϟ⊖⊖⊖ Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου Köhler 1869, 27 || **12** H^Ϟ Κολοφόνιοι *SEG* V || **13** [H^Ϟ]ΔΔΔ⊖⊖⊖ Φοκαῖες Köhler 1869; H^ϞΔΔΔ⊖⊖⊖ Φοκαῖες *SEG* V || **15** Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 39b || **16** Η Μυριναῖοι παρὰ Κύμῃ : Köhler 1869, p. 27 || **17** [ϞH] Τέλιοι Köhler 1869, p. 27 || **19** ΔΓ^Ϟ⊖⊖⊖ [Ἐ]λαιέα παρὰ Μύ Κόηλερ 1869, p. 27; ΔΓ^Ϟ⊖⊖⊖ Ἐλαιέα παρὰ Μύ *SEG* V || **21** O reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, fr. 39b, restoring Γ⊖⊖⊖⊖ Παλαιπερκώσιοι, p. 27 || **25** ΙΤΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 50; ΔΓ^Ϟ⊖⊖⊖ Δαμνιοτεῖ[χ]ῖτα *SEG* V || **27** Υ reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, fr. 39b || **28** ΔΓ^Ϟ⊖⊖⊖ Λα[μ]πονειῆς Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, fr. 39b || **29** Köhler 1869, p. 27 || **30** Köhler 1869, , p. 27 || **COLUMN II 3** Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 39b reported . . ΙΛ in the third and fourth stoichos, and restored . . [εγ] . . , p. 27; the *ATL*-editors took to two letters to be EN from the title and Lewis 1954, 28, proposed [Βεργ]αῖοι; the different readings and the state of the surface on the upper right edge of fr. 11 do not provide enough confirmation for any given transcription, let alone restitution || **4** Ι ENΔ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 39b restoring [M]ενδ[αῖοι], p. 27; [ΔΓ^Ϟ⊖⊖⊖] κτλ. *SEG* V || **5** NEΑΓ^ϞΟ_L Köhler 1869, Pl. I V, fr. 39b; ΔΓ^Ϟ⊖⊖⊖ Νεάπολις *SEG* V || **7** ΔΓ^Ϟ⊖⊖⊖ Σκιάθιοι *IG* I³, perhaps by error, because the quota is clear and has been reported since Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 39b || **9** the tip of the left wing of upsilon is preserved and nothing more was reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 39b; ΔΔΔ⊖⊖⊖ Ὀλοφύ[χ]σιοι *SEG* V || **10-11** Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, 39b only reported ΠΑ in 11, but the vertical to the left of the centre is preserved on the edge of fr. 11 as correctly reported since *SEG* V, where it is undotted || **12** ΔΓ^Ϟ⊖⊖⊖ [Σταγῖρῖται] Köhler 1869, p. 27 restituted ΔΓ^Ϟ⊖⊖⊖ [Σταγῖρῖται], probably in analogy with 11.II.25 and 12.II.33, although not reporting the initial on Pl. IV, fr. 39b; the letter is there || **13** The restitution goes back to Köhler 1869, 27 who only saw the quota on fr. 11 (= Pl. IV, no. 39b) and a sigma in the name on fr. 90 (= Pl. IV, no. 50); Η Θ[ύ]σσοι *SEG* V, but only the left side of a round letter is preserved on the right edge of fr. 11 || **18** Third Δ in the quota reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 39b || **20** Δ reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 250, no. 203; Γ reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 50 || **21** Reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 50, restoring Βοττιαῖοι; Βοττιαῖον συν *SEG* V; Βοττιαῖον καὶ σ *ATL* I || **22** ΗΗΗ and ΟΙ reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 250, no. 203.; ΗΗΗ Πεπαρέ[θ]ιοι *SEG* V || **23-24** Reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 250,

no. 203 || **25** [ῬΔΓΓ]||| Μεκυβερν[αῖοι] *SEG V* || **26** [HH] Ὀλύνθιοι *ATL I* || **COLUMN III 4** [ΔΓΓ-|||] [Φαρβέλιοι] *SEG V* 12.III.26 || **5** [ΔΓ-|||] [Ὀθόριοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 12.III.27 || **6** [Ῥ] [Σερμυλιῆς] *SEG V*. Cf. 12.III.28 || **7** [ῬH] [Σαμοθραϊκῆς] *SEG V*. Cf. 12.III.29 || **8** [X] [Αἶνιοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 12.III.30 || **9** [ῬH] [Ποτειδαία] *SEG V*. Cf. 12.III.31 || **10** [XXX] [Θάσιοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 11.III.15 || **11** [ΔΔΓ] [Αισάνιοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 11.III.16 || **11** [ΓΓ-ΓΓ-||] [Σερμῆς] *SEG V*. Cf. 11.III.17 || **12** [ΓΓ-ΓΓ-||] [Μύνδιοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 11.III.18 || **13** [ΓΓ-ΓΓ-||] [Αύλιῆται] *SEG V*. Cf. 11.III.19 || **14** [ΔΓΓ-|||] [Καρβασσανδῆς] *SEG V*. Cf. 11.III.20 || **15** [Ῥ] [Καύνιοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 11.III.21 || **16** [ΓΓ-ΓΓ-||] [Παργασῆς] *SEG V*. Cf. 11.III.22 || **17** [ΔΓΓ-|||] [Πύρνιοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 11.III.23 || **18** [ΔΓΓ-|||] [Πύρνιοι] *SEG V*. Cf. 11.III.23 || **19** [Λεφσιμανδῆς] *SEG V*; [ΔΓΓ-|||] Λεφ[σιμανδῆς] *ATL I* || **20** *ATL I* || **21** Reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 250, no. 203; Δ[ΓΓ-|||] Παρπαρ[ιῶται] *ATL I* || **22** [Ῥ]ΔΔΓ Συναγγελ[ῆς] *ATL I* following Rangabé 1842, p. 250, no. 203 || **23** καὶ Ἀμυναν[δῆς] *ATL I* || **24** Ῥ reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 250, no. 203 || **25** ΔΔΔΓΓ-ΓΓ-|| Rangabé 1842, p. 250, no. 203; ΔΔΔΓΓ-ΓΓ-|| Κρυῆς *SEG V*; ΔΔΔΓΓ-ΓΓ-|| Κρυῆς *ATL I* || **27** *ATL I* || **29** *SEG V*; Δ[ΔΔΓΓ-ΓΓ-||] [Χαλκειᾶται] *ATL II* || **35** Η Τελεμέσσοι *SEG V* || **COLUMN IV. 21** I reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 52; ΗῬ [Μυκόνιοι] *ATL I*; ΧῬ[ΗΔΔ] [Πάριοι] *SEG V*; ΧῬ[ΗΗΗ] [Πάριοι] *ATL I* || **COLUMN V 9** ..ΕΣΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 54a; [Μι]λέσιοι *SEG V*; [Μυ]έσσοι *ATL I*. The first preserved letter on the margin of fr. 94 has been reported differently as E and L, the next letter as E and S. The reading ΛΕΣΙΟΙ is supported by the photo showing in the first stoichos a vertical with an upward slanting lower stroke; what has been taken as vertical strokes from epsilon must be accidental marks. In the next stoichos the reading of sigma is excluded; the strokes are horizontal and not at all comparable to the following sigma – it is very clearly an epsilon || **10** \ΤΜΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 54a, reporting also the centre bar, which is not preserved today; [H] [Λ]άτριοι *ATL I* || **11** PYM. Σ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 54a restoring [Λω]ρυμῆς p. 27; [.]ορυμῆς *ATL I*, but I find no confirmation for the omikron on the photo. The upsilon is only visible as the left side of a tulip-shaped form ending in the lower tip of a vertical. The penultimate is not preserved, but the surface has flaked away taking the form of a rectangle || **12** ΛΑΣΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 54a restoring [Μυ]λασῆς p. 27; [Ῥ]ΔΔΔΓΓ-||| [Μ]υλασῆς *ATL I* || **13** ΑΣΕ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 54a, but the upper and

lower contours of the last sigma are visible; [']ασῆς *SEG V*; [H] [']ασῆς *ATL I* || **14** YANΔΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 54a, but the apex of a triangular letter and the corner from a vertical and an upper horizontal are preserved in the second and third stoichoi, the former not reported by previous editors; [Καρ]υανδῆς *SEG V*; [Καρ]υανδῆς *ATL I* || **15** ΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 54a restoring [Πασανδ]ῆς p. 27; [B]ο[υθει]ῆς *SEG V*; [B]ο[λβα]ῖῆς *ATL I*, but supposed omikron on the upper tip of fr. 95 is not a certain reading || **16** . EL \ I IV Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, frs. 54a and 55a restoring [Πε]λ[ειᾶ]ται, p. 27; [Π]ελ[ειᾶ]ται *SEG V*; [Ῐ] [Π]ελ[ειᾶ]ται *ATL I*. I believe the lower corner of the second epsilon is quite clear on the edge of fr. 95 || **17** . ΠΙΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 55a restoring [Π]ρια[νῆς] p. 27; [Π]ριαν[ῆς] *SEG V* || **18** [ΔΔΔΓΓΓ] [Ἄρτακενοί] *ATL I* || **17** [HHH] [Π]ροκοιν[έσιοι] *ATL I* || **22** [Ῐ] [Ἐ]λαιόσιοι *ATL I* || **24** [ΔΓΓΓ] [Σ]ύριοι *ATL I* || **27** Μυέσιοι *SEG V*.

List 10

The tenth list is preserved on the fragments 92, 93, 96, 79, 97, 98, 99, 100 (lost), 101, 102, 103 (lost), 104, 105 || **COLUMN I 16** [Κολοφόνιοι] *SEG V*; [HῘ] [Κολοφόνιοι] *ATL I* || **19** [ΔΔΔΓΓΓ] [Νεά]νδρεια *ATL I* || **20** [Π]αισενόι *SEG V*; [ΔΓΓΓ] [Π]αισενόι *ATL I* || **21** Köhler 1869, p. 29 [ΓΓΓΓ] [Π]αλαιπερκόσι(οι) *ATL I* || **22** [ΔΓΓΓ] Σιγειῆς *ATL I* || **23** [Γ] χαρπαγιοι *ATL I* || [H] Δαρδανῆς *ATL I* || **27** [Δ]ΓΓΓΓ Κιανοί *SEG V* || **32** [ΔΓΓΓ] Δαυ[νιο]τειχῖται Köhler 1869, p. 29; [Δ]ΓΓΓΓ Δαυ[νιο]τειχῖται *SEG V* || **33** [ΔΓΓΓ] Ἄ[στα]κενοί Köhler 1869, p. 29; [ΔΓΓΓ] Ἄ[στα]κενοί *SEG V* || **COLUMN II 6** *SEG V*; [H]HH Ἄκάν[θιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 29 || **7** ΣΤΑ/ reported by Köhler 1869, p. 29 || **8** [ΓΓ]ΓΓ - - - - Köhler 1869, p. 29; [ΔΔΔ]ΓΓΓ *SEG V* || **14** Köhler 1869, p. 29; Δί[καιο] : Ἐρετρι *SEG V*; [H] Δί[καιο] : Ἐρετρι *ATL I* || **16** HH ΣΠΑΙ Köhler 1869; Pl. IV, no. 51 restoring HH Σπαρ[τό]λιοι, p. 29 || **18** ΣΙΝ/ the stone || **19** HῘ ΜΑΡΟ. . . ΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 55, restoring HῘ Μαρω[νῖ]ται p. 29 || **20** ῘH ΣΑΜΟ.ΡΑ.ΚΕΣ Köhler 1869; Pl. IV, nos. 55-57; ῘH Σαμο[θ]ραῖκες *SEG V* || **16** ῘH Σκ[ι]οναῖ[οι] Köhler 1869, p. 29 || **22** ΧῘ H/ ΔΕΡΙΤ \ I the stone; ΧῘ H/ ΔΕΡΙΤ I Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, nos. 55-57 restoring χα[β]δερίτ[α]ι, p. 29; ΧῘ χα[β]δερίται *SEG V* || **25** Köhler 1869, p. 29; Ῐ Σερμουλιῆς καὶ συν *SEG V* || **26** Köhler 1869, p. 29; ῘΔΓΓ[Γ] Στόλιοι *SEG V* || **27** ΔΓ . . . I Köhler 1869

restoring ΔΓ[Γ-III], p. 29 || **28-30** (= fr. 100) Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. LIX || **28** [Ἄσ]σερ[ῖτ]αι *SEG V*; [ΔΔΔΔ] [Ἄσ]σερ[ῖτ]αι *ATL I* || **29** [Νε]απολις *SEG V*; [Ῥ] [Νε]απολις *ATL I* || **30** [Σκ]αφσαῖοι *SEG V*; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Σκ]αφσαῖοι || **31** Köhler 1869, p. 29; [Η] [Στρ]εφσαῖοι *ATL I* || **32** Köhler 1869, p. 29; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Φαρ]βέλιοι *ATL I*; [ῬΔΓΓ-III] [Σαν]αῖοι *ATL I* || **COLUMN III 3 MEKYΓ** Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 53; Pittakis 1835, p. 427 alone has MEKYΠE which I follow although his reading is not reliable for all the entries on this fragment || **4** Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 56 reported the lower part of the left vertical of Η in the quota followed by ΘΥΣΣΙ; Pittakis 1835, p. 427 alone has ΘΥΣΣΙΟΙ which I only follow hesitantly, since it might be one of his tacit restitutions || **5** Γ-III NEΑΠ - Rangabé 1842, no. 199, p. 249 || **6** IIII ΘΡΑ Rangabé 1842, no. 199, p. 249 || **7** X - - Rangabé 1842, no. 199, p. 249, giving the position in the second stoichos of the name, cf. his text p. 199: . χ . . . ; *SEG V* interpreted this as an upsilon restoring ΔΓΓ[III] [Π]ύ[ρ]νιοι *SEG V*; corrected by *ATL I* to ΔΓΓ[III] [Σ]κ[ι]άθιοι; it is difficult to adjudicate between the three readings, but it is probably best either to leave Rangabé's chi, or to put a *crux*: no attested member would fit || **20** Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 58 reported the quota, the lower tip of the initial and the corner of a beta of epsilon restoring Γ-III [Πεδιῆς] p. 29; Γ-III Πεδιῆς *SEG V*; Γ-III Πεδιῆς ἐλ Λίνδοι *ATL I* || **24** Ῥ Κεδ[ριᾶται] Köhler 1869, p. 29; Ῥ Κεδ[ριᾶται] *SEG V* || **25** Ῥ I / Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 58 restoring Ῥ Πασ[ανδῆς] p. 29; Ῥ Καρῆ[ς ἡὼν Τύμνες ἄρχει] *SEG V*; I find no confirmation for the dotted letters || **28** Δ[ΔΓ-III] Λεφοιμανδῆς Köhler 1869, p. 29 || **COLUMN IV 14-18** *SEG V* placed fr. 103 here || **24** - - - - Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 61; [ΗῬ] [Μυκό]ν[ιοι] *ATL I* || **25** Köhler 1869, p. 29; [ῬΗῬΔΓΓ-III] [Νάχ]σιοι *ATL I* || **26** Köhler 1869, p. 29 || **29** Köhler 1869, p. 29; [Η] Σεριφιοι *ATL I* || **COLUMN V 2-5** The *ATL*-editors restored these lines explaining (I, p. 180): “The restoration of the remaining members of the Chersones group to follow Ἐλέσιοι and Σέστιοι [IV, 32-33] is sound because these tributaries are so frequently inscribed together.” || **2** [Λιμναῖοι] *ATL I* || **3** [Μαδύτιοι] *ATL I* || **4** [Χερρονεῖται] *ATL I* || **5** [Ἄλοπεκοννέσιοι] *ATL I* || **16-17** *SEG V* placed fr. 103 here || **16** ΔΓ[Γ-III] ! - - - *SEG V*; ΔΓ[Γ-III] Ἰσίνδοι *ATL I* || **18** Köhler 1869, p. 29; [Η] Λάτμιοι *ATL I* || **22** Köhler 1869, p. 29; [Η] Ἰασῆς *ATL I* || **23** Köhler 1869, p. 29; [Η] Μαδνασῆς *ATL I* || **24** Köhler 1869, p. 29; [Ῥ] Πελειᾶται *ATL I* || **25** Köhler 1869, p. 29; [ΗῬ] Κεράμιοι *ATL I*

List 11

The eleventh list is preserved on the fragments 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109 (lost), 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 123 and 124. **HEADING 1** Part of Γ reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 42b, omitted by subsequent editors. Δ in *ηνδεκάτες* omitted by Köhler. Name of secretary restored by Köhler 1869, p. 31 || **COLUMN I 17-19** *ATL I* placed fr. 109 here || **17** [H^F] [Κλαζζο]μέ[νιοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 9.I.8 || **18** [H] [Πυγαλέ]ς *ATL I*. Cf. 9.I.9 || **20** [ΔΓΓ-III] [Πιταν]αῖοι *ATL I*. Cf. 9.I.10 || **21** [F^FΔΓΓ-III] [Οἰναῖοι ἐ]χ[σ'Ι]. Cf. 9.I.11. The chi is restored on the basis of a right lower extremity on the upper edge of fr. 110, which I do not see || **21** [H^FΔΔΔΓΓ-III] [Φοκαί]ἔς *ATL I*. Cf. 9.I.13; explaining p. 180: “Although the spacing seems to demand a name of nine letters we print with confidence the restoration [Φοκαί]ἔς. The disparity of spacing is to be explained by the long number [H^FΔΔΔΓΓ-III], which ran into the name column and forced the entry [Φοκαί]ἔς two letter spaces to the right. See Meritt, *D.A.T.*, p. 104: for the quota cf. 9, I, 11.” This quota is only attested once. The absence of any Ionian candidate for [-⁷-] and the quasi-analogy with 9.11-14 perhaps favours this solution || **22** [H] [Λεβέδι]οι *ATL I*. Cf. 9.I.15 || **23** [H] [Μυριναῖοι παρὰ Κυ] *ATL I*. Cf. 9.I.16 || **24** [F^H]H Τέ[ιοι] *SEG V*; [F^H]H Τέ[ιοι] *ATL I* probably by error || **27** F^FΔΓΓ-III Πολιχ[ναῖοι Ἐ]ρυθ *SEG V* || **28** Γ-III Ἐλαιό[σιοι Ἐρυ]θραί *ATL I* || **29** ΓΓΓ-ΓΓ \ΣΤΥΡ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 46b, restoring Ἄσπθυρ[ηνοί] p. 31 || **30** ΓΓΓ-ΓΓ \ΛΑΙΓ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 46b, restoring Παλαιπ[ερκώσιοι] p. 31 || **31** ΓΓΓ-ΓΓ Λ.NTIN Köhler 1869, p. 31, restoring ΓΓΓ-ΓΓ Γ[ε]ντίνοι p. 31 by error; corrected to ΓΓΓ-ΓΓ Γεντίνοι *SEG V* || **32** ΔΓΓ-III Γ.ΡΚ^C Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 46b, restoring ΔΓΓ-III Π[ε]ρκώ[σιοι] p. 31 || **33** [ΔΓΓ-III] Γρ[υνειῆς] Pittakis 1853, no. 1207 followed by *SEG V*. Corrected by *ATL I* to [ΔΓΓ-III] Ἀ[στακενοί], cf. p. 41: “In line 33 the initial letter could be gamma, alpha, or delta; the surface between the two diagonal arms has completely gone. The second letter has disappeared entirely and we have no direct control over it.” Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 46b has the apex of alpha, gamma or delta, and restored -- [Δ]- - - p. 31. But on the stone these traces seem to be in the second rather than in the first stoichos; to add to the confusion Rangabé 1842, no. 183, p. 247 has a nu in the same letter space; I prefer to print nothing here, but If Köhler’s reading of [^] is correct (1869, Pl. IV, no. 46b) then Ἄστακενοί (*ATL I*), Δαυνοτειχῖται and Διδυμοτειχῖται would be possible || **COLUMN II 3** [Προκ]οννεσιο[ι]

SEG V; [HHH] [Προκ]οννεσιο[ι] *ATL I* || **4** [HHHH[Ⓜ]] [Τεν]έδιοι *ATL I* || **6** [[Ⓜ]HHHH] [Χαλ]χεδόνιο[ι] *ATL I* || **11** [[Ⓜ]] [Ἐλ]αιό[σι]οι *ATL I* || **12** *SEG V*; [Λιμναῖο]ι *ATL I*. Cf. 14.II.11 || **14** *SEG V*; [X] [Περίνθιο]ι *ATL I* || **15** *SEG V*; [Βυζάντι]οι *ATL I* || **16** - - ΓΕΝΟΙ Pittakis 1853, no. 1242; corrected by *ATL I*, 15 and 181 preferring [Λαμφοσ]κενοί to [Κυζι]κενοί || **19** [ΔΓΓ-III] [Νεάπολις] *ATL I*. Cf. 9.II.2 and 12.II.28 || **21** [ΔΓΓ-III] Σκιάθιοι *SEG V* || **30** [ΔΓΓ-III] Κιανοί *SEG V* || **31** . [Ⓜ]ΡΔΑΝΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 65; [H] Δαρδανῆς *ATL I* || **32** ι ΑΝΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 67, restoring nothing p. 31; [ηαρπα]γίανοί *SEG V*; [Γ] [ηαρπα]γίανοί *ATL I* reporting, Pl. XI a gamma read by Pittakis 1835, p. 430 as ΑΙΑΝΟΙ || **33** *SEG V*; [H] [Διῆς] *ATL I* || **34** *SEG V*; [[Ⓜ]ΔΓΓ-III] [Στόλ]ιοι *ATL I* || **COLUMN III 2** Köhler 1869 p. 31; [H] Δίκαια Ἐ[ρετριῶν] *ATL I* || **3** Τορ[ωναῖοι] Köhler 1869, p. 31; [[Ⓜ]]Η Τορον[αῖοι] *ATL I* || **4** HHH Ἀκά[ν]θιοι Köhler 1869, p. 31 || **7** *ATL I*; ¹¹ ΣΚΙΟΝΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, nos. 60 and 63 restoring [[Ⓜ]]Η Σκιωναῖ[οι] p. 31; [Ⓜ]Η Σκιωναῖ[οι] *SEG V*; the latter is too optimistic, but ⁻¹¹ is visible on my photograph. I dot the figures || **9** *SEG V* || **18** ΓΓΓ-III Μύνδι[οι] *ATL I* || **19** [ΓΓΓ-III] Αύλι[ε]ται *ATL I* || **20** Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 63. Καρβ[ασσανδῆς] *SEG V*; [ΔΓΓ-III] Καρβ[ασσανδῆς] *ATL I* || **21-22** Cf. *ATL I*, p. 181 and *ATL I* p. 178: “The restorations are based upon the order in 11, III, 2-23 and 12, III, 17-32.” But this is circular since the *ATL*-editors have restored Kaunos and Pargasa completely in both list 9 and 12 || **21** [[Ⓜ]] [Καύνιοι] *ATL I* || **22** ΓΓΓ-III [Παργασῆς] || **23** ΔΓΓ-III ι Υ ι Ν; only the vertical of upsilon is extant today || **24** Final iota on fr. 112 reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 250, no. 207; Η Στρεφ[ο]αῖοι *SEG V* || **25** *ATL I* || **26** ΔΔΔΓΓ-III Αιγάν[τιοι] *SEG V* || **28** *SEG V*; [[Ⓜ]ΔΓΓ-III] [Σαναῖοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 12.III.7 and 13.III.7 || **29** [Σπαρτόλι]οι *SEG V*; [HH] [Σπαρτόλι]οι *ATL I*. Cf. 12.III.9 and 13.III.9 || **30** [Πεπαρέθιο]ι *SEG V*; [HHH] [Πεπαρέθιο]ι *ATL I*. Cf. 12.III.10 and 13.III.10 || **31** [Σίγγιοι] *SEG V*; [HH] [Σίγγιοι] *ATL I* || **32** Η [Ἀφυταῖοι] *SEG V* || **COLUMN IV 2** *ATL I* || **18** *SEG V*. [H[Ⓜ]]ΔΓΓ-III [ηαλικαρνάσσιοι] *ATL I* || **19** *SEG V*. HHH [Κνίδιοι] *ATL I*. HH[Ⓜ]ΔΔ [Χερρονέσιοι] *SEG V* || **24** HH [Ἀστυपालαιῆς] *ATL I* || **25** [Ⓜ] [Συαγγεῆς] *ATL I* || **26** *ATL I*; [Ⓜ] Α/ reported by Pittakis 1835, p. 435; [Ⓜ] Α - - - Köhler 1869, p. 32; [Ⓜ] Ἀμ[υνανδῆς] *ATL I* using Pittakis’ reading || **27-30** Köhler 1869, p. 32 || **31** Line omitted by Köhler 1869, p. 32 || **32-34** Köhler 1869, p. 32 || **COLUMN V 2** [ῥ]ιμ[β]ριοι *SEG V*, but the upper loop of rho is not visible, *pace* *ATL I*, Pl. X ||

3 *SEG* V || 6 [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Χαλκειᾶται] *ATL* I. Cf. 12.IV.6 || 7 [Ῥ] [Πασανδῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 12.IV.7 || 8-13 These lines seem to follow roughly the same sequence as 12.V.8-13 and 13.IV.7-11. This observation enabled the *SEG*-editors to restore the names from which the endings are preserved. The *ATL*-editors added the quotas, as well as supplying two supplementary entries in 6 and 7 || 8 *SEG* V. Cf. 12.IV.8 || 9 *SEG* V; [ΗΗΗ] [Φασελῖ]ται *ATL* I. Cf. 12.IV.9 || 10 *SEG* V || 11 *SEG* V. [ῬΗ] [Λίνδιο]ι *ATL* I. Cf. 12.IV.12 || 12 *SEG* V. Cf. 12.IV.11 || 13 *SEG* V || 14 [Πελειᾶτ]αι *SEG* V; [Ῥ] [Πελειᾶτ]αι *ATL* I || 15 *SEG* V; [ΓΗΗΗ] [Ναχσιῆ]ται *ATL* I || 16 *SEG* V; [ΓΗΗΗ] [Θασθαρεῖς] *ATL* I || 17 *SEG* V; ΔΓΗΗΗ [Ναρισβαρεῖς] *ATL* I || 22 Reported by Köhler 1869 Pl. V, nos. 69, 70a, 70b; [.⁴.]ο - - - *SEG* V || 23 ΗΗ ΙΟΙ Köhler 1869 Pl. V, nos. 69, 70a, 70b, restoring nothing p. 32; ῬΗ [ῚΑνδ]ριοι *SEG* V; ῬΗ [ῚΑνδ]ριοι *ATL* I || 24 Köhler 1869, p.32 || 28 ῬΔΓΗΗΗ ΑΘΕΝ/ ΙΔΙΑΔΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, nos. 69, 70a, 70b, restoring ῬΔΓΗΗΗ ῚΑθηναί Διάδες p. 32 || 32 Köhler 1869, p. 32; Η Σεριφιοι *SEG* V. Η Σεριφιοι *ATL* I.

List 12

The twelfth list is preserved on the fragments 87, 114, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129 (lost), 130 (lost); 131 (lost), 132 (lost), 133, 136, 137, 138 (lost), 139, 140, 141 || **HEADING** 1 ΔΕΚ/ = fr. 119; ΕΓΡΑ. . . ῚΥΕ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 67. Previous editors had restored the name of the secretary as [Σ]οφιά[δε]ς, but this was correctly changed by MW 1926b, 72 to [Σ]οφιάς. Kirchhoff's upper case text in *IG* I, p. 106 gives a false lacuna between frs. 124 and 114 || **COLUMN I 2-20** Names supplied by *SEG* V. Quotas added by *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.3-22. The divergence between *SEG* V and *ATL* I 12.I.6-17 is due to the displacement of fr. 110, cf. *ATL* I, p. 52: "This piece, formerly published in column 11, lines 8-11, of *S.E.G.* V, 12, belongs in List 11, where it makes a direct join at the left side of fragment 11." I follow the attributions of the *ATL*-editors and ignore the old readings of *SEG* V in the corresponding entries || 2-27 The many correspondences between Lists 12 and 13 speak in favour of a similar sequence in the Ionian panel, but as appears from the end of the columns in the two lists, the place of Boutheia, Prine, Miletos and Gargara is not the same and we should therefore not expect a strict identical order || 2 [Ὶονικῶ φόρο] *SEG* V. Cf. 13.I.3 || 3 [Διοσιρῖται] *SEG* V; [ΓΗΗΗ] [Διοσιρῖται] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.4 || 4 [Θερμαῖοι ἐχς Ὶ] *SEG* V; [Ῥ] [Θερμαῖοι ἐχς Ὶ] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.5 || 5 [Μαραθέσιοι] *SEG* V; [Ῥ] [Μαραθέσιοι] *ATL* I Cf.

13.I.6 || **6** [ΔΓΓ-III] [Γρυνειῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.7 || **7** [ΔΔΔΓΓ-III] [Νοτιῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.8 || **8** [H] [Νισύριοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.9 || **9** [ῬΔΓΓ-III] [Οἰναῖοι ἔχς 'I] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.10 || **10** [Κολοφόνιοι] *SEG* V; [HῬ] [Κολοφόνιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.11 || **11** [H] [Μυριναῖοι παρὰ Κύ] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.15 (sic!) || **12** [H] [Λεβέδιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.14 (sic!) || **13** [H] [Αἶραιῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.13 (sic!) || **14** [HH] [Φοκαῖῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.12 (sic!) || **15** [ῬH] [Τείοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.16 (sic!) || **16** [ῬHHHH] [Κυμαῖοι] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.17 || **17** [ΔΓΓ-III] [Ἐλαιέα] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.18 || **18-21** The restitutions proposed by *SEG* V and *ATL* I in lines 18-21 for which there is no parallel do not inspire confidence (note the inverting of the sequence in *ATL* I), and these exceptions invalidate the idea that we should expect an identical range of names. The most we can say is that the Ionian panels in the two lists count 31 members and that they are probably the same, although appearing in an only approximately similar sequence || **18** [Ἄστυρενοὶ Μυσοί] *SEG* V; [ΓΓΓ-III] [Ἄστυρενοὶ Μυσοί] *ATL* I || **19** [Πιταναῖοι] *SEG* V; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Πιταναῖοι] *ATL* I || **20** [Ἐρυθραῖοι] *SEG* V; [ῬH] [Ἐρυθραῖοι] *ATL* I || **21** Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 reported an almost entirely preserved omikron in OI; [Ἐρυθραῖοι] Köhler 1869, p. 33; [Ἐλαιόσιοι] *SEG* V; [Γ-III] [Ἐλαιόσιοι] *ATL* I || **22** [Βουθειῆς] Köhler 1869, p. 33; [Βούθεια] *SEG* V; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Βούθεια] *ATL* I. Cf. 13.I.27 || **23** *SEG* V; Köhler 1869, p. p. 33; [ῬΔΓΓ-III] [Πολιχνῖται] *ATL* I || **24** IOI Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; [Γ-III] [Πτελεόσιοι]; *ATL* I || **25** I Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; [Σιδόσιοι] *SEG* V; [ΓΓΓ-III] [Σιδόσιοι] *ATL* I || **26** [Γαργαῖς] *SEG* V; [ῬΔΔΓΓ-III] [Γαργαῖς]; *ATL* I || **27** Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72 restoring [Μυέσσιοι] p. 33; [H] [Μυ]έ[σσιοι] *ATL* I || **28** Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 reported an almost complete vertical and the two lower horizontals of the second E, whereas Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72 only had ΓΠΙEN_L restoring Πριηνῆ[ς] p. 33. Today a little less is visible than reported by Rangabé and a little more than Köhler's plate suggests. *SEG* V were the first to report the tip of the sigma restoring Πριενῆς *SEG* V, but this letter should at least be dotted; [H] Πριενῆς *ATL* I || **29** Köhler 1869, p. 33; [H] Πυγελεῆς *ATL* I || **36** ΧΣΥΝΕΓΡΑΜ Köhler 1869, p. 33 || **COLUMN II 2** [Γεντίν]ιοι Köhler 1869, p. 33; [Ἀρισβαῖοι] *SEG* V, since Gentinos is not attested before the fourth assessment period (comm. *ad loc.*) || **3** Köhler 1869 p. 33; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Δαυνι]οτειχῖται *ATL* I || **4** Köhler 1869, p. 33; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Διδυμ]οτειχῖται *ATL* I || **5** Köhler 1869, p. 33; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Λαμπ]ονειῆς *ATL* I || **6** Köhler 1869, p. 33; [H] [Δαρ]δανῆς *ATL* I || **7** Köhler 1869, p. 33; [Γ] [h]αρπαγίανοί *ATL* I

|| 8 *SEG V* || 9 Köhler 1869, p. 33; [Ῥ] Σελυμβριανοί *ATL I* || 10 Köhler 1869, p. 33; [ΧΗΗ] Λαμφσακενοί *ATL I* || 11 [ΔΓΓ-Ι]|| Σιγει[εῖς] Köhler 1869, p. 33; [ΔΓΓ-Ι]|| Σιγει[εῖς] *SEG V* || 13 Χ^{ΑΙ}...ΟΝΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 243, no. 159; [Χαλκηδ]όνιοι Köhler 1869, p. 33; [ῬΗΗΗΗ] Χαλχ[εδό]νιοι *ATL I* || 14-18 Names supplied by *SEG V*, quotas added by *ATL I*. Cf. 13.II.10-14 || 14 *SEG V*; [ΓΓΓ-Γ-Ι] [Σέστιοι] *ATL I* || 15 *SEG V*; [ΓΓΓ-Γ-Ι] [Λιμναῖοι] *ATL I* || 16 *SEG V*; [ΓΓΓ-Γ-Ι] [Μαδύτιοι] *ATL I* || 17 [Η] [Χερρονεῖται] || 18 Final ΟΙ reported by Pittakis 1853, p. 726, no. 1186 || 19 [Παισε]νοί Köhler 1869, p. 33; [Παρια]νοί *SEG V*; [ΔΔΔΓΓ-Γ-Ι] [Παρια]νοί *ATL I* || 23 ῬΗΗΗΗ Κυζικενοί Köhler 1869, p. 33 || 24 ΔΔΔΓΓ-Γ-Ι Ἄρτακηνο[ί] Köhler 1869, p. 33; ΔΔΔΓΓ-Γ-Ι Ἄρτακενο[ί] *ATL I* || 33 ΔΓΓ-|| Σταγι[ρῖται] Köhler 1869, p. 33 || 35 ΔΙΕΣΑΓ . . ΟΑΘΟ (= fr. 138, now lost) recorded by Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII (from Ross' notes) || COLUMN III 2 *SEG V*; Γ ΣΤΡΕΦΣΑΙΟΙ the stone || 3 Ῥ Γαλέφοιοι *SEG V* || 4 Ῥ Νεοπολι[ται] Köhler 1869, p. 33; Ῥ Νεοπολι[ται] *SEG V* || 6 Μαρονεῖς *ATL I* || 11 Köhler 1869, p. 33; ΗΗ Σίγγιοι *ATL I* || 15 [ΔΔΔΓΓ-Γ-Ι] [Σκαβλαῖοι] *ATL I* || 16-21 (= fr. 129) reported by Pittakis 1835, 423; Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 163; Böckh 1851, Pl. III, no. XXXVII; Pittakis 1853, p. 726, no. 1187 || 16-26 The collation between frs. 128, 129, 130, 131 and 134 was made by Köhler which explains why he has the corresponding quotas in these lines || 16 ELLE Pittakis 1835, p. 423; ELI Rangabé ;1842, p. 245, no. 163. Köhler 1869, Pl. 73* ELI emending this to Γ'Ασσ[η]ρῖ[ται] p. 33. Cf. 9.II.26 and 13.III.16 || 17 ΚΑΙΑΕ Pittakis 1835, p. 423; Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 163; [Δί]καιοι Ἐ[ρετριῶν] Köhler 1869, p. 33 || 18 Η ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΙ Pittakis 1835, p. 423 emended by Köhler 1869, p. 33 to ῬΗ [Τ]οροναῖοι taking Κ to be a restoration of Pittakis', probably correctly since Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 163 has ΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΙ || 19 ΗΗΓ- Λ Pittakis 1853, p. 726, no. 1186, but Λ not in Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; ΚΑΝΘΙΟΙ Pittakis 1835, p. 423; ΚΑΝΘΙΟ Böckh 1851, Pl. III, no. CCCVII; ΚΑΝΘΙΟ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 163 and Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 73*, restoring ΗΗΗ Γ'Α[κάνθιοι]. It is not clear where *ATL I* got ^ΚΑΝΘΙΟ from, cf. Pl. XII, no. 129 || 20 ῬΗΗΗΗ Pittakis 1853, p. 726 no. 1186; ΝΔΑΙΟΙ Pittakis 1835, p. 423; ΝΔΑΙΟ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 163; Ῥ.ΗΗ ΝΔΑΙΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72 and 73*, restoring Ῥ[Η]ΗΗ[Η] [Με]νδαῖοι p. 33; ῬΗΗΗΗ [Με]νδαῖοι *SEG V* || 21 .ΛΙΟΙ Pittakis 1835, 423; !ΛΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 73*, restoring Η Γ'Αργίλιοι p.

33; Η [Ἀργ]ίλιο[ι] *IG I* || **22-25** (= fr. 130) Reported by Pittakis 1853, p. 726, no. 1186 || **22-28** (= fr. 131) reported by Pittakis 1835, p. 420, Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. CXX and Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 74* || **22** ΠΗ Pittakis 1853 p. 726, no. 1186; ΣΚΙΘΕΣ Pittakis 1835, p. 420 followed by Böckh and Köhler in their plates. However, Köhler (1869, p. 34) thought that it was one of Pittakis' tacit restitutions and emended it to Π Σκιω[ναῖοι]. Cf. 11.III.7 || **22** ΔΓΗ-III reported by Pittakis 1853, p. 726, no. 1186. ΘΠΑΝΙΕΣ Pittakis 1835, p. 420 followed by Böckh and Köhler on their plates. But Köhler (1869, p. 34) thought that this was a tacit restitution and emended it to ΔΓΗ-III Θρα[μβαῖοι] p. 33; Cf. 11.III.8; ΔΓΗ-III Θραμ[βαῖοι] *SEG V* || **24** ΔΓΗ-III Pittakis 1853, p. 726, no. 1186, ΦΕΛΕΤΙΟΙ Pittakis 1835, p. 420 || **25** Η Pittakis 1853, p. 726, no. 1186; ΑΙΝΕΑΤΑΙ Pittakis 1835, p. 420; [ΗΗ]Η Αἰνεᾶται || **26** Η...III Pittakis 1853, p. 726, no. 1186. . . . 'III Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; ΦΑΡΒΕΛΙΟΙ Pittakis 1835, p. 420. Δ .III ΦΑΡΒΕΛΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, frs. 72 and 73*, restoring Δ[ΓΗ-III] κτλ. p. 33; Δ[Η-III] κτλ. *SEG V* || **27** ΟΘΟΡΙΟΙ Pittakis 1835, p. 420; ΔΗ-III ΟΘΟΡΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, frs. 72 and 73*, restoring ΔΗ-III Ὀθόριοι p. 33; ΔΗ-III *ATL I* without explanation || **28** .ΡΜΥ Pittakis 1835, p. 420; Γ .ΡΜΥ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, nos. 72-74*, restoring [Π] [Σε]ρμυ[λιῆς] p. 33; Π [Σε]ρμυ[λιῆς] *SEG V* || **29** Köhler 1869, p. 33 || **30** Köhler 1869, p. 33 || **31** Köhler 1869, p. 33 || **32** [Σερμῆς] *SEG V*; [ΓΗ-III] [Σερμαῖες] *ATL I*, without explanation || **34** [Καρικῶ φόρο] Köhler 1869, p. 33, printing the lower halves of two circular letters on his Pl. V (no. 75), these were not reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 165; [Καρικῶ φόρο] *SEG V* curiously omitting Köhler's omikrons || **35** [Χερρονέσι]ο[ι] *SEG V*; [ΗΗΠΔΔ] [Χερρονέσι]ο[ι] *ATL I*, but the traces on the upper edge of fr. 139, not reported by previous editors, could be accidental marks || **COLUMN IV 2** ΓΗ-III \ΥΛΙΕΤ^ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, nos. 67-68 erroneously printing ΓΗ-III Αύλιᾶτα[ι] p. 33; ΓΗ-III [Ι] Αύλιᾶτα[ι] *SEG V* correctly || **3** ΔΓΗ-III .ΑΡΒΑΣΥ^ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, nos. 67-68, restoring ΔΓΗ-III Καρβασα[νδῆς] p. 33 || **4** Π Κ ΔΡΙΕΤΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, nos. 67-68, restoring Π Κεδριῆτα[ι] p. 33 || **5** ΚΙ Rangabé 1842, s p. 243, no. 159 || **6** ΧΑ Rangabé 1842, p. 243, no. 159 || **7** Γ reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 243, no. 159; ΣΑΝΔΛ Rangabé 1842, p. 243, no. 161; Π ..Σ.ΝΔ^ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, nos. 67-68, restoring Π [Πα]σ[α]νδῆς; Π [α]σανδῆς *SEG V* || **8** ΛΑΥΝΔΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 243, no. 161; Η ΛΑΥΝΔΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, nos. 67-68,

restoring Η [Κ]λαύνδι[οι] p. 33; Η [Κ]λαυνδῆς *SEG V* || **10** Γ̄ I ELYΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, nos. 67-68, restoring [ῬΗ] Ἰηλύσιοι p. 33; Ῥ[Η] Ἰηλύσιοι *IG I* || **13** Ῥ TELANΔΠΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, nos. 67-68, restoring [Ῥ] Τελάνδριοι (sic!) || **14** Ῥ KAYNIOI Köhler 1869, Pl. V, nos. 67-68, restoring [Ῥ] Καύνιοι (sic!) || **15** ΚΟΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 243, no. 161; ΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 68, restoring [Κ]ῶοι p. 33; [Ῥ] Κῶοι *ATL I* || **16** ΚΙΝΔΥΕΣ Rangabé 1842, no. 161; ΝΔΥΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 68, restoring [Κι]νδυῆς p. 33; Κινδυῆς *SEG V*; [Η] Κινδυῆς *ATL I* || **17-23** (= fr. 122) Quotas reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 238 || **17** Ῥ Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 238; ΑΣΤΥΠΑΛΑΙΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 243, no. 161 || **18** ΙΙΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 238; ἘΔΙΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 243, no. 161; vertical from initial preserved on fr. 133 || **19-25** The discovery of fr. 133 (= *Ag I* 4903) confirmed the restitution of ll. 19-24 in *SEG V* || **19** †-ΙΙΙΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 238; ΡΠΑΘΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 243, no. 161; ΚΑ preserved on fr. 133 || **20** Ῥ Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 238 || **21** Η Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 238 || **22** †-ΙΙΙΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 238 || **23** †- Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 238 || **24** ΔΔΔ††† Πλαδ[ασῆς] *ATL I*; Cf. 13.IV.24 || **25** [Ἰ] Αλικαρνάσιοι *SEG V*; [ΗῬΔΓ†-ΙΙΙΙ] [Ἰ] Αλικαρνάσιοι *ATL I*; Cf. 13.IV.26 || **26** [Λάτμοι] *SEG V*; [Η] [Λάτμοι] *ATL I*; Cf. 13.IV.27 || **27** [Παρπαριῶται] *SEG V*; Cf. 11.IV.31; [ΔΔΓ] [Μυδονῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 11.IV.30 || **28** [Ἰ] ασῆς *SEG V*; Cf. 11.IV.31 and 13.IV.29; [ΔΓ†-ΙΙΙΙ] [Παρπαριῶται] *ATL I*. Cf. 11.IV.31 and 13.IV.28 || **29** [Χαλκέτορες] *SEG V*; Cf. 13.IV.30. [Η] [Ἰ] ασῆς *ATL I*. Cf. 11.IV.31 and 13.IV.29 || **30** [ἡ]υρομῆς *SEG V*. Cf. 13.IV.31; [ΔΔΔΓ] [Χαλκετορῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 13.IV.30 || **31** [Βαργυλιῆται] *SEG V*. Cf. 13.IV.32; [ΔΔΔΔ†-ΙΙΙΙ] [ἡ]υρομῆς *ATL I*; Cf. 13.IV.31 || **32** [ΔΓ†-ΙΙΙΙ] [Βαργυλιῆται] *ATL I*. Cf. 13.IV.32 || **33** [Πύρνιοι] *SEG V*. [ΔΓ†-ΙΙΙΙ] [Πύρνιοι] *ATL I*; Cf. 13.IV.29 || **34** ΔΓ†, Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 165; *SEG V* reported ΔΔΓ†-† and restored [ῬΔΔ]ΔΔΓ†-† [Μυλασῆς], p. 33. Cf. 13.IV.32. The bottom traces compatible with an extra delta, and perhaps even a third (i.e. the first) are visible || **35** *SEG V*. Cf. 12.III.31 || **COLUMN V 2** ΕΦΣΥΑΝΔΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 70a, restoring [Λ]ηψιμανδῆς p. 33; Λεφουανδῆς *SEG V* || **4** \ΑΔΝΑΣΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 70a, restoring Μαδνασῆς p. 33 || **5** ἘLEAT Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 70a, restoring [Πε]λεᾶ[ται] (sic!); [Π]ελεᾶ[ται] *IG I* || **6** ...Δ.. Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 70a, restoring [Μύν]δ[ιοι] p. 33 ||

7 ...ΥΔ.. Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 70a, restoring [Καλ]ύδ[νιοι] p. 33 || 8 ...ΜΕΡ.. Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 70a, restoring [Τερ]μερ[ῆς] p. 33 || 13-23 restored by *SEG* V and *ATL* I, but there is no clear analogy in the surrounding lists || 13 [Σύριοι] *SEG* V; ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ [Σύριοι], but there is no analogy and Syros is placed at the bottom of the Island panel in 13.V.32. Only if we believe, with the *SEG*- and *ATL*-editors, that there were 23 entries in the Island panels of 12 and 13 (there are 24 in 14 and 15) and that these were the same is it possible to restore Syros with any confidence. In fact no other attested island member seems to be missing from the restored list || 14 Γ reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 243, no. 161; Γ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 76, restoring nothing p. 33; Η [Σερίφιοι] *SEG* V || 15 ΗΓ Rangabé 1842, p. 243, no. 161; Η Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 76, restoring Η [Μυκόνιοι] p. 33; ΗΗ [Τένιοι] *SEG* V; ΗΗ [Τένιοι] *ATL* I || 16 ΓΗ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 76, restoring ΓΗ[ΓΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ] p. 33; ΓΗΓ[ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Νάχσιοι] *SEG* V || 17 ΗΗΓ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 76, restoring ΗΗΗ p. 33; ΗΗΗ [Σίφνιοι] *SEG* V || 18-24 Initials of the names preserved on fr. 133 (= *Ag.* I 4903) || 18 ΗΗΗ [Κύθνιοι] *SEG* V || 19 ΗΗΗ [Ἄνδριοι] Köhler 1869, p. 33 || 20 Γ [Καρύστιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 33 || 21 Γ [Γρυγγῆς] *SEG* V || 22 Köhler 1869, p. 33 || 23 Η [Σερίφιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 33; Η [Μυκόνιοι] *SEG* V || 25 ΔΔΔΓΓΓ-ΙΙ Δ[ι]ῆς ἀπὸ Κεναίο *ATL* I || 26 ΓΓΓ-ΙΙ ΑΓ ΓΝΑΙΔΙΑΔΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl.V, nos. 21c and 78, restoring [ΔΔΔΓΓΓ]-ΙΙ 'Αθῆναι Διάδες p. 33; [ΔΔΔΓΓΓ]-ΙΙ 'Αθῆναι Διάδες || 32 ἸΠΙΝΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl.V, no. 21c, restoring [Μ]υριναῖοι p. 33 || 33 ἸΑΙΣΤΙΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 21c, restoring [Ἡ]φαιστιῆς p. 33 || **POSTSCRIPT** ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΟΝΟΕΥΣ ΧΣΥΝ_ΛΡΑΜ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; Κολο[νόθεν] Meritt 1959, 189; Κολο[νῆθεν] previous editors.

List 13

The thirteenth list is preserved on the fragments 87, 88, 89, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 145 (lost), 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156 || **HEADING** 1 ΑΡΧΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 and Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72 || 2 ἸΑΣΕΝ Σ/ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 and Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72 || **COLUMN** I 9 ΝΙΣΥΡΙΟΙ¹ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII || 10 ΙΚΑΡ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 || 11 ΟΝΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 || 12 ΦΟΚΑΙΕΣ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII || 13 ΑΙΡΑΙΕΣ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII || 14 ΛΕΒΕΔΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no.

