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# The ‘*ῥηεδιέστας*’ inscription from archaic Argos (*SEG* 11:314): a reconsideration

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**Abstract:** This article offers a re-edition of *SEG* 11:314, Argos inventory number E274, based on re-examination of the stone and of recently-rediscovered squeezes preserving material now lost from the stone; these allow improved readings in numerous places. We also offer a re-interpretation of the disputed syntax of the last three lines, which we translate ‘As for the things with which a *δαμιοργός* is to compel (him to make amends), the *ἀμφίπολος* is to give thought to these things’.

**Keywords:** Argos, relative clauses, Athena Polias, *δαμιοργός*, *ἀμφίπολος*, *SEG* 11:314, E274

## 1. Introduction

In 1928<sup>1</sup> Carl Wilhelm Vollgraff discovered a large archaic inscription from the acropolis of Argos, which he published the following year in considerable detail and with a high-quality photograph.<sup>2</sup> This inscription is of key importance for understanding the political structure of archaic Argos<sup>3</sup> and the organisation of its cults,<sup>4</sup> but its interpretation is difficult, in part because, despite the photograph, later scholars have not always agreed with Vollgraff’s readings. Already in 1930 several scholars had objected to various aspects of them,<sup>5</sup> and debate has continued since, usually relying on Vollgraff’s photograph. Exceptionally, L.H. Jeffery asked a colleague to look at the stone itself for her in 1973, when she became suspicious of Vollgraff’s readings in several places.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately the stone had deteriorated considerably between 1928 and 1973 and has suffered further weathering since then (it is

built into the wall of the medieval castle that now occupies the Larissa acropolis, see plates 1 and 2 and the supplementary photographs at [URL](#), so it has been left outdoors ever since its discovery), although some portions remained (and remain) well preserved.<sup>7</sup>



Plate 1: Inscription in situ. Photograph by E. Dickey





Plate 2: Current condition of inscription. Photograph by E. Dickey

Fortunately, Jeffery was not the first to believe that doubts about Vollgraff's readings would be better addressed by a new look at the stone itself than by peering at his photograph. Less than a decade after the original publication of the stone, Georg Karo and Walther Wrede from the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens had four photographs and two excellent squeezes made of the inscription.<sup>8</sup> The amount of care they took over a text that had recently been published in detail and exhaustively discussed suggests that they thought there was more to say about this inscription. But they did not have the opportunity to publish their ideas, because Karo's Jewish ancestry led to his being forced out of his position in Athens; he emigrated to America,<sup>9</sup> leaving behind the photographs and squeezes, and shortly afterwards the outbreak of war caused the closure of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. The

squeezes are now in the possession of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* archive in Berlin,<sup>10</sup> where we discovered their existence thanks to the on-line catalogue of the squeeze collection;<sup>11</sup> we are very grateful to *IG* for allowing us to publish photographs of them here (plates 3 and 4, see also supplementary photographs at [URL](#)).

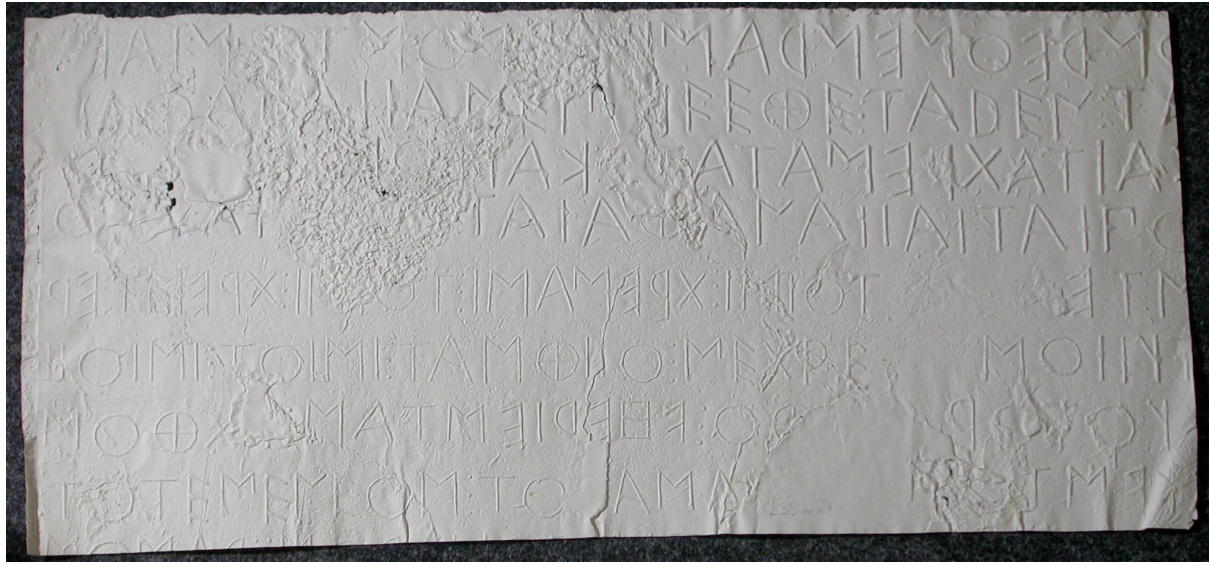


Plate 3: Smaller Berlin squeeze. Photograph courtesy of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Archiv der Inscriptiones Graecae.



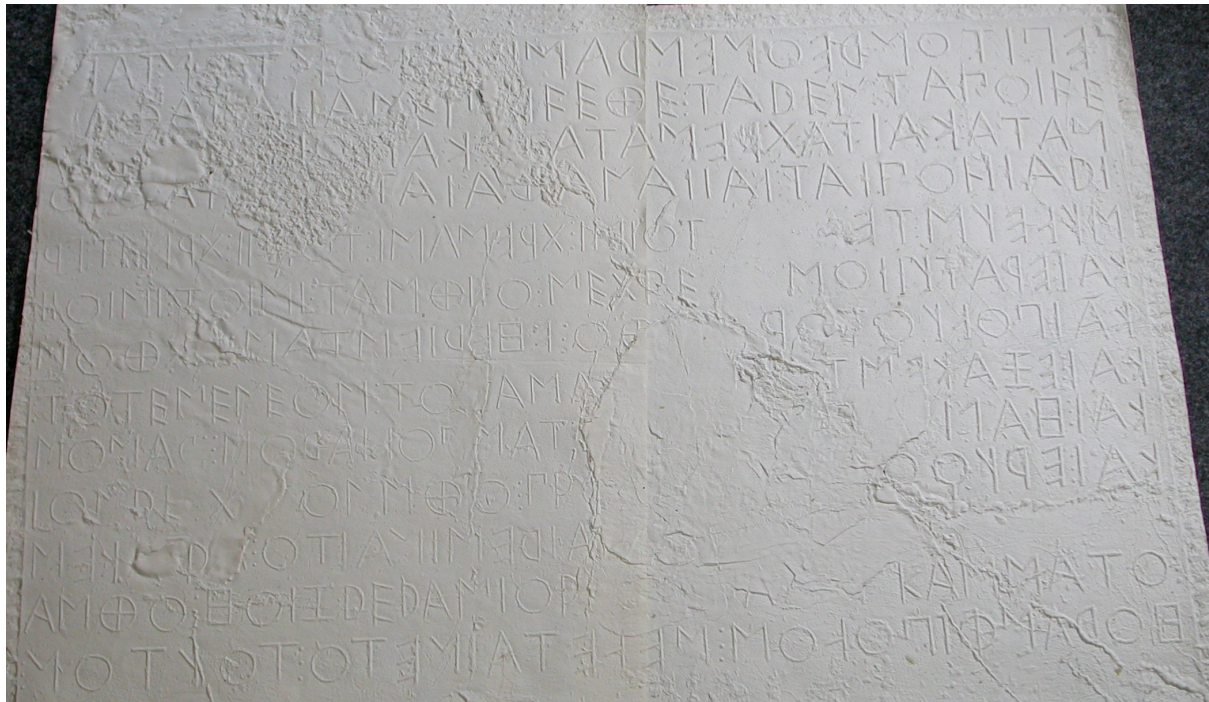


Plate 4: Larger Berlin squeeze. Photograph courtesy of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Archiv der Inscriptiones Graecae.

Vollgraff himself also made two squeezes; these were never as good as Karo's and are no longer in mint condition, but they are nevertheless important because they record the condition of the inscription immediately after excavation. Having been lost for many years, these squeezes were rediscovered in 2014 at the École Française d'Athènes (plate 5 and supplementary photographs at [URL](#)). In view of the deterioration of the original inscription and the small size of the early photographs, the squeezes constitute the best evidence now available on the inscription.

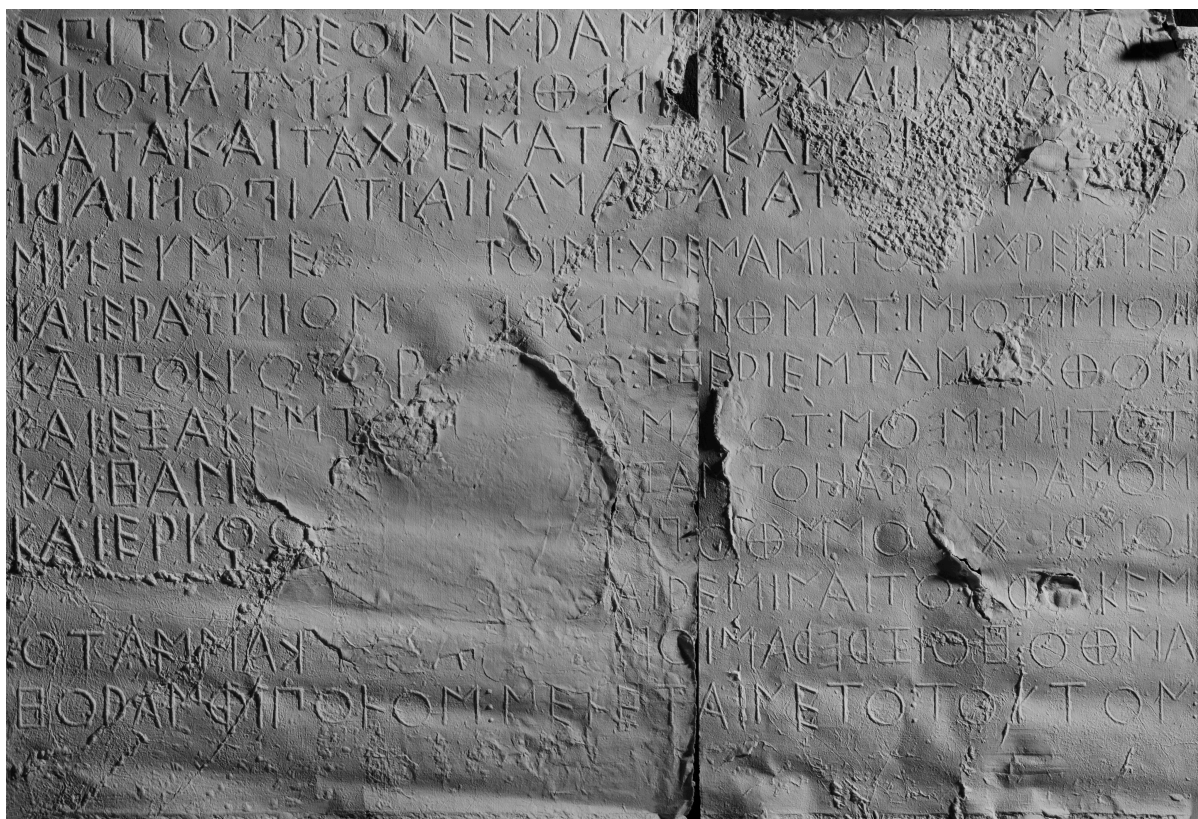


Plate 5: One of the Athens squeezes (photographed in mirror image to match the layout of the stone). Photograph by Ph. Collet, © EFA.