XXXVIII || **15** ΠΑΡΑΚ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 || **18** ΕΙΛ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; ΕΛΑ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII; Ἐλα[ιέα παρὰ Μ.] Köhler 1869, p. 35; Ἐλα[ιέα] MW 1926b, p. 95; ΔΓΓ-III Ἐλα[ιέα] *ATL* I || **19-23** MW 1926b, p. 95: “we have restored the Ionic panel by restoring names from other inscriptions in this period in the lacuna between Ἐλα[ιέα] and [Πολιχνῖται].” These restitutions are possible, but the names are not necessarily given in the original order || **19** [Ἀστυρευοί Μυσοί] *SEG* V; [ΓΓΓ-ΓΓ] [Ἀστυρευοί Μυσοί] *ATL* I || **20** [Πιταναῖοι] *SEG* V; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Πιταναῖοι] *ATL* I || **21** [Πριανῆς] *SEG* V; [H] [Πριανῆς] *ATL* I || **22** [Ἐρυθραῖοι] *SEG* V; [P^hHH] [Ἐρυθραῖοι] *ATL* I || **23** [Ἐλαιόσιοι] *SEG* V; [Γ-III] [Ἐλαιόσιοι] *ATL* I || **24** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [P^hΔΓΓ-III] [Πολιχνῖται] *ATL* I || **25** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [Γ-III] [Πτελεόσιοι] *ATL* I || **26** Köhler 1869, p. 35 || **27** *SEG* V; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Βούθε]ια *ATL* I || **28** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [H] [Μυέ]σσιοι *ATL* I || **30** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Ἰ]σίνδιοι *ATL* I || **31** [P^h] Μιλέσιοι *ATL* I || **32** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [P^hH] Ἐφέσιοι *ATL* I || **33** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [H^hP^h] Κλαζομένιοι *ATL* I; [P^h]ΔΔΓΓ-III Γαργαῖος Köhler 1869, p. 35 || **COLUMN II 3 P** in ΔΑΡΔΑΝΕΣ reported only by Rangabé 1842, p. 260, no. 165, but P is not found on his upper-case text *ibid.* p. 244, no. 162. I follow *SEG* V in taking it as his tacit restitution || **4** Γ ΗΑΡΠΑΓΙΑΝΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII from Ross’ notes; Γ ΗΑΡΠΑΓΙΑΝΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72; Γ ηαρπαγιανοί *SEG* V || **5** ΗΗP^hΔΔΔΓΓ. ΤΕ.ΝΕΔΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII; ΗΗP^hΔΔΔΓΓ/Γ Τ...ΔΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72; ΗΗP^hΔΔΔΓΓ/Γ Τε[ν]έδιοι *SEG* V || **6** ΛΑ . . . ΑΚΕΝΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; ΛΑΜΦΣΑΚΕΝΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII from Ross’ notes; ΛΑΜΦΣΑΚΕΝΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72 || **7** ΣΙ . . . ΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; ΣΙΛΕΙΕΣ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII from Ross’ notes; ΣΙ.Ε.ΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72, restoring Σι[γ]ε[ι]ῆς p. 35. Ross generally seems to be too optimistic, cf. 8 || **8** .ΗΗΗ ΑΡ.ΔΕΝΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; .ΗΗΗ ΑΒΥΔΕΝΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII from Ross’ notes; ///ΗΗ/// ΑΒΥΔΕΝΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72, restoring [H]ΗΗ[H] Ἄβυδενοί p. 35; ΗΗΗΗ Ἄβυδενοί *SEG* V; ΗΗΗΗ Ἄβυδενοί *ATL* I || **9** ΚΑΛΧΕΔΟ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; ΚΑΛΧΕΔΟ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII; ΚΑΛΧΕΔΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72, restoring Καλχεδό[νιοι] p. 35 || **10** ΣΕΣΤΙΟ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 || **11** ΛΙΜΝΑ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; ΛΙΜΝΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72 || **12** ΓΓΓ-ΓΓ ΜΑΔΥ

Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 || **13** ΗΗ[⊥] ΧΕΡ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; Η Χερ[ρονεῖται] *SEG V*, following Köhler 1869, p. 36 in taking Η[⊥] as an error, since Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 omits it. Η is the normal quota for Chersonesos from this period onward || **14** ΔΓ[⊥]ΙΙΙΙ Α Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162, Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII from Ross' notes; ΔΓ[⊥]ΙΙΙΙ / Köhler 1869 Pl. V, no. 72, printing only ΔΓ[⊥]ΙΙΙΙ p. 35, corrected to ΔΓ[⊥]ΙΙΙΙ Α in *IG I*; 'Α[στακενοί] MW 1926b, 'Α[λοπεκονέσιοι] *SEG V*; cf. 12.II.8 || **15** Ϝ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; Ϝ ['Ελαιόσιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 35. Cf. 11.II.11 || **16** ΔΓ[⊥]ΙΙΙΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII correcting Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162: (ΔΓ[⊥]ΗΗ[⊥]). A vertical from the initial is preserved on fr. 148 from which *SEG V* restored the name. Cf. 12.II.19 || **17** ΔΔ ΙΙ ΠΑΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; ΔΔΔ. . . . ΙΙ ΠΑΣ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII; ΔΔΔ. . . ΙΙ ΠΑΡ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72, printing ΔΔΔΗ[⊥]Η[⊥] ΙΙ Παρ[ιανοί] (sic!) || **18** .. ΙΙΙ ΠΡΟΚ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; ΠΡΟΚ only Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72, printing [ΗΗΗ] Προκ[οννήσιοι]; [ΗΗ]Η κτλ. *ATL I* correctly reporting the lower right tip of vertical preserved on fr. 148 || **19** ϜΗΗΗΗ ΚΥΖΙΚ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; ϜΗΗΗΗ Κυζικ[ηνοί] Köhler 1869, p. 35 || **20** ΔΔΔΗ[⊥]Η[⊥] ΙΙ ΑΡΤΑΚ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; ΔΔΔΗ[⊥]Η[⊥] ΙΙ 'Αρτακηνοί Köhler 1869, p. 35 by error || **21** Χ ΠΕΡΙΝC Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162; Χ ΠΕΡΙΝΘ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII; Χ ΠΕΡΙΝC Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72, restoring Χ Περίνθιοι p. 35 || **22** ΧϜϜΔΔΗ[⊥] ΙΙ ΙΙ ΙΙ BYZA Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162, Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII; ΧϜϜΔΔΗ[⊥] Ι Ι Ι Ι BYZA Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72, restoring ΧϜϜΔΔΗ[⊥] Ι Ι Ι Ι Βυζάντιοι p. 35 || **23** ΔΓ[⊥] Ι Ι Ι Ι ΚΙΑΥ Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162, Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XXXVIII; ΔΓ[⊥] Ι Ι Ι Ι ΚΙΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 72; ΔΓ[⊥] Ι Ι Ι Ι Κιαν[οί] *ATL I* || **25** Γ Νεάπ[ολις] *SEG V*, but only the vertical is preserved from Π || **26** Γ[⊥] Ι Ι Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 || **27** Γ[⊥] Η[⊥] Rangabé 1842, p. 244, no. 162 || **28** left wing of Υ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. LXV || **30** Γ[⊥] Η[⊥] Η[⊥] Ι Ι Ι Παλαιπερκόσιοι *ATL I* || **32** ΔΓ[⊥] Η[⊥] Ι Ι Ι Ι [Σκαφσαῖοι] *SEG V* || **33** ΔΓ[⊥] Η[⊥] Ι Ι Ι Ι [Σκιάθιοι] *SEG V* || **34 -37** Köhler 1869, p. 35 || **38** Köhler 1869, p. 35 || **COLUMN III 3** [Η] [Στ]ρεφσαῖοι *ATL I* || **4** \ in \ ΑΛΕΦΣΙΟΙ first reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 75 || **5** *SEG V*; [ΔΔΔΗ[⊥]Η[⊥] Ι Ι Ι] Αιγάντιοι *ATL I* || **6** *SEG V* || **7** *SEG V*; [ΗϜ] Μαρονεῖς *ATL I* || **11** *SEG V*; [ΗΗ] Σίγγιοι *ATL I* || **12** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [Α]φυταῖοι *SEG V*; [Η] [Α]φυταῖοι *ATL I* || **13** Ν Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 167; [Μεκ]υπερν[αῖοι] *SEG*

V; [ῚΔΓῚ-III] [Μεκ]υπερν[αῖοι] *ATL I* || **14** *SEG V*; ..YN.IOI Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 81 restoring [Ὶ]λύνθιοι p. 35 erroneously, since L has not been reported previously, cf. Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 167; [HH] [Ὶ]λύνθιοι *ATL I* || **15** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [ΔΔΔΗ-Η-Η] [Σ]καβλαῖοι *ATL I* || **17** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [H] Δίκαια Ἐρετρι *ATL I* || **18** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [ῚH] Τοροναῖοι *ATL I* || **19** [HHH] Ἀκάνθιοι *ATL I* || **21** [H] Ἀργῖλιοι *ATL I* || **22** [ῚH] Σκιοναῖοι *ATL I* || **23** [ΔΓῚ-III] Φεγέτιοι *ATL I* || **24** [HHH] Αἰνεᾶται *ATL I* || **25** [ΔΓῚ-III] Φαρβέλιοι *ATL I* || **26** [Δ-III] Ὀθόριοι *ATL I* || **27** [Ὶ] Σερμουλιῆς *ATL I* || **28** [Σαμοθ]ρᾶκε[ς] Köhler 1869, p. 35. I believe the upper stroke of the initial sigma is preserved as well as the left tips of the letter, not reported by previous editors. Only the upper loop is preserved rho and I dot this letter accordingly || **29** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [X] [Αῖνιοι] *ATL I*; cf. 269.II.30 || **30** [- - -]AT^1 the stone; [Ποτειδε]ᾶται Köhler 1869, p. 35; [ῚH] [Ποτειδε]ᾶται *ATL I* || **31** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [χαισον]ῆς *SEG V*; [ΔΔΓ] [χαισον]ῆς MW 1926b || **32** [Νεάπολις] MW 1926b; [ΓῚ-III] [Σερμαι]ῆς *ATL I*, but there is no hint of an epsilon before the final sigma on the edge of fr. 154 in this line || **33** .⁶ *SEG V*; [Δίκαια] *ATL I*. But there is no analogy. Note that the correct length of the lacuna is 7 and not 6 letters, the space below sigma in the above line being vacant || **34** [Θραμβαι]ῖοι MW 1926b; [XῚ] [Ὶ]Αβδερίτ[αι] *ATL I*, but no letter traces are visible before the final iota || **37** [Καρικὸς φόρος] *SEG V* || **38** [Καρικὸς φόρος] MW 1926b; [Χερρονέσιοι] *SEG V*; [HHῚΔΔ] [Χερρονέσιοι] *ATL I* in analogy with 12.II.35 (*SEG V*, p. 16), but I do not see the reported letters there || **COLUMN IV 3** ΓῚ-Η-Η ΑΥΛΙΑΤΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 75, restoring ΓῚ-Η-Η Αύλιᾶται, p. 34, corrected in *IG I* to ΓῚ-Η-Η Αύλιᾶτ[αι] || **4** ΔΓῚ-III KAPBAΣY. Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 165; ΔΓῚ-III KAPBAΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 75, restoring ΔΓῚ-III Καρβασ[υανδῆς] p. 34 || **8** ΠΑΣ^N^ΕΣ the stone; Ὶ Πασανδῆς Köhler 1869, p. 35 || **9** H KL/ - - the stone; H KL Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 165; H Κλα[υνδῆς] *SEG V* || **10** Köhler 1869, p. 35. Cf. 12.IV.9; HHH K Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 165 by error? || **11** Köhler 1869, p. 35. Cf. 12.IV.10 || **12** Part of Ὶ transcribed as H Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 165 || **12-16** Names supplied by *SEG V*, quotas added by *ATL I*. Cf. 12.IV.13-16 || **17** Η- Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 167; Ηι Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 81, restoring Η[Ὶ] [Ὶ]Ἀστυπαλαιῆς p. 35; ΗῚ [Ὶ]Ἀστυπαλαιῆς *SEG V* Ηι the stone today || **18** Köhler 1869, p. 35 || **26** ALIKA Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 167; ῚΑλικα[ρνάσσιοι] *SEG V*; ῚΑλικαρ[νάσσιοι]

ATL I || **28** ΠΑΡΠΑΡΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 167; Παρπαριοτ[αι] *SEG V* || **30** ΧΑΛΚΕΤΟ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 167; ΧΑΛΚΕΤΟΡΕ Köhler 1869, Pl. V, no. 81 || **31** . ΔΔΔΗΙΙΙ ΗΥΡΟΜΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 167 || ΜΑΔΝΑΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 167, but ΜΑΔΝΑΣΕ clearly visible today and correctly given by Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. XLIV || **COLUMN V 3** Köhler 1869, p. 35; [P] [Πελειᾶτ]αι *ATL I*; cf. 12.V.5 || **4-6** restored by MW 1926b in analogy with 12.V.6-8 || **4** [Μύνδιοι] MW 1926b; [ΓΗΗΗ] [Μύνδιοι] *ATL I*. cf. 12.V.6 || **5** [Καλύδνιοι] MW 1926b; [H^P] [Καλύδνιοι] *ATL I*; cf. 12.V.7 || **6** [Τερμερῆς] MW 1926b; [P] [Τερμερῆς] *ATL I*; cf. 12.V.8 || **7-13** restored in analogy with List 14 by *ATL I*, p. 183: “Of the names restored here those in lines 7-12 appear in List 14. [Ταρβανῆς] occurs in 15, II, 87 and [Ἰδυμῆς] is taken from 10, V, 27. [Ἄμυνανδῆς] is a less likely restoration, since its payment was probably included in that of [Συαγγελῆς]; see the Register under Συαγγελῆς and Ἄμυνανδῆς. The restorations now furnish a complete list of the Karic tributaries of the fourth period.” They are nevertheless conjectural || **7** [ΔΔΓ] [Μυδονῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 14.II.72 || **8** [ΔΓΗΙΙΙ] [Ναριοβαρῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 14.I.71 || **9** [ΓΗΗΗ] [Θασθαρῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 14.I.72 || **10** [P] [Kāres hōn Týmenes āρχει] *ATL I*. Cf. 14.I.84 || **11** [Ταρβανῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 15.II.87 and 4.I.85 || **12** [H] [Συαγγελῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 14.2.83 || **13** [Ἰδυμῆς] *ATL I*. Cf. 10.V.27 || **14** [Νεσιοτικός φόρος] *ATL I* || **15-17** restored by MW 1926 in analogy with List 14 (in *ATL I* having added a line at the end of the Carian panel). The restitutions remain purely conjectural || **15** [Νεσιοτικός φόρος] MW 1926b; [Σερίφιοι] *SEG V*; [H] [Σερίφιοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 12.V.14 || **16** [Νάχσιοι] MW 1926b; [P^HH^PΔΓΗΙΙΙ] [Νάχσιοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 12.V.16 || **17** [Σίφνιοι] *SEG V*; [HHH] [Σίφνιοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 12.V.17 || **18** [Κύθνιοι] *SEG V*; [HHH] [Κύθνιοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 12.V.18 || **19** [Τέ]νιοι *SEG V*; [HH] [Τέ]νιοι *ATL I*. Cf. 12.V.15 || **20** \ΝΔΡΙΟΙ the stone; Ἄνδριοι *SEG V*; [P^H] Ἄνδριοι *ATL I*. Cf. 12.V.19 || **21** *SEG V*. [P] [Καρύστιοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 12.V.20 || **22** *SEG V*. Cf. 12.V.21 || **23** *SEG V*; [HHHH] [Κεῖοι] *ATL I*. Cf. 12.V.22 || **24** *SEG V*; [P] Μυκόνιοι *ATL I*. Cf. 12.V.23 || **25** *SEG V*; [X^PHHH] Πάριοι *ATL I*. Cf. 12.V.24 || **26** [Δι]ῆς ἀπὸ Κεν[αίο] *SEG V*; [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Δι]ῆς ἀπὸ Κεν[αίο] *ATL I* || **28-30** restored by MW 1926b in analogy with List 14, but the restitutions are conjectural, since there is no attested correspondence in the appearance of the preserved names on the two lists || **28** *SEG V*. Cf. 12.V.27; [P] [Ἰἔτα]ι *ATL I* || **29** *SEG V*. Cf. 12.V.28; [Γ] [Ῥεναῖοι] *ATL I* || **30** *SEG V*. Cf.

12.V.29; [H] [Στυρεῖς] *ATL* I || 31 *SEG* V. Cf. 12.V.30 || 34 ΣΥΡ Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 189 || 34 *MYP* Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 189 || 35-37 Köhler 1869, p. 35.

List 14

The fourteenth list is preserved on the fragments 1, 7, 8, 15, 20, 26, 27 (lost), 29, 94, 105, 116, 117, 158 (lost), 159, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169 (= *Ag.* I 4570), 170 (lost), 171, 172 || **HEADING 3** IO MW 1926b, whom I follow, since traces from a round letter seem to be preserved on the upper right edge of fr. 1, but I dot the preceding iota. Nothing is preserved before this letter || 3-4 τιο- | ς ἔγραμμάτευε, . . .]ς [.] *ATL* I. But nothing is visible of the supposed tau || 4 **End** Only the sigma in the penultimate letter space was reported by MW 1926 || 5 **End** I follow MW 1926b printing ΙΑ || 6 ΟΣ MW 1926b restoring Ἰονικὸς φόρος; I find no confirmation for the omikron. The traces of the sigma are faint but certain || **COLUMN I 12** [ΔΔΔΓΓΓ] || [Νοτιῆς] *ATL* I, stating p. 183 that : [Νοτιῆς] is compulsory: “If the reading of the quota is right (see the notes on fragment 94, pp. 46-47) the restoration is certain.” And further p. 46-47: “At the top of the stone, in the numeral column of 14, I, 12, we note the lower tips of two verticals. They are cut close to one another and are probably obols. These strokes fall close to the column of names and are placed in just that position which the final obols of a quota [ΔΔΔΓΓΓ] would occupy.” I see only one of the two supposed obol signs on the upper edge of fr. 94. But the position of this suggests that it was not a line above 13 but only half a line. If it is not an accidental stroke, it is perhaps part of a quota from a two line entry. This quota would probably have been ΔΔΔΓΓΓ since the position of the last vertical is to the right of ΔΓΓΓ in line 17 || 13 Π- - - MW 1926; [ΔΓΓΓ] Πι[ταυναῖοι] *ATL* I; The vertical in the first letter space is certain. It is placed to the left of the centre. The surface is preserved in such a way that a lower horizontal can be excluded. Possible letters would be K or Γ. There are no traces of a following letter || 14 ΜΥΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 264, no. 175; [H] Μυέσ[οιοι] *ATL* I || 15 Köhler 1869, p.37; [H] Πυγε[λῆς] *ATL* I || 16 [P]Η Ἐφέσιοι *ATL* I || 17 My restitution || 18 [P]ΔΓΓΓ Πολιχνῖται *SEG* V || 19 Köhler 1869, p. 37 || 20 . III Ἐ . . Rangabé 1842, p. 264, no. 175 || **COLUMN II 7-11** Early editors reported nothing from these lines; MW 1926b restored 7-10 of which I see only isolated and uncertain letters. 11 *ATL* I printed [H^P] [Κολοφό]ν[οιοι], in preference to [Ἄστυρε]ν[οὶ Μυσοί] “in the light of the order Ἐλαιέα, Γρυνεῖς, Κολοφόνοι in 15, I, 12-14” (p. 183). However, in this line I

believe four letters are visible. The final iota is very clearly one stoichos to the left of the right edge. The position and letter size indicate that there would have been room for ΦΟΝΙΟΙ on fr. 1; and of these only .Ο.ΙΟΙ are discernible with any certainty. A comparison with the space occupied by the letters on fr. 94, i.e. column I in this same geographical panel, shows that fr. 1 could only possibly have preserved six letters. The left edge of the fragment being almost vertical, there is room for the same amount of letters in the lines above also. The following table illustrates the supposed positions. On the left we see how the names restored in MW 1926b and *ATL* I should ideally have been inscribed, and to the right how they must have been if Meritt and his colleagues' restitutions were correct.

Lost part of fr. 1	Preserved part of fr. 1	Lost part of fr. 1	Preserved part of fr. 1
Θ Ε Ρ Μ Α Ι Ο Ι		Θ Ε Ρ Μ Α Ι Ο Ι	
Ε Ν Ι Κ Α Ρ Ο Ι		Ε Ν Ι Κ Α Ρ Ο Ι	
Ε Λ Α Ι Ι Τ Α Ι		Ε Λ Α Ι Ι Τ Α Ι	
Λ Ρ Υ Ν Ε Ι Ε Σ		Λ Ρ Υ Ν Ε Ι Ε Σ	
Κ Ο Λ Ο Φ Ο Ν Ι Ο Ι		Κ Ο Λ Ο Φ Ο Ν Ι Ο Ι	

[Γ]ρυνειῆς would thus be just possible, supposing that only the tip of rho was visible on the left edge, but this would imply that all names except Kolophon had been aligned to the left. Even accepting that, it would be difficult to see how the nu in [ἐ]ν ἑκάροι (*ATL* I) could be preserved. Since there is no confirmation for the readings in lines 7 to 10, I prefer not to print anything except an isolated epsilon above Kolophon. The letters reported in line 11 could be accidental traces, but if we accept that fr. 1 had room for nine letters (cf. *ATL* I, Pl. XIV), they would have been considerably smaller than those preserved on fr. 94 || **7-8** [Θερ]μαῖοι | [ἐ]ν [ἑ]κάροι MW 1926b; [P] [Θερ]μαῖοι | [ἐ]ν ἑκάροι *ATL* I; I do not see anything in these lines || **9** [Ἐλα]ῖ[τ]αι MW1926b; [ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙ] [Ἐλα]ῖ[τ]αι *ATL* I; The only letter I can detect is T || **10** [Γρ]υνειῆς MW1926b; [ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙ] [Γ]ρυνειῆς *ATL* I; I only see what has been interpreted as the first E. There are no certain traces of the preceding letters nor of a final ς || **11** [H^P] [Κολοφόν]υ[ιοι] *ATL* I. I do not see the nu, but the letters Ο . Ι Ο Ι. A faint round form can perhaps be detected before the first omikron || **13** Faint traces might be visible from the end of the name, but not enough to print anything certain || **16** [Νι]σ[ύριοι] *SEG* V, quite rightly not taken into *ATL* I nor *IG* I³, since confident reading of any letter in this line is impossible || **COLUMN I-II 22** (= fr. 158) HEL[. .]ΣΠΟ (fr. 158) Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 83 || **COLUMN I 23** (= fr. 158) Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 83 || **24** (= fr. 158) Köhler 1869, Pl. VI,

no. 83 || **25** (= fr. 158) Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 83 || **26** Γ††-†-†|| Παλαιπερκόσιοι *SEG V* || **28** [ΔΓ†-†††] Δαυνι[οτε]ιχῖται *SEG V* || **33** ΗΗΗ ΠΡΟ Pittakis 1835, p. 423; ΗΗΗ ΠΡ Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 196' || **34-35** A clear vertical to the left of the centre is preserved with the upper and lower vertical excluding the reading Η Χ[ερρονεῖται] | [ἀπ' Ἄγορᾶς] by *SEG V* || **36** *SEG V*; ΔΓ†-††† Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 55*b*, restoring [Ἄστακενοί] p. 37 || **37** Köhler 1869, p. 37 || **38** Köhler 1869, p. 37 || **COLUMN II 22-23** [Γ] [Νεάπολις] [ἀπ' Ἄθενῶν] *ATL I*, cf. p. 10 (comm. *ad* fr. 7) and p. 183. The quota column is not aligned to the left in the list. If so the quota of line 23 would have been visible of the preserved surface. As it is, it must have fallen just above the second Η in line 24 and have been a single figure, cf. the position of Η Ἄφυταῖοι in 15.II.47. As the *ATL*-editors correctly stated: “there is only one possible restoration: with the quota.” But although there is only room a one-figure quota, it is not at all certain that we are dealing with a two-line entry, *pace ATL I* (p. 10). This being so, Bysbikos might also be a possible restitution, as well as other communities although not attested with a one figure quota || **24** ΗΗ - - [Τένέδιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 37; ΗΗ^ϕ[ΔΔΔΓ†††] [Τένέδιοι] *SEG V* || **25** Köhler 1869, p. 37 || **27** ΔΔΔ†††-†† [Νεάνδρεια] Köhler 1869, p. 37 || **29** Köhler 1869, p. 37; ΗΗ Ἄβυδ[ενοί] *ATL I* || **30** Γ†††-†† Πρια[πῆς] Köhler 1869, p. 37; Γ†††-†† Πρίαπ[ος] *SEG V* || **31** Η Σκάψ[ιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 37; Η Σκάφσ[ιοι] *SEG V* || **32** Köhler 1869, p. 37 || **35** [Γ†††-††] Λιμναῖοι *ATL I* || **36** [^ϕ] Ἐλαιόσιοι *ATL I* || **37** [ΔΔΔ†††] [Π]αριανοί *ATL I* || **38** *SEG V*; [Ζ]ελειᾶται Köhler 1869, p. 37 || **COLUMN I 45** Köhler 1869, p. 37; [^ϕ] [Μεκυπερναῖ]οι *ATL I* || **46-47** Köhler 1869, p. 37; [^ϕ] [Νεάπολις] | [Μενδαῖ]ον *ATL I* || **48** [Διῆς ἀ]πὸ τοῦ Ἄθω Köhler 1869, p. 37; [Η] [Διῆς ἀ]πὸ τῶ Ἄθω *ATL I* || **50-51** [Η] [Δίκαϊα] | [Ἐρετριῶ]ν *ATL I* || **52** [-⁷ -]ι *SEG V* || **54** Köhler 1869, p. 38; [...]ε *SEG V*; [...]εφ[σ- -] *ATL I*, apparently thinking of Γαλέφσιοι. My photograph does not confirm the reading of a phi. Fragment 160 has broken in such a way that only the bottom left extremity of the letter should be visible, and this area is destroyed by a hole in the surface. Note also that the final iota is perhaps preserved on fr. 159 although not reported by previous editors. This letter would fall in the tenth stoichos || **54** Köhler 1869, p. 38; [ΔΓ†-†††] [Θρ]αμβα[ῖοι] *ATL I* || **55** *SEG V*; [^ϕΔΓ†-†††] [Σ]αναῖοι *ATL I* || **56** Köhler 1869, p. 38; [ΗΗ] [Σπ]αρτόλ[ιοι] *ATL I* || **57** Köhler 1869, p. 38; [ΔΔΔ†††-††] [Σκα]βλαῖο[ι] *ATL I* || **59** [ΔΔΔ†††-††] [Ὀλοφύ]χ[ιοι] *ATL I* || **COLUMN II 41** Köhler 1869, p. 37; Σκιον[αῖοι] *SEG V*; [^ϕ]

Σκιον[αῖοι] *ATL* I || **42** Köhler 1869, p. 37; [ΔΓΓ-III] Σκιάθι[οι] *ATL* I || **43** Köhler 1869, p. 37; [HHH] Πεπαρέ[θιοι] *ATL* I || **49** A reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 5b || **50** O reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 5b || **58** [PΔΓΓ-III] [Στόλι]οι *ATL* I || **60** [ΔΔΔΓΓ-Γ-Γ] Γ'Ολοφύ]χ[οιοι] *ATL* I. A tip is visible on the bottom edge of fr. 160, but it could hardly be from a chi given its horizontal position. The right hasta of an upper horizontal of epsilon or tau would seem more likely || **COLUMN I-II 63** and **COLUMN I 64-74** Fr. 162 (lost) was seen by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 62b as part of frs. 105 and 161 || **COLUMN I-II 67** ΚΑΙ ΙΚΟ Pittakis 1835, p. 433; ΚΑ...ΚΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 62b || **COLUMN I 65** ΠΑΣΑΝΔΕΣ Pittakis 1835, p. 433; ΠΑΣΑΝΔΕ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 62b; Πασανδέ[ς] *ATL* I || **68-69** ΔΓΓ-III ΚΑΡ[~]ΑΘΙΟ/ ΑΡΚΕΣΕΙ \ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 62b, restoring Καρπαθίω[ν] Ἄρκεσεια p. 38 || **70** ΔΓΓ-III ΚΑΡΒΑΣΥ.ΝΔΕΣ | ΠΑΡΑΚΑΥΝΟΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 62b || **71-75** preserved on fr. 162 and an unnumbered fragment in *ATL* I || **71** ΗΗΗ ΦΑΣΕΛΙΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 62b || **72** ΔΓΓ-III ΝΑΡΙΣΒΑΡΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 62b || **73** ΓΓΓ-Γ ΘΑΣΘΑΤΕΣ (sic!) Pittakis 1835, p. 434; ΓΓΓ-Γ ΘΑΣΘΑ.ΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 62b. I take the T as Pittakis' invention rather than as an interpretation of an eventual vertical of P || **74** ΓΓΓ-Γ ΝΑΧΣΙΑΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 62b || **75** ΗP ΑΣΤΥΠΑΛΑΙΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 62b || **75** Γ-III ΠΕΔΙΕ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 62b || **COLUMN II 64-70** preserved on a lost fragment unnumbered in *ATL* I || **64** P I Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 9b || **65** ΔΔΔΓΓ-Γ-Γ ΚΡ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 9b || **66** P Η ΙΕΛ I Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 9b || **67** P ΚΟΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 9b || **68** ΓΓΓ-Γ ΑΥΛΙΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 9b || **69** P Η ΚΑΜΙΡΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 9b || **70** Η ΚΛΑΥΝΔΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 9b.

List 15

The fifteenth list is preserved on the following fragments: 28, 29, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 117, 118, 136, 141, 153, 156, 157, 171, 172, 173, 174 (lost), 175 (lost), 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181. The term ἐπιφορά appears in this list for the first time. Cf. Thuc. 6.31 and Diod. 17.95 and Nesselhauf 1933, 51f. and *ATL* I 452f. **HEADING 1** Upper and centre bar from epsilon preserved in the first stoichos on the edge of fr. 116 || **2** Only the right half of the horizontal is preserved of tau in the fourth stoichos. The *ATL*-editors first discovered that Σοοίστρατος

ὑβάδες had been cut in an erasure (*ATL* I, 184). They also hypothesized a connection between this erasure and the speech of Antiphon *περὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου φόνου*, 69-71. The evidence is meagre, and they correctly added a query. I find no confirmation for the tentative restorations of the original name by Meritt *IG* I³ p. 263, note *ad loc.*: “Χίον Περιθοίδες (aut Παμβοτάδες aut Περγασῆθεν)”. The only certain letters are IO at the end of line 2, whereas nothing is recoverable from line 3 || **3** The upper two thirds of O in the sixth stoichos and delta in HYBAΔΕΣ reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 86. According to this plate he also saw more of alpha than is preserved today || **4** The *ATL*-editors thought that “Aischylos names as hellenotamias in line 4 of the prescript may have been the nephew of the poet Aischylos.” || **5** Upper half of iota in the second and lower tips of verticals from H in the seventh stoichos reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 86 || **6** Lower horizontal from E reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 86 || **COLUMN I 14-17** (= fr. 174) reported and restored by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b* || **13** ἩΙΙΙ ΓΡΥΝ . ΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 71*b* || **14** ΚΟΙ . ΦΟΝΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 71*b*; Κολ[ο]φόνιοι *SEG* V; [H^F] Κολ[ο]φόνιοι *ATL* V || **15** ΟΙΕΧΣΙΚΑΡΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 71*b*; [F^ΔΓ^Γ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Οἶναῖ]οι ἐχς ἴκάρο *ATL* I || **16** ΜΕΝΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 71*b*; [Κλαζο]μένιοι *SEG* V; [H^F] [Κλαζο]μένιοι *ATL* I || **17** Ι . \ΡΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 71*b*; [Θερμαῖοι ἐχς] ἴ[κ]άρο *SEG* V; [F^Δ] [Θερμαῖοι ἐχς] ἴ[κ]άρο *ATL* I || **18-23** (= fr. 175) reported and restored by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b* || **18** ...ΑΙΟΙΙΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*; [Μυριν]αῖοι παρ[ὰ Κ] *SEG* V; [H] [Μυριν]αῖοι παρ[ὰ Κ] *ATL* I || **19** ..ΡΙΝΑΙΑΙΟΙΕΓΙΦΟΡΑΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*; [Μυ]ριναῖοι ἐπιφορᾶς *SEG* V || **20** ΚΥΜΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*; Κυμαῖοι *SEG* V; [F^ΗΗΗΗΗ] Κυμαῖοι *ATL* I || **21** ΚΥΜΑΙΟΙΕΓΙΦΟΡΑΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*; Κυμαῖοι ἐπιφορᾶς *SEG* V || **22** ΙΙΙΙ ΓΙΤΑΝΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*; [ΔΓ^Γ-ΙΙΙΙ] Πιταναῖοι *SEG* V || **23** ΙΙΙΙ ΓΙΤΑΝΑΙΟΙΕΓΙΦΟΡΑΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*; ?ΙΙΙΙ Πιταναῖοι ἐπιφορᾶς MW 1926*b*, 96; [F^Γ-ΙΙΙΙ] Πιταναῖοι ἐπιφορᾶς *ATL* I, with explanation p. 451 || **COLUMN II 13** right wing of Y reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 16*b* || **14** F^Η Ι // ..ΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 16*b* || **16** F^ΗΗΗ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 16*b*, [Ερυθρα]ῖ[οι] *SEG* V || **19** F^ΔΓ^Γ-ΙΙΙΙ ΠΟΛ . ΧΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 16*b*, restoring Πολιχναῖοι; F^ΔΓ^Γ[F^Γ-ΙΙΙΙ] Πολ[ι]χν[ι]ται MW 1926*b*, 96 (observe the change of quota); F^ΔΓ^Γ[F^Γ-ΙΙΙΙ] Πολιχν[ι]ται *SEG*

V; **ΔΓΗΙΙΙ** Πολιχνῖται] *ATL I* || **COLUMN I 38-41** (= fr. 175) reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b* || **38 ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΔΑΜ . ΟΤΕΙΧΙΤΑ** Köhler 1869, but the first stroke of N and the final iota are in fact visible; **ΔΓΗΙΙΙ** Δαμνιοτειχῖται *SEG V* || **39 ΔΓΗΙΙΙ** Διδυμοτειχῖται *SEG V* || **40 Η ΔΑ.ΡΔΑΝΕΣ** Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*; Η Δαρδανῆς *SEG V*, but I do not detect P || **41 ΗΗΗΗ** Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*; ΗΗΗΗ Δαρδανῆς ἐπιφορᾶς *SEG V*; see *ATL I*, p. 451 for the explanation || **COLUMN II 27** vertical in the second Η omitted by the mason; last l in quota reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b* restoring the name, p. 40 || **28 ΔΔΔΗΗΗΓ** Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*; ΔΔΔΗΗΗ Π[αριανοί] *SEG V* || **29** Upper left tip of X reported by Köhler, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*; Η Χ[ερρονεσίται] *SEG V* || **30 ΔΓΗΙΙΙ** [Ἄλοπεκοννέσιοι] *SEG V* || **31 ΓΗΗΗ** - - - - *SEG V*; ΓΗΗΗ [Σέστιοι] *ATL I* || **32 Γ** in quota Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*, Γ- - *SEG V*; Γ[ΗΗΗ] [Μαδύτιοι] *ATL I* || **33** [ΓΗΗΗ] [Λιμναῖοι] *ATL I* || **34 [Φ]** [Ἐλαίοσιοι] *ATL I* || **COLUMN I-II 44 ΑΓΟ** Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*, today ΑΙ Ο remains || **COLUMN I 45-46** (= fr. 175) reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b* || **45 ΔΓΗ[ΙΙΙΙ]** Σκιάθιοι *SEG V* || **46 Η[Η]** Ὀλύθιοι *SEG V* || **47** *SEG V*; [Η] Ἀφυταῖοι *ATL I* || **48** *SEG V*; [ΔΓΗΙΙΙ] Θραμβαῖοι *ATL I* || **49** *SEG V*; [ΔΔΓ] ηαισόνιοι *ATL I* || **50** *SEG V*; [Η] Ἀργίλιοι *ATL I* || **51** Köhler 1869, p. 38; Τοροναῖοι *SEG V* by error; [ΦΗ] [Τ]οροναῖοι *ATL I* || **COLUMN II 45** *SEG V*; **ΔΓΗΙΙΙ** [Μεκυπερναῖοι] *ATL I* || **49** *SEG V*; **ΔΓΗΙΙΙ** Σκαφσκάιοι *ATL I* || **50** Last iota reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 21*b*, but not by Rangabé 1842, p. 239, no. 166'; Ποτειδεᾶται *SEG V* || **55** Στρεφσαῖοι *SEG V*; [Η] Στρεφσαῖοι *ATL I*, but only a lower tip remains of the initial reported as a full sigma by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 26*b*; Curiously Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 195 did not print this letter || **56** Θάσιοι *SEG V*; [XXX] Θάσιοι *ATL I*; Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 195 and Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 26*b* reported a full theta of which the left third has disappeared since || **57** [Γ]αλέφσιοι *SEG V*; [Φ] [Γ]αλέφσιοι *ATL I*, but Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 195 and Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 26*b* had .^ALEΦΣΙΟΙ, i.e. exactly what remains today || **58** [Δ]ικ[α]ιοπολιῖται *SEG V*; [Η] [Δ]ικ[α]ιοπολιῖται *ATL I*, but only the lower half of the vertical from kappa is extant. Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 195 erroneously reported Γ...ΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΙ but Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 26*b* correctly .Η . . ΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΙ, omitting only the final iota still extant today || **59** Διῆς ἀπὸ τῷ Ἄθο *SEG V*; [Η] Διῆς ἀπὸ τῷ Ἄθο *ATL I*, probably on the

basis of Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 195 and Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 26b reporting ΙΕΣΑΠΟΤΟΑΘΟ || 60 SEG V; [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Α]ἰγάντιοι *ATL* I || 61 ΕΡΜΥΛΙΕΣ reported by Rangabé 1842, no. 196, côté droit, p. 248,. ΕΡΜΥΛΙΕ clearly visible today. ἘΡΜΥΛ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 26b is evidently an error; [Σ]ερμουλιῆς *SEG* V; [Ῐ] [Σ]ερμουλιῆς *ATL* I || 62 ΙΚΑΙΑ reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 196 and Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 26b; [Δ]ίκαια *SEG* V || 63 ΑΜΟΘΡΑΙΚΕΣ reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 196; ΑΜΟΘΡΑΙΚ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 26b; [Σ]αμοθραϊκες *SEG* V || COLUMN I-II 67 ΙΚΟΣΦΟΡC Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 173 (côté gauche), and Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 87 || COLUMN I-II 68-90 I quote *ATL* I (185) for the restitution: “We have restored a complete Karic panel on the basis of correspondences of order with Lists 14, using the order across the columns as well as down; see the note on 14, II, 58 (p. 184).” I have tried to clarify their illustration by giving the entries from the two lists:

List 14			List 15				
--	Καύνιοι	Ῐ	Τιελάνδριοι	ῘῘ	Ἄστυπαλαιῆς	ῘῘ	-----
Ῐ	Πασανδῆς	ΔΔΔΗΗΗ	[Κριυῆς]	Ῐ	Κινδυῆς	ΔΓ[Γ-ΙΙΙΙ]	-----
	Καρπαθιον	ῘῘ	Ἰελύσιοι	Ῐ	[Κ]αύνιοι	Ῐ	-----
ΔΓῘΙΙΙ	Ἄρκέσσεια	Ῐ	Κόιοι	----	[Τ]ιελάνδριοι	ΔΔ[ΔΔΗ-ΙΙΙΙ]	-----
	Καρβασυ[α]νδῆς	ΓῘῘῘ	Αύλιᾶτ[αι]	----	[Π]ασανδῆς	----	-----
ΔΓῘΙΙΙ	παρὰ Καύνον	ῘῘ	Καμιρῆς	----	[Κ]ριυῆς	----	-----
ΗΗΗ	Φασελίται	Ῐ	Κλαυνδῆς	----	[Καρ]βασουαν[δῆς]	----	-----
ΔΓῘΙΙΙ	Ναρισβαρῆς	ῘῘ	Κεράμιοι	----	[Α]ύλι[ᾶται]	----	-----
ΓῘῘῘ	Θασαρῆς	ΔΔΓ	Μυδονῆς	----	Καρσανδῆς	ῘΔ	-----
ΓῘῘῘ	Ναχοιᾶται	ΗΗΗ	Κνίδιοι	----	Καρπάθο Ἄρκέσσεια	ΔΓ[Γ-ΙΙΙΙ]	[Λεφου]ανδῆς
ῘῘ	Ἄστυπαλαιῆς	ῘῘ	Λίνδιοι	----	Καμιρῆς	Ῐ	Συαγγελῆς
	Πεδιῆς]	ΔΓῘΙΙΙ	Καρπάθιοι	----	Κόιοι	Ῐ	[Κᾶ]ρες ἠὸν Τύ[μν]
Γ-ΙΙΙ	ἐγ Λίν[δο]	Ῐ	Κεδριᾶται	----	[Κε]δρι[ᾶτ]αι	ῘῘ	Καλύδνιοι
ΔΔΔΗΗΗ	Χαλκ[ε]ῖᾶται]	Ῐ	Τερμερῆς	----	[Ναρισβαρ]ῆς	ΔΓῘΙΙΙ	Βα[ρ]γυλιῆται
ῘῘΔΔΔΙΙΙ	ἠαλικά[ρνάσσι]οι	Ῐ	Λί[ά]τιμοι	----	-----	ΔΓῘΙΙΙ	Παρπαριῶται
ῘῘῘΔΔ	Χερρονέ[σσι]οι]	----	Ἰ[α]σιῆς	----	-----	ῘῘΔΓ[Γ-ΙΙΙΙ]	[ἠα]λικαρνάσ[σσι]οι]
ΔΓῘΙΙΙ	Πύρνιοι	----	[ἠυρ]ιομῆς	----	-----	----	[Τε]ρμερῆς
Ῐ	Πελειᾶται	Ῐ	[Μαδν]ασῆς	----	-----	----	[Χαλκ]ε[ῖ]ᾶται]
ΔΔΔΓ	Χ[α]λκετορῆς	ῘΔΔΔΓῘ-ΙΙΙ	Μ[υλ]ασῆς	----	-----	----	-----
ΔΓῘΙΙΙ	Λ[εφ]ουανδῆς	Ῐ	Συαγγελῆς]	Γ	-----	----	-----
[.] vacat	Τύ[μν]ες	ῘῘ	Καλύ[δνιοι]	ΔΓ	-----	----	-----
----	[Ταρβ]ανῆς	ΔΓῘΙΙΙ	Βαργυλιῆ[ται]	[.]ΔΔ	-----	----	-----
----	[Παρπαρ]ιῶται	ΓῘῘῘ	Μύνδιοι	ΗΗΗ	-----	----	-----

The *ATL*-editors stated, I, 185: “These correspondences are striking. (...) In column II, lines 69-82, the order forms an exact correspondence with that of 14, with the single exception that [Ταρβ]ανῆς intrudes in 14.” But as seen on the plate above the similarities are not that clear at all. Also, the supposed exact correspondence between 14.I.79-86 and II.79-85 on the one hand and 15.69-82 on the other is less obvious, since the latter list is lacunary at exactly this point, preserving only 10 complete or partial quotas and 6 names. If we want to follow the *ATL*-editors in their restitutions we have to suppose that the members were the same in the two

lists, and that there were few defaulters in any of the years. But there were 46 paying members in 440/39 against 43 in 441/40. Another good reason not to give too much value to the correspondences between Lists 14 and 15 is that the mason of the former edited his list both vertically and horizontally, contrary to the editor of the latter who first inscribed the column to the left before beginning the column to the right (Paarmann 2004, 98-99). This is in opposition to the *ATL*-editors who wrote, (*ATL* I, 185), that Lindos should be restored in 15.II.68 “because with Ἀστυπαλαίῃς across the column I, 68 it repeats the order of 14. For the same reason we restore [Κλαυδῆς] at the foot of the column II (line 90) opposite [Φασελῖται].” Either they were wrong, or we should suppose vertical pairs at the top and at the bottom, without any attested cases in between. That is highly unlikely, and I am therefore less convinced than they were, that many restitutions can be made with almost certainty. It is correct that there are similarities in the two lists, at least at some places where List 15 is preserved. I have argued (Paarmann 2004, 99-100) that the sequence Kaunos-Telandros-Pasanda-Krya-Karbasyanda is identical in the two lists, but this is only approximative, since Arkesseia, Ialysos and Kos come in between Krya and Karbasyanda in 14. In order to facilitate the reading of the correspondences, I have printed in bold the names which appear in pairs or groups in both lists. These are 1) Kaunos-Telandros-Pasanda-Krya, 2) Karbasyanda-Aulai, 3) Halikarnassos-Termera, 4) (Mylasa)-Lepsymandos-Syangela-Tymnes-Kalydnos-Bargyilia-Parparioi. To those the *ATL*-editors added Pyrnos-Iasos-Hyromos on the basis of the preserved quotas in 15.II.69-71, which, if correct, gives five groups, i.e. far less than the fourteen correspondences numbered in *ATL* I (185). Furthermore, there seems to be no system that would be applicable to the remaining and lost entries, which means that a thorough and convincing restitution of List 15 is difficult, if not totally impossible (*pace ATL* I, 185) ||

COLUMN I 68 ΑΣΤΥΠΑΛΛΑΙΕΣ reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 173 côté gauche, and Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 87 || **69** ἸΝΔΥΕΣ reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 173 côté gauche; ΙΝΔΥΕΣ only reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 87, but the tip of the initial K reported by Rangabé is still visible || **71** ΕΛΑΝΔΡΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, no. 173 côté gauche, p. 245; ἸΛΑΝΔΡΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 87; [Τ]ελάνδριοι *SEG* V; [Ῥ] [Τ]ελάνδριοι *ATL* I || **72** . . ΣΑΝΔΕΣ Rangabé 1842, no. 173 côté gauche, p. 245 and Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 87; [Πα]σανδῆς *SEG* V; [Ῥ] [Πα]σανδῆς *ATL* I || **73** . . ΥΕΣ Rangabé 1842, no. 173 côté gauche, p. 245 and Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 87; [Κρ]υῆς *SEG* V; [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Κρ]υῆς *ATL* I || **73** Β^ΣΥ^Λ Rangabé 1842, no. 173 côté gauche, p. 245; ΒΑΣΥΒ^Ν Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 87;

[Καρ]βασουαν[δῆς] *SEG* V; [ΔΓ†-III] [Καρ]βασουαν[δῆς] *ATL* I || **75** .YLI reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 82 when frs. 179 and 156 were still in one piece (nos. 82*b* and 88); [Α]ύλι[ἄται] *SEG* V; [Γ†-†-†-†] [Α]ύλι[ἄται] *ATL* I || **76** ΚΑΡΥΑΝΔΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, nos. 82 and 88; [Γ†-†-†-†] Καρυανδῆς *ATL* I || **77** [ΔΓ†-III] Καρπάθο Ἀρκέσσεια *ATL* I || **78** ΚΑ. ΙΡΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, nos. 82 and 88; Καμιρῆς *SEG* V; [ΦΗ] Καμιρῆς *ATL* I || **79** [Φ] Κῶιοι *ATL* I || **80** ..^ Γ ... ΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, nos. 82 and 88; [Κε]δρ[ιᾶτ]αι *SEG* V; [Φ] [Κε]δρ[ιᾶτ]αι *ATL* I || **81-86** *ATL* I restored these lines in analogy with 14.I and II.71-73, but note that the only evidence for this is the ending of [Ναρισβαρ]ῆς in 15.I.81 and, probably, the absence of the names in question in any other part of List 15. The group is only ‘fixed’ at the other end by the one drachma symbol of Pedieis in 15.I.87, preserved on fr. 157. In print it could be taken as a Η having lost its right vertical, but the stone shows that † was originally written, since the surface is preserved in such a way as to exclude the vertical. If the following partially preserved quota of 1,000 dr. is really from Karpathos, this could further indicate that the *ATL*-editors were correct. The sequence would then be Narisbara-Keramos-Thasthara-Mydone-Naxia-Knidos-Pedieis-Karpathos || **81** - - ΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 227; [Ναρισβαρ]ῆς *SEG* V; [ΔΓ†-III] [Ναρισβαρ]ῆς *ATL* I stating p. 185: “I, 68-81 are certain and the only obtrusive elements are Κινδυνῆς and Καρυανδῆς, which are not present at all in 14.” || **82** [ΗΦ] [Κεράμιοι] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.II.71. Cf. note on 81-86 || **83** [Γ†-†-†-†] [Θασθαρεῆς] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.I.72. Cf. note on 81-86 || **84** [ΔΔΓ] [Μυδονῆς] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.II.72, but cf. note on 81-86 || **85** [Γ†-†-†-†] [Ναχοιᾶται] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.I.73. Cf. note on 81-86 || **86** [ΗΗΗ] [Κνίδιοι] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.II.73. Cf. note on 81-86 || **87** †-[III] [Πεδιῆς ἐγ Λίνδο] *SEG* V (l. 86), in analogy with 14.I.75-76. Cf. note on 81-86 || **88** ΔΓ[†-III] - - - - *SEG* V (l. 87); ΔΓ[†-III] [Καρπάθιοι] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.I.75. Cf. note on 81-86 || **89** [Δ]ΔΔ[†-†-†-†] - - - - *SEG* V (l. 88); [Δ]ΔΔ[†-†-†-†] [Πλαδασῆς] *ATL* I on the basis of the quota. Pladasa is not attested in 14, but as the editors explained (*ATL* I, 185), they had already restored the alternative, [Χαλκ]ει[ἄται], in II.85. Ἴδυμῆς (not attested beyond A3), would also be possible candidates among the preserved members paying 2,000 dr. || **90** ΗΗΗ - - - *SEG* V (l. 89); ΗΗΗ [Φασελῖται] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.I.70. Other possibilities would be Κνίδιοι (restored by *ATL* I in 272.I.86), Χαλκιδῆς (restored by *ATL* I in 272.I.95) both paying 18,000 dr. in this or adjacent assessment periods || **COLUMN II 68-71**

(= part now lost of fr. 178) reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 87 || 68 ΦH - - - *SEG* V; ΦH [$\Lambda\iota\nu\delta\iota\omicron\iota$] *ATL* I explaining p. 185 note *ad loc.* that the alternative restitution is less likely [$\Gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$], because with $\text{'}\text{A}\sigma\tau\upsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ across the column (I, 68) it repeats the order of 14.” But no vertical groupings are otherwise attested in List 15 contrary to List 14. Cf. commentary on I-II.68-90 || 69-82 *ATL* I restored these lines in analogy with 14.I.79-86 and II.79-85 explaining, p. 185 note *ad loc.*: “In column II, lines 69-82, the order forms an exact correspondence with that of 14, with the single exception that [$\text{Τ}\alpha\rho\beta\text{]}_{\alpha\nu\epsilon\varsigma}$ intrudes in 14.” However, where 14 has Chersonesos, Iasos, Pynos, Eurymos, Pelea, Medmasa, Chalketor, Mylasa, Lepsymandos, Syangela, Tymnes, Kalydon, Tarbanes, Bargylia, the restored and preserved entries in 15 are Pynos, Iasos, Eurymos, [Chersonesos-Pelea-Medmasa-Chalketor], Mylasa, Lepsymandos, Syangela, Tymnes, Kalydon, Bargylia. This means that it is not only Tarbanes which is missing in 15, but also the order of Pynos and Chersonesos that differs. Overall, the correspondences seem convincing. But all names in 15.II.68-78 are based on the preserved or partially preserved quotas and that nothing remains of 15.II.72-75 at all. To be on the safe side I have given the alternatives for each line except II.72-75 || 69 $\Delta\Gamma\text{[-III]}$ - - *SEG* V; $\Delta\Gamma\text{[-III]}$ [Πύρνοι] *ATL* I, in analogy with 14.I.80. Cf. note on 69-82 || 70 H - - - *SEG* V; H [$\Gamma\iota\alpha\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$] *ATL* I, in analogy with 14.II.79, cf. note on 69-82. The preserved letters in 14 and the partially preserved quotas in 15 make Iasos-Hyromos a likely restitution in the latter list, but Latmos and Medmasa restored by the *ATL*-editors in II.66 and II.74 would also suit the quota || 71 $\Delta\Delta$ - - - *SEG* V; $\Delta\Delta[\Delta\Delta\text{[-III]}]$ [$\text{h}\upsilon\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\varsigma$] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.II.80. Cf. note on 69-82. $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Gamma$ $\text{Χαλκετορ}\epsilon\varsigma$, already restored by *ATL* I in 272.II.75; $\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{[-[-II]}$ Κυρβισσός (absent from full district panel in 14), $\Delta\Delta\Gamma$ $\text{Μυδον}\epsilon\varsigma$ (already restored by *ATL* I in 272.I.84) and [Δ] $\Delta\Delta\text{[-[-[-II]}$ $\text{Πλαδασ}\epsilon\varsigma$ (already restored by *ATL* I in 272.I.89) are also possible || 72 [$\text{HH}^{\Phi}\Delta\Delta$] [$\text{Χερρον}\epsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.I.79. Cf. note on 69-82 || 73 [Φ] [$\text{Πελει}\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.I.81. Cf. note on 69-82 || 74 [H] [$\text{Μαδνα}\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$] *ATL* I || 75 [$\Delta\Delta\Delta\Gamma$] [$\text{Χαλκετορ}\epsilon\varsigma$] *ATL* I || 76 $\Phi\Delta[\Delta\Delta\Gamma\text{[-III]}]$ [$\text{Μυλα}\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$] *SEG* V || 77 .^{5} $\Lambda\text{I}\Delta$ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 28b; $\Delta\Gamma\text{[-III]}$ [$\text{Λεφου}\text{]}_{\alpha\nu\delta[\epsilon\varsigma]}$ *SEG* V; $\Delta\Gamma\text{[-III]}$ [$\text{Λεφου}\text{]}_{\alpha\nu\delta[\epsilon\varsigma]}$ *ATL* I || 78 $\Lambda\text{ΛΕΛΕ}\Sigma$ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 28b || 79 $\text{'}\text{Ε}\Sigma\text{HONTY}$ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 28b. There was not enough space for $\text{Τύμν(ε}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota)$ || 82 $\Delta\Gamma\text{[-III]}$ ΓΑΡΓΑΡΙΟΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, nos. 88 and 28b || 83 $\text{H}^{\Phi}\Delta\Gamma$ $\text{..LIKAPNA}^{\text{<}}$ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, nos. 88 and 28b || 84 $\text{..PMEPE}\Sigma$

Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 28*b*; [Τε]ρμερῆς *SEG* V; [Ὶ] [Τε]ρμερῆς *ATL* I in analogy with 14.II.77 || **85** .³. ΓΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 28*b*; [Πελ]ει[ᾶται] *SEG* V; [ΔΔΔΗ-Η-Η] [Χαλκ]ει[ᾶται] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.I.77 || **86** [Η] [Λάτμιοι] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.II.78 || **87-89** *ATL* I restored these lines with the following explanation (p. 185): “These three names all appeared in 14 and such evidence as we have implies that 15 included all the Karic tributaries of 14, with three additions (Κινδυῆς, Καρυανδῆς, [Πλαδασῆς]). The order as we have given it may not be exactly correct, but we believe that the three towns belong in II,87-89.” These restitutions are entirely conjectural || **87** [Ταρβανῆς] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.I.85. Cf. note on 87-89 || **88** [Γ-Η-Η] [Μύνδιοι] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.I.86. Cf. note on 87-89 || **89** [ῚΗ] [Ἰελεύσιοι] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.II.66. Cf. note on 87-89 || **90** [Η] [Κλαυνδῆς] *ATL* I in analogy with 14.II.70, but this presupposed that the mason sometimes changes column inscribing groups horizontally, which is unprecedented in this list, cf. commentary on II.68 || **COLUMN I 91-103-II.91-102** *SEG* V and *ATL* I restored altogether eleven names without explanation, probably on the basis of the preserved or partially preserved quotas. Since there is no parallel for the order, most of these restitutions remain conjectural || **COLUMN I 93** ῚΗ [Ἄνδριοι] *SEG* V. Cf. note on I.91-103-II.91-102 || **94** ΔΔΔΗ-Η-Η [Ἄθῆναι Διαδῆς] *SEG* V. Cf. note on I.91-103-II.91-102. MW 1926*b* restored the neighbouring Διαῆς in *SEG* V 101, but note that the order of the two is generally the opposite beginning with Dion || **95** ΗΗΗ [Χαλκιδῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. note on I.91-103-II.91-102 || **96** ΔΓ-Η-Η [Γρουνχῆς] *SEG* V. Cf. note on I.91-103-II.91-102 || **97** Ὶ [Ἰᾶται] *SEG* V. Cf. note on I.91-103-II.91-102 || **98** [Δ]Γ-Η-Η [Σύριοι] *SEG* V. Cf. note on I.91-103-II.91-102 || **99** [Η]ΗΗ [Ἐρετριῆς] *ATL* I. Cf. note on I.91-103-II.91-102 || **100** Γ [Ὶεναιῆς] *SEG* V. Cf. note on I.91-103-II.91-102. The position of the five-drachm symbol to the right of the fifty-drachm symbol in 97, also a one figure quota, suggests that another symbol might have preceded Γ. The only attested possibility for this is ῚΓ Ἰμβριοι (3,300 dr.); but only in 447/6, which means that *SEG* V was probably right in restoring Rhenaia. There is a blank space after Γ || **101** [ΔΔ]ΔΗ-Η-Η [Διαῆς ἀπὸ Κεναῖο] *SEG* V || **I 102-103** [ΗΗ] [Ἐφαιστιῆς] and [ΗῚ] [Μυριναῖοι] *ATL* explaining (I, 184) that “with [Αἰγινῆται] and [Ἰμβριοι] [they] belong naturally at the foot of the Insular panel. We place the latter pair at the end of column II. Cf. 12, V, 32; 13, V, 34-37; 14, I, 100-101 and II, 99-100, etc.” || **COLUMN II 91-102** With the

discovery of fr. 181 it was possible to add the final two letters in [Νεσιοτικ]ός and four quotas to this column, cf. Meritt 1972b and McGregor 1976a || **92** Meritt 1972b and McGregor 1976a printed Η but the remaining traces fit Γ or Ϝ better || **93** ϜΗ[ϜΔΗΙΙΙ] [Νάχοιοι] Meritt 1972b and McGregor 1976a, but the surface is preserved to the right of Η and traces of Γ as from Ϝ and perhaps even Δ in the following numeral space are visible || **94** ΗΗ Meritt 1972b and McGregor 1976a, but only the lower left vertical is preserved and the surface is preserved in such a way so as to exclude a centre bar || **95** ΧϜΗ - - [Πάριοι] Meritt 1972b and McGregor 1976a, but the traces of the upper tips of Χ could be accidental. Nothing is preserved after Ϝ || **101-102** [ΧΧΧ] [Αίγινῆται] and [ΗΗΗ] [Ἰμβριοι] *ATL* I. Cf. commentary on I.102-103.