We therefore offer a re-edition of this inscription based on the squeezes and on re-examination of the stone itself, early photographs, other archival materials preserved at the École Française and Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens,<sup>12</sup> and Jeffery's work, including unpublished materials in the Anne Jeffery Archive of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in Oxford.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, we take the opportunity to make a new proposal about the grammar and meaning of the final lines of the inscription, which have been interpreted in a wide variety of different ways.

## 2. The text

The inscription, which is usually dated to 575–550 BC,<sup>14</sup> begins as a record of the construction of various components or accoutrements of the temple of Athena Polias (lines 1–

4 and, in the left-hand column, lines 5–10). To this record of construction is appended a regulation concerning proper use of temple equipment (lines 5–10 in the right-hand column and all of lines 11–13). We present the text with a new translation, which will be defended in later sections of this article.

- Ἐπὶ τῶνδεῶν ἐν : δαμιοργόντων : τὰ ἐ[ν]-
- ← ζ Ἀθαναίαν : ἐποιφέθῃ : ταδέν : τὰ ποιφέ-
- ματα : καὶ τὰ χρέματά τε : καὶ τὸ μ[ . . . ]δε
- 4 ← ο . ται . [ . . . ] : τῇ Ἀθαναίαι : τῇ Πολιάδι :
- Συλεύς : τε → τοῖσι : χρέμασι : τοῖσι : χρῆστῃ-
- καὶ : Ἐράττιος ← ἰοισι : τοῖσι : τῷ θιῷ : μὲ χρέ-
- καὶ : Πολύρτορ → [σ]θῶ : φηδιέστας : ἐχθός
- 8 → καὶ : Ἐξάκεστος ← : τῷ τεμένεος : τῷ τῷ Ἀ[θαν-]
- καὶ : Χαγίας → [αίας] : τῷ Πολιάδος : : δαμός-
- καὶ : Ἐρύρο[ιρος] ← ιον δὲ : χρόνισθῶ : πρὸ [πόλ-]
- [ιος : ] αἱ δὲ σίναιτο : ἀφακας-
- 12 ← ἀσθῶ : ἡοῖζ δὲ δαμιοργό[ς : ] ἐπαν[α]γκασσάτῳ :
- ἡ δ' ἀμφίπολος : μελεταινέτῳ : τούτων :

‘When the following were *δαμιοργοί*, the following things concerned with Athena were made: the works and the treasures and the...to/for Athena Polias. Syleus and Eratyios and Polycor and Exakestos and Hagias and Erycoiros.

The treasures that are utensils of the goddess a private citizen shall not use outside the precinct of Athena Polias. But the state may use them before (on behalf of?) the city. But if one damages them, he shall make amends. As for the things with which a *δαμιοργός* is to compel (him to make amends), the *ἀμφίπολος* is to give thought to these things.’<sup>15</sup>

Notes on the text:

Layout: This is peculiar. While *boustrophedon* writing is not surprising at this period, having the right column *boustrophedon* while the left column is written consistently left-to-right is unexpected, as is the division of the inscription into two columns for the middle six lines but not at the top or bottom. Moreover the spelling conventions seem to be different in the two parts of the inscription: in the first part (lines 1–4 and lines 5–10 in the left column) prevocalic iota is always written double (lines 1, 2, 4, 6, 9), while in the second part (lines 5–10 in the right column and lines 11–13) it is usually single (lines 7, 9, 10, 12) but occasionally double (lines 4 and 6; the restorations in lines 9 and 11 are uncertain in this respect). The letters in the second part also seem to be less deeply carved and slightly smaller than those in the first part. Probably the second part was added later (but not much later) to an inscription that originally consisted only of the record of construction and the list of six names. In that case the unusual layout would have been caused by the second carver adding a second column to the right of the one already made by the list of names in the first half of the inscription, and then continuing below both columns. Other inscriptions that begin with text going all the way across the stone and then divide into columns for a list of names include *IG*



I<sup>3</sup> 1149, the stele from Athens commemorating Argives killed at Tanagra (see Papazarkadas and Sourlas (2012)), and *SEG* 29:361 (Argos, c. 400 BC).

Text structure: The general structure of the first part of the inscription has a parallel in *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1038 (see Williams 1982 and Guarducci 1984; we follow Guarducci's text and

syntactic analysis): [ἐπὶ : Θ?]εοίτα : ἱαρέος : ἐόντος : τὰφαίαι : ἡοῖρος | ἐπ[οι]έθῃ : χό

βῶμὸς : χόλέφας : ποτεποιέθῃ | χό [θρόνο]ς : περ[ι]εποιέθῃ 'When Theoitas was priest, for

Aphaia the temple was made, and the altar and ivory were acquired, and the throne was

finished.' The use of the passive ἐποιήθη is relatively unusual in inscriptions of this type, and the dating formula is uncommon in archaic texts.

1. Vollgraff (followed by most later editors) read δαμιοργόντων with one iota, but Jeffery (1973–4) 325 proposed δαμιοργόντων, which is more in keeping with the general principles of spelling in the first part of this inscription (see above on layout). The squeezes show the top of this second iota.

1–2. Vollgraff (followed by most later editors) read ἐ[ν] Ἀθαναίιας, but Jeffery (1973–4) 325 proposed ἐ[ς] Ἀθαναίιαν. The squeezes show that Jeffery is right about Ἀθαναίιαν; the final letter can only be nu, and even the middle point of the subsequent word divider is clearly visible. The Athens squeezes show the edge of the san (the letter used for the s-sound at Argos, shaped M) at the start of line 2, positioned so that if a letter has not been lost above it at the end of line 1, the margin was far more irregular here than in any part of the inscription where the margin is preserved. The more usual form would in any case be ἐνς (see Buck (1955) 68; Nieto Izquierdo (2008) 73–4).

2–3. The precise meaning of *ποιφύματα καὶ χρύματα* is not known. The latter, however, clearly include things that can be used and might be damaged, and Koerner (1993) 75–6 argues convincingly that these are bronze vessels and similar items.

3–4. The lacuna at the end of line 3 and beginning of 4 has been the subject of much discussion. Vollgraff read  $\tau\omicron\nu$  [νέον] :  $\delta\epsilon$  ο[ἱκον] ἀ[νέθεν : ], but this was challenged at once by Boissevain (1930) 14, who argued that the supplement [νέον] :  $\delta\epsilon$  ο[ἱκον] was ridiculous in terms of sense (‘dedicated ornaments and a new temple’ rather puts the cart before the horse, a point made also by Roussel (1930) 193) and would have required much more space between omicron and alpha than was available (based on Vollgraff’s photograph, which Boissevain republished). Boissevain also thought that ἀνέθεν would require more space than was available after the alpha and preferred to restore ἀνέθε, i.e. the local spelling for ἀνείθη, a passive of ἀνίημι with the meaning ‘hand over for dedication’. He argued that ἀνίημι was a synonym of ἀνατίθημι though much less common ((1930) 15–16, with examples of this use of ἀνίημι). Additionally, he was sceptical about the presence of the letters  $\delta\epsilon$  at the end of line 3 ((1930) 16 n. 1). Boissevain therefore concluded that this section should read  $\tau\omicron$  ν . . . . . ον ἀνέθε ((1930) 16).

In the same year Schwyzler (1930) 321–2 took issue with Vollgraff’s supplements on different grounds. He argued that both νέον and οἱκον ought to contain digammas and that the position of  $\delta\epsilon$  was peculiar (even if it were read as  $\delta\eta$ ). Later editors have generally followed Boissevain and Schwyzler in rejecting the supplement [νέον] :  $\delta\epsilon$  ο[ἱκον], but they have tended to follow Vollgraff in determining the size of the lacuna and, usually, for the verb; thus van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 325 read  $\tau\omicron\nu$  . . . . . ο . . . . ἀ[νέθεν :], and both Buck (1955) 283 and Colvin (2007) 139 read  $\tau\omicron\nu$  [ . . . . . ] ἀ[νέθεν]. Sokolowski (1962) 64,

again on the basis of Vollgraff's photograph and Boissevain's observations, read  $\tau\omicron\nu$  . . . . .  
 $\omicron$  . . .  $\acute{\alpha}[\nu\acute{\epsilon}\vartheta\epsilon : ]$ . Peter Thonemann (personal communication) suggested that the syntax and content are complicated unnecessarily by the assumption that this part of the inscription includes a dedication formula; similarly Wörle (1964) 63 n. 7.

Some of these arguments have more validity than others. Boissevain is incorrect to argue that there is not enough space for Vollgraff's supplements, and Schwyzer is incorrect to argue that the digamma of  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}(\varphi)\omicron\nu$  need have been represented on this inscription. (Word-internal -w- is represented in  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi[\omicron]\iota\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\vartheta\bar{\epsilon}$  and  $\pi\omicron\iota\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  but was probably lost already before -o-. The form  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$  is likely to come from  $*\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\varphi\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ , with loss of the -w- and then elision of the preceding -o-: see Bader (1965), esp. 158–9.) Moreover, all these scholars were incorrect to doubt Vollgraff's  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ . The squeezes clearly show the bottom of the delta, which could not be any other letter, and the top of the epsilon, which could only be epsilon or digamma; indeed these traces are still visible on the stone itself (though Vollgraff's word divider is visible neither on the squeezes nor on the stone).