The Second Stele

List 16

The sixteenth list is preserved in the fragments: 1, 2, 3, 4 (illegible) and 5 || **HEADING 1** [Ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκτέως καὶ δεκάτης ἀρχῆς ἡεὶ Ἐργόφιλος -⁹ - ος ἐγραμμάτευε] MW 1927, p. 31 in analogy with the Parthenon building accounts of the same year 439/8 (*IG I² 347* ll. 13-14 = *IG I³ 444*, ll. 247-488). The *ATL*-editors concluded that the demotic in *IG I³ 444* must be “[Ἀναφλύστι]ος and restored Ἐργόφιλος [Ἀναφλύστι]ος here (I, p. 186 note *ad loc.*) || **COLUMN I 3-12** I quote the *ATL*-editors (I, p. 186) who restored these lines in analogy with 13.I.4-14: “[Οἰναῖ]οι : ἐχ[ς] Ἰκάρ]ο is in line 17 of List 16 and [Λεβέδιοι] and [ἡαιρ]αιῆς, a common couplet, have reversed the order of 13. With reasonable supplements made for the lacunae in column I and at the head of column II, we now have a complete Ionic panel for 439/8; Πριανῆς are the only absentees. The names in I, 4-12 may not reproduce the exact order of the original inscription, but the essential correctness of the personnel justifies the restorations.” For all its ingenuity the argument is completely conjectural. Note the ability of the editors to discern Πριανῆς as absentees, and the only ones, moreover, in a district panel where half of the entries are missing. The following plate shows the Ionic panel of the two lists

		List 13			List 16
		Ἴονικὸς φόρος			Ἴονικὸς φόρος]
	ΓΗΗΗII	Διοσιρῖται		-----	-----
5	Ρ	Θερμαῖοι ἐχς Ἰ	5	-----	-----
	Ρ	Μαραθέσιοι		-----	-----
	ΔΓΗIIII	Γρυνειῆς		-----	-----
	ΔΔΔΗΗΗII	Νοτιῆς		-----	-----
	Η	Νισύριοι		-----	-----
10	ΡΔΓΗIIII	Οἰναῖοι] Ἰκάρ	10	-----	-----
	[Η]Ρ	Κολο[φ]όνιοι		-----	-----
	ΗΗ	Φοκαῖῆς		-----	-----
	Η	Αἰραιῆς		-----	[ἡαιρ]αιῆς
	Η	Λεβέδιοι		-----	[Κλαζ]ομέν[ιοι]
15	Η	Μυριναῖοι <u>παρὰ Κ</u>	15	-----	[Τέι]οι <i>vacat</i>
	[Ρ]Η	Τέιοι		-----	[Ἐλα]ιέα : παρ[ὰ Μύριναν]
	[ΡΗ]ΗΗΗ	Κυμαῖοι		-----	[Οἰναῖ]οι : ἐχ[ς] Ἰκάρ]ο
	-----	Ἐλα[ιέα]		-----	[Κυμαῖ]οι
	-----	-----		-----	[Κυμαῖοι ἐπιφορ]ᾶς
20	-----	-----	20	-----	[Γαργα]ρῆ[ς]
	-----	-----		-----	[Μυριναῖ]οι : π[αρὰ Κύ]μεν
	-----	-----		-----	[Μυριναῖ]οι : ἐπ[ιφορ]ᾶς
	-----	-----		-----	[Πιταναῖ]οι]
	-----	[Πολιχνῖτ]αι		-----	[Πιταναῖοι] : ἐπ[ιφορ]ᾶς
25	-----	[Πτελεό]σιοι	25	-----	[Ἄστυρα Μ]ύσι[α]

-----	[Σιδόσι]οι	-----	[Ἴσιν]διοι
-----	[Βούθε]ια	-----	Μιλέσιοι
-----	[Μυέ]σσιοι	-----	Ἐφέσιοι
-----	[Π]υγελεῖς	-----	Κλαζομένιοι
30 -----	[Ἴ]σινδιοι	30 -----	Ἐρου[θραῖοι]
-----	Μιλέσιοι	-----	Πολιχ[νῖται]
-----	Ἐφέσιοι	-----	
-----	Κλαζομένιοι	-----	
ἸΔΔΓΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ	Γαργαρεῖς	-----	

It is evident that there are but few correspondences between the two lists where the entries are preserved, even if we take the restitutions of lines 13-27 first made by Meritt 1925d, 196-97, into account, i.e. those represented here. The only exception to this is Hairai in line 13, but note that the position of frs. 1 and 2 are far from certain and that these might even have been placed here to match the order found in List 13. Oine is inscribed in l. 10 and 17 respectively, which means that if the two panels were identical, another ethnic must have taken its place to make up for the space, since the amount of lines above Hairai is identical in the two lists. The *ATL*-editors restored Lebedos in 16.I.12, whereas it is present in 13.I.12. Less obvious correspondences are Teos-Elaia 13.I.16 and 18, opposing 16.I.15 and 16. The position of Kyme is also relatively the same (17 and 18-19) if correctly restored || 4 [ΓΓΓΓ-ΙΙ] [Διοσιρῖται] *ATL* I in analogy with 13.I.4, but see comm. on 4-12 || 5 [Ἰ] [Θερμαῖοι : ἐχς Ἴκάρο :] *ATL* I in analogy with 13.I.5, but see comm. on 4-12 || 6 [Ἰ] [Μαραθέσιοι] *ATL* I in analogy with 13.I.6, but see comm. on 4-12 || 7 [ΔΓΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Γρυνειῖς] *ATL* I in analogy with 13.I.7, but see comm. on 4-12 || 8 [ΔΔΔΓΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Νοτιεῖς] *ATL* I in analogy with 13.I.8, but see comm. on 4-12 || 9 [Η] [Νισύριοι] *ATL* I in analogy with 13.I.9, but see comm. on 4-12 || 10 [ΗἸ] [Κολοφόνιοι] *ATL* I in analogy with 13.I.11, but see comm. on 4-12 || 11 [ΗΗΗΗ] [Φοκαῖεῖς] *ATL* I in analogy with 13.I.12, but see comm. on 4-12 || 12 [Η] [Λεβέδιοι] *ATL* I in analogy with 13.I.14, but see comm. on 4-12 || 13-27 The ethnics of these lines were first restored by Meritt 1925d, 296-97 || 13 [Η] [hair]αῖεῖς *ATL* || 14 [ΗἸ] [Κλαζ]ομέν[ιοι] *ATL* I || 15 [ἸΗ] [Τέ]ιοι *ATL* I || 16 [ΔΓΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Ἐλα]ία : παρ[ὰ Μύριναν] *ATL* I, but only IEA:ΓΛ̄ is visible on the stone || 17 [Οἰναῖ]οι : ἐχ[ς Ἴκάρ]ο *ATL* I. The letters to the left of ΟΙ have been worn off the preserved part of fr. 1. The two letters to the right are extremely faint, but EX are discernible || 18 [ἸΗΗΗΗ] [Κυμαῖ]οι *ATL* I, but what Meritt 1925d, 296-97, and later the *ATL*-editors took to be ΟΙ (below ΟΙ in l. 17) might be accidental marks on a heavily worn surface || 20 [ἸΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙΙ] [Γαργα]ρεῖ[ς] *ATL* I, but I find no confirmation for any letters in this line || 21 [Η] [Μυριναῖ]οι : παρ[ὰ Κύ]μεν *ATL* I, but only the separation mark and pi are visible with

any confidence on fr. 1, whereas the two last strokes of M and EN are preserved on fr. 2 || **22** [Μυριναῖ]οι : ἐπι[φο]ρᾶς *ATL* I, but I only see the separation mark and the outer contours of epsilon on fr. 1. On fr. 2 the loop of rho followed by ΑΣ is visible || **23** [ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Πιταναῖ]ο[ι] *ATL* I. A roundish form is preserved on the right edge of fr. 1, which is probably what the *ATL*-editors took to be the omikron. Before this letter a vertical stroke is perhaps discerned, itself preceded by what could be alpha. I hesitantly print these letters undotted || **24** The left vertical from Γ in ἐπι[φο]ρᾶς is preserved on the edge of fr. 1. Notice the crowding of letters in Πιταναῖοι due to lack of space. On fr. 2 Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 3 reported the right part of phi in ὈΡΑΣ || **25** [ΓΓΓ-ΙΙ] [ῥ'Αστυρα Μ]ύσ[ια] *ATL* I. Notice that the sigma has three bars. The lower angle of the bottom one is much wider than the upper || **26** [ῥ'Αστυρ]α Μύσια : [ἐπι]φορᾶς *ATL* I. As illustrated on Pl. XVIII only the second diagonal and centre bar are visible in [ῥ'Αστυρ]α, but these are so faint that they would be taken as accidental marks out of context. I therefore dot the letter. *Pace* the *ATL*-editors I believe the vertical and a small part of the upper horizontal from epsilon is preserved on the edge of fr. 1. Note that ΜΥΣΙΑ occupies two letter spaces less in this line due to lack of space. All preserved letters in ΜΥΣΙΑ:ΕΓΓΙΦΟΡΑΣ are very narrow and there is no space between the final alpha, the separation mark and the following vertical. Only the upper tip of phi in ΕΓΓΙΦΟΡΑΣ is preserved. In the following letter space the lower edge of fr. 1 follows the round line left by omikron, but it is incorrect to represent a stroke above the edge, as on Pl. XVIII. Only the upper half of rho is preserved, and the letter could be beta in another context. I have accordingly dotted the three aforementioned letters || **27** [ϞϞ] [ῥ'Εφέσ]οι *ATL* I. Only the upper half of the antepenultimate survives, but any other letter can be excluded from the surrounding preserved surface || **28-31** Restored in *ATL* I in analogy with 12.I.27-33; 13.I.28-32; 14.I.14-17; 15.II.11-15 (p. 186). But List 16 shows few correspondences with any preceding list, in the few places where the entries are preserved || **28** *ATL* I, cf. note on 28-31 || **29** [Η] [Πυγελῆς] *ATL* I, cf. note on 28-31 || **30** [Η] [Μυέσσοι], *ATL* I, cf. note on 28-31 || **31** [Ϟ] [Μιλέσοι] *ATL* I, cf. note on 28-31 || **32** [ϞϞϞ] Ἐρυ[θραῖοι] *ATL* I. The vertical and the lower diagonal from the loop of rho are preserved. The vertical and left diagonal of upsilon are preserved. Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 97b has ΕΠΙ, but no Ionian name would fit, and the lower left part of theta is perhaps visible on the edge of fr. 5 || **33** ϞΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Πολιχ[νῖται] *ATL* I. X is not preserved and Pl. XVIII misrepresents the traces: only the top left tip of the first

diagonal is protruding out of the damaged part of the edge, but Köhler 1869, Pl. VI, no. 97*b* did report ΓΟΛΔ || **COLUMN II 3-7** I quote the *ATL*-editors, I, p. 186: “Since the members of the Erythraean group normally appear not only together, but often at the end of the Ionic panel, the restoration of the missing four Erythraean names in II, 3-6 and the supplement [ἠελλεσπόντιος φόρος] in II, 7 may be considered certain.” But the different Erythraean communities are not always present, and when they are not always in the same order || **3** [ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Βούθεια] *ATL* I, but see note on 3-7 || **4** [ΓΓΓ-ΓΓΓ] [Σιδόσιοι] *ATL* I, but see note on 3-7 || **5** [Γ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Πτελερόσιοι] *ATL* I, but see note on 3-7 || **6** [Γ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Ἐλαιόσιοι] *ATL* I, but see note on 3-7 || **7** [ἠελλεσπόντιος φόρος] *ATL* I, but see note on 3-7. However, it is necessary to put the heading somewhere, and so I have followed the previous editions and placed it here. The Ionic panel could not be much longer anyway || **16** Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 3 reported $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}$, which must evidently be interpreted, as he did, as $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}$, but Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 228, has HHH, whereas Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. CXXIII gave a vertical followed by a lower half and a full H. Pittakis 1853, p. 268, no. 1257 has | HH, but this may be because he was unable to print otherwise. It is probably not simply by amalgamation of the three readings that MW 1927, Pl. VII, restored $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}$ because the drawing in *ATL* I, Pl. XVIII shows that the editors believed they saw enough of the lower parts to be able to distinguish these symbols. How do we reconcile the different readings with what is left on the stone? Either Rangabé was interpreting when reporting HHH, or part of the edge has been lost between 1842 (Rangabé) and 1851 (Böckh). But these early readings would be impossible if Köhler and the *ATL*-editors were correct in seeing $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}$ and $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}$ respectively. Two other things speak against the restitution of $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}$ [HHH] first made by MW 1927. First, the \mathfrak{F} would have had to be placed at least one space to the left in order to align with the other quotas below, but the drawing on Pl. XVIII shows that what Meritt and his colleagues interpreted as \mathfrak{F} is placed to the right of the X in the line below. Second, comparison with the \mathfrak{F} in line 19 shows that this is far bigger than the symbols preserved in 16. However, it could be argued that there was a \mathfrak{F} anyway from the fact that no right vertical is preserved above X in the line below. The surface is preserved in such a way that a H would have been apparent. This is in contradiction with the recordings of the earliest editors and I therefore print only the second symbol. For the same reason I abandon the restitution of [Χαλχεδόνιοι] proposed by MW 1927. Even if they were right in restoring $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}$ [HHH], the ethnic could have been [Κυζικενοί] || **17** X [Περίνθιοι] MW

1927 || **19** [Κυζικενοί MW 1927 || **20** [ΔΔΔΓΓΓ] [Ἄρτακενοί] *ATL* I, but this is only one possibility, *pace ATL* I (186 note *ad loc.*): “The restoration is certain. Κυζικενοί and Ἄρτακενοί form one of the most common couplets in the quota lists. Προκοννέσιοι as a rule completes the group.” || **22** Γ [χαρπαγίανοί] MW 1927. It is not excluded that the symbol is ^Γ || **23** ^Γ [Σελυμβριανοί] MW 1927, but the surface has flaked off in such a way that ^Γ might have been the first symbol in a longer quota || **24** Η MW 1927, but the surface has flaked off in such a way that any combination with Η as the first symbol is possible || **25** ΔΓΓ” Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 3; ΔΓΓΓ MW 1927; ΔΓΓΓ *ATL* I || **26** Γ [Νεάπολις ἀπ’ Ἀθηνῶν] *ATL* I commenting on 22 and 26: “The restorations can of course be reversed.” But only the upper left corner of Γ is preserved, the inner part of the symbol being very worn, and the edge of the fragment breaks off immediately after. Any combination with Γ or ^Γ or ^Γ for that matter would therefore be possible || **COLUMN III 11** I follow the *ATL*-editors in placing the heading of the Thracian panel here, but it could of course have been both further above or below || **18-21** The position of fr. 3 in this column is ascertained by the smoothed edge and the cutting preserved on its right hand side, but its vertical position is impossible to know || **18** [ΔΓΓΓ] Σκαφσαῖοι MW 1927; I only detect a single one obol symbol, but Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 2* has || ΣΚΑΦΣ. The initial sigma is now so faint that the reading depends on the context || **19** The sigma is faint but discernible, the outer contours of epsilon are preserved || **20** Contrary to the drawing on Pl. XVIII the second stroke of nu is actually clear on my photo || **21** *Pace* previous editors I believe the upper bar of sigma is preserved on the edge of fr. 3. The *ATL*-editors (I, 71) reported “the horizontal and the right vertical of pi (...) along the break.” The crossbar of Α is visible. A trace of the left side of Ο is visible at the left edge of the stone || **COLUMN IV 25** I follow the *ATL*-editors placing the heading of the Carian panel here, but it could have been further above or below || **30** Köhler 1869, p. 57, reported Α[ΝΔ]ΕΣΓ[ΑΡΑ]ΚΑΥΝΟΝ. Since nothing survives today we cannot know where this entry originally belonged. I have followed West and Meritt in placing it “near the end of the fourth column.” (1927, 32 with discussion of the reading. Cf. *ATL* I, 74). || **32** [χαλικαρνάσσοι] *ATL* I, reporting IOI p. 74: “Exact control on this badly worn stone is difficult but our measurements indicate that these letters fall in line 32 of 16, IV.3.” I do not see these letters || **COLUMN V 32** See note on I.32 || **COLUMN VI 10** I have followed the *ATL*-editors placing the heading of the Island district here, although the exact position is unknown.

List 17

The seventeenth list is preserved on the fragments 5, 6 and 9 (illegible) || **HEADING 1 Beg.:** Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 97*b* has ΙΤΕ<, i.e. slightly more of the third stroke of sigma than we have today. **End:** MW 1927, 33 proposed, basing their observation on *IG I*² 348, line 59 (= *IG I*³ 445, l. 293), that “The demotic of the secretary was either χαγνόσιος or ‘Ραμνόσιος.” In *ATL I* the latter was printed and *IG I*³ 445 also has ‘Ραμ[ν]όσιο[ς] without further commentary || **COLUMN III 3-7:** The five lines on our fragment 8, reported only by Böckh, Pl. IV, no. CIV 173*b* and lost before Köhler 1869, Pl. IV, no. 56*, were printed as part of List 10 in *SEG V*. Meritt, 1937c, 101-03, proposed a new attribution because, the blending of Ionian-Carian names would indicate that it should be assigned either to 454/3-447/6 (Lists 1-8), where there was no division of the district, or to the period from 438/7 onwards (Lists 17-), at which time the two districts were merged into one called the Ionian. Also the four-bar sigma, as Meritt observed, p. 101: “confines it to a date in the tribute lists of 446/5 or later, for the only earlier list with a four-bar sigma (*S. E. G.*, V, 6) has two of the five names of this small fragment (Πολιχ[νῖται] and Σιδό[σιοι]) as members of the Erythraean syntely whose record is still preserved on the stone.” He added that it could belong neither to List 9, where the Milesians were already attested, nor to List 11 where Polichne and Astyra were recorded. Meritt, p. 102 further wanted to see its origin in either List 17 or 18 because of the fact that in Ross’ copy “no letters have been preserved beyond the first five in each name.” Meritt thought that this could have been caused by the cutting of the second stele: “The fragment may be assigned with some assurance, therefore, either to *S.E.G. V*, 17 or 18, and I suggest a tentative position for it in lines 3-7 of *S. E. G. V*, 17.” In *ATL I* Meritt and his colleagues followed this assignment and even restored five supplementary lines (ll. 8-12): [Πτελέσιοι] | [Ἐλαίοσιοι] | [ΔΓῙ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Βούθεια] | [Ἐρυθραῖοι] | [Νεοιστικὸς φόρος] || **COLUMN VI 11** [ΔΔ]Γ Ἴκιοι Köhler 1869, p. 57; [Δ]ΔΓ Ἴκιοι MW 1927, 33; \Γ ΙΚΙΟΙ *ATL I*, Pl. XVIII, I do not detect anything on my photo, but follow West and Meritt since Köhler might have seen some of the second Δ. Having no means of indicating a broken letter, however, Köhler always printed mutilated letters in square brackets || **12 H** [ΜΕ]Θ[ΟΝΑΙΟΙ?] Köhler 1869, p. 57; MW 1927, 33 commented: “The restoration H [ΣΤ]ό[λιοι] is much to be preferred to that offered by Koehler, H [Με]θ[οναῖοι]. The stone is so badly preserved that we have had the greatest difficulty in discovering anything in this line, and it could not have been in much better condition when Koehler saw it. Stolos paid a quota of 100 dr. in 434/3, *I.G. I*², 211, while the

only recorded quota for Methone is 300 dr., *I.G.* I², 216. Moreover, we have no reason for thinking that Methone was tributary until the first years of the Peloponnesian war. But when the restoration was first proposed it was thought that the list belonged to those years when Stolos was in open rebellion, not in 438/7 as we have since learned. Thus considering the difficulty of distinguishing between an *omikron* and a *theta* on a surface which at its best shows only the faintest traces of lettering, we need not hesitate to add the alternative restoration.” I generally agree with MW 1927 and have followed their restitution since no other Thracian member is attested with a tribute of 6,000 dr. and having an O or a Θ as the third letter. I do not see neither quota nor the reported letter || 13 [Σ]|| ABLAIOI Köhler 1869, 57; I ABL\IOI *ATL* I, Pl. XVIII. Nothing is detectable today || 14 [ΣΤΑΛ]IPIT[AI] Köhler 1869, 57; [Ἄσσ]ερίτ[αι] *SEG* V; [Ἄσσ]ερίτ[αι] *ATL* I. I do not see any of the reported letters. Even if the epsilon is doubtful, the probability for Assera is greater given its frequent appearance below Skabala || 15 H [ΣΕΡΒΥ]ΛΙ[ΕΣ] Köhler 1869, 57; H [Ἀργί]λι[οι] *SEG* V, commenting p. 18 that only four letters precede the preserved lambda-iota and that the quota fits Argilos better (Sermylia is attested with 3 T, 4 ½ T, 5 T and 5+ T, but never with 1 T). Aιολίται and Στόλιοι would fit in a loose stoichedon order, but the first is attested with 500 dr. only; the second is perhaps already present in VI.12 || 16 ^Ϝ - - - Köhler 1869, 57; ^Ϝ[HHH] [Μενδ]αῖ[οι] *ATL* I reporting [^]l on Pl. XVIII. I detect neither quota nor letter traces in this line || 16 ^Ϝ - - Köhler 1869, 57; Γ *ATL* I, Pl. XVIII as visible today.

List 18

HEADING 1 End: MW 1927 restored the name of the secretary of the hellenotamiai as Ἀριστόφυλος? in analogy with (*IG* I² 363 ll. 8-10 = *IG* I³ 462, line 16), *i.e.* the building accounts of the Propylaea from 437/6, on the basis of a new restitution of this proposed by Dinsmoor (MW 1927, 33). But Dinsmoor changed the restitution of *IG* I² 363 to Aισχύλος. This made the *ATL*-editors conclude (I, 187): “Aισχύλος should then be restored in the prescript of 18, which dates from the same year, 437/6, as *I.G.* , I², 363. Now the secretary cycle in operation at this time demands that the secretary of the hellenotamiai in 437/6 be from the tribe Hippothontis (see Meritt, *A.F.D.*, p. 4). The family of the poet Aischylos is from this tribe (Ἐλευσίνοι), and we have already seen one member of the family as hellenotamias in List 15. The same man may be here, three years later, secretary of the

hellenotamiai, but it is perhaps more likely that this is a younger man, possibly grandson of the poet.” In *IG I³ 462* only --ύλος is printed.

List 19

The nineteenth list is preserved on the fragments 9 (illegible), 14, 15 (lost) and 16 || **HEADING 1 End:** [Αἰχσονεύς] MW 1927, 34 in analogy with *IG I² 364*, l. 64 (= *IG I³ 463*, l. 65); note however that the name is now restored ?Λευκον]οεύς by Meritt in *IG I³ 463* || **COLUMNS I-III** Only isolated letters are visible on the upper part of the reverse side of fr. 6, but clearer so than appears from the photo in *ATL I* (Fig. 99, p. 75) || **COLUMN I 3** [Ἴονικὸς φόρος] MW 1927, Pl. IX || **COLUMN II 28** Strokes compatible with Σ I O are visible: < ι O, but they have not been reported by previous editors and might just be accidental || **29** The sigma was first reported in the *ATL I* || **COLUMN III 7** [Νεσισητικὸς φόρος] MW 1927, Pl. IX || **25** The vertical and upper two horizontals from an isolated epsilon are fairly clear, although first reported in *ATL I*, 74: “As far as we can judge, it falls in the second letter space.” But the letter lengths show some variability, *ATL I*, 74 || **27** The *ATL*-editors reported [.]α|[- - -] explaining, 74: “the cutting / | may be of Α; the alpha (?) is in the same letter space as the epsilon above.” I see the traces, but the diagonal of the supposed alpha is much less certain than the drawing in *ATL I*, Pl. XIX, indicates. Also, the letters would fall not two lines below epsilon, but two and a half. The strokes are probably accidental || **COLUMN IV 5** [ἡλλεσπόντιος φόρος] MW 1927 || **29** A clear final iota is visible on the upper left side of fr. 17. The space preserved to the left of it would probably suggest a penultimate alpha || **COLUMN V 5** [Θράκιος φόρος] MW 1927 || **15** Since Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103*a*, ΛΙΑΙ has been reported, but the middle bar of the first preserved Α is actually preserved. The left part of the vertical in Τ is also visible just below the area that has flaked away. [Αἰνε]ᾶται Köhler 1869, p. 45; [ΗΗΗ] [Αἰνεᾶ]ται *ATL I* || **16** [Σαμο]θραϊκες Köhler 1869, p. 45; [ΦΗ] [Σαμο]θραϊκες *ATL I*. The eleven letters only take up ten letter spaces || **17** [Ἀβδερ]ῖται Köhler 1869, p. 45; [ἡσσερ]ῖται *IG I² 209* (V.4); [ἡβδερ]ῖται MW 1927 since Assera is the only possibility in VI.18, Pl. IX and p. 34 with an extensive commentary on p. 24-25, for which see citation in my note on VI.18 || **18** The upper tip of a final vertical is preserved on the lower edge of fr. 14, just below Τ in 17 || **19** [-6-]ΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 92, but Rangabé 1842, p. 346, no. 180 only had -Ο ι || **20-21** Meritt and his colleagues printed a

letter in each of these lines as reported by previous editors but no longer preserved, *ATL* I Pl. XIX. I doubt, however, that this was the case. The traces reported in early editions might as well be interpretations of the traces preserved today. The break of the left edge of fragment 16 does not look new and if an almost full Δ was visible in 20 and a Λ in 21, one might wonder how the iota still visible today could be missed in 22 || 20 \EATAI: Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 180; _EATAI Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXII; \EATAI: Pittakis 1853, p. 734, no. 1199, on this basis, *ATL* I, 82, note on fr. 16, the *ATL*-editors, Pl. XIX, draw \ as having been reported by previous editors; [FH] [Ποτει]δεᾶται *ATL* I || 21 -ΛΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXII; - /ΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 92; [Φαρβέ]λιοι Meritt 1937c, p. 91, n. 56; [ΔFH-III] [Φαρβέ]λιοι *ATL* I. But ten years before MW 1927, Pl. IX and p. 34 wrote correctly: “Since both [Χεδρό]λιοι and [Φαρβέ]λιοι are possible restorations for this line, we leave it unrestored.” In *ATL* I, 187 note *ad loc.*, [Χεδρό]λιοι is still given as an alternative restitution. || 22 -ΟΙ previous editors; -ΙΟΙ *SEG* V. I agree with the latter, but the iota is just on the edge of the fragment and should be dotted || 23 ΝΑΙΟΙ Pittakis 1853, p. 734, no. 1199; ι ΝΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 180 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXII; PΝΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 92. I doubt that Köhler saw the rho. He could have extrapolated it from the lower right unscribed surface, which excludes many other letters but suits P admirably. I have accordingly printed a dotted underlined rho || 24 \ΙPITAI Pittakis 1853, p. 734, no. 1199, and subsequent editors, restoring [Στα]γῖραι; [ΔFH-III] [Στα]γῖραι *ATL* I || 25 ∩ΤΟΛΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 180 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXII; ∩ΤΟΛΙΟΙ Pittakis 1853, p. 734, no. 1199 an error that speaks against his independence; ∩ΤΟΛΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 92, but the lower part of the vertical is actually visible. [HH] [Σπα]ρτόλιοι *ATL* I || 26 ΟΙ Pittakis 1853, p. 734, no. 1199; ΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 180 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXII and Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 92. \ΙΟΙ *ATL* I, explaining (*ATL* I, 82 note on fr. 16): “In line 26 below, the first letter trace on the left edge is alpha, gamma or delta.” What goes for the reading they explained (I, 187 note *ad loc.*): “We take the fourth letter to be alpha; see the notes on fragment 16 (p. 82). Then the restoration is [Γαλ]αῖοι. If the doubtful letter is gamma, then [Σιγ]γῖροι would be the proper supplement. In passing, we note that name [Γαλ]αῖοι, if not restored in this line, is eligible for the next line, where the entry [Σαν]αῖοι now stands. If the difficult letter of line 26 is alpha then of course [Γαλ]αῖοι and [Σαν]αῖοι are interchangeable in 26 and 27.” || 27 Α . ΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 180 and Böckh 1851,

Pl. IV, no. LXII; \IOI Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 92 restoring [Σαν]αῖοι; [H] [Σαν]αῖοι *ATL* I. But see their commentary cited in our note on 26. The Λ shaped letter is written half a letter space above the following IOI. It was correctly printed thus in *SEG* V although in the wrong line (26 instead of 27). || **28** P.OI Pittakis 1853, p. 734, no. 1199; Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 180 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXII; ὀIOI Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 92, as preserved today, and restoring ὀΘόριοι; [ΔΓ-III] ὀΘόριοι *ATL* I || **COLUMN VI 9** MW 1927, 34 commented (on what they thought was line 5): “the numeral H is clear on the stone.” In fact it is apparent on the photo printed in *ATL* I, Fig. 108, p. 80. A Γ of the initial is also visible, but this is hardly enough to print [HH]H Π[επαρέθιοι] *SEG* V nor [HH]H Π[επαρέθιοι] *ATL* I || **15** ΔΓΓ-Ι[III] MW 1927; ΔΓΓ-Ι[III] [Θραμβαῖοι] *ATL* I explaining, 187, note *ad loc.* their choice of [Θραμβαῖοι] in preference to [Αιγάντιοι] because of the analogy with 20.V.29-30 and 33.II.64-65 and for geographical reasons. One of the six other Thracian members attested with 1,000 dr. in the relevant assessment periods cannot be excluded || **16-21** Fr. 15 was seen by Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 194, and reported by Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. LXXV, or more likely, Böckh copied from Rangabé reproducing his error || **16** [-⁷-]ἰ Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 194 ; [-⁷⁻⁸-]ἰ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. LXXV || **17** ΔΔΔ[ΓΓ-Γ] Köhler 1869, p. 45, but cf. his Pl. VIII, no. 103a: ΔΔΔ; ΔΔΔΓ[ΓΓ-Γ] Ὀλοφύχοιοι *SEG* V, but only the vertical from the Γ is extant || **18** There is an error in Rangabé’s plate. With the preserved letters and figures on fr. 14, we should restore $\text{P}^{\text{A}} \text{A}[\beta]\delta\epsilon\rho\tilde{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$ in 18 and $\Delta[\iota\epsilon\varsigma] \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\tilde{\omicron} \text{A}\theta\omicron$ in 19. This would mean that IEΣ had occupied one letter space, which is patently absurd. MW 1927, 24-25, noted that the quota of Abdera was 1,500 dr. and not 50: “Consequently we restore [ηαβδερ]ῖται in 2 [our fragment 14 = V.17] and $\text{P}^{\text{A}} \text{A}[\sigma]\sigma\epsilon\rho\tilde{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$ in fragment 3 [our fragment 15 = VI.18]” || **19** [H] $\Delta[\iota\epsilon\varsigma] \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\tilde{\omicron} \text{A}\theta\omicron$ *ATL* I. The delta is not visible, nor was it reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103a || **20** $\Delta[\Gamma\Gamma-III]$ [Νεο]πολιτ[αί] *ATL* I. Only the left corner of Δ in the quota is preserved as given by Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 90a. I dot the figure || **21** ΔΔΓ [ἴκιοι] Köhler 1869, 46 || **23** $\text{P}^{\text{H}}\text{H}\text{H}\text{H}$ Μ[ενδαῖοι] Köhler 1869, p. 46 || **24** $\Delta[\Gamma\Gamma-III]$ Σ[κ - - -] Köhler 1869, 46, proposing p. 47 Σκάφσαῖοι and Σκιάθιοι, Σταγυρῖται being already present in V.24 || **25** $\text{P}^{\text{A}} \Sigma[\kappa\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\iota]$ Köhler 1869, p. 46 || **26** Σ[~] reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 90a || **27** Köhler 1869, p. 46 || **28** MW 1927, Pl. IX || **29** Köhler 1869, p. 46, having HH.-I A \ IOI Pl. VII, nos. 90a and 91a.

List 20

The twentieth list is preserved on the fragments: 17, 18, 20 (lost), 21 (lost), 22, 23, 24 (lost), 25, 26, 27, 28 (lost), 29, 34 (lost), 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 (lost), 48, 49, 50 (lost), 51, 52, 53 (lost) || **HEADING 1:** Ἐπὶ [τῆς εἰ][κοστῆς ἀρχῆς ἡ]ἰ Θ[οῖνιλος .⁷ .] Ἀχαρ[νε]ὺς ἐγραμμάτευε | ἡλ[λενο]ταμίας ἔν . 4 .] | [.¹⁰ . ἐκ Κεραμ]έον· West 1925c, 184-87 and 1926a, 254 basing the restitution for *IG I²* 365, l. 17 (= *IG I³* 464, l. 109-10) on this appearance of the name of the secretary. *ATL* I changed the accent: Θοῖνιλος following E. Locker, *Glotta* XXII, 1934, 67-68 || **1** The initial of Θοῖνιλος is just detectable to the left of the edge of the fragment: a round letter and the distinct dot in the middle. The preceding iota is less clear and should be dotted. Before this letter ΣΗΕ is perhaps distinguished, but not sufficiently clear to be printed, and it would not respect the stoichedon order compared with the letter traces in the line below || **2** West 1925c, 184-87 and 1926a, 254 reported a / which is very clear, but a slightly fainter second diagonal survives. I believe the bottom horizontal is there, making a delta probably but alpha or gamma remain possible, while mu or nu can be excluded. In the following letter space a vertical is visible with a possible upper loop as from Π || **COLUMN I 3** The *ATL*-editors were the first to detect the three letters in this line. They reported the upper half of the vertical in iota just below the epsilon in 2, but nothing remains here. The last letter is beyond doubt a sigma, just below the tau in 2. It is significantly smaller, about half the size, indicating that this was not part of the heading. Elsewhere on the list the title of the regional panels are written in the same pitch as the entries || **12** The diagonal reported by the *ATL*-editors, I, Pl. XIX, might be an accidental stroke || **COLUMN II 5** -ι first printed in *SEG* V || **II 6** -ιοι reported by MW 1927, 34 note *ad loc.*, perhaps by error, since not on Pl. IX || **II 10** The diagonal reported by the *ATL*-editors, I, Pl. XIX, might be an accidental stroke || **COLUMN III 4-5** The two obol symbols reported by the *ATL*-editors, I, Pl. XIX, as ¹¹, might be accidental || **10** The vertical is less certain than the clear epsilon in the line above. I print it hesitatingly || **COLUMN IV 3-8:** fr. 20 was seen by Rangabé 1842, frs. 236 and 181 and Böckh 1851, Pl. VII, no. CXXVIII and Pl. IV, no. LXIII. Meritt 1937c, 109-10, attributed it to this position “with some degree of possibility,” p. 110. In *ATL* I, 83, without further explanation, this has become “its (certainly correct) position.” I do not find it sufficiently convincing to maintain its present position || **9-11** Fr. 21 was last reported by Rangabé, 1842, p. 246, no. 181 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII still forming one piece with frs. 26 and 28 (lost). The two transcriptions are essentially the same and the

fact that Böckh repeats Rangabé's error ΨΟΡΟΣ instead of ΦΟΡΟΣ speaks against his independence || 9 [Διῆς ἀπὸ Κε]ν[αίο] MW 1927, Pl. X explaining p. 34: "In the tenth letter space we find a broken letter, which was part of an Island name. As there are only two Island names spelled with ten letters or more in this period, one of them, two lines below, we restore with confidence [Διῆς ἀπὸ Κε]ν[αίο], noting that the strokes now visible on the stone resemble those of a *nu*." The first part of the explanation is understandable, if it refers to the ¹¹ reported by Rangabé, and which could indeed be from a *nu*, but I remain suspicious faced with the statement that anything should be visible on a stone lost more than 130 years ago. [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Διῆς ἀπὸ Κε]ν[αίο] *ATL I* || 10 [Μυριναῖ]οι *SEG V* with commenting: "10/12 cum ex delineatione, quam exhibet Anon. Rang. 181, appareat vs. 12 vel maxime 7 litteras continuisse, vs. 10 [Μυριναῖ]οι satis pro certo suppl. W. M., qui Μυριναίους, Ἐφαιστιῆς, Ἰμβρίους etiam 12, V, 32/4, 13, V, 33/5, 14, I, 105/6 et II, 105 eodem ordine atque in hac tabula recenseri admonent." || 11 Köhler 1869, p. 47 || 12 [Ἰμβριοι] *SEG V* See note on 10; [H] [Ἰμβριοι] *ATL I* || 13-26 (= fr. 28) last seen by Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a still contiguous with fr. 29 || 13 N || ΟΣΨΟΡΟΣ reported by Rangabé 1842, p. 246, fr. 181 corrected to ΝΤΙΟΣΦΟΡΟΣ by Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || 14 ΡΓΑΛΙΑΝΟΙ: Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [Γ] [ἡ]ραγίανοι *ATL I* || 15 ΛΕΙΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [ΔΓΗΗΗ] [Σι]γειῆς *ATL I* || 16 ΑΝΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [ΔΓΗΗΗ] [Κι]ανοί *ATL I* || 17 ΙΑΓΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [ΓΗΗΗ] [Πρ]ιαπῆς *ATL I* || 18 ΕΙΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [ΓΗΗΗ] [Ἄ]ειῆς *ATL I* || 19 Ρ^ΑΝΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [Η] [Δα]ρδανῆς *ATL I* || 20 ΠΙΝΘΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [X] [Πε]ρίνθιοι *ATL I* || 21 ΥΝΙΟΨΕΙΧΙΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [ΔΓΗΗΗ] [Δα]υνιοτεῖχεται *ATL I* || 22-29 fr. 41 (*Ag. I 4910*) preserving the endings of 22, 23, 26, 28 and 29 plus the quotas of the next column was reported by Köhler as still forming part of frs. 29 and 40. It was then lost and rediscovered "in May 1937, at the west entrance to the Acropolis." (*ATL I*, p. 85, note *ad loc.*) || 22 ΥΜΟ..¹ v ¹ΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; the lower part of tau is preserved on fr. 41 (*Ag. I 4910*); [ΔΓΗΗΗ] [Διδυ]μοτεῖχεται : *ATL I* || 23 ΛΧΕΔΟΝΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; -ΟΙ is preserved on fr. 41 (*Ag. I 4910*) || 24 ΝΕΔΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [ΗΗΗΔΔΔΓΗΗΗ] [Τε]νέδιοι *ATL I* || 25 ΥΔΕΝΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || 26 ΖΑΝΤΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; -Ι is preserved on fr. 41 (*Ag. I 4910*) || 27 [ΔΓΗΗΗ]

[Πα]ισενοί *ATL I* || 28 ΔΡΑΣ: is preserved on fr. 41 (*Ag. I 4910*) || 29 ΝΟΙ: is preserved on fr. 41 (*Ag. I 4910*) || 30 The top right quarter of Ο is visible at the right edge of the stone. [ῬΗΗΗΗ] [Κυζικενοί] *ATL I* || 31 fr. 40 has ΟΚΟ, and fr. 40a, which Meritt 1961, 262-63 note 75, attributed to this place preserves a clear nu. I do not agree with Meritt that a second preceding nu is visible, nor that any traces survives from the following epsilon, permitting the restitution [ΗΗΗ] [Πρ]οκοννέ[σιοι] || **COLUMN V 3** Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 and Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a saw a full tau of which only the right tip of the horizontal is preserved. I have accordingly underlined it, *pace* MW 1927, Pl. X giving ΔΔΔ†††|| Ἄ[ρ]τακενοί || 4 Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a saw the middle bar of Η no longer preserved on the edge of fr. 17 and ΓΑ ἸΑΝΟΙ, but Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 only has the vertical as today. † Παριανοί MW 1927, Pl. X || 5 *Pace* the drawing on *ATL I*, Pl. XX none of the early editors ever read delta in ΜΑΔ.ΤΙΟΙ; [ΔΔ]Δ†††|| Μα[δ]ύτιοι MW 1927, Pl. X is correct || 6 ΙΙΙ LIMΝΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; †|| LIMΝΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [Γ††]†|| Λιμναῖοι MW 1927, Pl. X || 7 † ΙΙΙ ΣΕΣΤΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; † ΙΙΙΙ ΣΕΣΤΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [ΔΓ†]ΙΙΙΙ Σέστιοι MW 1927, Pl. X apparently following Rangabé. I follow Köhler || 8 ††|| ΑΛΟΎΕΚΟΝΝΕΣΙΟΙ : Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; ††|| ΑΛΟΓΕΚΟΝΝΕΣΙΟΙ : Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; [ΔΔΔ†]††|| Ἄλοπεκοννέσιοι : MW 1927, Pl. X || 9-10 ΙΙ ΧΕ.ΡΟΝΕΣΙΤΑΙ : | ΑΓ.ΛΟΡΑΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; ΙΙ ΧΕ.ΡΟΝΕΣΙΤΑΙ : | ΑΓΓΑΛΟΡΑΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; Η Χε[ρ]ρονεῖται : | ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς MW 1927, Pl. X || 11 Ῥ EL.ΙΟΣΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 and Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a. Thus *pace* the drawing on Pl. XX none of the early editors have recorded the \ from the alpha. MW 1927, Pl. X correctly gave Ῥ Ἐλ[α]ίόσιοι the error arises in *SEG V* || 12 ΔΓ ΣΕΛ. ΛΒΡΙΑΝΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 ΔΓ ΣΕΛ.ΛΒΡΙΑΝΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a. Thus *pace* the drawing on Pl. XX none of the early editors have recorded the Υ. MW 1927, Pl. X correctly gave ΔΓ Σελ[υ]μβριανοί. The error arises in *ATL I* || 13 ΑΙΚΙΣ . ΦΟΡΟΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 and Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || 14 Η ΑΦΥ.ΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; Η ΙΙΙΙ ΑΦΥΤΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; Η - Ἄφυταῖοι MW 1927, Pl. X; ΗΗΗ Ἄφυταῖοι *ATL I* || 15 † ΙΙΙΙ ΣΓΑ.ΓΟΛΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; † ΙΙΙΙ ΣΓΑΡΤΟΛΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no.

91a; Η[Η] Σπαρτόλοι MW 1927, Pl. X; Η[Η] Σπαρτόλοι *ATL* I. I have followed the *ATL*-editors relying on Köhler's rho || **16** Η¹//// ΑΙΝ . \ΤΑΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; Η¹//// ΑΙΝ . ΑΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; ΗΗ[Η] Αιν[ε]ᾶται MW 1927, Pl. X || **17** Η¹//// ΓΕΓΑ.ΕΘΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; Η[ΗΗ] Πεπα[ρ]έθιοι MW 1927, Pl. X || **18** Η ΘΥΣΣ.ΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; Η Θύσσ[ι]οι MW 1927, Pl. X, correcting Η Θύσσοι of previous editions || **19** Η ΜΕΚ . . ΕΡΝΑΙΟΙ : Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; Η Μεκ[υπ]ερναῖοι MW 1927, Pl. X || **20** Η ΔΙΓ . . .ΤΟΑΘΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; Η Διῆ[ς ἐκ] τῷ Ἄθο MW 1927, Pl. X correcting Η Διῆ[ς ἀπὸ] τῷ Ἄθο of previous editions || **21** ΔΙ¹////ΙΙΙ ΣΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **22** Δ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; [^] Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; Δ[ΔΓ] [ῥ]ικιοι Köhler 1869, p. 47 || **23** - - [Τ]ο[ροναῖ]οι Köhler 1869, p. 47 reporting , Ο ,ΟΙ on Pl. VII 91a. - - [Τ]ο[ροναῖ]οι MW 1927, Pl. X. [FH] [Τ]ο[ροναῖ]οι *ATL* I. Only the lowest part of omikron is visible today with some degree of probability on fr. 42 || **24-29** fr. 41 preserving the quotas of the next column and the finals of the entries in the previous was reported forming part of frs. 29 and 40 by Köhler. It was then lost and rediscovered “in May 1937, at the west entrance to the Acropolis” (*ATL* I, p. 85, note *ad loc.*). It is now in the Agora Museum (*Ag.* I 4910) || **24** Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a perhaps saw slightly more of the penultimate || **26** FH¹//// ΜΕΝΔ . . ΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a restoring FH¹ Μενδ[αῖ]οι; FH¹ Μενδ[α]ῖοι *SEG* V, but I find no confirmation for the antepenultimate except that the edge is broken in such a way as to exclude any other letter in the stoichedon pattern || **27** X ΜΑΡΟΝΙΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; The second and third strokes of nu have disappeared in the break between frs. 42 and 44 || **28** ΔΔ¹//// ΗΑΙΣ[^]ΝΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a. The join between the two strokes in Γ of the quota might just be detectable. Nothing remains of the omikron now lost in the break between frs. 42 and 44 || **29** ΔΓ¹-ΙΙΙΙ . Ρ[^]..ΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a restoring ΔΓ¹-ΙΙΙΙ [Θ]ρα[μβ]αῖοι; ΔΓ¹-ΙΙΙΙ [Θ]ρα[μ]βαῖοι *SEG* V, but as the photo in *ATL* I, Fig. 115, p. 85, shows, nothing remains of ΔΓ and Fig. 117, p. 86, also shows the absence of traces from Β. The β is probably an interpretation of ΔΓ¹-ΙΙΙΙ . ΘΡΛ.ΔΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 reproduced by Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII, supposing the former got his drawing of the upper or lower loop wrong. I dot and underline the letter || **30** //// ΝΤΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **31** ΔΗ¹-ΗΗ ΑΤΑΚΤΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a, but Rangabé 1842,

p. 246, no. 181 has ΔΗΗΗ || ...ΟΙΑΤΑΚΤΟΙ reproduced by Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXII. ΔΗΗΗ || [Γαλαῖ]οι ἄτακτοι MW 1927, Pl. X. The restitution was not taken into *ATL* I, p. 188 note *ad loc.*: “We have abandoned the restoration [Γαλαῖ]οι ἄτακτοι of the *S.E.G.* text because the spacing is probably wrong and because the quota does not suit the name. The ἄτακτοι entries crowded laterally (cf. 20, VI, 23-25 and 31), which makes an estimate of the length of the lacuna difficult.” The restitution was nevertheless reproduced in *ATL* II. Cf. *ATL* III, p. 65 and 86 and n. 41 and later in *IG* I³ || **COLUMN VI 3-4** The early editors give NEO except Pittakis 1853, no. 1199: ΝΕΟΓΟ. But did he see more than Rangabé 1842 and Böckh 1851? We have seen that Böckh for these fragments relies on Rangabé, so it is Rangabé’s evidence against Pittakis’. The latter is more often than not reproducing the edition of Rangabé and often with errors and absurd homemade restorations. I follow the more reliable Rangabé, reading NEO, which is exactly what Köhler 1869 saw and which is preserved today. The *ATL*-editors chose the opposite (p. 82, note *ad fr.* 18) relying on Pittakis’ ΝΕΟΓΟ and Ἀσσο[ε]ρῖτα[ι] below, but both could be restorations. However they correctly reported that “The following line was reported by Ross as ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟ (Böckh 1851, 404).” || 5 <X^F> Ποτειδεᾶται *ATL* III, 64-65 assuming that the mason had transposed the quotas of the entries 5 and 6. The hypothesis was accepted by Gomme 1956, 608, but refuted by Hornblower 1996, 6, whom I follow || 6 X^F//// ΣΚΙΟΝΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; The X is no longer visible; <F^H> Σκιοναῖοι *ATL* III, 64, cf. note on 5 || 7 >//////// ΘΑΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a; Pittakis, fr. 1199, p. 734-35, Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXII did not report the quota. The drawing, *ATL* I, Pl. XX, gives a full X, half of which is erroneously indicated as having been reported by previous editors. However, fr. 25 does preserve traces of the left half of an X; probably the one Köhler saw. Deep cuts of the tips of the right half may also be preserved on the edge. The position of this symbol is not aligned to the left as we might expect here. This means that rather than being the first numeral it might be the second figure of the quota XXX. The third of these is lost but the first just below and above the ones preserved in 6 and 8 has left the traces of the two lower tips || 10-11 ^F ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤ | ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΝ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; ^F ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤ | ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXII; ^F ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤ | ΜΕΝΔ[^] Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a. Only Pittakis, fr. 1199, p. 734-35, has ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΙ. It would be unwise to follow him against the other generally more reliable editors, *pace* *ATL* I, cf. our commentary on 3-4 || 12

ΓΗΗΗ ΣΕΡ . . . ΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **13** Ϙ ΣΑΝ . ΟΙΑΙΚΕΣ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXII; Ϙ ΣΑΝ.ΘΡΑΙΚΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **14** Ϙ ΑΣ..ΠΙΤΑ/// Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **15** Η ΛΙ...ΟΙΤΑΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXII; Η^ΤΑΙ Köhler, Pl. VII 91a || **17** ΔΓΗΙΠΙΤΑ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; ΔΓΗ^ΙΠΙΤΑ Köhler, Pl. VII 91a || **18** ΗΙ Ι Ι ΠΓΑΙΕΓΙΦΟΡΑ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; ΗΙ Ι Ι ΠΙΤΑΙΕΓΙΦΟΡΑ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; ΗΙ Ι / \ Ι Π Ι Ι ΑΙΕΓΙΦΟΡΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **19** ΔΙΚΑΙΑΓΑΡΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **20** ΗΑΒΔΕΡΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **21** ΑΚΑΝΘΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **22** ΗΙΙΙ ΦΕΛΕΤΙΟΙ Rangabé 1851, no. 181, p. 246 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; ΦΕΛΕΤΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **23** ΔΓΗΙΙ ΜΡΒΕΛΙΟΙΑΤΑΚ (sic!) Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; ΔΓΗΙΙ ΙΑΡΒΕΛΙΟΙΑΤΑΚ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; Δ//////// Ι^ΑΡΒΕΛΙΟΙΑΤΑΚ///// Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **24-25** MW 1927, 34 note *ad loc.* proposed 'Οθ[ό]ρι[οι ἄτακτοι] and Χεδρόλιοι [ἄτακτοι] because 1) "The crowding of the letters on the stone (...) shows that the longer restoration is necessary." 2) "Οθόρι[οι] can be restituted from the reading of Rangabé combined with Böckh's, considering that the latter is a correction of the former" and 3) "the evidence for the alpha in ἄτακτοι might be seen in the slanting stroke after the ethnic given by Rangabé." || **24** ΔΗΙΙΙ ΟΘΟΡΟΙ/ (sic!) Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; ΔΗΙΙΙ ΟΘΟΡΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; ΔΗ//////// . . . ΡΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **25** ΓΗΗΗ ΕΔΡΟΛΙΟΛ (sic!) Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; ΓΗΗΗ ΧΕΔΡΟΛΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; ΓΗΗ//////// //ΕΔΡΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **26** ΗΗΗΗ Ϙ ΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; ΗΗΗΗ//////// ΣΕΡ/ΙΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **27** Η ΣΑΝΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **28** ΔΔΔΗΗΗ ΣΚΑΒΛΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **29** ΗΗΗ ΣΙΛΛΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **30** ϘΗΗ ΒΕΡΛΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; Ϙ ΒΕΡΛΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a || **31** ΔΓΗΙΙΙ Μ . ΤΟΡΙΟΙΑΤΑΚΤΟ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΜΙΛΤΟΡΙΟΙΑΤΑΚΤΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91a.

List 21

The twenty-first list is preserved on the fragments 49, 50 (lost), 51, 52, 53 (lost), 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61 and 62 || **HEADING 1** ΚΟΣΕΙΚΕΡΑΜΕΟΝΕΓΪΧΑΡΟΚ (sic!) Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; ΚΟΣΕΚΚΕΡΑΜΕΟΝΕΓΪΧΑΡΟΚ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; ΚΟΣΕΙ//... ΜΕΟΝΕΓΪΧΑΡΟ< Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a*; ἡῖ Προτόνικος ἐκ Κεραμῶν Ἐπιχάρος *IG* I² 211 in analogy with *IG* I² 266 11-12 (= *IG* I³ 465.123-25). The discovery of fr. 40*a* placed here by Meritt 1961, 262-63, n. 75 added three letters to the name of the secretary. I have dotted the iota since only the upper tip is preserved || **2** \ΧΟΣΧΑΡΙΔΕΜΟΧΣΥΓΪΤΑΙΟΝ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; ΧΑΡΙΔΕ/ ..ΥΓΪΤΑΙΟΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a* || **COLUMN V 3-4** Ϝ ΝΕΟΓΟΛΙΤΑΙ | ΜΕ...ΙΟΝ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; Ϝ ΝΕΟΓΟΛΙΤΑΙ : | ΜΕ... ΟΝ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; Ϝ ΝΕΟΓ...ΑΙ | ΜΕ.Δ...Ν Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a* || **5** ΗΗΗΓΪ..ΪΗ ΣΓΑΡΤΟΛΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; ΗΗΗΓΪΪΪΗ κτλ. Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a* || **6** ϜΗΗΗ ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 || **7** Χ ΜΑΡΟΝΙΤΑΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 || **8** ΔΔΓ ΙΚΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 || **9** ΗΗΗ . ΗϜ ΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; ΗΗΗΗϜ κτλ. Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a* || **10** Η ΣΑΝΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 94*a* || **10** ΓΕΓΑΡ... Ι Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 94*a*, but Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 192 and Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. LXVI read ΟΙ at the end of the entry (= fr. 60) || **21** [Ποτειδεᾶτ]αι Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a*; [ΧϜ] [Ποτειδεᾶτ]αι *ATL* I || **23** - 9 -ΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a* restoring [Μεκυπερναῖοι, p. 49; [Η] [Μεκυπερναῖοι *ATL* I || **24** ΟΟ Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 192; ΘΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. LXVI, by error, since the surface to the right of the omikron is uninscribed; - 9 -[^]Ο Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a* restoring [Διῆς ἐκ τῶ ᾿Α]θο p. 49 || **30** [^]Α Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 192; ΡΑ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. LXVI; [^]Α Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a* || **29-30** Δ[ίκαια] | πα[ρ' ἡβδερὰ] Köhler 1869, p. 49; [Ϝ] κτλ. *ATL* I || **37** ΣΚΑΒ.....Ι Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, nos. 93 and 94*a*, the iota being on a part now lost of fr. 60 || **COLUMN VI 7** The fracture in the stone is ancient, since Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 recorded ΪΪΪΗ ΑΙΟΛΙΤΑΙ, and Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. LXIII, Ι ΪΪΪΗ. Only Köhler gives a full ΓΪΪΪΗ, which he could have interpreted from the traces preserved on the stone || **10** Η Α Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181; Η ΑΛΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII; only Köhler 1869,

Pl. VII, no. 91*a* reported the upper tips of the four strokes of mu and restored Η Ἀμόργιοι p. 49, probably influenced by its position in the same rubric in the following list 22.II.80. He was followed by MW 1927, Pl. 11, and subsequent editions. However the bottom of fr. 58 is apparently preserved in the same condition as 150 years ago, and the supposed mu is incompatible with the traces on the stone (compare with Μιλκόριοι above). After the alpha follows a triangular shaped letter with a slightly smaller upper angle, *pace* *ATL* I, Pl. XX where only Α' is reported. The possibilities are gamma or delta. In the third letter space the upper tip of a vertical to the left of the centre is preserved, but given the loose stoichedon order an iota cannot be excluded. No attested league member begins on Ἀδ or Ἀγ and the parallel with Amorgos in 22.II.80 is tempting. But the traces are still incompatible || **11** ΔΓϜ-ΙΙΙΙ Κ[άσιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 49, probably in analogy with 22.II.79 in the same rubric || **12** ΔΓϜ-ΙΙΙΙ Κα[λλιπολιῖται] Köhler 1869, p. 49, probably in analogy with 22.II.87 in the same rubric || **13** ΔΔΓ Σα[ρταῖοι] Köhler 1869, p. 49; ΔΔΓ Σαρ[ταῖοι] *ATL* I. The vertical from the rho can just be guessed at on the edge of fr. 57, and the letter should be dotted accordingly || **14** ΕΤ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 94*a* and restored ΔΓϜ-ΙΙΙΙ Ἐτεοκαρπάθιοι, p. 49, probably in analogy with 22.II.80-81 in the same rubric. The surface has been damaged since the photo in *ATL* I was taken, p. 87, Fig. 120, and the initial of the ethnic is no longer extant || **15** ΓϜ-Ϝ-Ϝ Φ[^] Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a*, restoring Φα[ρβέλιοι], p. 49. Less of the apex is visible than reported by Köhler 1869, cf. *ATL* I p. 87, Fig. 120. In isolation the tip could be from a vertical. Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181 and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII only printed ΓϜ-Ϝ-Ϝ Φ, perhaps testifying that Köhler saw no more than is preserved today || **16** ΔΓϜ-ΙΙΙΙ [Χεδρόλιοι] MW 1927, Pl. XI probably in analogy with 22.II.88 in the same rubric || **17** ΙΔΙΟΤΑΙΕΝΛ.ΡΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a* and 102*b*; ΡΑ being preserved on a now lost part of our fr. 61, whose position is secured by its join with fr. 60 on the reverse and left lateral face of the stone. Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 192 and Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. LXVI reported an almost full epsilon with only the tip of the upper horizontal missing on fr. 60 || **18** Δ Γ'ΙΛΟΡΟΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*a*. However, only the left tips of the joins between the first and second and the third and fourth strokes are preserved of the sigma. Since Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 192 and Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. LXVI have Δ Γ'ΙΛΟΡΟ, we can assume that Köhler saw no more than is preserved today. Since the traces could, out of context, be taken as from a chi, I have dotted the letter.