In line 3, however, Vollgraff's  $\tau\omicron\nu$  [ $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ ] : is more problematic than previously realised. The letter before the lacuna is almost certainly mu rather than nu, the word divider is not preserved, and there is a possibility that the tau has been corrected to gamma or beta (the top horizontal of tau is present, but so are lines that would be compatible with gamma or an Argive beta). Conceivably we therefore have something like  $\beta\bar{\omicron}\mu[\acute{o}\varsigma \acute{h}\acute{o}]\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  or  $\beta\bar{\omicron}\mu[\acute{o}\varsigma : \acute{h}\acute{o}]\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ . Otherwise  $\tau\omicron\delta$   $\mu[\nu\tilde{\alpha}\mu\alpha : ]$  is tempting, but there is not enough space in the lacuna for four broad letters and a word divider.

In line 4 Vollgraff's  $\omicron[\tilde{\iota}\chi\omicron\nu]$   $\acute{\alpha}[\nu\acute{\epsilon}\vartheta\epsilon\nu : ]$  is incompatible with previously unnoticed traces visible both on the squeezes and on the stone. The letter before the alpha must be tau, because both the bottom of the vertical (much too close to the alpha to be nu) and one side of the

horizontal are preserved. The letter before that has a top with two diagonal lines, such as those found on nu, mu, san, and chi. After the alpha come a vertical (clearly visible for the lower half of its length, with nothing coming off it) and the lower corner of a curved letter that could be omicron, theta, koppa, or phi; this curved letter is close enough to the vertical that only iota would fit comfortably as the vertical, though gamma and tau are possibilities if the writing was slightly cramped here. Tempting restorations include  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ , and  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ , but the first two of these are unlikely to be right as there is no word divider after the alpha or iota; a word divider after the omicron would be very easy and one before the tau also feasible.

The question of how the sentences divide is also relevant. Vollgraff and Boissevain took the entirety of lines 1–4 to be a single sentence, but most later scholars have seen at least one major division. Buck (1955) 283 and van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 324 placed that division after  $\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , but Colvin (2007) 139 puts it after  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\phi\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon$ . Like Buck, we prefer to take  $\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  as pointing forward to what follows within the text, in the same way as  $\tau\omicron\nu\delta\epsilon\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  (genitive plural of the same pronoun, likewise extended with the deictic particle  $-\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ), because on Colvin’s analysis it is difficult to see why the list of  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\sigma\sigma\omicron\iota$  is postponed until after the sentence taken to record a dedication. If both  $\tau\omicron\nu\delta\epsilon\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  and  $\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  point forward to lists, on the other hand, it is clear that one list needs to be postponed until after the other. If the first sentence is assumed to end with  $\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  (‘these, the following’), we would expect a list of nouns in the nominative to follow. If a beta was intended in line 3 (see above) the list could be something like  $\tau\grave{\alpha} \pi\omicron\iota\phi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha : \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\grave{\alpha} \chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\epsilon : \kappa\alpha\iota \beta\omicron\mu[\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\eta}\acute{\omicron}] \delta’ \acute{\epsilon}\theta[\nu : ] \tau\tilde{\alpha}\iota \vartheta[\iota\acute{\omicron}\iota] : \tau\tilde{\alpha}\iota \text{ Ἀθαναΐαι} : \tau\tilde{\alpha}\iota \text{ Πολυιάδι} : \text{‘the works and the treasures and this altar, being for the goddess Athena Polias’}$ . But the beta is no more than a possibility, the term for ‘Athena’ is cumbersome, and the inscription would have to be closely associated with an altar.

8. The final san of Ἐξάκεστος was not read by earlier editors but is visible on the stone.

9. Vollgraff (1929) 208 and Buck (1955) 283 read *Haγί* . . ., and Bourguet (1930) 2 and Colvin (2007) 139 read *Haγί[ας]*. Traces of the second alpha and of a second iota, which would in any case be expected given the spelling principles of the first part of this inscription, are visible on the stone and on both sets of squeezes; the Athens squeezes also suggest part of the san.

9–10. Vollgraff (1929) 208, 227–8 took *δαμοσιον* as a partitive genitive plural, *δαμοσίῳν*. Schwyzer (1930) 324–5, Buck (1955) 284, Jeffery (1990) 158 n. 1, and Koerner (1993) 75–6 take it as *δαμόσιον* in the nominative singular, ‘the state’; we too find this better. With its ending *-νσθ̄*, *χρ̄θ̄νσθ̄* is a third-person plural imperative (Koerner (1993) 76 takes it as singular, but *-νσθ̄ω* is a mediopassive counterpart to plural *-ντω*: see Chantraine (1961) 271); if *δαμόσιον* is nominative singular then as Schwyzer (1930) 325 comments, the construction is of the type ὥς φάσαν ἡ πλῆθύς ‘so spoke the rank and file’ (Hom. *Il.* 2.278). Colvin (2007) 140 suggests that, alternatively, *δαμόσιον* might be an otherwise unattested adverb meaning ‘in public service’ (like Attic *δημοσίᾳ*), so that the meaning would be ‘but in public service one may use them...’, with the implied subject of *χρ̄θ̄νσθ̄* being people in general (*cf.* the translation offered by van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 324, but with no indication that they analyse the syntax itself in this way).

10–11. The supplement *πρὸ [πόλιος : ]* is new. Vollgraff’s *πρὸ[τὶ τὰ ἰαρά]* has been generally accepted since, but it has three problems. Firstly, as Vollgraff (1929) 228–9 himself recognised, the dialect of Argos does not use *πρὸτί* but rather *ποτί* or *ποί* (so also Jeffery, papers in the archive). Vollgraff thought *πρὸτί* was nevertheless possible at Argos and that it

had one attestation in the dialect, *πρστ* in the Argolic dialect inscription *IC I xxx 1*, line 3 (Vollgraff (1929) 230; *cf.* Buck (1955) 107), but Vollgraff (1948) 8 himself later changed this reading to *πρὸ Ταυ[ροφονίον ?]* (so also Meiggs and Lewis (1988) 100, but without the question mark). Secondly, there is not enough space for the eight letters plus word divider required by this supplement. Thirdly, the meaning is peculiar; as Peter Thonemann (personal communication) notes, ‘for sacred rites’ is hardly worth specifying (*cf.* Bourguet (1930) 7). If a private citizen may not use the vessels outside the temenos, and the state has greater freedom, the use the state may put them to could involve taking them outside the temenos, to conduct rites involving Athena Polias at various points in and around the city.

Anne Jeffery (papers in the archive) contemplated the possibility of a phrase meaning something like ‘in front of the temple’, and *πρὸ [τῷ ναῶ]* or (if *w* was lost before *o*-vowels) *πρὸ [τῷ ναῶ]* would solve the first two problems with Vollgraff’s reading. But the third problem would remain, because the space in front of the temple would probably still be within the temenos. Bourguet (1930) 7 cautiously suggested *πρὸ[μάντιες]* (denoting a group with the right to consult the oracle, with *δαμοσίῳ* as genitive plural); this again solves only the first two problems and depends on the view that the shrine had an oracular function (for debate on this point see Levi (1945) 301 and Guarducci (1951) 339–41). The supplement *πρὸ [πόλιος : ]* solves all three problems, though it is probably not the only one that would do so.

The lack of article after a preposition is well paralleled: compare *ἐ[ν] Ἀθαναίῳ* in lines 1–2, and Kühner and Gerth (1898–1904) i 605. The phrase *πρὸ πόλεως/πόλεως/πόλεως* occurs at Hom. *Il.* 22.110; *IG XII, Suppl.* 412, line 2 (Thasos, c. 500 BC, in verse); Aesch. *Th.* 164 (but see Hutchinson (1985) 71–2); Eur. *Tr.* 1168; Eur. *fr.* 370.40 Kannicht; and in formulaic uses on Hellenistic inscriptions (see Robert and Robert (1983) 171–6; Schuler (2010) 74–5). The meanings ‘in front of the city’ and ‘on behalf of the city’ are both attested, and ambiguity between the two occurs (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 22.110).

12. Vollgraff read  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho[\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma]$  and was followed on this point by most later editors. Since six  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{o}\iota$  are mentioned earlier in the inscription,  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$  here must mean ‘a  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ ’, not ‘the  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ ’ (so Schwyzler (1930) 325; Wörrle (1964) 63 n. 10), unless  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$  is taken in a collective sense (so Vollgraff (1929) 233). Alternatively, Jeffery (1973–4) 326 suggests  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho[\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha]$  ‘the college of  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{o}\iota$ ’; Koerner (1993) 75–6 strongly prefers this alternative, as does Nieto Izquierdo (2015). But the squeezes show traces of the omicron (and the gamma), ruling out  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ .

Vollgraff’s reading  $[\epsilon\pi]a[\nu a]\nu\kappa a\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron$  has generally been followed by later scholars (apart from Nieto Izquierdo (2015), who suggests  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho[\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha \lambda\omicron\iota]$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}[\nu a]\nu\kappa a\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron$ ); traces of the  $\epsilon\pi$  are in fact visible on the stone and on the squeezes, making Vollgraff’s restoration certain. Indeed, Jeffery in her unpublished papers notes the visibility of the  $\epsilon\pi$ . (As an argument against its presence Nieto Izquierdo (2015) claims that Jeffery changed her mind later, but the unpublished note he refers to, where Jeffery suggests omitting the  $\epsilon\pi$  entirely, is earlier than the one where she records seeing it: only the former precedes her noticing that the word for ‘Athena’ in line 2 ends with nu, not san.) The space between the omicron and the epsilon is a bit cramped for both san and a word divider, but the word divider might have been initially omitted and inserted later without a space being left for it, as occurs with the last word divider in line 1 (between  $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\nu$  and  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ ).