List 22

This list is preserved on fragments 1, 14, 15 (lost), 63 (lost), 64 (lost), 65, 5, 18, 9, 34 (lost), 35, 36, 39 (lost), 47 (lost), 48, 52, 66, 67 (lost), 58, 10, 68, 69, 11, 70, 61 and 60. Böckh reproduces the errors of Rangabé in frs. 14 and 15 and his readings should therefore not be considered independent. This means that we have to rely on Rangabé alone for the readings of fr. 15 lost before Köhler. There are some problems relating to this fragment, and the situation is not made easier by the fact that the stoichedon order is not respected. As MW 1927, 35 observed: “In fact, in six of the first ten Ionic names the letters are crowded together without any regard for στοιχηδόν arrangement.” || **HEADING 1** ΛΓΓ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 179'; ΕΓΓ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXXI and Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103*b* || **2** ΚΟΣΤ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 179' and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXXI; ΚΟΣ – Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103*b*. Only the diagonals are preserved of kappa, but the vertical of this letter is printed slightly fainter by Rangabé and corresponds to a well preserved vertical still on the stone || **COLUMN I 5** Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 179', Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXXI and Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103*b* all reported the second diagonal from mu, of which only the first is still preserved || **6** A tip of the first diagonal in the sixth stoichos might be preserved on the edge of fr. 14, but it could also be an accidental stroke || **7** Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 179' and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXXI reported the right third of omikron in the first stoichos, whereas Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103*b* gave the upper third of the same letter. At Rangabé and Böckh's time only the upper stroke of sigma in the 7th stoichos was lost, at Köhler's time only < remained. Today nothing is visible with confidence on the heavily worn surface || **8** ΟΝΙΚΟΣΦΟΡΟ Rangabé 1842, p. 246; ΟΝΙΚΟΣΦΟΡΟΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103*b* || **11** <ΑΣΑΝΔΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 179'; ΑΣΑΝΔΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103*b*; MW 1927, 35 reported the pi, but these strokes, a horizontal with a possible second vertical, would be illegible out of context || **12-13** ...<ΥΑΝΔΕ / ... ΥΝC Rangabé no. 179', p. 246; ...ΥΑΝΔΕ / ... ΥΝO Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103*b*. *Pace* the drawing in *ATL* I Pl. XXI, the stone is preserved from the second stoichos of the ethnic in 12. The surface is so worn that it is hardly legible. I agree with *SEG* V that a faint alpha can be distinguished in the fifth stoichos. Perhaps the traces of an upper loop of beta in the fourth letter space of 12, not reported by previous editors. In 13 the stone is preserved from third stoichos although no letters are visible before the alpha in the sixth letter space. Also a third alpha remains in the sixth stoichos (*SEG* V p. 20). A kappa in the fifth might be detectable || **14-24** The quotas

and/or initials of the ethnics are preserved on fr. 15 last seen by Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 194'. The fragment was first attributed to this place by Köhler 1869 || **14** Δ Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 194'; - 5 -> Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 179'; - 6 -> Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103b. These readings are incompatible with the remains on the stone, which is preserved from the third stoichos although the surface is worn. Nothing is extant below the upsilon in line 13, where the surface is intact. In the previous letter space, the traces which Rangabé took to be from an omikron are most likely accidental. In any case omikron cannot be the last letter. I therefore agree with the *ATL*-editors, Pl. XXI, that nothing is recoverable here, although their drawing of the edge of fr. 14, based on a squeeze, is incorrect. How Köhler could report an additional iota is a mystery. I agree with Meritt and West (*SEG* V, p. 20): “[Νοτιῆς]: W.M.; in fine ΟΙ priores; sed quo loco iota datur lapis utique vacat; Ο contra, quod exhibet Rang. 179' (Boeckh LXXI), errori deberi videtur.” The *ATL*-editors, p. 188, note *ad loc.* thought “[Κρυῆς] preferable to [Νοτιῆς]” on geographical grounds and because “although a six letter name is not impossible here, the preserved surface of the stone favours a name of not more than five letters.” West 1935, p. 81 proposed ΔΔΔΓΓΓ|| Ἄμιοι as a third possibility || **15** ΓΓΓ Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 194'; ΑΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103b; ΓΓΓ[ΓΓ] [Αύλ]ιᾶται MW 1927, Pl. XII. Although the stone is preserved in the fourth letter space, it is difficult to identify the remaining traces as an iota || **16** ΔΔΔΓΓ Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 194'; ΑΘΕΣΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 179' and Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103b || **17** ΔΓΓ|| Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 194'; [Μύ]νδιοι Hiller von Gaertringen *IG* I 244 emending the quota from Rangabé to ΓΓΓ|| with note *ad loc.*, presumably because that is the normal quota of Myndos. I agree with MW 1927, 35-36 that it is better to restore [Ἰ]νδιοι, who are attested with this quota. See further the discussion on 25 || **18** ΗΗ Rangabé 1851, p. 248, no. 194'; ΓΥΓΑΛ^ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103b, but the alpha has only lost its right diagonal in the break between frs. 14 and 1, ΕΣ is clear on fr. 1 and the vertical, an iota, can be detected on the left edge. I have dotted the latter, since it could be the right part of a Γ in another context || **19** Χ Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 194' || **20-21** Rangabé 1842, p. 248, no. 194', reported the following quotas for 20-22 of which the first is unattested, the other seen twice:

ϜΔΔΔΓΓ	
ΓΓΓ	Ι
ΗΗΗ	Γ, Ι

Πελεᾶται MW 1927 Pl. XII; [P] [Πελεᾶ]ται *ATL I* || **32-33** [Ἐλαιέα] | [παρὰ Μ]ύριναν MW 1927 Pl. XII; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Ἐλαιέα] | [παρὰ Μ]ύριναν *ATL I* || **34-35** [Θερμαῖοι] | [ἐχς Ἴκάρ]ο MW 1927 Pl. XII; [P] κτλ. *ATL I* || **41-56** Köhler 1869, p. 53 placed fr. 1 directly below fr. 65 making no space between our lines 26 Κ[ολοφ]όνιοι and 41 [Κ]αμ[ιρῆς]. This was corrected by Meritt and West who interposed frs. 65 and 5, which Köhler had not attributed to this list. The position of fr. 5 is secured by the fact that it preserves part of the prescript of List 17 on the obverse face and that it shares an important join with fr. 65 which again secures this attribution || **41** The stone has \ / , but Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b* reported a right diagonal and the three first strokes of mu in the second and third stoichoi and restored [Κ]αμ[ιρῆς] Köhler 1869, p. 53, l. 18; [P] [Κ]αμ[ιρῆς] *ATL I* || **42** <AL Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, but X is clearly intact; Χαλ[κετόρες] *SEG V*; [ΔΔΔΓΓ-Γ] Χαλ[κεᾶται] *ATL I*, explaining, p. 188, note *ad loc.*, that “the *S.E.G.* restoration is unsuitable, since the town was inland, near Eromos and Mylasa.” || **43** Köhler 1869, p. 53 || **44** TEI Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, restoring Τεί[οι] p. 53. Now the iota is on the edge of the right edge of fr. 18 and could be mistaken for another vertical letter. [P]H Τεί[οι] *ATL I* || **45** IE Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b* restoring Ἴε[λύσιοι] p. 53. But in the column of the quotas a faint H is visible, and in the third stoichos of the ethnic the two extremities of a vertical in the third stoichos is visible. [P]HHH]H Ἴε[λύσιοι] *SEG V* is undotted in *ATL I* || **46** Η ΦΑΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, restoring [P]H Φασ[ελῖται] p. 53. Only the left extremities of sigma are preserved today, but this is enough to print it undotted || **47** Νισ[ύριοι] Köhler 1869, p. 53; [H]^{vac}. Νισ[ύριοι] *SEG V* || **48-49** ΔΓ ΕΡΥC / Γ I || ΚΑΙΧ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b* restoring .ΔΓ Ἐρυθραῖοι | [Γ]Γ-Γ]|| καὶ Χ - - -; [Χ]ΔΓ Ἐρυθ[ραῖοι] | [Γ]Γ-Γ]|| καὶ χσυντελεῖς MW 1927, Pl. XII || **50-51** Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b* reported the crossbar and right vertical from H in the quota as well as the iota in the fourth stoichos of 50 || **52-53** Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b* reported the crossbar and right vertical from H in the quota as well as OINA in 50. || **54** .OIC Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b* restoring [Κ]ῶιο[ι]; P [Κ]ῶιο[ι] *SEG V* explaining (20): “numeri pars in lapide servatur.” This part is a possible upper stroke and the second vertical. This doubtful numeral should be dotted || **55** .ALY Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b* restoring [Κ]αλύ[δνιοι]; [H]P [Κ]αλύ[δνιοι] *SEG V* stating (p. 20): “hasta verticalis in lapides servatur” with a reference to Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181', who gives a vertical as the first numeral. In *ATL I* the editors printed

Η^Ρ [K]αλύδνιοι[ι] without further explanation (neither of the fragments nor of the readings), but probably taking Rangabé's vertical as from H and the one they saw as from Ρ. This is, however, to give too much credit to the reliability of Rangabé's layout. I only see one vertical to the left of the centre in the second numeral space and this is likely to have been the same that Rangabé saw, even if he placed it further to the left on his copy. The surface of this fragment is much worn and I doubt that he would have reported a stroke now lost, and ignored the one still preserved || 56 //|||H-||| .ITA Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, restoring [ΔΔΔ]H-[H-H], *pace* MW 1927, 37 on the grounds that there is not sufficient room for three Δ and that 1,000 is the normal tribute of Pitane. Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181' had Λ - as the first numeral and ITA. Now the most obvious thing to do would be to restore Δ[Γ]H-[||||], the normal quota of Pitane. However, what Köhler reported as H is still clear, but the centre bar is directed to the left, making it look like an H that has lost its first stroke. I do not agree with Meritt and West (*SEG* V p. 20) stating "ΔΓH-[||||]: primum signum exhibit Rang. 181' (Boeckh LXXII), alterum et tertium in lapide servantur." The second is certainly not preserved, and again we must ask how Rangabé could report a numeral now lost, but overlook the one preserved. I accept to print the H, because it conforms with Köhler's reading and because printing [.]H would amount to saying that the Pitanaians in this year paid 12 times their normal tribute (HH = 12,000 dr.). They are unattested only in the four preceding lists || 57-58 //|||IC .ITA / [~] I c Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, printing [Γ]|||C [Π]ιτα[ναῖοι] | [έ]πιφ[ορᾶς] p. 54; Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181' does not report the pi but gives the iota and a full round letter in 58 exactly where IΦ should be. The numeral given by Köhler is unattested even among the *epiphora* payments. MW 1927, 37 objected to this restitution claiming: "Since the *epiphora* of Pitane in 440/39 was five obols, we can see no reason for the restoration given in the Corpus. The numerals should be left thus: - - - IC." In the *ATL* I the editors proposed, p. 452: "The restoration should be the same as that for Stageira in List 20 above. One twelfth (five sixtieths) of 16 2/3 drachmai yields 8 1/3 obols, the nearest approximation to which may be restored here in lines 57-58 as [H]|||C." Given the uncertainty of this calculation, and that Köhler actually reported |||C I think it is best to follow him || 59 ΔΔH-||| . . . Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, restoring [Δ]ΔΔH-[H-H] - - p. 54; [Δ]ΔΔH-[H-H] *SEG* V on the basis of Rangabé's ΔH-H no. 181' p. 246; Note that he leaves no space to the left of Δ, which is certainly an error) and Böckh's ΔΔH-H 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXXII. I here

follow Köhler, against Rangabé; cf. commentary on 58. *SEG* V restored [Δ]ΔΔ††[†II] [Χαλκεῖται], but [Δ]ΔΔ††[†II] [Γρυνειῆς] *ATL* I, commenting, p. 188: “The restoration [Χαλκεῖται] was printed in *S.E.G.* V, 22 because Chalkeia paid ἐπιφορά in the following year (23, I, 54-56). Nesselhauf, however, has demonstrated that the same towns did not of necessity pay ἐπιφορά in successive years (*Klio*, Beiheft XXX [1933], pp. 51-52). Thus [Χαλκεῖται] is not a forced restoration in 22, I, 59-60; in fact, the name must be restored in I, 42 (see the note *ad loc.*). The possibilities for lines 59 and 60 are Κεδριᾶται, Νοτιῆς, Γρυνειῆς. The second of these we have placed in I, 27 (see the note *ad loc.*). Of the remaining two [Γρυνειῆς] is much to be preferred. It is an Ionic name and the entries above and below the lines in question are Ionic. In addition, it occurs with Πιτωναῖοι in 2, VII, 15-16; 3, V, 26-27; 7, I, 14-15; 8, I, 16-17.” Note however that the geographical argument does not carry much weight in general. In this particular case the entries preceding and following the one we are looking for are not entirely homogenous: Oine (Ionian), Kos (Carian), Kalynda (C) and Pitane (I) for the preceding and Pygale (I), Termera (C), Miletus (I), Ephesos (I) and Dios Hieron (I) for the following. Note also that [Κεδριᾶ]ται in I.27 was changed to [Πελεᾶ]ται without the editors reopening the question of this line. Notion is attested with at least one *epiphora* payment already || 60-61 †IIII . . . | N Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181', and Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXXII; †IIII . . . | E Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, restoring †IIII . . . | ἐ[πιφορᾶς]. Since Böckh was dependent on Rangabé for this fragment, we have to choose between Rangabé and Köhler. The latter was more the reliable and apparently saw that the quota was in a bracket position although he was unable to print it thus. Last but not least: Rangabé has a line less than Köhler, the N (in our line 61) being followed directly by Tl (in our line 63). This means that he was perhaps mistaking the Π (our line 62) for the N. Finally, as MW 1927, 37 observed, there is no attested member on N- in the Ionian/Carian panels until later. This all favours Köhler's reading against Rangabé's. I cannot follow the *ATL*-editors' emendation of the reported figures, I, p. 452: “One twelfth (five sixtieth) of 33 1/3 drachmai yields 2 drachmai 4 2/3 obols, the nearest approximation to which is to be expressed as ††IIII. This is the figure that should be restored in lines 60-61. See the record of Πιτωναῖοι from List 15 above.” In fact, we do not know exactly how the relationship between the normal quota and the *epiphora* was, and †IIII is an attested possibility || 62 Γ... Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*. Π[υγελεῆς] MW 1927, Pl. XII, by method of exclusion, cf. p. 37; [H^π] Π[υγελεῆς] *ATL* I || 63

TI/// Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b* restoring [TE]; Τερμερῆς MW 1927 explaining only, p. 38: “Τε[ρμερῆς] is a much more probable restoration than Τε[λμέσσιοι] and we have adopted it in our transcript.” Τε[ρμερῆς] *ATL* I || 64 MI... Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b* restoring p. 54 Μι[λέσιοι] || 66 Π^{P} ΕΦ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*; restoring [Π^{P} ΗΗ] Π^{P} Ἐφ[έσιοι] || 67 Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181' omitted this line, as observed by Pittakis 1853, p. 740 note *ad* 25: “Τὴν ἐπομένην γραμμὴν, ἤτοι τὴν 25, εἰς ἣν φαίνονται οἱ ἀριθμοὶ ΗΙ / ὁ Κ. Ῥαγκαβῆς παρέλειψεν ὅλως.” Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXXII left it blank: “Leer nach Müller.” Pittakis alone reported, as the citation shows, p. 738, fr. 1201: ΗΙ / , the diagonal being printed as the first letter in the column of the ethnics. WM 1927, 38 preferred to follow Pittakis against the other two independent witnesses, but with a correction of the quota: “Since a drachm sign followed by an obol sign is frequently mistaken for Η, we suggest Η-ΙΙ, and since only two of the customary quota figures end in these numerals, it is probable that the quota was either 8 1/3 or 33 1/3 dr. Furthermore, of the cities not found elsewhere in the list of this year with an initial letter beginning with a stroke sloping upward to the right, one paid a quota ending with 1 1/3 dr. This was Dios Hieron, and its tithe was 8 1/3 dr. Finally, the stone today [= fr. 48], though broken away where the numerals were reported by Pittakis, still preserves traces of lettering toward the left margin, but whether these traces represent a *pi* or a drachm sign we are unable to say. We restore [ΓΗ-Η]Η Δ[ιοσιρῖται].” This emendation may look innocuous, but it presupposed that Pittakis was quite careless in his copying, since his copy has the numerals aligned to the left in the column, and elsewhere (e.g. *ibid.* line 47 and 48) he is perfectly capable of printing broken quotas in their right place. If we really want to follow Pittakis, generally less reliable than any of the other early editors, but familiar with the stones in Athens, we will have to accept first the quota and then look for a candidate paying 6,000+ dr. beginning with an diagonal letter. I prefer to reproduce Pittakis’ reading *tel quel*, believing that we are dependent on the early editors and have little right to make unnecessary emendations || 67 ΔΓΗ-ΙΙΙΙ . ΑΟΙΚΑΡ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181' erroneously but showing clearly that the stone was difficult to read at the beginning of the column of the names. ΓΔΓΗ-ΙΙΙΙ .ΑΟΙΚΑΡΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXIII after Müller’s notes. Was Müller influenced by Rangabé? The fact that the stone still preserves \ΛΙΚΑΡΙ and that the lambda can by no means be mistaken for an omikron, may indicate that he relied on Rangabé when copying the stone. ΗΔΓΗ-ΙΙΙΙ ΑΛΙΚΑΡ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, indicating that the first vertical of Η was missing, and restoring [Η Π^{P} ΔΓΗ-ΙΙΙΙ]. The normal quota of Halicarnassos was

Η^ΑΔΓΗ-ΙΙΙ, which I restore cumulating the three editors and following MW 1927. The Η survives on the edge of fr. 48 in the form of Η, which could not be a Γ, for the lack of a upper horizontal and therefore wrongly represented on the drawing on Pl. XXI in *ATL I* || **68** //I ,ΑΤΜΙΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, restoring [H] Λάτμιο[ι] p. 54. Today the vertical of the quota is lost, *pace* MW 1927, 39: “An Η in the quota of Madnasa is perfectly clear, and vertical strokes in each of the three lines above are distinguishable.” || **69** //I ΙΑΣΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, restoring [H] Ἰασῆς (p. 54) || **70** //I ΜΑΔΝΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, restoring [H] Μαδνα[οῆς] p. 54. A full Η is just detectable || **71** ΝΕΣΙΟΤΙΚΟΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b* || **72** ..ΣΕΡΙΦΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, but traces of the crossbar and second vertical in Η are visible || **73** .ΗΗ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, but there are traces of the crossbar and second vertical in the first Η || **74** Η... ΚΕΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181'; ...Η ΚΕΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXXII; ΗΗΗ ΚΕΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, restoring [H]ΗΗΗ Κεῖοι p. 54; Keos paid 24,000 dr. in previous assessment periods but 18,000 dr. in this and the following (6 and 7). There is no room for a Η to the left of those reported and the surface is intact and uninscribed to the right || **75** Η ΤΕΝΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, restoring [ΗΗ]Η Τένιοι p. 54, but the crossbar and upper part of the second vertical in the first Η are preserved. There is no room for a third Η || **76** Only Böckh 1851, Pl. IV, no. LXXII, from Müller’s notes, reported the finals in ΝΑΧΣΙΟΙ. I find it hard to believe that these should have been preserved, but not reported by Rangabé and Köhler and do not print the letters *pace* *SEG V* p. 20 || **86** None of the early editors ever saw the omikron, which should have been in the break between frs. 58 and 68. In fact, it was never inscribed due to lack of space. A separation mark follows the iota || **87** The horizontal and pendant tip of the quota is preserved and has been reported thus by previous editors. Only the upper bar of the tau is preserved, the vertical being in the break between frs. 58 and 68 || **88** ..ΗΗΗ Α..ΙΝ^{~^Α} Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 91*b*, restoring ..ΗΗΗ Αἰ[γι]νῆται p. 54, but the stone preserved traces of another figure to the left. I quote *SEG V* p. 20: “ΗΗΗ lapis: suppleri potest [X]ΗΗΗΗ sive [X]ΗΗΗΗΗ sive [Η]ΗΗΗΗ.” In *ATL I* [.]ΗΗΗΗΗ was restored on the grounds that [X]ΗΗΗΗ “is impossible, since the upper horizontal of Η would be visible on the stone; the surface is preserved at this point.” I agree with this statement || **89** Rangabé 1842, p. 246, no. 181' has an obol sign as the very last numeral immediately

followed by the upper strokes including crossbar of H. Böckh 1852, Pl. IV, fr. LXXII, following Müller, has the two tips without the vertical. On this basis MW 1927 restored [HH]H h[εφαιστιῆς]. In *ATL* I, however, the editors changed this explaining p. 189: “h[εφαιστιῆς]” is an unsatisfactory supplement for two reasons: first, the spelling is unusual (see the note on 2, V, 14, p. 171); second the payment of Hephaistia is normally recorded at the foot of the Insular panel (see the note on 15, I, 102-103, p. 108). Moreover, there is no conclusive epigraphic evidence for reading the first letter as a rough breathing; kappa is just as satisfactory (see notes of fragment 58, p. 87). We accordingly restore Κύθνιοι in the present line, placing [Ἐφαιστιῆς] in line 93 below, at the foot of the Insular panel, its appropriate position.” I cannot follow the emendation of the initial letter. On the other hand the restitution [HH]H seems impossible. Compared with the quota of Eretria, all three numerals should be found on the part of the fragment now lost. However, in the next, i.e. the fourth, letter space a diagonal shaped numeral survives. The following is vacant. The vertical reported by Rangabé is probably an accidental stroke still visible, but there is a clear vacant space to the left of it. What Rangabé took to be a H in the initial is also still there, but the surface is so worn that it is probably accidental and therefore I discard the reading. Only the Symeans paid a quota ending in Δ, and they are already attested in this list || **90-94** These lacunas were filled by the *ATL*-editors explaining (I, p. 189) that there were only five members missing from the Insular panel of this period, but admitting that “the order is uncertain” || **90** [P] Καρύστιοι] *ATL* I || **91** [Πάριοι] *ATL* I || **92** [Μυρινᾶιοι] *ATL* I || **93** [Ἐφαιστιῆς] *ATL* I || **94** [H] [Ἰμβριοι] *ATL* I || **95** [ἠελλεσπόντιος Φόρος] MW 1927 || **96-98** *ATL* I restored these lines in analogy with 20.IV.14-17 and 23.II.11-15, explaining p. 189: “The restorations suggested above are based on rather more than ”runs” found elsewhere. With the appropriate names inserted in other lacunae in the panel, the towns mentioned above exhaust the Hellespontine eligibles for this year, and their presence in List 22 may be regarded as certain.” || **96** [Γ†††II] [Πριαπῆς] *ATL* I, cf. comm. *ad* 96-98 || **97** [Γ] [χαρπαγίανοι] *SEG* V, agree with them (p. 21) that a final iota is preserved on fr. 70 just before the quota of Γ†††II in column II. But the identification depends on whether or not we accept the argument of grouping, cf. comm. *ad* 96-98 || **98** [ΔΓ†III] [Σιγυεῖς] *ATL* I cf. comm. *ad* 96-98 || **99** [ΔΓ†III] [Κιανοί] *ATL* I cf. comm. *ad* 96-98 || **100** ΔΔΔ†. . Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 102a restoring ΔΔΔ†[††II] p. 54; ΔΔΔ†[††II] [Ἀλοπεκοννέσιοι] *SEG* V; ΔΔΔ[†††II] [Νεανδρεῖς] *ATL* I because Alopekonnesos belongs

to the Chersonese group and that Neandreaia is the only other member paying 2,000 dr., p. 189 || **101** ϜΗΚ. . Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 102*a*, restoring ϜΗΚ[αλχηρόνιοι] (p. 54). Only the vertical of the initial is preserved today || **103** ΔΓϜ-ΙΙΙΙ Διδ[υμοτειχῖται] MW 1927; ΔΓϜ-ΙΙΙΙ Διδ[υμο]στειχῖται] *SEG* V (cf. also p. 21). I believe the bottom stroke of the second Δ is visible, as it was also indicated by Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 102*a*. He also gives a clear tau, which may be less clear today || **105** Δ / ΑΡΔΑΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 102*a*; Η Δαρδανῆ[ς] *SEG* V, but the initial delta is in no better condition than it was at Köhler's time || **Column II 8** ΔΓϜ-ΙΙΙΙ [Σέστιοι] *ATL* I explaining (p. 189 note *ad loc.*): “The payment of Sestos is obviously not recorded in its customary place with the members of the Chersonese group; see II, 21-26; note on II, 23. [Σέστιοι] should therefore be restored in either I, 96 or II, 8; see the note on 9. 96-100. We prefer to place it in the latter position because Sestos and Neapolis are geographically close.” Note however that we cannot assume that Sestos did pay this year or that Neapolis is the right restitution in 9 || **9** A vertical is preserved on the right edge of fr. 14, three letter spaces after Κάυνιοι in I.9. It was correctly reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103*b*, but not taken into his list p. 56 (dated as the 26th year). Ι - - - *IG* I²; Η - - - MW 1927, Pl. XII; Γ *ATL* I claiming, p. 79 note *ad* fr. 14 that the upper horizontal of this letter is preserved, whereas the cross bar of Η would have been apparent, although it is not, and further, p. 190, comm. *ad loc.*: “the proposed [Πριαπῆς] and [Παλαιπερκόσιοι] with a quota of Γ[ΙΗΗΙΙ], and [Νεάπολις] with a quota of Γ. [Πριαπῆς], for reasons of order, has been restored in I, 96 (see the note on I, 96-100) and there is a strong probability that [Παλαιπερκόσιοι] belongs in II, 20 (see the following note). [Νεάπολις] is thus left for restoration in II, 9.” What the editors have failed to take into consideration is the position of the supposed numeral. It is found at the end of the column of names in I, rather than at the beginning of the column of quotas in II, from which it is separated by two letter spaces. The general aspect of the stone, the loose stoichedon and not very regularly cut letters, might suggest that the mason had not drawn the line of the margin before he inscribed the first line of the second column and that he decided for one only later, observing that most entries are longer than Κάυνιοι and that there would be no room for them || **10-18** fr. 63 previously attributed to list 18 or 19 was put here by Meritt and West (*SEG* V, p. 21, comm. *ad loc.*) It was reported only by Rangabé 1842, p. 253, no. 244, reprinted by Böckh 1851, Pl. VII, no. CXXXI and Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 16* as lost at their time. Köhler printed a lambda in the third line of the fragment, 22.II.13. This squares with the restitution later made by Meritt and

West (*SEG* V), but as far as I can see it must be an error, since no earlier editor had reported this letter, and given that the stone was lost before Köhler. The evidence for the position of fr. 63 rests on the connection between the first and last numerals in the quota of 10, 13 and the sequence of preserved quotas on fr. 1 fitting the preserved initials on fr. 63. This is persuasive. Consider that fr. 63 preserved enough of the entries to permit an identification: ABY could only be from Ἀβυδενοί, i.e. a Hellespontine community. This means that ΓΑΙ and ΒΡΥ have to be either Παισηνοί, Παλαιπερκόσιοι or Παριανοί and Βρυλλειανοί. No Hellespontine community is attested on ΕΓ. This therefore has to be from ἐπιφορᾶς, and this suits the double entry after †† in lines 14-15. †† can only be an *epiphora* payment. The attribution is probable enough to deserve to be retained || **10** Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103*b*, (= fr. 14) and Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 100*a* (= fr. 1) reported | // |^ΡΔ^Λ restoring p. 53 [ΗΗ]^ΡΔΔ[Δ]- [Τενέδιοι]; Η[Η]^ΡΔΔ[ΔΓ††] [Τενέδιοι] MW 1927, Pl. XII in analogy with 23.II.10 (p. 40; READ 432/1 for 433/2); ΗΗ^ΡΔΔΔΓ[††] [Τενέδιοι] *SEG* V having added fr. 63; Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 16* giving ΔΙ. ΗΗ^ΡΔΔΔΓ[††] [Τενέδιοι] *ATL* I. The drawing in *ATL* I, Pl. XXI illustrates the left vertical of Η on fr. 14, which is there today; and the lower right tip of the second Η on fr. 1, which cannot be detected. Only ^ΡΔ are discernible, and this partly thanks to the early editors who also reported a following Δ. I have underlined the latter. Note that the ΗΗ^Ρ- printed here could have been ^ΡΗ^Ρ- in another context || **11-12** Γ†† Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 103*b*, (= fr. 14) and Pl. VIII, no. 100*a* (= fr. 1) restoring p. 53 Γ†† [Δασκύλιον] | [ἐν Προποντίδι] probably due to the bracket position of the quota; Γ††[|] [Δασκύλιον] | [ἐν Προποντίδι] *SEG* V, the last obol symbol being preserved on fr. 63 (= Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, fr. 16*). The first might be preserved on fr. 1 || **13** [Δ]ΔΔ††[|] Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, fr. 16*; ΔΔ††[|] [Λαμπονειῆς] *SEG* V. The position of the quota excludes [Δ]ΔΔ††[|] (3,000 dr.) and favours ΔΔ††[|] (1,400 dr.) only ever attested for Lamponia (24.III.16). See further commentary on 14-15 || **14-15** L (= fr. 63) and ΕΓ Rangabé 1842, p. 253, no. 244; †† Λ[αμπονειῆς] | ἐπ[ιφορᾶς] *SEG* V. The position of the quota is bracketed on fr. 1 requiring a two line entry. Moreover, the ΕΓ suiting only the restitution ἐπιφορᾶς, we may claim that 14-15 was an *epiphora* payment by the same community as 13. *Epiphora* was always paid by the member mentioned in the previous line. The identification of Lamponia is therefore certain if the position of fr. 63 is correct. Cf. commentary on 10-18

lack a parallel for both [.]Η^ΠΙC and [.]ΗΓ^ΙC. There is no reason to dot the obol symbol, but C might be an accidental stroke; I follow the previous editors || **32** Χ^ΠΗ-Η-ΙΙΙΙΔΔΔ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 247, no. 186'; Χ^ΠΗΗΗΔΔΔ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΙ Pittakis 1853, p. 745, no. 1210; Χ^ΠΗΗΗΔΔΔ ΒΥΖΑ. ΤΙΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 97a || **38** ΗΙ Ι . ΝΕΑΤΑ Rangabé 1842, p. 247, no. 186'; ΗΙ-Ι . ΝΕΑΤΑ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. XCVI. We should note the iota before nu, but discard the quota which belongs to fr. 9 now placed further down the list. [ΗΗΗ] [Α]ἰνεᾶται[ι] *ATL* I || **39** [Ὀλοφύ]χσ[ι]οι Köhler 1869, p. 51; [ΔΔΔΗ-Η-Η] [Ὀλοφύ]χσ[ι]οι *ATL* I || **45** Ηι, Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 97a restoring Η[Η] [Ὀλύθιοι] p. 51 || **47-48** ^Π ΝΕΟΓ | ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΝ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. XCVI || **50** The quota was first reported in *SEG* V. The upper tips of the vertical might be visible on the edge of fr. 9 || **51** [Π-Η] Βεργαῖοι Köhler 1869, p. 51 || **52** [ΔΓ-Η] Σκιάθιοι Köhler 1869, p. 51 || **53** The stone has ΓΕΓΑΡΕΟΙΟΙ, the mason having forgotten the dot in theta. [ΗΗΗ] Πεπαρέθιοι *ATL* I || **53** -Ι ἈΡΑΙΛΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98 restoring [ΔΓ-Η] Ἀργίλιοι p. 51; [ΔΓ-Η] Ἀργίλιοι *SEG* V; I find no confirmation for the supplementary obol symbols || **58** MW 1927, Pl. XII first reported the iota (upper tip illustrated in *ATL* I, Pl. XXI) in the second stoichos, but it is not there || **59** -ΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98 restoring by error [ἴκιοι] p. 51 corrected in *IG* I² to [ἴκιοι]; [ΔΔΓ] [ἴκιοι] *ATL* I || **61** ΧΧ ΘΑΣΙΟΙ Pittakis 1853, p. 746, no. 1210; *Pace* *ATL* I, p. 77 note ad fr. 9. I do not see traces of the second X: “On the stone now we distinguish the right upper and lower tips of the second and all of the third figure.” I underline the numeral accepting Pittakis’ second X || **62** [Χ] [Μαρονῖται] *ATL* I || **64** [Π] Αἰγάντιοι *ATL* I || **65** [ΔΓ-Η] Θραβαῖοι *ATL* I || **66** ^Π ΑΙΣΟΝΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98 restoring Αἰσόνιοι, p. 51; *χαισονῆ[ς]* MW 1927, Pl. XII and p. 41 note *ad loc.*. However, the surface to the right of the vertical in the antepenultimate letter space is preserved in such a way that the upper horizontal bar of epsilon would have been apparent, which it is not, *pace* the drawing in *ATL* I, Pl. XXI; [ΔΓ-Η] *χαισονῆ[ς]* *ATL* I || **67-73** The ethnics from these lines were preserved on fr. 67 last seen by Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98. Three numerals have been lost from the left side of fr. 66 || **67** Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98 reported the lower half of the following letters: the diagonals in the first letter space, a vertical in the second, diagonals in the third, three strokes from nu in the the fourth and a round letter in the fifth, restoring [Ἀκάνθιοι] p. 51 || **68** ΣΤΡΕΦΣΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98. Rangabé 1842, p

271, no. 221 reported the vertical of the quota. Ross according Böckh's copy Pl. VI, no. XCVII saw all of it || **69** Χ^ϕ ΗΑΒΔΕΡΙΤ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98; Rangabé 1842, p. 271, no. 221 reported the first vertical of the numeral in the quota, reported as the second by Pittakis 1853, no. 1209, p. 746 || **70** Χ^ϕ ΓΟΤΕΙΔΕΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98 || **71** ΔΔΓ ΣΚΑΒΛΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98 || **72** Ϝ ΑΣΣΕΡΙΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98 || **73** ΗΗΗΗϜϜ ΣΓΑΡΤΟΛΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 271, no. 221; ΗΗΗΗϜϜ κτλ. Pittakis 1853, no. 1209, p. 746; ΗΗΗϜϜ κτλ. Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98 restoring ΗΗΗ[Γ]ϜϜ p. 51. The surface is pockmarked but the upper horizontal of Γ is visible. I dot the numeral *pace* MW 1927, Pl. XII. Spartolos paid ΗΗΗΓϜϜ in 21.V.5. The lower tip of the first diagonal of alpha is preserved on fr. 10 || **87** ΓϜΙΙΙΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΓΟΛΙΤΑ Pittakis 1853, p. 746 fr. 1209; ϜΙΙΙΙ κτλ. Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98 || **88** -ΙΙ ΧΕΔΡΟΛΙΟΙ Pittakis 1853, p. 746, no. 1209; -ΙΙ ΧΕΔΡΟΛΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 98 || **89** ΓΟΛΕΣΗΑ< Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 99. Only the lower halves of the antepenultimate and penultimate letters are preserved today, but sufficiently remains to print them without underlining. Pittakis 1853, p. 746, no. 1209, prints an complete isolated sigma not reported by Köhler, in the seventh letter space at the bottom of fr. 10. But this must be his way of representing a partially preserved letter, for the lower part is preserved on fr. 11, as indicated by Köhler's copy. The upper tip of the sigma reported by Pittakis in the seventh stoichos is extant in the antepenultimate letter space || **91** ΕΝΕΛ ᾠΦΣΑΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 99 || **91** ΦΟΡΟΝΦΕΡΕΝ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, nos. 225-26; Köhler did not report the nu, but the vertical of the first nu is still visible on fr. 69, the second on fr. 11. Rangabé probably restituted the nu from the two outer strokes || **94-95** Rangabé 1842, p. 252, nos. 225-26, and Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. XCVIII gave nothing here; ..ΙΑΙϜϜ Pittakis 1853, p. 768, no. 1255, restoring ..ιαι ϜϜ; / ^ | ΚΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 99 in l. 95. I find no confirmation for the X on the drawing in *ATL* I Pl. XII, probably based on ΔϜϜ Δ[ιαι]κρῆς | [ἀπὸ] Χαλκι[δέου] *IG* I² 212.II.90-91 || **96** ΔΔΔ [Σύμε] *IG* I² 212.II.92 probably in analogy with 21.VI.28 || **97** *ATL* I, p. 190 note *ad loc.* proposed [Ῥθόριοι] or [Πίστασος] in analogy with 21.VI.27 and 35 || **98** ΔΔΔ [Σίνοϛ] *IG* I² 212.II.94 probably in analogy with 21.VI.24

List 23

The twenty-third list is preserved on the fragments 4, 6, 7, 12, 13, 19, 71, 72 || **HEADING 1** \TPITEΣKAI Pittakis 1853, p. 763, no. 1251; *ATL* I p. 79 note *ad fr.* 13 took the first stroke as a trace of sigma, on a part of the fragment lost subsequently. TPITEΣKAI Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 96. I follow *ATL* I printing a dotted ς, but not for the same reason. In fact, I believe <TPITEΣKAI is still there, i.e. the left part of fr. 13 in this line is preserved exactly as in Pittakis' days || **2** ΞΕΣΑΡΧΕΣ Pittakis 1853, p. 763, no. 1251, and Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 96 || **3** Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, nos. 95 and 96 saw the third and fourth stroke of mu in -μοχάρες, but not HE at the beginning of the line first reported by *ATL* I. The surface is badly worn and nothing can be read with much confidence. I detect the traces which the *ATL*-editors took to be from first two letters (I, p. 71 note *ad fr.* 4), but print the letters inside square brackets, since they might just be accidental || **4** A not altogether upright vertical with an upper loop might be visible in the first stoichos, but comparison with the rho in ἐγραμμά- in the same line indicates that they are probably accidental strokes. In the third stoichos the first and the second stroke of nu survives. Pittakis 1853, p. 763, no. 1251, and Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 96 printed a complete alpha, of which the second diagonal is no longer there || **5** **Beg.:** . ΕΙΕ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 95. The drawing on Pl. XXI in *ATL* I on the other hand has the two wings of upsilon and not the vertical. The stone only confirms Köhler's reading. The second epsilon is not longer visible with confidence || **6** **Beg.** \ΣΦ...ΙΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, nos. 95 and 96; MW 1927, 41, note *ad loc.* added: "Read ας ἐν [Φι]λέταιρος. The *ATL*-editors illustrated this as \ΣΕΝ... I see no more of epsilon than Köhler did, in fact only the vertical, and only the first diagonal of nu with a possible beginning of the second. On the other hand I believe a round letter is extant in the fifth stoichos and print a dotted Φ || **7** ΚΑ...Σ Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, nos. 95 and 96, restoring Κα[ρικό]ς p. 50, I.2. Corrected to [']κα[ριεύ]ς in *IG* I². Only the right extremities of the sigma are visible. Pittakis 1853, p. 763, no. 1251 omits the line entirely || **COLUMN I 8** I. . I/// - - - Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, nos. 95-96; '[ου]ι[κός φόρος] *IG* I² || **9** I - - - Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 95; MW 1927, p. 41, note *ad loc.*: "Since there is room for only about one numeral before the vertical stroke preserved on the stone, we may take for granted that this stroke was part of an H, and restore [.]Η *vac.*" [F]Η *vac.* [Τείοι] *SEG* V without explanation || **10** MW 1927, p. 41, note *ad loc.*: "There is room for two numerals to the left of the drachm sign and we restore [ΔΓ]Η-III." || **11** [H^F] *vac.* Κλ[αζομάνιοι] *SEG* V. I

agree with the reading but not with the drawing in *ATL* I, Pl. XXI, where the whole kappa on the vertical of lambda is shown. I see the upper half of the vertical and upper diagonal from kappa, but both strokes of lambda || 13 I do not share the doubts about the number of numerals lost expressed by MW 1927, 41, note *ad loc.*, but agree that a single [H] is the right solution || 14-15 O . | | Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 95 in the column of names in 14 and ..⁷ in the column of the quotas in 15, Pl. VII, no. 95; [H] *vac.* O[ι]ναι[οι] | ἐ[χ]ς 'Ικάρο] MW 1927, Pl. XIII explaining p. 42, note *ad loc.* “The *pi* given as a numeral in the *editio minor* of the *Corpus* in the third space is nowhere visible in this line.” In *SEG* V the restitution was [H] *vac.* O[ι]ναι[οι] | ἐ[χ]ς 'Ικάρο]. On Pl. XXI the *ATL*-editors printed: O . ¹^1 / ⁷. However, I see none of these additional letter traces. On the contrary, the restitution proposed may be positively excluded. There is a circle inside the initial suggesting that this was a theta rather than an omikron. Böckh 1851, p. 544, line 10 restored Θ[ασθαρεῖς]. An even better argument, however, is the vertical in the third letter space. It is placed to the left of the centre, compared with the delta in the line above, but it is upright and it is evidently not attached to another stroke, diagonal or loop at its top. It might be a lambda, but I have no proposal for a plausible restitution for Θ.L- (Θ.λ-) or alternatively O.L- (O.λ-). Note that the second stroke reported by Köhler is probably accidental. It is still visible, its position is left off the centre, but again seems to have been attached to no other stroke. The stone carries several vertical scratches at this point. It is not easy to see which are intentional strokes and which are accidental. Finally there is no positive evidence that 14-15 were a two line entry at all || 16-17 ..| in the column of the quotas of 16 Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 95; MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 42 note *ad loc.*: “There is a broken *pi* between these two lines. We presume that Köhler saw this, aligning it incorrectly. Since the *pi* occupies a bracket position, we must restore a name occupying two lines. There is only one which satisfies the requirements and we restore [Θερμαῖοι] | ἐ[χ]ς 'Ικάρο].”; ἐ[χ]ς 'Ικάρο] *SEG* V. I agree with MW 1927 about the position of Γ, but find no confirmation for the epsilon in 17. The Γ could be either Γ or Ϝ or ϝ || 18 | - - in the column of names Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 95; [.]H - - - - MW 1927, Pl. XIII; [Ϝ]H Φ[ασελῖται] *SEG* V. I cannot see the traces of either quota or name, but follow Köhler || 19 L - - in the column of names Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 95; Meritt and West commented (*SEG* V, p. 22 note *ad loc.*): “in primae litterae spatio pars dispicitur hastae drectae fortasse K.” The statement is reiterated in English in *ATL* I, p. 71 note *ad fr.* 4. But I find no confirmation for either on the

stone and therefore follow Köhler || 21 ..-III Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 95; MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 42: “The numeral is between the two lines and there is room to restore only two initial figures. Consequently the lines should read: [ΔΓ]Γ-III [Καρβασουανδῆς] | [παρὰ Καῦνον].” In *ATL* I the editors restored [ΔΓ]Γ-III Κ[αρβασουανδῆς] κτλ. explaining (p. 71, note *ad fr.* 4): “there remains on the stone a stroke running vertically from edge to edge. This can only be from Κ[αρβασουανδῆς].” It is difficult to be exact about the line number at this part of a very mutilated fragment, and I doubt it is possible to confirm that the quota was inscribed in bracket position. As for the initial kappa, the apparent stroke is one letter space to the left in comparison with the initials in the lines 11-15 || 29 [H]H [’Ασ]τυπαλ[αιῆς] *IG* I²; [H]H [’Ασ]τυπαλ[αιῆς] MW 1927, Pl. XIII. At the left edge of fr. 7 there is a nick in the stone, which has been taken as from the tau. This should at least be dotted. On the other hand the right wing of upsilon, not reported by previous editors, is clear on the stone || 31 The diagonals of kappa are clear. I do not to the letter, although the slanting strokes could have been from chi out of context || 33-34 [ΔΓ]Γ-III ’Ε[λ]αιέα | παρὰ Μ[ύ]ριν[αν] *IG* I²; ’Ε[λ]αιέα MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 42, but only a faint trace of the join between the vertical and the slanting stroke is just distinguishable. Unless the edge of the edge of the stone has broken off since it was published by Tod (*BSA* 10, 1903/4, 78) the nu should be dotted, since only the vertical survives || 35 [Δ]ΔΔΓΓ-ΓΓ Μαραθέσι[οι] *IG* I²; [Δ]ΔΔΓΓ-ΓΓ Μαραθέσι[οι] *SEG* V, p. 22 note *ad loc.*: “ultima littera, quam leg. Rousopoulos, ’Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1862, no. 221, et Koehler 104, in lapide servatur.” The left diagonal and bottom stroke of the first Δ, not reported by previous editors are faintly visible on the edge of the stone. I only see a possible lower tip || 36 The length of the quota forced the mason to begin the ethnic three and a half stoichos to the right of the edge of the column of the names. Only the upper half of the final iota is preserved || 37 [H]H χαίρα[ι]οι *IG* I²; H χαίρα[ι]οι MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 43; H χαίραῖοι *SEG* V, p. 22 note *ad loc.*: “ultimas quatuor litteras integras exhibet Pitt., *Eph.* 1287 (Rang. 2483).” How the latter two could have read ΑΙΟΙ as printed is a mystery, since the upper left half of the first diagonal in alpha is preserved on fr. 7, unknown until 1903. They might have seen only the second diagonal and the crossbar || 38 Pittakis 1853, p. 771, no. 1287, who did not know fr. 7, printed ΛΟΦΟΝΙΟΙ; [H]H [K]ο[λ]οφόνιοι *IG* I²; [H]H [K]ο[λ]οφόνιοι *IG* I²; H [K]ο[λ]οφόνιοι MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 43; H [K]ο[λ]οφόνιοι *SEG* V relying on Pittakis and Rangabé. Only the upper part of the first omikron is preserved on the lower edge of fr. 7.

I dot the letter. The second slanting stroke of lambda is preserved on the upper edge of fr. 6 || **39** [ΔΔ]Δ[ΓΓ]Γ|| Νοτιῆς *IG I²*; [ΔΔ]Δ[ΓΓ]Γ|| Νοτιῆς MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 43 note *ad loc.*: “drachmarum signa in lapide servantur; cf. etiam Rousopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1862, no. 221.” || **40** ΔΔΓΓΓΓ|| Ἐρυθραῖοι *IG I²*; [Χ]ΔΓΓΓΓ|| Ἐρυθραῖοι MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 43 note *ad loc.* || **41** [Η] Μυριναῖοι | παρὰ Κύμην *IG I²*; Η Μυριναῖοι MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 43 note *ad loc.*; I believe the crossbar and upper right half of the second vertical of the quota is preserved || **50** .ΔΔΓ Καλύδνιοι *IG I²*; however the outer contours of the first Δ are visible || **52-53** ϜΔΔΔ | . ΓΓΓ the stone || **55-56** [Γ]ΙΙΙΧ Χαλκεᾶται | ἐπιφορᾶς *IG I²*; [.]ΙΙΙΧ MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 43 note *ad loc.*: “We have preferred to leave unrestored the tithe of Χαλκεᾶται ἐπιφορᾶς.” [Γ]ΙΙΙΧ *ATL I* p. 190 note *ad loc.* and 452 note *ad list 23*: “The restoration here should be the same as that for Νοτιῆς in List 15 above. To the nearest fraction, one sixth (ten sixtieths) of the regular quota yields ΓΙΙΙΧ.” I am not convinced that this restitution is necessarily correct || **57** Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104 reported a full rho, of which the loop is now lost || **58** [Ϝ]ΗΗΗΗ Κυμαῖ[ο]ι *IG I²*; [ϜΗ]ΗΗΗ Κυμαῖοι MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 43 note *ad loc.*. The remaining traces of the quota are sixth tips of the upper verticals. But Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104 saw eight. Of the name the upper half of the vertical and the upper diagonal of kappa, the wings of upsilon, the join between the third and fourth stroke of mu, the upper half of alpha crossbar excluded, the upper tip of the following iota, the upper curve of omikron. The latter was not reported by Köhler 1869, but he did transcribe the four strokes of mu. I find no traces of the final iota, but this was reported by Köhler 1869 || **66-67** Only the right vertical of the quota is preserved, as it was also reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104 || **69** The surface of the first numeral of the quota is preserved in such a way as to exclude any other figure than Δ. The right half of the horizontal is preserved on fr. 71 || **70** [Γ]ΓΓΓ|| Μύν[διοι] *IG I²*, but only the first stroke of nu is preserved || **71** MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 43 note *ad loc.* were the first to note that: “A part of the first *omicron* of Νεσιο[τικός].” Νεσιο[τικός] *ATL I*. Only the upper left quadrant is visible on the edge of the stone || **72** .^^ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104; [Δ]ΔΔΓ[ΓΓ] [Ἄθηνῖται] *SEG V* (and p. 22 note *ad loc.*). Only the tip of the drachm symbol is preserved || **77** ...[ο]ι Köhler 1869, p. 58; [..⁵..ο]ι *SEG V* (and p. 22 note *ad loc.*) || **78**οι Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104; [..⁵..ο]ι *SEG V* (and p. 22 note *ad loc.*) || **79** ...<ΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104, restoring [Γ ρυγ]χῆς (p. 58); [ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ]

[Γρυν]χῆς *ATL* I || **80** [Διῆς ἀπ]ὸ Κεναίο Köhler 1869, p. 58; [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Διῆς ἀπ]ὸ Κεναίο *ATL* I || **81** [Καρύσ]τιοι Köhler 1869, p. 58 || **COLUMN II 10** Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 96 reported the crossbar and right vertical from the first H in the quota. Due to the length of the latter, the initial of the name is inscribed in the second stoichos of the column of the ethnics || **11** Ἰ ΙΑΡΓΑΓΙΑΝΟΙ Böckh 1853 Pl. III, fr. LXVII from Müller’s copy. The crossbar in H is clear though || **12** Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 96 reported the right and bottom stroke of the first Δ || **15** [Ρ]Η Καλκεδόν[ιοι] *SEG* V (and p. 22 note *ad loc.*) || **16** [Η] Δαρδανῆς *ATL* I || **17** Due to the length of the quota, the mason began the name one stoichos to the right of the left column of the ethnics. MW 1927, Pl. XIII and p. 44 note *ad loc.*: “read Περὶν[θιοι] instead of Περ[ίνθιοι].” However, I do not see traces of letters on the right of the loop of rho. The drawing in *ATL* I, Pl. XXI, shows three verticals out of contours, i.e. as having been reported by previous editors, but neither Pittakis 1853, p. 763, Böckh 1851, Pl. III, no. LXVII nor Köhler 1869, Pl. VII, no. 96 have reported the two supplementary letters. Rangabé never saw the stone || **18** [Ρ] Βρυλλεανο[ι] *ATL* I || **19** Due to the length of the quota, the initial of the name is inscribed in the fourth stoichos below the first lambda of 18 || **20** [ΔΓΗΗΗ] Διδυμο[τειχῖται] *ATL* I || **21** [ΔΓΗΗΗ] Δ[αυνιο]τειχῖται] *ATL* I || **26-31** Restored by the *ATL*-editors explaining (p.190 note *ad loc.*): “These restorations are based on the well attested principle that Παριανοί and the cities from the Thracian Chersonese tend to occur in a group.” || **26** [Η] [Παριανοί] *ATL* I || **27** [Η] [Χερρονεσῖται] *ATL* I || **28** [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Ἄλοπεκοννέσιοι] *ATL* I || **29** [Ρ] [Ἐλαιόσιοι] *ATL* I || **30** [ΔΓΗΗΗ] [Σέστιοι] *ATL* I || **31** [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Μαδύτιοι] *ATL* I || **32** -4-5- \ΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104; -- [Λιμν]αῖοι *SEG* V; [ΔΓΗΗΗ] [Λιμν]αῖοι *ATL* I; but note that the mason could not respect the stoichedon pattern due to lack of space and that there seems to be room for five letters before alpha also; cf. the lines below where 12, 9, 12 and 9 letters fill the same space || **33** ΣΕΛΥΜΒΙΑΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104; *Pace* previous editors I detect the lower half of O; [ΔΓ] Σελυμβριαν[οι] *ATL* I || **34** ΗΗΗ ΚΥΖΙΚΕΝΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104 restoring [ΡΗ]ΗΗ Κυζικενο[ι] p. 57; [Ρ]ΗΗΗ Κυζικενο[ι] MW 1927, Pl. XIII and 44 note *ad loc.* || **35** ΗΗΗ ΠΡΟΚΟΝΝΕΣΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104 restoring ΗΗΗ Προκοννέσι[οι] p. 57; ΗΗΗ Προκοννέσι[οι] *SEG* V explaining, correctly, p. 22 note *ad loc.*: “litterae praeter alterum iota in lapide servantur; cf. etiam Rousopoulos *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1862, n. 221.” || **36** ΔΔΔΗΗΗ

APTAKEN Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104; Only the vertical of the nu is preserved today || **37** The vertical of the rho in ΦΟΡ[ΟΣ] is visible although not reported by previous editors || **40** Pittakis 1853, no. 772, p. 1287 alone saw the final iota || **41** MENAION The mason by error || **49** ΗΗΗ ΑΚΑΝΘΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104, but the whole of the final vertical is discernible || **55** ΟΛΟΦΥΧΣΙΟΙ Pittakis 1853, no. 772, p. 1287 || **56** ΓΕΓΑΡΕΘΙΟΙ Pittakis 1853, no. 772, p. 1287 || **57** ΣΕΡΜΑΙΟΙ Pittakis 1853, p. 772, p. 1287 || **64** Η . . . ΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104 restoring Η [Θύ]σσιοι (p. 58) || **65** The mason inscribed ΓΗ evidently an error for ΗΗ or ΨΗ. Both are attested for Samothrake, the former in previous lists, the latter in the later. The most obvious explanation for the error however, is that he simply forgot the pendant Η in ΨΗ. This is not the only error in the list, cf. I.53 and II.41 || **66** Η [Σαναῖοι] *IG I³* || **67** ΗΗ [Μεθοναῖοι] *IG I³* || **71-75** MW 1927, p. 44 note *ad loc.*: “for the restoration cf. Meritt *A.J.A.*, XXIX (1925), p. 445. But in line 74 the numeral is all preserved on the stone and in line 75 the numeral should be written ΔΓΗ-III(I), for the final obol sign was omitted by the stonecutter.” || **71** ΔΔΓ [Σαρταῖοι] *IG I³* || **72** ΔΓΗ-III [Κάσιοι] Meritt 1925g, p. 445 || **73** Η [Ἀμόργιοι] *IG I³* || **74** ΔΓΗ-III Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104; ΔΓΗ-III [Καλλιπολίται] Meritt 1925g, p. 445 || **75** ΔΓΗ-III Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104); ΔΓΗ-III [Ἐτεοκαρπάθιοι] Meritt 1925g, p. 445 || **76-79** Köhler 1869, p. 58 || **80-81** ΔΗΗ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104; ΔΗΗ-III [Διακρῆς] *IG I²*; ΔΗΗ-III [Διακρῆς] | [ἀπὸ Χαλκιδέων] MW 1927, Pl. XIII explaining, p. 44, note *ad loc.*, that they put the numeral in bracket position because Διακρῆς restored by the editors normally occupied two lines: “Thus the perplexing lacuna of one line disappears.” || **82** ^^ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 104, but the second Δ is completely preserved even today; ΔΔ[Δ] [Σύμει] *IG I²*.

Lists 24-33 (431/0-422/1)

No fragment can be securely dated to any list within this period since the headings are lost. In *IG I³* 281 and 282 the serial numbers are illegible, *pace* Bradeen and McGregor (1973) who read [ἐπι] [τῆς ἑκτέης] [κ]αὶ εἰ[κοστέης] ἀ[ρχ]ῆ[ς] in 282. The fragments from *IG I³* 281, 282, 283 and 284 have been attributed differently by Mattingly 1978, 83-88 (= 1996, 427-34) and Piérart to the years 431/30 to 426/5. No fragment has yet been dated to the period 425/4 to 422/1. But many fragments might have originated from any of these years. I have left *IG I³* 281-84 undated, but inverted the order of *IG I³* 281 and 282 following Piérart 1988.

EM 6856. Formerly List 26.

This stone poses a series of problems concerning the dating and the arrangement of the columns. The obverse side of the stone is extremely worn. On the reverse side two holes used to house the doorposts and the smoothed surface suggest that the stone had found a second use in antiquity as a threshold (*IG I³ 11* suffered a similar fate, cf. Chambers in Mattingly 1996, ix). The obverse side of the stone has been scratching against the ground and most of the text thereby erased or at least rendered excessively difficult to read.

Rangabé observing that the obverse side carried only three columns and not five, that the right lateral face is uninscribed, and that the left lateral face only had one column, supposed that the stone had been cut in two lengthwise (1842, 285). Böckh 1853, 522-23 refused to accept, *pace* Rangabé, that the obverse and the left lateral face could be from the same year, since the Hellespontine panel appears on both. Moreover, he observed that the masons never continued from the obverse side to the left lateral face, but always from the obverse side to the right face or directly to the reverse side and he consequently proposed that the left lateral face was a continuation of the reverse face, which he called the “Vorderseite,” and which had been lost either because it had been inscribed on a separate stone or because the present stone had been sawn through. Köhler 1869, 59 encountered both views observing that the stone seemed to appear in its original shape and showed no traces of cuttings or of having been placed next to another stone. Also the hand and alphabet (a mixture of Ionian and Athenian characters) are different from the list on the obverse face, which, he wrote, must have been considerably older than the text on the left lateral face. On the latter he commented (p. 85):

Der Schriftcharakter, die Verwendung des H als Vokal und der Inhalt nöthigen, das Stück in die letzten Jahre der Existenz des Bundes zu setzen. Nach dem Abfall der hellespontischen Städte kam Chalkedon Ol. 92,4 [409/8 BC] wieder in die Gewalt der Athener (Xen. Hell. I, 3,9 Böckh Staatsh. II S. 589); bald darauf fiel Byzanz; auch Abydos scheint, wenn auch nur vorübergehend, ihnen offen gestanden zu haben (Xen. Hell. I 2, 15). Aus den damaligen Verhältnissen, unter welchen eine regelmässige Erhebung der Tribute nicht stattfinden konnte, erklärt sich sowohl die geringe Anzahl der in der Liste aufgeführten hellespontischen Städte als auch die von den sonst üblichen sehr abweichenden Tributquoten.

According to Köhler the left lateral face of this stone had been used as the continuation of another one standing nearby, a stone that did not have enough space for this column. What he did not consider, however, is that our reverse side could have been originally inscribed but the text now lost. This opens up for the possibility that our left lateral face was the continuation of the reverse face, a possibility that has occurred to none of the previous editors.

The *ATL*-editors, on the other hand, believed that the preserved text was from the same year and the two Hellespontine panels included partial payments which added up should give approximately the normal tribute. Now, this can only be verified for Kyzikos, the quotas being lost for the other members appearing in both of the Hellespontine panels. Meritt and his colleagues restored I.10 [Ῥ]ΔΔΗΗ Κυζικηνοί (4,320 dr.) and III.31 ῬΗΗΗΗΔΔΓΓΗΗ [Κ]υζικηνοί (49,680 dr.) making 54,000 dr., viz. the normal quota of Kyzikos. It is also evident that the rest of the payments on the left lateral face are partial payments, Parion paying [.]ΗΗΗ against its normal *aparche* of Η, Elaious paying [.]ΔΔΗΗ against the normal Ῥ. Madytos [ΔΔ]ΔΗΗ as in 281.III.51 against its normal ΔΔΔΗΗΗΗ. Although this may seem convincing, it cannot be excluded that the partial payments on the left lateral face were from not the same, but a previous year, or that they were from the list of the same year, which could have been inscribed on the reverse face of the stone.

To sum up: the heading of *IG I³ 282* is not preserved, and the list can therefore not be dated. The reverse face of the same stone may possibly have been inscribed and the letters later erased. This means that the left lateral face could have been the continuation of the reverse face, and not of the obverse face (*IG I³ 282*). I therefore follow Köhler (1869, 59) in printing the left lateral face in isolation. However, I do not agree with him that this list should be dated to the end of the existence of the empire, i.e. after the introduction of the 5% harbour tax in 412. As observed by Rangabé there are only three columns on the obverse face, but in fact there is no reason to expect five columns. True, this was the layout on many of the lists on the *lapis primus*, but the masons would not necessarily have followed the same scheme on subsequent lists. We do not need five columns but we should expect four geographical entities: Thrace, Islands, the Hellespont and the Ionian(/Carian) panels, and they are all there. If anything, one may wonder why the latter is so short, having room for only 51 entries. However, *IG I³ 281* only has 47 entries, and there is no reason to believe that the right lateral face of *IG I³ 282* was used for further entries since there is ample vacant space on the bottom third of the stone, where entries could have been inscribed.

As explained above the obverse side of the stone is extremely difficult to read, a fact which is amply illustrated by the very different readings of the several editors. In order to arrive at a better restitution than previous editors Bradeen and McGregor spent several weeks scrutinizing the stone and in 1973 published their results. They gave a great number of letters for which I find no confirmation. But I must admit that I have not examined the stone as long as they. However, the general impression of the stone is that it is in such a bad state that great

confidence cannot be given to many of the apparently preserved entries. I accordingly have not hesitated to remove readings which I believe to be unfounded, or which the editors themselves qualified as uncertain.

The obverse surface of the stone was inscribed in three columns. These were numbered II, III and IV in *ATL* I and *IG* I³, despite the fact that they preceded the text of the left lateral face numbered I in those editions. I have returned to the original numbering of the three columns || **HEADING 1** [Ἑλληνοταμίαι ἔσαν - - - - - , - -] ιππος Φυλάσιος Köhler 1869, p. 60; [ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης καὶ εἰκόστῃς ἀρχῆς ἡῖ . . .] ιππος Φυλάσιος *SEG* V; [ἐπὶ [τῆς ἑκτέ]ς [κ]αὶ εἰκόστῃς ἀρχῆ]ς ἡῖ Δ[ά]μιππος Φυλάσιος BM 1973. My photo provides no confirmation for any letter before the 34th stoichos. I identify the traces taken as mu in the name of the secretary, but would not exclude another letter at this place || **2** Δ..Ο..ΝΑΛΥΡΑΣΙΟΣ Köhler 1869, Pl IX, no. 105a, restoring - - [δ]..ο[ς] Ἄναγυράσιος p. 60; [ἐγραμμάτευε, ἡλληνοταμίαι ἔσαν . . .] δ.. ο. Ἄναγυράσιος *SEG* V. [ἐγραμμάτευε, ἡλληνοταμίαι] [ἔ]σαν Θεόδωρος Ἄναγυράσιος *SEG* V; [ἐγραμμάτευε, ἡλληνοταμίαι] ἔ[σα]ν Θεόδωρος Ἄναγυράσιος BM 1973 || **3** [. .] ε[. .]ς [- 33 -] BM 1973 || **4** [- 42 -] Ε | | Κ . Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a; [- 42 -] επικ.- *SEG* V; τ[ιος, - 38 -] Ἐπικρ- BM 1973 || **5** **Beg.** [άτες - - -] BM 1973. I believe I see what has been taken to be the rho in 4, but think it is too uncertain a reading to be printed || **5** See note on 4 || **COLUMN I 8** [Θραμβ]αῖοι *SEG* V; [Θραμβ]αῖοι BM 1973. A Γ is perhaps visible in the second stoichos of the numeral, but it is too uncertain to be printed. The normal quota of Therambos was ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ || **9** Δ[ΓΓ-ΙΙ]ΙΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a proposing Σταγυρῖται p. 61; Δ[ΓΓ-ΙΙ]ΙΙ Ἄργι[λαιο] *SEG* V; ΔΓΓ-ΙΙ[ΙΙ] Ἄργι[λαιο] BM 1973; ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ κτλ. *IG* I³. The reading of the quota is facilitated by the position of the numerals which is identical with the ones below in 10. I do not see anything of the name beyond the initial alpha || **10** . . . ΙΙΙΙ - - - Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ΔΓΓ-ΙΙ]ΙΙ Σ - - - Köhler 1869, no. 105a proposing Σκιάθιοι p. 61; ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Σ - - - *SEG* V and *ATL* I proposing Σ[κιάθιοι] and Σ[ταγυρῖται] p. 195; ΔΓΓ-ΙΙ[ΙΙ] Στ[α]γυρῖται BM 1973 || **11** ΗΗΗ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ΗΗΗ . . . / | Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a restoring ΗΗΗ [Ἄφυτ]αῖοι; ΗΗΗ [Ἄφ]υταῖοι *SEG* V || **12** ϜΗΗΙΙΙ ΕΚΙΟΝΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ϜΗΗΗΗ ΣΚΙΟΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a restoring ϜΗΗΗΗ Σκιον[αῖοι] p. 61; ϜΗΗΗΗ Σκιον[αῖοι] *SEG* V; ϜΗΗΗΗ Σκιοναῖοι BM 1973. All three strokes of alpha are preserved || **13** ΗΗΗ Ἀκάνθιοι Köhler 1869, p. 61. The final iota is no longer there || **14** .ΗΗΗ

MENΔΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ///HHH MENΔΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a; ῥHHH MENΔΑΙΟΙ is on the stone in red-colored patina. The five hundred drachm sign was however first reported in *ATL* I || 15-16 No previous editors have reported the quota of this two-line entry. All six strokes of Ϟ are clearly visible in red patina in line 15 however; ΝΕΟΓΟΛΙΤΑΙ | ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΝ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; /// Ν.ΟΓ. .ΤΛ | /// . . ΔΑΙΟΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a restoring -- Ν[ε]οπο[λι]τ[α]ι | [Μενδαίον]; -- Νεοπολιτ[α]ι | Μενδαίον *SEG* V; Ϟ Νεοπολιτ[α]ι | Μενδαίον *ATL* I. The two first letters of 16 are entirely preserved. Of the nu the first stroke is lost || 17 ΘΑΣΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ///XX ΘΑΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a. The first thousand drachmai symbol is visible although it is not red like the other two || 18 Ι.ΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; //////Γ ΙΚΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a. But the tips of both previous ten drachmai symbols are preserved. Only the first and second stroke of kappa are preserved today || 19-20 ΝΦΟΓΟΛΙΤΑΙ | Γ'ΡΑΝΤΙΣΑΡΑΝ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; /////////' || Ν . ΟΓΟΛΙΤΑΙ | Γ.ΡΑΝΤΙΣΑ..Ν Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, fr. 105a restoring [ΔΓϞ-Ι] || Νεοπολιτ[α]ι | π[α]ρ' Ἀντισά[ρα]ν; [ΔΓϞ-Ι] || Νεοπολιτ[α]ι | παρ' Ἀντισάραν *SEG* V; [ΔΓϞ]Ϟ-Ι || Νεοπολιτ[α]ι | π[α]ρ' Ἀντισά[ρ]αν *BM* 1973. All of the quota is extant, although it is only the vertical in Γ and last three obol signs which have the red-coloured patina. The three strokes are preserved from the initial nu, although they are very faint. The vertical of an epsilon is there and the upper and lower horizontal can be discerned. In 20 the initial pi might just be distinguished. Apparently it was clear in Köhler's days. The position of the two diagonals can be guessed at, but they are not clear enough to be printed undotted. The vertical and loop of rho are visible and the surface is preserved in such a way that beta can be excluded. The upper and lower stroke as well as the right tip of the two middle strokes of sigma are preserved. Only the vertical of rho survives and the final nu is less clear than in Köhler's time || 21 ..ΛΕΟΣΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223. The fact that he did not identify the community makes his reading the more reliable, since it is unlikely that a restoration is added; /////////' || ..ΛΕ.ΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a restoring [ΔΓϞ-Ι] || [Γα]λέφοιοι p. 61; [ΔΓϞ]Ϟ-Ι || [Γα]λέφοιοι *SEG* V; [ΔΓϞ]Ϟ-Ι || Γ[α]λέφοιοι *BM* 1973. I find no confirmation for ΔΓϞ-Ι ||, which was indeed the quota of Galepsos in the sixth assessment period. On the contrary there is a clear ΔΔΓ. Note that the surface is uninscribed where the last two obol signs should have been. Cf. the quota in 19-20. The former reading not only illustrates the difficulty of

transcribing this stone, but also the dependence on his predecessors that every editor invariably displays. The diagonals of alpha are very faintly visible. I dot the letter since it could be taken as a gamma out of context || **22** ..ΕΣΕΧΣΑΘΟ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ..ΕΣΕΧΣΑΘΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*; Διῆς ἐχς ᾿Αθο *SEG* V; [H] Διῆς ἐχς ᾿Αθο BM 1973. The initial is clear, but the iota is only discernible in the context || **23** ..ΛΑΝΤΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ..ΛΑΝΤΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring [Αι]γάντιοι p. 61 || **24** Ο.ΝΕΑΤΑΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ..ΝΕΑΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring Αἰνεᾶται p. 61; [ΔΓΓ-III] Αἰνεᾶται BM 1973. The diagonals of alpha are visible, but the iota could not be read with confidence out of context || **25** Ο..ΣΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ..ΣΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring [Θύ]σσιοι p. 61; Θ[ύ]σσιοι *SEG* V; [H] Θ[ύ]σσιοι BM 1973. But the right wing and vertical of upsilon survives || **26** ..ΟΦΥΧΣΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; //////////////-//II ...ΦΥΧΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring [ΔΔΔΓ]-Γ-Γ-II [᾿Ολο]φύχσιοι p. 61; [ΔΔΔΓ]-Γ-Γ-II [᾿Ολ]οφύχσιοι *SEG* V; [ΔΔΔΓ]-Γ-Γ-II ᾿Ο[λ]οφύχσιοι BM 1973. I read a round letter, a vertical and another round letter in the beginning of the name || **27** ΣΑΝΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ΣΑΝΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*; [ΔΓΓ-II]||[I] Σαναῖοι BM 1973. I find no confirmation on the stone for the single obol symbol || **28** ΜΑΡΟΝΙΤΑΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ΜΑΡΟΝΙΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*; [HHH] [M]αρονῖται BM 1973, giving no explanation. I follow Köhler, since faint traces of both M and A are visible || **29** ΤΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223, and Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*; [XHH] [Το]ρο[v]αῖοι BM 1973 giving no explanation for their new pessimistic reading. All letters in the name are extant although only faintly || **30** ..ΒΔ[ρ] ΤΑΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; ..ΒΔL ρ Ι Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*, restoring [᾿Α]βδε[ρῖται] omitting final iota p. 61; [X] h[α]βδερῖτ[α]ι BM 1973. I find no confirmation for the *daseia* or rho-iota. Ironically the tau is the clearest letter in this line || **31** ..Μ.ΟΙ...[Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; .\Μ.Οι...E Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring [Σα]μ[ο]θ[ρᾶ]κ[ε]ς p. 61; Σαμοθραῖκες *SEG* V; [HH] [Σα]μο[θρ]ᾶ[κ]ε[ς] BM 1973 || **32** . . . \I Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223; . . . \I Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring [Βεργα]ῖ[οι] p. 61; [Βεργ]αῖοι *ATL* I explaining, p. 195 note *ad loc.* || **34-39** The *ATL*-editors restored these lines in analogy with 25.III.54-58, p. 195 note *ad loc.*) || **34-36** [πό]λες αὐταῖ φόρ[ον] | [ταχ]σάεναι | - - - *SEG* V and Mattingly 1961, 168 note 89;

[ταῖσδε ἔταχσαν τὸν | [φόρον ἐπὶ Κριτίο] | [γραμματεύοντος] Meritt 1932, 10-11; [ταῖσδε ἔταχσαν ἡοι | [τάκται ἐπὶ Κρ . . . ο] | [γραμματεύοντος] *ATL* I, p. 195 after Meritt, in analogy with 25.III.54-55. Retained by BM 1973, with *comm.* p. 13. It remains unclear why the secretary should be the same in two succeeding years, and this is avoided if we follow Mattingly 1970, 140 proposing a Thracian name on [- -]οι in line 34 and *ἡαῖδε πόλες αὐταὶ | φόρον ἐτάχσαντο* || 37 [ΔΓΓ-III] [Καλλιπολίται] *ATL* I in analogy with 25.III.56 || 38 [ΔΔΓ] [Σαρταῖοι] *ATL* I cf. 25.III.57 || 39 Ο Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*; [ΔΓΓ-III] [Κάσι]ο[ι] *ATL* I cf. 25.III.58 || 40 Γ. Ρ . . ΙΝ . Ν Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; Γ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* || 41 . . Ο . . Ι . . Ε Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; ΛΜΟ..Ι Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring [Ἰ]μ[ό]ρ[γ]ι[οι] || 42 . . Ο . . Ι . . Α Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; ...ΙΙ Α.Ο....Ι Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*, restoring [ΓΓΓ-ΓΓ] Α[ι]ο[λῖ]τ[α]ι p. 61; [ΓΓΓ-ΓΓ] Α[ι]ο[λῖ]τ[α]ι *SEG* V; [ΓΓΓ-ΓΓ] Α[ι]ο[λῖ]τ[α]ι BM 1973 omitting the obol signs reported by Köhler and subsequent editors || 43-44 ..Ε.....Κ | ..ΟΙ.Τ.Χ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; ..ΛΕ....ΟΙ | ..Ο..Τ.Χ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring [Πόλεις ἄς] οἱ [ιδιῶται] | [φόρ]ο[ν] ἔ[τ]α[χ]ῖ[αν φέρειν] p. 61; [ταῖσδε πό]λε[σιν ἡοι] | [ιδιῶται φόρ]ο[ν] ἔ[τ]α[χ]ῖ[σαν] *SEG* V. A new restoration was given in *ATL* I, p. 195-96: “The rubric must correspond to that in 25, III, 60-61 (see the note on 26, II, 34-39 and observe that Κλεοναί is present in the group in both List 25 and 26). Here the restoration is more difficult because the extant letters do not allow an exact correspondence with the similar prescript of 25. Meritt (*A.F.D.*, p. 11) proposed three tentative restorations, none of which can be accepted now, since they do not allow for the fact that the πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι represent a single body, the δικαστήριον of 1500 (see pp. 456-457). This new realization allows the more satisfactory supplement: [ταῖσδε βο]λῆ [σὺν τ]οῖ | [δικαστερί]ο[ι] ἔ[τ]α[χ]ῖ[σεν]. The prescript is thus identical in meaning with that of 25, III, 60-61, for οἱ πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι and τὸ δικαστήριον are one and the same body. For a discussion of these rubric headings see pp. 456-457.” [ταῖσδε βο]λῆ [σὺν τ]οῖ | [δικαστερί]ο[ι] ἔ[τ]α[χ]ῖ[σεν] BM 1973 commenting p. 13 that “only the vertical is visible” in 43 and that “A convincing iota follows omicron. Little (part of the horizontal) of tau remains but the left side and the joining crossbar of alpha makes a dot unnecessary.” Note that there is nowhere near room enough for δικαστερίον, the omikron being in the fourth stoichos. The following letter is a vertical, perhaps from nu. The remaining letters in the line are illegible. I retain Köhler’s reading without his restitutions. Mattingly followed *SEG* V restoring [ταῖσδε πό]λε[σιν ἡοι] |

[ιδιῶται φόρον ἐ]τ[ά]χ[σαντο] || 45 ΣΥΜΑΙC I Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; ΣΥΜΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a restoring Συμαῖοι p. 61; Συμαῖοι *SEG* V; [ΔΔΔ] Συμαῖοι BM 1973 || 46-47 ΔΙΑΚΡI || ΓO || | ΧΑΛΚI Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; Δ.Α I// P...ΓO | ΧΑΛΚI Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a restoring Δ[ι]ακρ[ῆ]ς ἀ]πὸ | Χαλκι[δέων] p. 61; Διακρ[ῆ]ς ἀ]πὸ | Χαλκι[δέων] *SEG* V; [ΔΗΗΗ] Διακρῆ[ς] ἀ]πὸ | Χαλκιδ[έων] BM 1973 || 48 Χ./ .I...NO Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; E...! ..NO Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a, restoring Β[υσβ]ι[κη]νο[ί] p. 61; [P] Β[υσβ]ι[κεν]ο[ί] BM 1973. The difference between Rangabé and subsequent readings illustrates the state of the stone, but the latter confirms Köhler’s reading except that all letters of the name survives, although faintly || 49 ...ON Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; Κ..Ο \ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a restoring Κ[λε]ον[αί] p. 61; [ΓΗΗΗ] Κ[λε]ον[αί] BM 1973. I believe all letters are preserved in the name || 51 ΑΙΔΕΤΟΝΓΟΛΕΟΝΑΥΤΕ. L Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; ι \ ΑΙΔΕΤΟΙ// ὍΛΛΟΝΑΥΤΛ// Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a restoring Αἶδε τῶν πόλεων αὐτῆ[ν] p. 61; χαῖδε τῶν πόλεων αὐτῆ[ν] *SEG* V; [χαί]δε τῶν π[ό]λε[ον] [α]ὐτῆ[ν] BM 1973, explaining (p. 13): “Rangabé (*Ant.Hell.*, I, no. 224), followed by Pittakis (Ἐφ. Ἄρχ. [1853], no. 1254), reads ΑΙΔΕ over ΤΕΝΑ. We see nothing before delta, of which the placing, immediately over Α, proves that the word was spelled with the *daseia*.” Köhler did report the second vertical of the *daseia*, which is still clearly visible on the stone and the following alpha is also preserved. *Pace* Köhler, the whole of nu in τῶν is preserved. *Pace* BM 1973, both omikrons in πόλεων are there. The alpha in αὐτῆν is entirely preserved although it is faint. The three horizontals of the penultimate letter survives, as well as the three strokes of the nu, not previously reported || 52 ΤΕΝΑΓΑΡΧΕΝΑΓΕΛΛΑΛΟΝ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; ΤΕΝΑΓΑ.Χ[ΝΑΓΕΛΛΑΛΟΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a restoring τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἀπήγαγον p. 61; ἀπα[ρ]χὴν *SEG* V. The three strokes of the second alpha are preserved, although the break runs through the letter. In the following letter space, I believe the loop of a ‘penant’ shaped rho is preserved. The chi is written somewhat above the lower edge of the stoichos. The epsilon of which the middle stroke is preserved is very slim with the two horizontals touching the first slanting stroke of the following nu. This crowding of the three last letters is strange, seeing that there is an unscribed space of two *stoichoi* before the next word || 53 Μ. ΟΟΝΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; ΗΗΗ Μ. ΟΟΝΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869,

Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring HHH M[ε]θοναῖοι p. 61; HHH Mεθον[α]ῖοι BM 1973. All four strokes of E are faintly visible, but would probably be indiscernible out of context. *Pace* Köhler, a dot survives in Θ. All three strokes in N are preserved but could be taken for a M or accidental strokes out of context. The rest of the letters including A are perfectly clear, *pace* BM 1973 || 54 Η-ΙΙΙΙ . . ΣΟΝΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; ΔΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Α . ΣΟΝΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring ΔΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Α[ι]σόνιοι p. 61; ΔΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Α[ι]σόνιοι *SEG* V; ΔΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Α[ι]σόνιοι BM 1973; The first iota falls in the break, but the upper and lower tips are preserved. All other letters are visible, although most of them faintly || 55-56 Η ΔΙΚΑΙΟΓΟΛΙΤΑΙ | ΕΡΕΤΡΙΟΝ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; Η ΔΙΚΑΙΟΓΟΛΙΤΑΙ | . ΡΕΤΡΙΟΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*; Η Δικαιοπλῖται | Ἐρετριῶν (sic!) *SEG* V; Η Δικαιοπολίται | Ἐρετριῶν *ATL* I. The kappa in 55 is no longer visible with confidence. The same goes for the penultimate letter. I agree with later editors that the initial epsilon is faint || **Column III 13** Ϝ - - Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*; Ϝ [Καρύστιοι] *SEG* V; BM 1973 printed - - | - - - - commenting (p. 13 note *ad loc.*): “The numeral Ϝ printed in *A.T.L.* comes from Köhler. We doubt if he saw it and suspect an editorial error in his plate. The vertical of the first letter is the upper half, on the left side of the *stoichos*.” What Köhler reported as a Ϝ is still there, but I do not detect a vertical in the column of the names || 15 ΗΗ - Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*; ΗΗ [Τένιοι] *SEG* V || 16 ΔΓ-ΙΙΙΙ - - Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*; ΔΓ-ΙΙΙΙ [Γρυνχῆς] *SEG* V; ΔΓ-ΙΙ[ΙΙ] [Γρυνχῆς] BM 1973 without explanation || 17 .Η - Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*; ϜΗ [Ἄνδριοι] *SEG* V; ϜΗ Ἄ[νδριοι] BM 1973 || 18 ΗΗ'//// - - Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a*; ΗΗΗ [Χ]α[λκιδῆς] *SEG* V; ΗΗΗ [Χ]α[λκιδῆς] BM 1973 explaining, p. 13-14: “We have little confidence in the alpha; perhaps part of the right-hand stroke may be detected. Other possibilities for the quota of 300 drachmai (as also in line 26) are Ἐρετριῆς, Κεῖοι, Σίφνιοι, all of which appear in List 25, and Κύθνιοι (List 22 and A9) and Ἐφαιστιῆς (List 22, with an uncertain quota and A9).” || 19 ΣΕΡ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring [Η] Σερί[φιοι] p. 61; Η Σερί[φιοι] *SEG* V; Η Σερί[φιοι] BM 1973; I find no confirmation for these readings beyond the quota. On the contrary I read LANTE; but cannot think of anything to which it might pertain || 20 Η ΝΙΣΥΡ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring Η Νισύρ[ιοι] p. 61; Η Νισύρ[ιοι] BM 1973; I detect nothing beyond the quota || 21 ΔΔΓ .ΥΡΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring ΔΔΓ [Σ]ύριοι p. 60; ΔΔΓ Σύριοι BM

105a; *SEG* V has nothing here; [Γ††]†-[†] [Δασκύλει]ον BM 1973 explaining p. 15 note *ad loc.*: “What we interpret as a drachma and an obol looks rather like the squared top of a pi, with both angles preserved. The omicron is a series of punches forming the expected rounding. Despite obvious crowding, the lower tip of a vertical in the next *stoichos* is too close to omicron to be read comfortably as iota. Our restoration is not beyond doubt.” || **38** [. .]α[.]ο[- -] BM 1973 giving, p. 15, [Κι]α[ν]ο[†] and [Νε]α[π]ο[λ]ίς as possible restorations || **39** [ΔΓ†-†]†[†] [Σ†γ]ε†[ε̃ξ] BM 1973 explaining, p. 15, that only the bottom of a centered vertical from iota is preserved || **41** - - [.]υ[- - -] BM 1973 reporting, p. 15 “Most of upsilon,” and proposing “[†Αβ]υ[δ]ενοί and [Δα]υ[ν]ιοτειχῖται.” || **49** [†-†] [Μα]δ[ύ]τ[†]†[†] BM 1973 explaining p. 15: “We note a left-hand diagonal and a short base; whether these are the marks of the chisel or accidental scratches we are not sure. Similarly, a central vertical and a horizontal extending to the right, which we print as a doubtful tau, may not in fact be the mason’s cutting.” || **51** ΓΑΡΙΑ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224 restoring Παρια(νοί (sic!) p. 273; [ΔΔΔΓ††] Παρια[νοί] BM 1973 with commentary p. 15-16 || **52-53** ΧΕΡΡΟΝΕ | ΑΓΑΛΟ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224 restoring Χερρονη(σῖται | ἀπ’ Ἄγο(ρᾶς p. 273; Χ[ερρο]ν[ε]σῖται | ἀπ’ Ἄγο[ρᾶς] Köhler 1869; - - Χερρονε[σῖται] | ἀπ’ Ἄγο[ρᾶς] BM 1973 with comm. p. 15-16 || **54-55** ΕΛΑΙ | ΕΝ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224 restoring Ἐλαι(ούσιοι | ἐν (Χερρονήσω p. 273); ΕΙΑ | - - - Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a restoring Ἐ[λ]α[ι]ο[ύ]σιοι p. 61 accepted in *ATL* I, but corrected by BM 1973, p. 16, to nothing in 54 and [†-†] [†Αλοπ]ε[κοννέ]σιοι in 55 because of the reading of [†Ελαιο]σί[ο]† in 56-57 || **56-57** [ΔΓ†††] [†Ελαι]ο[ύ]σιοι | [ἐν Χερρ]ο[ν]έ[σ]ιοι BM 1973 with commentary p. 16 || **57** [†-†] [Μαδύ]†††† Meritt 1927, p. 183 || **58** [Λιμναῖ]οι Meritt 1927, p. 183; [Γ††††] [†Παλαιπερκό]σιοι BM 1973 with commentary p. 16 || **59** [ΧΗΗ]ΗΔ[- -] [Βυζάντιοι] BM 1973 explaining, p. 16-17: “In the fourth space of the column of numerals we read a doubtful vertical. The following delta is more convincing. We restore the quota as for Byzantion, in conjunction with the complement recorded in I, 5 to give a total of 2,911 + drachmai. This accords with the record of List 25, where the two payments fall a little short of 3,000 drachmai. We conjecture that the assessment was 30 talents. It is not impossible that the quota of this line should be attributed to Abydos (see I, 6, where the complement cannot be restored). We are not absolutely certain that line 59 was the last entry of the column.” || **Column IV 9** - -ΘΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; - - ΓΑΘΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a; [Κ]αρπάθο

SEG V; -- [Βρυκὸς Κ]αρπάθο BM 1973; I believe the two slanting strokes and lower half of the vertical of kappa are preserved and have dotted the letter || 10 -- ΣΙΝC Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring [Ἄρκε]σίν[η] (sic!) p. 60; -- [Βρυκὸς] περυσινῶ *SEG V*; -- [Βρυκὸς] πρε[ρ]υσινῶ BM 1973. All three strokes of the pi are preserved || 12 [. . .]Γ - - - - - BM 1973. I find no confirmation for this on the stone || 13-14 -- ΙΟΙ | - - KYMEN Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring - - . . . ιοι | [παρὰ] Κύμην p. 60 || 13 [Βρικινδάρ]ιοι *SEG V* reckoning with a greater line length than Köhler, cf. 13-14 || 14 -- [Μύρινα παρ]ὰ Κύμεν *SEG V* cf. 13-14 and 14; [Ῥ] [Μύρινα παρ]ὰ Κύμεν BM 1973 || 15 -- ΣΣΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring [Μυή]σσιοι p. 60; [χαλικαρν]άσσιοι *SEG V*; [ΗῤΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ] [χαλικαρν]άσσιοι BM 1973 and commentary p. 17. The diagonal and centre bar of alpha survives || 16 -- [. ⁸ .]οι BM 1973 reporting p. 17: “part of the lower right-hand arc of omicron and most of iota.” and proposing [Κολοφόνι]οι and [Τελάνδρι]οι. To restrict the possibilities to only two names is to accord too much importance to the stoichedon order however. Note that BM 1973 write on the same page: “Throughout this column there is considerable variation in the lateral spacing of letters. This may be observed at the top, where the ends of lines 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, and 21 can be read with assurance.” Concerning the reading I believe to detect what BM 1973 interpreted as omikron iota below alpha sigma in the line above. Nevertheless, these traces are far too uncertain to be printed || 19 [ΓΓ-ΓΓ-ΙΙ] [Διοσιρῖτ]αι BM 1973 explaining p. 19, note *ad loc.*: “Iota is sure. Alpha is a combination of color and cutting.” The alpha preceded by two verticals, perhaps ΙΤ which would suit Διοσιρῖται || 20-21 - - - - - | - - PA.Y.IN Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*a* restoring [Ἐλαιέα] | [παρὰ] [Μ]ύ[ρ]ιν[αν] p. 60 || 21 [Ἐλαιέα] [παρὰ] [Μ]ύρινα[ν] *SEG V* reckoning, correctly, with a greater line length than Köhler, cf. 20-21; [ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ] [Ἐλαιέα παρ]ὰ Μύρινα[ν] BM 1973 with commentary p. 17. Only the vertical of a rho is preserved. The two last letters are cramped into one letter space. Only the apex of alpha and the third stroke of nu are preserved || 22 -- [. ¹⁰ .]ς BM 1973, explaining, p. 17: “The top and bottom strokes of sigma are present. The possibilities are [Ἄστυπαλαιῆ]ς and [Διάκριοι ἐχ]ς [Ἰόδο].” I do not see the reported traces || 23 There are possible traces of a sigma in the penultimate letter space before the right edge of the stone || 32 -- [. ⁶ .] *SEG V*; nothing BM 1973 || 33 [. ⁶ . ἐπιφορᾶ]ς *SEG V*; changed by the *ATL*-editors who explained (I, 196): “the conjectural restoration [. ⁶ . ἐπιφορᾶ]ς, advanced in III, 33 of *S.E.G.*, V, 25, must be deleted

and [. ⁵ .ἀπὸ Καρία]ς or [. ⁹ .Κᾶρε]ς substituted as the basis for reconstruction; cf. [Κεδριᾶ]ται ἀπὸ Καρίας (25, I, 18), Αὐλιᾶται Κᾶρες (1, VI, 13). We prefer [Κρυῆς ἀπὸ Καρία]ς to [Χαλκεᾶται Κᾶρε]ς, because the people of Chalke were not Karians, as the term Κᾶρες would surely imply.” [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Κρυῆς ἀπὸ Καρία]ς BM 1973, but Mattingly (1978, 84 [=1996, 428]) has demonstrated the fragility of the restitution, pointing to the fact that “The the *ATL* editors abandoned the *SEG V* restoration because they had convinced themselves that formal, explicit *epiphora* was ended at the assessment of 430 B.C. It must then not appear in any later list.” I agree with Mattingly, but the *epiphora* is not compelling and the lines 32-33 are better left unrestored || **35** [Θερμαῖοι ἐχς Ἰκά[ρο] *SEG V*; [P] [Θερμαῖοι ἐχς Ἰκά[ρο] BM 1973 || **36** [ΓΗΗΗ] [Αὐλιᾶται Κᾶρ]ε[ς] BM 1973, with comm. p. 17 || **37** [ΓΗΗΗ] [Μύνδιοι παρὰ Τ[(έρμερα)] BM 1973, with comm. p. 18 || **38** [ΔΓΗΗΗ] [Β]ο[υθειῆ]ς BM 1973, with comm. p. 18 || **39** [ΔΓΗΗΗ] [Καρβασσανδ]ῆς BM 1973, with comm. p. 18 || **40** [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Χαλκ]ε[ι]ᾶται BM 1973, with comm. p. 18 || **42** -- [. ⁵⁻⁶ .ε[---] BM 1973 explaining p. 18: “Epsilon lacks only the middle horizontal; it is probably the sixth letter, since it falls directly over the second iota of line 45 ([hα]ιρ[α]ιῆ[ς]). Possible restorations are [Καμρ]ῆ[ς], [Κεδρι]ῆ[ται], [Ναχοι]ῆ[ται], and [Πυγελ]ῆ[ς]. The letter before epsilon may be rho.” || **44** -- [hα]ιρ[α]ιῆ[ς] *SEG V*; [H] [hα]ιρ[α]ιῆς BM 1973 || **45** . IΕΣΓΕΡΥΣΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; -I. IΕΣΓΕΡΥΣ . Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a; -- [hαιρ]αῖες περυσι[νῶ] *SEG V*; [H] [hα]ιρ[α]ιῆ[ς] περυσι[νῶ] BM 1973, with comm. p. 18 || **45-47** [hαῖδε] π[ό]λες περυσ[ιν]- | [ῶ φόρο τ]ᾶ ὀφειλόμενα ἀπ- | [έδοσαν] *SEG V* || **46** - ΑΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105a; -- [Μαρ]αθέσιοι *SEG V*; [ΔΔΔΗΗΗ] [Μαρ]αθέσιοι BM 1973 || **48-49** [H] [Συαγγε]λῆς | [hōν ἄρχε]ι [Πί]τρ[ε]ς BM 1973 explaining p. 18-19: “The tau in line 49 is firm; we are less sure of the vertical read as iota. The latter is placed under the first iota of [Μαρ]αθέσιοι and so we make it the eighth letter. Between it and tau there is space for two letters. There is no other possible restoration.” || **50** [. ⁷ .]οι BM 1973 proposing [Καλύδν]ιοι, [Καρπάθ]ιοι and [Πιταναῖ]οι, but other Ionian/Carian names would suit || **51** . . . F Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224 || **52** [HHH] [Χερρονέ]ο[ιοι] BM 1973 with comm. p. 19 || **57** .PIAN Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; [Π]ριαν[ῆ]ς *SEG V*; Köhler, as always, tacitly omitted Rangabé’s reading in this and the following line; BM 1973 rejected the reading (p. 19) || **58** .Ο.Ο Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 224; [Κ]ῶ[ι]ο[ι] *SEG V*; [H] Ο[ιναῖ]οι [ἐχς Ἰκ]ά[ρο] BM 1973

rejecting p. 19 the readings of [Π]ριαν[ῆς] in 57 and [Κ]ῶ[ι]ο[ι] in 58 proposed by Köhler 1869, p. 61. Rangabé 1842, p. 273, no. 225 left the entries unrestored. It should be permitted to ask how and why Rangabé would have invented or misread these letters, which would fit two attested tributary member states perfectly well, when he was unable to propose a restitution? Both Priene and Kos belong to the Ionian/Carian panel.

EM 6771, 6783a, Ag. I 5229 etc. Formerly List 25

The preserved part of the heading of this list does not contain either name of the archon nor the serial number which would give the exact date. Köhler dated it to the period 426/5-420/19 (cf. discussion on List 26?). *IG I² 218* followed Dahms 1904, 65 dating it to 426/5. MW 1927, 48-49 dated it to 427/6, which was retained in *SEG V*, p. 24. Meritt 1937c, 3-25 and 98-100 proposed 430/29 accepted in *ATL* and *IG I³*, but in between Mattingly (1978, 83-85 [= 1996, 427-430]) has argued for the date 426/5, whereas Piérart 1988, 319 believes *IG I³ 282* (26) must be either from 429/8 (list 26) or 427/6 (list 28), whereas this lists *IG I³ 281* (25) and 284 (28) must follow it || **HEADING 1** [Ἐπὶ τῆς --- καὶ τριακόστες ἀρχῆς, ἧϊ --- ἐγγραμμάτευε] Köhler 1869, p. 76; [Ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτες καὶ εἰκοστῆς (?) ἀρχῆς κτλ. Hiller von Gaertringen *IG I² 218* following Dahms 1904, 65; [Ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόες καὶ εἰκοστῆς ἀρχῆς *SEG V*; [Ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτες καὶ εἰκοστῆς ἀρχῆς *ATL I* || **3** The lower halves of the first two letters and most of iota and omikron are visible on the upper edge of the stone. ο..σιο[. Ἀχαρνεύς Köhler 1869, p. 76; Δι]ο[νύ]σιο[ς Ἀχαρνεύς *SEG V* || **4** **Beg.** - - ιος Köhler 1869, p. 76, but Rangabé 1842, p. 249, no. 202, reported a fourth stroke of sigma with the tip of the joining third; [. ¹⁰. Ἀχερδό]σιο[ς *SEG V*. That the first preserved letter should be a sigma can be positively excluded. The trace on the edge of the stone is a vertical, before ιος this could only be from tau. The letters from alpha in Ἀἴσχρονον to theta in Μαραθόνιος have lost their upper halves. <ΙΟΣΑΙ < ^ Ι ΟΝ ΜΑΡ \ΘΟΝΙΟΣΦΙΛΟΤΑΔΕΣΣ ΔΑΛΛΕΓ Rangabé 1842, p. 249, no. 202, <ΙΟΣΑΙΣΧΙ. ΟΝ ΜΑΡΑΘΟΝΙΟΣΦΙΛΟΤΑΔΕΣΣΓ ΑΛΛΕΓ Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, no. LXXXI; ΙΟΣΑΙ < ^ Ι ΟΝ ΜΑΓ \ΘΟΝΙΟΣΦΙΛΟΤΑΔΕΣΣΓ ΑΛΛΕ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 106. I believe Böckh's plate is an interpretation of Rangabé's. Today nothing of the loop in Μαραθόνιος remains || **COLUMN I 4** I see the lower half of a final sigma in the tenth stoichos, not reported by previous editors || **7** Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 106 reported an complete omikron of which only the right part is preserved || **8** \Ι Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 106

restoring[τα]ι p. 76 || **9** [Θερμαῖο]ι ἔχσ 'Ἰκάρο Köhler p. 76; [Οἶναῖο]ι seems impossible, not simply because it is one letter shorter, but because [Διάκριο]ι ἔχσ 'Ροδο (15 letters) is written in two letter spaces less than [Θερμαῖο]ι ἔχσ 'Ἰκάρο (16 letters). If [Οἶναῖο]ι ἔχσ 'Ἰκάρο (15 letters) were restored, the mason would have taken much liberty with the stoichedon script || **10** [Καλύδν]ιοι *SEG V* explaining, p. 25: “10, 19: nomina [Καλύδν]ιοι et [Πιταναῖοι, quippe quae eundem litterarum numerum contineant, etiam ordine inverso suppleri possunt.” But other restitutions are possible. The *ATL*-editors changed 19 [Πιταναῖοι] to [Ἐρυθραῖοι] || **11** *SEG V* || **12** Köhler 1869, p. 76 || **13** Köhler 1869, p. 76 who saw more of the omikron than is preserved today and probably could exclude -- -ΘΙΟΙ p. 76 || **14** [Μιλέσι]οι *ATL I* explaining p. 191: “[Μιλέσι]οι, [Μυέσσι]οι form a natural couplet, and [Ἰασῆς] is appropriate with [Χαλκει]ᾶται.” || **15** [Μυέσσι]οι *ATL I*; cf. commentary on 14 || **16** [Ἰασῆς] *ATL I*; cf. commentary on 14 || **17** Köhler 1869, p. 76; [ΔΔΔ†††] [Χαλκει]ᾶται *ATL I*. The upper half of a vertical in the sixth stoichos is visible on the edge of the fragment || **18** [Πελειᾶ]ται ἀπὸ Καρίας *IG I*²; [Κεδριᾶ]ται ἀπὸ Καρίας *ATL I* explaining, p. 191 note *ad loc.*, that Peleitai would only be possible if it was in fact located in Karia, and not as the *ATL*-editors had proposed in the *Gazetteer* in the island of Kos. They passed over the possibilities of reading Ναχσιᾶται and Ὀρασιᾶται in silence. The community of the Peleiatas is still unlocated and not included in the *Barrington Atlas* || **19** [Ἐρυθραῖοι] Köhler 1869, p. 76; [Πιταναῖοι] *SEG V* strangely and without explanation; cf. the entries below. It was corrected back to [Ἐρυθραῖοι] in *ATL I*, with p. 191 note *ad loc.* || **20-24** Köhler 1869, p. 76 || **26** [Καρνανδῆς] *ATL I* explaining, p. 191-92, that Ἀμνανδῆς, Βαργυλιῆς, Καρνανδῆς, Κασολαβῆς, Κυρβίσσος, Σαμβακτύς, Συναγγελῆς would be possible but that a number of these are unattested after the 440s and that Ἀμνανδῆς pays at this time with Syangela under the name of the latter. Observing that Syangela is registered under the name of Pigres in the later lists they conclude: “Συναγγελῆς alone, then, though not impossible, is not a probable form in the present list.” || **28** “[Πασανδῆς ἀπὸ] Κᾶννο is sound geographically.” *ATL I*, p. 192. Only the outmost tip of the upper diagonal stroke of kappa is there. Of the Α the tops of the two diagonals are detectable || **29** [Καρβασνανδῆς παρὰ Κα]ννό[ν] *IG I*²; ἀπὸ Κα]ννό *SEG V* || **41** *ATL I*, p. 192: “In line 41 [Πιταναῖοι], removed from I, 19 (cf. note *ad loc.*), as a better restoration than [Ἄστυρεν]οί, which drops from the extant tribute records after 17, III, 3.” || **42** [Λεβέδιο]ι *ATL*

I explaining (p. 192): “The Ionic eligibles for lines 42 and 44 can be reduced to Ἰσίνδιοι and Λεβέδιοι, for Μιλέσιοι and Μυέσιοι have already been placed in I, 14 and 15.” || **43** [ἡαιραι]ἔς ἠένο *ATL* I in analogy with 26.IV.44-45 [ἡ]α[ἡραι]ἔ[ς] and [ἡαιραι]ἔς] περυσινῶ. Cf commentary p. 192: “In list 25 there is no possibility, before or after [. ⁶ .]ἔς ἠένο (line 43), of restoring current tribute; the town in line 43, then paid for the previous year, 431/0 B.C., but was still liable for 430/29. The restoration [ἡαιραι]ἔς ἠένο seems assured. Hairai evidently brought its payments up to date in the following year, 429/28, as recorded in List 26. The following chart clarifies the record of Haira:

431/0	List 24 (lost)	Hairai defaulted
430/29	List 25 (I, 43)	Hairai paid for 431/0
429/28	List 26 (IV, 44-45)	Hairai paid for 430/29 and 429/28

See Meritt, *D.A.T.*, p. 100, and note that the record of Hairai provides another argument in favour of dating List 25 before List 26.” Hairai is, however, not a certain restitution || **44** [ΔΓ†-III] [Ἰσίνδιοι] *ATL* I. Cf. citation in commentary to 42 || **45-46** *IG* I² || **47** *IG* I²; [Γ†††-II] [Μύνδ]ιοι παρὰ Τέρμερα *ATL* I || **48** *IG* I² || **49** [Κινδ]υῆς *IG* I²; [Φοκα]ἔς *ATL* I. However the join between the left wing and the vertical is clear, *pace* *ATL* I, p. 192 note *ad loc.* || **50** [Κῶι]οι *IG* I²; *ATL* I, p. 192 note *ad loc.*: “With [Φοκα]ἔς restored in line 49 [Κῶι]οι becomes a discordant element in line 50. [Τέι]οι must therefore be substituted.” || **51** *IG* I²; [Η] [Μυρι]ναῖοι παρὰ Κύμεν *ATL* I || **52** *IG* I² || **53** *IG* I² [ἜΔΔΓ] [Γαρ]γαρεῖς *ATL* I || **59-60** [ἐκλογεῦσι ἔδο]σαν χαῖδε ἀπὸ τῶ φόρο | τὰ ὀφειλέματα *IG* I²; [μισθὸν ἐτέλε]σαν χαῖδε ἀπὸ τῶ φόρο | τῆι στρατιᾷ] *ATL* I, p. 192 because “no board of φόρου ἐκλογῆς existed at Athens” with reference to *IG* I², 65 [= *IG* I³ 68] and in analogy with 34.107-11. They added p. 193 “This record enters on the stele an account of moneys paid to an army in the field. The extant letters of the heading in List 25 suggest a similar type of transaction.” || **61** *IG* I² || **62-66** Having decided that this list belongs to 430/29, the *ATL*-editors (I, 193) linked this special rubric with the expedition of Melesandros in the winter of 430/29 (Th. 2.69.1), conjecturing that Melesandros did not sail directly to Karia but first to Chios, then to Erythrai, which was forced to pay for his military campaign with its dependent *poleis*: “This special payment by the members of the syntely would have been recorded in the spring of 429 B.C. Any Karic towns won by Melesandros later in his expedition would not have found their way into the quota records until the spring of 428 B.C. (List 26). (.../...) we note that the preserved letters of line 62 fit the supplement [Σιδό]σι[οι], a fact which offers some support to our conjecture.”