13. The word divider at the end of the inscription is not recorded by other editors but is well preserved both on the stone and on the squeezes. The use of word division (or indeed any form of punctuation) at the end of an inscription is very rare, for punctuation was seen as information on how to divide up the letters, and at the end such information is unnecessary.<sup>16</sup>

Its presence here is therefore worthy of note, even in an inscription that is otherwise well endowed with word divisions.<sup>17</sup>

### 3. The meaning of the last three lines

The syntax and interpretation of the last three lines, beginning at *αἱ δὲ σίναιτο*, has been wildly disputed. As we shall see, different scholars' analyses of the syntax correspond to the following translations. (Underlining shows the part intended to correspond to the words *HOIZ ΔΕ ΔΑΜΙΟΡΓ[Ο]Σ : ] ΕΠΙΑΝ[Α]ΝΚΑΣΣΑΤΟ.*)

- (i) 'But if one damages them, he shall make amends. But with what (he is to make amends), a δαμιοργός is to specify. And the ἀμφίπολος is to take care of these things.'
- (ii) 'But if one damages them, he shall make amends. But the things with which (he is to make amends), a δαμιοργός is to specify. And the ἀμφίπολος is to take care of these things.'
- (iii) 'But if one damages them, he shall make amends with whatever things a δαμιοργός is to impose (that he make amends with). And the ἀμφίπολος is to take care of these things.'
- (iv) 'But if one damages them, he shall make amends. As for the things with which a δαμιοργός has compelled (him to make amends), the ἀμφίπολος is to take care of these things.'

We will argue against all these analyses and propose a new one, corresponding to the following translation:



(v) ‘But if one damages them, he shall make amends. As for the things with which a δαμιοργός is to compel (him to make amends), the ἀμφίπολος is to give thought to these things.’

The argument for interpretation (v) is made on grammatical grounds, laid out in section 4. There are implications for the roles of δαμιοργοί and the ἀμφίπολος, and we shall come to these in section 5.

#### 4 Grammar

We shall consider possibilities (i)–(v) in turn.

##### (i) ‘But with what (he is to make amends), a δαμιοργός is to specify’

The expression *hoĩz dé* (i.e. *oĩz dé*) is sometimes taken to be in effect an indirect question (plus conjunction), elliptical for *hoĩz dé áφαικασάσθω*, ‘and with what (he should make amends)’.<sup>18</sup>

This clause would depend on *éπav[a]λκασσάτω*, which on this analysis would mean ‘is to specify’.

Two features of this analysis are problematic. Firstly, the verb *éπαναγκάζω* normally means ‘compel, constrain, oblige’, and the sense ‘specify’ is unexpected. Secondly, word dividers are used constantly on this inscription except where words cohere together very closely in syntactic terms (as well as, often, in phonological terms)—and even then, word dividers are sometimes used (so after all three instances of *τοῖσι* in lines 5–6).<sup>19</sup> Had a word divider been used after *δέ* it would not tell us much, but on this inscription the lack of one is significant: this argues against an analysis on which a major constituent of the sentence ends after *δέ*, and on which *δαμιοργός[ς]* coheres more closely with *éπav[a]λκασσάτω* than with *δέ*.

At first sight, it might appear that there is a further objection: neither ἐπαναγκάζω nor the simplex ἀναγκάζω is otherwise used with a dependent indirect question.<sup>20</sup> However, in syntactic terms clauses introduced by ὅς rather than ὅστις should be considered relative clauses rather than indirect questions,<sup>21</sup> even when they make much the same point as indirect questions.<sup>22</sup> From a syntactic point of view the proper possibility to consider, therefore, is not whether *hoĩζ δέ* can plausibly be an elliptical indirect question but whether it can plausibly be an elliptical relative clause. We now turn to this possibility.

**(ii) ‘But the things with which (he is to make amends), a δαμιοργός is to specify’**

On this second analysis *hoĩζ δέ* would be elliptical, once again, for *hoĩζ δὲ ἀφακεσάσθω*, but the literal meaning would be ‘but the things with which he is to make amends’.

If *hoĩζ δέ* is indeed a relative clause, it is of the type traditionally considered to have its antecedent implied rather than expressed (in current linguistic terminology, a free relative clause). This kind of relative clause does not modify any actually expressed preceding noun phrase, but functions as a noun phrase itself. In our example *hoĩζ* (sc. ἀφακεσάσθω) would function as a noun phrase depending on ἐπ[α]ν[α]γκασσάτω. As Vollgraff (1929) 233 notes, however, the simplex ἀναγκάζω more often takes an infinitive than a noun phrase to express the action one is compelled to perform. One might add that for the compound ἐπαναγκάζω, LSJ record only the construction with an expressed or implied infinitive.<sup>23</sup>

In addition, *hoĩζ δέ* would be an unusually elliptical relative clause. There are occasional parallels for very elliptical indirect questions (introduced by a form of ὅστις),<sup>24</sup> but relative clauses in which the only expressed material is the relative pronoun (with or without a sentence connective) are extremely rare in ancient Greek of all kinds, even when they make much the same point as indirect questions.<sup>25</sup>

Further objections apply as much as they apply to analysis (i): the sense ‘specify’ would again be unexpected for ἐπαναγκάζω, and the lack of word divider after δέ argues against a major syntactic boundary here.

**(iii) ‘he shall make amends with whatever things a δαμιουργός is to impose (that he make amends with)’**

An alternative that avoids the problems of analyses (i) and (ii), but creates another one, was laid out already by Vollgraff (1929) 232–3. According to Vollgraff, the inscription’s ΔΕ is to be read not as δέ but as δέ (i.e. δή), and *hoĩζ δέ δαμιουργός : ] ἐπαυ[α]γκασσάτω* is a relative clause, depending on what precedes and elliptical for *hoĩζ δέ δαμιουργός : ] ἐπαυ[α]γκασσάτω ἀφακεῖσθαι*: ‘with whatever things a δαμιουργός is to impose (that he make amends with)’.<sup>26</sup>

According to this analysis the verb of the relative clause is an imperative. Relative clauses with an imperative famously do occur in Greek.<sup>27</sup> As already suggested, there are also good parallels for ἐπαναγκάζω with an unexpressed infinitive as its complement. Moreover, not only the action to be performed, but the person required to perform it may be left unexpressed if these can be understood from the context.<sup>28</sup> What is more difficult to parallel is the precise use of οἷς δή required here. Vollgraff considers *hoĩζ δέ* equivalent in meaning to *οἷστισι δή*, dative of ὅστις δή ‘whoever at all’, or ‘whoever’.<sup>29</sup> It would not be surprising if ὅς δή were indeed usable for ὅστις δή, but actual examples of ὅς δή in this sense are difficult to find in ancient Greek of any kind. The following example (found via *TLG* searches for forms of ὅς followed by δή) appears to be a genuine parallel:

*ὅσα δὲ παρατεθείη, ταῦτα πάντα, πλὴν οἷς αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ σύνδαιπνοι χρῆσταιντο,  
διεδίδου οἷς δή βούλοιτο τῶν φίλων μνήμην ἐνδείκνυσθαι ἢ φιλοφροσύνην.*

(Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.2.3) ‘And all the things that were served up, all these things

(apart from those he himself and his dining companions would use) he used to distribute to whoever of his friends he wanted to display remembrance or goodwill to.<sup>30</sup>

However, to the rarity of such examples in literature, we need to add the consideration that the particle *δή* is altogether very rare, in any use, in epigraphic Greek.<sup>31</sup> In combination, these two objections make analysis (iii) highly implausible.

**(iv) ‘As for the things with which a *δαμιοργός* has compelled (him to make amends), the *ἀμφίπολος* is to take care of these things’**

Bourguet (1930) 7–8 proposed a solution that avoids all the difficulties of solutions (i)–(iii), but creates a further one. He took ΕΠΙΑΝ[Α]ΝΚΑΣΣΑΤΟ as an aorist middle indicative *ἐπᾶναγκάσσατο*, in the same sense as the active, and took *hoĩζ δέ* as the beginning of a new sentence. On this analysis *hoĩζ...τούτων* makes a relative-correlative structure: ‘As for the things with which a *δαμιοργός* has compelled (him to make amends), the *ἀμφίπολος* is to take care of these things’.

Bourguet’s solution has the advantage of making it no accident that the plural relative pronoun form *hoĩζ* is followed in the next clause by a plural demonstrative form *τούτων*.<sup>32</sup> In other words, the sequence *hoĩζ... τούτων*, which looks reminiscent of relative-correlative structures, would be here because we actually have a relative-correlative structure. The *δ(έ)* that appears to link the last clause to what precedes might be thought to speak against an analysis of *hoĩζ... ἐπᾶν[α]γκάσσατο* as a subordinate clause dependent on what follows, but from Homer down to the Koiné *δέ* is sometimes found in a main clause following a relative clause or other subordinate clause: a use known as ‘*δέ ἀποδοτικόν*’ or ‘apodotic *δέ*’.<sup>33</sup>

Relative-correlative structures are among those in which apodotic *δέ* is found, the use is well

attested in the fifth-century prose of Herodotus (see Denniston (1950) 177), and there is at least one clear instance of apodotic δέ in an epigraphic text.<sup>34</sup>

Against this analysis, however, middle forms of ἐπαναγκάζω are not attested in the sense of the active until a possible example in Libanius.<sup>35</sup> As Bourguet noted, we have little basis for certainty that the verb behaved in the same way in the dialect of archaic Argos as in better-attested archaic and classical dialects. But we should only invoke such a usage if there is no better alternative. The question of a better alternative brings us to solution (v).

**(v) ‘As for the things with which a δαμιοργός is to compel (him to make amends), the ἀμφίπολος is to give thought to these things’**

The solution we propose has significant new implications for the overall sense, as we shall see, but syntactically it is very similar to Bourguet’s. Like Bourguet, we suggest that *hoĩz* is the beginning of a new sentence, and *hoĩz...τούτων* makes a relative-correlative structure. But like scholars other than Bourguet, we take ΕΠΙΑΝ[Α]ΝΚΑΣΣΑΤΟ as a third person singular aorist active imperative: ‘As for the things with which a δαμιοργός is to compel (him to make amends), the ἀμφίπολος is to give thought to these things’. On this analysis a δαμιοργός must exact restitution from the wrongdoer, but the ἀμφίπολος must first determine the appropriate restitution. The relative-correlative structure entails that the main point of the sentence is the instruction to the ἀμφίπολος. The subordinate clause *hoĩz δὲ δαμιοργός [ : ] ἐπαν[α]γκασσάτω* is not there to instruct the δαμιοργός in how to act. Instead, it appeals to a presupposition that a δαμιοργός will need to enforce restitution, in order to establish the topic (the restitution to be enforced) on which the main clause has something to say.<sup>36</sup>

As already mentioned, relative clauses with the imperative are found in Greek. A close parallel for the structure proposed here occurs in a passage of Plato’s *Laws*, already quoted by Vollgraff (1929) 233:

τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς ἀναθετέον, ᾧ δ' ἐξέστω καὶ μή,<sup>37</sup> τοῦτο νομοθετησώμεθα.