Note that the surface inside the first Γ is preserved and uninscribed, meaning that the mason had forgotten the pendant delta, and that the latter, *pace* previous editors, has not been lost || **11** $\Delta\Gamma\text{---}\text{IIII}$ $\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{L}$ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 106; only $\Delta\Gamma\text{---}\text{IIII}$ $\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda$. survives || **12** The stone apparently has $\text{HH}\overset{\text{P}}{\Delta}\Delta\Delta\Gamma\text{---}\text{IIII}$ (17,130 dr.), but Tenedos is attested with $\text{HH}\overset{\text{P}}{\Delta}\Delta\Delta\Gamma\text{---}\text{I}\text{---}\text{I}$ in the fourth, sixth and seventh assessment periods. Pace the *ATL*-editors, I, 194, comm. *ad loc.*, taking the obol symbols as drachmai, I believe the horizontals are visible, but that the two first are very short, amounting to no more than dots. The last one is of normal length. The reason for the omission was probably lack of space || **13** Only the left extremity of the round form in phi survives || **14** $\Delta\Gamma\text{---}\text{I}\text{---}\text{I}$ $\text{EL}/$ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 106, which is slightly more of the alpha than we have today || **15** The lambda is very faint, but discernible. Only the first vertical of mu is preserved || **17** The two diagonals of alpha are preserved. In the second letter space the upper loop of beta is preserved || **18** The mason inscribed the two last obol signs in the line below due to lack of space || **19** An upper tip of the third stroke of mu is visible. Although the letter could be taken for a nu out of context, the first stroke is slightly slanting, whereas it is upright in nu in this list; compare with the nu in 18 above || **21** Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 106 reported ΔA and the left wing and vertical from Υ || **23** Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 106 reported a whole sigma of which only the upper stroke is preserved || **24** The loop of rho was apparently seen by Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 106. Today there are only the joins between the vertical and the loop, above and below. This is enough, however, to exclude any other letter, i.e. beta and epsilon, the uninscribed surface being preserved below || **26** $\Delta\Gamma\text{---}\text{IIII}$ $\Gamma\text{E}\text{I}$ Rangabé 1842, p. 249, no. 202 || **30-32** and **36** The *ATL*-editors restored these lines on the basis of the observation that “with the exception of $[\Delta]\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\nu\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma$ and $[\text{'}\text{A}]\lambda\omicron\text{π}\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{I}\omicron\text{I}$ (lines 52 and 53), all the towns listed with complementary payments in lines 44-53 appear first in the main panel above,” and that they appear in the same order, I, p. 194 comm. *ad loc.* || **30** $[\text{M}\alpha\delta\acute{\upsilon}\text{T}\text{I}\omicron\text{I}]$ *ATL* I; cf. commentary on 30-32 || **31** On the lower edge the stone has --- , which was taken as part of a subheading, $[\acute{\epsilon}\tau]\acute{\epsilon}\lambda[\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\ \text{h}\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma]$ until *ATL* I, where it was interpreted, probably correctly, as part of the quota, p. 91 comm. *ad loc.*, and restored $[\overset{\text{P}}{\Delta}]\overset{\cdot}{\Gamma}\text{---}\text{I}\text{---}\text{I}$ $[\Delta\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\nu\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma]$; cf. commentary on 30-32 to which the *ATL*-editors added, p. 194: “It now appears obvious that $[\Delta\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\nu\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma]$ and $[\text{'}\text{A}]\lambda\omicron\text{π}\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{I}\omicron\text{I}$, listed with partial payments at the end of the appendix, should have their counterparts in the main panel. When we place $[\Delta\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\nu\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma]$ in line 31 and restore the quota as $[\overset{\text{P}}{\Delta}]\overset{\cdot}{\Gamma}\text{---}\text{I}\text{---}\text{I}$ we observe that the perfect complement may be supplied as

ΔΔΓ†[-] in line 52.” Note that [ῚΔ]Γ†[-†] (4,080 dr.) and ΔΔΓ†[-†] (1,620 dr.) from 52 give the round sum of 5,700 dr., but the normal quota of Dardanos was 6,000 dr. It is impossible to restore the remaining Γ (300 dr.). The argumentation of the *ATL*-editors’ is somewhat circular || 32 [Γ- - -] [Ὶ]λοπεκοννέσιοι, cf. commentary on 30-32, to which the *ATL*-editors added (p. 194): “The normal quota of Alopokonnesos was ΔΔΔ†††||, but it remains uncertain how this was divided between lines 32 and 53.” || 36 [Νεάπολις] *ATL* I explaining (p. 194 commentary *ad loc.*): “The only possibilities are [Δαρδανῆς], [Βύσβικος], and [Νεάπολις]. The first name occurs in lines 31 and 52, the two payments adding to a normal complete quota; the entry Β[υσβι]κενοί in 26, II, 48 is under the βουλή rubric, where we should expect to find it in 25. [Νεάπολις] is therefore an almost certain restoration.” However, all this depends on whether we can read the sigma on the much worn surface of fr. 3 (Ag. I 5229) or not. I do not think anything is detectable || 37-44 The ethnics and sub-heading of these lines are preserved on the relatively big, but heavily mutilated fr. 3, published for the first by Woodward 1908-9, 229-42. The fragment does not share the same aspect as the rest of the fragments of this list, but as the Fig. 125 in *ATL* I shows it shares important joins with frs. 6 and 7 || 37 The surface of this line has flaked away at various points and I find no confirmation for other letters than delta in the fifth stoichos || 38 Ὶρισβαῖοι *ATL* I. Only the second diagonal of the first alpha and the first of the second alpha are visible. The dotted letters are very faint, and could not be read out of context || 39 Πριαπός *ATL* I || 42 [μισθὸν ἐτέ]λεσαν χαῖδε κτλ. *ATL* I. The parallel is 34.I.107-8. A trace may be recoverable of the slanting stroke in lambda in the tenth stoichos, but I retain the dot. On the contrary the first diagonal *and* crossbar are visible in ἀ[π]ῶ. Finally there is a roundish form at the end of the word || 43 [η]λλ[εσποντί]ο φόρο *ATL* I. There are two verticals from the supposed lambdas, and the beginning of a possible slanting stroke of the second. Their position in one stoichos, typical for these two letters, when written together, makes the reading virtually certain. I believe traces of all letters are detectable from epsilon to iota, but only pi is clear enough to be printed outside square brackets || 44 [Δ]Γ [Καλχεδ]όνιοι *ATL* I || 45 [Δ]ΔΔ†† [Κυζικενοί] *ATL* I, presuming that this was a supplementary payment adding to the one in 6; cf. *ATL* I p. 194 commentary *ad* III.31-39. But note that [Δ]ΔΔ†† 1,920 dr. and ῚΗΗΗῚΓ†††|| 51,500 dr. is 580 dr. short of the normal tribute of Kalchedon || 46 [Η]ΔΔΔΔΓ†[-] [Λαμφοσκενοί] *ATL* I, presuming that this was a supplementary payment

adding to the one in 13; cf. *ATL* I p. 194 comm. *ad* III.31-39. But note that [H]ΔΔΔΔΓ[-] 8,760 dr. and ΧΔΔΔΔΓ[-] 62,700 dr. is 540 dr. short of the normal tribute of Lampsakos || 47 ΔΔΔ[-] [Ἐλαιόσιοι] *ATL* I, presuming that this was a supplementary payment adding to the one in 15; cf. *ATL* I p. 194 commentary *ad* III.31-39. But note that ΔΔΔ[-] 780 dr. and ΔΓ[-] 1,920 dr. is 300 dr. short of Elaious' normal tribute. However, this community is attested with ΔΓ[-] 1,920 dr. in 26.I.9 || 48 ΔΔΔΔΓ[-] *SEG* V, ΔΔΔΔΓ[|] [Ἀβυδενοί] *ATL* I, presuming that this was a supplementary payment adding to the one in 17; cf. *ATL* I p. 194 commentary *ad* III.31-39 and p. 194 *ad loc.* ΔΔΔΔΓ[|] 2,740 dr. and Ϝ[-] 33,260 dr. gives 36,000 dr., i.e. the normal quota of Abydos. Note, however, that the tip interpreted as an obol sign could have been a drachma, if not just an accidental stroke || 49 Ϝ[-] [Βυζάντιοι] *ATL* I, presuming that this was a supplementary payment adding to the one in 18; cf. *ATL* I p. 194 commentary *ad* III.31-39. ΧΧΗϜΔΔΓ[-] 130,740 dr. and Ϝ[-] 48,900 dr. give 170,640 dr. or far more than the tribute the community paid in any other year. However, no other Hellespontine member states are attested with such large sums, which makes it quite logical to restore Βυζάντιοι in this place. We are probably dealing with arrears from the previous year || 50 Ϝ[-] [Παριανοί] *ATL* I, presuming that this was a supplementary payment adding to the one in 24; cf. *ATL* I p. 194 commentary *ad* III.31-39. ΔΔΔΓ 2,100 dr. and Ϝ[-] ≥ 3,730 dr. is 170 dr. short of the normal tribute of Parion. However, in 26.I.7 and III.51 the community is attested with [ϜΔ] plus a supplementary payment of an unknown size || 51 ΔΔΔ[-] [Μ]αδύτιοι *ATL* I, but I do not see the wings of upsilon. In III.30 the *ATL*-editors restored [-] giving a total of 2,000 dr. A combination which is perhaps attested again in 26.I.8 and III.40 where [-] is completely restored || 52 ΔΔΔ[-] [Δ]αρδανῆς *ATL* I. The *ATL*-editors had restored [ϜΔ] [-] [Δαρδανῆς] in 31; [ϜΔ] [-] 1,080 dr. and ΔΔΓ[-] 1,620 dr. is 1,760 dr. short of the normal tribute of Dardanos || 53 ΔΔΓ[-] [Ἀ]λοποκοννέσιοι *ATL* I. The *ATL*-editors having restored [-] [Ἀλοποκοννέσιοι] in 32 explained, p. 194 note *ad loc.*: “The normal quota of Alopokonnesos was ΔΔΔ[-], but it remains uncertain how this was divided between lines 32 and 53.” Only the lower third of the antepenultimate of the name survives || 55 *ATL* I ἐπὶ Κρ[...]_ο γραμματεύοντος. The *ATL*-editors proposed Κρ[ανα]ῶ, Κρ[ιτί]ο and Κρ[ατί]ο, I, p. 195. Κρ[ιτί]ο can be excluded since the surface after rho is preserved in such a way that iota would

have been apparent. Only the first diagonal of alpha would have left the amount of space uninscribed. The apex of alpha is perhaps extant || 58 [H] Ἀμόργιοι *ATL* I || 60 ΤΑΙΣΔΕΗΨΟΛΕΚΑΙΗΟΙΓΕΝΤΑΚΟΣΙΟΨ is visible; ταῖσδε ἠ[ε] βολὲ *ATL* I.

EM 6856. *Latus sinistrum*. Formerly List 26.

HEADING: ΛΕΣΙΟΝ|| Pittakis 1835; ΕΣΙ.ΟΝ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223' restoring Ἑλλησ(π)όν(τιος, p. 272, no. 223; -- ΛΣΓΟΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b* restoring [Ἑλλ]ησπόν[τιος] p. 85; [ἠελ]λεσπόν[τιος] *SEG* V. I hesitantly follow Pittakis' reading of two verticals of which only the lower tip of the first vertical left off the centre remains || 2 ΧΑΛΧΕΔΟΝΙΟΙ Pittakis 1835; ΧΑΛΧΕΔΟΝΙΟ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223'; ΧΑΛΧΕΔΟΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b* restoring Χαλχεδόν[ιοι] (p. 85). I hesitantly follow Pittakis' reading, observing that he did not report the letters below this line correctly, which could mean that the fragment is broken today in the same way as in his time. Note, however, that the reading in line 4 of ΔΓ ΛΑΜΦΣΑΚΕΝC by Köhler, where we only see ΛΑΜΦΣΑΚΕΝ today clearly shows that also the right edge of the fragment has suffered in modern times || 3 ΔΓ ΔΑΡΔΑΝΕΙ(ΟΙ) Pittakis 1835; Γ ΔΑΡΔΑΝΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223'; Γ ΔΑΡΔΑΝΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b* restoring -[Δ]Γ Δαρδανῆ[ς] p. 85; -ΔΓ Δαρδανῆ[ς] *SEG* V; [-ΔΔ]ΔΓ Δαρδανῆς *ATL* I. I hesitantly follow Rangabé and Köhler, observing that there is a curious amount of uninscribed space to the right of the epsilon, and that if sigma was once clear it is strange that it was not reported by Pittakis || 4 ΔΔΓ ΛΑΜΦΣΑΚΕΝΟΙ Pittakis 1835; ΔΓ ΛΑΜΦΣΑΚΕΝΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223'; ΔΓ ΛΑΜΦΣΑΚΕΝC Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b* restoring -[Δ]ΔΓ Λαμψακηνο[ί] p. 85; -ΔΔΓ Λαμψακηνο[ί] *SEG* V; [-.]ΔΔΓ Λαμψακηνο[οί] *ATL* I with comm. p. 195; [ΧΔ]ΔΔΓ Λαμψακηνο[οί] *ATL* II; I follow the early editors for the end of the name. Note that none of the Δ's are visible today *pace* what is said in *ATL* I, p. 96 || 5 ΙΠΗΗ|| ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΙ Pittakis 1835; Γ ΙΙΙ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223'; [ΧΠ]Γ ΙΙΙ Βυζάντιοι Köhler 1869, p. 85; [ΧΠ]Γ ΙΙΙ Βυζάντιοι *SEG* V correctly reducing the number of obol signs from four to three; <Χ>ΠΗ ΙΙΙ Βυζάντιοι *ATL* I providing no explanation. Γ ΙΙΙ is preserved on the stone, which positively excludes ΗΙΙΙΙ. Concerning Π, Köhler rightly observed, p. 86, that ΠΗ was the normal (only) way for Pittakis to reproduce Π, ΠΗΗ would therefore mean ΠΠΗ. This means that he probably saw ΙΠΠ ΙΙΙΙ. But no numeral with a vertical could precede Π, the latter

being the highest figure before X, and PP being impossible. I believe the first stroke reported by Pittakis was an accidental stroke and therefore print the first numeral inside square brackets and the second undotted || 6 || $\text{ABY}\Delta\text{HNOI}$ Pittakis 1835; $\text{ABY}\Delta\text{HNOI}$ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223'; [.]|| 'Αβυδηνοί *ATL* I || 7 $\text{H}\Gamma\text{APIANOI}$ Pittakis 1835; $\text{H}\Gamma\text{APIANOI}$ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223'; $\text{H}\Gamma\text{APIANOI}$ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b*; $\text{H}\Gamma\text{APIANOI}$ *SEG* V, the *ATL*-editors explaining *ATL* I, p. 96 that they print the vertical reported by Pittakis in addition. I accept the view but dot and underline the figure. The iota is no longer visible, as it is in a break running from the top to the bottom of the stone, but taking different widths ranging from very thin to a whole letter space. I doubt any editor ever saw this letter, but the space allows for a vertical only || 8 $\Delta\text{MA}\Psi\text{TI}$. Pittakis 1835; $\text{HMA}\Psi\text{TI}$ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223' restoring $\text{H}\text{Ma}(\delta)\acute{\upsilon}\text{τιο}(\iota)$, p. 272, fr. 223; $\text{HMA}\Psi\text{TI}$ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b*; $\text{H}\text{Ma}\acute{\upsilon}\text{τι}[\text{o}\iota]$ *SEG* V; $[\Delta\Delta]\Delta\text{H}\text{Ma}\acute{\upsilon}\text{τι}[\text{o}\iota]$ *ATL* I explaining p. 195: "The sum $[\Delta\Delta]\Delta\text{H}\text{Ma}\acute{\upsilon}\text{τι}[\text{o}\iota]$ is to be added to the $[\text{H}\text{H}]$ of III, 57 to form a complete quota." This presupposes that the obverse and the left lateral face of the stone were indeed from the same list, which was not necessarily the case. Nor are any certain traces of HH visible. Only the left corner of Δ in the name is preserved. The upper part of a mid vertical in Ψ reported by Pittakis is clearly accidental. Nothing is recoverable beyond iota || 9 $\Delta\text{HEL}\text{.}\text{I}\text{O}\Sigma\text{I}\text{O}$ Pittakis 1835; $\text{HEL}\text{.}\text{I}\text{O}\Sigma\text{I}\text{O}$ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223' restoring $\text{H}\text{'E}\lambda(\alpha)\iota\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\text{o}\iota$ p. 272, fr. 223; $\text{HEL}\text{.}\text{I}\Sigma\text{I}$ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b* restoring $[\Delta\Delta]\text{H}\text{'E}\lambda[\alpha]\iota\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\text{o}\iota$ (sic!) p. 85; $[\Delta\Delta]\text{H}\text{'E}\lambda[\alpha]\iota\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\text{o}\iota$ *SEG* V. Note that Pittakis often mistook HH for H . Only the faint traces of two verticals, the HH , are preserved today || 10 $\Delta\text{KY}\text{.}\text{.}\text{ENOI}$ Pittakis 1835; $\Delta\text{H}\text{KY}\text{.}\text{.}\text{KENOI}$ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223' restoring $\text{Kυ}(\zeta\iota)\text{κενοί}$ p. 272, fr. 223; $\Delta\text{H}\text{KY}\text{.}\text{.}\text{K}\Gamma\text{NOI}$ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b* restoring $[\text{P}]\Delta\text{H}\text{Kυ}(\zeta\iota)\text{κενοί}$; $[\text{P}]\Delta\text{H}\text{Kυ}(\zeta\iota)\text{κενοί}$ *ATL* I probably in analogy with 8.I.95 || 11-12 $\text{OLE}\Sigma\text{AI}\text{...}\text{AP}\text{XAI}\Sigma$ | $\text{O}\Sigma\text{AN}\text{...}\text{M}\Phi\text{OPON}$ Pittakis 1835; $\text{OLE}\Sigma\text{AI}\text{.}\text{.}\text{AP}\text{XAI}\Sigma$ | $\text{O}\Sigma\text{ANTOM}\Phi\text{OPON}$ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223' restoring $\text{Π}(\acute{\epsilon}\delta)\text{o}\sigma\alpha\text{n}\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\ \phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\text{n}$ p. 272, fr. 223; $\text{OLE}\Sigma\text{AI}\text{///}\text{AP}\text{XAI}\Sigma$ | $\text{O}\Sigma\text{ANTOM}\Phi\text{OPON}$ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b* restoring $[\text{Π}]\text{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\iota[\delta]\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ | $[\acute{\epsilon}\delta]\text{o}\sigma\alpha\text{n}\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\ \phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\text{n}$ p. 85. I believe the traces of a triangular shaped letter are preserved in the second stoichos of 12. Only the first vertical and part of the diagonal stroke in nu are preserved || 13 $\text{KIMNAIOI}\text{.}\text{.}\text{NXEPPONH}\Sigma\text{O}$

Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223' restoring Κιμναῖοι (ἐ)ν Χερρονήσῳ p. 272, no. 223; LIMNAIOI.NXEPPONHΣOI Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b* restoring - - Ι Λιμναῖοι [ἐ]ν Χερρονήσῳ p. 85; [..] Λιμναῖοι [ἐ]ν Χερρονήσο[ι] *ATL* I. I believe that a vertical is preserved before the one recorded by Köhler. This could be from Ι or Η. Due to lack of space the three first letters of the name are written in the column of the quotas. Still, strong crowding of the letters was necessary to make the entry fit into the small space available on this side of the stone || **14** ΧΕΡΡΟ .ΕΣΙΤΑΙΑΓΑΛΟΡΑ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223' restoring Χερρονησίται ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς (sic!) p. 272, fr. 223; ΧΕΡΡΟ.ΕΣΙΤΑΙΑΓΑΛΟΡΑΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b* restoring Χερρονησίται ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶ (sic!) p. 85; Χερρο[ν]εσίται ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς *SEG* V; [..]vac Χερρο[ν]εσίται ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς *ATL* I. A numeral taking the form of Γ is clearly visible, but it could be both Γ, Ϝ, and ϝ. *Pace* the *ATL*-editors, there is not room for just one numeral before the blank surface, but for two, and this would be the second, cf. the position of Γ in l. 20. This observation makes Γ the most likely restitution; Chersonesos normally paid a tribute of one talent || **15-16** ΔΙΔΕΓ' .ΙΕΣΚΑΤΑ | ΕΛΟΣΙ.ΜΦΟΡΟΙ Pittakis; ΑΙΔΕΓ'.. ΕΣΚΑΤΑ | ΕΛΟΣΙΤΟΜΦΟΡΟΝ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223' restoring Αἶδε π(ό)λεις κατα- | τελοῦσι τὸμ φόρον p. 272, fr. 223; ΑΙΔΕΓ'////ΛΕΣΚΑΤΑ | ΕΛΟΣΙΤΟΜΦΟΡΟΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b* restoring Αἶδε π[ο]λεῖς κατὰ | .ελοῦσι τὸμ φόρο[ν] p. 85-86, accepting the restoration by Böckh of Αἶδε π[ο]λεῖς κατὰ [μέρη] | ὀφείλοῦσι τὸμ φόρο[ν] with the reservation that there is not room for μέρη to the right of κατὰ, and proposing that the mason had forgotten it. This is unlikely. [h]αἶδε π[ό]λες κατα- | [τ]ελοῦσι τὸμ φόρον *SEG* V; [h]αἶδε π[ό]λες κατα | [δ]ελοῦσι τὸμ φόρον *ATL* I. A trace of the left side of O is visible in 15, and I dot this letter. It is difficult to decide between κατα[δ]ελοῦσι and κατα[τ]ελοῦσι, both unattested in Greek inscriptions || **18** ΜΥΡΙΝΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223'; [..] vac. ΜΥΡΙΝΑΙΟΙ *ATL* I || **19** ΙΜΒΡΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223'; [...] ΙΜΒΡΙΟΙ vac. *ATL* I || **20** .ΓΗ-ΙΙΙΙ ΣΕΣΤΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223'; [Δ]ΓΗ-ΙΙΙΙ ΣΕΣΤΙΟΙ *ATL* I with comm. p. 195 || **21** ΔΔΗ- ΑΛΟΓ' .ΟΝΝΗΣΙC Rangabé 1842, p. 252, no. 223', restoring ΔΔΗ- Ἀλωπ(εκ)οννήσιοι (sic!) p. 272, fr. 223; .ΔΔΗ- ΑΛΟΓ' ////ΟΝΝΗΣΙC Köhler 1869, Pl. IX, no. 105*b* restoring .ΔΔΗ- Ἀλωπ[εκ]οννήσιο[ι]; [Δ]ΔΔΗ- Ἀλοπο[κ]οννήσιο[ι] *ATL* I commenting, p. 195, that this was “a common partial payment in this period.” But [Ϝ]ΔΔΗ- although only attested for Kyzikos, cannot be excluded.

EM 6863, 6864, 6865. Formerly List 27. 428/7.

These four fragments were identified as belonging to one list by Cavaignac 1908, XLVII. In fact fragment 2 joins fragment 3, which in turn joins fragment 4. Meritt 1937c, 111-12 attributed a fifth fragment lost before Köhler 1869 (= Rangabé 1842, no. 239, p. 253) to the list. There is, however, no compelling evidence for this identification. I have accordingly separated it from the list and printed the readings as an isolated fragment. The list was dated to 431/0 by Schwahn 1941, 32-48 || **Column II 17-18** - - Πρίαπος | - -|| παρὰ Πάριον *IG I*²; Πρίαπος | [Γ†††]|| παρὰ Πάριον *SEG V. ATL I* comments (p. 99): “The quotas of Priapos and Myndos are known to have been Γ†††||; hence the restored numerals [Γ†††]|| in II, 18 and 32.” Only the first vertical of nu is preserved || **19** - - Σεριοτειχῖ(ται) *IG I*². The ultimate and antepenultimate should have been preserved on the fr. 4 had they been written. The surface is intact but blank, and the ethnic must have been abbreviated, as observed by previous editors. There is, however, room for a tau on fr. 3. I therefore print this inside square brackets || **21** Βέσβικος *IG I*². Only the upper loop of beta is preserved, but a full beta may have been detected by earlier editors || **22** - - Δαμνιοτειχῖ(ται) *IG I*². The delta is not preserved and only the upper half of the second diagonal of alpha is extant || **23** [Σομ]βία *IG I*². [Σο]μβία *SEG V*; [Σο]μβία *ATL I*. Nothing is visible of the M but the broken edge follows the angle of the fourth stroke || **24** [. ⁸]ῆς *SEG V*. Nothing reported by previous editors. Λαμπονειῆς and Νεανδρειῆς would be possible candidates, but a clear chi is visible in the eleventh stoichos. No attested entry suits this and the chi cannot be followed by another letter, nor is it part of the numeral in the next column. I have no solution for the enigma, but we may be dealing with a two-line entry || **25-26** The heading may have been cut in either of these lines || **28** . . . ῆς *IG I*²; [Κρυ]ῆς *ATL I*, having restored [ῥαο]ῆς in II.26. Only a possible fourth stroke of sigma above pi in the line below, i.e. the fifth stoichos, is visible today || **29** [Ῥο]τυπαλαιῆς *IG I*²; only the right part of the horizontal in tau is extant || **30** Νιούριοι *IG I*². Only the lowest part of nu is preserved, but all three strokes are visible. Out of context the iota could have been a tau || **31** - - |||| Ἐναφαῖοι *IG I*²; [Γ†]|||| Ἐναφαῖοι : *SEG V*; [ΔΓ†]|||| Ἐναφαῖοι : *ATL I*, p. 99 following Nesselhauf 1933, p. 90 and Meritt 1934, p. 286 || **32** - - || Μύνδιοι *IG I*²; [Γ†††]|| Μύνδιοι *SEG V* and *ATL I* for which see their commentary on 18 || **Column III 1-2** || Ἐτεο[καρπάθιοι] | |||| Καρπάθο *IG I*², erroneously taking these to be two

different entries. The reported obol signs in 2 belong to 3. [ΔΓ†II]|| 'Ετεο[καρπάθιοι] | Καρπάθο *SEG V*. There are faint traces of the second diagonal of K, the slanting strokes of A, and the loop of P. Note that mason did not respect the stoichedon pattern, probably due to lack of space || 3 'Αρκέσσεια *IG I²*; [ΔΓ†III] 'Αρκέσσεια *SEG V*. The crossbar in the drachm sign is lost || 4 [ΔΓ†IIII] Κάσιοι *ATL I* || 16 Η ήέσσιοι *IG I²*; Η ήέσσιοι *SEG V*. Only the fourth strokes of the sigmas are preserved. The lower half of IOI is extant || 17 The seven last letters are written on the right lateral face. For a photo see *ATL I*, Fig. 130, p. 98 || 24 *IG I²* || 25 [Διο]σιρῖται *IG I²*. Only the upper tip of the ultimate is preserved || 26 [Ἴασῆς] *ATL I* following Nesselhauf 1933, p. 76 || 27 ϜΗ Κλαζομένοι *IG I²* by error || 28 Only the upper tip of the ultimate is extant || 33 The only occurrence of Amos in the Tribute Lists || 34 ΔΓ††††|| Λε/.⁵.|- - *IG I²*; ΔΓ††††|| Λει.⁵.ι *SEG V*; ΔΓ††††|| Λερ[....]ι *ATL I*, proposing Λερ[ύμυιο]ι p. 199 note *ad loc.*. In the third *stoichos* a vertical to the left of the centre is visible as perhaps also the upper part of the loop. The two final letters look like AN. I have no solution for a candidate on the Chersonesean peninsular || **Pars Aversa 36** (frei?)E | Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 6b, proposing p. 81 “Vielleicht hellespontischer Tribut.” Ἐλ[λλεσπόντιος] *IG I²*; Ἐτ[έλεσαν χαῖδε ἀπὸ τῷ φόρο] *SEG V*; Ἐτ[έλεσαν χαῖδε ἀπὸ τῷ φόρο τῆι στρατιᾷ] *ATL I* || 37 //IIII//^{IIII} ϜΔΔΔ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 6b restoring .[HHH]ϜΔΔ[Δ] p. 81; .HHHϜΔΔΔ[†††] *IG I²*; HHHHϜΔΔΔ[- - -] *SEG V*; ΧHHHϜΔΔΔ- - - [Λαμφσακενοί] *ATL I*. There is no parallel || 38 ϜΔΔΔ†I Köhler 1869, p. 81; ϜΔΔΔ†I[IIII] *IG I²*; ϜΔΔΔ†I *vac. SEG V* || 39 . / ^Γ††††III Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 6b; [ΧΔ]Γ††††III Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 6b restoring .[ΧΔ]Γ††††III p. 81; [Χ]ΧΔΓ††††III *IG I²*; ΧΧΔΓ††††III- - [Βυζάντιοι] *ATL I*. I do not detect the first X, but any other numeral can be excluded.

Adespota. Formerly Part of List 27 (fr. 1). 428/7.

This fragment was lost before Köhler and seen only by Rangabé. Böckh and Pittakis printed the same probably following him. In *SEG V* it was attributed to the 38th list. But the *ATL*-editors followed Meritt's proposition (1937c 111-12) placing it in their list no. 27. Meritt provided no arguments for this. On the other hand he proposed [Ἄρταιοτε]ιχῖται in line 3 and [Πολιχνῖτ]αι and [Νεοπολιτ]αι in line 1. Only [Ἄρταιοτε]ιχῖται was retained in *IG I³*. With this position in the list, the first column would be from the Hellespontine panel and the second from the Ionian/Carian panel.

ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 174 restoring Ἐλαιούσιοι Ἐρυθραίων (sic!) p. 263; E.ΑΙΟΣΙΟΙ | ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙΟΝ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 11 restoring Ἐ[λ]αιούσιοι | Ἐρυθραίων p. 84; Ἐλαιόσιοι | Ἐρυθραίων *SEG* V. Both the vertical and the slanting stroke of lambda are preserved, but the space is mutilated || 4 ΙΛΣΕΣ Rangabé 1842 p. 245, no. 174 restoring Ἴασεῖς p. 263; Ι \ ΣΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 11 restoring Ἴασῆς p. 84; Both diagonals of alpha, as well as the crossbar are visible || 5 ΗΛΙΡΑΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842 p. 245, no. 174 restoring Αἰραῖοι p. 263; Η \ ΙΡΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 11 restoring Αἰραῖοι p. 84; ηαιραῖοι *IG* I² || 6 ΗΗΗ ΚΛΑΖΟΜΕΝΙΟΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 174; ΗΗ//Ι ΚΛΑΖΟΜΕΝΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 11 restoring ΗΗ[Ι] Κλαζομένιοι p. 84; [ῬΔ]Δ[ΔΗ]ΗΗ *ATL* I; ΓΔΔ.ΗΗ. is apparent || 7-8 *IG* I² takes the spelling of Πίτρος as an error on the part of the mason, who should have mistaken Γ for Τ in ΓΙΓΡΕΣ. The assumption of the *ATL*-editors that it was simply a variant spelling of a Carian name has more to recommend it || 9 ΓΕΔΙΕΣΕΝΛΙΝΔΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 11 restoring Πεδιῆς ἐν Λίνδῳ p. 84; Πεδιῆς ἐν Λίνδο[ι] *IG* I²; Πεδιῆς ἐν Λίνδοι *ATL* I || 10 ΙΕ..Σ.Ι Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 174 restoring Ἴη(λύ)σ(ιο)ι p. 263; ΙΕ..Σ.ΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 11 restoring Ἴη[λύ]σιοι p. 84; Ἴελ[ύ]σιοι *IG* I²; [Χ] Ἴελ[ύ]σιοι *ATL* I. Only the vertical and a faint beginning of the slanting stroke are visible || 11 ΚΑΜ,ΡΕΣ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 174 restoring Κα(μ)ρεῖς p. 84; ΚΑΜ.ΡΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 11 restoring Καμ[ι]ρῆς p. 84; Καμ[ι]ρῆς *IG* I². Note that the rho is tailed || 13 [ΗΗ] Κνίδιοι *ATL* I || 17 Ι ΤΕΙΧΙΟΣΣΑ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 174; ΙΙ ΤΕΙΧΙΟΣΣΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 11 || 19 ΧΑΛΚΙΑΤΑΙ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 174; ΧΑΛΚΕΑΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 11 || 20 [Η] Ἔσσιοι *ATL* I || 21 ΜΥΝΔΙC Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 174 restoring Μύνδιοι (sic!) p. 263; Μύνδιο[ι] Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 11; Μύνδιοι *SEG* V; [ΓΗΗΗ] Μύνδιο[ι] *ATL* I || 22 ΔΙ^Λ Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 174 || 23 C - - - Rangabé 1842, p. 245, no. 174 || 22-23 ΔΙ^Λ | - Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, fr. 11 restoring Δι[άκριοι] | [ἐρ Ρόδοι] p. 84; Διά[κριοι] | ἐ[ρ Ρόδοι] *IG* I².

List 34. 421/0.

This fragment edited by Köhler in 1865 (209-10) is one of the most important from the quota lists. In fact it not only contains the words τὸν ἀπαρχὸν τῷ θεῷ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάν[το] (l. 6), which permitted Köhler to resolve the question of what part was given to Athena of the tribute. It also gives a fix peg on which to date the Tribute Quota Lists. These had only been dated relatively through the serial number in each list, whenever this was preserved. The fragment found and published by Köhler was the first to have both a serial number (l. 5 ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τρι[-]) and the name of the archon Aristion (l. 1 ἔρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίους Ἀριστίων), who held office in 421/0. Counting 34 years backwards from 421/0 Köhler 1869, 1, was the first to be able to date the List 1 to 454/3.

Meritt and West 1925a, p. 63 attributed two fragments (EM 6758 and 6652) to this list, but these attributions have rightly been questioned by Kallet (2004, 470-74). There are no other arguments than the similarity of the style in the lettering on the three fragments. No joins can be detected and fragment 1 is the only one to have been inscribed on both sides. Concerning the special rubric on this side of the stone, we cannot be certain that it belonged to list 34 as already stated by Köhler (1869, 78-79):

Man kann zweifeln, ob dieses Stück zur 34. Liste gehöre und nicht vielmehr wegen des fehlenden Aspirationszeichhens in αἶδε jünger sei als Ol. 89,4 [421/20 B.C.], doch weicht der Charakter der Schrift nicht ab. Die darin verzeichneten Städte hatten den Strategen eines in der Nähe befindlichen Heeres Soldvorschüsse gemacht, wofür ebenso wie für die direkt an die Kasse der Hellenotamien geleisteten Zahlungen die Tempelquote abzuführen war.

Kallet 2004, 274, also mentions the possibility that the two sides were from different lists, but it would be odd for a 10-line special rubric to be found at the top of a stele. I follow Köhler in printing them together, taking the argument of the hand as decisive. **HEADING 2** Wilhelm 1922, 47; [Ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἧ --- πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε ἦρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίους Ἀριστίων. Köhler; [ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἧῖ Πρεπῆς κτλ. *ATL* II; [ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἧῖ Μενεκλῆς κτλ. *IG* I³ following Meritt and McGregor 1967 and Meritt 1967; Pritchett refused to decide for either of the two solutions. Note that there is a difference of two letters || **3** *SEG* V; [Ἐλληνοταμίαι ἦσαν ---ἦθεν κτλ. Köhler 1869, p. 78 erroneously for ---ἦθ]εν cf. his Pl. VIII, no. 197a || **4** *IG* I²; ἀρχίδης Köhler 1869, p. 78, but his Pl. VIII, fr. 197a has ὈΧΙΔΕΣ || **6** [- 3 - οἷς - 5 - ε]ὺς ἐγραμμάτευε ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τρι- Köhler 1869, p. 78; καὶ τρι- *IG* I²; [Θοραιεύς, ἠοῖς - ¹⁸ - ε]ὺς ἐγραμμάτευε ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τρια *SEG* V with comm. p. 25 note *ad loc.*: “[Θοραιεύς]: demoticum Hellenotamiae tribus Antiochidis suppl. H.T. Wade-Gery in epist. ad

W.M data. Cf. IG I² 299, vs. 6, Xen. *Hell.* II. 3. 46 et 3, 2, PA 2055 (= 2057).” [Θοραιεύς, hoĩs -⁸-ε]ὺς ἐγραμμάτευε· ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τρι[α]- *ATL* I without explanation for the loss of alpha which is perfectly clear || 6-7 τρι | κοστῆς *ATL* I; τρι[α]κοστῆς Meritt and McGregor; τρ^ν|κοστῆς Pritchett contesting, erroneously, that iota was ever written || 7-8 [ιακοστῆς ἀρχῆς οἱ τριάκοντα ἔθεσα]ν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάν- | [του] Köhler; [ακοστῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς τριάκοντα ἀπέφενα]ν κτλ. *IG* I² || 7 [κοστῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς τριάκοντα ἀπέφενα]ν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάν[το]. *SEG* V; [κοστῆς ἀρχῆς ἡ πόλις ἡ αἰδέ ἀπέδοσα]ν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάν[το·] *ATL* I following Bannier 1917, 1345 perhaps in analogy with *IG* I³ 71 l. 48, but if this line gives evidence for [φό]ρο[ν ---] ἐπιδ[ῶναι], the juxtaposition of ἀπαρχὴν with anything else than ἀνατίθημι is unattested. See discussion in Text p. 46, n. 183 || **COLUMN I 8** [Νεοιστικός] *ATL* I on the basis of the sequence in A9, cf. p. 200 note *ad loc.* || **COLUMN II 8-9** Köhler 1869, p. 78 || **10** [Κυ]μαῖοι Köhler, p. 78; the diagonals of K and the three strokes of Y can be detected || **12-13** [Κα]ρβασουανδῆς | [πα]ρὰ Καῦ[νον] Köhler 1869, p. 78 reporting the upper halves of the letters in 13 on Pl. VIII, no. 107a; [Κα]ρβασουανδῆς | [πα]ρὰ Καῦ[νον] *ATL* I with comm. p. 102 || **Column III 10** This is the only occurrence of Prassilos in the tribute lists || **11** *IG* I²; Δ ΚΑΜ ^ΚΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 107a restoring Δ Καμ[α]καί, p. 78 || **12** Ἰ-III[Ι] Σα[ρταῖοι] Köhler 1869, p. 78 reporting the upper halves of the three first letters Pl. VIII, no. 107a; Ἰ-III[Ι] Σαρ[ταῖοι] *SEG* V; Ἰ-III[Ι] Σαρτ[αῖοι] *ATL* I with comm. p. 102. But the complete horizontal is clear || **13** Köhler 1869, p. 78 having reported the upper half of X numeral Pl. VIII, no. 107a; X- - κτλ. *ATL* I commenting correctly p. 102, that the figure “need not necessarily represent a complete quota; the reading should be X- -.” || **Reverse Face 1 . . .** ΕΣΑΙΔΕΣΤΡΑΤ..Ι Köhler 1869 Pl. VIII, no. 107a restoring [Πό]λις αἶδε σ[τ]ρατ[ιᾶ] p. 78; [Πό]λις αἶδε σ[τ]ρατ[ιᾶ] *IG* I²; [Πό]λις αἶδε σ[τ]ρατ[ιᾶ] *SEG* V. At the beginning I believe the upper left corner of pi is visible, followed by faint traces of omikron. The join between the two strokes in lambda can be detected. At the end the iota and the diagonal strokes of alpha can be detected || **10** ¹^N Köhler 1869 Pl. VIII, no. 107a restoring - - [ια]ν p. 78; tau can be excluded in the antepenultimate letter space.

EM 6758. Formerly Part of List 34 (fr. 2). 421/0.

This fragment was attributed to the 34th list by Kirchhoff. There is no evidence, apart from the similarity of hands that EM 6764, 6758 and 6652 belong together (Kallet 2004). Although the style is the same I have chosen to separate these fragments because of the absence of other evidence. **1** [-11-] ATL I and restoring [Προκοννέσιο] in preference to [Σελυμβριανο] “in order to keep the name in close proximity to [Κυζικεν]οί and [Ἄρτακε]νοί” p. 103 (note *ad loc.*) and p. 200. It is not certain from the lower tip preserved on the right edge of the top of the fragment that the vertical was from the ultimate. It might have been from the antepenultimate of a 13 letter name || **2-4** The left part of the surface has flaked away in recent times, and what is clear on the photo in *ATL* I Fig. 137 is now lost || **2** Before the surface of the left edge flaked away it was possible to measure the maximum length of the entry || **3**οι *IG* I²; [Κυζικεν]οί *ATL* I || **4**ε]νοί *IG* I², but note that there are Hellespontine ethnics in -ανοί; [Ἄρτακε]νοί *ATL* I explaining p. 200-1 that the possible restoration (34.II.72-73) “are [Ἄρτακε]νοί and [Κυζικεν]οί.” Since the *ATL*-editors had restored the former in 3 only Kyzikos remains possible here. But there are seven possible restitutions in 3 which means that the choice is open between [Ἄρτακε]νοί and [Κυζικεν]οί in 4 || **5** [Σέστι]οι *IG* I²; [Σέστ]ιοι *ATL* I because the lower tip of the first iota is discernible (p. 103) || **6** [Χερρ]ονεῖται *IG* I²; The loop of rho is visible and the lower one of a beta would have been visible on the preserved surface || **7** The lower tip of the second vertical of the pi in ἀπ’ might be visible || **9** [Ἀ]λοποκοννέσιοι *IG* I²; [Ἀ]λοπεκοννέσιοι *SEG* V corrected back again in *ATL* I || **11** *ATL* I; [...]| Μαδύτιοι *IG* I² || **12** *SEG* V; Δαυνιοτειχ[ῖται] *IG* I². The left tip of the first diagonal of chi is preserved on the stone, and this could not be from another letter || **15** [Η]Η Δαυνιοτειχ[ῖται] *ATL* I. The second vertical of the numeral seems to be extant. It cannot be the second figure. || **15** Διδυμοτε[ιχῖται] *ATL* I || **17** *SEG* V; [Δ]ΓΓ-ΙΙΙ Σομβιανοί *IG* I² || **18** *SEG* V; Σερ[ιο]τειχῖται] *IG* I², but the iota is perfectly clear || **19** Βε[ρ]ύσιοι] *IG* I²; Βέ - - - *SEG* V; Βέ[σβικος] *ATL* I with comm. p. 103 and 201. In fact the upper bar of sigma is preserved *pace* the *ATL*-editors p. 103 || **20** The *ATL*-editors commented p. 103-4: “In the numeral column of II, 89 there is an erasure, extending to the column of names. We think it possible that the stonecutter inscribed a quota here, forgetting for the moment that in the name column there had to be entered not a city but a district heading. We accordingly place the district heading [Ἄκταῖαι πόλεις] in this line to furnish some explanation of the erasure.”

EM 6652. Formerly Part of List 34 (fr. 3). 421/0

4-5 The quota is between these lines and not opposite Leros as correctly observed in *ATL I*, p. 104 || 6-7 [Δ]ΓΓΓΓ Μύνδι[οι παρὰ] | [Τερμέρα] *IG I*²; ΔΓΓΓΓ Μύνδι[οι παρὰ] | [Τερμέρα] *ATL I*; / \ ΓΓΓΓ κτλ. is visible. Only the tip of the left diagonal is preserved of the ultimate in 7 || 9 *IG I*² || 16-17 Only the upper half of the vertical in the fourth stoichos of 16 and in the third of 17 are preserved || 18-19 *IG I*².

EM 12789. Formerly List 35? 420/19.

Broneer 1935, 157-58 believed that this and *IG I*³ 289 frs. 3 and 4 had broken away from the back side of the former List 26 (*IG I*³ 282). The left half of the surface has also flaked away. It was associated as frs. 1 with 2 (= EM 6650) and 3 (= Rangabé 1842, p. 247, no. 184 and Pittakis 1853, no. 1208) in *ATL I* to form List 35. But in *ATL II* frs. 2 and 3 were attributed to list 416/5 (*IG I*³ 289) and fr. 1 was left alone as List 35. As Kallet 2004, 475, has observed: “It is doubtful that it would *by itself* have been placed in any year and not have been left floating.” [emphasis original] || 2 [Δ]ΔΔΓΓΓ[Γ] *ATL I* || 3 [ΓΔ]ΓΓΓΓ *ATL I* || 4 [ΔΓΓΓ] *ATL I* || 6 [Ἰ]ον[ικὸς φόρος] Broneer 1935, 157-58, because the vacant space to the right indicated that the letter after nu must have been visible unless it was an iota. Note however that there is so much space that the nu would have been taken as the final letter out of context. [Ἰ]ον[ικὸς] *ATL I* correctly; [ἡλλεσπ]όν[τιος] would be impossible for lack of space (Kallet 2004, 474), but the possibility exists that it was not the heading of a district panel but of a special rubric, although this is less likely || 7 I see a crossbar with no vertical to the right, and interpret it as a one drachm symbol.

Ag. I 4809, EM 12798, Ag. I 7397. Formerly List 37. 418/7.

This list poses a series of problems. It was made up of the fragments *Ag. I* 4809 (fr.1), EM 6784 (fr. 2), EM 12798 (fr. 3) in *ATL I* as List 33 (422/1 BC) and of frs. 1-3 and fr. 4 (*Ag. I* 4809 *b*, published in 1948 by Meritt) in *ATL II*. Meritt (1972) joined *Ag. I* 7397 (fr. 5) and the five fragments were published as List 37 (418/7) in *IG I*³. The different datings have been discussed by Kallet 2004, 475-80, who even doubts that the five fragments belonged together at all (479). I accept her arguments that the nus are different on frs. 1, 2, 3 and 5 and that the sigmas on fr. 1 differ from those on fr. 3. It is even apparent that the sigmas of the heading preserved on fr. 1 are not identical to those in the Hellespontine panel in fr. 3. But as Kallet observed, we could suppose in this case two different masons. These objections

notwithstanding I hesitantly keep the fragments 1, 3 and 5 together. According to Meritt frs. 1 and 3 share joins on the back. Also, it would be unlikely that two fragments from different lists should have preserved compatible parts of both heading, district panel and entries as do frs. 1 and 3, and of entries as do frs. 3 and 5. Note in this respect that the sigmas in II.8-9 (fr. 1) and II.9 (fr. 3) are similar and by a different hand than those in the heading (fr. 1). This favours the assumption that one mason cut the heading and was replaced by another. Concerning fr. 2 the lettering is obviously from a different hand than the one in the heading and the one in column II. I believe it is better to dissociate this fragment from the rest, since the only argument in favour of the attribution seems to be that the letters on the top of the preserved surface are evidently from a heading. There is not much evidence for the attribution of the four lines of fr. 4 to exactly this list. **HEADING 1** [ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡῖ Πρέπις Ἀφιδναῖος προῖτος ἐγραμμάτευε, ἔρχε ὄ] *ATL I* commenting p. 200: “The date 422 depends on the restoration of the name Πρέπις (in line 1) as the first secretary of the Boule. For the assignment of Prepis’ year of office to 422/1 B.C. see McGregor *A.J.P.*, LIX (1938), p. 145-168. The demotic of Prepis is not mentioned specifically elsewhere. His patronymic, however, occurs in line 1 of *I.G.*, I², 81: [Π]ρέπις Εὐφέρο ἐγραμμάτευε. The name Εὐφηρος is rare and is known once from Kephisia and once from Aphidnai (cf. Kirchner, *P.A.*, nos. 6044 and 6045). That the demotic of Prepis was Ἀφιδναῖος, therefore, is not improbable.” and reckoning a line length of 50; [ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἔι - ἔ - Ἀφιδναῖος προῖτος ἐγραμμάτευε, ἔρχε ὄ] Meritt 1972 reckoning a line length of 51; Ἀφιδναῖος *ML* 75 perhaps unvoluntarily || **2** Ἀλκαῖος Σκ]αμβονίδες ἐπ[ὶ τῆς τρίτες καὶ τρια-] *ATL I*; Ἀντιφῶν Σκ]αμβονίδες ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ τρια ὄ]- Meritt 1972; Κάλλιας Σκ]αμβονίδες ἐπ[ὶ τῆς τρίτες καὶ τετταρα-] Kallet 2004, 477-78, as a simple proposition thereby dating the list to 412/11 || **3** ἑλλενοταμί]αι *ATL I*, but note that line 7 has aspirated alpha according to the restitution and that ἑλλε[σ]πόντιο[ς] is visible in column II, although this might have been by another mason, cf. discussion above || **4** [-16- Περγ]ασῆθεν, Μνεσίθιο[ς] Ἀραφένιος, - 7 -] *ATL I* || **5** *ATL I* || **6** [Θυμαιτ]άδει[ς, -11-]αιεύς *ATL I*; [Θυμαιτ]άδει[ς, Ἐργοκλῆς Βεσ]αιεύς Meritt 1972. Since we print fr. 2 in isolation these restitutions must fall || **7** [πόλες ἡ]αῖδε [ἀπέδοσαν ἀπα]ρχὲν τῆι θεῶι μνᾶν [ἀπὸ τῷ ταλάντ[ο] ὄ] *ATL I* making use of fr. 2 not accepted as part of this list in our edition. Note that ἀπέδοσαν is unattested with ἀπαρχὲν as object || **Column I 23** [ΗΗΗΗ] [Κύθερα] (Thuc. IV 57,4) *ATL I* and *IG* I³. We are not entitled to restore entries

simply because Thucydides tells that the Kytherans were forced to pay tribute in 424/3. Even less so when dating this list to 418/7 || **Column II 8** HELLE is preserved on fr. 1, ΓONTIO on fr. 3. || **9** The entry is astride on frs. 1 and 3 || **10** XX Κυ[ζι]κενοί *ATL* I, but only a tip of the left wing of upsilon might be detectable. The restitution remains mandatory even without this letter || **11** The partially preserved quota is on fr. 1 and the ethnic on fr. 2. *ATL* I, p. 101, reported $\overset{\sim}{\Lambda}$ from the quota and restored $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ [Γ]-III] $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$] Ἄρτακενοί. This might be $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$!, but the apex of Δ can often be mistaken for I || **12** [Κιαν]οί *ATL* I before the discovery of fr. 5 confirming the restitution; [ΔΓ]-III] $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$] $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$] Κια[ν]οί Meritt 1972 || **13** [Βυοβ]ικενοί *ATL* I before the discovery of fr. 5 confirming the restitution; [- 5 - $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$] Βυο[β]ικενοί Meritt 1972 || **14** [Προκ]οννέσιοι *ATL* I before the discovery of fr. 5 confirming the restitution; [HH $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$] $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$] Προ[κ]οννέσιοι Meritt 1972 || **15** [Παρια]νοί *ATL* I before the discovery of fr. 5 confirming the restitution; [....]-III] Παρ[ια]νοί Meritt 1972 || **16** [Καλχεδ]όνι[οι] *ATL* I before the discovery of fr. 5 confirming the restitution; [FH $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$] $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$] Καλχ[εδ]όνι[οι] Meritt 1972 || **17** [....] $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ Σελυ[μβριανοί] Meritt 1972 || **18** [....] $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ Σελυ[μβριανοί] Meritt 1972 || **19** [HH $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$] $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ Διδυ[μοτειχῖται] Meritt 1972 || **20** [HH $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$] $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ Δαυνι[οτειχῖται] Meritt 1972 || **21** [F $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ Γ]-III] $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ Meritt 1972 || **24** [XHH] $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ $\overset{\sim}{\nu}$ Λανφσακ[ενοί] Meritt 1972.

EM 6784. Formerly Part of List 37 (fr. 2). 418/7.

This fragment has been associated with frs. 1, 3 and 5 of the list dated to 422/1 and 428/7 (*IG* I³ 287). If this identification is correct, the fragment provides a few useful letters for the restitution of the heading. Although it is tempting to follow previous editors in positioning the fragment in order to form a more complete list, there is not much evidence in favour of this exact position, and I suggest that it belonged to another list altogether. In *IG* I² it had been associated with EM 6654 || **HEADING 2** [- - Φιλ]αῖδε[ς - - *IG* I²; [πόλες η]αῖδε[- - *ATL* I || **COLUMN 2-3** [- 4 -] Δε[- 15 - ἐγραμμάτευε ἐπὶ τῆς - 6 - καὶ τριακοστῆς ἀρ] | [χῆς η]αῖδε [ἀπαρχαὶ τῆι θεῶι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἀπεφάνθησαν μνᾶ ἀπὸ τῶ ταλάντο] *SEG* V || **4** A tip of the first diagonal is perhaps visible in the fifth stoichos || **9** *IG* I²; Σίφνιο[ι] *ATL* I, the editors claiming to see “a mere trace of the omicron” (p. 100) || **11** *ATL* I; Σικινῆ[ται] *IG* I²; [ΔΓ]-III] Σικινῆ[ται] *SEG* V || **12** Κύθν[ιοι] *IG* I²; Κύθνι[οι] *ATL* I. The tips of two verticals in the fourth and one in the fifth stoichos are visible.

Ag. I 4909b. Formerly Part of List 37 (fr. 4). 418/7.

This fragment was published in 1948 by Meritt who thought it belonged to lines 27-31 of List 37. There are no good arguments for this identification. The restitution proposed by the *ATL*-editors are directly dependent upon the incorporation of the fragment in the Hellespontine panel of exactly this list, since the length of the quotas in 2 and 4 can only be calculated by comparison with the column II preserved of fr. 5. If the association with this fragment falls, there is no foundation for the restitutions of the quotas. 2-3 [ΗΨΔΓΗ]|| Χε[ρρονεοῖται] | ἀπ' [Ἀγορᾶς] *ATL* II following Meritt 1948. I do not detect the supposed tips of the verticals of the obol symbols. There is no indication on the stone that these lines were not occupied by two different entries || 4 [.⁵] ὡ Κ[αλλιπολιται] *ATL* II following Meritt 1948.

EM 6751. Formerly List 38. 417/6.

This fragment has been variably dated to after 426/5 by Kirchhoff, before 426/5 by Pedroli because only Kythnos' tribute has undergone a raise. Cavaignac refused to date the fragment, whereas Meritt and West gave the range from 420-417. The *ATL*-editors opted for 420/19 or 419/8 in the first volume, p. 201-202, among other arguments because Kythnos now paid the six talents it had been assessed in 425/4. In *ATL* II they finally decided for 417/6, a date that was retained in *IG* I³. For the dating in general see now Kallet 2004, 480 || 2 *IG* I² || 3 ΠΗΗ Νάχο[ιοι] *IG* I²; ΠΗΗ[-] Νάχο[ιοι] *SEG* V; ΠΗΗ[-] Νάχο[ιοι] *ATL* I.

EM 13048. Formerly Part of List 39 (fr. 1). 416/5.

Fragment found near the Nike bastion in 1939. It was associated with EM 13049 by Meritt 1941a, who claimed, *pace* Welter 1939, that they not only belonged to the same list, but also shared a join. Both were then associated as frs. 1 and 2 with EM 6650a and b as frs. 3 and 4. But the latter being lost and the former very small, it is next to impossible to make a comparison. I have followed Kallet 2004 (481-82) in dissociating both frs. 1-2 from 3-4 as well as 1 from 2 and 3 from 4. Contrary to EM 13049, the surface of EM 13048 is badly worn and hard to read. In fact I am unable to detect anything and have chosen to leave it like that.

EM 13049. Formerly Part of List 39 (fr. 2). 416/5.

Fragment found near the Nike bastion in 1939. It was associated with EM 13048 by Meritt 1941a who claimed, *pace* Welter 1939, that they belonged to the same list sharing a join. Both were associated with EM 6650a and b. I follow Kallet in dissociating all of these fragments from each other. Contrary to EM 13048, the text on this fragment is preserved except for the

four areas to the left (the heading and the column of the numerals) that have flaked away. The left margin of the heading is not preserved. The *ATL*-editors calculated two letters missing in l. 1 (their l. 5); two in l. 2 (their l. 6) and three in l. 3 (their l. 7). This is confirmed when we measure the amount of space available to the left as well as in comparison with the numerals below || 1 [..]Λ *ATL* II restoring (in ass. with fr. 1) [ρο]ιάδες (X), hoīs . . .]νιο[- 25 - ἐγραμμάτευε, ἔρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίοις Ἀρίμ]. I see no certain letter traces in the third and fourth stoichos || 2 [..]ΣΤΟ *ATL* II restoring [νε]στο[ς] ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ τριακοστῆς ἀρχῆς πόλες καὶδε ἀπέδοσαν ἀπαρχὴν τῆι θεῶι μνᾶν]. But ἀπαρχὴν is systematically associated with ἀνατίθημι || 3 [..]ΟΤΑΛ *ATL* II, restoring [ἀπὸ] το ταλ[άντο *vacat*]; the right tip of a vertical in the fourth stoichos is visible || 4 [Νε]σιοτι[κός] *ATL* II. The tip of the upper stroke of sigma is preserved. The lower tip of the second iota might be detectable just above the tip of alpha in 5, but I would hesitate to print it || 5 Ἀ[ναφαῖοι] *ATL* II || 6 [Θεραῖοι] *ATL* II || 7 Η[.] Σε[ρίφιοι] *ATL* II, but note that the two verticals cannot possibly be from the same numeral given their position above the space between the two numerals of ϜΔ in 7. They must be from two different numerals. The first stroke could be the second vertical of Η, the second the first vertical of Η or Ϝ || 8 ϜΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ Ἀθε[νῖται] *ATL* II. The pendant delta in Ϝ is lost. The upper half of the vertical is extant || 9 ϜΗ ΚΕC on the stone. ϜΗ ΚεC[ο[ι] *ATL* II || 10 *ATL* II the lower tip of the first diagonal being preserved on the edge of the fragment || 11-12 Ϝ Διακρ[ῆς] | ἀπὸ Χα[λχιδέων] *ATL* II, but only a lower tip of the vertical in rho is visible. The horizontal of Π is preserved || 13 -¹¹¹ || ΣΙΚΙΝ is extant; ΓΓ-ΓΓ-ΙΙ Σικιν[ῆται] *ATL* II || 14 *ATL* II; the first vertical of Η in the quota is visible || 19 *ATL* II; ΑΡΛΧΕΣ on the stone || 20 *ATL* II; the faint traces of a numeral in the second stoichos are compatible with the Ϝ in 17 || 21 [ΔΓΓ-ΙΙΙΙ] Φολγάνδ[ριοι] *ATL* II || 23 [ϜΗΗΗΗ] Νάχσιοι *ATL* II || 24 [Η] Μυκόνιοι *ATL* II || 29 [Χαλκ]ιδῆς *ATL* II; in the fourth stoichos there is a nick suggestive of the tip of a centered vertical; in the following the tops of two diagonals are clear.

EM 6650a. Formerly Part of List 39 (fr. 3). 416/5

Two fragments of a marble stele, the one lost before Köhler, but reported as one piece by Pittakis 1835, p. 411, Franz 1836, Pl. D and Kramer whose copy was used by Böckh (Köhler 1869, 82) || 1 ..¹¹¹ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 8 printing .Η - - - p. 82, but two drachmai or obol symbols cannot be excluded || 2 Χ [Καμipῆς] *ATL* I commenting p. 201: “The name [Ἰελεύσιοι]

cannot be restored here, as proposed by Nesselhauf (*Klio*, Beiheft) 30, 1933, p. 76 note), since in 34, I, 100 (from the same period as List 35) the quota of Ialysos is inscribed on the stone as F . We restore [Καμipēs], the name most suitable to the preserved quota.” || 3 ΗΗΗ [Ἰασιῶν] *ATL* I following Nesselhauf 1933, p. 76e || 4 Χ Μ[ιλήσιοι] Böckh 1851, p. 481, no. LXIV; Χ / Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 8, restoring Χ Μ[ιλήσιοι] p. 82 || 5 ΛΕ, cf. Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 8; .. Λέ[ρος] Böckh 1851, p. 482, no. LXIV || 6 Kramer saw ΤΕΙΧ, cf. Köhler 1869, fr. 8; Pittakis had ΤΕΙΧΗ which is impossible; .. Τειχ[ιοῦσσα] Böckh 1851, p. 482, no. LXIV || 7 Pittakis and Kramer saw ΚΛΑΖΟ, cf. Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 8, restoring Χ^F Κλαζο[μένιοι] p. 82; Χ^F Κλαζο[μένιοι] Böckh 1851, p. 482, no. LXIV || 8 ΓΗΗ[Η] Böckh 1851, p. 482, no. LXIV; Köhler 1869, fr. 8, p. 82 omitted the entry although it is on his Pl. VIII, fr. 8 where he gave ΓΗΗ on the preserved part, Η ΚΟΛΟΦ on the lost fragment. The third drachm symbol is no longer extant. Part of the surface has flaked away, perhaps in recent times, but the symbols were sufficiently indistinct to be overlooked by Kramer, unless Böckh’s square brackets in ΓΗΗ[Η] cover a partially preserved numeral || 9 ΗΗΗ NOTIE Pittakis and Kramer, cf. Köhler 1869, p. 82, fr. 8 now lost; [ΔΔΔ]ΗΗΗ Νοτιῆ[ς] Böckh 1851, p. 482, no. LXIV || 10 Η ΔΙΟΣΕ Pittakis and Kramer, cf. Köhler 1869, fr. 8 (lost); [ΓΗΗ]ΗΗ Διοσε[ρῆται] Böckh 1851, p. 482, fr. LXIV || 11 ΕΦΕΣΙΟ Kramer, cf. Köhler 1869, fr. 8 (lost); Pittakis 1835, p. 411 has ΕΦΕΣΙΟΙ probably a tacit restitution || 12 ΗΗ ΗΣΙΝΔΙΟ Kramer, cf. Köhler 1869, no. 8 (now lost), ΗΣΙΝΔΙΟ Rangabé 1842, p. 411; ΗΣΙΝΔΙΟΙ Pittakis 1835, p. 411 probably a tacit restitution; [ΓΗΗ]ΗΗ Ἰσινδιο[ί] Böckh 1851, p. 482, no. LXIV.

EM 6653. Formerly Part of List 40 (fr. 1). 415/4.

This fragment was put together with EM 6756 to form one list by Wilhelm, following Bauer who wrote: “suppl. 272a passt nahezu im Bruch an.” Kallet (2004, 487-90) has recently objected that the supposed join between the two fragments is not an exact fit. Besides, as she shows, the lettering is so dissimilar that it is hard to believe that the two fragments were from the same list, let alone from the same column. I accept her arguments and print the fragments in isolation, suspending judgment until a thorough examination of the stones has been undertaken || 2 The contours of a diagonal letter remain || 4 ΗΗΗ Σάριοι *IG* I²; ΗΗΗ Σάριοι *ATL* I || 5 ΔΔΓ Καρπάθ[ιοι]; ΔΔΓ Καρπάθ[ιοι] *ATL* I. The theta is now lost || 7 ΔΓΗΗΗ Καρυανδῆς all previous editors, but the faint traces of the horizontal in the

penultimate and the upper stroke of the ultimate are visible || 8 Χ^Ϟ Λίνδιοι *ATL I*; but I doubt the first iota was ever reported || 9 Χ Μιλέσιοι *IG I²* || 12 Ἰα[σ]ῆ[ς] *IG I²*; Ἰασῆς *ATL I* || *IG I²*; [Η]Η Διάριοι ἐρ Ῥόδου *ATL I* || 17 Φασελῖται *IG I²*; [Ϟ]Η Φασελῖται *ATL I*. I doubt whether phi was ever written. Nothing of any numeral is visible || 18 Μυριν[αῖοι] *IG I²*, but the diagonal of the alpha is apparent on the edge of the fragment || 19 Καλύ[δνιοι] *IG I²*, but I doubt that the initial was ever visible in modern times || 20 *IG I²*; Κε[δριε]ται *ATL I*.

EM 6756. Formerly Part of List 40 (fr. 2). 415/4.

This fragment was thought to join EM 6653 by Wilhelm. The attribution has never been questioned although the lettering is obviously different, Kallet (2004, 487-90) has shown || 1 [Ἰδυ]μῆ[ς] *IG I²*; [Τερ]με[ρῆς] *ATL I*. Only a downward sloping stroke is preserved in the fourth stoichos || 2 [Ἐτ]εοκαρ[πάθιοι] *IG I²*.

EM 120. Formerly Part of List 40 (fr. 3). 415/4.

Meritt (1934) attributed this fragment to the 37th tribute list of 418/7, later downdated to the 40th list of 415/4. Since the fragment shares no join with any of the other four fragments previously attributed to this year, the identification is no more than possible. The few preserved or partly preserved quotas do not permit any bringing together of this fragment with another. The fragment was lost between 1934 and 1939. || 1- 5 Meritt.

EM 6702. Formerly Part of List 40 (fr. 4). 415/4.

This fragment has been associated with EM 6653, but the two fragments share no join and their lettering is very different from one another || 1 Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. CXIX has nothing in this line;NC Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 4 restoringνθ- - and proposing “vielleicht [Ἀκά]νθιοι” p. 80;NΘ[E?] - - *IG I²*; - - [Ἰ]οτλε[νο] [i]? *SEG V*; - - [Ἰ]οτλε[νο] [i] *ATL I*. Nothing is visible today || 2 - - [Ἀ]ζει[ῆς] *SEG V* || 3 *vacat* *IG I²*; [Θράκιος] *SEG V*. The remaining letters in 1 and 2 do not provide sufficient evidence for the supposition that these entries belonged to another district than the Thracian. The panel heading could thus have been cut in any line above these two as suggested in *IG I²* || 4 .. \ΙΔΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. CXIX; \ΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 4 proposing p. 80 “vielleicht [Βεργ]αῖοι;”ΑΙΟΙ *IG I²*; [Ἀφ]υταῖοι *SEG V* || 5 ..ΟΓΟΛΙΤΑΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 4, restoring [Νε]οπολιται p. 80 || 6 .ΕΓΑΡΕΘΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. CXIX; ..ΓΑΡΕΘΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 4

restoring [Πε]παρέθιοι p. 80 || 7 ΜΕΘΟΝΑΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. CXIX; \ΕΟΟΝΑΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 4 restoring Μεθωναῖοι p. 80; Μεθωναῖοι *SEG* V; Με<θο>ναῖοι *ATL* I. The stone has \ΕΟΘΝΑΙΟΙ || 10 ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΙ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. CXIX; ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 4 restoring Μενδαῖοι p. 80, probably by error, but perpetuated in subsequent editions. The faint vertical would not be detected out of context || 13 ΣΚΑΦ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. CXIX; ΣΚΑΦΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 4, restoring p. 80 || 14 ΣΚΙΑ Böckh 1851, Pl. V, no. CXIX; <''^ Köhler 1869, Pl. VIII, no. 4 restoring Σ[κιάθιοι] p. 80; Σκιά[θιοι] *IG* I²; The diagonals of kappa are not clearly visible today, but I believe that the centre bar of alpha is preserved.

EM 6757. Formerly Part of List 40 (fr. 5) 415/4.

This fragment was associated by Wilhelm with EM 6702, 6653 and 6756 as forming part of one list, which he dated to 418/17-415/4. The *ATL*-editors joined another fragment, EM 120 now lost to the list and attributed it to the years 37 (418/7) and 40 (415/4). As Kallet 2004, 487 correctly notices, there is no convincing evidence for the association of the four fragments, nor is it possible in the absence of the heading to identify the year of drafting. The entries on this fragment are too few and too small to warrant any certainty about the original line length. This is because there is more than one possibility for the restitutions, cf. the different proposals. It is not even certain that it originated from the Ionian/Carian district panel. 1 [-⁴⁻⁵ -] IG I²; nothing in subsequent editions. I have corrected the length of the lacuna on the basis of the lost letters in 4 and 5 || 2 [Σερ]μῆς *IG* I²; [Πλευ]μῆς *ATL* I commenting p. 106: “In the first legible line we read the initial letter as mu. Only a small fragment of the right slope is visible, however, and the letter is by no means certain.” In fact all four strokes survives || 3 [Ἴασο]ς or [Ἀέρο]ς Woodward; [...]ς *IG* I² || 4 [Γρυ]νειῆς Woodward; [Μαρο]νειῆς *IG* I² || 5 Since *IG* I² [Γαλέφ]σιοι has been restored here. But note that only the final two letters are visible with confidence, and that they fall in the sixth and seventh *stoichoi* compared with line 4. Θάσιοι would be a possibility if sigma-iota are correctly reported || 10 --- γιοσεντα *ATL* I, not previously reported. *Pace* the *ATL* I, 106 I believe the right part of the horizontal in the first preserved letter is visible. Kallet (2004, 487, n. 90) thinks that ΑΙΟΣΕΝΤΑ is just as possible as ΛΙΟΣΕΝΤΑ and ΔΙΟΣΕΝΤΑ.

The Assessment Decrees

Assessment 9

Köhler was the first to join all the 26 fragments from A9 available at his time (1869, 63). The number of fragments now amounts to 45, including the one recently found by Angelos Matthaiou in the storeroom of the Epigraphical Museum. Matthaiou has told me (e-mail 10.0.2006) that it should belong to the lines 48-55 of the decree. He also says that it does not confirm previous attempts of restitutions. The fragments were found at different times and places on the Acropolis and on its slopes. Contrary to the marble slabs of the Quota Lists none seem to have found their way to the Agora.

Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 5 and Kirchhoff *IG I*, 37 no. *d* both attributed fragment 4 to its present position. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG²* 65, ll. 59-66, for reasons unknown, chose to assign it to the Kleonymos-decree although he did not ascribe any certain position for it, giving only the commentary: “*sedis incertae.*” I have not compared with other inscriptions, but the attribution of the fragment to this decree looks reasonable comparing the letter forms. The stone is broken on all sides and shares no join with any other fragment and its relative position is no more than possible, although qualified as “probable” in MW 1934, p. 8.

Some of the letters from the middle of the text of lines 30-42 are preserved on fragments 15 and 16 according to the reconstruction of the stele by MW 1934, p. 38-39. They claimed that although it was broken on all faces, it joined with fragment 16 (1934, 13), and their photo (fig. 7) does indeed seem to confirm this even more than the present position of the fragments in the plaster. But there is no actual join and in line 31 the letter after upsilon in *πρυτάνεον* could be partly preserved on fr. 15. A diagonal is apparent and this is incompatible with the supposed tau, the right part of which is preserved on fr. 16. If the diagonal after upsilon on fr. 15 is not an accidental stroke, it should be considered that fr. 15 and 16 did perhaps not join each other after all. Fragment 21, being a corner fragment preserves the first three and four letters of lines 59 and 60 as well as eight lines of the first column of the assessed cities. It is kept in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Alexander 1926, 176-77, MW 1934, 17, and West 1931, with photo). The fragment seems to share joins with fr. 14 to the right and frs. 22 and 23 below. I am well aware that some of especially the smaller fragments of the assessment proper might belong to other parts of the list. The following commentary reflect their current positions and stands and fall with these.

The Decree

1 Köhler 1869, p. 64 || 2 Köhler 1869, p. 64; Τά[χσε]ς [φ]ό[ρο·] Bannier 1920, 42 followed by *IG I²* only; cf. MW 1934, 51-52 || 3 **Beg.:** - - - ἐπρ[υτάνευε] Köhler 1869, p. 64; Αιγεῖς] ἐπρ[υτάνευε] *IG I* in analogy with l. 34 and ll. 55-56; Αιαντίς] or Λεοντίς] ἐπρ[υτάνευε] MW 1934 explaining (p. 52-58) that they had restored Οἰνεῖς in line 34, but that the position of fr. 2 required a name six letters long (Meritt 1932, 13); Λεοντίς] *ATL II* and *IG I³* following Meritt 1945 (p. 119). Nesselhauf in his review of MW 1934 (1936, 298) has argued for placing fr. 2 a letter space to the left for external reasons, thus allowing for Οἰνεῖς, preferred also by Tod (66). Mattingly 1996, 12 opted for Aigeis, probably giving too much credit to Meritt (p. 13): “The whole difficulty would vanish if we could restore Oineis as the prytany in line 3, as Nesselhauf suggested; but Meritt has forcibly demonstrated that this is epigraphically inadmissible.” The problem of the three prytanies mentioned in the decree is complex however (cf. ML 69, 194-96), and given the Athenian practice of electing the prytanies by lot, meaning that there was no fixed order (Rhodes 1972, 19), we have to wait for new evidence before the matter can be settled. I therefore follow Osborne (1982, 257) who preferred not to reconstitute any name. The vertical of rho in the verb is preserved, and perhaps the joins with the loop. **End:** \ONEΓΡΑ Pittakis 1854, no. 2214 || 3-4 ἐπε]-| στάτε Θούδι[ππος εἶπε· - - Köhler 1869, p. 64; I believe the vertical of the first pi survives on the edge of the stone || 4 †ΛΚΤΟ† Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 2 restoring †λκτο† p. 64. He conjectured that those to be sent were τάκται. πέμφοι τάκτας ὀκτὸ ἄνδρας *IG I²*. This is incompatible with Köhler’s reading (he also thought there were ten and not eight *taktai*) and what remains on the stone: a horizontal which I take as the lower stroke of an epsilon following WM 1934 printing ΕΚΤΟΝ; ΕΚΤΟΜ might be possible but the first stroke is upright, whereas they are normally inclining in the rest of this list; πέμφοι ἄνδρας] ἐκ τῶν [κηρύκων, ὄσους] Tod, 66. πέμφοι κέρυκας] ἐκ τῶν [βουλευτῶν MW 1934, BW, *ATL I*, contra ML, (no. 69 comm. *ad loc.*); [μισθοτόν *ATL II*, *IG I³* rejected by Gomme *COT*, 501 and ML, no. 69 p. 192: “Neither satisfies. Heralds form a professional class and would not be members of the Boule; μισθοτοί is very unflattering, roughly corresponding to ‘hireling’ (see Gomme, *HCT III*, 502, n. 1).” But defended by McGregor 1958, 420-21). Tod’s proposal of having ἄνδρας elected from τῶν [κηρύκων] solves the problem, except for the fact that ἄνδρας is one letter short; [κλετέρον Meritt 1971. I follow ML in printing nothing here || 4-5

[ἐπειδὴ] ἂν χειρο[τονηθῶσι] *vel sim* ---- [τὰς ἐπὶ Θράκη] | ς πόλεις Köhler 1869, p. 64; [.....] ἂν χειρο[τον]..... ἐπὶ τὰ]- | ς πόλεις *IG I*; [ἐπειδὴ] ἂν χειρο[τονέσει] ἡ δῆμος, ἐπὶ τὰ]- | ς πόλεις *IG I²*; ἂν χειρο[τονέσει] ἡ βολὴ ἐς τὰ]- *MW et sq.* || **5** We lack a tribute quota list which is both securely dated to the ninth assessment period and which preserves enough of the entries to show the order of the district panels. This means that the several restitutions are possible here. δύο [μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Θράικες], δύο δὲ ἐπὶ Ἰωνίαν, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ Νιέσος, *IG I²*; δύο [μὲν ἐπ' Ἰωνίαν καὶ Καρίαν] δύο δὲ ἐπὶ Θράικεν δύο δὲ ἐπὶ Νιέσος, *MW, BW, ATL; Pace Nesselhauf 1936, 298* objecting that the Carian panel no longer existed in the Quota Lists. Indeed, if it could theoretically have continued its existence in the assessment decrees, such a divergence in the administrative procedure seems odd; δύο [μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Θράικες], δύο δὲ ἐς [τὴν Ἰωνίαν, δύο δὲ] ἐπὶ Νιέσος *Tod* || **5-6** δύο δὲ ἐπὶ ἡλλέσπ]- | οντον *IG I²*; δύο δὲ ἐφ' Ἑλλέσπ]- | οντον *Tod, MW, BW, ATL II, IG I³* || **6** οὔτ[οι] ---- κοινοὶ ---- ἐως πα---. Köhler 1869, p. 64; ἡοὔτ[οι] δὲ ἡορκοθέντες τῶι] κοινῶι ἡ[όρκοι τῆς τάχσ]εος *IG I²*; ἡοὔτ[οι] δὲ ἡγγειλάντων τῶι] κοινῶι ἡ[ότι δεῖ περὶ ταχσ]εος *Tod*; ἡοὔτ[οι] δὲ ἡνειπόντων ἐν τῶι] κοινῶι ἡ[εκάστες τῆς πόλ]εος *MW, BW, ML, IG I³* || **6-7** πα[ρόντων] μέχρι μὲνὸς Μαι]- | μακτεριῶνος *IG I²*; πα[ρῆναι] ἡθῆναζε τῶ Μαι]- | μακτεριῶνος μὲνὸς *Tod*; πα[ρῆναι] πρέσβες τῶ Μαι]- | μακτεριῶνος μὲνὸς *MW, BW, ML, IG I³* || **7** *ML*; καθιστάναι δὲ καὶ ἐ[σαγογέα]ς τέτταρας, τούτ]ος δὲ [προσῆαιρῆσαι] *IG I²*; ἡε δὲ βολὴ καὶ ἐ[σαγογέα]ς κληροσάτο· *MW, ATL I, BW*; κληροσάει δὲ ἐ[σαγογέα]ς δέκα ἡνδρας τούτ]ος *Tod*; κυαμεῦσαι δὲ ἐ[σαγογέα]ς τριάκοντα· *ATL II, IG I³* || **7-8** *ML*; τούτ]ος δὲ [προσῆαιρῆσθαι] γραμμα- | τέα *IG I²*; τούτ]ος δὲ [ἡελέσθαι κτλ. *MW, ATL I, BW, ATL II, IG I³* || **8** *Beg. ML*; χου[νεγόρο] δύο ἐχσ ἡθυναί]ον, ἡε δὲ β[ολὴ κρινέτο. *IG I²*; χου[γγραμματέα] ἐχσ ἐαὔτ]ον· *Tod*; χου[γγραμματέα] ἐχσ σφῶν αὔτ]ον· *MW, BW, IG I³*; χου[γγραμματέα] ἐχσ ἡαπάντ]ον· *ATL I* || **8-9** αἰρέ]σθο[ν] δὲ καὶ ἐγλογέας τέττα]- | ρας *IG I²*; καὶ τάκτας ἡελέ]σθο [αὔτίκα μάλα δέκα ἡνδ]- | ρας *Tod, IG I³*; τὸν φόρον ἡελέ]σθο ἡοὶ τάχσασσι δέκα ἡνδ]- | ρας *ATL I*; τάκτας ἐχσελέ]σθο [αὔτίκα μάλα δέκα ἡνδ]- | ρας *BW*; ἡε δὲ β[ολὴ -¹² -]σθο[-¹⁰ - δέκα ἡνδ]- | ρας *ML* || **9** ἡοὔτοι [δὲ ἐντὸς εἴκοσι ἡμερ]ῶν *IG I²*; ἡοὔτοι [δὲ τὰς πόλεις δέκα ἡμερ]ῶν *Tod*; ἡοὔτοι [δὲ τὰς πόλεις πέντε ἡμερ]ῶν *MW 1934, ATL II, IG I³* || **9-10** ἡφ ἡξ ἡν ἡε προθεσμία ἐχσέκει, ἐγλεγόντων· εἰ δὲ μέ, τ]- | ες ἡμέρας ἡ[εκάστες] *IG I²*; ἡοὔτοι [δὲ τὰς πόλεις πέντε ἡμερ]ῶν ἡφ ἡξ ἡν ἡαιρεθῶσι ἡομοκοότες ἡναγραφσάντων ἡ τ]- | ες ἡμέρας ἡ[εκάστες] *MW, ATL II, IG I³*;

ἄ[ν] ηαιρεθέντες τυγχάνοσι ἐγγραφσάντων κτλ. *ATL I, BW*; ἄ[ν] ηαιρεθῶσι διαγραφσάντων
 κτλ. *Tod.* - 32 -ἐ τ]- *ML* || **10** καὶ τῷ ταλάντῳ ἑκάστῳ ζεμίοσθον χιλίᾳσι δραχμῆσι. *IG I²*;
 ὀφειλέτο αὐτῶν] ἑκάστ[ος δραχμᾶς ἑκατόν· *Tod*; χιλίας δραχμᾶς] ἑκάστ[ος ἀποτεισάτο·
MW, ATL, ML, IG I³ || **10-11** ἠορκόντων δὲ] | οἱ ἠορκοταί *IG I²*; τούτους δὲ ὀρκωσάντων οἱ
 ὀρκωταί *Tod*; τὸς δὲ τάκτας ἠορκοσάντων η]- | οἱ ἠορκοταί *MW, ATL I, ML, IG I³* || **11** In
 the 31st-34th *stoichos* ΤΥΓΧ was reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. X; οἱ ἄν τότε ἐν ἀρχῆι ὄντες]
 τυγχ[άνοσιν· ἐὰν δὲ μὲ ἐχσορκῶσιν ἠοι ἠορκοταί *IG I²*; τῆι αὐτῆι ἐμέραι ἐπειδάν]
 τυγχ[άνοσιν ηαιρεθέντες *MW, ATL I, ML, IG I³*; τῆι αὐτῆι ἐμέραι ἐφ' ἔς ἄν] τυγχ[άνοσιν
 ηαιρεθέντες ἔ τῆς ἐμέρας ἑκάστες *Tod*; τῆι αὐτῆι ἐμέραι ὀφειλέτο αὐτῶν] ἑκάστ[ος *ML* ||
11-12 τὲ]-| ν αὐτὲν ζεμ[ίαν. *IG I²*; ἔ ὀφελέτο ἑκάστος τὲ]-| ν αὐτὲν ζεμ[ίαν. *MW, ATL I, ML,*
IG I³; ὀφειλέτο αὐτῶν] ἑκάστ[ος κτλ. *ML* || **12** ἠόπος δὲ ἐκπλεύσοσιν, ἐπ[ι]με[λ]όσθον ἠοι
 στρατεγοί *Hiller von Gaertringen*; τῶν δὲ διαδικασιῶν ἠοι] ἐσ[α]γ[ο]γεσ ἐπ[ι]με[λ]εθέντων τῷ
 φόρῳ καθάπερ ἄν *MW, ATL II, IG I³*; *MW* 1934 printed ἐσ[α]γ[ο]γεῖς evidently an error, since
 this part of the text is not preserved on any of the fragments 2, 5, 6 (now lost) or 7. Nor do
 these letters figure on Pl. I in *MW* 1934. Previous editors have recorded IME just above MAP
 in line 13. Traces still remain of these three letters, but none of them are certain, and ΟΠΕ is
 also a possibility; τῷ φόρῳ ἐπειδὰμ *ATL I, BW, ML*; ὀφειλόντων. εὐθύς δὲ ἠοι] ἐσ[α]γ[ο]γεσ
 ἐπ[ι]με[λ]όσθον τῶν δικῶν *Tod* || **12-13** ἠόταν φσε]-| φισεται ἠο [δῶμος] *IG I²*; ἐπειδὰμ φσε]-|
 φισεται *MW, ATL II, ML, IG I³* || **13** ὃ ἐὰν δὲ ἠοι στρατεγοί καὶ ἠο πολέμαρχος μὲ
 ἐχσάγοσιν *IG I²*; ἐπάναγκεσ δὲ ἠο ἄρχον καὶ ἠο πολέμαρχὸς χουνδεχέσθον τὰς δίκασ ἐν
MW; ATL I; τῶν δὲ τακτῶν ἠο λαχῶν καὶ ἠο πολέμαρχος διαδικαζέτον τὰς δίκασ ἐν *Tod*;
 ἐσαγογέον δὲ ἠο λαχῶν καὶ ἠο πολέμαρχος ἀνακρινάντων τὰς δίκασ ἐν *ML, BW, IG I³*;
Pittakis alone saw fr. 6, then the upper part of fr. 7, now broken away and lost. He reported
 the lower parts of the letters ΟΙΚ (1862, no. 71), which was emended to ΟΝΚ by *MW* 1934,
 p. 9-10. Chi in the 30th *stoichos* (fr. 5) is mutilated but certain, *pace* Köhler 1869, Pl. 10, fr. 6:
 Ι, and *MW* 1934: Χ || **13-14** κρινέσθον ἐν | τῆι ἐλιαίαι Γ' Ἀθένεσι *IG I²*; ἐν | τῆι ἐλιαίαι
 [καθάπερ τὰς δίκασ τὰς ἄλλασ *MW, ATL, Tod, ML, BW, IG I³* || **14** ἠόταν καὶ τὰς ἄλλασ
 τῶ[ν] ἐ]λιαστῶν κ[ρί]νοσι δίκασ -¹¹ - ταῖς] *IG I²*; [καθάπερ τὰς δίκασ τὰς ἄλλασ τῶ[ν]
 ἐ]λιαστῶν *MW, ATL I, ATL II, BW, ML*, [ἐπάναγκεσ κατὰ τὰς ἐντο]λασ τῶ[ν] ἐ]λιαστῶν
Tod; ΑΣΤΟ (fr. 6) only reported by *Pittakis* 1862, no. 71 || **14-15** ἐ[ὰν] δὲ μὲ εὐθύς

χρεματίζουσι τῆσι | πόλεσι[ι] MW, *ATL* I, BW; ἐ[ὰν δὲ ἡοι τάκται μὲ τάττοσι τῆσι | πόλεσι[ι] *ATL* II; *IG* I³; ἐ[ὰν δὲ ἡοι τάκται μὴ τάχσωσι τῆσι | πόλεσι[ι] Tod; ἐ[ὰν δὲ - 18 - τῆσι | πόλεσι[ι] ML; the iota in the sixth *stoichos* is apparent, *pace* previous editors || **15-23** Hiller von Gaertringen assigned fr. 4 to *IG* I² 65 and therefore has a bigger lacuna than previous and following editors || **15-16** - - - εὐθυ]νέσθο μ[υ]ρίασι δρα[χ]μῆσι ἱεραῖς τῆς θεοῖ ἕκαστος αὐ]- | τὸν *IG* I²; κατ[ὰ τὰς δι]α[δικασίας εὐθυ]νέσθο μ[υ]ρίασι δραχ[μ]ῆσι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἕκαστος αὐ]- | τὸν MW, *ATL*, Tod, BW, ML, *IG* I³; In 15 the initial delta is visible in δια[δικασίας (fr. 4) *pace* MW || **16** ἡοι δὲ [νομο]θέτα[ι δικαστέριον] νέον κα[θ]ιστάντων χ[ι]λῖος δικαστᾶς· MW, *ATL*, Tod, *IG* I³; ἡοι δὲ [...]θέτα[ι and ?θε[κ]ο]θέτα[ι ML (in the *apparatus* p. 192), because “the responsibility of establishing a new court does not seem appropriate to νομοθέται,” followed by Osborne 1982, 256-57; ἡοι δὲ [τότε λαχόντες τῶμ πρυτᾶ]νεον οἱ τυχόντες τῶμ πρυτᾶ]νεον κα[θ]ιστάντων χ[ι]συν τῆ βολῆι τάχσιν φόρο οἱ δικαστέριον περὶ τῷ φόρο Koch, on which Meritt replied (*IG* I³ *Addenda et Corrigenda* p. 943 note *ad loc.*): “quae in v. 16 in.-med. proponit Koch, falsa sunt, fr. 4 enim non repudiat nisi in v. 16.” Οἱ ΚΑ (fr. 6) only reported by Pittakis (Ἀρχ.Ἐφ., 1862, no, 71) || **16-17** τῷ δὲ φόρο, ἐπειδ]- | ἐ ὀλέξον ἐγ[έ]νετο MW, *ATL* I, Tod, *IG* I³; ἡόπος δὲ μ]- | ἐ ὀλέξον ἐγ[έ]νετο Koch in the *apparatus* || **17** χουντά[χσοσιν τὸς φόρος τὸς ἐπὶ τῆς παλ]- *IG* I²; χουντα[χσάντων ἐπὶ τῆς νέας καὶ τῆς παλ]- Tod; χουντά[χσοσιν καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτ]- MW, *ATL*, BW, ML, *IG* I³; *pace* Nesselhauf in his review of MW 1934 (1936, 296-301) stating that this would be impossible since “das Wort τελευταίας nicht das ‘Letztvergangene’, sondern das ‘Letzte’ als Schlußglied einer Reihe meint.” Meritt 1937b, p. 155-56 then returned to the reading proposed in Tod, but this was abandoned in *ATL* I, whose editors claimed (p. 205) that “the word τελευταίας need not of necessity imply ‘final,’ but that it can be used to mean ‘last preceding’” adducing Isaias (3.2) and Demosthenes (22.15 and 15.3) for this sense of the word. Previous editors have reported the upper loop of a rho and the upper left diagonal from chi in the in the sixth and seventh *stoichos*. The rho is possible, but traces suits a sigma better in the sixth *stoichos*. Tau in ΥΝΤΕΙ (fr. 6) only reported by Pittakis 1862, no, 71 || **18** πρὸς μέρος[ι]ς ἡαπάσας τῷ Π[ο]σιδε[ι]ῶνος MW, Tod, *ATL* I, BW, ML, *IG* I³; μέρος[ι]ς φθίνοντος *ATL* II; χ[ι]ρεματίζειν δὲ περὶ τῷ φόρο εὐθύς] MW, Tod. *ATL* I, BW; χ[ι]ρεματιζόντων δὲ καὶ ἡοσεμέραι *ATL* II, ML, *IG* I³ || **19** [ἀ]πὸ νομεν[ί]ας κα[τὰ τ]αὐτὰ ἡίνα

ταχθ[ε]ι ho φό[ρ]ος ἐν τῷ Πο[σιδειῶνι] μενί MW, BW, *ATL*, Tod, BW, ML || 19-20 χούμπας·
 he δὲ βολ[ι]- | ἡ χρηματιζέτω κ[α]ὶ χ[ρ]ήσθω Tod; he δὲ βολὲ πλέθοσ[ι]- | [α] χρεματιζέτω
 κ[α]ὶ χ[σ]υνεχῆς MW, BW, *ATL* I, *IG* I³; χ[σ]υνεχῶς ML. In the 31st stoichos (fr. 4) a possible
 vertical is preserved before ΕΣΛ. This could be accidental. Only Meritt and West (in Tod)
 reported the first letter in line 20, according to them an epsilon. This is not inconsistent with
 the faint traces on the stone. The following chi is very worn and should be dotted || 20 ἕως ἄν
 τ[ά]χσ[ι]εις γ[έ]νωνται Tod; hίνα τ[ά]χσ[ι]εις γ[έ]νονται MW, *ATL*, *IG* I³ || 20-21 ἕαμ [μέ] τινος
 ἄλλου δῆται ἡ στρατιά Tod; ἕαμ [μέ] τι ἄλλο φσεφίζεται ho δῆμο[ς] MW, *ATL*, ML, *IG* I³ ||
 21 τ- | [ο]ν δὲ φόρο[ν] ὀλέξ[ω] Tod; τ- | [ο]ν δὲ φόρο[ν] ὀλέξετ[ο] MW, *ATL*, ML, *IG* I³ || 21-22
 με π[ό]λει ἐπιταχσάντων μ[η]δεμιᾶ ἢ hό[σον] φόρον νῦν φέρειν ἐπιτάτ[τ]οντ- | [αι] Tod; με
 π[ό]λει νῦν ταχσάντ[ο]ν μ[ε]δεμιᾶ ἔ hο[πόσον] πρὸ τῷ ἐτύγχανον ἀπάγ[ο]ντ- | [ε]ς MW, *ATL*,
 ML, *IG* I³. In the 17th stoichos of 21 (fr. 4) the lower part of a vertical is preserved, which has
 been interpreted as a pi (π[ό]λει) by Meritt and West. In the penultimate letter space of the
 same line a vertical is preserved to the left of the centre. Pi or nu would suit the extant traces.
 I can make nothing of the final letter, but do not find confirmation for the dotted tau reported
 by Meritt and West, nor has anything been reported by previous editors || 22 ἕαμ μέ τ[ι]ς
 φαίνετα[ι] ἀπορία hόστε ὄσ[ε]ς τ[ε]ῖς χόρας ἀδύ[να]το με πλείο εἰσφέρειν Tod; πλείο ἀπάγεν
 MW, *ATL*, ML, *IG* I³ || 22-23 τένδε[ι] δὲ τ[ε]ῖ- | [ν] γ[ν]όμεν Tod || 23-25 [καὶ τὸ φσέ]φ[ι]σμα τόδε
 καὶ τὸν φόρο[ν] hὸς ἄν ταχθ[ε]ι τῇ πόλει heκάσται ἀνα[γρ]ά[φ]εσ[ι]- | [α]ς ho γρ[α]μματεὺς τῆς
 βολῆς ἐν δυοῖν στ[έ]λα[ι]ν λιθίναι[ν] [καταθέτο] τὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ βο[λ]ευ[τε]- | [ρί]οι τέ[ν] δὲ ἐμ
 πόλει MW, *ATL*, Tod, ML, *IG* I³. Meritt and West reported a phi in the 16th stoichos of l.
 23(fr. 4), which is possible but uncertain || 25 ἀπομισθοσάντων δὲ ho[ι] πολεταί, *IG* I², MW,
ATL, ML, *IG* I³. Previous editors have reported the *daseia* and an omikron on fr. 7. A vertical
 is also visible to the left of these. This seems to be a iota, although it is not placed in the
 middle of the letter space. An epsilon is equally possible, but no traces of the horizontals are
 extant, which could be due to wear || 25-26 τ[ὸ] δὲ ἀργύριον παρασχόντων] hoi κ[ο]- |
 λακρέτ[αι] *IG* I², MW, *ATL*, ML, *IG* I³. Meritt and West printed a dotted lambda as the first
 letter in line 26. But the reading is certain, since the lower diagonal is preserved, as well as an
 almost upright first stroke. A parallel is at hand in the second stoichos of the line below || 26-
 27 ὄντων δὲ hαι τάχσες hαι τῆσι π[ό]λ[ε]σι περὶ τῷ φόρο ἀπὸ τῶμ Παναθηναίων τ[ὸ]μ με[γ]- |

άλλον *IG I²*; τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀποφαίνειν τῆσι π[όλ]ε[σι] περὶ τῷ φόρῳ πρὸ τῷ Παναθηναίου
 τ[ῶ]μ με[γ]- | άλλον *MW, ATL, Tod, ML, IG I³* || **27** ἐχ[σ]ενεγκέτο δὲ ἡε πρυτανεία, ἡὲ ἄν[ι]
 τυ[γ]κάνει πρυτ[ανεύ]ουσα *IG I²*; ἐσ[ά]γεν δὲ τὲμ πρυτανείαν ἡέτις ἄν[ι] τυ[γ]χάνει
 πρυτ[ανεύ]ουσα *MW, Tod, ATL, ML, IG I³*. Only the left part of the letter in the sixth stoichos
 is preserved. Meritt and West printed a dotted sigma, probably taking the extant traces as the
 joins of the diagonals. A tau is also possible. On fr. 7 letter traces before tau in τυ[γ]χάνει are
 preserved. A vertical seems certain || **27-28** τὰς τάχσες ἐς τὰ Π[α]ναθη[έ]- | ναία *IG I²*; ἡέτις
 ἄν[ι] τυ[γ]χάνει πρυτ[ανεύ]ουσα τὰς τάχσες κατὰ Π[α]ναθη[έ]- | ναία *MW, Tod, ATL, ML, IG I³*
 || **28 Beg.** [ἐὰν δὲ ἡοι πρυτάνες μὲ ἐχσενέγκο]σι ἐ[ς] τὸν δῆμον *IG I², Koch*; [ἐὰν δὲ ἡοι
 πρυτάνες μὲ τότε ἐσάγο]σι ἐ[ς] τὸν δῆμον *MW, BW, Tod, ATL I, ML, ATL II, IG I³*. *Pace* the
 previous editors the letter in the fifth stoichos is preserved on frs. 1 and 13. It is very worn,
 but looks to me like a sigma. I would not rule out the possibility of seeing an epsilon, which
 fits the restitutions proposed: ἐὰν || **28 Mid** Previous editors have reported a sigma on fr. 7
 and restored ἐχσενέγκο]σι or ἐσάγο]σι. Only an upper diagonal confirms this reading. The rest
 of the letter is very worn and the apparent left vertical may be accidental, allowing for the
 current reading. I nevertheless prefer not to print the letter || **28 End** κ[αὶ] τὲμ βολὲν καὶ τὸ
 δικασ[τ]έριον *IG I², Tod, ATL I, ML*; κ[αὶ] μὲ φσεφίζονται δικασ[τ]έριον *MW, BW, ATL II, IG I³*;
 κ[αὶ] μὲ καθίστανται δικασ[τ]έριον *Koch*. In the penultimate letter space of the line,
 previous editors have printed an undotted omikron. West and Meritt (Pl. I) give the lower
 right part of a round letter, but nothing is visible today || **29 Beg.** περὶ τῶ[ν] νέον φόρον ἔ
 μὲ χρεματίσοσι ἐ[πὶ] σ[φ]ῶν αὐτῶν *IG I²*; περὶ τῷ [φόρῳ καὶ μὲ τότε χρεματίζοσι *MW, ATL II,*
Tod, IG I³; περὶ τῷ [φόρῳ μεδὲ εὐθύς χρεματίζοσι *ATL I, ML*. The omikron in the sixth
 stoichos is lost || **29 End** ὀφείλεν χιλίας δραχμὰς ἡερά]ς *IG I²*; ὀφ[έ]λεν ἡεκατὸν δραχμὰς
 ἡε]ρά]ς *MW, ATL I, ML, ATL II, Tod, IG I³*; *Pace* previous editors, I believe the
 antepenultimate must be an epsilon, although the upper part is missing || **29-30** τῆ | [ι
 Ἄ]θηνα[ί]αι ἡέκαστον τῷμ π[ρ]υτάνεον *IG I²*; τῆ | [ι Ἄ]θηνα[ί]αι ἡέκαστον τῷμ π[ρ]υτάνεον
MW; Tod; ATL II; ML; Ἄ]θηνα[ί]αι τῆ Νίκει τὸν γ[ρ]αμμτέα *ATL I, BW* || **30-31** ἔ εὐθυνέσθο
 μυρία]σι | [δρα]χμῆ]σι ἡέκαστος τῷμ π[ρ]υτάνεον *IG I²*; καὶ εὐθυνέσθο χιλία]σι | [δρα]χμῆ]σι
 ἡέκαστον τῷμ π[ρ]υτάνεον *MW, ATL I, ATL II, Tod, ML, BW, IG I³*. Fr. 15 preserves an
 upsilon in the second upmost line. According to the reconstruction of A9, this is supposed to

be followed by the tau preserved as the right part of the vertical on fr. 16 and an alpha: πρ[υ]τά[νεον]. A definite trace of an apparent right-sloping stroke is visible at the right edge following upsilon on fr. 15. If this is not accidental, and the depth of the stroke seems to speak against it, the reconstruction becomes impossible. I accept it hesitantly pending a future examination of the stone || **31-32** καὶ ἂν τις ἄλλος δι[α]χειροτονέσει [ἔ]ειπεί μ[ε] ἔναι τ- | [ὰς] τάχσ[ες] ἐς τὰ Π[α]ναθένα[ι]α τὰ μ[ε]γάλα IG I²; δι[δ]οὶ φσῆφον τῆ[σ]ι [π]όλεσι μ[ε] ἔναι τ- | [ὰς] τάχσ[ες] κατὰ Π[α]ναθένα[ι]α τὰ μ[ε]γάλα MW, ATL, ML, IG I³; τὰ μ[ε]γάλα Tod. The top of fr. 14 preserves three letters of the 20th-23rd letter spaces. The right part is preserved in such a way that a vertical left of the centre in the 23rd stoichos can be excluded. Previous editors reported an epsilon in the 35th stoichos (between frs. 7 and 9). Pittakis 1852, 669 || **33** τὰ χ[ρ]έματα αὐτῷ δεμόσι[α] ἔσ[τ]ο καὶ τῆς θεῶ [τὸ ἐπιδέκατο]ν IG I²; τὰ χ[ρ]έματα αὐτῷ δεμόσι[α] ἔσ[τ]ο καὶ τῆς θεῶ [τὸ ἐπιδέκατ]ον MW, ATL, ML, IG I³; ἔσ[τ]ο καὶ τὰ χ[ρ]έματα Tod || **34** [ἡ Αἰγε]ῖς πρ[υ]τα[νε]ία ἐπάναγκες IG I²; [ἡ Οἰνε]ῖς πρ[υ]τα[νε]ία ἐπάναγκες MW, BW, ATL, IG I³. [ἡ Οἰνε]ῖς πρ[υ]τα[νε]ία ἐπάναγκες Tod. MW-G 1936, 394, n. 39 accepted that [ἔ. . . τ]ῖς (i.e. Leontis) was formally possible, cf. Mattingly 1996, 13; [-⁶ -]ῖς πρ[υ]τα[νε]ία ἐπάναγκες ML. I follow ML and Osborne 1982, 256-57, preferring not to reconstitute the name of the prytany || **34 End** ἐπει[δ]ὸν ἀπάρει ἐ στρ[α]τιά IG I²; ἐπει[δ]ὸν ἡέκει [ἡ στρ[α]τιά] MW, ML, BW, ATL, IG I³. ἐπει[δ]ὸν ἀπίει [ἡ στρ[α]τιά] Tod || **35** ἐ[ὰν] δὲ [μὲ] διαπρ[ο]αχθεῖ ἐν ταύ[τ]ει, χρεματίζεν IG I²; ἐ[ὰν] δὲ MW, ATL, ML, IG I³, I follow Hiller (IG I²) *pace* Meritt and West in dotting epsilon and not delta in δὲ on fr. 16 || **36** [ἡ]έλος [ἂν] διαπρ[ο]αχθεῖ, ἐπὶ τῆ[σ] εἰρεμένε[ι]ς πρυτανείας IG I²; [ἡ]έλος [ἂν] διαπρ[ο]αχθεῖ ἐπὶ τῆ[σ] εἰρεμένε[ι]ς πρυτανείας MW, ATL, Tod, IG I³; MW-G 1936, 394, n. 93 evoked the possibility of reading ἐπὶ τῆ[σ] . . . ντιδο[ς] πρυτανείας, cf. Mattingly 1996, 13 explaining that “the aspirate is occasionally omitted in this very inscriptions and it is surely quite normal practice to repeat the name of the prytany when it is mentioned a second time. Leontis would then have been the second prytany of the year.” [ἡ]έλος [ἂν] διαπρ[ο]αχθεῖ, ἐπὶ τῆ[σ] -⁸ -]ς πρυτανείας ML. Previous editors have reported I-A-Π at the bottom of fr. 7 and restored διαπρ[ο]αχθεῖ. I find no confirmation for I. Δ in the antepenultimate letter space is now lost || **37** ἐχσε[νέγ]κοσι ἐς [τὸν δέμ]ον ἔ [μὲ] διαπράχσο[ι] ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, εὐθυν]έσθο μυρίασι δραχμῆσι- IG I². ἐχσε[νέγ]κοσι ἐς [τὸν δέμ]ον ἔ [μὲ] διαπράχσο[ι] ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, εὐθυν]έσθο μυρίασι MW, ATL, ML, IG I³ || **38** τῶμ [πρυτάν]εον ὁ πρ[ο]δὸς ἔ διακολύον

ἐπιδ[ειχθεῖς τ]ὰς στρατ[ι]άς *IG I², MW*; [πρυτάν]εον *ATL I*; διακολύον *ATL I*; τὸμ [πρυτάν]εον [φό]ρο[ν] ἰος] διακολύον *ATL II, BW, ML, IG I³*; τὸμ [πρυτάν]εον [πα]ρὸ[ν] ὡς] διακολύον *Tod*; ἐπιδ[ειχθεῖς τὰ]ς στρα[τι]άς *MW*; ἐπιδ[ῶ]ναι *ATL I, ATL II, BW, ML, IG I³*; ἐπιδ[έλως τὰ τῆ]ς στρα[τι]άς. *Tod* || **38-39** τὸς δι[ὲ] κέρυ]- | κας *IG I², MW, ATL I, ATL II, BW, ML*. τὸς δι[ὲ] ἐς δι]- | κας *Tod* || **39** πρ[ο]σκεκλεμέ[ν]ος παρ[ῆ]να[ι] ἡ]υπ[ὸ] τὸν δε]μοσίον κλετέ[ρ]ον δέχ' ἐμ[ε]ρῶν -⁵ - σε[-⁶ - ἐ]- *IG I²*; πρ[ο]σκεκλεμέ[ν]ος ἀχθ[ῆ]να[ι] ἡ]υπ[ὸ] τὸν] δεμοσίον κλετέ[ρ]ον ἡίνα ἡ]ε βολ[ῆ] δικά[σ]ει αὐτὸς ἐ]- *MW, ATL, BW, ML, IG I³*. βολ[ῆ] δικά[σ]ει αὐτὸς ἐ]- *Tod*; κολά[σ]ει εὐθύς ἐ]- *Koch proposing also τιμέ[σ]ει* || **40** ὄρ[θ]ος] δικοσι διακο]νῆ[ν, τὰς δ']ἀγγε[λί]ας *IG I²*; ὄρ[θ]ος] δικοσι διακο]νῆ[ν τὰς δι]ὲ πορ[ε]ίας *MW, Tod, ATL, ML, IG I³*; τὰ]ς δ']ἀγγε[λί]ας τοῖς κέρυχ[σι -¹⁴ - ὀμνύ]ναι δὲ τ]- *IG I²*; τὰ]ς δι]ὲ πορ[ε]ίας τοῖς κέρυχ[σι τοῖς ἴ]οσι χουγγράφ[σ]αι *MW, ATL, ML, IG I³*. καταγράφ[σ]αι *Tod* || **41** ἡόρ[κ]ον τὸς] τάκ[τας ...]στ ... ρε -⁸ - |, ἡίνα μὲ αὐ[τ] -²⁵ -] *IG I²*; ἡόρ[κ]ον τὸς] τάκ[τας ἡέ]ος τ[ῶ] πορ[ε]υθ[έ]σον[τα] ἡίνα μὲ αὐ[τοῖ] ἄτακτοὶ ἴοσι· ἡοὶ δὲ κέρυκες] *MW, ATL II, IG I³*; ἡίνα μὲ αὐ[-¹⁴ - ἡοὶ δὲ κέρυκες] *ML*; ἡίνα μὲ αὐ[τοκράτορες] ἴοσι· *Tod*; ἡίνα μὲ αὐ[τοτελῆς] ἀπίοσιν· *ATL I*. ἡίνα μὲ αὐ[τοτελῆς] ἀπίοσιν· *BW* || **42-43** ἐπ[α]ναγ[κ]α[σθέντ]ο[ν] ἡό]πο ἂν δόκε[ι] τοῖς ἄρχοσι ἀνειπῆν· ἡό δὲ πε]- | ρὶ *MW, ATL II, IG I³*; τῶ] δέμοι ἀποφαίνεν· ἡό, τί δὲ πε]- | ρὶ *ATL I*; ἀποφαίνεν καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ἂν πε]- | ρὶ *Tod*; ἀποφαίνεν τῶ] δέμοι *BW*; ἡό]πο ἂν δόκε[ι] -¹⁷ - · ἡό, τί δὲ πε]- | ρὶ *ML* || **43-44** τὸν [τ]άχ[σ]εον κα[-¹¹ -]ο -¹¹ - χρε λέγ[-²² - φσε]φ- | ἰζεσθ[α] *IG I²*; κα[ὶ] τῶ φσεφίσμα[το]ς τῆσι] π[ό]λισι χρε λέγ[εσθαι] περὶ τούτο τὸν δέμον φσε]φ- | ἰζεσθ[α] *MW, ATL, ML, IG I³*; χρε λέγ[ειν] τὸν δὲ δέμον περὶ τούτων φσε]φ- | ἰζεσθ[α] *Tod* || **44-45** καὶ ἂν τ[-¹¹ -]ἡ[-¹⁰ -]πε]ρὶ τῶ δι[-²² -]ἀπά- | [γ]οσιν *IG I²*; καὶ ἂν τ[ι] ἄλλο ἐσάγοσι] ἡ[οὶ πρυτάνες] πε]ρὶ τῶ δ[έ]οντος· ἡόπος δὲ ἂν τὸμ φόρον] ἀπά- | [γ]οσιν *MW, ATL, ML, IG I³*; καὶ ἂν τ[ι] ἐχσενέγκωσι] *Tod* || **45-46** [ἡ]αι πόλεις -²⁷ - σ ἡοτ[-¹⁸ -]τῆ]ν τάχσι- | [ν τῶ] φ[ό]ρο, *IG I²*; [ἡ]αι πόλεις [ἐπιμελόσθον] ἡοὶ στρατηγοὶ εὐθύ]ς ἡότ[αν] χουντάχσει ἡε βολῆ τῆ]ν τάχσι- | [ν τῶ] φ[ό]ρο *MW, ATL, BW, ML, IG I³*; εὐθύ]ς *Tod* || **46** ἡίν' ἀεὶ -²⁸ - πολ -¹⁸ -; *IG I²*. ἡίνα ἔι [τῶ] δέμοι ἀργύριον ἡικανὸν ἐς τὸμ] πόλ[ε]μον· *MW, ATL, ML, IG I³*; ἡίνα ἔι [τῆ]ι πόλει χρέματα ἡικανὰ πρὸς τὸν] πόλ[ε]μον· *Tod* || **46-47** - - χρεῖσθαι π- | [ε]ρὶ τῶ φ[ό]ρο κατα -³⁰ - Ἂ -¹⁵ - | Θάλατταν *IG I²*; τὸς δὲ στρατηγὸς] χρεῖσθαι π- | [ε]ρὶ τῶ φ[ό]ρο κατα[σκέφσει] καθ' ἕκαστον ἡνιαυτὸν ἐχσεται]ἀ[σαντας] κατὰ γῆν κα[ὶ]