(Pl. *Lg.* 11.935e)

‘This (sc. the prohibition against ridiculing others in *earnest*) must under no circumstances be retracted, but for whom it (sc. ridiculing) is to be allowed and (for whom it is) not, this we must regulate by law.’

For Vollgraff, this example illustrated only the possibility of an imperative in a relative clause, and served to support analysis (iii). But Plato not only has a third person singular imperative in the relative clause; the relative clause is also picked up by a demonstrative pronoun in a subsequent main clause that makes a prescription (in this instance with a hortative subjunctive).<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the relative clause is one that makes effectively the same point as an indirect question (see under (i) above). In other words, the Athenian stranger wants to lay down by law the answer to a question: ‘To whom is it to be allowed and to whom is it not?’.

The structure proposed here for our inscription parallels the Plato passage on all these points. The relative clause would contain a third singular imperative and would be picked up by a demonstrative in a subsequent prescriptive main clause (this time with another third person singular imperative). Furthermore, the relative clause would make effectively the same point as an indirect question. The ἀμφίπολος has to look after or sort out the answer to a question: with what restitution is a δαμιοργός to oblige the wrongdoer to make amends? In other words, we have a prescription expressed with appeal to another prescription: the ἀμφίπολος is obliged to sort out the penalty which a δαμιοργός is obliged to exact.

For a prescription invoking another prescription one might also compare inscriptional examples such as the following, from the fifth-century BC Mytilene coinage decree.<sup>39</sup> Here

an indirect question with *χρῆ* + infinitive (functionally equivalent to a third-person imperative) depends on a main clause with a third-person imperative:<sup>40</sup>

*αἰ δέ κε ἀπυφ[ύ]γηι μ[ὴ] θέλων ἀμβρότην, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον ὅττι χρῆ αὐτ(ο)ν  
πάθην ἢ κατθέ[μ]εναι·* (IG XII.2 1 = SEG 34:849, lines 15–17) ‘But if he is  
acquitted of deliberate wrongdoing, the court is to determine what he must suffer or  
pay.’

This solution combines the advantages of different analyses already surveyed: no major syntactic boundary intervenes between *δέ* and *δαμιοργός*], ΔΕ is *δέ*, ΕΠΙΑΝ[Α]ΝΚΑΣΣΑΤΟ is the imperative, and *hoĩζ...τούτῳ* gives the appearance of a relative-correlative structure because we actually have a relative-correlative structure.

Hitherto, however, those who have expressed a clear opinion about the relationship between *δαμιοργός* and *ἀμφίπολος* have mostly taken the *δαμιοργός* as responsible for fixing penalties and the *ἀμφίπολος* as responsible for enforcing them.<sup>41</sup> The solution proposed here thus reverses the roles of *δαμιοργός* and *ἀμφίπολος*. Section 5 considers the sense of our clauses, with a view to establishing the extent to which this role reversal is plausible.

## 5 Sense

### 5.1 The words *δαμιοργός* and *ἀμφίπολος*

A first question as regards the sense of our clauses is what kinds of professional were designated by the terms *δαμιοργός* and *ἀμφίπολος*. The Argive *δαμιοργοί* were fairly clearly civic officials of some kind,<sup>42</sup> while the *ἀμφίπολος* is normally taken to have been a temple attendant or caretaker.<sup>43</sup>

The idea that our ἀμφίπολος is a temple attendant has fairly clearly been inspired by the ways the inscription has been understood. If a δαμιοργός sets penalties and the ἀμφίπολος enforces them, the ἀμφίπολος is rather comparable to the ἀμφίπολοι in Pindar's sixth Paean, provided that the Pindaric passage is interpreted in a way that was current when our inscription was published. Pindar has Apollo swear that Neoptolemus shall reach neither home nor old age, and then says:

ἀμφιπόλοις δὲ

[κ]υριᾶν περὶ τιμᾶν

[δ]ηριᾶζόμενον κτάνεν

[<ἐν> τεμέ]νεϊ φίλῳ γᾶς παρ' ὀμφαλὸν εὐρύν. (Pi. Pae. 6.117–20)

‘And while he was fighting with the attendants over proper honours, he (sc. Apollo) killed him in his own precinct, by the broad navel of the earth.’

On the relevant interpretation Apollo is the mastermind and ultimate agent of the killing, and the ἀμφίπολοι are underlings who did the actual dirty work.<sup>44</sup>

Our ἀμφίπολος, as normally understood, would also be comparable to the ἱεροποιοί mentioned on a fourth-century BC Attic inscription:<sup>45</sup> these ἱεροποιοί have to punish those who do not obey orders, using the punishments given by the laws. Like the ἀμφίπολοι in Pindar, these ἱεροποιοί have no jurisdiction in the relevant matters, just an obligation to administer penalties.

Independent evidence that the word ἀμφίπολος has the required meaning is very slim, however. In literature from Homer onwards the term normally denotes a female servant, most often a domestic servant but sometimes one connected to a temple; the overwhelming majority of occurrences are in poetry. This literary use of the term may hark back to



Mycenaean times, although the range of meanings of the word in its four Mycenaean attestations is disputed.<sup>46</sup> The ἀμφίπολος of our inscription is clearly male, since a masculine definite article is used. The main evidence that the word can denote a male temple attendant is the passage of Pindar just quoted.<sup>47</sup> Epigraphic and literary evidence suggests, however, that with reference to historical as opposed to mythical individuals the term denotes rather a priest or other office-holder with significant responsibility.<sup>48</sup> This is so regardless of the gender of the person intended, but the person is often male. At Syracuse, the highest office-holder was the (male) ἀμφίπολος of Olympian Zeus, from the time of Timoleon of Corinth in the fourth century BC until at least the first century AD.<sup>49</sup> Attestations of the term ἀμφίπολος on prose inscriptions other than ours *all* refer either to holders of this office or to other high-ranking personnel:<sup>50</sup> a third-century BC inscription from Palaeopolis on Corcyra establishes a hero cult, with a sacred grove and an ἀμφίπολος, for a fallen naval commander;<sup>51</sup> Roman-period inscriptions from the Syracusan colony of Akrai mention male office-holders designated as ἀμφίπολοι of specific deities;<sup>52</sup> on an altar from Roman-period Apollonia in Illyria the βουλή and δῆμος honour a woman named Furia Alexo, designated ἀμφίπολος for life (τὴν διὰ βίου ἀμφίπολο[ν]).<sup>53</sup> At Sicilian Kentoripa,<sup>54</sup> on Malta,<sup>55</sup> at Ambracia,<sup>56</sup> and at Euboean Chalcis<sup>57</sup> the presence of high-ranking male office-holders termed ἀμφίπολοι is implied by expressions using the verb ἀμφιπολεύω. All this evidence comes from considerably later sources than our inscription, but the complete lack of epigraphic parallels for ἀμφίπολος as ‘temple warden’ is noteworthy. Furthermore, the particular prominence of archaic Corinthian colonies (Syracuse, Palaeopolis, Ambracia) in the epigraphic evidence is most easily explained if the term was in use for a male office-holder in archaic Corinth, some 38 kilometres from Argos.<sup>58</sup> More importantly perhaps, Plutarch mentions a male ἀμφίπολος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος at Argos itself; this ἀμφίπολος receives barley from the participants in a

certain sacrifice, in return for meat (*Moralia* 297A). In all the contexts just mentioned, the standard and appropriate translation for ἀμφίπολος is ‘priest’.<sup>59</sup>

Lougovaya-Ast (2006) 213–14 considers earlier evidence from uses of the verb ἀμφιπολεύω, and of the related term ἀμφιπολεῖον, in relation to classical temples. At Athens two decrees use the word ἱέρεια ‘priestess’ for the priestess of Athena Nike,<sup>60</sup> while the two epigrams commemorating Myrrhine, the first holder of this office, use the verb ἀμφεπόλευσεν of her activities: she was the first who Νίκης ἀμφεπόλευσεν νεών and Ἀθηναίας Νικῆς ἔδος ἀμφεπόλευσεν.<sup>61</sup> Lougovaya-Ast argues against the idea (due to Henderson (1987) xl–xli) that ἀμφιπολεύω here implies a low-status or sub-priestly post. She also draws attention to a fifth-century BC inventory from the temple of Aphaia on Aigina, where the word ἀμφιπολεῖον denotes the part of a temple for storing cult implements.<sup>62</sup> In some contexts, then, words built on the stem ἀμφιπολ- may imply a particular responsibility for cult implements or their use.

In our view the most important conclusions to be retained from this discussion come from uses of the word ἀμφίπολος itself. When this term relates to a historical person it does not denote a low-status and usually female attendant but a high-status and often male religious official such as a priest. Plutarch knows of an ἀμφίπολος of Apollo at Argos, with enough status to have entitlements. While the attestations of ἀμφίπολος and related words do not absolutely prove that the ἀμφίπολος of our inscription is a priest, they strongly suggest it. In addition to all this a male priest of Athena is a serious possibility for Argos, because precisely at Argos an unpublished inscription of the fourth century BC bears witness to a male priest, Kallidamos, for Athena Pallas (Argos inventory number E67; see Kritzas (2006) 409 n. 30, with bibliography).

## 5.2 The verbs ἐπαναγκάζω and μελεταίνω

The standard interpretations of our inscription require the verb *ἐπαναγκάζω* to be used of fixing a penalty but not also enforcing it. But *ἐπαναγκάζω* is not used in this way.<sup>63</sup> The verb is, on the other hand, often used of enforcing an action which has already been prescribed, as in the following examples:

ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃ ὁ ἐγγυτάτω γένους ἢ μὴ ἐκδοῖ, ὁ ἄρχων ἐπαναγκαζέτω ἢ αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἢ ἐκδοῦναι. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπαναγκάσῃ ὁ ἄρχων, ὀφειλέτω χιλίας δραχμὰς ἱερὰς τῇ

Ἡρᾷ. (Solon's (?) law about heiresses belonging to the thetic class, quoted in [Demosthenes] 43.54) 'And if her next of kin does not marry her or give her in marriage, the archon is to compel him either to marry her himself or to give her in marriage. And if the archon does not compel him, he is to owe a thousand drachmas, to be dedicated to Hera.'