θάλλαταν MW, *ATL*, ML, *IG I*³; τῷ φόρῳ κατα [τὸν χρόνον ἐν ἡμῶν πόλεμος ἡεῖ
ἐχσετ]ά[σαντας Tod; τῷ φόρῳ κατα[σκοπεῖ ἡέκαστον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐχσετ]ά[σαντας BW ||
48-55 The fragment recently identified as belonging to A9, should, according to its
discoverer, Angelos Matthaiou, fit these lines. Apparently it renders obsolete all the
restitutions except for the lines 51 and 55 || **47-49** πρ- | [... ἡόσα δεῖ εἶ-³² -]ῆς βολῆς τῆι
προ- | [τει περι] τ[ο]ύτο *IG I*²; πρ- | [ῶτον πόσα δεῖ εἶς τὰς στρ]α[τιὰς εἶς ἄλλο τι
ἀναλίσκεν· ἐν δὲ τῆι ἡέδραι τ]ῆς βολῆς τῆι προ- | α[ίει δίκ]ας MW, *ATL*, ML, *IG I*³ **49-50** [-³⁵ -
τ]ῶν ἄλλον δικαστερίον, ἐὰμ μ | [ἐ-⁸ -] προῶ[-²⁸ - το] δῆμ[ο]. *IG I*²; [ἔσαγόντων ἄνευ τῆς
ἐλίας αἱ τ]ῶν ἄλλον δικαστερίον ἐὰμ μ | [ἐ δικαστῶν] προ[τον δικα]σά[ντων ἔσαγεν
φσεφίζεται ἡο] δῆμ[ος] Tod, *ATL*, ML, *IG I*³; [ἔσαγόντων ἄνευ τῆς ἐλίας αἱ τ]ῶν ἄλλον
δικαστερίον ἐὰμ μ | [ἐ ἄλλοθί που] προ[τον δικα]σά[ντας ἔσαγεν φσεφίζεται ἡο] δῆμ[ος] *ATL I*;
[ἔσαγόντων ἄνευ τῆς ἐλίας αἱ τ]ῶν ἄλλον δικαστερίον ἐὰμ μ | [ἐ ἄλλοθί που]
πρό[τερον δίκ]α[ς διαδικάζειν χεροτονεῖ ἡο] δῆμ[ος] Tod; I believe a tau is visible in the
eighth stoichos in 50, on the preserved but worn left part of fr. 14. This is incompatible with
previous restitutions. Remains of an epsilon may follow but this is less certain || **50-51** τοῖς δὲ
κέρυχσι τοῖς ἰῶσι τ- | [ὄμ μισθὸν] ἀποδ[-²⁷ - εἶπ]ε· *IG I*²; τοῖς δὲ κέρυχσι τοῖς ἰῶσι τ- | [ὄμ
μισθὸν] ἀποδ[όντων ἡο]ι κολακρέτα -⁹ - εἶπ]ε MW, *ATL II*, ML, *IG I*³. In the thirteenth
stoichos of 51 I detect the lower and upper part of a circular letter, not previously recorded,
but restored by the *ATL*-editors || **51-52** τὰς | [δὲ τάχσες], ἡόσαι [-²² - τὸς δὲ πρ]υτάνε[ς] ἡοῖ
ἂν τότε τυγχάνοσι πρυτ- *IG I*²; τὰς | [δὲ τάχσες] ἡόσαι [ἂν κατ]ὰ π[λέον ταχθῶσι] προ[τας
τὸς πρ]υτάνε[ς] Tod; τὰς | [δὲ τάχσες] ἡόσαι [ἂν κατ]ὰ π[λέον χουντάττονται τὸς
πρ]υτάνε[ς] BW, *ATL I*; τὰς | [δὲ τάχσες] ἡόσαι [ἂν κατ]ὰ π[όλιν διαδικάζονται τὸς
πρ]υτάνε[ς] MW, *ATL II*, *IG I*³ || **52-53** ἡοῖ ἂν τότε τυγχάνοσι πρυτ- | [ανεύοντ]ες καὶ τὸ[ν
γρα]μμ[ατέα τῆς βολῆς δελῶσαι ἐς τ]ὸ δικασ[τέριον] MW, *ATL II*, *IG I*³; ἐπιέναι ἐς τ]ὸ
δικασ[τέριον] BW, Tod, *ATL I*. In the 14th stoichos of 53 on the edge of fr. 14 an omikron has
been reported by previous editors: τὸ[ν]. But this is now lost || **53-54** ἡοταν περὶ τῶν τάχσ- |
[εον εἶ ἡ]όπος ἂν α[-²⁹ -] ἔδοχ[σεν] τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι δέμοι· *IG I*²; ἡ]όπος ἂν
ἀ]νθ[ομολογῶναι ἡοι δικαστα]ί ἔδοχ[σεν] τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι δέμοι· MW, *ATL II*, BW, ML, *IG I*³.
ἀ]νθ[υκρίνουσιν ἡοι δικαστα]ί ἔδοχ[σεν] τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι δέμοι· Tod ||
54-55 Α | [ιγείς ἐ]πρυτάνευ[ε, -¹⁰ -ἔγραμμάτευε, -¹⁵ -]ορος ἔπεσ[τάτε] (omitting the square

bracket) *IG I²; A* | [ιγείς ἐ]πρυτάνευ[ε, Φίλ]ιπ[πος ἐ]γραμμάτευε, -⁷ -ορος ἐπεσ[τάτε] *MW, ATL, ML, IG I³, . . .*]ιπ[πος ἐ]γραμμάτευε *Tod*. The *ATL*-editors restored Philippos explaining (p. 205) that the “secretary in the companion decree in the *IG I² 69 [= IG I³ 72]* was Φίλ - - - .” That this Philippos should be the same secretary as in *A9* presupposes that the decrees are from 425/4, but Meritt has not only downdated *IG I³ 72* to “414?,” but also changed Φίλ[ιππος ἐ]γραμμάτευε of *IG I² 69.11* as proposed in *ATL I* (p. 205) to Φίλ[έας ἐ]γραμμάτευε in *IG I² 72.26* || **55-56** ἠοπόσ- | [εσι πό]λεσι φόρος [ἐτάχθε ἐπὶ τ]ῆς [βολῆς, ἡῖ Πλειστί]ας πρῶτος [ἐ]γραμμάτευε, *IG I²; [ἐτάχ]θ[ε] MW, ATL, ML, IG I³ || 56-57* ἐπὶ Στρατοκ- | λέος] ἄρχοντος, βῶ[ν καὶ πανηοπ]λ[ίαν ἀπά]γεν ἐς Παναθη[ναια τὰ με]γάλα] ἡπάσας· *IG I²; ἐπὶ Στρατοκ- | [λέος] ἄρχοντος, βῶ[ν καὶ πανηοπ]λ[ίαν ἀπά]γεν ἐς Παναθη[ναια τὰ με]γάλα] ἡπάσας· MW, ATL, ML, IG I³; ἄ]γεν ἐς Παναθη[ναια *Tod*, this is two letters too short || **57-58** πεμπόντων | δ[ὲ ἐ]ν τῇ πομπῇ [-¹¹ -]κ[-¹³ - ἔτα]χσεν τὸμ φό[ρον τῆ]σι πόλεσιν ἡ [β]ολ[έ] *IG I²; δ[ὲ ἐ]ν τῇ πομπῇ [καθάπερ ἄποι]κ[οι] ”” κατὰ τάδε ἔτα]χσεν τὸμ φό[ρον τῆ]σι πόλεσιν ἡ βολ[έ] *MW, ATL, ML, IG I³*. *MW* have left three letter spaces vacant in their restituted text, *pace* their own remark on p. 54-55, that such spaces would be highly unlikely in this “one of the most carefully inscribed of all the documents of the fifth century.” || **58-59** ἡῖ [Πλ]ειστίας π[ρῶτος ἐ]γραμμά[τευε καὶ οἱ χίλιοι ἐ]πὶ Στρατοκ[λέος ἄ]ρχοντος ἐπὶ [τῶ]ν [ἐσ]- | αγωγ[έ]ον ἡοῖς Κα[- ἐ]γραμμάτευεν *IG I²; ἡῖ [Πλ]ειστίας π[ρῶτος ἐ]γραμμά[τευε καὶ ἡ ἐλαία ἐ]πὶ Στρατοκ[λέος ἄ]ρχοντος ἐπὶ [τῶ]ν [ἐσ]- | αγωγ[έ]ον ἡοῖς Κα[-⁸ aut¹⁰ - ἐ]γρ[αμμά]τευε -⁹ aut⁷ -]ς. *MW, ATL, ML, IG I³*. In the fourth stoichos traces of a circular letter remain, as appears from the photos in *West 1931, 175, fig. 1, and ATL I, 112*. If these are not accidental marks, they must be from phi, the circle being smaller than the omikrons and thetas in this text. Compare with the phi in column I, l. 76, preserved on the same fragment. This is incompatible with the position of the fragment joining fr. 14, giving the rest of the name. In the end of the line (fr. 20) I see an epsilon and the upper stroke of a following sigma. In 60 the lower tip of a left diagonal is preserved in the fifth stoichos (fr. 21). A or Λ are possible, whereas the bottom stroke of Δ would have been apparent.***

Commentary on the list of cities

Column I 61 Νεσιοτικός φόρος] Köhler 1869, Pl. X, nos. 14 and 9. ΝΕΣΙΟΤΙΚ is preserved on fr. 21 (now in New York), ΟΣΦΟΡΟ are clear on fr. 14 in the Epigraphical Museum.

Museum. *Pace* previous editors, I believe faint traces of all four strokes are visible of the final Σ, but I dot the letter || **62** ΔΔΔ ΓΑΠΙ . | Köhler 1869, Pl. X nos. 14 and 9. ΔΔΔ ΓΑΠΙ is preserved on fr. 21 now in New York. The final iota reported on fr. 14 is now lost || **63** Δ^Γ ΝΑΧΣ . . | Köhler 1869, Pl. X, nos. 14 and 9. Δ^Γ ΝΑΧΣ is preserved on fr. 21 now in New York. The final iota reported on fr. 14 is now lost || **64** Δ^Γ ΑΝΔΡ is preserved on fr. 21 now in New York || **65** Δ^Γ ΜΕΛΙ is preserved on fr. 21 now in New York. MW 1934 printed Δ^Γ Μέλιο[ι] probably because the surface after the iota is preserved in such a way that most other letters than omikron would have been apparent. Reading reprinted in *ATL* I and all other editions || **66** ^Γ is preserved on fr. 22; ΤΤΤΤ ΣΙΦΝΙ was reported by Böckh 1851, Pl. VI, 1851, no. CXXXIII from our fr. 21 (now in New York); Rangabé 1842, p. 251, no. 217 had reported nothing of the quota, but only ΣΙΦΝΙ from the ethnic; ΤΤΤΤ ΣΙΦΝΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 14. Today only the last T is visible with confidence || **67** Δ^Γ is preserved on fr. 22; Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 14 reported the initial epsilon and the upper part of the loop of the first rho on fr. 21 (now in New York). Only the vertical of epsilon is visible today. Ἐρετρι[ῆς] *ATL* I || **68** ^Γ ΘΕ is preserved on fr. 21 (now in New York). ΡΑΙ was reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 14 on our fragment 22. Only the loop of rho is visible today || **69** MW 1934 were the first to print a dotted omikron. A roundish form could be guessed, but its position is too far to the left compared with the letters in the fourth stoichos below. The edge of the fragment is broken in such a way that the whole letter should have disappeared forever, and the supposed traces are therefore most probably accidental || **70** ^Γ Καρυσ[τιοι] *IG* I²; Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 15 had ^Γ ΚΑΠΙ, but the left wing of epsilon is clear. The following letter, not reported by Köhler, but read as sigma in *IG* I² looks more like E with three horizontals preserved, cf. the sigma on the bottom of the fragment (l. 74). But Καρυῆς belong to the Carian panel and the assessed tribute favours Karystos. Καρύσ[τιοι] *ATL* I || **72** MW 1934 were the first to print the iota. However, only the upper tip of this vertical is extant and the letter should be dotted as it was in *ATL* I, but not in subsequent editions || **74** ΤΤ ΣΤ . | ΕΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. X, nos. 15 and 17; ΤΤ Στ[υ]ρῆς *IG* I²; ΤΤ Στ[υ]ρῆς MW 1934 || **75-79** The restitutions of the suæes proposed by MW 1934 are in accordance with the desending amount from two talents to one || **75** -- Μ[υ]κόνι[οι] *IG* I²; [ΤΤ] Μ[υ]κόνιοι MW, but the upper parts of all four strokes of mu are preserved, and were reported as such by Köhler 1869, Pl. X, fr. 16, who also gave the lower diagonal stroke of kappa on fr.17, still

visible today. MW 1934, p. 69 commented on the tribute: “The assessment of Μυκόνιοι and Σερίφιοι in lines 75 and 76 were probably two talents each, double the amount which they paid at the opening of the war (*S.E.G.* V, 25 and 28; for the dates compare Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 20).” || 76 - - [Σ]ερίφιοι IG I²; [TT] [Σ]ερίφιοι MW 1934 and subsequent editions, but Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 17m reported an epsilon with only the upper horizontal missing and the left two thirds of omikron on fr. 24. The epsilon survives, although it has lost the upper half of its vertical since Köhler, if his plate represents exactly what he saw, whereas only the left extremity of the omikron is extant. For the tribute see note on 75 || 77 MW 1934 with comm. p. 69-70: “The previous tribute of Ἰῆται had been 3000 dr., and that of Διῆς 2000 dr.” || 78 MW 1934 with comm. p. 69-70; see my note on 77 || 93-94 ΤΧΧ ΔΙΑ . . ΙΟΙ | ΕΝΕ . . ϸΙΑ Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 17, restoring ΤΧΧ Διά[κρ]ιοι | ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ p. 70; ΤΧΧ Διά[κρ]ιοι | ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ IG I²; ΤΧΧ Διά[κρ]ιοι | ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ MW 1934; ἐν Ε[ὐβ]οίᾳ ATL I || 95-96 . ΕΦ - - - - | ΤΤΤ̄ . ϸ Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 17 restoring ΤΤΤ[Τ] p. 70; [h]εφ[αισ]τιῆς | ΤΤΤΤ [h]οι ἐλλέμνοι? IG I²; [h]εφ[αισ]τιῆς | ΤΤΤΤ [h]οι ἐν Λέμνοι ATL I. In 95 there is an upper horizontal in the seventh stoichos attached to a middle vertical stroke. I therefore follow the *ATL*-editors in printing a dotted tau, but I do not believe enough of the following letter remains to permit its identification even in the context. The two lines undoubtedly contained the name of only one community, given the position of the quota and the vacant space in 95; there are no other attested names that would fit the remaining traces. In 96 a round letter is visible in the second stoichos. The surface is preserved in such a way that the following letter would have been detectable, unless it was a iota || 97-98 [*vacat*] [Μυριναῖοι] | [Τ] [Ἰ]μβριοι MW 1934 explaining p. 69: “The position of the numeral before the second line of [h]εφ[αισ]τιῆς | [h]οι ἐν Λέμνοι indicates that Μυριναῖοι and Ἰμβριοι were both included in the assessment of four talents recorded in line 96. Cf. West 1931, 190: “It is impossible to restore with certainty the tribute of Ἰμβριοι, but it was probably at least a talent. This is the amount which it paid in 442/1, 441/0, and 420/21.” || 99 Κορέσιοι Kolbe 1930, 339 *pace* MW 1934, p. 69 explaining that the “tribute of Koresia was doubtless included in the assessment of Keos.” || 99-101 [Νεσιοτικῶ φόρο] | [κεφάλαιον] [[H]FΔΤΤΤΗΗΗΔIII] MW 1934 explaining (p. 70) that “It is thus possible to determine with considerable accuracy the total tribute expected from the Island district, for the individual amounts can be restored with some degree of probability in those few cases where they are not preserved on the stone. The addition yields a total figure of 163 tal., 410 dr., obols.” However the lacuna counting eight lines (ll.

102-109), illustrates sufficiently clearly that any estimation of the number of names in each of the columns, let alone the total amount paid by the members, remains conjectural || **101** $\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ Kolbe 1930, 339, *pace* MW 1934, p. 69 explaining that “Hestiaia was settled by Athenian colonists after the subjugation of Euboea in 446/5 and disappears thereafter from the tribute lists.” || **102** $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\omicron\iota$ Kolbe 1930, p. 339, *pace* MW 1934, p. 69 explaining that “Samos appears nowhere in the extant quota lists, and even if it was assessed in 425/4 it should be grouped (along with Amorgos) among the names of the Ionic panel (cf. Thuc. VII, 57, 4).” || **103** Ἀμόργιοι Kolbe 1930, p. 339, *pace* MW 1934, p. 69, see commentary on 102 || **102-9** MW 1934 left these eight lines uninscribed explaining, p. 70, that there was a similar uninscribed surface on fr. 36 || **105** [Ἴονικὸς φόρος?] The district heading could be anywhere between line 102 and 111 || **110-19** Köhler 1869 thought that this fragment was part of another assessment decree than A9 and that these lines were part of the heading. The *ATL*-editors commented on their restitution (p. 205-206):

Robert’s identification of Οὐρανιῆται as the people of Uranium, not far from Halikarnassos, shows that the syntely grouped in lines 111-117 must be Karic, and not Lykian, as suggested by Meritt and West in their publication of A9. The old restoration [$\text{Λύκιοι καὶ χουντελεῖς}$] must therefore be deleted. Meritt has pointed out the advantage to reading [$\text{Κᾶρ[ε]ς ἡὼν Τύμν[ε]ς ἄρχει}$] in 113-14, an entry already known from the quota lists, and has suggested too that Syangela was the nucleus of this syntely. We also follow Meritt in adding a dependent of Syangela, [Ἀμ[υ]νανδῆς], which we restore in line 112, immediately below [Συαγγελεῖς]. We place the latter in the position of importance at the top of the group, following the heading [Ἴονικὸς φόρος]; but there are other possibilities (see the *Gazetteer*, *s.v.* Τάραμπος). The uninscribed lacuna between the Insular and Ionic panels thus becomes one of eight lines. The restoration [Τάραμ[π]τος] was made by Meritt. The following line is probably to be restored [Κροσῆς]; see the *Gazetteer*; *s.v.* A locative designation for Taramptos, *i.e.*, [πρὸς Ἐ. . .], is not impossible.

|| **110** [Ἴονικὸς φόρος] MW 1934 || **111-117** MW 1934 restored these lines as a syntely assessment, supposing only one assessed amount for the six communities. But I do not see why they could not have been assessed separately || **111** [*vacat*] [Συαγγελεῖς] MW 1934 || **112** Köhler 1869 Pl. X, no. 18 reported a lower tip of a centered vertical; [*vacat*] [Ἀμ[υ]νανδῆς] MW 1934 || **113-14** [*vacat*] [Κᾶρ[ε]ς ἡὼν] | [Τύμν[ε]ς ἄρχει] Meritt 1934, 281-87. In the fourth stoichos of 114 a left vertical is preserved to the left of the centre. The surface is preserved in such a way that the second stroke of nu should have been visible – and probably also the loop of a rho. The surface is very battered in the first stoichos of the supposed name and no previous editors have attempted its reading. Cavaignac 1908, thought the letter was a pi and restored the text as part of a heading: [$\text{σ[ύ]μπ[αν]τας ἄλλα}$] || **115** [*vacat*] [Τάραμ[π]τος] *ATL*

I || **116** [Κ]ροσῆ[ς] *ATL* I, but see note on 110-19 || **121** Μιλέσιοι Λέρ[ιοι] Köhler 1869, p. 71; Μιλέσιοι Λέρ[ος] MW 1934 || **133** ...¹^ ΠΙΟΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 18 restoring [Τηλάν]δριοι p. 71; [Τελά]νδριοι Cavaignac 1908 and *IG* I²; [Μαια]νδριοι MW since Telandros is attested in II.92 || **134** The surface in the fourth stoichos of the name is preserved but blank where Δ should have been || **137** Χερρ[ονεοῖται] Cavaignac 1908; Χερρ[ονέσιοι] *ATL* I || **140-142** Köhler 1869, p. 71 took these lines to be three independent entries restoring Τύμν[ιοι] in 141; MW 1934 coupled 140 and 141 restoring Ἴδυμ[ῆς ἡὼν] | Τύμν[ῆς ἄρχει]; Meritt 1937 returned to the independent entries restoring Ἴδυμ[ῆς] and Τύμν[ιοι] 389, but the *ATL*-editors gave Τυμν- - - | Κυλλ[άνδιος] in 141-42; cf. their commentary in vol. I, p. 206: “We now retain Ἴδυμ[ῆς] but reject Τύμν[ιοι] in line 141 in favour of Τύμν[εσσῆς]. The Τύμν[ιοι] were situated in the territory of the Χερωννήσιοι and were probably members of the Chersonese syntely. Their separate occurrence in A9 would therefore be unsatisfactory. For the geographical commentary see the Gazetteer, s.v. Τύμν[εσσῆς].” || **144** χαλι[καρνάσσιοι] *ATL* I, but χαλι[καρνασσῆς] is possible || **149** Πρ[ιανῆς] *ATL* I || **150** MW 1934 (p. 71) *pace* (Tod *GHI* p. 158) || **154** Τερμε[ρες] *ATL* I || **155-56** [ΤΤ]Τ Κιν[δυῆς ἡὼν] | ἄρχει - -] MW 1934, p. 71 following West 1931, Pl. I ll. 90-91, a restitution based on the bracket position of the tribute, but the Kindyans are not otherwise attested with a ruling dynast, and a simple coupling with another community in a syntely payment is possible; cf. I.121-22 and II.143-44; Lolling 1888, 15 proposed Ἀρ[λίσσός?] attested in 267.II.31. No other Carian name would fit, and this may favour the reading ἄρχει - -] || **157** MW 1934, p. 71 || **158** MW 1934, p. 71 commenting correctly: “the numeral must be restored as four or as eight talents. It is not in bracket position, as previously supposed by West 1931, 190 || **172-80** These lines are preserved on fr. 28 which according to MW 1934 “should probably be assigned to the very bottom of Column I, where the offset caused by the Hellespontine panel in Column II reduces the width of the column of names to fourteen letters.” If this fragment belonged in any other part of Column I, or in Column II, the entry Οἰναῖοι ἐν Ἰκάροι, occupying only fifteen letter spaces, would probably have been written out in full in one line. || **174** [Κασολα]βῆ[ς] *ATL* I || **175-176** *ATL* I || **179-80** *ATL* I || **Column II 90** Ε- - - - - *ATL* I || **91** Πει[διῆς ἐλ Λίνδοι] *ATL* I || **93** [Π]τελ[εᾶται] Lolling 1888, p. 110 and MW (p. 71): “We now prefer [Π]τελ[εᾶται] in line 213 because the entry [Π]τελ[εόσιοι] should be accompanied by its modifier Ἐρυθραῖον, as was the case with Πολιχναῖοι in lines 145-146 and with

Ἐλαιόσιοι in lines 271-272.” [Π]τελ[εόσιοι] *ATL* I (p. 206) following West 1931, p. 190, line 59) || **94-95** [Κ]αρυ[ῆς παρὰ] [Ἰ]δυμ[α] MW 1934, p. 66 and 71 retained in *ATL* I with the commentary (p. 206): “A possibility for restoration here would be [Λ]αρυ[μα παρὰ] [Ἰ]δυμ[α]. This ethnic is otherwise unattested. The choice of a qualifying prepositional clause is dependent only on the assumption that the sum is in bracket position, which again depends on whether fr. 29 is correctly placed in the stele. If this is not the case there could be two communities: [.]ary[...] and [I]dym[es] || **96-97** [Κι]λλ[αρεῖς] [hō]ν Σα[- - - ἄρχει] *ATL* I following MW 1934, p. 71-72 and Meritt 1937, 390-91 and explaining p. 206 that “A restoration of the dynast Σα[- -] cannot be made with certainty, although Σα[μ]βακτύς (cf. I, II, 27) comes to mind as the only eligible name known within the tribute records. This record would, however, involve too long a line and is probably to be rejected.” Since *ATL* II Σα[- -] has been printed undotted || **100** *ATL* I following West 1931, 191 and explaining, p. 206: “We restore [Υ]ρομῆς despite the presence of Κυρομῆς in II, 144. Ὑρομῆς, ἠυρομῆς and Κυρομῆς are variant spellings representing the same people. For our explanation of the double appearance of Euromos in the assessment lists see the Gazetteer, *s.v.* Ἐδριῆς. A less likely restoration in this line would be [Α]ρομῆς; see Strabo, XIV, 1, 47.” || **102** [Λε]φσιμαν[δεῖς] *ATL* I || **107** Η [Νοτι]ον MW, *pace* MW 1934 (72 and 20 *comm. ad fr.* 29) I find no confirmation for the numeral. Only a small curve is apparent from omikron in the ethnic. The vacant space behind the nu makes the restoration probable || **108** The *ATL*-editors commented (I, p. 206): “Since the reading, epigraphically, should be [.. 5 ..]σο[- -] the restoration [ἠυβλι]σο[ῆς] is extremely probably.” However, MW 1934, p. 21 and 66 oscillated between [.. 5 ..]εσ(?) and [.. 5 ..]σο(?). The bottom of fr. 30 seems to confirm the former reading, showing a full upper horizontal, with the upper tip of the vertical and the possible right tips of the middle and bottom strokes || **110** XX *ATL* I || **111** XX *ATL* I || **112-17** These lines are preserved on fr. 44 (EM 6728) which is not imbedded in the plaster cast, and of which I have no photo. The *ATL*-editors commented (I, p. 116): “The position assigned to fragment 44 is of course tentative, since the stone is broken on all sides and makes no join with any other fragment. On the basis of the restorations in the second and third lines (II, 113-114), however, we assign it to the Ionic-Karic panel, giving it a place in II, 112-117. The last legible trace in line 4 we interpret as iota; the cutting is centered and runs vertically along the fracture.” This commentary must be based on a squeeze, since the photo (*ATL* I, 117) clearly

shows that the full letter space is preserved, but is illegible || **112** [.]λωνε- - *ATL* I, but only [.]LONL is on the stone || **114** [Σ]ίλλυ[ον]. The iota is not preserved, but the stone is preserved in such a way that any other letter would have been apparent. || **112** [῾Ο]ρανι[ἔται] *ATL* I, but nothing is extant in the fifth letter space || **115** [.]βυδα- - *ATL* I, but the crossbar in alpha is clear on the photo in *ATL* I, p. 117 || **136** *ATL* I. The remains of a possible vertical to the left of the centre might be visible in the second stoichos || **137** [.] vac. Μι[λύαι] *ATL* I, otherwise unattested in the tribute lists. I believe a pi is visible in the third stoichos || **138** Χ Καρυα[νδεῖς] *ATL* I. The quota cannot be anything but ₪; cf. the quota in 139. In the ethnic all three strokes of alpha and the lower half of nu and the bottom strokes of the two following letters are preserved || **149** ΠΙΔΛΣΕΣ the stone; Π<ε>δ<α>σῆς MW 1934, assuming (p. 26) “To cut the three horizontal strokes of epsilon meant laying down the 0.009 m. chisel after the upright bar had been cut and using the 0.006 m. chisel. Instead, the scribe evidently continued to the end of the name, cutting those strokes that required the broader chisel and then, when he began to insert the necessary short strokes to fill out the letters, he forgot the epsilon and the alpha, which still remain imperfect on the stone.” The explanation is ingenious and probably correct || **155** [Κρυῆ]ς *ATL* I, commenting p. 206: “The alternative restoration is [Δῶρο]ς; cf. A1 (Craterus, frag. 1). Doros would not be an unsuitable companion for the Pamphylian [῾Ασπεν]δος of lines 156-157.” || **156-57** [῾Ασπεν]δος | [ἐν Παμφ]υλία *ATL* I, but the upper right quarter of phi is visible of the edge of the surface || **158-60** MW 1934, p. 66 printed [Κομίστρ]ατος | [ἐν Λυκία]ι in 159-60, Meritt 1937, 389-390 explaining the advantage of this restitution. The *ATL*-editors, however, left the lines blank except for the preposition in 160, believing that the three line entry [Δρῆρος] | [῾Ολῶς, Μίλ]ατος | [ἐν Κρέτε]ι would be “a possible alternative” (p. 206-7). In 159 the letter before ατος looks like a kappa or a chi, two right diagonal strokes being preserved. In 160 I find no confirmation for the reported iota || **161-62** [῾Ιονικῶ φόρο] | [Κεφαλαῖον] *ATL* I || **174-79** These lines were restored by MW 1934 explaining, p. 78-79 (note that their line numbering is different): “The Hellespontine panel of names is so well preserved that we may restore with some assurance a complete list, beginning in line 294 of Column II and continuing to the numeral in the district total in line 363 of Column III. There is no certainty about the order of names in the lacunae, but we have followed the general principle observable in the other panels of putting the larger cities at the beginning of the list.” || **174** [ηελλεσπόντιος φόρος] MW 1934 || **175** [Βυζάντιοι] MW 1934 ||

176 [Λαμφσακενοί] MW 1934 || 177 [Περίνθιοι] MW 1934 || 178 [Σελυμβριανοί] MW 1934 || 179 [Κυζικενοί] MW 1934 || 180 MW 1934. The restitution would seem inescapable since we are in the Hellespontine district panel, Tereia being already attested in III.111-12. However, the reported letter traces on fr. 43 are most certainly accidental. This line is not at the same level as Κύμεν in I.180, but one line below. The preserved but unscribed surface of fr. 42 indicates that no entries were recorded at the level of the stone || **COLUMN III 61-66** see commentary on II.174-79 || 61 [Χαλχεδόνιοι] *ATL* I || 62 [Ἀβυδενοί] *ATL* I || 63 [Ἀρισβαῖοι] *ATL* I || 64 [Γεντίνιοι] *ATL* I || 65-67 Close inspection of the stone might reveal letter traces on this badly preserved surface of fr. 32 || 65 [Σκάφσιοι] *ATL* I following MW 1934, p. 79, cf. note on 66 || 66 [Δαυνιοτειχῖται] MW 1934, p. 79: “in lines 305-306 we have placed Σκάφσιοι and Δαυνιοτειχῖται together because they are given together by Craterus (cf. Böckh, II³, 333).” The *ATL*-editors added (I, p. 207): “This fragment has now been assigned to A1 but we make no change in the order of A9 since we realize the impossibility of reproducing by restoration the exact order in which the names were originally cut.” || 67 [Ἀζει] [ἔς] *ATL* I see commentary on 65-67 || 68 [ἡαρπαγίανοι] *ATL* I || 69-70 Μυσοῖοι | ἐν τῆι Χερρονέσοι(?) MW 1934. The *ATL*-editors comment: “The Mysians listed here came from the Chersonese in the eastern Propontis, north of the Bay of Kios. Mysia apparently covered this peninsula. The evidence is assembled in the Gazetteer, under Μυσοὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Χερρονέσῳ.” West 1931, 191 followed by Tod *GHP* no. 66 had Μυσοῖοι οἱ ἐν Προπον- | τῆι [ἔ] Χερρονέσῳ(?). Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 23 reported ῥ .E I / \, restoring [Ζελ]ειᾶ[ται] p. 73 || 71 Köhler 1869, p. 73 || 72 MW; \ANEΣ Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 23 restoring Δαρδανῆς (sic!), p. 73 || 73-74 Köhler 1869, 73 || 75 ΥΛΕ (frei) Köhler; MW 1934 [Δασκ]ύλει(ον) following West 1931, 191. It is not easy to see why the mason should have abbreviated the name which is no longer than those above and below. Only the right wing of upsilon is preserved || 76 \NITAI Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 23 restoring[α]νῖται (p. 73); [Πολι]χνῖται MW 1934 || 77 Köhler 1869, p. 73 || 84 [Μαδ]ύτιοι MW 1934 || 86 MW 1934; the right wing of upsilon is visible, which excludes the possibility of following Köhler’s -5-ATPO//KA Pl. X, no. 23 || 89 [Κιαν]οί MW 1934 || 91-92 [Βερύς]ιοι | [ἡ]πὸ τῆι [ῥ]ῆ[δ]ει MW following West 1931, 191. I do not see the letters reported by MW 1934, p. 79 || 93 [Σιγ]ειῆς MW 1934, p. 79 || 94 [Σέστι]οι MW 1934 p. 79 || 101 [ἡαλονέσ]ιοι MW 1934, p. 79. The tip of the final iota is visible on the lower edge of fr. 32 || 102

[Ζέλεια] MW 1934, p. 79, but there is not even an indication of a maximum letter length of six, since the fragment is broken from this line || **103** [Προκοννέσιοι] || **104** [Σεριοτεχῖται] MW 1934, p. 79 || **105-111** Chandler published fr. 33 in 1774, p. 53, no. 23 (= Böckh *CIG* I, 143 [from Chandler's copy]). It was later lost and only half of it recovered again || **105** ΝΕΟΓΟΛΙΤΑΙ Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23 || **106** ΓΑΡΑΧΕΡΡΟΝΕ Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23 || **107** ΛΙΜΝΑΙΟΙ Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23 || **108** ΤΥΡΟΔΙΖΑ Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23 || **109** ΔΑΡΕΙΟΝΓΑΡΑ Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23 || **110** ΤΕΜΜΥΣΙΑΝ Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23 || **111** .ΡΕΙΑΓΑΡΑ Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23 || **113-121** The preserved entries of these lines indicate that the order was identical in A9 and 10: Sombia-Artaiou Teichos-(Otlentos)-(Pythopolis)-(Metropolis)-(Bisanthe)-*hellespontio phoro kaphalaion*. On the basis of this observation Meritt and West restored 116-120 in analogy with *IG* I² 64 [= *IG* I³ 77.IV.6-10] (p. 79) || **113** MW 1934 in analogy with 77.IV.3 || **114-15** MW 1934 in analogy with 77.IV.4-5 || **116** [Ὀτλενοί] MW 1934 in analogy with 77.IV.6 || **117** [Πυθοπολιῖται] MW 1934 in analogy with 77.IV.7 || **118-19** [Μετρόπολις] | [παρὰ Πρίαπον] MW 1934 in analogy with 77.IV.8-9 || **120** [Βισάνθε] MW in analogy with 77.IV.10 || **121** I find no confirmation for the “tip of an ancient cutting which probably belongs to the Π of ἡ[ελλεσποντιό φόρο].” (MW 1934, p. 23) nor is it visible on their photo (Fig. 12, p. 24) || **122** Κεφ[άλαιον] MW 1934, but only the lower tip of the vertical in phi is perhaps preserved || **123** ΗΗΗ^ϕ, but the pendant delta in Γ is not preserved; only a left tip might perhaps be detectable. The total tribute of the Hellespontine district amounted to at least 250 talents || **124-40** MW 1934 restored these lines in analogy with 77.IV.14-25 (p. 79). Fr. 35 preserves the quotas and some of the initials of the ethnics. As indicated from the comments of MW 1934, p. 25, these initials are less certain than it might appear from the editions. On the Aktaian cities, cf. Mattingly 1996, 2 with references || **124** The crossbar in alpha is clear on the photo in MW 1934, Fig 12, p. 24, perhaps less so on my own || **125** [Δ]^ϕ [Ἄντανδρος] MW 1934, in analogy with 77.IV.14, but nothing is preserved of the numeral, *pace* their remark p. 23; cf. their own photo (Fig 12, p. 24). The line might indeed have been left uninscribed. MW 1934 were uncertain whether [Δ]^ϕ or just ^ϕ was to be restored, but settled for the former (p. 24). The *ATL*-editors printed the numeral undotted. However, I find no confirmation for the supposed ^ϕ, nor was anything reported by Pittakis (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1860, no. 4069); *IG* I 543 (from Köhler's copy); *IG* I suppl. p. 54; *IG* I² 64, lines 89-92; West *Metr. Mus. Stud.*, III

1931, p. 185. Finally no traces are visible on the photo in *ATL* I, 115 fig. 34 || **125** [ῚT]TT [Ὶοίτειον] MW 1934 assuming (p. 24) that the tribute in 124 was [Δ]Ὶ and that the one here must be lower, i.e. either [ῚT]TT or [TT]TT, but opted for the former. But see my commentary on 124 and Kallet 1993, 155-59 who has destroyed the argument of restoring Rhoiteion here even without the epigraphical evidence || **129** TTTT , Köhler 1869, Pl. 10, no. 21; Köhler 1869, p. 72 supposed that this column belonged to the Thracian panel. He did not attempt any full restitutions of the names. TTTT η[αμαχοιτός] MW 1934 proposing, p. 25, that the initial could be “H, K, N, Γ, P (probably not K).” || **130** TTT Γ Köhler 1869, Pl. 10, no. 21 restoring TTT E -- p. 72; TTT Λ[άρισα] MW 1934 claiming, p. 25, that “H, K, L are possible.” If Köhler was correct, this is of course impossible || **131** Ὶ / Köhler 1869, Pl. 10 no. 21; Ὶ Ὶ[φρύνειον] MW 1934. I agree with the latter that C is extant || **132** TT . Köhler 1869, Pl. 10, no. 21; TT Ὶ[λιον] MW 1934 claiming, p. 25, “an upright stroke, properly spaced for iota.” I follow Köhler believing that nothing is visible || **133** TT // Köhler 1869, Pl. 10 no. 21; TT Π[έτρα] MW 1934 allowing for “E, H, K, L, N, Γ, P.” p. 25. The reported vertical is now lost || **134** TXXX C Köhler 1869, Pl. 10 no. 21; TXXX Θ[ύμβρα] MW 1934 || **135** X K Köhler 1869, Pl. 10 no. 21; X K[ολόνε] MW || **136** Γ Γ -- Köhler 1869, Pl. 10, no. 21; Ὶ Π[αλαμέδειον] MW 1934, but note that the surface is preserved inside the figure and that the vertical bar of the pendant tau should have been apparent || **137** . A Köhler 1869, Pl. 10, no. 21; - - - Ὶ[χίλλειον] MW 1934 || **139-40** [Ὶκταίο φόρο] | [κεφάλαιον] MW 1934 with comm. p. 81 || **141-51** The right edge of fr. 36 is preserved where the quotas of these lines should have been, but their absence could indicate that these lines were uninscribed. If this is so, the Thracian panel would begin in 152 || **152 vac.** [Ὶράκιος φόρος] MW 1934 with comm. p. 80 and p. 84: “It is probable that some names listed here did not appear in the assessment list, and that names which should have been listed have been omitted, but we believe that the length of the Thracian panel as thus determined is none the less approximately correct.” This placing of the heading permits a maximum of 71 entries (not accounting for syntelies and double entries) compared to the 81 attested Carian members. The Carian panel may therefore very well have begun already in line 141. But see commentary on 141-151 || **153-54** ῚΔΔ[Ὶ] [Ὶβδερίται] | [Δίκαια παρ’ Ὶβδερα] MW 1934, p. 80 and 82, in analogy with 77.IV.29-30, where the latter is almost completely restored and because of an alleged bracket position of the numeral. I find this unconvincing. The best argument in favour of

restoring Abdera and Dikaia is the important sum represented in $\text{F}\Delta\Delta$ (70+ talents), but this could have been the assessment of e.g. Thasos || **155-65** These lines were restored by MW 1934, p. 82 in analogy with the quota lists and the other assessment decree || **155** $\text{F}\Delta$ [$\Theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$] MW 1934, p. 82 || **156** $\Delta\Delta\Gamma$ [Μαρονῖται] MW 1934, p. 82 || **157** Γ [Μεθοναῖοι] MW 1934, p. 82 || **158** $\Delta\Gamma$ [$\Sigma\alpha\mu\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$] MW1934, p. 82. $\Delta\Gamma$ is preserved on the bottom edge of fr. 36 || **159** $\Delta\Delta$ [Αἴνιοι] MW1934, p. 82 || **160** $\Delta\Gamma$ [Τοροναῖοι] MW 1934, p. 82 || **161** [$\Sigma\kappa\iota\omicron\nu\alphaῖοι$] MW1934, p. 82 || **162** [Μενδαῖοι] MW 1934, p. 82 || **163-64** [Νεοπολιῖται] | $\text{Μ}[ε\upsilon\delta\alphaῖοι]$ MW 1934, p. 82. As reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 26 only a diagonal is preserved of the initial || **165** $\Sigma[ε\rho\mu\lambda\iota\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma]$ MW1934, p. 82. Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 26 saw a full sigma of which only the left extremities are now preserved || **166** MW. Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 26 reported $\text{O}/$, either because he wanted to indicate a diagonal or because he would reproduce the upper case form of a ionian lambda. A vertical to the left of the centre is visible || **168** MW. Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 26 only saw $\text{A}\Phi$, but the left wing and the vertical can be detected || **170** MW. AKA¹ Köhler 1869, Pl. X, no. 26 || **171** $\text{Α}\iota\nu[ε\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota]$ MW 1934, but the outer contours of epsilon are preserved || **175** [Θ]ύσσοιοι MW 1934; . 'ΣΣΙ Köhler 1869, Pl. X no. 26, but the left wing of upsilon is visible just above the edge || **176** MW. Although the space after sigma is not preserved the restitution is plausible, since no other Thracian member would suit the letters || **177** [$\text{Αρ}]\gamma\iota[\lambda\iota\omicron\iota]$ MW; I find no confirmation for the two letters on the lowest tip of fr. 37, nor have they been reported by previous editors. If the traces are not accidental, they could hardly have been from $\Lambda\iota$ when compared with the position of $\text{E}\varsigma$ in 176 || **Column IV 61** MW || **62-63** [$\text{Πί}]\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\{\varsigma\}$ παρά [$\text{Πέρ}]\gamma\alpha\mu\omicron[\nu]$ MW correctly commenting p. 86: “But the restoration remains uncertain.” || **64** [$\text{Πέρ}]\gamma\alpha\mu\omicron[\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\chi\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota]$ MW. The two first strokes of the sixth letter are preserved and could only be from mu or nu || **82** T - - - - M. I do not find confirmation for this figure on fr. 32, nor was it reported by Köhler 1869, Pl. X no. 23 || **83-85** XXX [$\text{Τιν}]\delta\alphaῖ\omicron\iota$ Κίθας] | [$\Sigma\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ Γίγονος] | [$\text{η}]\alphaῖ\sigma\alpha$] MW with commentary p. 86 || **86-87** T [$\text{Ο}]\lambda\omicron\phi\acute{\upsilon}\chi\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$] | *rasura* [$\text{ηοι} \acute{\epsilon}\chi\varsigma$ ἾΑθοι] MW commenting p. 86-87: “Lines 446-447 [our lines 86-87] present an interesting problem. Evidently they contained the name of only one city or syntely, but the stonemason made the error of overlooking this fact when he inscribed the numerals at this point on the stone. The figure T was cut first of all in line 446 [our line 86] and not halfway between the two lines, as would have been proper for a double-line entry, and then the figure XXX (which belonged properly in line 448 [our lines

88)) was in inscribed in line 447 [our line 87]. At this point the mistake was discovered, and the figure XXX was correctly cut in line 448 [our line 88] and erased from line 447 [our line 87]. We restore here T [Ἵλοφύχοιοι] | [ἡοι ἔχς ἸΑθο], whose previous tribute assessment had been 2,000 dr. a year.” This is all very conjectural and the argument though ingenious should not be accorded too much weight || **87** // // // // // Köhler 1869, Pl. X no. 23 || **88** XXX Köhler 1869, Pl. X no. 23 || **89** T Köhler 1869, Pl. X no. 23 || **90** XX *vacat*. MW 1934; Köhler 1869 reported nothing here. The surface is so damaged that T, TT or X, XX are possible || **108-16** These lines were reported only by Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23 (= Böckh *CIG* I, 143 [from Chandler’s copy]) who saw this column on the now lost part of fr. 33 || **108** X Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23; X [ἡεράκλειον] MW || **109** Δ Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23; Δ [Σίγγιοι] MW || **110** Δ Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23; Δ [Μεκυβερναῖοι] MW || **111** Δ Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23; Δ [Γαλαῖοι] MW || **112** T Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23; T [Τράτιλος] MW || **113** X Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23; X [Βορμίσκος] MW || **114** T Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23; T [Δρύς παρὰ Σέρρειον] Kolbe 1930, 345-46 in analogy with 77.V.29-30 and assuming erroneously that the two decrees were (almost exact) copies of one and the same original, *pace* MW 84-85 claiming that there is room for only fifteen letters || **115** XX Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23; X [Ποσίδειον] Kolbe 1930, 345-46 in analogy with 77.V.32 and assuming that the two decrees were copies of one and the same original and that Chandler misrepresented XX for X; *contra* MW 85-86 || **116** XXX Chandler 1774, p. 53, no. 23; XXX [Σάλε] Kolbe 1930, 345-46 in analogy with 77.V.31 and erroneously assuming that the two decrees were copies of one and the same original, *pace* MW 85-86 || **124** MW || **125** [κεφάλαιο]ν : ΗΗΗΗΔ[- ΔΔΔ] MW || **129** MW (p. 87) following Pittakis *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1860, no. 4070 (*non vidi*) who apparently saw the upper third of sigma and alpha || **142** TT[T]T MW believing that T . . . was apparent on the stone; cf. Pl. XXIII in *ATL* I || **143** N[ιφσα] MW commenting p. 87: “We note again (cf. p. 28) that the name Νύ[μφοιον] does not appear on fragment 39, as has been generally supposed. The second letter in line 503 [our line 143] is almost certainly an iota, and we know from Craterus, who was presumably copying this decree, that Νύμφοιον paid tribute of one talent, not two talents, as given on fragment 39.” This argument is not valid, since there is no proof whatsoever that Krateros did not copy another decree (cf. p. 33-37 in *Text*). In this decree Nymphaion could very well have been assessed the double. The traces on the stone are not unequivocal || **154** [T]T MW 1934 || **160** T T[όμοι] West, cited

in *ATL* I p. 207. The tau is clearer than appears on Pl. XXIII in *ATL* I || **161** TT M[εσσαμβρία] West, cited in *ATL* I p. 207 || **162** T 'Ο[λβία] West, cited in *ATL* I p. 207 || **163** TT T₁ Köhler 1969, Pl. X, no. 25, restoring nothing after the initial, p. 74; TT Tύ[ρας] MW 1934, but the upsilon is not visible and iota suits both Köhler's reading and the uninscribed left half of the second letter space on fr. 40. I nevertheless accept the restitution following Avram 1995, 197 || **164** T Τα[μυράκε] MW 1934; T Τα[μυράκε]? Avram 1995, 197 || **165** [X]XX Κα[ρκινίτις] MW; [X]XX Κα[λλατις] Avram 1995, 196-97 following Pippidi *StClas* 7, 1965, 329-30 (*non vidi*) and Köhler (1869, 75) || **166** XX Κι[μμερι - -] Köhler 1869, 75; [X]XX Κι[μμερι - -] MW; [X]XX Κι[μμερικόν] (*vel sim.*) Avram 1995, 196-97 || **167** [X]XX Νικ[ονία] MW, ethnic already proposed by Köhler 1869, 75; [X]XX Νικ[όνεον] Avram 1995, 197 || **168** [XX]X Πάτ[ραους] MW, ethnic already proposed by Köhler 1869, 75 || **169** [...]vac. Κερ[ασός] MW, already proposed by Köhler 1869, 75 || **170** [...]vac. Δα[νδάκε] MW || **171-72** MW || **POSTSCRIPT 183** [. ⁶ .]ΙΟΙ [.]Ο ΧΣΥΜΠΑΝΤΟΣ [.]ΗΗΗΗΗΗ[Ⓢ]Δ The stone. [κεφάλαιον [τ]ὸ χούμπαντος : [X]ΗΗΗΗΗΗ[Ⓢ]Δ- - MW 1934 explaining (p. 88), that “the final figure was either [[Ⓢ]]ΗΗΗΗΗΗ[Ⓢ]Δ- - or [X]ΗΗΗΗΗΗ[Ⓢ]Δ- -” and (p. 89) after having calculated the total figures of tribute from the different district panels that “it is impossible longer to restore [[Ⓢ]]ΗΗΗΗΗΗ[Ⓢ]Δ[- -] in line 541 [our line 181]. The restoration [X]ΗΗΗΗΗΗ[Ⓢ]Δ- - is therefore necessary, and is also sufficiently high to allow the restoration of large figures, some of which should probably be as large as 50 talents, in the opening lines of the Ionic list.” [X]ΗΗΗΗΗΗ[Ⓢ]Δ- - *ATL* I without explanation.

Assessment 10?

Column III 24-25 [Ἰονικὸ φόρο] | [κεφάλαιον] *ATL* I || **27** [ἡλλεσπόντιος φόρος] *ATL* I ||

Column IV 1-2 [Τερεία παρὰ Βρύλλειον] *ATL* I || **3** *ATL* I; XXXX Σομβ[βία] *IG* I²; XXXX Σομβ[βία] || **4-5** *IG* I² || **11** [ἡλλεσποντίο φόρο] *IG* I²; ἡλλεσποντίο φόρο] *ATL* I. The crossbar and only the lower part of the second vertical has disappeared from the initial Η. The right of Σ and the left of Γ are damaged but discernible. The loop of Ρ is broken || **12** [ἡ] ΔΔΔΔΔ [ἡ] ΗΗΗΗ *IG* I²; [ἡ] ΔΔΔΔΔ [ἡ] ΗΗΗΗΗ - - *ATL* I; [ἡ] ΔΔΔΔΔ [ἡ] ΗΗΗΗΗ - - *ML* 226. A tip of the left vertical is preserved of the supposed fourth Η || **13** *MW* 1934 restored [ἡ] ΔΔΔΔΔ [ἡ] ΗΗΗΗΗ - -, i.e. 95 talents and 5,400+ drachmai. If anything preceded Δ, it must have been Η or Δ or both. The possibilities are: 195 t. 5,400+ dr. (ΗΔΔΔΔΔ [ἡ] ΗΗΗΗΗ - -) suggested by *ML* 226), 595 t. 5,400+ dr. (ΔΔΔΔΔΔ [ἡ] ΗΗΗΗΗ - -) or 695 t. 5,400+ dr. (ΔΗΔΔΔΔ [ἡ] ΗΗΗΗΗ - -) || **14-27** On the Aktaian cities, cf. Mattingly 1996, 2 with references || **14** [Ἀκ]ταῖαι πόλεις *ATL* I. A right tip of the vertical of Τ and the left parts of Σ are preserved || **15** [Τ]ΤΤ *ATL* I 'Ροίτειον; the lower vertical of Ε is extant || **17** Νῆσος Πορδοσελένε *ATL* I || **18** [Ἀμα]χσιτὸς *ATL* I. The Χ is faint but discernible in context || **19** [Ἀ]ρίσσα *ATL* I. The vertical of Λ is faintly visible. The following alpha is clear, *pace* previous editors, and the loop of Λ is identifiable in context || **20** [Ἀ]χιλλεῖον *IG* I²; [Ὀ]φρύνειον *ATL* I. A circular letter is visible in the second stoichos || **21** [Ἰ]λιον] *ATL* I || **22** [Π]έτρα] *ATL* I || **26** [Ἀκταῖο φόρο] | [κεφάλαιον: - -] *ATL* I || **28** [Θ]ράκιος φόρος] *ATL* I || **29** [Ἀβ]δερίται] *ATL* I [Δί]καια παρ' Ἀβδε]ρα *ATL* I A triangular letter is visible, but this is possibly accidental || **30** There is a triangular shape in the fifteenth stoichos, which could be the upper parts of an Α without the lower diagonals. The restitution proposed in *ATL* remains very hypothetical || **Column V** **14** Η Κλ[εοναί] *IG* I². The lower vertical of Ε is preserved || **15** Omikron is now lost but was reported by Köhler 1869, p. 208, no. 26b; *IG* I² 64; Cavaignac 1908, Pl. I, no. 3 || **16** Δ Ἰστασο[ς] previous editors || **17** Αιολι[τα] previous editors || **30** Σέρρειον previous editors || **31** Σάλε previous editors || **32** Ποσιδεῖον previous editors || **37** Πίλορος the stone; *Pace* previous editors I detect a pi as the initial letter. A lambda could then have been forgotten by the mason in what I believe was supposed to be Piloros || **39** It is possible that the mason forgot a letter. This could be due to the confusion caused by the

rewriting of this part of the list (several lines, but not all have been erased previously). There is only room for two letters before the preserved ones, but [. .]OAI is an altogether very unusual ending and [. .]OAI would fit Τριποαί, attested in 285.III.8 || 41 [πόλε]ς *ATL I*.

Assessment 11?

These five fragments, published by Meritt in 1936b (386-89) were found “between May 15 and 25, 1933 in Section H' in front of the stoa of Zeus” (Meritt 1936b, 387). Meritt dated them to 410 because of the numerous iotacisms and because, he thought, there was no assessment in 414. In *ATL I* they were coupled with seven of Krateros' literary fragments. It is not certain that Krateros cited only from the first and last of the assessment decrees (cf. Meiggs 1972, 438-39 and my *Text*, p. 33-37 for a fuller discussion). The literary fragments are just as undatable as the marble ones, and there is no guarantee that they originally belonged to one and the same stone. In this edition only the marble fragments have been included. Mattingly 1965, 13-14 (= 1996 205-8) dated the fragments to 418, denying that the collecting of tribute was ever taken up again after its replacement by the 5 % harbour tax. His view is followed here in preference to Meiggs', who following the *ATL*-editors' 410, believed that 418, 414 and 406 could be possible as well. **Fragment 1:** 1 [Κ]ύθν[ιοι: - -] Meritt explains (p. 388): “the traces of letters preserved are so spaced as to make necessary the supplement [Κ]ύθν[ιοι].” I only detect the round letter in the third stoichos || 3 Καρύ[στικοι: - -] Meritt || **Fragment 2:** 2 Σκή[ψιοι: - -] Meritt 1936b, 387 || 3 Νεανδρ[ειῆς: - -] Meritt 1936b, 287 || 3 Μίλητο[πολιῖται: - -] Meritt 1936b, 387-88 in preference to Μίλητο[ς: - -], believing that this fragment belonged to the Hellespontine district and not the Ionian-Carian one, p. 388. Μίλητος as a toponym is unattested in the quota lists, but not impossible here || **Fragment 4:** 1-4 These lines were restored by Mattingly 1965, 13-14 (= 1996, 205-8) claiming: “the names must be regarded as doubtful as best, but this may serve as a working model.” || [Βρυ]κούλ[ν[τιοι: - -] Mattingly 1965, 13-14 (= 1996, 205-8) || 2 [Τέλι]οι: Τ] Mattingly 1965, 13-14 (= 1996, 205-8) || 3 [Γαργα]ρῆς : - - Mattingly 1965, 13-14 (= 1996, 205-8) || 4 [Κλαζομ]ένι[οι: - -] Mattingly 1965, 13-14 (= 1996, 205-8) || 5 [Χαλκετο]ρ[ῆς: - -] Mattingly 1965, 13-14 (= 1996, 205-8) || **Fragment 1** [Βισά]νθ[ε Meritt 1936b, 387 in analogy with A9.87.