οἱ δὲ κόσμοι οἱ τότε αἰεὶ κοσμέοντες ἐπαναγκαζόντων ἀποδιδόμεν τὸς ἔχοντας ἀζάμιοι ἰόντες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι. (McCabe and Plunkett (1985) no. 6 lines 40–2, c. 200 BC)

'And the kosmoi who happen to be in office at the time are to compel those who have (stolen property) to restore it, without themselves being liable to any penalty or legal action.'

The proposed interpretation of our inscription thus has the advantage that the required meaning 'compel' is well attested for *ἐπαναγκάζω*.

The verb *μελεταίνω* occurs only in our inscription. It is either a derivative of *μελέτα* = *μελέτη* 'care, attention; practice', or an adaptation of *μελεδαίνω* 'take care of, give thought to', under the influence of *μελέτα*.<sup>64</sup> Since *μελεταίνω* is used with a genitive, it is tempting to see *μελεταίνω* plus genitive as a local functional equivalent of *ἐπιμελοῦμαι* plus genitive,

‘take care of; have charge of’. But since *μελεταίνω* as such is unique, we have no real independent evidence for its precise range of meanings. Its etymology would be compatible with meanings such as ‘give attention to’, ‘take care of’, or ‘give thought to’.

We turn now to the crucial question of the roles of *δαμιοργός* and *ἀμφίπολος*.

### 5.3 Could a member of the temple personnel decide penalties?

In a discussion of the application of the term ‘sacred law’, Parker (2004) 58–9 gives examples showing that civic officials and temple personnel may join forces in various ways to ensure compliance with laws about the proper care of temples.

In some instances, temple personnel hand wrongdoers over to civic officials for punishment. So in a fourth-century law from Cos against unauthorised cutting of cypress trees associated with a temple, and unauthorised removal of the wood, the *ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ τεμένεος* (along with anybody else who wishes) are to report wrongdoers to the assembly.<sup>65</sup> Koerner (1993) 77 in fact suggested that the sole function of the *ἀμφίπολος* in our inscription is to report wrongdoers, and wrongdoers surely did have to be identified in the first instance by somebody connected to the temple.

In some cases temple personnel both set and administer fines. In a fourth-century BC law from Oropos,<sup>66</sup> the priest sets and administers fines of up to five drachmas for those who commit offences in the sanctuary of Amphiaraos, and he has jurisdiction over cases of alleged injustice committed against individuals in the sanctuary, where these involve no more than three drachmas.<sup>67</sup>

In first-century BC regulations concerning mysteries, from Andania in Messenia (*IG* V.1 1390 = Sokolowski (1969) no. 65, line 82), the priest judges cases involving the harbouring of runaway slaves. He does not administer punishment but hands over those he has condemned to the authorities.<sup>68</sup>

In the case of our inscription, it makes sense for a member of the temple personnel to determine the appropriate restitution. To do so requires knowledge of the damaged object, its value, and its condition before being damaged. Since the amount of responsibility is large, the individual with this responsibility is likely to have been a priest or similarly high-ranking official rather than a caretaker—and ‘priest’ is the meaning we ought to have expected for the word ἀμφίπολος on an inscription (see section 5.1).

In our instance enforcement is handled not by the priest but by a δαμιοργός. Parker (2004) 58–9 demonstrates that many ‘sacred laws’ are simply laws, with the full authority of civic authorities behind them. In this light, it is well possible that the δαμιοργός bears ultimate responsibility for the level of restitution as well as its enforcement, but he is expected to act on advice from the priest. For this handling of final responsibility one might compare the procedures for reassessing the tribute paid by members of the Athenian Empire (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 71* = Meiggs and Lewis (1988) no. 69, 425–4 BC), where officials called εἰσαγογεῖς are appointed to hear representations about tribute from the cities. As Meiggs and Lewis (1988) 193 say, ‘The main work of assessment is theirs; the final responsibility is shared by the Boule’.<sup>69</sup>

By way of illustration (and nothing more), we finish with an analogy. In the academic system with which we are familiar, candidates for the doctorate are assigned examiners, who read the thesis and orally examine the candidate. Informed by these activities, they come to a view about the appropriate outcome (for example, award of the degree). This view then takes the form of a recommendation to a body with the power to make a final decision (a Faculty Board or the like). This body takes ultimate responsibility for the decision, and takes practical steps leading to the award, where appropriate, of the actual degree. Were the relevant regulations worded and laid out like our inscription, the appropriate regulation might read (and we commend this to those who draw up new editions of our regulations),

AS FOR : THE RULING : WHICH : THE FACULTY BOARD : IS TO MAKE

THE EXAMINERS : ARE TO GIVE : THOUGHT : TO THIS MATTER

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A preliminary version of this article has inspired that of Enrique Nieto Izquierdo (2015). For the avoidance of misunderstanding we would like to specify that Enrique was kind enough to show us his forthcoming article, but this occurred at a very late stage in the finishing of our piece. The only change we have made as a result is to mention and respond briefly to his readings in our note on line 12.

<sup>1</sup> The find is recorded on 16 June 1928 in Vollgraff's excavation diary, which is now available online at <http://intranet.efa.gr/Vollgraff/>.

<sup>2</sup> Vollgraff (1929); the inscription is not in *IG* and is variously known as Argos inventory number E274, *SEG* 11:314, Buck (1955) no. 83, Sokolowski (1962) no. 27, Fornara (1983) no. 36, Jeffery (1990) p. 168, no. 8, Koerner (1993) no. 25, van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) no. 88, and Colvin (2007) no. 37. It is also discussed by Boissevain (1930), Schwyzler (1930), Roussel (1930) 193, Bourguet (1930), Levi (1945) 301, Guarducci (1951) 339–41, Murakawa (1957) 392, Wörle (1964) 61–70, Jeffery (1973–4) 325–6, Kelly (1976) 131–3, Beaufils (2000) i. 86–7, and Lupu (2009) 30.

<sup>3</sup> Archaic Argos was governed by *damiorgoi*, and another archaic inscription (*SEG* 11:336) tells us that there were nine *damiorgoi*, a number that nicely matches the nine archons at Athens. This inscription, however, lists six *damiorgoi*. Concise discussions of the issue include Jeffery (1990) 156–8, making the point that the nine may not have been in office simultaneously), Robinson (1997) 83–4, and Kelly (1976) 131–2, but note that *IG* IV 506 (= van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) no. 100), which is traditionally treated as an Argive text and raises additional complications by envisioning a situation in which no *damiorgos* is in office, is not actually from Argos but from the Argive Heraion, and Hall (1995) has argued that the Heraion was not controlled by Argos at the relevant period, whence it would follow that the political structure to which it refers is not that of Argos itself. Not everyone accepts Hall's argument (e.g. Nieto Izquierdo (2008) 28, 74–5); we do not enter into this debate.

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<sup>4</sup> Athena was a key deity in Argos, where she had four distinct sanctuaries: funds belonging to Hera were deposited in Athena's treasury, and her temple on the Larissa was kept up even in the Roman period when the neighbouring temple of Zeus was allowed to fall into ruin. For more information see Billot (1998), esp. 17-28, and Kritzas (2006) 409 as well as Pausanias 2.24.3 and Callimachus, Hymn 5.

<sup>5</sup> See Boissevain (1930) and Schwyzler (1930).

<sup>6</sup> Jeffery proposed new readings in four places; two appear in Jeffery (1973–4) 325, and others can be found in Jeffery's papers in the Anne Jeffery archive of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in Oxford (<http://poinikastas.csad.ox.ac.uk>), where documents related to this inscription are numbered J.PL.Arg.08.p01–05.

<sup>7</sup> See the three photographs in the Anne Jeffery Archive. One of these (now numbered J.PL.Arg.08.bwp02) was taken by Richard Mason before 1973 and sent to Jeffery that year, another (J.PL.Arg.08.bwp01) was taken by Mason in 1973 at Jeffery's request and shows damage to line 1 since Mason's earlier photograph, and the third (numbered J.PL.Arg.08.n01) is a negative that appears to be from Jeffery's own camera (information from Charles Crowther); it must have been taken before 1973, to judge by the condition of the first line. If this photograph is indeed Jeffery's own, she must have seen the stone before she started working seriously on the inscription and then asked Mason to check it later because her own documentation was imperfect (this photograph covers only part of the inscription).

<sup>8</sup> One of the photographs, now in the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens, is listed in their records as having been taken by Wrede in 1935. The other three are now at the office of *Inscriptiones Graecae* in Berlin; their attribution to Karo is deduced from the fact that one has his name written on the back and all three must be contemporary as they show the stone in the same condition. The squeezes probably come from Karo rather than Wrede as they are now in Berlin with his photographs. Any Argos photograph taken by or for Karo must date to

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between 1930, when he became director of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens, and 1936, when he lost that position.

<sup>9</sup> On Karo's career see Matz (1964) and Lindenlauf (2012).

<sup>10</sup> The squeezes are wrapped in a copy of the *Berliner Beobachter* from 7 August 1936 and thus probably arrived at the *Inscriptiones Graecae* archive that year. Karo's colleague in Halle, Werner Peek, is known to have passed many documents to the archive around that time and was probably responsible for the transmission of these as well.

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/ig/ectypa/0prefd.html>

<sup>12</sup> The École Française has two photographs taken by Vollgraff, a number of much later photographs, and several documents related to the inscription. The Deutsches Archäologisches Institut has only the Wrede photograph, but this has been superbly digitized.

<sup>13</sup> <http://poinikastas.csad.ox.ac.uk>

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Jeffrey (1990) 168; Koerner (1993) 75; van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 324.

<sup>15</sup> The translations provided in previous discussions include 'Hisce demiurgis, quae in aede Minervae sunt, opera haecce fabricata sunt, et supellectilem et [novam aedem] consecraverunt Minervae Poliadi: Syleus Eratylus Polycetor Exacestus Hagi . . . Erycoerus. Supellectile qua ad res divinas utuntur ne utitor *ῥηδίστας* extra delubrum Minervae Poliadis. Servi publici utuntur ad sacra. Si laedat, damnum restituto, quaque multa demiurgus coerceat. Famulus haec curato' (Vollgraff (1929) 208); 'Hisce demiurgis, quae in aede Minervae sunt, opera haecce fabricata sunt et ornamenta cum armario (?) data dedicata sunt Minervae Poliadi' (Boissevain (1930) 17, rest of the inscription left untranslated); 'When the following (namely the six listed in ll. 5–10, left column) were demiurgi, these things were made in the temple of Athena. The works and the treasures and the -- they dedicated to Athena Polias. Syleus, etc. The treasures that are utensils of the goddess a private citizen shall not use outside the shrine of Athena Polias. But the state may use them for the sacred rites. If anyone

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injures them he shall make good the damage, – with how much, the demiurgos shall impose. The sacristan shall attend to these matters’ (Buck (1955) 283); ‘Von den Gebrauchsgegenständen der Göttin soll ein Privatmann außerhalb des *Temenos* der [Athena] Polias nicht Gebrauch machen. Der Staat aber soll sie zu [den Opfern] gebrauchen. Wenn einer einen Schaden anrichtet, soll er ihn beheben (lassen), um wieviel aber, soll die *Damiorgie* auferlegen. Der *Amphipolos* soll sich um diese Dinge kümmern’ (Koerner (1993) 75, rest of the inscription left untranslated); ‘Alors qu’exerçaient la damiurgie les personnes dont les noms suivent, voici ce qui a été fabriqué dans le sanctuaire d’Athéna; les objets, le matériel et le - - - , ils les ont consacrés à Athéna Polias: Syleus, Eratyios, Polyctor, Exakestos, Hagias et Erycoiros. Ce matériel qui est à l’usage de la déesse, qu’un particulier ne l’utilise pas à l’extérieur du sanctuaire d’Athéna Polias, mais qu’à titre officiel les gens l’utilisent pour [les actes sacrés]. En cas de faute, que réparation soit faite sous contrainte des damiurges. Que l’*amphipolos* s’occupe de ces objets.’ (van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 324); ‘When these men were Demiourgoi, these things were made *in* (the temple) of Athena. The objects and the heirlooms and the [-5-] [. . . were dedicated] to Athena Polias. The heirlooms for the use of the Goddess shall not be used by a private person outside of the sacred precinct of A[thena] Polias. But the State shall use them *for* [the sacred rites]. If anyone damages them, he shall repair them. The Demiourgos shall *impose* the amount. The temple warden shall see to these matters.’ (Fornara (1983) 37–8; list of names left untranslated); ‘During the time that the following held office as *demiourgoi* the work was carried out in (the temple) of Athena; these works and the precious objects and the [ . . . ] they dedicated to Athena Polias: Syleus and Eratyios and Polyktor and Exakestos and Hagias and Erykoiros. The precious objects that are utensils of the goddess let no private citizen use outside the precinct of Athena Polias. But the state may use them for the sacrifice. If (anyone) damages (them), let



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him make restitution: in what amount, let the *demiourgos* impose. And the temple-servant is to see to these matters.’ (Colvin (2007) 139).

<sup>16</sup> For lack of punctuation at the ends of inscriptions (and even at the ends of lines) see Threatte (1980) 79, 80, but note e.g. the exceptions in Wankel (1979) no. 1, side A = Jeffery (1990) p. 344 and plate 66, no. 53 and in Jeffery (1990), p. 304 and plate 55, no. 3 (this inscription has a mark at the end of a line but not at the end of the text). For punctuation in archaic inscriptions see Raubitschek (1949) 441–4 (Attica only) and Lougovaya-Ast (forthcoming) (more generally).

<sup>17</sup> Argos in general was a place where punctuation was common in the Archaic period (see Jeffery (1990) 50), so the inscription is not atypical in that respect.

<sup>18</sup> In practice, the idea that *hoĩζ δέ* is an elliptical indirect question has not been distinguished clearly from the idea that it is an elliptical relative clause (our analysis (ii)). The source of analyses along the lines of either (i) or (ii) is Schwyzer’s (1930) 325 elliptical (!) note ‘*hoĩζ δέ δαμ*. Vollgraff. Besser wie oben *hoĩζ δέ* scil. *ἀφακε(σ)σάσθω*’. Compare Buck (1955) 283, who translates ‘If anyone injures them he shall make good the damage,—with how much, the *demiurgos* shall impose’, and *cf.* Koerner (1993) 75.

<sup>19</sup> We are grateful to Peter Thonemann for drawing our attention to this point.

<sup>20</sup> See LSJ *s.vv.* *ἀναγκάζω* and *ἐπαναγκάζω*. For *ἐπαναγκάζω* we have looked for exceptions, without finding any, using *TLG* searches for *ἐπαναγκ-* and *ἐπηναγκ-* up to the first century BC. For both verbs we have looked for exceptions in inscriptions, without finding any, using complete searches of the PHI database of Searchable Greek Inscriptions for *-ανανκ-*, *-αναγκ-*, *-ενανκ-*, *-εναγκ-*, *-ηνανκ-*, and *-ηναγκ-*.

<sup>21</sup> The evidence is that clauses with *οἶς*, *οἷ*, *οῖ* occur as complements to verbs of knowing, perceiving, or declaring, but not as complements to verbs of enquiring. See Windisch (1869)

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210–11; Kühner and Gerth (1898–1904) ii 438–9; Schwyzler and Debrunner (1950) 643; Monteil (1963) 150–4; Ruijgh (1971) 327; Faure (2010) 165–6.

<sup>22</sup> As Faure (2010) 291–3 argues, these relative clauses would be ‘concealed questions’: noun phrases that appear to stand for questions, like ‘the time’ in ‘John knows the time’.

<sup>23</sup> *TLG* searches for ἐπαναγκ- and ἐπηναγκ-, up to the first century BC, reveal no exceptions.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. [Plato], *Alcibiades I*, 127d: οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι μαθεῖν οὐθ’ ἥτις οὐτ’ ἐν οἷσιν· ‘For I’m unable to learn either what (it is) or in whom (it is).’

<sup>25</sup> Faure (2010) 185, 187, 230–1, 371–2, 408, 414–16 discusses five exceptions in his corpus of fourth-century BC prose texts, but none is comparable to our example. Four involve idiomatic uses of preposition plus relative pronoun form (δι’ ὃ and δι’ ὧ ‘why’, ἐν οἷς ‘where/when’). In the fifth exception ὧν is coordinated with a clause introduced by a form of ὅστις: γνώσεσθε ἕκαστα τὰ εἰδωλα ἅττα ἐστὶ καὶ ὧν ‘you will know about all the images what they are and what (they are images) of’ (Plato, *Republic* 7.520c). Faure (2010) 415 comments that here the “τι” element in ἅττα may extend semantically over ὧν as well.

<sup>26</sup> The relative pronoun would be in the dative because of the implied ἀφακεῖσθαι depending on ἐπαν[α]γκασσάτω. Vollgraff suggests that, alternatively, there is no elliptical infinitive, and the relative pronoun is the direct object of ἐπαν[α]γκασσάτω, appearing in the dative by *attractio relatiui* (‘attraction’ of the relative pronoun into the case of its antecedent or implied antecedent). However, this analysis is much less likely because clear instances of *attractio relatiui* are unattested before the fifth century BC (see Probert (2015) 169–92).

<sup>27</sup> See Plato. *Laws* 11.935e, quoted below, and for further parallels see Kühner and Gerth (1898–1904) i 239; Vollgraff (1929) 233; Schwyzler and Debrunner (1950) 344.

<sup>28</sup> LSJ s.v. ἐπαναγκάζω cite Hdt. 8.130.2 (ἄτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προσήσαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρας, οὐδ’ ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδὲ εἶς,... ‘inasmuch as they had suffered a terrible blow, they did not go further out to the west, nor did a single person put pressure (on them to do

so)'); Thuc. 5.31.3 (καὶ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου ἀπέφερον, ἔπειτα παυσαμένων διὰ πρόφασιν τοῦ πολέμου οἱ Ἑλεῖοι ἐπηνάγκαζον,... 'And until the war with Athens they paid it, and then when they had stopped, giving the war as their reason, the Eleans tried to compel (them to pay)'). See also the second instance of the verb in the quotation from [Demosthenes] 43.54, given below.

<sup>29</sup> See Vollgraff (1929) 232. For ὅστις δὴ see e.g. Theognis 1173 (ὦ μάκαρ, ὅστις δὴ μιν ἔχει φρεσίν 'o happy man, whoever has it (sc. γνώμη) in his mind'; cf. Denniston (1950) 221–2.

<sup>30</sup> At Hesiod *fr.* 240.10 M.-W. the meaning 'whoever at all' would be in place, but δὴ is likely to be resumptive ('So then, whoever goes there and...').

<sup>31</sup> Cf. in connection with Attic inscriptions Dover (1978): '...the lively and dramatic particle δὴ is alien to the usage of Attic documentary inscriptions after the introduction of H = ē and is never a demonstrably correct interpretation of ΔΕ before that time'. Morpurgo Davies (1997) 51 enumerates the occurrences of particles in the c. 500 verse inscriptions in Hansen (1983) dated before 400 BC; δὴ does not feature even once. Cf. also Morpurgo Davies' comments on the overall scarcity of most particles outside literature.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Bourguet (1930) 7.

<sup>33</sup> See Bourguet (1930) 7; Schwyzler and Debrunner (1950) 562; Denniston (1950) 177–85.

<sup>34</sup> Dubois (1996) no. 109, lines 10–12 (= *SEG* 47:1191: a lead curse tablet from Olbia, late fourth or third century BC): [ῆ]ν δέ μοι αὐτοὺς κατάσχης καὶ κ[ατα]λάβης ἐ<γ>ὼ δέ σε τειμήσω 'And if you put a spell on them and capture them, I shall honour you' (translation after Jordan (1997) 217; for the necessity to read δέ here, not δέξ, see Slings (1998)). We are not persuaded that there is a good parallel at *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 40, line 55, as Slings (1998) 85 suggests (compare the comments of Dover (1978)). Apodotic *ide* 'and' is attested in a Cyprian syllabic text, the fifth-century 'Idalion Bronze', once in the combination *ide pāi* (Egetmeyer (2010),

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Idalion no. 1, face A, line 12) and once without *pāi* (Egetmeyer (2010), Idalion no. 1, face B, lines 24–5).

<sup>35</sup> So already Vollgraff (1929) 233. No earlier examples turn up in *TLG* searches for ἐπαναγκ- and ἐπηναγκ-, or in searches for ἐπανανκ-, ἐπαναγκ-, ἐπενανκ-, ἐπεναγκ-, ἐπηνανκ-, and ἐπηναγκ- in the PHI database of searchable Greek inscriptions. The occurrence in Libanius (*Or.* 11.122) is often thought to require either emendation to the active or (less plausibly) interpretation in a middle or passive sense. For discussion and earlier literature see Fatouros and Krischer (1992) 177–8).

<sup>36</sup> For the point that relative-correlative sentences in Greek (as in many other languages) typically articulate the sentence clearly into what the sentence is construed as being about (the ‘topic’) and what is being said about this topic, see Probert (2015) 311–14.

<sup>37</sup> The text is doubtful here: the version we give is that of the historical editorial tradition (represented e.g. in Bury (1926)), but the two main manuscripts have ᾧ δ' ἐξέστω καὶ μὴ δέ. Burnet in his Oxford Classical Text edition originally (1907) simply followed these manuscripts, but he later printed ᾧ [δ'] ἐξέστω καὶ μὴ δέ, attributing the correction to R.W. Chapman (the printings with the newer reading date from about 1913); so also Diès and des Places (1956). We prefer to follow the earlier editorial tradition and suppress the second δέ, because postponement of δέ until the end of a whole clause is difficult to parallel (*cf.* Denniston (1950) 188–9). M.L. West (personal communication) suggests that ᾧ δ' ἐξέστω καὶ ᾧ μὴ δέ would be another possible emendation.

<sup>38</sup> We avoid calling the demonstrative τοῦτο a correlative pronoun (differently from τοῦτον in our proposed analysis of line 13 in the inscription) since this τοῦτο does not agree in gender with the preceding relative pronouns, but it behaves like a correlative pronoun in picking up the preceding subordinate clause.

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<sup>39</sup> Searches in the PHI database of searchable Greek inscriptions

(<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>) for ὅτι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι and τί χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι turn up several later examples of a similar formula.

<sup>40</sup> We note in passing that, like our text, the Mytilene coinage decree combines the use of the present stem for the imperative in the main clause (τιμάτω) and the aorist stem for the actions prescribed in the subordinate clause (πάθην, κατθέ[μ]εναι). If a reason can be given it is perhaps that the ὅτι-*clause* envisages a specific instance in which a penalty is exacted, but the main clause looks beyond this instance to the court's ongoing duty to determine penalties. Similarly in our inscription the οἷς-*clause* envisages a specific instance, but the main clause might look beyond this to the ongoing duty of the ἀμφίπολος to work out appropriate penalties.

<sup>41</sup> See especially Bourguet (1930) 7; Wörrle (1964) 63, 68. A different suggestion (of Koerner (1993) 77) is mentioned in section 5.3.

<sup>42</sup> For detailed consideration of demiurgi in archaic Greece, including Argos, see Jeffery (1973–4).

<sup>43</sup> Vollgraff (1929) 233; Sokolowski (1962) 65; Wörrle (1964) 61–70 with 63 n. 10; Lupu (2009) 30.

<sup>44</sup> Wilamowitz (1908) 348, and in essence (1922) 130; Tosi (1908) 208. Against this interpretation see Radt (1958) 170. The idea that the ἀμφίπολοι kill Neoptolemus should probably not be seen as strictly opposed to the idea that Apollo kills him: see Davies and Finglass (2014) on Stesichorus *fr.* 96 Finglass.

<sup>45</sup> Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 81, lines 31–5.

<sup>46</sup> On PY Aa 804 and PY Ad 690 the term clearly refers to a group of women working for the palace. On PY Fr 1205 a quantity of olive oil is destined for some *a-pi-qo-ro* (in the dative/locative plural *a-pi-qo-ro-i*); the gender of the term is not clear here. It is disputed

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whether the olive oil is a religious offering, in which case these *a-pi-qo-ro* are cult personnel or even deities, or whether these *a-pi-qo-ro* again have a secular function. On TH Of 34 the word *a-pi-qo-ro* may be singular or plural and masculine or feminine; it has been taken to denote a priest, priestess, attendant of a deity, deity, or secular worker. See Aura Jorro (1985–93) i 84, Bendall (2007) 101, and Lupack (2008) 110, all with bibliography.

<sup>47</sup> See already Vollgraff (1929) 233–4. Our inscription has also been used in support of the transmitted *ἀμφιπόλοις* in Pindar (and at least implicitly, in support of the idea that the meaning there is ‘temple servants’: see Radt (1958) 169).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Hüttl (1929) 123; Kretschmer (1929) 72 (and for the etymological link between the two uses, Chantraine (1968–80 s.v. *τέλωμαι*). Three instances in Herodotus and one in the Hippocratic corpus might be thought to be exceptions, but in each case there are apparent reasons for the application of the word its literary sense to one or more historical or quasi-historical women. In the first two passages Herodotus uses the word for servants in stories that draw heavily on folktale, even if they take place in historical time: 2.131.2, in a story that Herodotus does not believe himself (cf. Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella (2007) *ad. loc.*), and 5.92η.3, where the sentence ends with almost an entire hexameter, suggesting a verse source (see Ogden (2001) 54–7). In the third passage Herodotus uses the word of some Persian female servants (9.76.1); their non-Greekness plausibly prompted a term that, from a Greek point of view, belonged in this meaning to the world of poetry and myth. (Compare Herodotus’ account of these *ἀμφίπολοι* and their mistress with the perception of Aristophanes of Byzantium, *fr.* 325 Slater, that *ἀμφίπολοι* were richly-adorned attendants of very wealthy women.) In the passage from the Hippocratic Corpus a female patient is described as an *ἀμφίπολος*, perhaps under the influence of Homer on the literary Ionic of the treatise (*Epidemiae* book 5 section 25 = 5.224.6 Littré).

<sup>49</sup> See Diodorus Siculus 16.70.6, with Hüttl (1929) 121–3 and Manganaro (1992) 471.

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<sup>50</sup> We base this point on a search for the term ἀμφίπολ- in the PHI database of searchable Greek inscriptions (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>).

<sup>51</sup> *IG* IX.1<sup>2</sup>.4 787, especially line 12; see Kretschmer (1929) 72 and Manganaro (1992) 471 n. 39.

<sup>52</sup> *SEG* 42:825 line 1; *SEG* 42:833 line 3; *SEG* 42:835 line 1; cf. *IG* XIV 9, line 4 (Latin translation by Gaetani of a Greek original subsequently lost), with Hüttl (1929) 123 n. 21 and Manganaro (1992) 471–2. For the group of dedications to the Paides and Anna to which these belong, see Manganaro (1992) 455–87.

<sup>53</sup> Cabanes and Ceka (1997) no. 186.

<sup>54</sup> *IG* XIV 574, line 3 (undated).

<sup>55</sup> *IG* XIV 601 (Imperial period).

<sup>56</sup> Κατσῶνος (1910); c. 200–150 BC. For the date see Τζουβάρα-Σούλη (1979) 20. In addition Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.50.4) knows of a heroön of Aeneas at Ambracia with (female) priestesses called ἀμφίπολοι.

<sup>57</sup> *IG* XII.9 906, line 2 (after 212 AD).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. already Kretschmer (1929) 72. On ancient routes between Argos and Corinth, see Tausend (2006) 19–58.

<sup>59</sup> See e.g. Halliday (1928) 120, 125; Kretschmer (1929) 72; Hüttl (1929) 121–3, the latter arguing that the Syracusan office had political as well as priestly functions. Martin West draws our attention also to an attestation of ἀμφίπολος for a mythological priestess: in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, Iphigeneia is called ιερέα 'priestess' (lines 34, 1399) and κληδοῦχος 'key-bearer' (131) as well as ἀμφίπολος of Artemis (1114). She bears overall responsibility for implementing the law that visiting Greek men should be sacrificed (lines 35–40). Her role is distinct from that of the temple guards (mentioned at 1027), and she has

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sufficient status to give orders to various attendants (468–71, 638, 725–6; *cf.* Bain (1981) 37–9.

<sup>60</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup> 35* = Meiggs and Lewis (1988) no. 44, lines 4 and 10, discussed by Mark (1993) 104–7, who argues for a date close to the middle of the fifth century BC; *IG I<sup>3</sup> 36* = Meiggs and Lewis (1988) no. 71, lines 5 and 10, discussed by Mark (1993) 107–8, who accepts the date of 424–3 BC.

<sup>61</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1330* = *SEG* 12:80, lines 4–5 and 11–13, discussed by Mark (1993) 111–13, who favours a date close to 400 BC.

<sup>62</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1456*, lines 13–14 (431–404 BC). For the likelihood that the ἀμφοιπολεῖον of the temple of Artemis at Brauron was used in the same way, see Peppas-Delmousou (1988) 337; Lougovaya-Ast (2006) 214.

<sup>63</sup> Our evidence on this point comes from TLG searches for ἐπαναγκ- and ἐπηναγκ- up to the first century BC, and complete searches of the PHI database of Searchable Greek Inscriptions for -ανανκ-, -αναγκ-, -ενανκ-, -εναγκ-, -ηνανκ-, and -ηναγκ-.

<sup>64</sup> For the latter idea, and for the whole family of words built on the root of μέλω, see Chantraine (1968–80) *s.v.* μέλω.

<sup>65</sup> Sokolowski (1969) no. 150 A, lines 7–11, discussed by Parker (2004) 58.

<sup>66</sup> *IG VII 235* = Buck (1955) no. 14 = Sokolowski (1969) no. 69 = Πετράκος (1997) no. 277 = Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 27, lines 9–17.

<sup>67</sup> Compare the second-century BC Delian decree *SEG* 48:1037. At fragment B, lines 5–9 it appears that the ἱεροποιοί, the βουλή, and the other magistrates both set and administer fines, according to the level of fine for which each is authorised. On this inscription see Lupu (2009) 22–4.



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<sup>68</sup> In other contexts, a group of *ἱεροί* ‘sacred men’ have judicial functions at Andania. On the *ἱερεῖς* and *ἱεροί*, and the question of how judicial functions were divided between them, see Gawlinski (2012) 23–4, 26–7, 191–2.

<sup>69</sup> It may even be relevant that the verb used for the activity of the *εἰσαγωγεῖς* is likely to be a form of *ἐπιμελοῦμαι* ([ἐπ]ιμε[λόσθων περὶ τοῦ φόρου, line 12: see Meiggs and Lewis (1988) 192), for which *μελεταίνω* may be a local functional equivalent at Argos (see section 5.2).